



PENGARANG:

TAJOK: *The Great Mubombo.*

HARGA: *# 15.00 MPREB/957*

کسیر الله ابنت مولد اربابج. الحمد لله فوجی بیغ پتا  
 هر که محمد نبی مصطفیٰ اکراش سبهر سوان چرینا  
 سبت سبهر مکر دکرانج هایت کوکند بوکن کفالغ  
 دکر یا موک ۲ دودق بردانج دباوه فرینته سلطان یفکدر  
 صله دکرانج داکفیغ مسکین دینک انوم نین المیدین  
 مفرانج بیدا قداغی دسلین دتقدیر کن توفیق رب العالمین  
 ابو نصیب باوان یغویا سدن قونا قداغی بر هایت کوک  
 سیغ دان مال کند بر نمبه دیتقلن توفیق عز و اجلا  
 بفکدول ابنت نرا نکریت کمنغ بوکینه نما ایستان  
 چچی فشنان کراغ سغ توفیق سلطان دای مدول  
 کوک ۲ بر داکراغ امر جاری فشنودول بکندا  
 سلافت دای دکرانج سبت سیمین بولن باقونک نر امیر  
 دایغ بوکن کفالغ انمرا لوه کرا بود فوشا کفالغ  
 بیغ مولد داکراغ سغ دایغ اکر با فر ما بین مال دان

این کتاب  
 در تاریخ  
 ایران  
 است

THE SYAIR MUKOMUKO:

SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF  
A NINETEENTH CENTURY  
SUMATRAN COURT CHRONICLE

The MALAYSIAN BRANCH of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY  
PERSATUAN ASIA DI RAJA BAHAGIAN MALAYSIA

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The Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

Monograph No. 13

THE SYAIR MUKOMUKO:  
SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF  
A NINETEENTH CENTURY  
SUMATRAN COURT CHRONICLE

by

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Printed for the Council of the M.B.R.A.S.

by

Art Printing Works Sdn. Bhd.

Kuala Lumpur

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Edited for the Council of the Society  
by  
Tan Sri Dato Mubin Sheppard

27 JUN. 1990  
Perpustakaan Negara  
Malaysia

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## Preface

The present work does not purport to be a study of the *Syair Mukomuko* as a whole and endeavours to present to the reader only those sections of the manuscript (Cod. Or. 6051) which are historically significant. A full study of the *Syair Mukomuko* as a literary mode would perforce require translation of the whole text.

Out of a total of 425 verses, excluding 4 additional stanzas written in the margin and the *khatimah* or conclusion\* of the *Syair*, a large proportion pertains to *adat* and court ceremonies so that only 183 verses have been selected for a strictly historical study of the poem. We have, however, tried to ensure that the omission of particular sections does not alter the original structure of the *Syair* or shift the emphasis from the main theme.

The *Syair* in its original form is not divided into separate parts or cantos but, when analysed, follows a tidy arrangement where each seven-stanza page constitutes a separate episode or sub-topic which we have called a "canto" for the sake of convenient reference. Each of these cantos containing seven verses and, with the text area of 12 × 17 cm, fill one side of each leaf of the original manuscript (18 × 22 cm). The writing is on both sides of the leaf and the original pagination appears on the top left hand corner, on the reverse side of each sheet of manuscript. In the present publication, each canto fills a separate page with its own pagination.

The manuscript runs right across the page with the lines of the verse separated by a central column. Thus, one line is separated from the next graphically and without punctuation. The stanzas, though not separated in any way in the MS, are self-evident in the rhyme structure and content. In the present publication line and stanza structure are indicated in the usual way through the use of punctuation and spacing.

In a few instances in MS 6051, an additional stanza has been added to the regular seven-stanza canto such as in cantos xv, xxix, xxxii and xxxvi. The additional stanza, when it is meant to be inserted at the beginning or the end of a canto appears, accordingly, at the top or bottom margin of the page. When

\*The *Khatimah* in this instance is in the prose form (See p. 136.)

meant to be inserted within the canto itself the relevant verse appears at the left or right hand margin of the page with a small asterisk to indicate its actual place within the canto. These additional stanzas are not numbered in the present publication and appear separately, with an asterisk, at the bottom of the page.

In a single instance an additional stanza occurs between cantos x and xi, with the first two lines appended to the end of canto x and the next two lines of the quatrain appearing at the beginning of canto xi (See pp. 58-61). As this stanza has not been written separately in the margin, we have transcribed it in its original sequence and given it a stanza numbering.

For the convenience of analysis and reading, each canto in the English translation has been given a short subject title. Beyond the seven-stanza or canto division the *Syair* falls topically into four main sections. The first section, which introduces the author and sets the scene, is the shortest and consists of 21 stanzas. Parts II and III, consisting of 42 stanzas each, give a brief history of Mukomuko, including the most important political event during the life-time of the author: the rebellion of the *Tuanku Muda*. Both these sections are, however, preliminaries to the main theme, which is the death and funeral of the Princess, Puteri Benialam, related in no less than 319 verses. While Parts I, II and III, have been translated *in toto*, in Part IV omissions have been made because of the lesser relevance of detailed *adat* ceremonies for a historical study.

The orthography of place names and proper names in the original *Jawi* manuscript has been retained in the *Rumi* transliteration. The modern Malay-Indonesian spelling, where there is a difference, and the proper Anglicized form for European terms, proper names, and place names have been adopted in the free English translation, which attempts to convey the contextual meaning rather than render a word for word translation. Several Malay terms, such as *hilir*, *hulu*, *negeri*, *istana*, *padi*, *rakyat*, *anak raja-raja*, *anak kemanakan* and some Malay titles have not been translated because of their concise expression, which may not be rendered so easily in English, and the English plural form, with the addition of an 's', has also been avoided. Explanation for these terms is provided in the glossary and footnotes. Retention of these Malay terms and phrases, it is hoped, will convey to the reader their precise meaning and something of the indigenous flavour of the poem.

This publication would not have been possible without the assistance of a number of people, including Dr. R. Roolvink of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal, -Land-en Volkenkunde, Leiden, who helped to establish the date of the manuscript by examining the paper and water-mark on the original at Leiden; J.A.G.M. Linssen, of the Department of Oriental Manuscripts, Rijksuniversiteits Bibliotheek, Leiden, for additional information about the manuscript; Dr. Teuku Iskandar of the same institution for general comments and information on Cod. Or. 5976 Mal. 1185; Professor Asmah Haji Omar and Dr. Nik Safiah Hj. A. Karim of the University of Malaya for advice on linguistic terminology and methodology; and Dr. Liaw Yock Fang of Nanyang University, Singapore who

with characteristic modesty, offered invaluable comments. Laurent Metzger of the *Pusat Bahasa*, University of Malaya, checked the translation while young Christopher Wells' reading of the English version of the *Syair*, which stemmed purely from curiosity, proved useful in removing obscurities in its rendering particularly for the general reader, as opposed to the specialist. A special note of appreciation is owed to Dr. Russell Jones of the School of Oriental and African Studies who, apart from helping us with the difficult task of deciphering and translating Arabic words and phrases, provided general guidance, warm encouragement and valuable criticism. For any errors and inaccuracies of transliteration, translation and interpretation, however, we are entirely responsible.

Staff of the Department of Oriental Manuscripts, Rijksuniversiteits Bibliotheek, Leiden; the India Office Library, Foreign and Commonwealth Relations Office, London; the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London; Arsip Nasional, Jakarta; the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London; the University of Malaya Library, including its new 'Koleksi Melayu'; and Bidang Permusiuman Sejarah dan Kepurbakalaan, Bengkulu have been extremely generous with their time in looking, and in some cases, duplicating materials for our use.

We wish to acknowledge the University of Malaya's assistance for making available to us 'Vote F' funds for this project, and thank Ms Pauline Lee of the History Department for her patience in guiding this manuscript through its various stages of typing.

We are fully aware of the pitfalls and imperfections which we have laid ourselves open to in undertaking a delicate task such as this but are of the firm conviction that something of this difficulty may, at least in part, be circumvented by the joint effort of two people and the advice and encouragement afforded by the many who are interested in Malay historiography. The point which must be emphasised is that in as much as a study as this adds to the correction of the 'colonial bias', the use of colonial sources has proved indispensable for the interpretation of the *Syair Mukomuko*. That both indigenous and western sources, interpreted in terms of their own methodology, are invaluable for advancing the writing of an autonomous history of the region is abundantly clear. Though looking at history from opposite and often opposed viewpoints, Malay and European sources form the warp and weft of Malay-Indonesian historiography for the modern period.

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1984

## A glossary of Malay-Indonesian terms and words

<i>adat:</i>	tradition, customary law
<i>agar, akar:</i>	honorific attached to person or article of dignity; root
<i>agung, gung:</i>	great, large, important; gong
<i>alim:</i>	learned, especially in religious law
<i>alperes:</i>	ensign (from the Portuguese)
<i>anak kemanakan:</i>	one's nearest relatives
<i>anak raja-raja:</i>	members of royalty, princes and princesses
<i>baginda:</i>	king, prince, ruler
<i>bait:</i>	quatrain
<i>banian, benian:</i>	chest, box. Reckoned as a weight-measure of 150 pounds, usually of opium
<i>belanja:</i>	expenditure
<i>beras:</i>	uncooked rice
<i>bimbang (Redjang):</i>	a feast
<i>bongsu:</i>	youngest
<i>daeng:</i>	Bugis title
<i>dagang:</i>	trader, foreigner
<i>dikir, zikir:</i>	see <i>zikir</i>
<i>dukun:</i>	native magician, native doctor
<i>dupati, adipati:</i>	village head in south and southwest Sumatra
<i>emas:</i>	gold
<i>encik:</i>	Mr. Mrs, Miss
<i>gendang:</i>	drum, membrane stretched ( <i>terkedang</i> ) over a hollow cylinder
<i>genderang:</i>	war-drum, signal drum
<i>guru:</i>	teacher, instructor
<i>halaman:</i>	page
<i>hamba:</i>	slave, serf, one who works in the field; I (a commoner)
<i>hilau:</i>	person engaged to cry at funerals
<i>hilir:</i>	the lower reaches of a river

<i>hulu:</i>	the upper reaches of a river, the interior
<i>hulubalang:</i>	officer in charge of defence, military leader
<i>imam:</i>	leader of a congregation at prayer in a mosque
<i>istana:</i>	ruler's official residence or palace
<i>jenang:</i>	Sultan or ruler's representative
<i>kadi:</i>	a Muslim judge
<i>kain:</i>	cloth, clothing
<i>kampung:</i>	village
<i>kampung dalam:</i>	the royal circle as opposed to <i>kampung luar</i> or the commoners
<i>kemanakan:</i>	a man's eldest sister's children under the matrilineal Minangkabau system
<i>khatib, katib:</i>	preacher in a mosque
<i>kota:</i>	fort, generally used to describe a collection of villages surrounded by a fence or any kind of defence
<i>kudai:</i>	a small mat-work box
<i>kunyit:</i>	turmeric, <i>Curcuma domestica</i>
<i>ladang:</i>	a dry (non irrigated) clearing for cultivation
<i>maharaja:</i>	(lit, 'a great raja'), title borne by minister at court
<i>malim:</i>	<i>orang alim</i> , one learned in religion, a navigator, pilot of a ship
<i>menteri:</i>	minister, court-official
<i>menteri nan empat belas:</i>	the fourteen <i>menteri</i>
<i>nan (Minangkabau):</i>	<i>yang</i> : which, who
<i>negeri:</i>	land, country
<i>nikah:</i>	marriage ceremony
<i>orang kaya:</i>	rich man, important chief or nobleman, honorific
<i>padi:</i>	paddy, unhusked rice
<i>pandita, pendeta:</i>	sage, scholar
<i>panglima:</i>	commander or military leader, police office
<i>parak:</i>	before dawn
<i>pasar:</i>	bazaar, market place
<i>penggawa:</i>	Sumatran or Kelantanese headman
<i>penghulu:</i>	village head
<i>penghulu lima kota:</i>	the <i>penghulu</i> of the five villages
<i>peroatin:</i>	southwest Sumatran village or <i>kota</i> chief
<i>peroatin enam puloh:</i>	the sixty <i>peroatin</i> or village heads
<i>puteri:</i>	princess
<i>raden (Javanese):</i>	low ranking nobility
<i>rangkap:</i>	verse
<i>rakyat:</i>	subjects of a ruler
<i>sahaya:</i>	domestic slave
<i>serahi, syerahi:</i>	a word of Arab origin meaning 'flagon' or 'decanter'



<i>simpai:</i>	band or hoop
<i>sirih:</i>	betel vine, the leaves of which are chewed
<i>sutan:</i>	title given in southwest Sumatra to sons of the Sultan
<i>syekh:</i>	complimentary title for Arabs of Hadramaut descent; descendants of the Prophet and learned <i>ulama</i>
<i>tanai:</i>	to carry on the palm
<i>tuanku muda, raja muda:</i>	title of the heir presumptive and, normally, the eldest son of the ruler
<i>tigabelas negeri:</i>	the thirteen <i>negeri</i>
<i>tuah, tua:</i>	old man, honorific attached to all <i>menteri</i> of Mukomuko
<i>tuai:</i>	knife for harvesting <i>padi</i>
<i>tuan:</i>	lord, lady
<i>tuanku:</i>	royal highness (title)
<i>ufti:</i>	tribute paid in money and/or goods to ruler
<i>ulama:</i>	Islamic religious teacher
<i>zikir, dikir:</i>	chant in praise of Allah (performed by mystics with the swaying of the body in unison)

## Abbreviations and symbols

Apart from punctuation to clarify the meaning and diacritical marks, other insertions in the original text are: square brackets for doubtful readings and round brackets for omissions and errors. The canto numbering at the top left hand corner of each page in Roman numerals and the stanza numbering in Arabic numerals are also our own.

In the *Rumi* text footnote numbers correspond with the stanza numbers and the letters 'a', 'b', 'c' and 'd' refer to the first, second, third and fourth lines respectively.

Historical notes for the text follow the English translation and, because of their length, have been listed separately at the back. In these notes references begin with the name of the author, followed by the date of publication and page number. The titles of these publications appear in the bibliographical list provided.

The following abbreviations for titles have been used:

BKI	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i> (The Hague)
JMBRAS	<i>Journal of the Malayan [Malaysian] Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSEAH	<i>Journal of Southeast Asian History</i> (Singapore)
KITLV	<i>Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>
RIMA	<i>Review of Malay-Indonesian Studies in Australia</i>
SFR	<i>Sumatra Factory Records</i> , The India Office Library, London
TBG	<i>Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i> (Batavia)
TNI	<i>Tijdschrift voor Neerland's (Nederlandsch)-Indië</i> (Batavia)
VBG	<i>Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</i> (Batavia)
VKI	<i>Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i> (The Hague)

## System of romanization adopted

There are several basic characteristics of phonology in the *Syair Mukomuko*. The work of transcribing a Malay text from *Jawi* to *Rumi* is not an easy one,<sup>1</sup> especially with reference to the vocal sounds /a/, /i/, /e/ (including the pĕpĕt or shwa), /o/ and /u/. For example, the sound *g-t* can be transcribed variously into *Rumi* as *geta*, *guta*, *getu*, *gat*, among others. More than this, in the work of transcription it is important, as Skinner suggests, to adopt a standard Riau-Malay system of phonology<sup>2</sup> such has been pleaded for by Kern in his review of Mees' *De Kroniek van Koetai*.<sup>3</sup>

In the *Syair Mukomuko* the Minangkabau dialect is apparent in the use of the letter *alif* within the word structure, the following being some examples:

*kerabau* (k-r-a-b-a-w) = *kerbau*

*basar* (b-a-s-a-r) = *besar*

*selasai* (s-l-a-s-a-y) = *selesai*

*fitanah* (f-t-a-n-h) = *fitnah*

*padang* (p-a-d-a-ng) = *pedang*

The use of Minangkabau word forms is, however, not consistent and the standard Malay form for the same words occurs equally freely, as for example, in the following:

*bari* (b-a-r-y) and *beri*

*dangan* (d-a-ng-n) and *dengan*

*dangar* (d-a-ng-r) and *dengar*

*menjalang* (m-n-j-a-l-ng) and *menjelang*

*keraja* (k-r-a-j-a) and *kerja*

*karas* (k-a-r-a-s) and *keras*

*perampuan* (p-r-a-m-p-w-a-n) and *perempuan*

Similarly, there is a variation in the use of consonants and, here again, standard Malay and various characteristics of hyper-correct, dialectal variation, sound-

<sup>1</sup>Zaaba, 1928:81-82.

<sup>2</sup>C. Skinner, 1962:58-9.

<sup>3</sup>Kern, 1937:299.

shift and innovation of new forms are used freely, side by side, as in the following:

*jasyad* (j-a-sy-a-t) and *jasad*  
*besyar* (b-sy-a-r/b-sy-r) and *besar*  
*tuah* (t-w-h/t-w-a-h) and *tua*  
*sunī* (s-w-n-y) and *sunyi*  
*cirita* (c-y-r-y-t) and *cerita*  
*pasyar* (p-a-sy-r) and *pasar*  
*syerta* (sy-r-a-t) and *serta*  
*'alat* ('-a-l-t) and *alat*  
*sair* (s-'-y-r) and *syair*  
*mufakat* (m-f-q-t) and *muafakat*  
*suling* (s-w-l-y-ng) and *seruling*  
*fasyih* (f-a-sy-y-h) and *fasih*

T. Sturrock has observed the concern of writers and copyists of the old tradition with /sy/ and /h/ as well as the nasal sounds such as /m/, /n/, /ny/, /ng/ which they have included in their texts.<sup>4</sup> This is apparent in the *Syair Mukomuko* in the occurrence of the sound /sy/ in, for example, *besyar*, *pasyar*, *syerta* and the addition of the sound /h/ as a word-ending in *tua(h)*. In fact, the influence of the dialectal tradition on written Malay during the pre-colonial period is generally evident in our text. Significant examples are:

*sair* for *syair*  
*suling* for *seruling*  
*pengulu* for *penghulu*  
*bercaya* for *bercahaya*  
*seteri* for *isteri*  
*hobat* for *obat*  
*ancur* for *hancur*  
*buni* for *bunyi*  
*menengar* for *mendengar*

Strong dialectal influence is also evident in the occurrence of the Arabic nasal sound which appears as 'ain, preceding the vocal /l/, such as in 'alat (*alat*) and 'aral (*aral*).<sup>5</sup> In addition to this, examples of dialectal nasal influence on prefixes like *meng* where /m/ and /n/ sounds occur, are also apparent in the following, although they appear with characteristic inconsistency:

*mehantarkan* (m-h-n-t-r-k-n) = *menghantarkan*  
*mehangkat* (m-h-ng-k-t) = *mengangkat*

<sup>4</sup>Sturrock, 1912:4.

<sup>5</sup>'aral = ('-a-r-l).

<i>mekhabarkan</i> (m-kh-b-r-k-n)	=	<i>mengkhabarkan</i>
<i>menjung</i> (m-n-j-w-j-ng)	=	<i>menjunjung</i>
<i>mehukuman</i> (m-h-k-m-k-n)	=	<i>menghukuman</i>
<i>menjaput</i> (m-n-j-a-p-t)	=	<i>menjemput</i>

This is in marked contrast with Skinner's observation that in both copies of the *Syair Mengkasar* the writers "have obviously done their best to conform to 'standard' Malay,"<sup>6</sup> but have not abandoned local dialectal variations in the use of liquid or nasal stem formations as in *per*, *ber* and *ter*. The copyist/author of the *Syair Mukomuko*, in contrast, has used both forms indiscriminately as in the following instances:

<i>bejalan</i> (b-j-a-l-n) and <i>berjalan</i>
<i>belarian</i> (b-l-a-r-y-n) and <i>berlarian</i>
<i>pekakas</i> (p-k-a-k-s) and <i>perkakas</i>

Despite the inconsistencies which appear to be characteristic of Malay orthography in the *Syair Mukomuko*, the occurrence of local Minangkabau dialectal influence on the Malay used in Mukomuko is comparable to similar Minangkabau influence on the Malay of Banjarmasin and Riau-Johor. At the same time, it is difficult to find a definite explanation for the inconsistency in dialectal forms in the *Syair Mukomuko*. This could be due to the copyist's/composer's immigrant status so that, although sufficiently acquainted with Minangkabau forms, his familiarity with the more standard Malay prevalent in the cosmopolitan environs of Benkulen (Bengkulu/Bangkahulu) is equally apparent. Whatever the explanation, the copyist's/composer's lack of appreciation of the need for standardisation is glaring.

Like their counterparts, the Portuguese and the Dutch in the Archipelago, the British left an impact on the local language in the form of loan words relating particularly to the military sphere, the following being important examples:

<i>ganarnya</i> (g-a-n-r-ny) from 'gunner'
<i>falinlah</i> (f-a-l-y-n-l-h) from 'fall-in'

In the transcription of the text from *Jawi* to *Rumi* we have followed Zaaba's *Daftar Ejaan Melayu* with appropriate modifications in agreement with the new Malay-Indonesian spelling system established in 1975 and revised in 1981. Accordingly, in the transcription into *Rumi* of Arab loan words which have already been absorbed into the Malay language the standard Malay-Indonesian spelling has been adopted as follows:

<i>taqdīr</i>	=	<i>takdir</i>
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<sup>6</sup>Skinner, 1962:59.

<i>muṭlaq</i>	=	<i>mutlak</i>
<i>sulṭān</i>	=	<i>sultan</i>
<i>ḥaḍrat</i>	=	<i>hadrat</i>
<i>maqḥūl</i>	=	<i>makbul</i>

By the same system, the transcription of proper names is as follows:

<i>Taqdīrullāh</i>	=	<i>Takdirullah</i>
<i>Ẓāin-al-'Ābidīn</i>	=	<i>Ẓāinal Abidin</i>
<i>Khālīfatullāh</i>	=	<i>Khalīfatullah</i>
<i>'Ināyat(h)</i>	=	<i>Inayat</i>
<i>Muḥammad</i>	=	<i>Muhammad</i>

1. Dialectal variations as well as vocals and consonants in the manuscript have been retained and the standard modern equivalent provided in the footnotes.
2. Words ending with *hamza* are transcribed with a final *q* (quaf) or *k* (kaf).
3. In the transliteration of quotations and phrases in the Arabic the original spelling has been maintained according to the following system:

alif ( ا )	=	a
ba ( ب )	=	b
ta ( ت )	=	t
tha ( ث )	=	th
jim ( ج )	=	j
ḥa ( ح )	=	h
kha ( خ )	=	kh
dal ( د )	=	d
dhal ( ذ )	=	dh
ra ( ر )	=	r
zai ( ز )	=	z
sin ( س )	=	s
syin ( ش )	=	sy
ṣad ( ص )	=	ṣ
dhad ( ض )	=	ḍ
ṭa ( ط )	=	ṭ
dza ( ظ )	=	ẓ
'ain ( ع )	=	' (for technical reasons)
ghain ( غ )	=	gh
fa ( ف )	=	f
pa ( پ )	=	p
qaf ( ق )	=	q
kaf ( ك )	=	k
lam ( ل )	=	l
mim ( م )	=	m

nun ( ن )	= n
wau ( و )	= w/u
ha ( ه )	= h
hamzah ( ء )	= k
ya ( ي )	= y/i

4. English loan words, which have either been absorbed into the local dialect or the Malay language in general, have been faithfully transcribed and the original words provided in the footnotes.





## A prose summary of the translated sections of the Syair Mukomuko

CANTO i: The *Syair* begins with the customary doxology and the author's polite apology aimed, evidently, at ascertaining his humble status *vis-à-vis* God and King. The author then introduces himself and speaks of his illustrious background and marriage to a daughter of the Sultan of Mukomuko, which is the basis of his connection with the royal court.

CANTO ii: This canto relates to the actual events pertaining to the marriage. Upon the orders of the Sultan the *Menteri Empat Belas* invited Raden Anom to Mukomuko for the marriage. Preceded by several days of merriment, the royal nuptials were conducted, presided over by Tuan Haji Abdul Hamid, the ruler's *guru*.

CANTO iii: The celebrations concluded, Sultan Baginda, who had accompanied Raden Anom to the court of Mukomuko, took leave and returned to Benkulen where he related to the ruler the impressive festivities which accompanied the nuptials. Soon, a son was born and was named Raden Panji.

CANTO iv: Here we are given the history of the ruling house of Mukomuko founded by Tuanku Sultan Gundam Syah. Of illustrious descent, he made an excellent ruler and his reign was one of peace and prosperity. He ruled with justice and leniency and his subjects were loyal. He was succeeded by his son, Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah who emulated his good work.

CANTO v: The reign of Pasisir Barat Syah was one of commercial prosperity. Of the royal princes it was *Tuanku Muda*, the eldest, who was indulged by his father; but it was God's will that he

should turn against the ruler. He was impatient for power and misused his position as the Sultan's representative to oppress the common people.

CANTO vi: The *Tuanku Muda* was intent upon replacing his father on the throne. He had the *Menteri Empat Belas* on his side, with whom he convened a secret meeting. The *Menteri Empat Belas* acted with the heads of families or *kemanakan* in collecting arms ready for an attack on Mukomuko. The Sultan became anxious and sought the Company's aid. In response, the Sepoys and Bugis were alerted and the fortifications manned. The *negeri* was soon in a state of turmoil. The civil war incurred casualties on both sides.

CANTO vii: In the course of the war much valuable property was lost and destroyed. It was only on the arrival of reinforcements from Fort Marlborough under the Bugis Captain, Daeng Maru'ppa, and the *Raden* that the *Tuanku Muda* retreated up-country. The coastal Malays built stockades at Muara Menjuto. A few days later further reinforcements were brought by sea by Captain Hamilton from Benkulen. A combined attack was planned on the *Tuanku Muda* who was believed to have retreated to Menjuto which he was rumoured to be fortifying.

CANTO viii: Having first sought the sanction and goodwill of the Sultan, Captain Hamilton made plans with the Bugis Captain for launching an attack on the *Tuanku Muda*. To the strains of drums and flutes the Company forces assembled before they marched to Muara Menjuto where they found the enemy fully prepared. The ensuing conflict brought heavy losses to both sides. The following day saw the *Tuanku Muda* downcast, as were also the *menteri*, in view of the slim prospect of winning a war against the Company.

CANTO ix: Unable to keep up the fight which involved heavy casualties, the enemy retreated up the Menjuto river. The *Tuanku Muda*, who had his family with him, stayed briefly at Pengkalan Jambi before proceeding to Jambi. Shortly after, the Company forces sought permission to return to Benkulen. The subsequent death of the *Tuanku Muda* brought mixed feelings of joy and sorrow to his father, Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah.

CANTO x: Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah now appointed another prince,

Tuan Sutan Takdirullah, as heir. Of good character and sound judgement, he succeeded his father fulfilling God's will and received the customary homage from the people. The new ruler, who took the title of Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah and was of illustrious descent, was one of five children and the eldest male. He had two older sisters, Puteri Rikna, Puteri Bunga Melor and a brother, Tuan Sutan Ibrahim (who became the son-in-law of the *Pangeran* of Benkulen), followed by the youngest, Puan Puteri Cahaya Hati. The ruler was a man of extreme patience, and his just administration was widely acknowledged. He was equally ardent in fulfilling his religious obligations towards the community, and to this end ensured the observance of Islamic law throughout the *negeri*.

## CANTO xi:

It was Tuan Puteri Cahaya Hati who had performed the ceremony of scattering the *beras kunyit* at Sultan Khalifatullah's installation. The ruler also had five children. The eldest, Tuan Sutan Hidayatullah, was the only male child. The next was Tuan Puteri Halimah, who was the first to be given in marriage, followed by Puteri Kabatiah, Puteri Nila Utama and Puteri Benialam, the darling of the *negeri*. Raden Panji Prawataksyina, the ruler's grandson, enjoyed the tender affections of his aunt, Puteri Benialam. In the meantime, the country prospered under Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah who was exceedingly brave and just. He enjoyed the protection of armed lascars and the *Tiga Belas Negeri* submitted to him. All paid him regular tribute, in accordance with the wishes of the fifty-nine *Peroatin* who expected the established traditions to remain unchanged.

## CANTO xii:

Tuan Sutan Hidayat(ullah), the ruler's first born, had left on a trading venture to Java and eighteen months passed without any word from him. He was so missed by his parents that the *istana* was cast in gloom. Sultan Khalifatullah reigned for twenty-five years, within which time the ruler was fated to lose one of his daughters. But preceding this event the *negeri* prospered. News arrived from *hilir* Menjuto that the ruler's *ladang* was ready to be harvested.

## CANTO xiii:

Ruler and subjects made their way towards Muara Menjuto where they found the *ladang* ready for harvest. Presently, they gathered for a public feast after which the ruler commissioned the *hulubalang* to go upriver to bid the *menteri* bring help for harvesting the paddy.

- CANTO xiv: The *menteri* readily responded to the Sultan's orders and came with their people to the harvest. As soon as the whole congregation was gathered the ruler gave orders for work to commence. Young and old, *menteri* and *rakyat*, set about the harvest in a jubilant mood. Only at nightfall did they stop to partake of a meal of rice and curry.
- CANTO xv: At night, when the day's activities were over the people amused themselves gambling and, at dawn, returned once again to the field. After five days of harvesting, on the sixth day, the *menteri* and *rakyat* took their leave. Sufficient paddy was gathered to please the *alim* and *pandita* and, the harvest over, the ruler made his way downriver, taking women and children, to Sungai Peragang where the carriage awaited his arrival with Si Cuta in attendance. The horse made speed and, on arriving at the *istana*, Encik Orang Kaya immediately presented to the ruler his three children: "the Graceful one", Benialam and Nila Utama.
- CANTO xvi: Having partaken of his meal and chewed *sirih* the ruler lay down to rest. Not long after his return from Menjuto, His Majesty was taken ill and so were his wife and youngest child. Both parents recovered but not their child whose condition deteriorated. Puteri Benialam was ill for thirteen days causing grave concern to her parents and, on the fourteenth day, she died.
- CANTO xvii: When the time of her death approached the beautiful Princess remained fully conscious. She begged forgiveness from her parents and said her prayers with fluency.
- CANTO xix: On hearing the sound of the *gung akar* the crowd rushed to the *istana*. Orang Kaya Maharaja was the first to reach the *istana* where he learnt about the death of the Princess. The royal residence was filled with the sound of crying and both Raden Anom and his wife were overwhelmed with grief. The *menteri* gathered at the sound of the gong and the wise and good-natured Maharaja Bongsu proposed that the regalia be assembled.
- CANTO xx: The *menteri* and *penghulu* concurred with Maharaja Bongsu and the regalia were assembled. The swords, fans and candles were fourteen in number. The chaste and beautiful body of the

Princess was laid beneath the royal umbrella. The royal spear and flags were on display and the slaves and *hulubalang* were assembled, all in accordance with the *adat*.

CANTO xxi: The *menteri's* wives, headed by Tuan Puteri Yakin, took charge of cleansing the body of the Princess. The ceremony was preceded by the sound of the *genderang* and flutes and a hundred and eleven shots marked its commencement. When the *genderang* sounded once again the mourners rose and, amidst great solemnity, the body was laid upon the royal platform. Benialam, the beloved Princess, had met her untimely death and her parents were heart-broken.

CANTO xxii: The *menteri* from Menjuto arrived with their families all in mourning attire. These were followed by the *Penghulu Lima Kota* from Hulu Selagan. The *datuk* Bantal had arrived but the news had not yet reached the *peroatin*. Once the *penghulu* were assembled the *menteri* unanimously agreed with Orang Kaya Kecil Maharaja Adinda to present themselves to the ruler.

CANTO xxiii: Maharaja Desa, Orang Kaya Setia Lela Maharaja Diraja and Maharaja Sempurna Mentik Ma'ani were in one mind with Orang Kaya Merah Melela and Dewa Pahlawan Sinda Bijaya that there was no reason for further delay in making the funeral preparations. Orang Kaya Singa Diraja and Orang Kaya Bendahara Raja both noted the ruler's deep distress. Singa Diraja, the most senior of the 14 *menteri*, was best acquainted with the ancient *adat* as ordained by God and attached due importance to it. Of the *Penghulu Lima Kota* six were present and listened to the discussion among the elders.

CANTO xxiv: The *Penghulu* of *Lima Kota*, namely Kilat Laut Datuk Merah Mata, Datuk Patih, Betara Bagak, Datuk Muda and Datuk Laksamana declared their full support for whatever the elders decided. The decision was then made by Maharaja Bongsu, foremost among the *penghulu*, that the body of the Princess be cleansed. The old Maharaja Bongsu, the *negeri's* ceremonial head, attended to the ruler who was surrounded by hundreds and thousands of people.

CANTO xxv: After prayers were said Maharaja Bongsu thought proper to speak to Raden Anom as the ruler himself was too distressed. Raja Sempurna joined him in urging Raden Anom not to delay

over the royal bier. The latter was filled with remorse on losing someone who had been so devoted and tender a nurse to his son, Raden Panji Prawataksyina. While he deeply regretted at having been unable to protect his sister-in-law, his wife, Tuan Puteri Halimah, was faced with the sudden shock of parting for ever from her sister.

CANTO xxxii: The *menteri* and other chiefs, headed by Maharaja Bongsu, went to great pains to assemble the regalia and ceremonial attire. When everything was ready the *rakyat* congregated and entered the *istana*. They were a motley gathering of about 200 persons, including young and old, rich and humble, the blind and the maimed, but their hearts were noble and they prayed fervently and in earnest. The wise men and religious officials from throughout Anak Sungai were gathered. Last to join the gathering were Merah and Sutan. As the assembly waited in readiness the *menteri* made their way to the *istana* to assist with the preparations. 'Kasyah', was the name of the carpet spread down the path along which the bier was to pass.

CANTO xxxiii: In accordance with the customs of the country, the *anak raja* stood in readiness to carry the bier. The drums struck, the flutes sounded and the cannons were poised, awaiting the orders of the old ensign. As soon as the regalia were assembled the final orders were given by the ruler, and the *menteri* lifted the dead Princess amidst the shrill sounds of mourning. When the cannons fired the *menteri* lifted the bier and carried it down.

## Authorship of the *Syair Mukomuko*

Unlike many authors of early Malay literature who do not reveal their names in their works<sup>1</sup> the author of the *Syair Mukomuko* identifies himself immediately as Raden Anom Zainal Abidin and refers to his noble pedigree. His grandfather was the old Pangeran of Sungai Lemau, Lingang Alam, and his ancestors were of royal lineage from Madura.<sup>2</sup> Raden Anom was thus, presumably, the issue of a marriage between the family of the Pangeran and the Madurese royalty settled in Benkulen and, by virtue of his latter connection, carried the title *Raden*.

The origin of the Madurese community in Benkulen may be traced back to the close connections established with the British in Sumatra by Cakraningrat IV, ruler of Bangkalan in west Madura. He was, originally, a strong ally of the Dutch who traditionally relied on Madurese military support. But having been bitterly disappointed at the failure to receive the territory east of Lawu as reward for his assistance in the Chinese war (1740-43), Cakraningrat raised the banner of rebellion. He sent his fourth son, Raden Temenggung Wiradiningrat, with a letter to the British at Benkulen and waited in vain, until 1747, when faced by a Dutch invasion, he took flight to Banjarmasin to seek protection from the Sultan to whom he was related by marriage. Cakraningrat was, however, soon discovered by the Dutch and banished to the Cape.<sup>3</sup> Following this event, Raden Temenggung Wiradiningrat and his attendant, Raden Sengnata, remained in Benkulen and married daughters of the influential Bugis Captain at Benkulen, Daeng Makkulle.<sup>4</sup>

Of Cakraningrat's four children who accompanied him to Banjarmasin, Raden Temenggung Sasradiningrat and Raden Temenggung Ranadiningrat were banished to Ceylon.<sup>5</sup> His two daughters, Raden Ayu Roman and Raden Ayu Demes married the Sultan of Banjarmasin, although these unions did not last

<sup>1</sup>Iskandar, 1967:41. The *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar* is another exception where the author, Encik Amin, reveals his identity in terms of self-praise. See Skinner, 1963: vs. 67-9, 527-8.

<sup>2</sup>See vs. 3, 5.

<sup>3</sup>Broek, 1873:282-3.

<sup>4</sup>Helfrich, 1923:319; [Winter], 1874:117-9.

<sup>5</sup>While the former died in Ceylon the latter was allowed to return to Madura on the request of his eldest brother who became Cakraningrat V.

and they later returned to Madura to marry relatives.<sup>6</sup>

Among Cakraningrat's children, only his eldest son, Pangeran Suradiningrat, Regent of Sidayu, appears to have deserted his father and joined forces with the Dutch who eventually raised him to the position of *Bupati* of Madura. He assisted his patrons in quelling the rebellion in Surabaya and in subduing the entire coast, thereby securing their full confidence. Following the death of his father at the Cape, he was elevated to the title of Pangeran Adipati Cakraningrat V and acquired the coveted rank of *Wedana* of all the *bupati* of the east coast of Java.<sup>7</sup>

Cakraningrat's appeal for assistance to the British at Benkulen appears to have been based on prior connections. According to a contemporary report, the "old king loved the English", and had originally sent his youngest son, Wiradiningrat,<sup>8</sup> to Benkulen for his education "and as he wanted to cultivate a good understanding with them, ordered his son to dress, and live after their manner".<sup>9</sup> Although we are unable to ascertain how long before his father's defeat the Prince was sent to Benkulen, it was evidently long enough for the Prince to have learnt English manners and customs which he taught the ruler's wives and concubines, who took pleasure in imitating them.<sup>10</sup> Cakraningrat clearly trusted the English and regarded Benkulen as a safe base away from home. Hence, upon falling out with his eldest son, Suradiningrat, it was to Benkulen that Cakraningrat banished his son's wife. She was accompanied by four of her children as well as a young son of Ranadiningrat, the third son of Cakraningrat.<sup>11</sup> These, together with Raden Temenggung and Raden Sengnata became the founder members of the Madurese community in Benkulen.

Raden Temenggung Wiradiningrat, or Si Naka, as he was popularly known, was the "orderly serjeant" of Governor Roger Carter (1758-67). However, by the time Marsden entered the service of the Benkulen presidency (1771-79), "he was no longer employed in a military capacity, and had wisely relinquished the European dress." He was highly esteemed at Benkulen as "an intelligent and respectable man", well informed on matters pertaining to the language, religion and culture of the surrounding areas and was frequently consulted on these matters by Marsden.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Broek, 1873:285.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 286.

<sup>8</sup>Cakraningrat's third and fourth sons, Ranadiningrat and Wiradiningrat were born of two different concubines, Njai Tengah and Njai Magih, both from the village of Banju Sanka in Benkulen. Broek, 1873:275. It may be concluded from this that the ruler of Madura's connections with Benkulen were close and long-standing.

<sup>9</sup>During the reign of Governor-General H.W. Daendels, the son of Cakraningrat V, Pangeran Setjadiningrat, entered the pay-roll of the Government as Colonel of the Madurese troops. The British who later occupied Java (1811-16), continued to receive the services of the Madurese. *Ibid.*, 292-4.

<sup>10</sup>[C.F. Noble], 1762:101.

<sup>11</sup>Rusconi, 1935:183-84, 196. The young son of Ranadiningrat was taken to Benkulen, presumably, because of the latter's ties with the area through his mother. See note 8 above.

<sup>12</sup>Marsden describes him in his *History of Sumatra* as "a most intelligent and respectable man", (p.



The Madurese princes evidently enhanced their prestige and position at Benkulen by marrying into the influential families of local chiefs. Raden Anom Zainal Abidin himself was not a descendant of Raden Temenggung. The latter had three sons, Raden Naka Wiradiningrat, Raden Muhammad Zain Perbanga and Raden Abdul Karim Santarrah, all of whom served the Company's military, and were contemporaries of Raden Anom. Who then was Raden Anom?

The adoption of the title, *Raden*, by the author of the *Syair Mukomuko* and that of *Raden Panji* by his son Prawataksyina, offer the most important clues about their Madurese descent. Customarily, the sons of the ruler of Madura held the title of *Raden Temenggung* while their sons and grandsons, took the honorifics of *Raden* and *Raden Panji*, respectively.<sup>13</sup> It is most likely, therefore, that Raden Anom Zainal Abidin was one of the grandsons of Cakraningrat IV of Madura, probably one of the sons either of Suradiningrat or his brother, Ranadiningrat, who were brought to Benkulen by a wife of the former.<sup>14</sup>

Unlike the sons of Raden Temenggung, the author of the *Syair Mukomuko* appears to have had no claims to Buginese descent and, although appointed in 1803 as an ensign in the Bugis corps,<sup>15</sup> was not in active military service. Raden Anom and Tuanku Hidayatullah, his brother-in-law, who later became ruler of Anak Sungai, were more directly involved in the everyday affairs of court and politics in Anak Sungai. Accordingly, their military participation was limited to providing influential native leadership, particularly among the hill tribes of the interior. In 1818, Tuanku Hidayatullah accompanied Thomas Barnes, the local Resident, on the expedition initiated by Raffles to establish an overland route to Palembang through Pengkalan Jambi, though Padri hostility forced a retreat.<sup>16</sup> During the same year, Raden Anom Zainal Abidin referred to as "Jenal Abidien" in Dutch sources, accompanied John Hayes, appointed Commissioner over Musi, Kelingi and Beliti,<sup>17</sup> on an expedition to win over the Redjang and other hill tribes of Musi, such as the Rawa, with a view to striking a route to Palembang.<sup>18</sup> The selection of Raden Anom to work in that particular area could have been because of his familiarity with the Benkulen region where he had grown up. In conjunction with this expedition three letters in Malay were addressed to the *Jenang* at Beliti, one by Hayes himself, another by Lieutenant

269) "...who was well conversant with the religious opinions of most nations ...." (p. 290). It appears, therefore, that Marsden consulted him on matters of custom and religion. Wink, 1924:2-3.

<sup>13</sup>Broek, 1873:283, 493-4.

<sup>14</sup>The name of Raden Anom, however, is not listed among the names of Suradiningrat's children. See Broek: 284.

<sup>15</sup>SFR 104, Cons., Nov. 1803, f. 39.

<sup>16</sup>Barnes, 1818: ff. 345-51.

<sup>17</sup>Kemp, 1920:190. Kelingi = Muarakelingi; Beliti = Muarabeliti.

<sup>18</sup>Kemp, 1920: 97-239; Wolders, 1975: 13-17. Also see Kathirithamby-Wells & Muhammad Yusoff Hashim, 1982: 147-8.

Haslam, commander of the Sepoys, and a third by 'Jenal Abidien'<sup>19</sup> which suggests that he was a man with some degree of influence.

In contrast with the parochial and insular background of the rulers of Sungai Lemau and Mukomuko, the Madurese princes of Benkulen were, by reputation, cultured, knowledgeable and versatile, and Raden Anom was duly proud of his connections with them.<sup>20</sup> It is very likely that he inherited his literary interests and talents from the Madurese side and this, and the fact that he was personally involved in the court affairs of Mukomuko, suitably qualified him for composing the *Syair*. There is, no doubt, an inherent disadvantage in the author's partiality towards his father-in-law and benefactor, Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah (1789-1816). This is not unusual as, traditionally, Malay and Javanese court histories were written for royal patrons and, invariably, were biased.<sup>21</sup> In the *Syair Mukomuko*, however, we find the unusual blend of a personal episode and an official court chronicle.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup>Kemp, 1920: 155, 196-7.

<sup>20</sup>See v. 5.

<sup>21</sup>According to Travers, Raffles "appointed Mr. Hayes Commissioner, giving him a respectable establishment and forming a new corps to be at his disposal, which he called the Sumatran Hill Rangers. I must confess I am not very sanguine in my hopes of the benefit which may arise from this measure. It will be attended with very considerable expense, and I fear unless we eventually succeed in getting Palembang under our own control, the Moesi country will only prove a new source of expenditure and not a trifling one". Travers' prognostications proved entirely correct. Bastin, 1957: 103.

<sup>22</sup>See, for example, v.4 c&d, vs. 24 & 23.

## An historical introduction

### (i)

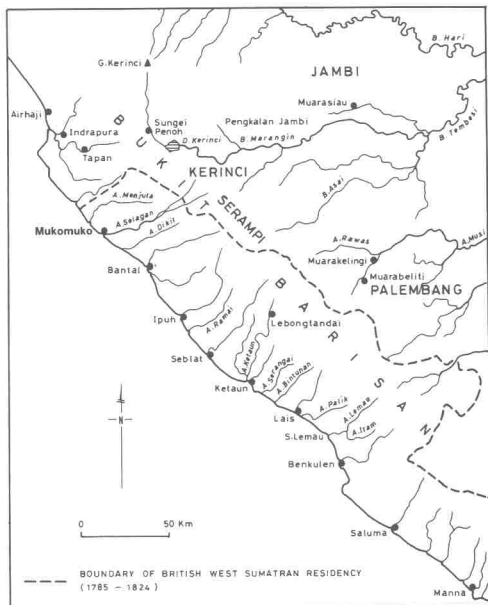
Situated on the estuary of the Air Selagan, Mukomuko was a district of the Anak Sungai Sultanate, which comprised the narrow coastal territory between Indrapura in the north and Bengkulu (Benkulen) in the south. The internal administration of the districts was under territorial chiefs. The *Menteri* of *Negeri Empat Belas Kota* had their capital originally at Menjuto, and the *Menteri* or *Datuk Lima Kota* had their headquarters at Bantal. However, in the area to the south, comprising the districts of Sablat and Ketaun, which were closer to the 'tribal' south, extended territorial administration had not evolved and it was under the authority of village heads or *peroatin*. Traditionally there were 59 *peroatin*, known collectively as the *Peroatin nan Kurang Satu Enam Puluh*.<sup>1</sup>

Facing the Indian Ocean and with an unsheltered coastline, the Anak Sungai territory was subjected to dangerous surf action which limited its maritime contacts with the external world. The original *dusun* people, the *anak sungai*, from whom the territory derived its name, were primarily *ladang* cultivators of *padi*. The subsistence economy was then modified during the sixteenth century with the growth and extension of pepper cultivation along the Minangkabau coast, which supported the emergence and expansion of the Indrapura sultanate southwards, to include all the coastal territory north of Benkulen.<sup>2</sup> Simultaneously, immigrants from the Minangkabau north, in search of trade and new frontiers for cultivation, settled predominantly in Menjuto and Mukomuko, the districts immediately south of Indrapura. They established in these areas Minangkabau institutional forms, with the *negeri* as the nuclear base for administration by the powerful *adat* chiefs. Thus, despite their matrilineal leanings, the Minangkabaus shared a strong *adat* administrative tradition with the patrilineally orientated *anak sungai*, who continued to preserve their stronghold in the south.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:18, "Translation of the Undang Undang of Moko moko", 1822: 11-2.

<sup>2</sup>Kathirithamby-Wells, 1969:454-59-60; 1977:66-7.

<sup>3</sup>Marsden, 1966:345; "Undang Undang Moko Moko", 1822:11-14; Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:17-18.



The Sultanate of Mukomuko in west Sumatra

Prepared with the assistance of the Geography Department, University of Malaya.

In an effort to control the pepper economy effectively the Sultan of Indrapura, Muhammad Syah (1660-91), having politically absorbed the riverine settlements north of Bengkulu, placed them under the administration of a *wakil* or representative. But the wealth from pepper, and the availability of independent outlets for Anak Sungai pepper through the important southern port of Silebar, furnished the Sultan of Indrapura's *wakil* at Menjuto the necessary opportunity to try and establish his independent control in the south.<sup>4</sup>

Besides the difficulty of exerting effective physical control over his southern dependencies, the Sultan of Indrapura faced the problem of institutional conflicts within the sultanate, arising from his bid to support the Minangkabau patrilineal succession principle and consequent reaction from the *Negeri Empat Belas* (or Menjuto) who favoured the matrilineal tradition. The Minangkabau succession principle, although in all other respects strictly matrilineal, recognised patrilineal succession in the case of the rulership. Evidently, at the Minangkabau capital at Pagarruyung, where the *Yang di-Pertuan*'s powers were largely titular and symbolic, the recognition of patrilineal succession was contrived to strike a balance with the matrilineal succession, descent, and inheritance recognised at *negeri* level. At Menjuto, however, the *Menteri Empat Belas*, who were staunch guardians of the republican tradition, were wary of the dangers of strengthening the Sultan's monarchical rule by conceding to the patrilineal succession principle.<sup>5</sup> This basic institutional conflict proved an inherent weakness and source of political instability which eventually resulted in Anak Sungai's successful break away from Indrapura, with ready support from the British who, in 1685, had established themselves in Benkulen.<sup>6</sup> Under British tutelage, Sultan Gulemat (1691-1716) became Anak Sungai's first Sultan. Ironically, however, the British whose aim it was to bring the Anak Sungai sultanate within the orbit of the Benkulen administration, gave no formal recognition to matrilineal practices in the interests of a uniform structure of administration which conformed with the more universal patrilineal principles prevalent within the 'tribal' communities of the south.<sup>7</sup>

The capital of the new sultanate of Anak Sungai was initially at Menjuto. The Sultan, residing at court, was the supreme *adat* and territorial head. British participation in the government, through a deliberate policy of non-interference, was limited principally to external affairs of the state relating to politics, trade and defence.<sup>8</sup> The British representative at Menjuto, who dealt directly with the Sultan and watched court affairs closely, was expected only to proffer advice and interfere in internal affairs when British interests were in jeopardy.

Under the ruler, the territorial chiefs took their order of precedence according

<sup>4</sup>Kathirithamby-Wells, 1976:74-8.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 73-4, 79-80.

<sup>6</sup>For a full account of this see Kathirithamby-Wells, 1976:77-81; 1977:25-6.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 40, 206.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 18, 28.

to their proximity to the royal capital. The *menteri* of *Negeri Empat Belas Kota* held the highest rank and, accordingly, took charge of court affairs, including protocol.<sup>9</sup>

... To carry and to place (as the dishes at an entertainment) to arrange and put in order, to estimate and serve out accordingly, to furnish attendants and people to do the work, to support [the ruler's] dignity; these are the duties of the *Ampatbelas*.

The *Datuk Lima Kota* came next in order. They were obliged to keep the ruler supplied with building materials such as rattan and attap<sup>10</sup> and were in charge of security. The *Peroatin nan Kurang Satu Enam Puluh* came last in order of rank though, being in direct charge of the day to day affairs of the *dusun*, their duties were innumerable. They kept the calendar, built and maintained defences, performed police duties and, when necessary, provided military leadership in the capacity of *hulubalang*. Furthermore, they acted as the chief intermediaries between the *dusun* and the court and, strictly speaking, were expected to report to the *menteri* any defiance of the ruler's authority. They were also, in theory, responsible for the collection and presentation at court of an annual tribute from each *dusun*, consisting of a *bambu* of rice, a fowl, a (Spanish) dollar, *sirih* and betelnut. In actual practice, this tribute which was not payable by the districts outside the jurisdiction of the 59 *peroatin*, was not collected with any regularity.<sup>11</sup> In the Minangkabau influenced areas of Anak Sungai such as Mukomuko, the *suku* system evidently survived, between the level of the *negeri* and *dusun*. In Mukomuko, where the *adat Koto Piliang* prevailed, the *suku* heads or *penghulu* were assisted by *malim*, *hulubalang* and *adat* clerks who held the offices of *menteri* and *pegawai*.<sup>12</sup>

Although after the appointment of Sultan Gulemat, Anak Sungai became a separate political entity, Indrapura continued for some time to control the court affairs of the *negeri* by insisting upon its right to sanction the succession. Thus, the rulership of both the British nominees, Gulemat and his successor, Sultan Kecil Muhammad Syah (1716-28), was opposed by Indrapura. The latter finally won the support of the *Menteri Empat Belas* so that in the interest of peace, the British accepted the chiefs' nomination of Merah Bangun, an Indrapura prince, as Sultan Gundam Mersah (1728-52). The strong adherence of the *Menteri Empat Belas* to institutional practices was further evident in that they recognised, not Sultan Gulemat, but Sultan Gundam Mersah as the founder ruler

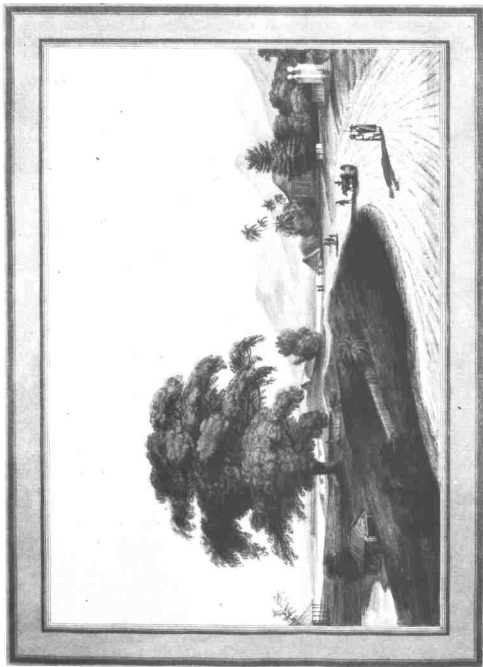
<sup>9</sup>"Undang Undang Moko Moko", 1822:11.

<sup>10</sup>These materials were not solely for the building and upkeep of the ruler's dwellings and property. The ruler was an active participant in internal trade in which building materials figured prominently.

<sup>11</sup>"Undang Undang Moko Moko", 1822:11.

<sup>12</sup>See *Syair*, *passim*.





A view of Benkulen during the early nineteenth century. From the India Office Library, Foreign & Commonwealth Office, London.



of Anak Sungai.<sup>13</sup> The British, however, appear to have cleverly counteracted the *menteri*'s traditional leanings towards Indrapura by encouraging the new Sultan, Gundam Mersah, to move his court from Menjuto to the more trouble-free location of Mukomuko, further south, which was also more important for pepper.<sup>14</sup> Subsequently, due to its own internal problems, Indrapura was unable to interfere effectively in the affairs of the Anak Sungai sultanate. But, even as late as 1816 on the succession of Sultan Hidayatullah (1816-32), the ruler of Indrapura lodged a formal complaint with the *Menteri Empat Belas* for not having consulted him about the nomination although, as he fully realized, conditions had changed. "... I understand Moco Moco and Indrapura are not the same—however do not let me alter what is customary," he wrote. "All the great men have forsaken me".<sup>15</sup>

Indrapura had, in the meantime, come under the hegemony of the Dutch at Padang who were anxious to seal off communications with the British territories. Once the frontier with Indrapura was securely guarded the Anak Sungai populace found they could communicate freely only with the interior regions of Serampi through Ipuh, and Kerinci through Mukomuko. The British administration, in fact, made deliberate efforts during the eighteenth century to encourage trade, particularly with the Kerinci people who traditionally brought gold-dust and cassia, which they bartered on the coast for cloth, opium and salt.<sup>16</sup> Nonetheless, due to the lack of direct European contacts with the interior regions till the end of the century, Serampi and Kerinci became strongholds for political dissenters from the coast and provided refuge for large numbers of people who escaped from the Company's forced cultivation of pepper. It was at Kerinci, for example, that the first Sultan of Anak Sungai, Sultan Gulemat, established his headquarters when, in 1716, he abandoned court after a misunderstanding with the British Resident.<sup>17</sup>

(ii)

Once the capital of Anak Sungai was moved in 1728 from Menjuto to Mukomuko on the succession of Sultan Gundam Syah (1728-52), there was peace in the area and the Company turned its attention to the improvement of pepper production under a system of forced cultivation. The British gradually abandoned the policy of non-interference in the indigenous administrative structure bringing important changes within its workings and the inter-relation of its component parts. In the organization of forced cultivation the Company's local Resident communicated personally with the ruler who issued the necessary

<sup>13</sup>Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:39-40; 1976:83.

<sup>14</sup>Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:31.

<sup>15</sup>SFR 141, Cons., 18 May 1816, Sultan Muhammad Syah of Indrapura to *Menteri* of Mukomuko, received 8 May 1816, Trans. Thomas Barnes, Resident.

<sup>16</sup>Marsden, 1966:306; Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:164-5.

<sup>17</sup>Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:36-7.

proclamations and orders. To ensure the efficient implementation of the system the Company also dealt directly with cultivators, through the *dusun* head or *peroatin*. As forced cultivation extended, Company agents or sub-Residents were stationed in the subordinate districts, such as Sablat and Ketaun. To help the British agents and chiefs in the apprehension of recalcitrant cultivators, the Company saw fit to appoint *juritulis* and Bugis soldiers to the annual survey teams, thus increasing its intimidation of the people.<sup>18</sup>

While the *dusun* chiefs became increasingly involved in the Company's forced cultivation system, the *menteri* themselves were less committed to this sphere of activity and continued their traditional role as guardians of the *adat*, though at this level as well they met Company interference. The Residents, who initially attended the country courts in an advisory capacity, soon assumed arbitrary powers to overrule customary laws pertaining particularly to criminal cases.<sup>19</sup> There was also the problem of additional duties under the forced cultivation system which impeded customary *adat* practices. The chiefs, for example, were no longer free to attend the ruler's traditional feasts or *bimbang* because the Company feared they would neglect their pepper gardens. These grievances against the Company, which became increasingly prevalent amongst the Anak Sungai people during the second half of the eighteenth century, were customarily voiced by the Sultan and exacerbated his strained relations with the Resident. The Sultan was one who strongly guarded his powers as ruler and was in constant friction with the British Residents, stemming from mutual jealousy over the exercise of administrative powers and trade privileges.<sup>20</sup>

These internal problems climaxed during the reign of Pasisir Barat Syah (1752-89) in the revolt of his eldest son and heir apparent, Tuanku Zainal Abidin. The problem began with the Company's attempt to cut the Sultan to size by appointing the *Tuanku Muda* in 1779 as a salaried pepper surveyor. The *Tuanku Muda* had, in fact, been brought up since he was a boy under the tutelage of Governor Carter and "had entirely followed the European Manners & Customs ... with the flattering hope of succeeding to [the throne]."<sup>21</sup> The gardens in Bantal and Triamang soon came under his direct charge and this fired the jealousy of the ruler and the opposition of some of the *menteri*, particularly because he was reported to be high-handed and overbearing. The *Tuanku Muda's* behaviour alienated him from the ruler who began to exercise a partiality towards his younger son. Although the Sultan continued to collect the customary levies from the people for the upkeep of himself and his whole family, the *Tuanku Muda* was denied his share of allowance or *belanja*.

In the meantime, rumours of *Tuanku Muda's* unpopularity at Bantal were glossed over by the Benkulen government which recognised in him the firm local

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, 28, 41.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 36-7, 80-7.

<sup>21</sup>*SFR* 101, Cons., 18 June 1801.

authority necessary to manage pepper cultivation. The attitude was different at the local level where Company representatives, who were intent upon their customary pursuit of personal power and profit, were less tolerant of the *Tuanku Muda*. Having already found Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah a serious source of irritation because of his competition for the internal trade of the region, they now saw an additional competitor in the *Tuanku Muda*. The Prince had a share in the trade at Mukomuko with the Resident and Sultan and "was considered particularly active in promoting its success".<sup>22</sup> Both Residents Peter Jack Cox and Richard Nevin were reported to have used abusive language and the former, according to the Prince, had ordered his house to be pulled down. Richard Nevin, while he was Resident at Bantal, even went to the extent of denying sales of *padi* and salt to the *Tuanku Muda* and confiscated supplies he bought,<sup>23</sup> presumably to prevent him trading in these commodities.

The Prince's uneasy position reached a crisis when the Sultan sought to bring the *Tuanku Muda* to heel by requiring him to come to Mukomuko to perform the ceremony of *menabur beras kunyit*, or scattering of yellow rice, a ceremony sometimes performed by a female from the royal household.<sup>24</sup> The Prince's refusal gave the ruler the excuse to disinherit him in favour of his younger son.<sup>25</sup> The pressure of opposition from all sides proved too much for the *Tuanku Muda* who early, in 1785, made preparations to attack Mukomuko.<sup>26</sup> Despite the opposition and jealousy he provoked from among the local authorities, the *Tuanku Muda* had a considerable following from among the planters at Bantal, which made his threat a serious one.<sup>27</sup> However, the Benkulen Council committed a fundamental error in trusting Resident Cox to initiate negotiations. His firm prejudice against the Prince was clearly reflected in his anxiety to put a price on the head of Zainal Abidin and all of his party.

Once the Company was alerted and its forces mobilized, Zainal Abidin was compelled to shelve his plans for attacking the capital. Instead, he instigated the murder of Resident Nevin at Bantal, set fire to the *pasar* and retreated up the Air Dikit into Serampi, with a following of about 90 people including his mother, wife and children.<sup>28</sup> He took nearly 800 Spanish dollars belonging to the Company and seized Robert Leister, the British agent at Ipuh, as hostage for the guarantee of a settlement between him and his father, the Sultan. The ploy worked. Desperate to gain the release of its servant, the Benkulen Council appointed Robert Piere, a member of the Benkulen Council, who superseded Cox at

<sup>22</sup>SR 90, Cons., 30 Sept. 1787.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, "Proceedings at Moko-Moko from 13th-21st October according to the Board's instructions for investigations", 15 December 1787.

<sup>24</sup>See *Syair Mukomuko*, v. 72 for a reference to this ceremony. Upon the failure of the *Raja Muda* to perform the ceremony it was then undertaken by Raja Eddin, another male member of Court.

<sup>25</sup>SR 90, Cons., 15 December 1787.

<sup>26</sup>SR 89, Cons., 14 March 1785; 30 April 1785.

<sup>27</sup>SR 89, Cons., 1 November 1786; 30 September 1787.

<sup>28</sup>See p. 57, v. 60.

Mukomuko to conduct investigations with a view to settling the dispute.<sup>29</sup>

It took Piere nearly a whole year to compile a report and the Company found some of the Prince's grievances to be justified. In undertaking to put things right the Fort Marlborough government first attempted to remedy the ruler's basic error of disinheriting his son. After negotiations with the Sultan the Company gained his consent to revoke the oath of disinheritance. The occasion was celebrated by a feast towards which, as a token of sincerity in accordance with the *adat*, the Company contributed a buffalo and rice. A letter was then written in the name of the Sultan and *menteri*, informing Zainal Abidin of the decision. It also included a firm promise that upon the demise of the ruler the Prince, as his eldest son, would succeed him. The anxiety of the Company to bring about a speedy reconciliation was evident in their readiness to arrange for the Prince to take the oath at Serampi where he continued to reside with his followers. A party, consisting of a member of the royalty and two leading chiefs, was dispatched on the mission to meet the Prince. Preliminary negotiations with Zainal Abidin were successful. Leister gained his release and returned to Ipuh,<sup>30</sup> but the Prince soon sent a private message to the new Resident, John Campbell, requesting the removal of two *menteri*<sup>31</sup> and, upon the Company's failure to comply, he refused to seal the negotiations. He then moved his headquarters from Serampi to Gunung Payung at Menjuto and, although Resident Campbell attempted to conciliate him by erecting a temporary *balai* for his use at the head of the river, the Prince failed to come down. It soon transpired that Zainal Abidin had, in fact, fallen out with the Serampi people who accused him of killing two of their *dupati*. On behalf of the Serampi people, the Kerinci chiefs attacked the Prince's *dusun* ostensibly to take reprisal, but on his making his escape down the Menjuto river they petitioned the Company for redress. The Sultan and Resident responded in a joint reply to the four *penghulu*, four *dupati* and Pemangku Sultan of Pengkalan Jambi, renouncing any responsibility for the actions of the Prince.<sup>32</sup> The Sultan, however, was extremely nervous as he anticipated that his subjects, who regularly fled to the hills at the slightest provocation, would take advantage of the presence of Zainal Abidin at Gunung Payung.<sup>33</sup>

In late 1788 Zainal Abidin made his peace with the Company and sought permission to settle at Ipuh. The Benkulen Council would not entertain this request in view of Ipuh's proximity to the Sultan's capital at Mukomuko and, instead, offered him residence at Fort Marlborough. This, the Prince would not accept and, once again, he fled into the interior. Zainal Abidin's reluctance to make peace with the Company led to suspicions of his possible collusion with the Kerinci people. It was feared that the supposed enmity between him and the

<sup>29</sup>*SFR* 89, Cons., 26 October 1786; *SFR* 90, Cons., 30 September 1787.

<sup>30</sup>*SFR* 90 Cons., 31 October 1787.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, 29 February 1788.

<sup>32</sup>*SFR* 91, Cons., 30 April 1788; 7 June 1788.

<sup>33</sup>*SFR* 91, Cons., 30 April 1788.

Kerinci people over his alleged murder of the Serampi chiefs was, in fact, a plot to mislead the Company. Thus, all hopes of a peaceful settlement were abandoned and Resident Campbell dispatched Captain Robert Hamilton with a Company detachment to force the surrender of Zainal Abidin.<sup>34</sup>

In the meantime, having crossed the Anak Sungai border into Indrapura where he left his wife, the Prince proceeded with his brother-in-law, Pamanaka Sutan to Kerinci. In Dusun Pulau Sangkar, which was within six days journey from Mukomuko, he commissioned his brother, Sutan Sedie, and Pamanaka Sutan to await reinforcements from Pengkalan Jambi. He himself then crossed into Tapan but could not be tracked down by combined Dutch and Indrapura forces.<sup>35</sup> Faced with the difficulty of pressing Zainal Abidin to surrender, Resident Campbell who was concerned about the ill effects the disturbances would have on the Company's pepper investment, made another attempt at conciliating the Prince. Taking advantage of Zainal Abidin's separation from his family, which still remained at Indrapura, he proposed to solicit their return to Mukomuko in the hope that the Prince would thereby be tempted to join them. The man sent on the special mission was no other than Raja Assin. He had shown his loyalty to the Sultan by performing the ceremony of *menabur beras kunyit*<sup>36</sup> and had remained on the ruler's side throughout the rebellion. With the co-operation of the Sultana of Indrapura who was anxious to avoid trouble, he secured the return of the family, including the rebel's wife and his eldest son, Sutan Si Kunda. To win their loyalty to the Company, they were paid a monthly allowance and Sutan Si Kunda was raised to the temporary rank of Lieutenant.<sup>37</sup>

Any hopes which Campbell had for reuniting the Prince with his family were totally ruined by a sudden turn of events at court on the death, in July 1789, of Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah. By delaying his return to Mukomuko, Zainal Abidin lost his chances of succeeding his father and a general assembly of the *menteri* and *peroatin* settled the succession on his younger brother, Tuan Sutan Takdirullah, evidently the "eldest son"<sup>38</sup> by another marriage.<sup>39</sup> The new ruler assumed the title of Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah (1789-1816), with the full backing of the Company. According to Resident Campbell, he "seems of a mild peaceable disposition and has at all times shewn his attachment to our government and has arrived at an age to fill that Station with propriety ...."<sup>40</sup> There is every proof

<sup>34</sup>SFR 91, Cons., 30 September 1788.

<sup>35</sup>SFR 92, Cons., 28 May 1789, 10 August 1789.

<sup>36</sup>See p. 61 v. 72.

<sup>37</sup>SFR 91, Cons., 25 March 1789; SFR 92, Cons., 20 June 1789; SFR 101, Cons., John Campbell, 2 April 1801—Council.

<sup>38</sup>SFR 92, Cons., 11 July 1789.

<sup>39</sup>Zainal Abidin's own mother joined him on his flight into the hills, together with her other children, a daughter, Tengku Puteri who was married to Pamanaka, Sutan Sedie and Sutan Assin. Barnes, 1818:362-3. Also see p. 59 v. 64.

<sup>40</sup>SFR 92, Cons., 11 July 1789.

that Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah's succession to the throne was determined not so much by his claims of descent as his favour with the British who influenced his nomination by the chiefs. On his death in 1816 the Benkulen government recorded that, "He ever retained the most grateful sense of the obligations he lay under to this Government, for by its influence and measures exclusively, was he elevated to that rank ...."<sup>41</sup>

By April 1790, the Company forces under Captain Hamilton and the Bugis under Daeng Ma'ruppa, tracked down Zainal Abidin and his party at Dusun Kamang, in Kerinci valley. The rebel forces were routed and the *dusun* was captured. The Prince's mother and his *hulubalang* were taken,<sup>42</sup> but the rebel leader himself made his escape. On the Benkulen Council's recommendation, a proclamation was made in Malay issuing Zainal Abidin with an ultimatum to return within a fixed period, or suffer the consequence of having a price put on his head.<sup>43</sup> Subsequently, nothing more was heard of the rebel Prince. He, and those of his siblings who had joined the rebellion, made their headquarters at Pengkalan Jambi where the *Tuanku Muda* is believed to have died sometime around 1800.<sup>44</sup> Following the public proclamation offering a reward for his capture, peace gradually returned to Mukomuko, though it was<sup>45</sup> only some five years later that the families who had fled during the rebellion began to return.<sup>46</sup>

Peace at Mukomuko, maintained through firm co-operation between the Company and Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah (1789-1816) was, once again, threatened when the Directors in London initiated drastic financial reductions at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This entailed the Company's withdrawal from the Out-Residencies<sup>47</sup> and the appointment of Walter Ewer (1800-5), a Bengal servant, as Commissioner to supervise reforms. He introduced a new system of contracting pepper gardens in the Out-Residencies, including Anak Sungai, to ex-Company Residents appointed as agents.<sup>48</sup> The removal of Company control and the exercise of arbitrary powers by the pepper agents, whose sole aim was profit, contributed to the fast deterioration of conditions in Anak Sungai.<sup>49</sup> The growth of dissatisfaction among the planters and the weakening of security provided opportunity for the adherents of the rebel Prince, who were still residing in the hills, to resume their

<sup>41</sup>SFR 46, Ft. Marlborough to Count, Siddons, Acting Resident—Court, 1 March 1816.

<sup>42</sup>Two of the most dangerous of the *hulubalang*, Se Dupati and Imam "Poraim" (Ibrahim) were brought to trial before the Sultan and *menteri* and executed, but the mother of the rebel leader was treated with humanity and sent away to Tapanuli.

SFR 93, Cons., John Campbell—Council, 14 April 1790; SFR 93, Cons., 30 June 1790; 31 May 1790.

<sup>43</sup>SFR 91, Cons., 25 March 1789; SFR 93, Cons., 14 April 1790; 29 September 1790.

<sup>44</sup>Barnes, 1818:361-3.

<sup>45</sup>SFR 93, Cons., 30 September 1791.

<sup>46</sup>SFR 97, Cons., 31 October 1796.

<sup>47</sup>SFR 36, Despatches, Court—Bengal, 31 August 1801.

<sup>48</sup>Bastin, 1965:xxvii-xxx.

<sup>49</sup>Kathirithamby-Wells, 1973:254.

cause with the support of new political dissenters. At the centre of the movement were Zainal Abidin's two younger brothers, Sutan Sedie and Sutan Assin, their brother-in-law, Pamanaka Sutan, and a certain Tuanku Maharaja Lela.<sup>50</sup>

In 1804 the rebel forces attacked and burned Ipuh taking many of the planters with them.<sup>51</sup> On learning that Pamanaka Sutan and party were assembled at Serampi, the Sultan who feared for the safety of Bantal and Ipuh, had *ranjau*<sup>52</sup> planted along the road and appealed to the Company for assistance.<sup>53</sup> The Company, which did not consider it sufficient to assist the ruler with arms and ammunition, decided to curtail the civil war by pursuing the enemy forces. By December 1804, Lieutenant Hastings Dare arrived at Ipuh with Sepoy and Bugis forces and was joined by reinforcements under the *Tuanku Muda*, Sutan Hidayatullah. But on reaching Serampi, they found that Pamanaka Sutan and his band had once again retreated to Pengkalan Jambi.<sup>54</sup> The expedition was, however, partially fruitful in that it gained the promise of the chiefs of Serampi and Sungai Tenang to close the passes to the enemy and to return the planters they had taken at Ipuh.<sup>55</sup> For the next few years instability continued to reign in Anak Sungai due to fear of enemy reprisals.<sup>56</sup> It was only after the death of Pamanaka Sutan around 1810 that the long civil war initiated by the former *Tungku Muda* of Mukomuko came gradually to a close. Both Sutan Assin and Sutan Sedie fell on hard times and lacked the resources to continue their cause. In 1818 it was reported that the former was living somewhere beyond Pengkalan Jambi and the latter in Jambi itself, where he had married.<sup>57</sup>

The new generation left by the rebel community from Mukomuko at Pengkalan Jambi channelled their energies towards the dynamic Padri

<sup>50</sup>*SFR* 105, Cons., Trans. of a letter from the Sultan of Mukomuko to Mr. Hawthorne, Chief of Ipuh, ? Nov. 1804, f. 553; *SFR* 106, Cons., W.B. Martin, Acting Resident, 31 Dec. 1806 to Ft. Marlborough; *SFR* 104, Cons., October 1803; John Prince, 29 September.

<sup>51</sup>These inhabitants of Ipuh, apparently, were divided between Pamanaka Sutan and Sutan Assin. While the latter sold his share of the captives in different parts of the country, Pamanaka retained his at his headquarters at Pengkalan Jambi. The surviving members of this community from Ipuh, to the tune of 80, were living in Beenoan in 1818 and were reported to be anxious to return to their former homes, Barnes, 1818:362-3.

<sup>52</sup>*Ranjau* are "slips of [*hambu*], sharpened at each end; the part that is struck in the ground being thicker than the opposite end, which decreases to a fine, thin point, and is hardened by dipping it in oil and applying it to the smoke of a lamp near the flame. They are planted in the foot-paths ... in small holes, or in muddy and mirky places, and when trodden upon ... they pierce through the foot and make a most disagreeable wound". Marsden, 1966:310.

<sup>53</sup>*SFR* 105, Cons., The Sultan of Mukomuko to Hawthorne, Chief at Ipuh, ? November 1804, f. 553.

<sup>54</sup>Marsden, 1966:308-16.

<sup>55</sup>*SFR* 105, Cons., April 1805, Balfous Russell, Mukomuko, to Council, 22 February 1805.

<sup>56</sup>*SFR* 105, Cons., April 1805, H.R. Elphinstone, Mukomuko, 14 February 1805; *SFR* 108, Cons., 31 December 1806; *SFR* 109, Cons., ? December 1806; W.B. Martin, Acting Resident, Ft. Marlborough, 31 December 1806; *SFR* 123, Cons., ? October 1810, f. 164.

<sup>57</sup>*SFR* 110, Cons., ? January 1807 containing the translation of a letter from the chiefs of Sungai Tenang, ff. 83-4.

<sup>58</sup>Barnes, 1818:362.

movement which, by the second decade of the nineteenth century, was already gaining momentum in the heart of Minangkabau and the surrounding hill regions. The two sons of Pamanaka Sutan by a former marriage, Raja Ibrahim and Sutan Tukadah Ullah, were active agents of the movement. Raja Ibrahim was, in fact, appointed chief of the Padri in Pengkalan Jambi.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>58</sup>Barnes, 1818:363, 367.



## The *Syair Mukomuko* as a historical source

There is sufficient evidence both in the author's own title, *Syair Puteri Benialam*, and the structure of the work that the *Syair Mukomuko* was composed as a court chronicle centred on the death of Raden Anom's sister-in-law, a Mukomuko princess. This rhymed nineteenth century chronicle may be divided into four parts, to be referred to here, for the convenience of analysis, as Parts I, II, III and IV.

Part I, consisting of 3 cantos, deals exclusively with Raden Anom's marriage to Tuan Puteri Halimah Utama, the elder sister of Puteri Benialam. Though a direct participant in the events described, he never oversteps his modest status as a 'foreigner'.

Parts II and III of the *Syair* are longer, and comprise 6 cantos each. Part II is a brief history of the rulers of Mukomuko from the foundation of the Sultanate and, in this section, the rebellion of Tuanku Muda Zainal Abidin, the most dramatic event in the history of Mukomuko during the lifetime of Raden Anom, is appropriately highlighted. Furthermore, a full interpretation of the long drawn-out civil war was apparently necessary for justifying the succession of the author's father-in-law and patron, Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah, whose reign is singled out for special praise in Part III. The author's personal participation in the events described in Parts II and III are negligible and, here, he freely assumes the viewpoint of a typical court chronicler in eulogising the ruler.

Structurally, however, Parts I, II and III are merely introductory and are apparently contrived to lead up to the subject proper of the *Syair*, found in Part IV, which deals with the death and the elaborate court ceremonial surrounding the burial of the Sultan's youngest child, the beautiful Puteri Benialam. The event was a personal tragedy because of the deep affection which Raden Anom and his wife shared for the Princess who was so devoted to their infant son, Raden Panji Prawataksyina. This particular theme is introduced in canto xvi and the rest of the *Syair* deals exclusively with it.

As a rule, "historical figures which made a special impression, striking events which fell within the sphere of interest of the native populace", provided the theme for the Malay historical *syair*.<sup>1</sup> Seen from this point of view, the rebellion of

<sup>1</sup>Helsdingen & Hoogenberk, 1945:84.

Tuanku Muda Zainal Abidin would, above all other episodes during the lifetime of Raden Anom, have qualified for special treatment. In fact, because of the long duration and significance of the war, the theme held immense potential for action and drama which were popular ingredients of the Malay *syair*.<sup>2</sup> Yet, the war itself is not Raden Anom's central point of interest, though the main events pertaining to it are dealt with, giving the *Syair* its element of action and contrast of mood.

Personal preference alone could not have determined Raden Anom's selection of Puteri Benialam's death as the main theme and the importance he attaches to the court ceremonial attending the royal death. Here we must look for an explanation in Skinner's observation that "the aim of the Malay chroniclers was not only to give an account of what had happened, but to give it in such a way as to delight the hearts and rejoice the imagination of their prospective patrons and audiences".<sup>3</sup> In the case of the ruler and people of Mukomuko, nothing would have pleased them more than an accurate and, what may seem, a tedious recording of the court rituals, official protocol and public ceremonies which formed the essence of life in the community. The total participation of the component parts of the community was symbolic of the *negeri's* unity and permanence and acted as a renewal of faith, particularly during unstable times.

The *Syair's* close adherence to *adat* prescriptions is striking. The origins of the first Sultan of Anak Sungai are traced to Pagarruyung, the fountain-head of Minangkabau tradition. The ruler and chiefs are viewed as guardians of law and order as established by the *adat*,<sup>4</sup> which was ordained by God and passed without change from one generation to the next.<sup>5</sup> The ruler's ability to implement the law with sound judgement, justice and leniency was considered the basis of good government.

There was also deep respect for the chiefs and they are introduced in the *Syair* in strict order of seniority and rank.<sup>6</sup> The role of the *Menteri Empat Belas* is specially stressed and they carried the honorary title of *Orang Kaya*, as opposed to the *Menteri Lima Kota* who bore the title of *Datuk* and came next in order of importance.<sup>7</sup> Respect for the decisions and established views of the elders was part of the tradition, and is evident in the *Syair's* recognition of Sultan Gundam Syah (1728-52) as the first ruler of Mukomuko.<sup>8</sup>

In the same manner that *adat* authority was jealously preserved and shared by the Sultan and the hierarchy of chiefs, due attention was paid to religious laws.

<sup>2</sup>See *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar*, Skinner (1963); *Syair Sultan Maulana*, Muhammed Yusoff Hashim (1979); *Sja'ir Kompeni Belanda berperang dengan Tjina*, Rusconi (1935).

<sup>3</sup>Skinner, 1963:7.

<sup>4</sup>See: vs. 24-26, 28, 64, 68, 160-61.

<sup>5</sup>"Undang Undang Moko Moko," 1822:1.

<sup>6</sup>See Cantos xix & xxii.

<sup>7</sup>See Canto xix and vs. 154-59, 163, 165.

<sup>8</sup>See vs. 23-4; p. 47 & p. 94, canto 4, note 2.

Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah (1789-1816) receives special mention for his meticulous enforcement of these laws.<sup>9</sup> He had Tuan Haji Abdul Hamid for his personal *guru* and trusted deputy who also conducted the *nikah* ceremony on the occasion of the marriage of Raden Anom to his daughter, Puteri Halimah Utama.<sup>10</sup> Among the wise men or *alim* of the negeri were the *imam*, *khatib*, *kadi* and *syekh*.<sup>11</sup>

The importance of reviving and perpetuating the *adat* ritual and preserving the theoretical balance and unity of the society was obviously a strong incentive for writing the *Syair*. This was particularly so because of the serious threat brought to the *adat* structure by the Company's forced cultivation system. It was the avowed policy of the Company, for reasons of financial exigency, to limit interference and to make maximum use of the indigenous chiefs to enforce cultivation of pepper. In practice, however, Company regulations often clashed with *adat* obligations.<sup>12</sup> Although the widespread dissatisfaction to which this gave rise soon came to light, Company records say little about the activities of the indigenous hierarchy outside the orbit of pepper cultivation. In fact, the Company generally utilised only those chiefs directly concerned with cultivation, like the village heads or *peroatin*, about whom alone the British records speak. We learn little from these about the chiefs who were less directly concerned with cultivation. In the case of the *menteri*, although they participated in the supervision of cultivation, their traditional duties connected with the court and the preservation of *adat*, essential to the unity of the Sultanate, receive scarce mention. This constitutes a major inadequacy if Company sources were studied exclusively.

Apart from their ceremonial *adat* functions, the chiefs were also obliged to maintain a part of their traditional economic role outside the sphere of forced cultivation about which, again, there is little to be gleaned from British sources. The tribute obligations owed to the ruler, mentioned in Malay sources such as the *Undang Undang Moko Moko*<sup>13</sup> and the *Syair Mukomuko* (v. 78) are not discussed by Company records covering nearly 150 years of its presence in the area. The tributes and taxes, although not collected with strict regularity, were an important symbol of the ruler's authority. We learn something from Company records about the free labour and services claimed from the people, but only when abuse of these privileges by Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah (1752-89) and certain Residents caused dissatisfaction to surface.<sup>14</sup> It appears from the *Syair*, however, that apart from collecting building material, the chiefs of *hilir* Menjuto, where the

<sup>9</sup>See v. 69.

<sup>10</sup>See vs. 13-14.

<sup>11</sup>See v. 222.

<sup>12</sup>Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:85, 90-1.

<sup>13</sup>'Undang Undang Moko Moko,' 1822:7-8, 10-13.

<sup>14</sup>Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:81-3.

ruler had his fief, provided labour for harvesting his *ladang*. (v. 92):<sup>15</sup>

Hulubalang berkata pada menteri sekalian,  
 "Titah tuanku kami sampaikan,  
 bawalah segala anak kemanakan,  
 menuai padi hendak disegirakan."

Even the *menteri* were not exempted (v. 99) and they harvested the paddy in the company of the *rakyat*. According to custom, the chiefs and *rakyat* were rewarded for their efforts by the abundant hospitality of the ruler at the harvest scene, where there was also opportunity for their favourite amusements (vs. 89, 100):<sup>16</sup>

... disembalih kerabau tiba di ladang  
 makanan rakyat sekalian sidang.

Setelah malam sudahlah hari  
 banyaklah pula bermain judi ...

On this occasion, the harvest and the storing of grain took six days but, as they usually lingered on at the gambling rings,<sup>17</sup> it would have taken them an additional few days before they returned to their *dusun*.

It is curious that the entire *Syair* does not even once mention pepper which was the most important cash-crop in the region. Neither is any reference made to the British administration except in the section pertaining to the war (cantos 6-9). Even after the withdrawal of the Out-Residencies under Commissioner Walter Ewer,<sup>18</sup> Anak Sungai was kept under the watchful eye and supervisory control of Benkulen but, as is evident in the *Syair*, the Sumatrans preferred to remain apart. In the *Syair* is recreated such an exclusively Malay world within which an ideal state is believed to operate. Raden Anom adopted the convention common at the time, even in the West, of eulogising the patron-ruler and the state.<sup>19</sup> Each of the three rulers of Anak Sungai mentioned in the *Syair Mukomuko* are held up to be just, wise and commanding loyalty (vs. 24, 28, 77).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup>v. 92 The *hulubalang* informed the *menteri*,  
 We bring the ruler's orders  
 to fetch the *anak kemanakan*  
 for harvesting the paddy without delay.

<sup>16</sup>v. 89 ...  
 Buffaloes on arrival were slaughtered in the field,  
 and all congregated for a public feast.

v. 100 ...  
 As soon as night fell,  
 many amused themselves gambling...

<sup>17</sup>See Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:85-6 on the popularity of gambling rings.

<sup>18</sup>Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:253-4.

<sup>19</sup>Skinner, 1963:29.

<sup>20</sup>The three rulers mentioned are Gundam Syah (1728-52), Pasisir Barat Syah (1752-89) and Khalifatullah Inayat Syah (1789-1816).

In the *Syair Mukomuko* which conforms with Islamic tradition, the state is ordained by God, with the ruler as its lawfully appointed guardian. His sovereignty or *daulat* was, therefore, universally respected and anyone who opposed it was automatically a traitor. There was, of course, the additional factor of the unstable nature of politics in Anak Sungai since its breakaway from Indrapura and its inception as an independent state.<sup>21</sup> Raden Anom as a member of court would have had a vested interest in impressing upon his readers the sanctity of the state. This would explain the constant reference to the soundness of Sultan Khalifatullah's descent which, according to the *Syair*, earned him voluntary obedience and homage, enhanced by his excellent personal qualities which facilitated the implementation of law and order.

Although supporting the concept of the sanctity of the ruler, the author of the *Syair* attributes any challenge to that authority to fate and not to the evil personal motivations of the opposition. If Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah lost the loyalty of his son this was no inherent fault either of father or son; fate, as ordained by God, had taken its course. (vs. 32, 36)<sup>22</sup>

Tuanku Muda anak kekasyih  
daripada semuanya dianya lebih  
kebesaran semuanya dianya kan boleh  
ditakdirkan Allah hatinya beralih.

Ketika tahun, bulan dan hari  
datanglah fitanah jihin dan peri  
Tuanku Muda kusutlah hati  
hendak kerajaan ayahanda diganti.

The *Syair* builds up no hatred against the *Tuanku Muda* and conveys simply a sense of remorse and fatality; but whatever the doings of fate, the sacrosanctity and supremacy of the ruler prevail. Thus, against the evidence of history, the *Syair* proclaims the death of the rebel Prince shortly after the British troops returned to Benkulen. According to the *Syair Mukomuko*, the event brought mixed feelings of joy and sorrow to his father, Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah. (v. 63). In actual fact the rebel Prince outlived the ruler and died only around 1800<sup>23</sup>, but the author of the *Syair* has deliberately distorted historical facts to credit Sultan Pasisir Barat with

<sup>21</sup>See pp. 12-15.

<sup>22</sup>v. 32 The *Tuanku Muda* was the most favoured child.  
He was treated best of all,  
and was fully indulged with the trappings of greatness,  
but it was God's Will that his heart should change.

v. 36 As the year passed, each month and each day,  
slandering jinn and spirits appeared  
to plague the mind of the *Tuanku Muda*  
who was intent upon supplanting his father as ruler.

<sup>23</sup>See p. 20.

ultimate "triumph" over his son. He thus succeeds in maintaining the ideals of justice so that the rebel is considered to have been suitably vanquished. By this means Raden Anom has also contrived to please the reigning Sultan, Khalifatullah Inayat Syah (1789-1816), by avoiding the embarrassment of explaining his succession superseding his elder brother, Zainal Abidin.<sup>24</sup>

In this *Syair*, economically too Mukomuko represents an ideal Malay *negeri* dependent upon a wealthy subsistence economy and a prosperous foreign trade involving the exchange of gold for opium and cloth (vs. 25, 29-30). In reality pepper cultivation took up more land than *padi*, but because it was a Company monopoly which was generally unprofitable for the people and cramped their traditional way of life, mention of it has been avoided in the *Syair*. The intensive cultivation of pepper was widely resented as it was more arduous than production of *ladang* rice. Moreover, in contrast with the forced cultivation of pepper which restricted movement and took up a great deal of time, the *ladang* required attention only during certain times of the year.<sup>25</sup> The harvesting of the ruler's *ladang*, in particular, represented an important aspect of traditional life and a time of easy mingling and social activity in an otherwise hierarchically oriented society. The ruler personally attended the harvest and mixed freely with the *menteri* and *rakyat* (vs. 88-9, 96-9). According to the *Syair Mukomuko*, it was a happy event which everyone enjoyed (vs. 97-8):<sup>26</sup>

Baginda bertitah seraya bersabda  
mulutnya manis muka bercahaya ...

Setelah rakyat mendengarkan kata  
pergilah sekeliannya tuah dan muda  
menuai padi sandang dibawa  
semuanya itu suka tertawa

Historical myth plays an important part in the *Syair Mukomuko*, as in other Malay historical writings. It could have been that the reign of Sultan Khalifatullah (1789-1816) was a relatively peaceful one because of the congenial personality of the ruler.<sup>27</sup> But evidence from British sources suggests that the "unbroken prosperity" (v. 83) which the *Syair* attributes to the reign of Sultan

<sup>24</sup>See pp. 17, 19-20.

<sup>25</sup>Evidently because of the ruler's easy mingling with his people the Company made it a practice in Mukomuko for the Sultan to accompany the Residents on the pepper surveys. *SFR* 93, Cons., 31 May 1790.

<sup>26</sup>vs. 97-8 The ruler addressed the people;  
with sweet words and a bright countenance ....

As soon as the people heard this,  
young and old went  
to harvest the paddy, taking their shoulder bags.  
Everyone was in a jubilant mood.

<sup>27</sup>*SFR* 139, Cons., ? January 1816, f. 107; *SFR* 46, Letters, Ft. Marlborough to Court, 1 March 1816.

Khalifatullah could have applied only to the ruler's personal fief. Anak Sungai as a whole, which during the Presidency period (1760-85) had exported rice to the southern districts,<sup>28</sup> suffered serious shortages particularly during the second decade of the nineteenth century. The need for imports to meet the shortage was especially serious in 1818. Upon Resident M.R. Elphinstone questioning the necessity for supplies the Sultan reminded him of the important condition laid down earlier by Sultan Gundam Syah (1728-52), that the people would plant pepper only if they were supplied necessary provisions by the Company.<sup>29</sup>

It is not the reign of Sultan Khalifatullah alone which the *Syair* depicts as a happy one. According to it, for as long as Tuanku Sultan Gundam Syah (1728-52) ruled the *negeri* prospered (v. 25).<sup>30</sup>

Tuanku itu raja yang usali  
selama kerajaan baiklah negeri  
makanan murah padi menjadi  
segala rakyat suka hati.

Similarly, the reign of Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah (1752-89) is acclaimed to have been one of prosperity and wealth (vs. 28-30). There is, indeed, ample evidence in the Company records that Pasisir Barat Syah conducted a prosperous trade in competition with the Resident,<sup>31</sup> but there is no proof that this contributed to general prosperity. In fact, the reverse was probably true as there was widespread dissatisfaction among the people over the exacting by the Sultan of unfair levies and heavy claims.<sup>32</sup> These conditions were often aggravated by the Residents' arbitrary demands of obligation from the people, like the delivery of provisions for little or no payment at all.<sup>33</sup> The ruler's exactions from his people and participation in trade evidently contributed to his great wealth in treasure and slaves.<sup>34</sup> Although in the *Syair Mukomuko* the main historical events are followed fairly closely, Raden Anom has succumbed to the tradition of the writers of the *silsilah*, *babad* and the early *sejarah* by sacrificing historical accuracy in the interests of building up a myth in praise of its patron and the glorification of the past.<sup>35</sup> This, together with the court life and *adat*, is given pre-eminence and everything else is secondary to it. Accordingly, the royalty, the chiefs and the

<sup>28</sup>Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:131.

<sup>29</sup>SFR 123, Cons., Sultan Khalifatullah—M.R. Elphinstone, 30 August 1818. Trans. R.S. Perreau.

<sup>30</sup>v. 25 This *Tuanku* was a ruler well born.

Throughout his reign the *negeri* prospered;  
provisions were cheap, the paddy harvest good,  
and the people were all happy.

<sup>31</sup>Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:81-3.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>34</sup>*Syair*, v. 30.

<sup>35</sup>Ras, 1968:16.

*rakyat* have a definite role and importance in the ideal construct of the *negeri* while the European world remains outside it. Whatever the proximity or importance of European presence to the contemporary local scene, it is not readily accepted into the Malay traditional world-view. As van der Kroef has observed, the *hikayat* and *sejarah* show little or no attempt to understand the actual character of the Westerners and their motives, and this is true even of the *Syair*. Europeans are discussed only "when the pressure of events makes this inevitable".<sup>36</sup> In the same manner that the activities of the European are not allowed to impinge upon the ideal Malay world-view, which was cherished and glorified for posterity, it is assumed that the inner world of ceremony and the affairs of the royalty, such as their marriages, which formed the sum and substance of traditional activity, did not directly concern the Company. Thus, although the marriage in October 1810 of Raden Anom to the ruler's daughter was a much celebrated event in the native world and a milestone in the history of the royal court, Sultan Khalifatullah did not see fit to inform the Governor of Benkulen of such an "affair of small consequence". It was only later, on receiving from the Benkulen government a present to mark the occasion, that the ruler explained his reason and "assured it did not originate in [his] forgetfulness or want of Respect ...towards the Company's Government ...."<sup>37</sup> Anak Sungai, like the other west coast districts which came under British influence, made its original contract with the Company solely with the view of securing military defence in exchange for the pepper monopoly<sup>38</sup> and it appears that this standpoint remained unaltered over a century of European contact.

To name *syair* after heroes of colonial history, as in the case of the *Syair Sipelman* (Speelman) and *Syair Hemup* (Imhoff) was fashionable among Euro-centric Western scholars even at the cost sometimes of misrepresenting its content.<sup>39</sup> In actual fact, *syair* were written specifically for an indigenous audience whose interests they represented. Foreigners, including immigrant communities from the Archipelago, took the stage either as inveterate enemies or as allies when they assisted the local cause in military affairs. In the *Syair Mukomuko* the only European who is actually mentioned by name is Captain Robert Hamilton, commander of the Company forces (vs. 39-40). There is ample praise for him and the prowess and bravery of the non-autochthonous military leaders, namely Daeng Ma'ruppa, "the mighty chief" and the "expert" Captain Hamilton (vs. 44, 50). Other than in their military capacity, foreigners remain outside the traditional world. It is interesting that, despite Raden Anom's high connections

<sup>36</sup>J. M. van der Kroef, 1963:9.

<sup>37</sup>*SFR* 123, Cons., Letter from Sultan Pasisir Barat to John Siddons, Dy. Governor, 26 October 1810, Trans. R.S. Perreau.

<sup>38</sup>Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:23, 25-6.

<sup>39</sup>Skinner, 1963: 44-6. In the case of the *Syair Hemup*, however, Skinner justifies the use of the title "on the grounds that van Imhoff is clearly intended by the author to be the hero of his poem...."

See also, Rusconi, 1935: 14; Hooykaas, 1977:182-3.



and the ruler's obvious recognition of it through accepting him as his son-in-law, the former remains conscious of his foreignness (vs. 2, 6)<sup>40</sup> and is, accordingly, humble. (v. 2, 4, 6, 175).

Raden Anom also adopts the humility shown to God, king and the audience (vs. 3-4) characteristic of the *syair* and other Malay 'historical' works.<sup>41</sup> In terms of style and subject matter, however, the *Syair Mukomuko* stands out in marked contrast with others of the same genre such as the *Syair Perang Mengkasar*. The noble background of Raden Anom is reflected very noticeably in the elegance of the verse and his preoccupation with the court life, very different from the militant activities of the Makassarese narrated in Encik Amin's *Syair*. In the *Syair Perang Mengkasar* emotions are strong and the language raw.<sup>42</sup> It depicts the eternal struggle between good and evil.<sup>43</sup> In the *Syair Mukomuko*, Raden Anom's courtly status and good breeding made it imperative that traditional decorum was maintained without expression of strong feelings. Even the civil war following the rebellion of the *Tuanku Muda* is viewed in universal terms, as the mere course of fate (v. 41):<sup>44</sup>

... jadilah perang di Mukomuko  
anak berperang dangan ayahnya.  
merabut kerajaan di dalam dunia.

The battle scenes themselves are devoid of blood and fury and are glossed over: (vs. 53-4):<sup>45</sup>

... Kapitan nan sangat marah hatinya.  
Setelah bertemu kedua pihaknya  
Kapitan menembak dengan meriamnya  
ada sesahat lama parangnya  
banyaklah mati kedua belahnya.

<sup>40</sup>This feeling of humility borne by Radin Anom as a foreigner was common in Malay court tradition, as such an individual was dependent upon the favour and patronage of the autochthonous court. In the *Syair Perang Mengkasar* the author, Encik Amin, referring to himself says (v. 26):

This wretched foreigner begs for forgiveness,  
as he relates your virtues in ballad form ....

(Skinner, 1963:77)

<sup>41</sup>Your lowly servant asks for forgiveness,  
his verses are of little account ....

(Skinner, 1963:77)

For further examples see *Sja'ir Kompeni Welanda berperang dengan Tjina*, Rusconi, 1935: 20; C. Skinner (ed. & trans.) "Shaer Kampong Gelam Terbakar: Abdullah bin Abdul-Kadir", (1973) 33; C.C. Brown (trans.) *Sejarah Melayu* (1970) 42-3.

<sup>42</sup>Strong language such as "accursed Dutch", "damned Dutch", "the great lout", "savage Bugis" are common. Skinner, 1963: *passim*.

<sup>43</sup>Skinner, 1963:9-11.

<sup>44</sup>v. 41 ... War began in Mukomuko  
son fought against father,  
in a struggle for worldly power.

<sup>45</sup>vs. 53-4 ... The Captain was filled with rage.

To have made much of the battle scene would have meant detracting from the conceptual aims of his *Syair*. In any case, Raden Anom found a polite excuse for his cursory handling of the battle scenes (v. 58):<sup>46</sup>

Saya nan tidak berpanjang kata  
kerana tidak melihat termasa ....

Whereas the *Syair Perang Mengkasar* tried to restore poetic justice by denouncing the Dutch and restoring the pride of the Makassarese, the *Syair Mukomuko* had the aim of presenting court events in Mukomuko as witnessed by Raden Anom in a form which would entertain and please his audience. Unlike the *Syair Perang Mengkasar* which was written "so that other countries might hear the story",<sup>47</sup> the *Syair Mukomuko* was not written for the world at large. It is localised in its scope and is inwardly oriented. Its peculiar selection of events and their interpretation show, however, that it had a deeper symbolic aim. Despite the tragic events dealt with, namely, the rebellion of the *Tuanku Muda* and the death of *Puteri Benialam*, the *Syair* is sanguine in its purpose. Through reaffirmation of the west Sumatran world-view, courtly order and *adat*, and disassociation from the realities of British presence, the *Syair* appears to have attempted to minimise, if not avert, ultimate disaster. In so doing, Raden Anom, gratified his audience.

(ii)

Despite a variety of tribal languages found in British West Sumatra (Benkulen), Malay was the lingua franca here as in other coastal areas of the Archipelago with their significant population of immigrants. Benkulen, with its immigrant populations of Malay, Javanese, Madurese and Bugis was one of the earliest Malay speaking areas to come under European influence. Although Dutch influence with the Minangkabau, beginning with the Treaty of Painan in 1663,<sup>48</sup> clearly antedated the British establishment at Benkulen, their contacts particularly with the interior were tenuous and secondary to interests in Java and elsewhere in the Archipelago. At Benkulen, on the other hand, intensification of forced cultivation and the inauguration of the Presidency (1760-85) saw concerted British activity in the region bringing the European officials in close and direct contact with the locals, particularly the prominent chiefs and community leaders at Benkulen.<sup>49</sup> The coincidence of this with the growth of

When the enemy forces faced each other,  
the Captain opened fire.  
Within moments of the fighting,  
heavy losses were incurred by both sides.

<sup>46</sup>v. 58. I will not dwell at length,  
having not been a witness to these events....

<sup>47</sup>Skinner, 1963:77, v. 26.

<sup>48</sup>Kathirithamby-Wells, 1969:474-9.

<sup>49</sup>Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:passim.

oriental studies in India resulted in comparable studies at Benkulen.

A new generation of Company servants in Benkulen, beginning with William Marsden who was attached to the Benkulen secretariate between 1771 and 1779,<sup>50</sup> studied Malay language and literature and they went even further to encourage the writing of historical narratives among the local Malay speaking communities.<sup>51</sup> The effects of over a century of British presence in the region, their close contacts with the people and their ardent interest in the Malay language culminated in the emergence at Benkulen of "the first truly 'modern' work in Malay literature",<sup>52</sup> in the form of the *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda*.<sup>53</sup> Skinner classifies the *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda* within a separate genre of Malay literature which came between the "classical" and the "modern". He classifies this type of Malay literature which emerged in the cosmopolitan trading circles as the "transitional"<sup>54</sup> and suggests that "it seems likely that ... the initial stimulus to such a reconsideration of traditional values was provided by the 'shock' of contact with the European colonial powers".<sup>55</sup> It was composed in 1788 at the prompting of Resident Butter Hunnings at Lais, by one "La'udin" (? Alauddin), a son of Nakhoda Muda, or Kyai Demang Purwasedana, whose Minangkabau family settled in Lais, north of Benkulen, after immigrating from Semangka in south Sumatra.<sup>56</sup> It is difficult to ascertain from available data the extent to which Butter Hunnings personally influenced the structure and style of the work. But though not a historical memoir in the strict sense of the word, largely due to the lack of dates, the *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda* is an invaluable source of information for the historian as the narrative is strictly factual, revolving around political and socio-economic events between 1756 and 1766 which affected this Minangkabau trading family. Further, as Marsden comments in his introduction to the *Memoirs of a Malayan Family*, it affords "a specimen of simple narrative; a style of which some writers have thought the Malays incapable, and which is certainly rare in comparison with the romantic and extravagant tales so prevalent amongst these and other eastern people".<sup>57</sup>

While the contribution made by the *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda* towards the development of the modern scientific prose style is significant, long before this, within the realm of the 'historical' *syair*, Malay writing had been liberated from

<sup>50</sup>Marsden, 1966: v.

<sup>51</sup>See Kathirithamby-Wells: "A Note on Malay 'Historical' Writings in Benkulen during the British Era", *Indonesia Circle*, 22 (1980), 24-31.

<sup>52</sup>Skinner, 1979: 1099 n. 25.

<sup>53</sup>This was published in English. See W. Marsden (trans.), *Memoirs of a Malayan Family written by themselves and translated from the original* (London, 1830). A Dutch translation of it is also available in G.W.J. Drewes, "De Biografie van een Minangkabausen peperhandelaar in de Lampons: naar een Maleis handschrift in de Marsden-Collection te Londen uitgegeven, vertaald en ingeleid", *VKI*, 36 (1961).

<sup>54</sup>Skinner, 1979: 1091-1197.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, 1095.

<sup>56</sup>Marsden, 1830: 74-82.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, ii-iii.

fable and mythology and had come to concentrate upon specific historical events. The earliest known 'historical' *syair* is the *Syair Sipelman* (Speelman) about the Dutch capture of Makassar in 1666.<sup>58</sup> This was followed during the eighteenth century by others such as the *Syair Hemup* (Imhoff), which describes the Dutch in Jakarta and their conflict with the Chinese during the Chinese War (1740-45),<sup>59</sup> also known as *Syair Kompeni Welanda berperang dengan Cina*, and the *Syair Raja Haji* about the 1784 Bugis attack on Dutch Melaka.<sup>60</sup>

If, as Skinner argues, in the development of 'modern' prose European influence was directly apparent, the 'historical' *syair* shows the spontaneous evolution of a new poetic expression based on historical events. It is likely that this process first began at Makassar itself with its strong tradition of chronicle writing<sup>61</sup> in an environment of long established Malay influence and western challenge. Whereas in the *hikayat*, *silsilah* and *abad* historical events were generously sprinkled and interpolated with legends and magical and mythological episodes,<sup>62</sup> the historical *syair* is free of this. Many of them appear to be expressions of political problems in which the European powers figured either as allies or foes. In the *Syair Hemup* the Dutch Governor-General van Imhoff who crushed the Chinese rebellion with the help of Panembahan Cakraningrat V, ruler of Madura,<sup>63</sup> is clearly the hero.<sup>64</sup> However, in the face of adversity and defeat at the hands of the European powers, such as in the *Syair Perang Mengkasar*, the historical *syair* which continued to be written for the native courts and indigenous audience, endeavoured to justify the local cause. Besides these two extreme relationships, there was a third situation where, due to the relative weakness of the indigenous authority *vis-à-vis* the European power, relations were strained to a varying degree; but there was no open confrontation with the Western power in a bid to restore local prestige. Instead, the Malay court chronicler appears to have closed his mind to the problem of European presence and recreated the traditional past. A case in point is the *Syair Sultan Maulana* (1811-12) where, turning away from the bitter disappointment of having failed to secure British aid against Siamese incursions,<sup>65</sup> the court writer concerns himself with the war without so much as mentioning the East India Company in Penang.<sup>66</sup> Similarly, the author of the *Syair Mukomuko* attempts to counterweigh the pressure of British influence and its socio-economic implications by indulging his audience with a glorification of the *negeri's* past and its treasured *adat*

<sup>58</sup>See Skinner, *Syair Perang Mengkasar*, 43-4.

<sup>59</sup>*Syair Emoep* (Imhoff): No CDLX in Ph.S van Ronkel, 1909:344; Joynboll, 1899:13-14.

<sup>60</sup>See Rusconi, 1935; Hooykaas, 1947:76; Soedjatmoko & others (ed.) 1965:186-7.

<sup>61</sup>Noorduyn, 1962:30-4.

<sup>62</sup>Ras, 1968:12-13.

<sup>63</sup>See p. 7.

<sup>64</sup>Joynboll, 1899:13-14; Hooykaas, 1977:182-3; Rusconi, 1935: *passim*.

<sup>65</sup>Bonney, 1971:156-7 note 1.

<sup>66</sup>Muhammed Yusoff Hashim, 1980:162-3.

traditions. Therefore, despite its orientation to the real world as opposed to that of fantasy, allegory and legend, the writer of the 'historical' *syair* did not aim merely at the accurate recording of facts and events. In this respect his writing did not fulfil the prescriptions of history writing in the usual sense. Facts were selected and interpreted according to a scheme comprehensible and acceptable to the local world-view. It was not pure history but a kind of 'historical myth'<sup>67</sup> the Malay court writers created. As T. Iskandar has observed, "It is very striking that always at crucial moments the Malays need a literary work to boost the morale of the people". He points out how the *Sejarah Melayu* was "born" during the critical period when Johor faced Portuguese and Acehnese attacks and the Malays needed to be reminded of the glorious days of the Melaka Sultanate. In a similar manner, speaking of the *Hikayat Patani*, Teeuw and Wyatt argue that, "It is not without good reason that all the Malay 'histories' as they have come down to us were written at a time when the sultanates with which they were concerned were defunct or reduced to impotence".<sup>68</sup> More recently, during the Dutch-Acehnese war, the *Hikayat Perang Sabil* was written for the same kind of reason.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, the morale of the Mukomuko Sultanate needed bolstering in the face of socio-economic tensions and political weakness.

It is not the bare facts of history one must endeavour to seek in the historical *syair*. While in many cases, such data can more conveniently and rewardingly be found in Western sources, it is the particular viewpoint of the Malays and their response to various aspects of historical processes that ought to be sought in the *Syair Mukomuko*, as in other similar Malay chronicles.

<sup>67</sup>Defining the term 'historical myth', G.J. Resink, Indonesia's distinguished law-historian, poet and philosopher has said, "An historical myth feeds upon a grand vision of the past; also, in most cases ... upon a grand vision of the future; and likewise upon a grand vision which its advocates have of themselves as sons of a nation, members of a people, subjects of a state, representatives of 'their' race ... in short as individuals within *milieus* or cultures ...." (Resink, 1968:15).

<sup>68</sup>Teeuw, (1970) II: 294.

<sup>69</sup>Iskandar, 1970:45.

As de Josselin de Jong has said of the *Sejarah Melayu*, "[T]he aim of the Annalist was not merely to draw up a court chronicle. A more fundamental purpose was to vindicate a claim to greatness... and, most important, to provide a mythically based, a truly sacral, code of political conduct by which this greatness could be retained or restored ...." (de Jong, 1967:241).

## About the manuscript

The manuscript used here is the Cod. Or. 6051 from the Rijksuniversiteits Bibliotheek, Leiden.<sup>1</sup> Although the work has been catalogued as the *Sja'ir Moko*<sup>2</sup> it appears from the last verse of the *Syair* that the author intended it to be called the *Syair Puteri Benialam*, after his sister-in-law, the youngest daughter of Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah (1789–1816).<sup>3</sup>

Tamatlah kisah intāh 'al-kalām  
namanya Sair Puteri Benialam  
anaknya Sultan Khālifat 'ul-'alām  
di Mukomuko wafat di kampung dalam

Judging from events described in the *Syair*, the work was written after the marriage in 1810 of Raden Anom Zainal Abidin to the daughter of Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah (1789–1816), which event is mentioned in the British records.<sup>4</sup> The writing can be assumed to have been completed before the demise of the same ruler as the *Syair*, which ends with the death of Puteri Benialam on 6 March 1814,<sup>5</sup> does not make any allusion to the death of the ruler himself and the succession in 1816 of his son, Hidayatullah. In fact, at the time of the death of Puteri Benialam, her brother, Hidayatullah was away on a trading voyage to Java (v. 79) and Raden Anom's son, Raden Panji Prawataksyina, who was born on 9 December 1811,<sup>6</sup> was still a small child (vs. 76, 174).

The above evidence that the manuscript was first written between 1810 and 1816 has been corroborated by Dr. R. Roolvink and Dr. Russell Jones who examined the paper and watermark. According to Dr. Jones, some of the paper in the codex bears the watermark 1810, and although this date does not occur in the

<sup>1</sup>The same collection, Cod. Or. 6051 contains four other *syair*: *Syair Hukum Menteri yang Sembilan*, *Syair Hukum Peroatin Triamang*, *Syair Datuk Danau Seorang* and *Syair Mimpi*. See Kathirithamby-Wells and Mohd. Yusoff Hashim, 1982: 142–59.

<sup>2</sup>van Ronkel, 1921:82. We have substituted the modern spelling, "Mukomuko", for the old spelling, "Moko". See v. 425 p. 136.

<sup>3</sup>*SFR* 123, Cons., Trans. of a letter from Sultan Pasisir Barat to John Siddons, Deputy Governor, 26 October 1810 (Trans. R.S. Perreau).

<sup>4</sup>*Syair Mimpi*, Cod. Or. 6051, f. 79.

<sup>5</sup>*Syair Mimpi*, Cod. Or. 6051, f. 79.

run on which the *Syair Mukomuko* is written, it is probable that all the runs in the MS come from the same papermaker and are of the same date.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, since the date of the watermark is identical to the period dealt with by the *Syair* the manuscript may well be the original, as claimed by the author who asserts in verse 3 that the work was "composed and not merely copied". There is one significant factual error in the *Syair*, more likely a copyist's than Raden Anom's, that raises doubt about the authenticity of the text. In verse 27 the *Syair* mentions that Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah (1752–89) ruled for 80 years, instead of 37 years—an error which Raden Anom as a prominent member of court is not likely to have made.

The interpolation of an eighth stanza in the margin of some *halaman*<sup>7</sup> does not offer any definite clue as to whether this manuscript is a copy or the original. The additional verse within the regular seven-stanza canto is in the same hand, suggesting that it was either added by Raden Anom after the whole work was completed, or else, was inserted by the copyist after he had copied the original. The former, perhaps, is more likely.

Only the note in the margin of *halaman* x (See Appendix III (a), p. 106) appears to be in a different writing from the rest of the manuscript. It was presumably inserted by a subsequent owner of the manuscript and reads thus:<sup>8</sup>

Tuanku Sultan Takdir Khalifatullah\* berpulang ke Rahmatullāhi pada 31 Oktober 1886 jam pukul lima parak siang malam Ahad. Petang Ahad malam Isnin terkubur. Di dalam kerajaan memerintahkan negeri 34 tahun. Umur 102 tahun. Demikianlah ada hijratnya.

The manuscript appears to have been in the possession of one Puteri Rekna.<sup>9</sup> Evidence for this is to be found in a note in *Rumi* which appears on a separate page preceding the actual manuscript and reads:

Mokko-Mokko Mei 1883 yang punya ini kitab sjair Puteri Rekna.

Appended to the *Syair Mukomuko* are a number of other shorter *syair* written in the same hand, evidently the composition of the same author, Raden Anom Zainal Abidin, and owned as a single collection by Puteri Rekna.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Communication by letter, 4 October 1981.

<sup>7</sup>See Canto xv, p. 69 & Appendix III (b), p. 107 & Canto xxxii, p. 89.

<sup>8</sup>The passage reads as follows: "Tuanku Sultan [Takdir] Khalifatullah died at 5 a.m. Monday 31st October 1886 and was buried the same evening. He ruled for 34 years and was 102 years at the time he died".

<sup>9</sup>Sultan Takdir Khalifatullah (1832–86) who is mentioned above was the last Sultan of Anak Sungai (See Appendix 1, p. 103). In 1870 he was honourably discharged from service by the Dutch. Helfrich, 1923:320.

<sup>10</sup>See Kathirithamby-Wells & Muhammad Yusoff Hashim, 1982:143.

<sup>11</sup>The *Syair Mukomuko* mentions a Puteri Rikna (v. 70), the eldest sister of Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah (1789–1816), but this obviously was not the same person who was in possession of the manuscript in 1883.

From the above evidence and the likely date of the manufacture of the paper it may be concluded that, even if the manuscript is not the original, it was copied not long after the completion of the original. The only other known version of the manuscript is Cod. Or. 5976 Mal. 1195, recently located by Dr. Teuku Iskandar in the van Ophuysen Collection. Covering both sides of six pages of an exercise book,  $21 \times 16\frac{1}{2}$  cm, there are 24 lines to a page but this version includes only the first 10 cantos or 70 verses of Cod. Or. 6051. It is claimed to have been copied from a manuscript owned by the Regent of Mukomuko,<sup>11</sup> possibly that which was originally in the possession of Puteri Rekna.

<sup>11</sup>Personal communication, Dr. Teuku Iskandar, April 1981, Leiden. See van Ronkel, 1921:82.



The Syair Mukomuko:  
the Malay text and an English translation:

## The Malay Text

## PART I

Hal. i

1. Bismillāhi itu mula dibaca  
Alḥamdulillāhi puji yang nyata  
berkat Muhammad Nabi Muṣṭafā  
dikarang sair suatu cerita.
2. Sebabnya sair maka dikarang  
hatiku gundah bukan kepalang  
di Negeri Mukomuko duduk berdagang  
di bawah perintah sultan yang gulang.
3. Madah dikarang dagang yang miskin  
Raden Anom Zainal Abidin  
mengarang tidak dengan disalin  
ditakdirkan Tuhan Rabb'ul'ālamīn
4. Ayo nasib badan yang hina  
sedara pun tidak berhati suka  
siang dan malam gundah bertambah  
dititahkan Tuhan 'Azzawajalla.
5. Bangkahulu itu nama negerinya  
Kampung Bukit nama istana  
cucu Pangeran Raja yang tuah  
niniknya sultan dari Madura.
6. Ke Mukomuko berdagang lama  
jadi menantu duli baginda  
selapan belas hari lama bimbang  
sembilan bulan gelanggang ramainya.
7. Ramai bimbang bukan kepalang  
enam puluh kerabau dipotong orang  
banyak pula dagang yang datang  
ramai permainan malam dan siang.

1.d: sair (s-'y-r) = *syair*, /s/ has been used instead of /sy/.

2.c: *Mukomuko* (m-w-k-w-m-w-k-w).

2.d: *di bawah* (d-b-a-w-a-h).

3.a: *dagang yang*: the spelling of these two words have been joined together (d-a-g-ng-y-ng), (*passim*).

3.c: *dangan* (d-a-ng-n) = *dengan*, the vowel /a/ is used in the first syllable of the word (*passim*).

4.b: *sedara* (s-d-r-a): a variant form of *saudara*.

4.d: *'azzawajalla* ('-z-w-a-j-l-a).

5.c: *tuah* (t-w-h), a variant of *tua*.

5.d: *niniknya*, (n-y-n-y-'ny).

6.c: *selapan*, (s-l-a-f-n).

7.b: *kerabau* (k-r-a-b-a-w) = *kerbau*; the vowel /a/ occurs in the middle of the word (*passim*).

## An English Translation

## PART I

Canto i. *Invocation, praise to God, and the author's introduction of himself.*

1. 'Bismillāhi'—the invocation,  
'Alḥamdulillāhi'—praise be to God!  
With the blessings of Prophet Muhammad<sup>1</sup>  
the story of the *Syair* is composed.
2. The *Syair* is composed because  
my heart is exceedingly anxious.  
In the *negeri* of Mukomuko I reside, a foreigner<sup>2</sup>  
under the protection of the great Sultan.<sup>3</sup>
3. The eulogy is written by this humble foreigner  
Raden Anom Zainal Abidin,  
composed and not merely copied,  
as ordained by the God of the Universe.
4. Such is the fate of the humble,  
endeared not even to relatives.  
His anxiety increases each day and night,  
as ordained by the Honourable and Glorified God.
5. Bangkahulu is the name of the *negeri*,  
Kampung Bukit the name of the royal residence.  
His grandfather is the old Pangeran Raja,<sup>4</sup>  
and his ancestors are of royal lineage from Madura.
6. At Mukomuko a long resident foreigner,  
he became the son-in-law of the ruler,<sup>5</sup>  
on which occasion a feast<sup>6</sup> was held for eighteen days;  
and for as long as nine months the cockpit was crowded.<sup>7</sup>
7. Attended by many it was a feast of no ordinary measure.  
Sixty buffaloes were slaughtered.  
Many were the foreigners who came  
and many the entertainments throughout the day and night.

Hal. ii

8. Asalnya Raden ke Mukomuko  
Menteri Nan Empat Belas menjaput dianya  
dititahkan tuanku raja yang ghana  
kepada Pangeran Tuanku yang tuah.
9. Sutan Baginda yang pergi mehantarkan  
dianyalah ikutan anak raja-raja sekelian  
di Tambangan Gadang tempatnya jalan  
ke Mukomuko negeri yang aman.
10. Setelah sampai di Mukomuko  
pengujang tuanku sudah sedia  
jadilah bimbang beberapa lamanya  
randai dan tari sangat ramainya.
11. Tuanku memancang gelanggang tinggi  
beralam cindai empat persagi  
tirai langit disana terdiri  
sekelian juara ke sana pergi.
12. Setelah berapa lamanya bimbang  
Raden dan puteri dinikahkan orang  
Tuan Haji Abdul Hamid waraknya sedang  
menikahkan Raden tangan dipigang.
13. Tuan Haji Abdul Hamid guru baginda  
wakil mutalak menikahkan anakanda  
mehajarkan khutbah nikah sangat pintarnya  
empat puluh mukmin akan saksiannya.
14. Tatkala akan nikah anakanda Puteri  
perakat kebesaran hadir terdiri  
meriam sedia sudah berisi  
ganarnya ingat menanti wardi.

8.b: *menjaput* (m-n-j-a-f-w-t-). The second syllable *jem* in the word *menjempu* has been changed to *ja*.

9.a: *mehantarkan* (m-h-n-t-r-k-n) = *menghantarkan*. Note the use of the prefix *me* instead of *meng*.

11.b: *persagi* (f-r-s-a-g-y) = *persegi*. The second syllable has been spelt as *sa* instead of *se*.

12.d: *dipigang* (d-f-y-g-ng) = *dipegang*. The second syllable is spelt *pi* instead of *pe* (*passim*).

13.b: *mutalak* (m-t-a-l-a-q) = *mutlak*.

13.c: *mehajarkan* (m-h-a-j-r-k-n) = *mengajarkan*. The consonant /h/ has been added to the first syllable of *ajar* and hence the prefix *me* is used instead of *meng* (*passim*).

13.d: *sakiyinya* (s-k-sy-ny) = *saksinya* (*passim*).

14.b: *perakat* (f-r-a-k-t) = *peragat*. Note the /g/ sound for the /k/.

14.d: *ganarnya* (g-a-n-r-ny) = *gunner*.

ii. *Raden's marriage with the Sultan's daughter.*

8. Originally the Raden came to Mukomuko  
on the invitation of the fourteen *menteri*,  
in accordance with the orders of the great ruler  
to the old Pangeran Tuanku.<sup>1</sup>
9. Sutan Baginda<sup>2</sup> accompanied him,  
together with the *anak raja-raja*,  
travelling via Tambangan Gadang  
which led to Mukomuko, the peaceful *negeri*.
10. On their arrival at Mukomuko,  
the regalia were ready.  
The long feast commenced,  
amidst ceremonial dancing before a large audience.
11. The Tuanku erected a high arena,  
bearing a rectangular banner made of *cindai*<sup>3</sup>  
and with a canopy above.  
It is here that the champions met.
12. After several days of merriment,  
the Raden and the Princess were married  
by the devout Tuan Haji Abdul Hamid  
who officiated at the ceremony.
13. Tuan Haji Abdul Hamid was the ruler's *guru*,  
his trusted deputy who conducted the marriage,  
uttering the appropriate prayers with fluency,  
before forty believers as witnesses.
14. At the commencement of the *nikah* for the Princess,  
the royal insignia were prepared,  
the cannons were charged ready,  
and the gunners awaited their orders.

## Hal. iii

15. Segala peragat hadir semuanya  
Raden dan Puteri sudah di nikahnya  
meriam seratus pula kebesarannya  
sebelas meriam pula kemudiannya.
16. Setelah selasyai daripada bimbang  
sekelian orang bermohon pulang  
kembalilah ia bersenang-senang  
menuju negerinya sorang-sorang.
17. Sutan Baginda raja bestari  
masuk mengadap menjujung duli  
Raden nan tinggal di bawah duli,  
"Perhamba tuanku memohon kembali."
18. Setelah sudah menjelang tuanku  
Sutan pun pulang ke Bangkahulu  
jalan mendarat menempuh Ipuh  
tiba di Palik berhenti di situ.
19. Sampailah Sutan ke dalam istana  
masuk mengadap duli yang mulia  
bimbanglah sudah dengan selamatnya  
Radenlah tinggal dengan sorangnya.
20. "Ampun tuanku raja yang ghana,  
terlalu ramai bimbang cucunda,  
tiga bulan ramai termasa."  
Barang yang mendengar khairan semuanya.
21. Tiadalah saya berpanjang kata  
ditakdirkan Allah Tuhan Yang Kaya  
mengadakan putera sorang mulia  
Raden Panji pula akan namanya.

15.c: *kebesarannya* (k-b-sy-a-r-a-n-ny) = *kebesarannya*. Again the consonant /sy/ has been used instead of /s/.

16.a: The word *setelah* has been interpolated above the line, before the word *selasyai*.

16.a: *daripada* (d-r-f-d-a) only in this instance and d-r-f-d elsewhere.

16.d: *sorang-sorang* (s-w-r-a-ng-a) = *seorang-seorang* (*passim*).

17.b: *menjujung* (m-n-j-w-j-ng): the consonant /n/ for the first syllable has been dropped.

18.d: *di Palik* (d-f-a-l-y-k).

iii. *The end of the celebrations and the return of Sutan Baginda to Bangkahulu.*

15. The regalia having been prepared  
the Raden and the Princess were wedded.  
The cannons fired a hundred shots in salute,  
followed by another eleven.<sup>1</sup>
16. Once the feast was over,  
the guests took leave  
to make their way back at leisure,  
each unto his own *negeri*.
17. Sutan Baginda, the distinguished raja,  
went before the ruler.  
Commending the Raden to the ruler's protection, he said,  
"I request your Majesty's permission to return."
18. Having taken leave of the ruler,  
Sutan departed for Bangkahulu,  
overland by way of Ipuh  
and on arriving at Palik<sup>2</sup> he stopped for a rest.
19. On reaching the *istana*,  
Sutan appeared before the ruler.  
"The feast went well", he reported,  
"and the Raden remains in Mukomuko."
20. "Your Majesty, most mighty ruler,  
many attended the festivities in honour of your grandson;  
the celebrations lasted for three months."  
Those who listened were fascinated.
21. To make my story brief,  
it was willed by God the Almighty,  
that a son most noble should be born  
to be named Raden Panji.<sup>3</sup>

## PART II

Hal. iv

22. Ayuhai encik, datuk dan tuan  
tiadalah sair saya panjangkan  
mezahirkan asal Baginda Sultan  
di Mukomuko negeri yang aman.
23. Ayuhai tuan dangarkan jua  
suatu khabar dengan berita  
dalam daerah negeri Mukomuko  
Tuanku Sultan Gundam Sah namanya raja.
24. Baginda pertama menjadi raja  
jadi kerajaan di Mukomuko  
hukumnya adil dangan murah  
alat kerajaan, rakyat sedia.
25. Tuanku itu raja yang usali  
selama kerajaan baiklah negeri  
makanan murah padi menjadi  
segala rakyat suka hati.
26. Bagindalah raja yang usali  
dari Pagarruyung asal terjali  
hukumnya adil segenap hari  
segala rakyat sekeliannya ngeri.
27. Selapan puluh tahun dalam kerajaan  
datanglah perintah daripada Tuhan  
baginda wafat anak menggantikan  
Tuanku Sultan Pasyisyir Barat Syah pula kerajaan.
28. Tuanku Sultan Pasyisyir Barat Syah raja yang budiman  
ganti ayahanda jadi kerajaan  
hukumnya adil negeri pun aman  
segala rakyat suka sekalian.

22.c: *mezahirkan* (m-z-a-h-y-r-k-n) = *menzahirkan*, a variant of *melahirkan*. The prefix *me* is used instead of *men*.

23.d: *sah*, (s-a-h) = *syah*.

24.d: *alat* ('-a-l-t). The ' sign has been added to the first syllable.

26.a: *usali* (a-w-s-l-y) = *asli*; original.



## PART II

- iv. *The origin of the Sultanate of Mukomuko.*
22. Attend friends, elders and superiors,  
I will without making this *syair* too long,  
relate the origin of the Sultan  
at Mukomuko, the peaceful *negeri*.
23. Ho! noble chiefs, listen!  
I have news to relate  
about the territory of the *negeri* Mukomuko  
where Tuanku Sultan Gundam Syah was raja.<sup>1</sup>
24. His Highness was the first raja  
to establish the capital at Mukomuko.<sup>2</sup>  
His laws were just and liberal,  
he held the regalia and the loyalty of the people.
25. This *Tuanku* was a ruler well born.  
Throughout his reign the *negeri* prospered;  
provisions were cheap, the paddy harvest good,  
and the people were all happy.
26. His Majesty, the ruler most excellent,  
was of illustrious descent from Pagarruyung.<sup>3</sup>  
He was just always  
and the people submitted to him.
27. The Sultan ruled for eighty years.<sup>4</sup>  
Then, by the Will of God,  
His Majesty died and was succeeded by his son,  
Tuanku Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah.
28. Tuanku Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah was a wise ruler.  
He took over the reins of government from his father,  
implementing just and peaceful rule  
such that all lived happily in unity.

Hal. v

29. Selama baginda menjadi raja  
terlalu ramai negeri Mukomuko  
banyaklah dagang datang berniaga  
menukar emas, apiun Benggala.
30. Selama berniaga menjadi kaya  
perniagan baginda ganda berganda  
banyaklah emas dengan permata  
beberapa pula hamba dan syahaya.
31. Baginda Sultan raja berbangsa  
mengadakan putera bersyar semuanya  
anak yang tuah Tuanku Muda  
Tuan Sutan Takdirullah anak yang berbahagia.
32. Tuanku Muda anak kekasyih  
daripada semuanya dianya lebih  
kebesaran semuanya dianya kan boleh  
ditakdirkan Allah hatinya beralih.
33. Tuanku Muda anak yang tuah  
itulah dikata ganti baginda  
Tuanku Muda menengar terlalu suka  
menjadi raja terlalu baiknya.
34. Setelah beberapa akan lamanya  
Tuanku Muda laksana raja  
segala bicara baginda mehukumnya  
tiadalah berubah seperti ayahanda.
35. Selama baginda wakil terjali  
terlalu susah dalam negeri  
kepada saudara sekeliannya benci  
memakan danda tiada berhenti.

30.b: *perniagan* (p-r-n-y-a-g-n). The glottal sound ['] in the last syllable has been omitted and should be *perniagaan*, (p-r-n-y-a-g-'n).

30.d: *syahaya* (sy-h-y-a) = *sahaya*.

33.c: *menengar* (m-n-ng-r) = *mendengar*. The /d/ sound for the second syllable has been dropped.

34.c: *mehukumnya* (m-h-k-m-ny) = *menghukumnya*. The prefix *me* has been used instead of *men*.

34.c: *segala* (s-g-a-l-a). In the text the letter "ع" has been dotted below rather than above.

35.d: *danda* (d-a-n-d-a) = *denda*.

v. *Pasisir Barat Syah's rule and an introduction to his son, the Tuanku Muda.*

29. For as long as His Majesty was in power,  
    *negeri* Mukomuko was well populated.  
    Many were the traders who came  
    to barter gold for Bengal opium.<sup>1</sup>
30. So long as commercial activity brought wealth  
    the ruler's trade multiplied.  
    Much gold and jewellery were acquired by him  
    as were field and domestic slaves.
31. The Sultan of high birth,  
    had sons who were grown-up.  
    The eldest was the *Tuanku Muda*,  
    Tuan Sultan Takdirullah the fortunate one.<sup>2</sup>
32. The *Tuanku Muda* was the most favoured child.  
    He was treated best of all,  
    and was fully indulged with the trappings of greatness,  
    but it was God's Will that his heart should change.
33. *Tuanku Muda* the eldest,  
    was declared heir apparent.  
    The *Tuanku Muda* was overjoyed  
    at the thought of succeeding his father.
34. Not long afterwards,  
    the *Tuanku Muda* acted as if he were king.  
    He pronounced sentences  
    in no less a manner than his father.
35. For as long as he acted as the ruler's deputy  
    the *negeri* suffered extreme hardship.  
    He felt only hatred towards his own kind  
    and never ceased to derive income from fines.<sup>3</sup>

Hal. vi

36. Ketika tahun, bulan dan hari  
datanglah fitanah jihin dan peri  
Tuanku Muda kusutlah hati  
hendak kerajaan ayahanda diganti.
37. Sudah berapa akan lamanya  
susyahlah hati Tuanku Muda  
lalu ke Menjuto mencari bicara  
Menteri nan Empat Belas bersama-sama.
38. Setelah sudah bicara dan rasan  
kumpullah menteri dangan anak kemanakan  
memigang senjata bebilang tangan  
negeri Mukomuko hendak dilanggarkan.
39. Antara tidak berapa hari  
baginda pun waham di dalam hati  
baginda berkata kepada Kompeni,  
"[s-m-r-h b-y-dh-y-n] hendak menyerang negeri."
40. Setelah Komandor mendengar khabar  
Sipai dan Bugis sekeliannya gempar  
kota ditutup juga di pasyar  
rakyat pun kempur kecil dan besyar.
41. Saya tidak berpanjangkan kata  
jadilah perang di Mukomuko  
anak berperang dangan ayahnya  
merabut kerajaan di dalam dunia.
42. Setelah berapa lamanya perang  
tiada ketahuan alah dan menang  
banyaklah mati segala hulubalang  
dimakan tombak, lembing dan padang.

38.c: *memigang* (m-m-y-g-ng) = *memegang*.

40.a: *Komandor* (k-m-n-d-w-r-) from the English word "Commander".

40.c: *ditutup* (d-t-w-t-b). Note the letter for the final syllable /b/ is used instead of [p].

40.c: *dipasyar* (d-p-a-sy-r) = *dipasar*.

40.d: *kempur* (k-m-p-w-r) = *gempur*. The dot sign for the letter *g* has been consistently omitted in the text.

- vi. *The Tuanku Muda's forces assemble for an attack on Mukomuko. The Sultan appeals to the Company for assistance.*
36. As the year passed, each month and each day,  
slandering jinn and spirits appeared  
to plague the mind of the *Tuanku Muda*,  
who was intent upon supplanting his father as ruler.
37. After some time had passed,  
the *Tuanku Muda's* mind was troubled.  
He called an assembly at Menjuto  
of the fourteen *menteri*.
38. Following the secret discussion,  
the *menteri* gathered with the *anak kemanakan*,<sup>1</sup>  
each armed with a weapon,  
intent upon attacking *negeri* Mukomuko.
39. After a few days,  
the ruler grew uneasy in his own mind.  
His Majesty informed the Company,  
"It is the intention of [...] to attack the *negeri*."
40. When the Commander<sup>2</sup> heard the news,  
the Sepoys and Bugis were immediately alerted.  
The fort was sealed and the market closed.  
The populace, both young and old, were in a state of confusion.
41. To make my story brief:  
War began in Mukomuko.  
Son fought against father,  
in a struggle for worldly power.
42. Even though the war had gone on for sometime  
no one knew who the winner was  
and who the loser.  
Many *hulubalang* fell victim to lance, spear and sword.

## Hal. vii

43. Perang itu beberapa lama  
lalu dipanggang gedung baginda [...]   
banyaklah hangus pakaian dan harta  
emas dan perak, intan, permata.
44. Setelah perang sudahlah lama  
datanglah bantu dari Malbara  
Daeng Maru'ppa raja yang ghana  
menjadi Kapitan Bugis Malbara.
45. Daeng dan Raden datang membantu  
Tuanku Muda lari ke hulu  
mengumpul sekalian dagang Melayu  
di muara Menjuto berbuat kubu.
46. Silang tidak berapa hari  
di Mukomuko kapal terdiri  
Kapitan Hamtin datang ke mari  
dari Bangkahulu [...] disuruh Kompeni.
47. Dangarkan tuan saya berper  
Kapitan Hamtin datang ke mari  
dari Bangkahulu membawa wardi  
ke Mukomuko membantu negeri.
48. Beberapa banyak Sipai dibawa  
meriam (?)palpis serta pula  
kepada Komandor Mukomuko dia berkata,  
"Tuanku Muda dimana tempatnya?"
49. Komandor Mukomuko menjawab kata,  
"Di Muara Menjuto sekarang tempatnya,  
berbuat benteng dianya di sana,  
sudah sedia konon khabarnya."

44.b: *Malbara* (m-l-b-a-r-a) = *Fort Marlborough*.

46.a: *silang* (s-y-l-ng). The word is clearly *selang* meaning "at intervals" and not *silang* meaning "crosswise".

46.c: *Hamtin* (h-m-t-y-n) = *Captain Robert Hamilton*. See pp. 95-6 note 4.

48.a: *Sipai* (s-y-p-y) = Sepoy, or, in the Malayan Peninsula, better known as *Sipahi*.

48.b: *palpis* (f-l-f-y-s).

vii. *The Sultan's godown is destroyed in the war and Company forces arrive.*

43. The fighting continued,  
and the ruler's godowns were set on fire.  
Much was the loss in clothes and property,  
gold, silver, diamonds and gems.
44. Sometime after the war had begun  
reinforcements arrived from [Fort] Marlborough.  
Daeng Maru'ppa,<sup>1</sup> the mighty chief  
was Captain of the Bugis at [Fort] Marlborough.
45. *Daeng* and *Raden*<sup>2</sup> came to offer assistance,  
and the *Tuanku Muda* fled up-country.  
The immigrant Malays<sup>3</sup> were all assembled  
at Muara Menjuto to build stockades.
46. Some days later,  
a vessel dropped anchor at Mukomuko.  
Captain Hamilton<sup>4</sup> arrived,  
from Bangkahulu on the Company's orders.
47. Take note of what I relate to you:  
Captain Hamilton arrived  
bearing orders from Bangkahulu,  
to give assistance to Mukomuko.
48. Many Sepoys were brought,  
as also were cannons.  
He inquired of the Commander at Mukomuko.  
"Where is the *Tuanku Muda* to be found?"
49. The Commander at Mukomuko answered,  
"He is now at Menjuto,  
building a rampart,  
which is now completed they say."

Hal. viii

50. Kapitan Hamtin jauhari sangat  
kepada Tuanku Mukomuko mintak selamat  
kepada tuan Daeng lalu mufakat,  
"Apabila Daeng kita berangkat?"
51. "Tuanku Muda di Menjuto sekarang,  
esok pagi kita berperang,  
sedialah Bugis sekeliannya orang,  
kita berjalan akan parak siang."
52. Ketika malam hari pun siang  
tambur dan suling dipukul orang  
falinlah Sipai, Bugis dibilang  
Kapitan berangkat mencabut padang.
53. Setelah bejalan beberapa lama  
sampailah pula di Muara Menjuto  
bentengnya tampak sudah disedia  
Kapitan nan sangat marah hatinya.
54. Setelah bertemu kedua pihaknya  
Kapitan menembak dengan meriamnya  
ada sesahat lama parangnya  
banyaklah mati kedua belahnya.
55. Setelah malam rupanya hari  
Bugis dan Sipai lalu kembali  
sehari itu perang berhenti  
Tuanku Muda dukalah hati.
56. Baginda pun fikir di dalam hati,  
"Tiadalah berlawan parang Kompeni,"  
banyaklah sesal segala manti  
menurutkan hawa jihin dan peri.

50.b: *mintak* (m-y-n-t-) = *minta*.50.c: *mufakat* (m-f-a-k-t) = *muafakat*.51.d: *pra'* (f-r-a-') = *parak* as also in the marginal note on *halaman x* in the original manuscript. See p. 106.52.c: *falinlah* (f-a-l-y-n-l-h) = "fall-in" lah, from the English "fall-in".53.a: *bejalan* (b-j-a-l-n) = *berjalan*. The /r/ sound in the prefix *ber* has been omitted.54.c: *sesahat* (s-s-a-h-t) = *sesaat*. The /h/ sound has been used in the final syllable.56.b: *tiadalah berlawan* = *tiada terlawan*: cannot be challenged.56.c: *manti* (m-n-t-y). This, possibly, is an error. The /r/ sound in *menteri* could have been omitted.



viii. *The commencement of fighting at Muara Menjuto where the Tuanku Muda had fortified himself.*

50. The expert Captain Hamilton  
asked the *Tuanku* of Mukomuko for his blessings.  
He then conferred with Daeng:  
"When shall we commence action?"

51. "The *Tuanku Muda* is presently at Menjuto.  
Tomorrow morning we go to war.  
The Bugis and all others must be prepared  
for a start before daybreak."

52. At the onset of dawn  
the drums and flutes played.  
The Sepoys and Bugis fell in line  
and the Captain unsheathed his sword.

53. After a long journey,  
they arrived at Muara Menjuto<sup>1</sup>  
where defences were visible.  
The Captain was filled with rage.

54. When the enemy forces faced each other,  
the Captain opened fire.  
Within moments of the fighting,  
heavy losses were incurred by both sides.

55. When night fell,  
the Bugis and Sepoys retreated.  
There was no action for the day  
and the *Tuanku Muda* was downcast.

56. His Majesty thought to himself,  
"I cannot fight the Company."  
The [*?menteri*] were dejected,  
cast under the spell of jinn and spirits.

Hal. ix

57. Entah berapa lama berperang  
 banyaklah mati rakyat dan hulubalang  
 makan dan minum malam dan siang  
 memukul tambur, suling dan genderang.
58. Saya nan tidak berpanjang kata  
 kerana tidak melihat termasa  
 schingga ini selesai berkata  
 undurlah musuh mudik Menjuto.
59. Sair nan tidak berpanjang peri  
 Tuanku Muda sudahlah lari  
 membawa anak dangan isteri  
 di Pengkalan Jambu lalu berhenti.
60. Tuanku Muda hilir ke Jambi  
 Daeng dan Raden mohon kembali  
 Kapitan Hamtin pulang sekali  
 ke Malbara mengadap Kompeni.
61. Perkataan di jalan tiada disebut  
 kerana kalam jangan terlanjut  
 Kapitan dan Sipai berjalan laut  
 tambur dan suling pula mengikut.
62. Tersebut perkataan Tuanku Muda  
 perintah Allah Tuhan Yang Kaya  
 ajal sampai bilangan umurnya  
 kembalilah pula ke tanah yang bāqā.
63. Tersebut perkataan Tuanku ayahanda  
 Tuanku Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah galarnya  
 selama ditinggalkan Tuanku Muda  
 bercampurlah suka dangan duka.

57.d: *suling* (s-w-l-y-ng) = *seruling*58.d: *mudik* (m-w-d-y-').

- ix. *The Tuanku Muda takes flight to Pengkalan Jambi and then makes his way towards Jambi. The return of the Company forces to Fort Marlborough and the death of the Tuanku Muda.*
57. We do not know how long the fighting went on.  
Many died both commoners and *hulubalang*.  
There was eating and drinking, night and day,  
while the drums, flutes and *genderang* sounded.
58. I will not dwell at length,  
having not been a witness to these events.  
To make a long story short,  
the enemy retreated up the Menjuto river.
59. The *Syair* must be kept brief:  
the *Tuanku Muda* took flight,  
taking with him his wife and children.  
At Pengkalan Jambi<sup>1</sup> he then halted.
60. Upon the *Tuanku Muda's* retreat down-river towards Jambi  
Daeng and Raden sought permission to leave.  
With them returned Captain Hamilton  
to [Fort] Marlborough to report back to the Company.
61. We will not dwell upon the journey,  
as I must be brief.  
The Captain and the Sepoys returned by sea  
to the accompaniment of fifes and drums.
62. As for the *Tuanku Muda*,  
the Almighty God, the dispenser of fortune,  
ended his allotted span of life  
and he returned to the eternal world.
63. To his father,  
Tuanku Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah,  
the death of the *Tuanku Muda*,  
brought mixed feelings of joy and sorrow.<sup>2</sup>

## PART III

Hal. x

64. Tuanku [s-m-b-h] raja yang tuah  
Tuan Sutan Takdirullah anak yang berbahagia  
itulah diharap ganti baginda  
budinya baik bicaranya sempurna.
65. Tuanku Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah  
sakitlah tubuh, anggoata pun lelah  
bilangan sampai ajal pun sudah  
baginda pun wafat ke tanah yang bāqā.
66. Ditakdirkan Tuhan 'Azzawajalla  
Tuan Sutan Takdirullah mengganti ayahanda  
naik kerajaan rakyat menyembah  
dinobatkan menteri hadrat baginda.
67. Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah galara  
bagindalah menggantikan khilafat paduka ayahanda  
memegang negeri dangan adilnya  
murtabatnya Kuris bangsanya nyata.
68. Bagindalah raja yang berasal  
mengerajakan amal terlalu sabar  
mehukumkan rakyat dangan sebenar  
segenap negeri terdengar khabar.
69. Bagindalah Sultan raja yang usali  
turun-temurun asal terjali  
amalnya keras jama'at berdiri  
mengeraskan sarak segenap negeri.
70. Turun-temurun asalnya raja  
lima orang baginda bersaudara  
yang tuah sekali Puteri Rikna  
Tuan Puteri Bunga Melor saudara yang tengah.
71. Tuan Puteri Cahaya Hati saudara yang muda  
Tuan Sutan Ibrahim mengiring baginda

64.c: *diharap* (d-h-r-a-b).65.b: *anggoata* (a-ng-g-w-a-t-a) = *anggota*.67.a: *galara* (g-a-l-r-a) = *gelara* or *gelar*.67.b: *khilafat* (kh-y-l-a-f-a-t) or *khalifah*, literally meaning "deputy", "vice-regent" or an "Islamic leader".68.b: *mengerajakan* (m-ng-r-a-j-a-kn) = *mengerjakan*.69.d: *sarak* (s-r-) = *syarak*. An Arabic word meaning Canon Law or law based on religious revelation, in contrast with law based on ancient Malay *adat*.70.c: *tuah* (t-w-h) = *tua*; eldest.71.a: This additional verse on *halaman* x which runs on to *halaman* xi has been numbered, unlike the interpolations in the margins of *halaman* xv & xxxii. See pp. 68 & 88.

## PART III

- x. *The succession of Khalifatullah Inayat Syah and his good and just rule.*
64. The *Tuanku* [appointed] the eldest raja,  
Tuan Sutan Takdirullah<sup>1</sup>, his fortunate child,  
as the heir apparent.  
He was of good sense and sound judgement.
  65. Tuanku Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah  
was ill of body and weak of limb.  
His span of life drew to a close.  
He died and returned to the eternal world.
  66. According to the Will of God Almighty,  
Tuan Sutan Takdirullah succeeded his father.  
The common people paid tribute  
on the occasion of the ruler's installation by the *menteri*.
  67. Assuming the title of Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah,<sup>2</sup>  
His Highness replaced his father as head of state.  
He administered the *negeri* justly,  
and was of comparable status to the illustrious Kuris.<sup>3</sup>
  68. This ruler of distinguished descent,  
performed good works with extreme patience.  
His fair administration of justice  
was known to all in the *negeri*.
  69. His Highness the Sultan was well-born  
and of illustrious descent.  
Strict in his duties towards the Muslim brotherhood  
he enforced the religious laws throughout the *negeri*.
  70. Descended from a line of rulers,  
His Highness was one of five children.  
The eldest was Puteri Rikna,  
followed by Tuan Puteri Bunga Melor.
  71. Tuan Puteri Cahaya Hati was the youngest,  
and Tuan Sutan Ibrahim<sup>4</sup> was the sibling after the Sultan.

Hal. xi.

- jadi menantu pengeran yang tua  
di Bangkahulu diam wafatlah dia.
72. Tuanku Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah  
Tuan Puteri Caya Hati saudara yang muda  
tatkala mula-mula baginda taaba  
menabur, beras kunit di kiri baginda
73. Baginda Sultan raja yang ghana  
mengadakan putera lima bersaudara  
itulah anak perampuan yang tua  
mula-mula dikahwin paduka ayahanda.
74. Tuan Sutan Hidayatullah anak yang tua  
Tuan Puteri Halimah akan saudara  
Puteri Kabatiah saudara tengahnya  
Puteri Nila Utama saudara yang muda.
75. Puteri Benialam yang kecil sekali  
rupanya elok serta jauhari  
itulah mengkota di dalam negeri  
emak bungsu oleh Raden Panji.
76. Benialam itu puteri yang muda  
ialah memelihara paduka anakanda  
Raden Panji Prawataksyina  
kalau menangis dipujukannya.
77. Baginda Sultan raja yang kaya  
terlalu berani dangan periksa  
lengkap senjata dangan laskarnya  
tiga belas negeri dalam hukumnya.
78. Sekelian rakyat menimbang ufti  
kurang asa enam puluh peroatin terjali  
turun-temurun di dalam janji  
tiadalah boleh diubah lagi.

71.c: *tuah* (t-w-a-h) = *tua*. Note the difference in the spelling of the same word in 70.c.

72.c: *taaba* (t-a-'b-a), possibly *tabal*. "Fathah" symbols have been used for all the three syllables of the word.

72.d: *kunit* (k-w-n-y-t) = *kunyit*.

73.c: *perampuan* (p-r-a-m-p-w-n) = *perempuan*.

74.c: *Kabatiah* (q-b-a-t-y-a-h).

75.c: *mengkota* (m-ng-k-w-t) = *mahkota*.

xi. *The installation of Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah and an account of his five children.*

He was the son-in-law of the old *Pangeran*  
who died at Bangkahulu.<sup>1</sup>

72. Tuanku Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah,<sup>2</sup>  
whose youngest sister was Tuan Puteri Caya Hati,  
performed at the ruler's installation,  
the ceremony of sprinkling *beras kunyit*.<sup>3</sup>
73. His Highness the Sultan, ruler most illustrious,  
had five children.  
It was the eldest girl  
who was first given in marriage by the ruler.<sup>4</sup>
74. Tuan Sutan Hidayatullah<sup>5</sup> was the eldest,  
Tuan Puteri Halimah came next,  
Puteri Kabatiah was the middle one,  
followed by Puteri Nila Utama.
75. Puteri Benialam was the youngest.  
As beautiful as a jewel,  
she was the crowning glory of the *negeri*  
and the youngest aunt of Raden Panji.
76. Benialam the youngest daughter,  
gave every care to the royal child,  
Raden Panji Prawataksyina,<sup>6</sup>  
comforting him when he cried.
77. His Majesty the Sultan was a raja of wealth,  
exceedingly brave and just.  
He had the full protection of the lascars<sup>7</sup>  
and the *Tiga Belas Negeri*<sup>8</sup> were under his jurisdiction.
78. All the people paid the stipulated tribute,  
in accordance with the wishes of the fifty-nine *Peroatin*,  
for the established traditions  
to remain unchanged.

Hal. xii

79. Tuan Sutan Hidayat anak yang tuah  
berlayar ke Jawa pergi berniaga  
selapan belas bulan sudah lamanya  
sedikit pun tiada khabar berita.
80. Selama anakda belayar ke Jawa  
hati ayah dan bonda terlalu duka  
selama anakda meninggalkan bonda  
rusuhlah hati suni istana.
81. Tuanku [s-m-b-h] galaranya Sultan  
dua puluh lima tahun dalam kerajaan  
ditakdirkan Tuhan Khinān' ul-mannān  
kematian seorang anak perempuan.
82. Tiadalah kalam saya lanjutkan  
suatu khabar saya nyatakan  
suatu masa Baginda Sultan  
di Menjuto berladang negeri yang aman.
83. Dua ratus lima puluh banyak beniannya  
tumbuhnya padi terlalu baiknya  
segala rakyat memuji semuanya  
tiadanya mungkir dangan nisabnya.
84. Sampailah masa dangan ketikanya  
hilirlah kawan dari Menjuto  
setelah sampai ke dalam istana  
lalu bertemu dangan baginda.
85. Setelah sampai menjujung duli,  
"Ampun tuanku raja yang ghani,  
padilah masak di ladang kini,  
sekarang apa maklum duli."

80.a: *anakda* (a-n-q-d-a) = *anakanda*. The /n/ sound between the /q/ and /d/ sounds has been dropped.

80.d: *suni* (s-w-n-y) = *sunyi*.

84.b: *dari* (d-a-r).

85.a: *menjujung* (m-n-j-w-j-ng) = *menjunjung*.



xii. *Tuan Sutan Hidayat's voyage to Java and news of the ripened paddy.*

79. Tuan Sutan Hidayat, the eldest<sup>1</sup>,  
sailed to Java on a trading venture.<sup>2</sup>  
Eighteen months had lapsed  
without any news at all being received.
80. For as long as he was away in Java,  
both mother and father were dejected.<sup>3</sup>  
The whole time they were parted from their son  
they were restless and the *istana* was cast in gloom.
81. Tuanku [...] was the title borne by the Sultan  
who reigned for twenty-five years.<sup>4</sup>  
It was willed by God the Benefactor  
that one of his daughters should die.
82. Without further ado,  
I will now relate to you  
about the time when the Sultan  
cultivated *ladang* at the peaceful *negeri* of Menjuto.
83. As many as two hundred and fifty chests [of paddy]<sup>5</sup>  
spoke for a good harvest.  
The people were overwhelmed  
by the boundless prosperity.
84. Arrived just at the time  
a party from *hilir* Menjuto.  
On entering the *istana*,  
they went before the ruler.
85. Saluting the ruler, they declared,  
"Our respects to you, illustrious ruler.  
Now that the paddy has ripened,  
what would you have us do?"

Hal. xiii

86. Setelah baginda mendengar sembah  
di dalam dada maklumlah sudah  
berbicara di hati dangan seketika,  
"Baiklah mudik aku bersama."
87. Setelah baginda mendengar padi  
terlalu suka di dalam hati,  
"Baiklah mudik kita hari pagi,  
melihat kawan menuai padi."
88. Setelah sudah titah baginda  
lalulah mudik (ke) muara Menjuto  
sekelian perampuan dangan anakda  
semuanya mengikut duli baginda.
89. Setelah baginda sampai di ladang  
dilihat padi rupanya sedang  
disembalih kerabau tiba di ladang  
makanan rakyat sekelian sidang.
90. Baginda Sultan membari titah  
kepada panglima, hamba dan syahya,  
"Turunkan menteri, rakyat semuanya,  
kecil dan besyar, tuah dan muda."
91. Setelah sudah baginda berkata  
berjalanlah hulubalang dangan penggawa  
mudik sebelah hulu Menjuto  
mengatakan titah duli baginda.
92. Hulubalang berkata pada menteri sekelian,  
"Titah tuanku kami sampaikan,  
bawalah segala anak kemanakan,  
menuai padi hendak disegirakan."

90.b: *syahya* (sy-h-y-a) = *sahya* or *sahaya*.90.d: *besyar* (b-sy-r) = *besar*.92.d: *disegirakan* (d-s-g-y-r-a-k-n) = *disegerakan*.

xiii. *The ruler's arrival at the ladang.*

86. The ruler on receiving the news,  
knew what to do,  
having already turned over the matter in his mind.  
"We shall all go up-river," he announced.
87. News of the good harvest  
pleased the ruler.  
"We shall go up-river in the morning  
to witness our people harvest the paddy."
88. As soon as the orders were issued,  
they began straight towards Muara Menjuto.<sup>1</sup>  
Women and children,  
all accompanied his Majesty.
89. On arriving at the *ladang*<sup>2</sup> the ruler  
saw the paddy in its ripe and ready state.  
Buffaloes on arrival were slaughtered in the field,  
and all congregated for a public feast.<sup>3</sup>
90. The Sultan gave orders  
to the *panglima*<sup>4</sup>, slaves and domestic servants,  
"Summon the *menteri* and all the people,  
humble and exalted, old and young."
91. As soon as the ruler had spoken,  
the *hulubalang*<sup>5</sup> set out with the *penggawa*,<sup>6</sup>  
up towards *hulu* Menjuto,  
to convey the orders of the ruler.
92. The *hulubalang* informed the *menteri*,  
"We bring the ruler's orders  
to fetch the *anak kemanakan*<sup>7</sup>  
for harvesting the paddy without delay."

Hal. xiv

93. Rakyat mendengar titah baginda  
semuanya kempar mengikut menteri  
sandang dan tuai lalu dibawa  
lagi-lagi dan perempuan pergi sekeliannya.
94. Pertama yang hilir segala menteri  
anak kemanakan serta dengan isteri  
berjalanlah ianya berpereri-peri  
menjalang baginda menjujung duli.
95. Bendahara Raja seorang penghulu  
itulah menteri sampai dahulu  
membawa anak kemanakan hilir dari hulu  
serta sampai menjalang Tuanku.
96. Duli dijujung segala penghulu,  
"Ampun tuanku raja dirgahayu,  
rakyatlah kumpul hilir dan hulu,  
apa titah yang diperhamba melu."
97. Baginda bertitah seraya bersabda  
mulutnya manis muka bercahaya,  
"Sebab rakyat dikumpul semuanya,  
menuai ladang itulah keraja."
98. Setelah rakyat mendengarkan kata  
pergilah sekeliannya tuah dan muda  
menuai padi sandang dibawa  
semunya itu suka tertawa.
99. Segala rakyat menuai padi  
sama-sama pula segala menteri  
hampir malam maka berhenti  
dibari makan gulai dan nasi.

93.b: *kempar* (k-m-p-r) = *gempar*.93.d: *lagi-lagi* (l-a-g-2) = *laki-laki*.99.d: *bari* (b-a-r-y) = *beri*.

xiv. *The people assemble for the harvest.*

93. On hearing the ruler's orders,  
all were alerted and followed their *menteri*.  
With shoulder bags and harvest knives,  
men and women, all made their way.
94. The *menteri* headed downstream  
with their wives and *anak kemanakan*.  
They intently made their way  
to present themselves to the ruler.
95. The *Penghulu*<sup>1</sup> bearing the title *Bendahara Raja*,  
was the first *menteri* to arrive,  
bringing the *anak kemanakan* from upstream,  
to pay their respects to the *Tuan*ku.
96. The *penghulu* made obeisance:  
"Hail to you, and long live your Majesty.  
The people have assembled from up and down river;  
whatever your orders your subjects will follow."
97. The ruler addressed the people,  
with sweet words and a bright countenance.  
"Now that the people have assembled,  
all that remains is the harvesting."
98. As soon as the people heard this,  
young and old went  
to harvest the paddy, taking their shoulder bags.  
Everyone was in a jubilant mood.
99. The *rakyat* harvested the paddy,  
in the company of the *menteri*.  
Only at nightfall did they stop  
to partake of rice and curry.

Hal. xv

100. Setelah malam sudahlah hari  
 banyaklah pula bermain judi  
 seketika malam sianglah hari  
 kembali ke ladang menuai padi.
  101. Lima hari sudah menuai padi  
 genap keenam lalu berhenti  
 segala menteri bermohon kembali  
 hamba dan rakyat menjunjung duli.
  102. Setelah padi (di) kumpul semuanya  
 dua rengkiang akan tempatnya  
 dua belas ribu banyak nisabnya  
 sukalah alim pendeta sekeliannya.
  103. Setelah sudah padi disimpan  
 baginda pun hilir dangan sampian  
 membawa anak dangan perampuan  
 di Sungai Peragang kereta menantikan.
  104. Si Cuta itu hamba baginda  
 dianyalah jaga kereta dan kuda  
 titah baginda suruh padanya,  
 "Di Sungai Peragang nantikan hamba."
  105. Si Cuta bertemu dangan baginda  
 Sultan pun naik atas kereta  
 kuda be(r)lari dangan kerasnya  
 baginda pun sampai ke dalam istana.
  106. Setelah baginda sampai di rumahnya  
 tibalah pula Encik Orang Kaya  
 membawa anak yang tiga bersaudara  
 Lelanya, Benialam, Nila Utama.
- \* Pada malam itu tuanku bercerita  
 mauludkan Nabi Pengulu kita  
 zikir dan rawi tamam semuanya  
 Ratib Saman dimulai pula

\*An interpolation in the margin of an additional verse in the same hand. See pp. vi-vii & p. 37.

xv. *The ruler makes his way back to the istana.*

100. As soon as night fell,  
many amused themselves gambling.<sup>1</sup>  
At the crack of dawn  
they returned to the *ladang* to harvest paddy.
101. Five days of harvesting were over,  
and only after the sixth day did work cease.  
The *menteri* sought permission to leave,  
and the slaves and freemen made their obeisance.
102. The paddy was collected,  
to be stored away in two barns.  
The total amount was reckoned at twelve thousand.<sup>2</sup>  
The *alim* and *pendeta* were all pleased.
103. As soon as the paddy was brought in  
the ruler went by boat down-river,  
taking women and children.<sup>3</sup>  
At Sungai Peragang the carriage awaited.
104. Si Cuta was a slave of the ruler;  
he took care of the horse and carriage.  
The ruler had commanded him,  
"Wait for me at Sungai Peragang."
105. Si Cuta met the ruler.  
The Sultan entered the carriage.  
The horse made speed  
and the ruler reached the *istana*.
106. On arriving at his residence  
he was met by Encik Orang Kaya<sup>4</sup>  
and the three royal children:  
"The Graceful One",<sup>5</sup> Benialam, and Nila Utama.

\* That night the ruler related  
the story of the birth of Prophet Muhammad.  
When the *zikir* and the story-telling were ended,  
there began the dance of *Ratib Saman*<sup>6</sup>

## PART IV

Hal. xvi

107. Encik Tuah sampai tuanku santap  
sekelian perempuan duduk mengadap  
Anom dan Panji sama mengadap  
di bawah haḍrat hamba berharap.
108. Sudah santap memakan sirih  
tubuh baginda sangatlah perasyih  
berbaring seketika tubuh pun latih  
payah berjalan sangatlah jerih.
109. Setelah beberapa akan lamanya  
kembali dari ladang Menjuto  
lalulah sakit duli baginda  
encik yang tuah serta anakanda.
110. Empat hari sakit baginda  
lalulah sembuh dengan sihatnya  
adinda dengan anakanda keras sakitnya  
terlalu payah jerih tubuhnya.
111. Beberapa dukun yang mehobati  
jangankan sembuh mangkin menambahi  
sudahlah dengan takdir Ilahi  
bilangan sampai ajal terjali.
112. Tiga belas hari lama[nya] sakitnya  
Puteri Benialam nama dagingnya  
bertambah keras jerih tubuhnya  
ayah dan bonda tiada kerawan hatinya
113. Genaplah pula empat belas hari  
hari Isnin ketika dinihari  
Rabī-ul-awwāl ... ajal kembali  
ditakdirkan Tuhan Allāh-u-rabbī.

108.b: *perasyih* (f-r-a-sy-y-h) = *bersih*.108.c: *latih* (l-a-t-y-h) = *leth*, the meaning here being "exhausted".111.a: *mehobati* (m-h-w-b-a-t-y) = *mengobati*.111.b: *mangkin* (m-ng-k-y-n) = *makin*.112.d: *kerawan* (k-r-a-w-a-n) = *keruan*. *Tiada keruan/kerawan* would thus mean "indescribable".



## PART IV

xvi. *Their Royal Highnesses and Puteri Benialam are taken ill.*

107. *Encik Tuah*<sup>1</sup> served up the meal to the ruler,  
with the women in attendance.  
Anom and Panji were also present  
in the hope of paying their respects.
108. Having chewed his *sirih*  
the ruler felt tired and in need of rest.  
He lay down, feeling too weary  
even to walk.
109. Not long after  
returning from the *ladang* at Menjuto,  
His Majesty was taken ill  
with the senior lady and their child.<sup>2</sup>
110. The ruler lay ill for four days  
after which he recovered.  
The wife and child were affected more severely,  
and suffered much.
111. Many *dukun* administered medicine  
to no avail.  
In accordance with God's Will,  
the destined hour had drawn near.
112. She was ill for thirteen days,  
the beloved Puteri Benialam.  
Her condition deteriorated  
and both parents were distressed.
113. When fourteen days<sup>3</sup> had passed,  
on Monday at dawn,  
in the month of *Rabi-ul-awwal*,<sup>4</sup> she died,  
as destined by the Omnipotent God.

Hal. xvii

114. Tatkala akan wafat puteri yang bijaksyana  
memintak izin kepada ayah dan bonda  
kaki diunjur tangan dipaloknya  
sedikit pun tidak lupa akan dirinya.
115. Pukul satu hari Isnin  
sangatlah sakit jerihlah badan  
diajar mengucap kalimah iman  
lidahnya fasyih menurut perlahan.
116. Ucap sampai kalimah iman  
bercerailah nyawa dangan badan  
sifat yang tujuh ghaib sekalian  
tinggalah ijasyat empat dibadan.
117. Kembalilah nyawa ke ḥaḍrat Tuhannya  
sifat yang ḥadāth tinggal bersama  
alim dan ilmu sifat yang mulia  
tiada binasa selama-lamanya.
118. Bercerai nyawa dangan badan  
ilau berbega puteri sekalian  
beberapa ratap saudaramu tuan  
sebab melihat jenazah dan badan.
119. Merataplah ayah dangan bonda baginda,  
"Ayuhai anakku belahan nyawa,  
serasa bercerai dangan anggota,  
rosak ancur kalbu di dada!
120. Ayuhai anakku muda bahagia,  
buah hati timbangan nyawa,  
bercerailah sekarang dangan ayah bonda,  
dendam ku tuan selagi nyawa!"

....

114.a: *bijaksyana* (b-j-q-sy-a-n) = *hijaksana*. Note the regular use of /sy/ instead of /s/ in the text.

115.d: *fasyih* (f-a-sy-y-h) = *fasih* meaning "very fluent".

116.d: *ijasyat* (a-j-a-sy-a-t) = *ijazad* or *jasad*, an Arabic loan word.

117.b: *ḥadāth* (-h-d-a-th); the *fathah* symbols for both vocal sounds are indicated here.

118.b: *ilau* (a-y-l-a-w) = *hilau*.

119.d: *ancur* (a-n-c-w-r) = *hancur*.

xvii. *The death of Puteri Benialam.*

114. When death approached the beautiful Princess  
she asked forgiveness from her mother and father,  
with legs stretched out and both hands clasped,  
without in the least losing her consciousness.
115. At one o'clock on Monday,  
her physical condition reached a critical state.  
The Princess affirmed her faith  
with perfect control and fluency.
116. Not until the creed was said  
did the soul depart from the body.  
Her senses finally took leave;  
only the body remained.
117. The soul returned to God ....

Vs. 118-120 and canto xviii, vs. 121-27, have been omitted.

Hal. xix

128. Terlalu riuh buni manusia  
mendengar gong akar dangan nyaringnya  
be(r)larian sekalian menjelang istana  
kecil dan besyar tuah dan muda.
129. Orang Kaya Maharaja Bongsu menteri yang tuah  
lalu berdukung ke dalam istana  
serta sampai lalu bertanya,  
"Apalah khabar di dalam istana?"
130. Menjawablah orang dalam istana,  
"Sudahlah wafat anak baginda,  
Puteri Benialam timang-timangannya,  
sudahlah sampai bilangan ajalnya."
131. Terlalu bahana dalam istana  
sebab kematian anak baginda  
setengah menangis dangan ratapnya  
setengah hilau dangan hibanya.
132. Raden Anom dagang yang hina  
tinggal di rumah kampung istana  
dua laki-isteri dangan masyghulnya  
membenarkan layun paduka adinda.
133. Setelah sudah momongan dipukul  
menteri yang dipasyar sudahlah kumpul  
di kampung dalam semuanya bertutur  
Maharaja Bongsu menteri yang ghafur.
134. Maharaja Bongsu menteri yang budiman  
berbicaralah ia dangan segala teman,  
"Apa bicara kita sekalian,  
baik diturun alat kerajaan."

133.a: *momongan* (m-m-w-ng-n) = *mongmogan*: a Minangkabau word meaning a type of rimless and baseless gong.

xix. *The chiefs assemble.*

128. The people grew restless  
on hearing the resonant sound of the *gung akar*  
and everyone made haste to the *istana*,  
humble and exalted, old and young.
129. Orang Kaya Maharaja Bongsu, the senior *menteri*,<sup>1</sup>  
was the first to be conducted into the *istana*.  
On arriving he inquired  
what the matter was.
130. Those in the *istana* replied,  
"The Princess is dead.  
Puteri Benialam, the beloved,  
has completed her span of life."
131. The *istana* was filled with commotion  
because of the death of the Princess.  
Some cried and sobbed,  
others prattled in anguish.
132. Raden Anom the humble foreigner,  
dwelt at the royal country residence.  
Husband and wife were overcome with grief  
on encountering the royal corpse.
133. As soon as the gong sounded,  
the *menteri* in the bazar gathered,  
to confer at the royal residence,  
the good natured Maharaja Bongsu included.
134. Maharaja Bongsu, the wise *menteri*,  
deliberated with his friends:  
"What is your opinion,  
should we now prepare the regalia?"

Hal. xx

135. Menjawab menteri sekalian pengulu,  
"Benarlah bicara saudaraku itu,  
baik sekarang gendarang dipalu,  
dirikan hilau lakas dahulu."
136. Setelah sudah mufakat sekalian  
(di)turunkan semuanya alat kerajaan  
dipasang alam dangan halalipan  
tombak dan perisai empat belas bilangan.
137. Padang di pinggang bercabut semuanya  
di belakangnya orang memigang cerana  
kipas terkembang keempat balasnya  
lilin dan dian dua kali tujuh semuanya.
138. Unggun-unggun emas tanai kudai sertanya  
payung terkembang di atas geta  
di bawah payung Puteri yang bijaksana  
rupanya perasyih dangan indahnya.
139. Ketuma'a pula nama tombak kebesaran  
obor-obor alamat yang zaman  
begitulah adat anak raja kematian  
turun temurun tiada diubahkan.
140. Kain simpai pula akan namanya  
dipigang hamba sahaya semuanya  
pegangannya lilin pada kanannya  
itulah adat raja Mukomuko.
141. Hulubalang memigang padang bergendong  
sahaya perampuan berkain kelong  
ada yang membawa emas tunai diujung  
dikembali emas sirih di payung.

139.a: *Ketuma'a* (k-t-w-m'-a). The *fathah* and *dhammah* have been used for this word.

141.a: *padang* (p-a-d-a-ng) is a vocal Minangkabau variation of *pedang*, meaning "sword", and not "field" in the usual sense.

xx. *The royal regalia are assembled.*

135. The *menteri* responded with the *penghulu*,  
 "What you advise is correct.  
 The gong must now be sounded  
 and the mourners assembled."
136. Following the general deliberation  
 the regalia were brought forward;  
 the flags and banners were posted,  
 and the spears and shields were fourteen in all.
137. The swords were borne unsheathed,  
 followed behind by bearers of the ceremonial salvers.  
 The fans were spread, fourteen of them;  
 candles and tapers, also fourteen in number.
138. The elegant gold *tanai kudai*<sup>1</sup> was produced  
 with the umbrella which was spread high above the royal dais.  
 Beneath the umbrella was laid the chaste Princess  
 in her bright and beautiful form.
139. There was Ketuma'a, the royal spear  
 and flags, the mark of tradition,  
 all in accordance with the customs prescribed for royal deaths  
 and followed without change by each generation.
140. The *kain simpai*<sup>2</sup>  
 was worn by all the slaves,  
 bearing candles to the right,  
 following the custom of the rajas of Mukomuko.
141. The *hulubalang* carried swords across their shoulders<sup>3</sup>  
 and female domestic slaves bore coils of cloth  
 on which rested the *emas tanai*<sup>4</sup>.  
 The *kembal emas*<sup>5</sup> containing betel-leaf was canopied by an umbrella.

Hal. xxi

142. Setelah sudah hadir semuanya  
perempuan menteri datang sekeliannya  
Tuan Puteri Yakin janda baginda  
akan menyandarkan paduka anakanda.
143. Dua kali tujuh isteri menteri  
sekeliannya itu memigang syerahi  
pegangannya hendak memandi(kan) puteri  
hilau sedia hampir berdiri.
144. Setelah sedia airnya mandi  
dipukul genderang kalang luari  
serunai bertaluan terlalu jadi  
bedil seratus lalulah mandi.
145. Sebelas meriam kemudian mengikut  
itulah kebesaran dari Sulaiman ibn Daud  
dinugerahi Tuhan Wājib 'ul-wujūd  
kepada hambanya raja yang malikut.
146. Tiga kali gendang luari  
sekalian ilau sudah berdiri  
banyaklah masyghul di dalam hati  
melihat jenazah puteri jauhari.
147. Setelah sudah dimandi kuba  
lalu dibaring di atas geta  
rupanya perasyih muka bercaya  
warnanya kuning tiada ubahnya.
148. Benialam itu Puteri yang bijak  
ia pun wafat lagi kanak-kanak  
sampainya mati seperti akan gelak  
ayah dan bonda bagaikan rosyak.

143.b: *syerahi* (sy-r-a-h-y) = *serahi*.145.c: *dinugerahi* (d-n-g-r-h-y) = *dianugerahi*.146.b: *ilau* (a-y-l-a-w) = *hilau*.147.c: *bercaya* (b-r-c-y-a) = *bercahaya*.



xxi. *The cleansing ceremony.*

142. When all were assembled,  
the wives of the *menteri* arrived.  
Tuan Puteri Yakin, a former wife of the ruler,  
was expected to prepare the body of the Princess.
143. The wives of the fourteen *menteri*  
clasped long necked vessels  
in readiness to bathe the Princess,  
while the mourners stood around.
144. As soon as the bath was prepared  
the *genderang* struck  
and the flutes played continually.  
A hundred gun salute signalled the cleansing ceremony.
145. These were followed by another eleven shots,<sup>1</sup>  
the insignia inherited from Sulaiman ibn Daud,<sup>2</sup>  
as ordained by God, the Indispensable  
to his slave, the sovereign ruler.
146. When the *gendang* sounded three times,  
the mourners stood up.  
Great was the grief  
at the sight of the dead Princess.
147. After the body was bathed,  
it was laid upon a royal platform.  
Her form was beautiful, her face bright  
and her complexion still retained its golden hue.
148. Benialam, the beloved Princess  
had died while yet a child.  
Death came to her while happiness was yet in store.  
Mother and father were heart-broken.

Hal. xxii

149. Setelah selasyai dari mandi kuba  
tibalalah menteri dari Menjuto  
Empat Belas Menteri genap sekeliannya  
membawa anak kemanakan masuk istana.
150. Menteri (ber)kumpul tuah dan muda  
perampuan sekalian bergirai rambutnya  
sekalian laki-laki membuang destarnya  
menteri memakai baju hayatnya.
151. Adapun istiadat raja yang karim  
sekalian menteri horamat dan takzim  
dari dahulu setelah lazim  
menteri berdestar peraca kain.
152. Tiadalah berapa akan lamanya  
tibalalah Pengulu Yang Lima Kota  
dari Hulu Selagan tempat datangnya  
Air Dikit pula nama bandarnya.
153. Datuk Bantal (r-a-j a-n-m) sampai dahulu  
Perawatin sekalian belumlah tahu  
sebab khabar belumlah tentu  
menantikan perintah dari tuanku.
154. Setelah (ber)kumpul sekalian pengulu  
berkatalah Orang Kaya Maharaja Bongsu,  
"Apa bicara sekalian saudaraku,  
baik sembahkan ke bawah duli tuanku."
155. Berkata menteri tuah dan muda  
Orang Kaya Kecil Maharaja Adinda,  
"Apa maklum kami pun syerata,  
sebenarnya kata maklum Orang Kaya."

150.b: *bergirai* (b-r-g-y-r-y) = *berkirai*.151.d: *peraca* (p-r-a-c) = *perca*.152.b: *Pengulu* (p-ng-w-l) = *Penghulu*. The /h/ sound in the middle syllable has been omitted.153.a: Between the words *Bantal* and *sampai* there appear two other words in the text which cannot be fully deciphered. The letters "r-a-j" and "a-n-m" are vaguely visible and could suggest *Raja Anom*.153.b: *Perawatin* (p-r-a-w-a-t-y-n) = *Peroatin*.155.c: *syerata* (sy-r-a-t) = *serta*.

xxii. *The arrival of the Sultanate's many territorial chiefs.*

149. When the body had been cleansed,  
the *menteri* arrived from Menjuto,  
fourteen in all,  
bringing their families to the *istana*.
150. The *menteri* assembled, young and old.  
The women were dishevelled,  
and the men had abandoned their head-dresses.  
The *menteri* were in mourning attire.
151. There were customs associated with the bountiful ruler  
which the *menteri* honoured and respected.  
From days of yore it was the custom  
for *menteri* to don head-cloths.
152. Not long afterwards  
arrived the *Penghulu of Lima Kota*.<sup>1</sup>  
They came from Hulu Selagan,  
the capital of which was Air Dikit.
153. The Datuk of Bantal,<sup>2</sup> [...] came first,  
but the *peroatin*<sup>3</sup> had not heard yet  
as the news remained to be confirmed,  
pending the orders of the *Tuanku*.
154. When the *penghulu* were all assembled  
the Orang Kaya Maharaja Bongsu asked,<sup>4</sup>  
"What is your advice,  
should we now present ourselves to the ruler?"
155. Said the *menteri*, young and old,  
and Orang Kaya Kecil Maharaja Adinda,  
"Your advice, we will willingly follow,  
as what you say, Orang Kaya, can only be right."

Hal. xxiii

156. Maharaja Desa pula berkata  
Orang Kaya Setia Lela Maharaja Diraja,  
"Apa penantian kita sekeliannya,  
alat kerajaan hadir semuanya?"
157. Maharaja Sempurna Mentik Ma'ani  
mengeluar kata nyaringlah buni,  
"Sebenarnya sabda kamu sekalian ini,  
jenazah di rumah lama dua hari."
158. Berkata Orang Kaya Merah Melela,  
Dewa Pahlawan Sinda Bijaya,  
"Apa maklum kami pun reda,  
haram lilah mengubahkan dia."
159. Menjawab Orang Kaya Singa Diraja  
serata Orang Kaya Bendahara Raja,  
"Sepatah kata hamba bersabda,  
tuanku masyghul sangatlah gundah."
160. Singa Diraja menteri yang fakir  
mengeluarkan kata dangan difikir  
membilang adat seperti bersair  
sekeliannya itu dangan takdir.
161. Singa Raja menteri yang lama  
dalam nan empat belas dialah tuah  
tahu diak adat dahulu kala  
sedikit pun tidak menaruh lupa.
162. Tiadalah saya berpanjangkan kata  
mengabarkan Pengulu Yang Lima Kota  
enam orang hadir di sana  
mendengarkan mufakat nenek mamaknya.

157.a: *Ma'ani* (m-'-n-y).161.a: The *Di* in *Singa Diraja* has obviously been omitted. See v. 159a & v. 160a.161.c: *diak* (d-y-' ) = *dia*.162.b: *mengabarkan* (m-ng-b-a-r-k-n) = *mengkhabarkan*.162.d: *mendengarkan* (m-n-d-a-ng-r-k-n) = *mendengarkan*.

xxiii. *The conference among the senior chiefs.*

156. Maharaja Desa then addressed  
Orang Kaya Setia Lela Maharaja Diraja,  
"Why do we delay,  
now that the royal regalia has been assembled?"
157. Maharaja Sempurna Mentik Ma'ani  
spoke in agreement,  
"What you have said is true,  
for the body has now remained for two days."
158. Orang Kaya Merah Melela and  
Dewa Pahlawan Sinda Bijaya concurred,  
"What you ask we shall do,  
for custom must remain unchanged."
159. Said Orang Kaya Singa Diraja,<sup>1</sup>  
together with Orang Kaya Bendahara Raja,  
"Permit us to say in our humility,  
the ruler is truly sad."
160. Singa Diraja the pious *menteri*  
spoke with much thought  
reciting the *adat* in the manner of the *syair*  
according to the divine decree.
161. Singa Raja<sup>2</sup>, the seniormost *menteri*,  
the oldest amongst the fourteen,<sup>3</sup>  
knew well the customs of yore,  
and had not forgotten any of it.
162. I will now state in brief:  
of the *penghulu* of Lima Kota,  
six were present<sup>4</sup>  
and listened to the discussion among the elders.

Hal. xxiv

163. Jawab Penghulu Yang Lima Kota  
Kilat Laut Datuk Merah Mata  
Datuk Patih berkata pula,  
"Barang bicara kami menyarah saja."
164. Menjawab pula Betara Bagak  
berkata-kata terlalu bijak  
sebarang mufakat tiada mengelak,  
"Asallah kita bersama tagak."
165. Datuk Muda berdatang sembahnya  
kedua dangan Datuk Laksamana,  
"Kami ini umpama kota,  
sebarang yang datang ditanggungkannya."
166. Mufakatlah sudah bicara kembali  
kepada Maharaja Bongsu Penghulu yang jauhari  
memulangkan alat segala pawai  
jenazah Puteri baik dimandi.
167. Maharaja Bongsu Pengulu yang tuah  
kepala sembah kepada raja  
menjawab kata segala saudara  
serta difikir di dalam dada.
168. Menteri yang tuah Maharaja Bongsu  
kepala sembah dijadikan tuanku  
tatkala ada haḍrat ratu  
mengikutlah rakyat ratus dan ribu.
169. Itulah menteri yang tuah sekali  
kepala sembah di dalam negeri  
lagi bijak dangan bestari  
ialah ikutan di dalam negeri.

166.b: *penghulu* (p-ng-h-w-l). Note the inconsistency in the spelling of the same word, c.f. v. 152b, and v. 167a.

xxiv. *The conference among the chiefs of Lima Kota.*

163. Answered the *Penghulu* of Lima Kota,  
Kilat Laut Datuk Merah Mata  
together with Datuk Patih,  
"What you advise we shall submit to."
164. Betara Bagak replied,  
in his usual fluency,  
"The general consensus will prevail,  
so long as we stand united."
165. Datuk Muda arrived and presented his greetings,  
accompanied by Datuk Laksamana.  
"We stand together like a fortress,  
and whatever comes we will endure."
166. The outcome of the deliberation was reported  
to Maharaja Bongsu, the wise *penghulu*,  
to reassemble the insignia bearers  
before the body of the Princess was cleansed.<sup>1</sup>
167. Maharaja Bongsu the senior *penghulu*,  
the ruler's ceremonial head,  
found his kinsmens' opinion  
in total agreement with his own thoughts.
168. The seniormost *menteri*, Maharaja Bongsu,  
the ruler's ceremonial head,  
was in the company of His Majesty,  
with hundreds and thousands of people.<sup>2</sup>
169. He indeed was the oldest *menteri*,  
the ceremonial head in the *negeri*.  
Both wise and smart,  
he was the *negeri*'s mentor.

Hal. xxv

170. Sudahlah sekalian tuan dipuji  
 bergilirlah sair Tuan Puteri  
 kerana jenazah hendak dimandi  
 gemparlah segala isi negeri.
171. Maharaja Bongsu lalu berkata,  
 "Kepada Raden baik dikata,  
 kerana Yang Di Pertuan banyaklah duka,  
 sebab ia menantu yang tuah."
172. Setelah ia sudah berkata  
 Raja Sempurna datanglah ia  
 kepada Raden lalu berkata,  
 "Apa penantian jenazah Putera?"
173. Raden menjawab terlalu duka  
 sebab bercerai dangan saudara  
 tatkala hidupnya meliara anakanda  
 seperti ganti dangan pengasuhnya.
174. Tatkala masa ada hayatnya  
 tiada bercerai dangan Panji Prawataksyina  
 siang dan malam didukung-dukungnya  
 lalu ke pasyar di atas kereta.
175. "Ayuhai Benialam paduka adinda,  
 harap kakanda tiada berguna,  
 karena kakanda seorang yang hina,  
 diharapkan pengasuh paduka anakanda!"
176. Menangis kakanda Puteri Halimah,  
 "Ayuhai Benialam paduka adinda,  
 harap kakanda laksana syurga,  
 tiada disangka bercerai lama."

173.c: *meliara* (m-l-y-a-r-a) = *memelihara*.174.b: *Panji* (p-n-j).



xxv. *The sorrow of Raden Anom and Tuan Puteri Halimah.*

170. Having praised all the nobles,  
we return to the story of the Princess,  
whose body remains to be cleansed,  
amidst the bustle of the *negeri*'s inhabitants.
171. Maharaja Bongsu then said,  
"It is proper that we speak to Raden,  
as the Yang di-Pertuan is sorrowful,  
and Raden indeed is his eldest son-in-law."
172. As soon as he had spoken,  
Raja Sempurna went up to Raden  
and said to him,  
"Why do you delay over the Princess' bier?"
173. Raden answered in deep remorse,  
at the parting with his sister,  
who during her lifetime had cared for his child  
as if she herself was the nurse.
174. When she was still alive,  
she was never parted from Panji Prawataksyina.  
Morning and night she carried him about  
and rode with him by carriage to the market-place.
175. "Alas dear one,  
your brother-in-law has proved useless,  
because in my humble capacity  
I had hoped to be your protector!"
176. Cried her sister Puteri Halimah,  
"Alas beloved Benialam,  
you are heaven itself, dearest,  
I did not expect to be parted from you for so long."

Cantos xxvi-xxxi have been omitted

Hal. xxxii

219. Sampailah titah kepada menteri  
Maharaja Bongsu menteri jauhari  
susulah pengulu, raja dan menteri  
mengaturkan kebesaran segala pawai.
220. Setelah hadir sekalian peragatnya  
rakyat pun (ber)kumpul masuk istana  
tua dan muda, mulia dan hina  
buta dan patah datang sekeliannya.
221. Dua ratus bilangan mokin  
beberapa pula rakyat yang lain  
amalnya itu khair-un-nasirin  
sembahyangnya keras hatinya yakin.
222. Setelah hadir segala pendeta  
imam, khatib (ber)kumpul semuanya  
kadi dan sahiih dari Menjuto  
pegawai Selagan pula bersama.
223. Teramang dan Bantal banyak malimnya  
Air Dikit sedia mukinnya  
hadir menanti jenazah sekeliannya  
hendak berzikir mehiringkannya.
224. Setelah hadir segala kebesaran  
datanglah pula Merah dan Sutan  
sekeliannya itu ada pegangan  
hendak mengiringkan usung-usungan.
225. Sekalian rakyat hadir berdiri  
naiklah ke rumah segala menteri  
hendak mengangkat keranda Puteri  
Empat Belas Menteri sudah terjali.
- \* Kasyah itu nama kain jejakan  
dari tangga sampai sepanjang jalan  
jenazah Puteri atasnya berjalan  
itulah kebesaran raja yang kerajaan.

222.c: *sahiih* (s-a-h-y-h) = *syekh*.

223.a: *Teramang* (t-r-a-m-ng) = *Triamang*.

223.a: *malim(nya)* (m-a-l-y-m) = *maalim* or *muallim* meaning, in this context, "religious or learned persons."

223.d: *mehiringkannya* (m-h-y-r-y-ng-k-n-ny) = *megiringkannya*.

\* An interpolation in the margin of an additional stanza in the same hand. See p. 68 for another example.

a: *Kasyah* (k-a-sy-h) = *kasar* or *khasah*, an Arabic loan word.

xxxii. *The assembly for the procession.*

219. The order reached the *menteri*,  
 Maharaja Bongsu, the foremost among them.  
 The *penghulu*, raja and *menteri* took great pains  
 over assembling the regalia.
220. As soon as the ceremonial attire was laid out,  
 the people gathered to enter the *istana*,  
 old and young, exalted and humble,  
 the blind and the maimed.
221. Two hundred perhaps in all,  
 and many more besides.  
 Their acts were the acts of noble people,<sup>1</sup>  
 fervently they prayed, and their hearts were resolute.
222. When the wise men had all gathered,  
 amongst them the *imam* and *khatib*,<sup>2</sup>  
 the *kadi* and *syekh* from Menjuto,  
 and also the officials from Selagan.<sup>3</sup>
223. Many *malim* from Triamang and Bantal,  
 and more from Air Dikit  
 waited upon the corpse,  
 intending to take turns in reciting prayers.
224. As soon as the regalia were assembled  
 came Merah<sup>4</sup> and Sutan,<sup>5</sup>  
 who both owned fiefs,  
 to join the funeral procession.
225. As the *rakyat* stood in attendance,  
 the *menteri* went up to the house  
 to carry the bier,  
 and the fourteen *menteri* were alerted.

\* *Kasyah*<sup>6</sup> was the name of the carpet  
 spread all down the steps and the path,  
 along which the corpse of the Princess was to pass,  
 according to the custom of the rulers.

Hal. xxxiii

226. Anak raja-raja bersama pula  
hendak mehangkat jenazah saudara  
begitulah adat raja yang ghana  
sekelian pigangan sudah sedia.
227. Menteri pun naik ke atas istana  
gendarang, serunai berbuni semuanya  
meriam pun sudah sedia ganarnya  
menanti perintah alfris yang tuah.
228. Sudah mustaib segala alat  
menteri sedia akan mehangkat  
menanti perintah dari hadrat  
maka keranda baru diangkat.
229. Datanglah perintah raja yang usali  
gendarang dipukul serunai berbuni  
segala rakyat semuanya ngeri  
menengar ratib nyaring berperi.
230. Tiga kali galang luari  
meriam dipasang keras berbuni  
keranda diangkat oleh menteri  
dibawalah turun jenazah Puteri.

....

227.c: *ganar(nya)* (g-a-n-r-ny) = "gunner", an English loan word.

228.b: *mehangkat* (m-h-ng-k-t) = *mengangkat* or *menghangkat*.

xxxiii. *The procession departs.*

226. The *anak raja-raja* together  
proposed to bear their dead relative,  
in accordance with the custom,  
as soon as the fief-holders had gathered.
227. The *menteri* went up to the *istana*.  
The drums and flutes sounded,  
and the cannons were prepared by the gunners  
awaiting the word of the old *alperes*.<sup>1</sup>
228. When the regalia were fully assembled,  
the *menteri* stood in readiness.  
pending the ruler's command,  
after which they lifted the bier.
229. On receiving the order from the illustrious ruler,  
the drums beat and the flutes played,  
and the crowd shuddered  
on hearing the shrill utterances of wailing.
230. ...  
The cannons fired loudly.  
The bier was lifted by the *menteri*  
and the body of the Princess brought down.

....

## NOTES

### Canto i

1. The typical *syair* began with the invocation to God (See *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar*, Skinner, 1963:68-69; *Sja'ir Kompeni Welanda Berperang dengan Tjina*, Rusconi, 1935:29; *Syaer Sultan Maulana*, Yusoff Hashim, 1981: 283). It is interesting that in the *Syaer Kampong Gelam Terbakar*, which is about the fire in 1847 off Beach Road, Singapore, Abdullah omitted the traditional invocation to God (See Skinner, 1973:33).
2. The direct translation of *berdagang* is "to trade" or "go abroad". In this context the word *dagang* clearly means "foreigner" (See vs. 2, 6, 7, 45). Raden Anom Zainal Abidin was a foreigner because of his non-autochthonous origin (See pp. 7-9). In this particular instance it is possible that he is referring more specifically to his status as a foreigner in Anak Sungai, having been brought up in the Madurese community of Benkulen.
3. Khalifatullah Inayat Syah (1789-1816).
4. Pangeran Raja = Pangeran Lingang Alam. Some time after the mid-eighteenth century he succeeded his uncle, Pangeran Muhammad Syah, as head of the Sungai Lemau district of Benkulen. Unlike Pangeran Mangku Raja, Muhammad Syah's predecessor, who constantly stirred up trouble for the British, Pangeran Lingang Alam was tactful and pragmatic in his dealings with them (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:29, 36, 38-9). His excellent relations with the British are attested in a report to Bengal which declared that, "[I]n the course of his life [he] has not been guilty of any acts inimical to the British Government...." (Bastin, 1965:170). In 1818, some years after the marriage of Raden Anom Zainal Abidin, he was reported to be 78 years of age and, hence, in the *Syair* he is referred to as the "old" *Pangeran* (*Ibid*). Van Ophuijsen's report that he was 100 years when he died in 1833 is obviously inaccurate (van Ophuijsen, 1924:2; *Tambo Bengkulu*, n.d.:62-3).
5. The ruler referred to here is Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah (1789-1816). See cantos xi & xii.

6. The *bimbang* or feasts were notoriously prolonged in this part of Sumatra. These were frowned upon by the British government which made every effort to discourage them as they distracted the people from pepper cultivation and were an apparent drain on food supplies. The gambling and cockfighting sessions which accompanied the feast were a further temptation for the people to linger on at these gatherings. During the Presidency period, (1760-85), the Sultan of Mukomuko and his subjects disliked the British Residents for discouraging *bimbang*. They considered it tantamount to their interference with the *adat* (See p. 16). In 1777, for instance, John Hay, who was Resident at Seluma admitted to having insisted upon the people delivering 40 *bambu* of paddy before each *bimbang* as a means of conserving supplies and cutting down on the frequency of *bimbang* (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:85, 90).
7. To the Sumatrans, the more important the occasion the longer the *bimbang* and cockfighting sessions; but the statement that the cockpits were crowded for nine months and the entire celebrations lasted three months (v. 20) is clearly an exaggeration. Since it is unlikely that the British government allowed the people to participate concurrently in the celebrations, as this would have been to the detriment of the pepper gardens, it is possible that the pepper planters attended the celebrations in rotation, thereby prolonging the festivities.

#### Canto ii

1. The term "Tuanku" was customarily used in reference to the rulers of Anak Sungai, as in v. 11, and not for the *Pangeran* who were, strictly speaking, hereditary chiefs without powers of sovereignty (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:30-1). The author's use, in this instance, of the term "Tuanku" for Pangeran Lingang Alam, is a deliberate attempt on his part to place the head of Sungai Lemau on an equal footing with the ruler of Anak Sungai. Being himself related to the former, it was important to depict the marriage as an equitable alliance.
2. Sutan Baginda (Sutan Bagindo) was a member of the Benkulen aristocracy. He was married to Siti Dormah, a daughter of Pangeran Lingang Alam (van Ophujsen, 1862:197). Later, in 1818, when Raffles withdrew Company representatives in the various districts outside Benkulen and placed these in charge of non-European heads (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1973:264-5), Sungai Lemau was placed under the management of Sutan Bagindo (*SFR* 48, Orders by the Hon'ble The Lieutenant Governor, Fort Marlborough, 22 May 1820).
3. *Cindai*: A highly prized reticulated bandanna fabric of Sind origin. The name was also given to the Javanese imitation of this made by the tie-and-dye process. (Wilkinson, 1959:227; Winstedt, 1962:68).

## Canto iii

1. The 111 gun salute was fired at the court of Mukomuko on all important occasions, including royal installations, marriages and funerals (See vs. 144, 145). The ceremonial firing of cannons was observed only in the Sultanate of Anak Sungai, as a mark of sovereignty of the Sultanate, and not in the 'tribal' administrations in the rest of British West Sumatra.
2. Palik = Pali. See Map p. 12.
3. For an explanation of this title See p. 9.

## Canto iv

1. Tuanku Sultan Gundam Syah or Gundam Mersah (1728-521).
2. Tuanku Sultan Gundam Syah was indeed the first ruler to establish the government at Mukomuko. Anak Sungai, however, had two other rulers before him who had their capital at Menjuto (See pp. 13, 15). The fact that the *Syair* does not mention them suggests that the author has, in accordance with the local tradition, tacitly recognised Sultan Gundam Syah as the founder of the new dynasty but, at the same time, avoids any breach of historicity by the simple claim that, "His Highness was the first raja to establish the government at Mukomuko".
3. The Sultanate of Indrapura traced its origins to Pagarruyung (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1976:65-6). The importance of the Mukomuko court's genealogical connections with Indrapura and the Minangkabau north is confirmed here.
4. This, obviously, is a mistake. Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah ruled between 1752 and 1789.

## Canto v

1. Mukomuko traditionally received gold-dust from Kerinci and Sungai Pagu and during the reign of Sultan Pasisir Barat Syah (1752-89) the British at Benkulen encouraged the trade in an effort to foil Dutch attempts at cornering supplies. The main commodities of exchange sought by the hill tribes were salt and opium imported by the Company from Bengal. Although the latter commodity was banned from the pepper districts to avoid detrimental effects on cultivation, the Company servants and the Sultan himself conducted a lucrative trade with the people of the interior (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977: 165-6, 192-3, 144-8).
2. See p. 96 canto x n. 1.
3. Under the traditional system of 'tribal' administrations found in southwest Sumatra, one of the most important functions of the chiefs was the settlement



of disputes. All misdeeds, including serious breach of *adat* and crime, were commutable by fines fixed by an assembly of chiefs. Although the *Tuanku Muda* was not, strictly speaking, an *adat* chief entitled to a share of the fines, his appointment as pepper surveyor at Ipuh (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:94) earned him this privilege which, evidently, he abused (See pp. 16–17).

#### Canto vi

1. While the term *kemanakan* denotes specifically a man's sister's children, *anak kemanakan* is more idiomatic. According to de Josselin de Jong the term *anak dan/atau kemanakan* is common in proverbs and "is used to denote one's nearest relatives" (See de Jong, 1952: 10, 92). In this particular context the term *anak kemanakan* appears to have been used as a general term for the young from each matrilineal household under the care of a *mamak* as *ketua perut*.
2. 'Commander' here refers to Captain Robert Hamilton (See v. 46).

#### Canto vii

1. Daeng Ma'ruppa II, a great-grandson of Daeng Ma'ruppa I, founder of the Bugis community in Benkulen (See p. 7), inherited the customary title of Bugis Captain from his father, Daeng Makkulle. His mother was a daughter of Pangeran Mangku Raja and his sisters married Raden Temenggung Wiradiningrat and Raden Sengnata (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1973:247–50). As it happened, Daeng Ma'ruppa II died in 1792, just a year before Captain Hamilton (See below note 4), with whom he had gone on the expedition to Kerinci in pursuit of the *Tuanku Muda* (See p. 20). He was succeeded as Captain of the Bugis by his son, Raja Bangsawan or Daeng Mabéla II (*SFR* 94, Cons., 31 October 1792). The latter was the controversial figure involved in the murder, in 1807, of Resident Thomas Parr (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1973:255–60; *Tambo Bengkulu*, n.d.:62–3).
2. This, clearly, was not Raden Temenggung Wiradiningrat who had long since given up military service (See p. 8). He did, however, accompany the British expedition in 1781 to Padang to facilitate negotiations with the Minangkabau chiefs and assist in the management of internal affairs (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:171, 173, 174). The *Raden*, who accompanied Captain Hamilton, could have been one of the sons of Raden Temenggung Wiradiningrat.
3. We have translated *dagang Melayu* to mean "immigrant Malays" as the term *dagang* means both "trader" and "foreigner" (See p. 92 n. 2), either of which fits the description of the original Minangkabau settlers as opposed to the autochthonous *anak sungai* and other hill tribes in this region (See p. 12).
4. Captain "Hamtin" in the original text is Captain Robert Hamilton,

Commander of the Company forces at Benkulen. He was a member of the Fort Marlborough Council. On his death on 15th December 1793 at the age of 38, he was succeeded by Lt. Thomas Barnes (*SFR* 95, Cons., 16 December 1793). Although according to indigenous accounts he was murdered by a local because of his relations with a Benkulen girl, the Company records say nothing about this. *Sejarah Daerah Bengkulu*, 1977/78:56; *Monograf Daerah Bengkulu*, (n.d.): 15.

#### Canto viii

1. Muara Menjuto: the estuary or mouth of the river Menjuto.

#### Canto ix

1. Pengkalan Jambu = Pengkalan Jambi. This is another example of a functional place name common in Malay. The place was named *Pengkalan*, meaning "jetty", as it was at that point, going downstream, that the Jambi river became navigable.
2. See pp. 27-8.

#### Canto x

1. Khalifatullah Inayat Syah, presumably, was the eldest son by Sultan Pasisir Barat's second marriage (See p. 19). The title Tuan Sutan Takdirullah was reserved specially for the heir apparent or *TuanKu Muda* and was originally borne by his elder, half-brother (See p. 49 v. 31).
2. See p. 37 for a note in the margin of *halaman* x on Sultan Khalifatullah.
3. Kuris: A proper name (Kuraish) for the Arab tribe to which Prophet Muhammad belonged.
4. Earlier Tuan Sutan Ibrahim had proved a source of trouble and, in 1792, was captured and sent a prisoner to Fort Marlborough. Having presumably come to terms with his brother Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah (1689-1816), he was appointed in 1799, at the Ruler's request, as a Company ensign (*SFR* 94, Cons., 31 August 1792, 28 January 1793; *SFR* 99, Cons., 18 January 1799).

#### Canto xi

1. The *Pangeran* referred to here, obviously, is not Pangeran Lingang Alam who died only in 1833 and would have been alive at the time the *Syair* was written (See p. 92 canto i n. 4). It is more likely that the *Syair* refers here to Pangeran Lingang Alam's predecessor and uncle, and Pangeran Mangku Raja's son, Pangeran Muhammad Syah, who ruled briefly during the mid-eighteenth century (van Ophuijsen, 1862:195, 197).

2. For more on Sultan Khalifatullah Inayat Syah (1789-1816) see pp. 19-20.
3. *kunyit* = tumeric. *Beras* or husked rice was customarily stained yellow with tumeric (*Curcuma domestica*) and scattered over the royal personage as a mark of honour.
4. This was Tuan Puteri Halimah who was married to Raden Anom (See vs. 74, 176). The other three girls were still children (See v. 106). Halimah's married status is indicated by her title, *Tuan Puteri*, as opposed to her sisters who are referred to as *Puteri*.
5. See below, canto xii note 1.
6. See p. 9 and Kathirithamby-Wells and Muhammad Yusoff Hashim, 1982:149.
7. These were native soldiers of diverse local origin, including Malays and emancipated African slaves.
8. The Minangkabau areas of Anak Sungai adopted the system of village groupings or *kota* from which each *negeri* or district, such as *Negeri Dua Belas Kota* and *Negeri Lima Kota*, took its name, the number of *kota* or villages corresponding to the number of chiefs. Menjuto and Mukomuko constituted the *Negeri Empat Belas Kota* with the *Menteri Empat Belas*. ("Undang Undang Moko Moko", 1822:10-11). The *Syair* repeatedly refers to the 14 *menteri* (vs. 143, 149, 161, 225) and because of the importance of these chiefs the number 14 was ceremonially symbolic (See canto xvi n. 3 and canto xxiii n. 3). It is not clear, however, as to why the *Syair* refers here to the *Tiga Belas Negeri*.

#### Canto xii

1. In 1803, on the request of his father, Sultan Khalifatullah, Tuan Sutan Hidayatullah was appointed an ensign in the Company's Bugis corps (*SFR* 104, Cons., ? November 1803, f. 69). In 1804 he went with Raden Muhammad Zain Perbangsa on Lieutenant Dare's expedition to Sungai Tenang to track down the remaining adherents of the rebel Prince (See p. 21).
2. Trade contacts between Java and southwest Sumatra were traditionally based on the exchange of pepper for food produce (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:16). As a precautionary measure, however, the British discouraged local contact with the external world, except during their occupation of Java (1811-16) when communication between the two areas was revived. Although it was unusual for the local royalty and nobility to participate in external trade, Tuan Sutan Hidayatullah appears to have been an exception. The Madurese at Benkulen were also quick to take advantage of the new opportunity available for refurbishing ties with their homeland. In November 1812, Lieutenant Raden Naka Wiradiningrat, the eldest of the three sons of Raden

Temenggung Wiradiningrat, was informed by his brother, Raden Muhammad Zain Perbanga, about the Sultan of Madura's anxiety to see him and applied to the Company for a month's leave to make the visit (*SFR* 127, Cons., Enclosure in a letter from W. Grant, Padang, 24 October 1812, to William Parker, Resident, Benkulen; Bastin, 1957: 104).

3. Sutan Hidayatullah finally returned to Benkulen only on 4 August 1814. MS Cod. Oriental 6051, *Syair Mimpī*, f. 80.
4. This is based on a rough calculation. In actual fact, Sultan Khalifatullah ruled for twenty-six years.
5. The translation of *benian* as "chest" or "coffer" (See Wilkinson p. 120) makes sense also when read in the context of v. 112. See p. 99 canto xv note 2.

### Canto xiii

1. Muara Menjuto: the estuary of the Menjuto.
2. Due to the narrow coastline and the absence of large alluvial deposits *sawah* or wet-rice cultivation was hardly known in the British districts of west Sumatra, except around Manna where a greater density of population had given rise to some *sawah* cultivation.
3. See p. 93 canto I note 6. The propensity of the Sumatrans to make the most of such an occasion is evident in the fact that although, strictly speaking, it was only the heads of households who were summoned to render services, they took with them their wives and families as well (vs. 94-5).
4. This is not a term found in the British records and is rarely mentioned even in the *Syair*. He was a police-officer in overall charge of the slaves and labour force and inferior in rank to the *hulubalang*.
5. The *hulubalang* in Anak Sungai were men "hard of skin and large of bone" selected from among the *peroatin* or territorial chiefs to take charge of defence ("Undang Undang Moko Moko", 1822: No. xiii, 12).
6. The term *penggawa* appears to be a variation of the term *peroatin* or headman. See below canto xiv n. 1.
7. See p. 95 canto vi n. 1.

### Canto xiv

1. In the traditional Minangkabau system the *penghulu* were the village or *suku* heads. They were especially powerful in the Minangkabau coastal areas where commercial opportunities and consequent affluence enhanced their *adat* standing such that many of them assumed the titles of *datuk* and *raja* (Valentijn, V:13-14). In Anak Sungai, however, the title of *penghulu* was not

used for the village heads. The British, who worked closely with the village heads in the interests of implementing forced pepper cultivation, adopted the term *peroatin*, used in the more tribally oriented districts of Sablat and Ketaun. In the tribal districts of the south the term *adipati* was used as a standard title for all *dusun* heads (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977: 19, 31). It is evident from the *Syair* that in Anak Sungai the general term *penghulu* covered chiefs of all ranks (See vs. 95, 135, 154, 162, 163, 166, 167, 219).

## Canto xv

1. Cock-fighting was a popular pastime among west Sumatrans (See Canto i n. 1 8 n.2).
2. Assuming that the traditional *bambu* measure was used, 12,000 *bambu* reckoned at the standard rate of 3 lbs per *bambu* would amount to, roughly, 36,000 lbs or 250 chests (See v. 83). The amount is not very large considering that each family was expected to produce a minimum of 250 *bambu* of *padi* (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1977:132). Thus the total harvest of 12,000 *bambu* at Menjuto would have been the output roughly of 48 families in the royal fief.
3. We have translated "anak dangan perampuan" as women and children because the ruler's senior wife and children did not accompany him on the trip to Menjuto (See v. 106).
4. Presumably she was a noblewoman in charge of the upbringing of the children. It was customary for court women to be addressed as *Encik* (See vs. 107 & 109.)
5. Leelan, "The Graceful One", presumably was Kabatiah (see v. 74) who together with Benialam and Nila Utama made up his three younger daughters, the eldest girl, Tuan Puteri Halimah, being already married to Raden Anom Zainal Abidin (See p. 97 canto xi n. 4).
6. *Ratib Saman*: The ritual named after Abdul-Karim al-Samman who taught in Medina during the first half of the eighteenth century and founded the Samaniah school of mysticism (Wilkinson, 1959, vol. 11: 1008). Drewes defines a *ratib* as "a religious performance consisting of the joint recital of certain formulas such as the creed, God's most beautiful names and eulogies in praise of God and the Prophet, accompanied by various set gestures and postures." It is interesting that the *Ratib Saman* was popular at the time also in Palembang (Drewes, 1976:118-9).

## Canto xvi

1. *Encik Tuah* could refer to the senior wife and mother of the royal children. Neither the Princesses nor *Encik Tuah* appear to have accompanied the ruler to the harvest.

2. Referred to here as *encik yang tuah* she presumably was the *Encik Tuah* mentioned in v. 107.
3. The 14 days mentioned here may not have been factually accurate. The number could have been selected because of its symbolic significance in Mukomuko, the *Negeri Empat Belas Menteri* (See vs. 136-137).
4. *Rabi-ul-awwāl*: The third month of the Islamic calendar.

## Canto xix

1. He is mentioned again in vs. 166, 168, 169 & 219. As the seniormost in rank he always headed the list of chiefs when treaties and agreements were concluded with the Company (See Appendix II, pp. 104-5).

## Canto xx

1. *Tanai kudai*: a small box for carrying on the palm. It was probably used as a container for carrying ceremonial articles.
2. *Kain simpai*: Possibly a band of cloth worn on the arm.
3. Being in charge of defence and security, the *hulubalang* would have carried swords as symbols of office.
4. *Emas tanai*: possibly a gold platter or container.
5. *Kembali*: a small basket woven out of *mengkuang* or screw-pine (*Pandanus*). The *kembali emas* mentioned in this verse probably is such a basket, painted over in gold and used ceremonially as a decorated receptacle.

## Canto xxi

1. The 111 gun salute was the salute for royalty in Mukomuko (See p. 45 v. 15).
2. Sulaiman ibn Daud = Sulaimān b. Dāwūd. "[T]he biblical king Solomon, is an outstanding personality in Muhammedan legends. There were, as the Arab historians recount, four great world-rulers, two of whom were infidels, Nimrod and Nebuchadnezzar; and two of whom were believers, Alexander The Great and Solomon. Of these the last was the most resplendent figure. Special emphasis was placed on his wonderful powers of magic and divination... In the *Qurān* itself he is frequently mentioned, and along with Alexander enjoys the distinction of being designated a true Apostle of Allāh, a divine messenger and prototype of Muḥammad ... He had admirable endowments. God had granted him esoteric knowledge..." (Gibb & Kramers, 1961: 549-50).

## Canto xxii

1. In the "Undang Undang Moko Moko", (1822: No. xiii, 11) the chiefs of *Lima Kota* or *Bantal* are ranked as *menteri* and come next in order of importance to the 14 *menteri*.

2. Originally, the title *datuk* was assumed by those among the 14 *menteri* who did not have the superior title of *maharaja* and *raja* and all the *menteri* of *Lima Kota*. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the title *orang kaya* was used commonly by all the 14 *menteri*, along with other personal titles, and the title *datuk* was reserved exclusively for the chiefs of *Lima Kota* (See Appendix II, pp. 104-5). The 59 *peroatin* of the southern districts of Anak Sungai held the important titles of *dupati* or *adipati* and *baginda* (*SFR* 102, Cons., 7 Oct, 1801).
3. *Peroatin* here refers to the 59 *peroatin* south of Bantal (See above) for whom the news was delayed because of their distance from the court centre. They were last in order of importance among the territorial chiefs and played a less important role in court ceremonies.
4. The Orang Kaya Maharaja Bongsu headed the official list of *menteri* both in 1787 and 1801 (See Appendix II, pp. 104-5). He was then the most important administrative chief in the same way that Orang Kaya Singa Diraja was the most important *adat* chief (See n. 1 below).

#### Canto xxiii

1. Singa Diraja = Singa Raja (See vs. 160 & 161). He is referred to in the "Translation of the Undang Undang of Moko Moko" (1822) as Singa Maharaja. The introduction to this work, which was published in Benkulen by the Baptist Missionary Society Press, mentions that the laws were "committed to writing from the recitation of Singa Maharaja [of Menjuto], the oldest of the mentris of [Mukomuko], and almost the only person now living who is able to recite the whole". Singa Maharaja's senior status and role as the pious guardian of the *adat* is confirmed here in the *Syair* (See vs. 160 & 161). The introduction to the "Undang Undang Moko Moko" further adds that, "He was particularly solicitous that in writing it down no word should be altered even where the sense appears obscure and to require amendment, for such he said were the words in which it was composed by his fore-fathers, and it did not become their children to add to or take away from them...."
2. Presumably this is Singa Diraja.
3. Despite acknowledgement of the 14 *menteri* as a group (vs. 143, 161) and the constant occurrence of number 14 in all the ceremonial, viz. 14 spears and shields (v. 136), 14 fans, 14 candles and tapers (v. 137), not all the *menteri* are named in the *Syair*. On the other hand, the names of all the *Datuk Lima Kota*, who were hierarchically less important, are given (Canto xxiv in the *Syair*) implying perhaps, that the other 5 *menteri* were out of favour at court at the time the *Syair* was written. Proof of the ruler's allegations of disloyalty against some of the *menteri* is to be found in the *Syair Hukum Menteris yang Sembilan* and *Syair Datuk Danau Seorang*. See *MS Cod. Or.* 6051.

4. The *menteri* or *penghulu* of Lima Kota were five in number and the *Syair* names them in vs. 163–5 as Kilat Laut Datuk Merah Mata, Datuk Patih, Betara Bagak, Datuk Muda and Datuk Laksamana. Evidently there was a sixth member accompanying the party.

#### Canto xxiv

1. It is likely that custom required the body of the deceased to be cleansed more than once. Alternatively, the conversational sequence related in this canto could refer to the same cleansing ceremony described in canto xxi.
2. The claim that “hundreds and thousands of people” were in attendance, evidently, is a figure of speech, for in v. 222 the writer makes a more specific and realistic estimate that there were some 200 people at the funeral.

#### Canto xxxii

1. *Khair-un-nāṣirīn*. The translation of the Arabic has been rendered by Dr. Russell Jones.
2. The religious officials in the British territories of west Sumatra, including the Sultanate of Mukomuko, kept out of the realm of politics and confined themselves to religious, ceremonial and *adat* functions. They were maintained by alms and voluntary donations collected on ceremonial occasions and received a fixed portion of the produce, which included a tenth of the *padi* for anything exceeding 60 baskets, one buffalo or goat out of a head of forty and, in the more conservative areas, a *suku* or a quarter of a Spanish dollar on every dollar earned, presumably, from trade and the sale of pepper and other produce (Bastin, 1957: 176).
3. Selagan refers to Hulu Selagan. See v. 152.
4. We are unable to establish the identity of this chief.
5. The title ‘*sutan*’ was confined to the sons of the Sultan of Anak Sungai and the *pengeran* of Benkulen. As Sutan Hidayatullah was currently away on a trading venture to Java (See p. 63 v. 79), the reference could be to Sutan Khalifatullah’s brother, Sutan Ibrahim (See p. 59 v. 71).
6. *Kasyah*: Dr. Russell Jones suggests that this could be *kasa* from the Persian *khāsa*, meaning “muslin”. Wilkinson defines *kasa* as “Indian Muslim” or “lawn” (See *Dictionary*, p. 513).

#### Canto xxxiii

1. The word *alperes*, borrowed from the Portuguese, was a title for a sub-lieutenant or a low ranking military official, such as an ensign. In this particular context it would have been an autochthonous military official who had earned a low rank in the Company’s army.



## APPENDIX I

# The Sultans of Anak Sungai

Gulemat (1691-1716)

Kecil Muhammad Syah (1716-28)

Gundam Mersah or Gundam Syah (1728-52)

Pasisir Barat Syah (1752-89)

Khalifatullah Inayat Syah (1789-1816)

Hidayatullah (1816-32)

Takdir Khalifatullah (1832-70)

## APPENDIX II

# Chiefs of Mukomuko

*Chiefs who signed the Ruler's proclamation revoking his earlier disinheritance of the Tuanku Muda*

### MENTERI

1. Maharaja Bongsu
2. Maharaja Diraja
3. Raja Sular
4. Datuk (?) Sanduang Raja
5. Datuk Lela Maharaja
6. Datuk Singa Raja
7. Datuk (?) Semir Raja Muda
8. Datuk Ular Besar

### CHIEFS OF LIMA KOTA

1. Datuk Ruah Suku
2. Datuk Raja di Ulu
3. Datuk Temenggung Gelar
4. Datuk Surdaoh
5. Datuk Porgan

[SFR, 90, Cons., 31 Oct 1787]

*Menteri present at the meeting at Air Ramee headed by Resident Henry Heath investigating the murder of Dupati Pamberap*

1. Orang Kaya Maharaja Bongsu
2. Orang Kaya Raja Quaso
3. Orang Kaya Besar
4. Orang Kaya Kecil
5. Orang Kaya Maharaja Desa
6. Orang Kaya Maharaja Needos
7. Orang Kaya Setia Lela
8. Orang Kaya Sudding Raja
9. Orang Kaya Lela Maharaja
10. Orang Kaya Bagginda Raja
11. Orang Kaya Singga Raja
12. Orang Kaya Raja (?) Pengso
13. Orang Kaya Gunung Melenggang
14. Raja Balong

[SFR, 101, Cons., 18 June 1801]

## Facsimile of a manuscript page

Halaman x with a note in the margin. See p. 37.

تواند که همه را به بیع بیع شود	سلطان سوتن تقدیر الله انویسند
اینکه در هر باب گشتی بکند	بود و بیست بایک بچهار است سفر بنا
تواند که سلطان فبیشر بکشد شاه	سکینه تو بود اغلو تا فون الله
بیاید غن سفلی اجل فون سون	بکند فون واقه کتانه بیع بقا
و تقدیر کن فون عز و اجلا	تقدیر سوتن تقدیر الله مقلتی اینکند
نایک کر جل را عبه مهمب	و فون بکنی منتری غنضی بکند
سلطان غلیفه الله عنایه شاه باله	بکند مقلتی کن خیل فاته نادوک اینکند
محکمی نکر بی داغ عدیلست	مر شبت کدریسا بشات پنا
بکند الله را بیع بیع اصل	مقر ایاکن عمل من لالو صبر
صود که کس را عبه داغ سبزی	سکنو نکر بی تر داغ غنضی
بکند الله سلطان را بیع بیع اصل	تو کن نمون اصل تر جالب
بجالت کس را جمعه بر دیر	مقر بسکی سرع سکنو نکر بی
تو کن نمون اصلت را بیع	بیم او را غن بکند بی سودا
بیع بیع سالی فتر بی یقین	توان فتر بی بوغا مالدر سودا
توان فتر بی جمعه عاتق سودا بیع سودا	توان سوتن ابرای بشیم مقر بی بکند

سلطان غلیفه الله عنایه  
شاه الکن خجاری را بیع

سلطان غلیفه الله عنایه

شاه الکن خجاری را بیع

سلطان غلیفه الله عنایه

شاه الکن خجاری را بیع

سلطان غلیفه الله عنایه

شاه الکن خجاری را بیع

تواند که همه را به بیع بیع شود  
اینکه در هر باب گشتی بکند  
تواند که سلطان فبیشر بکشد شاه  
بیاید غن سفلی اجل فون سون  
و تقدیر کن فون عز و اجلا  
نایک کر جل را عبه مهمب  
سلطان غلیفه الله عنایه شاه باله  
محکمی نکر بی داغ عدیلست  
بکند الله را بیع بیع اصل  
صود که کس را عبه داغ سبزی  
بکند الله سلطان را بیع بیع اصل  
بجالت کس را جمعه بر دیر  
تو کن نمون اصلت را بیع  
بیع بیع سالی فتر بی یقین  
توان فتر بی جمعه عاتق سودا بیع سودا

A manuscript-sample of a seven-stanza canto  
with an additional stanza in the margin

Halaman xv

با بقم قول بر مایه بودی	ستلم مالم سودا له دکل ی
کماله کمال داغ منوای فادی	سکین مالم سیخ له دکل ی
کنو کا بنم لود بر دفت	لیم دکل ی سودا منوای فادی
دوب دان کا عیة منجو بیغ دول	سکالا منری بر مودن کماله
دوا اکلغ کک اکن تمغه ت	ستلم فادی کفول سموات
سوک له عایم قدیت سکین	دوا بلنکا یسو با یق نیب
بکند فون تعلیم داغ سمف	ستلم سودا فادی دسمف
دسوخی فر اکلغ کریت منیک	مجاوا انق داغ فر مغوان
دیات له بجاکریت دان کود	سیجوت ایت دهب بکند
دسوخی فر اکلغ ننتی کده	نیت بکند سودا فدات
سلطان فون ناکل اتساکریت	سیجوت بر مودان بکند
بکند فون سمف کدالم استار	کودا بلری داغ کر اسی
نیباله قول انجی او اکلغای	ستلم بکند اسمف در و مفل
لیدان بنیالم نیله او نه	مجاوا انق یغ تکل بر سودا

فدالم ایت تو بکند یی بیت ۵ مولود لک بر فقول کینا  
ذکر دان لک و ی زانم سموات نه لایب سامن دملایب قول

#### APPENDIX IV

### Transliteration of the remaining sections of the Syair Mukomuko

Hal. xviii

121. "Ayuhai bongsu anakku tuan,  
apalah salahku engkau tinggalkan,  
ramuklah ancur kalbu dan badan,  
terkenalkan paras rupamu tuan!
122. Ayuhai Allah Tuhanku nyawa,  
hilanglah seri kampung istana,  
sedikit tidak hatiku sangka,  
bercerai dangan paduka anakanda.
123. Ayuhai Benialam anak yang mulia,  
[b-n-f-a-r-a] sama meninggal ayah dan bonda,  
tatkala lagi hayat engkau berkata,  
umurku pendek mimpilah nyata!
124. Tiada aku percaya akan mimpimu,  
Syaitan pun banyak yang hiru-biru,  
barangkali pembohong akan katamu,  
kerana engkau kanak-kanak yang belum jamu!
125. Ayuhai Benialam ayahanda memanggil,  
hatiku tuan terlalu ghāfil,  
hati bondamu sangatlah muskil,  
sebab ditaruh didalam sair!"
126. Setelah baginda sudah menangis  
baginda pun undur dua laki isteri

121.d: *terkenalkan* (t-r-k-n-l-k-n); most probably *terkenangkan*.

lalu ke dusun ke rumah yang tinggi  
menanggung percintaan di dalam hati.

127. Puteri Benialam sudahlah wafat  
dipukul gong akar mengumpur<sup>1</sup> rakyat  
ayah dan bonda sangatlah ghairat  
menanggung percintaan menyukarkan nikmat.

....

Hal. xxvi

177. "Tiada disangka akan begini,  
kerana adinda yang kecil sekali,  
patutlah kakanda dahulu mati,  
sudahlah dangan takdir Ilahi.
178. Tatkala teringat rupamu tuan,  
ramuk hancur kalbu dan badan,  
apabila menangis anakanda mencarikan,  
mungkin bertambah hatiku rawan!"
179. Tiada madah berpanjang peri  
sudahlah maklum di dalam hati  
Raden nan tegak lalu berdiri  
air mata cucur sendiri.
180. Sudahlah fikir di dalam hati  
Raden pun pergi ke rumah yang tinggi  
serta sampai menjujung duli,  
"Ampun anakanda ke bawah duli."
181. Setelah sampai menjujung duli  
mengatakan hal adinda Puteri,  
"Jenazah anakanda baik dimandi,  
kerana usung-usungan sudah terjali."
182. Baginda dua laki-isteri menengar kata  
lalulah cucur air mata  
bercemuk hati kalbu di dada  
menjawab kata paduka anakanda.
183. Tuanku pun fikir di dalam hati  
bersabda dua laki-isteri  
airmata cucur sendiri  
sebab bercerai hari yang pagi.

127.b: *mengumpur* (m-ng-m-p-w-r) which is most likely *mengumpulkan*.

182.c: *bercemuk* (b-r-c-m-w-').

## Hal. xxvii

184. Baginda bertitah serata bersabda,  
"Apalah fikiran paduka anakanda,  
jangan dikata kepada ayahanda,  
sungguhpun hidup mati rasanya."
185. Sultan yang ghana lalu berkata  
serta bercucuran airmata,  
"Kalaulah sudah usung-usungan dan keranda,  
baiklah, mandikan paduka anakanda."
186. Setelah sudah menjujung duli  
Raden Anom memohon kembali  
tegak di pintu dukalah hati  
menyampaikan titah kepada menteri.
187. "Baiklah sedia alat dan pawai,  
Puteri Bongsu hendak dimandi,  
karana hari sudahlah tinggi,  
dibawa ke kubah hari yang pagi."
188. Setelah menteri mendengar kata  
gempar sekelian tuah dan muda  
segala kebesaran dihadapkannya  
gendang, serunai sedia pula.
189. Saya nan tidak berpanjang kata  
adat kebesaran seperti yang dahulu jua  
memegang alat tuah dan muda  
anak buah menteri dari Menjuto.
190. Tatkala jenazah akan dimandi  
hadirlah perampuan memegang syerahi  
empat belas orang isteri menteri  
sekelian mencucur air mandi.

## Hal. xxviii

191. Di bawah sudah lengkap kebesaran  
sedialah Puteri sekelian menggalangkan  
empat belas orang genap bilangan  
Encik Puteri Yakin pula yang menyandarkan.
192. Encik (?)Gadis didusun puteri yang tuah  
amalnya keras muratabatnya nyata  
menjadi imam jenazah cucunda  
airmata cucur ke dada.



193. Dua kali tujuh lilin terpasang  
empat belas kipas terbentang  
payung kerajaan sudah terkembang  
sekeliannya itu dipegang orang.
194. Jenazah digalang puteri dan dayang  
cahayanya perasyih seperti bintang  
laksana kandil nyala terpasang  
segala yang melihat hatinya bimbang.
195. Sekelian alat mustaib semuanya  
datanglah perintah Alfris tuah,  
"Pukullah gendang momongan semuanya,  
hendak memandikan jenazah cucunda."
196. Raja Gempita Alfris yang tuah  
sentiasa hari menaruh duka  
selama ditinggal oleh cucunda  
airmata jatuh tiada berhingga.
197. [s-n-ng b-a-t-h] hamba yang terjali  
ialah dibuat akan alas mandi  
sekabung kain talam bersaji  
begitulah adat anak raja mati.

## Hal. xxix

198. [s-n-ng b-a-t-h] namanya hamba  
jadi alas mandi lapis mardeheka  
demikianlah adat segala raja-raja  
pesaka tiada jadi diubahnya.
199. Gendarang dipukul serunai berbuni  
gong dipalu ilau berdiri  
tiga kali galang gendang luari  
meriam dipasang jenazah dimandi.
200. Seratus meriam yang kebesaran  
sebalas meriam pula kemudian  
bagitulah adat baginda sultan  
turun-temurun zaman berzaman.
201. Setelah sudah jenazah dimandi  
digalang pula gendarang luari  
seratus meriam telah berbuni  
lalu diangkat serta dikafani.

202. Empat belas lapis kain kapannya  
 Beruaci pula nama kainnya  
 genis asahan pula syerata  
 itulah kapan segala anak raja-raja.
203. Setelah sudah jenazah dikapan  
 naiklah pula mokin sekelian  
 menyambahyangkan anak Baginda Sultan  
 bersedakahkan pahala dengan keredaan.
204. Setelah sudah disembahyangkan  
 diangkat jenazah serta ditanaikan  
 ke dalam keranda lalu dihantarkan  
 itulah tempat yang dijanjikan Tuhan.
- \* Jenazah dihantar dalam kerandanya  
 dipasang meriam seratus pula  
 sebalas meriam pula kemudiannya  
 itulah kebesyaran selama-lamanya.

Hal. xxx

205. Sudah ditaruh didalam keranda  
 diangkat pula di atas geta  
 menantikan titah duli baginda  
 ilau berhenti dengan lalahnya.
206. Loji enam dipukul gendarang  
 pelita dan kandil nyala terpasang  
 di dalam istana terang dan bendarang  
 bagitulah kematian anak raja yang gadang.
207. Pukul enam gendarang berbunyi  
 dipukul pula galang luari  
 bedil seratus ilau berdiri  
 laki-laki perampuan dukalah hati.
208. Sepanjang malam tidak berhenti  
 sebab perceraianya hari pagi  
 tiga kali berhenti ilau berdiri  
 ayam berkokok fajar terdiri.
209. Setelah terang rupanya hari  
 ghalabah rakyat dalam negeri  
 sudah sedia segala menteri  
 alat dipegang kanan dan kiri.

210. Pukul sebelas hari Arba'a  
Raden menyembah duli yang mulia  
menjalang duli ayah dan bonda  
persembahkan alat sudah sedia.
211. Setelah baginda menengarkan sembah  
masghullah hati ghairat bertambah  
hilang arwah dengan seketika  
sebab bercerai dangan paduka anakanda.

Hal. xxxi

212. Baginda bersabda airmata pun cucur  
saganlah rupanya baginda bertutur  
hati di dalam bagai hancur  
sekelian takdir menerima sukur.
213. Raden berkata dangan perlahan  
baginda menjawab rupanya sagan,  
"Jenazah anakanda baiklah kuburkan,"  
sekadar menanti perintah Sultan.
214. Setelah baginda mendengar kata  
lalulah cucur airmata  
sebab bercerai dangan anakanda  
hendak ditanam akan jenazahnya.
215. Baginda bertitah serta berkata,  
"Sudah untungku apakan daya,  
jikaulah hadir segala peragatnya,  
bawalah dikubah disana tempatnya."
216. Setelah Raden mendengar kata  
sujud menyembah duli baginda  
lalu kembali ke dalam istana  
menyampaikan titah raja yang ghana.
217. Menyampaikan titah duli baginda  
kepada menteri Raden berkata,  
"Kerajakan alat kerajaan semuanya,  
jenazah anakanda ka gubah dibawa."
218. Menteri Yang Empat Belas menjawab kata,  
"Segala peragat hadir semuanya,  
serta Penghulu Yang Lima Kota,  
Datuk Bantal serata pula."

Hal. xxxiii ...

231. Jenazah sudah sampai dibawa  
usunganlah hadir sudah sedia  
anak raja-raja berdiri sekeliannya  
mehantarkan keranda ke rumah yang mulia.
232. Maraja Pangsyi nama usung-usungannya  
lima pangkat tujuh meracunya  
berkain anyam tiap-tiap pangkatnya  
berkampuh jingga tiap-tiap saginya.

Hal. xxxiv

233. Bergalang pintu permata agung  
tiap-tiap persagi bersela bayung  
bergambar mayang bunga tergantung  
berjumbai-jumbai, bergunung-gunung.
234. Usung-usungan itu terlalu indahnya  
dua orang anak raja-raja diatasnya  
Merah Khafilus dangan Sutan Iskandar galarnya  
memegang emas tabur itu kerajanya.
235. Pertama kebesaran be(r)jalan dahulu  
ialah sepasang tombak berambu  
alam lelipan dua kali tujuh dahulu  
tunggul dan panji-panji berjumbu-jumbu.
236. Kemudian tombak didirikan  
sebelah kiri perisyai di tangan  
dibelakang tombak padang diunuskan  
dua kali tujuh genap bilangan.
237. Di belakang padang lengkuai cerana  
patut sekali dilihat rupanya  
empat belas pula akan banyaknya  
berisi sirih dangan selengkapnya.
238. Di belakang cerana kipas terkembang  
empat belas pula orang memegang  
membawa jabatan tiadalah dagang  
turun-temurun dari nenak moyang.

232.a: *Maraja Pangsyi* (m-r-a-j p-ng-sy-y).

235.a: *bejalan* (b-j-a-l-n) = *berjalan*.

236.c: *diunuskan* (d-y-w-n-s-k-n) = *dihunuskan*.

237.a: *lengkuai* (l-ng-k-w-a-y).

239. Dua kali tujuh memasang dian  
membawanya itu sahaya perampuan  
sekeliannya itu hambanya sultan  
bagitulah adat raja kerajaan.

Hal. xxxv

240. Setelah khadir alat semuanya  
usung-usungan pula di belakangnya  
langit-langit puadai ada seratanya  
kain sampai kiri kanannya.
241. Unggun emas tanai kebesaran pula  
di bawah puadai tempat diamnya  
dua kali enam padang mengawalkannya.  
bersarung emas perak semuanya.
242. Hulubalang memegang padang berkendung  
sahaya perampuan berkain kalung  
ada yang membawa emas tanai diujung  
di kembul emas sirih di payung.
243. Kembul emas intan permata  
air cendana di dalam kaca  
berpayung besyar laksana raja  
begitulah adat raja yang ghana.
244. Sudahlah semuanya peragat diajun  
rakyat yang banyak setelah berhimpuan  
ratib seperti ombak mengalun  
melingganglah istana seperti diayun.
245. Setelah sudah hadir sekelian  
gendang dipalu serunai dihembuskan  
meriam sedia sudah diisikan  
menanti usung-usungan akan berjalan.
246. Dakat zohor sudahlah hari  
dipuput serunai galang luari  
bedil seratus meriam berbuni  
usungan diangkat dhikir pun jadi.

240.a: *khadir* (kh-d-y-r) = *hadir*.

244.b: *berhimpuan* (b-r-h-m-p-w-a-n) = *berhimpun*.

Hal. xxxvi

247. Usung-usungan diangkat lalu berjalan  
[... ] serunai gendang perarakan  
meriam dipasang sepanjang jalan  
jadilah dhikir pendeta sekalian.
- 248 Usungan diangkat berlinggang-linggang  
Lā 'ilāha-illallāhā dhikirnya sedang  
terlalu ramai bukan kepalang  
membawa jenazah seperti bimbang.
249. Tatkala akan berangkat jenazah anakanda  
puteri keluar tuah dan muda  
tagak di jendela di hal istana  
meratakan layun paduka anakanda.
250. Rasakan kiamat dalam istana  
ratab dan tangis terlalu bahana  
segala saudara menangis semuanya  
handai dan endung mengempas dirinya.
251. Berbunilah genta kegenteranya  
gemerincing rambu tunggul panji-panjinya.  
berkibaran alam halalipannya  
bercayalah rupa alat kebesarannya.
252. Setelah sampai di kubah usung-usungannya  
serunai dan gendang dipukul kedua  
sebalas meriam mengikut semuanya  
jenazah di kubur dangan sempurnanya.
253. Setelah sudah kubur ditimbun  
sekalian pendeta datang berhimpun  
khatib menalkin suara bertalun  
membawa dhikir Rabbun—Jalilun . .
- \* Dimasuk(kan)lah jenazah kepada kuburnya  
di tanah yang tersurat dijanjikan Tuhannya  
alat kebesaran demikian jua  
dipasang meriam seratus pula.

Hal. xxxvii

254. Rawatib dikubah sangat jadinya  
Lā 'ilāha-illallāhā itu akan dhikirnya  
segala mukin dangan pendeta  
diberi sadakah dangan kadarnya.
255. Rakyat dan menteri anak raja-raja  
diberi sadakah jua semuanya  
kecil dan besyar tuah dan muda  
sekelian menerima kurnia baginda.
256. Banyaklah rupa jenis sadakahnya  
emas dan kain, kasur dan bantal  
kasur pendek, tikar pun ada  
sekelian sadakah kurnia yang reda.
257. Setelah sudah sadakah dibahagi  
sekelian mukin lalu kembali  
setengahnya rakyat dangan menteri  
kembali ke istana makan diberi.
258. Matahari masuk mamlah hari  
dipukul pula gendarang luar  
bedil seratus ilau berdiri  
barang yang mendengar dukalah hati.
259. Pukul delapan ilau berhenti  
serunai dan gendarang meriam pun suni  
naik ke rumah malam mengaji  
rawatib dan dhikir terlalu ramai.
260. Tersebutlah pula duli baginda  
kembalilah ke istana rumah yang mulia  
baginda sampai di tilam bunga  
lalu menangis pengsanlah pula.

Hal. xxxviii

261. Baginda pun pengsan anak memegangkan  
dibawa ke dalam lalu dibaringkan  
dangan air mawar pula disiramkan  
seketika ingat masghullah badan.
262. Sudah rawatib alim kembali  
bedil seratus ilau berdiri  
pukul lima sianglah hari  
sekelian pendeta di kubah mangaji.

259.b: *suni* (s-w-n-y) = *sunyi*.

263. Demikianlah angkatan tiap-tiap hari  
sampai pula meniga hari  
dipotong kerabau, kambing, biri-biri  
penjamu mokin, pendeta dan kadi.
264. Encik Yakin puteri yang bijaksana  
ialah memerintah memagang kerajaan  
tiga bersaudara bersama-sama  
Encik Gedis, Encik Qari sama-sama.
265. Segala puteri memigang kerajaan  
sekalian perempuan di bawah perintahnya  
memasak makanan dilihat sendirinya  
gelamai dan wajik, cucur pun sama.
266. Setelah sudah meniga hari  
sampailah janji dangan menteri  
segala pekerjaan disuruh kembali  
kepada Maharaja Bongsu menteri jauhari.
267. Maharaja Bongsu menteri yang dermawan  
dikumpul pengulu segala teman,  
"Apa muafakat kita sekalian,  
dikembalikan Raden segala pekerjaan."

Hal. xxxix

268. Lalu menjawab Singa Diraja  
Maharaja Inda, Maharaja Desa  
Orang Kaya Setia Lela pula berkata,  
"Apa maklum kamu, kami pun serata."
269. Maharaja Bongsu lalu berkata,  
"Tiga puluh beras, pulut dan lada,  
manisan dan minyak peparan namanya,  
kepada anak kemanakan dipintakannya."
270. Menjawab Orang Kaya Maharaja Diraja,  
"Beras dan pulut apa namanya,  
kalau petulang kerabau kawannya,  
jikalau persembahan terlalu banyaknya."
271. Raja Sempurna menjawab terlalu bijak  
berkata-kata sambil tergalak,  
"Beras dan pulut terlalu banyak,  
belum patut adat diletak."



272. Muafakat pecah bicara pun sela  
Orang Kaya Kacik pula bersama-sama  
Penghulu Yang Lima Kota serata pula  
Datuk Muda di luar hukumnya.
273. Rasan pun salah muafakat tak tentu  
banyaklah bicara yang hiru-biru  
fikiranlah sudah diharu hantu  
hampirilah murka duli Tuanku.
274. Maharaja Bongsu menteri yang tuah  
Maharaja Inda, Maharaja Desya  
Singa Diraja dan Setia Lela  
peparanlah hadir lalu dipersembahkannya.

Hal. xl

275. Banyaklah Pengulu Yang Lima Kota  
Datuk Muda benar fikirannya  
peparannya genap dangan sekeliannya  
lalu dipersembahkan kepada baginda.
276. Sembilan menteri yang menurut bicara tuhanya  
selapan menteri dalam Menjuto  
scorang menteri dalam Lima Kota  
segala peparan genap semuanya.
277. Sembilan menteri menyalahi rasan  
empat menteri di Menjuto yang aman  
lima orang pengulu dalam Selagan  
Kilat Laut pula sama menyeratakan.
278. Saya nan tidak berpanjang peri  
genaplah pula menuju hari  
tiap-tiap hari ilau berdiri  
meharakkan air cendana tiada berhenti.
279. Tatkala membawa air cendana  
diarak ke kubah paduka anakanda  
lengkaplah dangan alam halilipannya  
seperti adat yang tersebut dahulu jua.
280. Tiap-tiap ilau dipasang meriam  
genaplah pula sembilan malam  
baginda nan fikir datanglah waham  
diberhentikan ilau kebesaran ke dalam.

281. Ketika malam menuju hari  
dipotong kerabau, kambing dan biri-biri  
beberapa itik, angsa dan sapi  
akan makanan mukin mengaji.

Hal. xli

282. Menujuh hari rawatib terlalu jadi  
banyaklah asyik pendeta dan kadi  
bergerak istana merapat sendi  
sudah rawatib berkat dibari.
283. Siang hari rawatib di kubah  
banyaklah pula baginda bersadakah  
kepada alim dangan fuqahā [...] *tuah*  
tua dan muda dapatlah kurnia.
284. Terlalu keras rawatib di sana  
segala kumpul pendeta semuanya  
bercampur segala menteri dan raja  
tiada ketahuan *tuah* dan muda.
285. Sudah rawatib pendeta kembali  
dikubah mengaji tiap-tiap hari  
rawatib dan dhikir petang dan pagi  
makanan diberi sadakah terjali.
286. Tujuh hari sudahlah tentu  
dua kali tujuh hampirlah itu  
sampailah khabar lalu ke Ipuh  
anak baginda wafatlah tentu.
287. Setelah Perawatin mendengar khabar  
laki-laki perampuan sekeliannya gempar  
muara dan hulu sekelian mendengar  
semuanya hilir lalu di pasyar.
288. Air Buluh dan Air Rami sifatnya satu  
Ketahun urai rakyat bersuku  
barang yang mendengar datang ke Ipuh  
tubuh pun jerih menempuh batu.

Hal. xlii

289. Segala Perawatin sudah sedia  
kurang asa enam puluh sahingga Ketahun dan Bantal  
sekeliannya datang ke Mukomuko  
membawa persembahan banyak jenisnya.

290. Perawatin pun datang sudahlah tentu  
menjalang hadrat duli tuanku  
persembahan beras, kambing dan lembu  
bagitulah adat kematian anak tuanku.
291. Sekelian Perawatin mehangkat sembahnya  
baginda menerima dengan sukanya,  
"Kasyih Perawatin hamba terima,  
Allah dan Rasul yang membalasnya."
292. Segala persembahan sudah diterima  
seorang jurutulis memigang kitabnya  
di bawah istana tempat kediamannya  
sekelian makanan di sana adanya.
293. Setelah baginda berkata-kata  
lalulah masuk ke dalam istana  
berbaring di geta hati pun duka  
terkenalkan Putera paduka anakanda.
294. Baginda masuk Perawatin bermohon  
menjujung duli memohonkan ampun  
sekelian berdiri lalulah turun  
pergi ke pasyar berhimpun-himpun
295. Sudah beberapa akan lamanya  
sepuluh hari genap bilangannya  
dipotong kambing dibuat juadahnya  
dijamu pendeta sekelian mukinnya.

Hal. xliii

296. Datanglah alim, mukin dan fuqahā'  
sampai di rumah Quran dibaca  
sudah mengaji ratiblah ia  
ḥayyun dan dāim dhikir dibawa.
297. Rawatib sudah hidangan keluar  
diajun pemangku kecil dan besyar  
makanlah malim di atas pahar  
makan sudah sirih keluar.
298. Sudah makan sirih di santap  
bermohonlah kita pergi mengadap  
mata seperti rasa akan lelap  
sampai di rumah tidur pun lelap.

291.a: *mehangkat* (m-h-ng-k-t): a variant of *mengangkat*.

299. Hari siang malim sedia  
pergi mengaji di gubah semuanya  
sekalian nikmat ada disana  
alim dan pendeta suka tertawa.
300. Sudah makan parut pun kenyang  
segala mokin bermohon pulang  
kembalilah ia bersenang-senang  
separa singgah di surau sembahyang.
301. Hampirlah menjelang dua kali tujuh  
baginda dua laki-isteri sangatlah rusyuh  
makan tak mahu nafsu pun penuh  
laksana mandi di tempat yang keruh.
302. "Astaghfirullāh hambamu taubat,  
kepada Allah memohon syafa'at,  
dandam birahi kalbu tertambat,  
laksana penyakit tiada berobat."

Hal. xlv

303. "Ayuhai Allah ya Tuhanku,  
lihatlah rupa tingkah dan laku,  
selama tak tampak rupa anakku,  
putuslah hati rangkai jantungku."
304. Saya nan tidak berpanjang peri  
genap bilangan dua kali tujuh hari  
dipotong kerabau, sapi, biri-biri  
jambar teridang sudah bersaji.
305. Segala rakyat perampuan dan laki-laki  
(ber)kumpul semuanya bermasak nasi  
Yang Lima Kota itu payah sekali  
sama pula kemenakan menteri.
306. Malam hari datang bersuluh  
perampuan bekerja sesyak dan penuh  
bajak ditinggal badan berpaluh  
memasak makanan terlalu heboh.
307. Sudahlah hadir segala pendeta  
menteri dan rakyat segala anak raja-raja  
sekeliannya itu ada di istana  
dibuka tudung makan semuanya.

304.d: *teridang* (t-r-y-d-ng) = *terhidang*.

308. Sidang makan bertutur-tutur  
membincangkan sifat 'Azīz 'ul-ghaffūr  
sekalian itu duduk bercampur  
ada yang makan dangan masyghul.
309. Segala tuan-tuan sudahlah makan  
hidangan diangkat sirih disembahkan  
dibukak Quran lalu dibacakan  
adalah pula yang sesyat bacaan.

Hal. xlv

310. Orang mengaji terlalu banyak  
bahananya seperti air menggalagak  
ada yang mengaji sambil tergalak  
seperti laku fiil kanak-kanak.
311. Setelah sudah membaca Quran  
lalulah rawatib labai diimamkan  
khatib berdhikir memuji Tuhan  
banyak pendeta asyik dan pengsan.
312. Setengah tiada khabar akan diri  
setengah diam sambil berdiri  
banyak mengantuk pendeta dan kadi  
itulah fiil terlalu kaji.
313. Ayuhai tuan, fakir, pendeta  
dangarkan sair suatu cerita  
apabila berdhikir di rumah saudara  
jalanlah malas berdiri saja.
314. Ayuhai tuan tuah dan muda  
tatkala berdhikir nyaringkan suara  
supaya mendapat pahala syurga  
pada segala manusia terpuji pula.
315. Setengah berdhikir berdiam diri  
datanglah [...] upat dan puji  
Tuhan pun murka, malaikat dan nabi  
orang pun keraja payah dan rugi.

308.a: *sidang* (s-y-d-ng): probably means *sedang*.

309.c: *dibukak* (d-b-w-k-q): a variant of *dibuka*.

312.d: *kaji* (k-a-j-y) = *keji*.

313.d: *jalanlah* (j-a-l-n-l-h) = *janganlah*.

315.b: *upat* (a-w-p-a-t) = *umpat*.

316. Jikalau dibawa fil bagitu  
jadilah benci raja dan pengulu  
tiap-tiap kampung jahat namamu  
jadilah engkau menaruh malu.

Hal. xlv

317. Bukannya saya mengajarkan tuan  
saya mengibur kata yang rawan  
mehingatkan anak saudara dan taulan  
baiklah ditinggal fil yang demikian.
318. Tiadalah saya berpanjang kata  
rawatib jadi dhikir pun sedia  
duduklah sekalian alim, pendeta  
paluh keluar baju dibuka.
319. Setelah sudah rawatib berhenti  
hidangan keluar diajun menteri  
nasi-lemak, pulut berinti  
akan berkat dibawa kembali.
320. Sudah makan dibahagi berkat  
sekalian pendeta memohon berangkat  
pulang ke rumah suluh berkilat  
lalulah tidur bantal diangkat.
321. Setelah siang rupanya hari  
(ber)kumpul pendeta, alim dan haji  
datang ke kubah pergi mengaji  
sudah mengaji rawatib berdiri.
322. Segala pendeta diberi sedakahnya  
menteri dan raja-raja boleh semuanya  
beberapa kelamai, wajit nama juadahnya  
sekeliannya itu dibahaginya.
323. Ratib malam besyarliah siang = ..  
tuah dan muda pendeta datang  
ramai (ber)dhikir bukan kepalang  
ada yang berlaga jatuh bertelentang.

Hal. xlvii

324. Sudah rawatib pendeta kembali  
sampailah pula dua puluh hari  
dipotong kambing makanan kadi  
hampirlah bilangan tiga puluh hari.

325. Tiga puluh hari genap bilangan dua tiga kambing disembelihkannya rawatib jadi membaca Quran sekalian sidang lalahlah badan.
326. Sehari terkubur jenazah Puteri sekeliannya ratib pendeta dan jali empat belas hari rawatib terjali siang dan malam tiada berhenti.
327. Genap bilangan empat belas hari belumlah genap peparan menteri disuruh mintak tiada peduli, "Saya sembahkan ke bawah duli."
328. Setelah baginda menengar kata tuanku bertitah manis mukanya didalam hati sangat murkanya tiadalah kelihatan oleh manusia.
329. Demikianlah adat raja kerajaan dimuka tiada kunjung kelihatan laksana api sakam dimakan lambat dan lakas datang kecelaan.
330. Baginda Sultan lalu berdiri dikumpul segala pengulu dan menteri seraya bertitah manis berseri, "Apa sebab peparan belum terjali?"

Hal. xlviii

331. Tiadalah hilang peparan menteri, sekeliannya itu hamba bayar bali, jika demikian mungkirlah janji? tiada berpakai adat negeri."
332. Baginda murka menteri pun takut gementar tulang sendi dan lutut tunduk terpekur duduk bertelut sesal menyalas ikut berikut.
333. Banyaklah jalan baginda murka bukan suatu jalan salahnya sekalian menteri tua dan muda semua tunduk berdiam dirinya.

334. Mengangkat sembah segala menteri,  
 "Ampun tuanku ke bawah duli,  
 salah yang diperhamba nyata terjali,  
 mintak ampun jua sekalian kami."
335. Segala menteri duduk berkampung  
 tuah dan muda diam termenung  
 sembah diangkat khaḍrat dijunjung  
 setelah mati derhaka ditanggung.
336. Habis sekalian sembah menteri  
 baginda pun diam tegak berdiri  
 lalu sembahyang tuan dipuji  
 masghul nan tidak lagi berhenti.
337. Baginda mengucap, "Allāhu-rabbī,  
 lihatlah tingkah dua laki-isyeri,  
 sudah takdir Tuhan Yang Bāqī,  
 kematian putera putuslah hati."

## Hal. xlix

338. Hampir menjelang empat puluh hari  
 hadir semuanya beras dan padi  
 peparan rakyat sudah berdiri  
 pulut dan jerami minyak dan sapi.
339. Garam dan asam, kunit dan lada  
 ayam dan sayur, itik dan angsa  
 kerabau dan sapi, kambinglah ada  
 sekeliannya mustaib semuanya sedia.
340. Setelah mustaib segala makanan  
 datanglah rakyat laki-laki perampuan  
 di kampung dalam minum dan makan  
 membuat juadah karas makanan.
341. Dua puluh hari membuat juadahnya  
 beberapa kelamai, wajit dan suala  
 apam dan leman, buah inai syerata  
 akan sedakah kepada pendeta.
342. Berbuat juadah malam dan siang  
 koya dan manisan serta madu mayang  
 putu dan lapat, juadah langginang  
 akan sedakah kepada segala sidang.

336.c: *tuau* (t-w-a-n) = *Tuhan*.



343. Juadah dibuat sambil bertutur  
memasak langginang duduk di dapur  
banyaklah perempuan bercampur-campur  
setengah mengantuk setengah tidur.
344. Setelah sudah juadah di keraja  
lalu bertitah duli baginda  
dipanggil panglima dengan penggawa  
segala rakyat (ber)kumpul semuanya.

## Hal. 1

345. Segala penggawa menjujung duli,  
"Ampun tuanku raja yang ghani,  
apa perintah kepada kami,  
barang maklum yang diperhamba rādi."
346. Baginda bertitah manislah muka,  
"Pergilah engkau mudik (ke) Menjuto,  
kumpulkan rakyat segala pendeta,  
sekeliannya suruh datang ke muara!"
347. Penggawa menengar titahnya Sultan  
sujud menyambah bangkit perlahan  
mudik (ke) Menjuto hulu Selagan  
menyampaikan titah baginda Sultan.
348. Segala rakyat mendengar wardi  
hilirlah sekelian saikh dan kadi  
sampai dipasyar berkamas diri  
lalu ke istana menjujung duli.
349. Baginda bertitah dengan horamatnya,  
"Ayuhai kadi, alim, pendeta,  
sebab hamba suruh kumpul semuanya,  
memintak doa menyampai hari anakanda."
350. Alim dan mukin mendengar titah  
hatinya suka horamat bertambah  
duli dijujung hadhmat menyambah  
pulang ke pasyar berhentikan lalah.
351. Genap bilangan empat puluh hari  
kumpullah perempuan bermasak nasyi  
kerabau dipotong biri-biri dan syapi  
memasak makanan perempuan dan laki-laki.

## Hal. li

352. Banyaklah rakyat berkumpul-kumpul  
laki-laki, perempuan bercampur-campur  
memasak makanan sambil bertutur  
ada yang tanggal distar dan sanggur.
353. Sambil menggulai berkata-kata  
setengah ada pula yang duka  
setengahnya diam tidak berkata  
setengah berbincang suka termasa.
354. Sekeliannya (ber)kumpul anak kemanakan menteri  
setengah memasak gulai dan nasi  
di atas paha hidang tersaji  
banyaklah tumis gulai bersaji.
355. Gulai dan nasi hadir semuanya  
datanglah Pengulu Yang Lima Kota  
diangkatnya jambar naik istana  
diajun menteri tuah dan muda.
356. Setelah sudah jambar terhidang  
pukul enam mentahari pun petang  
datanglah sekalian alim dan sidang  
mengadap jambar sambil berbincang.
357. Segala pendeta hadir semuanya  
terlalu banyak penuh istana  
bedua-bedua sejambar sekeliannya  
begitulah adat sealama-lamanya.
358. Setelah pendeta duduk sekalian  
datanglah perintah Baginda Sultan  
jambar dibuka nasi dimakan  
mulut mengunyah dangan perlahan.

## Hal. lii

359. Segala pendeta sudahlah makan  
diambil air dibasuh tangan  
diangkatlah pula segala hidangan  
sirih, cerana itu pun dikeluarkan.

352.d: *sanggur* (s-ng-g-w-r) = *sanggul*357.c: *bedua-bedua* (b-d-w-a b-d-w-a) = *berdua-berdua*.

360. Sirih setelah sudah dimakan  
dibuka mashaf dibaca Quran  
raja dan menteri hadir di sanan  
melihat termasa anak kemanakan.
361. Segala qāri membaca Quran  
membawa huruf pasyih bacaan  
membawa tajwid lidah pun ringan  
mezahirkan rafak hadir sekelian.
362. Setelah sudah alim mengaji  
lalu berdhikir Tuhan dipuji  
Lā 'ilāha-illallāhā isbāt dan nāfi  
sifat yang asmā' disana berdiri.
363. Jadilah rawatib terlalu ramai  
sekelian pendeta tegak berdiri  
membawa rawatib tiada bersisi  
banyaklah pengsan alim dan haji.
364. Banyak pendeta asyik dan pengsan  
setengah lupa kepada badan  
setengah berdhikir dangan perlahan  
setengah di dinding tegak bersandaran.
365. Sangatlah lalah sahikh dan kadi  
membawa dhikir sukur fan rādi  
setengah mengantuk sambil berdiri  
setengah tegak tidur sekali.

Hal. liii

366. Saya nan tidak berpanjang peri  
sudahlah rawatib alim kembali  
lalu ke rumah membawa diri  
sebentar tidur sianglah hari.
367. Hari siang alim pun (ber)kumpul  
di kubah ratib bercampur-bawar  
tempat berdhikir panjang tujuh likur  
alim berdhikir tunduk terpakur.
368. Sekelian sidang semuanya ratib  
terlalu ramai bersempit-sempit  
ratib berdiri tegak berhimpit  
setengah terjatuh kainnya carik.

367.b: *bawar* (b-a-w-a-r) = *baur* or *bercampur-baur*.

369. Pagi ratib sampailah petang  
orang berkata jambar teridang  
dua ratus banyak jambar dibilang  
sekeliannya itu makanan sidang.
370. Hidangan di hadapan doa dibaca  
menampunglah sekalian alim pendeta  
kecil dan besyar, tuah dan muda  
mengatakan amin dangan sejahtera.
371. Setelah sudah doa ditampung  
lalu dibuka sekalian tudung  
beberapa juadah karas tepung  
dibahagi alim berkarung-karung.
372. Tatkala membahagi segala zuadah  
bersilang tangan tuah dan muda  
berhadapan kecil dangan yang tuah  
bermainlah akal budi bicara.

Hal. liv

373. Setelah sudah berkat dibahagi  
sekalian pendeta bermohon kembali  
sampai di rumah senanglah hati  
memakan juadah petang dan pagi.
374. Menujuh hari banyak sedakah  
empat puluh hari banyak juadah  
tiap-tiap hari memintak doa  
lima puluh hari hampirlah sudah.
375. Sampai bilangan lima puluh hari  
dipotong kambing, ayam dan biri-biri  
memintak doa segenap hari  
mengaji dan dhikir tiada berhenti.
376. Enam puluh hari genap bilangan  
sudahlah sedia segala makanan  
Encik Fuad itu orang yang budiman  
ialah ikutan segala perampuan.
377. Encik Fuad itu perampuan bestari  
ialah kepala segala isteri menteri  
segala pekerjaan dipegangkan diri  
terlalu sabar arif sekali.

378. Encik Pisti itu perempuan yang tua  
terlalu bijak dengan biasa  
itulah diharap oleh baginda  
umurnya sudah tiga gilir raja.
379. Enam puluh hari sampailah pula  
datanglah alim sekalian pendeta  
kumpul dikubah Quran dibaca  
tujuh puluh hari hampir pula.

Hal. lv

380. Tujuh puluh hari genap dibilang  
kumpullah sekalian fuqahā' dan sidang  
lalu dikubah Quran dibentang  
mengaji dan dhikir terlalu garang.
381. Selapan puluh hari genap bilangan  
sudah terajun segala makanān  
mengaji dan ratib tiada berhingga  
dhikir berhenti juadah dimakan.
382. Sembilan puluh hari sudahlah tentu  
datanglah Proatin Air Rami dan Ipuh  
Teramang dan Bantal datanglah itu  
membawa persembahan menjalang tuanku.
383. Setengah kerabau akan persembahannya  
setengah kambing dengan dinarnya  
setengah beras dengan pulutnya  
kunit dan lada lengkap semuanya.
384. Bagitulah adat negeri beraja  
adat yang lama tiada diubahnya  
turun-temurun berganti rajanya  
adat menteri dengan diraja.
385. Hampir menjelang seratus hari  
(ber)kumpullah pengulu dengan menteri  
baginda dua laki isteri rawanlah hati  
sebab terkenal anakanda Puteri.
386. "Ayuhai Benialam anakku tuan,  
sudahlah lama aku engkau tinggalkan,  
seratus hari hampir bilangan,  
jangankan lupa bertambah rawan!"

## Hal. lvi

387. Didalam hadis dalil tersurat  
seratus hari arwah ma'irat  
meninggalkan kampung duka dan nikmat  
mengadapkan Tuhan [...] kehadiran
388. Tatkala arwah meninggal kampungnya  
lalu berjalan mengedar tanamannya  
naik ke rumah melihat ayah bondanya  
lalu menangis terpancang hartanya.
389. Arwah ma'irat serata dengan insan  
kepada saudara izin dipohonkan  
tinggallah ayah bonda sekalian  
lalu terbang mengadapkan Tuhan.
390. Katanya ghaib tiada kedengaran  
tubuhnya halus tiada kelihatan  
wahabat wahidiyat sifatnya Tuhan  
sudah terpakai kepada insan.
391. Jikalau ada takdir Tuhannya  
sifatNya qā'im, dhatNya bāqā  
anasir yang empat tinggallah ia  
sifat yang tujuh hadir disana.
392. Saya nan tidak berpanjang kata  
seratus hari genaplah dia  
datanglah rakyat tuah dan muda  
membuat makanan juadah semuanya.
393. Encik Gadis puteri yang tuah sekali  
emak muda oleh segala puteri  
Encik Mula-Mula mentuah baginda nenek segala putera  
sambil bekeraja dukalah hati.

## Hal. lvii

394. Puteri Yakin terlalu pantas  
membuat juadah buah inai dan gegatas  
Encik Kari menukur membuat karas-karas  
hatinya bimbang amalanya keras.
395. Tuan Puteri Rekna Lumut sangat deramawan  
Tuan Puteri Suai saudara Sultan  
Tuan Puteri Biasyin, Tuan Puteri Nang Iman  
semuanya duduk mengeraja makanan.

396. Tuan Puteri Rekna Cahaya Gemala  
itulah saudara oleh baginda  
tatkala bekeraja bersama-sama  
airmata cucur teringatkan anakanda.
397. Encik Gasi itu perempuan yang lama  
terlalu keras memerintahkan hamba  
dipukul, dipalu dengan keras kata  
bagitulah adat perempuan perkasa.
398. Tatkala bekeraja berkata-kata,  
"Ambillah ini bawa ke sana!"  
Encik Gasi memerintah makanan dikubah  
pagi dan petang semuanya sedia.
399. Tuan Puteri Cuping arif termasa  
sebarang pekerjaan bertanya jua  
barang siapa berbincang tuah dan muda  
ia mendengar mengertilah dia.
400. Adat arif bagitu nian  
Puteri Nilai sangat budiman  
pagi dan petang memasak makanan  
dua bersaudara tinggal perempuan.

Hal. lviii

401. Encik Kurus itu rubinah yang sabar  
ialah memerintahkan talam dan paha  
kerajanya sedikit mehayun jambar  
badannya daif tiadalah kahar.
402. Tatkala bekeraja banyak perintahnya,  
"Mari ke mari pergi ke sana!",  
kata seorang hamba dibawah kerajaan,  
"Pergilah kamu lelah payah hamba."
403. Dua tiga menjawab kata,  
"Jangan begitu mula berkata,  
sekelian kita payah semuanya,  
upat dan keji tiada gunanya."
404. Adat bekeraja bagitu nian  
tolak-menolak fil yang zaman  
upat dan puji banyak disanan  
sebab menurut hawa dan syaitan.

405. Adat banyak segalanya ada  
kias dan sindir ada belaka  
seorang menjawab, "Jangan berkata,  
didangar baginda kelak murka."
406. Saya nan tidak berbanyak kata  
sekelian makanan hadir semuanya  
dipotong kerabau empat dan lima  
akan penjamu segala pendeta.
407. Segala makanan sudahlah hadir  
Selagan, Menjuto mukinnya hilir  
kumpullah sekelian alim dan fakir  
lalu digubah pergi berdhikir.

Hal. lix

408. Tatkala menyampai seratus hari  
jadi ratib tiada terperi  
dua hari dua malam ratib berdiri  
siang dan malam tiada berhenti.
409. Seratus hari sedakah yang besyar  
semua (ber)kumpul kecil dan besyar  
dhikir dibaca 'Aziz 'ul-ghaffar  
memuji Tuhan Wāhid 'ul-qahhār.
410. Pagi ratib sampailah petang  
dhikir malam sampailah siang  
hari Sabtu kenduri yang gadang  
pukul empat hari pun petang.
411. Loji empat ratib berhenti  
diangkatkan jambar hidangan nasi  
makanlah sekelian pendeta dan haji  
menerima karunia baginda yang rādi.
412. Sudah makan sedakah dibahagi  
kepada pegawai yang hadir di sini  
segala raja-raja dengan menteri  
tuah dan muda semuanya diberi.
413. Setelah sudah membahagi sedakahnya  
diangkatkan pula hidangan juadahnya  
hidangan terhantar doa dibacanya  
mengatakan amin mukmin semuanya.



414. Setelah sudah membaca doa  
juadah dibahagi sekalian pendeta  
beberapa wajit, kelamai yang sedia  
cucur dan karas-karas ada semuanya

Hal. lx

415. Setelah sudah berkat dibahagi  
hari petang bermohon kembali  
pulang ke rumah membawa diri  
tubuh pun lalah latih sekali.
416. Hari siang hidangan sedia  
dibawa dikubah mencucur air cendana  
dilamak emas pemalut tudungnya  
sekalian itu nugeraha baginda.
417. Hidangan sekalian dibawa dikubahnya  
baginda laki-isteri pergi semuanya  
tatkala baginda turun dari tangga  
riuhlah ratib di dalam istana.
418. Puteri dan siti meratap sekalian  
melingganglah istana bergeraklah lawan  
ayah dan bonda bagai akan pingsan  
tersadarkan rupa-rupa anakanda bangsawan.
419. Sampai digubah Baginda Sultan  
labai Bangkahulu ratib diimamkan  
sudah berdhikir juadah dimakan  
sudah santap bermohon sekalian.
420. Segala muki bermohon kembali  
seratus hari sair dihenti  
doa yang besyar belum didiri  
menantikan anakanda Hidayat kembali.
421. Ayuhai encik dan tuan  
sairku ini hendak didengarkan  
tatkala berdhikir menyabut Tuhan  
hendaklah baju jangan engkau tanggalkan.

Hal. lxi

422. Apabila berdhikir menanggalkan baju  
jadilah subahat pula rupa mu  
kepada Allah kurang horamat mu  
tubuh pun najis sebab peluh mu.

423. Di surat madah sifāt 'ul-kalām  
sair sudah patahlah kalam  
dakwat tertumpah hari pun kelam  
barang yang mendengar berhati dandam.
424. Apabila membaca sairku ini  
janganlah kurang upat dan puji  
suratannya ghalat perkataannya keji  
kurang dan lebih tuan tambahi.
425. Tamatlah kisah intāh 'al-kalām  
namanya Sair Puteri Benialam  
anaknya Sultan Khālifāt 'ul-'alām  
di Mukomuko wafat di kampung dalam.

Syahidan adapun maka tuanku membuat surat ini supaya jadi peringatan oleh segala anak cucu tuanku supaya diketahuinya sekalian perabuatan duli tuanku yang tersurat di dalam surat ini adanya, intāh 'al-kalām bi 'l-khaīr, Āmīn, waṣalla 'llāhu 'alā khairī khalqihī Muhammad wa 'ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi ajma'īn.

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