A HISTORY OF CLASSICAL MALAY LITERATURE

The President and the Council of the
Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
gratefully acknowledge generous contributions towards
the cost of the publication of this Reprint from
BANK BUMIPUTRA MALAYSIA BERHAD and SIME DARBY.

Edited for the Council of the
Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society by
Associate Professor Yusof A. Talib.

ISSN – 0127-1865
ISBN – 983-99614-5-4
KDN PP – 79/3/91. MITA(P) 132/7/91

Printed in Malaysia by
Eagle Trading Sdn Bhd, 81 Jalan SS 25/32,
47301 Petaling Jaya, Selangor Darul Ehsan.

A HISTORY OF CLASSICAL MALAY LITERATURE

by

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Revised, Edited and Introduced

by Y. A. Talib

A History of Classical Malay Literature

Acknowledgements

I should like to express my thanks to Associate Professor (Dr) Ernest Chew, Head, Department of History, National University of Singapore for having proposed my name as the editor and reviser of Sir Richard *Winstedt's magnum opus*. My thanks equally go to Tan Sri Dato' Dr Mubin Sheppard, Hon. Editor *JMBRAS* for his forbearance, amiability, and confidence in presenting the revision before the Council of MBRAS and seeing it through the press.

My special thanks to my colleague, Dr Liaw Yock Fang, for allowing me access to a number of Malay classical works in his private collection as well as drawing my attention to several lacunae and errors in the text. I am grateful to Miss Hamidah Mohamed, Secretary, Department of Malay Studies, National University of Singapore, for having typed the entire revision in a painstaking manner and with persistence. Last but not least to my wife, Lucina, for her understanding and patience during the period the work was being elaborated.

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Author's Preface

Any one who surveys the field of Malay literature will be struck by the amazing abundance of its foreign flora and the rarity of indigenous growths. Malay folklore, even, is borrowed, most of it, from the vast store-house of Indian legend, an early crop garnered in the Hindu period, and later in the Islamic. When literature flowered on the written page, Malay became the cultural language of Indian traders and pundits at every port in the Malay Archipelago. The most prolific 'Malay' authors were Indians or Malays of mixed blood, like Shaikh Nuru'd-din a'r-Raniri and Munshi 'Abdul'llah, and even the author of that finest of all Malay works, the *Sějarah Melayu*, would on the internal evidence of his history appear to have been a half Indian, half Malay follower of the old Malacca court. Reciters and authors of this type translated the legend of Alexander the Great, the Persian romance of Amir Hamza, Bidpai's Fables, the mystical works of Ghazali and Ibn 'Arabi, and many other Oriental classics into Malay. In spite of unfamiliar names for people and places, this imported literature has affected the Malay mind at least as much as Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* or Pope's *Iliad* have affected the mind of the ordinary Englishman, though in the many obscure and unidiomatic translations of Arabian mystics and theologians the average Malay takes no more interest than the man in the Strand takes in Bohn's translation of Spinoza.

Muslim prejudice has caused most of the works of the finest period of Malay literature to be neglected, the *Hikayat Pandawa* and *Hikayat Sěri Rama* because they are Hindu, the *Hikayat Amir Hamza* and *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah*, because they are tinged with Persian heresy. Moreover the length of such manuscripts put them beyond the reach of all but the wealthy, who would generally refuse to let them be copied and circulated. But the more orthodoxy turned the Malay to later Arabian models, the more debased became his literary style, losing the clear and succinct quality of its own idiom. Metaphysics and law are abstruse for the uncritical mind, even when presented in good translations; they are abracadabra in an imperfect paraphrase.

For the modern Malay his old literature, to use a simile from the Panji tales, has become dead as the leather puppets of the shadow-play when the lights of the theatre have been extinguished. But the tales of battle and magic have had a permanent effect on his racial imagination, giving a martial bias to a pastoral people and deepening their superstition. Yet in spite of the drums and trumpets of this foreign romance (which sounded loudest in the half-caste courts of the Sailendras and the Sultans of Malacca and their descendants), the heart of the average Malay has

remained set on what interested his forebears in days before they had adopted skirts of Hindu pattern and coats and trousers of Indo-Persian origin. From songs of tribal origin he has evolved a number of chronicles, and he has lapped foreign suggestion to polish village quatrains that must have been popular from time immemorial. A hunt through half a million pages of Malay manuscripts will find all that is purely indigenous in an output of histories, the *pantun* and a few topical verses.

It is needless to say that a historian of literature must be indebted to many predecessors, who have culled the flowers he bunches together. I would mention particularly van der Tuuk for his researches on works of the Hindu period, Doctor W. H. Rassers for his analysis of the Javanese Panji tales, Doctor J. Brandes for his labour on the cycles of famous tales which the Malay derived from Muslim sources, and Doctor Ph. van Ronkel, not only for his great catalogues of the Malay manuscripts at Batavia and Leiden but also for his many critical studies of the Persian, Arabic and Tamil elements in Malay literature.

R. O. Winstedt
London, 1940.

In this second edition will be found new matter on the Panji tales, the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, the *Hikayat Iskandar*, Shamsu'd-din of Pasai and Nuru'd-din a'r-Raniri, most of it due to Dutch and Javanese research. The chapter on legal digests has been remodelled as the result of my own studies.

I have omitted the chapter on nineteenth and early twentieth century Malay literature by Doctor Zain al-'abidin, which appeared in the first edition of this work, as the subject will be covered in a subsequent monograph in the present series.

R.O.W.
London, 1960.

Abbreviations

BKI	Bijdragen van her Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde's Gravenhage
BNI	Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, The Hague, 1852, continuing.
BSOS }	Bulletin of the School of Oriental (from 1939: African)
BSOAS }	Studies, London.
DB	Dewan Bahasa (Majalah), Kuala Lumpur
DBP	Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka
DS	Dewan Sastera
FMJ	Ferderation Museums Journal
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London
JMBRAS	Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Singapore/ Kuala Lumpur
JPMUM	Jabatan Pengajian Melayu University Malaya
JSBRAS	Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Singapore
JSS	Journal of the Siam Society, Bangkok
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal;-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
NSRAS	Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
TBG	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia (now Jakarta).
VBG	Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia (now Jakarta).
VKI	Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde.

Introduction

Sir Richard Olaf Winstedt (1878-1966)[1] was undoubtedly, the last and greatest of the 'colonial-administrator' scholars of British Malaya. He wrote, translated, compiled and researched prolifically on almost all things Malay. In this vast scholarly output of his, none stands out more significantly than — "*A History of Malay Literature*' which first appeared in print in 1939 and subsequently revised in 1958, with a slightly different title — "*A History of Classical Malay Literature*". It has been described as "by far the most influential work in the field of Malay literature. Though Winstedt was by no means the first scholar to concern himself with Malay literature as distinct from "scholarship" or "philology" as may be seen from the works of Wilkinson, Overbeck and others, he was however the first to attempt a historical survey of the whole literature".[2]

Winstedt in the introduction to his opus and elsewhere graciously acknowledged his indebtedness to the works of Dutch and other European scholars as well as his reliance on local informants. He was equally privileged to draw from the rich Dutch and British collections of Malay manuscripts. However a substantial part of this work is the author's co-ordination of the research of a life-time in this field.

In certain academic circles especially among philologists, Winstedt's work has come increasingly under attack largely on account of "the ambitiousness and extensiveness of his undertakings that many of the presuppositions that were implicit in the writings of others stand out so sharply in Winstedt's work".[3] It is not my intention here to enter into a detailed debate on this. However several aspects of these criticisms will be indicated briefly, and are as follows:-

Winstedt's scheme - the historical model was found to be most unsuitable in the study of Malay literature and most premature and it limits our ability to perceive traditional Malay literature on its own terms.[4]

Secondly his arbitrary attribution of much of Malay literature to foreign inspiration and creation.[5]

Thirdly all these "presuppositions" are explained away with reference to the author's "europo-centric bias" of what is considered as an appropriate literary tradition.[6]

It is indeed tempting to dismiss Winstedt's work in a cavalier fashion. He was very much a pioneer - and his great contribution to scholarship has been the spade-work he provided in unearthing and promoting the cultural heritage of the Malays. It was the task of contemporary scholarship to deal with his subjects in greater detail.

It appeared that a lapse of 19 years between the 1st and 2nd editions was considered timely enough. A lapse of 31 years would even be a better justification for this 3rd revised edition, taking into consideration the vast amount of research, new discoveries and insights which have taken place in various countries around the world with keen interest in classical Malay literature.

Winstedt's "history" still constitutes the principal reference in English despite the fact that there are other accounts of Malay classical literature in different languages.[7]

In this revised edition Winstedt's original text has been preserved. His prose written in compact form with a turgid style[8] has now been more readable by breaking unduly long paragraphs, resetting the chapter bibliographies and adding a comprehensive index.

The "Bibliography" has now been extensively updated to accommodate the vast amount of research already accomplished. Factual inaccuracies typographical errors, lacunae, to be found both in the text and the bibliography have now been corrected and explained in the form of footnotes at the end of each chapter as well as the appendix.

Assoc Prof Yusof A Talib
November 1989

Notes

1. For a concise account of "Sir Richard Winstedt and his writings" see Bastin, John and Roolvink, R, 1967, pp. 1-23.
2. Sweeney, Amin, 1987, p. 24.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid*, pp. 39-42.
5. *Ibid*, pp. 25-27.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Hollander de, J J, 1845 — has a section on Malay literature and which constitutes the "only reasonably comprehensive survey as such to appear in the 19th century". See equally Hooykaas, C, 1937 (2nd edition 1947), 1952, 1965(b); Liaw Yock Fang, 1975.
8. It is interesting to note that "his literary style has been praised at Oxford, among others by his Greats tutor, Hastings Rashdall and by a contemporary undergraduate, Compton Mackenzie; and though he maintains that he subsequently lost this style by producing papers as compact as possible to save the *Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* from avoidable expenditure on its *Journal*". Bastin, John and Roolvink, R, 1967, p. 2.

Chapter 1

The Malay Language and Literature.[1]

Literature strictly came into being with the art of writing, but long before letters were shaped, there existed the material of literature, words spoken in verse to wake emotion by beauty of sound and words spoken in prose to appeal to reason by beauty of sense.

The Malay language of prehistoric times had a dozen words for *fall, hit, carry,* and so on, words of such precision that different terms were used, for example, to express carrying on the head, under the arm, in the fingers, in the outstretched hand, on the back, across one hip, on a yoke, in a bag; and this precision of speech was further helped by a flexible syntax enabling the emphatic word or phrase to be placed in its just position of prominence in the sentence. But until it had borrowed from Sanskrit words like *price, property, work, religion, fasting, time, glad, agony,* the language was destitute of terms to express feelings and ethical, religious and other abstract ideas.

Sanskrit came to the Malays through Indians conversant with magic and the ritual of a new religion, newcomers so few in the land that they could not introduce Prakrit, the colloquial form of Sanskrit, into the speech of their converts but were content to use classical Sanskrit in their prayers and ceremonies. The first Indians came early in the Christian era from the Coromandel coast, to be succeeded by a later wave from Bengal and Magadha. Finally Indian influence came once more from the south, introducing many Sanskrit words in Tamil form and, later, Persian and Arabic words which Islam had brought to the East.

This in the main is Malay as we know it, though many religious terms were imported afterwards by missionaries from the Hadramaut and a sprinkling and culture words was borrowed from Portuguese and Dutch. Except for a few Sumatran inscriptions, dating from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries A.D., there is no Malay written in other than Perso-Arabic script and there are no records of the Malay language free from Arabic loan-words. Marco Polo found Islam already established in Perlak, on the north coast of Sumatra, in 1292, and when Ibn Batuta visited Pasai in 1345 it held the field. The oldest Jawi or Malay written in Perso-Arabic script may be read on a stone from Trengganu, bearing a date which is either 1326 or 1386 and set up by a Sri Paduka Tuan to record the Islamic penalties for sexual and other offences to be enforced by Muslim Raja Mandalikas. The inscription is in Malay but contains a large number of Sanskrit words and translates *Allah taala* by the Sanskrit words *Dewata Mulia Raya,* which we shall find done also in Archbishop Laud's Malay copy of the *Ramayana*: at the same time it contains such Arabic words as

Rasul Allah, Islam, salla' llahu 'alaihi wa sallama, fardlu, juma'at, la'anat, while the spelling, omitting the vowel points used in Arabic, already with a few exceptions inserts vowels on the principles found in all Malay manuscripts until the modern indiscriminate insertion of vowels became common.

With this instrument of a language so receptive of new words and new ideas, "the Malays have been progressing on much the same literary road as ourselves but have not got as far as we have." And, what is more significant, their tongue will be found to have been one of the cultural languages of the world.

Notes

1. *Cataloques of Malay Manuscripts:—*

(a) Abdul Rahman Kaeh, 1975(a); Abu Hassan Sham, 1974; Bastin, J and Roolvink, R, 1964; Berg LWC van den 1877; Braginsky, V and Boldyreva, 1977; Brockelmann, C, 1908; Cabaton, A, 1912; Blagden, C O, 1899, 1930; Ding Choo Ming, 1987; Douglas, F W, 1955; Dulaurier, MEd, 1840; Greentree, R and Nicholson, E W B, 1910; Habbema, J, 1885; Hamdan Hassan, 1972, 1977; Harun Mat Piah, 1982; Howard, Joseph H, 1966; Jacquet, E 1832; Jones, Russell, 1974(b), 1979(b), 1986; Jumsari Jusuf 1976(b); Juynboll, H H 1899; Liaw Yock Fang, 1976(b); Limburg Braower, P A S van, 1871; Maxwell, W E, 1878(c); Miller George, 1982(a)(b); Mohd Khalid Saidin, 1971; Mohd Taib Osman, 1962-3, 1972(a); Naerssen, F N van, Th G, Pigeaud and P Voorhoeve, 1977; Overbeck, Hans 1926(d), Pearson, J.D., 1967; Pijnappel, J, 1870; Poerbatjaraka R M Ng and Voorhoeve, P and Hooykaas, C, 1950; Ricklefs, M C, Voorhoeve, P, 1977; Ronkel, Ph S van, 1896(a)(b), 1900, 1908, 1909, 1912(b), 1922, 1942(b); Ronkel, Ph S van, and Damste, N T, 1935; Santa Maria, Luigi, 1980; Serjeant, R B 1950; Shellabear, W G 1898; Snouck Hurgronje, C, 1889, Teeuw, A, 1967, 1952(a)(b), 1955(a)(b), 1963, 1969(b), 1973, 1975; Voorhoeve, P and Ricklefs, M C, 1977; Werndly, G H, 1736, Winstedt, R O, 1920(c)(d).

(b) Dictionaries, Grammars, Malay Language etc. Devall, H F von, 1880, 1881-2, 1901; Favre, *L'Abbé* P, 1875, 1876, 1886; Arthusius, Gotardus, 1613; Bougourd, Ch, 1856; Haex, David 1631; Hollander J J De, 1856; Leyden, J, 1808; 1810; Marsden William, 1812, 1886; Wilkinson, R J 1932; Winstedt, R O, 1914-17(a).

Chapter 2

Malay Folk Literature.

(a) Mythology, Riddles, Proverbs and Clock-Stories.[1]

Mythology, though not literature, contains the stuff of literature in the imaginative qualities that go to its invention. The Malay sheeted-goblin, so tied up by funeral wrappings that it can make its way along the ground only by rolling over and over on its side; the Birth Spirit, "that horrible wraith of a woman who has died in child-birth and comes to torment little children in the guise of a fearful face and bust with many[2] feet of trailing entrails in her wake," these are terribly earnest ghost stories and whoever.

> *Turned them to shapes and gave to airy nothings*
> *A local habitation and a name.*

possessed, however ignorant[3] of it, a literary sense. An animist, the primitive Malay story-teller, invented fables to account for the origin of beasts and plants and why the yam has narcotic properties, why the sedge grows in water, why maize and been stand tall and straight while yam and liana creep along the ground. He depicts the crocodile as compounded, his stomach-skin of palm-spathe, his backbone of sugar-cane, his ribs of its peelings, his head of a stone, his eyes of saffron, his teeth of iron nails. He relates how the python lost his venom by spitting it out in disgust at having failed to poison a young prince who had robbed him of fish. Perhaps under the influence of the Buddhist belief in transmigration he sees in the tiger an avatar of a cruel boy whose back was scored by stripes from his master's cane.[4]

The most elementary forms of Malay literary effort are these tales of his civilisation's nursery, supplemented by riddles and proverbs. forms that call not only for imagination but for artistry in words.

What plant is it that has a leaf like a sword and fruit like a gong-beater? Answer: the pineapple. This plain straightforward riddle can hardly be called a literary type, but there is another kind of Malay riddle that depends for its solution on jingle and assonance, that is on literary style, as for example,

> *Gĕndang-gĕndut tali kechapi*

"The string of lute quivers plunk-a-lunk," which should evoke the answer

> *Kĕnyang pĕrut suka hati*

"You sing of food the giver of spunk," or, again,

> *Sarang sĕmut di-tanah gelap*

"In cavern dark ants nest and bore," which should prompt the reply

Orang selimut lalu lelap

"In blanket stark you rest and snore."

While often, if his hearers were defeated, the propounder would jeer at them in a patter —

My child with a rinse becomes a prince;
His bath on a log, your child's a frog.
His bath in a dish, my child gets his wish;
His bath on the stair, your child is a bare.
His bath on the stove, my child's a big cove;
His bath in a pot, your child's a poor lot.
Bathing with speed, my child's born to lead;
His bath in a bowl, your child is a ghoul.

This practice in assonance led to the most pleasing form in Malay poetry, the *pantun*.

Of proverbs the Malay has hundreds, applicable to every circumstance and to the most inconsistent conduct. Where we talk of ploughing the sand, he talks of throwing salt into the sea; where we speak of being in clover, he speaks of rats in the rice-bin; where we say, "Out of the frying-pan into the fire," he says "Out of the jaws of the crocodile into the jaws of the tiger;" when we count our chickens before they are hatched, he grinds pepper to curry a bird on the wing. So fond was the Malay of this inchoate form of literature, that he has borrowed proverbs from many sources, until among his everyday sayings one meets not only Indian proverbs such as "The fence devours the crop," a criticism on breach of trust by an employee, but also Arabic proverbs such as, "A dog's tail can never be straight," "A rose fell to the lot of a monkey," "Who can plaster over the rays of the sun."

Foreign, too, in origin appears to be the Malay 'clock' series of questions, the elaboration of the riddle into a story, for which parallels occur among the Chams of Indochina and the Mons of Burma, while Lal Behari Day tells us in his Folk-tales of Bengal that every orthodox Bengali story ends with very similar sets of lines as a formula. One example must suffice.

Egret, egret! Why are you thin? Of course I'm thin?
The fish won't rise. Fish, fish! Why don't you rise?
How can I rise with such long grass on the bank?
Grass, grass! Why are you so long?
I'm long because cow won't eat me.
Cow, cow! Eat the grass.
How can I eat, when my belly aches?
Belly, belly! Why do you ache?
Because the rice is not cooked.
Rice, rice! Why aren't you cooked?
Because the firewood is wet.
Fire-wood, fire-wood! Why are you wet?
I'm wet from the rain.

Rain, rain! Why do you wet fire-wood?
Of course I wet it, when frog calls for me.
Frog, frog! Why do you call for rain?
Because snake wants to eat me.
Snake, snake! Why would you eat poor frog?
Because he is my proper food.

But the best clock story in the Malay language is the tale of Mousedeer and the Otter's Babies, so charmingly translated in Sir George Maxwell's delightful book *In Malay Forests*.

(b) Beast Fables.

"The savage, we must remember, believes that animals are endowed with feeling and intelligence like those of men. An unusually intelligent Bushman questioned by a missionary could not state any difference between a man and a brute — he did not know but a buffalo might shoot with bows and arrows as well as a man if it had them."[5] Allowing for the imbecility which professional bias and the difficulty of native dialects lead missionary and anthropologist to ascribe to primitive man, that or something like it must have been the stage of society which invented the beast fable: it must have been the product of the man who lived with animals, domesticated them and painted the caves of Altamira and the rocks of Rhodesia. In most parts of the world that stage of society is prehistoric now and conjectural as also is the early diffusion of some beast fables. In one story, that is found also in Bengal, Mousedeer, the hero of nearly all Malay beast fables, is caught by Crocodile but escapes by saying it was not his leg but a withered branch that has been nipped. In an Amazon Indian version, a jaguar catches a tortoise by the hind-leg as he is disappearing into his hole, but the tortoise convinces him he is holding a root and so escape.[6]

The first historical signpost to Asia's Walt Disney land is a *stupa* at Bharhut in Allahabad, on which more than two centuries before Christ were carved in stone beast stories from the Buddhist *Jataka* tales, among them several so-called Aesop's fables. And Malay beast tales, though written down only in recent centuries, occur, almost all of them in such literary collections as these *Jataka* Tales, in the *Panchatantra* compiled by a Brahmin about A.D. 300 and in the twelfth century *Kahtha Sarit Sagara*[7] or *Ocean of Story* compiled from an earlier work by Somadeva[8] in Kashmir and containing frequent references* to Kataha.

Malaya has been in contact with India for 2,000 years and the first Indian tales may have come early in the Christian era. Buddhism has left memorials of the fifth century A.D. in Kedah, and later we find Indian beast stories illustrated in stone on the Buddhist temples of Java. Buddhism in fact carried Indian folk-tales as far as China, and Islam took them to Africa as well, while long before Alexander the Great there was a path from India through Persia to Europe. The Malay tale of Mousedeer's defeat in a race by King Snail, who ranging his subjects along the shore bade each in station pop up ahead of a runner who could not distinguish between the king and

*Taranga 13, verse 70 ff.; T.56 v.54 ff; T.61 v.3; T.123 v.150 ff.

his subjects, is found in the Panchatantra, and is the counterpart of our story of the Hare and the Tortoise, of the West African fable of the Chameleon and the Elephant and of the American negro story of Brer Tarrypin[9] out-running Snail.

If it is objected to the diffusion theory that stories so simple could be invented independently in different parts of the world, one need only turn to a more sophisticated and elaborate example, Uncle Remus's story of the Tar Baby, which it has been said "is perhaps the most remarkable example of the insidious spread of Buddhistic tales." In the Malay version, Mouse-deer is caught fast in a Tar-Baby, pretends to be dead, is thrown aside as a corpse and leaps away. The germ of this widely spread tale, which occurs in the *Hitopadesa*[10] is a *Jataka* story of a young prince who hits an adhesive goblin and sticks to it. Again, although the simplest tales may have spread by word of mouth in prehistoric times, a source originally literary may perhaps be inferred for such an interwoven cycle of tales as that of "How Mouse-deer cheated Tiger," which is current in Malaya, among the Javanese and Sundanese, among the Dayaks of Borneo and among the Chams, Annamites and Cambodians. In the Malay story Mouse-deer cheats Tiger by pretending that a wasp's nest is Solomon's gong, whereupon Tiger hits it only to get stung; then by pretending that a split bamboo humming in the breeze is Solomon's musical instrument, whereupon Tiger puts his mouth to it and gets his tongue nipped off; then by pretending that a pat of dung is Solomon's saffron rice and finally by pretending that a coiled snake is Solomon's turban or belt, whereupon Tiger tries to put it on and is caught in the deadly coils. In the Cham version, there are the same incidents, though in different order, and it is significant of a foreign origin that Hare, who plays the part of Mouse-deer, gores Elephant with his horn. Solomon in the Malay story is obviously an interloper who has entered with Islam.

Not that every Malay beast fable need have come either so late or so early as Buddhist times or be derived directly from any one of the three famous old Indian collections. Of many tales there are variant versions showing different intermediate channels of diffusion.

Patani has a story of Elephant and Tiger wagering to make Monkey fall from his tree, the loser of the wager to be eaten by the winner. Tiger won, but when he wanted to claim the penalty, Mouse-deer poured molasses down Elephant's back, instructed him to trumpet as with pain and standing on his back pretended to gnaw his flesh. This spectacle sent tiger fleeing in terror until Ape told him it was only Mouse-deer. Ape and Mouse-deer returned but again Mouse-deer made Tiger flee by crying, "Why did you not bring two tigers for my meal, Ape, instead of one?"

In a Perak version the two frightened animals have their tails tied together and one of the tails breaks as they start back in terror. This story occurs in the *Panchatantra*, in the Sanskrit *Sukasaptati* or *Tales of a Parrot*, in the *Tota Kahani*, Haidari's nineteenth century Hindustani recension of the *Sukasaptati*, in Sinhalese, Kashmiri, Chinese and Tibetan folklore, among the Mois and Chams of Indo-China and among the Hottentos, some containing, others omitting, the episode of the broken tail. It is depicted in bas-reliefs on the ninth century Chandi Mendut and the fourteenth century Chandi Panataran in Java.

There are two Malay variants of another story that goes back to the *Panchatantra* and is known to-day in the Deccan the Punjab and Tibet, among the Mons of Burma, by Hottentots and Sudanese. In one Malay version Buffalo releases Crocodile whose tail has been pinned by the fall of a tree. Crocodile repays this kindness by seizing one of Buffalo's hind-legs till Mouse-deer arriving pretends to disbelieve the story of the release, gets Crocodile to show his original position and shouts to Buffalo to drop the log on him again. A version from Kedah allots man the part of Buffalo, Tiger that of Crocodile and a trap that of the fallen tree, and this version accords with the story as given in the *Gul Bakuwali*, a Malay adaptation of Nihal Chand's Hindustani version (A.D. 1803) of the Persian *Romance of the Rose*. In the Kedah, Mon and Punjabi tales man appeals to a road (or bridge) and to a tree on the subject of man's ingratitude; in the versions from Java and from Malacca to an old sleeping-mat and to a worn dish-cover:—

> "Said Mouse-deer, 'Look at that old sleeping-mat afloat in mid-stream. I will ask it about man's ingratitude. Ho! there, old mat, what is the way of the world? What is its reward for those that do kind acts?'
>
> "The mat replied, 'Look at me. Once I was bright and strong, beloved by men, and now what is my reward?'
>
> "A moment later a dish-cover floated past and Mouse-deer put it the same question and got the same reply.

The source of some variant versions is easy to trace. The Malay, for example, has two versions of the *Panchatantra* one translated before A.D. 1736 from an Indo-Persian original, the other translated in the nineteenth century by Munshi Abdullah from a Tamil recension.

Malay beast fables, though they admit the tiger and birds and fishes, centre, as we have seen, in a cycle of Mouse-deer tales, most of Malay's loan stories having to adopt this tiny chevrotain as their hero. "He is commonly called the mouse-deer; but, in spite of the name, belongs rather to the antelope tribe, the heel bone of the hinder leg projecting in a fashion never seen in the true deer. The eye-teeth, too, are curiously long and projecting, and the hooves are cloven to an extent which in so small a creature is really remarkable. At the same time, he is a most beautiful little animal, with big dark pleading eyes and all the grace and elegance of a gazelle."[11] His role in fable undergoes several stages of evolution. Firstly there is the simple-guile story, of very wide geographical range and very primitive, though a later age has sometimes introduced anachronisms like the mention of the Prophet or of Solomon. In this stage Mouse-deer is a pagan[12] knave, pitting wits[13] against strength in the struggle for existence and sometimes worsted by those even weaker than himself like Snail or Sand-fly. Examples are numerous. To cross a river, Mouse-deer induces all the Crocodiles to rise and be counted: he then crosses on a bridge of their backs. Sambur-doe meeting Mouse-deer sees his mouth red with slaver, Mouse-deer declares it is from the juice of betel-nut which he got in a garden where all are welcome: Sambur-doe hurries there and is trapped by the gardener. A Sambur-fawn attacks Mouse-deer for killing her mother: Mouse-deer leaps into a deep pit to escape and later climbs out on the backs of beasts he has decoyed down by pointing

at the drifting clouds and saying that the sky is falling.[14] Many Mouse-deer stories of this type are derived ultimately from *Jataka* tales or from that wide Eastern ocean of story, of which the *Jataka* tales are a charted sea. There is a *Jataka* tale of dogs trying to drink a river dry: Mouse-deer challenged the beasts to perform this feat, and arranged for them to drink while the tide was rising and for himself to drink when it was ebbing. In another *Jataka* tale the jackal has a mock funeral in order to capture a goat: Mouse-deer arranges a mock funeral for Tiger to enable him to catch a sambur-deer whose flesh Mouse-deer covets.

In the next stage Mouse-deer has acquired an ideal of justice and exercises his wit for unselfish purposes, being described often as the servant of the Prophet Solomon, who according to Muslim belief is lord of the animal world. These tales are less numerous and many of them are not properly beast-fables, Mouse-deer having usurped the place of the Muslim *bakim*. One specimen tells how the suit of a rich man claiming payment from orphans for the privilege of smelling his cooking[15] on which they had grown fat is brought before the stock oriental just potentate and settled by Mouse-deer, who gets the orphans to count over one hundred pieces behind a curtain and says the sound of the money is as valuable as the smell of the cooking. A *Jataka* tale and the *Ocean of Story* both give versions of this story, which is common in India and has travelled as far as Tibet, Siam and Japan, being in fact not a beast fable at all and having ordinarily a human arbiter.

It is convenient[16] here to notice a collection of Mouse-deer tales,[17] entitled the *Hikayat Pĕlandok Jinaka*, that was written down several centuries ago and with such artistry that the compilation belongs really to literature and not to folk-lore. Evidently composed in the Malay Peninsula, there are two recensions of this excellent work on the once favourite Indian lines of an animal posing as the possessor of magic arts — van der Tuuk found the derivation of *jinaka* from the Sanskrit *jainaka* "a little or contemptible Jaina or Buddhist, used always of one who took advantage of the credulity of man and applied to mouse-deer as the hero of a romance which has a bias against Buddhism." If this theory is correct, then the title may be translated, "The Tale of that wretch the Mouse-deer," though in modern Malay it would be rendered "The Tale of the Wily Mouse-deer." Moreover, if van der Tuuk is correct, then the work would have to go back to a time before Islam completely held the field or more probably it must have been drafted in a port like old Malacca, where there were non-Muslim quarters, or perhaps in Kedah whose ruler became a Muslim Sultan in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and whose state adjoined Buddhist Siam and must have had Buddhist subjects as it has-to-day. An early date is suggested by the scholarly choice of the adjective *jainaka* and perhaps by the parody of Sanskrit titles, which shows a familiarity with that language which Islam later extinguished: it is also suggested by the phrase *pusu jantaka*, that is *pusu jataka*, of the 1893 edition. For the problem of date must be considered along with a study of the two different recensions, which appear to have been written down from some earlier recited version and to differ according to the memory and taste of the writer. The difference may be compared not with the two recensions of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, where there has been deliberate alteration of the written word, but rather with the romance of Hang Tuah as recorded from verbal

Sejarah Melayu
(Raffles MS No 18, Royal Asiatic Library, London)

Sejarah Melayu
(Raffles MS No 18, Royal Asiatic Library, London)

tradition first in the *Sějarah Mělayu* and again in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, where discrepancies are due not to any conscious motive but to the vagaries of human memory, and perhaps the circumstances of different times.

In both versions the plot is identical, the triumph of Mouse-deer's cunning over the strength of larger beasts and of ogres. Both begin with his assumption of magic power, of which the outward sign is a hoary appearance, gained in the one version by rubbing the white latex of the wild fig on his head and in the other by rolling his whole body in grass pollen. Both versions have for their first tale how he makes peace between goats and tigers by showing the tigers the mouths of the goats red with slaver of wild berries. This tale is followed in both by the story of how Mouse-deer tells an ogre, who is molesting the beasts, that the sky is falling and having so beguiled him into a pit binds and delivers him to the beasts to defile and trample to death. All the beasts do obeisance to their little jungle-lord and in the longer version Bear brings him offerings. Then in both versions Monkey refuses to acknowledge Mouse-deer and seeks the help of Lion and Elephant, both of whom Mouse-deer defeats by his cunning, though in the longer version he defeats Lion first and in the shorter Elephant. Then in the longer version the beasts, headed by Monkey, beg Mouse-deer to deliver them from the oppression of Crocodile, while in the shorter the Raja Monkey adds Crocodile to the number of his champions of revolt. In both versions Crocodile is worsted, in the longer by the pouring of the narcotic *tuba* root into the river, in the shorter by getting stuck on a plank smeared with adhesive rubber, when he is beaten to death by Elephant and Tiger.

Next in the longer version comes a sentence that appears to indicate a supplement taking the place of an original conclusion: *sa-bĕrmula ada pun yang di-chĕritĕrakan oleh yang ĕmpunya hikayat ini, bahawa sa-nya pĕlandok jinaka itu tiada-lah fakir chĕritĕrakan hikayat-nya itu.* This sentence is followed by three stories:—

(1) A tale, paralleled in the *Kaka-Jataka* and Indian folklore, relates how Mouse-deer challenges the beasts to drink a river dry: they drink while the tide is rising, he when it is ebbing.

(2) A tale, paralleled in a Sinhalese folk-story, relates how an ogre, who eats up the fish the beasts catch in lake Tenom, is lured into letting himself be bound on the pretence that the bonds will cure aches and pains. This appears to be a sophisticated tale, as most folk-tales are too literal to make animals fishermen.

(3) The last tale relates how the king of the ants challenges Elephant to battle for killing his subjects, gets him to trip in a hole and has him devoured by the ants. Mouse-deer approves of Elephant's defeat but has the holeful of ants burnt out in retaliation for their wanton torture of Elephant.

In the shorter version, after the killing of Crocodile, Mouse-deer orders the beasts to chase the monkies, and the next day having blackened himself by rolling in a newly burnt rice-clearing and having tied a rope to one of his legs, he finds the king of the monkies and walks under his tree, grumbling loudly at his task of guarding the box wherein Mouse-deer the Wily keeps his life. The monkies beg to be led to it (by what they take to be a dirty fugitive mouse-deer slave), so that they may destroy the life of their enemy. Mouse-deer leads them to a wasp's nest, which

the monkies kick, whereupon the wasps sally forth and sting them. Mouse-deer runs off and having washed himself sits on his ant-hill throne and tells the beasts that his books of divination (*sastĕrawan*) reveal that the monkey king and his subjects are swollen all over from his curse. It is clear that the unity of plot is preserved only in the shorter version, where the story culminates in the punishment of Monkey, the ringleader of opposition to Mouse-deer's pretensions. The shorter version, may, therefore, be regarded as nearer to an original unknown to us.

The introduction of numerous verses and of a strange fauna, *sĕrigala* Jackal, *domba* Sheep and *kaldai* Donkey, point to Indo-Persian influence in the shorter versions. For "ox" it uses the Javanese *sapi*, instead of *lĕmbu*, and it contains one unusual Javanese loan-word, *papak* "to welcome". It reads memunoh for *mĕmbunoh* and *mĕminasakan* for *mĕmbinasakan* and it has several words and dialect forms which suggest a Kedah author or a Kedah copyist, for example *bĕntes* "wrestle" for the *bĕnteh* or the longer version, *wilahar* "lake" and the phrase *tuan-tuan apa sakalian*. One of the many quatrains, which appear to be an integral part of the narrative, has a line *Orang di-Kĕdah berkota di-bumi*. Another line in the same set of verses has the couplet: *Barang siapa mungkirkan janji Anak Islam masok Sĕrani*, a reference to the Catholic Church which, if the quatrains formed part of the original narrative, would put the date of compilation after 1511 when the Portuguese took Malacca. At the same time the pantuns refer to Hang Tuah and *Sĕri di-Bentan Laksamana*. The shorter version mentions Indrakila, in Hindu mythology the mountain used by the gods for churning the ocean, and it mentions Mahabiru or Mahameru, the Hindu Olympus. It calls Bear Seri Indralogam "His black highness." Jackal *Sĕri Indra-kilat* "His highness lightning," Deer *Paduka Indra Chawang* "His tyned highness," Bull *Paduka Indra Sĕntosa* "His placid highness," Hedgehog *Megat Dunia* "Chief of the world with royal mother and commoner sire," Pig *Sĕri Dewa Sungkor* "The divine grouter." The titles in the longer version differ and some of them may be slang nicknames. Deer is called *Maharaja Lawi Ranggi* "His highness with the branching plumes," *lawi* being a Javanese word; Rhino is *Maharaja Payok*; Bear is *Sang Guna*; Jackal is *Santika*; Tiger Maharaja *Shah Mardan* king of warriors; Buffalo *Maharaja Rama Pĕsut* (or? *Kĕsut*) an unintelligible title that raised a laugh. This assumption of new and high-sounding names is a feature borrowed from the Javanese Panji tales that were once so popular.

As a manuscript the longer version has some signs of being copied from an original of greater antiquity than that of the shorter version. In it Mouse-deer's throne is (*jĕnaka*): in old manuscripts may stand for *k* or *p* and hitherto students have looked to Sanskrit or Arabic for an explanation of the word; but comparison with the *pongsu jinaka* of the shorter version shows it is *pus*, the same archaic spelling for *pusu*, a dialect or archaic form of *pongsu*, "ant-hill," that is found in Archibishop Laud's MS. of the *Hikayat Sĕri Rama*. Another detail omitted from the shorter version but recurring in the longer is constant reference to 'Ali and Amir Hamza, those favourites of early Islam in Malacca and elsewhere before missionaries from the Hadramaut frowned on these Shiah heroes. Yet another is the close similarity between Lion's queries put to the monkey king asking if Mousedeer is in the Bear company and then if he is in the Jackal Company and then if he is in the

company of Wild Oxen and a passage in the *Hikayat Indraputra*, well-known by 1634, where Talela Shah asks his son if each passer-by in the procession is not Indraputra.

The manuscript of the shorter version (printed by Klinkert in 1893) was copied in A.D. 1804 but neither the name of the copyist nor the place where it was copied are recorded. That of the longer version was copied at Kampong Galang. A *Hikayat Pĕlandok Jinaka* was known to Werndly in 1736. Its compilation from a verbal source, its Sanskrit, its Javanese colouring, its references to 'Ali and Amir Hamza, its relic of archaic spelling and its reminiscence of the *Hikayat Indraputra* suggest that even the longer and less authentic version should be allocated to the sixteenth century.

(c) Farcical Tales.

Just as savage wit exaggerating with childish naivety the characteristics of the animal creation evolved the beast fable, so by exaggerating the characteristics of human nature it evolved the farcical tale. And just as there are cycles of beast-tales, revolving in different countries round the fox the jackal and the mouse-deer, so there are cycles of farcical tales revolving round the Irishman the Aberdonian and the London Alderman, round the German *Eulenspiegel*, the Arabo-Turkish *Juha* or *Khojah Nasr addin*, the Perso-Arabic *Abu Nawas* and the Malay Pa' Pea's-cod, Father Folly and Daddy Long Legs. For in Malay folklore there are three comic types, embodied in five characters. There is the simpleton, who appears to be indigenous in the Malayan region, *Pa' Kadok* "Pa Pea's-cod" and his pious relative *Lĕbai Malang* "The Luckless Parson." There is *Pa' Pandir*, "Father Folly, the Malay Handy Andy, akin, though not quite so akin as the Sundanese *si-Kabayan*, to *Eulenspiegel* and *Khojah Nasr ad-din*. And there is the cunning character, a foreigner long naturalised in the Malayan region under the names *Pa' Bilalang* "Daddy Long Legs" and *Si-Lunchai*. There are also comic characters, like *Mashhudu'lhakk* and *Abu Nawas*, recognised as foreigners and introduced by literary agency in modern times.

The tales of the Malay simpleton are few. Pa' Pea's-cod, after getting his wife to stitch him a fine paper suit, went to the royal cockpit with his best cock. The raja seeing the bird persuaded Pa' Pea's-cod to give it to him in exchange for another which on royal word was superior. Pa' Pea's-cod set the bird given him against his own cock and wagering his house and garden lost them by the victory of the cock he had given to the raja. He clapped his sides over the fight, burst his paper clothes and ran home naked. But another day he regained his lost fortune by catching a fish with its belly full of jewellery.

Lĕbai Malang, the Luckless Parson, was less fortunate. One man called him to bury a corpse, another to a feast to celebrate a pupil's completion of his religious studies, a third to a chanting of the Kuran. He accepted all three invitations but sat reflecting, "Go to the funeral and I'll get a present of cloth; go to the feast, I'll get meat and rice; go to the chanting and it will be cakes and sweets. However the Prophet says attendance at a funeral is a paramount duty." At last he paddled down-

stream to find the funeral ended, the chanting done and only a scrap of meat left over from the feast. Returning to his garden he remembered he had not collected the juice from his sugar palms and to climb a palm set down the meat at its foot, when a dog stole it. The *Lĕbai* gave chase. When the dog bolted into a hole in a tree, he doffed his clothes to block the hole but the dog escaped by another aperture. Mistaking the naked *Lĕbai* for a tree-stump, two pigeons alighted on him. He caught one under each arm but let them go by trying to get the bird under his right arm into his right hand and the bird under his left into his left. Meanwhile thieves had stolen his his clothes and his palm-juice. So he went home wretched and naked and was beaten by his wife.

Of the next series, the tales of *Pa' Pandir*, "Father Folly," there are Sundanese and Batak versions, but except for a few accretions in the Batak cycle the tales appear not to extend beyond Malaysia. Set to mind his baby, *Pa' Pandir* bathed it in scalding water with fatal effect. Carrying it in a fishing-net for burial he dropped it, buried only the net and seeing the corpse on his way home was comforted by the apparent commonness of infant mortality. Sent to buy a buffalo, described by his wife as a grass-eater, he bought a sickle and tied it to a tree because its horns cut him. Commissioned to call white-capped Hajis and bearded Lebais to a feast he brought back a white-capped sparrow and a goat. After buying husk for rice, he toppled into the river because being one he tried to follow ants in their hundreds across a rotten trunk. After buying salt he hid it in a bamboo in a stream. His death from colic after eating bananas without peeling them reminds one rather of a fool in the *Katha Sarit Sagara* who swallowed a handful of uncooked rice and had to be treated by a doctor.

In the Daddy Long Legs cycle there is nothing indigenous. Nearly every episode may be traced to th *Katha Sarit Sagara*. The first episode where Daddy Long Legs bids his son hide buffaloes and gets a reputation as a diviner by describing their whereabouts occurs not only in the folk-tales of the Achinese and Bataks of Sumatra, of the Sundanese and Javanese, of the Torajas in Celebes and of the Halmahera people but can be traced to all three of the great Indian collections. In the second episode his raja threatens Daddy Long Legs with death unless he can discover the men who have stolen seven chests from his palace. Daddy Long Legs tells his wife to fry buns and counts them "One, two, three, four" and so on, so that the seven thieves lurking beneath his house think he is counting them and confess to him where the chests are hidden. This second episode follows the first as in the *Katha Sarit Sagara*. In the Malay, Batak, Macassar and Rottinese versions as in some Indian and Arabian versions there are several thieves: in the Javanese story of *Pak Banjir*, in an Annamite folktale and in many Indian versions there is only one thief; in Achinese and Sundanese versions the chief reveals himself solely from terror and not from any misconception. The third episode finds Daddy Long Legs solving a riddle as to the sex of goslings and a riddle as to the top and bottom of some logs. The latter riddle comes from the *Maha-Ummagga-Jataka*, while the former remotely recalls the Rabbinical story of how when the Queen of Sheba asked Solomon to discover the sex of boys and girls similarly dressed, Solomon ordered them to wash their hands and said that the girls were those who washed up to the elbows.

The setting of the two riddles by a foreign sea-captain, whose ship Daddy Long Legs paddles beside to hear accidentally the solutions, appears to be an Indonesian variant. Versions of the riddle episode have been collected from the Bataks, the Sundanese, the Javanese, and from the Khmers of Indochina, in the Philippines and in Ceylon. The next episode in the Peninsular cycle with its genies and its Prophet Khadir is obviously a Muslim interpolation. Then comes the very interesting story of the raja holding a grasshopper in his hand and threatening Daddy Long Legs with death if he cannot divine what it is. Thinking of a son left fatherless, the diviner ejaculates, "Young Long Legs! Young Long Legs!" "A grasshopper it is," says the raja. Just as it is startling to find some of Aesop's fables enshrined in the Jataka tales, so it is startling to find this detail of the grasshopper (or cricket) identical in French, Sicilian, Arabian, Kamonier and Malay versions of this old *Jataka* tale, while in the *Jataka* itself and in the *Katha Sarit Sagara* it is a frog the questioner holds in his hand.

Apparently the tale spread not always from a literary source but also *per ora virum*. For the final episode where to be quit of conundrums Daddy Long Legs burns his house (and his books on divination!) there are parallels in the folklore of Ceylon as well as in Sumatra, Java, Celebes and the Philippines.

Si-Lunchai, of the same kidney as Daddy Long Legs, is a poor pot-bellied seller of firewood who after other exploits is put in a sack to be drowned for *lĕse-majesté* but induces a Tamil merchant to take his place by declaring he is to be drowned for refusing to marry the king's daughter. For this tale there are counterparts not only in Indian, Sinhalese and Burmese folklore but in the *Arabian Nights*, in the Soudan and in Sierra Leone, the localities suggesting that it was Islam which carried it to Africa. There are Indian parallels, too, for the two next episodes. In the first *Si-Lunchai* pretends to have returned from heaven and tells the raja to build a platform, from which by means of a charm he will see his parents in their celestial abode — that is, if he is not a bastard: king and counsellors, anxious to vouch for their legitimacy, all see into heaven! In the second episode *Si-Lunchai* tells the king that the way to heaven is down a deep pit, where a dragon devours the raja, but *Si-Lunchai* jumping on to a ledge climbs back to earth and persuades the nobles that their raja has sent him back to reign in his stead. In a Sundanese variant, *Bapa Puchong*, the hero persuades the nobles by pretending he is a spirit and speaking from a hollow tree, an episode found in the three great Indian collections, the *Jataka*, the *Panchatantra* and the *Katha Sarit Sagara*.

An isolated Malay story of *Mat Janin* tells how that worthy, climbing for coconuts, reckons how with his hire he can buy a hen, with her chicken buy goats, with the goat's kids buy buffaloes, with their calves buy an elephant, and so on till he can marry a princess who will hug him and make him wriggle, whereupon in the ecstasy of imagination he wriggles off the tree — and this mortal coil. It occurs in various shapes in the *Panchatantra*, the *Hitopadesa*, and *Arabian Nights* and had reached Europe at least as early as the fourteenth century. The Malays have two versions, the one outlined above, the other in the Fifth Tale of Munshi Abdullah's *Hikayat Galilah dan Daminah*, where following the *Panchatantra* a beggar dreams

of beating a wife he was to get eventually from the proceeds of a jar of flour; only he hit the jar in his dream and spilt the flour! But flour is not a Malay food and the Malay prefers the folktale version.

The most rollicking farce in the Malay language is entitled *Musang bĕrjanggut*, "the Bearded Civet-cat," a tale turning not on a type of character but on plot and incident. A king and his court all fall in love with a beautiful young bride. The king sends her husband on the hopeless quest for bearded civet-cat. On the bride's advice her husband only pretends to set out. All her admirers then seek assignations. She arranges for the Kathi to come at six o'clock, the Temenggong at seven, the Vizier at eight, the Prime Minister at nine, the Heir Apparent at ten, the King at eleven. She puts off each importunate suitor by saying she is cooking cakes for his repast. When the Temenggong arrives, she hides the Kathi in a chest; when the Vizier comes, she puts the Temenggong on a shelf; when the Prime Minister knocks, she secretes the Vizier on another shelf and when the Heir Apparent startles the Prime Minister, she makes the latter act the part of a scullion. Lastly when the King taps on the door, she makes the Heir Apparent pretend to be the pedestal of a lamp. Finding the King an ardent wooer, she stipulates he must first play hobby-horse and let her whip him up and down the room seven times. With bleeding knees the King crawls along the floor, till the Vizier being thirsty picks up a coconut and tries to crack it on the shaven head of the Heir Apparent, which he mistakes for marble. There is a yell and all flee except the Kathi who begs to be released. The husband now pretends to have returned and takes the Kathi in the chest to the palace, announcing that he has captured a bearded civet-cat. All the suitors have to look into the box and say if it contains the right species, and each hastily declares his ignorance of zoology as he recognizes the Kathi, who growls, "I know where you were last night." Finally the King, too, inspects and gets the same greeting. Husband and wife take the box home and release a very panitent man. All the suitors give the young couple handsome presents.

The story of a wife's lovers collected to their confusion comes in the tale of Upakosa in the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, in the *Hitopadesa* and in the *Sukasaptati*, but none of these versions mention the episode of the hobby-horse, which however occurs in the *Panchatantra* and the *Hikayat Bakhtiar*, nor do they mention the entrapping of a bearded man as a captive beast, an incident from a Perso-Arabic tale of Abu Nawas, the vizier of Harun a'r-Rashid. Naturally no old version mentions a pedestal lamp, though it may be connected with the tale of the cat and the candle in the Hindustani version of the Romance of the Rose. The plot of a lady and her suitors may be found in several Persian and Arabian works, including the *Arabian Nights*, but the version most nearly resembling the Malay is a Sinhalese tale, where even the hiding on a shelf and the breaking of a coconut on a bald pate are included. The story may have reached the Malay recently from a Muslim Indian source.

So, too, though hardly farcical, the romance of a clever youth, *Hikayat Mahashodhak* or *Mashhudu'lhakk*. Only two manuscripts of the work are known and they are modern. The Malay work must be from some South Indian Muslim original but the contents are ultimately derived from the popular *Maha-Ummaga-Jataka*, of which there are also Tibetan and Sinhalese versions.

Mahashodhak, the son of a merchant Buka Sakti, is so clever that, had not his four *guru* been jealous and obstructive, Raja Wadirah would have offered him a court post. As an infant he decides, by questioning them separately as to their relatives by marriage, which is the husband and which the abductor of a pretty wife. She and her old husband had come to a stream apparently deep. A Bedouin carried the wife across first and ran off with her. Angry, the old husband stepped into the stream, found it shallow and pursued them to Mahashodhak's village, where he and the Bedouin both claimed the lady as wife. Mahashodhak determines which is the mother of a child by ordering it to be cut asunder, whereat the real mother drops her claim. He decides whether a man or a genie, Farail, in the form of a man is the real owner of a carpet by interrogating both as to its length, breadth and make: Farail he saw to be a genie because he did not sweat. Raja Wadirah asks which is the top and which the bottom of a planed log and which the male and which the female of two skulls. The first riddle is answered by dropping it in water and seeing which end sinks: the answer to the second is that crooked woman has a crooked skull. Next the clever child picks out the male of two snakes, because it has a large head small scales and a thick tail. The bull with a finger-nail (*kuku*) on its head and horns on its feet is a cock. Ordered to transfer a water-pond from the garden into the palace, the child waits till night when he gets men to fill in the one and excavate the other. Asked to twist a rope of sand, he says it cannot be done unless the raja give a pattern. Asked to thread an intricate ruby, he souses a thread in honey and fixes the gem in an ants' nest so that they thread it. Offered at the age of seven a court post, he took the seat placed for his father, because — and here the story makes a muddle of the *Jataka* version that a mule foal is more valuable than its donkey sire. Then comes a muddled version of the glitter in a lake being due to a jewel not in its depths but on a tree by its bank — there is no mention of a *Jataka* bucket test, where the appearance of the glitter in lake and bucket show the jewel's rays come from above and not from the depths of the lake. When Raja Wadirah shows him two sticks one laid on the ground and one erect and asks which is the longer, the infant prodigy replies that they are of equal length, though things erect always look longer. Once a teacher had five pupils, one so poor he could not pay and so stupid that he could not learn but so devoted that pitying his cursed luck the teacher gave him his daughter's hand. But his luck pursued him so that he loathed her and when she climbed a tree for figs, he piled thorns against it to imprison her while he fled. A raja found and married her. In a royal procession she smiles when the pages hit her first husband over the head for not clearing grass in the road. When the king in anger demands the reason, she tells of her high parentage and her first marriage. The king sends presents to her father who in turn sends a ring that will turn on the finger if it is near poison. Mahashodhak gets credit because he alone had advised the king to marry the girl in the tree, on the ground that royal luck never encountered bad luck, as the event proved. Next he solves the riddle why a dog and a goat are friends. The dog a meat-eater could not enter a kitchen without being beaten; the herbivorous goat was beaten if it entered the elephants' stalls. So each stole food for the other; the goat unsuspected from the kitchen, the dog unsuspected from the stalls. The raja asks whether brains or riches are the greater blessing. "Riches" say his four teachers, "because the

clever serve the rich." "Brains," says the child, "because they save one from danger." So the king shut the four teachers in a room full of gold along with a hammer and chisel and he shut Mahashodhak in a room empty except for those tools: both rooms adjacent to a food store. The four teachers mistaking their walls for stone nearly starved, till Mahashodhak having tried and discovered the walls to be wooden bored holes into the other two rooms and got all the gold from the four techers in return for food. The spirit of the state put four intelligence tests to the raja, threatening death unless he could solve them. (1) There were two people, not enemies, but one hit the other and the other loved him more. (2) One person was angry with another, so that he went away, whereat the angry person was sad. (3) There were two fast friends but constantly they quarrelled. (4) There was a pond with lilies. If birds perched one on each lily, one bird had no lily but if a pair perched on each lily, there was a lily with no bird. How many were the birds? Recalled from exile by royal pages (*biduanda*), Mahashodhak gives the four answers: (1) Two infants in their mother's arms; (2) Father and child; (3) Man and wife; (4) Four birds and three lilies. Disguised as a tailor, with a bag of cloth, needles and thread, he goes in search of a bride and meeting a pretty girl, Chitata, in a rice-field asks for her hand. He gives her mother imitation rice of ivory to cook but Chitata detects it. She is a good cook but pretending disgust he pours rice and broth over her head to test her temper. Together they set out for his country. "Is this stream deep?" he asks her. "Ask what is in front of you," she says, meaning his stick. When they reached Wakat, he left her outside the town on pretence of fetching his relatives. He sends a servant richly dressed to tell her the tailor is a slave-dealer and to tempt her with a proposal of marriage. She refuses. Next morning he sends ten women to bring her before him, but she does not recognize him in his court apparel. They charge her with being a runaway or an evil-doer. She is locked up and in the night she is told the judge wants to wed her. Again she refuses. Mahashodhak appears in his tailor's garb, takes her to his house and marries her in the presence of the king.

There is an Achinese version, entitled *Meudeuha'*, which Achinese chiefs "regard as an epitome of statesmanship" and which is "a fairly faithful rendering of the Malay story." For *Wadirah* it reads *Wadihirah* which is nearer the *Jataka's Vedeha* for the Pali *Pancala* it uses a Tamil form *Panjalarah*. *Mashhudulhakk* is obviously an Arabic corruption of the Pali *Mahosadha Pandit*.

Lastly there are the farcical tales centring round Abu Nawas and these appear to belong to two different recensions, one Perso-Arabic with parallels in the Nasr ad-din cycle, the other from a Muslim Indian source. In the Perso-Arabic cycle Abu Nawas is the son of a headman; in the Indian, the son of a Kathi. The Perso-Arabic recension may be read in the *Tjerita Aboe Nawas*, in poor Batavian Malay; the Indian recension has appeared in the Hikayat Abu Nawas lithographed in Singapore (A.H. 1336). Of both, outlines have been printed in English by myself, in Dutch by Doctor Coster-Wijsman in her work on *Uilespiegel-Verhalen in Indonesie*. There are only two tales in Malay, in a large unpublished manuscript of the Hikayat Bakhtiar, that exhibit Abu Nawas as what he was at the court of Harun ar-Rashid, a great poet. Jokes are ascribed to him in the *Arabian Nights*, while in Madagascar and Malaysia,

among the Mehri of South Arabia and among the Swahili he has become the hero of cycles of farcical tales, some at least of them of local origin. The Malay recensions lack the local colour which is the literary feature of older folktales.

(d) Folk-Romances.

The folk romance has gone through the same phases as the literary romance but has not advanced so far along the Muslim lines that foreigners laid down for the latter. Two of these folk-romances based on the Malay version of the *Ramayana* illustrate the principal phases. The first from Patani belongs to the repertoire of the oldest shadow-play, performed in Java before the time of Majapahit and carried thence to the Malay peninsula, Siam and Cambodia: except for folk elements, it would belong to the tales founded on Indian epics, of which a few have survived with Kawi word-forms and Kawi names. As in the Kelantan shadow-play to-day, Siva is called *Gaffer Mahasiku*. Having reached the age of 128 years, to atone for his sins he becomes a hermit till a sparrow nesting in his beard advises him to get a child to bear a portion of them. From sandalwood he creates a bride, who bears him a daughter and then is unfaithful, getting three sons by the sun-god, the moon-god and the monkey-king. Siva turns her back into sandalwood. Her sons he turns into monkies but later restores to manhood. In the sequel there are all the main names and motifs of the Malay *Ramayana*: an unsavoury begetting by Vishnu (that anticipates Huxley's *Brave New World*), a princess Mandudaki, a bamboo-princes, the offer of a bride to a successful archer, Ravana's change into a golden hind and a mendicant to ravish Sita, Jatayu trying to save her, the fire that protects her from Ravana, the failure of Sri Rama and his consort to recognize their monkey son, the burning of Langkapuri, the building of the causeway. Finally Hanoman fetches the stalk of Ravana's life from the Maharaja of ghosts and Ravana is slain and Sita recovered. Bibisenam succeeds Ravana.

Except for one mention of Allah the Patani folk-tale[18] is devoid of Islamic colouring. But another *Ramayana* tale collected in Perak[19] exhibits strong Minangkabau influence in style and is full of Muslim allusions. Childless, Rama consults his brother Laksamana, who going into a shaman's trance learns that a picnic will give Rama a son. Rama and his consort, Single-Flower-on-Stalk, bathe in a forbidden lake and turn into monkies. Laksamana restores their shapes but their son is a monkey and is banished. He visits Syah Norman who finds him a glutton. He even tries to eat the sun and falls senseless in the garden of princess Daintyas-Carraway, but Syah Norman giving the sun a Muslim greeting persuades that orb to pluck him from her lap to become a monkey king. Meanwhile in the shape of a golden goat Ravana decoys Rama and gets his consort to elope! His monkey-son swelling to a giant helps Rama, meets his mother (whom the discovery of a prohibited degree has kept unmolested by her captor), destroys Ravana's favourite palm and mango-tree and faces him in the shape of a buffalo. Weapons cannot kill nor fire burn him. But Kachapuri (*sic*) is burnt. After defeat Ravana is allowed to go home. In the presence of Muslim dignitaries the monkey-prince marries Daintyas-

Carraway, daughter of Shah Kobad! When at night he doffs his monkey garb, a duenna filches and burns it — as in the Malay *Hikayat Indra Bangsawan* and in many Indian tales.

Eleven folk-romances from the Malay peninsula have been printed, (generally with outlines of their contents in English) and most of their plots are those of the ordinary Indian romances that have been introduced in such numbers into Malay literature. *Raja Budiman* has a theme differing only in detail from such literary works as the *Hikayat Jaya Lĕngkara* and the *Hikayat Parang Puting*. There is a hero traduced by wicked astrologers, a quest for an object to cure sickness, the help of a dragon (here the hero's brother) who grows too big for his river. In another story, of which there is also an Achinese version, the hero Malim Deman, like so many princes in Bengali, Tamil and Sinhalese folktales, falls in love with a heroine after finding a trees of her hair in a golden bowl afloat on a stream. When she and her six sisters fly down to earth to bathe, he steals her flying raiment and so wins her for her bride: when neglect drives her to return to fairyland, he retrieves her by ascending on a *Borak*,[20] the beast that took the Prophet up to heaven! The Malay version of our Jack and the Beanstalk, the *Hikayat Raja Muda*, not only employs the well-known Indian episode of an elephant choosing a ruler but also makes use of this flying motif, which occurs also in the *Hikayat Indĕraputera* and found classical setting in the tale of Hasan of Bassorah in the *Arabian Nights*. Nymphs, apsaras, or fairies bathing and one of them having her clothes stolen by a lover are found in several Javanese poems, some of them belonging to the Panji cycle: it is a common Indian version of the swanmaiden myth and as old as the *Katha Sarit Sagara*; clothes were probably not worn on Polynesian beaches and the *motif* would therefore appear to be of Indian origin.

Whenever the heroes of any of these folk-romances that have a Sumatran origin, are born, Malim Deman or Raja Donan or Awang Sulong —[21]

Seven lengths of floor are riven;
Seven roof-trees split and shivered;
Sun shines and rain-storm patters,
Folks of lightning flash and flicker;
Thunder shoots its leven bolts;
'Gin to blare the royal trumpets;
'Gin to thud the royal drums.

When Raja Muda is born, there come simultaneously into the world himself, a buffalo and a leviathan incarnate from three pieces of magic coconut, that his father won from a serpent to appease his mother's longings; and his strange brothers (like the dragon in *Raja Budiman*) stand by him in every crisis. Similar miracles attend the birth of Raja Donan. The mothers and often the fathers of these heroes die after the birth of their supernatural off-spring. When the heroes sing

The flowing water stops to listen,
The flying bird turns back to hear,
The sound of the voice of the sweet singer
Like the sound of the voice of the Prophet David.

One is reminded of the birth of the Buddha:—

"The future Buddha became a superb white elephant. Three times he walked round his mother's couch and striking her on her right side, he seemed to enter her womb. Thus the conception took place .... All the ten thousand worlds shook and quivered... All musical instruments gave forth their notes without being played upon; rain fell out of season; the birds ceased flying; the rivers checked their flow... Whereas a womb that has been occupied by a future Buddha is like the shrine of a temple and can never be used again, therefore it was that the mother of the future Buddha died when he was seven days old... At the very time of his birth, there also came into existence the mother of Rahula, Channa the courtier, Kaludayi the courtier, Kanthaka the king of horses, the Great Bo-Tree and the four urns full of treasure." Or again:

"The Buddha seized hold of his top-knot and diadem and threw them into the air, saying, 'If I am to become a Buddha, let them stay in the sky'."

So, too, Raja Ambong burnt incense, and taking a metal tray, made at the time of a dead princess' birth, passed it through the smoke, placed on it a letter and his own turban and directed it to fly through the air thus far, these tales are copies of Indian romance, but the heroes, though they have supernatural powers are historical characters to the reciter and this Malay audience; living in real countries". [23]

Tamil influence and a guild of Tamil traders in Sumatra may account for what must be a plagiarism from the Tamil. In the Tamil Buddhist story of Manimekalai, we read

The blind, the deaf, the halt, the lame,
Those who were helpless, the dumb, the sick.
Those wasted with disease,
Those suffering from famine,
Those afflicted with-poverty,
Hundreds of thousands of people were gathered there.

The Malay parallel can hardly be a coincidence:—

The lame, they came on crutches,
The blind ones came a-groping,
The deaf were putting questions,
Mothers brought their babies in arms,
Children hurried pushing, shoving,
The short folk craned a-tiptoe,
And the sick tailed off to leeward.

Not only Indian but Javanese influence can be detected in some of these tales. It is strong in the Kedah romance of Trong Pipit, where the hero is given the title of Pekulun and his senior wife that of Paduka Liku and where Sang Senohun is invoked. The Minangkabaus were conservative highlanders who even by 1511 had not become Muslims, but it is rather startling to find in the *Hikayat Raja Muda* a nymph Segerba, her name a variant of Sukarba which in the Kawi of the old Panji tales stands for the apsara whom the *Malay Annals* terms Sapurba. As in the Javanese Panji tales, which were published throughout the Malay archipelago by the shadow-play, so in these folk-romances there is always comic relief in the shape of a

discomfited braggart or an elderly buffoon. In *Awang Sulong* there is the episode of the helmsman who stabs a fowl and shows his blood-stained creese as evidence that his prowess has saved the galleon. In *Raja Donan* there is the old astrologer. At every three paces he halted to straighten his back and draw seven long breaths. He entered the palace in a rage: —

> 'Old enough for a grave and yet summoned! Accursed king, the devil take him!' The maids of honour heard him grumbling and pretended they would tell the king, but the old fellow clutched their skirts and cried, 'Don't, or I'll be killed and my old wife left alone. When she's dead, I'll marry you, if you won't tell the king what I said' "

Islamic elements are common and appear in strange company. In *Trong Pipit*, for instance, a heroine sends a bird created from a quid of betel to summon her grandfather from Eve's tomb at Jeddah, whereupon the old giant arrives, like Anti-Christ in the *Book of the Thousand Questions* with the deepest sea reaching only to his waist, and is netted by Trong Pipit in an iron fishing-net got from Siva.

Infidel villains, called variously a Prince of Portugal, the White Viceroy (*Bĕdurai*), Commander Tehling and so forth, come on the stage to be ingloriously vanquished and caricatured. The White Viceroy is a Dutchman who will not wake up: pummel him, wrestle with him, cut off his head even, he takes it sleeping: —

> *Seven cubits broad his chest;*
> *Seven spans around his arm;*
> *Molars four from out one root,*
> *Pounds of meat at once be'd raven,*
> *Half would cling about his grinders.*

In conversation[22] the Dutch commanders use innuendo and the common tactics of Malay diplomacy.

For these romances are the product of home-keeping wits, a hotchpotch of remembered tales and contemporary invention. A voyage nearly always plays a part in the plot, and the ports visited are the ports of Malayan commerce, Malacca. Muar, Bengkalis, Tanjong Pura, Semarang. In Kelantan rollers are still dyed red for the launching of ships, and in these folk-tales the hero's craft is commonly launched over the bodies of young girls gravid with their first child. The *motif* of a voyage may be Malayo-Polynesian but the motif in several tales of a heroine taking command of a ship may be borrowed from the popular classical *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda*. All the romances abound in the rhodomontade dear to sailors, tales of magic weapons forged by Adam from filings of the lock of the Ka'abah, tales of thin muslins and rich brocades: —

> *Shot silk belt of lotus pattern,*
> *Gilt by Coromandel craftsmen,*
> *Woven part in looms of China*
> *Part by weavers gilled like fishes;*
> *Stretched, as wide as earth and heaven;*
> *Folded small as nail on finger.*

These folk-romances are the cream of Malay fiction, because in them local colour takes the place of the tedious conventional descriptions in the many slavish copies from Indian models. Awang Sulong's mother dies after the rice-harvest. A prince suffers transformation into a scrofulous aborigine of the Malayan forest. A hero lies disguised inside a mat covered with husks and chaff and fetched from a shed where the rice-mortar is kept. The complaisant talking bird in *Raja Donan* is a kite and is bribed by its mistress' leave to devour one of the hens feeding in her father's court-yard.[23]

Some of the finest touches of realism adorn the metrical passages, inset in these romances by their Sumatran reciters. In *Awang Sulong* there are the graphic sketches of a house, of upland jungle, of a prince's costume. In *Malim Dĕman* there is the picture of a palace with pigeons and decoy-birds and meadows full of cattle. Most famous of all is the description of dawn in *Sri Rama*. Here I will translate verses that portray a nervous unaccustomed girl firing a gun: —

Soon as loaded, took her musket,
Stepped as when begins a fencer
Paying devoir to beholders.
Then she changed to steps of challenge;
High as hawk apoise in heaven,
Low anon as cowering pheasant
Or as gull that dippeth cliffward;
Quick as monkey in the branches;
Whirling next as whirls a fencer
Come from Siam, or as kitten
Frisking amid fallen foliage.
She dropped the barrel, pulled the trigger,
Pressed the musket to her sleeve.

There we have the originality and sensitive fancy of genuine literature. If the only the Malay of to-day would write of the speed of railway and motor as these rhapsodists sung of the windswift barks of romance; if he would give us the same vivid pictures of priest and policeman, officials and local celebrities as these folk-tales give of Dutchman and aborigine and the saint from Mecca in white turban with Chinese spectacles on his nose; if he could use, as the clown in the Malay opera uses, the teeming varied life around him instead of copying Arabic and European literary models, then at last he might produce a literature commensurate with his five hundred years of effort. For the Malay has humour, taste, and, as his *pantun* bear witness, a fund of genuine passion and emotion. But for him as for the Englishman suppression is good form, and moreover one foreign influence after another has borne down on him so rapidly that he cannot see the wood for the trees.

Notes:

1.(a) _____. Beauregard, Ollivier G.M., 1889; Benedict, R.O.C. Anderson, 1965; Blagden, C.O., 1896; Brown, C.C.; Clifford, H, 1891; Dundes, A, 1966;

Dussek, O.T., 1918; Hamilton, A.W., 1937; Hose, E.F., 1934; Humphreys, J.L., 1914; Koutsoukis, Albert, 1970; Marre, M.A., 1889(a)(b), 1898; Maxwell, G, 1907; Maxwell W.E., 1878(b), 1879; Shellabear (Kiliran Budi); Wilkinson, R.J., 1907; Winstedt, R.O., 1907(b), 1917(c), 1933(a), 1950.

(b) Brandes, J, 1893-4; *Sha'ir Pĕlandok Jĕnaka* (lith Singapore, 1883); Cardon, R, 1933; Delondre, Gustave, 1865; Dewall, A.F. von, 1882, 1900(a); Dussek, O.T., 1915: Francis H.T. and E.J. Thomas, 1916; Maxwell, G, 1907, Ratnadi Geria 1971; Gonggrip, J.R.P. 1892; Skeat, W. 1901; Hamilton A.W., 1920; *Hikayat Pĕlandok Jĕnaka* [MALAY LITERATURE SERIES, NO 13]; Klinkert, H.C., 1893; Laidlaw, G.M. 1906(a)(d), 1907; Mohd Taib Osman, 1970(b), 1972(b); Overbeck, Hans, 1914; Santa Maria, Luigi, 1975; Sarkar, H.B., 1934; Winstedt, R.O., 1906, 1909(a), 1917(b), 1920(b), 1921(f).

(c) Coster-Wijsman L.M. 1929; Dewall, A.F. von, 1906; Laidlaw, G.M. 1907; Penzer, N.M., 1924, 1968; Winstedt, R.O. 1906, 1908(a), 1917(b), 1920(b)(d); Sarkar, H.B. *op. cit*; Maxwell, W.E., 1886(a)(c), 1887, 1888; Winstedt, R.O. 1907, 1910, 1908(b), 1914, 1921(d), 1927, 1929(b).

2. "bloody" is found in Winstedt, R.O., 1907, p.2.
3. "wittingly" in *op. cit*, p.2.
4. This whole section is based on Skeat, W, 1901, and Winstedt, *op cit*, p.3.
5. See Winstedt, *op cit*, p.9.
6. *Ibid*, p.9.
7. For *Kahtha Sarit Sagara* read *Katha Sarit Sagara*.
8. "He was a Saiva Brahmin of Kashmir and must have composed his verses about 1070 AD' — Penzer, 1924, Vol. 1, Introduction, p.XII.
9. Winstedt, R.O., op cit, p.91.
10. This is composed by *Narayana* circa 9th century AD. For details see Daniel, H.H. Ingalls "The Canakya Collections and Narayana's Hitopadesa", *American Oriental Society*, 86, pp.1-19.
11. Winsted, *op. cit*, p.13.
12. *Ibid* — the earlier text has "delightfully".
13. *Ibid* gives "guile".
14. Most of these stories can be found in the *Hikayat Sang Kanchil*.
15. Winstedt's text of 1907 has "larder". To add the following lines on p.16 of the same source "under the second class will fall the tale of the Mouse Deer and Otter's Babies *Pĕlanduk dengan Anak Memerang*.
16. "Finally Mouse Deer declared himself Sheikh on the jungle world (Syeikh di-Rimba).
17. Winstedt, *op. cit*, has "belonging to this stage of development".
18. This is the Patani version of the *Ramayana* and is fully discussed in Winstedt, R.O., 1928(a).
19. For a detailed account see Maxwell, W.E., 1886(a).
20. It is rather a 'female-headed mare'.
21. This paragraph begins abruptly here. In Winstedt's earlier account (1907), p.28 — it begins as follows:- "Malay romances are the cream of Malay literature".

22. In Winstedt's 1907, piece on p.31, one has ...". Occasionally when convenient for the plot, even the Dutch villain and his party are credited with the knowledge of the black art, for a story-teller the black art is not romance but the real attribute of all great folk same ages ago. The daughter of "Sleepy Head" transforms her Malay lover, Prince Dandy, back from Monkey to Man by brushing him with magic coconut frond. Love converts the same damsel to Islam.

Chapter 3

The Hindu Period

(a) The Indian Epics.[1]

Already in a survey of the Malay language and of Malay folk-tales we have found an inextricable thread of Indian influence. And when we come to literature proper, we are confronted at the outset with relics of the end of the Hindu period of Malay culture, a period that lasted more than a thousand years.

As early as the fourth century A.D. the Pallavas of the Coromandel coast left Brahminical altars in Borneo,[2] Saiva inscriptions in Indo-china[3] and Buddhist inscriptions in Kedah; their Buddhism Hinayana and unaffected by Hindu accretions, so that its images, which in Malaya have been found in Perak, portray Buddha as a monk and not as a many-armed Hindu divinity. The language of these followers of Brahma, Siva and Buddha was Sanskrit, but though under their influence were founded dynasties in Sumatra, in Java and in the Malay Peninsula, these traders and immigrants were so few that they could only introduce the Sanskrit of court and temple, using for ordinary life the languages of the Malayan region instead of introducing Prakrit, the colloquial form of Sanskrit. And in the eighth century A.D. there had been evolved from the Pallava alphabet the Kawi script, medium of an old form of Javanese that before it expired about A.D. 1400 saw by A.D. 1000 a prose summary of that huge old Indian epic, the *Mahabharata*, and in 1157 a poetical version of one section of it, the *Bharatayuddha*.[4]

In the eighth and night centuries A.D. came another wave of Indian influence, proceeding from Bengal under the Pala dynasty and bringing another script the Nagari[5] along with a revival of Sanskrit and in place of Hinayana Buddhism the Mahayana form whose many-armed images of Buddha as Avalo-kitesvara have been discovered in Java, Sumatra, Cambodia and Perak. In the Malay peninsula, too, in Trang, Jaiya and Kedah have been unearthed Buddhist tablets in the Sanskrit language and the Nagari script, perhaps the work of local Mahayana monks.

Early in the eleventh century the Chola kings of the Coromandel coast first raided the Indian colonies in Malaya, these raids due evidently to that Tamil commerce which has coloured Sanskrit loan-words in Malay, which has never been absent from Malaya in historical times, which transferred to Singapore the name of the capital of the old Tamil kingdom of Kalinga and which lasted into the Muslim period, when Tamils and Gujeratis conducted the foreign trade of Malacca.

While the Malay versions of the *Bharatayuddha*, namely the *Hikayat Pĕrang Pandawa Jaya*, and the Malay version of the story of Bhauma, son of Bhumi the Earth, namely the *Hikayat Sang Boma* (or *Sang Samba*) can both be traced back to

Kawi originals, the latter to the old Javanese *Bhaumakavya*, the presence of every Indian influence that has ever reached the Malay archipelago and peninsula is to be found in the Malay version of the *Ramayana*, namely the *Hikayat Sĕri Rama*,[6] which critical scholarship has proved to contain elements from the south, the north and the east of India. In Java the first traces of the legend of Rama, of the rape of his wife Sita by Ceylon's demon king Ravana and of her rescue by Rama with the help of Hanuman and his monkeys, are to be seen in beautiful reliefs sculptured early in the tenth century on Chandi Lara Jonggrang,[7] one of the Prambanan group of temples. A little later, about A.D. 925, a poet who called himself Yogiswara[8] did a Kawi rendering of the Indian saga that inspired the fourteenth century native shadow-play reliefs on Chandi Panataran. Centuries later when Kawi was no longer understood, there were written in new Javanese other recensions known as the *Serat Kanda*[9] and the *Rama Kling*. Allied to these latest recensions and the popular dramatic versions of Jokya, the Malay classical redaction is known from two texts, one printed in 1843 by Roorda van Eysinga and the other by Doctor Shellabear from a manuscript once in the possession of Archbishop Laud and since 1633 in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The longest version is at the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and there is one, so far unstudied, at the India Office. There are the two rhapsodist versions handled in the last chapter. And there is at Berlin a *Hikayat Maharaja Ravana* (with Malay *pantun*, Minangkabau spellings and Javanese words) of which Overbeck has made a summary in English.

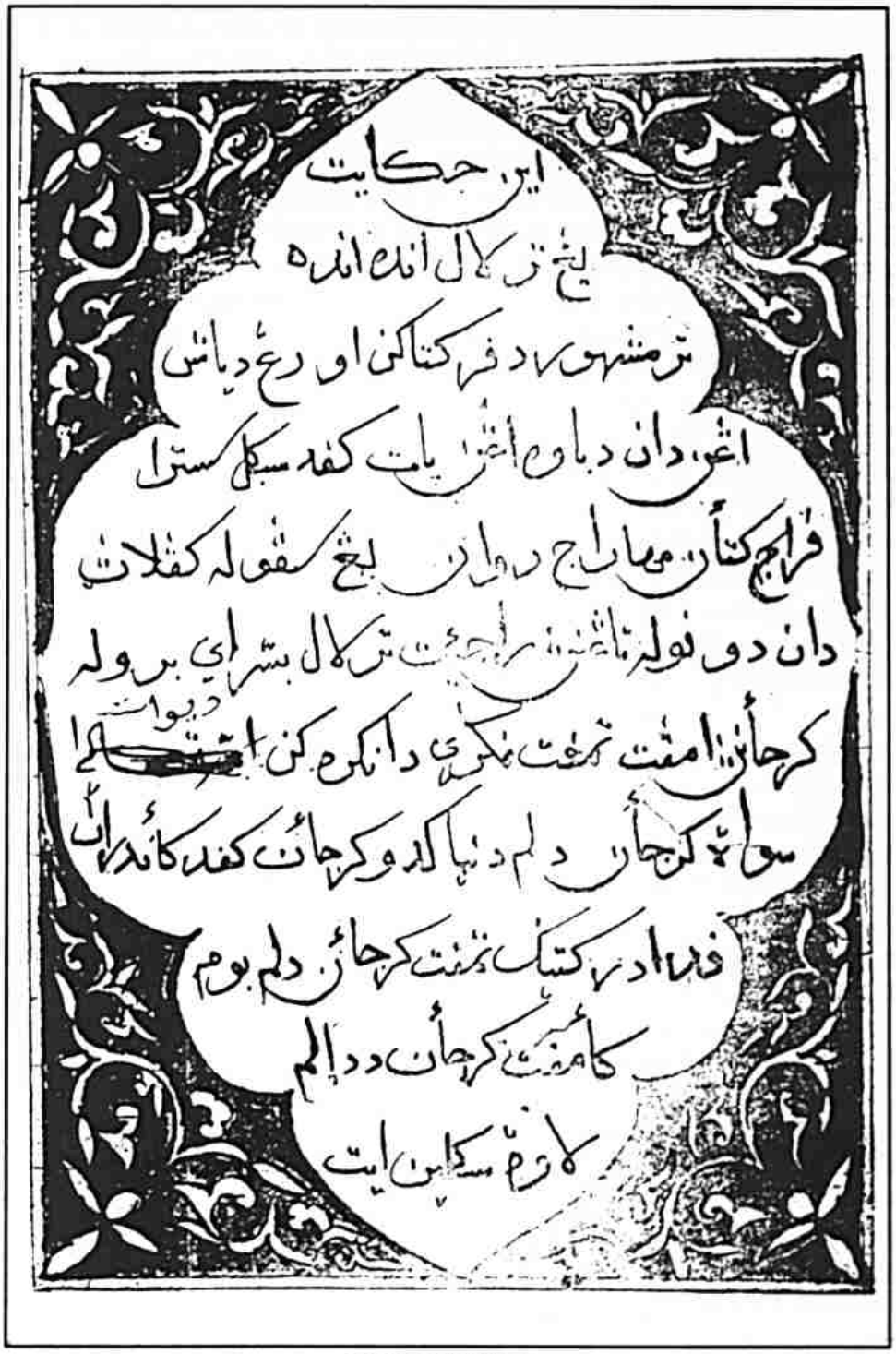
It was the Prambanan sculptures that set Dutch savants wondering whether the artists had had before them not Valmiki's classical version of the *Ramayana* but some other, whether perhaps they had followed oral tradition only and whether the discrepancies between their version of the story and Valmiki's had come from popular versions to be found in British India or had arisen in the Malay archipelago. Scholars therefore compared not only the two classical printed Malay versions and the Perak rhapsodist version[10] with one another, but also with Valmiki, and they compared them with the still older story of Rama in the *Mahabharata*, with the story in the *Bhagavatapurana* and with modern versions in Bengali and Punjabi. Even in the older Sanskrit texts they found considerable divergencies. To take one or two examples. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* do not agree over Rama's mother; and while in the former Ravana is shot in the heart and there is lamentation over his corpse, in the latter Rama's arrow consumes him and his chariot. In the *Bhagavatapurana* it is Rama who slays the monstrous Surpanakha, in the *Ramayana* it is Rama's half-brother Laksamana. It is not necessary therefore to turn to Javanese and Malay folklore for details in the Malay story of Rama that differ from the *Ramayana* of Valmiki. Furthermore comparison with modern Indian redactions has discovered points of resemblance between the Malay and the Bengali recensions, and so explodes the old theory that the Tamilized forms of many Sanskrit names implied a purely Tamil source for the Malay texts. The conclusion from all this research is that both the Malay classical texts are derived by oral tradition from the same source, that that source was itself an oral version and that into it had flowed flotsam and jetsam from the east, the west and the south-west of continental India, which in the Malay archipelago[11] were gathered into one to produce the prototype of the two

Malay texts. Details such as the relation of Rama to Vishnu, the emphasis on the ascetic practices of Laksamana and the incident of Sita being found with a picture of Ravana on her fan, all point to the arrival of Indian elements after the twelfth century, when these details first occur in Indian redactions. Non-Indian elements are few and have not obliterated the sequence of the Indian story.

It was van der Tuuk who showed that the Malay version of the *Bharatayuddha*, like that of the tale of Bhauma, was derived not from middle or modern Javanese but from the ancient Kawi, as he proved by collating the texts and enumerating many words and names Kawi in form. This conclusion obviously tallies with the historical facts; it being quite unlikely that such works would find Malays willing or able to translate them long after the close of the Hindu period, when Islam had had time to discredit them. In a well-known Malay religious work compiled in 1634 and called the *Sirat al-Mustakim*, its author Shaikh Nuru'd-din (who also wrote the *Bustan as-Salatin*) said that the Malay version of the Ramayana could be used for sanitary purposes, provided the name of Allah did not occur in it. It is therefore not to the later Muslim period that we must look for these Malay translations of the old Indian sagas, though Raffles's copy of the *Hikayat Pĕrang Pandawa Jaya* was done by a copyist who added a set of verses in which he uses Batavian words and talks of Dutch paper. The Malay classical versions of the *Bharatayuddha* and the *Ramayana* are in the Malay found in works of the fifteenth century A.D. like the *Hikayat Iskandar Dhu' l-Karnain*, the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* and the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah*. According to the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* when the people of Pahang excused themselves for being half-castes and not true Malays, Hang Tuah replied "Malacca Malays are half-castes too, mixed with Malays from Majapahit." And fifteenth century Malacca with its large population of foreign and locally born Javanese seems the most likely place for the translation into classical Malay of the story of *Sĕri Rama*, then so well known from the shadow-play. The work whose date can be fixed with the greatest certainty is the *Hikayat Sĕri Rama*. An analysis of the two printed classical Malay texts of this recension of the *Ramayana* fixes the date of the completion of their arche-type as after the twelfth century, while one of them reaching the Bodleian library from the collection of Archbishop Laud in 1633 must have existed for some time before that.

None of the Malay versions of these Indian epics were written in their present form, until Islam had influenced the Malay language. The introduction of the manuscript that contains the *Hikayat Pandawa Jaya* is full of Arabic words but at the same time uses a Hindu expression like *maharisi* for "sage," which few modern Malays would understand and it takes it for granted that readers will be acquainted with divination on Hindu lines:

> *Al-kesah. Maka ini-lah suatu chĕritĕra yang amat masshur pĕrkataan-nya di-atas angin dan di-bawah angin yang telah tĕrsĕbut di-dalam shatar dan nujum sakalian maharisi dan Berahmana; pĕri mengatakan Pandawa Pancha kelima. Maka ini-lah chĕritĕra yang di-bawah sakali, maka di-namat oleh sĕgala yang 'arif dan yang bijaksana Pandawa Jaya nama-nya. Ada pun yang di-atas itu bĕbĕrapa chĕritĕra yang amat indah-indah mĕmbĕri* [? omit *maka*] *bĕrahi-lah akan sĕgala yang mĕmbacha dia atau yang mendĕngarkan dia daripada chĕritĕra Lĕlakon yang 'ajaib dan yang gharib-gharib dalam-nya.*



Hikayat Sri Rama

This is a tale famous from east to west, that occurs in the tables and horoscopes of all the great sages and Brahmins, the story relating to the Pancha or Five Pandavas. This is the final tale, called by the learned *Pandava Jaya* or the *Victorious Pandavas*. Before it come a number of wonderful tales that will captivate every reader or listener, taken from the marvellous and strange tales of the native drama.

The one printed classical Malay text of the *Hikayat Sĕri Rama*, on which Islam has left any mark outside preface and vocabulary is the Bodleian text, where the Prophet Adam visits Ravana at the time of his ascetic practices and gets Allah to give him sovereignty on earth and in heaven, in the sea and under the ground, and again where in the tale of the buffalo that fights the brother of the monkey-god Sugriva there is dragged in a Maharaja *maghrib* 'Abd al-Malik, who cites the buffalo to his children as an example of greed. What is the oldest text of all these translations of Indian epics seems therefore to contain the youngest recension of all. In all the Malay versions of these Indian epics, the term *dewata mulia raya* is used for the Hindu Triad or possibly for Brahma alone. On the Trengganu stone the phrase is employed as a translation of the then novel *Allah talla*.[12] In the Bodleian *Hikayat Sĕri Rama*, unlike the writer of the other text published by van Eysinga, the author used originally the phrase *Allah taala* to harmonize with his attempt to give the tale a Muslim colouring (and so save it from the lavatory!), but some precisian has altered it to *dewata mulia raya* to harmonize with the Indian story. It would appear as if the Bodleian text was written down for a Muslim court, like that of Malacca, which was still conservative enough to like the old tales of the Hindu period, provided they were presented in a form which Muslim pundits could condone.

A mixture of Malay, Sanskrit and Arabic occurs in a *sha'ir* or verse inscribed in an Indo-Malayan alphabet on a Pasai tomb of A.D. 1380, already a hundred years after Marco Polo had found the townsmen there Muslims. And there is the earliest known inscription in Malayo-Arabic characters on a fourteenth century Trengganu stone, where the standard system of the Arabic spelling of Malay is already employed, an indication that the missionaries of Islam had not only altered the vocabulary of the Malay language even then but had written a good deal as well. And though the Trengganu inscription is full of Sanskrit words, Sanskrit then must have occupied the place Arabic was to usurp on lapidary memorials, and its abundant use on a stele is no evidence of its excessive use in contemporary Malay literature. Still, the known Malay translations of the Hindu epics can hardly have been written down before the middle of the fifteenth century, because the writers must have needed the models provided by foreign missionaries before they ventured on their task in a novel script and vocabulary, which the conservative admirer of Hindu tales would be the last to learn, and because, if Malacca was the place of authorship, the latter half of the fifteenth century saw Islam firmly established at that port and a Javanese colony resident there long enough to have learnt Malay. The *Sĕjarah Melayu* tells us that in the middle of that century the story of Rama was so popular in Malacca that as a boy at play Hang Tuah talked of the hero's half-brother, Laksamana, and so got a nickname which the Sultan turned into a title.

Religious prejudice has led to the neglect by Malays of these survivals of the Hindu period of their culture. And the study of these Malay second-hand versions

will interest European students less than the study of the Kawi originals, where those originals exist. But to students of Malay literature they are important both for their influence on that large Malayo-Javanese branch of literature contained in the Panji tales and for their traces in Malay works of a later date. Moreover, arid though they may be compared with the original Indian epics, the *Hikayat Pandawa Jaya* especially contains a sensuous perfume that was soon quenched in the desert of Muslim puritanism.

As an example of the influence of India's epics on Malay literature, one may take a passage from the *Hikayat Pandawa Jaya* that occurs with minor differences in the *Mahabharata*, in the *Buddhacaritam* of *Asvaghosa*, the *Kadambari* of Banabhatta and other works of ancient India, in the Kawi version of the *Bharatayuddha* done by Mepu Sedah in A.D. 1157, in the Malay Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai, the Sejarah Melayu, the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* and many Malay folk-tales and romances. Krishna is approaching the Kauravas' capital, Hastina-pura, the City of Elephants:—

> "The women hurried to see him; some with hair dishevelled and untired, others with disordered dress, others with face half powdered, some with quids of tobacco (*bĕrsisek*) half prepared, some with only one eye painted. All the shopkeepers left their wares and salesmen stopped in the midst of selling, exclaiming, 'We don't care if our goods are stolen, provided we see Krishna.' Some red oil on only one side of their heads and powder on only one side of their bodies. Wives left husbands and children, while some held up their breasts and cried, 'We present these (*susu-ku ini akan haluan aku*) to Batara Krishna.' All the women of Hasti-na-pura hurried as if they were being chased by an enemy and some brought ivory dolls (*anak-anakan*), saying, 'There is your father Batara Krishna.' They rushed to climb platforms and the platforms collapsed, and they fell sprawling, some with broken limbs, others with limbs sprained or bruised."

For sensuous beauty is in the same work the description of Krishna's first glimpse of the City of Elephants: —

> "He saw Hastina-pura, dim as a woman covered with rice-powder and peering from behind a door. The jewelled roof of the palace glittered like the rays of the sun. Trees swayed in the wind like people waving to him. Beasts gave cries of welcome Bulbuls murmured as if they asked after Arjuna. All the fish in the ponds swam to the surface to escort him, darting and dancing under the water-lilies or sheltering under the lotus-blooms as under coloured umbrellas."

Here for a moment, the Malay enjoyed that fleeting loveliness which Java caught from Hindu India and crystallised for ever in the sculpture of Boro-budur and Prambanan.

Or take yet another scene, breathing the romance of a Rajput painting, the scene where after the arrival of Krishna with the Pandavas' demands the beautiful wife of Duryodana, leader of the Kauravas, seeks comfort in her garden that "astonished the moon by its beauty":—

"Her maids crooned and recited tales and played their music (*mĕnggĕrang dan bĕrchĕlĕmpong*), danced and whispered of love, vowing that their hearts were broken like glass upon a stone because Arjuna had not come. Banuwati played (*menyĕlukit*) and danced softly, the strains of her music sweet and plaintive as the

voice of a girl ravished by some youthful lover. Seeing her mood, the maids sported, more beautiful than pictures, attractive and sweet as mangosteens mixed with honey, intoxicating all beholders. About midnight was seen a portent of the city's imminent doom. It was utterly still, without a sound, and the moon was hidden behind a cloud like a lovely woman peeping from behind a door. Gentle rain fell and a light breeze stirred in the distance. There were banks of clouds of all shapes and the birds were restless, flying here and there like a man with two wives. The sound of the night-jar was like the chink of a maiden's bangles, when she weeps and laments at the approach of a man. From the recesses of their hives bees murmured like a man caressing his wife behind curtains. At cock crow there came the sound of the Brahmans' bells in honour of their idols before which they were burning incense and strewing flowers."

Such a spirit of delight came from Hindu India and with sculpture and art was doomed to fall before Islam as Hastina-pura fell before the Pandavas. But before we leave this enchanted garden, I must translate two more passages from the Malay tale of the Pandavas, the description of the beauty of Dewi Satiyawati, wife of Maharaja Salya, and of her husband parting from her for ever:—

> "She was as beautiful as the full moon on a clear and cloudless night. The rain forgot to fall when it saw her tresses unbound. The deer forgot to run into the forest when they saw her side-long glances. The shoots of the *angsoka* drooped at the sight of her hips when her skirt slipped down, and flowers dropped at the sight of her calves when she raised it."

Then the parting:—

> "When it was day, Salya awoke, gently drawing his arm from under the head of his sleeping wife and putting a pillow in its place. She happened to be lying upon his clothes, so afraid to pull them away for fear of waking her he drew his dagger and slit the cloth she lay on. Then he went out never to return. But first he embraced and kissed his wife and chewing a quid of betel put it in her box. He took her ivory doll and wrote verses, sweet messages and set them beside his wife, saying to the doll, 'If mother asks you, say father has gone to the wars."

There appear to be no passages of this quality in the *Hikayat Sĕri Rama*. And the explanation of their rarity may be that before these epics were written down even in Kawi, they must have been well known to the Javanese from the oldest repertoire of the oldest Javanese drama. For the most primitive drama of the Malayan region, which Balinese, Malays, Siamese and perhaps even China copied, is a shadow-play that owes its very name, *wayang parwa*, to the *Mahabharata*, whose heroes and heroines along with those of the *Ramayana* provided most of its leather puppet characters. Mentioned in the Kawi versions of the *Arjunawiwaha* and the *Bharatayuddha*, it existed already in the eleventh century A.D. and then was old, so that even to-day its orchestra bears the name of the Sailendra kings. Like the Greek drama it appears to have evolved out of religious ceremonies in honour of gods or deified ancestors, and is generally performed on the great occasions of life, at harvest, marriage, circumcision and to avert disease or calamity. The shadow-play may have existed before the Malayan world heard of Brahma and Buddha, seeing

that like the shaman the manipulator of the puppets and reciter of their sagas sometimes pretends to be inspired by visitors from the spirit-world, that beside the Sanskrit epics his repertoire includes ancient Malayo-Polynesian tales and that the deified Javanese ancestors of the pre-Hindu period survive in it as the clowns Smar, Petrok and Bagong, companions for the Hindu sage Narada, whom the Javanese have also reduced to a buffoon. But there is a closer resemblance between Smar and Killekyata, a mischievous imp of the Chayanataka or Indian shadow-play.

The trail of the shadow-play is over the Malay redactions of the great Hindu epics, leaving the gods and demigods, who are the characters in these works hardly more than puppets, moving robot shapes instead of the people of flesh and blood, who fought and loved beside the Ganges: one cannot infuse emotion into dolls thrown upon a screen. Yet the shadow-play alone has kept alive the memory of the Pandavas, Rama and Sita, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon. So popular has it been, that the frowns of pious Muslims could not stay its performance, and it is only now that it is dying a lingering death, Smar and Sita being vanquished by the stars of the cinema. In Kelantan[13] the story of Sri Rama is still thrown upon the screen in a form so old that the puppets do not wear, the creese of the later shadow-play from Majapahit. In opening a performance the Kelantan reciter or *dalang* (as the reciter of both the written Malay epics is termed) invokes as well as the Prophet Muhammad, Siva, Ganesha, and Arjuna, Ravana, Rama, Bibisenam and Indrajit, all the gods and demigods of the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, and he closes the show by another ceremony of religious origin, crying that the dust mounting into the air under the trampling of his audience is a sign that by virtue of his devotions the gods are mounting to Suralaya, their Hindu Olympus, while at his prayer the gates open for Siva to descend and drive away all powers of evil. A survival like this brings home to us better than mere perusal of the written page how in Arabic characters Krishna and Arjuna, Ravana and Sita and Hanuman are strangers in a world they never made, giving the Malay a lingering salute from the days of his Hindu worship.

For scholars I may add a few words on the texts of the *Hikayat Sĕri Rama*. The analysis of their contents and the conclusion that van Eysinga's edition is older than Archbishop Laud's manuscript cannot determine the relative age of the two texts. Laud's text has not been touched since 1633; that of Roorda van Eysinga must have been copied and altered several times in two hundred years. Take one specimen passage. Laud's manuscript (fols. 74-76) reads:

Baharu ĕnam kali juga bĕrkĕliling, maka gĕretan (spelt g-rtin and g-rit-n in the text) itu pun patah, maka bĕbĕrapa budi bichara orang mĕngampa dia, tiada juga bĕtul geretan itu.

Eysinga's text (p.4) glosses over archaic difficulties, changing even the rather rare *mĕngampa*, emptied, in one place substituting a common word for *gĕretan* (which occurs also in one of the early Cambridge manuscripts) and in another omitting it altogether so that the syntax is broken.

Baharu ĕnam kali bĕrkĕliling, maka pĕrarakan itu pun patahlah, maka bĕbĕrapa daya upaya sĕgala raja-raja dan mĕnteri hulu-balang hĕndak mĕngangkat mĕmbĕtulkan pĕrarakan itu, tiada juga ... itu bĕtul.

Or again take Laud's folio 125:

> *Maka kĕrbau itu bĕrjalan datang ka-pada suatu pusu. Maka pusu itu di-bongkarkan-nya, maka barang ada anai-anai dalam pusu itu sĕmua-nya berhamboran.*

and compare van Eysinga's page 105

> *Maka bĕrtĕmu dĕngan suatu piusu bĕsar, maka lalu di-bongkarkan-nya oleh kĕrbau ahmak itu tĕmpat-nya dĕngan tandok-nya. Sa-tĕlah habis tĕrbongkar itu, maka kĕbanyakan* piusu *itu pun habis-lah bĕrhamboran*

where unfamiliarity with the archaic spelling *pus* for *pongsu* has led the copyist into writing nonsense. There is no doubt which are the older readings. And just as in one of the Malay manuscripts of Erpinius (died 1624) at Cambridge, van Ronkel discovered factative verbs formed as in Javanese — *mohon, nyĕmbah, ngukor* — so Laud's manuscript exhibits such archaisms as *ngapa, mohon, hating-ku, pulang* (for *pula*), *mamang-ku* (for *mamak-ku*) — pulang is common in the poems of Hamzah of Barus.

(b) Shadow-play plots founded on the Indian Epics.[14]

Beside the Malay versions of the great Indian epics, there have been preserved a few of the many Malay shadow-play tales dating from the Hindu period and founded on the adventures of the heroes and heroines of the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. van der Tuuk deduced their age from the survival in the Batavian Society's Codex 15, a so-called *Hikayat Pandawa*, of Kawi word-forms and names; and he found evidence of the popularity of such dramatic tales in allusions to them in quite different works like the *Panji Semirang*. van der Tuuk has given an outline in Dutch of the nineteen tales that form the contents of the Batavian manuscript as well as an outline of the two long dramatic tales, between which the Malay version of the *Bharatayuddha* is sandwiched in Raffles manuscript 2 in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. As the Batavian manuscript is in Java, I will here paraphrase van der Tuuk's summary of two of its nineteen tales.

Bismaka, ruler of Mandirapura, had three daughters, Amba, Ambawati, Ambalika. Whoever could kill two giants, sprung from the pubes (*ari-ari*) of one of the girls, in a combat (*sayĕmbari* = *swayambari* Skt. = *silambari* Malay) for their hands should marry them. Dewi Sayojana Sugandi, widow of a ruler of Astina, had three sons, Dewabrata, Chitranggada, and Chitrasena. The eldest, a pupil of Bagawan Rama Parasu at Jajar Angsoka, was alone old enough to fight the giants — who could be killed only by bamboo splinters. There are thirty-nine other suitors, including Sang Garuwangga, Sang Saruwanti, Sang Manggadachandra, Sang Manggadapati, Sang Ratna Kakawi and Sang Saruwanggapati. All of them fail. Nor can Dewabrata kill the giants till be makes a spear of bamboo. Sitting in hall with his ministers Uryatasena Darsalah and Nalasetah, the king offers him his choice but he sets off for Astinapura with all three of the princesses. Waylaid by the discomfitted suitors he kills their soldiers with his arrow Kala Banjar and fights the princes with his arrow Arya Sangkala, that has a head like a serpent and a chain-like shaft. He and

his brothers marry the three sisters but being under a vow of chastity (*tapa tapal berma? = takla brahma*) Dewabrata remains celibate and departs for Jajar Angsoka. Amba follows and from vexation he shoots an arrow at her and unluckily kills her. He vows to be slain by a woman, whereat the soul (*atma*) of his dead wife is pleased. He burns her body and is advised by his teacher to perform the penance *Angarpati*. As an ascetic he takes the name of Bagawan Bisma.

Two gods from Indra's heaven attack Bisma's two brothers for having the same names as themselves. Their arrows are called *parudanda*, that produces a sea of water, *tomaragni* that produces mountains of flame, *nayabĕrma* that causes heavy rain, *bayu gĕmpita* that causes storm and darkness; while other arrows change into *sĕmpani* serpents, Naga Gangga, Garuda and Wilmana. Yet others are named *kalawira* and *purwasangkala*. The fight is undecided, till Batara Guru sends Narada with Pasupati to compass the death of princes cursed from the impiety of having divine names. Half Astina is burnt and his mother begs Dewabrata to raise seed by his dead brothers' two childless wives. He refuses but tells her to invoke Bagawan Biyasa who comes with his quiver (*tarkas*) from Mt. Mayapertapa. Ambawati covered her eyes at his coming, Ambalika covered her body with a white cloth, and a third concubine drew up her legs. Destarata, the son of the first, was born blind; Pandu Dewanata, the son of the second, was white, while the concubine's son, Widura Sukma, was a cripple. When Pandu grew up, his father taught him all the arts of war.

Again, another tale:

The forest Indraguna was unapproachable on account of a lion called Sang Ragapati and Durgapati, (words derived from *mĕgapati*, lord of animals). Ugrasena fought him and was killed. His widow Chiptawati and his daughter Ugrawati put themselves under the protection of Bagawan Kapi Jembawa. The widow promises him her kingdom and her daughter, although he is an ape. But Jembawa kills the lion and revives Ugrasena by means of a plant, which formerly was fetched from Imagiri by Hanoman to revive Rama's soldiery: its roots would revive gods, its bark men and its leaves animals. Ugrawati bears him a daughter Jambuwati. Finally Jembawa becomes a hermit.

Besides the two manuscripts of which van der Tuuk has given outlines in Dutch, there is a third, Raffles manuscript No. 21 in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. It contains a version of the first of the two tales just paraphrased and is a collection of narratives with no plot to link them. van der Tuuk found it "very interesting as it introduces nearly all the persons acting in the *Hikayat Perang Pandawa Jaya* and the *Hikayat Maharaja Boma*." A short outline of the work may be read in van der Tuuk's catalogue of the Malay manuscripts belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, of which there is an English translation. There is also at Leiden (codex 3377) a Malay recension of the Javanese *Kidung Bhimasvarga*, a combination of episodes from the old-Javanese *Mahabharata*.

(c) Romances of the Hindu Period.[15]

Among the many romances that now bear the Arabic title of *hikayat* are a few whose contents appear to mark them as products of the Hindu period, hardly touched except in vocabulary by the advent of Islam.

One of these is the *Hikayat Maharaja Puspa Wiraja*, sometimes corrupted into *Bispu Raja*, which is a finer version of the fourth tale of the later Muslim Malay work known as the shorter *Hikayat Bakhtiar*, and contains also the three stories inset in that tale. Unfortunately there is extant only one manuscript and that transcribed at Krokot[16] (Batavia) in A.D. 1821. Van Der Tuuk detected signs of a Javanese copyist in such forms as *mĕrentahkan* for *mĕmĕrentahkan* and *masang* for *mĕmasang* but the work appears to be old and Professor van Ronkel discovered similar forms in a seventeenth century manuscript of a commentary on the Kuran at Cambridge. The work also contains such archaic forms as *pĕrsembah* and *pĕrsalin* and no Portuguese words at all. From its excellent style it was clearly written by a Malay scholar and it is hard to think of any centre other than the old Malay port of Malacca where one would find an author competent to write such good Malay, acquainted with a few Javanese words and forms and eschewing all Muslim colouring. The author has made the hero and heroine serve not Allah but *dewata mulia raya*,[17] a term for god current in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially in Malayo-Javanese literature. And the sea-captain, who abducted the heroine, comes from Vijaya Nagaram, which was destroyed before 1565. Van der Tuuk detected in the work links with the *Hikayat Pandawa Jaya*, the Malay version of the *Mahabharata*, namely in the hero's capital Astana Pura Nagara (City of Elephants), and in the choice of the Javanese *chochor* for a "swallow" and of *rajasa* for a plant. The author gives Taksila, which may be the Buddhist university Taxila, as the Siamese equivalent of Elephant City and claims to have translated from the Siamese; but though the idea of disaster following the molestation of fledglings may well be Buddhist and have come from a Pali source, there is not a Siamese word or title in the text. That in spite of the presence of many Arabic words the source was Hindu and not Muslim may be inferred from the Sanskrit names of people and places, from the use of the term *dewata mulia raya* and from the fact that it is not a cat which is killed on suspicion of slaying an infant, as in the Persian *Sindibad-Nameh* but a mongoose as in the *Panchatantra*.

Puspa Wiraja and his consort Kamalaksana with their sons Jaya Indra and Jaya Chandra are driven from Elephant City by the plotting of Antaraja, the king's brother. His queen accompanies him because, as she remarks in a simile found also in the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* (p. 31) "I am as it were a shoe: if the shoe is left behind, the foot is hurt." Reluctantly the king lifts down two young parroquets for his children to play with but though he puts them back the mother-bird pecks her young for smelling of man. Lost while he is taking his consort across a river, his two sons are adopted by two fishermen. While he hunts for them, a sea-captain abducts his consort. An elephant chooses him as king of Samanta Pura Nagara or Frontier City, where his two sons become court heralds. The sea-captain arrives from Bijaya Nagaram, capital of a Deccan kingdom, and the two boys are told to guard his ship

while he is feasting at the palace. Waking from a dream that a young man has given her two lilies, their mother comes out of a cabin and kisses them. The king sentences them to death but the watchmen of the four gates refuse egress to the execution-ground, telling (i) the tale of the astrologer wrongly executed because at the stroke of a magic gong a palace did not turn golden, only a banana-planter having timed the stroke rightly; (2) the tale of a parroquet that brought his master mangofruit warranted to turn the body golden, but was killed unjustly because the first fruit from its seedling had fallen into a cobra's hole and poisoned the old fellow who ate it; (3) the tale of a mongoose killed unjustly on suspicion of slaying an infant; and (4) the tale of the dog killed unjustly after slaying the lover of his master's wife. Next day the king learns the truth about his wife and sons.

Another romance devoid of Muslim colouring is the *Hikayat Parang Puting*, of which there are three manuscripts in England and one in Singapore. In it there are no references to Allah or to Islam. Batara Brahma is the Supreme God and the world is governed by *dewata mulia raya*. There is also mention of that favourite motif of sanskrit epics, a *silambari*, where a princess chooses a husband from a crowd of rivals. And there occurs a word found too in the fifteenth century *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* and in that old romance the *Hikayat Indĕraputĕra*, namely *tambang* "to offer to the gods" here a bezoar, so that a magic pleasaunce may be created. When the fairy lover "burning as if he would set fairyland on fire" is rejected by his beloved, then like a hero out of the Malayo-Javanese version of the *Mahabharata* he is sleepless till the dawn when "the cocks crowed, the birds of paradise sang in the sky, parrots talked in the *angsoka* trees, parroquets on the boughs of the *nagasari*, mynahs on the *chĕmpaka* trees and a drizzle of rain made all the flowers bloom.

Another romance that, in spite of some copyist's Batavian anachronisms like *kĕbagusan*, must be assigned to this period is the *Hikayat Langlang Buana*, with its Hindu and old Javanese colouring and its absence except in one *pantun*, that must have been interpolated, of all reference to Islam. The only place names mentioned in the *pantun* are Malacca and Grisek, the great mart of east Java in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In spirit, too, if not in fact, the *Hikayat Marakarma* or *Si-Miskin*, belongs to the Hindu period, in spite of references in its *pantun* to Nasranis and Dutchmen, and the Muslim preamble of the printed editions. Raffles's manuscript, omitting the Muslim introduction begins:—

> *Al-kesah, maka tĕrsĕbut-lah pĕrkataan hikayat chĕritĕra orang yang dahulu kala. Sa-kali pĕrsĕtua ada sa-orang dewa dalam kĕyangan bernama Angkasa Dewa sĕntiasa mĕngadap Batara Guru.*

These are the words of an ancient story. Once upon a time there was a fairy demigod who was always in the presence of Siva.

In the three last tales and in many later romances there is a word Kirani or Khairan, which (even if it is derived from *hiranin* 'ornamented with gold') looks like an attempt by some native etymologist to give a Muslim shape to Kirana, which had become so popular in the name Chandra Kirana, Princess Moonbeam, the heroine of the Panji cycle.

Notes

1(a) Attagora, Kingkeo, 1963; Barrat E.C.C., 1963; Brandstetter, R, 1891; Cadet, J.; Callenfels, Stein; Coedes, G, 1930, 1968 (English edition); Darusuprapta, 1969; De Josselin de Jong, P.B., 1965; Dani Nivat, Prince, 1946, 1967; Dhanit Yupho, 1952, 1963; Dawson, J, 1950; Dozon, M. Auguste, 1846; Dulaurier, M. Ed., 1846; Dutt, Romesh C, 1961; Farid Mohd Onn, 1965; Francis, H.T. and E.J. Thomas, 1916; Francisco, Juan R., Gerth van Wijk D, 1891; Grierson, Sir George A, 1927; Hooykaas, C, 1955, 1958, 1965(a)(b); Ismail Hussein, 1975; Juynboll, H.H., 1899, 1920; Khalid Hussain, 1964(c), 1966(a); Kunhan, Raja C, 1962; Majumdar, B.K., 1966/7; Marsden, William, 1886; Maxwell, W.E. 1881(a), 1886(a); Middle, R. Brons, 1886; Mohd. Taib Osman, 1967; Noorduyn J., 1971; Overbeck, Hans, 1933(a); Poerbatjaraka, R.M. Ng, 1965; Raghavan, V. (ed), 1950; Ray A Olsson, M.D., 1968; Robson, S.O., 1981; Ronkel Ph.S van, 1919(b), 1921(a), 1929(a), Sarkar, H.B., 1934, 1966, 1985; Sears, Laurie Jo, 1979; Shellabear, W.G. 1915; Singaravelu, S. 1968(a)(b), 1970, 1981; Stutterheim, W, 1925, Sutjipto Wirjosupatro, R.M., 1968, 1969; Swami Satyananda Puri and Cheroen Sarahiran, 1948; Sweeney, Amin, 1969, 1970(b), 1972(a); Tantular (Mpu) 1977; Teeuw, A, 1946; Tuuk, H.N. Van der, 1875(b); Wasito Surjodiningrat, 1972(a)(b); Winstedt, R.O., 1910, 1921(f), 1929(b), 1944(b), 1957; Zieseniss, A, 1963; Zoetmulder, P.J., 1974.

2. See Vogel, J. Ph "The Yupa inscriptions of King Mulavarman from Koetai (East Borneo)" — *Bijdragen Kon Institut*, LXXIV, 1918, pp. 167-232.
3. On the Saiva inscriptions in Indochina see Filliozat, J, "L'Inscription dite de Vo-Canh". *BEFEO*, LV, 1969, pp. 107-116. Jacques Claude — "Notes sur la stele de Vo-Canh", *ibid*, pp. 117-124.
4. For a full discussion on the evolution of the Kawi script see Casparis, de J.G. *Indonesian Paleography*, Leiden, 1975, pp. 24-28, 38-46.
5. On the Nagari script see Damais, L.C. "Les ecritures d'origine indienne en Indonesie et dans Le Sud-Est Asiqtique Continentale", *Bull. Soc. Et Indoch.* XXX, No. 4, 1955, pp. 365-382.
6. On the evolution of the various *Ramayana* versions see Liaw, Y.F., 1975, p. 33, Sarkar, 1934.
7. For details on the Prambanan reliefs are Kats, J. 1926-8.
8. The general view that Yogiswara is the poet of *Kekawin Ramayana* has been disputed by Poerbatjaraka, R.M. Ng, 1957, pp. 2-3 and Hooykaas, C, 1955. They are equally not of the view that the source of the *Kekawin Ramayana* is none other than *Ramayana Valmiki*.
9. According to Juynboll, H.H., 1911, p.57 (CMXVII, Cod 4085), it is *Serat Nand Ning Ringgit Purwa*.
10. See Maxwell, W.E. 1886(a). This *Cerita Sri Rama* was related to him by one Mir Hassan from Kampar, Perak.
11. Zieseniss, A, 1963, finds that both versions are based on a common piece of oral tradition.
12. See Hidding, K.A.H., 1950.

13. Amin Sweeney argues that there is no so-called Hindu period in Malay Literature. The *Hikayat Sĕri Rama* is in its extant form a Muslim work (1985, p.26. For the most recent detailed study on the text and manuscript of *Hikayat Sĕri Rama* see Ikram, A, 1980, pp. 68-91.
14. Cuisinier, Jeanne, 1957; Dhani Nivat Prince, 1956, 1957; Ensink J., 1967-8; Hazeu, G.A.J., 1897; Hill, A.H., 1949; Jones, Mrs. J.M.F., 1957; Juynboll, H.H., 1915, 1920; Kats J., 1923; Mangkunegara VII, 1957; McPhee, Colin, 1936; Mellema, R.L., 1954; Pigeaud Th, 1938(a); Ras, J.J., 1976, 1978; Rentse, Anker, 1936, 1947; Resink-Wilkens, A.J., 1939; Scott-Kemball, Jeune, 1959, 1970; Seno-Sastroamidjojo, A, 1964; Serrurier, L, 1896, Sheppard, Haji Mubin, 1963, 1965, 1968; Sweeny, Amin, 1969, 1970(a)(b), 1971(a), 1972(a)(b); Tuuk, H.N. van der, 1875(a)(b); Ulbricht, H., 1970; Zoetmulder, P.J., 1971.
15. Ali Ahmad, 1968; (c) Disesel, J.S.A. van, 1897; Khalid Hussain, 1964(a), Mulyadi, S.W.R., Tuuk, H.N. van der, 1849(b); Hikayat Maharaja Bispu Raja (= Puspawiraja) Singapore 1899; Winstedt, R.O. 1920(d), 1921(b), 1922(a)(b)(c)(d).
16. Juynboll, H.H., 1899, p. 156 (Codex 104).
17. This is found on p. 13 of the Singapore version (1899).

Chapter 4

A Javanese Element

Tales from the Majapahit Shadow-Plays.[1]

Old perhaps as the shadow-play is another type of Javanese drama, where masked men took the part of leather puppets, and, accompanied still by the ancient orchestra of the Sailendras, played the characters in the famous cycle of Panji tales and in the story of Damar Bulan, ex-stable-boy of a Majapahit ruler, whose career suggested to the author of the *Malay Annals* the tale of the palm-tapper's adopted son who became ruler of Majapahit and begat Chandra Kirana to become the bride of Sultan Mansur shah of Malacca who lived a century later!

But for the performance of the stories of Sri Panji alias Radin Inu of Kuripan, stories once so popular alike in Javanese and in Malay redactions, the more usual medium was a later development of the shadow-play dating from the palmy days (ca. A.D. 1350) of Majapahit. The tales can hardly be earlier than that as they must have been concocted late enough for no one to laugh at Singosari (1222-95) being made contemporary with its predecessor Daha or Kadiri, as it is made in the Panji cycle. Besides, it was not till after Majapahit's heyday that knowledge of sanskrit waned, and were the tales earlier one would expect relics of Indian metres in them as there are in Old Javanese. The earliest evidence is a stone in relief of about 1400 depicting a Panji scene and an image of Panji dated A.D. 1413. Diffusion of the cycle, which spread as far as Siam and Cambodia through a Malay medium must have taken some years, even if it were due, as some think, to imperial propaganda by the Majapahit court. The shadow-play that spread them was termed the *wayang gĕdok*, and it differed from the ancient shadow-play by having discarded the *gamĕlan* of the Sailendras, while in line with the renaissance of Javanese nationalism, visible at this period in the sculpture of east Java, its repertoire was confined to the cycle of national tales that bear the name of Sri Panji and are concerned with the adventures of him and of his sister and spouse, Chandra Kirana. The catalogues of manuscripts at Leiden, London and Batavia describe many Malay versions of these tales. A number of them were known to Werndly in 1736; *Hikayat Raja Kuripan, Hikayat Mesa Taman, Panji Wila Kesoma, Mesa Kumitar, Hikayat Charang Kolina, Hikayat Raja Tambak Baya, Hikayat Rangga Rari* (?Aria). And the earliest Malay redactions must have been known in fifteenth century Malacca or they could not have coloured the *Malay Annals* with its tales of Chandra Kirana and Sultan Mansur, of the demands of the fairy princess of Gunong Ledang and of the adventures of Hang Tuah at Majapahit. What centre, indeed, more likely for their translation from the

Javanese than that cosmopolitan port with Sultan Mansur married to a Javanese woman and Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din the son of a Javanese mother? A port with a colony of bilingual locally born Javanese in touch not only with their country of origin but with the new Islamic learning? One of the Batavian manuscripts of that famous Panji tale, *Chekel Waneng Pati*, names a surengrana as its reciter (*dalang*) and another names Sumirada a reciter "very famous in Java and in Malay land" (*amat masshur kapada tanah Jawa dan tanah Mĕlayu*). Neither of these reciters has a Muslim name, and verbal forms in the oldest manuscripts of their tale corroborate the age of the Malay version. That great scholar, van der Tuuk, pointed out how the Batavian manuscripts of certain Malay wayang tales, based on some Kawi vesion of the *Mahabharata*, contained Malay forms nearer to the ancient Kawi (that died about A.D. 1400) than to later Javanese. Among other words, he cited *mĕrum-rum* (or more seldom *mĕngrumrum*) 'to cozen a woman with sweet words,' which in Javanese is *ngrungrum* but in Kawi *angrumrum* or *mangrumrum*; and he cited *wadwa kala* 'votaries of Durga' and *Sukarba* a Kawi form for the name of the heavenly nymph whom later the Javanese termed *Suprabha* and the Malays Sapurba. Doctor Rassers has noted how in an old Leiden manuscript (Codex 1709) of the story of Chekel Waneng Pati, the forms *mĕrum-rum* and *Sukarba* occur, while in Raffles manuscript No. 23 in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society I have found *Sakurba*, and *mĕngrum-rum*. Ninek Muni says to Aria Wangsa *Upah-lah aku dĕngan pĕmbujok dan pĕngrum-rum and he replies Takut tulah papah manusia mĕngrum-rum Kang Sĕnuhun*. This Raffles's manuscript not only has these Kawi forms but it omits the attack upon Java by a prince from Kalinga, that occurs as an appendix in some recensions; moreover it is marked by that mixture of sanskrit and Arabic loan-words that is the note of early Malay literature which Hinduism was dying, and it is couched in finely balanced clauses such as are found in the *Malay Annals*. It starts with a preface very like that in one of the Batavian manuscripts but less corrupt and from the phrase *bujangga yang paramakawi* and the absence of any reference of Allah certainly older.

> *Bahawa ini chĕritĕra orang dahulu kala daripada bahasa Melayu dan Jawa di-chĕritĕrakan oleh dalang dan bujangga yang paramakawi di-tanah Jawa, di-pindahkan dĕngan bahasa Mĕlayu, maka akan jadi pĕngibor rasa yang dĕndam di-lĕkakunkan. Dalam itu pun mashgbul di-mana kan hilang? Dendam pun tiada bĕrbilang! Akan pĕri-nya juga pĕndalang katakan akan pĕmadam hati yang bĕrabi; maka dalang panjang-kan lĕlakun ini supaya mĕnjadi lanjut tĕmbang dan kidong dan kĕkawin sĕgala yang 'arif bijaksana daripada mĕnyatakan 'ashikin dalam kalbu: hĕndak pun di-kĕluarkannya yang ada dalam hati-nya itu, tiada 'kan datang kĕbajikan pada-nya; oleh karna itu-lah maka di-karang hikayat ini bĕrnama Chekel Waneng Pati itu-lah yang amat masshur gagah bĕrani-nya dan sakti-nya lagi di-kasehi sĕgala dewa-dewa dĕngan 'arif bijaksana-nya dan pandai-nya mĕndam kulah dan amat elok rupa-nya, tiada tĕrbanding dalam jagat buana tanah Jawa; ialah yang di-bĕrahikan oleh sĕgala pĕrĕmpuan mĕnjadi tĕmbang kĕkawi dan rawitan oleh sĕgala pĕrĕmpuan-nya dan ia-lah yang mĕna'alokkan sĕgala raja-raja di-tanah Jawa, sakalian-nya di-bawah pĕrentah-nya.*

Of this story, called *Chekel* Waneng Pati after one of Panji's many aliases, van der Tuuk wrote: "it is one of the most interesting Malay compositions and has influenced almost every literary production in Malay." Leaving poetry aside, the buffoon and cowardly braggart of Malay folk romances, the ennobling of animalss with high-sounding Sanskrit titles in the *Hikayat Pĕlandok Jĕnaka*, the preposterous demands of the fairy princess of Gunong Ledang in the *Malay Annals*, the Tamil appendix following the Javanese nucleus of the *Hikayat Tang Tuah*, all these find models in the pages of this Panji tale. A brief outline of it will give a general idea of this Javanese type of literature.

Batara Naya Kusuma, an inhabitant of Indra's heaven, begat by Nila Uttama, daughter of Krishna, a son Kamajaya, "Victor in Love," and a daughter Nila Kenchana, or "Sapphire Gold." Falling in love, they were turned into lotuses and reborn as Radin Inu Kartapati alias Undakan Rawisrangga or "Sun Light" of Kuripan and as Radin Galuh Chandra Kirana or "Moonbeam" of Daha. They are betrothed, when Batara Kala arranges for Ratu Socha Windu to kidnap the hero and for a Raksasa to carry off the heroine. Radin Inu escapes, kills the Raksasa and rescues the princess, but she does not recognize her rescuer whose name and appearance are both changed. The ruler of Manggada demands Chandra Kirana in marriage as Radin Inu has vanished and under his new name of Chekel Waneng Pati is not recognized. The ruler of Daha had promised his daughter to her rescuer but breaks his word, whereat Batara Kala is angry and throws his ring down to earth where it becomes a hind with golden antlers. Chandra Kirana longs for it and her father promises her hand to its captor. As Chekel Waneng Pati, Radin Inu captures it but again is robbed of his reward. Then a Klana Brahmana comes to Daha, propounds two riddles, wagers all he possesses against their solution, with the condition that if the king of Daha fails to solve them he shall surrender his daughter Chandra Kirana. Only Radin Inu can solve them but again he is cheated of his reward. Daha is now attacked by the brother of Radin Inu, namely Charang Tinangluh alias Prabu Jaya who has wasted many kingdoms in search of Radin Inu. Radin Inu, now called Adipati Tambak Jaya, fells his brother, recognises him and faints. Before they recover, Batara Kala spirits Chandra Kirana into the foret, where she takes the name of Ken Sela Brangti and is adopted by the ruler of Lasem. This ruler wants to marry her to her brother Parbata Sari alias Mesa Ulun Sira Panji Pandai Rupa, who is seeking her, but they discover their relationship. Radin Inu, under another name, is still searching for Chandra Kirana, his sister and his betrothed. Distracted he goes to a graveyard and calls on Siva, who sends a fairy grandmother to cause Chandra Kirana an illness that only Radin Inu can cure. He cures her and makes her his. He defeats a black-bearded Klana Guling Patirat who comes from Palembang to attack Gagelang and marries the ruler's daughter, who traduces Chandra Kirana so that she is banished to a graveyard where she bears a son Mesa Tandraman. Radin Inu falls sick and can be cured, according to Siva, only by a flower that grows in heaven. His son Mesa Tandraman goes in search of it and is told by Siva that the flower is blood from the bosom of the nymph sukarba. The young prince becomes sukarba's lover after she has promised him the blood. He gets it but is stabbed and robbed of the flower by his half-brother, the son of the princess of Gagelang. But the blood is in a casket

which none but Radin Inu can open. His father seeks Radin Inu and the casket is opened. Radin Inu and Chandra Kirana meet and are reconciled. The prince of Sucha Windu attacks Daha to abduct Chandra Kirana but is defeated, tied to a stake and stoned to death. Hero and heroine and their relatives go down to the sea for a picnic. There are music and dancing and a mock combat, and Sukarba descends with Banjaran Sari, the garden of the heavenly nymphs. Next a Kling prince, Anyakra Buanawati, a descendant of Pandu, is invoked by Sukarba to punish Mesa Tandraman for neglecting her. A Kling fleet sets out to attack Java under Jayalangkara, prince of Manchapadanam, reducing the princes of Sumatra to submission on the way. The rulers of Golconda, Nagapadanam, Tanjaur, Gujerat and Bengal all come flying through the air. The flying palace of the Kling prince becomes a town Martapura. There is war with Klings flying in the form of griffins, with magic arrows and darkness. Batara Kala sends down Sukarba's son, Mesa Indra Dewa Kusuma, to help his father Mesa Tandraman. The Tamil prince invokes the aid of his *guru* Dewa Sukmanasa, who comes with a host of gods. Siva descends and settles the strife by intermarriages. All live happily ever after.

Such in barest outline without any of the comic interludes by the servants is this interminable romance. All the characters, even the servants, have their names changed very many times, till the reader becomes dizzy trying to recall their identity. For the spectator of the shadow-play there was no such problem, because the same puppet represented the same character under his or her many aliases from the prelude to the end. What is the explanation of these chameleon changes of name? Was it economy in pupppets? It is hardly probable, seeing the artistic versatility of the Javanese at that time. Was it due to the joining of diverse tales in one romance? That seems possible when in some manuscripts one finds Tamil romance superadded to Javanese. Was it due to the doctrine of reincarnation or to the old superstition that change of name brings change of luck? Even to-day, many Malays have four different names, the name given in infancy, a name given to mislead the spirits of disease, a name given on marriage, a name given after the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Parallel stories from Celebes suggest, as Doctor Rassers has claimed, that perphas the original kernel of the many Panji tales was a moon myth with a sun myth imposed upon it. Hero and heroine are born when the moon is at the full; they radiate light; at the full moon they are sleepless; frequently they choose the seventh day of the month for their adventures and their honey-moons are seven or fourteen days. When Panji's clothes slip off in battle, a blaze of light is visible; when the hair of Gunong Sari, his brother, is being cut, a blinding light issues from his head. Panji's bride is golden, having names like Nila Kenchana or "Sapphire Gold," Kenchana Ratna or "Golden Jewel" and Chandra Kirana or "Moonbeam," while sometimes her brother and spouse is call "Sun Light." But whether the primitive kernel is a sun and moon myth is nearly as immaterial to the student of pure literature as speculation whether the four kingdoms of these tales, Kuripan, Daha, Singasari and Gagelang, are reminiscent of four early exogamous tribes.

Nor again need the student of literature be greatly concerned over historical allusions. Panji's aunt, the unwedded hermit of Mt. Puchangan, called variously Ni Rara Suchi or "Virgin Queen" and Nyahi Gede Puchangan or "Great Lady of the

Betel Forest," was she really a daughter of Erlangga, the famous Javanese ruler of the eleventh century A.D.? Do the many synonyms for Panji, Kamajaya Asmarajaya, kamarati, prove that he is to be identifice with one of the two Kamesjivaras who ruled Daha in the eleventh and twelfth centuries? Or is he perhaps to be identified the house of Tumapel and died in 1149? Several of the tales to a naval expedition from Tuban against Tanjong Pura, Bangka, Melayu: is this an allusion to Kertanagara's expedition of 1197? And do the Chinese from the land of Queues, who took part in Kublai Khan's expedition to Java in 1214? Is the always vanquished prince of Wirabumi of so many Panji tales Bhre Wirabhumi, son of Hayam Wuruk, who was passed over for the throne of Majapahit and killed trying to win it in 1322? Have we here genuinely historical data or have Javanese historians, like the authors of the *Malay Annals* and *Kedah Annals*, embroidered their chronicles with stuff from ancient popular tales? History and geography in a Panji story are as wild and mixed as in a Malay folktale but there are enough native elements to show that, though the Panji cycle has travelled as far as siam and Cambodia, it is a genuine product of Java and not imported. In the fifteenth century when they first came to him, the historical basis of these foreign tales can hardly have interested the Malay more than the historical basis of the stories of Robin Hood, Bevis of Hampton, Hercules, Troilus and other "ribald" tales interested William Tyndale. "I am descended from Alexander the Great. I suppose he lived more than one hundred years ago," an old Malay raja once said to me. The characters of his tales were all real to the unsophisticated Malay and their story tickled his ear, as their representation on the stage fascinated his eye.

Although these Javanese cycles are indigenous, the tales include indiscriminate borrowings from the Sanskrit epics of the *wayang purwa* and from that later treasure-house, the folklore of the Deccan that was soon to flood the Malay region with romances made up of Hindu and Muslim ingredients.

In the *Chekel Waneng Pati* tale, there are several traces of the *Mahabharata*. The Tamil prince who attacks Java is called a descendant of Pandu, probably an allusion to the Pandavas. The dicing at which Panji loses all his belongings and even his two servants to his nephew Parbati Sari seems to be based on the fatal game between Yudhishthira and his nephew Duryodhana. In the *Hikayat Panji Susupan Mesa Kalana* the abductor of Kama Rati is sent down to earth as prince of Astina Jajar; in the *Hikayat Naya Kasuma* Inu is called Pamade, a name for one of the Pandavas, Arjuna, in the *Bharatayuddha*, while in some Panji tales the princes and princesses of Kuripan and Daha are called incarnations of Arjuna and Januwati, Samba and Subadra. In one manuscript of the *Hikayat Jayalĕngkara* even Semar becomes Pamade, that is Arjuna.

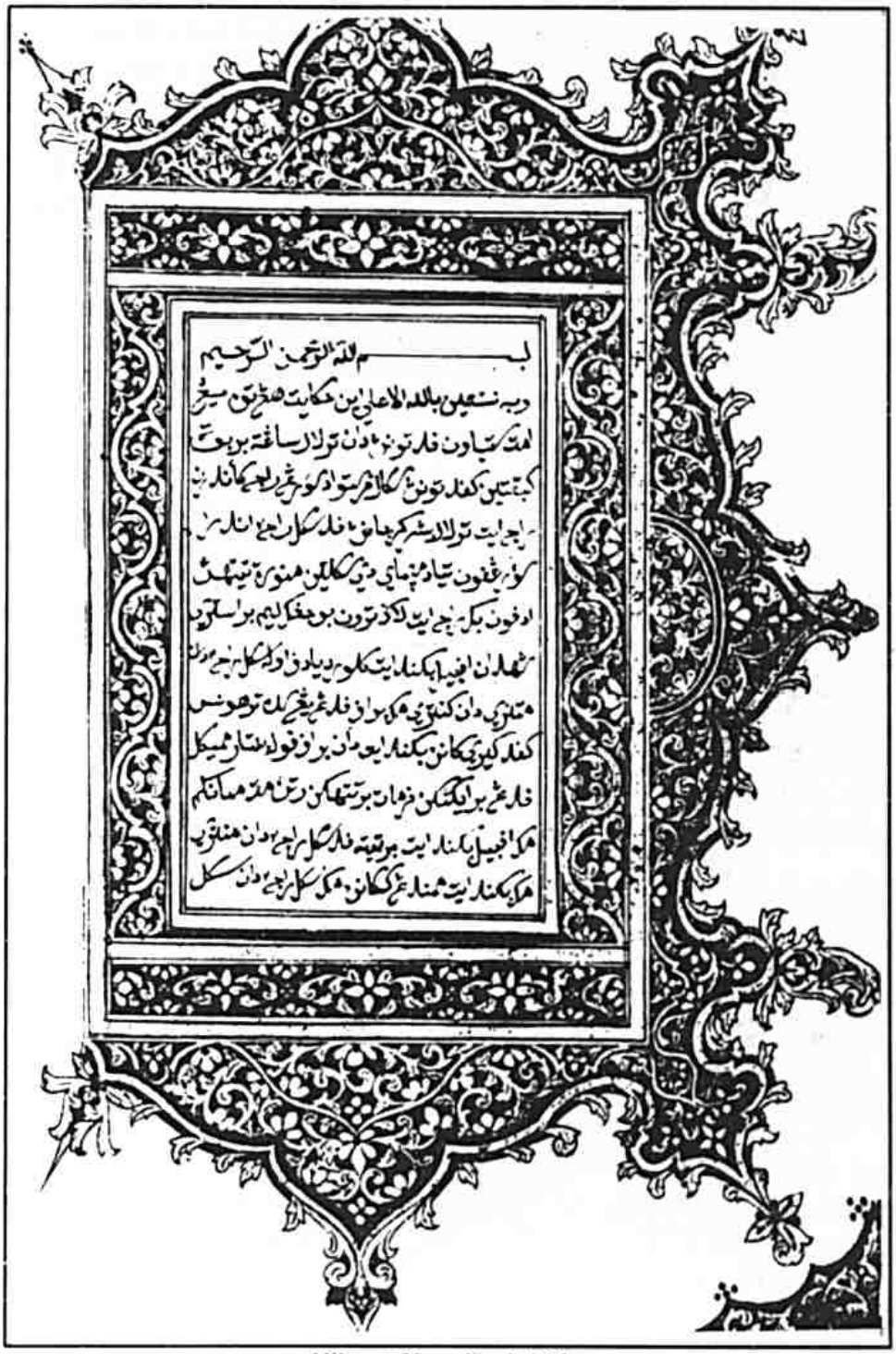
Then take the influence of the *Ramayana*. As Rama is an incarnation of Vishnu, so is Panji. As in the Malay redaction Sita marries her foster-brother Rama, so Chandra Kirana marries her brother Panji. As Ravana employs a Raksasa, Marisa, to take the form of a golden deer to distract Rama while he abducts Sita, so in the *Chekel Waneng Pati* Batara Kala throws a ring down to earth where it becomes a golden deer that Chandra Kirana wants and only Panji can capture. In the same tale Panji's brother takes the shape of a *Jĕntayu* to carry Chandra Kirana to safety, while in the Sanskrit epic Jatayus tries to save Sita from Ravana. Again in the same tale

Panji expels Chandra Kirana for sleeping with the portrait of a supposed lover under her pillow, just as (following an accretion to the *Ramayana* in the 12th century) Rama repudiates Sita for sleeping with a fan on which is a portrait. In the *Hikayat Panji Susupan Mesa Kelana*, a son of Panji is called Klana Wira *Nanoman* or Hanoman the monkey-god. Reference to the drawing of Laksamana's magic circle is frequent.

Though all the Panji tales derive from a common source, some versions are older than others. A Javanese scholar[2] who has compared eight versions thinks a Palembang Hikayat Galuh digantong is the oldest from its emphasis on the royal nun of Mt. Puchangan. One of the earlier Malay recensions at Batavia and a *Kuda Sumirang Sri Panji Pandai Rupa* from Kelantan introduce Arjuna, hero of the old Javanese *Bharatayuddha*, and Samba, hero of the *Bhaumakawya* into their prefaces. Both differ from later versions in rightly making Panji's first love, Martalangu, not a princess of Daha who murder by Panji's mother (as in the *Ken Tambuhan*) is a dramatic blunder but a goddess sent down to become incarnate as the daughter of a village headman and to be murdered to expiate her unchastity in heaven. Unlike the *Chekel Waneng Pati* which says it was a princess of Daha, both say it was Onengan, Panji's youngest sister, who was ravished by a Bhuta. Neither of them follow *Chekel Waneng Pati* in borrowing characters like Naya Kusuma from the later Javanese drama. Clearly the Kelantan tale is very old; written on skin, it mentions writing on palm-leaves, an obsolete method of which modern Malays have never heard. A first volume of it was printed at a Kelantan press in 1931. In Perak I collected a copy of a Kedah manuscript of the *Hikayat Mesa Gimang*, and in 1909 a Malay press at Ipoh published the *Hikayat Pĕrbu Jaya*. Many of the tales are still performed in the shadow-plays of villages in northern Malaya. It is the irony of fate that while the good they did has passed, the evil in them has survived. For while the translation of Muslim works by half-caste Indians and other foreigners married a fine Malay literary style not unnatural in adaptations from a kindred language like Javanese, the influence of these shadow-play romances was otherwise malign, encouraging Malay writers to delineate puppets rather than to depict men and women "not too bright and good for human nature's daily food."

Hikayat Hang Tuah[*3]

Before one leaves the Javanese element in Malay literature, notice must be taken of a Malayo-Javaneses romance, the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*,[4] modelled upon the Panji tales, though, as we have seen, like the *Chekel Waneng Pati* it has an Indian supplement and though it was not written down in its present form until the sixteenth century and has interpolations even more recent. It is notable as the only original romance in old Malay literature, and like its Panji models it purports to have a historical basis. It is indeed a signal example of a tendency found in Javanese pseudo-epic poetry as early as the eleventh century 'to transfer historical facts to the plane of myths and legends — a transformation of history into mythology or rather a magical equation of history and mythology.'



Hikayat Hang Tuah (1)

Hikayat Hang Tuah (2)

First as to its date. Fact turns into myth with incredible speed in a community that has neither newspaper nor printed biographies. When the British went to Perak in 1874, tradition had already entered among the sixteenth century rulers of that State Taju'd-din, a Kedah Sultan who had conquered it in 1818 and died in 1849! Before 1536 or more probably 1511 the first draft of the *Malay Annals* made Mansur Shah, a ruler of Malacca who died in 1477, woo a fairy on a local hill, while its editors of 1612 transferred this adventure to Sultan Mahmud who died in 1528. It is not, therefore, surprising that before 1536 and in the chapter probably drafted before 1511 when d'Albuquerque drove him out of cosmopolitan Malacca, the author of the *Malay Annals* was able to use the legends that had grown up in the Javanese and Tamil quarters of the port about a swashbucker, Hang Tuah, who as late as 1459 had been a hot-blooded young man and who died towards the close of the fifteenth century. Considering the short memory and interest of tradition it is impossible that Hang Tuah could have been forgotten during the years between 1536 and 1612 (while the first draft of the *Malay Annals* was lying at Goa) only to be studied again academically in the 1612 edition of those annals and turned belatedly into the Malayo-Javanese hero of the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* a century after the man of flesh and blood had been mouldering in his grave. Nor can we imagine that the author sat with the *Malay Annals* of 1612 before him and deliberately altering them turned Sang Sapurba's vomit-sprung herald into a bride and sent Hang Tuah instead of Hang Nadim to Kalinga to buy fabrics and to Pahang to abduct Tun Teja. It is clear that a narrator must have worked from oral tradition, as the authors of the two *Hikayat Sĕri Rama* worked from oral tradition, and to do that he must have lived not so far from the last half of the fifteenth century as to have heard no verbal stories of its doings but just far enough to be able to take liberties, conscious as well as unconcious, with its history: that interval of time can hardly have been more than half a century.

One other point. In the orthodox Muslim days of the seventeenth century there would be little reason to create such a type of hero, while for Javanese and Malays of the fifteenth century still delighting in the stories of Sri Panji and in the Hindu epic of Sri Rama and his half-brother Laksamana there was a real stimulus to wreathe round a local Laksamana some of the fantasy they enjoyed in the Panji tales and in their versions of the *Ramayana*. It has been suggested that not only the Malay title Laksamana but the duties of its holder were derived from the part the half-brother of Rama, the ideal king, plays in the Sanskrit epic.

Doctor A. Zeiseniss quotes from Major McNair's *Sarong and Kris* that in Perak the Laksamana is high admiral, guardian of the Sultan's harem and sword-bearer in royal processions: he points out that in Indian and Malay versions of the Rama epic Laksamana is an ascetic who can forego food, sleep and love and that any officer following in his steps would be an ideal guardian of an harem; and he adds that in later versions of the epic Laksamana figures as general and admiral of Rama's forces and that a sword is as symbolic of him as the bow is of his royal brother. Actually the title Laksamana seems to have been created first at the old Malacca court as a nickname for Hang Tuah; and the duties of the holder may well have

developed in the light of Hang Tuah's exploits and his master's literary taste. It is not necessary with Doctor Zeiseniss to go back to Rama incarnate in a Malay ruler. "Hang Tuah," say the *Malay Annals*, "was cleverer, stronger, bolder than other boys. If he was playing with other youths, he would turn up his coat-sleeves, crying, 'Pooh! Laksamana is my match.' So the other boys called him Laksamana and Sultan Mansur Shah followed them styling Hang Tuah Laksamana." Evidently the *Hikayat Sĕri Rama* was popular enough in the middle of the fifteenth century for its characters to be known even to children. And once Hang Tuah had got the nickname for a title, fiction began to be embroidered about him too. Like the Laksamana of the *Hikayat Sĕri Rama* he is a great ascetic. And just as in one manuscript of that *hikayat* (belonging to von Dewall) Hanoman, ordered by Rama to kill Laksamana for some fancied slight, thinks that Rama may be sorry later and therefore conceals Laksamana, so too both in the *Malay Annals* and in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* this motive is borrowed and the Bendahara hides Hang Tuah, whom the Sultan has delivered to him for execution.

The nucleus of the romance, recorded from oral tradition in the Javanese and Tamil quarters of Malacca before the death of Sultan Mahmud at Kampar in 1528 was known there, exhibits no Muslim colouring. Only the later pages, written apparently in Johor or the Riau archipelago, show strong Islamic influence, while references to Saleh ud-din, Sultan of Acheh from 1530 to 1539, to Ibrahim Khan, founder of the Ibrahim Khanzade family, who died about 1622, and to the Dutch capture of Malacca in 1641 are clearly accretions to the Malayo-Javanese nucleus, though the narrative continues to be wildly romantic, with a rhapsodist's disregard for history and chronology. The romance opens in a Panji setting. The mother of Sang Sapurba is marooned on an island Biram Dewa, the Wirama Dewa where Inu is washed ashore to wed a heavenly nymph in the Javanese tale of Jaran Kinanti Asmaranda. The Ratu of Lasem (famous for its *batik* cloths) orders his Kramawijaya to repair the land wasted by Radin Inu of Kuripan, one of Java's four great kingdoms in the Panji tales. At Bentan he meets Radin Inu Wiranantaja, who is in quest of a golden flower-like princess of Javanese romance, Radin Galoh Puspa Kenchana. Hearing from the Radin of Daha (Kediri) that she had met Radin Inu of Kuripan at Gagelang, another of Java's four kingdoms, he hastens there. All this is quite irrelevant to the tale of Hang Tuah but it was popular Malayo-Javanese romance and set the key for what was to follow.

Another Patch Kramawijaya in the service of Malacca's ruler sails with Hang Tuah to Majapahit to ask for a princess for their master, who arrives and marries her: an incident built on the marriage of Sultan Mansur SHah of Malacca to a Javanese. Sentenced to death for seducing a palace maid. Hang Tuah is hidden by the Bendahara and goes to Pahang to regain royal favour by abducting for his master Tun Teja, affianced bride of a Trengganu chief with a Javanese title, Panji 'Alam, and daughter of a Pahang Bendahara with another Javanese name, Buana. Once more with the iteration of a Panji tale Hang Tuah is sent as an envoy to the Batara of Majapahit and again the Raja of Malacca visits Java: and the narrative is larded with names common in Javanese romance, Rangga, Kertika, Kertala Seri, Marga Paksi. Again the Javanese faction at Malacca headed by Kramawijaya accused Hang Tuah of

intrigues with palace women; again he is condemned to death but hidden by the Bendahara. This second time he is recalled to kill Hang Jebat in a famous duel.

After this Javanese romance with its reminiscences of the *Ramayana* come South Indian episodes, some of them so like tales in the *Malay Annals* that they must be as early as the Javanese nucleus. Of the children of Sang Sapurba and his wife born from the vomit of Siva's bull, one, Sang Maniaka, became king of Bentan Singapore and Malacca and sent for his brother Sang Jaya Nantaka to become crown prince. Discarded on account of his popularity Sang Jaya Nantaka disguised as a fisherman is taken by a Tamil merchant Perma Dewan (perhaps a reminiscence of Purindan) to Kalinga to be king. Again. After his last trip to Majapahit, Hang Tuah "who had learnt Tamil in Majapahit" is sent to Vijayanagaram, a Tamil form of Vijaya Nagara (that occurs also in the *Hikayat Puspa Wiraja*), where a merchant Nala Sang Guna, or Narasinggam, gives him anchorage at a spot reserved for Franks and announces his arrival to the king Kishdinan, which Professor van Ronkel has surmised to be an old form of Kittinan, the Tamil equivalent for Krishnaraja. Hang Tuah visits the thousand mosques where the *anjuvanattar* "a caste of Muslim weavers" pray, and also a temple *sitambalam* (? *cambalam* 'store for travellers'). He eats dainties cooked in the Negapatam fashion, shows his horsemanship, and does the mango trick. The Tamil king sends Hang Tuah to China, where, like another envoy in the *Malay Annals*, he contrives to see the Emperor by lifting his head to eat string beans.

As in the seventeenth century *Chronicles of Banjarmasin* the tale of Alexander the Great is used to add Islamic mythology to Panji romance. On the way to Vijayanagaram Hang Tuah met that hero of the *Hikayat Iskandar*, the prophet Khadir, who fore-told his voyage to China and his safe return. After that meeting, the story takes on the even more marvellous tinge of the romance of Alexander. There is the visit to China where to wash away their sins the people bathe in the tears of a large idol, father of all China. There is the hero's defeat of forty Portuguese ships off China by means of a charm. Returning to Malacca he escorts Radin Bahar, son of the ruler, to Java to succeed the Batara on the throne of Majapahit. Then he goes to Siam where he speaks Siamese. After that he opens a settlement for his Raja at Lingga.

The story then becomes even more inconsequent. The king of Ceylon sends the 13th century Raja Chulan to Trengganu, where he worsts the Raja's fighting-cock, and his victorious bird, like Hanuman, sets the palace on fire. Urged by the faery Princess of Gunong Ledang, who here is the daughter of a ruler of Malacca by his Javanese wife, a Raja of Malacca conquers Trengganu. His son marries a captive Trengganu princess and rules over Bentan. Sultan Mahmud reigns at Lingga — where in fact his descendants first reigned in the latter half of the 18th century. Indrapura or Pahang is attacked by sword-fish and a son of Hang Jebat, old comrade of Hang Tuah, advises a wall of banana stems, like the precocious boy of 14th century Singapore in the *Malay Annals*, and like him is executed. Hang Tuah avenges him. The Raja of Malacca loses his crown looking overboard on a voyage to Singapore. Hang Tuah repels an attack on Malacca by Portuguese from Manila. Then he goes to Byzantium to buy cannon, meeting on the way at Acheh Sultan Salehu'd-din (who ruled from 1530 to 1539). He visits Jeddah and Mekkah where

Sharif Ahmad ibn Zainal-'Abidin is ruling. On the way he again meets Nabi Khadir who gives him a flask of water to moisten lips and ears so that he may have the gift of tongues. He sees the sacred carpet brought from Egypt and Syria, visits the holy places and meets Shaikh Jamalu'd-din, keeper of the Prophet's tomb. Then he passes on to Egypt and seventeen days later reaches Istambul, where Ibrahim Khakan — presumably Ibrahim Khan (d. ca. 1622), ancestor of the Ibrahim Khanzade family — describes the glories of the city, its royal garden with a dragon gate, its river, its hill, its river adorned with stone banks and flower-pots, the rock where the Sultan sits to fish, its markets, its orchards, and the sea of Marmora. The princess of Gunong Ledang is installed as queen of Malacca by her father who however continues to rule. Tun Mat, son of the Bendahara, is made Bendahara Paduka Raja; and it would seem that historically this could only be Tun Muhammad, Tun Sri Lanang, who flourished from 1580 to 1615 approximately. Tun Karim, son of the Temenggong, was styled Temenggong Sri Seroja (or ? Seriwa), and Tun Kadim, who must be Tun Nadim, became Laksamana. Then we hark back to Hang Tuah (now dead!). The old Raja of Malacca offers a reward to whosoever will be buried alive and bring him news from the grave. Hang Tuah consents and on the way gies a cake to a poor dervish. Buried with a string in his hand, the other end being held by the Raja, he pulls it and is dug out, naked and holding a broken potsherd, with which he had fended off the fires of two volcanoes. The Bendahara retires to Tanjong Kling, the Temenggong to Tanjong Tuan and the Laksamana with his teacher, a Hadramaut Shaikh from Acheh, to Tanjong Jugra. All sailors passing Jugra head had to fire a shot and cast a wooden spear in their honour, if they would avoid squalls. One day wandering as a dervish, the old Raja of Malacca was given a gourd, took a bite from it and carried the rest with him. Nabi Khadir, disguised as a youth, tells him he is carrying not a gourd but a skull. Opening his bundle he sees a skull, faints and is told not to be so mistrustful as to carry food. He is never heard of again and the princess of Gunong Ledang rules Malacca. A Portuguese ship visited Malacca and a year later the Portuguese bought as much land as an ox-hide would cover, cut it into strips and on the large plot thus covered built a large warehouse equipped with cannon. In the night the cannon destroyed Malacca and the princess of Gunong Ledang fled to a forest near the home of the Bataks, who made her their queen.

Bendahara Tun Mat opened Johor and Sultan Mahmud left Bentan to rule there. Malacca fell under Portuguese rule till with Johor's help the Dutch ousted them (in 1641). The gold leaf on which the treaty between Johor and the Dutch was recorded is still in the possession of the Dato' Paduka Raja of Johor.

Hang Tuah's creese is still one of the prized heirlooms of the Perak Sultan, whose Malacca ancestor may have brought it with him when in 1528 he became first Sultan of Perak. Presumably this accounts for the last paragraph of the romance, which says that Tun Tuah is a saint, living as chief of the aborigines up the Perak river, who when accosted and asked if he needs a wife replies to the villagers, 'I do not wish to marry again.'

It is possible that a study of the various manuscripts of this uncritical farrago of legends might lead to further conclusions as to its composite origin. Meantime nationalist sentiment has made him a national Malay hero, one poet attributing his

death to a sea-fight against the Portuguese, though the latter did not reach Malayan waters until after Hang Tuah's death.

Notes

1. See the following works:-Abdul Rahman Kaeh, 1975(a)(b)(c), 1976(a), 1977; Baharuddin Zainal, 1965; Berg, G. G., 1928, 1954; Brandes, J, 1895(c), C.S., 1922; Cense, A.A., 1928; Drewes, G.W.J., 1975; Harun Mat Piah, 1982; *Hikayat Chekel Wanangpati*, 1956; *Hikayat Panji Semirang*, 1917; *Hikayat Kuda Sumirang Seri Panji Pandai Rupa*, 1931; *Hikayat Misa Perbu Jaya*, 1909; Huin Mahmud, 1965, 1966; Jamilah bte Ahmad, 1976, 1977; Klinkert, H.C., 1897; Ras J.J., 1973; Rassers, W.A., 1922, 1959; Poebatjaraka, R.M. Ng 1940; Tuuk, H.N. van der, 1879; Winstedt, R.O., 1921(b), 1922(c), 1941, 1949(a).
2. He is none other than Poebatjaraka, R.M. Ng, 1940.
3. Brandstetter, R, 1894; Gerth van Wijk D, 1883; Hardjwigoro, R, 1960; Josselin de Jong, P.E. 1961, 1965, 1969; Kassim Ahmad, 1958, 1959, 1962(b), 1963, 1964(a)(b); Middel R Brons, 1893; Parnikel, B.B., 1960, 1976; Ronkel, Ph. S. van, 1964; Winstedt R.O., 1921(c), 1938(f)(i), 1949(b); Zieseniss, A. 1936.
4. "Winstedt admits that *Hikayat Hang Tuah* is the only original romance in old Malay literature". Yet he discussed it under the chapter heading — "A Javanese Element". It is ironical that whilst the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* was banned during Sukarno's regime for its allegedly anti-Javanese overtones it nevertheless became the subject of a PhD dissertation in the very heart of Javanese culture — the University of Gaja Mada in Yogyakarta. [See Sulastin, S, 1983]. It is equally interesting to note that Hang Tuah's fame as a Malay national hero has suffered a decline. [See Josselin de Jong, P.E., 1965].

Chapter 5

From Hinduism to Islam

Malay Romance of the Transition.[1]

The germ of every Malay romance is a folk-tale or cluster of folk-tales, nearly always Indian and manipulated by men wildly ignorant and intolerant of the unities of place and time and of historical truth. Princes and princesses of divine origin triumph over every wile of demon, giant and man; invulnerable heroes defeat monsters with the bow of Arjuna or the sword of Japhet, win brides from impregnable castles and solve intricate riddles by virtue of spells got from fairies, spirits, genii and sages both Hindu and Muslim. Starting as a hotchpotch of Hindu mythology and tags from the Panji tales these romances came with the advent of Islam to embrace the Hinduized folklore of Muslim India, reminiscences from Persian tales like the story of Amir Hamza, allusions to the heroes of the *Shahameh* like Kobad, Jamshid and Bahram, incidents from the Alexander legend, references to Baghdad, Madinah, Egypt and Byzantium, and even expositions of Sufi mysticism.

Not always in time, because many belong to the Muslim period of Malay history, but at any rate in contents and in spirit most of them may be assigned to the era of transition between Hinduism and Islam. To determine the exact date of any romance is impossible, because except in theological works Malay authors preferred to remain anonymous and because contemporary references to these romances do not exist. The author of the *Hikayat Bĕrma Shahdan* is given in one Batavian manuscript as a Shaikh Abu-Bakar ibn 'Omar who lived to be 128 years old and had been alive at the time of Noah, but there is no mention of the date when he reached his remarkable age. A Leiden manuscript calls him Shaikh ibn Abu-Bakar, and so does a manuscript that belonged to Raffles, explaining that the "strange and rare contents of the romance were laid in the presence (*tĕrhampar*) from the fluent tongue of Maulana Shaikh ibn Abu-Bakar, a visitor from the west (*atas angin*), who was extremely famous and well-known in former days, the time of a Sultan learned and ascetic (*zahidi*), a trusty and excellent protector" — terms of adulation couched in Arabic. The honorifics Shaikh and Maulana point to this author being an Indian Muslim with the standing of a pundit, as in fact this story testifies. Along with such names as Bekerma Datia (Vikramaditya) Raja, Datia Bujangga, Nila Pertewi and Maharaja Asmara Gangga he tells of an Indra Dewa (explained by a Persian gloss Shah Pari), makes his heroine a princess Nur al-'ain, and introduces Mt. Kaf, Darianus and the Prophet Khadir, lifted from the Malay version of the story of Alexander the Great as a missionary of the religion of Abraham. The hero keeps a

princess in a *chĕmbul astagina* or magic box and at the same time owns a charger with the Persian description *jang-asp* or "war-horse," while the chapters follow the example of the Persian romance of Amir Hamza in having descriptive headings. The use of Sanskrit and Persian words, the references to the tale of Alexander and the copying of Persian models all make it likely that this romance is to be ascribed to the fifteenth century. Manuscripts of the *Hikayat Iskandar* can hardly have been more common then than now, but we know from the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* that there was one in Malacca. And what other Malay ruler except the Sultan of a Malacca still unconquered could have been described in the preface to the *Hikayat Bĕrma Shahdan* as "of lofty fortune and ideals" (*tinggi bahagia-nya dan chita-nya*), "the support of all princes and Sultans, a shining light to all Muslims whose wisdom and justice stand like a banner above the oppressed and their oppressors" (*pĕrsandaran sĕgala Islam dan sĕgala Muslimin, yang mendirikan panji-panji 'arif 'adil-nya atas sĕgala orang tĕraniaya dan mĕnganiaya*)? such terms, it is true, were used of the Sultans of Acheh, but the contents of the romance fit better with the culture of Malacca, and a Malacca ruler who could be described as "learned and ascetic" was Sultan Mahmud, who once went into seclusion and studied mysticism, leaving the government to his son. There is, of course, just the possibility that the reference is to an Indian or an imaginary ruler but this seems improbable in view of the actual name of the author being given with the comment that he was a stranger.

Though there are no contemporary references to these romances, we have the list of works known to the Swiss grammarian Werndly in 1736, while Munshi 'Abdul'llah in the account of his visit to Trengganu and Kelantan, written in 1852, tells us how he hunted for a *Hikayat Gĕmala Bahrain*, in Kelantan, and found the tale of Khojah Maimun or The Enchanted Parrot and a *Hikayat Isma Dewa Pĕkĕrma Raja*. These dates are both too late to be of value. But there is, as we have seen, a religious treatise, the *Sirat al-Mustakim* composed in A.D. 1634 by Nuru'd-din a'r-Raniri (author of the *Bustan a's-Salatin*) which in a paragraph on ablutions mentions two famous works and shows the force impelling the Malay romance to follow the line of change it took. "It is proper," writes the author, "to use for cleansing the body the Old and New Testaments, which are corruptions of their originals, and also works that are of no service to religion like the *Hikayat Sĕri Rama* and *Hikayat Indĕraputĕra* and so on, provided that in them there is no mention of Allah. The mind of a student will at once revert to passages in Archbishop Laud's redaction of the Malay version of the *Ramayana*, where Adam prays to Allah on behalf of Ravana and where a prince 'Abd al-Malik approves of the behaviour of a buffalo. It was easy to save old-world sagas from the Muslim Index on such terms.

The original fabricators of Malay romances appear to have been reciters but it is not only to the vagaries of memory and of plagiarists and copyists that every variant of a tale must be ascribed. Of the *Hikayat Indĕraputĕra*[2], for example, there are two Malay versions, a comparison of which will help to show how authors adapted romances from the Hindu period to the demands of their new religion. The shorter version is called the *Hikayat Putĕri Jaya Pati or Indĕra Jaya Pati* and whether it is older than the longer story or was condensed from it, it was clearly designed for an audience interested in Islam only from fear of persecution or intolerance. The

hero is a prince who, astrologers foretell, will be carried off by a four-legged creature; who on his travels eats shell-fish that return to life when their shells are thrown back into water; who is warned by a skull that a fierce demon haunts a certain lake; who defeats the demon by pretending to sleep; who lodges with a gardener and flies by night into the bower of a princess; who is helped by warrior genies in a fight for her hand and returns home with his bride to succeed to his father's throne. His tutor in magic is Bagawan Narada who lives on the Hindu Olympus, Mahameru. There is the fairy kingdom of so many of these romances, the Pelinggam Chahaya of the *Hikayat Marakarma*, the Langkam Chahaya of the *Hikayat Parang Puting* and here Langkam Jaya. At the hero's birth thunder rolls, a rainbow appears and gentle rain falls, as in the tales Malays got from the *Mahabharata* and from stories of Buddha. As in the *Mahabharata* and its Malay version, when the hero joins a procession, all the women run to look, and fall in love with him. There are the old Hindu magic arrows. There is a pleasance Kesuma Angsoka. The heroine reclines in her bower reading a Panji tale, *Pĕrabu Jaya*. It is true that there are superficial tributes to Islam. Instead of being Chandra Kirana, the heroine is called Chandra Nur Lela, a semi-Muslim alternative for the older name. The guardian of her bower is Malik Indra, a fairy still but saddled with the title of a Muslim king. And when the hero comes to the throne, he is styled Maharaja Bikrama Indra Dewa but, to save him from the lavatory, is given a hybrid Muhammadan alias, Paduka Sri Sultan Putra Jaya Pati Sifat 'Ala'u'd-din Shah! It is quite obvious that many romances of this type were not invented after Islam was firmly established but are relics of Hinduism adapted to a changed world. They exhibit traces of the Sanskrit epics, of Javanese shadow-play tales and of Tamil influence, again a combination to be found in a port like the Malacca of the fifteenth century. The longer version of the tale just analysed, the *Hikayat Indĕraputĕra*, is in many respects equally a survival from Hindu times. Indraputra is the son of Bikrama Puspa of Samantapura, the "Frontier City" of the *Hikayat Maharaja Puspa Wiraja*. He consults berma Sakti or Brahma, who is apparent in a light like the glitter of swords. Heroines are changed into lotus-blooms and their pursuers into swine as in the *Hikayat Sang Boma* and the *Hikayat Sĕri Rama*, while as in the Malay texts of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* magic arrows return to their archers who are therefore beings endowed with super-natural power. Mechanical fish and flying wooden peacocks point to that south Indian influence which added an appendix to the *Hikayat Chekel Waneng Pati*. But concessions to Muslim ideas are marked. A minor detail is the adoption of chapter headings after the Persian formula in the romance of Amir Hamza. There appear places and genies with Persian and Arabic names. One of the suitors of a princess Chandra Lela Nur Lela is discovered reading the romance of a Baginda Shah 'Alam, and at the end of his grand tour Indraputra, scion of Hindu demigods, settles down like a good Muslim with four wives and the title of Sultan. It is not surprising to find that the adventures of a hero converted to such orthodoxy have been translated into Bugis, Macassar and Achehnese.

So, the detection of a Malay author is made difficult not only by the practice of anonymity but by a fondness for the employment of second-hand plots. The alternative versions of the tale of Indraputra are not the only example. Another is the

different redactions of another story mentioned by Werndly in 1736, the *Hikayat Shah Kobad*, called also *Shahr al-Kamar* and *Hikayat Shah Johan Indĕra Mĕngindĕra*, an ollapodrida of Sanskrit and Persian names and of motifs from the *Hikayat Sĕri Rama*. Yet another is the four variants of the *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda* "The young trader captain" and the use of its name for a different romance, entitled also the *Hikayat Maharaja Bikrama Sakti*:* some copyist of the last work may have been looking for a more orthodox title for his manuscript and made his chocie because both romances have in common the insetting of tales of cunning. Many of these Malay works have Muslim titles as well as Hindu. The *Hikayat Marakarma* is best known to-day as the *Hikayat Si-Miskin*: the *Hikayat Indĕra Jaya* or *Bikrama Datia (Wi) jaya* is also called the *Hikayat Shah-i Mardan*. and the *Hikayat Sĕrĕngga Bayu* is now never known by any other name than that of the *Hikayat Ahmad Muhammad*.

The *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda* is particularly interesting to Europeans because it contains a plot used by Shakespeare and an episode extant in Greek folklore. In the Malay tale the youthful trader captain or Siti Sara is a heroine who marries Sultan Mansur Shah of the Ghaznavid dynasty, that ruled for a few years from Lahore to Samarkand and Isfahan, permanently established Islam in the Punjab and before it fell in A.D. 1186 created a centre of literary culture. Apparently there was no such ruler of Ghazna as a Mansur Shah and one wonders if the name may not have been chosen as that of a romantic amorist who ruled Malacca from 1459 till 1477. Anyhow the plot existed before Ghazna. The gist of it occurs in the eleventh century *Katha Sarit Sagara* or "Ocean of Story," where, when a Brahmin deserts his wife, she sets up as a courtesan in his native town, rejecting every visitor till she can entertain her husband unaware of her identity and conceive a son to reconcile them. This is the plot of *All's Well that Ends Well*:- "When thou canst get the ring upon my finger which never shall come off, and show me a child begotten of the body that I am father to, then call me husband: but in such a 'then' I write a 'never.'" Shakespeare got the tale from Boccacio who got it from the East.

In the Malay tale the Ghaznavid ruler directs his vizier's sons to find a princess of whom he has dreamt. Found and wedded, Siti Sara disappoints him by her barrenness, and he sails away to the island Birama Dewa alias Langkawi with his treasure and a mare, declaring that he will return only when the treasury shall be refilled, his mare be with foal and his consort with child. Disguised as a trader captain, his wife follows her husband, and beats him at chess till she wins the treasure and the mare; after which, pretending to be the faithless mistress of the captain she is impersonating, she visits her husband by night and conceives, carrying off his ring. Presto! a treasury refilled, a foal, the ring, a son.

There are slight differences of names and details in the several Malay versions, pointing perhaps to their circulation by word of mouth originally, a wide circulation seeing that one of the manuscripts was copied at Batavia, another at Singapore and another at Macassar, while a fourth has been deliberately mixed up with the tale of another dream princess and incorporated in a manuscript of the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*. The story occurs also in Kashmir, among the Sinhalese and elsewhere in continental India. To this day a Malay copyist will try to improve on his original, and in one of the Malay versions of this tale the vizier's sons enquire of the heroine's

father for a house that has no kitchen and for the monkies' bridge, put on their shoes when wading a river and open their umbrellas in forest shade. Siti Sara interprets their riddles and eccentricities. The kitchenless house is a mosque; the monkies' bridge one without a hand-rail; shoes protect feet from the sharp stones of a river-bed but are worn out needlessly on a smooth road; dirt drops from trees but not from open sky. Her maid, Si-Delima or "Miss Pomegranate," takes the two young men for several days thirty cakes, seven bowls of palm-sugar and a ewer of water, always reporting that "The month has thirty days, the week seven and the tide is full and not ebbing." When one day the maid gives her lover four of the cakes, one bowl of sugar and a drink of water, the young men return a message, "The month lacked four days, the week one and the tide has ebbed before its time." Exactly the same episode occurs in a modern Greek tale that must have been borrowed from the East.

The composite nature of Malay romances may be seen from their wide use of that common Indian *motif*, the search for an object to cure illness or barrennes. In the *Chekel Waneng Pati* Mesa Tandraman went in search of the *gandapura* flower that "grew in heaven" and proved to be blood from the bosom of Sakurba, the only medicine for his father, Radin Inu of Kuripan. In the *Hikayat Raja Kĕrang* the quest is for a mango to bring offspring to a childless prince; in the *Hikayat Langlang Buana* for jasmine for the same purpose; in the *Hikayat Pĕkar Madi* for a fish whereof a sick prince has dreamed; in the *Hikayat Laksana* and *Hikayat Kĕyangan* for a musical instrument. The hero of the popular *Hikayat Indĕra Bangsawan* is a perfect paladin of folklore, rescuer of a princess from a land ravaged by Vishnu's Garuda, owner of a magic suit that changes him to any shape, a knight errant in quest of a bamboo musical instrument that will give him a kingdom, and of tigress's milk to cure the eye of his lady love. He offers to give tigress's milk to any of her nine princely suitors who will have his thigh branded, brands them all and gives them goats' milk.

The association of this branding with the quest for a medicine makes the tale akin not only to the *Hikayat Pĕkar Madi* but to a number of Indian tales, associated in the *Gul Bakawali*, a compilation of A.D. 1702 by Nipal Chand that has been done into Malay in modern times. This Hindustani work includes episodes that make it nearly identical, so far as the broad plot goes, with Malay romances which can claim no other connection than descent from the generous fount of old Indian folk-lore, namely with the *Hikayat Jaya Langkara* and its variant the *Hikayat Raja Ta'bir*. In all three tales there is the son whose birth may bring calamity on his father; the favouring of that son by supernatural powers; the wicked brothers who fall into duress; the quest for a magic flower.

More original is the main plot of the *Hikayat Ahmad Muhammad*, the acquisition by one of the brothers of kingship from eating the head of a magic bird and the acquisition of vizier's rank by the other from eating its liver! One version of the tale is translated from the Javanese and, like several other Malay romances that cluster round the same title, so this romance differs in different manuscripts. In one are interpolated characters from the Javanese redaction of the Hamza romance (a redaction so popular in Jaya that it was adapted for the shadow-play) and along with Javanese names like Wira Santika we find Solomon, Mt. Kaf, 'Omar Ommaya and

Buzurjmihr. Another version (lithographed at Singapore and edited with large omissions by A.F. von Dewall under the title *Hikayat Sukarna dan Sukarni*) leaves out Javanese names and references to the Hamza romance but is full of quatrains with allusions to a Laksamana and Paduka Tuan, to Singgora, Bentan, the Franks and so on. It is, as van Ronkel has remarked, "a fantastic variation of the Ahmad-Muhammad theme' but its allusions to famous chiefs of fifteenth century Malacca incline one to look for a date of compilation not too far removed from a time when their memory was green. Unless, indeed, a later author merely inserted stock quatrains. But could a later author have described the finery of the hero, his Majapahit creese, his Hindu armlets, his long hair curling on his neck, his ear-posy of the Sanskrit-named flower of paradise that can restore a dead warrior to life?

> *Ia mĕmakai bau-bauan dan mĕmakai kain warna ijau dengan bĕnang ĕmas sĕrta bĕrjĕntĕra tĕpi di-pahat, bĕrikat pinggang chindai, bĕrbaju kĕsumba murup, bĕrkanching mĕrak mĕngigal, bĕrgĕlong leher, dan bĕrdĕstar intan dikarang, bĕrkĕris buatan Majapahit dan bĕrtĕrapang naga tujoh bĕlit, bĕrazimat, bĕrgĕlang intan ... dan bĕrsunting bunga wijaya mala.*

Passages like that were written at a court where there was Javanese influence and have the note of the old Malacca style.

Another Malay romance, that has many points of resemblance with a Javanese work *Angling Darma* is the *Hikayat Shah-i Mardan*. Here we are plunged right into the Muslim era by a tale so popular from its religious colouring that there are many manuscripts of it at Leiden, Batavia, London and elsewhere. Still there is the older framework. A prince Bikrama Datia Jaya, ruler of Dar al-Hastan, has a son Shah-i Mardan who studies under a Brahmin of Dar al-Khiam, who is versed in the language of birds. Hunting, the youth comes to the bower of princess Kemala Ratna Dewi, daughter of the king of Dar al-Marjum, who had been ravished by a demon (*raksasa*) from her garth Sura-Kerama. He became her lover but was afraid to rescue her, whereupon she wiped his face with the charm *ulu-rana* and turned him into a parroquet. He flew to the bower of Siti Dewi of Dar al-Kiam, by day a bird, at night her lover, till the Brahmin came and restored him to human form. Married to Siti Dewi, he left her to travel, bidding her name their unborn child Ratna Dewi, if a girl, Panji Lelana, if a boy. As Indra Jaya he came to a hill where a hermit saint, Salam a'ddin, taught him to merge the visible into the invisible by prayer, patience and righteousness. Forty days later he reached a hill where the famous Lukman, having prescience of his coming, sends his son Jin Katub to welcome him. Lukman explains that the Muslim creed (*fatihah*) is recited because in the Arabic spelling of the word are five letters, symbolical of the five hours of prayer. In morning prayer there are two genuflexions, because it is first and original, that is, possessed of an attribute of Muhammad. In afternoon prayer they are four flexions, because the origin of man is fire, wind, water and earth. In evening prayer there are three flexions, symbolical of absolute unity (*ahadiat*),unity of self stripped of attributes and relations (*wahdat*) and relative unity or unity in plurality (*wahidiat*), which are found respectively in Allah, Muhammad and Adam. In evening prayer there are four flexions because in sperm there are four components and prayer has no origin save creation by Allah.

Standing erect in prayer comes from fire,bowing from wind, kneeling from water and sitting from the steadfastness of earth. There are four paths: the path of words or the sacred law (*shari'at*), the mystic path of deeds (*tarikat*), the path of conduct or truth (*hakikat*), the path of gnosis (*ma'rifat*). These paths can be equated with the tongue created of water, the mind created of air, the ... created of earth and the spirit created of light. To define the nature of the elements brings one to the microcosm, man. "Whoever knows himself knows His Lord."

After this course in the crude mystic pantheism so common in India and the East Indies, the hero travels on till he reaches a great empty mosque, where one thousand horsemen killed in holy war descend to pray and their leader gives him further instruction. With a tale Islam has come to its new converts, bringint innocent mysteries instead of Tantric graveyard terrors and teaching doctrine not to a caste but both to the great and the lowly, if they incline to it. In spite, however, of the new religion, the hero kills garudas (sacred to Vishnu) and the usual thirty-nine rival princes, transfers his soul into a curtain, a betel-box and betel-scissors and again into the body of an ape.

A study of plots, style and names of characters might lead to the association of several romances with the same author. Closely connected in style are the *Hikayat Koraish Mĕngindĕra* and the *Hikayat Indĕra Mĕngindĕra*. Descriptive titles like *Sultan di-padang saujana halam dan Koraish Mĕngindĕra di-udara* from the former and like *Tabal di-mĕrchu gunong halam, Khalifah di-padang kĕmala sakti, Shah 'alam di-tasĕk indĕra sĕgara, Sultan di-kota biram bĕrjuang* from the latter are unusual, remind one of the title of Mouse-deer *Shah 'alam di-rimba in the Hikayat Pĕlandok Jinaka* and show clearly the source from which Perak got the forms of address to its ninety and nine state genies:—

Hai halam!
Sultan pun raja yang sidi sakti!
Halam pun dewa yang terus durja!
Raja di-tasek indĕra chahaya!
Halam di-padang biram gĕmula!

The abbreviation of Shah *'alam* into *halam* would accord with the practice of a State that still abbreviates *tuanku* to *ku*. And all the facts accord with authorship at some court in the Malay peninsula, like Perak, in days before Malacca speech had succumbed to local dialect, and when as the metal-work of Perak creese-sheathes and betel appurtenances show, there were at any rate Javanese employed as craftsmen at the Perak court. Both the romances abound in *pantun* that are obviously by the same stylist as their prose, and these pantun contain allusions to Patani and Trengganu and at the same time exhibit acquaintance with Javanese words. Both romances are written in beautiful Malay with a copious vocabulary and both employ a court and literary diction that was not yet strictly observed in Malacca's heyday. A reference to a Dutch prince's costume (*pakaian anak raja Wolanda*) in a characteristic *pantun* fixes the date of the *Hikayat Indĕra Mĕngindĕra* as not earlier than the seventeenth century: apparently only one manuscript, and that collected in the Malay peninsula, is known, so that it is fortunate it has been lithographed.

We come next to a recension of a well-known romance which illustrates that descent from the classical style of the Malacca period, that becomes more and more appaent as Hindu and Javanese influence passed and Malay literature fell into the hands of translators and adapters of Persian and Arabic models. Such a recension is that of the *Hikayat Isma Yatim*, from which an edition was printed for the use of schools in the Straits Settlements. Werndly eulogized the good language and concise style of the romance and these are apparent in the edition by van Eysinga, which however omits *pantun*. But the sentences at random from the school edition. *Maka oleh baginda tĕrlalu, sukachita hati-nya dan seraya mĕmandang muka Isma Yatin lalu bĕrtitah-lah baginda itu.* Or *bĕrdiri-lah ia pada antara kĕpala hamba.* Or *dan kami sakaliannya pun dukachita.* Or *kain rambuti yang halus-nya.* Or *chandapeti itu bukan dengan perbuatan manusia* Or *baik-lah aku pergi mengadap baginda itu dan supaya ku-persembahkan.* Every page contains idioms that are not Malay. The romance opens with a paragraph in praise of God, followed by one in honour of the Prophet, after which comes an exhortation to the friends of the author, Isma'il. Except that reference to ruler or patron is omitted, the introduction is in accordance witht he usual Persian model. Moreover like the Persian romance of Amir Hamza or like the Malay romance of Indraputra, which one of the court ladies in *Isma Yatim* owns, the work is divided by chapter headings. The hero is not a prince but the son of a Kling minister, Megat Nira, who left his country and migrated to Masulipatam after losing a game of chess at court. Most of the ladies have the old Hindu names, and the mechanical toys common in south Indian stories play a conspicuous part. The hero studies under a Sufi, starts his career by authorship and lards his talk with the saws and dissertations common in Muslim treatises. Quatrains may perhaps be changed and added by copyists, so that unless marked by a distinctive style they afford no absolutely certain guide to the date of a Malay work or to the place of its composition, but one may note for what it is worth that the *pantun* in the inferior recension of this romance refer to Indragiri, Bulang and Patani, while one of the princesses comes from Langkawi. The romance was known to Valentijn in 1726 and to Werndly in 1736.

The Malay translation of Nihal Chand's romance was published in Singapore in 1878 under its Hindustani name of *Gul Bakawali* with the alternative title *Wijayamala*. To the same period belong the *Hikayat Ganja Mara* and *Hikayat Bustamam*. both translated for a Mr. Maingy, a British official in the nineteenth century and the latter from "the language of Hindustan." In the *Hikayat Bustamam* a scene where the clothes of sleeping palace maids are changed and their tresses knotted together recalls a similar scene in the tale of Isma Yatim.

An old-world Malay audience would have preferred Disraeli's novels to the masterpieces of Charles Dickens: it revelled in lords and ladies, sumptuous repasts and gilded equipages. The modern generation, inured to science and the cinemas, disbelieves in magic and yawns over the buckram characters and stock motifs of its interminable romances. Yet what plots they contain for Oriental films, with their spectacular marvels and their beauteous princesses as splendidly null as the gorgeous mannequins of Hollywood except when they exhibit a gift for repartee and neat verse.

Notes

1. Gul Bakawali, Singapore 1878; *Hikayat Bĕrma Shahdan* (Raffles, MS12 RAS), London; *Hikayat Bustamam*, (lithographed), Singapore, 1914; *Hikayat Isma Yatim* Part 1, Singapore, 1908; *Hikayat Koraish Megindra* (Winstedt ms), *Hikayat Maharaja Indera Megindera* (lithographed), Penang, 1900; *Sirat al - Mustakim* (lithographed), Singapore A.H. 1330; *Hikayat Raja Muda Shah Mardan*, Batavia, 1916; Hurgronje C Snouck, 1906; Overbeck, Hans, 1928(a), 1931; Ronkel Ph S van, 1912; Winstedt, R O 1920, 1921, 1922, 1929.
2. There is now a new dissertation on this hikayat. See Mulyadi, 1983.

Chapter 6

The Coming of Islam and Islamic Literature[1]

The first regions of the Malay world to embrace Islam were the little port States on the north coast of Sumatra, where as early as 1292 Marco Polo found that "Saracen merchants," from Coromandel (to judge from the *Sějarah Melayu*), had converted the townfolk of Perlak, a state destined later like its neighbours to become part of the kingdom of Acheh. Malik al-Salih, the first Muslim ruler of Pasai, a son-in-law of the ruler of Perlak, died in A.D. 1297; a Muslim ruler of another of Perlak's neighbours, Samudra, died in 1326. In the middle of the fourteenth century a temporary set-back to Islam may have ensued from the Sumatran conquests of Majapahit, Java's great Hindu kingdom, but, as the Trengganu stone proves, Islam had found a footing in Malaya, and the tomb-stone from Minye Tujoh (in Pasai) suggests that in A.D. 1380 (or 1389) a Muslim royal family ruled Kedah and Pasai. By 1416 the Chinese found the Sumatran peoples of Aru, Samudra, Pidir, and Lambri, all Muslims, while they record that as early as 1409 Malacca had embraced Islam, a conversion d'Albuquerque ascribes to the marriage of its ruler with a Pasai princess. The Malay vesions of the romance of Amir Hamza and Muhammad Hanafiah came from the Persian, and were probably translated in Malacca. The *Malay Annals*, written originally in Malacca and Johore before 1536, contain Persian verses and Persian words rare in Malaya; in the same work the Arabic title *makhdum* is applied to religious teachers, as it is applied in India but never in Arabia and seldom in Persia itself. Towards the close of the fifteenth century people came from the archipelago to Malacca to study Muslim theology just as at the beginning and middle of that century Malacca had resorted to Pasai. "Malacca is the right Mecca," Sultan Mahmud said to his father and some Javanese accounts that two of that island's most famous saints, Sunan Bonang and Sunan Giri, came to Malacca to study in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

To the archipelago also went missionaries of Islam from Malacca, following the trade-routes. In Sumatra, beside the little ports of the north, they visited Palembang and in Borneo Tanjong Pura; in Java they traded to Tuban, Majapahit's port in the fourteenth century, and to Muslim Grisek in the next two centuries. The first of Java saints, Malik Ibrahim, a trader perhaps from Kashan, died at Grisek in A.D. 1419. By 1475 the coast of Java was Muslim, though even at the end of the sixteenth century the hinterland still remained Hindu. By 1511 Palembang and Sunda had accepted the new faith. In 1521 Brunei was subduing kafirs. By the middle of the sixteenth century Islam had reached the Moluccas and Banda. By 1606 Macassar and the Bugis had been converted, it is said by a Minangkabau missionary.

It will be salutary to bear these dates in mind when we read of Javanese, Sundanese, and Bugis versions of Malay books.

What were Islam's methods of propaganda in the field of literature? As we have seen already, a Muslim colour was given to Hindu romances partly to save them from the Muslim index, partly to employ them as a popular means of spreading the doctrine of the new faith. But earlier still the first missionaries had to provide Muslim romances to take the place of Malay versions of the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, versions that if not written down lived on the lips of the reciter and on the screen of the shadow-play. So, it is not surprising to find that the story of Alexander the Great as a warrior missionary of the faith of Abraham, the precursor of Muhammad, must have reached the Malays almost with the coming of Islam. In the first half of the fourteenth century Ibn Battuta found in Ceylon a hill of Alexander[2] and a Khadir grotto.[3] In the Malay *Hikayat Iskandar Dhu'l-Karnain*, Alexander after overrunning north Africa arrives at Ceuta and seeing across the water Andalus, namely Andalusia, builds a causeway and marches to the conquest of Spain; but to Malay etymologists the Andalus of the scholarly translator was clearly Andelas, an old name for Sumatra. Accordingly from Alexander's marriage with the daughter of Kaid, the Indian ruler, they found a pedigree for the half-caste kings of Palembang, and their descendants the rulers of Singapore, Malacca and Perak. Early in the fifteenth century there was a king of Singapore and Malacca mentioned in the *Malay Annals*, in the Chinese records (1414-24) and by d'Albuquerque as Iskandar Shah, who reminiscent of the sixth century Syriac legend that Alexander had horns on his head wherewith to crush the kingdoms of the world was called Dhu'lKarnain, because the midwife had crushed his head and caused a dent in the middle of his crown! As we shall see, the first chapter of the earlier recension of the *Malay Annals* consists of a paraphrase of the *Malay Hikayat Iskandar Dhu'l-Karnain*, the form Alexander being derived of course from al-Iskandar.

Not only is the *Hikayat Iskandar* paraphrased by the author of the *Malay Annals* but he mentions two other Muslim romances the *Hikayat Amir Hamza* and the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah*, both of them translations from the Persian. The passage, which describes the night after d'Albuquerque's first attack on Malacca, is as follows:—

> "It was night and all the captains and young men were on guard in the palace hall. And the young men said, 'Of what use is it for us to sit here in silence? It would be better for us to read some story of battle so that we might benefit from it.' 'You are right,' said Tun Muhammad the Camel. 'Tun Indra Sagara had better go and ask for the story of Muhammad Hanafiah, saying that perhaps we may derive advantage from it, as the Franks will attack tomorrow.' Then Tun Indra Sagara went into the presence of Sultan Ahmad and submitted their remarks to his highness. And Sultan Ahmad gave him the romance of Amir Hamza, saying, 'Tell them, I'd give them the story of Muhammad Hanafiah but I fear they'll not be as brave as he: if they are like Amir Hamza it will do, so I give them the story of Hamza.' Tun Indra Sagara came out carrying the story of Hamza and told them all Sultan Ahmad had said, and they were silent not answering a word. Then Tun Isak said to Tun Indra Sagara, 'Tell his highness that he is mistaken. His highness must be like Muhammad Hanafiah and we like the captains of Baniar.'

> Tun Indra Sagara submitted Tun Isak's remark to Sultan Ahmad, who smiled and answered, 'He is right.' And he gave him the story of Muhammad Hanafiah too."[4]

These three romances, the tales of Alexander the Great, of Amir Hamza and of Muhammad Hanafiah are the only three Muslim legends whose Malay versions can thus with certainty be allocated to the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. And the date of the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* is corroborated by the existence at Cambridge of a fragment of it collected by the Dutch Arabist Erpenius from Pieter Floris, alias van Elbinck, who was at Acheh in 1604 and Patani in 1612.

Another Malay manuscript copied in 1604 apparently by Pieter Floris himself, is the *Hikayat Yusuf* or story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, taken from the Kuran and Muhammadan legends[5]. This work also appears to be from a Persian source: witness the use of the Persian form *chawush* for "courtier."

Apart from these works the age of the Malay translations of Muslim legends is a matter of surmise. Those that from Malay have been done into three or four of the languages of the Malay Archipelago are clearly of a certain age: witness van Ronkel's suggested *stemma codicum* for the *Hikayat Sama'un*. Sometimes a manuscript, like Raffles's manuscript of the *Hikayat Tamim ad-Dari*, will show signs of having been copied from an archaid arche-type. A work showing Persian and Shi'ah influence is likely to be old. One of the manuscripts of the *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* is dated A.D. 1668 and the work was evidently well-known then. Some works are mentioned by the Swiss grammarian Werndly in 1736.

The earlier translations are written in excellent Malay quite unlike the hybrid style that occurs in the Malay translation of the Persian *Taj as-Salatin* done at Acheh in 1603. To Acheh Malay was what Latin was to Europe in the middle ages. But when in the Malay Peninsula or the Riau Archipelago, the homes of pure Malay, there comes a poor rendering, like the *Hikayat Saif Dhu'l-Yazan*, then one may infer it is certainly late and perhaps the work of a half-caste. No wonder that Malay sometimes suffered, seeing that it was made the culture language of the archipelago by foreigners, traders and missionaries from India, and the commercial language of the same area by Indians, Portuguese and Dutch. The Malay Muhammadan legends are the popular tales of Islam. Some of them like the stories of Abu Samah and King Skull are hardly more than religious tracts: even the adventures of Alexander the Great are described for a moral purpose.

Translation, too, has deprived these works of glamour of phrase and left them unvarnished narratives, lucid because the writers explore neither heights nor depths. The attitude to the worlds seen and unseen is objective, the attitude of extroverts interested even in the nature of the grass in heaven and the digestive functions of the blessed. Heroes and genies, giants and saints are depicted in outline as in a child's picture book or, at best, as in a Persian miniature. What is missing in depth is made up by the stature. Anti-Christ enters Isfahan on a donkey so large that the deepest sea wets only his fetlocks.

No wonder that, in spite of its inordinate length and the iteration of its missionary purpose, a romance like that of Alexander could hold a Malay court spell-bound. The valley of ants, the giraffe-riders, the cave-dwellers with one foot

and one eye; the place where angels told their beads above the sun and the noise of that luminary's descent made Alexander faint; the great flies that stoned his troops and were only driven away when one of their number was caught, saddled and mounted by a puppet rider; the angels, who pierced with lances the devils that dwelt in Coptic idols; the bird-worshipping Circassians in tiger-skin tunics; the nude gymnosophists who marvelled that a mortal should bother to subdue a world; Gog and Magog; the diamond mines of Ophir and the copper walls of Jabalqa; the riding on mares into the land of darkness and the visit to the spring of life — these and other episodes provided the Malay with what Europe found in the Odyssey, Marco Polo, Robinson Crusoe and the works of Jules Verne; with what Asia and Europe find today in streptococci, malarial parasites and films from Holywood. A generation accustomed to Holywood's inanities may rejoice that in tales where there is no sentiment at all there can be no false sentiment. But a touch of the spiritual, appreciation of character beneath the gold and the silk, individual temperament and outlook, these could have turned the story of Alexander and Tamim ad-Dari into *Odysseys* and made them works of great art, whereas in fact they are far below the level of Herodotus. Anyhow it is not fair to blame the Malay for not improving models common to half Asia and translated generally by half-caste Malays of Indian origin: when in folk romance he imitated them, he did better.

The Muslim legends which Islam brought to the Malay have been divided into

(a) romances of pre-Islamic heroes like Alexander the Great, Nabi Yusuf or Joseph of the Old Testment and the Kuran, Nabi Isa, the Persian hero Amir Hamza and the Arabic, Saif Dhu'l-Yazan;

(b) stories of the Prophet, the earlier ones from the persian, and stories of the Shiah saints Hasan and Husain and Muhammad Hanafiah;

(c) the adventures of people about the Prophet, fantastic and devoid of historical and geographical similitude, like the tale of Tamim ad-dari, and

(d) locally concocted tales like the *Hikayat Raja Handak* or *Raja Lahad*, where misunderstanding of Arabic words has led to the fabrication of heroes out of words that mean respectively a moat and a palace.

Besides these works Islam introduced quite early from a Persian source the famous cycle of *Tales of a Parrot*, to be followed later by the *Story of Kalila and Damina*, a Perso-Indian redaction of the *Panchatantra*, and by several recensions of the Bakhtiar cycle, including one from the Persian and another from the Arabic. The fact that Malays could borrow so much from the Persian and yet remain Sunnites of the school of shafi'i is explained from the Turkish and Mongol rulers of Persia between A.D. 1000 and 1500 being also Sunnites. And during that period Persian influence on Malay literature must have come not only from India but from the Persians themselves. In 1336 Ibn Batuta records the presence of several Persians,[6] all Shafi'ites, at the Pasai court. A tomb in that little Sumatran state bears an inscription from Sa'di (1184-1292) and half a century later there were theologians living there who had come from Transoxana and Khorassan. Barros says that the Malays of Malacca were converted to Islam by Persians and Gujeratis. Works of pure literature fell more and more out of fashion as Arab influence supplanted

Persian and led to translations of good books of morality, treatises on mysticism in prose and verse and an encyclopaedia of world history, mostly the products of Acheh in the seventeenth century, when it had become the centre of the Malay world. And now we have all that Islam and foreign influence could contribute to the intellectual development of the Malay, until in the nineteenth century the educational efforts of Holland and Great Britain showed him the new fields of modern science modern critical method — and alas! modern journalese.

A detailed review of some of the principal Islamic contributions to Malay literature is necessary to show how wide was the new field opened and at the same time how unscholarly and popular most of the works were and how, apart from the enlargement of vocabulary, they came to exercise on Malay style an influence increasingly bad. Never in after years was the Malay to recapture the large utterance of Malacca's golden age, when his style still followed its own proper idiom and subdued to its purposes the vocabularies of the Sanskrit epics, the Javanese shadow-play and the south Indian romance as well as the Persian and Arabic of his latest faith.

Notes

1. See the following works: Alatas, S Husain, 1963; Al-Attas, S Naguib, 1969, 1970(e), 1972; Arnold, Thomas W, 1935; Braginsky V. 1976; Drewes, G.W.J., 1968; De Josselin de Jong, P.B. 1965; Hamka, 1960; Hill, A.H., 1963; Hooker, M.B., 1976; Johns, A.H., 1961(b), 1966, 1984; Majul, C.A., 1962; Marrison, G.E., 1951(b); Slametmuljana, 1968; Schrieke, B.J.O., 1916; Soewitasantoso, 1971; Winstedt, R.O., 1951; Zuber Usman, 1960.
2. Given as "عقبة اسكندر" "" in *Voyages d'Ibn Battuta* [C De Fremery et B R Sanguinetti, Tome IV; Paris, 1854, p. 178].
3. after ..... — "Khadir grotto" "مغارة الخضر" *ibid*, p.181.
4. This passage has been equally quoted by Wilkinston P J, 1907, p. 15 and found in *Sejarah Melayu*, Singapore, 1960, pp.223-224.
5. See Jumsari Jusuf, 1968; McDonald, I, 1956; Spiro, J, 1906.
6. Their names are given as "القاضي الشريف امير سيد الشرازي" وتاج الدين الاصبهاني [Ibn Battuta, op cit, vol IV, p. 230]

Chapter 7

Muslim Legends[1]

(a) Stories of pre-Muslim heroes

The romance of Alexander the Great.[2]

The Malay *Hikayat Iskandar Dhu'l-Karnain* goes back to the story of Alexander, written in Greek a century or so before or after Christ and wrongly attributed to Callisthenes, one of the historians who accompanied Alexander on his expeditions, a story published in Alexandria and representing the hero as a son of Nectanebo, the last king of Egypt before the Ptolemies. It enjoyed such popularity that there are extant Syriac[3], Ethiopian[4], Armenian[5], Turkish[6], Arabian[7], Persian[8], Hindustani, Javanese, Bugis and Siamese versions[9]. It appears in Latin[10], Byzantine Greek, Norman French[11] and Old German[12] and was known even to Chaucer:

> *"The story of Alisaunder is so commune*
> *That every wight that hath discrecioun*
> *Hath heard somewhat or all of his fortune."*[13]

As Wilkinson has remarked, "Every race judged the Macedonian conqueror according to its own lights: in one story he figures as a knight-errant, in another as a squire of dames, in another as a monkish ascetic, in another as a missionary of Islam, in another as an all-prosperous monarch, in another as an instance of the futility of human ambition."[14] In the *Taj as-Salatin*, translated into Malay in A.D. 1603 from a work of Persian origin and again in the fourth book of the *Bustan as-Salatin* there are short stories of Alexander as a disillusioned world-conqueror. But in the one Malay version* of the complete romance it is as a missionary of the religion of Abraham, forerunner of the founder of Islam, that Alexander figures, and there are two heroes, Alexander and the Prophet Khadir,[15] who got his name of the Green either from diving into the spring of life or because wherever his feet touched the earth it became green; it is Khadir, like Elijah Jesus and Idris an immortal, whose miraculous powers enable the Macedonian to conquer the world for Islam.

*From a cursory examination, due to manuscripts being scattered in Malaya, Batavia and Leiden, the Wilkinson Cambridge MS. of 1808 was held to contain a second version, whereas it is only the last part of the one Malay version.

The first Malay mention of the *Hikayat Iskandar Dhu'l-Karnain* occurs in the *Malay Annals*, whose author refers to the "famous romance" (*hikayat yang tĕrmasshur itu*) as the source of his introductory chapter, an admission corroborated by comparing it with the same passage in the *Hikayat*. When was that introductory chapter composed? The oldest recension of the *Malay Annals*, the 'history brought from Goa' about A.D. 1612 was written in the reign of the last Sultan of Malacca and stops abruptly in 1536. It seems certain that occurring in this oldest text the chapter paraphrased from the *Hikayat Iskandar*, like the chapters borrowed in the same work from the *Chronicles of Pasai*, comes from a manuscript attributable to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries and that the *Hikayat Iskandar* was already famous enough for the first ruler of Malacca to assume the name early in the fifteenth century when he married a Pasai bride and became a Muslim. The manuscript may have been brought to Malacca from Pasai then, that is about A.D. 1409. Though one recension of the romance begins with a doxology in praise of Allah and the Prophet, even this does not follow the seventeenth century fashion of adding a dedication to a ruling Malay prince, as one would expect in a late work on so acceptable a theme as Alexander the Great.

Comparison with Arabic versions shows, it is claimed, that the Malay recension comes from an Arabic version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, and several Malay manuscripts cite as the author Al-Suri who cites as his authority 'Abdu'llah ibn al-Mukaffa, who translated the Old Persian version of the *Kalila wa-Dimna* into Arabic. The early date of the Malay translation and the fact that it is a clumsy compilation from Persian as well as Arabic sources creates a suspicion that it may prove eventually to be derived from a Perso-Arabic source in India. It was because of the epithet Dhu'l-Karnain or Two Horned that al-Iskandar was identified by the Arabs with a prophet mentioned in the Quran (XVIII 82) and turned into a champion of Islam. Then about A.D. 1000 the Arabs got to know the *Shahnamah* of Firdausi through a summary by Mansur at-Ta'alibi, which described Alexander as the founder of the throne of Iran and gave the names of the ancestors of Bahman, a mythical ancestor of the Sassanid kings; and it is this fantastic Perso-Arabic version with its sop to Persian pride that is followed in the Malay romance of Alexander. By the older Arab historians the name of his father Philip is preserved, sometimes in the form Failakus, but the Malay romance corrupts it into Qilas of Macedonia. Quite apart from the impossibly late date, this detail alone would make it unlikely that the seventeenth century Malay scholar, Shaikh Nuru'd-din of Gujerat and Acheh, was the author of the well-known Malay *Hikayat Iskandar*. For in his *Bustan as-Salatin*, begun at Acheh in A.D. 1638, he refers to Filipus of Ionia and so scholarly a writer would not elsewhere corrupt Filipus into Qilas. A mistranslation has led students to mistake Shaih Nuru'd-din for the author of the romance. Correctly, the passage runs as follows:—

> "All chronicles say that the rulers of Ionia were kings of Alexander's provinces and all of them ruled Rome at that time, none of them being famous except King Philip, who was Alexander's maternal grandfather. Your humble scribe will say no more because the story has been done into Malay by another author" (*tĕlah sudah di-jawikan*

fakir lain daripada kitab ini — Bustan. Bab II. p. 26. ed. Wilkinson; cf. ib. p. 14), not "in another work by me."

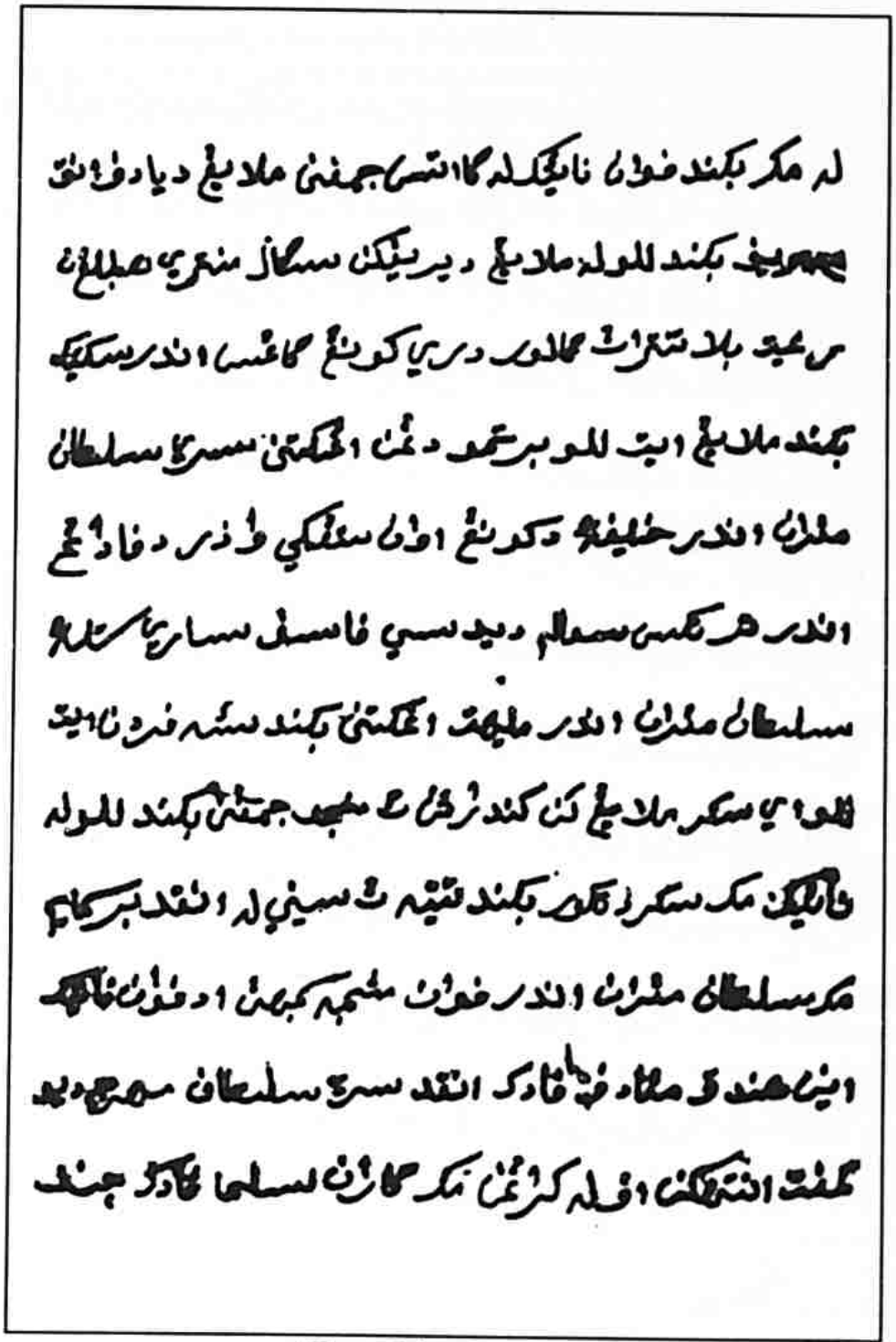
The Malay manuscripts of the *Hikayat Iskandar* may be divided into Sumatran and Peninsular Malay recensions. The Sumatran recension starts with the Muslim doxology and relates how Allah showed Adam his descendants, Muhammad His Chosen Prophet, David worker in iron, Solomon lord of the animal world and possessor of a magic flying carpet; after which it gives a list of Bahman's predecessors, beginning with Gayumart builder of ships and houses and maker of saddles. But this recension does not in the known manuscripts carry the story as far as the British Malayan recension. "Otherwise the order of the contents and the contents themselves are practically similar in both recensions; nearly every sentence in the one finds a parallel in the other, though they vary in choice of words and construction of sentences." Each supplementing the other. neither can be derived from the other and they must descend from a common Malay original.

A manuscript of the *Hikayat (Iskandar) Dhu'l-Karnain* was known to the Swiss scholar Werndly before 1736 when his Malay grammar was published in Amsterdam. He notes that "the book is composed in very good Malay and adorned with very few strange words; it is written in a clear easy style and is therefore very useful for the study of the language."[16] This is quite true, though there is a large sprinkling of Arabisms and unidiomatic usages e.g. *dĕngan melawan dia kapada-ku bĕrpĕrang* 'by contest with my adherents in war'; *ia pun tahu pada 'ilmu hakim* 'he too knew (of) science,' a superfluous preposition being inserted; *yang mati itu tiada lĕpas daripada-mu* 'death will not escape you,' neither the use of *mati* nor the turn of the sentence being Malay. The vocabulary appears to be that of Malacca, but it has to be remembered that copyists must have taken liberties with the original and that there are two recensions. These are fewer sanskrit words than in any other Malay work, evidence perhaps that it was translated before Javanese influence was strong in Malacca.

Hikayat Amir Hamza.[17]

This, as we have seen, was one of the works popular among Malays at the time when d'Albuquerque captured Malacca; and, even if the author of the *Malay Annals* has embroidered his account of that siege, his work was certainly written before 1536. So it seems safe to ascribe the Malay version of the romance of Amir Hamza to the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. It was known to Werndly in 1736. And its early date is corroborated by Prof. van Ronkel's discovery that it is a direct translation from the Persian.

There is an Arabic as well as a Persian version, but the former is unknown to the Malays. In the Persian version the hero is the son of Abdu'l-Mutallib and uncle of the Prophet, while the Arabian translator, seeing the Persian romance depict Hamza as a wandering warrior long before the time of the Prophet, deemed it unhistorical to regard him as the Prophet's uncle and therefore invented for him an imaginary progenitor Kinana. The Malay tale follows the Persian account of



Hikayat Indera Megnidna

كتيک برسودر كالوڠ دريڤد نكري بندرڽ كملا جوهر

بلوم ڤرنه ڤاتيک مندڠر علامت كوڠ اسن مرجوكلا

يڠ دمكين لوتڠ دصيفت ڤادڠ برڤوتري نيتد برهنتي

بهاون كنت نيتدله برڤوتسن٢ سيڤتله بردبر رسهاڽ

ڤاتيک اينيله مک ڤاتيک صندوق مڠادڤ ڤادكو انقد بكند

سهج دمو توانكو سلطان منترا٢ بركات سمبيل برلينڠ٢

ايرماتڽ اوليه ترسدركن انقد بكند كتيک ايت مک بكند

ستله ڤرڤوناڽ ڤوتري ترسکم مندڠركن سمبه سلطان منترا

الكرمسري بكند برتيته جاڠنله توان برسوسيه هاتي

اد ڤوتري اكن ڤتري انقد كتيک ايت ادله سلام دتڠ برسما٢

دڠن چندا وصول منجيمڤ ڤوتري هالم كتيک برسودر اين

سسبه ڤوتري لوتڠ دصيفت ڤادڠ برڤوتري ايت كالن

صندوق

Hamza's ancestry; it follows the Persian division of the huge romance into chapters; it contains many Persian words and it contains verses that occur in the same passages in the Persian original; where in the Persian an Arabic word is found, there too it crops up in the Malay. Clearly the Malay romance is derived immediately from the Persian and not through any Indian channel[18]. By comparing them with the Persian, Professor van Ronkel has even been able to determine that one of his Malay manuscripts gives the more faithful rendering and another a better transcription of Persian names and more Persian verses.

The Malay work consists of:

(a) the Persian romance of Amir Hamza,

(b) the story of the adventures of Badi'ul-Zaman, taken direct from some unknown Persian manuscript of Amir Hamza, its Persian origin clear from its vocabulary and verses, and its connection with the main romance clear from its style,

(c) a non-Persian tale of prince Lahad, whose name is either a corruption of Ohod, the scene of one of the Prophet's battles, or, since in Arabic *lahad* means 'grave,' is perhaps derived from some grave famous in story; just as in one Malay work a moat (*khandak*) dug round Medinah has been turned into the name of a prince Raja Khandak and Badr the scene of a famous battle has been converted into Raja Badar;

(d) an appendix by some Malay copyist who thought it unseemly that Hamza's companion, Amir bin Ommaya.[18] should die an ordinary death.

Hikayat Raja Jumjumah.[20]

Of the story of Raja Jumjumah, or King Skull, and Nabi Isa, or Jesus, there is no mention before the nineteenth century and there appear to be no early manuscripts. But versions of it exist in Malay, Sundanese and Achinese, in Persian, Hindustani and Afghan. It has been translated into English in the *Asiatic Journal* for 1823 (pp. 249-256).

Seeing a skull on a Syrian plain Jesus asked God that it might speak to him. The skull spoke and claimed to be a king of Egypt and Syria, possessed once of warriors, umbrella-carriers, cup-bearers, women, camels, elephants, horses and hounds, a just king but one who did not pray five times a day. After living for 400 years he had fallen violently ill and been visited by huge flaming angels and the angel of death, whose faces were four, an upper used when taking the souls of believers, a lower used when taking the souls of hypocrites, a face in front used when taking the souls of sinners and a face behind used when taking the souls of infidels. In the article of death angels poured molten copper over his body, and drawing of the soul out of his mouth was like the dragging of cloth over thorns. Dead he was bidden to write down his actions good and bad, and with finger for pen, spittle for ink and shroud for paper he wrote all save one sin. But God and the angel knew of it and he wrote down that sin also. Then Munkir and Nakir, huge as date-palms, and fierce as tigers, struck him seven times till the seven heavens and the seven earths shook. After that he was cast into hell, whence he saw the throne of God and four chairs for Muhammad, Ibrahim,

Musa and Isa. His body swelled so that a horseman could not traverse his back in three days and three nights. He was dressed in snake-skin hung with scorpions and centipedes. He wore also a coat of fire and had to eat of the fruit of a tree, shaped like a pig's head, so hot that molten copper was poured to cool his mouth. Zabaniah dragged him to a hill where serpents hung upon him and threw him into a river where crocodiles bit him. He saw adulterers hanging head downwards, and women who had procured abortion with tongues on fire. And the chains and fetters about his body were so heavy that all the iron in the world would not make one link of them. But his alms to the poor and the learned gained him release from hell, and King Skull asked Jesus to pray God to let him return to earth to do good works. And he came to life but renounced kingship and devoted himself to God. He wore his hat on one side, wherefore all the bills of Egypt and Syria inclined themselves, and when he bowed in prayer, trees bowed likewise.

Some Malay manuscripts say that he lived for sixteen years doing good works, others that he ruled for sixty years. Arabian versions say that he lived for sixty-six years. There are nine manuscripts at Leiden, six at Batavia, and two in London.

Hikayat Saif Dhu'l-Yazan.[21]

About A.D. 570 a Himyarite prince Saif ibn Dhu'l-Yazan, with the help of the Persian king Khusrau Anushirwan, drove the Abyssinians out of Yemen and ruled southern Arabia under Persia. His victory over the Abyssinians who later became the enemies of Islam made Saif the hero of an Arabian romance, the *Sirat Saif ibn Yazan*, compiled by one Ahmad bin Muhammad Abu'l-Ma'ali al-Kufi, cited throughout the Malay version as Abu'l-Ma'ali, who was also the author of the *Sirat Hamza* or Arabian version of the tale of Amir Hamza. The name of the Abyssinian king mentioned in the *Sirat saif ibn Yazan* is Saif (a) Ar'ad, who reigned from 1334 to 1372, and this name coupled with borrowing from *The 1001 Nights* would appear to fix the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century as the date of existing Arabic versions, although parts of the romance may be earlier. Personal and place-names point to Cairo as its place of origin. Like Alexander the Great, Saif is a follower of the religion of Abraham with fore-knowledge of the coming of Islam. The Abyssinians are described not as Christians but as worshippers of Saturn, fire, idols, rulers and animals, reminiscent of ancient Egypt. As in the story of Alexander, so here the Prophet Khadir appears as a confuter of infidel magic. The work "gives a faithful picture of the popular mind in Muslim Egypt at the end of the middle ages and forms therefore a valuable source for the history of Islam in its widest sense."[22]

Of the Malay text of this Arabian romance there is one manuscript at Leiden, four at Batavia, one in the library of the School of Oriental Languages, London, and one version lithographed and another romanized at Singapore. The four texts at Batavia all belonged to H. von De Wall (b. 1807: d. 1873 at Riau), and one of them was copied at Malacca in 1842 from a manuscript belonging to a Muslim Tamil, Tambi Hasan bin Farsab. The lithographed version also came from a Malacca manuscript of unknown date. Some of the Malay versions of this pre-Muslim the

start with the doxology and one of them is entitled *Hikayat Sitti Kamariah*. Apparently none of the manuscripts are old and the work is not mentioned by Werndly, John Leyden or even Hollander. The Malay of the romanized edition is bad, marred by poor idiom, literal translation, colloquialisms, misuse of words and grammar and lack of style. The work may have been translated by a half-blood Malay with a foreign father.[23]

Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim ibn Adham.[24]

Ibrahim was a native of Balkh[25] and died about A.D. 776. He belonged to a band of Muslim devotees, who followed the simple life of the Prophet but seldom adopted a hermit's life. A hundred years later came Sufism with its *fakir* and dervishes, divorced from all earthly ties and possessions, and an attitude owing something to the Manichaeans and something perhaps to the Buddhist missionaries who had been active in Persia before Islam and had founded monasteries in Balkh.

In Sufi legend, modelled upon the story of Buddha, Ibrahim appears as a prince who while hunting was warned by an unseen voice that he was not created to hunt hares and foxes; whereupon he abandoned the world for ascetic piety. There are Arabic, Turkish, Hindustani, Javanese, Sundanese and Achinese stories of his life. There are also three different Malay versions.[26]

The longest, said to have been translated from the Arabic of a Hadrami *shaikh*, Abu-Bakar, first printed by van Eysinga in 1822, tells how he built a fort and told his subjects to discover in it any flaws, and how when an old man pointed out that it was impermanent, he gave up this transitory world. In another version in the fourth book of the *Bustan a's-Salatin* the prince is told that there is only one fort (Paradise) which will never decay and whose people will never die. In the third version Ibrahim hands over his kingdom to his vizier and leaves his palace with a beggar's bowl. Hungry he eats a pomegranate and goes to beg forgiveness from the owner of the orchard, Siti Saleha, whose dying father Sharif Hasan of Kufa has foretold she will wed Sultan Ibrahim. They wed and then Ibrahim wanders on to Mecca. Saleha bears a son, Muhammad Tahir, whom folks deride as a bastard. He finds his father who gives him his ring and bids him God-speed lest affection disturb his meditations. The son goes to Irak, where the vizier welcomes him as his father's heir, but he refuses the throne and taking only some jewels for his mother's support returns to Kufa.

(b) Tales of the Prophet.[27]

Relics of the Indo-Persian phase of Islamic culture are four tales widely spread in the Malay world. These tales are the *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* or *Story of the Mystic Light of Muhammad*, the *Hikayat Bulan Bĕrbĕlah* or *Story of the Moon Splitting* at the command of the Prophet; the *Hikayat Nabi Berchukor* or *Story of the shaving of the Prophet* and *Hikayat Nabi Allah Wafat* or *Story of the Prophet's death*. Their comparative age is attested by their spread in the Archipelago and by their Persian tinge.

Of the first work, also known as the *Hikayat Kejadian Nur Muhammad*[28], there is one Batavian manuscript copied as early as 1668 by a banjarese, Ahmad Shams ad-din for Sultan Taj al-'Alam Safiyyat ad-din Shah, a ruler of Acheh. Three copies of it were known to Werndly in 1736. And it contains the same mystic cosmogony that is found in the fifteenth century Malay translation from the Persian of the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* and in the *Hikayat Shah-i Mardan*. The 1668 manuscript actually calls it a *ta'rikh mukhtasar* or Concise History translated from the Persian work *Rauzat al-ahbai* (? *al-ahbab* or *Paradise of Lovers*), which again was a translation of the Arabic *'Umdat al-ansab*. The glorious bird made from the mystic light has for its head 'Ali, for its eyes Hassan and Husain, for its neck Fatimah the Syrian, for its arms Abubakar and 'Omar, for its tail Amir Hamza, for its back 'Abbas and for its legs Khatijah al-Kabri. 'Ali, Hassan and Husain, Amir Hamza and Fatimah the Syrian, a character in the tale of Muhammad Hanafiah, are all famous in Persian Shi'ah literature.

The story of the mystic light runs as follows. The mystic light was before all things and of it all things were made. For fifty years it bowed before Allah. Then Allah said, "Light of Muhammad! I have ordained for men the creed, the five daily prayers, the fast, the giving of tithes, the pilgrimage." And Allah made of the light a glorious bird (as described), and said, "Light, I give thee seven seas, the sea of knowledge, the sea of kindness, the sea of patience, the sea of intelligence the sea of thought, the sea of mercy, the sea of light. Swim in each of those seas for 10,000 years." Then God created 124,000 Prophets, and from drops of light that fell from the eyes, ears, shoulders, nose and hands of the bird were made thirteen Apostles, the four Archangels, the Pen and the Tablet of Fate, the throne and the seven circles of heaven, the sun and the moon, wind, water and fire, the tree of life, the *tuba* tree, the seal of Solomon and the rod of Moses. From Adam the Light descended to Sheth and from Ayub to Moses. And Allah said unto the Light of Muhammad, "Go unto the four elements, which I will make manifest to sight." And the Light found Wind in his pride and said unto Wind, "Why art thou proud? For thou art but a fugitive." And Wind answered, "Art thou without flaw?" And the Light said, "There is none without flaw save Allah." And Wind accepted Islam. Then the Light converted Fire also, telling him that Water killed him and wind created him and he was but the slave of cooks. And the Light converted Water, showing him he was but the cleanser of filth. And the Light found Earth lowly and meek and Light praised Earth. Now the dispositions of men are those of the four elements.

Whosoever owns or reads the story of the Light of Muhammad shall enjoy the merit got from reading the Old Testament, the Gospels, the Psalms, and God's words of power to His Prophet. The four archangels will guard him and he shall have acquired the merit of the pilgrimage and of the man that circles the Ka'abah seven times. If one reads it nightly or daily, one acquires the merit of those who die in holy war. One is reminded of the indulgences of the Catholic Church and one is reminded of the introduction to the *Mahabharatas* — "whoever presents a learned Brahmin with one hundred cows with gilded horns and whoever listens daily to the sacred stories of the Bharatas, these two acquire equal religious merit."

The story of the Splitting of the Moon is known also as the *Hikayat Mujizat Nabi* "The story of the Prophet's power to work miracles." There are Macassar and Bugis versions and in it there is special mention of 'Ali, beloved of the Shi'ahs, though unless it comes under the description of *Hikayat Nabi Muhammad* it is not mentioned by Werndly. If it reached Celebes but not Acheh or Java, it may have been written after Acheh and Java had ceased to have close connection with the Peninsula, namely in the eighteenth century. At the same time it would seem likely that such a legend would have been translated nearer the beginning of the Islamic period.

Abu Jahil[29] went to Habib ibn Malik, ruler of Mecca, and complained that Muhammad claimed to be the last (*akhir zaman*) and the chief (*makhdum*) of the Prophets. He said that all other prophets had given a sign. Noah's ark had gone up into the sky, Abraham had been unhurt by the fire of Nimrod, Moses rod had become a serpent and his shoes scorpions, the trees had bowed when David prayed, Solomon had his seal and crown, Jesus had raised the dead and made a skull talk. So Habib summoned all his people to a wide plain (*abtah*). All came save the family of Hashim, 'Abbas, Abu-Talib, 'Ali and Ja'afar. 'Ali was the champion of the new faith and when Abu-Jahil suggested haling Muhammad to the assembly, 'Ali threatened to fight. So the king sent a captain to invite Muhammad. After being visited by Jibra'il and Mika'il and legions of angels, Muhammad walked alone, but like a host in himself, to the field and the king asked for a sign from Muhammad, Amin Allah: "Call down the moon and bid it recite the creed that there is no god but Allah and you are His Prophet; bid it circle the Ka'abah seven times and entering your right sleeve come out from your left sleeve; bid it split in two halves, one to the east and the other to the west, and then return whole to the sky." And Muhammad and his companions went up into a mountain and prayed and the moon did as the king required and the king accepted Islam, he and all his people save only Abu-Jahil and his house. Then the king returned to his palace and bethought him of his girl child, who had neither feet nor hands, and he sent her to the Prophet. And Jibra'il came and bade the Prophet wrap her in his coverlet and pray. So the Prophet did and straightway the child became whole.

The *Hikayat Nabi Berchukor* again is not mentioned by Werndly, though there are Javanese, Sundanese, Achinese, Bugis and Macassar versions of it. Moreover to those who have sat at the feet of missionaries from the Hadramaut it is heretical. One of the Leiden manuscripts is full of erasures and has a marginal note that "this story has been compiled by heretics (*Rafidzi*): do not believe it." Its writer starts by declaring that whosoever reads the story from start to finish, all his sins shall be forgiven. A man asked Abu-Bakar when and before whom the Prophet was shaved, and Abu-Bakar answered, When he returned from war with Mahdi, on Monday 19th Ramadhan, while he was reciting the Kuran, the word of Allah was brought to the Prophet by Jibra'il ordering him to be shaved. And he asked of Jibra'il, "Before whom shall I be shaved and by whom and where shall I obtain a cap for my head?" And Jibra'il returned and asked Allah, and Allah said, "In the presence of his own Light and by thee, and for a cap thou shalt fetch a green leaf of the *tuba* tree from paradise. Then Jibra'il went to paradise and bade Ridzwan, the angel that keeps the

gate, open unto him and he fetched a shining leaf and called the houris (*bidadari*) who came down and caught each a hair of the Prophet so that not one of the 126,666 hairs fell to earth but each was bound on the right arm of a houri for an amulet. And Allah said to the Prophet, "Whoso cherishes this story, he shall be safe from all danger and from the questions of Munkar and Nakir in the grave," and the Prophet said, "Whoso cherishes not this story, I am not his Prophet. Give it not to unbelievers and heretics, but whoso cherisheth it, the mercy and blessing of Allah shall descend upon him, no thief shall enter his house, no enemy prevail against him."

The *Hikayat Nabi Wafat*, again, is not mentioned by Werndly. Proessor van Ronkel has described it succinctly as "one of the numerous imitations of the Persian *Wafat-Nameh*." One day when the Prophet had returned from the mosque and was reclining, the word of Allah came unto Jibr'ail to escort the Angel of Death to take the life of His beloved. When they came, the Prophet wept, not at leaving his family or Abu-Bakar or Hassan and Husain but for fear mankind might not follow Islam. The archangel Mika'il also came. Then the angels departed and the Prophet told his family that he would die, bidding them not to beat their breasts or tear their hair, as this was sinful. And he kissed Fatimah. And she asked where they would meet again. And he said, "Thou shalt meet me on the day of judgment on the bridge, supported by Jibra'il and Mika'il, or by the river of paradise or on the plain of meeting or in paradise." Supported by 'Ali, he went to the mosque and having recited the prayers bade anyone whom he had wronged[30] declare it so that he might repay. And one 'Akasah said that once the Prophet had struck him on the bare back. And the Prophet ordered that his whip be fetched from the house of Fatimah. And all of them, Abu-Bakar, 'Ali Fatimah entreated that they should take his place, for he was sick. The Prophet refused and removed his coat.[31] But when 'Akasah saw the navel of the Prophet, he flung down the whip and his face was tranfigured as the face of a man in Paradise. Then 'Ali carried the Prophet back to his house and while all were weeping, the Angel of Death came in the form of a young man and knocked at the door and the Prophet bade Fatimah let him in. And the Angel of Death said, "The seven gates of the sky and the gate of paradise are open and the houris await thee." And he returned and fetched Jibra'il, and Jibra'il and all the angels came and the Prophet said, "Jibra'il, thou hast always been with me: let us not be parted again." And he kissed Fatimah and the Angel of Death took him to the mercy of Allah.

(c) Adventures of people about the Prophet.

Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah.[32]

This romance is another of the works mentioned in the earliest recension of the *Sějarah Mělayu* as having been read at the Malacca court one night during the Portuguese seige of Malacca in 1511. Its age is corroborated by the existence of sixty pages of it among the manuscripts bought for Cambridge University Library by the Duke of Buckingham from the widow of the Arabist Erpenius. Erpenius had obtained his Malay manuscripts from Pieter Floris who visited Acheh in 1603 & 1604. In addition to such archaisms as *tĕrbĕsar* and *tĕrtua*, the Cambridge manuscript

has the obsolete *kutaha* that occurs in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* and elsewhere: *apa kutaha dosha-mu kau-pĕrbuat* Again, when Husain33 is wounded, it reads *Amir Husain mĕnahan darah dĕngan tangan-nya, maka di-tambangkan-nya darah itu ka-langit* where for the rare *tambang* a Leiden manuscript reads *pandang* and a Singapore lithographed edition *lontar*. Tengku Muda Chik, father-in-law of the late Yam-tuan Muhammad of Negri sembilan, talked to me of *tambang ubat di-makam marbum* "exposing medicine on the shrine of his ancesters" to make it efficacious, so that this definition crept into my dictionary and Wilkinson's; whereas "offering to spirits or to God" would clearly be a better rendering.

In examining the Cambridge fragment Professor van Ronkel noted that the praises bestowed on Hassan and Husain, the presence of a Persian verse and the title given to Muhammad suggest translation from the Persian. The Professor has amended and restored the Persian verse, of which the Malay equivalent is: do not expect good faith from a bad man, for washing will not make a negro white. Later he discovered in Rieu's Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum (vol. II, p. 819) two "apparently detached portions of a late composition exhibiting the Shi'ah legend in its most exuberant form," namely a *Kesah Amir ul-Muminin Hassan wa Husain* "from their birth to the death of the former, imprisoned by Yazid, and to the martyrdom of the latter in Karbala" and a *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* "history of Muhammad son of the Hanafiah from the time when the tidings of his brother Husain's death reach him, to the time when he releases the latter's son, Zainal-'Abidin, from captivity, and finds the charred body of the accursed Yazid at the bottom of a well." Both manuscripts (Add. 8149 Fol. 83) were written in A.D. 1721 in the province of Murshidabad, Bengal. Though in Arabic there are biographies of Muhammad Hanafiah, only in Persian is there a special *hikayat*.

In the Malay romance there is a preface, apparently absent from the Persian manuscripts, and dealing with the creation, the Prophets, the birth and life of Muhammad and the first four Caliphs. It notes that the Prophet's birth was followed by the quenching of the fire of Persian fire-worshippers by the collapse of the dome of Nushirwan's palace and by the falling down of prince Khosrau, but Khosrau is mentioned in its Arabic form Kisri. A mystic explanation of the Prophet's ascent to heaven is suggested, namely that the universe is as a mustardseed. The end of the tale, also, would appear to have been added either in India or by a Malay hand. Zainal-'Abidin is installed ruler of Damascus in Indo-Malay Muslim fashion, seated on a throne with a Sanskrit name, in the presence of chiefs and courtiers representative of Hindu caste. Neighbouring princes send him gifts of silks with Sanskrit and Arabic names and of Portuguese velvet. Zainal-'Abidin marries a girl with that stock name of Malay romance Shams al-Bahrain. And Muhammad Hanafiah slays countless followers of Yazid in a huge cave in spite of the warnings of a mysterious voice to desist, and finally is locked for ever in the cave.

The Singapore lithographed edition would be of value for the preparation of a definitive text. It follows the Cambridge manuscript in a passages quoted by Professor van Ronkel from the Cambridge and Leiden manuscripts, in using the words *khali* (and not *jalan*), *milĕk* (and not *mahligai*), duri and so on. A definitive

text would show that the work was written in the good idiomatic Malay characteristic of early translations.

Hikayat Tamim ad-Dari.[34]

Tamim ad-Dari[35] was a Christan who seven years after the *Hijrah* became a Muslim and removal from Palestine to Medinah, where his Christian training enabled him to advise the Prophet on such ritual as the use of oil-lamps in mosques.[36] The first narrator of religious legends, which scandalized theologians but did so much to popularize Islam, he told the Prophet how once he had been shipwrecked on an island where he found al-Dajjal, Anti-Christ and a monster Jassasa waiting to break loose at the end of the world. On this story which occurs in the earliest *Hadith*[37] was founded later a romance in Arabic, that appears to have existed in the eighth century and has been adapted in Sundanese, Malay, Bugis, Macassar, Achinese, Turkish, Spanish, Urdu and Afghan versions. In its introduction the Malay romance purports to be derived from an Arabic work, *Ta'rikh al-Hijrat*. But in spite of Arabic names and quotations, it is doubtful if it is derived directly from the Arabic *Kissah Tamim ibn Halib ad-Dari*. Probably it comes immediately from an Indian adaptation of the original Arabic: witness Sanskrit and Persian words and the episode of the ship of a Raja of Hind.

Wanting to bathe one night at a well, a practice forbidden by the Prophet, Tamim asked his wife to accompany him to a spot nottoriously haunted by genies, but she refused, exclaiming "A genie run off with the coward." So Jin 'Afrit Majusi carried him off to the land of the infidel genies, where he helped an invading host of Muslim genies and became their teacher, until their raja Yimut يموت got the Jin Sahir to fly him back to Medinah; but he had to recite a prayer to keep himself and his carrier safe, and forgetting it at the sight of the stars he allowed Jin Sahir to be burnt to ashes by an angel and himself fell into the sea. He swims to an island where a voice comforts him, and he sees Iblis, the one-eyed father of Shaitans with a trunk for a mouth, whose pastime it is to divorce husbands and wives. An 'Afrit gives him a handful of bullets and leads him to a cave whose seven doors open when a bullet is hurled at each of them in turn. Inside is Solomon asleep and guarded by two snakes. The 'Afrit tries to steal Solomon's ring, bidding Tamim to revive him every time one of the snakes bites him to death. Once Tamim does this but then the black snake threatens him with death if he does it again. He leaves the cave to meet first Dabbat al-ardl the Beast of the Day of Judgment and then Dajjal or Anti-Christ, who shrinks on hearing the Muslim creed and expands on hearing that Muslims sin.

Travelling on he comes to a Hindi ship, and is given a passage but, as its owner will not pay tithes (*zakat*), it is shipwrecked and Tamim swims to an island of cannibal women.

Passing several lands he meets an 'Afrit, B-rh-sh, who turns into a bird and flies with him again to Solomon's cave, the incidents of the bullets and the attempted theft of the ring being repeated. He meets a lady of Andalus (Sumatra), whose mother had been ravished by B-rh-sh, and she gets a genie to fly him to Medinah. On the way he falls into the sea, at the scene of his former shipwreck, and he swims to an island

where the bird of the Prophet Isahak gives him refreshing water from its beak and tells him to travel on and look for a young man in a green coat and green turban. Him he meets in a mosque. The young man, who is the Prophet Elias, gives him a pomegranate and bids him still travel on in search of greater marvels. He comes to a golden city with jewelled meads where recline those killed in Holy War, tended by houris. Jibra'il and Mika'il on white horses evict Tamim. He pleads that Idris entered heaven alive but they say that, when Izra'il had taken him to look at it, Idris went back to get his shoes and refused to leave, and, as he had once felt death, Allah allowed him to remain. Mistaking a glow for that of a hermit's fire Tamim finds himself in a cave full of jewels and starts to take them, but a snake attacks him and a young man bids him throw them away. Bidden by a young man to look at the marvels over a hill, he finds Anti-Christ in the form of a bitch with puppies barking inside her. He sees a symbol of this world in an old hag in gorgeous attire lamenting her age. And he sees a usurer trying to fill a vessel with a hole in it. He sees a man who has committed breach of trust condemned to carry a date-palm on his back till the last day. He meets Nabi Khadir who explains to him (so once to Alexander the Great) the names of all the places and persons connected with his adventures. (The comforting voice of) a hermit was (that of) K.rs.h., a disciple of Jesus. The name of Isahak's bird was Mursal al-salin. The inhabitants of the seven countries passed were the family of Nabi Yunus. The second treasure cave was that of the infidel genie S-fian son of Gh.lin.h.

After Tamim had been away seven years four months and ten days his wife Khul-h married H.dlir. But before the consummation, Tamim arrives borne on a cloud which Nabi Khadir had hailed on its way to water Medinah. Unshaven and with uncut nails he is taken for a genie. He and his wife's new spouse appeal to 'Omar who cannot determine his identity and refers the case to 'Ali, "the father of Hassan." 'Ali recalls that the Prophet had talked of a white spot behind Tamim's knee, and so identifies him.

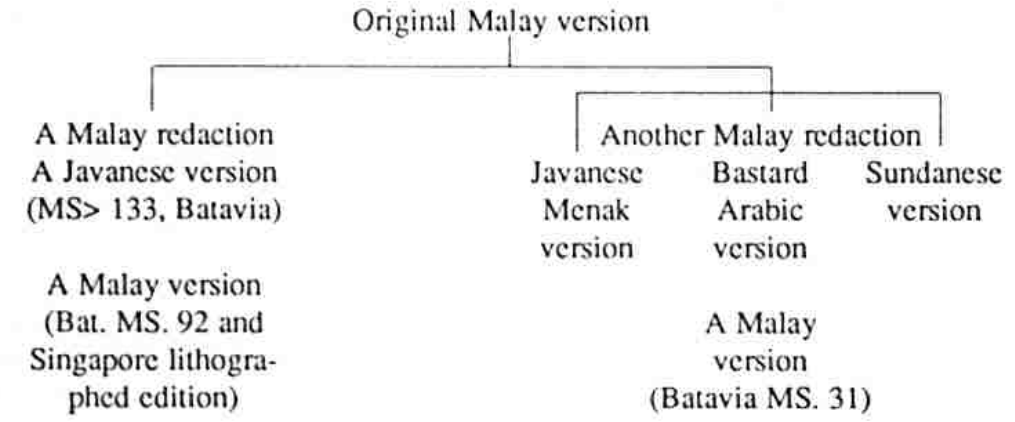
There are many manuscripts of the romance.[38] They reveal a shorter and a longer version, though which is prior has not been determined. The shorter version ascribes Tamim's abduction not to bathing but to his wife's anger at his forgetfulness of a prayer (*do'a*).

Raffles manuscript 50 belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society London, which van der Tuuk summarized and I have re-read and outlined anew, bears marks of being copied from an old manuscript. The final vowel is generally omitted in words like *mati*, *suku*, *lalu*, *dahulu*; *shin* is used in Sanskrit words like *seksa*; the old forms *upama* and *pĕnah* are found in place of *umpama* and *pĕrnah*; the *pĕpĕt* sound is sometimes represented by *wau*, for instance *bulalai* and *kuliling*; and rarely by *alif*, *lalah* for *lelah*; *md* stands for *muda*. All these usages occur also in the Bodleian manuscript of the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*, which dates from about A.D. 1600 at the latest. There are a few words which are either corrupt or archaic forms, such as *pĕtas* for *pĕntas*. The Malay version, though it is not cited by Werndly in 1736, must be old to be recorded in such archaic script and to have spread so widely through the archipelago. It may be noted, however, that Raffle's manuscript twice contains the Portuguese word *bĕlĕdu* 'velvet.' *Tirai dewangga katifah yang emas dan kain*

daripada sundus dan istibrak dan beledu yang beremas (p. 56) and *beledu katifah dewangga beremas* (p. 63) remind one of the *sutĕra dan dewangga dan katifah dan bĕlĕdu* of the *Kitah Sa-ribu Mas'alah*.

Hikayat Sama'un.[39]

About the time of his Khaibar Campaign the Prophet despatched letters announcing his plans for world conquest to Heraclius emperor of the Greeks, to the king of Persia and to the governor of Alexandria. The last sent Muhammad a Copt girl, Mariah or Mary, by whom the Prophet had a son that soon died. Out of this episode has been constructed the fantastic story of an otherwise unknown Muslim hero, Sama'un or Simeon, whose exploits are related in Malay, Javanese, Sundanese and Achinese. In Malay there are two versions, one which has been translated from the Javanese and whose contents I give below, another Cohen Stuart's manuscript 31 at Batavia, which has been translated from the Arabic. Usually Muslim legends in Javanese are adapted from the Malay. But the preface to the one Malay version of the *Hikayat Sama'un* expressly states that it is translated from the Javanese, a statement corroborated by the number of Javanese words and by the peculiarly Javanese humour exhibited at the end of the narrative. On the other hand the Arabic recension, in spite of Arabic prayers and words, is a bastard production, talking of "tigerish" warriors and making Muhammad king of Medinah, evidence that it was written not in Arabic but in the Malay archipelago. And in fact there is a second Javanese version of the tale of Sama'un, inset in a Semarang manuscript of the *Menak* or Javanese version of the tale of Amir Hamza, which is far closer to the bastard Arabic version than it is to the Javanese version from which the other Malay version comes. Taking all the evidence of Arabic names and of contents into account, Professor van Ronkel has constructed tentatively a *stemma codicum* which goes to throw an interesting light on the age and wanderings of this fantastic tale:—



Furthermore the fact that for the names in the Achinese version we have to look to *both* the modern Malay versions leads Professor van Ronkel to surmise that the Achinese text may have been based on an older Malay version.

The lithographed text, like Batavian manuscript 92, starts by saying the Prophet declared unto 'Ali, "Whosoever of my people, man or woman, reads or hears this story shall have his or her sins forgiven."

Hikayat Abu-Samah.[40]

Abu-Samah, son of the second Caliph 'Omar, was scourged by the prefect of Egypt for drinking wine: when he returned to Medinah, his father had him scourged again, so that he died soon afterwards. This historical incident has been embroidered into a story, of which there are Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Achinese and Hindustani versions.

According to the version of the Malay tale lithographed in Singapore, the boy Abu-Samah begged to go with his father to fight against the infidels of Khalwan (خلوان). On his return he got fever and did not recover till his relatives vowed to give alms for his recovery as 'Ali had vowed for Hassan and Husain. He then chanted the Kuran to the delight of all and afterwards went for a ramble and met a Jew who declared he had a fine medicine for convalescents and gave the boy spirits so that he became drunk and went with a Jewess and begat a child. She brings the child to 'Omar who gives her support but sentences his son to 100 stripes, which are given amid the tears and lamentations of 'Omar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, Hassan and Husain. Even the angels plead with Allah who declared he will reward Abu-Samah in the next world. Abu-Samah dies. Watching his body 'Ali and 'Uthman dream that they see him sitting in heaven beside the Prophet, who bids them slay Jews and Christians unless then embrace Islam. 'Ali arrests the Jews of Mediniah, who consent to become Muslims.

(d) **Malayo-Muslim fiction.**

The story of the siege of Medinah and its defence by a moat is turned in this tale into a fictious narrative of an infidel Raja Handak,[41] who is overcome on the plain of Hunaini by the war-cries of 'Ali. Raja Handak is given a son Raja Badar, named after the famous battle of Badr, and a sister princess Zalzadi, named after 'Ali's mule Duldul! One of his warriors is Jabal Kaf or Mount Kaf! 'Ali's war-cries that startle the bull who supports the world find a parallel in the shouts of Amir Hamza, and the conversion of a moat into a man reminds one of the tale of Raja Lahad in the *Hikayat Amir Hamza* and of the conversion of a herald of good tidings (*bashir*) into a person Basir in the Malay tale of Joseph. There are Sundanese and Macassar versions as well as the Malay. Leiden has three manuscripts of the work, Batavia eleven and it was lithographed in Singapore in A.D. 1888. My outline is made from the lithographed edition, which is in good Peninsular Malay, while in brackets I have added variant forms of names from the manuscripts. The work is mentioned by Raffles's friend, Doctor Leiden, in 1808, but not by Wemdly.

Notes

1. For general studies of Muslim legends see:-Abdul Rahman Kaeh 1976(b);

Baroroh Baried; Bausani, A, 1963; Bezemer, T J, 1943; Brakel, L F, 1969(b); Braginsky, 1979; Gerth van Wijk D, 1893; Ismail Hussein; Krappe, A H, 1937; Mohd Taib Osman, 1963(c), 1965(a), 1971(a), 1974; Muljadi, S W Rudjiati, 1968; Sidersky, D, 1933; Soewita Santoso, 1971; Weil, G, 1845; Zuber Usman, 1954.

2. Djamaris, Edwar; A Ibrahim and Nikmah, 1973; Douglas, F W, 1955; Friedlander, I, 1913; Hooykaas, C, 1938; Josselin de Jong, P E de, 1969; Khalid Hussain, 1967(a); Leeuwen, P J van, 1937; Winstedt, R O, 1938(a), 1940(c).
3. See Noldeke, "Beitrage zur Gesischte des Alexanderromans" in *Denkshriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissen schaften in Wien*: Band, XXX, viii, Wien, 1890. Equally Ausfeld—*Zur Kritik des griechischen Alexanderromans*, Kalruhre, 1894. Budge, E A Wallis. *The History of Alexander the Great, being The Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes*. Cambridge, 1889.
4. Budge, E A Wallis, *The Alexander Book in Ethiopia*, London, 1933.
5. A version has been attributed to Moses of Khorene and represents the oldest form of the work of Pseudo-Callisthenes. It was published in Venice in 1842 by the Mechitarist Fathers.
6. It is rather a long Turkish poem on Alexander by Ahmade of Kermizan (d A H 815), entitled "Iskandar Namah" and based on Nizami's work of the same name. See Rieu — *Catalogue of the Turkish mss*, London, 1888, p. 1626.
7. The oldest Arabian account of Alexander is that found in the *Quran*, surah XVIII, (Kahf) lines 83-110.
8. There are various versions in Persian, written between the 10th and 14th centuries by celebrated authors — Firdausi, Nizami, Mir Khawand.
9. See Yules edition of *Marco Polo*, vol 1, p. 110.
10. The best known of the Latin translations of Pseudo-Callisthenes is by Julius Valerius and Leo the Archpresbyter. This was one of the sources of the *Itinerarium Alexandrie*, composed in A D 340-5. It was through this version that the peoples of North-West and West of Europe became familier with the fabulous legend of Alexander.
11. On the various French versions, see Meyer, P, "Alexander le Grand dans la litterature Francaise du Moyen Age" in Favre; Melanges, Tome II, Paris, 1886, pp. 97-114.
12. See Neismann — *Alexander Gedicht des Zwölften Jahrhunderts vom Paffen Lamprecht*, Franfort, 1850. There is even a Slavonic version — Vyzemsky, P, *Fascimile of an account of an ancient Slavonic ms — containing a History of Alexander*, St Petersburg, 1880.
13. This is entirely based on:-Wilkinson, R J, 1907, p. 24. The verse given here is derived from Chaucer's "The Monks Tale". It should now read as follows:

    "The storie of Alisandre is so comune.
    That every wyight that hath discricioun
    Hath herd somewhat or al of his Fortune"

    [*The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Oxford*, MDCCCXIV, p. 264].
14. This is extracted from Wilkinson, R.J. *op cit*, 1907, p. 25.

15. After "Khadir" see Friedlander, 1913.
16. This is extrapolated from Leeuwen, P J van, 1937, p.8, quoted from Werndly, 1936, no. 9, p. 345. "Dit boek is in Zeer goed Maleisch gevschreven en meet zeer weinig vreemde woorden opgetooid, als mede van zeer klanen en gemakkelijken stijl, en derhalven zeer nut om daaruit de taal t. leven".
17. Khalid Hussain, 1964(d); Pigeaud, Th, 1950; Ronkel, Ph S van, 1895. There is a lithographic copy of this "Hikayat" published in Penang in 1896.
18. "A Persian version probably written in Northern India is the original one". Pigeaud, *op cit*, p.235.
19. For "Amir bin Ommaya" read "'Amr ibn Omayya al-Damri".
20. Muljadi, S W Rudjiati, 1969; Jumsari Jusuf, 1971(a).
21. See Hose, G F, 1911; Paret R, *Sirat Saif bin Dhi Yazan ein arabischer volksroman*, Hannover, 1924. For the arabic edition see *Sirāt Saīf ibn Dhī Yazan*. (17 parts in 4 vols) Cairo, 1332 H.
22. This whole paragraph is extracted from the *Ency. of Islam*, Leiden/London, 1934, p. 71-73.
23. See Ronkel, Ph S van 1942(a). For "... Tambi Hassan bin Farsab" read "Tambi Hasan bin Frs as found on page 119 of Ronkel's *op. cit.*
24. For detailed studies see Russel Jones 1968(a)(b), 1971, 1985; Lenting, d 1846, Regensburg, A. 1890, Winstedt, R O, 1923(b).
25. He was born circa 730 AD and died not as given here in AD 777. See Jones, 1985, p.13.
26. See Jones, 1985, pp. 40-49 for these. According to Jones, ibid, p. 37, the story was not translated as affirmed here but narrated. He concludes tentatively that this "Malay hikayat" is an original Malay creation. *ibid*, p. 37-38.
27. Al-Kisāi' 'Ali b Hamza, 1922 [Malay translation, Penang, 1315 A H, 1897]. Bey Arifin, 1972; Netscher, E — Sidersky, D, 1933.
28. The Singapore lithographed edition of 1937 is entitled — *Hikayat Nur al-Atham* and refers to the following sources: احيا علوم الدين اسراء رسول الله،
29. For "Jahil" read "Abu Jahal ibn Hishām" — a trader and one of the most influential leaders of the *Banu Makhzum*.
30. And add "or indebted to" [p. 37 of the Singapore lithographed text].
31. For "The Prophet refused and removed his coat" read "Akasah refused and the Prophet removed his coat".
32. The most up to-date edited text is by Brakel, L F, 1975(a). Winstedt here draws largely on Ronkel, Ph S Van 1896(a)(b) as well as the Singapore lithographed edition of 1890.
33. Ronkel, Ph S van "Nadere gegevens omtrent het Hasan — Hoesain feest, *TBG*, 1914, 56, pp. 334-44. See equally Virolleaud, C, *Le théatre persan ou le drame de Kerbela*, Paris, 1950.
34. He has been referred to variously as "Tamim al-Ansari", "Tamimancari" (in Tamil). See Basset, R. "Les aventures merveilleuses de Temim ed-Dari" — *Giornale della Societa Asiatica Italiana*, 1891, p. 5-26, Shulman, David, 1984; Hikayat Tamim ad-Daris, ms 50, R A S, London, an undated lithographed edition, Pinang entitled.

35. He is in actual fact — Tamim bin Aws al-Dāri, claimed to be a Christian of the tribe of Lakhm and was converted to Islam in the year 7 AH. See Ibn Hisham *Sira* (ed. Wustenfeld, p.777) quoted in Shulman, David, *op cit*, p. 179.
36. See Ibn al-Athir — usd *al-ghāba fi ma' rifat al-Ṣaḥaba*, [Cairo 1280H] vol I, p. 225.
37. See Muslim *Sahih* (Cairo, 1374-1375 H, pp. 52, 119 (Vol IV), pp. 2261-2264.
38. For the various Arabic versions see Shulman, David *op cit*. notes 52, 53 equally Basset, R, *op. cit*, pp. 13-26. For the Spanish and other versions see *ibid*, pp. 24-25.
39. See Ronkel Ph S van 1901; Tuuk H N van der, 1866(c), *Hikayat Sama'un Perang Dengan Abu Jahil*, lithographed, Singapore (undated).
40. See *Hikayat Abu Samah*, lithographed, A H, 1298.
41. See Hikayat Raja Handak, lithographed, Singapore, A H 1306.

Chapter 8

Cycles of Tales from Muslim Sources

Hikayat Bayan Budiman.[1]

The framework of the famous *Tales of a Parrot* occurs in the *Jataka* tales and several of its stories find their prototypes in the *Panchatantra*. But as a collection, the book goes back to the *Sukasaptati* or *Seventy tales of a Parrot*, of which there were two versions in Sanskrit, one long and one short. From the former were derived a Persian recension not now extant and a later Persian recension translated and augmented by one Nakhshabi in A.D. 1329 and entitled *Tuti-nameh*. Like Kashifi's version of the Kalila and Damina, this was at the order of Akhbar the great Mogul emperor simplified by his prime minister Abu'l Fadl (1551-1602). Next it was done into Persian verse by 'Abd al-Hamid Lahori, who died in 1655, and it was abridged by Muhammad Kadiri in 1793. Nakhshabi's edition was also the source of a Turkish version by Sari 'Abd'ullah Effendi, who died in 1660, and of a Dakhani version composed in A.D. 1639 by Awari. There are Tamil and Kanarese recensions and a Hindustani edition, called *Tota Kahani* and composed in 1801 by Haidari or Haidar-Baksh from Kadiri's abridgement. There are Javanese recensions in prose and verse that differ entirely from the Malay, and there are Bugis and Macassar version.[2]

This recital will show the popularity of this famous work while the dates, we shall see, exclude all of them as sources of the Malay version except (possibly the version by Abu'l Fadl and) the two early Persian editions. Three times in the text the work is ascribed to one Kadli Hassan twice a date, A.D. 1371, is given:—

> *Maka kata bayan, 'Dĕmikian-lah kesah-nya di-chĕritakan oleh Kadi Hassan hijratu'l-Nabi sanat 773 tahun dal,"*

"The parrot said, 'Such is the tale told by Kathi Hassan in the *dal* year, A.H. 773'." And again, in the colophon:—

> *Dĕmikian-lah kĕsah-nya Hikayat Bayan Budiman yang tĕlah di-chĕritakan oleh Kadli Hassan dalam hijrat Nabi salla llahu 'alaihi wa-sallama tujoh ratus tujoh puloh tiga tahun kapada tahun dal, ada-nya: tatkala ia mengajar anak chuchunya, demikian-lah hamba dĕngar pada masa itu.*
>
> "Such is the tale of the Wise Parrot told by Kadli Hasan in the *dal* year A.H. 773: when he was teaching his children and grandchildren, such was what I heard then."

It looks as if the reference is to an unknown author of a lost Persian version. For the reference is included in a remark by the parrot, and moreover the date seems too early for a Malay version, even though recently the dates of Malay translations from the

Persian have been pushed back a century by the new recension of the *Sějarah Mělayu*.

The oldest manuscript of the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* or *Tales of the Wise Parrot*, to give the work its Malay name, is a fragment of fourteen pages in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which belonged to an orientalist Edward Pococke (1604-91). Pococke was chaplain to the English "Turkey Merchants" at Aleppo from 1630 to 1635 and chaplain at Constantinople from 1637 to 1640, in both places collecting Arabic, Hebrew, Armenian, Samaritan and other manuscripts to the number of four hundred and twenty, for which Oxford University paid £600 in 1693. The wrapper of the Malay fragment has a note written in a sixteenth or early seventeenth century hand: "This is the Mola tounge Spoke by the Molaianes in the Sou[th] Seases, the coste of Vormeo," while inside the wrapper is an account from 1598-1600 of "Clothes Receaved for the privy Accompt of my Mr. Ferdinandoe Clotterbooke *per* me Thomas Wade.":— there was a Ferdinandoe Clotterbooke of St. Martin's London who died in 1582, but his son of the same name was alive in 1615.[3]

The history of the fourteen pages, it may therefore be concluded, goes back to 1600. Alongside this evidence may be placed that of a manuscript of the work (MS. 2606 (327) in the India Office Library) which according to the colophon was copied in A.D. 1808 but originally written *(di-riwayatkan)* in the year *wau* on Sunday 18th Saaban A.H. 1008, that is in 1599. If, however, the work reached European hands about 1600, it is unlikely that it had been newly translated into Malay only the year before. It takes time for a Malay manuscript to be copied even to-day when paper is cheap and literate Malays many. When paper was dear, it is unlikely that any Malay parted with a new copy of a recent publication to an English captain. The fact that there are only fourteen leaves makes it likely that it was an old torn copy, and the probability is that the work had become popular before it was offered to a sea-captain. On all these probabilities one may conclude that the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* was done into Malay at least as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, and its excellent Malay marks it at once as a work of the Malacca period or tradition. One may even suppose that the Persian original and a translator for it were more likely to be found in Malacca itself between 1511 than afterwards in Johore or Pahang or elsewhere in the Malay Peninsula or Riau archipelago in the troubled years between 1511 and 1600. The *Malay Annals* mention a daughter of the Malacca Laksamana Khoja Hasan, named Sabariah probably after a heroine of the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*. The spelling of the Bodleian fragment is more archaic than that of Archbishop Laud's *Hikayat Seri Rama* in one respect. For in addition to having all the archaic points of that manuscript the fragment of the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* goes back to a time or place where the omission of a symbol for *e* was not yet established so that its copyist has used *a* and *u* and even *i* to represent it, as for example *kumarau, karing, kukaseh* and *pilobang*.

Spelling is hardly more than evidence of the age of the manuscript itself. But an archaic feature in the text of the Bodleian fragment is the succinct quality of the translation before copyists had expanded it in accordance with their notions of style. The printed text of the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* is excellent Malay but differs considerably from its Bodleian archetype.

Sa-tĕlah istĕri Khoja, Maimun pun mĕnĕngar kata tiong itu, maka ia pun mengĕrek-lah, tĕrlalu amarah-nya, kata-nya, "Kerama bagi-mu Tiada ĕngkau tahu akan hal hati orang berahi? Ku-sangka ĕngkau kenahui rasa akan hati samâ pĕrĕmpuan." Maka di-sentakkan-nya tiong itu dari dalam sangkaran-nya, maka lalu di-hĕmpaskan-nya ka-bumi lalu mati-lah tiong itu. Maka ia pun datang kapada bayan. Ada pun bayan sĕgala hal ahual tiong itu sĕmua-nya di-lihat-nya, maka ia bĕrtidor diri-nya. Maka istĕri Khoja Maimun pun datang kapada bayan, maka di-dapati-nya bayan lagi ia tidor; maka di-bangunkan-nya bayan itu. Maka kata bayan, "Apa pĕkĕrjaan tuan hamba datang itu?"

Compare this from the Bodleian fragment with what it became later:—

Sa-tĕlah sudah istĕri Khojah Maimun mĕnĕngar kata tiong, maka ia pun tĕrlalu-lah marah, kata-nya, "Kĕrama bagi-mu! Tiada engkau tahu akan hal hati orang bĕrahi? Ku-sangkakan ĕngkau ada menaroh timbang rasa, kĕrana sama pĕrĕmpuan." Maka di-sentakkan-nya tiong itu dari dalam sangkaran-nya lalu di-hĕmpaskan-nya ka-bumi. Maka tiong itu pun mati-lah.

Sa-tĕlah di-lihat oleh bayan kĕlakuan Bibi Zainab mĕmbunoh tiong itu tiada dĕngan sa-mĕna-mĕna-nya, maka ia pun mĕndiamkan diri-nya, pura-pura tidor. Maka Bibi Zainab pergi-lah mendapatkan bayan serta di-bangunkan-nya. Maka bayan pun pura-pura tĕrkĕjut, seraya kata-nya, "Apa-kah pĕkĕrjaan tuan datang ka-mari dĕngan malam kĕlam ini?"

The Malay version of this world-famous book has been variously called the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman, Hikayat Khojah Maimun, Hikayat Khojah Mubarak and Chĕrita Taifah*. Though till 1920 it was almost unknown to the modern Peninsular Malay, (perhaps on account of religious sentiments found in some of the manuscripts at the conclusion of the different tales), its former popularity is evinced by the large number of manuscripts at London, Leiden, Paris and Batavia. Three of the tales (2, 12 and 13 of my edition) appear also in the older Malay *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina* and six (3, 8, 15, 17, 20 and 21) in the larger *Hikayat Bakhtiar*; the Javanese romance, *Angling Darma*, of which the Malay version is the *Hikayat Shah-i Mardan*, contains, two (6 and 16). In a Batatvian manuscript there is interpolated the story of *Nakhoda Muda* and in other manuscripts the *Hikayat Puspa Wiraja*.

Little beyond the framework has remained of the original Sanskrit except two sentences in the story of Siti Sabariah. In the Sanskrit (tale XXXI; Wortham's *The Enchanted Parrot*, London 1911) are the sentences: "the arrow shot by a mighty hunter may or may not kill," and (*ib.* p. 13) again:

> "A father, a husband, are all very well as long as they are alove, but when they are both dead or as good as dead, it is a great mistake to waste one's life and youth in tears and lamentation. Now that you have lost your husband, you have not lost your youth and vigour, and you should make the best of both."

The Malay equivalent of these sentences will be found on pages 203 and 206 of my edition of the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*, which also contains an outline of all the tales and in its introduction a bibliography of relevant literature.

Hikayat Kalila dan Damina.[4]

Kalila wa-Dimna is the title of an Indian work for the instruction of princes by means of animal fables. It was compiled by a Vishnuite Brahmin perhaps about A.D. 300 in Kashmir and called *Panchatantra* or *Five Moral Tales*. By order of the Sassanian king, Khusrau Anusharwan (531-79), it was translated into Pahlavi by his physician Barzuyi,[5] whom he had sent to India to get it, and was enlarged by the addition of eight other fables, three of them out of the *Mahabharata*, and by a preface signed in honour of Burzuyi by the vizier Buzurjmihr. The Pahlavi version has perished but before the death of Khusrau it had been done into Syriac about A.D. 570 under the title of *Kalila and Damna*, these names being a corruption of the Sanskrit names of the two jackals, who are the principal characters. Two centuries later 'Abdu'llah ibn al-Mukaffa translated the Pahlavi version into Arabic, and this Arabic version was again translated into Syriac and rendered by Arabs and by Persians into verse: probably after A.D. 1144, it was done into Persian prose by one Nasr Allah who dedicated it to Bahram Shah (1118-57), a Sultan of Ghazna who patronized literature. Nasr Allah's text was revised by Husain Wa'iz Kashifi (d. 1504) and entitled the *Anwar-i Suhaili*, a work further translated into Pushtu and other Indian dialects, into Georgian and the principal languages of Europe; Akhbar, (1556-1605) the Mogul emperor, had its extravagant style revised by his minister Abu'l-Fadl, and this edition of Abu'l-Fadl has been printed in Hindustani. The Turkish, Mongol, Hebrew, Latin, Greek and Spanish versions of the old Sanskrit book are irrelevant to a study of the Malay recension but are evidence of the wide-spread popularity of this Indian store-house of animal fables, which can boast of at least two hundred versions in more than fifty languages. In Europe the work is commonly known as *The Fables of Bidpai*, a legendary person mentioned in one of the Arabic versions, whose name may be a corruption of vidyapati 'lord of knowledge.'

The fables in this collection reached the Malay archipelago at different times and in different ways. One of the tales is illustrated on the ninth century Chandi Mendut in Java and the frame-work of the book on the thirteenth century Chandi Jago. There is a version of the book in Middle Javanese, two versions in New Javanese and two in Madurese. In Malay there are three recensions:— *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina* cited by the Swiss Werndly in his grammar of A.D. 1736 and printed by Gonggrijp, the *Panchatanderan* translated by Munshi 'Abdu'llah from a (south Indian or) Tamil recension and lithographed in Singapore in 1835, and finally a volume entitled *Dalang ia-itu sĕgala dongeng dan chĕritĕra yang tĕlah di-karangkan oleh Hakim Lokhman dan Bidpai*, being Gonggrijp's translation into Malay of Spoopendaal's Dutch translation from the French of Galland and Cardonne, which again was a rendering of the Turkish version, styled *Humayun-nameh*.

The early version, known to Werndly, starts by relating how a Brahmin told Horman Shah, son of Nushirwan the Just and ruler of Medinah, that Said, a Hindu scholar, owned a manuscript of the story of Kalila and Damina and how Barzuyi sailed to Hindustan and copied it and was rewarded at his own request by having his name recorded in the preface written by Khoza Buzur Jamahir (a corruption of Buzurjmihr) "The Tale was translated from the Hindu language into Persian," a

statement that, as we shall see, must have been translated from the Persian original which was the source of some South Indian version used by the Malay translator. It continues, from the same Persian original that "the book has ten chapters from the Hindu and six from Persian." This Malay introduction and the fact that ten of the tales are Indian and six not, both accord with the edition by Nasr Allah. So, too, the order of the tales differs from that of al-Mukaffa's Arabic version and agrees with that of Nasr Allah's Persion version. And again in the tale of the lark, whose young became the pet of a king's baby and was killed by the child, whereat the lark pecked out the baby's eyes and refused all the king's entreaties to be his friend; in this tale the Sanskrit terms the bird a *pujani* and the Arabic recension terms it a *panzah* but Nasr Allah and the Malay term it a *kubra'*. At the same time Nasr Allah's introduction is truncated in the Malay version, which cannot have been derived directly from the Persian.

For after the account of Burzoe comes this truncated introduction and then six fables, which may be summarized as follows. Readers of the book should not be like

(i) the man who wrote his Arabic lessons on a golden slate but memorized them so badly that he was ridiculed; or

(ii) like the fool that followed a blind man into a well; or

(iii) like the thief, who was killed, because being overheard by a householder he relied on a charm to send people to sleep and protect thieves, which the householder purposely recited to his wife to put the thief off his guard.

But (iv) they should resemble Taif, who to keep Luck in the form of a woman from leaving the palace of his master the king of Rukham prepared to kill his only son.

(v) they should not be like the dog that seeing his own reflection in the water dropped a bone to attack it;

(vi) or like the ass that went out with two horns and came back with two torn ears.

Of these the fourth fable occurs in no other version of the Kalila and Damina but is found in the *Bayan Budiman* as well as in the *Hitopadesa* and *Kathasaritsagara*; the first, third and fifth occur in al-Mukaffa but not in Nasr Allah. With these six fables the preface of Buzurjmihr is said in the Malay to end and the book of Kalila and Damina to begin. Grieved at the stupidity of his four sons, Iskandar Shah (a corruption of the *Sudarcana* of the *Hitopadesa*) gives them to the care of a Brahmin Sumasanma (a Tamil corruption of the Sanskrit *Wisnucarma*), who tells them a story with five parts to illustrate (I) the danger of making trouble between friends, (II) the duty of helping a friend in trouble, (III) the risk of trusting enemies (IV) the loss consequent on greed, and (V) the need of thought before action:— and these five parts from the Sanskrit original are retained, though vaguely, in the consequent pages. In the Arabic version by al-Mukaffa and in kindred texts, Bidpai is mentioned and the tales are related for the instruction of a young prince Dabhelim only.

The Malay goes on to tell of the two bulls Satruboh and Saburboh, the property of the son of a Hindu merchant, Barzaghan, whose name is not found in Nasr Allah. On the other hand in the third part there are omitted tales, which do occur in Nasr Allah; the tale of a Brahmin who had his goat stolen; the tale of an old husband who

offered a burglar all his goods because his entry had sent his young wife into the old man's arms; the tale of the devil and the thief, whom a Brahmin made friends when he heard them disputing whether the theif should steal his cow first or the devil take his life; the tale of a gardener and his wife.

Clearly, therefore, the Malay text, while it owes much to Nasr Allah, did not come directly from his version and its original had borrowed from other sources as well as Nasr Allah. And in fact it includes three tales which occur elsewhere only in the *Anwar-i Suhaili* of Husain Wa'iz Kashifi, who died in A.D. 1504, and in its derivative the Turkish *Humayun-nameh*. There is the story of the cat which, kept on short commons to sharpen its appetite for warehouse rats, tried to catch two doves and was killed by its master. There is the story of the sultan of Kashmir who, advised by his vizier to poison his favourite concubine Ratnasuri and her lover, told his daughter of his intention, whereupon she told a soldier, who told the concubine and enable her to forestall her fate by poisoning the Sultan. There is the story (that is found in the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*) of why Solomon did not drink of the water giving immortality. But of all the supplementary tales in the *Anwar-i Suhaili* these are the only three inserted in the Malay text. Nor again has the Malay translator used the introduction of the *Anwar-i Suhaili*. So the Malay text can no more be derived directly from this work than it can from *Nasr Allah*, though its indebtedness to it makes it certain that the Malay translation was not done before 1504, the date of Kashifi's death.

Finally this Malay text contains tales that are missing from *al-Mukaffa*, the Persian version of Nasr 'Abdu'llah ibn Allah and from the *Anwar-i Suhaili*. There is the story of the Persian Amir who having failed to seduce his Arab host's wife was spared by the husband and lived to restore to him his wife whom Bedouins had sold into slavery. There is the story of the hermit, who turned a mouse into a lovely boy and his wife first into a lovely woman but, when she would leave him, into their original forms. There are the seven last tales that occur in no other recension of the tale of Kalila and Damina but are found in the *Hikayat Golam* and may have been added either in India or in the Malay Archipelago.

It seems likely, therefore, that the Malay text was translated from a south Indian edition, based on several recensions. In the tale of the fox that bit the drum and found it empty, it makes the drum a relic of a battle between Raja Sulan and Raja Pandayan, namely the Chula and Pandayan kings of south India, who play such a part in the early chapters of the *Malay Annals*.

The Malay translation must have been done years after the death of Husain Wa'iz Kashifi in 1504, especially as it came through at least one other translation in an Indian language. It owes nothing to Abu'l-Fadl's revision in the last half of the sixteenth century. As Valentijn knew it before 1726 and Werndly in 1736, it may be ascribed safely to the seventeenth century. In that century wealth and the patronage of letters passed from the Malay peninsula to Sumatra and Java. And the vocabulary, at any rate, of Gonggrijp's text goes to show that it was translated in the Netherlands' Indies; for example *tukas*, *kondangan* [=*gundek*], *kurang ati-ati*, *indong*, *kuntul* [=*bangau*] *lahar*, *gotong* [carry] *angkoh*, *sukara* [Javanese] 'swinishness.' Clearly, too, it was the work of a clever foreigner or halfcaste, who in spite of a fine

vocabulary could not or would not master Malay idiom and syntax. Instances are many. *Di-pĕroleh-nya kĕbinasaan atas diri-nya* he got himself destroyed; *tiada-kah dari di-pĕranakkan ibu-nya bĕbĕrapa kĕsakitan di-rasa-nya* has he not from birth experienced many troubles; *bĕrtolong-tolongan akan kĕsakitan sohbat-nya* helping friends in trouble; *baik di-perbinasakan samĕntara bĕlum tuanku kĕdahuluan oleh-nya hĕndak di-kĕrjakan* it were well to destroy him before he anticipates your highness and attacks you; *ada-lah yang pakaian itu ada pĕrangai-nya dari-pada dua hal, suatu hal pada masa baharu-nya, kedua hal makin sa-hari makin burok juga keadaan-nya* a sentence almost untranslatable; *tiada ia mau menghampirkan diri-nya kapada kebinasaan-nya* he would not involve himself in destruction; *tiap-tiap yang hina itu sahaja pĕrhimpunan niat jahat dan fitnah* every common nature is a mixture of evil and slanderous intentions; *mati-lah marah-nya* she was deadly angry.

Werndly described his manuscript as "full of rhymes and apothegms from the Sanskrit as well as Arabic and Persian," which would appear to show it differed from the text published by Gonggrijp, unless Werndly read a great deal into the constantly recurring word *sha'ir* of our text. There is also a variant version in the Batavian Society's Library. A new and detailed study of the manuscripts is desirable.

A word on the *Hikayat Pancha Tanderan*[6] translated from Tamil by 'Abdu'l-Kadir Munshi in Malacca and finished on 12 October 1835. The Tamil version, which turns the Sanskrit Wisnucarma into Somasanma and Sudarcana into Sugadarma and Patalipura into Padalipurwam, is derived from the oldest recension, that of south India, which is found in the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, in Ksemendra's *Brhat Katha Manjari* and in Gunadya's *Paisaci*. To this south Indian recension can be traced all other versions of the book, tthough excluding the framework the Sanskrit has only five chapters against the thirteen or more that occur in later translations. 'Abdu'llah's work, therefore, differs entirely from the Malay seventeenth century version. An outline of its contents in English has been printed by me in *Papers on Malay Subjects: Malay Literature*, Part II, pp. 49-53, Kuala Lumpur, 1907.

The Bakhtiar Cycle.[7]

As early as the tenth century A.D. Mas'udi mentions the *Sindibad-Nameh* or *History of the Seven Viziers* whose stories postponed the execution of a prince calumniated by a king's favourite wife until he was proved innocent. This incident of a false charge of assaulting the modesty of a queen was borrowed from a famous Persian cycle of tales, the *Bakhtiar-Nameh* or *History of the Ten Viziers*, who do not try to save a prince but get him unjustly condemned, so that he has to extricate himself by story-telling. This tale of *Bakhtiar the Fortunate*, son of king Azadbakht of 'Ajam, is found in a Persian version composed apparently about A.D. 1203, in an Uigur version of A.D. 1434, in Arabic versions including some in the *Thousand and One Nights* and in a later Persian adaptation. The Malay has two main recensions: (I) the *Hikayat Puspa Wiraja*, from a non-Muslim Indian source (p. 44 *supra*), and two Muslim redactions, the smaller *Hikayat Bakhtiar* and the *Hikayat Maharaja 'Ali*, none of them bearing more than a faint resemblance to the Persian, and secondly (II)

the last part of the seventeenth century *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina* and the *Hikayat Golam*, the former derived from the late Persian adaptation and the latter from Arabic adaptations of the original Persian text, but both of them containing respectively seven and nine tales from the Persian cycle. What is known as the shorter Malay *Hikayat Bakhtiar* may or may not have been known to Werndly. He mentions not only a *Hikayat Raja 'Ajami Azbakh*, which is one of the Malay names for *Hikayat Golam*, but also a *Hikayat Bakhtiar*, which he describes as "the history of the Persian king Azbakh." This description could not apply to the shorter Malay *Hikayat Bakhtiar* or to the longer, though it would fit the *Hikayat Raja 'Ajami Azbakh*. Either therefore Werndly made a slip or he had two manuscripts of the *Hikayat Golam*.

The shorter *Hikayat Bakhtiar* has two Portuguese words in its narrative *měski* 'although' and *bělědu* 'velvet,' and so, unless those words are interpolations, must post-date 1511 when d'Albuquerque took Malacca. Actually in its rigidly conventional use of such court terms as *titah, patek, paduka kakanda, suami*, and so on and in its very smooth style, it postdates the Malacca period and appears to belong to the Riau-Johore school.

It tells how envied his throne by his younger brother and threatened with civil war, a king abdicates and flees into the forest, where his queen bears a child which hunger forces her to Idris and his wife Sita Sara, who call him Bakhtiar. On his flight the infant's father is chosen by a sagacious elephant to fill the vacant throne of Idris's country. One day Idris takes Bakhtiar to court, where his father fails to recognize him but is so attracted by the youth's cleverness that he makes him chief vizier. At this T.hkim and the other viziers are so jealous that they get him sentenced to death on a false charge of having an amour with a royal waiting-maid. He postpones his execution for seventeen days by telling five stories, until finally the king discovers from Idris that Bakhtiar in his own son. The following are the five stories:—

(1) A fowler, popular with a king of Samanta Indra because of his gift of a rare bird, is persecuted by Muhammad Julus and the other ministers. At their suggestion he is set the hard tasks of finding a mate for the bird and of getting Mengindra Sari, daughter of the emperor of Rum, for his master. These feats he performs with the help of a Shaikh, who bids him require a black bull with white eyelids to be slaughtered on each of the twelve steps of the palace, as Mengindra Sari mounts them, or failing a bull, Muhammad Julus must be killed. The wretched minister can purchase only eleven such bulls and is executed in place of the twelfth.

(2) A fisherman gave a friend a jar of fish-paste for the emperor of China and bade him ask for a knife in return. Reminded of his commission by criers who announced that the pregnant empress longed for fish-paste he presented the jar which proved to be full of jewels. The royal pair sent the fisherman a knife and a coconut-monkey that had got them their throne. By dancing the monkey got not only food and raiment for the fisherman but attracting the notice of a princess persuaded her to marry his master, before she could detect his boorishness. Even when a rejected suitor attacks the country the ex-fisherman merely guzzles fish on his door-step, till, when a dog snatches his food, he

charges after it into the midst of the enemy and so leads the soldiers to victory. After that he is given the throne and his manners change.

(3) One night a king ordered that no one should be abroad on pain of arrest or death. On the advice of Siti Dinar his wife, a rich merchant Hassan privily hunts for offender against the proclamation, seizes the king and is made prime Minister. At this the prime minister Abu Fadl is jealous, and, as by law the husband of an adulteress should be impaled, he claims to have lain with Siti Dinar. Hassan is sentenced but Siti Dinar takes a golden bejewelled shoe to the mosque and charges Abu Fadl with having stolen its fellow. When Abu Fadl denies with having ever seen the complainant, Hassan is released and Abu Fadl impaled.

(4) To avoid civil war with a younger brother, a king flees with his consort and his two sons. The boys invite ill-luck by playing with two fledgeling birds and are seized by fishermen, while their father is carrying his queen across a river. As the king returns for his sons, his queen is ravished by sailors — whose captain hearing her story treats her courteously. An elephant chooses the king to rule another country, where later the fishermen bring his sons. Not recognizing them their father makes them royal pages and sends them to guard a ship so that its captain may come to court. As the elder recounts their adventures to the younger to keep him awake, a woman overhears their talk. It is their mother and she comes from her cabin and kisses them. Mistaking the situation the sailors denounce the pages to the king who sentences them to death.

The keepers of the city's three gates refuse to let them be taken out to the execution-ground at night, telling stories of the consequences of undue haste. Two peasants returning home found their cat covered with blood and their baby dead in his cot, but after they had killed the cat they found it was red with the blood of a snake it had killed in the baby's defence. Finding his dog lying bloody beside his dead wife, a man killed the animal and entered the house only to discover that the dog had killed his wife's lover in his bed. Once an astrologer was executed because a palace built at the hour he struck a gong did not turn to gold, as he had prophesied. But the king's ministers had been slow, while an old man who had heard the prophecy had had a banana sucker ready and planted it at the exact moment, so that all its fruit turned to gold. And the king repented of his haste and was sad.

(5) The spoilt consort of a prince wants a gold-fish to do tricks. The astrologers say it will do what she wants if the treasurer, the prince and the princess will confess what they really want. The treasurer's confession that he would be a king makes the gold-fish gasp, the king's confession makes it do obeisance and the queen's confession that she would like the king to have always a beautiful young woman about him makes it leap. This last story has not been printed.

The abandonment of a son by a fugitive king, the child's adoption by another, his employment as a royal page by a father ignorant of his identity, his fall on the charge of impropriety and the revelation of the secret of his birth — these are the only *motifs* that bear a distant relation to the Persian *Bakhtiar-Namah*. Nearer to the Malay are some versions of the *Thousand and One Nights*, one of which mentions an elephant's choice of two pages' father to become a ruler and of their trial and

acquittal for impropriety with their own mother, the queen, while another version makes a poor shipwrecked Jew become a king, and employ his two unrecognised sons at court, until their mother by persuading the merchant who has rescued her to accuse them of improper conduct gets herself and her sons revealed to their father.

As the shorter *Hikayat Bakhtiar* bears little resemblance to the Persian story, so, too, it exhibits no relation to the (unpublished) longer Malay *Hikayat Bakhtiar*, though story 63 in the latter is the tale of the Fowler and the Shaikh, and story 39 is the tale of the merchant who through his wife's cleverness becomes a minister to the disgust of Abu Fadl — in the longer version the king is al-Ma'mum son of Harun ar-Rashid and the vizier is Fadl.

The longer *Hikayat Bakhtiar* among its sixty-seven tales contains sixteen or more from the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*, a tale of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, a tale from the *Taj a's-Salatin* of A.D. 1603, of Raja Shariar being accosted at a review by the Angel of Death, the story of Jauhar Maligan (=Manikam), stories of Sultan Aflus of Hindustan and his vizier Bahman, of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna and his servant Ayaz, a story from the *Bustan as-Salatin* of A.D. 1638, of Alexander the Great and the king among the tombs and another of an Arabian vizier caught by his master playing hobby-horse for a woman, stories of Harun a'r-Rashid and Abu Nawas, stories from the Kuran and the Hadith. Needless to say, this olla-podrida of Persian and Arabic tales bears very little likeness to the Persian *Bakhtiar-Namah*. Nor does it throw any light upon the origin of the shorter *Hikayat Bakhtiar*.

It is obvious that the framework of the shorter *Hikayat Bakhtiar* and its fourth inset story are different versions of the same tale. Yet another version occurs in that Muslim pastiche the *Hikayat Maharaja 'Ali*, which has the following plot:—

'Ali Maharaja of Badagra and his queen Haynan (or Hasinan) leave their kingdom owing to the wickedness of their eldest son Baharum Shah. Twelve thieves rob the royal fugitives, and Baharum Shah strays and is lost, but Maharaja 'Ali, Haynan and their two other sons reach Kabitan, the kingdom of Raja Serdala, where every Friday alms are distributed. Fearful of recognition Maharaja 'Ali lets his queen go and beg for alms. When her beauty causes her to be decoyed into Serdala's palace, Maharaja 'Ali sets out again and comes to a river. As the ferryman demands money or one of the young princes, their father ties one to a tree and swims across with the other; but, while he is swimming back for the boy left behind, a crocodile takes him. The ferryman adopts the two boys. Raja Serdala wants to marry Haynan who tells him how there was once a prince who married his dream princess and was captured and buried up to the waist by seven robbers who carried off his bride; how he escaped but was ordered by King David to be impaled for claiming a woman who four mosque officials swore was a robber's wife; and finally how his dream princess appealed to the boy Solomon who took the witnesses apart, heard the discrepancies in their evidence and acquitted the prince. Undeterred by this irrelevant story, Serdala tries to embrace Haynan, whereupon at her prayer God shortens his arms.

One day walking beside a river Jesus heard the skull of Maharaja 'Ali implore to be restored to life, and granted the request — an episode from the *Hikayat Jumjumah*. Called by its viziers to settle their disturbances, Jesus then restores Maharaja 'Ali, unrecognized and unaware, to his old throne. His sons come to court

and unrecognized are made royal pages. Raja Serdala, visiting Maharaja 'Ali for medicine for his arms, asks for two men to guard his ship and is given the two pages, whose mother from her cabin hears the elder relate their story and comes out and embraces them. Maharaja 'Ali orders their execution and they are taken to prison, where the keeper is Baharum Shah. He carries them before the ruler, who sends for their mother and is reunited with all his family.

This pastiche has been very popular and there are several versions, some in idiomatic Malay, others in the Batavian dialect. In some 'Ali is termed Padishah and in one his kingdom is called Sham (or Syria) and Serdala is called Zubayr.

The *Hikayat Puspa Wiraja*, that finer version of the fourth story in the shorter *Hikayat Bakhtiar* with its three inset tales, has been allocated already to the Hindu period.

Then we come to the use of the Persian cycle in the seventeenth century *Hikayat Golam*. The *Hikayat Golam* or *Hikayat Raja Azbakh* or *Hikayat Zadah Bokhtin* as it is variously called was known to Werndly in 1736 and according to a Leiden manuscript was translated from the Arabic by 'Abdu'l-Wahab of Siantan, one of the Anambas islands that can hardly have produced authors before Sultan 'Abdu'llah was driven from Johore first to Lingga and then in 1623 to the Great Tambelan Island: the book may therefore be assigned to the seventeenth century, a date corroborated by its strong Arabic as opposed to Persian colouring. The *Hikayat Golam* begins as follows:

Raja Bokhtin[8] of 'Adan in Persia had ten viziers and a Shahbandar, whose fair daughter M. hur. t he marries hugger-mugger after seeing her on her mule at a feast. Pretending to submit, her father siezes Zadbakht's throne, and Zadbakht and his bride flee on horses to Kirman. One night M.hur.t bears a son and leaves him behind as they have no food. The boy is found and adopted by a robber. One day the robbers are defeated by a merchant caravan and the boy is taken to the court of Zadbakht, now reinstated with the help of Kirman. Zadbakht does not recognize his son in Golam but makes him a chamberlain. One night when he falls drunk in the king's bedchamber, the jealous viziers tell the queen to say the youth had made overtures to her and had threatened to be found in her room if she did not comply. Golam pleads innocence and says misfortune has overtaken him as it did The Unlucky Merchant, who unable to sell his flour at a profit walled up his granary to keep it fresh: rain came and rotted it. He bought a ship and loaded it with merchandise but it foundered and he escaped on a plank. Working on a farm he feared he might not be paid, so retained his wages out of his earnings and hid it; getting his pay, he found the hidden money gone, confessed what he had done and was dismissed. Then he met ten pearl-divers *(ghawwasun)* whom he knew. They dived for his luck and getting many pearls gave him ten. Eight he put in his mouth and two in his pocket. Thieves were passing him by as a beggar but he sneezed, when out came a pearl, whereupon they choked the eight out of his mouth. He tried to sell the two left to a jeweller who having been robbed of ten pearls tried to surprise him with the query, 'Where are the other eight?: 'Thieves took them,' he answered. He is arrested and imprisoned, till the pearl-divers exonerate him. The Sultan has the jeweller flogged and his property given to the luckless merchant, who is also made court chamberlain. A falling box tears a hole

in the harem wall. The chamberlain stops it up but the envious viziers tell the king it is a spy-hole used by the chamberlain to spy on his daughter. The king orders that his eyes be plucked out.

In the Malay *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina* the Bakhtiar section starts with a request by his pupils to the Brahman Somasanma to tell them stories of men who have acted in haste. Nothing is said of Raja Azbakht and his consort. Somasanma starts off with the tale of Bahzad the prince who in his hurry to marry a daughter of the king of Rum attempts robbery to get the bridal price, refuses to await the preparations for his wedding and dashing into the princess's bower pries on her through the trellis-work, whereupon ignorant of his identity she has a two-pronged spear plunged into his eyes. After that Somasanma tells the tale of the Unlucky Merchant, giving the name of the farmer as Sahib A'suri. The merchant meets five pearl-fishers and gets five pearls. Bedouin robbers steal only two which he has in his mouth. The jeweller is a Hindu Manikchata. And the king, having had the merchant blinded, discovers that his daughter has been away for three days and repents of his unjust haste.

In the *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina* the third tale is the story of Abu-Sabar, the man of Job-like patience who gains a throne; the fourth the story of a king of Yaman, who having spared his servant Ibraha when accidentally he shot off a royal ear is himself spared by Ibraha, who is a king's son, when in Rinji Ibraha's country he throws a stone and cuts off Ibraha's ear; the fifth is the story of the king who slew his two viziers, one for trying to save his daughter from marriage with the king and the other for making overtures to her; the sixth is the story of the queen caught kissing her son by a former marriage, of whom her royal husband is unaware; and the seventh (found only in Leiden manuscript 1729), is the story of a jeweller Hasan Manikcheti, who kills his two sons in error.

In the *Hikayat Golam* there are nine tales and the order is different. First comes the story of the unlucky merchant, secondly the tale of a merchant who threw his two sons into the sea, thirdly the tale of Abu Sabar, fourthly the tale of Bahzad the hasty prince, fifthly the tale of the king who slew his two viziers, sixthly the tale of Bakhtin Azmaya, seventhly the tale of the king of Yaman and Ibraha, eighthly the tale of Abu Tamman and ninthly the tale of the queen who kissed her son by a former marriage.

Versions of all these stories can be read, for example, in the Breslau text of *The Arabian Nights* and of all but one in Ouseley's translation of the later Persian *Bakhtiar-Namah*. They differ much in detail. In the story of the King who killed his two viziers, only the Malay *Hikayat Golam* and a Gotha manuscript of the *Thousand and One Nights* from Zanzibar say that the wicked vizier threatened to charge the heroine with having a *cook* for her lover if she did not yield to him; and the version of the same story in the *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina* is peculiar to itself and may have an Indian source.

The order of the tales in the *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina* is, except for the transposition of tales one and two, that found in Ouseley and other editions of the late Persian *Bakhtiar-Namah*; the order in the *Hikayat Golam* is, except for the transposition of tales nine and ten, that of the Breslau text of the *Thousand and One Nights*. The version of the *Bakhtiar-Namah* contained in the seventeenth-century

Malay redaction of the story of Kalila and Damina came from the later Persian adaptation, or secondhand from Persia; that contained in the *Hikayat Golam*, which is full of Arabic recensions from an older Persian version. *Habent sua fata libelli.*

Notes

1. See the following works: Brandes, J, 1895(b), 1899(b); Tuuk, H N van der, 1881; Winstedt, 1960.
2. For details see Winstedt, 1960, pp. 5-6.
3. This passage is almost entirely a repeat of his earlier work (1960, p.6) and for purposes of comparison is given below:

   "The oldest transcript of the Malay *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* is a fragment of 14 pages in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which belonged to Edward Pococke, the orientalist (1604-1691) and dates from about 1600 A D (Catalogue of the Malay mss in the Bodleian Library by Greentree and Nicholson; Oxford 1910, p.3, no 2). Pococke was chaplain to the English "Turkey merchants" at Aleppo from 1630 to 1635 and chaplain at Constantinople from 1637 till 1640: in both places he collected Arabic Hebrew, Armenian, Samaritan and other manuscripts. His collection of 420 oriental mss was bought by the University of Oxford in 1693 for £600 ... The old wrapper with its description "Malaica quaedam Folia imperfecta" also has a note written in a 16th or early 17th century hand: "This is the ? tongue spoke by the Molaianes in the Sou(th) Seases, the coste of Vormeo". The water mark of the paper points to the same date as the handwriting. And inside the wrapper is an account from 1598 — 1600 of "Cloathes Receaved for the privy Accompt of my Mr Ferdinandoe clotterbooke per me Thomas Wade" — there was a Ferdinandae Clotterbooke of St Martins London who died in 1582 but his son of the same name was alive in 1615".
4. See Brandes, J, 1891, 1893, 1895(a), 1931; Gonggrip J R P F, 1892; Keith Falconer, I G N, 1885; Voorhoeve, P, 1933, *Hikayat Kalilah dan Daminah* M/s National Library, Singapore.
5. Gonggrijp, JRPF, 1892, has "Barzoejeh".
6. See the Singapore lithographed edition, 1887. Page 1 of this text has the following: دڠن قرتو لغن سثورڠ .... برنام نمڤي متو برڤاڤاترسنة ١٢٥١.
7. Baharuddin Zainal, 1963; Brandes, J, 1899(a); Dewall, A E von, 1900(b); Voorheove, P, 1969(a).
8. See the Singapore lithographed edition dated 1311, A H, p.2.

Chapter 9

Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and History[1]

Perlak and Pasai in the north of Sumatra were the first Malay centres for the propagation of Islam. At Pasai, in 1407[2] was buried 'Abdu'llah ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Kadir ibn 'Abdu'llah ibn Muhammad ibn al'Abbasi al-Muntasir, a missionary from Delhi of the house of the Abbasides who furnished Baghdad with Caliphs from the time of the Prophet till it was destroyed by the Turks in 1258. Pasai converted Malacca, a centre greater than itself. But the Malays themselves were not theologians. The *Sejarah Melayu* notes that the most learned of Malacca Malays at the end of the fifteenth century knew only Arabic grammar and a little jurisprudence. When in 1511 Malacca fell to the Portuguese, its foreign Muslim pundits scattered and Islam flourished in the ports of Java and in Acheh, where a pepper trade outside the radius of Portuguese control created a kingdom, that in 1524 conquered Pasai and attracted missionaries as Malacca had done.

The *Malay Annals*[3] tell us also of missionaries with the Indian title of *Makhdum* who came in the fifteenth century to Malacca; of Malay envoys sent from Malacca to Pasai[4] offering presents of slave-girls[5] and cockatoos[6] for the solution of such problems as whether the damned suffer the pangs of hell for ever; of a Maulana Abu-Bakar who introduced a treatise by his Sufi teacher abu Isahak, entitled *Durr ul-manzum* on the names and attributes of Allah[7]. On their first voyage home from the Malay archipelago the Dutch took back a Javanese religious treatise, probably compiled as a result of study at Malacca and mentioning among its sources the *Hadith*, Ghazali's *Ihya 'ulum al-din*, Nawawi's *Talkhis al-minhaj*, and Abu-Shukur's Tamhid, irrefragable evidence that Ghazali's mysticism had penetrated the Malayan world at least as early as the sixteenth century.

Ghazali, who died in A.D. 1111, described *fikh* or jurisprudence that is, the doctrine of duties incumbent on a perfect Muslim, as the bread of a believer's life; *usul* or dogma he termed the medicine for heresy and unbelief; *tasawwuf* or mysticism he extolled as the spiritual element serving to digest the bread and the medicine. All these branches of Muslim learning were studied in the Malay world and for all there were translators and exponents of the Arabic theological classics. One of the most indefatigable of these authors, in his work the *Bustan a's-Salatin*, gives us a list of teachers famous in Acheh in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1582 there had come two pundits from Mecca. One Abu'l-Khair ibn Shaikh ibn al-Hajar taught jurisprudence and was the author of a book *Al-saif al-kati'* or *The Sharp Sword* on fixed archetypes (*'ayn thabitah*)[8]. The other Muhammad of Yaman, taught dogma. They argued on archetypes without finality and sailed back to

Medinah.[9] Between 1577 and 1586 there arrived from Gujerat a Shaikh Muhammad Jailani ibn Muhammad Hamid a'r-Raniri, who was a popular teacher of logic, rhetoric and jurisprudence, until, to meet the demand for tuition in mysticism, he went to Mecca to study it, returning to Acheh in 1588. Between 1604 and 1607 there was an Egyptian, Muhammad Azhari alias Shaikh Nuru'd-din, who taught metaphysics. In 1630 there died at Acheh the famous mystical author, Shams u'd-din al-Samatrani, from Pasai, and a few months later an expert in jurisprudence, Shaikh Ibrahim Ibn 'Abdu'llah al-Shami, that is from Syria.

The author of the *Bustan a's-Salatin*, Shaikh Nuru'd-din ibn 'Ali ibn Hasanyi ibn Muhammad, a'r-Raniri, was another foreign scholar from Gujerat: he reached Acheh on 31 May 1637. Although one of his predecessors was a Sumatran, locally born, this Gujerati missionary could not refrain from mentioning this heterodox mystic Shams u'd-din against whose writings he directed so many pamphlets, but he does omit mention of two other famous Sumatran mystics, Hamzah of Barus, the Donne among Malay poets, and the prolific writer, 'Abdu'r-rauf of Singkel.

Hamzah Pansuri lived in the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth and had established himself as a teacher of influence before Shamsu-d-din, whom however he outlived: for the student of poetry his metaphysical verse makes him incomparably the greatest literary figure among religious writers in the Malay language. Hamzah's travels are evidence of the peripatetic life of most of these missionaries of Islam: starting from Barus, the camphor district of Sumatra, he visited in search of truth Pahang, Bantam and Kudus in Java, Shahr-Nawi (namely Ayuthia the then capital of Siam, Mecca and Medinah, only to find in the end God at his own home in Barus. 'Abdu'r-Rauf of Singkel, another Sumatran, was later, teaching at Acheh in 1661. The preface of a Batavian manuscript of his *Mir'at at-Tullab* states that not being adept at Malay he got the help of two experts to write it in the language of Pasai.

For, much as these Muslim teachers did for the intellectual life of a pious Malay minority, yet most of them were foreigners or at best Achinese, who in their difficult task of translation murdered Malay idiom and introduced for Arabic theological terms Malay synonyms as unintelligible as those employed by some British translators of Hegel and Kant. Arabic terms were employed not only perforce but from pride of scholarship. Hamzah of Barus declared that he wrote in Malay for those without knowledge of Arabic and Persian.

Taj a's-Salatin.

Of Persian origin is this work, *The Crown of Kings*, compiled by a jeweller of Bokhara[10] and done into Malay in 1603. It is this date that makes mention of such a miscellaneous work appropriate here, and its date makes it probable that the translation was done at Acheh, then the first Muslim power among the Malays. Translation there would also condone the atrocious Malay idiom. It is not easy, for example, to render into Malay Aristotle's remark that intelligence is unmixed, being in its essential nature an activity, but it is doubtful if any Malay ever understood the equivalent in *The Crown of Kings: sĕgala hakim mĕnyertai dalam pĕrkataan ini,*

'Bahawa barang yang ada dalam dunia ini berkĕhĕndak akan budi, dan budi itu tiada berkehendak akan suatu pun, melainkan akan choba juga.' (ch. 16). Foreign too, and unidiomatic are such usages as

(a) the constant repetition of *dan* (and) where Malays would omit a conjunction and prefer antithesis;

(b) the fondness for clumsy relative clauses — *sĕgala pĕri yang bukan layak itu, yang di-kĕhĕndaki-nya;*

(c) the use of the prepositions *atas* and *pada*, where Malay requires no preposition — *dunia ini tiada atas suatu pĕri ... hampir pada-nya ... lihat pada diri-mu ... mĕmbezakan pada antara Sultan dan ra'yat ... mĕmbicharakan pada hal yang maha sukar itu;*

(d) the use of adjectives for nouns — *Tuhan mĕnjadikan maha-luas bumi itu;*

(e) the misuse of Malay words — *sĕgala kasehan*, all the poor; *daripada dĕmikian manusia*, from that sort of man; *kĕbĕsaran dunia ini jadi-lah duka-nya dan chinta-nya dan bĕlanja dan seksa-nya;*

(f) the separation of subject or object from the verb — *bukakan, pada sa-nafas ini yang ada lagi pada-mu, kĕdua mata-mu ... kalau-kalau ada sa-orang, daripada sakalian orang yang bĕbĕrapa tahun ia mĕmĕliharakan dĕngan bagai-bagai ne'emat dan daulat dalam dunia, akan mĕnolong dia.*

It is amazing that Werndly, writing in 1736, was so seduced by its 'many moral precepts and tales' as to detect 'a very good and clear style' in the book.[11] But its contents suited the European taste of that day. A manuscript of it at Leiden belonged to one A. Reland (1676-1718); three editions of the book have been printed by Dutch[12] in Java, and as late as 1878 Marre translated it into French. From its Persian tinge it is no longer popular with modern Malay orthodoxy, and a Singapore manuscript in the National Library, for example, while scholarly in Arabic quotations, omits passages smacking of shi'ah pantheism and is an interesting example of the Malay copyists will tamper with a book.

No Persian original has been discovered but the *Crown of Kings* is clearly of Persian origin, though, as there was no direct contact with that country, the Malays must have got it from an Indian source. The verses in the book are all in the forms of Persian prosody: the *mathnawi, ruba'i, ghazal*. The Persian word, *Nauruz*, is used for the New Year. There are Persian forms of Arabic names like 'Omari 'Abdu'l-'Aziz in place of the usual 'Omar bin 'Abdu'l-'Aziz. Among Persian works cited are the *Siyar u'l-Muluk*, composed by the famous Vizier Nizam u'l Mulk, born in 1017; a verse out of the *Secrets of Attar* composed by the Persian druggist and poet, Farid al-Din Abu Hamid Muhammad bin Ibrahim, who died about A.D. 1230; the well-known Persian romance of *Mahmud and Ayaz*, of which there are versions from the sixteenth century onwards, and 'the Persian stories' of Khusrau and Shirin, and of *Yusuf and Zulaikha* (or Joseph and Potiphar's wife). The introduction acknowledges indebtedness to many sources, including an ethical treatise *Akhlak-i-Muhsini* written in 1495 by Husain Waiz Kashifi, a prolific author from Herat in Afghanistan, whose best known work is the *Anwar-i-Suhaili*, a Persian version of Bidpai's Fables or as they are called in Malay, the *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina*.

The *Taj a's-Salatin* is divided into twenty-four chapters of which the first

three, on the nature of man, of God and of the world, reek of pantheism. Man must know himself to know his God. He is a creature, compounded (as Plato held) of earth, air, fire and water, a microcosm wherein he may see God the macrocosm. Man exists in the knowledge and power of God, as fishes exist in water, not one of whose scales even can live apart from water, though the fishes know neigher themselves nor the nature of water nor their dependence on it. Whomsoever He wills, God leads astray or directs in the right way. This world is a place for the lover and the beloved, the knower and the known, a bazaar for the next world. The way is far, and age like a cavalcade halts not. Some say life is a dream and men the sleepers.

The remaining chapters deal with such topics as death, the Caliphs and their honourable poverty, just and unjust rulers Muslim and infidel, viziers, writers, envoys, officials, children, right conduct, intelligence, the science of physiognomy, the qualifications of rulers and their duty to subjects Muslim and infidel, their need to keep faith and to be liberal. An unjust kings is the shadow of *Iblis* upon earth and virtue in a king is a greater ornament than a golden *kĕris*. Once when Solomon's crown was askew he chided it, whereupon it replied, "Straighten your heart and I will be straight." The Prophet and his Companions, the Caliphs from 'Omar to Harun u'r-Rashid, rulers of Syria and Irak, Persia and Khorasan, Lokman and Alexander, and Aristotle all point the various morals by incidents in their lives. Especial emphasis is laid on the virtue of liberality in rulers in their ministers. A vizier of Harun u'r-Rashid gave a beggar of his own food and 1,000 *dinar* a day so long as he sat at his gate — which he did for a month. The most generous man who ever lived was Hatim Thai, an Arab, whose liberality was tested by the rulers of Byzantium, Syria and Yemen. Respect for the learned and the pious is also inculcated. Because Isma'il, Samanid ruler of Khorasan, walked seven paces behind a learned man to honour him, the Prophet visited him in a dream and promised that for seven generations his descendants should be kings. The two mightiest forces in the world are the pen and the sword, without which not even Alexander could have acquired an empire. Even to infidel subjects Muslim princes should be fair, but infidels should not be allowed to repair heathen temples or to ride on horse-back or to wear arms or rings or Muslim dress, or to drink spirits in public or to live or be buried near Muslims, or to keen for their dead.

The *Crown of Kings*, poorly written and of small literary worth, is yet to be studied for its influence on Malay ideas; even Munshi 'Abdu'llah's attempt to read Raffles's character in his face was based on the science of physiognomy as set forth in chapter 19 of this treatise.

The name of the translator of the *Taj a's-Salatin* is unknown. But when we reach the more scholarly theological works of this period, then for the first time we find the Malay rule of anonymity broken.

Hamzah Pansuri.[13]

Hamzah of Barus in Sumatra is the earliest and the greatest of Acheh's group of writers on heretical mysticism. His poetry will be considered elsewhere but a religious writer who could adapt the metre of the *sha'ir* and the figures and phrases

of the *pantun* to the expression of the erotic mysticism of the Persian poets is a unique figure and struck a new note in Malay literature.

Hapuskan 'akal dan rasa-mu,
Lĕnnyapkan badan dan nyawa-mu,
Pĕchahkan hendak kĕdua mata-mu,
Di-sana-lah lihat pĕrmai rupa-mu,

Ada-mu itu yogia kau-sĕrang,
Supaya dapat nĕgĕri yang sĕnang,
Sapĕrti 'Ali tatkala pĕrang,
Mĕlĕpaskan Duldul tiada bĕrkĕkang.

Hamzah miskin orang 'uryani
Sapĕrti Isma'il mĕnjadi kurbani,
Bukan-nya 'Ajami lagi 'Arabi,
Sĕnĕtiasa wakil dengan yang Baki.

Or, as one may paraphrase these stanzas —

Your wit, your feeling quench them quite,
From breath and body take your flight,
And both your eyes deprive of sight.

And then you'll glimpse your self — how bright!
Appearance you must fight alway
To win a land of lasting day;
As 'Ali his bridle burtled away,
When Duldul his steed charged into the fray.

Not of Persia or Araby is Hamzah a son;
A pauper and naked his race he has run;
As Ismail aforetime his life would have done,
He has sacrificed all with God to be one.

The same philosophy, reminding one often of Ibn 'Arabi of Spain, runs through his poems and through his two prose works. His *Sharab al 'ashikan* or 'Drink for those athirst with love' has an alternative title *Zinat al muwahhidin* 'The ornament of those who unify,' that is, of pantheists. It starts with a discussion of *shari'at*, God's commandments or the canon law of Islam, of *tarikat* the mystic's path of renunciation leading to *hakikat* that makes a man indifferent to joy or sorrow, wealth or poverty because he knows himself and perceives nowhere anything but God, and of *ma'rifat* or gnosis of a realty beyond time and space, a God who is not only omniscient as for the orthodox but one with His creatures. There follows a dissertation on God's relation to the universe. To hold that the universe came from nothing and will return to nothing is to deny the infinity of God; the universe is a wave in the sea of God's being. The last section is in praise of love. Love is not to be won: it is a gift of God. It is opposed to reason. Reason demands life, wealth and honour. The man who is drunk with the love of God is dead to self and fear, prefers poverty to wealth and has no pride except to say "I am God."

Hamzah's other prose work is named *Asrar al-'arifin fi bayan 'ilm al-suluk wa' l-tauhid*. After a eulogy of gnosis he breaks into a short poem on the knowledge and love of God and on His attributes and names, vowing that he himself is drowned in the depth of God's sea, untroubled by wind and wave, and so is a Sultan of both worlds. A commentary follows, expounding and defending his pantheism.

For Hamzah God includes heat and cold, good and evil, the Ka'abah and idolatrous temples. All lies potential in the Divine Being like the seed in the tree. If heat and cold, good and evil, were not always immanent in God, then He could not be called perfect. In addition to Ibn 'Arabi, Hamzah quotes the older Persian mystics, al-Junaid, al-Hallaj, and the later, Jalalu'd-din Rumi and Shamsu'l-Tabriz.

In spite of its saturation with Arabic words, his prose is good. Fortunately his prose and verse have been edited by Doctor Doorenbos. So one example will suffice here and I will take a passage on an idea that Islam got from St. Augustino and the Christian fathers and that occurs in Lyly's Euphues, in Francis Bacon, in John Milton and Sidney Smith:—

> *Jika sa-orang bĕrtanya: "Jikalau Zat Allah kapada sĕmĕsta sakalian lĕngkap, kapada najis dapat-kah di-katakan lĕngkap"? Maka jawab, "Sapĕrti panas lĕngkap pada sakalian 'alam, kapada busok pun lĕngkap, kapada baik pun lĕngkap, kapada jahat pun lĕngkap, kapada Ka'abah pun lĕngkap, pada rumah bĕrbala pun lĕngkap, kapada sĕmĕsta sakalian pun lĕngkap: kapada najis tiada ia akan najis: kapada busok tiada ia akan busok; kapada baik tiada ia akan baik; kapada jahat tiada ia akan jahat; daripada Ka'abah tiada ia bĕroleh kĕbajikan; daripada rumah bĕrbala tiada ia bĕroleh kĕjahatan. Sĕlang panas dĕmikian, istimewa Allah subhanahu wa-taala suchi daripada sĕgala suchi, di mana ia akan najis dan busok?"*

Shamsu'd-din of Pasai.[14]

A student of a Javanese teacher, Pangeran Bonang, this heterodox mystic secured the patronage of Acheh's greatest ruler, Makota 'Alam (1607-36), and may have been 'the chief bishope of the realme'[15] who conducted negotiations with Sir James Lancaster and the 'archbishop' whom John Davis[16] met. After the death of his royal patron his books like those of Hamzah were condemned to be burnt. One that escaped the flames and has survived in Malay and in Sundanese is in *Mir'at al-mu;min*,[17] dated 1601, an orthodox work on dogma in the form of a catechism about the attributes of God, the Prophets, revelation and the resurrection: while Werndly[18] tells us that there were 211 questions and answers, the only extant manuscript (at Leiden) contains no more than ninety-five — it contains also such interesting archaisms as *tiada pai* = 'not yet.' The Leiden library also owns a fragment of one of this author's speculative pantheist works, the *Mir'at al-Muhakkikin* — the first section of it deals with gnosis, admonitions, recitations *(dhikr)* of the name of God, open and secret, and bears the title *Nur al-daka'ik*, while the work also contains excerpts from lost books by Shamsu'd-din entitled *Kitab fi dhikr da'ira kab al-kawsayna*,[19] *Kitab siri al-'arifina*,[20] *Mir'at al-Kulub* and a tract on the seven *martabat* and twenty *sifat*. This erudite Malay wrote both in his own language and in Arabic. He belonged to the generation that succeeded Hamzah but there is no

evidence that he studied under the older mystic.[21] Frequently he refers to one Fadl Allah al-Burhanpuri and his ideas may have come from Gujerat. As the Dutch editor of his works has written, 'he is typically Indonesian especially in the way he chooses as his favourite subjects, first, the doctrine of existence, its unity and plurality, and secondly the recital of the formulae of *shahada* and *tauhid*.'[22] His mysticism, standing midway between Indian and Javanese forms, is of the speculative rather than the emotional type — and centres round the doctrine of the unity of existence and of the Perfect Man. The vision of man as the all-embracing manifestation of prime reality clears the way for absorption into absolute unity.[23] For Shamsu'd-din only Being is real; man, a puppet in God's shadow-play, is but appearance, an image of the attributes of Allah. To know one's self is the way to perfect knowledge. By brooding on Himself God started a process of differentiation and manifestation, just as man by self-conscious thought discovered I and not-I.

Shaikh Nuru'd-din bin 'Ali, a'r-Raniri.[24]

This famous historian and theologian was born at Ranir (or Rander), the Reynel of Duarte Barbosa and Ranele of William Finch, a famous old port in Gujerat, the resort of Persian, Malay, Burmese and Siamese merchants. Almost certainly of mixed blood he came on the paternal side from a Hadramaut family. In 1621 he was in Mecca. Having completed his studies in Arabia he may have gone to Pahang (then subject to Acheh where his uncle taught) as all his books prior to 1637 are in good Malay with no Achinese colouring. On the death in 1636 of Sultan Iskandar Muda, patron of the heretical Shamsu d-din he sailed to Acheh.

In 1628, nine years before he reached Acheh, he had compiled a still popular (and often lithographed) work on the pillars of Islam, called *Sirat al-Mustakim* and dealing with such topics as Muslim dress, ablutions, the cleaning of the teeth and cutting of the nails, the plucking out of hair on the body, defilements, prayers, burial, alms, fasting, food and so on. Although derived from Arabic sources, this orthodox treatise contains a few interesting local comments, such as the condemnation of the *Hikayat Seri Rama* and *Hikayat Indĕraputĕra* to the lavatory, unless they mention the name of Allah. The favourite Arab text-book *Sharh al-'aka'id al-Nasafiya* (compiled in 1367 by the famous Sa'd al-din Mas'ud al-Taftazani, whom Timur induced to settle in Samarkand) was translated by a'r Raniri into Malay under the name of *Durrat al-Fara'id bisharh al-'aka'id*! Among its topics are fasting, the pilgrimage, *dhikr*, wine, usury, envy, wailing and holy war. In 1638 a'r-Raniri began his most important work, the *Bustan a's-Salatin* or *Garden of Kings*, a compilation that like the *Taj a's Salatin* of 1603 is adorned with numerous anecdotes in the Persian style. The first of its seven books deals with the Muslim story of the creation of earth and of heaven, whose *lote*-tree has 'leaves as large as the ears of elephants.' The second book deals with the prophets from Adam to Muhammad, Persian princes to the time of Omar, the emperors of Byzantium to the time of Muhammad, Egyptian princes to the time of Alexander, the princes of Arabia, Nejd and Hijaz, the Prophet and the first four Caliphs, the Arabs under the Omayyads and 'Abbasides, the Muslim princes of Delhi and of Malacca, Pahang and Acheh.

The author begins this second book with the intention of writing of the rulers of Acheh down to his patron Iskandar II (d. 1641), but the manuscript, as it has come to us, interpolates mention of 'Inayat Shah who ruled Acheh from 1678 to 1688. The third book (which has been lost) purports to tell of just kings and good officials, the fourth of pious kings and holy persons like Ibrahim ibn Adham and Alexander, the fifth of unrighteous kings and foolish and disloyal counsellors, the sixth of generous and noble men and the heroes of the battle of Badr and Ohod and the Prophet's campaigns, the seventh and last of the intelligence *('akl)* and all kinds of sciences, including physiognomy and medicine.

At the request of Iskandar II, just before 1641, he began a polemic work on the *ruh*, entitled *Asrar al-insan fi ma'rifat al-ruh wa'l-rahman*, and containing a reference to Hamzah of Barus. In 1642 he did a very popular book *Akhbar al-'akhirah fi ahwal al-kiamah* on the creation of the *Nur*, Muhammad, Adam and Death, on the signs of the Last Day and on hell and heaven, its contents taken from the *Daka'ik wa'l-hakaik* and *Durrat al-fakhirah min kashf 'awamm al-'akhirah* of Ghazali, the *'Aja'ib al-Malakut* of Shaikh ibn Ja'far Muhammad ibn 'Abdillah al-K.sah[25] and the Bustan of Abu'-l Layth. His thoughts turned more and more to mysticism and the confuting of the heterodox views of Hamzah and Shamsu'd-din. The same year he wrote a treatise on Sufism, entitled *Jawahir, al-'ulum fi kashf al-ma'lum*, and apparently his untraced works[26] *Fath, al-mubin 'ala al-mulhidin*, his *Hujjat al-siddik lidaf'al-zindik*[27] and his *Lata'if al-asrar*[28] all dealth with mysticism. In his *Tabyan fi ma'rifat al-adyan* of 1664[29] he attacks the heresies of Shamsu'd-din. His brief catechism, *Hill a'z-zill*,[30] has the same object and is an adaptation of his longer work, now missing, the *Nubdha fi da'wa 'l-zill ma'a sahibibi*.[31]

The *Asrar al-insan* and *Bustan* summarize clearly doctrines found scattered in many Malay and Javanese tracts. Shaikh Nuru'd-din compares himself to a cup-bearer circulating the wine of the Prophet. In spite of a mediaeval cosmogony and Neo-Platonic absurdities, he is highly educated and a thinker, acquainted with the work of such orthodox mystics as Ghazali. Fakhr a'l-din, Shihab a'l-din al-Suhrawardi, Abu Talik al-Makki, Abu al-Kasim al-Kushayri, Ibn 'Arabi and 'Abdu'l-Karim al-Jilani. For him spirit is not eternal but created. He condemns the identification of man and the world with God, comparing Hamzah's pantheism with the nihilistic theories of the Vedantas and the Mahayana Buddism of Tibet.

> He writes Malay with ease and fluency, though he displays an unidiomatic fondness for prepositions and for *dan*. Examples of imperfect idiom are common in his fine work, the *Bustan*. *Tĕlah sudah-lah sĕgala ayam bĕtina itu* daripada *makan ... Maka Kaiomarz pun sampai-lah kapada tĕmpat jin 'afrit itu* dan *pada suatu riwayat ia-itu manusia ... Ada* bagi *Kaiomarz itu saudara-nya laki-laki ... Sakalian manusia pun suka-lah* pada *mĕnjadikan. Ada-lah ia* lama dalam *kĕrajaan 90 tahun*. He left Acheh abruptly in 1644 and died in India in September 1658.

Abdu'r-Rauf of Singkel (?615-93)[32]

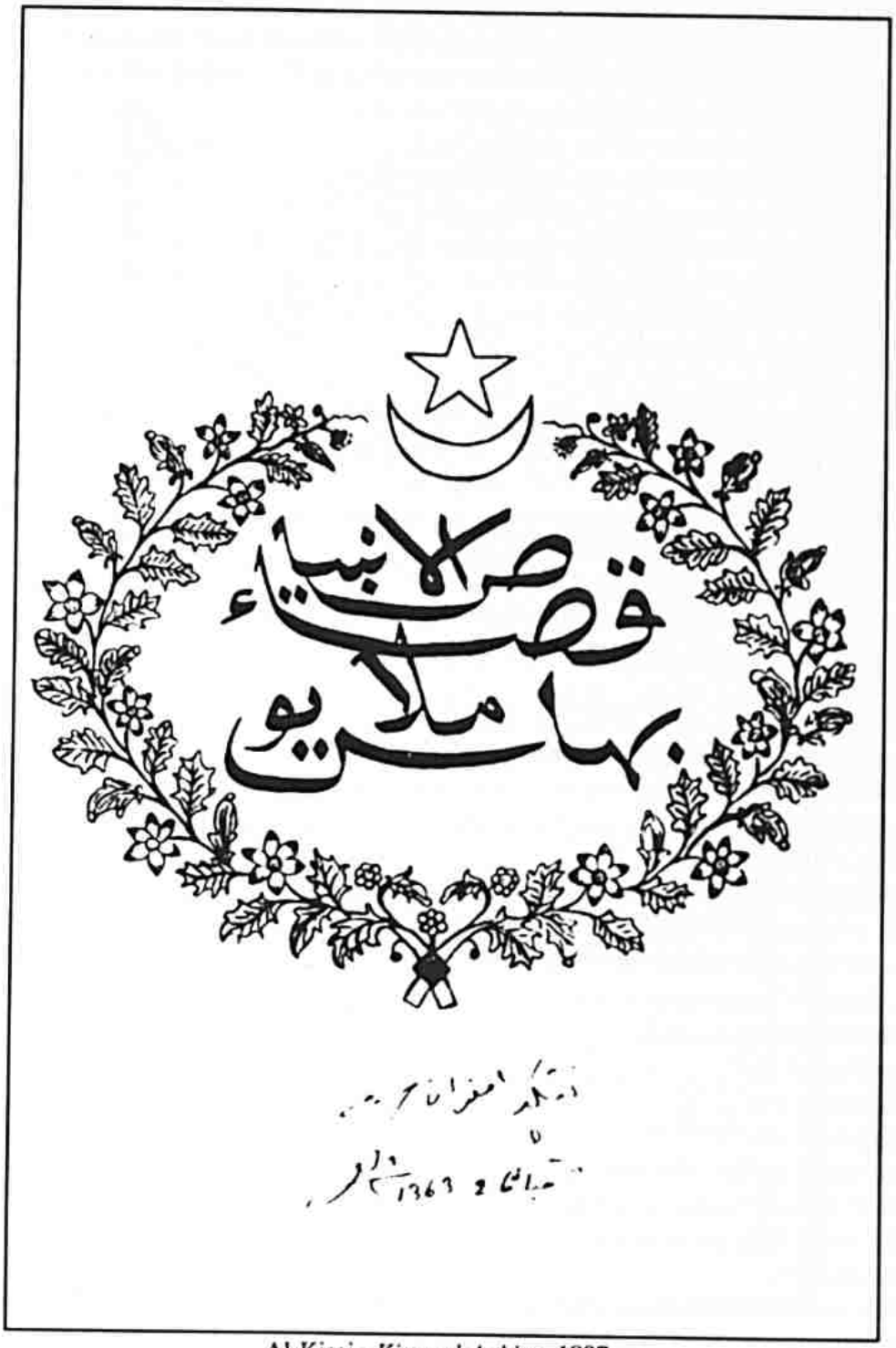
Known also as Tengku di-Kuala this writer was teaching in Acheh in 1661 and has survived in popular esteem as a saint. Several of his works are no longer extant.

Leiden and Batavia each possesses a manuscript of his *Mir'at a't-Tullab fi Tashil Ma'rifat al-Ahkam a'sh Shar'iyyah li Malik a'l-Wahhab* compiled at the request of Taj u'l-'alam Safiat-u'd-din, queen of Acheh from 1641 to 1675. It is a book of Shafiite jurisprudence, handling as was usual all aspects of social, political and religious life. He did a Malay translation, not always accurate, of Baidhawi's commentary on the Kuran, which was published as recently as 1884 at Constantinople. His *Umdat al-muhtajia*[33] describes a form of mysticism in which *dhikr* or recitation of the creed played a great part; and the book concludes with a short autobiography in which 'Abbu'r-Rauf claims to have studied for years at Mecca, Medinah, Jeddah, Mokha, Zebid, Betalfakih[34] and elsewhere.

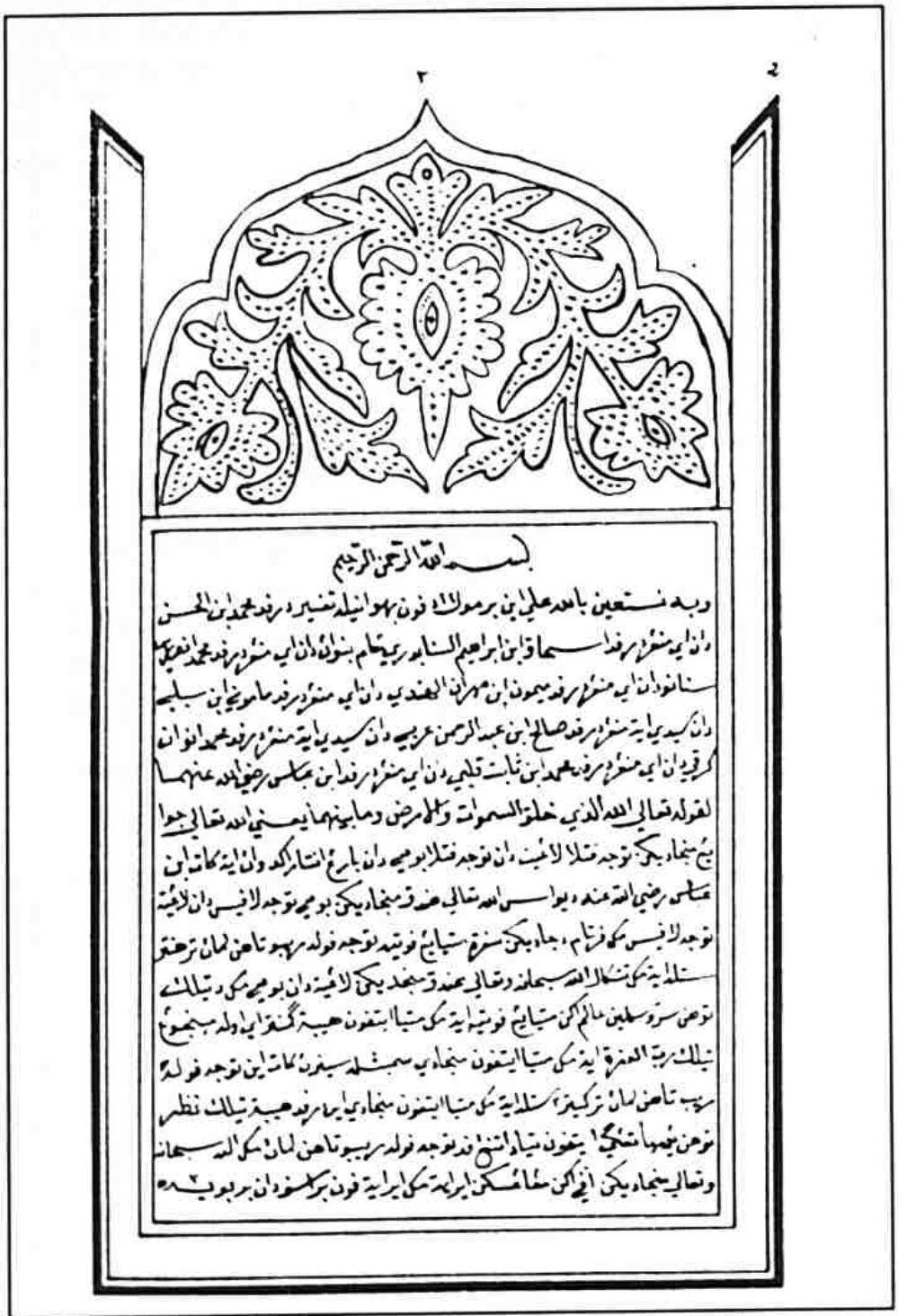
Theological studies continued to be pursued at Acheh, when the kingdom had waned, though in the absence of royal patrons the names of authors are not always recorded. An example is the anonymous *Hujjah Balighah 'ala Jama'at al-Mukhasamah* on law-suits, evidence and perjury. It purports to have been written in A.D. 1648 (A.H. 1058) but under Sultan 'Ala-'u'd-din Johan Shah who actually ruled Acheh from 1735 to 1760. By this later date, we can surmise from manuscripts extant that the study of Muslim theology and jurisprudence flourished more vigorously elsewhere. One of these centres was Palembang and to Palembang perhaps belongs the anonymous, *Kitab Sa Ribu Mas'alah*.[35]

That the text which has come down to us certainly post-dates 1511 and the advent of the Catholic Portuguese may be inferred from the presence of the word *Nasrani* or 'Nazarene' meaning Catholic, and of the Portuguese loan-word *beledu* or 'velvet.' The presence of such Javanese forms as *tělapak* for *tapak*, *kěringat* 'sweat' and *mĕnanyakan* instead of *bĕrtanyakan* suggest, unless they are due merely to a copyist, that the original translator was a native of some place like Palembang, where the manuscript of A.D. 1757 was transcribed and Javanese borrowings are common in the local Malay. Although Palembang became Muslim in the fifteenth century, its first ruler with a Muslim title was Sultan 'Abdu'r-Rahman who reigned from 1649 to 1694. A copy of the Malay version of this *Book of the Thousand Questions* was found by Valentijn as far afield as Amboina before 1726,[36] and already in the eighteenth century manuscripts of the work the glosses of some earlier copyist or translator are identical. Of the fifteen manuscripts known,[37] that of 1757 was written by a Palembang scribe,[38] another by a Javanese and another on the east coast of Sumatra, while one edition has been printed at Mecca and another by Malay editors from Trengganu and Kelantan at Singapore.[39]

The existence in Malay of the fullest version of the first Arabic account of Islam that Europe got to know brings home to us vividly that Malay was one of the languages of Muslim culture. Even after 1085 when the Moors lost Spain for ever.[40] Latin translations were made at Toledo of the Kuran, of the philosophical works of al-Kindi, al-Farabi and Avicenna, and of the *Book of the Thousand Questions*, one of those apocalyptic guides to eternity so popular with Muslim and Christian in the middle ages. The work was written in Arabic as early as A.D. 963[41] being mentioned by the vizier and historian, Abu 'Ali bin Muhammad al Bal'ami, who describes one of its questions as about a spot where the sun shone once never to shine again, the answer being the bottom of the Red Sea rolled back by Moses. In the Malay



Al-Kisai - *Kisas al-Anbiya*. 1897
(A Malay version)



Al-Kisai - *Kisas al-Anbiya*. 1897.
(A Malay version)

recension there is reference to so many place-names round the Caspian Sea, that it has been surmised the original author of *The Book of the Thousand Questions*, may, like al-Bal'ami, have lived at Bokhara. In A.D. 1143[42] the Arabic work was translated into Latin[43] at Toledo by Herman of Dalmatia; earlier still into Persian under the title of the *Book of Eight and Twenty Questions;* from a Persian original into Turkish by the sixteenth century, into Malay by the seventeenth century, and into Hindustani. It was translated from Portuguese into Dutch and thence again into Latin. And it was translated into Javanese. The Javanese recension, preserved in an early eighteenth century script, contains the same number of questions found in the later Arabic version, namely 404, and it has passages missing from the Malay text and a different arrangement of topics: Javanese Muslim works come mostly from the Malay and this Javanese recension[44] must be derived from some unknown Persian, Arabic or Malay original.

One Persian text[45] entitled *The Book of the Thousand Questions* was copied in Shi'ite Golconda, that is Hyderabad, in 1615 and has three *motifs* that occur also in the Malay recension, namely the number of questions, now a thousand, references to the Old Testament, the Psalms and the Gospels, and to the hero's following of 700 Jews. This Golconda text changes the order of the questions and muddles the answers. The Persian texts, which the Malay translator followed, must have been older and he must have used two; for he gives two accounts of the creation and two separate lists of those born miraculously like Adam and Eve and Jesus and the goat substituted for Isma'il, while after the description of the Last Day, which should end with the passing of Death, he inserts additional minor incidents, such as the age of the various Prophets. Signs of the Persian origin of the Malay text are *Piramun*, the Persian name for the World Snake and Persian grammatical forms like *minbari*, though the absence of Shi'ite colouring differentiates it from Malay fifteenth century works.

The hero of the *Book of the Thousand Questions* is a half historical half legendary Rabbi from Khaibar, called 'Abdu'-llah ibn Salam of Samud,[46] a place north of Medinah. The Traditions say that this Jew went to Medinah and put Muhammad three questions which only a Prophet could solve:— "What are the signs of the last day? What is the first food eaten in Paradise? Why may a child be like its father or its maternal uncle?" "Jibra'il has told me," replied Muhammad. "The first sign is a fire that shall cause men to assemble from the east to the west; the first food eaten in Paradise is fish-liver; and a child's looks vary according as his father's seed or his mother's comes first." Proving by hard questions was a test applied by the Queen of Sheba to Solomon and by Bedouins as well as Jews to Muhammad; and critics have detected a resemblance between 'Abdu'llah ibn Salam and another learned Jew, Nicodemus. Both came privily for fear of the Jews, both put hard questions, both were satisfied and ended by avowing their faith openly. The questions put by 'Abdu'llah ibn Salam as to the creation of heaven and earth, as to hell and paradise and the last day, as to the Prophets and as to a child's likeness to father or maternal uncle are all inspired by the *Taurat* or Jewish scriptures.

The answers given by the Prophet employ the usual properties of the Muslim cosmogony, the radiance, the slate, the pen, the archangels, the seven heavens and

so on. Supported on chains by 70,000 angels, the sun and moon are Muslim, differing in brightness because to make day and night Allah ordered Jibra'il to wipe the moon's face with his wing and darken it. If one speck of the flames of hell as big as a fire-fly fell on the earth, the world would shrivel.[47] There is a picture of Anti-Christ entering Isfahan on a donkey so large that the deepest sea wetted only his fetlocks.[48] The Angel of Death kills himself at Allah's command, groaning and remorseful like some wicked giant in a fairy tale, while the tortures of the damned are portrayed with the imagination and vivacity of Hieronymus Bosch. Questions are answered as to the size of the archangels and of Noah's ark, the names of the rivers in paradise, the nature of the grass there and of the trees, and the digestive functions of the blessed. "What son," asks 'Abdu'llah ibn Salam, "is harder than his progenitor?" and gets the answer, "Iron the son of stone." "Who killed without knife or weapons?" the Prophet is asked, to which he answers, "Kain the slayer of Abel." Mountains are described as the nails of the universe which indeed must need them, as it is balanced on the horns of a bull, who is kept quiet from fear of a mosquito bigger than an elephant[49] that stings his nostril if he thinks of shaking his head. One of the questions asked is "Why cannot one be two, and two be three and so on?" The Prophet replies that one is one because Allah is one, and two cannot be three because God created Adam and Eve, day and night, height and depth, and three cannot be four because God is three with Muhammad and Adam, and God instituted three stages for Muslim divorce, and four cannot be five because Allah inspired the Old Testament, the Psalms, the Quran and the Gospels — and so *ad infinitum*. In paradise virgin houris spring out of the pods of the trees and some of the grass is camphor grass from Barus.

'Abd a's-Samad of Palembang.[50]

This Sumatran pundit was a pupil of Shaikh Muhammad ibn 'Abdi'l Karim a's-Sammani al-Madani. In 1764 at Mecca he wrote a Malay work on *tauhid* at the request of one who with him had attended the lectures of Ahmad ibn 'Abdu'l-mun'im al-Damhuri,[51] and he called the book *Zuhrat al-Murid fi Bayan Kalimat a't-Tauhid*. In 1778 under the title of *Hikayat a's-Salikin fi Suluk Maslak al-Muttakin* he made a translation of Ghazali's *Bidayat al-Hidayah* which was lithographed in Singapore in 1873; its subjects are orthodox belief, religious duties, the sins, the virtues, *dhikr*, the love of God and of one's fellows, the *'Umdat al-muhtajina* of 'Abdu'r-rauf being twice quoted.

From 1779 till 1789, when he finished it at Taif, he was occupied with a translation of Ghazali's *Ihya 'ulum u'd-din*,[52] which he enlarged with commentaries and called *Siyar a's-Salikin Ila 'Ibadah Rabb al-'abidin*:[53] it deals with man's duty to God, the usages of Muslim life and works that lead to salvation and damnation.

Muhammad ibn Ahmad Kemas of Palembang.[54]

Living from 1719 to 1763 this author wrote a *Hikayat Shaikh Muhammad Samman*,[55] being an account of the miracles and virtues of a teacher of mysticism an account

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
كملاي كتاب اين دغن نام الله يغ عامة موره ملاكر مغسهاني اكن همبا ب
الحمد لله الذي انزل القرآن العظيم هدي للمتقين سكل فوج بكر الله
تعالي يغ منورنكن اي اكن قرآن يغ عامة بسرياية فرتنجق بكر اورغ يغ
تاكوت اكن الله تعالي وجعل سنة نبية صلي الله عليه وسلم طريقة للمهتدين
دان منجديكن الله تعالي اكن حديث نبي صلي الله عليه وسلم اية اكن جالن بك
اورغ يغ دافة فرتنجق وفسترهما باخيار علم الدين دان منتفسركن
اي اكن كدوانية دغن كتاب احياء علوم الدين بك امام الغزالي
رحمه الله تعالي وطهر به عن اوصاف المذمومة قلوب
التالكين المجدين دان هيوجيكن اي دغندي دمرفد سكل صفة يغ
كجلان اكن سكل هات اورغ يغ سالك يغ برسعكة منجلاني اكن طريقة اهل
الصوفي وزينهم باخلاق المحمودة التي هي اوصاف العارفين
المقربين دان معرفسيا اي اكن مريكيت دغن سكل فراغي يغ كفوجين
يغ بايه صفة بكر سكل اورغ يغ عارفين يغ مقربين والصلوة والسلام
علي سيدنا محمد المتخلق باخلاق رب العالمين دان رحمة الله دان
سلامة اتس فغهول كيت نبي محمد يغ برفراغي دغن سكل فراغي
توهن سكل عالم وعلي اصحابه الذ بنهم متحققين باتباع سيد
المرسلين دان اتس سكل صحابت يغ اداله مريكيت سبغ دغن
مغيكوت اكن نبي محمد فغهول سكل نبي يغ مرسل وعلي التابعين
وتابع التابعين لهم باحسان الي يوم الدين دان اتس مريك
يغ مغيكوت بكر مريكيت دان يغ مغيكوت اكن يغ مغيكوت مريكيت
دغن بربوة كجيكن هغكا هاري قيامة وبعد فيقول
الفقير الي الله الغني عبد الصمد الجاوي الفلمباني تلميذ قطب الرباني

Abd. al-Samad al-Palimbani
-*Kitab Sair al-Salikin*. Taif 1203H.
(Y.Talib Collection)

Abd. al-Samad al-Palimbani
- *Kitab Sair al-Salikin*. Taif 1203H.
(Y Talib Collection)

of the miracles and virtues of a teacher of mysticism at Medinah who was revered as a saint in the Malay archipelago. "These accounts" wrote Snouck Hurgronje, "are valued not only for their contents: their recitation is regarded as a meritorious task both for readers and listeners and vows are often made in case of sickness or mishap to have the *Hikayat Samman* (or the *Hikayat Nabi bĕrchukor*, etc.) recited, if the peril should be averted." At the request of Sultan Mahmud Badru'd-din this Palembang author translated a book, *Bahr al-'ajaib*[56] on future events from the Arabic *Bahr al-Wukuf fi 'ilm at-taufik wa'l-huruf* of 'Abdu'r-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Ahmad al-Bistami.

A Riau School.

Penyengat on the little island of Riau was evidently a centre for the study of mysticism under its Bugis regime at the beginning of the nineteenth century. From it comes a work dated 1809 and entitled *Sabil al-Hidayah wa'r-Rishad fi Zikr Nubdhah min Fada'il al-Kutb al-Haddad*, being a translation of a work on mysticism by Ahmad ibn Hassan ibn 'Abdullah Haddad ibn Sayid 'Aluwi Ba'aluwi of Terim in Hadramaut.[57] From Penyengat, too, comes a manuscript dated 1836 of the *Kitab al-Hikam* by Taju-'d-din Abu'l-Fadl Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdi'l-Karim ibn 'Ata'ullah; it has been translated into English in this Journal, though unfortunately not even a specimen of the Malay text is given.

Daud ibn 'Abdillah ibn Idris of Patani.[58]

This author wrote at Mecca. In 1809 he compiled a treatise on the law of marriage, borrowing its contents from famous Shafiite law-books such as the *Minhaj*, the *Fath al-Wahhad*, the *Tuhfah* and the *Nihayah*. Batavia has another manuscript by him on *fikh*, dated 1859, derived from the same sources but called *Ghayat at-Tallab, al-Murid Ma'rifat al-Ahkam bi's-Sawab*. In 1816 he wrote a book, often reprinted, *Ad-Durr a'th-Thamin*, on *i'tikad*. In 1824, also at Mecca, he published a work *Minhaj al-'abidin ila Jannah Rabb al-'alamin* being a Malay translation of the *Ilya 'Ulum a'd-din*, the *Kitab al-Asrar* and the *Kitab al-Kurbah Ila Allah* of Ghazali. In 1838 he compiled his *Furu'al-Masa'il wa Usul al-Masa'il*, a collection of gems from the *Fatwah* of Ramli and *Kashf al-anam 'an as'ilah al-anam* of Husain ibn Muhammad al-Mahalli on such topics as ritual purity, the five pillars of Islam, sacrifices, food, ritual slaughter, the law of succession, marriage, oaths, vows, the administration of justice and the freeing of slaves.

Kemas Fakhru'd-din of Palembang.

This Palembang author, of whose work the earlier manuscript is dated 1823, compiled a *Mukhtasar*[59] or abridgement of a mystical work by Shaikh al-Wali al-rislani of Damascus,[60] with additional matter from the commentaries on the *Fath u'r-Rahman* by Shaikh Zakaria al-ansari[61] and on the *Hamzah Ilkhan* of Shaikh 'Abd al-Ghani ibn Isma'il.

Notes

1. For general works, see Al-Attas S Naguib, 1963; Arberry, A J, 1956, 1958; Browne, E G, 1956-9; Drewes, G W J, 1955(b), 1959; Johns, A H, 1955, 1957, 1960, 1961(a)(b)(c), 1965; Voorhoeve, P, 1957.
2. Damais, Ch Louis — "L'epigraphie Musulmane dans le Sud-Est Asiatique "*BEFEO*, (LV) 1968, p. 579 gives 809H/Friday, 24.12.1406 A.D.
3. See Chapter XX (Ed Shellabear — 2nd edition, Singapore, 1909, p. 126).
4. See Overbeck, Hans, 1933(b).
5. "The text has however the following" ... two girls, the one named *Dang Bunga*, a native of Makassar the other *Dang Bibah*, the daughter of a palace orderly from Muar".
6. The text has "a red lory and a brown cockatoo". See equally ch XXXII, for an account of another Malaccan mission to Pasai.
7. See *Sejarah Melayu*, p. 127.
8. See Teuku Iskandar, 1966, p. 33.
9. There is however no mention of "Medinah" in the text of *Bustan al-Salatin*.
10. Marre, A 1878, p. 2 has "Djohore" and Hooykaas, 1937, has "Orang Johor dari Negeri Parsi yang datang melalui India".
11. Not only Werndly but equally Marre, A, thought highly of the work and referred to it as "Le style de Bokhari est simple et clair, suffisamment concis correct and pur ..." *op cit*, p.2. Khalid, Hussain 1966(b), supports this observation.
12. The earliest edition is that of Roorda, van Eysinga, P P, 1827. See also Linehan, W, 1933, Ronkel, Ph S Van 1899(b), Winstedt, R O, 1920(f).
13. See al-Attas, Syed Naguib, 1967, 1970(b); Braginsky, V, 1975; Brakel, L F, 1969(a), 1973; Chew Hock Tong, 1973; Doorenbos, J, 1933; Drewes, G W J, 1933, 1951; and Brakel, L F, 1986, Teuku Iskandar, 1965(a).
14. See Nieuwehuijze, C A O van, 1945; Teuku Iskandar, 1965(e); Voorhoeve, P, 1952(c).
15. This is extracted from Nieuwenhuijze *ibid*, p. 17, note 37 and quoted from *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to the East Indies* which has "The one of these noblemen was the chiefe bishope of the realme, a man of great estimation with the King and all the people...".
16. See Nieuwenhuijze, p.18.
17. Should now read *Mir'at al'Mu'minin* [1009H.].
18. 1936, p.354.
19 Read *Dikr dā'ira qāb qausain au adna*.
20 Read *Sirr al 'arifiñ*.
21 Nieuwenhuijze, *op cit*, p.238 and pp.19-20 of the Dutch text has the following: "Nevertheless no sufficient data could be gathered to support any statement about a possible relation between teacher and pupil".
22 *Ibid*, p.31, 235 and note 18.
23 This is extracted from *ibid*, p.236 which has "Its outstanding features are the doctrines of unity ie the Unity of Existence and the Perfect Man. The school

of Shamsu'l-din represents the more speculative type, centering around the theory of existence equally" and "In more than one respect, it stands midway between the Indian and Javanese forms". *ibid*, p. 239.

24. This entire section is based on Drewes, G W J, 1955(a); Nieuwenhuijze, C A O van 1948; Voorhoeve, P, 1950, 1951, 1955(a)(b). See equally Al-Aṭṭās, Syed Naguib 1966, 1986; Drewes G W J, 1974; Jones, Russel, 1968, 1974(a); Tudjimah, 1961; Voorhoeve, P, 1959.
25. To read now as al-Kisā'i [See Voorhoeve, P, 1955, p. 186, no. 9]
26. See Voorhoeve, P, *op. cit*, p.158, no. 17.
27. See Voorhoeve, P, *ibid*, p.158, No 16; Drewes, G W J, 1974; al-'Aṭṭās S N, 1966, 1975.
28. See Voorhoeve, P, *op cit*, p.156, no 6.
29. See voorhoeve, P, *ibid*, p.156, No. 8.
30. To read as "Hall a'z-zill" see Voorhoeve, P, *ibid*, p.157, No 10.
31. This work is certainly not missing as indicated here. For details of holdings see Voorhoeve, P, *ibid*, pp. 155-6.
32. To read now " ... of Singkel (c.1620 — c.1693) See "Abd al-Rauf al-Sinqili" *Ency. of Islam* (New Edition) London/Leiden, 1960, p.88. For a detailed account of this scholar see Rinkes, D A, 1909. See equally Teuku Iskandar 1965(d).
33. To read now *Umdat al-Muhtajīn*.
34. To read now "Baīt al-Faḳīh".
35. See Pijper, G F 1924.
36. See Pijper, G F, *ibid*, p.10.
37. See Pijper, G F *ibid*, p.72.
38. Pijper, G F *ibid*, p.121.

الفقير كباكس محمد ميران إى الفقير إ ل الله تعالى كباكس خطير

39. See *ibid*, pp.77-78, for the printed editions.
40. This is poor reading of "Toledo, de stad der vele Kerkvergderingen was, na eeuwen van Moorsche overheersching in 1085 wederom de hoofdstad van een Christelijk rijk geworden" Pijper, G F *ibid*, p.5.
41. See Pijper, G F *ibid*, p.4, pp. 31-32.
42. *Ibid*, p.4.
43. See Pijper G F, *ibid*, p.8-9.
44. See Pijper, G F, *ibid*, pp. 67-71.
45. See Pijper, G F, *ibid*, pp. 56-57.
46. See Pijper, G F, *ibid*, pp. 11-34.
47. The Jawi text in Pijper G H, *ibid*, p. 82, has on the contrary "منجادي هابو"
48. See *ibid*, p. 100, line 13. "سفرت كاجة"
49. See pp. 63-64 of the aforementioned text. On p. 65 of the same text one has
50. See Drewes G W J 1976(a)(b), 1977, Ismail Hussein, 1974(b).
51. For "Ahmad ibn Abdul munim al-Damhuri" read "Aḥmad bin 'Abd al-

Mun'im al-Damānhurī".

52. For "he made a translation of Ghazali's *Bidayat al-Hedayah* should now read "being an adaptation of Ghazali's *Bidāyat al-hidāya*". See Drewes, G W J, 1977, p. 222.
53. For *Siyara's Salikin Ila Ibadah Rabb al-Abidin* read *Sair al-salikin ila 'iḫādat Rabb al-'ālamin*. See Drewes, G W J 1977, p.222, no 3 on the various editions of this work see *ibid*, p.223. For his other works equally see *ibid*, p.223-224.
54. See Drewes, G W J, 1977, pp. 224-225.
55. *Nafahat al Rahman fi Manaqib ustadhina al azam al-Samman*, *ibid*, p. 215, no 7.
56. See *ibid*, pp. 224-225.
57. "Aḥmad bin al-Ḥassan bin 'Abdullah b 'Alawī bin Muḥ al-Haddād Bā 'Alawī". See Serjeant, R B, 1950; see equally Ronkel, Ph S van, 1909, p. 428, for details on the work alluded to here.
58. See Matheson, Virginia and Hooker, M B, 1988.
59. See Drewes, G W J, 1977, pp. 106-175.
60. Wali Raslan al-Dimashqi (d. A H 541/AD 1145-46). The mystical work referred to is none other than "Risāl a fi'l-tauḥīd. [See Drewes, G W J, 1977, pp. 6-25, 88-105].
61. To read Zakariyyā' al-Aṇsārī (See *ibid*, pp. 26-38). For *Hamzah Ilkhan* read *Khamrāt āl-Khān* (wine from the inn) by 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nablūsi (d. AH 1143/AD 1731) see *ibid*, P.2.

Chapter 10

Malay Histories[1]

In history we reach a branch of literature that in spite of Arabic titles like *sejarah, sulalatu' s-salatin* and *tuhfat al-nafis* is from its very subject matter more indigenous than any other type of Malay prose; and the Malay Peninsula is particularly rich in histories.

Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai.[2]

This, the oldest Malay history,[3] starts with the reign of Malik al-Saleh, a ruler of the little Sumatran port of Pasai, whose grave-stone imported from Cambay gives a date equivalent to A.D. 1297 as the year of his death. Then it describes the reigns of Malik al-Dzahir, who died on 9 November, 1326, and of his son Sultan Ahmad. It ends with Majapahit's conquest of Pasai about 1350 and with Minangkabau's vain attempt to conquer Majapahit. Part of the work must, therefore, have been written after 1350 and as it is quoted, sometimes *verbatim*, in chapters 7 and 9 of the *Sějarah Mělayu*, most of it must have been written before 1511, when the first part of the later and more famous history was drafted. Pasai was one of the first of the little Sumatran estuarine kingdoms to accept Islam in the second half of the thirteenth century and, though that premises earlier contact with Muslims, Arabic loan-words must have taken time to creep into Malay so that for this reason also these chronicles could hardly have been compiled before 1350. Actual incidents, too, while often retaining the vividness of history not remote, are given a mythical tinge that only time could add. It would, however, appear unlikely that these chronicles were written after 1524 when Acheh drove out the Portuguese and annexed Pasai. Authors wrote generally to please a court and it is incredible that any author would have the stimulus or even the courage to begin a history of Pasai after 1524; for, after that date, its history could only be written discreetly as a chapter in the annals of Acheh.

One may conclude that the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* was written in the fourteenth century. It may have been brought to Malacca when its first sultan married a Pasai princess, or by Mani Purindan, grandfather of Sultan Mudzaffar Shah. As we have it to-day, there is a later appendix giving a list of the countries subject to Majapahit. This includes Banjarmasin, and makes no mention of Tanjong Pura. Banjarmasin is presumed to have been founded about 1550. Tanjong Pura disappeared shortly after 1520. Even more disturbing is the inclusion of *Pěmanggil* on the list, clearly for the island now known by that name. Prior to the end of the eighteenth century, it was called *Pulau Pisang.*[4]

To-day the language of Pasai is Achinese, but in the seventeenth century 'the language of Pasai' still meant for the theologians of Acheh the Malay language, and the Pasai history is written in good Malay, its archaic features being few beyond the use of an obsolete interrogative particle *kutaha* that occurs also in the earliest version of the *Sějarah Mělayu* and in a Erpenius MS. at Cambridge: it is unfortunate that the only extant MS. of the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* is dated A.D. 1814.[5]

The historical value of chronicle has not yet been fully worked out. Titles like Megat Skandar and Megat Kedah, for example, may go to show that the Alexander legend was known in thirteenth century Pasai and to corroborate Dr. Stutterheim's reading of the memorial *sha'ir* on a Pasai tombstone of A.D. 1380[6] which makes one and the same royal house rulers of Pasai and Kedah. Especially interesting is the picture of Indian influence at Pasai. Ghiath al-din, the name of one of the ministers of Malik al-Saleh, was a name common in Delhi but never popular in Malaya. His companion Husam al-din also bears a name found in India. It is a Kling miner who finds gold in *Sěmudĕra* and a Kling *yogi* who dubs Sultan Ahmad Perumudal Perumal. It is a ruler from Ma'abri, an Arabic name used by Ibn Batuta for the Coromandel court, who becomes a fakir and converts the people of Pasai, while according to Tamil history a Raja Perumal left the throne of Cranganagor to become a Muslim missionary.

For the student of literature interest centres more round the literary sources to be traced in this early history and the influence it had on later works. One of the sources is the *Ramayana*. There is the story of a princess born from a bamboo, a tale found also in a *Hikayat Acheh* and in the *Kedah Annals*. And the killing of his son by a Pasai Sultan because a Majapahit princess had fallen in love with a portrait of the princeling recalls Rama's repudiation of Sita for sleeping with a fan on which was a portrait of Ravana. The description of women hurrying untidy and dishevelled goes back to Malay shadow-play versions of the *Mahabharata* and is found here and in the *Sějarah Mělayu* (or *Malay Annals*) and again in the *Kedah Annals* and many Malay romances. The choice of a ruler by a sagacious elephant occurs in the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, is used in this Pasai chronicle and has been borrowed for the *Kedah Annals*, the *Sha'ir Si-Lindong Dalima* and other works. But the influence of the Pasai history on the *Sějarah Mělayu* goes far beyond the borrowing of identical folk-tales from Indian sources. Not only has the author of the later work constructed two of his chapters by paraphrasing the chronicle of his predecessor but he has also imitated his style and method. Both chroniclers invent origins for place-names, making a feature of their inventions. Pasai, for example, was founded where a dog of that name was resisted bya courageous mouse-deer (just as in Sinhalese folklore a hare, bounding off a rock, faced a jackal at the spot where Kandy was built): so Malacca has to derive its name from a tree against which its founder leant during a similar episode. The downfall of the handsome young warrior 'Braim Bapa' is copied in the adventures of Hang Tuah and Hang Kĕsturi in the *Malay Annals*. So, too, the mythical account of the conversion of a Malay ruler to Islam is copied in the *Malay Annals*, and, later, in the *Kedah Annals*.

Sĕjarah Mĕlayu.

This work, commonly known as *The Malay Annals*,[7] is the most famous, distinctive and best of all Malay literary works. Until recently it was known only from a version purporting to have been begun at Pasai on Sunday 13 May 1612, while Sultan 'Ala'u-d-din Ri'ayat Shah of Johor was there as a prisoner. But Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din was not made a captive till 1613, when he was taken not to the dead port of Pasai, but to his captor's capital. Other MSS. correct the place where this edition was composed to Pasir Raja or Pekan Tua, a forgotten capital on the Johor river.

One complete MS. of it, copied for Sir Stamford Raffles and now in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, antedates the Johor version of 1612 and ends with an account of a Portuguese attack on a Malay stockade at Sungai Telor up the Johor river in 1535. The 1612 edition claims to be based on 'a history brought from Goa,' according to some MSS. by an Orang Kaya Sogoh, and the original of Raffles's MS. may well have been carried there after the Portuguese sacked the Johor capital in 1536. Raffles's MS. contains no historical incidents occurring after 1535 and no genealogies later than the grand-children of Bendahara Mutahir, whose eldest son was old enough to be Temenggong of Malacca in 1509. Unlike the later Johor edition, it does not deliberately suppress or alter various details to glorify the Malacca line of Sultans and their prime ministers, the Bendaharas. In it the prince who gave the island of Tumasik the name of Singapura, is a Tamil Bichitram (as he is in the tradition of his descendants the Sultans of Perak), nephew of Pandayan of Negapatam. Iskandar Shah first ruler of Malacca is followed by a Sultan Megat, namely by one with a royal mother but a commoner father, unexpected confirmation of the theory that the first ruler was probably a Sumatran princeling, married to a Javanese princess, his Hindu title of Parameswara denoting his subordination to his wife. Further in Raffles's MS. that puzzling figure Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din (d. 1488) of Malacca is Raja Radin son of Sultan Mansur Shah by a Javanese woman: the Johor revision kills off this son and fabricates a Raja Husain son of a Bendahara lady who becomes Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din. The Johor edition naturally deleted references to the older legitimist branch of the Malacca line, who became and still are Sultans of Perak. Moreover while the original author, writing in the reign of Sultan Mahmud last Sultan of Malacca, could not possibly ascribe to that ruler the fool errand of wooing the fairy princess of Mt. Ophir, the Johor editor seeing that Sultan Mansur was already the hero of fictitious marriages with a princess of Majapahit and a princess of China, thought it better to deprive him of his fairy wooing and ascribe it to Sultan Mahmud, who by 1612 had been dead eighty-two years. The author of the first draft of the *Malay Annals* is unknown. His vivid accounts of Malacca life would appear to show that he lived there before it was captured by d'Albuquerque in 1511. MS. 68 in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, says that the original Annals were compiled in the time of Solomon and that their revision was mooted in A.D. 1482 (a date possible for the commencement of the original draft) at a council of chiefs held in the time of Alexander the Great! Even the 1612 revision did not see an end to the tampering. The Johor appendix, which took the place of Perak chapters, carries Johor history well beyond 1612. A variant appendix in a

Batavian MS. gives an account of Siak in the eighteenth century. The preface in two printed editions has been cribbed word for word from the introduction written by an Indian pundit for his *Bustan as-Salatin* in 1638. The text of the *Sějarah Mělayu* is an extreme example of the liberties taken by all Malay copyists.

That the original author of these annals lived in Malacca is attested by his cosmopolitan culture. Sanskrit and Persian and Tamil words, Javanese sentences and Arabic texts are all familiar to him. He professes a smattering of Chinese and Siamese and Portuguese. His account of the origin of the title Laksamana and his invention of Hang Tuah being hidden instead of executed point to his acquaintance with the story of the *Ramayana* and to an episode preserved in a MS. of its Malay version (belonging to von De Wall), where ordered by Rama to slay Laksamana, Hanoman conceals him till Rama comes to his senses. The request of the Malay warriors to their Sultan to lend them the romance of Muhammad Hanafiah to read one night during the Portuguese attack on Malacca may be a reminiscence of Krishnan reciting the *Bhagavad-Gita* to Arjuna before the great battle between the Pandavas and Kauravas began. The adventures ascribed to Hang Tuah come from the Javanese legends of Panji and of Damar Bulan. When Sultan Mansur Shah wooed the fairy princess of Gunong Ledang, she refused his hand until he should give her seven trays of lice's livers, a tub of tears, a tub of the juice of young betel-palms, a basin of his own blood and a basin of his son's blood. This *motif* comes from the Persian but may have been suggested also by the Javanese. In the story of Damar Bulan, when Menak Jingga, prince of Balambangan, asks for the hand of a Majapahit princess, the sons of the Patch of Majapahit demand a present of spear spume, a sea of blood and a mountain of heads. In the Persian *Sindi-bad Namah* a merchant arriving at Kashgar sells his stock of sandal-wood to a rogue, who persuades him it is valueless, on condition that he give in return 'whatever else he may choose.' Finding himself swindled he resorts in disguise to the rogue's den and hears his blind chief rate his subordinate's folly: "Instead of asking for gold, this merchant may require you to give him a measure of male fleas with silken housings and jewelled trappings and how will you do that?"

The annalist makes Malay princes write letters to their adversaries before engaging in battle, as Alexander does at the prompting of Khadir in the *Hikayat Iskandar*. Not only has he borrowed long passages from that romance and from the chronicles of Pasai.[8] He has also an intimate knowledge of the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah:* he makes the Bendahara Maharaja of Malacca think in his heart *Kěkayaan-ku ini datang kapada anak-chuchu-ku makan dia, tiada akan habis*, while in the story of Hanafiah the crowd envy the luck of the successful wooer of Princess Shahr-banun, reflecting *maka datang kapada anak-chuchu-nya makan, tiada akan habis*. And it may have been either an episode in the same romance or the *sayambara* of so many Hindu tales that suggested the episode of Wi Kesuma, princess of Majapahit, choosing a consort from a throng of men passing before her. Finally the annalist was versed in the esoteric knowledge of the Sufi mystics of Pasai and Malacca. All this culture was accessible in the cosmopolitan port in Malacca but hardly in a petty refugee court up the Johor river.

The author of the *Malay Annals* is not only a pundit but a literary artist. He gives us a vivid picture of a port thronged with Indian traders, Hindu and Muslim, with settlers from China, Java and Sumatra. His pages are full of adventures who frequent the precincts of a flourishing court, Tamil archers, Pathan horsemen, bibulous mahouts, Indian missionaries self-important and eccentric, and cowardly in battle. There are vignettes of Malays: Tun Isak the Nippy, so-called because he could cross a ditch on a dipping branch so quickly that he did not wet his feet; the Prime Minister who had a long pier-glass and consulted his wife on the set of his hat; the old chief who put gold-dust along the skirting for his grand-children to play with. Especially good are the skilful touches delineating the portrait of that amorous, spoilt, clever, half-caste ruler, Mahmud last Sultan of Malacca. I will translate one passage:—

> The story goes that when Sultan Mahmud went for recreation to Tanjong Kling or elsewhere, he would ride a pony, with one follower Sang Sura carrying a betel-set, a bundle and a water-jar[9]. When his heir heard that the Sultan had set out, he would order all the chiefs to follow, but as soon as the Sultan saw the throng approaching he would spur his pony to avoid them. Sang Sura ran at his horse's heels, as if he would hide the Sultan's tracks with his own foot-prints. As he ran, he would put lime on betel-leaf for his master.[10]

Even a sketch like that shows a master hand. Perhaps the polyglot author was a half-caste Tamil.

Bustan a's-Salatin.

Next in date comes the *Garden of Kings* begun by the Gujerati pundit, Shaikh Nuru'd-din of Ranir, at Acheh in 1638. In addition to much Islamic history from foreign sources it contains a section on the princes of Malacca, Pahang and Acheh. Evidently the author got material from the 1615 edition of the *Malay Annals*, for he writes:- "Says the Bendahara Paduka Raja who compiled the *Sulalutu's-Salatin*"[11] (namely, the *Malay Annals*) "he heard it from his father who heard from his grand-parents: on Sunday in the month Rabi al awal A.H. 1020 [A.D. 1612] he wrote a history of the administration of all the princes who ruled Malacca, Johor and Pahang with their race and genealogies from Iskandar Dhu-l-Karnain." The chapter on Acheh contains a precise chronicle of its rulers and immigrant missionaries: the chapter on Malacca and Pahang is no more than a set of genealogical trees. Both have been printed.

Misa Mĕlayu.[12]

The meaning of this enigmatic title is obscure. Is it an illiterate tribute to the popularity in eighteenth century Perak of that Panji tale, the *Misa Pĕrabu Jaya*, chosen in ignorance of the fact that there the word means 'buffalo'? Or is it a dialectical form of *misal*, 'exemplar'? The work is an attractive contemporary account of a period of Perak history from about 1742 to 1778, written by Raja Chulan, a

prince of the Perak royal house, who 'at that time was the cleverest man in Perak at prose and verse.' Much space is devoted to court ceremonies, marriages, funerals and picnics; and a royal sea-trip round the Perak coast is depicted in very tolerable if sycophantic verse by the author who calls himself 'a poor neglected bat living in the clouds'[13] and 'a piece of dirt in a midden[14]' and tells how they met an English ketch whose captain sold two cannon to the Sultan in exchange for tin. There are references to Bugis invasions, to trading with Indians in elephants, and to a lodge maintained by the Dutch at Tanjong Putus to enforce their monopoly of the purchase of tin at the Perak estuary. Raja Chulan also describes the coming of a Dutch commissioner to the Malay court and the signing of a treaty. He has considerable literary talent, notices the *chĕrus-chĕrus*[15] sound of English talk and denounces the sound of Chinese music 'like the noise of frogs in a marsh after a fall of rain,' but he lacks the quiet cynicism and intimacy of his model the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, and it is a pity that he made no attempt to record the earlier history of Perak. His work has particular value as an authentic specimen of eighteenth century prose at the court of a Malay State.

The Kedah Annals[16]

Were it not for a colophon giving a list of Kedah rulers, a preface copied from later recensions of the *Malay Annals* and the borrowing of the Arabic title of those chronicles, the *Hikayat Mĕrang* (or *Marong*) *Mahawangsa* would never have been styled the *Kedah Annals* or accepted as serious history.[17] It starts with confused traditions of Byzantium, of figures from the *Ramayana*, and of Vishnu's *garuda*, here strangely subject to Solomon, lord of the animal world[18]. It includes the story of a cannibal king cribbed from the *Maha-Sutasoma-Jataka*, the legend of an infant found in a bamboo that occurs in the *Ramayana* and so many Malay folk-tales, abduction by a roc, magic combats, the choice of a ruler by a sagacious elephant, all of these the very commonest incidents of Malay romance.[19] Its reference to *Langkasuka* is based on authentic tradition but *Langkasuka*, long extinct, sends an embassy to Acheh, a kingdom founded in the sixteenth century! Kedah itself is termed *Zamin Turan* land of Turkestan!,' a name purloined from a passage in the *Hikayat Amir Hamza* where a prince Gulanggi also occurs — though in the 'annals' Gulanggi is the name of a country near Burma! A passage showing traces of a Javanese hand purports to give an account of Kedah's conversion to Islam by a Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Yamani from Baghdad. Kedah became Muslim in the fifteenth century but these 'annals' say that on its conversion the Sultan received his *Sirat al-Mustakim* from Shaikh Nuru'd-din a'r-Raniri who arrived in Acheh from India in 1637! Again, it claims that Indra-Sakti, an eighteenth century capital of Perak, was chosen by a pre-Muslim ruler of Kedah, who loosed an arrow that fell there! Perak was not subject to Kedah until 1818, so that it is unlikely that folk-lore adapted this arrow story beforee that date. The modernity of this pseudo-history is confirmed by the lack of old manuscripts[20].

Hikayat Nĕgeri Johor.[21]

There is a plain chronicle of events with this title, recording the history of the Johor rulers and of the Bugis in the Riau archipelago and the Malay Peninsula between 1672 and the last decade of the eighteenth century. It is a useful history with no literary pretensions. The text of one of the two MSS. at Batavia has been printed, and portions of one of the two Leiden MSS. appear in Part III. of Meursinge's *Leesboek*. The author is unknown. Many other fragmentary histories survive in manuscript, some of them plain unvarnished chronicles with little literary merit. One such is the *Sĕjarah Raja-Raja Riau*, an eighteenth century history of the Malay Peninsula and Riau, of which an outline in English has been printed.

The Works of Raja 'Ali Haji bin Rajah Ahmad.[22]

This Riau prince, a grandson of the famous Bugis warrior who was killed in 1784 at Teluk Katapang fighting the Dutch, is one of the greatest Malay writers of the nineteenth century. He wrote *Silsilah Mĕlayu dan Bugis*, an account of Bugis ascendancy in Borneo, the Riau archipelago and the Malay peninsula down to 1737, adorning his narrative with poems. The work was printed at Singapore in A.H. 1329 (A.D. 1911): there is also a paraphrase of it in English by Overbeck.

His *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, or 'The Precious Gift,' was begun in 1865 and after recapitulating the traditional history of old Singapore and Malacca relates the history of the Johor empire and its relations with the Bugis, other Malay States and the Dutch down to the '60s of the last century. The author is described simply as Raja 'Ali of Riau but the style of the work and the use of much of the subject-matter of the *Silsilah Mĕlayu dan Bugis* point to his identity with the author of the earlier work. The *Tuhfat* is the most important Malay historical work after the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, and though the writer is handicapped by the quiet seclusion of his home at Riau he endeavours in places to give some of the realistic colour so frequent in the pages of his greater predecessor. Notable is a passage where he describes his father's visit as an envoy to Batavia in 1822, when the Governor-General Baron van der Capellen invited them to a curry tiffin, after which they strolled in the garden and smoked cigars[23] (brought to them stuck each on the branch of a silver tree), until escorted by two outriders in silver breast-plates with bushy beards and moustaches His Excellency drove away in his carriage and four[24]. Unfortunately Raja 'Ali lacks the psychological insight and graphic pen of the author of the *Malay Annals*.

This historian also wrote in 1857 a grammar *Bustan al Katibin.*[25]

Modern Works.

Two chronicles of nineteenth century Johor[26] have been published, one by Haji Muhammad Said, who has also compiled a Malay dictionary in Malay, and another by Muhammad bin Haji Elias. Two histories of Kedah[27] have also appeared, romantic and unreliable on the past but containing useful *data* for modern times. So, too, there have been two histories of Kelantan, that contain folk-lore and valuable

material on a state of which little is known. None of them display the literary ability of the author of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* or of 'Abdu'llah Munshi.

There are many chronicles of places in the archipelago: chronicles of Banjarmasin[28], Kutai[29] and Sambas[30], of Ternate and the Moluccas, of Bandong and Preanger, of Palembang, Tambusi and Bangkahulu (Bencoolen). None are written in the classical Malay of the Peninsula, but many of them have identical characteristics, being introduced by flotsam and jetsam of folklore, the *Ramayana* and the *Panji* tales.

Notes

1. See Bottoms, J C, 1962, 1965; Brown C C, 1948; Kamaruzzaman Shariff, 1963-4; Mohd Khalid Taib, 1982; Mohd Taib Osman, 1968(b); T Iskandar, 1967, 1968, 1969; Winstedt, R O, 1949(c), 1961(b); Yusof Iskandar, 2972, 2976, 2978.
2. To read *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*.
3. See Devic, L, 1878; Henry, J S, 1979; Hill, A H, 1960, 1963; Jones, Russel, 1980; Marre, A, 1874(b); Mead, J P, 1914; Roolvink, R, 1954, 1965(a); Sweeny, Amin; 1967(a); Teeuw, A, 1964(b); Thomas, Phillip L, 1978; T Iskandar, 1964(b)(c), 1967; Winstedt, R O, 1917, 1938(d); Zainal Abidin Wahid, 1955/6, 1966, 1974.
4. See Josselin de Jong, P E de, 1956; Winstedt, R O, 1917(c) for detailed accounts of place names.
5. See Kratz, Ernst Ulrich, 1989.
6. See Stutterheim, W, 1936.
7. For a full discussion of the variant versions of the *Malay Annals* see Roolvink, R, 1967. See equally Blagden, C O, 1925; Brown, C C 1952; Dulaurier, M ed, 1849(a); Gibson, H C A, 1956; Josselin de Jong, P E De, 1961, 1964, 1969; Klinkert, H C, 1884; Linehan, W, 1947(a)(b), Marre, A, 1874(a); Shellabear, W G, 1896, 1938; Situmorang, T A & Teeuw, A, 1952; Sweeney Amin, 1967(a); Teeuw, A, 1961(b), 1964(b); Winstedt, R O, 1938(f)(h)(i).
8. See Teeuw, A, 1964(b).
9. Brown, C C, 1952, p.166; Shellabear, W G, 1909, p.221.
10. This has been wrongly translated here. Shellabear's text has which means variously — A pen case, inkstand, writing case; See Maulawi Abdul Haq's *Standard Urdu-English Dictionary* (no date).
11. See Teuku Iskandar, 1966; Wilkinson, R J, 1899, 1900.
12. See Winstedt, R O, 1919.
13. The text [p.118, verse 12, lines 2-3] has "Hidup pun sarupa dengan Keluang; Tambahan diam di awang-awang".
14. The text [p.118, verse 3, last line] has "Hidup umpama sa-helai sampah".
15. The text (p.165, verse 5, line 3) has however — Cherus-chĕris.
16. See Abdullah Haji Musa, 1965; Blagden, C O, 1918; Low, James, 1908; Maier, H M J, 1988; Maxwell, W E, 1882; Mohamad Noro Agam, 1959; Siti Hawa Salleh, 1970; Sturrock, A J, 1916; Winstedt, R O, 1936, 1938(e).

17. This is extracted from Winstedt, R O, 1938(e), p.31.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.* p.31, 3rd para and 5th para.
20. This equally based on Winstedt, R O, 1938(e), p.32.
21. See Andaya, Leonard Y, 1975; Kratz, E U, 1973; Neiman, G K, 1907 (vol. 8, pp. 120-140); Winstedt, R O, 1932(b)(d).
22. See Andaya, Barhara Watson, 1976; Beardow; Ted, 1986, Matheson, Virginia, 1971, 1972(a)(b); Maxwell W E, 1890(a); Mohd Taib Osman, 1964-5; Munir bin Ali, 1965; Netscher, E, 1854, 1848; Norduyn J, 1988; Overbeck, Hans, 1926(b); Perlas, Christian, 1975; Sweeney, Amin, 1967(b)(c).
23. The text however as "rokok" — cigarettes. For 'silver breast-plates" read "silver-like breast-plates" (baju lamina sĕperti perak).
24. See Matheson, Virginia, 1972(b), pp. 286-287.
25. His other important work is *Thamarat al-Muhimah diyafah i'l Umara wa'l Kubara li-Ahl Muhakamah*. Lingga, Govt Press, 1304 A H.
26. See Hj Muh Said b Haji Sulaiman, 1920; Ismail Hussein, 1963(a)(b); Mohd Khalid Saidin, 1971; Muhammad bin Haji Elias, 1928.
27. Muhamad Hasan, 1928; Wan Yahya, 1911. On *Kelantan* see Haji Nek Mahmud 1934; Marriot, B, 1915, *Salasilah Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan;* on *Perak*, see Abdullah Hj Musa, 1959.
28. See Cense, A A, 1928; Ras, J J, 1968.
29. See Mees, C A 1935; Ronkel, Ph S Van, 1935.
30. See Netscher, E, 1853(b).

Chapter 11

Digests of Law[1]

The development of Muslim sway over peoples of different races and civilisations led to the introduction in Muslim countries of special *kanun*,[2] that is, canon or digests of customary law, which stood apart from *shari'a* or religious law. Under the influence of Muslim pundits, Malacca, perhaps first of all Malay kingdoms, compiled such a digest called *Risalat Hukum Kanun* or *Undang-Undang Mĕlaka*,[3] a digest that in practice was no more than a book of reference liable to have its provisions overruled by any strong Sultan or ingenious or obsequious Judge. It has survived in manuscripts written at Riau, some of them in the time of Sultan Sulaiman Shah, who reigned a puppet of Bugis overlords from 1721 to 1760. Later copyists ascribe the digest to Mahmud, last Sultan of Malacca (1488-1511), but the *Malay Annals* and five manuscripts of laws are almost certainly right in saying that it was compiled by Muzaffar Shah (r. 1446-56) who would have had every reason to try to adapt Islamic law to the diverse practices of his ancestors.

This Malacca digest has enjoyed great popularity and is found over a wide range. Copies have been collected from Riau and Pahang, Pontianak and Brunei; the copy from Brunei, dated 1709, is said to contain laws formerly in force and was quoted in a modern case of a claim to fruit trees.

The Malacca digest exhibits no clear division between constitutional, criminal and civil law. It jumbles regulations for court etiquette, criminal law, the jurisdiction of the ruler and his ministers, the law for fugitive slaves, the law of libel, the law of contract affecting the hire of slaves and animals, the penalties for *lèse majesté* and the breach of betrothal agreements, the usufruct of fruit-trees and rice-fields, trespasses and wounding by domestic animals, the offence of selling into slavery a person who has entered service to escape death from starvation or shipwreck, the fencing and dyking of fields, the law of debt, the penalties for stealing the slaves of owners of various ranks. It starts with Hindu royalty's prescriptions and goes on to copy Hindu Law and lay down the death penalty for ten offences, allowing like Hindu law the milder alternative of scalping or tongue-cutting for betrayers of royal commands. Generally the digest is marked by inconsistencies that would let an autocratic ruler follow customary Hindy or Muslim law as he pleased. One section that is of interest to students of language runs:—

> *Fasal yang kĕdua pada mĕnyatakan hukum bahasa sĕgala raja-raja itu, lima pĕrkara yang tiada bĕroleh kita mĕnurut kata itu melainkan Raja yang kĕrajaan juga, pĕrtama-tama* titah, *kĕdua* patek, *kĕtiga* murka, *kĕĕmpat* kurnia, *kĕlima* anugerah.

Another digest ascribed to Sultan Mahmud of Malacca deals with maritime law. A fragment printed by de Hollander begins: "These were the customs of old when Malacca was still a powerful kingdom under Sultan Mahmud caliph of the faithful; for that reason old sea-captains have written down this law for the use of their descendants to-day," and it is doubtful if the statement in the oldest version of the *Malay Annals* that it was Sultan Mudzaffar who *mĕnyuroh mĕnyurat kitab undan-undang*[4] *supaya jangan lagi bĕrsalahan sĕgala hukum mĕntĕri-nya* covers these maritime laws as well as the Malacca Digest. To the *Asiatic Researches* of 1816[5] (Vol. 12, art. 2, signed Thomas Raffles), Sir Stamford Raffles contributed a translation of a manuscript of these laws, in which it is stated that two persons Pati Seturun and Pati Elias consulted Nakhodas (or Captains) Zainal, Dewa and Isahak and having compiled this code took it to the Bendahara sri Maharaja (or according to another MS. Sri Nara 'diraja), who got Sultan Mahmud to sanction it. Nakhoda Zainal was given the title of Sang Utama 'diraja and Nakhoda Isahak that of Sang Setia 'diraja, or, according to another MS., Sang Boya (? Bijaya) 'diraja and 'dipati Shah respectively. The digest was adopted by the Bugis and Macassar traders. There are many MSS. at Leiden, Batavia and London. The topics of the code are the authority and duties of officers and crew, regulations for the safety of a ship at sea (including the provision of an opium-pipe to keep the watch awake), the discarding of cargo in storms, the shares of trade allowed to officers and crews in port, fares, rescues and salvage, mutiny, sexual offences, assaults and thefts on board.

Pahang Laws

Next in age is a short digest compiled in 1596 for 'Abd al-Ghaffar, a Sultan of Pahang. It is tolerant of homicide in cases not condoned by Muhammadan law and prescribes tortures and punishments that are a legacy from Hindu times. The first part is followed by an orthodox Sunni supplement of unknown but early date that made the whole digest a text-book not only for Pahang but for Perak and Johor.

Kedah Laws

As a state in close touch with Sumatra, especially Acheh, it is not surprising that after the fall of Malacca Kedah became particularly rich in legal digests. The oldest recorded is dated A.D. 1650 and deal with port laws, which resemble closely those of the Great Moguls recorded in the *Tarikh-i Tahiri*. They include such topics as the poll-tax on immigrants, port-dues on ships from Kalinga and Gujerat, the collection by the harbour-master of money due to trading captains, ships' manifests, duties on slaves and tin, fees for port-clearance, the policing of the port, standard weights and measures, the reception of envoys and their missives.

Another set of laws *(tĕmbĕra)*, dated A.D. 1667, starts with enforcing a register of thieves, gamblers, cock-fighters, opium-smugglers, drunkards and worshippers of trees and rocks, with the penalty for not attending the mosque and with the necessity of paying tithes. Sales should be certified by a headman. A tax must be paid for slaughtering cattle. Several sections deal with buffaloes damaging rice-fields,

with buffaloes wounding one another, with trespass and wandering at night and with access roads.

A so-called *Hukum Kanun Dato' Star* is undated and deals only with the ceremonial privileges of bridegrooms and the dead and with court etiquette. *Undang-Undang* dated A.D. 1784 are a hotch-potch of court etiquette, the first twenty-three sections of Malacca's *Kanun*, a few pages on marriage, divorce, adultery and commerce, and finally the Malacca maritime code. Another copy of Kedah laws was written down for Raffles and is in the Batavian library. Yet another is in the library of the School of Oriental Studies, London.

Perak Laws

The fullest and most interesting of these laws, the *Ninety-Nine Laws of Perak*, purport to have been brought to Malaya in the seventeenth century by a Sayid Husain al-Faradz of the great Hadramaut house of Ahmad bin Isa al-Mohajir, and to have been used by his descendants, who from the middle of the eighteenth century held the post of Mantri in Perak for several generations. Seeing that these laws are written down in the form of questions by Nushirwan to his minister Buzurgmihr, it looks as if these legal notes were put together under that Persian influence which came from India. By way of impressing the unsophisticated, there are references to lions and camels, but the trail of non-Muslim native custom is over most sections. A piece of a man's trousers as proof of paternity, the fining or putting away privily of a man suspected but not proved guilty of murder, the payment of compensation instead of the death sentence for murder, the return of house and land and kitchen utensils to the woman and of debts and dues and weapons to the man in the case of divorce, all these belong to Malay customary law. Local, too, are the sections dealing with rice-fields, goats, buffaloes and elephants, and the fees of a shaman for cleansing a parish! Such laws would make the Hadramaut gape and stare but they afford an interesting side-light on the adoption of Islam by the Malays. Like other Malay laws they do not claim to be a national code: the Ninety-Nine Laws are 'merely a book of reference kept by a private family and used by members of that family when called upon to advise the Sultan on legal issues.'

In the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, there are many MSS. of digests collected by Sir Stamford Raffles and Sir William Maxwell that await comparative study. From one formerly belonging to Sultan Ja'afar of Perak Sir William has published sections dealing with land tenure. He published also extracts on slavery from a code known as the *Undang-Undang kĕrajaan* or *Undang-Undang Dua-bĕlas*. It clearly goes back to the beginning of the eighteenth century when in Perak as elsewhere in the Peninsula, Minangkabaus and Bugis clashed. The digest attempts to adapt Minangkabau law to a patrilineal state. There is no description of the matrilineal system and no attempt to treat the Perak people like the exogamous tribes of Negri Sembilan. The Minangkabau system of fines instead of heavier penalties is prescribed, and there are no severer punishments for offences against royalty.

Laws of Johor

A translation of a Johor digest of 1789 was printed in Logan's *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* by Thomas Braddell 9, 1855, art. IV). It is based on the Malacca *Hukum Kanun* and on the maritime digest ascribed to the time of Sultan Mahmud, but the provisions of the earlier digests have been expanded and refined. For example the last section reads: "if a man fish at the bow of a vessel while at anchor with a hook and line, and the line be carried down towards the stern and be grasped by any one and the fisherman mistake the resistance for a fish and pull and the person be hooked, such person shall become his property, even if it be the commander's concubine."

So much has been done by the *Commissie voor het adatrecht* in publishing the legal digests of Sumatra and other parts of the Malay Archipelago, that their description here would require a volume to itself. Several digests from the Malay Peninsula have been prined in recent years, but others still unpublished remain in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, in London.

Notes

1. See the following works: Abu Hassan Sham, 1973(a)(b), 1974, 1975; Buxbaum, David C, 1968; Caldecott, A, 1918; Drewes, G W J & Voorhoeve, P, 1958; Emmanuels, H W, 1964; Hooker, M B, 1968, 1970, 1972, 1976; Kempe, John E, 1952; Liaw Yock Fang, 1967, 1973. 1975, 1976(a)(b); Maxwell, W E, 1884, 1890(b); Radja Labih, 1922; Raffles, T S, 1818; Rigby, J, 1929; Ronkel, Ph. S van, 1919(c), 1929(b), 1935; Wilkinson, R J, 1908; Winstedt, R O, 1923(c), 1928(b), 1945, 1953(a)(b); Winstedt R O & Josselin de Jong, P E de, 1954, 1956; Winstedt, R O & S Kempe, 1948; Zuber Usman, 1962.
2. See "Kanun" *Ency of Islam*, vol. IV, (London/Leiden, 1975, pp. 556-562).
3. The most complete and up to date critical edition is that by Dr Liaw Yock Fang, 1976(a).
4. Read *"kitab undang-undang"*.
5. Read 1818.

Chapter 12

Munshi 'Abdu'llah[1]

One of the greatest innovators in Malay letters, 'Abdu'llah bin 'Abdu l-Kadir, came of stock and surroundings that had for centuries produced Malay writers. His great-grandfather was an Arab from Yaman, a teacher of Arabic and religion, who migrated to Nagore and married a Tamil woman[2]. Of their sons, one settled in Amboina, two in Java[3], and the fourth, 'Abdu'llah's grandfather, went to Malacca and married a lady of his own mixed blood, who was head teacher in its Tamil settlement, Kampong Pali, where two hundred children, boys and girls, studied the Kuran, and, if they wished, learnt to read and write Malay. The sons of the marriage grew up linguists, conversant with Malay, Tamil and some Arabic. One of them, 'Abdu'l-Kadir, the father of 'Abdu'llah, combined trading and teaching, taught Malay to William Marsden the lexicographer, and then going inland married a wife at Sungai Baharu, whom he divorced as the climate of her village did not suit him. After that, he got a job with the Dutch harbour-master at Malacca and in 1785 married a Malacca-born Muslim, grand-daughter of a Hindu from Kedah[4]. They had four children, all of whom died in infancy, and then in 1796 'Abdu'llah[5]. The English having taken over the settlement. 'Abdu'l-Kadir traded again, between Malacca and Siak. Later he beame captain of a government sailing vessel plying to Kedah and went on official errands to Lingga, Riau, Pahang, Trengganu, Kelantan, Palembang and even Java. He collected Malay MSS. for the Batavian government and for three years was interpreter and Malay writer at Riau, till finally he retired to Malacca, where he and his wife both died in 1816. His career is interesting, because substantially it was what the career of his greater son was to be.[6].

Having mastered the Kuran and Arabic, that son 'Abdu'llah devoted two and a half years to learning Tamil, then three or four years to studying Hindustani with sepoys in the British forces at Malacca, and finally some years to acquiring Malay.[7] At that time there were only a few men in the port expert at writing Malay, four of them of foreign extraction and four Malays, while of the younger generation the only student of the language was 'Abdu'llah[8]. As a child he earned pocket money by assisting school-fellows at their Arabic lessons; then he earned his keep and got lessons in Hindustani by writing Kurans for the sepoys; then he assisted his father in his business of writing letters and contracts.[9] In 1811 Raffles, afterwards founder of Singapore, came to Malacca to prepare for the British expedition against Java. In addition to a Malay clerk of Tamil blood, whom he had brought from Penang, he employed 'Abdu'llah, his two uncles and a Tambi Ahmad bin Naina Marikan of Malacca to write letters to native rulers, copy and collect Malay manuscripts and

write articles on Malay idioms and poetry.[10] Of manuscripts, 'Abdu'llah tells us, Raffles got about 360 besides poems, verses and occasional pieces, while others he borrowed and had copied. 'Abdu'llah was to give afterwards in his autobiography, the *Hikayat 'Abdu'llah*, a life-like portrait of his greatest patron, how, for example, he hated the smell of durians and how with eyes closed he would lie flat on his back on the table in his study after dinner, then leap down suddenly and start writing. On the kindness and grace of Mrs. Raffles the young clerk composed some halting verses. 'Abdu'llah wanted to follow Raffles to Java but his mother objected; so Raffles took his uncle Isma'il Lebai, who died at Batavia within a month[11].

A Protestant clergyman, Mr. Milne, came to Malacca, and 'Abdu'llah became *munshi* to him and other missionaries, learning from them English and from their Chinese teacher some Cantonese. Later, when the Anglo-Chinese mission acquired a hand-press, he translated and printed the Ten Commandments, a Vocabulary in Malay and English, an arithmetic, a book of conversations with a washerman and a shoemaker and so on, and several school books. He also helped a German missionary, Mr. Thomsen, in a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew and of the Acts of the Apostles, but Mr. Thomsen obstinately refused to adopt Malay idioms and spelling[12].

The Dutch returned to Malacca and early in 1822, some three years after the founding of Singapore 'Abdu'llah removed there with the Rev. Mr. Thomsen, becoming a writer of Malay letters and business documents for the many English and Chinese merchants newly arrived at the port[13]. Here he again met Raffles, and packed in three chests six feet long the Malay MSS.[14] which were subsequently lost in the burning of the *Fame*.

'Abdu'llah, too, was later to lose all his belongings in a fire at Singapore, when he leapt out of his window from a bed of sickness and forgetting his fever ran out, noting every incident on scraps of Chinese paper to work them up into his *Sha'ir Singapura* (or *Kampong Gĕlam*) *Tĕrbakar*[15], It was when Colonel Butterworth was governor:—

The Governor a man of merit and worth!
The wells were bone dry and of water a dearth
But he ordered the firemen the hose to undo
While hunting for water they ran to and fro.
With green umbrella came the Governor there;
Rushing around he'd crane and he'd stare.
Perspiring he cared not a jot for the dirt,
Though the smoke of the burning was soiling his shirt.

From time to time 'Abdu'llah would return to Malacca for a few months to help the missionaries at the Anglo-Chinese College study Malay and to set up Malay translations at their printing-press. For three years he stayed there assisting Newbold to compile his well-known book and helping Begbie a little in his work on *The Malayan Peninsula*. He was in Malacca during the Naning war in 1831 and it was there that in 1835 in collaboration with a Tamil friend he translated the *Panchatanderan* or Tamil version of the *Panchatantra* into Malay under the title of

Hikayat Galilah dan Daminah.[16] Going again to Singapore he translated the rules for the Chamber of Commerce at the request of Edward Boustead but once more returned to Malacca on account of the illness of a daughter. She died and to allay his grief he composed a tract *Dawa'i Kulub* or *Salve for hearts*.[17] Hearing of the arrival of American missionaries and curious to meet a people new to him he sailed again to Singapore and took up his accustomed work[18]. In 1838 he visited the east coast of the Malay Peninsula taking letters from Singapore merchants to the ruler of Kelantan; his experiences he recorded in his *Kesah Pĕlayaran 'Abdu'llah*.[19] On his return he settled down at Singapore, helped in a revision of the Gopsel of St. John and edited the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*.[20] In 1840 his wife died in Malacca and he removed permanently to Singapore, helping the missionary Keasbery in the preparation of a Malay hymn-book, a geography, a translation of *Little Henry and His Nurse* and of a *Kĕjadian Isa*, and in a revision of the *Kitab Injil*, in which he regrets he was not allowed a free hand[21].

His *Autobiography*, the best record of Malayan events of his period, was finished in 1843 and lithographed in 1849: with its vivid sketches of Raffles and other English officials its interesting picture of Malay life, its naive admiration for gas, steamships, photography and other inventions of the day, its account of his own itinerant career, it has been deservedly a popular book for generations of European students of Malay though viewed as an historical record of his times, it is not always free from error. Like it, his other well-known work, *The Voyage of 'Abdu'llah*, has been frequently printed and widely read for the light a skilled journalist and sententious critic throws on the turbulent life in the Malay States of the east coast in the years before British protection. In 1854 'Abdu'llah sailed on the pilgrimage to Mecca, with the intention of travelling on to see Constantinople. Indefatigable still, he left notes of his voyage as far as Jeddah, incomplete because a little later he died at Mecca; it is said, of plague. His notes were brought back by a friend and were published under the title *Kesah Pĕlayaran 'Abdu'llah ka-nĕgĕri Jĕddah*.[22].

'Abdu'llah is master of an easy colloquial Malay style, taking as his model the conversational passages in the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, which he edited. His vocabulary is very large, making his works difficult for beginners. His style, easy as it is, is not as impeccable as that of the author of the *Malay Annals*. Probably acquaintance with English made him too fond of abstract nouns, while his acquaintance with foreign grammar led him to employ many idioms not in accordance with the spirit of the Malay language. Nowhere in classical Malay would one find sentences like *sĕgala hal ahual mĕreka itu sakalian sĕntiasa bĕrsama-sama dĕngan aku*, whatever that may mean to a Malay ignorant of English, or like *tiada-lah kapada timbangan dan kĕnangan atas ra'ayat-nya*, where the real Malay idiom would write something like *tiada-lah ia mĕngĕnangkan ra'ayat-nya atau mĕnimbangkan hal-nya*. Still these are specks in a sun. Only when one reflects on the amount of unintelligible translation from the English that appears in the vernacular press and elsewhere to-day, can one realize the pains taken by a scholar with few and inferior dictionaries and grammars to help him, and appreciate the genuine greatness of his literary talent. His works, though criticised for Anglophile bias have been an inspiration to generations of Malays. Foreigner though he was, he led them back from an arid desert of euphuism

and imitation of foreign models to a realism that had started in the fifteenth century and is in accord with the genius of a race of extroverts.

Notes

1. See the following works: Abdullah Abdulkadir Munshi 1837, 1838, 1848; Byrd, C K, 1970; Cabaton, A, 1911; Cense, A A, 1954; Coope, A E, 1949; Dulaurier, M Ed, 1849(b); Favre, L'Abbé, P, 1883; Gibson-Hill, C A, 1955; Hill, A H, 1950, 1955; *Hikayat Pandji Tanderan*, Leiden, 1913; Kassim Ahmad, 1960(a), 1961(b); Keasberry, 1854, 1889; Milner, A C, 1890; Mohd Taib Osman, 1964(b), 1974(a), 1980; Roolvink, R and R A Datok Besar, 1953; Skinner, C, 1965, 1973, 1977, 1978, 1983; Teeuw, A, 1967; Thomson, J T, 1874; Traill, H F O B, 1979, 1981, 1982.
2. See *Hikayat Abdullah*, 1849, p.6.
3. *Ibid*, line 7 has *Semarang*, سمارغ and not "Sumatra" as given in Hill, A H, 1955 (p. 31, line 17).
4. See *Hikayat Abdullah*, 1849, p. 7-9.
5. See *ibid*, p.13.
6. See *ibid*, p. 10-12.
7. See *ibid*, p. 39.
8. See *ibid*, pp. 45-46.
9. *Ibid*, pp. 42-44.
10. *Ibid*, pp. 80-81, Hill, A H, 1955, (p. 75, line 10) has "Nina" for "Naina".
11. See *ibid*, pp. 88, 92, 93, 126. Begin a new paragraph after "... a month".
12. See *ibid.*, pp. 126-175, begin a new paragraph here.
13. See *ibid*, p. 180.
14. See *ibid*, p. 265.
15. See Hill, A H, 1955, p. 331, 332, 333. In actual fact, there were two separate fires — one in 1830, the other in 1847 in which Abdullah lost all his belongings. Winstedt appears to have lumped them together here. For a full discussion on this see Hill, A H, 1955 (p. 242, note 15).
16. See Abdullah, 1849, p. 386.
17. See *ibid*, p. 387, 395.
18. See *ibid*,, p. 397.
19. See *ibid*, p. 402.
20. *Ibid*,, p. 403.
21. *Ibid*, pp. 405-407.
22. This is based on Klinkert H C, 1889, which has at the bottom of p. 107, the following:

بهوا اين سورت يغ اسقر درفد سكل سورت يغ د كارغكن اوله عبدالله بن عبدالقادر منشي سد يكة
هاك كمدين درفد صفي دمكه مانيله اي دسان كات اورغ سبب كنا فباكت طاعون مك سنورغ
صحابتن سدغ عما و سورت قصه فلابرن اين كسلت دصفيكتن كفد سكل سانق سودار عبد الله

Chapter 13

Malay Poetry

(a) Rhythmical Verse.[1]

The poetry of Beowulf is in language abrupt and rudely phrased; its lines, rhythmical but not metrical, are padded with stock tags, which the reciter employed to keep the narrative marching when inspiration or memory flagged. More or less uniform in length, the lines of Old English poetry could rarely be scanned and appear to be based on accents that occur with fair regularity. Anglo-Saxon verse, therefore, was very similar to the rugged rhythmical verse that seems to have been the Malay's first essay in poetry, a form still chanted by the medicine-man in his incantations and preserved in the legal maxims, songs of origin and rhapsodist tales of the Minangkabaus, who in their highland Sumatran home were slow to become literate and late to adopt Islam and the Perso-Arabic script, so that even their version of the story of the Queen of Sheba takes the form of a rhythmical recital.

The earliest specimen of this rhythmical verse (now known by the Tamil name of *gurindam*) to which an approximate date can be assigned occurs in certain passages of the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, a Sumatran work written between 1350 and 1450:—

Ayohai dara Zulaikha tingkap!
Bangun apa-lah ĕngkau!
Asal-mu orang tĕrjunan pangiran!
Karna ĕngkau penghulu gundek-ku,
Bĕrgĕlar Tun Derma 'dikara.
Bangun apa-lah ĕngkau!
Tidak-kah dĕngar bunyi
Gĕndĕrang pĕrang di-Tukasan
Palu taboh-tabohan?
Hari dinihari, bulan pun tĕrang.

Ho! maid, Zulaikha of the window!
Awake thou! Awake!
Child of those who cast their bodies
Into death fire for their chieftain!
Thou art guardian of my women,
Thou entitled Tun Derma 'dikara.
Awake thou! Awake!
Dost thou not hear the thudding
Of the war-drums at Tukasan,

Beaten thudding thud on thud
At dawn of day in the light of the moon?

One may compare this passage, which in rhapsodist style is repeated twice in the *Hikayat*, with any passage from the well known Minangkabau tale, *Chindur Mato*, that is still recited from start to finish in rhythmical verse —

Hĕndak kamano hang Barakat?
Apo-kah titah Bundo Kanduang?
Atau-kah sampai ajal dinai?
Sampai bilangan sa-hari-ko?

Whither, captain, do you hurry
What is Bonda Kandong's order?
Has it come, my fated hour
Is my tale of days accomplished

Or take some more lines from the *Chindur Mato*—

Taraju nan tida' banan,
Naracho nan tida' palingan,
Nan bĕrchupa, nan bĕrgantang.

lines of which the Minangkabaus of Negri Sembilan use a variant to describe a bench of judges, having full authority, swayed only by the weight of evidence and holding the scales of justice even. For allusiveness is the note of all rhythmical verse as also of the *pantun*.

Some even of these tribal sayings rise to poetry in their heightened way of description:—

Hĕndak mĕnchari pamah yang lĕbar,
Hĕndak mĕnchari sungai yang mĕlurut,
Mĕminum ayĕr bungkul.
Bĕralas tidor daun lĕrĕk,
Bĕrbantalkan banir durian.

We would seek a spacious valley,
We would look for water courses,
Tho' we tap the palm for water,
Sleep with rustling leaves beneath us.
A tree buttress for our pillow.

In origin many must antedate Islam which came late to the highlands of Sumatra, but they have kept pace with the times as, for example, in a Negri Sembilan description of the microcosm on which Allah modelled this macrocosm, the world, a description almost identical in content and rhythm with a passage in a Selangor medicine-man's charm-book:—

Allah bĕlum bĕrnama Allah,
Muhammad bĕlum bĕrnama Nabi;
Bumi bĕlum bĕrnama bumi,

Bumi bĕrnama pusat nĕgĕri;
Langit bĕlum bernama langit,
Langit bĕrnama payong nĕgĕri;
Bumi itu sa-gĕdang talam,
Langit itu sa-gĕdang payong.

Ere Allah yet was known as Allah,
Or Muhammad as His prophet,
Ere earth had got the name of earth,
When earth was tiny as a navel:
Ere sky was designated sky,
When it was but a world's umbrella,
Earth no bigger than a salver,
Sky no larger than a sunshade.

Though the rhythm sometimes limps or fails, these incantations often rank with genuine imaginative poetry. There is the magnificent vaunting in a Malay medicine-man's charm for courage:—

Aku bĕsi! Tulang aku tĕmbaga!
Aku bĕrnama harimau Allah!

Of iron am I! My bones of brass!
My name is the Tiger of God!

Or there is the address of a Kelantan tapper to the seven souls of the coconut palm:

As-salam alaikum
Putĕri si-tokong beser!
Si-gĕdabah mayang!
Putĕri tujoh
Dara dang mayang
Mari kĕchil ka-mari!
Mari sĕnik ka-mari!
Mari burong ka-mari!
Mari halus ka-mari!
Aku memaut lĕhĕr-mu!
Aku mĕnyanggul rambut-mu!
Aku mĕmbawa sadap gading
Akan mĕmbasoh muka-mu,
Sadap gading mĕranchong kamu,
Kacha gading mĕndahkan-mu,
Kolam gading mĕnanti di-bawah-mu;
Bĕrtĕpok bĕrkĕchar di-dalam kolam gading,
Kolam bĕrnama Maharaja bĕrsalin.

Queens of shorn and dripping locks!
Tired your tresses with palm-blossom!
Seven maiden palm princesses!
Greetings be unto you!

Hither my little ones!
Hither my dainty ones!
Hither soft birdlings!
I bend back the necks of you!
Roll up the folds of the locks of you!
Behold an ivory blade for your cleansing,
An ivory blade to shorten your tresses,
An ivory bath awaiting beneath you!
Clap hands and laugh in ivory bath,
Bath of princesses changing their garments.

This rhythmical verse reached its greatest height in lines of realism combined with an Elizabethan exuberance of imagination, lines like those just quoted or like those in many passages in Malay folk romances. To take examples at random. In the *Hikayat Maalim Dewa* there is a description of trousers of shot silk embroidered with glass plaques and of a coat of foreign muslin:—

Sĕluar intan di-karang,
Karangan Hassan dĕngan Husain;
Jikalau di-tiup angin sĕlatan,
Mĕnghabis tahun, bĕrkaleh musim,
Bukan-nya kain di-bawah angin,
Kain kĕlambu Rasul Allah.

Trousers beaded o'er with brilliants,
Patterns matching one the other
As Hassan matched his brother Husain:
Let the south wind blow upon them,
Season changes, the year is over.
The muslim was not from our countries;
'Twas muslin used by Allah's Prophet
For the curtains of his bedstead.

Or, again, there are descriptions of a squall, and of the seven winds:—

Pĕrtama angin si-charek kafan,
Kĕdua angin tajam tĕmilang,
Kĕtiga angin puting bĕliong,
Kĕĕmpat bĕdil bĕrjanggut,
Kĕlima payong 'Ali,
Kĕĕnam si-lautan tulang
Kĕtujoh si-hampar rĕbah.

Wind would tear a dead man's shroud,
Wind as sharp as edge of spade,
Wind as keen as tip of axe,
Wind that swoops like bearded shot,
Wind umbrella-like in form,
Wind that fills the sea with bones,
Wind that levels all before it.

Whether he is describing a storm or a kitchen, a pattern in silk, a port, or a girl firing a blunderbuss, the Malay rhapsodist has a keen eye for detail, which is, as it were, fused in the magnificence of the rhodomontade. The most famous of all this rhythmical verse is a description of early morning, where apart from the borrowed figure of "the curtain of the dawn" the effect is gained by an accumulation of familiar detail:—

Tĕngah malam sudah tĕrlampau,
Dinihari belumlagi tampak,
Budak-budak dua kali jaga;
Orang muda pulang bĕrtandang;
Orang tua bĕrkaleh tidor;
Embun jantan rintek-rintek;
Berbunyi kuang jauh ka-tengah,
Sĕring-lanting riang di-rimba,
Mĕlĕngoh lĕmbu di-padang,
Sambut mĕnguak kĕrbau di-kandang,
Bĕrkokok mandong, mĕrak mĕngigal,
Fajar sadi' mĕnyengseng naik;
Kichak-kichau bunyi murai,
Taptibau mĕlambong tinggi,
Mĕnguku balam di-ujong bunyi,
Tĕrdĕngut puyoh panjang bunyi,
Puntong sa-jĕngkal tinggal sa-jari:
Itu-lah 'alamat hari 'nak siang.

Long had passed the hour of midnight:
Not yet visible the daylight;
Twice ere now had waking infants
Risen and sunk again in slumber;
Truant youths were wending homeward;
Wrapped in sleep were all the elders;
Far away were pheasants calling;
In forest depths the shrill cicada
Chirped as heavy dew descended;
Lowed the oxen in the meadows,
Buffaloes from byres responded;
Peacocks spread their tails at cock-crow,
Up rolled the curtain of Aurora;
Magpie robins 'gan to chirrup,
Now aloft were nightjars soaring,
Pigeons cooed upon the threshold,
fitful came the quail's low murmur;
Foot-long brands had burned to inches—
These the signs of day approaching.

But like our own Elizabethans the Malay villager was not content with his own 'native wood-notes wild' and, just as we welcomed a Renaissance that came through

Italy from Greece and Rome, so 'up rolled the curtain of Aurora' and the Malay welcomed a Renaissance that came through India from Persia and Arabia.

Rhapsodist recitations left to Malay prose a legacy of balance and antithesis, like the antiphons of the Psalms, a device due not only to the need of chanting passages twice over for the ears of an audience liable to inattention but also to the relief afforded to a reciter, whose memory and inventiveness could not be at full stretch all the time.

(b) The Sha'ir.[2]

While on analogy one may surmise that rhythmical verse was the earliest form of Malay poetry. The oldest form of which we have authentic record is a type of verse in the Upajati measure of Sanskrit verse on a tombstone found at Minye Tujoh in Acheh, between the rivers of Pasai and Jambu Ayer, rivers mentioned in the *Chronicles of Pasai*. The inscription is in an Indian alphabet having a strong affinity with the alphabet found on inscriptions of the Sumatran king, Adityavarman of Malayu, and it records the death of *Friday 14 Dzu'l-hijjah* in A.H. 781, that is A.D. 1380, of a princess of the Muslim Faith, of a royal house that ruled Kedah and Pasai. The reading is in places uncertain as also is the connection of this tombstone with another found at the same spot recording in Arabic the death on *Friday 14 Dzu'l-hijjah* A.H. 791, that is A.D. 1389, of a 'Queen Alalah(?), daughter of the late Sultan Malik az-Zahir, a former Khan, son of his father the Khan of Khans — may Allah cover him with His satisfaction.' It would appear that the two inscriptions refer to the same person. I quote the transliteration and translation by Dr. W. F. Stutterheim as amended by G. E. Marrison:—

1. *Hijrat nabi mungstapa yang prasaddha*
2. *Tujoh ratus asta puloh savarssa*
3. *Hajji catur dan dasa vara sukra*
4. *Raja iman (vara) di-rahmatallah*
5. *Gutra Bhasa pihak Kadah Pase ma*
6. *Taruk kayu tasih tanah samuha*
7. *Ilahi ya rabbi tuhan samuha*
8. *Taroh dalam svargga tuhan tatuha.*

Mungstapa stands for the Arabic *mustafa; prasadda* must be *prasiddha* 'deceased': *vara* in line 4 might be read *varda*. The lines may be translated:—

1. After the flight of the honoured Prophet, she who died
2. In the year seven hundred and eighty-one,
3. In the month Dzu'lhijjah, on the fourteenth, a Friday
4. The faithful queen consort was received into the mercy of God.
5. Of the Bhasa clan, owning Kedah and Pasai,
6. With all their fields and woods, seas and lands.
7. O God, Lord and Master of all,
8. Keep our exalted mistress in heaven.

Compare these verses with the beginning of the *Sha'ir Ken Tambuhan*, and the difference in metre will be apparent:

Dĕngarkan tuan kĕsah bĕrmula,
Chĕritĕra-nya ratu di-Jĕnggala,
Asal-nya dari Bĕtara Kala,
Nĕgĕri-nya bĕsar tidak bĕrchĕla.

This *sha'ir* goes back to the Panji cycle. None of the MSS. of the *Sha'ir Ken Tambuhan* may be very old, but in spite of Arabic loan-words the poem has all the marks of the spacious days of the fifteenth century, Kawi words like *lalangun* 'garden,' Javanese forms like *ngambara* and *ngulurkan*, a copious vocabulary, and a knowledge of Hindu mythology with a classic style at times as polished and vigorous as the heroic couplet of Pope but oftener monotonous from trite rhymes.

Sĕdia tĕrdiri di-padang saujana
Dĕngan marah-nya tĕrlalu bena,
Sikap-nya sapĕrti Sang Rajuna
Tatkala mĕmĕchahkan pĕrang Astina.

* * * *

Kĕdua-nya mĕnjĕlis tĕrlalu bena
Sapĕrti Sĕri-Kandi dĕngan Rajuna

* * * *

Asal kĕsoma titian dĕwata,
Kĕmbali-lah paras bagai di-pĕta;
Paras yang mĕnjĕlis pulang-lah sĕdia,
Saparti Bĕtara Kĕrma Wijaya.

The classic style can give nothing better than the fancy and the vowels of *asal kĕsoma titian dewata* 'sprung from a flower on which the gods of fairy-land alighted' on their visits to earth, though one may prefer the homelier nosegays of the village *pantun*.

The gods in this Panji poem are still *dewata mulia raya* and there is no mention of Allah or His Prophet. There are several recensions but the gist of the plot is the same in all. The hero marries Ken Tambuhan, one of his mother's maids but really a princess. Enraged at this frustration of her plan to marry him to a princess of Banjar Kulun, his mother persuades him to go hunting and has Ken Tambuhan decoyed into the forest by a false summons from the hero to come to him. There she is murdered. On his way home the hero sees her body afloat on a raft, and stabs himself. His father impales the murderer and condemns the wicked queen to become keeper of his hounds. There some MSS. stop but in others the king prays and burns incense until Batara Kala restores the dead pair to life—

Malam pun hampir akan siang,
Sĕgala dĕwa-dĕwa habis mĕlayang,
Baginda laksana mĕndam kĕpayang,
Bĕtara Kala pun datang bĕrbayang.

The hero marries his other betrothed. He also goes in quest of the Coco-de-mer *(buah pauh Zanggi)*, which is on an island where lives Kenchana Wati, formerly a fairy Blue Lotus, guarded by a Garuda, once her lover Sangyang Durga Nata. By the Garuda he is captured and imprisoned until his son grows up and rescues him, killing the Garuda by a magic arrow got from a *dewa*, whom the youth had released from tiger form. The most famous passage is near the beginning of the poem and describes the wooing of Ken Tambuhan by the hero when he grasps her shuttle and seizes her hand, and here again as in the bas-reliefs of Javanese sculpture and as in passages from the *Hikayat Pandawa Jaya* we get a note of joy and beauty never again recaptured in Malay literature.

The catalogues show other Malay poems from a Javanese source, a *Sha'ir Damar Bulan*, a *Sha'ir Undakan Agong Udaya*, *Sha'ir Jaran Tamasa*, a *Sha'ir Angreni* unintelligible to Malays, a *Sha'ir Panji Sumirang* spirited but far later in style than the poem on Ken Tambuhan.

Just as the Malay poet has used Javanese romance, so too he has adapted to his purpose the Indian romance of the transition.

The *Sha'ir Si-lindong Dalima* alias *Seri Benian* or *Indera Laksana* contains several of the commonest episodes of the Indian *hikayat*. It opens like the folk-romance of Malim Deman and the *Kedah Annals* with a kingdom, here Bandan Pirus, destroyed by a Garuda. Its ruler Dewa Pri is killed but his daughter Seri Benian is put in an iron chest and his son Bang Sakara in a *bangsi* and both are saved. While Bang Sakara is building a boat for them to leave their devastated home, Seri Benian eats a pomegranate and so conceives, Dewa Laksana having transformed himself into the fruit. She bears a girl child, Si Dang Dalima, whom she puts in a chest; giving it to her brother, she begs him to take it on all his travels but not to open it. She dies and her brother sails to a kingdom whose king has died. He is chosen by that *deus 'ex machina* of Indian folk-lore, a sagacious elephant, to fill vacant throne. He weds the seven daughters of the dead ruler and gives his chest to the youngest and dearest. Her elder sisters, against their consorts' order, open the box and find a lovely girl, whom they ill-treat, lest she win the king's heart. But one day when Bang Sakara is sailing to Tanjong Pura, the kitchen girl begs him to fetch her a black stone and a piece of rattan from Bandu island, predicting storm and contrary winds if he forgets. He does forget and is driven off his course till he fetches the stone and the rattan. Of the rattan the kitchen maid makes a swing, but her ill-treatment continues until one day Bang Sakara discovers she is his niece and hands over his six wives, her tormentors, to become her sluts and servitors, though she soon shows pity and forgives. With her magic stone and rattan she calls up her mother Seri Benian and her father Dewa Laksana. Dewa Laksana worsts the Garuda and restores Seri Benian to her father's kingdom. He gives his daughter in marriage to Raja Udara, son of Raja 'diwangsa, ruler of Tanjong Pura.

Not far removed in plot from the poem on Seri Benian is the long poem on *Bidasari* and it is equally full of Indian folklore. Another Garuda ravages Kambayat (whence Pasai and Malacca bought their tomb-stones) and drives its king and queen into the jungle, where the queen gives birth to a daughter. Unable to carry the child on their flight they leave her beside a river where she is found by a merchant of

Indrapura. He gives the infant to his daughter, who names her Bidasari. Jealous of the girl's beauty, the queen of Indrapura so persecutes her for fear the king may marry her that her foster father builds her a lonely dwelling outside the town. There, however, the king comes hunting and weds her. Meanwhile the king of Kambayat had returned to his kindgom and begotten a son so like Bidasari that her identity is revealed. During the consequent festivities her brother rescues a princess Mandudari from an enchanted castle and marries her.

Other romantic *sha'ir* have more Muslim colouring, and are more suited to modern taste. There is the *Sha'ir 'Abdu'l-Muluk*. This Sultan of Barbary had married his cousin and foster-sister Siti Rahmat. Soon after his succession he visited Ban and married Rafiah, a daughter of its ruler. On his return he was attacked by Shahabu'd-din, Sultan of Hindustan, whose uncle had been imprisoned by the father of 'Abdu'l-Muluk and had died. 'Abd-du'l-Muluk and Rahmat are captured and thrown into prison, Rahmat refusing to wed her captor. Rafiah had escaped into the jungle and in the house of a hermit bore a son. Leaving the infant there she dons male attire and under the name of Dura reaches Hindustan, where finding the people discontented she leads a rebellion, dethrones Shahabu'd-din and throws him into prison where he died. She frees her consort and Rahmat. 'Abdu'l-Muluk becomes king of Hindustan and Rafiah's son 'Abdu'l-Ghani, summoned with the hermit to Hindustan, is chosen to succeed to the throne of Ban.

One can in fact mark the same evolution of sentiment in the many *sha'ir* of this romantic type as in the conventional *hikayat*. Occasionally a prose work like the *Hikayat Indĕraputĕra* or *Hikayat Pĕlandok Jinaka* is versified.

The earliest Malay poems in *sha'ir* form of known date are the religious poems of Hamzah of Barus (pp. 97-99, *supra*), the *Sha'ir Dagang*, *Sha'ir Si Burong Pingai*, *Sha'ir Perahu* and others with arabic names descriptive of their mystic contents, poems that owe a debt to the erotic rhapsodies of Persian mystics and are so full of Arabic words as to be unintelligible to the ordinary Malay. At the same time, as his editor Dr. doorenbos has noticed, Hamzah's poetry is full of tags from the *pantun*. In spite of obscurity these poems struck a new note in Malay poetry and unlike so much of it are sensuous and passionate

Satukan hangat dan dingin,
Tinggalkan loba dan ingin,
Hanchor hĕndak sapĕrti lilin,
Mangka-nya dapat kĕrja-mu lichin.

When heat and cold have become the same,
With greed and desire each an idle name,
And your self's like wax resolved in the flame,
Then smooth in the end you'll find life's game.

Hunuskan pĕdang, bakarkan sarong,
Ithbatkan Allah, nafikan patong,
Laut tauhid yogia kau-harong,
Di-sana-lah ĕngkau tempa bernaung,

Burn the sheathe and draw the blade!
Be idols abandoned and Allah obeyed!
In the ocean of God you must plunge and wade,
For there is your place of protecting shade.

There have been many verses written on religious and moral subjects since the time of Hamzah but none have had his fire and gusto.

Another class of *sha'ir* is the topical. Midway between this class and the romantic stands the famous *Sha'ir Silambari* called also *Sha'ir Sinyor Costa* or *Sinyor Gilang*. 'A trifle but pretty,' it has been termed, and it is alive and vivid and novel in style and topic, being in fact one of the few genuinely Malay works as opposed to translations and adaptations. One of the MSS. which makes the hero a merchant from Batavia was written by Mahmud Badaru'd-din, a Sultan of Palembang who in 1821 was banished to Ternate, but his MS. seems to differ from the version so often lithographed at Singapore and there appears insufficient reason to decide that he was the original author. The poem is in colloquial Malay, employing words like *bilang* for 'tell' and it has one or two Batavian words like *chelana* 'trousers' and *sore* 'evening.' It depicts an old world harbour with a fort, Chinese, Javanese, Indian and Balineese quarters, a heroine from Pegu or Burma, a husband from Cantan, a procuress from Bali a lover from Portugal rowed by men from Bandan:—

Sinhor turun dari kapal,
Dengan fētur orang Portugal,
Sama-sama dengan fiskal,—
Angin kĕras sangat sakal.

The Portuguese lover sees the Burmese mistress and gets the old Balinese woman to 'needle the way' for him. Her first attempt fails, so she rubs civet on the girl's handkerchief as a love charm and the Portuguese lover carries her off to his ship and defeats a fleet of Chinese boats sent to get her back. The vignettes are brilliant —

Lalu turun milam balu,
Buang lambai sambil lalu,
Angkat tabek teleng ulu,
Bagai mĕrak kirai bulu.

The widow from Bali came down;
As she passed, gave a wave to the town;
Saluting she tilted her crown,
Like a peacock a-preening its down.

To the end of the seventeenth century belongs a poem on the exploits of General Speelman at Makassar (1666-68). To the middle of the next century, when van Imhoff was Governor-General, belongs a poem in Batavian Malay entitled *Sha'ir Kompeni Wolanda bĕrpĕrang dengan China*. The nineteenth century saw innumerable topical verses, among others a *Sha'ir Rĕsidĕnt de Brouw*, a *Sha'ir pĕrang Chinạ di-Montrado*, a *Sha'ir Pangeran Sharif Hashim* on a war in Banjarmasin in 1862, and a poem on the Achinese War, while Engku Haji Haji Ahmat of

Penyengat wrote verses on a voyage by Engku Putri, sister of Raja Muda Ja'far, from Riau to Lingga in 1831. Versifiers in the Malay Peninsula were equally prolific. Munshi 'Abdu'llah wrote his doggerel on the fire at Singapore when he lost his possessions and jumped out of a sick bed to watch and record the efforts of Governor Butterworth and others to extinguish the flames. There are verses on the Russo-Turkish War of 1854, on the Perak War, on the eruption of Krakatau, on Malay pearl-fishers in Australia. Some of these topical poems were composed by locally born Chinese. One Na Tian Pet of Bencoolen wrote a *Sha'ir* on Sultan Abu-Bakar of Johor. Many of these verses were circulated only in manuscript. It was, for example, only the accident of his friendship with me that led to the printing of any poems by Raja Haji Yahya of Chendriang, whom Sir Frank Swettenham had styled Perak's Poet Laureate.

Recent times have been a great crop of short *sha'ir* erotic and didactic. Raja Hassan, a son of the author of the *Tuhfat al Nafis*, wrote a didactic poem *Sha'ir Unggas* or *Sha'ir Burong* in 1859. His sister, Raja Kalzum, wrote a *Sha'ir Saudagar Bodoh* on a rich but foolish merchant who failed under the test imposed by his wife but was saved by her. Another sister, Safiah, wrote a *Sha'ir Kumbang Měngindĕra*. In prose romances like the *Hikayat Koraish* love-verses are bandied between fishes, in the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* between peacocks. And though those verses are in *pantun* form, their setting may have suggested the many short poems like those on the Owl in love with the Moon, the Lory who dreamt he had plucked a *chĕmpaka* blossom, the Shad who loved a climbing Perch, the Bee and the Jasmine, the Fly and the Mosquito, the lowly Sparrow and the lordly Hornbill and so on. Some of them may have been based on scandals in real life. In the verses on the Shad's love for the Climbing Perch H. C. Ckinkert detected a Siak refusal of a Malacca proposal for a royal marriage and he considered that the *Sha'ir Bunga Ayer Mawar* was an imitation of it. But Professor van Ronkel has traced the Persian original of the *Sha'ir Unggas* and points out that Persians first sang of the nightingale's love for the rose[3]. As late as 1905 there was printed at Singapore a new *Sha'ir Perchintaan* the story of Nurdin and Nurkiah, purporting to be from the Persian. Few of the short *sha'ir* have literary merit, being to European taste at any rate monotonous in theme and rhymes. The *Sha'ir Ikan Terobok dan Puyu-Puyu*, the verses on the Shad and the Climbing Perch, are among the cleverer and less trite. Most of these *sha'ir* are sprinkled with *pantun*. But the vogue of the *sha'ir* has passed with the advance of European verse forms and ideas and the coming of the cinema.

(c) The Pantun[4]

The origin of the word *pantun* is doubtful. It has been taken for a *krama*-form of the Javanese *pari* (from the Sanskrit *paribbasya* or Malay *pĕrbabasa*), as *intan* "diamond" is a *krama*-form of the Sanskrit *jintan* and *hira* 'caraway-seed' of the Sanskrit *jira: pari*, it is said, is a synonym for *basa* meaning 'phrase, comparison.' It has been taken to be *krama*-form of a Javanese word *parik* from a root *rik* or *rit* meaning 'make, fashion.' Dr. Brandstetter would derive it from an Indonesian root *tun*, that can be traced in old Javanese *tuntun* 'thread,' *atuntun* 'in lines,' Pampanga

tuntun 'regular, Tagalog *tonton* 'to speak in a certain order. And this derivation is supported by the analogy of other Indonesian words that starting from roots meaning 'row, line' come to mean 'words arranged' in prose or in verse, just as in Sundanese *pantun* means 'a long tale with some rhythmical passages and chanted to music' and in Malay 'quatrains': *karangan*, the Malay word for 'composition in prose or verse' means primarily 'arrangement of flowers in order.[5] It seems clear, therefore, that the use of the phrase *sa-pantun* for 'like' is secondary and derivation, just as the Malay use of the Sanskrit *umpama* and the Arabic *'ibarat* as synonyms for *pantun* is recent and derivative.

In the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* the word pantun is used both of quatrains and of figurative sayings such as *rosak bawang di-timpa jambak* 'the bulb is spoilt by the weight of its bloom,' that is, a useful life is ruined by inordinate display, or *pagar makan padi* 'the fence devours the crop,' that is, the cost of production eats up the profits or the guardian betrays his trust. And like the Sundanese, Malays were fond of riddles depending solely on irrelevant sound suggestion for their point or 'simile.'

Ujong bĕndul dalam semak

which means nothing except 'the end of the threshold is in scrub' has for answer to its sound

Kĕrbau mandul banyak lemak

which means 'a barren buffalo-cow has plenty of fat.' There is no relevancy but sound suggestion between

Sa-lilit Pulau Pĕrcha,
Sa-lembang tanah Mĕlayu

and its solution

Sa-lilit detar di-kĕpala
Ikat pinggang dalam baju

or between

Lembing atas tangga,
Perisai atas busut

and

Kĕning atas mata,
Misai atas mulut.

Those who look for a meaning in the first half of every Malay quatrain would do well to bear in mind that the challenging couplet in these jungling riddles is generally nonsense.

Perhaps because they were translation, neither the Malay versions of the Hindu epics nor old recensions of the Panji tales nor the Malay texts of Muslim epics like Amir Hamza contain any *pantun*. The first appearance of these quatrains is in the *Sejarah Mĕlayu* and in the *hikayat* or popular romance from India and inset in the poems of Ken Tambuhan. Their literary debut belongs, therefore, to the fifteenth

century, though in popular song it must have been far older. It would seem that they were begotten by the jingling riddle of Indonesia, perhaps on the Indian *sĕloka*, which had 'four lines of eight syllables each, only four of them fixed in quantity, the others being at option long or short' Overbeck has quoted *sĕloka* from the *Ramayana* (Book ., canto 9 translated by Dutt) and from the *Sakuntala* (Acts IV. 2 and V., translated by A. W. Ryder) reminiscent in sentiment and wording of the *pantun*. Malay literature speaks of both *sĕloka* and *pantun* generally in the same context but, it would appear, differentiating them[6]. The difference is that the *sĕloka* has all four lines rhyming, while in the *pantun* the first line rhymes with the third and the second with the fourth. In addition, while the first two lines of the *pantun* are allusive, all four lines of the *sĕloka* are clear and part of the same concept:

Anak dara dua sa-pasang,
Pakai baju pakai kĕrosang,
Sa-biji nanas, sa-biji pisang,
Bĕlum tahu rĕzĕki musang.

Two young mainds of beauty fair
In gold so fine and silk so rare;
They sit yet guileless, unaware
When fruit is ripe the civet's there.

In the *pantun* the relevancy of the first two lines of the quatrain to the last two is often as remote as it is in Chinese odes, and it is possible that in the cosmopolitan port of Malacca the Chinese too had a hand in moulding the Malay *pantun* to its present shape: certainly for many decades or even centuries the Straits-born Chinese have been ardent improvisers of these quatrains. In each stanza of a Chinese ode, 'before coming to the real object of the poem, in one or two lines a peculiar natural phenomenon, a well-known event or occurrence is mentioned as an introduction, not unlike a clever arabesque, in order to prepare reflection, sensation and the state of mind for that which follows.' To take examples translated in Mr. C. Cranmer Byng's *The Book of Odes*:—

Green is the upper robe,
    Green with a yellow lining,
My sorrow none can probe,
    Nor can I cease repining.
Green is the upper robe,
    The lower robe is yellow.
My sorrow none can probe
    Nor any reason mellow.

Or again, take the last of three verses on slander all introduced by a sketch of blue-flies on the wing:—

The clumsy blue flies buzzing ground
Upon the hazels blunder.
O cursed tongue that knows no bound
And sets us two asunder.

Most Malay *pantun* contain in their first couplets this reference to some well-known event or some private experience of village life:—

Pulau Pinang bandar-nya baharu,
Kapitan Light menjadi raja;
Jangan di-kĕnang zaman dahulu,
Dudok mĕngalir ayer mata.

Betel-Nut Isle has a brand new town
With Captain Light for a king.
Sit not and sigh for days that are gone
Lest the tears to your eyelids spring.

Or

Tĕritip di-tĕpi kota,
Mari di-kayoh sampan pĕngail.
Imam khatib lagi bĕrdosa,
Bĕrtambah pula kita yang jahil.

Let's paddle, dear, by yonder fort,
Where barnacles cuddle the wall.
May we not err of layman sort
When priests and deacons fall.

There is a stock formula used, when one cannot guess the answer to a riddle, that may throw light on the common occurrence of place-names in the first couplet of a *pantun*. If one fails to solve a riddle, it is customary to say to the propounder, "I'll give you such and such a place or mountain, if you will enlighten me." The folk-tale of *Awang Sulong* is full of such quatrains as

Pulau Pandan jauh ka-tengah
Di-balek Pulau Angsa Dua.
Hanchor-lah badan di-kandong tanah,
Budi yang baik di-kenang jua.

Pandan Isle's beyond the wave,
Hid by the Island of Two Geese.
Our bones lie hidden in the grave
But not the memory of good deeds.

Few, however, even of first couplets that have a meaning are as simple as these to unravel.

For the Malay cannot get away from his jingling riddles. Every girl knows that if her mother reels off the name of four fishes: *siakap sĕnohong gulama ikan duri*, she is saying politely *berchakap pun bohong, lama-lama mĕnchuri* 'If you start by lying, you'll end by stealing.' In a tiff with her lover a girl remarks *pinggan ta' retak, nasi ta' dingin* 'if the plate were not cracked, the rice would not be cold,' a remark that has nothing but its assonance to suggest her real retort: *Engkau ta' hĕndak, kami ta' ingin* 'You no likee me, I no likee you.' And this popular leaning to limericks inspires in their singers quatrains with no connection between the two couplets but sound-suggestion.

Ka-Telok sudah, ka-Siam sudah,
Ka-Mĕkkah sahaja sahaya yang belum.
Berpelok sudah, bĕrchium sudah,
Bernikah sahaja sahaya yang belum.

The sound allusion may be to some phrase that is not cited openly at all. Take a quatrain in the *Malay Annals* composed after the burning of a fort in Pahang:—

Kota Pahang di-makan api
Antara Jati dengan Bentan.
Bukan ku-larang kamu bĕrlaki,
Bukan bagitu perjanjian.

A fort consumed by fire, a girl difficult of access consumed by desire — these to a Malay are close parallels. 'Between *Jati* and *Bentan*' has no geographical foundation but at once suggests *antara hati dengan jantong* 'between heart and liver,' a phrase symbolical of the very house of passion. So we reach a proper prelude to the last couplet and the quatrain implies

Ah! hot I see a fortress burning—
I'd hint not say your heart's afire;
'Tis not that I'd suppress your yearning
Forbid you, lady, wed your squire.

'Concentration and suggestion are the two essentials of Chinese poetry,' Cranmer Byng writes. 'A favourite form of their verse is the 'stop-short,' a poem containing only four lines concerning which another critic has explained that only the words stop, while the sense goes on. But what a world of meaning is to be found between four lines.' There is a verse given in Marsden's Malay Grammar:—

Kerengga di-dalam buloh
Serahi bĕrisi ayer mawar
Sampai hasrat di-dalam tuboh
Tuan sa-orang jadi pĕnawar.

or, as Marsden translated it literally:

Large ants in the bamboo-cane
A flasket filled with rose-water;
When the passion of love seizes my frame
From you alone I can expect the cure.

What insufferable nonsense, one thinks! And yet it has a very real and rather pretty meaning for the Malay, and should be understood by any one who has felt the bite of the ant named.

Fire[7] ants in a bamboo — the passion
That tortures my frame is like you;
But like flask of rose-water in fashion
Is the cure thy dear flame can bestow.

The *Malay Annals*[8] contain a verse on the fate of one Tun Jana Khatib who came, a rolling stone, as we should say, from Pasai to Singapore and seeing its raja's wife look[9] at him from a palace-window[10] exercised his magic on an areca palm[11] splitting it[12] by his gaze, a *faux pas* (or coincidence) for which the raja had him executed. Dying thus at Singapore, he was according to one account buried on Langkawi island and his contemporaries concocted a quatrain:—

Tĕlor itek dari Singgora
Pandan tĕrlĕtak di-langkahi.
Darah-nya titek di-Singapura,
Badan-nya tĕrhantar di-Langkawi.[13]

Pijnappel explained this, by saying that as Singgora was far off and the frond[14] at a man's feet is near[15], the first couplet alludes[16] to the distance between the scene of Tun Jana's death and the scene of his burial. His interpretation erred not in principle but in detail. Ducks' eggs (that are often given to hens to hatch) typify the[17] friendless rolling stone and fragility; fronds of screw-pine laid before one typify the white soft screw-pine mats found in Malay houses and which it is discourteous to tread with shod feet; typifies, therefore, by extension, a fair woman who flings herself down before a lover but whose advances he ought to meet with the utmost tact. So the verse may be paraphrased:—

A rolling stone, afar he wandered,
Was broke for bold offence he gave;
In Singapore his blood was squandered,
Remote Langkawi holds his grave.

Van Ophuijsen, criticizing Pijnappel's theory that there exists a relation between the component couplets of a pantun, asked how the theory would explain a verse like

Satu dua tiga ĕnam,
Satu dan ĕnam jadi tujoh.
Buah dĕlima yang di-tanam
Buah bĕrangan hanya tumboh.

Well, there is another quatrain of almost identical sentiment:—

Satu tangan bilangan lima,
Dua tangan bilangan sa-puloh
Sahaya bĕrtanam biji dĕlima,
Apa sĕbab pĕria tumboh?

And[18] in both these verses the singer is appealing to the inconceivable of the opposite in mathematics as a reason for wonderment at the apparent exception to a law of nature in his nursery bed. 'One, two, three, six, one plus six makes seven' is enough to convey to the Malay mind that a gardener counting his plants finds their tale complete but is astonished to discover a chestnut growing where he had planted a pomegranate, or, as one may render the second version,

I find one hand has fingers five,
I count up ten upon the two;
What is the matter, man alive,
Pomegranate planted and gourd grew!

But the conundrum of their first couplets waived, these quatrains illustrate another difficulty[19] to be overcome. The Malay language of fruits and flowers and plants and birds has to be mastered. Parallels in the cultural history of other races will help[20] a little. The holy basil, *sulasi* as it is spelt in Raffles's MS. of the *Hikayat Bĕrma Shahdan* or *sĕlaseh* as Malays now render it, was in India the symbol of happy wedlock, pervaded by the essence of Vishnu and Lakshmi and annually married to Krishna in every Hindu family; so that not only the coincidence of its name may make it an invariable prelude to the mention of *kekaseh* in the *pantun*. With this knowledge it becomes easy to understand such a verse as

Kalau roboh kota Mĕlaka—
Sayang selaseh di-dalam puan:
Kalau sunggoh bagai di-kata,
Rasa 'nak mati di-pangku tuan.

Malacca fort it cannot fall!
My love, she could not lie.
As dies the basil in yonder tray,
In her arms would I die.

It is not impossible to detect the simile of 'the sweet apple that reddens upon the topmost branch' in the verse

Buah berembang, buah bĕdara,
Masak sa-runtai dua runtai.
Bĕrsubang di-sangka dara,
Bagai mumbang di-tĕbok tupai.

I took her for a goodly fruit,
Just ripening on the branch, I said:
Recked not the nut a squirrel bored
That she wore earrings not a maid.

Only before one can tackle the simile of the first couplet, one must know that a young coconut bored by a squirrel is a Malay euphemism for a maid deflowered and that earrings are a symbol of virginity. Often a quite intelligible simile is blurred by expression in the terms of an unfamiliar botany. It is easy to understand that a pomegranate stands as a simile for the purple lips of the eastern beauty and the bitter gourd as a symbol of disappointment, or that sour limes offered by a girl's parents to a deputation from a suitor mean that the errand has set their teeth on edge. But one must know the plant before one can appreciate the coarse scorn in the offer of a bowl of *kĕmahang* (or *kĕlĕmbahang*) to a gadding woman. One must be aware that *kĕmboja* (frangipani) is planted in Malay cemeteries, before mention of it in a first couplet can make one alert for allusion to death in the second. When it is known that betel-vine leaf and areca-nut are always taken together, that *sireh kuning* 'ripe

yellow betel-vine leaf' in the language of intrigue is a golden-skinned frail beauty ripe to fall, and that *pinang muda* 'unripe areca-nut' symbolizes a go-between who does not await the ripening of the nut, which is indispensable at formal plightings of troth, only then can one interpret the quatrain

Sireh kuning dari Petani,
Pinang muda dari Mĕlaka.
Puteh kuning anak Serani,
Ini membawa hadan chĕlaka.

A golden morsel from Patani,
And that Malacca go-between.
A golden girl, a fair Nasrani,
'Tis she has racked me with this teen.

And many a verse will become easier to interpret, if one knows that *pinang muda di-belah dua* signifies the affinity of twin souls.

Or take another verse:—

Buah mengkudu ku-sangka kandis,
Kandis tĕrlĕtak dalam puan;
Gula madu ku-sangka manis,
Manis lagi sĕnyum-mu, tuan.

'I thought the *Morinda tinctoria* was a *Garcinia nigrolineata* and that too served up on a tray'. It requires a knowledge of Malay fruits to recognize that the singer is comparing his old love to a distasteful plum and his new to a sweet berry, and that the quatrain means

For berry sweet a dainty offering
The sorry plum awhile I took
Ah! sweeter far than yester's honey
Is your sweet smile and your dear look.

Van Ophuijsen has pointed out that among the Mandailings of Sumatra lovers employ a language of leaves. If a lad sends his lass leaves of the *sitarak, hadungdung, sitata, sitanggis, padom-padom,* and *pahu,* then she knows his love-letter means, 'Since our parting I cannot sleep but have been in tears.' *Sitarak* rhymes with *marsarak* 'divorce, part,' *hadungdung* with *dung* 'after,' *sitata* with *tita* 'we,' *sitanggis* with *tangis* 'weep,' *padom-padom* with *madom* 'sleep,' *pahu* with *au* ' '. Also a Malay of Si-Boga will present his bride with a *bĕlanak* (mullet) that she may have the luck to *bĕranak* (have a child). The Bugis make similar bridal offerings of a shell-fish and a creeper to wish wealth and prosperity, and Javanese hucksters will wear a tuft of casuarina *(chĕmara)* to attract customers, because the word *mara* means 'approach.' It has been suggested therefore that behind its frequent use of Malayan flora and its jingling assonance the *pantun* may conceal the forgotten code of a *tabu* language. Certainly no trâce can be identified to-day. No Malay now sends *jati* (teak) to his mistress to denote that she has won his *hati* (heart) and no girl sends *padi* to her love to imply *jadi* (I'll give you a date). Moreover, whatever may have

been the language of the original *pantun*, there have since been composed hundreds with no cryptic jargon of fish or flower in their first couplets. The theory of assonance alone is broad enough to cover not only the origin of a possible herbalist love-code but all those quatrains that have no other connection at all between the couplets except the compulsion of rhyme.[21]

The *pantun* in its simplest form is a single quatrain complete in itself. And it looks as if many of those extant to-day may even antedate the use of the Arabic script. The *Hikayat Berma Shahdan*, which bears all the marks of a fifteenth century product of Malacca, contains, for example, verses with lines and phrases still in common use and presumably trite even then:—

Sĕlaseh jangan-lah tinggi,
Jika tinggi, bĕrdaun jangan;
Kĕkaseh tuan, jangan-lah pĕrgi
*Jikalau pĕrgi, bĕrtahun jangan.**

Burong tĕrbang mĕnarek rotan,
Lalu mĕnghinggap di-kayu jati.
Tujoh gunong tujoh lautan
*Bĕlum ku-dapat bĕlum bĕrhĕnti.**

Or take two specimens from the seventeenth century *Hikayat Koraish Mengindera*:—

Aku pĕngapa padi-ku ini;
Jika di-lurut, pĕchah batang-nya.
Aku pĕngapa hati-ku ini;
*Jika di-turut, susah datang-nya.**

Jika di-lurut, pĕchah batang-nya,
Di-sambar ayam dĕngan biji-nya.
Jika di-turut, susah datang-nya,
*Gĕmpar-lah 'alam dĕngan isi-nya.**

The mystic poetry of Hamzah of Barus (d. circa 1630) is full of tags from pantun that were even then obviously part of every versifier's stock-in-trade: *sudah-lah nasib untong yang malang, anak piatu hina dan miskin, baik-baik di-rantau orang, habis bulan bĕrganti tahun, sudah-lah nasib di-rundong malang.*

Quatrains are bandied between boy and girl, between the parents of bride and the parents of groom at betrothal and weddings, between a dancer and her partner. Out of a big repertory the singers choose quatrains associated by custom or, if they are clever, change and adapt old verses or invent new. Excellent examples of such contests in folk verse may be read in the *Hikayat Awang Sulong* or one may turn to the more elaborate and literary efforts of romances like the *Hikayat Indĕra Mĕngindĕra* or the *Hikayat Koraish Mĕngindĕra*, where the second and fourth lines of one quatrain are used for the first and third of the next. The ballad celebrating Raja Haji's attack on Malacca in 1784 achieves these acrobatics in verse but I will take an example from an unpublished MS. of the *Hikayat Koraish Mĕngindĕra*.

Ikan duri di-atas batu,
Ikan sĕpat di-padang saujana:
Putĕri yang baik buat mĕnantu,
Sifat-nya lĕngkap tujoh laksana.

Ikan sĕpat di-padang saujana,
Mati di-patok anak gĕroda:
Sifat-nya lĕngkap tujoh laksana,
Pantut-lah dĕngan paduka bonda.

Mati di-patok anak gĕroda,
Pandai mĕlompat ka-dalam bĕrunda:
Patut-lah dĕngan paduka bonda.
Pandai mĕngambil hati baginda.

This may be paraphrased:—

A cat-fish lay upon a rock,
A dainty perch upon the plain:
A perfect daughter do not mock,
A saint you may not get again.

A dainty perch upon the plain
By young roc pecked from out the water:
A saint you may not get again,
For you, I reck, a perfect daughter.

By young roc pecked from out the water,
On this veranda leapt, so clever:
For you, I reck, a perfect daughter;
You son her love will keep for ever.

The allusions to fish were suggested by the circumstances: a young princess had been playing with a gold-fish and had it taken away from her. A sleek fish like the perch suggests to the Malay poet a girl and its name *sĕpat* perpares for *sifat* in the fourth line. A young roc suggests a highly placed prince. 'Examples exist of such sets in which the opening couplets relate the legend of Hanuman or Panji Sumirang or Ken Tambuhan, while the concluding lines apply those legends (by sound suggestion and not by metaphor) to the purposes of the contest.' A Perak royal lullaby gives in its first couplets pictures of the homes of royalty down the Perak river and the *sha'ir* in the *Misa Mĕlayu* ends with a set of *pantun* in which the first couplets describe detail by detail the Perak palace while the second sing the praises of its master.

Where it not for the old-world indigenous riddle, one might have ascribed the *pantun* form to Malayo-Indian story-tellers borrowing the Persian *tarsi'*-

Ay falak-ra hawa-yi quadr-i-tu bar,
W' ay malak-ra thana-yi sadr-i-tu kar.

for which Professor Browne sought a parallel in Morgan's 'Macaronic Poetry,'

Quos anguis tristi diro cum vulnere stravit
Hos sanguis Christi miro tum munere lavia.

But in the *pantun* Malay literature is almost for the first time original, owing no debt to foreign sources, and nowhere else does it reach so high a level.

Nabi Muhammad berchintakam Allah:
Di-mana-lah tuan masa itu?

Muhammad lover but God Almighty:
My mistress, mark you, was not born.

Bukan mudah bĕrchĕrai kaseh,
Sa-bagai wau mĕnanti angin.

Hard the divorce of love, reluctant
Like a kite that waits a wind.

Sa-lama bĕrchĕrai muda bangsawan
Sa-bagai bakat di-tumpu harus.

My princess love divorced from me,
I've been like drift in an eddying sea.

Tikar ĕmas bantal suasa;
Mana sama bantal di-lĕngan?

Of gold be the mat and golden the pillows
But the arms of my love are the pillow for me.

At its best the *pantun* does far more than juggle with verbal assonance, is indeed 'simple, sensuous and passionate' and has the magic of inevitable phrase.

Modern Malay poetry is outside the scope of this book, but how greatly it has changed after centuries of stagnation may beillustrated by a translation of verses by Khairil Anwar a notable Indonesian poet:

On a cafe terrace we two sit facing,
Our only link eyes that keep gazing,
Though the hearts of us both leap and are racing

Our eyes strike a pact
That's the first act.
The orchestra strikes up Carmen.

A side-long glance after,
Followed by laughter;
Her voice low and sweet
Stops my heart's beat.

When Ave Maria the band starts to play
I drag her away.

Notes

1. See Hill, A H, 1960; Toorn, van der J L, 1886; Skeat W W, 1900; Winstedt, R O, 1908(c); Maxwell, W E, 1886(a); Humphreys, J L, 1921; Taufik Abdullah, 1970.
2. For a full discussion on the Sha'ir as a form of Malay poetry see Teeuw A, 1966(b); Voorhoeve, P, 1968; al-ʿAṭṭās, S N, 1968, 1971. Refer equally to — A Rahman 1930(a)(b), 1931, 1939; Abdullah Abdul Kadir Munshi, 1848; Backer, Louis de, 1875; Bausani, A, 1963; Blok E, 1885; Braginsky, V, 1975; Chew Hock Tong, 1973; Djadjuli, 1961, 1964; Drewes, G W J, L F Brakel, 1986; Favre, L'Abbe P, 1883; Hamilton, A W, 1922; Hamzah Fansuri, 1986; Hoevell, W R van, 1843; Jumsari Jusuf, 1969, 1971(b), 1972, 1976(a); Kern, W. 1948; Klinkert, H C, 1880, 1886; Linehan, W, 1951; Longan J R, 1947; Madjoindo, A D T, 1933; Maier, H M J, 1985(a); Marre, M A, 1899; McGlynn, John M 1976; Mohd Taib Osman, 1965(a), 1968(a); Mohd Hassan bin Nasaruddin, 1891; Mohd Yusoff Hashim, 1975; Overbeck, Hans 1914, 1934(a)(b). Queljo, E De, 1884; Raja Iskandar b Raja Muhamad Zahid, 1964; Ruscondi, J, 1935; Skinner, C, 1963; Sweeney Amin, 1971(b); Teeuw, A 1966(a). Toelis Soetan Sati, 1931; Voorhoeve, 1970; *Sh Nyai Desima*, lith, Singapore, 1912, *Sh Yatim Mustapha*, lith, Singapore 1917; *Sh Taju'l Muluk, ibid*, 1917; *Sh Bidasari, ibid*, 1915, *Sh Burong Nuri, ibid, Sh Bunga Ayer Mawar, ibid*, 1911; *ibid*, 1905; *Sh Unggas*, (on prayer) lith, Singapore 1909; *Sh Babu'l Adab*, Singapore, 1914; *Sh Cheritera Negeri Australia*, lith, Singapore; *Sh Haji Nilah, ibid*, 1900; *Sh Dagang, ibid*, 1910; *Sh Ikan Terubuk dan Puyu, ibid*, 1899; *Sh Cherita Berahi*, lith, Singapore, *Sh Kubor, ibid*, 1926; *Sh Chedawan Puteh, ibid*, 1911, *Sh Taj al-Hadi*, Siah, 1903; *Sh Saribu Satu Hari*, lith, Singapore, 1905; *Sh Perchintaan* (Nurdin dan Nurkiah) (rom) Singapore 1905; *Sh Pencharian Muhabbat*, Kuala Lumpur, 1923; *Sh Sungging*, lith Singapore, 1914; *Sh Indraputra, ibid, Sh Si Kanchil, ibid*, 1914; *Sh Siti Zubaidah, ibid*, 1911 and 1915; *Sh Hasith Fadzilah*, 1913; *Sh Sinar Alam, ibid, Sh Malik al-Yaman, ibid*, 1912; *Sh Si Raja l-Insan, ibid, sh Dhu'l Khan Negeri Hindustan, ibid, Jugan Budiman dan Jauhar Manikam, ibid*, 1917; *Sh Seri Bunian* (Si-Lindon Dalima) *ibid, Sh Perang Acheh, ibid*, 1912; *Sh Raksi, ibid; Sh Tabir Mimpi, ibid; Sh Tharah Manikam Pari, ibid; Sh Ma'yat, ibid; Sh Khahar Kiamat, ibid; Sh Iblis Shaitan, ibid*, 1901; *Sh Chermin Islam, ibid*, 1905; *Sh Sinbor Gilang, ibid*, 1912; rom. Singapore (*Sh SIlambri* and *Sh Kampong Glam Terbakar* and Pantun Lain-lain) Penang, *Sh Burong Punggok*, lith, Singapore, 1912.
3. Ronkel, Ph S. Van.
4. See principally Wilkinson, R J and Winstedt R O (editors) 1961; Overbeck, H, 1922; Djajadiningrat, Hoesein, 1920; Klinkert, H C, 1968; *Pantoen Melajoe*, Balai Pustaka, Batavia, 1920; *Sh Pantun Selaka*, rom, Singapore 1905; Sha'ir (= Pantun) Raja Haji, *JSBRAS*, No 21, 1890, pp. 173-224; Ajip Rosidi, 1973; Alias Yunos, 1966; Altman, G, 1963; Braasem, W A, 1950, 1954; Braasem, W A and Nieuwenhuys, R, 1952; Djajadiningrat, R Hoessein, 1933-4; Dulaurier,

M. Ed, 1859; Hamilton, A W, 1932, 1944; Linden, A L V L van der, 1937; Mohd Taib Osman, 1968(a); Ophuijsen, Ch A Van, 1904; Phillips N G, 1979; Pijnappel, J, 1883; Pyan Husayn, 1974; Roolvink, R, 1966.

5. This entire section is extracted from Wilkinson, R J and Winstedt, R O, 1923, p. 209.
6. On the differences, between 'Seloka' and pantun, see *ibid*, 1923, p. 3.
7. 'fire' — the original text, *ibid*, 1923, p. 12 has "Red".
8. *Ibid*, p. 13, has "Professor Pijnappel chose from sejarah Melayu a verse compiled as the fate of a certain ..."
9. The original text has 'the look — it is given as stare.
10. "a palace window" has "the palace window".
11. For an areca palm the original text has "areca-nut palm".
12. After "it" the original text has "into two".
13. This whole page is based on *ibid*, pp. 13-14.
14. For "frond" read "branch".
15. The original text has close instead of near.
16. For couplet, the original text has "two lines". For "alludes" it is typify.
17. The original text has "to the Malay mind".
18. After "And ..." the original text, p. 14 has "it seems quite clear that".
19. After "... difficulty" the original text, p. 15, has "the initiated".
20. After "help" the original text, p. 15, has "us".
21. The whole of the first paragraph is based on Overbeck, Hans, 1922, 1934(b).

Appendix

Hikayat Pandawa Jaya*

In his palace at Indrapesta Darmawangsa asks Batara Kesna to go to Duryodana and invite him to keep his promise and cede half his kingdom as a token of amity. Accompanied by Satiyaki, Kesna mounts his chariot and sets out. In the distance he sees Hastina-pura, dim as a woman decked with rice-powder and peering from behind a door. The palace roof glittered in the sun. The trees swayed in the wind like people bowing to Kesna. Beasts gave him cries of welcome. Bulbuls murmured. Fish swam to the surface to greet him, leaping as in a dance under the water-lilies and hiding under the lotus-blooms as under coloured sunshades. The gardens of Duryodana spread out like costly mats with rocks for cushions. Trees, flowers and birds panted as from yearning to see Arjuna. Nearing the city Kesna met and took into his chariot four holy men *(bagawan)*—Kuwara, Kanapi, Barusi and Berma (or in some MSS. Rama Parasu, Narada, Chantika and Chakarka or Janaka), who had been present when Duryodana had made his promise. Aware of Kesna's coming Duryodana and Dastarata sent Sangkuni to summon the kings subject to the Korawas. First to arrive were Aria Widura, Sang Sanjaya, Begawan Bisma, Sangyang Drona, Bagawan Kerpa, Maharaja Salia, Ambakarna, Jayadrata, Maharaja Bahgadata and Maharaja Rahma, and the 107 brothers of the king. Aria Dastarata orders the warriors to greet Kesna with respect and music. The women hurry to see him: some with hair dishevelled, others with disordered attire, one with half her face powdered, another with teeth half-blackened, another with eyes half darkened. Shopkeepers left their wares, exclaiming, "I don't care if my goods are stolen so long as I see Kesna." Wives left husbands and children, while some held up their breasts and cries, "I dedicate these as a gift to welcome Batara Kesna." Others brought their ivory dolls, saying, "There is your father, Batara Kesna." Some had limbs broken, others limbs bruised and sprained. Kesna goes to the palace of Dastarata who gives him a change of raiment and sets dainties before him but he refuses Duryodana's invitation to eat and drink. He goes to Aria Widura till Kunti calls him to her palace. He kisses her feet and she embraces him and is glad, thinking the Pandawas have come with him. He tells her he has left them at Wirata.

Duryodana summons his counsellors Ambakarna, Dursasana, and sangkuni, who advise war. Ambakarna declares that Arjuna shall die by his hand or he by

**From Raffles MS. 2 Library, Royal Asiatic Society London.*

Arjuna's. The others say they should fight Bima. Uneasy Duryodana goes to his lovely wife Banuwati. The sky that night looked like white raiment flecked with blood. Banuwati went to the garden called 'solace of care' to look at the moon along with her maids who sang and danced and whispered of love, saying their hearts were broken as glass on a stone because Arjuna had not come. Melancholy made Banuwati's music sound like the moans of a ravished girl. When the drum had struck two, she returned to sleep. The royal gardens surpassed those of Indra and astonished the moon by their beauty. About midnight there was a portent of the kingdom's coming down. All was still and the moon was hidden by clouds like a woman behind a door. The wind hardly stirred and birds were restless, flying here and there like two people fighting over a woman. The song of the *chuchor* bird was like the ring of a woman's bangles when she cries at the approach of a man. Bees murmured in their hives like a man caressing his wife behind the curtains. At daybreak cocks crowed and there came the sound of the Brahmans' bell in the honour of idols to which they offered incense and perfumed blossoms.

Next day Duryodana summoned his counsellors (among whom came [the blind] Dastarata led by Sanjaya) and bade Labiyusah (or Lubiksah) called Kesna from the house of Aria Widura. The gods of Indra proclaimed his lineage, and Duryodana bowed before him with crossed arms, but refused to accept Dastarata's advice and yield up half his kingdom. With Karna he plots to kill Kesna, who warned by Satiyaki shows his divine power, putting forth 1,000 heads and 2,000 hands and feet, a weapon in every hand. His face was red as the sun, his mouth cavernous and from every hair hung a monster. Duryodana fled. Begawan Bisma, Sangyang Drona, and Begawan Rama pacify Batara Kesna by strewing perfumed flowers before him:- "Let not your proper rage destroy the world. If you kill Duryodana, what becomes of Bima's vow to slay him and of Derpadi's (Draupadi) vow to cleanse her hair in Dursasana's blood." Kesna's anger abates' he resumes his normal shape and goes to Kunti, who bids him tell her sons that they must take the kingdom by force. He mounts his war-chariot with Satiyaki and Aria Widura, while Karna accompanies the god, who advises him to support the Pandawas as they are his brothers. "But" says Karna, "I have sworn to fight Arjuna," and taking his leave he goes to Kunti whom he finds in tears, and tells her of the coming war. Kesna reaches Wirata and tells the Pandawas of his adventures at Hastinapura.

The next day the Pandawas march. First came Bima in an iron chariot, drawn by elephants. His banner was of black velvet and he muttered the *paksa-banyu*, whereat a storm of wind issued from his body. He played with his club *Luwarudan* (? = *lohita wadana*); it if struck the sea, the sea dried up; it made mountains fall and turned men to powder; hurled, it caused darkness. Like a mad elephant, heedless of foes, he shouted his war-cry, leapt vales and rivers, and killed any elephant, lion or tiger on his path. Then came Arjuna in a golden chariot, drawn by fourteen horses, with Amapuknyawa for his driver; and his banner bore the white ape Kapiwara; his sunshade was green and he looked like a volcano that would burn the world. Then came Sakula (Nakula), and Sadewa (Sahadewa); Desta Jamina, Sang Utara, Wirasangka; Sang Seta (or Sweta), and Dewi Serikandi, wife of Arjuna; the giant Gatotkacha with his club *Sang Sabuni* and his two charioteers Wilda and Jilar. Then

came Derpadi in a chariot of ivory and gold, with an umbrella of peacock-feathers: she looked like an ivory image, her unbound hair like a cloud heavy with rain, waiting to be cleansed with Dursasana's blood. Her banner, *Surawanara*, was green and gold. Under a green umbrella, in a chariot of bejewelled gold came Dermawangsa, carrying the amulet *(pustaka) Kali mahausadha*, whose rays are like lightning and which changes into a *tomara* when the king fights. Then came Batara Kesna armed with the discus *Radaksa* in a flying chariot, with a white banner. Then followed Drupada (= Derpadi), Wangsapati, Abimanyu, Sang Rawan Kumara (son of Dermawangsa), Satiyaki, Aria Durbala, Patih Jaya, Patih Ratu, Demang Samilar Lembu and Baginda Andakan Gangga. The gods showered a rain of blossoms on them in token of victory, and a rainbow appeared. When they have reached a camping-ground, the Pandawas send for their mother, Kunti, who comes escorted by Widura, who then returns to Hastinapura. The king consults with Kesna as to who shall be their leader. Choice falls on Sweta, who receives raiment and is escorted with music round the camp. On his return Aria Widura tells Duryodana that the Pandawas are encamped at Kuruksetramandala. The Korawas encamp on a plain near Hastinapura and choose Bisma for their leader. Next day Bernasaketra (? = Brahmana Sagotra) consecrates *(mĕmalis)* the camp of the Korawas and Irawan tht of the Pandawas. The Pandawas' host faces the setting sun and has its back to the river Panchaka; the Korawas' host faces the rising sun and has its back to Hastinapura. Sweta arranges his army in the formation *Brajatiksna lungit*, 'A very sharp weapon.' with Arjuna, Bima and Serikandi, for its front point. Bisma arranges his elephants, horses and chariots like hills in a sea of warriors. So wide is the battle-field that part of the Korawa's host is on Mt. Imagiri. In front stand Bisma, Salia and Drona. Arjuna asks Kesna if battle cannot be avoided, as the enemies are his kin and count among them the teachers, Bisma, Saliya and Drona. But Kesna is worth and says for such talk it is too late. Then Dermawangsa goes to the enemy camp to pay respect to his three teachers Bisma tells him that with Kesna on their side they must win. The war starts. Wirasangka is slain by Bisma. Utara by Salya. Wirayuda and Rekmarata (adopted son of Saliya) by Seta. Fleeing Salya meets Kertaruma, who takes him into his chariot and fights Seta. Bisma comes to fight the Pandawas, followed by Drona, Salya, the king of Manggada and Ruhadbala and Jayasena,—the last three were slain by Seta. Bisma's formation is broken, and of the Korawas he alone stands firm. Duryodana hastens to his aid but is put to flight by Bima. shoots his snake-like arrow *Santakarni* at Seta but it splinters on the chariot. Bisma mounts his chariot but leaps from it and flees as Seta smashes chariot, charioteer and horses with his club. Seeing Bisma's shameful flight the gods rain flowers on him and tell him it is decreed he shall slay Seta. He drives his fiery arrow *Brahmastra* into Seta's breast and kills him. The Korawas shout for joy. Wangsapati and his grandson Bima make a furious attack and drive the Korawas to flight except only Bisma. At night Wangsapati searches for the bodies of his sons and laments to his wife that they have lost all three. Kesna and Dermawangsa tell him that grief is idle and some must die in war. The bodies of Seta, Utara and Wirasangka are burnt, their ashes put in golden urns and cast into the sea. Destajamina is chosen leader.

The Pandawas are drawn up in the Garuda formation *Gardabijuwa)*, Arjuna

the beak, Derpada the head, Bima the left wing, Jamina the right, Dermawangsa and the other Pandawas the back and Satiyaki the tail. Bisma adopts the same order; Salya the beak, Sangkuni the head, Bisma the right wing and Drona the left, Duryodana and other Korawas the back and Dursasana the tail. Abimanyu and Arjuna slay many, Kesna keeping beside Arjuna to protect him. Arjuna is like Kala the destroyer. The Korawas flee; not even the offer of four nymphs of heaven could have stopped them. Bisma kills many of the Pandawas' warriors. Arjuna fights him but in vain, for Irawan his son by Dewi Retna Ulupi is killed by the giant Kala Sarenggi. Kesna threatens with his discus Bisma, who says "your weapon is as welcome to me as a handsome man to a woman, for it will lift me to heaven". Arjuna tells Kesna that Bima will only be killed by a woman (Serikandi). They go to Dermawangsa to get her to attack Bisma. She mounts Arjuna's chariot and shoots an arrow which only wounds Bisma. Arjuna shoots another arrow at the wounded spot and Bisma falls. Dermawangsa stands weaponless before his chariot to shield the fallen hero. Arjuna, Sikula and Sadewa do likewise, to honour him. Duryodana resolves to join the Pandawas to do honour to the dying Bisma, but stands weeping afar. When Dermawangsa invites him to approach, he replies that he is afraid of Bima's club. Bima lays it down and Duryodana approaches the dying Bisma, who bids him make peace. Bisma is told by Dermawangsa that the most glorious death-bed for a warrior is one made of weapons. So he refuses a costly mat brought by Duryodana; and Arjuna offers him a bed of arrows *(terkesan? = tiksna)*. He refuses water brought by Duryodana in a golden beaker; Arjuna drives his arrow, *Tarsangtala*, into the ground and causes water to gush forth. Duryodana hands over the leadership to drona. Dermawangsa and his brothers drag Bisma's chariot under the shade of a banyan tree. At night there is rain of blood. Next day Drona adopts the formation of the mad elephant, *Dewadanti*. Karna is the right tusk, Jayadrata the left, Bahgadata the trunk, Duryodana the body and Dursasana and others the tail. The Pandawas adopt the same formation, with Bima for a tusk, Dermawangsa for body and Satiyaki for the tail. The heroic deeds of Ambakarna (= Karna), Bahgadata and Jayadrata cause the Pandawas to retire. Arjuna and Bima rush to drive back the Korawas. Drona Bima, and Jayadrata Arjuna. Bahgadata on his elephant charges between Arjuna and Kesna while he pierces Arjuna's breast with his weapon Samoga. Arjuna dies but Kesna takes from his crown the flower *Wijaya Kesoma*, brushes his wound and revives him. Kesna tells him that the life of Bahgadata is one with that of his elephant and its mahout. Arjuna strikes the chest of the elephant, whereat the mahout and his master die. That night the Korawas mourn his death, while the Pandawas feast.

At Duryodana's wish Drona undertakes to keep Arjuna and Bima apart at the edge of the battle-field. He orders Bulisarawa to attack Arjuna, who is decoyed to the plain of Aruan. The ten brothers Patih Warsaiya, Banoman, Sanginudanta, Terkaiya, Trikaiya, Trimunong, Tribanyu, Suta, Trigitu, Trisena are ordered to keep Bima busy on the same plain. Drona adopts the discus-formation, *Chakrabyuwa:* with Drona, Bagawan Karepa for the spokes, Salya and Karna the rim, and Jayadrata the axle Abimanyu promises Dermawangsa to break it, saying he knows how to enter but not how to come out. He adopts the *Garuda* formation: with his instructor Sumitra he charges ahead and Drona orders Jayadrata to encircle him. This is done

but Abimanyu kills Satisari, Tandupati and Suragitu, and also Laksamana Kumara. Seeing his son killed Duryodana orders Dayadrata to overpower Abimanyu, and the Korawas let a shower of arrows fall on him. "Whom do you love most, me or your father?" Abimanyu asks Sumitra. "My love for my father is as a mountain," he replies; "my love for you as a paring of a black finger-nail." Abimanyu is angry but Sumitra explains that fallen a mountain will not rise, but pared at night a nail grows again next day. Sumitra is killed. Abimanyu takes vengeance on his foes but in pity Karna advises him to retire and, knowing he will not retreat armed, fires at the arrow he holds. Every part of his body is wounded. He looks like a bridegroom and the arrows in his body are like the unguents of a woman who has washed in betel-nut water. Wounded in the throat he is like a man wearing a collar. His wounds look like armlets *(kilat bahu)* and a necklace *(sawit)*. In the strife he looks like Batara Merpata, as the bridegroom of Dewi Ratih. The noise of the elephants and the horses sound as sweet to him as the murmurs of a man cozening a shy girl. He cries: "I am like a forbidden ivory hall *(balai)*: the owner present, no one may sit there, but when he is gone any man may sit there." He was like a flower, fit for a necklace. Specked with blood his body looked like rice-paste mixed with honey. His lack of blood saved him from pain. An arrow pierced his tongue and he was speechless. He was like a *kanigara* bloom on a golden tray; and he died on the field like moss in a beaker of gold, his blood as fragrant as spikenard, so that the bees hummed as if they were weeping. Duryodana came to cut off his head but Karna stayed him, saying he must kill him first. Then Karna kissed and embraced his son. Night fell. Dermawangsa sought his nephew's body and mourned for him. He told Subadra of the death of her son. She fainted and then asked the two wives of Abimanyu which of them will follow him in death. Both wished it but Utari is eight months with child. The Pandawas prepare Sundari for suttee. Kesna, Bima and Arjuna return (from the plain of Aruan). Hearing of his son's death Arjuna faints and wants to die with him; which Kesna forbids. He reproaches Dermawangsa. Kesna falls at Dermawangsa's feet and asks him to relate the story. Dermawangsa replies, "Abimanyu entered the wheel and I could not help him, because he was enclosed by Jayadrata." Then Arjuna swore to burn himself unless he killed Jayadrata on the next day. Jayadrata asked for leave to go home but Duryodana said, "If your death is decreed, there too you will die." So he stayed.

Kesna advises Arjuna to invoke the gods. Ludra (a Javanese name for Siva) tells him he will kill Jayadrata with his arrow *Pasupati*. Kesna lends Arjuna his chariot with its invulnerable steeds *Walikarpuspa* and *Sena*, and its weapons.

At daybreak Sundari parts from Utari, who weeps and cries, "Go and take your pleasure with our lord, while I remain heart-broken. Who will bind up my dishevelled hair? When my attire is in disorder, who will arrange it? Tell him, sister, I will follow when my child is born. When I die, let me become the moon and he the owl, that is never heard save when the moon appears." Sundari jumps into the fire.

Next day the Korawas adopt the *Patemabiyuwa* formation, with Jayadrata in the middle encircled by elephants, horses, chariots and soldiers. Arjuna enters the fray like a burning volcano. He mounts his chariot *Walikarpuspa;* his horses are *Sukanda* and *Sena*, while Kesna is his charioteer. He slays Winda and Nwinda. He

stabs the earth with the arrow 'layer-piercer' *(tĕrus pĕtala)* and gets water for the soldiery. He shoots at Duryodana's chariot killing the steeds and the driver, while Duryodana's arrows are splintered and the mail-coat given him by Batara Indra is lost, so that he flees. Dermawangsa sends Satiyaki and Bima to help Arjuna. Satiyaki kills Sara, Danawasa and Jayadrana. Bulisrawa attacks Satiyaki; they smash each other's chariots and arrows, fight with clubs and then wrestle. When Bulisrawa was astride Satiyaki holding his hair and about to kill him, with his *chandrasa*, Arjuna, urged by Kesna, shoots him in the right hand. Bulisrawa reproaches Arjuna for not having given him warning, but Arjuna retorts, "you gave my son no warning." Satiyaki kills Bulisrawa with his weapon, *Mangekabawa*. Bima kills Surantaka, Arjuna kills Kartasuta, Wirajaya and Kartaruma. The sun is in the west and Arjuna is angry because he has not yet met Jayadrata. Kesna hurls his discus at the sun and darkens it. The enemy rejoices thinking that night has come and left Arjuna's vow unfulfilled—Kesna shows Arjuna Jayadrata by the light of his discus and tells him that Sindupati, the father of Jayadrata, has been allowed by the gods to die, when his son's head touches the ground. Arjuna pierces his neck with the arrow Urudara and sends his severed head to Sindupati who is doing penance for the good of his son. The sun shines again. The Koraws blame Drona as the cause of Jayadrata's death. Drona gets angry and refuses to fight Arjuna. Karna is invited to fight him. Bima slays Pati, Jayarata, Saraba, Sarata, Surakbaiya, Surantaka. The Korawas are repulsed and their forces fail. Krepa and Salya go to Dryodana who orders Karna to advance. Karna undertakes to fight Bima and Arjuna. Krepa remarks to Bangbang Sotama on this action and Karna would have fought him if his nephews Sotama had not intervened. The torches of the Pandawas grow dim. Arjuna wants to fight Karna but Kesna dissuades him, saying that Arjuna cannot fight at night and will be killed, and that only the invulnerable Gatotkacha can slay Karna at night. Gatotkacha attacks Karna, causing by prayer many arrows to issue from different parts of his body. He puts Karna and the Korawas to flight. Gatotkacha slays foru giants, Lambana, Lambusa, Ayuda and Serenggi, sons of Datia Giri. Karna is like an elephant in the fight and Gatotkacha like a lion. Karna destroys his foe's chariot and horses. Gatotkacha rises into the air and is lost in the clouds, so that Karna shoots blindly and in anger. Gatotkacha cries "Karna" with a voice of thunder. Karna looks up and sees him and says, "I should have been killed, if you had not called." Gatotkacha descends. Karna shoots him with *Brahmastra*, but his enemy enlarges himself like a giant. All Karna's arrows fail to harm him. He seizes his weapon *Ganta Sudanta*, a gift from the god Adunah (?) that Narada brought him. The sheathe fell at Purabaiya, as Narada bore it through the air. No other weapon could wound Gatotkacha. It wounded his breast; he fainted but leaping on to Karna's chariot is killed by his club. The Korawas rejoice.

Arjuna and Bima would avenge Gatotkacha but Kesna warns Arjuna, because it is still dark. Bima, Gatotkacha's father, fights madly: his mother, Dewi Arimbi, leaves Kunti and Derpadi and throws herself into the fire. At midnight warriors and elephants and horses sleep, dreaming of battle.

Next day the Pandawas attack, led by Wangsapati, Derpadi and Satiyaki. Satiyaka kills Chandra Drona kills Aria Darbala. Wangsapati and his two grandsons

are slain. Derpada is killed. Destajamina vows not to die till he has defeated Drona. The Pandawas encircle Drona but their weapons fall on him like rain on a rock. Kesna urges Arjuna to shoot Drona but he refuses to kill his teacher or even to spread the lie that Drona's son, Sotama, is dead so as to get drona to withdraw. But Bima kills an elephant *Sotama*, and shouts, "I've killed Sotama." Drona swoons and the gods alarmed strew flowers on him. Destajamina cuts off the head of the unconscious Drona with his *chandrasa*. Duryodana and his warriors flee. The fastest runner is Sangkuni who thinks the enemy is at his heels and cries, "I'll die and never see my wife again. She's black and pockmarked but she has treated me well. And if I die, she's sure to find another husband." Sotama comes to avenge Drona, but Arjuna refuses to fight his teacher's son. Bima upbraids him for his tears and says he will himself slay Sotama. Satiyaki taunts Destajamina with having killed an unconscious man and they would have come to blows, had not Bima and Sakula intervened. Bima alone stands against Sotama and Arjuna hurries to his aid with his arrow *Barunastra* which overcomes Sotama's weapons. Sotama shoots his arrow *Tinjumaya* and Kesna advices Bima to alight from his chariot to avoid death. Sotama's arrow misses its mark and astonished he shoots a flaming arrow. Arjuna now takes his arrow *Banyustra*, which deprives Sotama's arrows of their force, whereat he goes to the mountains to do penance. The Korawas decide that only Karna and Salia can prevail against their foes. Then Duryodana reminds Karna that it was he who advised the refusal to cede territory and promised to fight the Pandawas. Karna vows to kill Arjuna and Bima with his monster-producing arrow *Wijayachapa*. But Karna's followers sit uneasy at the feast because priests and portents foretell his doom: his city Wanggapura has been nearly destroyed by a storm and his bed-chamber has been lain in. His wives and concubines weep and want to kill themselves but Karna treats the portents with disdain. Returning to his palace he finds his wife Dewi Gunti with dishevelled hair and a *patrem* with which to stab herself. She has dreamt of seeing Karna and his men lost at sea and unable to reach land. He comforts her.

At night, using Arjuna's arrow for a torch, Kesna and Dermawangsa, murmuring prayers follow him to the battle-field, which is a sea of blood, with corpses of elephants and horses like islands, the corpses of men like coral-reefs and shields floating like ships. Ghouls were making a horrible meal off the dead. Women from Hastina-pura were looking for husbands and brothers, removing the weapons that pierced them, and sprinkling rose-water and incense on their wounds. One man had tied up his wounds with the tuft from a lance and was using a broken javelin as a crutch: he begged for water and having none they gave him a quid of betel. Only in answer to Dermawangsa's prayers could they find Drona's body. They embrace its feet and crave forgiveness, dragging his chariot beside Bisma's. To Bisma they also pay honour. Dermawangsa asks about the guilt of a man who kills his teacher but Bisma says it is the fate of war and there is no question of guilt: he adds, that they will win the war and goes to heaven. The king bathes in the Panchaka river and the Pandawas clothe him in royal raiment. Next day the Korawas make Karna their leader. Dermawangsa seeks Bisma and offers him a flower *(bunga susun kĕlapa)* as a tribute to his teacher. Karna asks Salya, the ruler of Mandrakapura, to be his charioteer, as Arjuna has Kesna. Duryodana persuades Salya to consent. The

Pandawas perform religious ablutions and the gods promise victory.

The next day the Pandawas advances. Kesna tells Arjuna how to fight the two great warriors Karna and Salya. Arjuna knows they will adopt the formation called 'Advance without Retreat' *(di mungan-mungan)*, and advises the Pandawas to form a Half Moon *(ardachandra)*. The Korawas form the Scorpion *(biyuwayuyu = byubayuyu)*. Karna brags to Salya that he will hack the Pandawas to pieces like gourds and crush the pieces in his hands; while his arrow *Wijayachapa* will pursue them. Salia his sun-like crown and mounts his chariot *Jatisura*. The Korawa army stretches to Imagiri.

The fight is renewed. The enemy yields before Karna. Dermawangsa in his chariot, with Patih Jaya and Rata beside him, drives back Karna. The Pandawas advance under Bima and Arjuna. Satiyaki slays Susena. The Korawas flee and Bima pursues Duryodana, taunting him. Duryodana halts but flees again. Dursasana attacks Bima with his arrow *Barlastra*, and Bima, though unwounded, falls in a sitting posture. Bima kills Dursasana's elephant with his club and gripping him by the hair forces him to the ground and kneels on his chest. Duryodana orders his men to shoot Bima, who uses Dursasana's body as a shield, whereupon Duryodana bids his men tear his brother out of Bima's hands. Seeing Bima in danger, Dermawangsa sends Arjuna, Sikula and Sadewa to his aid. Bima and Duryodana remain alone on the field. Bima bids him fetch gods and princes to see the fulfilment of his vow and tears out Dursasana's entrails with his nails called *Panchakanaka*. Dursasana dies from loss of blood and Bima washes himself in the blood and drenches his beard and moustache with it. He flings the body to Duryodana and roars to him to follow his brother in death. Arjuna takes Bima to Dermawangsa. Bima squeezes the blood out of his hair into a golden cup to send to Derpadi. The princes shelter from a fine rain under umbrellas and banners and elephants and eat refreshing fruit. Bima still raging puts the Korawas to flight, while Salya taunts Karna about his vaunting. Then the Pandawas flee. Karna slays Butat and destroys the chariots of Sikula and Sadewa. Serikandi flees, her hair waving on her bosom and taking the place of her scarf which streams in the wind. Satiyaki pants from running. Destajamina follows, ashamed. The Pandawas are alarmed that no one can withstand Karna. Dermawangsa stands irresolute in his golden chariot *Kanakamaiya*, and Arjuna tries to stay the flight. Bima shoots his dart *Martatoiya*. Karna and Duryodana are hemmed in by the arrows of the Pandawas. Arjuna attacks Karna. Both the heroes are beautiful, like Indra, decked with glittering ornaments, wielding weapons like sparks of flame, so that from heaven Indra and Narada behold their arrows like swallows collecting stuff for their nests. Karna shoots his arrow *Nilaprachanda*, betokening 'Violent Wind,' that drove the Pandawa ranks into the sea, where the fish were boiled and even Nantaboga, the great dragon, had to come to the surface. Their darts useless, Karna siezes *wijajachapa* that comes to hand at his wish. From it issue mountains, stones, snakes, goblins, giants, (some consisting only of a head, hand or trunk), and four sorts of arrows, the *saragangga* like the beak of a hornbill, the *trajubala (= narachaballa* Kawi) like a boar's tushes all these monsters join the fray. The Pandawas flee. Even the gods are perplexed. Arjuna siezes his *sisara sampata* but the monsters pay no heed to the arrows. Crossing his arms on his chest Arjuna evokes

his supernatural power and now appear Brahma's arrows, called *Brahman Wisagni* or 'Fire in Human Form.' The monsters are destroyed but Arjuna has to pray the gods to extinguish the fire. Nilakanti (Siwa) asks what will become of heaven otherwise. The gods sprinkle flowers on Arjuna and douse the fire. Arjuna and Karna fight from their chariots, while steed bites steed. The ground bursts open and the sea is agitated. The dragon Naga Ardawalika, son of Sang Naga Siugina, would avenge his father slain by Arjuna. Karna siezes his *wijajachapa* and attacks Arjuna, but unseen by Karna Ardawalika twists Karna's arrow. "Aim high," says Salya "or you will not hit." Salia's cry was heard by Kesna, who, as the fatal arrow is discharged, leaps on Karna's chariot, so that only Arjuna's hair-knot is hit. Ardawalika tells Karna what he did, saying he himself wished to avenge his father and kill Arjuna. Karna bids him fight alone: he will not help him. The dragon flies into the air and spits poison at Arjuna, but he is warned by Kesna and kills the mountainous dragon. Arjuna shoots Karna's chariot to pieces. Both fight on foot. Seizing the *pasupati* Arjuna cries, "If you fear death, pay homage; for this will end you." Angry and praying Karna is slain. His throat was cut and his head rolled from his trunk, biting its lips. His eyes were like the full moon in shadows; his nails like ivory flowers, his hair like a dark cloud. Fine rain fell like tears of sorrow; thunder rolled like lamentation; the clouds appeared to follow the head hero; there was a rainbow and the sun was dimmed, while lightning flickered. The Korawas were like wood before Arjuna's fire. Some fled to caves, woods and mountains, while others hid under the dead or begged for mercy. Many would have deserted had they not pitied Duryodana, who laments the loss of relatives and heroes. Sangkuni advises him to make Salya leader. But Salya says he is a mountaineer inexpert in war and advises him to make peace with the Pandawas. Bangbang Sotama angrily exclaims that Salya only pretends to favour the Korawas; his counsel to shoot high caused Karna's death and he is the uncle of Sedawa and Sikula. Salya rebukes him for abrave talker and threatens to join the Pandawas. He draws his dagger and Sotama declares that only respect for Duryodana keeps him from fighting. Duryodana calms them. Sotama goes to the mountains to do penance. Salya agrees to accept the leadership but returns silent to his house and wives, regretting his promise. The Pandawas, on Kesna's advice, sent Sikula Salya to say they cannot fight their uncle. Salya says he would have rather died but is compelled by his friendship for Duryodana. When he shoots his *chandrabirawa*, Dermawangsa must attack him with his *pustaka* that changes into a *tomara*, for Ludra, who gives him might, cannot withstand that: "and" he adds, "it will take me to heaven."

Salya had a beautiful wife Satiyawati. The clouds forgot to descend when they saw her with hair unbound. Deer would not return to the forest but stood to gaze at her eyes. The blossoms of the *angsoka* withered, whenever her robe fell down. The blossoms of the *pandan* fell, as if they would gaze at her when her skirt was uplifted. She was sad at what her husband had said to Sikula. He tried to comfort her, saying "Smile at me with side-long glances. You have changed towards me, and I'd better be dead. Strew flowers on my corpse and set it afloat in a sea of honey so that the bees may mourn for one hated by men." She answered, "I have not changed. I have prayed the gods that you might come back unhurt and victorious. But now I want to die."

And she would have stabbed herself had not Salya stopped and declared that his talk with Sikula was idle, only tact with a guest, and that even the gods could not kill him. He loosens her hair, so that the blossoms fall out, and looking into her eyes he smiles, declaring, "Even the nymphs of Indra's heaven cannot vie with you. If I were to die and be reborn seven times, yet would I never be parted from you. You are the flower; I am the bee. You are my soul. If I die, would you not follow me? Happy on earth together, we should be still happier in heaven." And he led her to bed and sang to her in a honey-sweet voice and caressed her; she slept pillowed on his arm, dreaming that they were bathing in the sea. Day broke. Salya put a cushion to replace his arm and with his dagger cut off the edge of his garment, not to disturb his wife by drawing it away from under her. He embraced and kissed her and chewed betel and put it in her box. He wrote sweet verses on an ivory doll, put it beside her, saying "If mother asks, say father has gone to the war." All the way he murmured his wife's name. The Korawas are heartened that he is to lead them. Yogi's and Brahmans with him victory. Donning crown and armour he mounts his chariot while Duryodana takes his place in the middle of the formation called *Dewa Durga*. The battle front of the Pandawas is broken till Bima with his nails and Arjuna with his *sampata* repels the Korawas. Only Salya stands firm.e and Arjuna shoot arrows each at the other. Salya is worsted and enraged seizes *Chandrabirawa*, over which he mutters prayers that evoke all sorts of monsters. Kesna crosses his arms to counteract this magic and going to Dermawangsa tells him of Salya's advice to Sikula and threatens to withdraw if Dermawangsa will not fight Salya. Dermawangsa says that he will always follow Kesna's advice but hesitates to fight one who has been a father to him. Reluctantly he mounts his chariot *kanakamaiya*, which is driven by Matali [who was Indra's charioteer and is here wrongly introduced for Indrasena]. Arjuna, Bima and other warriors go forward, followed by Jayarata, the *demang* Samilar Baginda and Anadakan Gangga. Salya's monsters vanish. Only men are fighting. Salya evokes fresh monsters and afflicts the Pandawas with dysentery, fever and so on. Dermawangsa lets his *pustaka kali mahausadha* or wonder-working arrow becomes a *tomara*, from whose point shoots a flame mountain-high that destroys the monsters. Seeing his hour approach, Salya shoots arrows that turn to rocks and serpents. He is like the midday sun obscured by clouds or a fire fed by pitch. Kesna tells Dermawangsa to shoot the *tomara*, which like a rainbow drinking water pierces Salya's breast. He dies in his chariot. Bima and Arjuna fight on. Chased by Bima, Duryodana hides in a river. Bima pursues Sangkuni who begs for mercy, but Bima reproaches him for his boasting and asks him why he treated the Pandawas as serfs that remove ordure and feed pigs. He hews him in four pieces and casts his limbs to all points of the compass.

Satiyawati hears of her husband's death from Tubata, his charioteer who had hidden under the corpses and escaped. She swoons and then prepares to follow her husband. Accompanied by a maid Sugandi, she is driven by Tubata to the battlefield, till the chariot is smashed against the corpse of an elephant. Bidding Tubata return, she goes with Sugandi to find her husband. She sees dead elephants like mountains in a sea of blood. With a broken spear for a stick she walsk among corpses. Footsore she rests against an elephant, her feet bathed in blood. The heaps of slain warriors

look like islands, the elephants and horses like rocks, rising out of a sea; the heads of the fallen encircle her like stones and the tufts of lances like coral. Arrows stick out of the ground like caltrops and banners are ragged as trees, while crows sit on their shafts and shields drift in the sea of blood like small vessels, to ground on the corpses of elephants. The corpses diffuse a smell of spikenard. Satiyawati feels as if she were walking with her husband. Several times she mistakes a fallen prince for him, till in pity the gods send lightning in whose light she distinguishes him. She faints but reviving rubs his eyes as if he slept, asking why he does not welcome her and why he has broken his promise to take her with him into battle. She smears betel on his wounds, and then stabs herself. Sugandi snatches the dagger and does likewise so that she may serve her mistress in heaven. Narada is sent by Batara Guru to awaken Salya that he may watch over his wife. The three enter heaven together.

Kesna leads the Pandawas to the river Mahadarda. (*cf. namarada* 'river') where Batara Gangga has hidden Duryodana. Taunted by Bima, Duryodana parts from the god and comes out of the river, threatening to give Bima to dogs to eat. Kesna says that none can fight him but Bima.

Narada informs Baladewa, who is doing penance, of the fight and he hastens to the river. Bima seems likely to lose because he has promised Baladewa not to strike Duryodana below the navel. The noise of their clubs was thunderous; mountains were crushed and trees flung down; the earth quivered like waves dashing on a rock, while flames appeared in the air. Kesna slaps his own thigh to remind Bima that only that part of Duryodana is vulnerable. Bima fells his adversary by a blow on the thigh. Duryodana begs Bima to make an end. But Bima says, "Now you shall see my power. I shall put you in chains and make you a scavenger. Your women shall tend my pigs, chickens and cats. I have a black cat of the *Sangga-buana* kind with white pads. If your women are negligent, I shall beat them." The Pandawas rejoice but Baladewa is compassionate and angry at Bima's unknightly conduct. He is about to attack Bima with his usual weapons, a rice pounder *Halu-Gura* in his right hand and a plough in his left. But Kesna dissuades him, and gets Satiyaki to take him home.

Duryidana cannot die because the gods have promised that first he shall tread on the heads of the five Pandawas. Anxious Kesna wanders all night about the camp and at daybreak takes the Pandawas to hunt game, leaving Destajamina in charge of the women. Sotama hurries down from his penance in the mountains to Duryodana who entreats him to get the heads of the Pandawas for him to step on. Sotama enters the Pandawas' camp and kills all he meets, including Destajamina and Serikandi. Finally he kills Panchakumara, joint son of the five Pandawas and takes his head to Duryodana who steps on it and dies. Sotama returns to his cloister and tells Krepa. Returning from the chase the Pandawas find all the women in tears. Kunti and Derpadi blame Kesna for Panchakumara's dealth but the saintly Biyasa settles the dispute.*

* *The Kowi Ms. ends here*

The Pandawas follow Kesna to Sotama's cloister. Bima insults him but Sotama shoots fiery darts at the Pandawas and is attacked by Arjuna. Batara Guru sends Narada to Arjuna to extinguish the fire lest heaven be burnt and says Sotama shall not die by his hand. Narada says only Bima can kill Sotama and fulfil his vow by skinning him. Kesna tells Bima to seize him by the leg. He does so, flays him and throws him into the air. The Pandawas go to Hastinapura and choose Dermawangsa for their king.

Hikayat Sang Boma (or Sang Samba)+

[In Javanese there are two versions of the story of Bhauma, son of Bhumi the Earth, one in old Javanese or *kawi*, and another in the new Javanese which came into use in the middle of the sixteenth century. It is the plot of the old Javanese version, the *Bhaumakavya*, that the *Malay Hikayat Sang Boma*, or *Hikayat Sang Samba*, has followed.]

Brahma asks Bisnu, as the Malays term Vishnu, which of them is the senior. Bisnu replies that they must both hide and the one who first discovers the other shall be accounted senior. Brahma transforms himself and flees to the first heaven, followed by Bisnu in the shape of a golden peacock. When Brahma reaches the fifth heaven, Bisnu waxes angry and hurls his discus which takes the shape of a snake and lies at the entrance of heaven. Brahma descends to let Bisnu hide, but is alarmed to find Bisnu awaiting him. Bisnu hides and Brahma cannot find him and is ready to acknowledge him as the senior. Bisnu causes a light to emanate from himself. Brahma changes into a kite and follows the light. Bisnu changes himself into a huge board and lies before a palace where he sees the goddess Pertewi. She flees but he lies with her and gives her a flower *Wijaya Kesoma* to give the child she shall bear. She bears a son of monstrous size, while from the afterbirth demons *(raksasa)* are born. The child is so ugly she throws him into the sea, but as he is Bisnu's son, Brahma rescues him and gives him the name of Boma. Brahma and Bisnu teach the child magic arts. Brahma says that he will become a great king feared by gods and men, and that when he dies, he shall revive as soon as he touches the earth, and none but Bisnu can kill him. Boma goes to the earth and seeks his mother who gives him the flower *Wijaya Kesoma*, which he sticks in his crown. He then goes to the sea, mounts a whale and returns to the shore, where he sits playing on a rock. Baruna, or Varuna the god of the sea, arrives accompanied by heavenly nymphs and mounted on *Wilmana*, whose wings are made of five metals. He tells Boma that he is Bisnu's brother and his uncle and gives him *Wilmana*. On *Wilmana* Boma flies to Prajotaksena, where Daneswara is king. Boma defeats him, takes his city and puts his *raksasa* minister, Aria Karia, udner Mudra (the Mahodara of the *Kawi* version), who is his deputy at Prajotaksena.

Bisnu and Brahma walk on Mt. Tanunan, a corruption of the *kawi* Tapowana or 'wood where men do penance.' Bisnu plucks a *nagasari* flower and makes of it

+ *From Raffles MS No. 15 Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.*

a man, Dermadewa: Brahma plucks one and makes a woman Dermadewi. The two gods return to heaven, leaving their two creatures united in wedlock.

Bisnu resolves to become incarnate in Kesna and makes Dermadewa promise to follow him. He enters the pregnant wife of Pasudewa, who bears two sons, Baladewa king of Madura, and Kesna, king of Daruwati Pati. Kesna has two wives, Rakmi and Jambuwati, the latter three months pregnant. Dermadewa now leaves his wife as she sleeps, putting on her pillow a letter written on a palm-leaf together with a quid of betel: he tells a parrot to inform her of his journey and enters the body of Jambuwati, who bears a son Samba Prawira Jaya. Dermadewi throws herself into the fire, so that she shall meet her husband again, and entering the body of Dewi Darsila, consort of Jantaka king of Mandura-nagara, is reborn as Januwati. For foster-mother she has a heavenly nymph, Puspawati. Boma sends Mudra and Aria Karia as envoys to ask for the hand of Januwati, but they behave roughly as *raksasas* do and their request is refused. Boma kills Jantaka with his arrow Siamoga and carries off Januwati. Puspawati tells her that only the heavenly nymph, Nila Utama, can procure her a meeting with Dermadewa or, as he is now, Samba. She asks Boma to get her Nila Utama as a maid, whereupon Boma fights Indra and compels him to give up Nila Utama and sakurba. Then he goes to destroy the ascetics on the mountains Jinggabiru and Arkasa. Those who escape seek help from the holy ascetics, Gunadewa and Angkari (who in *Kawi* is Anggira). They go to Batara Guru, whom they find with Marami, Charakesti, Narada and the lesser gods. Batara Guru sends the two suppliants with Narada to seek the help of Kesna. Kesna sends against Boma an army under Samba, Suranata and Surama. Samba comes to the cell of Angkari. On the way he sees the high mountains Imagiri and Rajawana and the place where Arjuna doing penance was troubled by king Chakawacha, perhaps, as van Tuuk suggests, the Nivatakavachas, whom Arjuna destroyed. Suranata slays one of Boma's captains, Aria Pakitu, Surama slays another Si-amoga, Samba defeats Wira Angkasa. Samba passes on to the hermitage of Katambara and later stays in a village near the mountain Perjuta, where live the heavenly nymphs, Tunjong Sari, Tunjong Biru and Tunjong Maya. By Guru's advice they had gone there to avoid trouble with Kamajaya, who had pursued them with his love. Samba and his followers captured them, Samba making love to Tunjong Sari, Suranata to Tunjong Biru and Surama to Tunjong Maya. Samba puts to flight Pralemba who molested the ascetics on mount Jinggabiru. Next he visited the hermitage of the holy Wisadewa, where he left Tunjong Sari, and went off with Gunadewa to mount Tanunan, where, sent by Januwati. Nila Utama met him and accompanied him after his beloved. Having donned the *antakesoma* coat, he flies with Nila Utama to Boma's palace. Tunjong Sari is sad and is comforted by Wisadewa. Surama and Darga come with an army to aid Samba. They report that the hermits and wise men *(pandita)* advise him not to stay long in Boma's palace. Nila Suri Dewi, a female *raksasa*, hearing voices hurries armed to the spot. In spite of Nila Utama's warning, Samba and his followers are surrounded by the *raksasas*. Samba slays Mudra, but Nila Suri Dewi carries off Januwati and hides her on the golden mountain.

Narada descends, tells Samba of Januwati's plight and advises him to go to his father. Samba takes leave of Wisadewa and goes with Tunjong Sari to Darawati,

where he is welcomed by his father and his uncle, Baladewa. Narada again descends and goes to Kesna for help against Nila Suri. Samba burns the city of Prajotaksana (or Traju Trisna) and finds Januwati. Nila Suri flees to Indra's heaven to report to Boma. Samba goes to Mt. Menggada (Magadha) near the territory of Jarasanda whose son Nawanda had been killed in a great battle against Arjuna. Jarasanda attacks Samba whom Wisapati finds lying wounded in the lap of Januwati and heals him. Samba, with his captains Santaka (Sentiaka) and Nasta Jamana (or Drestajumina) again attacks Jarasanda and takes one of his sons prisoner. Leaving Wisapati, Samba goes to Daruwati, where he meets the three wives of Kesna, Satiabama, (Bat. MS. Sapiama), Rukmi (Bat. MS. Pamian) and his own mother Jambuwati.

Derma, grandfather of Gatotkacha, fearful of an attack by Boma, joins Samba. His grandson, along with his father Bima, does penance on Mt. Kandarana: he goes to his elder brother Pasudewa (Bat. MS. Basu Dewa) and asks him to accompany him to Kesna. Kesna accompanied him to the forest Rangdu, taking Samba: each takes his consort. Dermawangsa and Arjuna hear of it and Subadra wants to go too, in order to see Januwati Kesna awaits an attack from Boma.

Engaged in a war in Indra's heaven, Boma is told of events by Nila Suri. He writes to Kesna, demanding that Samba and Januwati be sent to him in chains: otherwise he will turn Daruwati into a sea of blood *(sagara getah*; Bat. MS. *laut darah)*. Receiving a refusal, he sends Kirana and Mudra to abduct them. After putting their people to sleep by a charm *(pustaka sesirip)* they creep into their bed-chamber and bind them. They are brought before Boma, who has oil poured on a pyre to burn Samba. Suddenly Hanuman, who is doing penance on Mt. Sarasena, comes with a host of apes to free Samba. He kills Boma, and Samba and Arjuna fall. After the fight Guru sends Narada and Indra with the water of life *(utama jiwa)* to revive the heroes. Samba follows his father.

> [There are two copies of the tale of Boma in London, one at Cambridge, two at Leiden and five at Batavia. To produce an adequate text of this early Malay Hindu tale they ought to be collated. The Raffles MS. No. 15 in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society was copied for Raffles at Batavia (Krokot), but occasionally the older spelling, *mat* for *mati*, *suar* for *suara* and *is* for *isi*, is preserved. Javanese forms, like *kakang*, are rare. There are a few forms, like *berkamparan* instead of *berkaparan* and *batun* instead of *bantun*. The tale like the story of Sri Rama, purports to have been recited, here by a *kiai dalang*.].

Hikayat Chekel-Waneng-Pati.*

After doing penance for three months on Mt. Mulia Kesna, Batara Naya Kesuma begot, by his consort Dewi Nila Utama, daughter of Batara Kesna Indra, twins, a son Dewa Indra Kamajaya and a daughter Dewi Nila Kenchana. Thunder, a gentle breeze, a rainbow, the crowing of cocks, and an eclipse of the moon heralded their birth on the fourteenth of the month. The girl was brought up by her uncle, Batara

* *From Raffles MS 23, Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.*

Indra. When she meets her own brother, they fall in love. Their father foresees that they will descend to earth.

Now there were four kingdoms in Java created by Maha Bisnu (Vishnu). Over Wanasaba ruled the celibate princess Ni Rara Suchi, who lived a hermit on Mt. Puchangan. Her brother Lembu Amiluhur, alias Sang Prabu Dewa Kesoma, ruled Kuripan. Another brother, Lembu Amarapadu, ruled Daha. Another, Lembu Pengarang, ruled Gagelang. The youngest, a sister Kinara Gila Prenggiwangsa, was the wife *(permaisuri)* of the ruler of Singgasari.

One day the ruler of Kuripan saw a doe suckling its dam, which he had just shot, and yearning for a child took his consort to the island Nusa Sari to pray to Sang Yang Sukma for off-spring. His brother the ruler of Daha visits it on the same quest. Naya Kusuma changing his son into a blue lotus and his daughter into a white, sets the blossoms before the rulers of Kuripan and Daha. The Paduka Mahadewi of Kuripan bears a son Raden Karta Buana or Raden Brajanata, and, amid storm, thunder and lightning, the Permaisuri of Kuripan bears Radin Inu Kartapati, *alias* Undakan Rawisrangga, who is an incarnation of Dewa Indra Kamajaya. Seven times he is carried in procession round the city and astrologers foretell that he shall rule all Java but that in his twelfth year a disaster will separate him from his parents. At the time of his birth the four who had served him in heaven, Sang Rukma Jaya, Sang Rukma Chahaya, Sang Raksa Indra and Sang Rukma Indra, all descendants of Indra, become incarnate in the wives of the *pateh, dĕmang, tĕmĕnggong* and *rangga* of Kuripan and are born into the world and called Jurudeh, Punta, Kertala and Prasanta: the *raksa* also gets a son Turas. Prasanta is hideous, because of the curse of Indra, whose permission to become man, as Rukma Chahaya he had not obtained: he pretends it is because his mother had eaten the meat of an owl. The Permaisuri of Kuripan bears another son Charang Tinangluh alias Lampong Karas, and a beautiful daughter.

The queen of Daha bears a daughter Kenchana Ratna *alias* Radin Galuh Chandra Kirana and Lasmi-ning-puri: she is the incarnation of Dewi Nila Kenchana. Her three servitor nymphs become incarnate in the wives of three Kuripan chiefs and are born into the world and named Ken Bayan, Ken Sanggit and Ken Pasangon. Daha's queen bears a son, Raden Gunong Sari or Raden Parbata Sari. The Paduka Mahadewi of Daha bears two daughters Raden Galuh Ajeng and Raden Tami Uwe. The prince of Gagelang gets a daughter Raden Galuh Kumuda and a son Raden Mantri Sirikan or Singa Mantri. The ruler of Singasari gets a daughter Uda-ning-Kung.

Radin Inu learns horsemanship, the arts of war and of music. Of his followers, Prasanta has a voice like a cracked drum and cannot sing, and is always the one to get his pate broken in adventures. Radin Inu goes to Daha and is betrothed to Chandra Kirana, who is as lovely as the nymphs Supraba and Tilottama. But Batara Kala resolves to turn their joy into sorrow and uses Ratu Socha Windu, a mighty ruler in the East, to whom are subject the princes of Bangawan, Nusantara, Madanda and Tumasik. Socha Windu dreams Raden Inu will one day rule all Java and sends Rangga Lawe and Si Penambang to kidnap him. Standing on one leg Rangga Lawe makes himself shrink and closing the nine openings of his body causes the world of sense to disappear and flies to Kuripan with Si Penambang clinging to his girdle.

They fly off with Radin Inu as he sleeps. Jurudeh, Punta and Kertala pursue in vain and, afraid to return, become hermits on Mt. Sela Mangling, one sitting on the tops of canary-grass *(lalang)*, one in water, one under a rock. Radin Inu refuses to marry the daughter of Socha Windu, and kicks and spits till Socha Windu attacks him with spear, *keris* and sword but in vain. He is bound to a stake, assailed with weapons and charged by horses and elephants; though all his assailants are reluctant, after three days he appears lifeless and is cast into the river, whence Prasanta and Turas rescue him. Radin Inu now changes his name to Chekel Wanengpati and goes a handsome but wasted vagabond to Daha where he is unknown. There he learns that a *raksasa* has carried off Chandra Kirana to his cave on Sela Mangling and though her father offers her in marriage to her rescuer, no one has recovered her. Chekel Wanengpati kills the demon, who is thus released from Batara Guru's curse and becomes Batara Siwa (Shiva); he offers to become his releaser's servant and spitting in his mouth gives him supernatural power. Prasanta (whose name is now Ranggajiwa) stands terified with eyes shut and yells when his master slaps his back, thinking the *raksasa* is about to kill him. But when they find Turas (now Si-Butatil) in his hiding-place, Prasanta brags that it was he who killed the demon. As they approach Daha, the king and all the court hurry to meet the rescued princess. At the approach of women Si-Butatil arranges his clothes and sticks a flower behind his ear so that it bleeds. Her rescuer will not do obeisance *(sĕmbah)* to the princess, will eat only from her plate, sleep only on her bed, and have his hair cut only in the hall Indra Buana, which no one but princes can enter on pain of death. Ken Bayan goes to prince Gunong Sari who is sitting playing the *gamĕlan* under a tree, and he gives her scissors and his attendants Tatik and Kemang to direct the hair cutting. His women prepare unguents, which they think will not be needed by one about to be stricken by the gods. Before he can touch Chekel, Kemang falls in a faint and on recovery declares he had left a blinding fire. Chekel laughs and suggests that Kemang's left arm is too short, and it is measured, while Chekel's followers chaff him for his simplicity. Before his second attempt Kemang says, "By your leave, Chekel" and is unharmed. Si-Butatil causes laughter by wondering if he too shall have a hair-cut there. All are amazed at Chekel's beauty. He is attired for sleep in gorgeous raiment with earrings, armlets and anklets: more he refuses, as he is a jungle dweller. The women prick their fingers over their embroidery and cut their hands from excitement over his charm.

The king of Kuripan, fearful of losing another son, curses Charang Tinangluh, saying that he will become ugly and leprous if he goes in search of Inu. And this happens, when with his sister Angling Karas and his servant Si-Tuli he sets out. BataraKala bids them go to Mt. Arga Sela. There they find Gunong Agong who can give no news of Inu and climbing higher they reach a lovely pool with water-lilies and lotus-blooms, its sand as white as cotton, and two rocks one like a carpet, one like an elephant. For sixteen months they neither eat not drink nor sleep, until Batara Indra spits into Charang's mouth and gives him the power of gods and *indras*. Indra changes the rock into an elephant for Charang, and a tree into a weapon with which he shall conquer all the kingdoms of the world, till he finds his brother whereat he shall regain his beauty and his elephant shall return to rock and his weapon again become a tree. Returning they meet Tagak Wesi in the form of the spectre Wewe,

and Wesi Jaya green and clad in river-weed. Having found the Radin Mantri Enum, their penance is now done. Charang with his sister conquers Pamotan and kills its ruler whose women commit suttee, all except the ruler's daughter Anta Resmi, whom Angling Karas promises to put on the throne of Pamotan. Charang Wanengpati now calls himself Klana Prabu Jaya; Gunong Agong becomes Rangga Mangunyuda; Tagakwesi, Tumenggong Midaksa; Wesijaya, Demang Suradilaga; Si Tuli, Bekel Suramatangga; and Angling Karas, the green Gem Ratna Wilis. Klana Prabu Jaya slays the older brother of Pamotan's king, namely the king of Pambuhan in a duel; and the women again commit suttee except only the king's daughter, Nawang Resmi. Then he conquers Pandan Salas and captures its ruler's daughter, Chandra Ningrum. He is sad because he has not yet found Inu.

The ruler of Manggada tells his captains Singabarung Gajah binurang and Roning layang that he will go in force to ask for Chandra Kirana, as Inu has vanished, and seize her if he is refused. He sends two arrongant noblemen to daha with a letter wrapt in yellow cloth. In this dilemma, the ruler of Daha asks the advice of his sister Ratu Mas of Panggong Wetan, who counsels him not to offend the ruler of Manggada and vainly tries to persuade Chandra Kirana. It is decided to ask for three months postponement. The frantic impatience of the ruler of Manggada amuses his retainers. From his lodge at Karang Kasatrian he behaves as if Daha belonged to him and enrages Gunong Sari, who one day receives Chekel Wanengpati and tells him of the impending marriage. Chekel is furious but smiles and they arrange to wait and abduct the bride during the wedding procession. The princess of Panggong Wetan advises the ruler of Daha to arrange a hunt to divert Chandra Kirana but she sends for Chekel and makes him promise not to leave Daha or to take him with her. He arranges to accompany her on the hunt. His men kill a tiger but the men from Menggada are cowards and their master a ludicrous boor. Batara Kala, angry with the ruler of Daha for breaking his word to Chekel throws his ring to the earth where it becomes a hind with golden antlers. Chandra Kirana wants it captured alive. Her father promises her hand to its captor. The prince of Manggada wounds himself and tears his clothes in the hunt but fails. Chekel catches, it after praying to Batara Shiva. People marvel and ask. 'Has Kamajaya descended from heaven?' Chandra Kirana goes to Penglipor Lara to bathe. Chekel leaps the fence and enters, followed by his servants. He writes verses on a leaf, which Chandra Kirana picks up, reads and throws away in anger. A learned man, Klana Brahmana, whose strategy has subdued Cheruni, Pasuruan, Kabotan and Wirasaba and who has married princesses of those countries, comes to the court, propounding two riddles; offering to acknowledge, himself and his four wives and 2,000 followers, the suzerainty of Daha, if its ruler can solve them, while should he fail the king must surrender the princess Chandra Kirana. Replying on the boasts of the prince of Manggada, the king takes up the challenge. The first riddle is: "what is a small plant with large fruit?" The second: "what is the ivory casket that contains a gold casket, that contains a pearl casket, wherein is a jewel beyond price?" The prince of Manggada is aghast with open mouth, like a hen about to lay an egg. Parbata Sari advises the king to ask for seven days' grace and promise his daughter to the solver of the riddles; and he asks Chekel to come and solve them. The prince of Manggada and the Brahmana sneer at the

boor, who however gives the correct answers: (1) the water-melon, *(sumangga)* (2) the ivory box is prince Parbata Sari of Daha; the golden and pearl caskets are Raden Galoh Ajeng and Radin Galuh Uwe, and the priceless gem, Chandra Kirana: daughters are under their brother's protection and a king without a son is like an elephant without tusks. The Brahman defeated flees with one servant to Socha Windu. Chekel offers his prizes to Chandra Kirana, who plies his servants with drink in a vain effort to discover who they are.

Meanwhile Klana Prabu Jaya, sad at his failure to find Inu, conquers Wirabhumi. Its king takes leave of his wife, promises to await her at the gate of heaven, and is killed. His son Singa Priambada and his daughter Anglong Mandira are well treated; and his *tĕmĕnggong*, Gajah Sinangling, is made regent under the title of Aria.

Again the ruler of Daha breaks his promise to Chekel and in anger his son Gunong Sari prepares to attack the prince of Manggada; to provoke a quarrel he dresses Si-Butatil in clothes that could only be worn by that prince. Suddenly news comes that Klana Prabu Jaya is attacking Daha. Fear makes the people as quiet as the leather puppets of the shadow-play when the lights of the theatre have been extinguished. The prince of Manggada boasts he will cut the invader to pieces but demands that Chekel shall leave the kingdom. Thinking the king of Daha to be privy to this demand Chekel prepares to go and is only detained by a challenge from Parbati Sari to throw dice. Chekel plays for twenty-four hours and loses all his property including his two servants. He sends them to Chandra Kirana to raise money on his *keris* but she refuses to take it and sends him gifts. He now agrees to stay. First the prince of Manggada engages Kalana Prabu Jaya and flees beaten, while Chekel notes how the enemy has adopted tactics used once by his brother Charang Tirangluh. For the fourth time the ruler of Daha now promises Chekel his daughter if he can defeat the enemy and he gives him the title of Adipati Tambak Baya. Chekel and Gunong Sari are friends like Arjuna ann Samba. He takes leave of Chandra Kirana, who gives him trousers of a pattern named after Arjuna as a hermit, raiment called Intoxicated with love *(bĕrangti kĕsmaraan)* anoints his shoulde4rs and gives him Inu's shield, dagger and horse, which recognizes him and whinnies. He bids farewell to the king and goes hand in hand with Gunong Sari to the city gate. In Midaksa, Suradilaga and Mangunyuda Adipati recognizes his three erstwhile companions Kartala, Punta and Jurudeh but they fail to recognize him, and when he waves his *kĕris* at them, the current of air makes them swoon. When Prabu Jaya wants to attack Adipati, his elephant will not face the sparks from his blows: his weapons grow hot and his strength and voice fail, but in his ugly foe he too fails to detect his brother. Adipati fells his brother and then recognizes him. When he takes Charang Tinangluh on his lap, his brother's beauty is restored. Gentle rain falls; the sun is darkened; and there are rainbow and thunder. Adipati faints at his deed. Going his rounds on earth, Batara Kala sees the two princes lying unconscious and spirits Chandra Kirana and her servant Si Abang into the forest before they recover. The wailing over her loss is like the roar of the sea breaking on the shore, and Adipati is inconsolable.

Stunned by the (supposed) death of Adipati and the disappearance of his sister, Parbata Sari gets his father's leave to go hunting, and having travelled for a day tells

his followers he is going in search of his sister. Names are changed. Parbata Sari becomes Mesa Ulun Sira Panji Pandai Rupa; his head servant, Demang Raganata; Tatik, Charang Sari; Kemang, Charang Kembang and Wijil, Charang Soka. They fare to the sea and reach Tuban, whose ruler is just dead, and build a fleet. His father sends his Temenggong after Parbati Sari, who leaves at his mountain lodge a letter telling of his purpose. Mesa Ulun sails north conquering, kills the ruler of Tanjong Pura in a sea-fight and coaxes his daughter Ratnawati.

Chandra Kirana wanders in the forest with torn garb and weary feet hoping beasts will devour her if she cannot find Adipati. She changes her name to Ken Sela Brangti and her servant's to Ken Bramanta. They are found by the prince of Lasem asleep under a tree and Ken Sela Brangti is adopted by him.

Mesa Ulun leaves Tanjong Pura, conquers Bangka and reaches Tuban, whence he and his wife in a carriage go to the sea and sail for Lasem. The king of Lasem wants to marry him to Ken Sela Brangti but the two discover they are brother and sister. He tells her Adipati's body was not found and she is overwhelmed.

Meanwhile having recovered in Wirabumi, Adipati determines to go and seek Chandra Kirana. He changes his name to Mesa Kagungan Sira Panji Pulang Asmara. Kalana Prabu Jaya is called Mesa Tuda Asmara Kusuma Indra, and Singa Priambada becomes Jaya Asmara Suta Semi So, too, the servants. Rangga Mangunyuda becomes Rangga Narawangsa; Suradilaga, Parta Wirajaya; Midaksa, Panta Wirajaya; Astujiwa, Ragajiwa; Si Tulus, Bagus Chili, Si-Butatil pretends to be hurt that he does not get a new name too. On the seventh day of the month Sira Panji and his brother set out for Gagelang, Ratna Wilis accompanying them in a carriage. First they conquer Gunong Kendang whose king foreknowing his end from the flight of a bird tells his wife he will await her at the gate of heaven and dies in battle. The ruler of Gagelang sends envoys who report Sira Panji comes as a friend. Crowds await him and the women fall in love with him. He meets the king and is housed in the palace Karang kawangsan but the moonlight keeps him awake thinking of Chandra Kirana. Daily he meets the king. Names are changed again. Sira Panji becomes Temenggong Aria Wangsa; Mesa Yuda, Aria Prabangsa; and the prince of Wirabumi, Aria Suta Semi.

The king of Mt. Bantara and his relative the prince of Putrasena determine to avenge the death of the king of Gunong Kendang with the help of a warrior Ke\alana Banjar, and to conquer Gagelang and Singasari. Mesa Ulun with wife and sister leaves Lasem for Gagelang where his likeness to Aria Wangsa is noted at once. At court Aria Wangsa recognizes him as Gunong Sari, and Mesa sees the likeness of Aria Wangsa to Adipati, asks if he knows such a man and can tell where Kalana Prabu Jaya is. The *pateh*, who takes him to his lodge Karang Singapadu, tells how Aria Wangsa had another name when he arrived. Mesa Ulun imparts his suspicions to his sister Sela Brangti but she is incredulous. His servants inform Aria Wangsa of a rumour that Gunong Sari had found his sister at Lasem, and say there are now two carriages at Karang Singapadu. From joy Aria Wangsa feels like a plant refreshed by rain: he takes every precaution to conceal his identity, even grooming his horse Si-Rangga-Ranggi indoors. Next day the king gives Mesa Ulun the new name of Demang Urawan. Demang Urawan asks Aria Wangsa (who is so like

Adipati) for the loan of his servants, Ragajiwa and Si-Butatil, who he sees are like Adipati's servants. Sela Brangti, concealed behind a curtain, questions them in their cups, but Si-Butatil will not drink and removes his comrade as he is about to blab: going back to Aria Wangsa, Si-Butatil amuses all by blaming himself for the dumbness of Ragajiwa, who retorts in a drunken fashion. Aria Wangsa goes as a guest to Demang Urawan, and while they sing and play, Sela Brangti and her maids come out in the moonlight and climb a stone wall to get a glimpse of the men. She sees Aria Wangsa clearly by the lamp-light and recognizes him as Adipati and looking up he beholds his beloved. He retires to his sleepless couch.

The prince of Gagelang wants to marry Aria Wangsa to Ken Sela Brangti. Demang Urawan awaits Aria Wangsa under a banyan tree and tries in vain to stab him. At night he steals past a sleeping guard and by means of a charm enters the room of Aria Wangsa, only to start back amazed at the beauty of Ratna Wilis who lies near. The lovers Aria Wangsa and Sela Brangti, Demang Urawan and Ratna Wilis meet again by accident at a bathing party at Penglipor Lara. When Sela Brangti runs away, Aria Wangsa is heartbroken at seeing her go like the moon behind a mountain-top.

Batara Kala appears to Inu of Koripan in a dream and tells him he will soon be united with Chandra Kirana. He sees a vision of a beautiful youth with three locks of hair, called Ki Desti Pengarang, a dweller at Alas-Alasan (or *di-desa Gagelang* Raff., who declared that if his father wished he would fetch his mother and unite them. The same night the ruler of Gagelang dreams that an old woman comes and tells him that so long as a youth Ki Desti Pengarang lives many will fall sick and die. There is a search for the youth. Aria Wangsa's men find him in a big house under a cotton tree. He refuses to accompany them and says their master must come to him. When one of the men stabs him, the blood spurts to heaven and the youth and his house vanish, going to Nini Muni at Alas Setran. The searchers wander in the forest, afraid to go home.

Sleepless from love Aria Wangsa goes to the grave-yard *(pasetraan)* kicking in the dark against Ragajiwa and Si-Butatil, who though terrified of ghosts follow him He concentrates on calling up Shiva and all sorts of spirits appear, some only heads, some only feet, some have blazing eyes or stick out tongues and lick his feet. Batara Shiva appears and asks what he wants. Aria Wangsa (= Inu) asks him to find Ki Desti Pengarang. The youth's grandmother, Nini Muni, appears and offers to send her grandson to Sela Brangti in return for 178 bamboo plates of food, 170 chickens roasted whole and 173 dishes of cakes (100 *anchar* of raw meat only in Raff. MS. 23). Batara Shiva provides them. Muni then demands to become human and though he knows it will bring down a curse Aria Wangsa prays for this. She becomes a beautiful girl and by magic erects a pavilion. He kisses her but when her robe falls and reveals her gleaming form, she reminds him he has not yet wedded Chandra Kirana and offers to call her grandson and send him to tap Sela Brangti's head thrice and cause her an illness which he only can cure. He takes leave and finds his servants skulking in a dry well for fear of ghosts. Batara Guru's hermits cannot cure Sela Brangti. The famous medicine-man, Ki Desti Pengarang, refuses help and recommends Aria Wangsa, who attends her, till finding he is Adipati alias Chekel she throws herself into his arms and he makes her his. She asks him to arrange a

marriage between her brother Demang Urawan and Ratna Wilis. He consents but first goes hunting. The marriage takes place. Aria Wangsa seduces Anglong Mandira, princess of Wirabhumi, and Chandraningrum, a princess of Jagaraga.

The prince of Singasari sends to Gagelang for help against the kings of Putrasena and Gunong Bantara who are killed in battle. In the fight Aria Wangsa's robe is lifted and Demang Urawan recognizes him to be Inu Kartapati from a blaze on his thigh. Aria Wangsa refuses the hand of Ratna Kumuda, daughter of the king of Singasari, and she is married to Aria Prabangsa. Rangga Narawangsa is praised by Aria Wangsa for killing Banya Santika a son of the *mantri* Aria Jambalika, for an intrigue with one of Sela Brangti's maids.

A fierce long-haired, black-bearded Kalana, Guling Patirat, vulnerable only on the hip, comes from Palembang and ravages Java, conquering even Mataram. Gagelang and Singasari are afraid but Aria Wangsa undertakes their defence and sends Wirajaya to discover where the attack will fall. The prince of Gagelang is doubtful of the prowess of Aria Wangsa, who therefore brushes past the head of a *patih* in the form of a bird and then resumes his own shape. Aria Prabangsa, too, takes the form of the princess of Gagelang and makes the *patih* escort him to the Kalana as a token of submission. The Kalana, fired with love, is induced to tell of the spot where he is vulnerable. Thereupon Aria Prabangsa takes the form of a fighting-cock and flies up into a banyan tree: then he takes his own shape, breaks the Kalana's *keris* and vanishes. Meantime, having taken the form of the Kalana, Aria Wangsa carries off the ten princesses of the Kalana's harem to Gagelang. In the ensuing battle he kills the Kalana and presents his head on a golden plate, covered with a yellow cloth, to the king of Gagelang. Aria Wangsa is given the title of Pangeran Adipati and the hand of the king's daughter, Raden Galuh. Her jealousy towards her spouse's favourite wife, Sela Brangti, leads her to plot with Pandu Rasmi, sister of Banyak Santika, who (as related) had been killed for an intrigue with one of Sela Brangti's maids. A portrait of Banyak Santika is put under Sela Brangti's pillow and a rumour started that he was not her maid's lover but hers. Sleepless Sela Brangti dozes just as her consort returns and finds the portrait. He strikes her and spits at her, calls Demang Urawan and challenges him to a duel, but Demang Urawan refuses and demands an enquiry. Aria Wangsa orders Ragajiwa to take Sela Brangti to the graveyard *(paselraan)*, where she enters the spirit world, weak and swaying like betel-palm: realizing Pandu Rasmi's plot, she would like to be devoured by the screeching demons *(buta)* but the princess of the spirit-world appears and promises her good treatment. there falls darkness with thunder and lightning Batara Kala visits Pangeran Adipati, who lies in a swoon, and rebukes him. None of the princesses will tend him, nor is a cure sent by the king of Gagelang of avail. Finally he revives to hear, that Demang Urawan and his women have gone to Lasem which is put in his charge. In the spirit world Sela Brangti bears a son Mesa Tandraman and Raden Galuh bears a son, Raden Chitra Anglong Baya. Hearing of the divorce and of his brothers' sickness Aria Prabangsa hurries with Suta Semi from Singasari to Gagelang. Then turning into an eagle he flies to Mt. Arga Sela, where he concentrates and invokes Mt. Indrakila where the hermit Chandrama Sakti dwells. Foreknowing his errand the hermit says that Inu of Kuripan can be cured only by Batara Kala. Aria

Prabangsa must go to a square pond at the foot of the mountain, pluck from it one lotus-leaf to sit on and another to cover his body, don a penitent's cap, and without sleep or food let himself be carried for six months in the ebb and flow of the Southern seas; when Batara Kala appears, he must not reply to his questions. After six months Batara Kala appears, makes a circle in the water and in it creates a glistening island of diamond. Aria Prabangsa pays no heed. After seven days Batara Kala asks him thrice what he wants. He is dumb. Then the god promises to accomplish his desire and says, "O Charang Tinangluh, your brother's cure is the scented *gandapura* flower that grows not on earth and can be found only by your brother's son." concentrating his thoughts on Gagelang, Aria Prabangsa returns there and tells Pangeran Adipati.

Ragajiwa and Si-Butatil are ordered to fetch Sela Brangti from the *pasetraan*, but in terror of spirits arrange to spend the night elsewhere and pretend they cannot find her. They roam in a wood together and are hurt by all sorts of beasts, until accidentally they reach the *pasetraan* and meeting the demons hop frog-like over the ground till they can take refuge in a dry well. There Mesa Tandraman finds them and takes them to his mother. She lets them take her son to his father Pangeran Adipati, who gives him his *kĕris* and his horse Si-Rangga-Ranggi for the quest of the flower and bids Chitra anglong Baya accompany him. First he visits his mother who resents his going with her rival's son but the queen of the spirit world tells him the flower grows in heaven and teaches him to fly. Alighting on the island Tambini Mesa Tandraman with his *kĕrs Si Kalamisani* kills a *buta*, who thus freed from a curse becomes Shiva and tells him the flower is blood from the bosom of the nymph Sukarba. Flying again they reach heaven, which the hero enters on foot. He finds seven nymphs, the fairest of them Sukarba, to whom Shiva warned him he must not yield till she has promised him the flower. They pass seven days in love, and yet another seven. She tells her lover that perhaps she will bear a child. When her father Indra hears this, he is furious but Batara Kala persuades him to allow the marriage. Sukarba pricks her bosom and puts the flower in a turquoise casket which none but her lover can open. Bidding her farewell, he asks that her child, if a boy, may be named Mesa Kusuma. At the palace of his mistress, the princess of Nusa Tambini, he finds his brother Chitra Anglong Baya and they set out for Java. But while they bathe on Mt. Lawu, Chitra Anglong Baya steals his brother's *Kĕris*, stabs him and steal the casket. The horse Si-Rangga-Ranggi stays beside his master and licks his blood. But by the help of Batara Kala, Mesa Tandraman revives and goes to the *pasetraan* where his mother has dreamt he is in trouble. Meanwhile his brother has presented the casket to their father but as no one can open it, his father is sure he is not the finder of it, spits at him and sends Ragajiwa and Si-Butatil for Mesa Tandraman who refuses to go. The princess of the spirit-world tells him unless he goes to Daha all Java will be conquered by Socha Windu. As dry rubbish is carried by the wind, so on the word of the spirit princess Sela Brangti is transported to Daha, where after a loving greeting her father gets angry at hearing of her marriage to a Gagelang nobleman. The prince of Manggada, backed by a warrior Krangyang Narapaksa is again asking for the hand of Chandra Kirana. Meanwhile with his

brother and Aria Suta Semi, Pengeran Adipati has mounted an elephant and gone to his son Mesa Tandraman, got the casket opened and been cured. Father and son set out for Wirabumi. But in the night the father slips away, with Ragajiwa and Si-Butatil, for Daha. Aria Prabangsa decides to take the ladies to Wirabumi and then to follow his brother in disguise. In the heavenly garden, Banjaran Sari, on the fifteenth day of the month amid a hurricane of rain, thunder and lightning, Sukarba bears a son, whom Indra names Mesa Indra Kusuma Yuda.

In Daha the prince of Manggada till demands Chandra Kirana and says he is not afraid of her husband. Nothing will move Chandra Kirana and as she is offering incense and praying for her husband's arrival a voice addresses her and pretending to be the god Larasmara her husband, invisible and dubbed now Bra Wisamarta, hears her talk of suicide if he does not come. Pangeran Adipati then takes his own shape and they are reconciled.

Demang Urawan goes from Lasem to Daha but angry at the presence of the prince of Manggada retires. Disguised as players Aria Prabangsa, Aria Suta Semi and Mesa Tandraman get access to the Daha court. They change their names. Aria Prabangsa becomes Surana; Aria Suta Semi, Surata; Mesa Tandraman, Suta Nagara; Narawangsa, Narachita; Wirajaya, Suragempita; Wirayuda, Astukuas-a; Baguschili, Chilimolek. They enact the stabbing of Aria Wangsa by Demang Urawan and all that happened afterwards, so that Chandra Kirana recognises Suta Nagara for her son. One day Ratu Mas of Panggong Wetan, a supporter of the prince of Manggada, hears Chandra Kirana addressed in loving terms by a male voice and tells his friend but his emissary is manhandled by the servants of Pangeran who in anger sets Banyak Parada to kill the would-be abductor, Adipati: Manggada's great warrior, Krangyang Narapaksa is then given the task, but Pangeran Adipati awaits him. Hearing of it, the prince of Daha asks for volunteers to kill the *maling aguna* Surana the strolling player volunteers! Meanwhile prince Kartabuana has come from Kuripan in search of his brothers and detects in Surana a strong likeness to Charang Tinangluh. Surana *alias* Charang Tinangluh is reported killed in his fight with the *maling* but he goes to Kartabuana and prepares to fight the prince of Menggada. Then the *maling*, who is really Radin Inu, is wrongly taken to be dead. Charang Tinangluh surrounds and kills the prince of Menggada. The prince of Sucha Windu prepares to attack Daha to abduct its princess. He orders his captain Rangga Lawe the Green to carry out his plan, while the ruler of Tumasik orders his *pĕnggawa* Rangga Lawe the White to accompany him. The attacker's allies are the rulers of Madanda, Tumasik, Nusantara and Sanggora, of Blambangan, Blitar, Tetegal and Pakambangan. Terrified the king of Daha hands over government to Inu under the name of Ratu Anum Kesoma Yuda. Mesa Tandraman takes charge of Wirabumi under the name of Raden Aria Mangku Nagara. The prince of Wirabumi governs Mataram with the title of senapati. Punta becomes Adipati Kumitir; Kertala, Adipati Manggada; Prasanta, Adipati Kandang, and Si-Butatil becomes Adipati Juminah. The other princes become *bagawan:* Gunong Sari, Prabu Anum Daha; Radin Chitra Anglong Baya, Prabu Anum of Gagelang; Charang Tinangluh, Prabu Anum of Singasari. Tatik becomes adipati of Sukawati, Kemang of Sukawana, Si-Tuli of

Tanjong Pura.

Socha Windu's two foremost warriors reach Daha, flying through the air, and by their spells carry off Chandra Kirana in her sleep. Adipati Kumitir gives the alarm and swoons. Half-clad Charang Tinangluh flies after the abductors, fights them and turning into an eagle Jentayu flies back to Daha, with the princess. The two abductors follow and there is a fight, in which they raise a hurricane till Aria Mangku Nagara creates thunder and lightning to quell it. Then the abductors create darkness with thousands of shapes like their own to confuse their enemies, but Mangku Nagara creates light. The abductors create a sea and drive into it but are pursued by the three princes of Daha in the shape of dragons. Finally the abductors hide in the forest in the shape of cats, lizards and black dogs but they are taken and killed. Adipati Kumitir goes as a spy to the invader's camp. The next day Daha attacks Socha Windu as his army is crossing the river Luhur and puts it to flight. Socha Windu deploys his forces in the form of a hand; Daha in that of a ravening crocodile. Captured Socha Windu is tied to a stake and stoned to death. Aria Mangku Nagara goes to take over the enemy's kingdom where all submit but 400 grey beards who get drunk and vow to follow their lord in death; and he marries the beautiful princess Ratna Kumala. All the allies of Socha Windu submit and deliver princesses in token thereof.

Richly clad the princes set out with music for the South Sea, plucking flowers and fruits, visiting the ruins and gardens of ancient towns, bathing and snaring birds. By the sea they build kiosks and Ratna Kumala and her companions dance and sing by the light of the full moon. Ratu Anum (Inu) and his brother Prabu Singasari (Charang Tinangluh) invoke Shiva and Indra respectively to turn them into amiable giants so that they can dan the sea, while Raden Aria (Inu's son) invoking Sukarba and the princess of the *pasetraan* becomes a dragon and sucks up the water between the dams, so that the princesses can collect shells. The builders of the kiosk unearth treasures and old weapons. "Perhaps this is the site of a battle between the Dutch and the English." Stung by a marine animal Si-Butatil causes laughter by reeling like a drunken Dutchman. Raden Karta Buana and Raden Singa Mantri marry the two Daha princesses, Raden Galuh Ajeng and Radin Galuh Uwe. All the princes and their consorts are drawn by oxen in processional cars. The ex-king of Kuripan arranges a mock combat with *puar* sticks, against the *bagawans* of Daha and Singasari, while Prasanta and Si-Butatil guard 200 buffaloes ready to loose into the crowd when the combat grows too fast and furious. When the buffaloes are loose, Prasanta and Si-Butatil take to the sea, where unable to swim Si-Butatil clings to his mate and is terrified of sharks; when he climbs ashore, the buffaloes attack him. Radin Aria Mangku Nagara is now installed as ruler of the kingdom of Socha Windu with the title Prabu Anum Kusumaningrat. Suddenly before the kiosk appears the celestial garden Banjaran Sari with Sukarba and other nymphs, who want to see how mortals live. Prasanta and Si-Butatil are dragged, drunk, out of a corner and made to show them a play, depicting the episodes in the life of Inu, Chandra Kirana and their children. Next day all the princes perform a dance in two troops, as later do the princesses. Inu dances alone in the character of Chandra Kirana and she alone, representing him. The celestial garden returns to heaven.

In Keling dwelt a mighty prince Anyakra Buanawati, descendant of Pandu. He

had a brother Anyakra Kusuma Wijaya, two sons Pangeran Sukma Wijaya and Pangeran Sura Wijaya, and two daughters, Dewi Kusuma Puri and Ratnawati. Now to avenge herself on Mesa Tandraman who had taken another bride and forgotten her, the nymph Sukarba appeared to Pangeran Sukma Wijaya in a dream and said she was Ratna Kumala, wife of Ratu Socha Windu. The prince pines and one or more of the forty most lovely women of Keling are offered to the prince of Kuripan in return for his daughter-in-law. The offer is refused. A great Keling fleet under Jayalengkara, prince of Manchapadanam, sets out and calls at Pulau Percha, where the princes of Acheh, Deli, Batu Bara, Rokan, Siak, Bengkulu, Indragiri, Jambi and Palembang submit, and surrender princesses. Pajajaran submits. The ruler of Keling with the rulers of Golconda Nagapadanam, Tanjaur, Gujerat and Bengal all come, flying through the air, the Tamil ruler and his family in a hill-like golden palace *(maligai panchapura)*. The *adipati* of Banyu Mas informs Kuripan that the Tamil king has reached Pajajaran and his golden palace has become a town, Martapura, complete with moats and castles. After an exchange of envoys and letters, the war starts. Inu sends Prabu Mataram and Adipati Kumitir to Jagaraga, where is the Adipati of Banyu Mas. 'The devils of Mataram' attack the Keling army at night and cause disorder and heavy losses. In the battle Si-Butatil is captured but rescued by Prabu Singasari. Adipati Kumitir refuses to fight Raja Durgamala who is a girl. The brother of the Keling princes vows to abduct Ratna Kumala but Inu has put her and the other women in the jewelled box Astagina and entrusted it to Prabu Socha Windu and Prabu Singasari, who carry it to the sea, where they turn into dragons and lie motionless like islands. After a long search the Kling princes trace them and attack in the form of *raksasas*. But Prabu Singasari creates darkness wherein he and his comrade escape to heaven to be pursued by the Kelings in the shape of griffins. He then flies to Inu, who by a magic arrow raises a storm that scatters the griffins and takes charge of the turquoise box. Batara Kala gets the gods to send Mesa Indra Dewa Kusuma, son of Mesa Tandraman by Sukarba, to the help of his father and grandfather. He goes with thirty-six gods, and erects a magic palace and greets his grandfather. By a *mantra* Anyakra Buanawati puts the Javanese princes at Jagaraga to sleep, locks them in a magic hall, flies back with them to the Keling army and sets them as prisoners in the magic circle of Laksamana that none may cross. There is panic in Jagaraga till Mesa Indra Dewa Kusuma arrives and meets his grandfather. Inu welcomes him and hands over the turquoise box to Prabu Socha Windu to open so that the ladies may meet Sukarba's son. The princes of Singasari, Daha and Mataram fail to release the captive Javanese because they are men and none but gods can cross the Laksamana line. Spurred by Inu. Mesa Indra Dewa Kusuma along with Batara Indra Dewa Sokma releases them.

Prabu Singasari begets a son Kertanagara and a daughter Sekar Taji and the Permaisuri of Daha bears a son Raden Parbata Nagara and a daughter Raden galoh Kenchana Sari.

The battle begins with magic weapons, sudden darkness and prisoners put within the Laksamana circle. Prabu Daha finds that in fighting Durga Narmala he is fighting a woman and takes her captive. The Keling king flies through the air to invoke the aid of his *guru* Sukmanasa. While he is away, Inu and three Prabu take

the shape of the Keling princes and abduct their wives. But on the fourteenth day Dewa sukmanasa arrives with a host of gods and rescues the Keling prisoners. The battle is renewed Shiva descends, rebukes the gods for helping the Keling invader and arranges settlement by intermarriages. All go to Kuripan, where there are dancing and plays and feasting and marriage processions seven times round the town. The two daughters of Prabu Daha and Prabu Singasari marry the sons of the Keling king, and his two daughters marry the sons of the two Javanese princess. The Keling ruler goes home to be welcomed by his *patih* Singa Pertala.

Shiva sends 200 flying cars to take the Javanese princes to heaven to visit Dewi Sukarba. Indra welcomes them, and they stay a month.

Then Bayan is married to Jurudeh, Sanggit to Punta and Ken Pasangon to Kertala. Ken Sela Brangti takes compassion on her defeated rival, the princess of Gagelang. All the princes go home but come yearly to pay tribute to the court of Kuripan.

Hikayat Ahmad Muhammad.*

The tale is also called the story of Serengga Bayu. The ruler of Yunan had a vizier Muhibb-al-Muluk, who bought a Persian child and named him Ratna Kasehan, found him a wife and gave him a trading-ship. While he has gone to Babel to trade, the vizier dies. He removes to Kenda Kiri and his wife bears two sons Ahmad and Muhammad, who will not go to a teacher of religion till their father has bought them a beautiful bird. A merchant's son sees the bird and tries in vain to buy it. An astrologer tells him that whoever shall eat the bird's head will become a great ruler and whoever eats its liver a great minister. Having tried in vain to start an intrigue with the children's mother by means of a masseuse go-between, the young man gets from the astrologer the charm called the 'arrow of gnosis' *(panah ma'rifat)* to which the lady succumbs. She gives him the bird and he gets it roasted. While he is dallying with his mistress, her sons return from school, and the cook gives them the bird with their rice: Ahmad eats the head and Muhammad the liver. Filled with grief the merchant's son visits the astrologer who tells him that the wonderful bird will resume its shape in the belly of one who has eaten it. He persuades his mistress to let him have her children killed, but their nurse overhears and tells them and they flee. An elephant chooses Ahmad to fill the vacant throne of Baghdad. He also marries the prime minister's daughter Siti Baghdad. Meanwhile Muhammad wakes, sees the tracks of the elephant and a cloth his brother has trailed. He comes to the garden of a fairy god-mother *(ninek kĕbayan)* and hearing from her that an elephant has chosen a body to be ruler of Baghdad, guesses who it is, fears that his brother has forgotten him, gives his name as Serengga Bayu and begs the old woman to adopt him. She is delighted. He goes to the town and works for hire but he dreams that an old man tells him to pat his cheek if he wants 1,000 *dinar*. This he does and with the money buys eight slaves, clothes and provisions and gives a feast. Siti

* *From a text lithographed in Singapore in 1889 (29 Rabi u'l-akhir, A.H. 1307)*

Baghdad's sister, Siti Saadad, becomes enamoured because of the posies Ninek Kebayan takes her, arranged by Serengga Bayu. She sends her maids Dang Lela Seganda and Dang Lela Mengema to Ninek Kebayan's house, where Serengga Bayu gives them a ring and a message for their mistress. She tells him her palace has seven fences and at each the guards must be paid 1000 dinar by any one who would enter. He pats his cheek and gets the money and enters. Many good pantuns (with references to Laksamana, Paduka Tuan, Singgora, Feringgi) are bandied, and siti Sa'adad gives him wine whereat he vomits up the liver of the magic bird. She washes it and swallows it. They sit in dalliance, while the hero remarks it is like the saying لقمان كرفك موفكوه بوه . He returns home to find he can no longer raise gold by tapping his cheeks and is in grief till wandering he meets two genies quarrelling over the possession of a magic arrow that returns to the bowman, a magic bag filled with any food its owner desires and a magic flying skin. He proposes that he should shoot the arrow and whichever genie gets it, shall have the magic articles. But while they chase after it, he recalls the arrow, mounts the skin and flies home to Ninek Kebayan. On the skin he flies to Siti Sa'adad and arranges to fly with her to the island Biram Dewa. They bathe and sport and flirt but when Serengga Bayu falls asleep, she mounts his flying skin and flies home. In grief he wanders till he overhears two egrets arguing over a divorce. The female wants her mate to fly with her for their divorce to a tree planted by Batara Kala. Rub its bark on the feet and one can walk on water; take a twig of it and strike thrice on the ground and it will become a caparisoned steed, that will revert to a twig if struck again on the ground. Serengga Bayu uses this bark and these twigs and walks on the sea to a ship belonging to a Raja Daud and Raja Tidun, envoys from Khorasan taking to Baghdad a sword that will cut without a swordsman. After seeing his magic arrow they show Serangga Bayu the sword whereupon he leaps overboard, goes ashore, creates a magic steed from the twigs and returns to Ninek Kebayan. Then having again acquired dinars by patting his cheeks, he enters the heroine's palace once more. He is detected and attacked but drives off his aggressors by his magic arrow that creates bees and wasps. Siti Saadah's father, the Ferdana Mantri, reports to Sultan Ahmad Shah. Serengga Bayu frightens the Sultan's warriors by flying above their heads and shooting at them, bt when the Sultan arrives, he uses the twigs and mounts his magic steed only to dismount and relate his adventures to his own brother. Sultan Ahmad celebrates his brother's marriage with Siti Sa'adad and makes him his prime minister. They then send envoys Merdu Wangsa and Merdu Raja to Yunan to fetch their parents.

Hikayat Shah-i Mardan.*

Raja Bikrama ditia Jaya, ruler of Dar al-Hastana had a son Shah-i Mardan, who studied under a Brahman of Dar al-Kiam, versed in the language of birds. Having escorted his teacher home on the completion of his studies, Shah-i Mardan got lost

* *From the romanised text printed in Weltevreden in 1916. It is full of Batavian words and neologisms.*

on his return and came to the bower where Kemala Ratna Dewi daughter of the ruler of Dar al-Marjum had been carried from her garth Surakerama by a *raksasa*. When he is too faint-hearted to rescue her, she wipes his face with the charm *ulu-rana* and changes him into a parroquet. He flies to Dar al-Kiam and alights on the bower of Siti Dewi, the king's daughter, who cherishes him, by day a parroquet, by night a prince. Her father seeing her love-lorn state threatens his viziers with death unless they discover her lover within forty days. A duenna betrays the secret. When the king would kill the perroquet the Brahmana changes him into Shah-i Mardan. He weds Siti Dewi and leaves her to travel, after bidding her name their unborn child Panji Lelana if a boy, Ratna Dewi if a girl.

Under the name of Indrajaya he reaches a hill where an ascetic sage Salam a'd-din tells him prayer is done to four letters All(a)h and with the help of patience and good works will merge the visible in the invisible. Forty days later he encounters Lukman who having prescience of his coming sent his son Jin Katub to welcome him. Lukman asks, "What must we expel when we recite the prayer by which we enter a consecrated state *(takbirat u'l-ihram)*." Indrajaya answers, "The mutable *(ghairu'llah)* that has no part in the being *(wujud)*, attributes *(sifat)* and works *(a'fal)* of God. He adds that we recite the creed *(fatihah)* because in Arabic the word is spelt with five letters symbolical of the hours of prayer. Canonical prayer *(salat)* was received from God, while private prayer *(sĕmbahyang)* was the basis of the Prophet's work. Like Muhammad morning prayer is first and original and so involves two genuflexions. As God is revealed in being, knowledge *('ilmu)*, inward vision *(suhud)* and light *(nur)*, there are in midday prayer four flexions. *Suhud* is the knowledge of God we receive in our real hearts that lie in our anatomical hearts *(rumah-nya hati ma'nawi itu hati sanubari)*. As man is made of fire, wind, water and earth, there are also four flexions in afternoon prayer. In sunset prayer there are three flexions because absolute unity *(ahadiat)*, unity of self stripped of attributes *(wahdat)*, relative unity or unity in plurality *(wahidiat)* have their degrees *(mĕrtabat)* in Allah, and prayer has no origin save creation by Allah. We stand in prayer erect like flame, bow like the swaying wind, kneel like water and sit steadfast as earth. Fire is our flesh, wind our breath, water our bones, earth our body. On fire is writ *alif*, on wind *lam awal*, on water *lam akhir*, on earth *ha* and all stand for *bismillah*. Of paths there are four: *shari'at* the sacred law of Islam, *tarikat* the path of deeds, *hakikat* the path of truth, and *ma'rifat* or gnosis. The seat *(budi)*, of the fourth spirit *(ruh)*. Severally they are created of water, air, earth and light, the four elements of which man is made. And whosoever knows himself knows his Lord. Canonical law has for its life the evil—prompting soul *(nafsu ammarah)*, the mystic path has the soul that struggles with its passions *(nafsu lawwamah)*, the path of truth the soul of the Sufi *(nafsu sufiah)* and gnosis the soul that has vanquished passion *(nafsu mutma'innah)*.

Seven days later Indrajaya comes to an empty mosque by the sea-shore. A thousand he.seman who have died in holy war and dwell beneath the throne of Allah descend there daily to pray. In life they surrendered *(taslim)* themselves to God, were ever watchful *(murakabah)* to think only of the power of the reality of God and with the eye of the heart contemplated *(musahadah)* Him. Their leader asks how many things are obligatory, that is, enjoined by God *(pĕrlu)* and by the Prophet *(sunnat)*,

before prayer. Indrajaya recites the eight things: cleansing from ritual impurity *(hadas akbar and asgar)* covering the pudenda with a clean cloth, knowing the hour of prayer, facing Mecca, cleansing from unlawful defilement, standing erect, knowledge of the obligatory. The body *(diri)* of prayer is the ejaculation that God is great *(takbiratu' l-ihram)*, the head is intent *(niat)*, the life of it the Kuran, the hands of it preparation *(tahiat)* and its feet peace *(salam)*. The water of life is in the head, in the head brains, in brains the breath *(nafas* or ?*nafs* self), in *naf.s* the soul, in soul intelligence *(budi)*, in intelligence consciousness *(sir)*, in consciousness absolute essence *(jauhar)*, in essence light *(nur)*, in light the the inmost consciousness *(sir)* of God, and in that what cannot be said. When the horsemen have ascended back to heaven Indrajaya prays until an angel comes, interrogates him on religion and tells him that at need he can command four genies, Yakiba, Yanuh, Yaidaka and Yautad. Forty days later he comes to a castle, richly furnished but empty. Inside it is a great shell. He invokes Yautad and his host to lift it, whereupon are discovered a prince and his consort, who have taken refuge from two rocs *(garuda)* that have torn out the livers and eyes of their subjects and wasted their land. Under another shell is their daughter Chandra Sari Gumilang Chahaya. Indrajaya invokes the four genies who call down the rocs by beating the rice-mortars and then kill them. By prayer Indrajaya restores the prince's subjects. Then he marries Chandra Sari. She asks what there was before earth and heaven. He answers: the throne *(kursi)* or soles of the feet, the great lord and judge *(kadi rabbi'u' l-jalil)* or heel, the throne *('arsh)* or top of the foot, the munificence of God *(kěramat Allah)* or knee, the *lebai* or end of the waist, the *shaikh* or back-bone, the bridge over hell *(siratu' l-mustakim)* or marrow of the back-bone, the sea or belly, the ribs or world of divine guidance *('alam taufik)*, the chest or *r. b. t* of Allah. His bride expresses satisfaction at these analogies between that microcosm, her body, and that macrocosm, the universe.

Indrajaya travels on and is seized by a roc, a relative of the rocs he had killed, and is given to a young roc to devour. But the young roc will not devour the servant of Allah and persuades its father to carry Indrajaya to Mt. Dar al-Kiam, whose ruler Indra 'Alam has a dumb daughter Julusy al-'ashikin wooed by thirty-nine princes. These suitors are imprisoned for failing to make her speak. Then come Indrajaya and the Brahman. Throwing his voice into her curtain Indrajaya asks a riddle. A prince and three companions met four girls who flirted with them, one loosening her locks, another showing her bosom, another her teeth, another her fingers. He suggests the girls were saying in riddles, the first that her house confronted a flowering tree, the second that her house faced a golden coconut-palm, the third that her house faced a betel-palm, the fourth that her house faced a henna tree. The princess speaks and corrects him: the first meant that her house faced a betel-palm, the second that hers faced a golden coconut-palm, the thrid that hers faced a pomegranate tree, and the fourth that hers faceda henna-tree. Speaking out of a candle the hero puts another riddle. A man was impaled; one friend released him, another carried him and a third treated him. Again the princess corrects his solution and explains that God impaled him, his father released him, his mother bore him and his friends treated him. Throwinghis voice into a betel-box, Indrajaya puts another riddle. There were five friends, a smith, a carver, a weaver, a goldsmith, a hermit who took it in turns to

watch. To pass the time the smith made a knife, the carver used it to make an image, the weaver clothed the image, the goldsmith made ornaments for it and the hermit prayed and imbued it with life. The princess answers that the smith was its father, the carver its mother, the weaver its relative, the goldsmith its friend and the hermit God. She then solves riddles on the relation of earth, air, water and fire to *shari'at, tarikat, hakikat* and *ma'rifat*, and explains how before man and woman were created they existed as Lover *('ashik)* and Beloved *(mashok)*. They marry and the groom teaches his bride the esoteric import of prayer, the necessary preparations for it, and the creation of the universe from the radiance *(nur)* of Muhammad, which perspired under the gaze of Allah: from the sweat of his head were created the angels, from the sweat of his face the throne, the pen, the stars, the sun and the moon; from the sweat of his breast the prophets and saints; from the sweat of his ears Jews, Christians and fireworshippers. He explains the seven stages *(la ta'ayyun)* in the progress from the intelligble to the phenomenal world.

Indrajaya, his bride, his Brahman teacher and four servants set out for his father's kingdom. On the road they are waylayed by the thirty-nine rejected suitors, whom they subdue by magic. The princess wants fruit and Indrajaya shoots a monkey, puts his life-spirit *(nyawa)* into it and makes it climb and fetch the fruit. While Indrajaya's body is empty of its spirit, the Brahman enters it, tries to seduce the princess and pretends to be Indrajaya. But princess Julusy al-'ashikin reveals the story to the vizier of Dar-al-Hastana, who cherishes the monkey, whose body is inhabited by Indrajaya and tells the Brahman that the princess wants a ram fight and will yield to him if his ram wins. The princess' ram falls dead. She vows she will kill herself if it is not revived. The Brahman transfers his spirit into the ram and while the body of Indrajaya is thus emptied of its spirit, its owner transfers his spirit back into it.

Indrajaya under his old name of Shah-i Mardan succeeds his father who abdicates from the throne of Dar al-Hastana. By his magic he brings Dar-al-Kiam 'like a flying ship' with his first bride Siti Dewi to Dar al-Hastana. Next he sends for his bride Chandra Sari and her father Raja Maulana Kandi whom he had rescued from the rocs.

Meanwhile his first love Kamala Ratna Dewi has born Shah-i Mardan a son and been carried by an eagle and a parrot back to the palace of her father ruler of Dar al-Marjum. The son, now seven years old, is called Radin Panji Lelana, and with a servant Surapenggi sets out to go to his father. He meets the three wives of his father who are in flight because Shah-i Mardan has been defeated and imprisoned by Radin Wira Lelana and the thirty-nine suitors. The boy fights and worsts his father's enemies by magic. By magic too he brings his mother and her father and their kingdom to Dar al-Hastana. Radin Wira Lelana gives himhis sister Indra Chahaya in marriage. Raja Nusantara demands Indra Chahaya but is resisted by her husband and brother. Radin Panji Lelana changes his name to Maharaja Dilela, flies to Hindustan, his enemy's country, and makes love to his 1999 fiancees. Returning he fires magic arrows and worsts his enemy. Then he introduces in 1999 mistresses (whom he has transported as jasmine blooms in a casket) to his wife.

حكاية

امير حمزه

دانوردان دسوسون اوله اليمن بن محمود

٢٤ جمادى الاخر سنة ١٣٥٥ برسمأن 24 اڬوس تاهن 1936

(ڤڠکل يڠ ڤرتام)

تياد دبنرکن مڽاليڠ

رجستر نمبر

اين حكاية امير حمزه تله درجستركن دالم باب 6
اوف اورديننس نمبر 2 ڤرينترس عين ڤابليشيرس
سيڠاڤورا جاوي ڤريس
N - 242 لوروڠ اڠکو امن کيليڠ رود سيڠاڤورا

Hikayat Amir Hamzah
Singapore. 1936.

حكاية امير حمزه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وبه نستعين بالله على اين حكاية تتكل فري
زمان دهولو اد سئورڠ راج قوبة شهريل نماث د دالم نكري
مداين دان حمرث سراتس انم فوله توجه تاهن لماث استريث
برنام فتري بحرامي بهوا بكندا ايت سنتياس دودق دڠن
كسوكائث يعني دأتس مرتابت كبسرائث يڠمها ملياداْن منتريث
سراتس امفت فوله امفت دان يڠترتوا دوا اورڠ نماث خوج
بختاني جمل دان سئورڠ القس منتري نماث دان هلبالڠن تر
لالو امت بايق بهوا سكل دايڠ٢ث توجه فوله اورڠ ملك
داله د.بواه مهليكي ترديري فد هلامنث دان اداله
مهليكي ايت د. سنديكن امس برتاتهكن رتنا متومعنيكم
دان سكل جمباث راكنث تياداله تربيلڠ حسابث . القيصه
ملك فد سوات هاري، منتري يڠبرنام خوج بختاني جملا
تله فركي برجالن٢ كرومه القس منتري ستله سمفيله
كرومهث ايت ملك كدواث دودق بربيچارا فركي برجالن
كدالم هوتن انتارا سكتيك ملك القس منتري تله مڠكرڠكن
كفلاث ملك كات خوج بختاني جمل برمتاث هي سوداراكو
افاله سبيث توان مڠكرڠكن كفلا سرت دڠن محنسمث
ملك كات القس منتري سكارڠ جاڠنله توان كچيل هاتي

كارن

Hikayat Amir Hamzah
Singapore. 1936.

Hikayat Amir Hamza.

The romance begins with the tale of Khawajeh Alqash, vizier of Kobad Shahriar, king of Medain. He told a friend Bekhti Jamal that within forty days evil would befall him and advised seclusion. On the last day but one Alqash took his friend for a walk; Bekhti Jamal found treasure and to get it for himself Alqash murdered him. The dead man had a nine-year old son Buzurjmihr with the gift of divination. Learning this and fearful of discovery Alqash ordained his murder, but foretelling that the executioner's happiness depends on his release the child escapes. The king threatens Alqash with death if he cannot interpret a royal dream. Alqash discovers that Buzurjmihr is alive but the child will not go to the king except astride the vizier belted and saddled. He interprets the dream, tells of the vizier's crime and gets him killed. He prophesies the coming from Arabia of a foe shortly to be born and is sent to Mecca to kill all pregnant women. While he is there shirking this mission, Hamza is born to 'Abdulmuttalib and Amr to one of his servants, Omayya al-Damri. As a child Hamza kills unconquered wrestlers, slays the monks guarding a temple and pulls up a date-palm, roots and all. Hamza is an apt pupil but Amr a dunce, who sells his teacher's shoes to buy sweets and steals a widow's eggs. The boys release a jujube-tree, whose fruit they have pilfered, and so throw their comrades into a pool where they drown. Hamza gets the bow of Izak and becomes a mighty archer, and on Mt. Abu-Qobays learns the use of weapons from Gabriel. A powerful horseman he finds in Solomon's palace the untamed steed of Izak along with Izak's boots, saddle and sword, the tunic of Ismail and the helmet of Hud. Hamza and Amr save the annual Meccan tribute to Nushirwan from a robber Mokbil Halebi, Amr filching the jewelled hilt of his dagger in the fight. They deliver the goods to Nushirwan's agent, Monzir Shah of Yemen, but fight his hosts when he demands money, beat him and convert him. Hamza wins his daughter, Hamai Taif, who refuses to wed any man who cannot throw her, but Hamza gives her to Tariq, a suitor who had been defeated by her beauty. Hamza defeats a rival warrior Amir ibn Ma'di Karib and his forty-four brothers, who enter his service. Amr abuses Hurmuz Kheran, who had been sent to bring Hamza to Nushirwan, calls him an ass, knocks out two of his teeth, and serves him thistles to eat. When Buzurjmihr sends his son with the present of a banner to invite Hamza, he goes taking the shortest road though it is infested by the monster Shir Bebr. Hamza kills the monster and sends its pelt to Nushirwan. He is received by Nushirwan, who praises his horse. Qarun Diw-bend claims that his horse is better and offers him as a prize if Hamza wins a contest with him. Hamza wins and presents the horse to Nushirwan. At meal-time Hamza has the place of honour and Amr tries to filch a gold cup. Hamza has to receive Gustehem, the hero with the golden quiver, but quarrels with his son Qobad and knocks him senseless, and when Gustehem tries to hug him to death, he puts two fingers against one of his ribs and breaks them. Behram and Khaqan, prisoners of Gustehem, are brought before Nushirwan, whereupon Khaqan complaints that Gustehem had captured him unfairly and asks to be unbound that he may show his strength. When this is done, Gustehem and his sons skulk behind the throne till Hamza comes to their aid and wins the ensuing battle by his war-cry. Gustehem's sons kill the fettered Khakan but, as Amr has accepted a great sum of money from Gustehem to save their lives, Hamza

Gustehem to save their lives, Hamza has to spare them. Gustehem invites Hamza to hunt and sets 4,000 men behind a hill to waylay him. But Hamza's war-cry fetches Amr and they put Gustehem and his sons to flight. The fugitives join 'Alqama from Khaybar, but Hamza meets and defeats 'Alqama, and Gustehem falls at his feet and craves pardon. Princess Mihrnigar throws a box of perfume at Hamza. With Mokbil he climbs into her palace and they swear eternal love; but they are surprised by Qarun who shouts "Thieves!" They escape but Nushirwan hears of it and sends his sons Hurmuz and Erdeheh Shir to seize Hamza, who puts their armies to flight while Amr ibn Ma'di Karib captures the two princes. Three days later their captor returns them by Hamza's order and is given presents by Nushirwan; but drink was forced on him and he misbehaved, and, though Nushirwan forgives him, his minister Bekhtek sends an army against Amr which he defeats.

Nushirwan gets a letter from Shehpal of Serendib:- "King Sa'dan was hunting, followed a stag and got lost. He asked a shepherd's daughter for water and twice she dragged her water-jar away: when he threatened her with death, she vowed it was because great draughts would kill a starved man. He married her. Soon he died and I inherited his throne. His wife bore a son Lendehur and on the same day I got a son, Chepul. Even when he was five years old Lendehur refused to walk and as his weight nearly killed his nurses, they took him to the river resolved to kill him but he flung one round his head into the stream and drowned her. I sent warriors on elephants to slap him but he pulled the trunk off one and killed the others. So my vizier tried coaxing with sweetmeats and brought him to the palace where he demanded to sit on the throne. We gave him drugged rice but he made my vizier and Chepul eat of it. All swooned but Lendehur, the last to succumb, was also the last to recover. So I sent him bound to the island Lekhut in charge of Urenk and Kurenk. For twenty years he lay chained until the Prophet Shish visited the sister of his two princely warders and bade her release and marry him. Of his fetters he got a huge club made and he has attacked my city and taken it, laying low its forts with his club. And now I am driven out. If he is not conquered, he will subdue your highness, also."

Gustehem and then Hamza are sent to deal with Lendehur, Hamza being promised the hand of princess Mihrnigar, if he succeeds. Gustehem has destroyed all the boats on the shore and frightened away the fishermen, but Amr finds their headman and gets new boats built. Amr ibn Ma'di Karib persuades Hamza to call at an uninhabited island where old men with thin legs drop from the trees and cling about their necks for three days till Amr gives his 'old man' intoxicating wine, releases himself and stabs the 'old men' on the backs of his comrades. They reach Serendib, climb Adam's peak and visit Solomon's treasury. In spite of tigers and rhinos Amr insists on spending the night there to get a present. He dreams that Adam, Ibrahim, Ismail and Sulaiman come seated on four thrones. Adam gives him a magic vessel from which he can always get food; Ibrahim gives him fleetness of foot; Ismail a bag, entering which he can change into any shape and speak any language; Solomon, precious stones. Next day when Hamza seeks him, Amr takes the form of a greybeard and laughs when he is not recognized. They reach Serendib and are resisted by Pur the harbour-master who is beaten and accepts Islam. Hamza pretends to Lendehur he understands gems, takes his crown to look at and runs away with it.

They fight for a day, after which Lendehur invites Hamza to his palace. Next day Gustehem fights him. For seventeen days there are duels, till on the eighteenth Hamza shouts his war-cry, vanquishes and enchains Lendehur. Gustehem gets a singing-girl to poison Hamza, who lies ill for forty days. Lendehur, now a convert, and the Arabs, drive Gustehem to Medain where he reports the death of Hamza: hearing of his recovery, he flees to Zubin in Turkestan. Hamza restores Shehpal to his throne. Thinking Hamza was dead, Nushirwan had promised Mihmigar to an old suitor, Olad Merzeban. Amr is sent to spy on Olad. Amr asks Olad if he would like to see a wooden robot. Lendehur pretends to be the robot and at Amr's cry "Seize him" does so and Olad is made captive. When Hamza reaches Medain, Bekhtek reminds him that the price of Mihmigar is Lendehur's head. Lendehur offers it. Hamza is silent. When Nushirwan orders decapitation, Hamza bids Amr seize Bekhtek, who gets a sound beating. Bekhtek tells Nushirwan to kill an old woman and say Mihmigar is dead. This is done. All mourn except Lendehur who cannot weep. Amr bids him clap stones on his head but they fall off and every one laughs. Hamza rebukes Amr for his levity. Amr goes out meets a maid going to Mihmigar's grave, kills her and dons her cloths. He stuns the guardians of the tomb and removes the coffin which contains a strange corpse! In fury Hamza siezes Bekhtek, who protests it was only a ruse to test Hamza's love, and is let go. Bekhtek advises Nushirwan to say that three princes refuse tribute and that Mihmigar will be given to their vanquisher: Hamza will volunteer and the princes must be told to kill him. This is done. Qarun is sent as his guide with a poison to be handed to Hamza in a thirsty tract. When it is offered him, Hamza feels his hand tremble, as before when he drank poison, and does not take it. Amr comes with water he has got from a greybeard, who had got it by striking the ground and had told him Qarun would poison Hamza. Qarun denies it and pretends to drink the poison but drops it on the ground Amr dips a cloth in it and gives two drops to a slave who falls dead. Qarun craves mercy. They reach Greece where rules 'Adis with two nephews Yestefanos and Testefanos. Qarun carries a letter from Hamza and pretends he has been wronged by him. 'Adis would kill the 100 Arabs who escort Qarun but is stopped by one of his nephews. Hamza swears to kill Qarun and Gustehem unarmed. Amr brings a letter to 'Adis and starts a quarrel. Next day there is war. Hamza defeats the two nephews who embrace Islam. 'Adis desists from fighting but by Qarun's advice digs seven pits. Behind the last pit Qarun challenges Hamza, whose horse falls in the seventh. The horse climbs out and Hamza's shield protects him from the stones hurled at him. Amr arrives and finds Hamza digging a tunnel towards 'Adis's palace, which they reach. They bind 'Adis. The Arabs invest the town. A herdsman shows where Qarun is. Hamza throws away his weapon, snatches Qarun's sword and hews him and his horse into four pieces. Hamza arranges the wedding of the herdsman and the daughter of a village chief and gives him riches. 'Adis will not embrace Islam and is killed. Hamza goes to Rum and sends 'Amr with a letter to the emperor. There is a row. After a war the emperor and his seven nephews become Muslims. Mokbil is sent to Medain with money. Hamza goes to Egypt where the 'Aziz receives him warmly but when all are mazed with wine the palace is surrounded and Hamza carried off to the island Haleb.. Bekhtek counsels execution but Buzurijmihr declares that God has given Hamza

195 years and half a day to live. Mokbil hears of it and sails to the island where he opens a shop. The prince of the island is betrothed to Zuhrah-Banu, daughter of the 'Aziz. Ibrahim appears to her and bids her marry Mokbil and release Hamza. They bribe the watch and free the prisoners. They go to Egypt where Zuhrah-Banu kills her father and Hamza introduces Islam. The brother of the 'Aziz, Nasir Shah, has a daughter whom he wants to marry to Hamza but Hamza refuses. Gustehem and Zubin with a great host meet Nushirwan and Zubin asks for Mihringar's hand, which Nushirwan is afraid to refuse. Amr elopes with the daughter of Bekhtek, Amr ibn Ma'di Karib with the daughter of Gustehem—to the disgust of the fathers. Hamza advances against Nushirwan. Amr goes with an envoy to see that he cannot escape. Esquineyos sent with a letter spends the night at the castle of Lohrast, son of Fekhr Pur, who promises him help. Bekhtek urges Zubin to stab the envoy from behind but Buzurijmihr warns him. Lohrast saves the envoys from the onslaught of Zubin's army, embraces Islam and goes to Hamza. Battle starts. Unarmed Hamza snatches Gustehem's sword and slays him and his sons. They fight for days. Zubin wounds Hamza in the back; Hamza orders his horse to take him to Mecca and swoons; Amr follows his tracks and finds him. He sends Mokbil on Hamza's horse back to the fray. The Persians exclaim that Hamza is dead but the Arabs win. After seven days Hamza came to his senses and wanted food. There was no food in the beleaguered town but taking a bow Mihrnigar went disguised as a thief to the enemy's camp and stole food. She made a noise and the enemy thought it was Amr. Amr was there, took her on his shoulders, cried his name and dared the enemy to follow him. Amr returns to the hostile camp for food for his namesake, son of Ma'di Karib, and going often he drugs Nushirwan, Bekhtek and Zubin and carries them to Hamza. Hamza gives the last two to Amr who threatens to crucify them if they cannot pay ransom. They pay and he gives Zubin 200 and Bekhtek 300 stripes and shaves off half their beards and moustaches.

On Kaf were two cities, Shehristan Zerin under Azra' prince of good fairies *(peri)* and another under 'Ifrit, prince of the bad fairies *(dew)*, who drove Azra' from his kingdom. His vizier Salasil reminds him that his son Ra'd Shatir once was changed with Hamza, so that Hamza has tasted fairy milk and Ra'd Shatir human milk. They ask of Hamza who defeats their enemies.

Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah.

In the beginning was created the light *(nur)* of Muhammad and for thousands of years it prostrated itself in prayer to Allah. Then God created the Prophets, the souls *(ruh)* of the Prophets and of the Saints, and of the gnostics. And God bade Jibra'il fetch the heart of the earth to make the mould *(lĕmbaga)* of the Prophet, and the mould persisted from generation to generaiton till it came to Amir 'Abdullah. Now there was a Syrian lady Fatimah versed in the Old Testament and she knew that a man of the family of Hashim, who had a light on his forehead, would beget the last of the Prophets. So she set out for Mecca and Amir 'Abdullah rode past her tent with the light upon his forehead and she asked him to be her husband. Then 'Abdullah went to ask the permission of his father but on the way he stayed with his wife

Aminah and begot the Prophet and the light vanished from his forehead. And when he returned, Fatimah wept and rolled on the ground. Six months later 'Abdullah died. When the Prophet was about to be born, Aminah heard a voice saying, "Let no one enter thy house. For it shall be filled with houris from heaven." And Muhammad was born. And all idols were broken and in Persia was quenched fire that for thousands of years had never been quencehdand the water of اسارت (*alias* اسارت) dried up and the dome of Nasruan's palace collapsed and prince Kisri (*alias* Kisrai) fell to the ground. Genies and devils tried to climb into heaven because the earth was straitened for them, but angels prevented them. And a white cloud covered the newly born infant, wrapped him in swaddling clothes and tended him. His nurse was an Abyssinian, اسي (or ام يمن)[1]. The Prophet would feed only at her right breast which never before had given milk. And when she took him to her home, the thin camel she mounted became fat and the barren soil of her home waxed fertile. One day Muhammad was seized by two men clad in white who cut open his belly and removed the heart *(hati)* and stomach and took a clot of blood for Satan and replaced his organs: and they weighed him against a thousand men and he was heavier than they. So Halimah returned the child to his grandfather Khoja 'Abdu'l-Muttalib. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib felt himself dying and gathered together his children and asked who would take charge of Muhammad and all of them offered but he delivered him to Abu-Talib. When Muhammad was eight years old, 'Atika (عاتكى) went to Abu-Talib and said they must find him a wife. Now a rich widow Khadijah dreamt the moon fell into her lap and (*alias* لجبرهب) interpreted it as meaning that the Prophet would marry her. Atika asked Khadijah to give him work with her caravan so that he might earn money to marry. Khadijah orders Mishrah, the leader of the caravan, to dress him in fine raiment and mount him on her own camel. The caravan makes greater profits than ever before in Syria. There was a Jewish festival there, when the presence of Muhammad put out all the candles and the Jews sought to kill him, but Mishrah hid him. Sent ahead to announce the arrival of the caravan Muhammad slept and was led astray by Iblis but put again on the right way by Jibra'il. God ordered Isra'il, the angel that holds the veins of the earth, to contract them so that Muhammad did three days' journey in a moment and returned to the caravan with a letter from Khadijah, so that all were amazed at the miracle of his speed. But Khadijah paid not his hric until 'Atika came, when she declared she wished to marry him. Her father, Khuwailid, refused consent till she made him drunk and had his coat smeared with saffron *(kumkuma)* and spikenard, a sign that an Arab is giving away his child. Abubakar gave the Prophet cloths and scents for his bride. And she poured gold and silver and jewels on a carpet 600 *gaz* long and gave them to Muhammad, keeping for herself only the clothes she wore—*hamba* كلنج *nama-nya*. And the onlookers said "she is selling قنا
And the four archangels assisted at the marriage. They had three sons who died and four daughters. Muhammad was always praying on Mt. Judi (Ararat in Armenia), till God send Jibra'il to him and bade Jibra'il fetch a carpet from heaven. And he spread it over seven hills and set a throne for Muhammad in the midst of it, and gave him for a caliph's crown the words "There is no God but God." And Muhammad founded Islam. Then Khadijah was about to die and asked where she would find him

on the Day of Judgment. And Muhammad replied, "At the place where souls are weighed, or on the razor bridge or at the parting of the ways to heaven and hell." Then Jibra'il brought a box of raiment from heaven that the Prophet's daughter, Fatimah, might wed with 'Ali. And Allah opened the door of heaven and shut the gate of hell and bade the houris adorn all the bowers of heaven and he sent a wind laden with camphor and musk; and God took the place of the Prophet and Jibra'il the place of 'Ali and the marriage was made in heaven. One story says that 'Ali worked to earn three *derham* for the wedding, gave them to beggars, met a man who sold him a camel for sixteen *dinar* and another who bought the camel for 20,000 *dinar:* and the Prophet told him that beggars and seller and buyer were the archangels and the camel was the camel of the Prophet Salih. And Fatimah asked for her dowry all the women who had sinned against their husbands and Jibra'il brought a red cloth inscribed with their names, which she desired to have buried with her. One day Jibra'il in the form of an old man gave 'Ali the horse *(kuda sĕmbĕrani)* called Duldul and the sword Dzu'l-Fakar inscribed 'Ali, tiger of God.' And his wife bore two sons Hasan and Husain. When Husain was born, an angel with a maimed wing came down and was healed by touching the infant. But Jibra'il was sad and told the Prophet that that angel would not descend again till Husain lay dead on the battle-field. There were seven prophets who ascended to heaven, Adam, Idris, Noah (in his ark), Ibrahim (in the fire of Nimrod), Musa (on Sinai), Isa and Muhammad, who alone reached the throne of God. Some denied that his body ascended: one day Jibra'il had come to him and said, "The seven layers of the sky and of the earth and the empyrean and the Throne are as mustard-seed. Teach this to all. Whosoever learns this saying Allah will guard him all his life and on the day of judgment." When Khatijah and Abu-Talib had died, Abu-Jahal and others persecuted the Prophet. In sorrow he went to 'Aktika's house and slept there, while she took a sword and guarded him till God bade the angel of sleep put her to slumber. Earth and sky argued which was the greater and the sky wept because though sky could boast of sun, moon and stars they were only made of one drop of the light of Muhammad, while earth could boast of the imprint of the feet of the Prophet. Then by God's command Jibra'il woke Muhammad and bade him walk to the Baita'l-Muqaddas; for God would lift him to the Sufi plane *(Sufi ertinya makam yang maha tinggi).* And Jibra'il and Mik'ail took him to the well Zamzam and cut open his belly and removed his liver and washed it in the well and replaced it and filled his breast with faith and knowledge *('ilmu)* and set him on Borak and took him up to the Throne, where Allah bade him not remove his shoes, and brought him to the *qaba qausaini*, giving him the four *maqam, mardud, mahmud, mus'ad* (محمود موسعد), and showing him heaven and hell and the razor-bridge so that he should not fear them. The Prophet married Chuchud daughter of Damaah and 'A'isha and Khasiah daughter of Omar and others, ten in all. And Alu-Jahal and his enemies and Iblis disguised as an elder plotted to kill him. But 'Ali lay in the Prophet's bed while he fled to Medinah. Only Serakah (سراقه) pursued him but earth held his horse's legs. One Hayat al-Kabri would play with Hasan and Husain at Medinah, and one day they played with Jibra'il who had taken his shape. Another day Jibra'il rocked them because 'Ali was tired from fighting and Fatimah was praying. Another day he brought from heaven a green

coat for Hasan and a red for Husain and foretold that the one would be poisoned and the other slain at Kerbela and he gave the Prophet two clods of earth which would turn one green, one red when their deaths were imminent. Hearing that from his family would come their murdered, Mu'awiah (نعوبه) swore never to go with women but to cure an illness went with an old Habshi woman (امورن) who bore a son Yazid. One day the Prophet asked Jibra'il which of them was the older, and Jibra'il replied that he was the oldest of the angels but the Prophet showed him the light upon his forehead and asked if that existed when Jibra'il was created and Jibra'il said it did. Then the Prophet died—the account is shorter but similar to that of his death in the *Hikayat Nabi Allah Wafat*. Next Fatimah died and then Abu-bakar. Omar became Caliph. And Ali conquered Raja Kisri, son of Nushirwan the Just, and captured his son Harman and his daughters Shahrbanur and فوبس . Harman refused to embrace Islam and was executed. But 'Ali saved the daughters and got Selamah to convert them gradually. Ordered to get married, Shahrbanur was allowed to sit on a dais and choose from all the chiefs who rode past. She criticized them and chose Husain. Her sister married Muhammad ibn Abubakar. Omar is fatally stabbed by a discontented litigant, Abu-lak, a maker of grinding-stones. After delay and disputes 'Uthman became Caliph. And he allowed Marwan Hakim, banished by the Prophet, to return. Using the Caliph's seal, Marwan sent a letter to Egypt to kill the Caliph's envoy, Muhammed the son of Abubakar, so as to get revenge for his banishment. Muhammad hunting intercepts the message and he and his family kill the Caliph—who has dreamt he is sitting with the Prophet and the two first Caliphs, when the Prophet brings out four cups for them. His bier is left in the high-way but is guarded by wild beasts from dogs and enemies, till 'Ali buries him there having dreamt that the Prophet tells him all places are equi-distant from him, 'A'isha demands an enquiry into the murder of 'Uthman, which 'Ali shirks, to avoid bloodshed. She supports Mu'awiah, who comes from Syria with troops to chaim the Caliphate. They fight twenty-three times. 'Ali enters the first battle with a club. His soldiers hamstring 'A'isha's camel and 'Ali reminds her of what the Prophet had foretold of her, whereat she begs forgiveness at his feet. Having failed in battle Mu'awiah bribes an old hag to tempt 'Ali's groom, a son of Muljam, by means of a young woman to kill his master. He stabs 'Ali as he goes to the mosque. 'Ali forgives him and tells him to flee but he goes blind. 'Ali bids Hasan and Husain cast his sword Dzo'l-Fakar into the Red Sea: when at last they do son, a pillar of light ascends to heaven. They enshroud their father's body and set it on Duldul, and a young man comes and asks for the horse and body, whereat they give them as 'Ali had enjoined. 'Ali and his horse vanish. Yazid, son of Mu'awiah, wants to wed Zainab daughter of Jaafar but she chooses Aamir Hasan, whereat Yazid vows to kill him and his brother. Yazid wants the wife of 'Abdullah Ziadah and Mu'awiah offers him Egypt to divorce her. He divorces her but is not given Egypt and his wife refuses Yazid and marries Amir Hasan. Yazid bribes a Medinah chief, a relative of one of Hasan's wives, to poison him, and prevents him being buried near the Prophet. Yazid sends letters to a captain, عبنه , saying the Arabs want him to be Caliph and urging عبنه to kill the 'thorn' in his side, Husain. عبنه asks for help and Yazid sends عمر سعيد مسوم with troops. They suggest to Yazid to get 'Abdullah

Ziadah, ruler of Kufah (in Chaldea) to decoy Husain out of Medinah. 'Abdullah, having set his people against Husain, writes offering him refuge. Husain visits Selamah who looks at her bottle of the earth Jibra'il gave the Prophet and sees it is green. She warns him. He dreams that the Prophet promises him and his warriors the joys of heaven and sets out for Kerbela. He meets R-hban who joins him and gives him a horse. Wahab joins him. When they reach Kerbela, they fell trees to make a hut and the trees give forth blood. His enemies cut him and his followers off from water. They wait three days. The battle starts and one by one his followers are killed, faint from thirst. Husain sends by K-s-d a letter in green and red ink to Muhammad Hanafiah, saying that his brother has been poisoned, and that he has been killed at Kerbela and all his people slain or taken prisoners. Aged seven but able to sever an elephant at one blow Husain enters the fray and fights his way to the river but will not drink because his followers had died thirsty. He is struck by an arrow and falls. Simir Lain alone dares to approach to cut off his head. Husain asks him to show his chest which is black and has nipples like those of a dog. "You are the man the Prophet said would behead me," says Husain and submits to the blow. A man tried to remove his waist-belt but was seized by the dead man. Jaafar ibn Abubakar met him near the Ka'abah and he told how he had become unconscious and seen Husain received in heaven by all the Prophets and by Fatimah. Husain's womenfolk were made prisoners. A Syrian Isra'il gives them water and clothes and is beaten. Husain's head is put in the house of one Kasim for a night and Kasim kills his eldest son and tries to substitute his head for the head of Husain, so that he may buy the martyr's head; but his ruse is detected and he has to behead six of his sons till at last the head of the youngest is accepted. Isra'il collects 300 hermits who have lived in the jungle since the time of Solomon and he and his wife Fatimah spend their fortune in equipping them to fight Yazid's captains Omar Sa'ad Maisum and Yaqub, whom they surprise and seize while praying in a mosque. Isra'il cuts off their ears and noses, ties them on donkies, face to the tail, and sends them back to Yazid. Yazid is enraged but quails when Marwan Hakim reminds him of Muhammad Hanafiah and all 'Ali's relatives. He sends 'Abdu'llah Ziadah and 30,000 men against Raja-Isra'il and his 1,000. A slave, Haman Turk, slays all Yazid's warriors, Majawirah and the rest, and drives his forces from the field. Isra'il sister Fatimah and the women guard the fort of Askilan. K-s-d. finds Muhammad Hanafiah at Buniara marrying his daughter to 'Ali Akbar and tells him of Kerbela. Yazid prepares to bury the captive women alive, Shahrbanun having refused to marry him, but delays when he hears Muhammad Hanafiah has taken the field. Hanafiah summons 'Ali's relatives from Baghdad and Irak and elsewhere. 'Omar-i 'Ali, Talib-i 'Ali and 'Akil-i 'Ali are captured by Simir Lain who in turn is noosed by سفنا and made to release his three prisoners. سفنا kills Khail Zanggi and Hairah and Walidah Talib-i 'Ali slays Shahrab Zanggi, قولة دردیکان slaps forty of Hanafiah's warriors. Ahmad Caplus reports the arrival of Hanafiah's, relative, Ibrahim Astar and of his son Harith, who kills many warriors including قولة دردیکان . Many are slain on both sides. 'Omar-i 'Ali is captured but released by Arkas Tughan Turk and Mughan Turk are among Hanafiah's champions. At last Yazid asks the help of the rajas of the Franks *(Fĕringgi)*,

China, Abyssinia and Zanggi. Hanafiah and his army visit the Prophet's tomb at Medinah and then advancing on Yazid at Damshik meet scouts from Yazid's four foreign allies. Two of Yazid's sons, Sa'id and Mahid desert to Hanafiah with many followers. Sa'id is killed by a great warrior Balkian, who in turn is slain by Hanafiah. Thousands of elephants take part in the war. The scout of the king of the Frank is جعلني . Hanafiah is caught in 1700 nooses and Yazid decides to burn him. But his followers rescue him from the flames, and the arm which he had lost in battle is rejoined to his shoulder when he recites the charm *darz al-akhbar*. They invest the walls of Damshik. Yazid flees to a turret but confronted by the ghost of Husain who out of a white mist asks "Where canst thou hide?" falls to the ground and is burnt in a well as with hell-fire. Hanafiah releases Zain-al-'Abidin, Selamah, Kelsu, Shahr-banun[2] and the rest from prison. Next there is an Indo-Melay installation *(tabal)* of Zain al'Abidin on the throne *(singgasana)* of Damascus in the presence of *chětěria* and *sida-sida*. Neighbouring rulers send presents of *saf sakhalat* ain al-banat dan beledu dan katifah dewangga. Nur نس a niece of Shahr-banun, had married Muhammad ibn Abubakar niece of Shahr-banun, had married Muhammad ibn Abubakar and born a daughter Shamsu'l-bahrain, who now marries Zain al'-Abidin. Hearing that the followers of Yazid had hidden in a cave by Jabal Nur, Hanafiah seeks them and in spite of a warning voice continues to kill them till the door of the cave closes on him.

Hikayat Saif Dhu'l-Yazan.*

Tubba Dzu'l-Yazan with his vizier Yathrib set out to attack a prince Baal. Coming to Mecca he falls ill because he determines to rebuild the Kaabah. His vizier founds a city Medinah Yathrib and leaves a letter bequeathing it to one yet to be born, Muhammad. Dzu'l-Yazan conquers prince Baal and founds a city Madinat al-Ahmar. His vizier by astrological calculations warns him not to attack Abyssinia, because it is reserved for another to fulfil Noah's curse and set the children of Shem above the children of Ham. Saif ar-Ra'd, ruler of Abyssinia, sends a slave-girl Kamariah to poison Dzu'l-Yazan. One of the Abyssinian viziers, an Arab Muslim, ar-Raif abu Rifah (father of two daughters Rifah and d-rnkal or Derzaka) sends a messenger to warn Dzu-l-Yazan. Kamariah confesses and becomes a favourite. On his death-bed Dzu'l-Yazan appoints her regent and her child his heir. The child is a son with a lucky red mark on the right cheek. When the people acclaim him, his mother is jealous and casts him away in the desert with 1000 *derham*, where a hunter finds a deer suckling him. The hunter takes the infant to his king al-'Afrah, whose consort bears a girl child with a red mark on her left cheek. The boy they name Wahsh al-Fallah and the girl Shamah. Malik al'Afrah was advised to kill them both but refused. Wahsh al-Fallah is taught the arts of war till his prowess at driving a lance through tree trunks shows his instructor that he is destined to fulfil Noah's curse and he drives him from the country. Wahsh al-Fallah comes to a hill where in a tent sits

* From Hikayat Saif-al-Yezan-ed.R.E. Rev. G. F. Hose, *JSBRAS*, No 58 pp1-252,1911

Shamah, surrounded by weaping women in black. The vizier who had advised their murder had transported Shamah there by the agency of a genie, to separate her from Wahsh al-Fallah. But the hero drives off the genie who flies away with a severed hand under his armpit, and asks her father for shamah in marriage. Her father refers the matter to the unfriendly vizier, who says the bridegroom must bring as the marriage-prize the head of a redoubtable traitor Sa'dun. Shamah tries to dissuade her lover from such an enterprise and then disguised has a duel with him to test his prowess, is unhorsed and recognized and wants to join him in his attack on Sa'dun. He refuses her help and tries to enter Sa'dun's fort alone along with a band of Sa'dun's robber followers but is caught in a gate of knives with a pit of snakes and scorpions below until Shamah rescues him. They hide outside the inner gate and slay Sa'dun's followers as they come out. Wahsh al-Fallah and Sa'dun fight a duel. Shamah throws a dagger al-Fallah will not take advantage of this. Sa'dun becomes his and wounds Sa'dun's hand causing him to drop his sword. Wahsh friend and goes with him to Shamah's father. The unfriendly vizier (?Sakerdinun) now demands the book *Ta' rikh Nil* in lieu of the expenses of the wedding. The hero goes in search of it. After sixty-one days he reaches the cell of an ascetic Jayad who hails him by the name of Saif al-Yazan, initiates him into the religion of Abraham and bids him to go to the Nile and mount the back of a dragon, which daily rushes over the Nile to attack the sun and will carry him across. On the other bank Saif meets Tamah, daughter of Akilah, who tells him to climb into the town of Malik al-Kamar by a rope because at the gate is a mechanical bird which will blow a trumpet when the destined ravisher of the holy book *Ta' rikh Nil* enters. But though Saif climbs the rope, the bird gives the alarm. Akilah hides Saif in the skin of a large fish in a well, so that the king shall not believe his soothsayers when they say the ravisher has come from the sky and been swallowed by a dead fish and taken into dark water. Next she ties him under the belly of a deer on whose back she has fastened the wings of a bird, so that the soothsayers say they see a man being borne aloft by an animal and are again disgraced. Next she stands him on an inverted golden bowl in a tray full of blood so that the soothsayers say they see him on a hill of gold in a sea of blood. The next day Saif insists on going with Akilah to the palace. She hangs a sword round his neck, disguises him as her female slave and warns him not to enter the room where the *Ta' rikh Nil* is kept, as its chest will revolve thrice and come to him. He disobeys, is detected and fights till night when he falls fainting on a heap of corpses and is cast into a cavern prison. A female Muslim genie 'Aksah frees him and flies with him to the cell of Shaikh 'Abd as-Salam who has told her Saif will kill an infidel genie who wants to marry her: the same genie whose hand saif severed before. Saif slays the genie and releases the princesses he has imprisoned, including Nahidah from China who wants to marry him, though he refuses till he has married Shamah. He buries Shaikh Abd as-Salam. 'Aksah flies him to a tomb on a hill below which flow the four rivers of Eden, Furat, Nil, Jaihan and Saihan. 'Aksah flies him to Plato's country where seven sons are disputing over a cap of invisibility left by their father. They ask Saif to arbitrate and he shoots an arrow, the first to pick it up to be the winner. While they run, he dons the cap and becomes invisible even to 'Aksah. She flies him to a city guarded by a bronze figure holding a Yank< who cries out at his arrival: the

ruler sends for a sea captain and orders him to put Saif in a weighted basket and drown him. Saif converts the captain who is named Shaikh Abd as-Salam, and is told the ruler's precautions are to guard his ring, which who wears can kill by pointing only. The Shaikh's followers become Muslim all except one who is put in a basket and drowned instead of Saif. The Shaikh teaches Saif to fish and he catches a fish that has in its belly the magic ring, dropped by the ruler at a picnic. He confronts the ruler and kills him when he refuses to become a Muslim. He gives the ring to the Shaikh and makes him ruler. Aksah quarrels with him for keeping her waiting and drops him at the twon of Malik al-Kamar where wearing his cap he takes the *Ta'rikh* Nil but, as he will not marry Tamah, she steals his cap and denounces him to the king, but he reaches the Nile and escapes across it on the dragon. He visits Jayad in time to bury him and then sets out for home. Meanwhile the unfriendly vizier had got Saif ar-Ra'd, king of Abyssinia to send an envoy asking for the hand of Shamah. The envoy meets and insults Sa'dun who kill him. Malik al-Afrah fights Sa'dun but Saif arrives and stops the fight. The wicked vizier writes to Saif ar-Ra'd at Madinah Dur al-Kusur to attack his master and come and kill Saif and Sa'dun. But the king writes to Malik al-Afrah who visits him along with Saif and Sa'dun. Saif ar-Ra'd asks his visitors to punish a woman who molests his country. Saif sets out for Madinat al-Ahmar, and finds its ruler is his mother Kamariah who recognizes an amulet about his neck. Pretending she will give him her throne she decoys him into the desert and nearly kills him as he sleeps. But Jayad and Shaikh Abd as-Salam talk to him in the form of birds and say the leaves of their tree will cure his hurt and Allah sends a great wind that makes the leaves drop. He comes to a castle with a holy man who makes him stand on a pillar that has two foot-prints fitting his feet and leap from it to a similar pillar across a river. This proves he is the destined owner of the castle's treasure. He takes a slate and a sword from the corpse of Ham in the castle and is nearly killed by a rain of stones as a punishment for removing the head and looking at the face. The holy man deserts him for his sin. After two months he decides to leap from the pillar, and he falls into the stream and is carried to a land where he hides in a tree till thunder forces him to reveal himself to a female warrior Jidah. He tells her he has been shipwrecked. But he sees her consulting his slate, which he has lost, and its familiar spirit, Airudl, tells her the story is false. He recovers the slate while she sleeps. Her father, the holy man of the pillar, arrives. Jidah says Saif must marry her but he gets the spirit of the slate to convey him to Shamah. Meanwhile Kamariah has told Saif ar-Ra'd that Saif is dead and has got him to capture Sa'dun and demand Shamah in marriage. Airudl drops Saif at Shamah's tent as Saif ar-Ra'd is about to consumate the marriage. Airudl rains stones that keep off his foes and carries Saif and Shamah to a hill. Saif slays so many that Saif ar-Ra'd gives Sa'dun his liberty on condition that he kills Saif. They fight. Sa'dun is defeated by Saif and joins him in resisting his enemies. Airudl carries them and Shamah away to a hill. Kamariah comes and begs her son's forgiveness. He marries Shamah. But as they sleep Kamariah steals the magic slate and makes Airudl carry off Saif to the desert of Shilan and his bride to a land where a ram is worshipped. Shamah hungry and pregnant faints outside the castle of a prince, whose daughter makes her keeper of the sacred ram. Shamah always hits the ram before she feeds him and one day he charges her as she

is holding a candle, so that his jewelled mosquito0net is set on fire. She has born a son but now she is put in chains and told she will be sacrified at the next festival.

Meanwhile hiding in a tree in Ghilan Saif is detected by tusked men who fetch a fair old man. The old man knows Saif's name and says he is destined to destroy the tusked race. He bids him dig up a box with seven caskets wherein are seven rice-grains, and go to a house with a spider key and fetch a white cock with yellow legs and eyes, which he must feed with the rice-grains to prevent it crowing. The two are chased by the tusked men but Saif hurls the feathers of the cock at them and the feathers turn to fire and stop the pursuers, until at last they reach a pit where Saif throws down the cock and all the tusked pursuers die. Saif and the old man come to the land of the sacred ram, are seized and put with Shamah to be sacrified. But Saif barricades the door and kills the sacred ram for food. Then Aksah comes and carries him, Shamah and their child away to a hill three months' journey from his mother's kingdom, and he fetches Saif his sword from Kamariah's palace. Saif slays a tiger ans his honoured by Abutat, king of the country. But Abutat lusts after Shamah, till Saif and she flee. Abutat's people will not fight the tiger-slayer. Saif worsts Abutat in a duel and imprisons him in their cave. Airudl arrives to cast Saif away on a volcano by his mother's order. After some time Shamah releases Abutat who takes her to his palace and soon makes love to her. At her prayer the arms of Abutat are thrice contorted and thrice straightened again, after which he embraces the religion of Abraham and is attacked by his subjects. Meanwhile Saif is found by a magician Bemoh (or Bemukh), by whose magic his arms and legs are fettered, so that he may be sacrificed in the crater: but a huge figure of fire orders Bemoh to embrace the religion of Abraham. Aksah carries Saif and Bemoh to Abutat, whose people cease fighting and embrace the new religion. Aksah carries Bemoh to Kamariah and Shamah to her father, who is not to divulge her arrival. Saif and Abutat go for a voyage but Airudl carries off Saif to an island where in a lighted chamber he finds a huge old man waiting to catch a crab whose shell cures blindness. They catch one each and the sailors who buy the old man's crab give Saif a boat. He capsizes in a boat and swims to China where he cures Nahidah of blindness and marries her. Airudl carries them to Madinat al-Ahmar where they join Bemoh and Sa'dun. But Kamariah takes the golden slate while Saif sleeps, invokes Airudl and bids him fly to Plato's kingdom and tell the prince to wait for the chief of the cap of invisibility with spears erect. Then he is to carry off Saif and drop him on the spears. Aksah saves him in mid-air, and on the way back alights in a garden where Saif steals the flying-coat of princess Muhiyy an-Nufus and marries her. Aksah takes them to an island, at which Abutat calls. Meanwhile Bemoh has made Kamariah so ill by his magic that she asks Saif ar Ra'd for help. Sakerdiun gets a great warrior Maimun to attack Bemoh and Sa'dun. But Saif and Abutat arrive. Saif captures and converts all his enemies and when he is ringed by magic fire, Akilah and his daughter Tamah arrive and douse the fire and give Saif a coat so that not even Airudl can come near him. Kamariah asks his pardon but persuades Nahidah, who is jealous of Muhiyy an-Nufus, to steal his magic coat. Tamah kills Naihdah, saves the coat and shows Saif that his mother has given him a worthless imitation of the magic slate. Airudl takes Kamariah to China where she tells the emperor of his daughter's death and marries

him. But Aksah carries Bernoh to China where he recovers the magic slate, and then Aksah fetches Kamariah and kills her. Her father brings Jidah whom Saif marries. He also weds Tamah, giving her the flying coat of Muhiyy an-Nufus in exchange for his cap of invisibility. One day when Saif has entrusted his kingdom to his son Damir and gone hunting, Tamah lends Muhiyy an-Nufus her flying coat for fun, but she flies back to her country, where she is imprisoned. Airudl and Aksah take Saif to her where after suffering imprisonment they all return home happy.

Hikayat Sama'un.

Sama'un, son of Khalid, refused to suckle because his mother was an infidel, saying that Allah had provided him with different delicacies on every finger-tip. When he is three days old, his father suspects his mother of talking to a strange man but finds it is his son discoursing on religion. The Prophet and Jibra'il visit him, and later Abu-Jahal whom he reviles and causes to flee in terror. His *Pateh*, Surakal, advises Abu-Jahal that they kill Sama'un. Abu-jahal sends a captain Asad to a champion Kinam at Iskandariah telling him to come to Mecca and kill the Prophet. Kinam by mistake goes by night to the house of Sama'un, who kills him. Abu-Jahal sends forty warriors to complain to the Prophet. Sama'un, clad in velvet *(bĕlĕdu)* trousers goes to the Prophet, to whom the archangel Jibra'il also comes to reveal the truth. The forty warriors return and Abu-Jahal bids them go with their flags *(bandera)* and trumpets *(tĕrompit)* to kill sama'un. Sama'un kills them and all the warriors sent against him and going to the house of Abu-Jahal carries off his daughter Dewi Nasiah from her betrothed and weds her before the Prophet.

Now there was a prince of Sari, Bukti, whose lovely daughter Mariah dreamt that a light from Mecca fell into her lap and that it was the light of Muhammad. So she sent the Prophet a letter and he sent messengers asking for her in marriage, infuriating her father who said he was not a prince and was poor. Aisha urges the Prophet to fight. Headed by Sama'un the Companions swear not to enter their houses or meet their wives till Sari is conquered. Jibra'il bring Allah's approval. They set out and are athirst. But the Prophet takes hold of a river-stone and prays and water springs forth. Jibra'il and the Prophet bid Sama'un go first. He leaves his horse with the guide, *(murshid)* enters the town and when the people want to bind 'the small boy' and take him to the king, he starts to fight. The horse bids the guide go to his aid. Sama'un kills hundreds and engages a vizier, Kalil, who derides his youth. Raja Bukti orders his captains Ka'im and Ka'irul to lead his advance guard. Sama'un is chopped up as a cucumber is chopped for a curry. He kills Kalil. Raja Bukti joins the fray on an elephant. Jibra'il bids the Prophet enter the fight. His parents are horrified at Sama'un's wounds but by the Prophet's prayer they are healed. Bukti orders Temenggong Kuari 'bearded to the navel and with a six-inch moustache curled up on one side' to bring him the heads of the Prophet and Sama'un. Sama'un slays Kuari and Raja Bukti enters his castle and surrounds it with fire. Princess Mariah collects her treasures, calls for her buggy and her litter *(bugi dan jĕmpana)* and followed by 9,000 deserters sets out to the Prophet, bidding the maid known to Sama'un not to clear out *(chabut)* and leave her. Sama'un recognizes the maid and

takes them to the Prophet. They all embrace Islam. The Prophet orders 'Ali and Sama'un to go and convert Raja Bukti. Unscathed they leap through the ring of fire. Raja Bukti refuses to desert the religion of his forefathers whom then he will not meet again 'Ali slays him. The rest accept Islam. The spoils are divided among the Arabs. One man said, "Are there no more infidels to kill or more booty to get?" Another replied, "Don't tell lies. I didn't see you in the thick of the fight." another said, "I fancy I saw you hiding beside the river?" And the first man replied, "Yes! at your suggestion!" When Sama'un went home, he bade the guide *(murshid)* lead the way. And the guide though. "He's made me a captain for my valour and he'll make me a headman *(pateh)*. And I'll make profit from date orchards and rice-fields and take the girls into my house."

Hikayat Raja Handak.

Raja Handak was a son of the Prophet Solomon, who after his father's death worshipped idols. He had a son Raja Badar and a sister Zalzali. Hearing that 'Ali was destroying idols and their worshippers, he determined to attack Mecca and Medinah. But Jibra'il brought the word of Allah to the Prophet that he woul send 70,000 angels to his aid. And Ali *karim Allah wajah* fastened red cloth on his forehead and took his sword *Dzu'l-fakar* and mounted his horse *Dudul* and cried his war-cry so that men thought the last trump was being sounded and 3,000 of Handak's warriors fell dead a month's journey away. In one day the Prophet reached the battle-field Hunaini, though it was distant a month's journey. Learning that the Prophet's army was small, Handak stayed his reinforcements and attacked but Ali's sword was lengthened so that he slew thousands. Then Handak sent for Badar and feasted with princess Zalzali and got ready more troops. A relative Raja K-skin, angry at not being invited, determined to attack Handak but was persuaded by a genie from Mt. Kaf to follow him and seek the treasury of Solomon. Again 'Ali slew his enemies, and the Prophet rained small stones on them so that many were converted. Then Raja K-sin joins Handak. Still 'Ali triumphs and when Handak sends seven captains with 70,000 men to surprise Mecca and Medinah, their eyes are blinded so that they cannot find those cities and they seek Muhammad, become Muslims and fight for the Propret. K-skin kills his own men mistaking them for the enemy. Then he retires to Solomon's treasury. He enters the battle again and his life is taken by the angel of death. 'Ali's horse swims in blood like the Red Sea amid a din as of waves breaking on Mt. Kaf. Allah sends his angels and bids rocks and stones, mosquitoes and sandflies and all the beasts help the Prophet. 'Ali kills Handak and Badar because they refuse to embrace Islam, and he enters the jewelled palace of Handak and destroys the idols. S-rs-l *(alias* Sh-rs-l *alias* S-rsil) and his relative Gh-fr-t (*alias* Ifrit) prepare to attack 'Ali, the latter after fighting his son كرو كسفري, who wants to desert to the Prophet apparently because he is not given a sword. 'Ali comes to the aid of كروكسفري. Genies, Muslim and infidel, join the fray. One of S-rs-l's captains, بغة عشا joins 'Ali. Jabal Kaf (or Mt. Kaf turned into a man!) joins S-rsal, who also summons Tur-ngga (*alias* Peranggi). Genies, fairies and angels join the fray. Ali fights like a tiger with shut eyes and a war-cry that reaches the bull that

supports the world. Allah sends Jibra'il to bid the Prophet and his Companions go to Mt. Kaf and stay 'Ali from shutting his eyes and crying his war-cry. S-rs-l and Gh-fr-t are killed and princess Zalzali flees to a prince Perlela on Mt. Kaf. Him also 'Ali slays, leaping like a Garuda after his soldiers into the Red Sea, so that Allah sends Jibra'il to close his eyes with his wings for fear he see and kill the bull that supports the world. The war ends and Jibra'il comes and announces that Allah forgives the sins of all those killed in the holy war.

Hikayat Bakhtiar.*

Envied the throne by his younger brother and threatened with civil war a king privily quits his country. On the journey his consort bears a son, whom they have to abandon. He is found by a childless merchant. Idris, while hunting, and adopted by him and his wife, Siti Sara, and called Bakhtiar. Meanwhile his royal father has been chosen by an elephant to be king of the merchant's country, whose ruler has died without heirs. One day the merchant takes Bakhtiar to court where he alone can solve a hard case, and reluctantly the merchant lets him enter the king's service, where his rise excites the anger of T-hkim and the other ministers. T-hkim's wife puts on Bakhtiar's bed in the palace the scarf of the king's favourite maid with a quid of betel tied in it. T-hkim then whispers of this to the king. The judge *(kathi)* can find no clear proof but on the protests of the ministers Bakhtiar is at last sentenced to death. Bakhtiar submits but begs that he may die in the presence of the king he loves. The king comes and Bakhtiar tells him

> (1) the tale of the fowler who presented a rare bird to a king and so won his favour that his ministers headed by Muhammad Julus plotting to destroy him suggested the bird wanted a mate and the fowler should get one. When the fowler said that he could not, the ministers declared such a reply merited death and the king gave him seven days to find the bird. On the sixth day the fowler meets a shaikh on a headland who helps him to get the bird and promises him aid at any time. Thwarted Muhammad Julus now suggests the fowler should be sent to bring the king a daughter of the emperor of Rum. The Shaikh bids him ask for a golden ship to be built at the cost of Muhammad Julus. When it reaches Rum, the princess will come aboard to see it and can be abducted. The fowler tells the emperor he has come from Semantan (elsewhere Semanta) Indra. The emperor lets his daughter Mengindra Sari go aboard and the fowler sets sail and carries her off. He seeks the Shaikh who says, as the princess mounts the twelve steps of the Palace, on every step must be slaughtered a black bull with white eyelids, or failing those, Muhammad Julus. Though such bulls cost 10,000 dinar each, the old minister gets eleven, but when the princess halts on the twelfth step, at the fowler's suggestion Muhammad Julus, who has failed to get the twelfth bull, takes its place.

The next day Bakhtiar relates

> (2) the tale of the fisherman who sent by a friend a jar of fish-paste for the emperor

* From *Hikayat Bakhtiar*, lithographed Government Printer, Singapore 1889.

of China and asked for a knife in return. The friend forgot the paste till criers announced that the pregnant empress wanted to eat fish-paste. He presented the jar, which proved to be full of jewels. The empress, delighted forgot her longings, and the royal pair sent the fisherman a knife and a coconut-monkey that had got them the throne. The fisherman received the monkey but could catch no fish. By dancing the monkey got him food, and raiment from a minister and attracted the notice of a princess, to whom he says that his master is a prince come from fairyland because he had lost his betrothed and that she should marry him. He tutors his master in court manners but the fisherman is such an inept pupil that the monkey gets them married before the princess can find him out. After marriage he disgusts her by going to the shops and baking fish for himself. When a rejected suitor attacks and conquers the country, the fisherman pays no heed but sits on the doorstep eating fish. But when a dog snatches his fish, he charges after it, knife in hand, into the midst of the enemy troops. Urged by the monkey, the soldiers follow him and the enemy is expelled. His father-in-law gives him the throne and his manners change.

The third night Bakhtiar tells of

(3) the rich merchant Hasan and his wife Siti Dinar who wore clothes costing 1000 *dinar* for a week only and then gave them away. One day the king of their country ordered that that night no one should be abroad on pain of arrest or, if he resisted, death. Siti Dinar advises Hasan to hide and seize any wayfarer. He seizes the king, takes him home bound, entertains him and is made prime minister. But the chief minister, Abu Fadl, is jealous and, as the law of the land is that the husband of an adulteress be impaled, declares he has committed adultery with her. Hasan is sentenced to death but Siti Dinar having got goldsmiths to make her a bejewelled golden shoe takes it to the mosque and charges Abu Fadl with having stolen the other shoe. He swears he has never seen her. Hasan is released and Abu Fadl impaled for bringing a false charge.

On the fourth night Bakhtiar tells of

(4) a king who with his consort and two sons left his kingdom rather than wage civil war with his younger brother. In spite of his warnings of ill-luck, his sons played with two fledgeling birds and, while the king was carrying their mother across a river, were siezed by fishermen. As the king came back for his sons, his wife was carried off by sailors. The king is chosen ruler of another land by an elephant. Thither the fishermen in time brought the two boys and the king, not recognizing them, took them for pages. The captain of the ship that had carried off his wife arrives and, that he may have the captain's company, the king sends his two pages to guard his ship. As the elder recounts their adventures to the younger to keep him awake, their mother (well treated by the captain) overhears their talk and comes and kisses them. The sailors mistaking the act seize the pages and the king sentences them to death.

The keeper of the city's gate will not let them be taken out to the execution ground, telling the tale of the two peasants who returned from their rice-fields to find their cat covered with blood and their child dead in his cradle. They killed the cat but soon found it was red with the blood of a snake it had killed, trying to save the child.

The keeper of the second gate also refused, telling of a man who came home and found his dog covered with blood, lying beside his dead wife. he killed the dog and entered the house only to discover that the dog had killed her lover in his bed.

The keeper of the third gate tells of an astrologer executed because a palace built at the hour he struck a gong did not turn to gold, as he prophesied. But his ministers had been slow, while an old man who heard the prophecy had had a banana sucker ready and planted it at the exact moment, so that all its fruit turned to gold. And the hasty raja heard of it and bewailed his astrologer.

This keeper is taken to the king and advises him not to hasten Bakhtiar's execution. The king sends for Idris who tells Bakhtiar how he came to adopt him. The king hears the story, recognizes his son and makes Bakhtiar Sultan. The chief minister is sentenced to gaol for seventeen days, a period equal to Bakhtiar's incarceration and then is given back his office. Bakhtiar's uncle comes on a visit and all live happily.

Hikayat Kalila dan Damina.*

Horman Shah, son of Nushirwan the just, ruled Medinah. One day a Brahman told him how Said, a Hindu scholar, owned a manuscript tale of Kalila and Damina. Barzueh sailed to Hindustan to let him copy it, for which Horman gave him ten ships of jewels. For reward Barzueh accepted a gold embroidered garment and begged that his name and lineage might be cited in the book Khoza Buzur Jamahir Hakim would compile from the MS. The tale was translated from the Hindu language into Persian. This book has ten chapters from the Hindu and six from Persian. Readers should grasp its import and not be like the man who wrote his Arabic lessons on a golden slate but memorized them badly. Says the book *Adab u'l-murid* "Pursue learning even into a sea of fire;" and Muhammad said, "Pursue learning even if it is in China or Bulghari," and the Kuran says, "Whomsoever God enlightens, his knowledge is as clear as the sun that lights earth and sky." Be not like the fool that followed the blind man into a well, or like the thief, who was killed, because overheard by a householder he relied on a charm the householder purposely told his wife would keep people asleep and protect thieves. The wise will take thought and even suffer oppression, like Thaif who from loyalty to the king of Rukham prepared to kill his only son so that Luck, in the form of a beautiful woman, should not desert the palace. Be not like the dog that seeing his own reflection in water dropped a bone to attack it. As the saying goes, "The lark خلدي went out with two horns and returned with two torn ears." Mortals are fools not to remember whereof they are made. Said Muhammad, "This world is rotten and he who follows after it a dog," and again, "It abides for a moment; make of it a house of service." Here ends the preface which Khoja Buzur Jamir wrote at the request of Barzueh for the story of Kalila Damina.

Grieved at the stupidity of his four sons Iskandar Shah gave them into the care of a Brahmin, Somasanma, who made them fond of him and told them a tale in five parts. A rich Hindu merchant, Barzaghan, had a spendthrift son, who on his advice

* From *Hikayat Kalila* dan *Damina* ed. Gonggrip Leiden 1892.

took two bulls Sateruboh and Saburboh and went to a far country to trade. Sateruboh fell into a chasm and was left in charge of a hireling who deserted the beast and told its master it had died. But Sateruboh revived and by lowing terrified Lion, prince of all the beasts, as he had never heard the sound before. Lion had two faithful jackals Kalila and Damina. When Damina remarked on the low spirits of Lion, Kalila reproved him for a busybody, telling of the monkey who lost his life by getting his tail caught through pulling out a wood-cutter's wedge. Then Kalila sought an interview with Lion and pleased him with choice words. But Damina was with Lion when Sateruboh lowed and seeing his fear told him Sateruboh was not as formidable as his voice. Damina told Lion the tale of the fox which seeing a big round drum hung from a tree after a battle in which Raja Sulan had repulsed Raja Pandayan took it for food, bit it and found it empty. Damina fetches Sateruboh to do obeisance to Maharaja Singa, Marga Dipati, Lord of Beasts. Lion makes Sateruboh one of his heralds, whereat Damina is jealous. Kalila tells him of the monk, whose fine suit, a gift from royalty, was stolen by a thief who pretended to want to learn the *tarikat* and become his pupil. In quest of the thief, the monk beheld a fox killed for suspicion of murder because it was found licking the blood of two hunters whom the hermit had seen kill one another in a quarrel over the division of their game. The monk was invited by a procuress, Baliba, into her house, and saw her try to blow poison through a quill up the nose of a youth who rejected her love, but he sneezed and the poison entered her mouth and she died. He stayed next at the house of a shoemaker, who returning drunk one night found a youth at his door and so beat his wife and tied her to a house-pillar. His wife persuaded her friend and go-between, the wife of a barber, to untie her and take her place, so that she might meet her lover. But the shoemaker woke and getting no answer from his wife when he shouted for water mistook the wife of the barber for her and slit her nose. His own wife returning condoled with her friend and was again tied up by her. She then cried, "If I have committed adultery, may my nose never heal up." Her husband lighting a lamp saw her nose whole and knelt for pardon. Meanwhile he threw a bowl at his wife, in which in the dark she had handed him water; whereat she pretended it had struck and cut off her nose. The husband was taken before a judge but saved by the monk who related his own adventures as proof that our troubles spring from our own actions; his own from taking a pupil, the fox's from licking blood, Bibi's from having a lover, those of the barber's wife from acting as a go-between. So the barber was acquitted and the shoemaker's wife was punished. Consider the moral, said Kalila to Damina, warning him against traducing Sateruboh to Lion. But Damina declared that his wits could defeat Sateruboh's strength and told how Jackal advised Crow not to peck the Snake that ate her young. An egret living beside a lake wept because age was preventing him from catching fish, but when Crab asked the cause of his grief he pretended it was because two fishermen had said they would bale out the lake to catch the fish. Tortoise overhearing this told the fishes, who asked the egret to help them. So he offered to fly them a few at a time to another lake, and took a carp first to view it. After that by pretending to take them there he got five fat fishes a day and ate them. Then as the lake was emptied of fish the egret offered to remove Crab, but Crab suspecting such a crafty bird of guile bit his neck in mid-air so that he died. "Even man," Crab quoted

a verse, "feels a day a long time, when he is alive and his enemy dead." Beware of strength, said Jackal: Crab had claws for a weapon. If you want to kill a snake, steal some trinket from the raja's palace and fly with it in the sight of all men to the Snake's hole, when he will be found and killed. Damina vowed to get rid of Satchuboh as Mouse-deer killed Tiger for oppressing the beasts. As Tiger was killing so many, Mouse-deer arranged that he should be given one animal a day: when it came to Mouse-deer's turn, he arrived late and said the animal he was bringing had been snatched by a rival tiger on the way; he led Tiger to fight this rival and showed him his shadow in a pond, leaping at which in mistake for his foe. Tiger was drowned. In spite of a resolve to follow Kalila's advice and use guile, Damina finds Lion alone and bluntly tells him Sateruboh should be dealt with quickly as a traitor; "as the poem says, one should deal with a foe with any device, because he waits for one to sleep and douse the lamp." Once there were three fish, Jazim, Abu'l-fadlail and Aziz. When they heard two fishermen say they would fetch their nets, Jazim removed to other waters, Abu'l-fadlail delayed but when the men returned pretended to be dead and rotten and so escaped, while the foolish Aziz was caught. Impressed by this tale, Lion agrees to punish Sateruboh, if he comes into the presence with guilty mien. But Damina telling Sateruboh that deth awaits him, advises flight, before Lion can discover the bull's innocence. Sateruboh declares he has been slandered and tells how Crow, Rhino and Jackal contried Camel's death. When Lion wounded in a fight with a mad elephant could not capture game, Crow, Rhino and Jackal agreed each to offer himself in turn for food, while the other two were to save the offerer by saying he was too small or his flesh was not good: but when Camel offered himself, they all praised his flesh, whereupon Lion ate him. So are creatures destroyed by false friends. Damina warns Sateruboh not to invite a contest with mighty Lion, telling the story of the sandpiper who insisted on his mate laying her eggs on the shore, though she begged him to foloow her advice and remove and told him of the two birds who took the monitor-lizard from a pond that had dried up on condition that he should not release his jaws from the piece of wood on which they carried him: he disobeyed and fell and was killed. The sandpiper's eggs were carried away by the spirit of the sea and she bewailed her loss till her mate got Garuda to compel the spirit of the sea to return them. However Sateruboh insists on confronting Lion, and Damina warns him that if on meeting Lion he sees his tail down and his whiskers trembling, it means that Lion is displeased. Lion and Sateruboh meet and fight: Lion is wounded and Sateruboh falls dead. Kalila warns Damina that over this we will get into trouble from not having followed his advice; like the bird who in spite of a man's warning told shievering monkies that they could not make a fire out of incandescent mushrooms and got his feathers pulled out for his pains. Kalila tells of the clever Man and the Fool who agreed to divide all they found on their travels. They found a jar of gold. The clever Man persuaded Fool that it should be left hidden under a tree, and they should take a little gold as they needed it. The clever Man then stole it and accused Fool of the theft before the Kathi, to whom he said the tree was his only witness. He begged his father to hide in the tree and speak. (His father told of the Snake that lived at the foot of Crow's tree and ate her eggs. Tortoise advised crow to strew fish between Snake's nest and Mongoose's trail. So Mongoose found and

devoured Snake but next day seeking fish in vain he devoured Crow's young. Cunning is often overreached). But the clever Man's father at last consented and gave evidence from the hollow of the Tree. The Kathi had a fire lit round the tree whereat the father jumped out and having told the truth died. The Kathi gave the gold to Fool. Kalila tells another story of cunning overreaching itself. A man accepted steel for safekeeping and told its owner it had been devouredby rats: the owner stole the son of the man and said he had been carried off by an eagle. The judge ordered that both the steel and the boy should be returned.

Panther overhearing Kalila blame Damina for treacherously compassing the death of Sateruboh runs and informs Lion's mother. Lion laments Sateruboh's death to a Brahmin. His mother talks to him. Lion summons Damina and all the beasts and accuses Damina who relates the tale of the designer of fabrics who for want of investigation beat his innocent son and spared his guilty slave. He had an intrigue with the wife of a Kashmiri, Jamir, and signalled for their assignations by black and white cloths: his slave knew this, borrowed them from the designer's son when his father was away, and enjoyed the lady. The raja imprisons Damina for trial. Kalila visits him and laments that treachery has brought him to such a pass. A bird *(kuas)* hearing this flies and informs the raja's mother, who persuades her son to order an immediate trial. Damina protests his innocence saying that knaves are fools like the man who pretended to be a doctor but knew so little of drugs that his mixture poisoned a princess and led to his execution. Panther declares the space between his eyebrows, the unequal size of his eyes and the twist of his nose prove Damina a knave. He is sent back to gaol, where Fox tells him Kalila has died of sorrow: Damina adopts Fox as his brother and gives him half of the treasure he had hidden beneath a tree. Called before the judge again Damina tells the tale of the Hawker to show the need for full investigation. Spurned by his master's wife, Baroti he gave his master Mirzaban two mynahs, one of which he taught to say in Balkhi, "I've seen her in the embrace of the porter." A friend came from Balkhi and told Mirzaban, who went to kill his wife but she bade him enquire if the bird knew any other words in Balkhi, which it did not! The Hawker declared the mynah spoke the truth but his own hawk pecked out his eyes. However on the evidence of Panther and *kuas* Damina is convicted and left to starve in gaol.

II. The four princes beg Somasanma to tell the second part of his tale, dealing with friends in need. He tells of the friendship between Dove, Crow, Mouse, Barking-deer and Tortoise. In Kashmir are great forests where the king of the crows lives. One day after a battle in a pond he saw two men come and set a fowling-net. A flock of Doves flew into it to eat the bait of grain, but they were caught fast. Their leader Hamam bade them fly away with the net to Mouse, who gnawed through the cord and released them. Impressed, Crow succeeded in winning Mouse's friendship, though Mouse says nature has made them enemies and is suspicious. Crow flies off with Mouse to a fine place where his friend Tortoise lives. Mouse tells a tale to illustrate the value of his friendship with Dove. In an orchard in Mawra lived a lonely hermit, whose food was eaten by mice. A mendicant visited him and expressed anxiety because he kept raising his hand. I would not harm you but drive away the mice, said the hermit. Perhaps, replied his guest, there is one mouse for some reason

more forward than the rest! Hear the tale of the woman who put oil-seed to dry and changed them for seeds in the pod. A guest heard his host and hostess wrangle over the lack of food to entertain him. The hostess wanted more provisions. Her husband bade her not be greedy like the hunter who had shot a deer and put it down to shoot a boar which charged and killed him or like the tiger which seeing the three corpses ate the string of the hunter's bow first and was killed by the discharge of the arrow. Next day the hostess told her husband to watch oil-seed she had put in the sun but he fell asleep and crows came down and ate and scratched and mixed the seed with sand. She tried to exchange them for seeds in the pod but the Hindu tradesman saw the sand and drove her away and so her guest was hungry for want of a dinner. Let us visit Mouse's hole, said the mendicant, and see if there is a reason for his pertness. So they did and found 1000 gold pieces Mouse had collected and they divided it between themselves, and put it under their pillows. In vain Mouse tried to recover it and get food: he was always driven away and found no solace except in the friendship of Dove. Said Tortoise, greed leads a man to destruction, as a camel is led by his driver: witness the tale of the cat that was kept on short commons so that he should devour rats in a store but felt hungry and tried to catch two young doves but was captured by their owner and killed. Five things are fleeting: shadows, friendship with the vicious, love of woman, beauty and wealth. When Crow heard Tortoise admonishing Mouse, he recited a verse. 'If man would dig a well, he will find cool water not in low ground but on high'; help comes from the wise; 'good things are dear but unlike mean things bring profit.' Suddenly a Deer ran up and became one of the band of friends. One day when Deer was caught in a net, Mouse bit the cord and released him. But the hunter came. And all ran but Tortoise, who was tied up and carried off. Then Deer feigning lameness showed himself to the hunter, who set down Tortoise and chased Deer. So Tortoise escaped.

III. The princes asked for the third part of his tale: how the wise should never trust an enemy. Somasanma tells of the Crows and the Owls. The Owls attacked the Crows at night and worsted them. The Raja Crow consults his five ministers who give various counsels. They advise secrecy and one of them, Karkenas, talks of a Sultan of Kashmir, whose favourite concubine Ratnasuri had an intrigue with a page. The Sultan asked the advice of his minister who advised poisoning them, but the minister revealed this to his daughter whom Ratnasuri had insulted, and his daughter told a warrior who told Ratnasuri, who with her lover poisoned the Sultan. Karkenas tells the Raja Crow privately that the attack was due to a Crow who was asked by the Owls to help choose their ruler. The Crow had advised them not to choose a day-blind vicious Owl but a noble and clever Peacock or Eagle or Hawk. He had told how a clever Mouse-deer, Piruzu, pretending to be an envoy from Moon had made the huge Elephants do obeisance to her reflection and cease from wading in the pool itself which was the Mousedeers' drinking water and which they were fouling. He had told, too, how once when Mouse-deer had taken a *sĕnubul* birds place during its absence, he had refused to give it back and he suggested a hermit cat as arbitrator. But the cat had seized the bird! The bad, he had urged, could never be trusted. However the next day the Owls chose an Owl for their king, and the new king hated the Crows because a Crow had nearly cheated him of his throne. Hearing this

the King od the Crows lets Karkenas to desert to the King of the Owls, who receives him so graciously that Owl's prime minister warns his Lord against favouring an enemy. Like the Ceylon craftsman who spared his wife because, knowing he was spying on them, she told her lover that she loved her husband more than him. The Owl minister tells Karkenas he can no more change his nature than the Mouse, who turned into a girl by a hermit's prayer wanted a strong husband. Sun said Cloud was stronger than he and Cloud said Wind was yet stronger and Wind said Mountain was stronger still, but Mountain said that Mouse who could enter his entrails was strongest. So the girl begged to be turned into a Mouse again. Karkenas retorts with the tale of the Merchant and the Wife of the Arab Amir. Left behind by his caravan because of sickness a Persian Amir a wealthy merchant found his way to the house of an Arab Amir. He tried to seduce his host's beautiful wife but failed and she told her husband who concealed his knowledge and escorted his guest to Mecca, refusing pay. Meantime Bedui had stolen the Arab Chief's goods and his wife. They then sold her in Baghdad to one who sold her to the Persian Amir, who treated her with every courtesy, concealing his identity. Seeking his wife, her husband reached Baghdad and was entertained by the Persian Amir, who forced on him a bride—his lost wife—and loaded him with riches. Still his minister counsels Raja Owl against Karkenas, who replies that one should never visit a land where the king is just but his minister tyrannical, and tells of the hermit who out of pity turned a mouse into a beautiful boy. Later he turned his wife into a lovely woman. She then said she was too good for him and he turned her into a bitch. Finally on his children's entreaty he turned the boy back into a mouse and his wife to her former state. At last the Crow Minister returns to his king and advises that the Owl fortress, a cave, may be smoked out and burnt by day when the Owls cannot see. He adds that he was like the Snake who made friends with the Frog. On condition that Snake carried him about on his back, the King of the Frogs agreed to give him two frogs a day to eat, but when all the other frags had been eaten, Snake ate the King:—he had pretended that as he had bitten the child of a pious hermit in mistake for a frog, the hermit had cursed him so that he could not catch frogs. However trivial, one cannot make light of fire, winds, foes and debts.

IV. Somasanma tells stories of those who from greed lose what they have. On a certain island lived Dianda, king of the Monkies. His successor, loving the sound of fruit plumping into water, sat on a tree by the shroe and made friends with a turtle who ate the fruit thrown down. Irked by his absence the turtle's wife pretended to be sick and got the doctor to say the only medicine was a monkey's heart. Turtle takes monkey on his back across the sea to visit his wife, and half way across tells himhe wants a monkey's heart, whereat his passenger says he will be glad to give his own but he has left it at home. So turtle takes Monkey back and he escapes and tells turtle a story. Once a Fox made friends with a mangy old Tiger. He told him that the medicine for his mange was the heart and ears of a donkey and persuaded a washerman's donkey to go to the place where Tiger lay. Tiger sprang but missed the prey. Again Fox presuaded Donkey, who had never seen a tiger, to go there, saving his old friend was merely playful. Tiger killed Donkey and went to bathe, wereupon Fox ate her heart and ears, telling Tiger on his return that his victim had had neither

or she would not have heeded the lies told her.

V. The Brahmin tells stories to show the value of deliberation. An elderly hermit having no children brought a mongoose. Then his wife conceived. We shall have a clever son, said the hermit. How can you know? asked his wife telling the tale of the hermit who was given honey and oil and spilt them over his head. He thought, I shall sell them and buy a she-goat: I shall sell her goat and kids and become rich and marry a rick girl and have children and if I have a son who won't learn I'll beat him—and he lashed out with his stick and smashed the jar that held the oil and honey. Then the hermit's wife bore a son. One day she went to the well and her husband was called to the palace. When he returned the mongoose met him, its mouth red with blood and he killed the mongoose thinking it had killed the child but when he came to his ground he found that the mongoose had killed a snake, and his son was alive and well. Sometimes, said the Brahmin, it pays to make a friend of an enemy. Once a cat was caught in a snare near a mouse's hole. The mouse saw a mongoose and an owl, both ready to kill it. So it made friends with the cat and released it but would not keep up the friendship afterwards for fear. Then there is the tale of the lark whose young became the pet of a king's baby but was killed by him: whereat the lark pecked out the child's eyes and flew off, refusing all the king's entreaties to be his friend. Once after many entreaties a vegetarian ascetic jackal consented to serve the King of the Tigers, who so ennobled him that all the beasts were jealous. One day Jackal gave Mouse-deer tiger's meat to keep for the morrow but Cat stole it and hid it in Jackal's home. Panther told Tiger who was very angry, but his mother told him to investigate and Cat confessed. And Jackal agreed at length to continue to serve Tiger. Evil is requited with evil as the hermit jackal told Tiger the flesh-eater when he found her lamenting her two cubs' death at the hands of an archer. Then I will eat only fruit, she cried, You'll frighten all the beasts from their main food, answered Jackal. Then I can eat only grass and earth, said Tiger. Every man should stick to his own work, says the Brahmin. Once a guest got a Hermit to teach him the Iberani language and tried to talk it but when his hearers asked him the words for *day* and *night*,, he did not know and was confounded. The Brahmin tells a tale of a king who confuted his enemies. Once the king dreamt seven times in one night that two read fish and two white ducks followed him and a snake coiled about his legs; then a man smeared blood on him and a white camel came before him and a bird perched on his head. Halir and other Brahmins angry at the execution of relatives, said the dream betokened death, unless the king killed his elephants, his only son Thahir Shah, a minister and a favourite camel and drank their heart's blood. The king replied telling how Solomon refused the water of life. His ministers, Asaf, Damarbath, Aqab and Asad advised him to drink and get immortality, health, youth and beauty. Asad added, 'But ask Hedgehog for he is wise.' Horse was sent to call him but he made excuses; Dog went and he came. For, he said, Horse is noble and would deliver my excuses; Dog is ignoble and would traduce me. He advised Solomon not to drink water, which would make him outlive his wife, children and ministers. Thahir Shah, pretending to submit to Halir's demands, brings a *hakim* who says the two red fish are two envoys from Yunan, mounted on elephants and bringing jewels and gold, the two white ducks are envoys from Balkh bringing two horses as gifts, the blood

envoys from Hormuz bringing jewelled raiment, the camel a man from Kerman bringing an elephant, the bird on his head a crown sent by the king of Isfahan. Dreaming seven times meant the present would come in seven days. So the king killed Halir and the Brahmins. The prince begged Somasanma to tell of the man who kept and the man who broke his promise. He told of the Goldsmith and the Hunter. A monkey, snake, tiger and man fell into a hunter's pit. The hunter came and pulled the man out but the beasts also clung to his rope and were rescued. The monkey brought him fruit. The tiger killed a child and gave him its rich attire. The gold he took to a goldsmith, who recognizing the attire took it to the child's father, who denounced the hunter and got him condemned for murder. But the snake came and said, "I'll bite the Raja's son. Take this herb which is the only cure for my bite, and save the boy, when you may be spared." So it happened and the ingrate was executed in his stead. The Brahmin then tells the story of the four friends, the princeling, the minister's son, the merchant's son and the farmer's son. The prince said one must trust in God in this rotten world, the minister's son said looks and manners always brought success, the merchant's son believed in brains and the farmer's son in work. So they tested their views. The farmer's son cut firewood and bought food for his friends. The merchant's son bought a cargo and sold it at a profit. The minister's handsome son attracted the notice of a lady who gave him 500 gold pieces and the prince went and sat under a fence, trusting in God, and was chosen to succeed the dead ruler of that country.

The Brahmin's pupils ask for a tale of a man who acted hastily and he tells them of Prince Bahazada, son of the ruler of Halabu. A court attendant tells him how journeying in Sham he saw the daughter of the raja of Rum escorted with music in a jewelled litter to her garden plaisance and wept to think what a bride she would make for Bahazada. Though his father says she is far above him, he demands that her hand be asked. The raja of Rum demands a bridal gift of 100,000 gold pieces. Borrowing from merchants, Bahazada's father collects 70,000 and begs his son to wait but instead he tries to raid a caravan and is captured, though its leader Amir Mahmud hearing his story lends him the 30,000 pieces required and takes him to Rum. The raja accepts his suit but says it will take time to collect the wedding-guests. "I want her now," cries the impatient prince whereat the raja liking him but angry sends him to his daughter's garden. She is dressing after her bath and seeing a man prying tells a maid to fetch a two-pronged spear and push it through the trellis into his eyes. He is blinded and blind is rejected for bridegroom and for his father's throne.

Somasanma tells the tale of the merchant who bought wheat that was spoilt by the flooding of his barn, bought a ship that was wrecked, got a job with Sahib A'suri on a half profits basis but buried the money he got and asked leave to go away, whereupon Sahib A'suri discovered the money, seized it and drove the merchant away. The merchant met five pearl-fishers who dived and got five pearls, which in pity they gave him. Encountering Bedouins he put two pearls in his mouth but in talking dropped them whereupon the Bedouins stole them. Meeting a Hindu, Manikchata, he asked him the value of the three he still had, whereat the Hindu seeing their quality seized him and cried, 'This the thief who stole my pearls.' He is cast into gaol for

enquiry but the pearl-fishers arrive and exonerate him. He is given all the property of Manikchata and made royal treasurer. The other ministers are jealous and one who sees him filling a hole in a wall made by a lamp accuses him to the king of spying on the ruler's daughter, whereupon his eyes are put out. Then the king finds that his daughter has been away for three days and repents of his unjust haste.

Somasanma tells the tale of Abu-sabar, who counselled patience when a raja destroyed his village because the people had killed a royal page for raping a girl and again when a tiger killed the cattle. The raja hearing that the exodus from the village was due to his apathy expelled him. Bedouins stole his children and while he went for food a thief, Fajar, carried off his wife. Next a cruel king made him carry stones and beat him for carrying small ones: when prayer gave him the strength of ten, the king had a ladder broken so that Abu-sabar fell and broke his arm. After that he was put in chains. But the cruel king died and his ministers decided to give the throne to the man who could answer four hard questions. Only Abu-sabar can answer them and he is made king. A merchant restores his children, whom he has bought from their captors. Fajar unwillingly brings his chaste wife before Abu-sabar and complains of her recalcitrancy. Fajar is impaled.

The Brahmin tells the tale of the hasty harsh Raja of Yamen who however spares the life of his favourite servant Ibraha when hunting deer Ibraha shoots off his ear. Ibraha is the son of the king of Rinji in disguise and returns home. On a pleasure trip the Raja of Yamen is wrecked on the coast of Rinji and falls asleep under the house of a merchant who that night is murdered. He is suspected and locked up for enquiry. Seeing a crow on the roof of the palace, he shies a stone at it, thinking a hit will procure his release, but the stone cuts off Ibraha's ear. This leads to recognition and the Raja of Yamen is honoured and escorted home.

Next is the story of the king who slew his two ministers. Raja Ibrahim took one minister Kamkari, father of the lovely Biyakari, hunting and left his kingdom in charge of another Kardari, who seeing the girl planned to marry her to the king, traduce her and so get for himself. She refuses the royal match, telling her father how the sparrow bride left her hornbill bridegroom, how Solomon referred the case to the lord *(saïd)* of the headland, who flew away when a covey of hornbills arrived but agreed to meet one or two. Meanwhile Raja Hornbill had caught and proposed to eat Mouse-deer, who saved his life by improvising verses *(pantun)*. Next Mouse-deer met a snake and then a coconut monkey and then an old man, escaping from all by laudatory verses. Raja Hornbill flew to the headland and stated his case, whereat the *Saïd* engaged in a struggle with Mouse-deer, which proved too strong and big for him. So, too, he said, a hornbill is too strong and big for him. So, too, he said, a hornbill is too strong for a sparrow bride. So one night Kamkari and his daughter flee to Isfahan. Kardari is sent to catch them and Raja Ibrahim splits open Kamkari's head with a stick and kills him. His daughter can demur no more but asks for her friend Kiyakari as a companion. The Raja and his bride live happily till he goes to fight an invader from Ruhham. Kardari then invites the new queen to flee with him or else poison her father's murderer. She refuses. He tells the king he has overheard Kiyakari suggesting to her to poison her consort. The king kills Kiyakari and, on Kardari's proposal has Biyakari tied on a plank behind a wild camel. Kardari hoped

to find her and make her his own. But an angel releases her and causes a brook to spring up besides her and grass to grow, and there she kneels and prays till a camel-driver finds her and gives her shelter. He tells Raja Ibrahim of his discovery and the king comes and is convinced of her innocence. But she bids him hide and send the camel-driver for Kardari who again again makes overtures to her. The king slays him and he and his bride live happily.

The next tale is that of the mean and cruel Raja Khabasi of Turkestan who demanded the hand of the daughter of the king of Iraq and, his suit refused, attacked Iraq and got her, not knowing she was a widow with a grown son Khadad. Pretending that she had always looked after the boy, she gets Raja Khabasi to have him fetched from Iraq. On his arrival she kisses him and her husband not knowing he is her son sends him with a roll of white cloth to a minister ordering him to kill the boy. On the way he talks to another boy who takes over the cloth and delivers it and is killed. Realizing his mistake the minister hides Khadad, until to assuage the grief of his mother and grandfather and Raja Khabasi he produces him.

Somasanma is given rich presents for training the princes.

Taj a's-Salatin.

I. Man must know himself to know his God. He is a creature of dust, compounded of earth, air, fire and water, the lowest but also the highest of created beings, a microcosm or glass wherein he may see God the Eternal, the macrocosm.

II. The nature of God, the Creator. Just as one is not ten but connotes ten, so God is neither knowledge nor power nor life nor sight nor desire nor creation but connotes them. Man exists in the knowledge and power of God, as fishes exist in water, not one of whose scales even can live apart from water, though the fishes know neither themselves nor the nature of water or of their dependence on it. Whomsoever He will, God leads astray or directs in the right way.

III. The nature of the world. It is a place for the lover and beloved, the knower and the known (*'ashik dan ma'shok, habib dan mahbub, 'arif dan ma'ruf*), a bazaar for the next world. The way is far, and age, like a cavalcade, halts not; every breath marks a step; every day is another plain traversed. The world is a bridge to eternity, which the wise cross without making their abode on it. Some say it is a dream and men the sleepers.

IV. Of death. According to the *Tanbihu'l-Ghafilin*—there are Persian, Hindustani and Malay tracts of this name—God makes the grave a flower garden for those that think upon death, while for others it is a cavern of hell. Once there was a Persian king, Shahriah, so proud he ignored the greeting of a humble mendicant, but the mendicant seized his bridle and whispered "I am the Angel of Death" and Shahriah fell dead in front of his people, before he could atone for his misdeeds.

V. Of Caliphs. Adam was the first caliph and was succeeded by his son Kaiomarz—first of Persian kings. There were six Prophet kings, Adam, Yusuf, Daud, Sulaiman, Musa, Muhammad. Fatimah (when visited in sickness by Muhammad and 'Imran), Muhammad, Abu-Bakar, 'Omar, 'Usman, 'Ali, all knew poverty. Supported by public monies, Abu-Bakar and 'Usman repaid it all on their

death-beds. 'Omar worked as a brick-maker. When 'Omar son of 'Abdu'l-'Aziz son of Sultan Sulaiman ruled Baghdad, he gave the contents of its palaces to the needy. According to the *Siyar u'l-Muluk*, a ruler must observe Muslim law and slay heretics, to do his duty go God, and be just to do his duty to man.

IV. Of justice and mercy. Said the Prophet, "A prince just in his world shall from the day of judgment sit in heaven on a throne of pearl." An unjust king is the shadow of Iblis upon earth. God is a shepherd and men His sheep. Virtue in a king is a greater sign of honour than a golden creese. By justice a king can acquire the merit of sixty pilgrimages. Ahnaf declared that justice populates and cruelty devastates the world. The *Adabu's-Salatin* says a just ruler must know the affairs of his realm. The *Adabu'l-Muluk* says, a ruler's ignorance of affairs, his elevation of evil and base-born men, and the injustice of officials destroy kingdoms.

VII. Of just princes. Harun a'r-Rashid was told by a Sufi anchorite, Sufian Zahid, that rulers must have a treasury for alms and public works, a sword to slay criminals and heretics, a staff to strike the irreligious: he was warned by Fadli 'Iyad that his hand was soft but hell-fire hard and that entrusting affairs to others, like 'Abbas his companion, would undo him. Sultan Sulaiman ibn 'Abdu'l-Malik begets a son, 'Abdu'l-'Aziz after eating coarse flour given him by a holy man. In a famine 'Omar ibn 'Abdu'l-'Aziz opened the treasury to Arabs, who claimed the money belonged either to God, who did not want it, or to 'Omar who should give it in alms, or to themselves. In Nashapur, a Shaikh asked Bu Ali'l Jasa or Abu Ityas a captain why he was prepared to leave behind him loved possessions and take enemies (? sins) to the next world. Sultan Isma'il bin Ahmad had the hand cut off a groom who stole from an orchard in spite of drawing wages. One night the Caliph 'Omar, accompanied by Zaid ibn 'Abdu'llah ibn 'Abdu's-Salam, found a hungry woman with two children outside Medinah, with a pot of water boiling to make the children think there was food, and he himself went and bought her flour and meat. In Sham a just king Malik al-Salih found a naked beggar shivering in a mosque and gave him clothes and money. Zayad, Sultan of 'Irak, put down theft by forbidding persons to leave their houses after evening prayer and to keep his word executed even those who disobeyed unwittingly. Later when a man complained of the loss of 400 *tahil* of gold, the Sultan replaced it, assembled his people in the mosque and swore to kill all unless the thief confessed, which he did. Sultan Abu Ja'afar revoked an execution when Mubarak ibni Fazal told him a tale from a *hadith*, how on the day of judgment none shall rise and claim to have loved God save those who pardoned the sins of men. The *Najat al-Muluk* tells how Satan told Musa that unrighteous anger, the seduction of women and meanness were his three weapons for the destruction of the world. The *Adah as-Salatin* says that formerly good kings divided the day into four parts: one for religious duties, one for judicial and government work, one for theological and legal study, one for eating and sleeping.

VIII. Of just infidel kings. Once Nushirwan asked Buzurghmihr if his country were prosperous. The vizier pretended that his ruler was sick and could only be cured by clay from a ruined place. It could be got only from the house of a stranger sealed up for years because no heirs claimed his property. A man bought a house and found a jar of gold: he wanted to restore it to the seller, who refused it; Nushirwan

bade them arrange a marriage between their children and give the girl the gold for dowry. Harun a'r-Rashid opened the grave of Nushirwan and found his body whole (and a gold tablet beside it setting forth the duties of kings), because he had been just. A Chinese Emperor, troubled by deafness bade all his subjects who had complaints dress in red and write their grievances on their coats. The book *Fazilah al-'Adalat* tells how between heaven and hell there is a place 'Araf for just infidel rulers. There follows a list of kings from Adam down to Yaydakird, last of the *Muluku't-tawaif.*

IX. Of unjust kings, who beyond all others shall be punished on the day of judgment. Sayings of the Prophet are quoted. Hanafi said the three worst sins are injustice, ingratitude for the true faith, contempt for death. In Basrah an unjust ruler laughed at a poor fireworshipper who had had the tail cut off his ass and his pregnant wife thrown to the ground and caried away, but Allah had his palace swallowed up in black boiling water. So, too, a pleasure dome in Isfahan was destroyed because the king had destroyed the hut of an old woman and his men had cast her and her rice into the dust. An angel in the form of a horse entered the palace of the cruel tyrant Yazdakird and when he tried to mount kicked him to death and vanished.

X. Of viziers, their qualifications and their value to rulers. Yunan tells Nushirwan of the whole duty of kings and how his vizier betrayed king Kishtasab robbing his subjects and leaving the treasury empty, till the king, learning two watch-dogs he sees hanged by a tent-door have been killed for treachery, hangs his vizier by the gate of the city. Yunan continues that Ardashir was a king famous for industry and justice, that Kobad was once told by his vizier the whole duty of kings, that once when Solomon's crown was asked and he chided it, the crown replied. "Straighten your heart and I'll be straight," and that Khusrau Firuz once fled from Bahram Cobin in battle, declaring that in spite of the shame there was a time to fight and a time to flee. Yunan tells how a vizier, ordered by a king of 'Ajam, to execute his consort, found her pregnant, slew and condemned prisoner in her stead and later was able to present a son to his king, who thought himself childless.

XI. Of writers. Quotations from the Kuran and the *Kitab al-insan* to prove that the pen and the sword are the two mightiest forces in the world and without them not even Alexander the Great could have succeeded. A writer should understand irrigation, astronomy and astrology. Ibni 'Abbas relates how the letter of Solomon to the Queen of Sheba was sealed, and that Muhammad had a silver signet ring engraved with the creed, and held that before despatch every letter should be laid on the earth because the earth is blessed. A letter should have more meaning than words *(lafath).*

XII. Of envoys, who must be of good appearance and conduct and speech. Alexander suspicious that an envoy to Dara had misrepresented him wrote to Dara: Dara cut the word out of Alexander's letter and disavowed it; Alexander cut out the envoy's tongue. Humayun's envoy to the ruler of Khorassan won fame by his eulogies of his master.

XIII. Of officials *(pēgawai),* who must be loyal and grateful as Ayaz was to Mahmud, so that thinking of past favours Ayaz even called a bitter gourd sweet, because it was received from Mahmud's hand. Their love was as famous as that of

Laila and Majnun among the Arabs or that of Khusrau and Shirin and Yusuf and Zulaikha among the Persians. Once when Mahmud flung gold, silver and jewels for all his followers to take, Ayaz alone followed his master with empty hands, counting it the greatest riches to be with his lord.

XIV. Of the upbringing of children, who should be shaved on the seventh day, taught *adab* when they are six, thirteen married at sixteen or seventeen, and trained in manners of the court and warlike arts.

XV. Of right conduct. Every one should speak the truth and in the proper place, and then, as Galen told Alexander, a prince will get an eternal in place of a transitory realm. When a prince wanted to give a man 500 *derham*, his vizier said no prince should give less than 1000; when Harun ar'-Rashid gave 500 *tahil* to a man, his vizier Yahya gave the same advice; when Ma'mum a'r-Rashid heart his vizier 'Abbas give a servant half a *tahil* for marketing, he declared he was unfit to be called a vizier. The *Sifat u'l-Muluk* relates that Shabur told his son never to give with his own hand or to send for or look at his gifts and never to give less than the revenue of a state. Hormuz reproached his vizier for dealing in jewels as it distracted him from government work and harmed other traders. A vizier of Harun a'r-Rashid bade his servants give a beggar of his own food and 1000 *dinar* a day so long as he sat at his gate, which he did for a month. Shirian once reproached Khosrau for giving a fisherman 400 *derham* for a fish but he said a ruler could not go back on what he had done. She replied that he could ask whether the fish was made or female and, whatever the man replied, say he wanted the other sex and so get out of his purchase. But the man replied the fish was sexless and so got 8000 *derham*. He dropped one *derham* and hunted for it, whereupon Shirian bade Khosrau reproach him for his meanness but the man said he only searched for fear passers-by should tread on a coin bearing the names of Allah and Khosrau, whereupon he got another 4000 *derham* and Khosrau put up a gold inscription, "Whoever pays heed to a woman over one or two *derham* will suffer loss."

XVI. Of wisdom *(budi)* and the wise. Budi = the Arabic '*akal* and is defined as doing good to those that harm us, abasing oneself before the lowly and exalting the high, hastening to do good, hating evil men and their works, perpetually thinking of God, death and the grave, speaking with knowledge, trusting God in trouble. Khosrau's father advised him to seek wisdom. Nushirn and one of his judges exchanged letters in praise of wisdom. Buzurgmihr said the rarest qualities of man were wisdom and courage. Lokman said knowledge without wisdom was vain. The Prophet extolled it as the greatest of God's gifts. All the experts in religious law *(hakim)* declare that asleep a wise man is better than a fool at prayer, not fasting better than a fool fasting, and weeping better than a fool laughing. Abdu'llah son of Mubarak said wisdom exceeds science because it knows how and when to apply science. As he of Bokhara says, "The light of wisdom illumines all places, showing truth and falsehood, wisdom and folly." When Nushirwan asked Buzurgmihr why friends quickly became enemies, but enemies slowly became friends, he eplied that crowded places could quickly be destroyed but it was a slow job to fill waste places. Iskandar told Aristotle that he honoured him above his own father, because one gave

him mortal the other immortal life, and because a judge must honour a learned man above all others.

XVII. Of the qualifications of a ruler. There are ten—justice; a door open to suppliants; avoidance of rich food and fine garments,—Ali wore a sleeveless coat costing three *derham* and ate a handful of flour for his daily fare— graciousness to suppliants; administration of the law of the Prophet unswayed by the attitude of those to whom he delivers judgment; perpetual concern over affairs of state; seeking the company and conversation of the learned. Because Isma'il, Samanid ruler of Khurasan, walked seven paces behind a learned man to honour him, the Prophet visited him in a dream and said that for seven generations his descendants should be kings. When 'Abdu'llah Tahir ascended the throne of Khurasan, only two men Ahmad the Arab and Muhammad Islam failed to come to court. When the Sultan visited Ahmad, the Arab said, "Yes, you are handsome. Beware lest your body become a faggot for hell-fire." Muhammad would not admit him to his house and turned away from him even at the mosque, whereat the Sultan knelt and prayed and God forgave him his sins on account of the piety of Muhammad Islam. The eighth qualification of a ruler is not to be proud like Nimrod, Shadad and Fir'aun; the ninth to see that his servants do not oppress the public; the tenth to be a judge of men's characters.

XVIII. Of the science of physiognomy *(Riafat* and *Firasat).* In the *Ma'arifat al-nas* it is said that human knowledge depends on the science committed to the prophets and the saints, the science of astrology, and the science of physiognomy. A knowledge of the last enabled Shafii' to see through his liberal host at Ramlah, who presented him with a bill for twice what had been expended on his entertainment. *Firasat* is deduction not from books but from acts, such as Solomon made when he ordered the infant that was claimed by two women to be split asunder/

XIX. Of the deductions to be drawn from the shape, of the head, colour of the hair, the eyelashes, the forehead, the eyes, nose, mouth, teeth, etc.

XX. Of the twenty duties (fairness, pity, respect for the aged, help for poor *fakirs*, guarding of wayfarers on the roads, building of mosques, etc.) of a ruler to his Muslim subjects. Iskandar was given empire because he spoke the truth, kept his word and gave away all the riches he got.

XXI. Infidels under a Muslim ruler may not build or repair heathen temples, or ride on horseback or keep arms or wear rings or dress like Muslims or sell spirits, or drink in public or give their children Muslim names, or live or be buried nea Muslims or keen for their dead or buy the slaves of Muslims or prevent their relations from becoming Muslims.

XXII. Of generosity and meanness. The *Siar al-Muluk* relates how the Persian king Bahram bade his son, when giving, to give enough to support a man for life. Nushirwan was famed for justice, Hatim Thai an Arab for his generosity. So the emperor of Byzantuim tried him by sending an envoy to ask for his favourite steed. When the envoy arrived one wet and stormy night, Hatim Thai killed the horse to feed the envoy and so, when in the morning he read the Emperor's letter, could not give him the steed. The king of Syria asked Hatim Thai for 100 camels with the rarest markings. Hatim Thai had to incur debts to buy them but sent them to the king, who

returned them laden with presents. Hatim Thai gave back camels and their loads to the men from whom he had brought them. The king of Yemen sent a Bedouin to murder Hatim Thai. The Bedouin meets a young man who feasts him and tells him how to kill Hatim Thai when he is asleep in his orchard, his face covered with a kerchief. The murderer goes to the orchard, finds the sleeping man and takes off the kerchief—to discover the spare his host. after death, Hatim Thai's charitable right hand did not decay.

XXIII. Of the keeping of faith. The *Zainat u'l-Muluk* tells how against the advice of his viziers, a king, who had sworn to give the contents of his treasury to the poor if God freed him from a certain trouble, was advised by a lunatic to keep faith with God and profited. When Sultan Ya'akob conquered Khorasan by the treachery of all its viziers but one, that vizier he honoured for keeping faith with his prince but the traitors he destroyed.

XXIV. Princes should honour this book and fast and pray. The people should read it and "not read other tales because those who read or listen to all the other tales famous in Malay land [*tanah Melayu*] acquire wickedness here and hereafter, for all those tales contain lying stories and truly their readers are sinful." Copyists must copy carefully and not make mistakes.

Notes

1. See Wustenfeld, Ferdinand *Ibn Coteiba's Handbuch der Geschichte*. Gottingen, 1850, pp. 70-71.
2. Brakel, L, 1975, p. 316 "has Numas sister of Syahrbanun and Hurman Shah, descendant of King Nusyirwan".

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