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In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 140 (1984), no: 2/3, Leiden, 326-333

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WILLEM VAN DER MOLEN

SIX MALAY MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ALGEMEEN RIJSARCHIEF AT THE HAGUE

The name of the Algemeen Rijksarchief (General State Archives) in The Hague will be familiar to anyone occupying themselves with the history of the Dutch East Indies or of the V.O.C. Many publications in this field testify how historians have put the materials kept in these archives to use. These materials seem to have figured far less prominently, however, for scholars addressing themselves to the literary study of (older) texts in Indonesian languages. Rightly or not, documents such as contracts, reports, and official and personal letters have so far hardly played a role in the study of Indonesian literatures. On the other hand, these Archives also contain copies of texts which do interest students of literature among their other documents. Unfortunately, the way in which the collections of the Algemeen Rijksarchief are catalogued makes it difficult to trace these, as such texts are not listed under their own names but under the names of the person to whom or the organization to which they once belonged. Usually they are described in vague general terms such as '*tekst in een inlandsche taal*' (text in a native language), without any further indications as to their contents. Two guides that have recently been compiled, by Roessingh and Jaquet, are of great help to us when looking for such manuscripts (see Roessingh 1982; Jaquet 1983). But no catalogue of all these texts exists to date, and, in view of the enormity of the task involved, is not likely to be made in the near future. Therefore, if one happens to come across any such texts in Indonesian languages, whatever the nature of one's research, it is advisable to immediately make public one's discovery.

Accordingly, in this article six Malay manuscripts will be discussed which came to light in the course of research recently carried out at the Algemeen Rijksarchief. They are from the collection of L. P. G. du Bus de Gisignies, *Commissaris-Generaal* (Deputy-General) of the Dutch East Indies from 1825 to 1830. The manuscripts concerned were discovered in the file of this collection numbered 27. In the inventory they are listed partly under the name of the text which they contain, partly as '*katernen in een Oosterse taal*' ('quires in an Oriental language').

Besides these manuscripts, the file also includes a handwritten copy of Raffles' *Substance of a Minute*, entitled '*Copia Rapport van den Lt. Gouverneur Generaal Raffles, dd. 11 February 1814, over Java*' (Copy of a Report of Lt. Governor-General Raffles, dated 11 February 1814, concerning Java) (cf. Raffles 1814). Further, there are 15 drawings of graves and weapons, with Javanese captions, bound together into a booklet bearing the heading *Punika buka . . .* (illegible) *saking déning pratélanipun gambaripun pakuburan astana ingkang wonten ing panagari Tandhes, ing tahun 1752* (This . . . from a list of illustrations of tombs in Gresik, in the year 1752 [= A.D. 1824]). These drawings resemble the illustrations accompanying a statistical survey of the economic and cultural state of affairs in the residency of Gresik compiled by Resident A. C. Cornets de Groot in 1822 (Algemeen Rijksarchief, collection G. J. C. Schneither, number 95).

The six manuscripts can be described as follows:

1. *Hikayat Shaikh Hadri*) dan Sairah*
European paper (watermarked 'C. Wilmot 1822', no chain lines or laid lines), 12 ff. (one quire, loose leaves, unnumbered), 22.9 x 18.7 cm, 11 lines per page (beginning of text on f. 2v, end of text on f. 11v, colophon on f. 11v).
Dated in the colophon: 16 December 1828.
Jawi script, enclosure of text in double frame, incidental rubrics, catchwords (on verso sides only).
On f. 1r is written in Latin characters: 'History of Sahiva' (sic).
2. *Hikayat Raja Jumjumah*
European paper (watermarked 'C. Wilmot 1822', no chain lines or laid lines), 14 ff. (one quire, loose leaves, unnumbered), 22.9 x 18.7 cm, 11 lines per page (beginning of text on f. 1v, end of text on f. 14r, colophon on f. 14r).
Dated in the colophon: 22 December 1828.
Jawi script, enclosure of text in double frame, incidental rubrics, catchwords (on verso sides only).
On f. 1r is written in Latin characters: 'Rajah Djoemjoema'.
3. *Hikayat Wasiat Nabi*
European paper (watermarked 'C. Wilmot 1822', no chain lines or laid lines), 14 ff. (one quire, loose leaves, unnumbered), 22.9 x 18.7 cm, 11 lines per page (beginning of text on f. 1v, end of text on f. 12v, colophon on f. 13r).
Dated in the colophon: 29 December 1828.
Jawi script, enclosure of text in double frame, incidental rubrics, catchwords (on verso sides only).
On f. 1r is written in Latin characters: 'Wasiat Nabee'.
4. *Hikayat Fatimah berkata-kata dengan Dhu 'l-Fakar*
European paper (watermarked 'C. Wilmot 1822', no chain lines or

*) Or possibly Hadrami? But compare the 'y' in a similar position in the words *isteri* and *ia* which occur several times on page 1 of the manuscript, and also the initial 'm' of *memintakan* in line 6 (see photograph no. 1).

و بگویند که این عالم را که در این عالم است
 دین و اخلاقی که در این عالم است و نام استری
 ایت سحره لاک فندیست که و الکی استری دات ساغته
 مه من کرد واپ دات ساغته ای برهوه بقی دات عباد
 کفرالد تعالی بر غطالی حضری که همیشه مکر سحره و فون که همیشه
 دیار کخ کوامی که ای که همیشه مکر ایفون متان
 دعا کند کوامی که میکی بو شپی یا الهی امثونیه دواپ
 سوامیکو که میکی که سحره متان دعا تیو ای که همیشه
 ای متا کند اله سبحانه و تعالی کن کوامی که حضری مکر دات
 کفر و ات وقتو حضری که کتی که همیشه مکر که سجد مکر که سجد
 ات دتجکلن اله تو ان کرو کلان عالم کند سحره کوات

کو

1. First page of the text of the *Hikayat Shaikh Hadri dan Sairah* as found in Algemeen Rijksarchief, Du Bus de Gisignies 27.
(Reproduction by courtesy of Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague)

القصة اني الله كوات حكاية
 چتر ارجاوار قنده كن كشد بهاس ماريو
 شيخ تالول انده كار غني دقات اوله داش شيخ
 عاريو كن بختسان شيخ امه مشهور دنان
 جوامك بار غمياش مباح دي اتومش كن
 دي جملو اورغ ايت ارمناس قهرچتائ كلغون
 مكرهيا غله قهرچستان پرب منداغ حكايت
 انيله شيخ مليقوتني دندم دان بر اهي سطين
 استيويو شيخ ارمناس رند و دندم كن كطايهي
 ولكن دندم دماكن هياش دان بر اهي دماكن
 لوقوة قريپ جوكن همب بركات كشد سطين
 توان شيخ مباح اني حكايت دان سطين شيخ
 منداغ اندي مكر دالم قدايتقون تلبه

معلوم

2. First page of the text of the *Hikayat Andaken Penurat* as contained in Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 1935.
(Copyright University Library, Leiden)

laid lines), 10 ff. (one quire, loose leaves, unnumbered), 22.9 x 18.7 cm, 11 lines per page (beginning of text on f. 1v, end of text on f. 7v, colophon on f. 8r).

Dated in the colophon: 7 January 1829.

Jawi script, enclosure of text in double frame, incidental rubrics, catchwords (on verso sides only).

5. *Hikayat Fatimah bersuami dengan baginda Ali*

European paper (watermarked 'C. Wilmot 1822', no chain lines or laid lines), 12 ff. (one quire, loose leaves, unnumbered), 22.9 x 18.7 cm, 11 lines per page (beginning of text on f. 1v, end of text on f. 10r, colophon on f. 11r).

Dated in the colophon: 13 January 1829.

Jawi script, enclosure of text in double frame, incidental rubrics, catchwords (on verso sides only).

6. *Hikayat Iblis*

European paper (watermarked 'C. Wilmot 1822', no chain lines or laid lines), 16 ff. (one quire, loose leaves, unnumbered), 22.9 x 18.7 cm, 11 lines per page (beginning of text on f. 1v, end of text on f. 14v, colophon on f. 15r).

Dated in the colophon: Wednesday, Arwah 1829 (= 11, 18 or 25 February or 4 March).

Jawi script, enclosure of text in double frame, incidental rubrics, catchwords (on verso sides only).

Most of the manuscripts contain texts copies of which are also kept in collections in other parts of the world. Summaries of their contents can be found in the catalogues of Juynboll and Van Ronkel (Juynboll 1899; Van Ronkel 1909, 1921). *Hikayat Fatimah berkata2 dengan Dhu 'l-Fakar* is just another title for what is commonly known as *Hikayat Nabi Muhammad mengajar anaknya bibi Fatimah* (it being Fatimah's conversation with Dhu 'l-Fakar which inspired her father's teachings on the duties of married women). A manuscript in the Cambridge University Library, Add. 3784 C, has a similar title (see Ricklefs & Voorhoeve 1977:115). The copy of the *Hikayat Shaikh Hadri dan Sairah*, however, seems to be unique. It may therefore be useful to give a short summary of this text.

Hadri and Sairah have a reputation as a pious couple who faithfully observe their religious duties. When Sairah one day, in answer to a sign from God, goes to a river to take a bath, she is divorced by her husband because she has left the house without giving him prior notice. She enters a wood and stops beneath a dead tree. This tree then comes to life again and bears fruits and leaves. One leaf falls from the tree, right in front of Sairah. It turns out to have a prayer written on it. By uttering this prayer Sairah is able to make Gabriel plead successfully with God for Hadri and so to ensure access to heaven for both him and herself. Theologians and angels are witness to their actual entry in heaven. The moral of the story is that any woman who is loyal in the service of God and her husband can gain access to heaven.

As far as their contents are concerned, all the manuscripts belong to this type of edifying literature. Codicologically too, they have much in

common: the paper, format and script are the same in all of them. In addition they have many other similarities not mentioned in the description, e.g. with regard to prickings and measurements of the texts per page. If one further takes into account that the handwriting is very similar, suggesting that in every instance the same scribe was at work, and, moreover, that the manuscripts were copied out one after another in a short span of time, the assumption seems by no means far-fetched that the manuscripts not simply just happen to be in the same collection of papers, but somehow belong together.

It is possible to carry this idea one step further. Above it was indicated that the manuscripts all comprise one quire of loose leaves. Manuscript 1, which was completed first, has the text beginning on the verso side of the second folio. In all the other manuscripts the text begins on the verso side of the first folio. The two pages of manuscript 6 which contain the end of the text and the colophon respectively display a lay-out which is different from that of the equivalent pages in the other manuscripts. The writing here is arranged in such a way as to form a triangle, by making each successive line shorter at either end than the preceding one, until eventually only one word is left on the last line. This clearly sets this manuscript apart from the others.

From this arrangement, in combination with the dates on which the copying of the manuscripts was completed, one may conclude that the scribe apparently wanted to bring the separate manuscripts together into one volume. However, the intended book for some reason never came about; it never progressed beyond the stage of being the collection of loose quires which we have now. There are no signs that the book was actually made up and later taken apart again. One can only guess at the reasons causing the copyist to leave his project unfinished.

Although the name of the scribe is not mentioned in any of the colophons, it seems possible to identify him by other means. The handwriting of the manuscripts resembles that of Or. 1935 in the University Library of Leiden, representing a copy of the *Hikayat Andaken Penurat*. This manuscript was copied out by one Haji Zain al-Abidin of the *kampung* of Pekhojan Pengukiran (Robson 1969:64, 104). Characteristic similarities between the handwriting of the manuscripts are easy to point out. They are provided by, for instance, the shapes of the individual letters (for example, the 'h' in initial or medial position, and the linking of the 'r' to the preceding letter), as well as the appearance of the writing as a whole (for example, the upright character of the letters, and the alternation of thick and thin lines – see the photographs).

Haji Zain al-Abidin finished his *Hikayat Andaken Penurat* on 11 or 19 December 1825 (Robson 1969:104). There are three other manuscripts in the University Library in Leiden that are connected with him. He is explicitly mentioned as the scribe of Or. 1714 (personal communication by Dr. T. Iskandar). This manuscript, a copy of the *Kitab Tabib*, was copied out in 1824 (Juynboll 1899:306). Another manuscript, which does not mention the name of the scribe, but can be ascribed to Haji Zain al-Abidin in view of the similarity of the handwriting, is Or. 1701. It is a copy of the *Hikayat Banjar*, dated 11 January 1828 (Ras 1968:202). The two texts contained in manuscript Or. 1763, originally

two separate copies of the *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda* and the *Surat Ingatan Tengku Sayyid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi* respectively, do not mention the name of the scribe, either, but, once more, are in a handwriting which is very similar to that of Haji Zain al-Abidin. The handwriting of the *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda* is admittedly slightly larger, but otherwise it displays the same characteristics. Both copies were most probably made round about 1825 (see the discussion of Or. 1763 in Tol's unpublished Leiden M.A. thesis, included in the Leiden University Library manuscript collection as Or. 17.983). A thorough investigation of the collections of this library, as well as of collections of Malay manuscripts elsewhere, may bring to light more manuscripts produced by Haji Zain al-Abidin. Further information on his background is lacking. It has been suggested by Ras and Robson that he worked for the Algemeene Secretarie (General Secretariat) in Batavia (Ras 1968:203; Robson 1969:104 note 3). A codicological analysis of the manuscripts which are known to originate from the Algemeene Secretarie would be necessary to clarify this problem.

How the six manuscripts in the Algemeen Rijksarchief found their way into the collection of papers left behind by Du Bus de Gisignies is unknown. The English title of one of the six manuscripts, and signs of English influence in the spelling of the titles of two others, suggest that they may once have belonged to an Englishman.

The importance of the manuscripts discussed here lies in the first place in their character as works of Malay religious literature. But, given the details of their chronology and place of origin, they may also add to our insight into the transmission of Malay texts in general.

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P. VOORHOEVE

KUTAHA, KETAH OF MISSCHIEN KUTAH?

De uitspraak van dit ouderwetse Maleise woord, gebruikt in een weifelende vraag, en synoniem met het later gewonere *gerangan* of *gerang*, staat nog steeds niet helemaal vast. De spelling is voor zover ik weet steeds k-t-alif-h, en volgens H. Djajadiningrat, *BKI* 8-I, p. 245, komt "in oude hss." de vocalisatie *kutaha* voor. Bedoeld zullen zijn LOr. 1954 (Hikayat Acèh) en Cambridge Ii, 6, 45.

Drewes, Burda p. 81, spelt *ketaha* en zegt: op grond van de spelling lijkt de gebruikelijke weergave *ketah* inderdaad onaannemelijk.

Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, spelt *kutaha*. Het woord komt ook voor in de Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai. Mead spelt in zijn transcriptie (1915) *ketah*; Hill *kutaha*.

In een korte mededeling in *BKI* 108 (1952) p. 92 heb ik de aandacht gevestigd op twee teksten in het Perzisch met interlineaire vertaling in het Maleis, beide op *daluang* geschreven, de ene gedateerd 990 H. (= A.D. 1582), de andere ongedateerd, maar naar het mij voorkomt ook zeer oud. Dit laatste kleine handschriftje (Leiden U.B.Or. 7056) is in 1968 uitgegeven door A. Bausani in *Annali del Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, XVIII p. 39-66. Het is een bloemlezing van enkele Arabische en Perzische verzen die in mystieke zin opgevat kunnen worden. Daarin komt (Bausani p. 55) een kwatrijn voor, toegeschreven aan 'Umar Khayyām, waarbij in de Maleise interlineaire vertaling het rijmschema van het origineel, aaba, is nagevolgd, zodat men wel moet transcriberen: *Aku hamba durhaka, karunia dan anugerahamu mana ketah?*

Hatiku kelam, cahaya heningmu manatah? mana ketah?

Bagi kami surga itu kauanugerahakan karena kebaktian.

Ini berniaga adanya, karuniamu dan pemberimu saja itu manatah?

In de eerste en tweede regel vindt men het laatste woord gespeld k-t-alif-h, terwijl het in de marge verklaard wordt: *ya'ni mana gerang*, zodat men het zou willen transcriberen *kutaha*. Maar het feit dat het rijmt op *-tah*, geschreven t-h, in de laatste regel, dwingt ons m.i. voor de uitspraak *ketah* te kiezen.

Of zouden de oude handschriften gelijk hebben en de uitspraak van de eerste lettergreep *ku* geweest zijn? Dat doet denken aan het woordje