

MANUSCRIPTA INDONESICA

VOLUME 1

Hikayat Isma Yatim
by Ismail

and

Hikayat Sultan Mogul mengajarkan anaknya

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VOLUME 1

Hikayat Isma Yatim
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A facsimile edition of manuscript Cod. Or. 1693
in the Library of Leiden University

With an introduction by

Roger Tol & Jan Just Witkam

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INTRODUCTION

The Hikayat Isma Yatim and P.P. Roorda van Eijsinga

It is no coincidence that this first volume of the facsimile series *Manuscripta Indonesica* reproduces a manuscript containing the *Hikayat Isma Yatim*. For, in a sense, Malay philology started with this work through the studies of Pieter Philip Roorda van Eijsinga (1796-1856), a young Dutch language officer who in 1821 was the first to publish a complete edition of a Malay work: the *Hikayat Isma Yatim*, as we shall see. Small wonder then that copies of this publication are today almost as rare as a manuscript; it has even been overlooked in Diehl's standard work on printers and printing in Batavia (Diehl 1990).

Diehl does deal extensively with another Malay text edition by Roorda van Eijsinga, viz. the *Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim* (Diehl 1990:288-290). Both the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* and the *Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim* bear the year 1237 as the year of publication, equivalent to the period between 28 September 1821 and 17 September 1822. The latter publication has also a Dutch impressum which gives the year 1822. Since the book on Sultan Ibrahim was announced in the *Javasche Courant* on 30 March 1822 (Diehl 1990:289), a date of publication between the months of April-September 1822 seems plausible.

Which one of these editions was printed first? The more complicated typography of the *Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim*, which was printed in two alphabets (Malay in both Arabic and Roman script plus a Dutch translation) on one page, points to an earlier appearance of the *Hikayat Isma Yatim*, which was printed using Arabic letters only.¹ A more conclusive indication is found in the introduction of the book on Sultan Ibrahim in which 'the translator' states his wish that publication of the book will contribute to those who have already gained some knowledge of Malay. Roorda van Eijsinga continues, 'I will then feel encouraged to have [this book] followed by my translation of *Isma Yatim* or something else'² (Roorda van Eijsinga 1237/1822:4). This can only mean

¹ Arabic letters were used for the first time on Batavian printing presses in 1744 (Diehl 1990:267).

² 'Dewijl de bedoeling van dit werkje is, om diegenen welke reeds eenige kennis is [read 'in'] het Maleisch door de spraakkunst van Werndlij, Marsden of anderen verkregen hebben, verder op te leiden, zoo zal ik mijne pogingen niet alleen beloond zien, indien hetzelfde aan het voorgestelde doel beantwoordt, maar mij verder aangespoord gevoelen om mijne vertaling van *Isma jatiem* of wel iets anders te laten volgen.'

that the Malay text had already appeared. Indeed, the ‘translation’ (in fact a summary) of the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* was to be published three years later (Roorda van Eijsinga 1825).

The title page of the first milestone for Malay textual scholarship reads:

*Hikayat Isma Yatim, ia itu syarat segala raja2 dan menteri dan hulubalang dan sekaliannya; terkarang oleh Ismail. Adapun diperiksai dan disahkan perkara yang salah dalamnya oleh Roorda van Eijsinga. Ditera di Betawiah pada Perteraaan Kerajaan Welanda pada Hijrah Nabi Muhammad Mustafa sallallahualaihiwasalam 1237.*³

The text follows on the first page and ends on page 211. There is no introduction, no account of manuscripts used, no justification of editorial principles. We only know from the title page that Roorda van Eijsinga had done some editorial work by ‘inspecting the text and correcting what was wrong’. Something more can be learned, however, from casual remarks in his essay of 1825.

After some general observations on language and culture, Malay and the Malay-speaking people, in this article Roorda van Eijsinga gives a characterization of the *Hikayat Isma Yatim*. He describes it as a work in which rules of behaviour for the elite are written down in a narrative fashion. He continues: ‘I should mention the fact that the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* is very much respected among competent Malays. The high price of the manuscripts is usually an impediment for reading, but since the work has been printed and has become available, its distribution is more common now. In Sumatra and Borneo demand is great for copies of the work. In Sumatra this printed work has even been copied by hand by royal persons, which is proof of the respect for the work by the Malays’⁴ (Roorda van Eijsinga 1825:8).

This is the only information given by the editor on the setting and the popularity of the work. However few, his remarks are important if only because they give a contemporary account of literary life in Indonesia at the beginning of the 19th century.

³ A transliteration of the title page into romanized Malay with a Dutch translation is given in Roorda van Eijsinga’s essay on the *Hikayat Isma Yatim*: Hhikâjat Isma Jâtiem, iâ ietoe, sjarth segala râdja-râdja, dan mantrie, dan hoeloebâlang dan sekaliennja; Terkârang ôleh Ismael, Adâpôn deperiksâie dan detsahhkan perkâra, jang sâlah dâlamnja, ôleh Roorda van Eijsinga. Detrâ di Batawiejah pada pertarâ-an karadjâ-an Wolanda, pada hadjirat nabie Mohhamad Musthafa, tsala ilahoe aleihi wasalam 1237. Dat is, Geschiedenis van Isma Jatiem, Bevattende inzettingen of instellingen voor alle Vorsten, Rijksgrooten, Legerhoofden en anderen; Vervaardigd door Ismael, Nagezien en van fouten gezuiverd, door Roorda van Eijsinga, Gedrukt te Batavia ter Lands Drukkerij in het jaar 1237, volgens de tijdrekening na den profeet Mohhamad Musthafa, op wien Gods zegen en vrede zij! (Roorda van Eijsinga 1825:1).

⁴ ‘ja, ik moet hier aanmerken, dat de geschiedenis van Isma Jatiem bij de kundige Maleijers zeer in achtung is; de duurte van de handschriften is doorgaans een beletsels, dat dezelve niet meer gelezen wordt; doch sedert dezelve gedrukt en te bekomen is, wordt de verspreiding derzelve meer algemeen en gezocht. Op Sumatra en Borneo, verlangt men zeer naar eene menigte van exemplaren van die geschiedenis; Op Sumatra is deze gedrukte geschiedenis zelfs door vorstelijke personen overgeschreven, waardoor men gevoelen zal, dat de Maleijer dezelve hoogschat;’

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1821: A book and a manuscript

The relation between the edition of 1821-22 and the manuscript reproduced here cannot be conclusively established. The fact that the manuscript stems from Batavia (see below) and is dated 26 Dzu'l-ka'da 1236 (25 August 1821), and thus immediately precedes the edition, could be a coincidence. We think it plausible, however, that the copy was made at the request of Roorda van Eijsinga, who as an *élève* for the study of indigenous languages in Batavia⁵ felt attracted to the work and intended to publish it. Since Roorda van Eijsinga gives us no clue as to the principles underlying his edition, the number of manuscripts used, their age, or any other matter of philological relevance, we can only speculate.

The text of Or.1693 differs noticeably from the edition; apart from all kinds of variant readings, the text is shorter. In other words, the Roorda van Eijsinga edition is not a simple transcription of this manuscript. Although the writing of the manuscript was most probably commissioned by Roorda van Eijsinga, we do not come across signs that he really made use of this particular manuscript. On the contrary, the manuscript is fairly clean and hardly contains any notes in the margins or other signs of perusal; it gives an almost unused impression. It is probable that the manuscript was finished too late to be used in the edition. In theory there is the possibility that the manuscript is a younger copy of a manuscript which bore the date 26 Dzu'l-ka'da 1236, but the watermarks used in the paper do not point to a date after 1821⁶ (see also below).

There is evidence, however, that the manuscript was used to make the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* accessible for 19th-century students of Malay. A lecturer at the Koninklijke Akademie at Delft, A. Meursinge, published in 1847 the third volume of his Malay reader for beginners and advanced students of the Malay language. In the introduction he states, '[...] I have added a fragment from the History of Isma Jatim [...], because I consider this work to be one of the best products of Malay literature. A manuscript of this work, which is available in the library of the Koninklijke Akademie at Delft, provided me with the text; the edition by Mr. Roorda van Eijsinga has been consulted when necessary' (Meursinge 1847:v-vi).

The question now remains whether it is possible to show which manuscript was used by Meursinge. Of the four manuscripts of the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* in the Library of Leiden University three originally belonged to the collection of the Koninklijke Akademie: Or.1693, Or.1737, and Or.1747 (Juynboll 1899:161-163). A collation of the fragment edited by Meursinge (1847:3-19) with these manuscripts reveals considerable variation with the texts in Or.1737 and Or.1747, and only minor variation with the text of Or.1693.⁷ Thus it seems very

⁵ *élève voor de Inlandsche talen* (Almanak 1821 and 1822).

⁶ All cases of paper with the watermark *D & C Blauw* mentioned in Ricklefs and Voorhoeve (1977) stem from that period. A good example is the letter with this watermark dated 2 Sya'ban 1238 (14 April 1823) (Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:118).

⁷ The fragment published by Meursinge starts in Or.1693 on page 7, in Or.1737 on page 11, in Or.1747 on page 44, and in Roorda van Eijsinga's edition on page 10.

plausible that Meursinge used this particular manuscript as the basis for his edition.⁸ The cross written with a pencil in the margin of page 7, right at the start of the fragment, could of course have been put there by Meursinge, but also by any other reader who had observed this correspondence.

Early and recent interest in the Hikayat Isma Yatim

Mention of the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* was already made in one of the first published lists of Malay manuscripts, occurring in the third volume of *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, the encyclopedic work of François Valentijn. This was a list of ‘Malay manuscripts, written in Arabic letters, in the possession of the author’. He characterized the work as ‘very useful to make somebody an able ruler and a prominent servant of the State’⁹ (Valentijn 1726:26). It is very likely that this particular manuscript is now kept in the John Rylands University Library in Manchester (Malay 3; Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:130). Following Valentijn, G.H. Werndly, the first grammarian of the Malay language, included the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* in his *Maleische Boekzaal*, appended to his Malay grammar, and gave a short account of the work: ‘This book aims to depict a loyal servant of the state and to describe the qualities of a famous king. It displays a good language, though using a compact style, and is moreover filled with many rhymes and sayings from the old sacred language called Kirendum [W. seemingly is referring to the verse named Gurindam], all of which causes many irritations to the reader’¹⁰ (Werndly 1736:345-346).

In the 19th century, apart from the publications by Roorda van Eijsinga and Meursinge, the work was referred to by among others Newbold¹¹ (1839:II,331-333), De Hollander (1893⁶:354), and cataloguers such as Van der Tuuk (1849:390; 1866:424), Niemann (1871:97), Van den Berg (1877:31) and Juynboll (1899:161-163).

⁸ Some variants in Meursinge’s edition cannot be explained as a mere combination of the text in Or.1693 and Roorda van Eijsinga’s edition. E.g. the line *Maka Isma Yatim pun dititahkan oleh baginda pergi pada nakhoda kapal yang datang itu mencahari rambutui yang maha indah2* (Meursinge 1847:3). Or.1693 (p.7) has the text *Maka Isma Yatim pun dititahkan oleh bagindah pergi pada nakhoda kapal yang datang itu dari negeri Indra Patani mencari rambutui yang maha indah2*. Compare the underlined text with Roorda van Eijsinga (1821:11), which reads *Maka Isma Yatim pun dititahkan oleh baginda pergi kepada nakhoda kapal yang datang di negeri Indra Patani akan mencahari kain rambutui yang maha indah2*. Obviously Meursinge also followed his ‘own discretion’ in establishing his text.

⁹ ‘zeer dienstig, om iemand een wakker vorst, en een groot dienaar van Staat te doen werden.’

¹⁰ ‘Dit boekje is gerecht om een goeden staatsdienaar af te schilderen en om de eigenschappen van een beroemden koning te beschrijven. Hierin wordt een goede taal vertoond doch met een gedrongen stijl zijnde daarenboven met vele rijmen en spreuken uit de oude heilige tale Kirendum genaamd, vervuld ’t welk al vele stuitingen in den lezer veroorzaakt.’

¹¹ ‘The story is in great estimation among the natives, who look upon the hero, Isma Yatim, as a model for mantris and viziers. [...] The whole story is well worthy of perusal to the Malayan scholar. The language is pure; the style perspicuous, and in a great measure free from Arabic interpolation.’

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In the 20th century academic interest in the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* was kept alive by publications of fragments of the work¹² (Canai Bacaan 1951:146-174¹³), discussions by Hooykaas (1947²:125), Winstedt (1977²:81-82) and Liaw Yock Fang (1991³:194-197), and descriptions in catalogues by Van Ronkel (1909:178-179; 1921:23) and Ricklefs and Voorhoeve (1977:passim). Very recently the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* has been the subject of intensive analysis by Muhammad Haji Salleh (1991:63-88) who calls it 'a very important document in the study of Malay literature' and Braginsky (1993:passim).

Two Buginese versions of the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* were reported by B.F. Matthes in his account of Makasarese and Buginese manuscripts (Matthes 1875:32,95; see also Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:31).

The author

Of the author Ismail nothing more is known than this name which is mentioned on the first page of the manuscript. His being described as incompetent and contemptible (*daif lagi hina*) is purely conventional.

Other manuscripts of the Hikayat Isma Yatim

Quite a number of manuscripts of the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* may be found in public libraries. At least four (plus one Bugis version) are kept in Leiden (Juynboll 1899:161-163; Van Ronkel 1921:23), six (plus one Bugis version) in London, two in Cambridge, one in Manchester (Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:passim), four in Jakarta (Van Ronkel 1909:178-179), two in Kuala Lumpur and two in Trengganu (Muhammad Haji Salleh 1991:67).

In 1850-51 a list of the Malay manuscripts that were present at the Algemeene Secretarie in Batavia was available to Van der Tuuk who was studying that collection. One of these manuscripts was called *Ismaijatim*. According to Voorhoeve, who published the list, this manuscript is no longer extant (Voorhoeve 1980:71,75).

¹² Winstedt (1977^x:81,317) makes mention of and quotes from a school edition of the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* for the Strait Settlements ('Part I, (rom.) Singapore, 1908'). This publication could not be traced.

¹³ The following fragments are included: (1) Isma Yatim diperanakkan, mengarang hikayat, dikasihani oleh raja; (2) Isma Yatim jadi tukang menghamparkan permadani raja dan kemudian jadi biduanda; (3) Isma Yatim berjumpa dengan nakhoda kapal dan mengatakan syarat2 dagang; (4) Cerita nakhoda dapat permainan; (5) Permainan dipersembahkan kepada raja.

*The contents of Or.1693*A) *Hikayat Isma Yatim*

Summaries of the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* may be found in Roorda van Eijsinga (1825), Newbold (1839:II,331-333), De Hollander (1893⁶:354), Juynboll (1899:162), Hooykaas (1947²:125), Winstedt (1977^x:81-82) and Liaw Yock Fang (1991³:194-197).

Here follows an overview of the contents of the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* in Or.1693 based on the division in *kisah* used in the manuscript. This word has been written in the Arabic form *al-qisṣa* using red ink.¹⁴

- p.1 *Al-qisṣa* peri mengatakan Hikayat Isma Menteri yang amat indah² karangannya. Hatta berahi dipatut serta dengan arif dan bijaksana. Syahdan ialah yang masyhur pada memelihara negeri tuannya dan ialah pada sehari² memenuhi khazanah tuannya. Syahdan ialah sentiasa menyukakan hati tuannya dan ialah sentiasa menghias negeri tuannya dan menghiasi pengadapan tuannya. Syahdan ialah yang faham pada hal memerintah majlis segala raja² dan perdana menteri dan hulubalang dan bentarah sida² dan biduandah sekalian. Syahdan ialah hormat dan izzat pada segala pendeta dan ialah meramahi segala dagang. Syahdan ialah yang berbuat rahim akan segala fakir dan miskin dan ialah menolongi segala orang yang kesakitan dan kesukaran.
- p.5 *Al-qisṣa* peri mengatakan Isma Yatim menjadi penghulu biduandah. Dan peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim memerintahkan segala biduandah dan segala syarat biduandah. Syahdan peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim bersembahkan syarat segala raja² tatkala semayam. Dan peri mengatakan tatkala bagindah memberi karunia akan Isma Yatim pakaian yang indah².
- p.7 *Al-qisṣa* peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim disuruh bagindah melihat segala biduandah dan bentara maka Isma Yatim pun mengatakan perintah dan istiadat segala biduandah raja. Syahdan peri mengatakan tatkala raja itu menyuruh melihat segala hulubalang pada suatu malam. Dan peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim mengatakan perintah dan istiadat segala hulubalang dan perintah syarat dan hikmat segala hulubalang. Dan peri mengatakan tatkala raja menyuruhkan Isma Yatim melihat segala menteri pada suatu hari. Dan peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim mengatakan perintah dan istiadat segala menteri. Syahdan budi akal segala menteri.
- p.16 *Al-qisṣa* peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim bepersembahkan kehendak segala raja². Dan peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim bersembahkan isyarat segala raja² dan segala hikmat raja². Dan peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim bersembahkan kemenangan negeri segala raja². Dan peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim bersembahkan puteri Maharana Langkawi yang di dalam permata nila kendi itu. Dan peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim melihat rupa tuan puteri Maharana Langkawi itu terlalu amat baik rupanya dan parasnya. Syahdan peri mengatakan tatkala Isma

¹⁴ On a number of occasions *al-qisṣa* is used as a formulaic device without an addendum in which a summary of the narrative is described. The formula reads *al-qisṣa diceritakan oleh orang yang empunya cerita ini* (pp.13,44) or *al-qisṣa maka tersebutlah perkataan* (pp.80,85,97).

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- Yatim mengatakan perintah segala raja². Dan peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim pada suatu hari dititahkan bagindah pada segala hulubalang maka ia pun mengatakan ilmu dan hikmat segala hulubalang. Dan peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim dititahkan pada segala menteri pada suatu hari maka ia pun mengatakan segala kehendak dan akal bicara dan syarat segala menteri.
- p.35 *Al-qisṣa* peri mengatakan Isma Yatim bersembahkan syarat kepada bagindah. Dan peri mengatakan Isma Yatim bersembahkan segala syarat laki-laki. Dan peri mengatakan Isma Yatim mendapat puteri Ratna Kendi itu dalam permata nila kendi. Syahdan peri mengatakan Isma Yatim dikaruniai bagindah bininya. Dan peri mengatakan bagindah memberi karunia akan nakhodah itu bininya dan digelar bagindah pula.
- p.47 *Al-qisṣa* peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim disuruh bagindah bantu ke negeri Indra Kaila. Dan peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim mengalahkan negeri Rum Safardan namanya dipertukarkannya dengan negeri Indra Kaila itu. Syahdan peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim membawa raja Rum Safardan itu mengadap raja Indra Mengindra.
- p.55 *Al-qisṣa* peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim dijadikan bagindah perdana menteri. Dan peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Yatim memelihara negeri raja itu sentiasa diperhiasinya seperti mempelai. Dan peri mengatakan tatkala puteri Ratna Kendi kenah pitnah oleh puteri permaisuri Indra. Dan peri mengatakan tatkala puteri Ratna Kendi disuruh bunuh kepada Isma Yatim.
- p.77 *Al-qisṣa* peri mengatakan tatkala terdengar khabar puteri itu kepada negeri asing terlalu amat elok parasnya gilang-gemilang cahayanya dan keilau²an seperti bulan purnama. Maka bagindah itupun makin besar dan parasnya pun makin baik. Maka segala anak raja² itupun masing² datanglah hendak meminang puteri itu. Syahdan peri mengatakan tatkala Isma Menteri berbuat permainan ibarat hendak melihatkan afaal segala anak raja² itu. Syahdan peri mengatakan Isma Menteri mengajar tuan puteri Puspa Ratna Kemala dengan tanglung dan dian pelita dan kandil dan tirai dan kelambu sekalian bagai ia berceriterakan ibarat mengajar tuan puteri itu dan isi istana. Syahdan peri mengatakan tuan puteri ditaruh oleh Isma Menteri dalam munggur tujuh lapis dengan bagai² perhiasan.
- p.111 *Al-qisṣa* peri mengatakan Raja Dewa. Syahdan Mengindra Rupa sudah kahawin dengan puteri Ratna Kemala itu.

B) *Hikayat Sultan Mogul mengajar anaknya*

Malay texts with this title are not widespread. Only one other manuscript containing the same work is known to us, viz. Or.1728 in the Library of Leiden University. As regards contents, it closely matches the *Hikayat Isma Yatim*, as it is of a mainly edifying nature. Most probably it belongs to that great reservoir of Islamicized tales which are found in many Malay manuscripts, some with varying titles, others with no title indication at all.

Possibly these tales also had another, more material function. Since the length of these tales could very easily be adapted, they could in a natural way be used as 'fillers' in a manuscript that had a number of pages left.

This seems to be the case with our manuscript where this text has probably been added as a complement to the preceding text (see also below).

Texts of this kind are also not uncommon in Buginese manuscripts (cf. Matthes 1875:30 and Tol 1992:7).

References to and summaries of these types of texts can be found in Werndly (1736:348), De Hollander (1893⁶:369), Juynboll (1899:216), Van Ronkel (1909:216), Hooykaas (1947²:179ff) and Liaw Yock Fang (1993⁴:76-77).

Physical description of Or.1693

The two texts in the volume (on pp. 1-117 and 117-124) are written on one type of paper which is of Dutch manufacture. The watermark is *VRYHEYT*, with the letter *B* underneath. The text in the watermark reads (as usual) *PRO PATRIA EIUSQUE LIBERTATE*. The counter mark mentions the manufacturing firm: *D & C BLAUW*. On the production of this type of paper and the work of this manufacturer see Voorn 1960:417-8 and 176, plate 113. The paper measures 31 x 19.5 cm, with a text area of c. 24.5 x 14.5 cm. The chainlines in the paper were used by the copyist as the limits for the outer margins of the text. The paper was originally folded into quarto, but was then apparently unfolded again into folio. It may have been destined to be used for a smaller-sized manuscript.

The volume consists of 8 quires of 4 sheets each, making 128 pages. As the structure of the quires of which the volume consists is perfectly regular, it may be assumed that the second text was added as filler in order not to waste paper. Of the 128 pages three pages at the beginning and one at the end do not contain text and have remained unnumbered. The remaining 124 pages are numbered in pencil, usually only the odd numbers and the tens. This pagination is apparently a later addition to the manuscript. The present binding is of recent date and was apparently made during a repair job. The paper boards are pasted with marbled paper and the volume is bound in a cloth back. On the new back the original cloth back has been pasted. The latter has some gold ornamentation and the text *JSMA JATIM DAN RADJA MAGHOE*.

The text has 25 lines to the page. Black ink is used, with red ink for the rubrication. There are catchwords at the bottom of every verso page.

The two texts in the volume are copied by one and the same copyist. On p. 117 is a colophon with the date of completion, Saturday 26 Dzu'l-ka'da 1236 (25 August 1821), but without any indication of the identity of the copyist.

It may be assumed that this volume was produced at the scriptorium of the General Secretariat (*Algemeene Secretarie*) in Batavia, like so many other manuscripts which originate from the library of the former Delft Academy. They are characterized by the very neat handwriting and further immaculate execution of the work on high quality paper. The handwriting is in fact so neat that it is almost impersonal. Because of its impersonal character, it could not be easily identified with similar manuscripts from the Delft collection. A manuscript

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which very much resembles the present manuscript, both in script (except possibly the rubrication) and the treatment of its paper (folded and unfolded again), is the Leiden manuscript Or. 1759.

It is well known that a relatively large number of the Delft manuscripts are copies made from the manuscript collection which was kept at the General Secretariat of the Dutch East-Indies government in Batavia. Voorhoeve (1964 and 1980) has stressed the importance of more knowledge of this philological substratum of the Leiden collection. Voorhoeve (1964:254) mentions one manuscript copied at the Secretariat which is now in Leiden: Or. 1704.¹⁵ A quick survey of the Delft manuscript collection, which is entirely incorporated in the Legatum Warnerianum in the Library of Leiden University, reveals at least three more manuscripts in which the colophons mention the General Secretariat (*Kantor Seketari*) as the place where they were made, and at least one more manuscript has the Secretariat elsewhere mentioned as the place of its manufacture. These are Or. 1699 (mention on the page before p. 1), Or. 1705 (colophon on p. 109), Or. 1745 (p. 70 seems to mention the Secretariat) and Or. 1746 (colophon on f. 41b). The outward appearance of these four manuscripts provides some information on the products of this Malay scriptorium in Batavia. A more detailed codicological survey of Indonesian manuscripts in the Leiden library might yield even more information on the manufacture and origins of the early Malay manuscript collection in Leiden. Although interesting, it unfortunately falls outside the scope of this introduction.

A library stamp from the Delft collection is found on p. 124. It contains the Dutch state emblem and the text *KONINKLYKE AKADEMIE TE DELFT*. The Leiden library stamp is found twice in the volume, on the two unnumbered pages immediately preceding and following the text. On the unnumbered page after p. 124 a sticker is found with the text "No 12". This may refer to an earlier collection but it is not altogether clear which one. Several similar stickers are found in other Leiden manuscripts (Or. 1689, 1690, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1708, 1709, 1714, 1717). Sometimes similar stickers are found with a text, usually instructions to the binder for the text on the back.

Added to the volume is a fly-leaf of different manufacture (watermark: a crowned lion holding a sword, standing upright on a pedestal; somewhat similar to Voorn 1960, p. 170, Nos. 100-101, but without the texts and the lion not holding the arrows in its claw). The recto side is blank, the verso side contains several texts:

- | *Jsma* | *Jatim* | , in ink, which is the title of the first text in the volume, and here probably used as instruction for the binder for the text on the back.
- | *Ned. Koloniën* | *Handschriften* | *C N° 5* | . This is apparently the book mark of the volume as it was kept in the library of the Delft Academy.¹⁶

¹⁵ The *Kantor Seketari* is in fact mentioned in it on the unnumbered title-page, before p. 1 of the text.

¹⁶ A system of numbers, preceded by the letter C, was used for the Malay manuscripts (C N° 1 through C N° 94), whereas the Javanese manuscripts had a separate number system, preceded by the letter B (B N° 1 through B N° 82, followed by Jav. 87 through Jav. 89). The odd formats such as palm leaf manuscripts and a Batak book on tree bark had a number system of their own, preceded by the letter D (D N° 1 through D N° 9). It is not certain when these marks were written in the Delft manuscripts. All marks are written in pencil and they could well have been added to the manuscripts immediately before or even

- | *M.S. Orient* | N°. 1693 | , written in ink. It is the Leiden class-mark of the manuscript. It is followed by | (199) | , written in pencil, in a more recent hand, which number is the Leiden shelf mark of this volume in the Indonesian collection. The binding was possibly only made after the manuscript had arrived in Leiden.

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In summary, the history of manuscript Or.1693 is most possibly as follows. Having been written in 1821, at the instigation of Roorda van Eijsinga, by one of the clerks employed by the Dutch East-Indies government at the Algemeene Secretarie in Batavia, it became part of the manuscript collection of that institution (cf. Voorhoeve 1964 and 1980).

In 1843 the manuscript - together with a number of other manuscripts from the Algemeene Secretarie - was sent to Delft to form part of the manuscript collection of the recently founded Koninklijke Akademie, which was to train civil servants in the Indies (Voorhoeve 1964:259).

When the Koninklijke Akademie was dissolved in 1864, all Malay manuscripts were transferred to the Library of Leiden University. The manuscript was registered as Or.1693 (cf. Juynboll 1899:iv). It received its present binding only recently, apparently when the volume was repaired in the 1960's.

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shortly after their removal from Delft. These Delft marks (in the order C, B, D) follow exactly the Leiden sequence of class-marks given to the Delft manuscripts in 1864 (Cod. Or. 1689 - Cod. Or. 1886). One might surmise that the series A was used in Delft for the class-marks of printed books.

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