

MUKHTAŞAR TAWĀRĪKH AL-WUŞĀ

A short chronicle of the Riau region

A facsimile edition of manuscript Cod. Or. 1999
in the Library of Leiden University

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د تظطکن در فدا کولان اتوتیدا قشکریه کسکا
استن تکریش سفره کولون بعد فرزان مودا جوک کینا لاصا
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کتابخانه
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MANUSCRIPTA INDONESICA

VOLUME 2

MUKHTAŞAR TAWĀRĪKH AL-WUŞŤĀ

A short chronicle of the Riau region

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With an introduction by

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INTRODUCTION

In the 19th century probably the most influential centre of Malay literary activity was found on the tiny island of Penyengat off Tanjung Pinang in the Riau Archipelago. This activity was mainly in the hands of an extended family of Bugis origin among whom Raja Ahmad and, in particular, his son Raja Ali Haji were the most prolific writers. The texts they composed dealt mostly with historical matters concerning the Riau and Johor area, the relationship between the Bugis and the Malays in that region, and, in a wider scope, with Islamic matters. The texts they produced were widely read, copied by hand, and in a number of cases also printed on a local printing press. Extensive information on these aspects may be found in the works of Matheson (1971, 1985, 1989), Andaya (1975), Watson Andaya & Matheson (1979) and Matheson & Watson Andaya (1982).

The historical works from Riau, Johor and Lingga are many in number. They may be characterized as a complex of closely interrelated texts, each consisting of alternating combinations of more or less the same fragments. These texts are known under various titles such as *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis dan Sekalian Raja-rajanya*, *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, *Aturan Setia Bugis dengan Melayu*, *Sejarah Riau Lingga dan Daerah Takluknya*, *Tawārīkh al-Wustā*, *Hikayat Negeri Johor*, *Hikayat Opu Daeng Menambun*, *Hikayat Raja-raja Riau*, *Sejarah Raja-raja Riau*, *Silsilah Raja Bugis*, *Hikayat Negeri Riau*, and *Sejarah Johor*.

Right from the moment of their creation these works attracted the attention of Dutch scholars who happened to be in the Riau region. They recognized the importance of these writings, which they used on several occasions in their publications. Prominent among them was Elisa Netscher, who held the post of Resident of Riau from 1861 to 1870. In his contributions of 1854, 1855 and 1870 on Riau affairs, he made extensive use of these indigenous texts, which at that time were almost exclusively available in manuscript – or were even in the process of being written. Even earlier, in 1847, fragments of a text designated as *Hikayat Aturan Setia Orang Melayu dengan Orang Bugis* had already appeared in print (Meursing 1847:62–91; cf. Meursing 1880:30–58). They probably pertained to the first printed versions of historical texts from the Riau region.

In the 20th century the importance of these texts was also fully acknowledged; the great number of text editions bear witness to the interest they aroused among scholars of Malay literature and history. Texts of the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* have been published five times (Winstedt 1932; Munir bin Ali 1965; Matheson 1982; Matheson Hooker 1991; *Tuhfat al-Nafis* 1991), apart from a very carefully annotated translation into English (Matheson & Watson Andaya 1982). Texts of the *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis* were published in 1911 (*Silsilah*), 1956 (*Kitab silsilah*), 1973 (*Arena Wati*) and 1984 (Mohd. Yusof Md. Nor), while an abridged translation of the 1911 edition was published by Hans Overbeck as early as 1926. Ismail Hussein's 1962 edition of the *Hikayat Negeri Johor* was finally made available in 1979, while a *Hikayat Opu Daeng Menambun* was published in 1980 (Rogayah A. Hamid).

The text presented in this volume also belongs to this complex of texts in which the relations between the Malays and the Bugis are highlighted. From the beginning of the 18th century the Bugis had played a very important role in political affairs of the region. From 1722 onwards they held the position of *Yang Dipertuan Muda* (vice-roy; also called *Raja Muda* or *Yamtuan Muda*), and were in effect the

principal decision-makers (Andaya 1975:250–323).

In the first line of the text it is already stated that we are dealing with an important, authoritative document: ‘This is relied on nowadays by the ruling elite.’ The significance of the manuscript is emphasized by the fact that it carries the seal of Vice-Roy Raja Ali (ruled 1845–1857), which is stamped at the end of the text (see below). The text presents itself as an abridged (*yang dimukhtasarkan*) version of a Malay history known as *Tawārīkh¹ al-Wuṣṭā*, ‘The Middle Chronicle’. As far as we know, no text with this title has yet been found in any public collection. On p.9 of Or.1999 it is stated that this *Tawārīkh al-Wuṣṭā* ‘is presently in the hands of the vice-roy of Riau’.² As Roolvink (1980:228) remarked in his discussion of a text very similar to Or.1999,³ the existence of a ‘Middle Chronicle’ assumes the existence of two other chronicles as well. Indeed, both in Or.1999 (on p.15) and in Or.6345 (on p.133) there is a reference to a *Tawārīkh al-Kubrā*, ‘The Larger Chronicle’, whereas in Or.6345 on p.161 a *Tawārīkh al-Ṣuḡhrā*, ‘The Smaller Chronicle’ is also mentioned. We also only have internal evidence of the existence of these two texts; so far no manuscript containing a text with this title has been traced.⁴

Earlier interest in the Mukhtasar Tawārīkh al-Wuṣṭā

Although there has been no mention of this specific title in earlier studies, in the last hundred years this work has been used on a few occasions. The first to pay attention to it was A.F. von de Wall, who published a version of this work in 1892. Furnishing it with a very short introduction, he published it in transcription and with Dutch translation under the heading ‘Condensed history of the dynasty and state institutions of Lingga and Riau’ (Wall 1892:298–324). There is no specification of the manuscript he used; he only mentions that it is undated (Wall 1892:303). Neither in Jakarta,⁵ nor in Leiden have we been able to trace a manuscript that could have been used by him (Juynboll 1899; Van Ronkel 1909, 1921). Notwithstanding, some findings indicate that for some reason or other Von de Wall has rigorously edited his text.⁶ Firstly, there is no indication whatsoever of a division into fasal, as there are in the other known versions of the work. Secondly, both the beginning (the introduction before the first fasal), and the end of fasal two, as well as also the end (the whole of fasal five) have been omitted. Thirdly, the order of fasal two and three has been reversed. The order of the fourth fasal has also been changed. Fourthly, all references to the *Tawārīkh al-Wuṣṭā* and the *Tawārīkh al-Kubrā* have been left out.⁷

1. Thus correctly spelled on p.5. On pp. 1 and 9 spelled as *tawārīkh* تاواریخ.

2. *Tawārīkh al-Wuṣṭā yang ada mawjūd pada masa ini di dalam tangan Yang Dipertuan Muda Riau.*

3. Part of manuscript Or.6345 kept in the Library of Leiden University. The text is found on pp.125–137.

4. It is quite probable that the ‘de groote Maleische kronijk’ mentioned by Netscher (1870:42; on p.54 followed by the words ‘(Sedjarah Malaijoe)’) refers to the *Tawārīkh al-Kubrā*; see also Kratz 1973:6.

5. The National Library houses the collection of Malay manuscripts collected by his father H.T.F.K.E.W.A.C. von de Wall (1807–1873) who remained in Riau from 1855 until his death. Most of the manuscripts collected by him are from the Riau region (cf. Van Ronkel 1909).

6. These things cannot be proved; of course, it is also possible that the manuscript used by Von de Wall did contain the idiosyncrasies described below.

7. Probably these changes were made as a service to the reader, omitting the superfluous and rearranging the paragraphs in a ‘rational’ way. Substitution of uncommon words by more frequent ones also points to a tendency

In his note on Or.6345, which was referred to above,⁸ R. Roolvink drew attention to the fact that part of this manuscript (pp.125–137) is taken from a work called *Tawārīkh al-Wuṣṭā*. He also made a reference to Or.1999, since this part of Or.6345 contains what he calls ‘the same text’ as Or.1999 (Roolvink 1980:227–228). Indeed the texts are very similar. However, not a single citation from Or.6345 provided by Roolvink exactly matches the text of Or.1999. Furthermore, the text does not contain a colophon, is undated, and the end is clearly confused.⁹ In addition we may add that to judge from the physical features of the manuscript and the dates mentioned, it is likely that the main body of Or.6345 (pp.1–186) was copied and/or written between 1864 and 1890. The subsequent texts were later additions. So, the text of the *Mukhtaṣar Tawārīkh al-Wuṣṭā* as contained in Or.6345 is at least 10 years younger than Or.1999.

Since Von de Wall’s publication it was to be almost one century before another version of the *Mukhtaṣar Tawārīkh al-Wuṣṭā* appeared in print. This time the text was more or less ‘hidden’ in a book which contained a transcription of a large manuscript which deals with the history of Johor and Riau (A. Samad Ahmad 1985). This manuscript (Bil. Mss 48) was obtained in 1963 by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur and has the title *Thamaratul Matlub Fi Anuari Qulub*. The text, which is similar to the one edited here, is found on pp.182–212 of the manuscript, and on pp.26–38 of the book under the heading *Hubungan raja-raja Melayu-Bugis*. The text is very close to Or.1999, but shows quite a number of variant readings.¹⁰ In contrast to the manuscript used by Von de Wall and the text in Or.6345, this manuscript is dated. The colophon (on p.38) states that the text was copied in Riau, on the island of Penyengat, on 1 Ramadan, 1280. This date corresponds to 9 February, 1864, which makes this version 10 years younger than the text of Or.1999.

Earlier interest in Or.1999

After the manuscript was catalogued by Juynboll (1899:250–251), it was more than 70 years before it was referred to for the first time. In her article on the structure and sources of the *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, Virginia Matheson identified Or.1999 as representing a text which can be classified as an ‘unacknowledged’ source for the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (Matheson 1971:384,392). The historical study on the kingdom of Johor by Leonard Andaya (1975) contains a few references to the romanized part of Or.1999. Andaya describes it as a manuscript ‘on adat of Malay rulers’, and has utilized it not as a historical source, but as a source on specific customs in the area (Andaya 1975:102,195,340). As mentioned above, Roolvink referred to Or.1999 as containing ‘the same text’ as Or.6345, pp.125–137 (Roolvink 1980:227–228). Finally, Matheson & Watson Andaya referred to Or.1999 in relation to a

...towards simplification, e.g. where the other texts have *mawjūd* ‘available’ and *bai’a* ‘agreement’, Von de Wall’s text reads *ada* ‘to be’ and *moewafakat* ‘agreement’ respectively.

⁸ Or.6345 is a manuscript of 213 pages in the Library of Leiden University dealing with the history of Riau.

⁹ p. 137, last lines: [...] *tiada sesekali mengetahui akan asal-usulnya serta pula ia tiada sesekali mengetahui akan besar di dalam pengajian daripada perkara adat-istiadat undang raja Melayu adanya. Intahā wa bi Llāhi al-ṣawfīq. Tammāt al-kalām. Amīn.*

¹⁰ E.g. in fasal two the fourth item is omitted. Furthermore, on p.36 there is a section consisting of seven items called *Nama-nama gelaran Dato’-dato’ Pulau Tujuh*, which does not occur in Or.1999.

Minangkabau setting and provided a short description of its contents (1982:350,423).

Other manuscripts of the Mukhtaṣar Tawārīkh al-Wuṣṭā

Earlier we have said, as far as we know texts of the *Mukhtaṣar Tawārīkh al-Wuṣṭā* are contained within two other manuscripts as part of a larger work. These manuscripts are Or.6345 in the Library of Leiden University and Bil. Mss 48 in the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur (Roolvink 1980; Beardow 1986:120–121; A. Samad Ahmad 1985). Apart from Or.1999 no other manuscripts which exclusively only contain a version of the *Mukhtaṣar Tawārīkh al-Wuṣṭā* are known.

Contents of Or.1999

The text of the headings is taken from the ‘table of contents’ on the first page.

- p.1: Fasal yang pertama pada menyatakan asal Yang Dipertuan Besar dan Yang Dipertuan Muda dengan Bendahara dan Temenggung.
- p.9: Fasal yang kedua pada menyatakan adat–istiadat raja Melayu dan istilahnya yang menyalahi setengah adat raja2 yang di atas angin adanya.
- p.15: Fasal yang ketiga pada menyatakan segala tokong pulo2 siapa yang punya milik, dengan jalan apa dimiliki oleh raja itu dan masa mana dan bagaimana maka menjadi milik kepada raja itu.
- p.21: Fasal yang keempat pada menyatakan bahasa raja2 yang diperbahasakan dan nobat dan semberab jawatan adanya.
- p.23: Fasal yang kelima pada menyatakan makna wakil yang tersebut di dalam konterak perjanjian dengan Olanda.

Physical description of the manuscript

Manuscript Or. 1999 is written on factory produced paper. It now has a slightly brownish tinge and is not altogether opaque. The paper may be of English origin. There is no watermark. It measures 34 x 23 cm. It contains 28 pages. A vertical fold is visible in the leaves. This fold could be explained by assuming that the paper originated from a chancery or office where it would have been used for notarial documents or official letters, which were often folded vertically. The presence of the royal seal at the end of the text (p. 24) is another argument for a chancery as provenance of the manuscript. A slightly different explanation of the vertical fold could be that the manuscript had remained unbound in Indonesia, and that it was only vertically folded as a letter (or as an enclosure in a letter) when it was despatched to Holland.

The composition of the quires is as follows: first there is a quire of 4 sheets (end is p. 14, since the first two pages are unnumbered); then follow 4 leaves which have been pasted to the first quire (end is p. 22); and then follows a quire of one sheet (end is p. [26]). Altogether there are 13 openings with Arabic and Latin script on opposite pages.

INTRODUCTION

The manuscript was apparently made in two stages. First the text was written in Arabic script, on each right (= verso) page. The left (= recto) pages remained blank for the Latin transliteration. The text in Arabic script is written on an area of 24.5 x 12.5 cm. It is written in black ink, with the occasional use of red ink for rubrication, most notably for the section (fasal) headings. It is written in 21 lines per page, both on blind ruling and on pencilled lines. The left margins in the Latin part are indicated by blind ruling.

The text on the left pages is a Latin transliteration of the Arabic text. The romanized text follows the Arabic text almost precisely per page. The Latin text is written on an area of 25 x 20 cm in dark brown ink.

Both Arabic and Latin texts have a system of catchwords at the bottom of the page. Both scripts are expertly written. A pagination has been supplied by the copyist of the Latin part.

The colophon (p. 24) mentions the date and place of completion: *Disalin* (in big letter, vertically written in the centre) *termaktub di dalam negeri Riau pulau Penyengat kepada 19 hari bulan Sya'ban yaum al-arba'a jam 9 sanat 1270*. The date corresponds to Wednesday, 17 May, 1854.

On p. [-1] and p. 8 are corrections in the Arabic text that have been transcribed in the Latin part in their corrected form only. On p. [-1], lines 15 and 18, the two years, 1129 and 1133 were originally written as 1229 and 1233. Then a correction was executed by erasure so that the Arabic number 2 became a 1. No such correction has been executed in the Latin part. On p. 18, line 11, a corrective line has been drawn through the word *sekarang*. In the transliteration (p. 19, line 15) the word *sekarang* never occurs.

These two instances lead one to assume that at least some interval for correction and collation had elapsed between the completion of the Arabic text and the beginning of the transliteration in Latin script. How long this interval was cannot be ascertained. The organization of the manuscript, with its Arabic text on the right hand pages only, stipulates the intention of making of a Latin transliteration on the opposite page from the very beginning of the work.

The binding is evidently of European manufacture, possibly only made after the volume had arrived in Leiden. The carton boards are pasted with paper, the back is strengthened with cloth. The binding has no special characteristics whatsoever.

Provenance of the manuscript

According to p. 43 of the acquisitions register of the Oriental collections (*Journal*) in the library of Leiden University, the manuscript is part of a collection (MSS Or. 1953–2055) of 'Javanese, Malay and other manuscripts which, almost without exception, had been transferred, in or around 1871 from the 'Rijks-Instelling tot Opleiding van Indische Ambtenaren' in Leiden to the library of Leiden University. Previously they had been in the possession of Mr. A.D. Cornets de Groot.' This institution, the official name of which was 'Rijksinstelling van Onderwijs in Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde' (State College of Education in [East] Indian Linguistics, Geography and Anthropology), was the

government-financed college for the vocational training of civil servants for the Dutch-Indies government. It existed between 1864 and 1877, in which year it was taken over by the municipality of Leiden and continued to function till 1891 (Fasseur 1989: 191-2; 1993: 211 and following). The presumptive previous owner of the manuscript, the short-lived Adriaan David Cornets de Groot (1804-1829), had been one of the pioneers of Javanese and Malay studies in the Netherlands (Fasseur 1993:58). However, it is a chronological impossibility that manuscript Leiden Or. 1999 ever belonged to Cornets de Groot as it was copied in as late as 1854. How the 'Rijksinstelling' had come to be in the possession of these manuscripts and why they were transferred to the library of Leiden University in or around 1871 is not known. Juynboll (1899:vi) surmises yet another previous owner, the Utrecht professor H.C. Millies (1810-1868), from the auction of whose books the Leiden library did indeed buy at least one (Arabic) manuscript (Or. 1959). It seems impossible now to precisely identify the provenance of manuscript Or. 1999. Nor does the manuscript itself contain any specific information in this respect. Apart from the stamp of Raja Ali (see below), no signs of former ownership are found. The only stamps present (on pp. [-2], [26] and on the back cover) in the manuscript are those of the library of Leiden University, with the text *ACAD. LUGD. BAT. BIBL.*

The conjecture that there was a Dutch connection in the commissioning or production of the manuscript is clear from the fact that the text is presented in both Arabic script and a Latin transliteration. The manuscript may have been produced in this way for educational purposes. It is not very probable that the manuscript bears any relation to the two obvious sources of Riau manuscripts, those of the above-mentioned H.T.F.K.E.W.A.C. von de Wall and of his fellow lexicographer (and Bible translator) H.C. Klinkert (1829-1913), who spent the years 1864-67 in Riau (Swellengrebel 1974:182-191). The reason is that Or.1999 does not belong to their collection of manuscripts, kept in Jakarta and Leiden respectively.¹¹ A link with a Dutch governmental administrator (*bestuursambtenaar*) is a better guess; Elisa Netscher himself would then be a strong candidate.

The stamp of Raja Ali

The stamp at the end of the text on p.24 is in red ink and is flower-shaped. In the outer ring of the stamp the text in Roman letters is fairly legible: *RADJA ALIE ONDER-KONING van RIOUW*. The inner part of the stamp has a text in Arabic letters and is on some places hardly visible. Yet the text can be ascertained as follows: / *al-wāthiq* / *bi rabb* / *al-'arš raja muda* / *ibn al-marhūm yang dipertuan* / *muda raja ja'afar* / *sanat 1261* /. In translation: 'Radja Alie Vice-Roy of Riau. He who trusts in the Lord of the Throne [i.e. God], the Vice-Roy, son of the late Vice-Roy Raja Ja'afar, the year 1261'.

The year 1261 (A.D. 1845) refers to the year in which Raja Ali was inaugurated. The last lines of the *Hikayat Negeri Johor*, as contained in manuscript Kl.24 (pp.1-40) of the Library of Leiden University,

11. The Klinkert collection is deposited in the library of Leiden University as a permanent loan from the Dutch Bible Society in Haarlem.

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states that the seal of the vice-roy was given to him on 15 Rajab, 1261 (20 July, 1845).¹² In that case the stamp in Or.1999 was put there at least 2 months after the copyist had finished his work. Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali died on 25 or 28 June, 1857 (Matheson & Watson Andaya 1982:288–289,405).

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12. This text in Kl.24 bears the name of 'Raja Ali ibn al-marhūm Raja Ja'afar ibn al-marhūm sabīl Allah' as its author (p.40). The full text of these last lines read (p.40): Al-tārīkh sanat 1261 kepada lima belas hari bulan Rajab yaitu pada malam Ahad waktu jam pukul tiga. dewasa itulah Kebawah Duli Baginda Yang Dipertuan Besar Sultan Mahmud al-Muzaffar Syah karumakan kita cap dengan nama Raja Muda serta memulangkan konterak yaitu setia dengan gubernamen Belanda serta dikaruniakan surat setia antara kita dan Kebawah Duli Baginda adanya.

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