Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology

International Workshop on Indonesian Studies No. 7

Southeast Asian Manuscripts

Khmer language manuscripts

Ang Choulean

Leiden, 14-18 December, 1992
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to address here the subject of Khmer manuscripts, that is, manuscripts written in the Khmer language; for there do exist manuscripts which, originating from Cambodia or Thailand, and written in the Khmer script, are not written in the Khmer language, but instead in Pāli. Dividing these Khmer language manuscripts into two major groups, I am immediately led to a very rapid physical description of the manuscripts themselves.

1. Traditional Manuscripts

I term these manuscripts "traditional" first for their mode of fabrication, but especially for the traditional context in which they have arisen. A manuscript can take on one of two forms:

a. Palm leaf manuscripts, known in Khmer as sātrā slik riṭ. These are composed of bundles of "ollas", varying in length according to the nature of the text contained. Rectangular in form, the leaves are tied together by a cord laced through a hole pierced through each leaf. The leaves are each inscribed on both front and back, and are marked in numerical or alphabetical order. While the width of any given leaf is between approximately 4.5 to 5.5 centimeters, the length of the leaves can vary greatly, ranging from 55 to 65 centimeters. This is true for the majority of manuscripts, those which, stored in monastery cabinets, are brought out only for special occasions.

When a manuscript is used as a memorizing tool, as is the case, for example, of magic treatises or medical recipes, it is of much smaller dimensions, and this for practical reasons: the possessor (usually a healer) can easily carry it on his rounds. The text itself is not written, but engraved with a metal tipped stylus. Once engraved, the surface of the leaf is covered with ink. A damp cloth is then wiped across the leaf's smooth, impermeable surface; only the engraved part of the leaf retains the ink.

b. The second type of traditional manuscript is in paper of artisanal fabrication. These are known as krām. I will not go into techniques of paper fabrication; suffice it to say that the paper obtained is fairly rough in comparison to our modern paper. This type of manuscript is in accordion form, usually made up of 38 folios, or pages. The dimensions of each page are more or less regular: 36 by 12 centimeters. The text is written in ink (not engraved).

2. Modern Manuscripts

These are on modern, sometimes called "European", paper. A modern manuscript may be written on separate sheets of paper hand-down together, or simply in prefabricated notebooks.

I think it necessary to justify this division of the manuscripts into two categories. My use of formal criteria is not, as one might think, without foundation. While a traditional manuscript is an expression solely of traditional Khmer culture, a document on modern paper most often results from motivations exterior to the tradition. Many modern manuscripts were, for example, ordered by orientalists or researchers for use as working tools.

3. What is a manuscript?
For traditional manuscripts, exceptions notwithstanding, there is no "original" in the usual sense of the term. This is the case, I believe, for the majority of traditional manuscripts in Cambodia. Each manuscript is a copy: more accurately, the copy of successive copies. This means that one frequently finds several manuscripts under the same title and containing the same text. In these cases, one finds no difference in respective themes, and the texts are often even perfectly identical. In this resides the historic interest of traditional manuscripts: they reproduce in unchanging fashion, over time, the ancient models or, precisely, the "originals".

Modern manuscripts are for the large part simply copies of traditional manuscripts. Along with the "orders" I previously mentioned, certain oral traditions have also been put into written form. This is the case of "orientalist papers", collected here and there in modern libraries. I would like moreover to call special attention to the work of the Commission des Moeurs et Coutumes. Working for three decades through a complex and efficient correspondence network, the Commission managed to assemble a significant number of original manuscripts on specific and novel subjects. Each manuscript author had to respond to a precise questionnaire elaborated by Commission authorities. But this particular endeavor exceeds my concerns here. The Moeurs et Coutumes manuscripts above all answered a call for documentation in view of its scientific anthropological exploitation. As such, the principle motivating their production was exterior to the Khmer cultural context. I do not mean to say these manuscripts are without interest, having used them myself. I would like, however, to confine my discussion to traditional manuscripts in order to outline the written tradition of traditional Cambodia.

Let me turn then to the most interesting aspect of these manuscripts, their thematic content. Following are the various "literary genres" which can be distinguished among them:

- the "epic genre" represented on the one hand by the Khmer rassayana, with its multiple versions and variants; on the other hand by a poem entitled "The Construction of Angkor Wat". The oldest known text in this domain dates from the 16th century.

- the "legal genre" represented by codes of law. The oldest known legal text dates from the end of the 17th century. These are not always legal codes in the usual sense of the term. Some of them relate past criminal acts and their judgements setting judicial precedence. I would like to point out here that these texts are of especial import to the study of social history.

- the "didactic genre" represented by a large number of texts composed in monastic verse called cpāp. These are doubtless the most popular and widespread texts, due first to their immediate social implications, and consequently, to their accessibility after rudimentary reading and writing lessons in the Buddhist monastery.

- the "fictional genre" which consists in "novels", tales. These novels are often naive presented as Jātakas,

- the "technical genre" composed of divination treatises, medical recipes, magic techniques...

- the "religious genre", abundantly represented, including both canonical and para-canonical Buddhist texts.

- To this list one could add a "historical" genre, encompassing the famous royal chronicles.

Finally, a certain number of texts should be somehow classified. I am thinking, for example, of cosmogony and cosmology texts.

In summary, Khmer manuscripts which have survived to this day represent a fairly vast, relatively complete selection of Khmer literature in its largest sense. They cover a significant portion of the Middle Period, and the entire Modern Period before Westernization.
Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology

International Workshop on Indonesian Studies No. 7

Southeast Asian Manuscripts

Patrons, scriptoria and MS production in nineteenth century Java

T.E. Behrend

Leiden, 14-18 December, 1992
MS. COPYING

Copyist
Patron
Date
Place

GENERAL COMMENTS

including, but not limited to, observations on:

Synopsis of narrative, major characters, authorship, copying, palaeography, codicology, etc.

If possible, brief comments on mode of script/text of some title, genre; identification of reduction; lots of copies.

TECHNICAL FILMING DATA

Camera Operator
Reduction
Filming mode
Details of filming
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KITAB FIGIH

Judul dalam teks : -
Judul luar teks : -

KETERANGAN FISIK:

Ukuran sampul : 21 x 16,5 cm
Ukuran halaman : 21 x 16 cm
Ruang tulisan : 17,5 x 12 cm
Jilid : 1 dari 1
Jilid naskah : 117
Hlm. yg ditulis : 117
Hlm. Kosong : -
Hlm. Bergambar : -
Penomoran hlm : Ada; 1-117 dibubuhkan kemudian.

Bahan naskah : Kertas
Jenis Kertas : Bukan pabrik Eropa.
Cap Kertas : BEST PAPIER MUCH


DATA PENYUSUNAN TEKS ASLI
Nama pengarang : (?)
Nama pemrakarsa : (?)
Tarih : Abad ke-19
Tempat : Soreang Bandung

DATA PENYALINAN NASKAH
Nama penyalin : (?)
Nama pemrakarsa : (?)
Tarih : (?)
Tempat : (?)

KETERANGAN : Kondisi teks tidak utuh karena di beberapa bagian terdapat korup, termasuk bagian akhir tampak ada yang hilang, seperti tampak pada kutipan berikut: ... maka namannya jaima ota jaima munepok (....) pantes lamun balik ka alam roheni (....; h.117). Sedangkan kalimat bagian awal teke berbunyi: kumaha jalanar di dituna bae, di dieuna kumpulina nya kitu keneh, maka di dieuna ... (h.1). Diperkirakan teks ini ditulis pada akhir abad ke-19 dan tempatnya diduga di daerah Soreang Kabupaten Bandung. Nama penulis belum dapat diidentifikasi karena tidak ada
keterangan yang jelas. Pada dasarnya, teks ini berisi uraian mengenai pelajaran rukun Islam, mulai dari tuntunan tata cara berwudu, shalat dan sebagainya dengan sistem bimbingan oleh seorang guru.


FEMILIK NASKAH : EFEO Bandung.

DATA PENCATAT : Edi S. Ekadjati, Dr., Undang Ahmad Darse, Drs., Fakultas Sastra Universitas Padjadjaran.

KETERANGAN TEKNIS: Tanggal pemotretan : 10 Juli 1990
Perbandingan reduksi: 42
Penempatan gambar : Cine-Mode
Operator : Tjahja Sumirat/Undang A. Darse
Patrons, Scriptoria and MS Production in Nineteenth Century Java

T.E. Behrend
National Library of Indonesia

I

Public collections in Indonesia and Europe hold well in excess of 19,000 Javanese manuscripts. Many thousands more -- probably tens of thousands more -- remain in private hands both in Indonesia and abroad. None of the private manuscripts, and only a small portion of those in public collections, have been adequately cataloged; the rest are known to us largely from

1. This paper has been prepared to provide material for discussion at a KITLV workshop on Southeast Asian manuscripts, held in Leiden on 14–18 December 1992. It is not a polished, rounded off essay, but the first draft of a work in progress. Due to the deadline and my own reprobate tardiness some sections of this paper have not yet been proofed. None of it has been rethought or rewritten since spilling out on the page. Please do not cite without contacting me at Jl. MPR I no. 25c, Jakarta 12430, Indonesia, ph. 62-21-769-1662, fax 520-5906.

2. This rough figure, which includes some Old Javanese, "Javano-Balinese" and Balinese texts in addition to New Javanese MSS proper, was arrived at on the basis of the following estimates of holdings, arranged by collection: Dutch public collections (Pigeaud), 7000; European public collections (other than Dutch), 800; Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia, 2000; Kraton Yogyakarta, 750; Museum Negeri Nusa Tenggara Barat, 1000; Museum Negeri Sono Budoyo, 1300; Peku Alam, 300; Perpustakaan Nasional RI (ex-KBG), 4500; Surakarta public collections (SMP), 2000. Not included in these figures are the holdings of the major Balinese collections, nor the thousands of other vernacular documents, including letters, reports, and treaties, that are housed in Indonesian, Dutch and British archives.

3. A Javanese text is adequately cataloged only if the description includes lists of first lines of cantos, as used by Brandes in his catalog of the Van der Tuuk collection (1903–1926), and by Poerbatjaraka in his topical guides to small parts of the former KBG collection (1940, 1950). Identification of textual versions, or redactions, is not possible in the absence of such lists, no matter how detailed the précis, or what other particulars might be given.
incomplete (and sometimes inaccurate) lists of titles or quick thumbnail sketches drawn from a few minutes' skimming of the text.

The surest way to know just what is contained in a given set of manuscripts is to sit down and read them, forming opinions directly on the basis of personal research. But this is time consuming and difficult work that few are able to do, there are far too many MSS for any one person ever to read, and we are forced to rely on the scholarship of others for most of our understanding of the tradition. As a result we are all dependent for our general impressions of the whole of Javanese literature -- its major works and authors, its development during the past five centuries -- on the detailed catalogs of Vreede (1892) and Juy nylon (1907, 1911), and on the synthetic histories of Poerbatjaraka (1964) and Pigeaud (1967).

Despite the immense value of these works, all are hampered by methodological shortcomings and other constraints inherent in the earlier scholarship upon which they are based, and by their own limited goals. Their greatest strengths lie in the familiarity with Javanese texts and stories which they impart (Vreede and Juy nylon), in the broad overview of literary genres which they provide (particularly Pigeaud), and in their depiction of the state of Javanese letters in Surakarta during the nineteenth century (Poerbatjaraka and Pigeaud). But the literary ecology of the island, explicated diachronically and related to the social, political, and intellectual particulars of regional, ethnic and archipelagic history, is hardly hinted at in their pages, and most of those 19,000 manuscripts lining the shelves of our major collections are left out of the picture. This need not be the case.

Three basic scholarly skills are needed to rationalize and bring order to the chaotic abundance of primary chirographic materials that these collections represent: a precise historical paleography; an intimately detailed codicology; and a highly developed philological calculus attuned to the underlying plasticity of the Javanese tradition. But the first two of these tools are almost entirely lacking, while the third has yet to come fully to terms with the complexity of its task.

No paleographical scholarship has been produced to date. No terminology has been developed that would allow discussion of morphological change in characters or punctuation. Little attention has been paid to Arabic/pégon script, which in some cultural milieus is the predominant alphabetic medium for recording Javanese. Such paleographical expertise as exists is the result of personal exposure to manuscripts gained by such scholars as

4. For the purposes of this overview I have demarcated the period of New Javanese literature as beginning in 1500. I have done this intentionally to exclude the Old Javanese tradition, which differs fundamentally different in its dynamics of composition and transmission.

5. Holle's tables (1882) offer little of specific value, and De Casparis' researches (1975) are largely limited to inscriptions that predate the New Javanese period.

6. The only publication on pégon that I know of is Patokaniposen Basa Djawi Kaserat Aksara 'Arab (pégon) (Goerabaja: Peneleh, 1933), a very brief and incomplete handbook written by Nitiasiastro, a pensioned school teacher from Jombang. Compare also the manuscript Kawruh Sastra Pégon by H.Ng. Krama Prawira, copied in 1865 by Cakra Amijaya (PMRI/CS 55).
Merle Ricklefs, Willem van der Molen, Kuntara Wiryamartana, and Nancy Florida; like their predecessors in the field, from Cohen Stuart to Pigeaud, none of these has published an analytical record of their observations. Because this knowledge remains to such a large extent personal and experiential it must be re-created in each generation, and no cumulative advance is possible.

Though codicology is a relatively new word and subdiscipline, some of its material concerns have been addressed in published articles over the years. Scholarly attention has been paid, for example, to the production and characteristics of palm leaves and tree bark as writing materials since the 1870s. General papyrological research has been helpful in a general way, of course, and some work on watermarks found in Malay and Javanese manuscripts has been done (Jones 1983, n.d.; Behrend 1990b:682-689). Beyond that, however, there has been no concerted codicological focus on the Javanese manuscript as physical object, including its writing materials and implements, inks and paints, bindings and covers. How scribes worked, laying out pages, decorating the text, managing space, keeping sheeves ordered -- the myriad small details that belong to the physical creation of a manuscript -- remain almost entirely ignored in the literature.

Philology, on the other hand, mother discipline to both paleography and codicology, has been central to the development of Indonesian studies since Taco Roorda assumed his chair at Delft in 1842. The pioneering achievements of Dutch philology are numerous and incalculably valuable -- foremost among them the recovery of Old Javanese and the initial cataloging of the Javanese literary heritage. Until quite recently, however, the assumptions of classical and biblical textual criticism have governed the application of philological methods to Javanese compositions. These assumptions, including notions of textual authority and the primacy of the original text, together with the concomitant search for the archetypal reading, have proved to be largely at odds with the natural dynamics of Javanese literary production in which "containing" lateral transmission, rampant scribal editing, and continual recomposition are very much the norms. Critical editing on the basis of the stemmatic method has the effect of scouring these elements, and all other particularities of historical and social significance, out of a text. A new philology, one that works to make texts accessible without forcing them into molds imical to the energy and variability of the tradition, is still being formulated. Once it has been worked out, a reevaluation of the entire Javanese corpus will be necessary.

Because paleographical and codicological tools are so entirely lacking, while philological method functioned for so lengthy a period under mistaken notions of how texts were assembled, scholars have long been hampered in the historical study of texts. Consequently, in many quarters -- not least of all the Javanese literature departments of Indonesia's main universities -- the

7. For a bibliography of works on tree bark paper, see Guillot 1983; on jontar see Ginarsa 1975.

Javanese literary corpus is perceived as a somewhat amorphous, nonparticular and anonymous textual mass containing only the most tenuous data relevant to the construction of literary and intellectual history, particularly outside of Surakarta court circles during the Yasadipura-Ranggawarsita period.

In fact, though, the manuscript record represents a lode of largely untapped information that holds the potential of bringing major veins of Javanese literary history quite clearly into focus. But despite the undeniable presence of this wealth of information, it is largely hidden, not easily accessible, and resistant to extraction. To push the mining metaphor a little farther: there are relatively few nuggets left lying out on the surface of the Javanese literary gold fields; most of what remains will only yield itself to the scholarly equivalent of large-scale hydraulic mining in which 100 tons of soil must be sifted for each gram of gold extracted.

II

There are two research methods, perpendicular rather than parallel, that must be employed across the range of Javanese materials to get these results. The first is text centered and largely philological; the second is manuscript centered and largely palaeographical and codicological.

In the first method, related bodies, or corpora, of texts are minutely examined across the full range of the manuscript record.
critical texts. These texts must then be arranged in a harmony format that allows verse-by-verse comparison across redactions. With three or four versions it is relatively easy to display texts in this way, and to handle them in a single computer file. The logistics of display become increasingly difficult, however, as the number of redactions increases. In such cases the physical arrangement of the research materials becomes an extremely time consuming and difficult exercise, though absolutely necessary nevertheless.

The harmonizing of texts across redactions is the only reliable foundation for the detailed comparisons that make the extraction of textual genealogy and history possible. There is no substitution nor short cut. The simplest corpus requires hundreds of hours of text preparation before authoritative analysis can begin; longer and more complex ones will consume months or even years of intensive labor and might best be carried out in research teams.

The corporal method entails far more than the bare outline presented above, of course, but the basic description is sufficient to indicate the major lines of attack that must be pursued in fundamental textual research. The results of this research will be a thorough understanding of the processes of textual transmission and change over the past four to five centuries, a fixing of the general outlines of the real histories of the major

9. That is, texts that display all variants of any significance in an easily retrievable form, not one that seeks to create an authoritative reading. The comparative labor that follows entails much eye work; all relevant data should be displayed on the same page rather than being split between separate text, note and critical apparatus sections.

Javanese texts, and the incremental establishment of philological tools equal to the challenge of literary conditions in Java. No published studies of complex Javanese texts to date fully satisfy these requirements; most don't begin to address them.\textsuperscript{10}

III

The second method, perpendicular to the textual approach of corpus-based studies, is scriptorial\textsuperscript{11} in nature and is concerned with the grouping of manuscripts (surviving as well as reported) on the basis of the place and date of copying. The 19,000 manuscripts in public collections, together with as many of those tens of thousands in private collections as may be examined, must be studied again and arranged in published catalogs according to where, when, by whom and at whose order they were copied. This is obviously a task of immense proportions, and under optimal conditions will only ever be partially completed.

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10. Including Pigeaud's study of the Centhini (1933), Drewes's of the Angling Darma (1975), and Soebardi's of the Cabolek. Kuntara's treatise on the Wiwaha texts comes much closer to the ideal described above, but still leaves many textual questions undiscussed. Poerhatjaraka's important studies of Panji and Menak MSS are probably the best methodological approximations to the approach suggested here, though they represent only the first stage in its application, not the final.

11. By scriptorial I do not mean simply that which pertains to script or writing as the dictionary says, but rather everything that has to do with writing and making books, and with the changes in bibliographic traditions, social organization and technology over time. The word "scriptorial" has a rounder, smoother texture than "bibliographic", and covers a wider semantic field than "codicological". At the same time it recalls the scribes and scriveners -- sitting in their scriptoria, scribbling on paper or inscribing the palm leaf -- whose work it is our profession to elucidate.
A relatively small portion of MSS open or close with colophon references to the time at which copying occurred. Fewer mention the place of copying in enough detail to allow identification on the map. Fewer still give the name of the copyist who produced the MS, or hint at why he undertook the labor. Even when such information is found in a text, however, it not infrequently contains inconsistencies — especially in chronometry — that raise as many questions as they answer. For the great majority of Javanese MSS, therefore, other types of data must be relied on to discover where and when they were copied. External data in the form of codicological and paleographical characteristics are the most readily accessible clues in this undertaking, since they do not require a thorough reading of the manuscript in search of internal textual references that can be converted into the term of philological argument.

The practical aspects of reorganizing and cataloging the Javanese manuscript record on codicological principals are dismaying. To begin with, as mentioned above, the basic tools needed to conduct the work have not yet been formulated in writing, though a good deal of knowledge exists in the cortical synapses of leading scholars in the field. The scholarly dereliction of these subjects, though, means there is a lack of formal vocabulary for describing codicological and paleographical phenomena; in the absence of vocabulary the potential for significant discourse is greatly limited.

These then are the tasks that need to be undertaken in order to achieve an historically significant codicological organization of surviving manuscripts: Most pressing is the need to develop a standard terminology, in English and Indonesian at the very least, that is capable of describing succinctly and accurately the features of script and codex that vary and therefore serve as phenomenological mileposts in the geographical and temporal classification of MSS.12

The creation of an appropriate vocabulary should be founded on existing terminologies in the vernacular traditions. Research in this direction should be minimally theoretical in the first instance, taking the form of sharply focused case studies of initially more accessible parts of the manuscript record — those that are unequivocally dated and localised through colophons and other reliable devices. That almost certainly means beginning with the courts and only moving into the countryside in slow stages. Village texts tend to be structurally complex, textually heterogeneous, roughly crafted, inexpertly written, orthographically obscure, enigmatically assembled, poorly preserved, difficult to fathom, and -- most seriously for our purposes -- incompletely dated and inadequately localised.

The vocabulary created, and the features highlighted, in case studies such as these will begin the process of recataloging or reorganizing the manuscript record on scriptorial grounds. This,

12. In an effort to kick start this process I would like to suggest that the participants in this workshop set aside part of the program towards the end of the week to discuss the possibility of organizing contributions to a collection of descriptive articles on the fundamentals of "Indonesian" paleography and codicology. These articles, which should emphasize classificatory and nomenclatural issues, could be gathered in a volume and published next year through one of the numerous monograph or working paper series sponsored by US, Australian and European universities.
in tandem with the philological and literary reevaluation of
texts, will bring the treasure house of Javanese manuscripts into
the reach of scholars of all disciplines.

The fact that this is a work of generations, not months, may
be disturbing. It should be. But the size of the task makes it
no less necessary. Our resounding ignorance of the greater part
of Javanese literature as it developed over the better part of
the past five centuries testifies to that.

IV

In the remainder of this paper I would like to illustrate in
a small way, and based on very limited and incomplete research,
something of the possibilities that exist for rethinking catalog-
ing along scriptorial lines. For the purpose of this discussion
I will restrict myself to manuscripts produced during the nine-
teenth century, as these represent by far the largest group of
MSS surviving in the collections.

Nineteenth-century Javanese manuscripts were produced under a
number of contrasting conditions and for widely varying reasons.
The majority were probably copied out by individuals, but most of
those gathered in our collections, and those most familiar to
scholars, originated under systems of patronage wherein the labor
of a scribe was commissioned and directed by another individual.
In the section that follows I will examine groups of manuscripts
that arose within three very different scribal systems and for
very different reasons.

The first group consists of manuscripts copied largely as a
reflex of adat, or tradition, within the courts of central Java.
The idea of kingship in Java is inseparable from certain acts and
conditions of state that are considered to flow from the nature
of kingship itself. The construction or mastery of a kraton, for
example, is one of the conditions of kingship; no king can exist
without a palace or its ontological equivalent (Behrend 1982).
Patronage of the arts is an example of an act that defines and
proves the kingship of the ruler. Music, drama, and literature
are foremost among the arts that rulers, by their nature, must
underwrite and protect. In properly functioning kraton, books
are produced as naturally as wayang performances, court dances or
royal progeny, and by their production the ruler is known to be a
king.

The second group of manuscripts stands far outside the tradi-
tion of begetting books in royal scriptoria. They were produced
in a much more self-conscious and determined way, by order of the
government or its constituent parts, as part of the colonial
industry. In this case I refer to the large-scale manuscript
factories organized for, and run by, Dutch scholars. Their
organizing principals and rationale were scientific in nature,
their conscious goals learned, pedagogical, and humanistic.

The third and final group consists of manuscripts produced by
individuals, acting without organized patronage, for immediate
and rational economic reasons. These MSS illuminate the presence
of the cash nexus, in some sense, at the very heart of this
portion of the literary process, governing the selection of texts for transmission and the style of their scriptorial preservation. The invisible hand of Adam Smith is unquestionably at work in these manuscripts.

None of the sociological issues hinted at above will be delved into in the section that follows; I mention them only to anticipate the fuller textures that future studies might develop. For the time being, it is merely the existence of these families of manuscripts that I wish to document, together with certain codicological, social, historical, and biographical details that arise in obvious ways from examining the manuscripts as coherent collections.

Royal Patrons: The Scriptorium of Hamengkubuwana V. A significant number of 19th century Javanese MSS are products of royal scriptoria, copied under royal decree by palace servants whose central tasks were literary and scribal in nature. The four central Javanese principalities stand out as great patrons of literary arts, particularly the Kasunanan and Kasultanan; manuscript production was also important in the four courts of Cirebon, however, and at the Madurese courts, though we have little specific information on these other centers as yet. Manuscripts originating in the central Javanese royal scriptoria are calligraphically exceptional; frequently illuminated or otherwise embellished; copied on more expensive materials; and often handsomely bound in tooled leather. This is to be expected, given the central role of the courts in all forms of art patronage, and the workaday presence in the kraton of fine artisans and craftsmen.

The way in which palace scriptoria were organized, to what extent the ruler was involved in setting the copying agenda, how closely the activities of manuscript making dovetailed with other court activities, such as arts production (nyunqing wayang, for example) or secretarial labors (correspondence, palace accounts, royal diaries)—these and similar questions remain unexplained, though it can be assumed that the situation varied from court to court and over time.

One feature of scriptorial life in the palaces is clear, though: the activities of a scriptorium were not limited to simple copying and the attendant chirographic and bibliographic crafts. In addition to renewing the literary tradition through the continual copying of older texts, these centers of manuscript production also functioned as centers of new writing and the

13. Dra. Titiek Pudjiastuti of the Javanese Literature Department, Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia, has recently conducted research on, among other things, the codicology of Cirebon MSS; she will report on some of her findings at this workshop.  

14. This state of affairs is due more to lack of researchers oriented away from the Voorstenalden than to a shortage of materials. Though not rivaling the huge numbers of MSS from the central Javanese courts, the manuscript record, even as known from the major collections, is sufficiently rich in Madurese and Cirebon materials to keep a number of researchers busy for some time to come.  

15. The most information concerning some aspects of life in a kraton scriptorium is found among Day's observations on the Yasadipura family and the Rapihan Radigaten of early 19th-century Surakarta (Day 1961:167ff).
 rewriting (casting in new meters) of texts imported from outside the palace.

Court manuscripts are much more likely than others to be introduced by a colophon explaining when the copying (or writing) was done, and for which ruler. Codicological and paleographic traits of these manuscripts are also highly characteristic: each court developed a trademark style of calligraphy and book making (in addition to purely textual hallmarks) that set it apart from the others. At the same time, the professionalization of manuscript work in the palaces meant that the same individuals worked at the same jobs for long stretches of time, and the profile of their personal contribution to the development of the tradition should be discernable in the surviving MSS.

There is no need to repeat, of course, that the operant word in the last sentence is should: in the absence of any descriptive scholarship on Javanese codicology as a whole it is perhaps farfetched to expect that the stylistic features of the Kasunanan scribes working during the reign of Pakubuwana IV, for example, would have been identified, or the body of PB IV codices marked for special reference. Though these particular scholarly labors have yet to be undertaken, it should be a relatively

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16 Based on my reading of Nancy Florida's cataloging notes for the SMP microfilming project (1980-1982), it seems likely to me that she has a personal sense for the developing styles of the Kasunanan, the Kadigatém and Kapatihan of Surakarta, and the Mangkunagaran. One hopes that when her much anticipated catalog is published it will be equipped with tables and indices that will allow easy identification of all dated manuscripts by decade, scriptorium, and possibly even scribe. For a report on this project, see Wyatt 1982; copies of Florida's cataloging notes may be consulted at the three collections filmed under the project.

T.E. Behrend
Patrons, Scriptoria and MS Production

simple matter to get them done, since a large proportion of the royal manuscripts that have survived from 19th-century Surakarta remain within the walls of the courts that produced them. The same is true for Yogyakarta. An examination of these manuscripts will reveal the codicological and paleographical footprint of the various scriptoría as styles, trends and personnel changed over the years.

I have made a beginning of just such an examination of the manuscripts produced during the reign of Hamengkubuwana V (hereafter HB V) of Yogyakarta. These manuscripts have been fairly easy to pick out, partly because so many are concentrated in a single collection (the Widya Budaya at the Kraton Kasultanan), partly, too, because of the extreme beauty of the palace script and the highly distinctive character of page layout and text organization. To date I have identified 121 MSS as probably coming from the Yogyakarta palace during HB V's reign.

G.R.M. Gatot Menol, infant crown prince to his father, the child king Hamengkubuwana IV, inherited the Yogyakarta throne in December 1822, one month before his third birthday, and close to the eve of the Dipanagara uprising and the Java War. For the first fourteen years of his reign (including a two-year interregnum, 1826-1828 when HB II was allowed back from exile) Menol was under the tutelage of a quartet of guardians, the royal seal was

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17 This "research" has been carried out in a very desultory way as one of a dozen thematic avocations that I have indulged over the past several years while working on cataloging and microfilming MSS in the collections of the National Library of Indonesia and University of Indonesia in Jakarta. I have not, however, been able to pursue it in any organized or concerted fashion, and the discussion that follows is extremely provisional.
entrusted to the Resident, and the administration of his lands fell to the Patih. From November 1836, still only 16 years old, Menol became sultan in his own right. His reign, which lasted until his death in June 1855, was a period marked by political discontent and palace intrigue, among other things over the issue of the Sultan's alleged impotence and lack of an heir.18 But whatever his administrative and personal failings might have been, HB V remains remarkable for the role he played as an avid patron of the Javanese arts, and in particular of manuscript production, book illumination and the rewriting of literary masterpieces.19

Some of the codicological and other traits of HB V MSS are as follows.

1. They are almost invariably written in the compact, handsome, quadratic kraton script of the Yogyakarta court.20 This script, which harkens back to Kartasura palace styles, is dense, rigid, and perpendicular; in it the sandhangan and pasangan lines are always spatially subordinate to the main aksara line. It is also characterized by, among other features, frequent use of aksara murda, particularly of the Ra- and Ra-,

18. There is little published historical writing on Sultan Menol's reign. Hasanuri 1976:110-125 gives some of the highlights of the period from the point of view of the Yogyakarta court. Houben's valuable dissertation (1987) provides much more (and more reliable) detail, together with the broader colonial perspective, on both Surakarta and Yogyakarta during the period 1830-1870.


20. For an exception see YKM/W.324b, which contains an Ambiya text in pégon script.

both of which are unknown in Surakarta. Stanza markers (pada mangajapa) are elaborately produced with floral motifs that I have described elsewhere with the terms "winged" and "double-winged" (Behrend 1987:77).

2. Most HB V manuscripts are inscribed in a flat, non-reflecting black ink on high quality European rag paper in folio or quarto format. Some of the watermarks found include the following:21 Concordia (EDG & Z, GR in crowned medallion, J. van Pannekoek, VDL22); Eendragt (Van Gelder); Elusque (B, L v G23); Garden of Holland (B, GHK, GR in crowned medallion, HK,24 IVD25); Lily; Rampant Lion on Honig and/or diamond pedestal with JH & Z beneath it (J. Honig & Zoon); Vryheid/Elusque (C & I Honig, H).

3. Signatures are of varying length, usually 5-8 sheets. They are bound with heavy thread that is almost like string or twine.

4. Original bindings were "Asian" rather than European, with the quires sewn flush to a wooden lath in tight-back fashion. Endleaves and any lining or hinging

21. The name of the mark is given in shorthand first, followed by accompanying countermarks in parentheses.

22. VDL is an abbreviation of Van der Ley.

23. Perhaps L v G is an abbreviation of Lubertus van Gerrevink.

24. Perhaps HK is an abbreviation of H. Koldewyn.

25. Perhaps IVD is an abbreviation of I. Villelaery.
material seem to have been of diluawang. Covers are of solid tooled leather with no inner boards; front and back covers are typically decorated with the same patterns, and the back cover has a flap designed to fold over the outside of the front cover: it is therefore tooled in the same manner as the portion of cover it obscures when in place.

5. Neither pages, signatures, nor narrative/metrical sections of these MSS are numbered in any way, making access to their contents quite difficult. In a very few cases special devices (wadana) are used to announce points of narrative significance, particularly in historical texts.

6. Page layout is not crowded. Large margins are left empty on all sides of the text. The scribe, or perhaps an assistant, blocked out each page before writing, using some sort of edged instrument (perhaps finger nail) to leave impressions for guide lines. The uneven and non-standardized treatment of each page indicates that no lining press or other mechanical device was used. Single vertical guide lines delimit the writing field on the page; double horizontal guides for each line of writing ensure uniform letter height. Sometimes pencil was used to empha-

7. The great majority of HB V manuscripts are provided with colophons at the very beginning and end of the text indicating when the copyist took up and finished his task. Colophons invariably fill two facing pages. The text block of the colophons is smaller than on other pages. The colophon text is set apart in a physical way as well, by one of three methods that represent a continuum of elaborations on a single idea: surrounding the text with frames made of simple lines; framing through the use of distinctive pada mangajapa arranged in rows at the top and bottom of the text; illuminating the opening pages with highly geometric or kekayon-like illustrations that stand as the gates into and out of the kraton of the text.

Manuscripts whose opening and closing colophons are framed in this way occasionally have numerous other pages throughout the text decorated in similar style. Colophons are often set apart structurally in HB V manuscripts, by being recorded on a separate folio that is then attached at the beginning or end of the book as a separate "signature" in its own right.

Even when this is not the case, the verso side of the

26. This observation is based on the single example available to me as I type this section, and may not be generally applicable. Boarding material commonly used else where in Java includes wood, cardboard, and plaited bamboo leaves (tikar).

27. These illustrations, called wadana or rerenggan, always come in symmetrical pairs. Excellent photographs of some beautiful Yogyakartan wadana are found in Gallop and Arpe 1991:2, 78-79, 93-95 and Jeesup 1990:45.
right hand page of the opening colophon is usually left empty. The closing colophon follows the end of the text and is not textually melded into it; this almost always results in a clear gap of white space separating the end of the main text from the text of the closing colophon. In addition to their codicological distinctiveness, the colophons of HB V manuscripts exhibit marked textual and other characteristics as well. The Yogya dating system differs from that of Surakarta and other areas in a number of respects, most obviously in its adherence to the Thursday calendar after 1749 AJ, in the old values assigned to its Je and Dal years, and in its use of the dualistic lambang system in place of the usual four-cycle windu. In addition, the manuscripts of HB V's reign employ an idiosyncratic "year", repeating every twelve days, that is expressed with a so-called merta number; use of this distinctive chronometric feature dates from a bout of diarrhea suffered by young Menol in April 1836 and was discontinued immediately after the Sultan's death. Another textual feature of HB V colophons is their frequent use of sengkalan words not just to indicate years, but often for part of the

numbers used in dates, seasons, ongka merta and so on. This is a deliberate stylistic feature, not usually required in metri causa, that seems neither to have predated, nor survived, the reign of HB V.

On the basis of the distinctive features outlined above, it would be possible to conduct shelf searches of existing collections and very quickly draw up a list of all HB V manuscripts surviving in public collections. A close study of those MSS would reveal significant amounts of detail concerning the intellectual life of the kraton, as well as the inner workings of the Sultan's literary corps. Even on the basis of my own extremely limited notes, made during cursory readings of only the opening and closing pages of a small number of the 121 HB V codices I have identified to date, a number of interesting and illuminating bits of information have come to light.

The rate of manuscript production over the reign of HB V was by no means uniform. For most of the period between 1836-1855 only a very few manuscripts (averaging under three) seem to have been produced each year, and no more than two were ever in production at the same time. During three other years, though, manuscripts produced numbered 15 (1846), 35 (1847), and 14 (1851), and the number of copyists working at a given time reached as high as 10. What special circumstances occurred in 1846-1847 (Je 1774 and Dal 1775) and 1851 (Alip 1779) that inspired the relatively huge outpouring of manuscripts at just those times, while mere months before and after production proceeded at the usual pace? Could it be related to a royal kaul made at this time in the hope of gaining a son and heir? Could

28 Behrend 1980a mentions all of these peculiarities and provides some minimal explanations.

29 On ongka merta see Feinstein 1987.
there be any relationship between the activities of the mysterious Tumenggung Sadosin club and the first leap in production -- perhaps related to an initiation ritual or club activity that included hand copying of MSS? Further investigation might well reveal the answer.

Also related to the issue of manuscript production is the question of how manuscripts were selected for copying, and by whom. Even a cursory examination of the data exposes phenomena relevant to a study of these problems. For example, a large portion of the MSS in my research sample (29 of 121 MSS, or 24%) contain second copies of other HB V manuscripts produced an average of only 3 years earlier. What was the need for this quick recopying? In some cases, manuscripts that seem the most haphazard collections of junk texts are copied regularly over the years; in others, a single text is copied over and over again all at once. In almost all these cases the texts copied out do not seem to have been used with great regularity: few HB V manu-

30. Thus for example the odd Serat Kakemplakan, containing an unusual amalgam of religious and primon texts, was copied at least three times, i.e. in June 1847 (manuscript in my possession), February 1851 (YKM/W.321), and April 1853 (YKM/W.322). One can see the value in having on hand a chapbook on tig omen, a poetic rendition of the titles of the Qur'anic surah, a treatise on statecraft, and a sexual handbook based on Muhammad's teachings to his daughter Fatima; but that one manuscript with these and twenty other assorted texts should be studiously copied three times in six years, hardly ever to be used in the ensuing decades, points to a logic of copying that is not perhaps immediately obvious.

31. As in the case of MSB/L.347, YKM/W.286, and W.289 -- all of which contain the same version of the Tjahasatatin copied in February, June and November of 1851 respectively. Does this represent an explosion of interest in that didactic text on statecraft and morals? Or was someone busily making copies of an important text to be used as gifts, but which subsequently were never distributed?

32. Every day of the saptawara week, as well as each pasaran is indicated in a number of texts. I have not yet checked to see if every day of the selapan was used for copying, or every wukat.

scripts have the scruffy, smudged appearance of a well-thumbed study text. Most, though, do have bits of tobacco, grains of sand, particles of snacks preserved in their pages that attest to their occasional perusal.

Some details of the organization of Sultan Menol's scriptorium also leap out of the record. As mentioned above, it seems to have been staffed by between 2-10 scribes at different times. Colophonic dates portray scribes at work every day of the week, at all hours between early morning and late night. Scribes do not seem to lay off during any month of the year, but they are particularly productive in Ruwah-Pasa and in Sura, and rather slack in between. Greater scribal activity in those months may indicate a religious factor in the planning and carrying out of literary labor. This possibility is supported by another calendrical fact. Although every day is attested in the early part of the record, almost every manuscript produced after 1844 was begun and finished on a Kliwon day, preferably Selasa-Kliwon. After a scribe finished copying one text on a given Kliwon, he would wait an entire pasaran before starting a new one.

The division of labor within the scriptorium is also noted in some MSS. Copying, illuminating, and binding were tasks carried out by different artisans. Among copyists themselves there may have been specialists in certain matters who advised others as appropriate. At the very least, a single individual probably advised copyists on chronometric particulars such as day, pasar-
ran, wuku, date and so on. This is clear from one case where two manuscripts begun on the same day (YKM/W.75 and 116a, begun 6 Ruwah 1780, or 25 May 1852), both mistakenly give the waris as Be rather than Nhê.

Brief and tentative as this survey is, I think that it gives ample indication of the sort of social, historical, and literary detail that can be elicited for the HB V period from the MSS produced during his reign.33

Scientific Patrons: Suryawijaya and the Bataviaasch Genootschap. Large numbers of manuscripts at the two major repositories -- Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek (LUB) and Perpustakaan Nasional R.I. (PNRI) -- are not natural, organic products of Indonesian literary culture, but copies commissioned by scholars, or by institutions acting on their behalf, for specifically European, scientific purposes.

Voorhoeve (1964) describes one such scriptorium operating in the first half of the nineteenth century under the auspices of the Algemeene Secretarie in Batavia. It produced copies of Malay manuscripts obtained from various areas around the archipelago in order to provide materials useful for the instruction of Government officials in the Malay language. A number of these copies were sent to Holland to be incorporated in the collection of the Delft academy, in time being transferred to Leiden where they now

33. Other types of data, too, as yet unmentioned, can also be extracted from the corpus of HB V MSS -- a list of which texts were present in Yogyas in the 1840s and 1850s, for example, would be extremely valuable for a study of the intellectual history of the court.

form part of the core collection of the LUB. Others found their way into various European collections, or into the holdings of the Bataviaasch Genootschap. Voorhoeve's description of the work of Muhammad Ching Sa'idullah, one scribe working at the Secretariat over a period of many years, makes it clear, however, that while the organizers of this work were European, the copying proceeded in line with the transmissional dynamic of the Malay and Javanese traditions, with much variation and embellishing entering the Secretariat copies. Voorhoeve concludes his report with the following warning: in using the Secretariat copies, "one should always remember that they were written in a government scriptorium in the first half of the nineteenth century and so reflect the literary taste of that period" (1964:266). In other words, these MSS should be used in the same way that all other Malay MSS are -- with a cautious awareness not only of when the text was written, but equally of the time and place of copying.

The manuscript collection of the Batavian Society, formerly at the Museum Nasional in Jakarta but housed since 1987 on the fifth floor of the PNRI building in Salemba, possesses a number of Javanese manuscripts produced in Dutch-sponsored scriptoria, some of which functioned as full scale manuscript factories for decades at a time. Almost the entire Brandes (Br) collection,34 for example, consists of copies made for the Indies government under Brandes’ supervision in the 1880s and 1890s. The “G” collection comprises more than 200 typescript copies of manu-

34. Manuscripts in the Br collection total 758 volumes.
scripts studied by Pigeaud in his lexical work of the 1930s.\textsuperscript{35} The codices KGB 400-532 are almost entirely copies -- many of them in pègon script -- made on behalf of the Netherlands Bible Society in Surakarta during the time of Gerick and Wilkins. Of particular interest, too, are the manuscripts gathered together as the Cohen Stuart collection, which passed into the hands of the Genootschap in 1875, just months before CS's death.

A.B. Cohen Stuart had a brilliant, but altogether too short career as one of the early ambtenaren voor de beoefening der Javaansche Taal.\textsuperscript{36} Graduating from the academy at Delft in 1846 in the first generation of Roorda's students, Cohen Stuart was immediately posted to the Indies. After a period assisting Winter and Wilkins with the translation into Malay and Javanese of Dutch legal codes (1847-1851) he was released to full-time study of Javanese and Kawi (i.e. Old Javanese), working for a time with Ranggawarsita. He continued in Surakarta up until 1860, in which year his edition of the New Javanese "Brâtâ-Joedâ" -- with its scathing appraisal of Ranggawarsita's abilities -- appeared in volumes 27 and 28 of the VBG.

Later than year Cohen Stuart returned to Holland on furlough to recover his health. When he returned in 1862 it was to Batavia. After a second home leave for health reasons in 1871, extended to four years so he could work with Kern on publishing his epigraphical studies in Leiden, Cohen Stuart returned to Batavia, but succumbed three months later to a fatal disease.

Among his other responsibilities in Batavia, Cohen Stuart served as conservator of MSS in the collection of the Bataviaasch Genootschap from 1862-1871; during this time the collection grew by well over 1000 volumes. At the same time, Cohen Stuart was engaged by the government to oversee the production in Batavia of new copies of older MSS deemed too old or damaged or difficult to be easily read.\textsuperscript{37}

A total of 191 manuscripts comprise the CS collection, which was turned over to the Genootschap as a loan collection by government order in June 1875.\textsuperscript{38} Of these, 39 are in Malay, two in Balinese, and the rest in Javanese or Old Javanese. The exemplars of 133 of these MSS are known from notations jotted on their title pages: 15 were received directly from the hand of the author or compiler; 35 were copied from MSS in the possession of private individuals (most notably Cohen Stuart himself, K.F.\textsuperscript{39})

\textsuperscript{35} Manuscripts in this collection are numbered through 200, but many numbers are not represented on the shelf at the National Library. Copies of the same typescripts are also found at the Sonobudoyo Library in Yogyakarta (B and E collections); the library of the Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Indonesia (G collection, along with parts of the A, B and W collections); and in LUB manuscripts Or 6603-6693, 6750-6759, and 6776-6786. FSUI's set of the Pigeau MS is the most complete. Note that MSS in the G collections of PMRI and FSUI share the same numbers.

\textsuperscript{36} On Cohen Stuart's life and work, see L.W.C. van den Berg's memorial article in TBG (1876).

\textsuperscript{37} It is still unclear to me from which department within the government Cohen Stuart obtained the commission and funding for this work. Van den Berg (1867-426) merely states that the copying was done "ten behoeve der Regeering" with no further details. It seems likely the funding body was under the Algemeene Secretarie. CS's own position is also a mystery to me. The Regeringsbladenakken for the 1860s do not put him in a department, but only include his name among the honoraries leden of the Genootschap.

\textsuperscript{38} See the discussion of the government decision concerning this issue in the Notulen 14 (1876) under item II, i for the board meeting of 7 September 1875. An inventory of the collection is appended as bijlage A.

\textsuperscript{39} A total of 42 copies -- almost all of them Malay rather than Javanese -- have no such explanatory notations. A further 15 are original MSS, not copies.
Holle, H.N. van der Tuuk, and Ranggawarsita); and 83 were copied from MSS in the BG collections, including 65 from lontar, the majority originating from the Merapi-Merbabu or other older Javanese collections written in Buda script. It is clear that Cohen Stuart took good advantage of his government commission to study and organize lesser known parts of the Genootschap's collection.

Cohen Stuart ran his scriptorium during the same period that he served as MS conservator to the BG: 1862-1871. Over this nine year period he employed at least 12 scribes to copy Javanese manuscripts. They are: H. Abdullah Nur (specialist in Arabic/pégon script); Cakra Amijaya; R.M. Cakra Atmaja; Mas Jaya Premadi; Jayasuwirya; R.M. Kusman; Mas Mangundimeja; Mas Prawira Arja; R.M. Samsi; Mas Sumadiwirya (a scribe in the Eerste Gouvernements Secretariaat); R. Panji Suryawijaya (father of Samsi); and Uret. The codicological style of these MSS is highly standardized, with little variation from copyist to copyist over the years, and is marked by certain characteristics foreign to the Javanese tradition that were introduced by Cohen Stuart to make the copies more useful and accessible for study. Each manuscript, for example, has a title page with explanations in Dutch concerning the exemplar, copyist, date of copy and so forth. Pages of text are blocked out squarely with space in the outer and inner margins for stanza numbers (in Javanese numerals) and corresponding pages in the exemplar (Arabic numerals) respectively. The number of the current canto is also clearly recorded in Javanese numerals in the outer top corner of each page.

Literal accuracy in copying seems to have been a value that Cohen Stuart inculcated in his scribes: errors in the exemplar are sometimes noted, and intentional "white noise" variation is not found. At least in the early days of the scriptorium, while Cohen Stuart was still training his staff, copies were double checked by a second scribe to ensure their accuracy, and the name of the scribe by whom the manuscript had been "gecollationeerd" was also recorded on the title page. CS copies are clearly set in the tradition of Dutch philology, their goal being much like that of photocopying today; to get as clear an image as possible of the text under scrutiny.

Some of Cohen Stuart's scribes seem to have produced only two or three MSS, usually in a single year; others copied 4-8 over several years' time. The most productive, however, was the petty aristocrat R. Panji Suryawijaya, who copied or otherwise assisted with 73 of the 128 MSS for which attributions exist, his service spanning the full nine years of Cohen Stuart's attachment to the Bataviaasch Genootschap.

Pigeaud mentions Suryawijaya as a Solonese gentleman residing
in Batavia who worked as Cohen Stuart’s secretary (1967:262). It is clear, though, that Suryawijaya was not simply a secretary, but rather more a scholar in the tradition of the Yasadipura family, and very much an author in his own right. He appears to have been attached to Cohen Stuart from Surakarta days, and to have followed him to Batavia for his 1862 posting.43 Upon arrival in the capital he initially lodged with the famous painter Radên Salèh,44 later taking up quarters in the Kwitang area, southeast across the Koningsplein from the Society’s museum.45

During his years working for Cohen Stuart in Batavia, Suryawijaya seems to have specialized in the copying of particularly difficult palm leaf manuscripts, especially those written in the antique scripts of Merapi-Merbabu and other non-Balinese collections of Old-Javanese texts. Most manuscripts copied in this way were equipped with an introductory section of 2-5 pages containing a synopsis of the text copied, as well as a table showing the paleographic style of the script in the original lontar. While the précis given never exhibit any great understanding of the texts described, the tables of alphabetic equivalents tend to remain unchanged from manuscript to manuscript and year to year,

43.I have not yet been able to do primary research into Suryawijaya’s life, except as derived from perusing the titles of the MSS he copied and the books he wrote. The central document with which to begin such a research would be Ljr 3160, an unpublished travel diary entitled Suryawijaya, anggitan lelampa-baning sacira dumugi andhérék ing Kangjeng Tuwan R.B. Kohên Setiwar dhateng nagari Batawi. On this text, see JuynBoll’s brief synopsis (1911:144).

44.See Heuken 1982:204 for a reproduction of R. Salèh’s imposing neo-gothic mansion.

45.Suryawijaya’s residence in Kwitang is mentioned in the sandiasma of his Hala Wasa Hala Satya.

and even the transliterations seem to be quick and often sloppy; nevertheless, Cohen Stuart appears to have been satisfied with the level of Suryawijaya’s learning and abilities, as he allowed him to continue in the work for nearly a decade.46 It is unclear whence Suryawijaya obtained his knowledge of the “Kawi” dialect, whether from Cohen Stuart himself or from earlier studies in Surakarta. His transcription of Old Javanese lontar did not begin immediately after his arrival in Batavia, but five years later in 1867.

In addition to his own task as copyist, Suryawijaya appears to have been the senior scribe in Cohen Stuart’s manuscript factory, overseeing and correcting the work of others. In the process he also undertook the training of his son, R.M. Samsi, starting him out in 1867 with an easy manuscript in standard Javanese script, but soon thereafter teaching him the difficult Buda scripts. The favoritism of the father is apparent: Samsi worked on 18 MSS in the five years of his affiliation with Cohen Stuart, second only in number to Suryawijaya himself.

Before joining Cohen Stuart in Batavia, Suryawijaya was already something of an author. As mentioned above, he wrote a lengthy account of his trip from Surakarta to Batavia in 1862 to take up his post with Cohen Stuart. Shortly after his arrival he began writing other books within the scope of his scribal labors -- some scientific and descriptive works as aids to Cohen

46.Cohen Stuart, of course, was an early pioneer in the study of Old Javanese whose work predated the important contributions of Kern, Van der Tuuk, Brandes, and others.
Stuart, some original writings of a moralistic or religious nature, and some compilations of wisdom gleaned from his wide reading of rare texts. During the same period he also engaged in some journalistic and popular writing, publishing in 1869 a verse description of Batavia's new tram system called Serat Kidung Tramway.

During the 1870s and 1880s Suryawijaya continued to create new works, mostly in verse but of a relatively modern character (Pigeaud 1967:262-263). Only some of these were published. It is unclear what Suryawijaya did after Cohen Stuart's death in 1876 -- whether he continued to live in Batavia or returned to Surakarta. Further details on Suryawijaya's life and activities are entirely lacking at present.

47. PNR/C1 24, Tijdeerking (n.d.) and CS 32, a description of the Surakarta Kraton (1865).
48. PNR/C1 30, Serat Pawulang Ing Budi (1863); CS 91, Baratayuda Sabili Khakulisah (1869); and CS 151, Buluk Jatirana and Serat Sri Gandana (1870) (also copied in a MS of the Rinkes collection, L0r 8617a, dated 1875).
49. PNR/C1 103, Serat Darmamulya (1869); CS 168, Buwana Kasarira (1870); CS 169, Candrabhrava (1870); and CS 170, Padewana saha Dasanana (1870).
50. Girardet (1983:173-174) gives this title under the name Suryawijaya. Rouffaer and Muller (1908:308) cite the same work, but ascribe it to "Rahaden Pandji Soerjadjaja" and give as full title, Punika Serat Rumpakanikun Karøa Tramway.

51. Published works were: a collection of wargaslan with their solutions, compiled with "F. Winter" (C.F. Winter, Jr or his son of F.L. Winter ?) which appeared in Bra Martani between 1870-1872 (Pigeaud 1968:364, re L0r 6384a-b); Maïa Maia Maia Satya (Batavia: Landedrukkerij, 1880; for a MS copy see CS 116 [2], no.2, which is dated 1875); Basiran Basirun (Batavia: Landedrukkerij, 1880); and Sri Gandana (Batavia: Landedrukkerij, 1883). On this last text see the previous note.

Other texts from this period include: Serat Surya Ngalan, written for a Javanese almanak in 1875 (L0r 5542, 6203a no. 22); Serat Sewardaya (L0r 5546); Bandha Gunu Nancana, which Pigeaud calls a prose novel (L0r 5544a-b); and two volumes of dialogues for students, called Parma Yasa (L0r 5544a, 5556).

Much more information on Suryawijaya certainly exists than I have sketched out here on the basis of my extremely limited research. The point of this exercise, though, has been to give a glimpse into research methodologies made possible by identifying a body of manuscripts as originating in a single scriptorium, or descending from a single patron, then treating them as a body of coherent evidence.

Manuscripts for Profit: Book Touts and Lending Libraries. Although both categories of MSS discussed above have a financial dimension, since scribes in both the palaces and Dutch research institutions were salaried employees copying for their rice; yet in neither case was the intent of the patrons to make money. There exists, however, a small but interesting class of nineteenth-century Javanese manuscripts that were produced with the specific intent of turning cash profits. There are at least two types of such MSS: those copied to be sold on the market, usually to Dutch scholarly interests; and those copied by proprietors of local lending libraries to be rented out for small cash amounts. I will dwell on each only very briefly.

It is not unusual to find manuscripts with sale information noted inside the front or back cover. Normally they state the title of the work and give a price. For example, one manuscript in my possession bears the inscription:

52. The manuscript is an undated fourth volume in a series of at least five volumes containing histories of the prophets. Only this fourth volume is in my possession. On the basis of paleographic and other evidence, this codex
This note, though, is in a very different hand from the body of the text itself: as in most such cases, it seems that a later owner of a manuscript, discovering a need for cash, attached a rupiah value to a family possession and delivered it to the market.

This scenario differs fundamentally from the topic at hand, which entails not the change of function inherent in the sale of previously-owned literary goods, but rather the production of new manuscripts with specifically commercial intent. Manuscript wares became quite common in the early twentieth century; mini industries sprouted up around Dutch scholars who advertised their interest in acquiring manuscripts of a certain kind.

Th. Pigeaud, operating mostly in Yogyakarta during the 1930s, provides one well-documented example of how the research interests of a single scholar could affect the literary landscape around him. Through his field agents M. Tanaya and M. Sinu Mundisura, Pigeaud received a steady stream of texts on wayang, village ritual, and local legends that reflected his collecting interests, but at the same time represented a departure from the tradition of maintaining information on such topics by oral means. The manuscripts sent in often seem hastily thrown together and are copied out in quarto exercise books; the writing tends to be large, the use of space on the page profigate in the

interest of making a heftier text out of leaner materials. The research and collecting interests of Ir. J.L. Moens, contemporary and friend to Pigeaud in Yogyakarta and likewise a student of wayang and folk traditions, also affected the sorts of texts being composed and copied in the region: his prodigious interest in the writings of native informants contributed substantially to the flood of materials on these topics that flowed out of Sento-lo, Sîman, Gunung Kidul and other areas around Yogyakarta during this period.53

I have also come across another set of manuscripts obviously prepared for sale to European scholars, but dating from the previous century. The manuscripts in question consist of a run of eight codices in the KBG collection, National Library of Indonesia, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KBG</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Mênak Cîna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Mênak Malebâri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Aji Pamana (in two volumes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Sruti Kawi mawi teges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Cabolek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Cariyos Gancaring Empu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Kawi Dasanama</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is nothing extraordinary about a collection such as this, except for its source. All eight manuscripts were copied by R.Ng. Ranggawarsita (several also composed), apparently in the

53. Most of the MSS of the sort discussed here are in the former Panti Boedaja library, now forming the core of the Museum Sonobudoyo collection cataloged in Behrend 1990b. Numerous other examples are found at the Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia (catalog forthcoming in Behrend 1993) and in the Moens collections at the LUB.
1860s.\textsuperscript{54} That Ranggawarsita was the owner of these manuscripts is established on several grounds, including an octagonal red ink cap in KBG 92 which contains the legend “habidalem pun ngabhêho^n gawarsita” in Javanese script.\textsuperscript{55} There are several different types of handwriting in the MSS, but most are in the distinctive-ly spiky hand of Ranggawarsita.\textsuperscript{56}

According to letters from the Resident of Surakarta tabled during the bestuursvergadering of the BG on 5 April 1870 (Notulen 8:40), these manuscripts, together with a number of printed books, were bought at auction in Surakarta on 21 February 1870. The purchase was made on behalf of the government by J.A. Wilkens, the well-known lexicographer and taalambtenaar.

No mention is made in the Notulen (and presumably the Resident’s letter) that the MSS came from Ranggawarsita, though Wilkens could not have been ignorant of his informant’s sale of these items, nor of the financial plight in which the poet found himself.\textsuperscript{57} By the time of the sale, Ranggawarsita had been working for Dutch scholars in Surakarta for at least 30 years. He started out in 1840 with a monthly honorarium of $20 ("20 rupiyah parêntah") in return for his services teaching Winter and C.J. van der Vlis about Javanese literary and cultural traditions at regular Monday and Thursday night sessions chez Winter, copying manuscripts, compiling Kawi-Jarwa wordlists, transliterating texts from antique Buda script into modern Javanese and so forth.\textsuperscript{58}

Whether Ranggawarsita was still on a stipend from Wilkens or the Bijbel Genootschap in 1870 is uncertain, though doubtful. His economic position, never good, had greatly eroded following Pakubuwana IX’s accession to the throne in 1861. The general disappointment of the Dutch scholarly community over Ranggawarsita’s imperfect mastery of Old Javanese must have had a deleterious effect on his finances as well. Anecdotal evidence affirms that the 1860s were the most difficult period in Ranggawarsita’s life.

In this climate the poet may have turned to a sort of freelance copying work, hoping thereby to supplement his meagre income and alleviate his chronic money problems. A market for Javanese manuscripts certainly existed in the second half of the nineteenth century, with a number of public and private collec-

\textsuperscript{54} The only dated MS among the eight is KBG 93, which bears a pandiasma of Ranggawarsita’s name in the first stanza of the text and mentions the year 1791 Aj, Janna-trus-kawarêng-bumi, corresponding to 1862 AD. This is probably a date of composition, not copying. But given that the MS was acquired in 1870 (see below), the copy date falls between 1862-1870.

\textsuperscript{55} I quote passages taken directly from manuscripts in a way that preserves original orthography as much as possible. In this paper I use the symbol “\textbull” (advertised as an eta) to indicate a cacak, since there is no angka available on the Wordstar-6 extended character chart.

\textsuperscript{56} To be sure of the hand I compared closely with manuscripts CS 2 (Sajarâh Para Sawai) and CS 8 (Kitasstra Kawi). Cohen Stuart noted on the title pages of these manuscripts that they were copied by Ranggawarsita. They date from the same period as the KBG MS8 (the 1850s and 1861 respectively), thus making reliable chirographic guides.

\textsuperscript{57} Ranggawarsita’s money woes have been well-known, and the stuff of popular tales, since the 1840s. For a general impression see Day 1981:185-188; cf. also the Leiden manuscripts containing copies of Ranggawarsita’s correspondence with Winter (LOR 2235) and Van der Vlis (KITLV H-389 no.9).

\textsuperscript{58} See the copy of Ranggawarsita’s 1840 contract with Van der Vlis quoted in Padmopuspito 1991.
tors in constant search of materials. But though demand was high, supply though seems to have been very limited and prices fairly inflated.

In any event, Ranggawarsita prepared these MSS in a way that would make them more useful to Dutch scholars than other contemporaneous copies - and perhaps more valuable - by numbering cantos and stanzas in the European fashion. The copyist's intention to sell at least some of his copies is clear from the 15 silver rupiah asking price written inside the front flyleaf of KBG 92. He doesn't seem to have had much retail success, though. While Cohen Stuart acquired a few of his manuscripts in the 1860s (both for the BG and for his own collection), Ranggawarsita seems to have given up on the notion of selling his volumes piecemeal. In February 1870 he offered them for sale at

59. Ranggawarsita, speaking in his guise as "Parakawi", tells Tuan Anu/C.F. Winter in the Javanesche Samenspraken (1911:343) that in Solo, "[t]here is no place where books are sure to be on sale. But there are individuals who own books and who may from time to time sell them, or loan them out to be copied. You should also know that, apart from nobles, only rarely do people have books complete through to the end. Often someone has the first part of a book, but the middle and end are missing. Others might have just the middle or end, but no beginning. It will be a difficult matter to find a book that is complete through to the end."

60. PBR/KBG 97 once contained a note from the original owner (copyist?) that priced the book on the basis of costs associated with producing it. Though this note is now lost, it is preserved in the minutes of the BG board meeting of 26 May 1868 (Notulen 6:50). Concerning these costs, the note reads as follows: "gekoosd heeft aan schrijfloon, $ 50 cts. per dag, gedurende 4 maanden, $50; aan illustratie met 575 figuren, $ 10 cts elk, $57.50; aan band, $7; samen $124,50." The rental cost is highly inflated (10-15 cts a day was the going rate), as are the figures for the illustrations (which are nevertheless unusually attractive in this MS), but the figure gives an idea of how much the owner hoped to realise from the sale of the MS. The manuscript was bought at Cohen Stuart's recommendation -- for $23.

61. The note on p.i of the MS reads: punnika serat wahosen ménak málébarri, demuginnipun serat ménak cinten\, reigi : 15 : rupiya\ phathak\,.

62. It was, in fact, a 1984 lecture delivered by Chambert-Loir at the Faculty of Asian Studies, Australian National University, which first displayed for me the potential fruits that a closer and closer comparative reading of related codices might bear.

63. While we have assumed that Javanese lending libraries did exist, probably on the Malay model, no studies to date have identified any MSS as originating in this milieu.
No large collections of MSS originating from a single library have yet come to my attention. At this writing I have found commonalities in 16 manuscripts that lead me to conclude they originated in lending libraries. Because of the small size of the sample, though, I have not yet been able to devise codicological and textual tools capable of distinguishing between manuscripts copied primarily for commercial purposes and those copied in urban areas for purely personal needs, which probably served as a model for the development of the former as the cash economy grew in the nineteenth century. To finally pin down this distinction may not, in fact, be possible. For the present, I will defer providing a detailed codicological description of these manuscripts until further materials have been identified in European and other collections. For the present I will simply give a few details concerning one small collection which originated around Semarang near the middle of the nineteenth century. The colophons of the three MSS from this collection specifically identify them as books available for rent, thus doing away with the need for speculative arguments concerning their social provenance.

The minutes of the BKG board meeting for 19 September 1865 (Notulen 3:140) report that a certain J.P. de Bordes had made a purchase earlier that year of three manuscripts originating "uit een inlandsche leesinrigting te Samarang." The MSS, which contain texts of a Ménék Cina, Panji Déwakusuma Kembang, and Babad Mataram, are now found in the National Library collection as items KBG 18-20. Some problems exist with the exact dating of the MSS because of damaged frontispieces or confused chronometric information, but they certainly date from the 1850s or early 1860s. All are provided with numerous simple illustrations which were captioned, and probably drawn, by the copyist. The manuscripts open with a colophon enclosed in a frame or more elaborate wadana, and close with in inverted triangular decoration which contains a note on the owner, as space permits. Pada mangajapa "rubricated" in red and green are prominent decorative features of the text, as appears to be usual with lending library MSS.

The owner and copyist of the MSS was Bagus Saradin of Rampung Sekayu, also known under the "dasanama" name of Kyahi Marjani.

The only village named Sekayu mentioned in the gazetteers I have

64. Of these 16 MSS, five are from the NR collection at FSUI, 10 from the BKG collection at PNRI, and one from my own collection. It was my familiarity with this last that provided the first clue to the possibility of other MSS originating from the same hand or same tradition.

65. The minutes mention that a request was sent to de Bordes to seek further information about this lending library, and on the possibility of acquiring more MSS from it. No response to the request was noted in subsequent issues of the Notulen.

66. KBG 20, for example, claims to have been copied in 1867, two years after it was acquired by the Bataviaasch Genootschap. The Javanese equivalent to this year is given in an improperly reversed sangkelan that reads 1777 from left to right (the last element is unclear); such a date would in fact correspond to a Gregorian year in the 1840s.

67. "Dasanama" here suggests a deliberate semantic connection between some part or homonym of the words bagus saradin and marjani. The basis for the play between the two alludes escapes me. Perhaps it lies in the following: Saradin = sardhin = sardine, and Marjani = merjan = a kind of red coral; the connection between fish and coral, though, seems awfully tenuous, unless there was a fish known locally in Semarang as an iwak merjan or some such. Any suggestions for a less outlandish link would be appreciated.
examined is located near Palembang; on paleographical grounds, however, there can be no mistaking Saradin’s handwriting as anything but north coast central Javanese. Sekayu must be the name of a village or neighborhood in the Semarang area.

Bagus Saradin identifies himself as a foreman at a brickworks (mandhor bannon), KBG 18, I.3) and tenant on a Dutch plantation (magersari hi" wellonda, KBG 19, I.3). In addition, though, he is an active maker of books produced specially for rental.68 "I copy these out," he says, "even though I'm unqualified,69 in the hopes that someone among my friends and acquaintances will borrow them."70 The cost of borrowing a book overnight is 15 cents.71

Saradin is forced into this business endeavor by his poverty, and seems embarrassed by it. He promises, though, that those who borrow his books are doing a kind deed and proving themselves great philanthropists.72 They need to be cautious in handling the MSS, though, so as not to damage them. To this end, Saradin enjoins his patrons to avoid chewing betel or smoking while reading, lest the text be stained with spittle or burned by falling ashen.73

In all these expressions, except those concerning rental, Saradin is repeating conventions that, in one form or another, can be found in hundreds of other manuscripts copied in north coastal towns and villages over the centuries. The conventions, in fact, are not limited to those Pasisir towns of central Java, but appear all over the island and east at least as far as Lombok. They appear in other languages as well: the prohibitions, warnings and pious ejaculations of Bagus Saradin are exact cognates of those expressed in the two Malay manuscripts from the Palembang lending library discussed in Kratz (1977).

The existence of other Javanese lending libraries is attested in various towns and at various times among other manuscripts that I have seen. Some seem very closely related to the style found in Saradin's library, both in paleographic and codicological features. This is especially true of two manuscripts from Pak Sakirman, Kampung Tonya, Semarang that date from the 1890s,74 and a single MS from Pak Sarman, Kampung Sareyan (Surakarta?),...

68.KBG 18, I.3-4: . . . hi" ma"ké hakarya surat\ (4) ka" serrat punnika hugi, hapan Ta kinnarya sówan\

69.Insistence on unworthiness, ignorance, etc. is conventional, of course. Saradin claims over and over to be vulgar, stupid, lacking in writing skills, incapable of doing anything, and so forth. One example is KBG 20, I.7: hasa"nget nèsth taia"ngé, ka" purun mesTanni padha, raga sa"nget hanistha, kaśiy naśa kella\ku", tannana hi" karyannira,.

70.KBG 20, I.2: pramila hayasa serrat\, kella\ku" nistha kawula, bilih wonten ka"ng anìnambut\, dhumaté sannak kawula,.

71.The amount is given as a swang and a setang, which equals 15 duit. KBG 18, I.4: mennawi pinnare\nangké, ka" paras sannak seddasya, ka" samni purun ñéwa, sadinten lawan seddalu, swang setènä sówannira,.

72.KBG 20, I.6: tya" sa"nget kawlassayun\,.

73.KBG 20, I.3: pannédhanné ka"ng anulis\, dhumaté ka" sedya maca, dann agu" pa"nega [sic] || pa"nagurané, sëmpan maca bari nginna", mennawi [sic] këngi" dumba", sëmpun moça bari hudut", mennawi këngi" dähanna,.

74.FSUI/CI.62, Ménak Gandrung dumug Ménak Kandhabumi, copied 1892; and FMII/KBG 397, Babad Jaka Tingkir, copied 1896. The copyist of these texts identifies himself principally as the owner of a lending library, but he appears to have had duties of a religious nature as well (KBG 397, I.3: pak sakirman haramira, hakarya sùrat java, me"kono pa"gotaninpun, sinambè békî yas" sukma,). Sakirman’s service to god carries over into his manuscripts, the colophons of which he fills with prayers and pious intentions—all of them conventional, but nevertheless emphasized and reaffirmed by their repetition in the opening stanzas of his books.
I suspect that these MSS come from libraries run by relatives or descendants of Sarodin. Other MSS dating from 1851 through 1893 and coming from Semarang, Rembang, Yogyakarta and Krukut (Surabaya?) share many generic features of script, text, and codex with these -- so much so that I am led to suspect stronger ties among some of them than the the impersonal conventions and norms of an urban tradition.

In his first article on the Muhammad Bakir lending library in Pecenongan, Chambert-Loir observed, then elegantly demonstrated, that the "discovery of a group of works precisely dated and localised, even if relatively recent, can provide some valuable criteria for the historical study of texts" (1984:44). In this paper I have followed these same lines of reasoning, arguing that scholarship founded on a consideration of interrelated families of manuscripts is not only valuable, but indispensable in piercing the thick fog of anonymity and formless synchronicity obscuring much of the Javanese literary landscape. Hints of the directions that such an intercodical, particularistic methodology might follow, and of the sorts of insights and conclusions that

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75 This manuscript, containing a Panji tale, is in my possession. In it the copyist describes himself as a composer for whom book rental is a sideline (l.3: paŋ sarman waʃtannira, tukeŋ qendhiŋ karyanā, punik naŋgotami puŋ, əmabaru ndawakken sarat\(\).). Note the similarity between this statement and that quoted in the previous footnote.
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Southeast Asian Manuscripts

Malay manuscripts: Materials and problems of conservation
Ding Choo Ming

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Ding Choo Ming

Introduction

Malay manuscripts are known to have been collected and dispersed on a massive scale internationally during the political upheavals in the Malay world in the 18th and 19th centuries, though some were collected and taken to Europe prior to that. During those tumultous and troublesome times, numerous fine libraries housing manuscript collections in the Malay and Javanese courts were burnt and looted. This dispersion took place in other manners too: some were amassed through systematic purchase from impoverished families, some through hired-copying,

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some saved from dilapidated old houses or unused mosques while others were given as gifts to the Europeans, mainly Dutch and British colonial officers. Gradually, fine collections of Malay manuscripts started to grow in libraries and museums in Europe. Now, it is mainly in these institutions that most of the extant copies of the early Malay manuscripts in their 'original' formats are being preserved. As a result, one would find that there are only a few 'original' Malay manuscripts of more than 100 years old still remaining in the Malay world, even among the scholarly and royal-related families which used to inherit them. Like those in major libraries and museums, some of these private collections are in good condition, surviving a decidedly humid and hot climate, frequent civil wars and numerous natural disasters. These manuscripts are preserved as heirlooms, wrapped in cloth, thus protected from insects, dust, excessive heat, moisture, light and other destructive agents, while the others are already badly damaged under wretched conditions, in dark corners, cupboards in houses with carpeted floor, curtained-windows in Kuala Trengganu, Pulau Penyengat and Kuala Lumpur. The latter are already brittle, being in their final stage of survival, to a point of uselessness, unless something is done urgently to save them. The above picture might be the general storage environment for Malay manuscripts in private houses in the past before they were deposited in the major libraries and museums. Our attention in this paper is mainly on the manuscripts in libraries and museums—the major repositories of such materials. Moreover, they serve as the major communication links not only with the past, but also other libraries in the world.

There are now more than 90 catalogues of Malay manuscripts, the most recent and professionally compiled is that by Ricklefs and Voorhoeve (1977), enabling one to locate an estimated 10,000 copies of these documented materials. How many of them respectively aged 400, 300, 200, 100, 50 years or less are yet to be determined. But, one thing is certain: most of them are just copies made from another copy deposited somewhere. As in the past, these materials represent the final product of a long tradition of repeated copying and creating. Their survival to this day is made possible by a diversity of collectors, scholars and copiers in the early days. Among the well-known European figures are William Marsden, John Leyden, Stamford Raffles, Klinkert, T. Roorda and van der Tuuk. They, along with many other colonial officers-administrators, carried these materials to Europe in their various capacities after their missions in Nusantara. Since then, they were deposited in public institutions.

Some libraries do take good care of them, while others do nothing other than allowing occasional consultations by scholars and students. Generally, manuscript materials, be they Malay or other, are kept together in special rooms separated from other
collections in most libraries. These collections are formed for administrative convenience because of the non-conforming and heterogeneous nature of their formats compared to conventionally printed books and journals. Some are thick, while the others are thin, consisting of a few leaves of letters or documents. Thus, excessive care and effort are required to keep them. The old-fashioned closed-access collection is not a matter of censorship but a matter of protection. Being rare, expensive, and with each hand-written manuscript being different from one another, these materials are only opportunistically acquired in most libraries nowadays. They are not acquired consciously as part of the coherent collection development policy, as is practised in the Pusat Manuskrip (translated as Manuscript Center) in the National Library of Malaysia, for instance. In the absence of that and further more with only a few copies existing in their 'original' format, no library can claim to have the most comprehensive collection. Pusat Manuskrip claims to own 1,600 manuscripts, but most of them are copies, either in microform or facsimile. As they are not actively used, manuscripts are collected primarily for their potential research value and the pride of institutional ownership in most libraries. One thing is certain, gradually with interest gathered from scholars, the small collection may in turn serve as a nucleus for further collection development, mainly in surrogate copies.

The fact that an ever increasing number of Malay manuscripts, in libraries and private collections, is disintegrating, with some reaching their final stage of survival is certainly alarming. This problem has been with the Malays since the very beginning. Deterioration may be due to acid embrittlement of the paper, unsuitable storage environment, biological attacks, or even sheer human negligence and mishandling. What can we do to stop the process of deterioration in the face of new scientific knowledge and to eventually preserve them? Originally, very few hand-written manuscripts were ever intended to last, just like most printed books nowadays. Now, these materials and their problems of deterioration are with us in the libraries. Looking at them, more and more are rapidly approaching virtually unusable condition. Their preservation and conservation are indeed a headache to librarians, curators, conservators and technicians. This headache grows bigger in libraries with a bigger collection of heterogenous manuscripts from different periods of time, in different types of paper and different stages of deterioration. If untreated, the other not-so-badly-damaged manuscripts will one day become a potentially critical problem too. Armed with the scientific knowledge and methods learned mostly from Europe and the United States of America, we are able to identify the agents and process of deterioration. But, can we control and totally eradicate these problems or better still restore the already-damaged manuscripts? The problems of conservation of manuscripts and rare books have been on the mind of most European and American libraries for a long time because such problems are not
new to them. Conversely, such problems are new in most libraries in Southeast Asia, or have remained largely neglected. Moreover, they are a very costly and difficult, involving difficult decisions, which are based mainly on intuitive judgements in library management. For the sake of scholarship, such decisions and judgements have to be made because of our concern for the survival of these materials. Therefore, the organizing committee for this workshop must be congratulated, because of its concern regarding the urgency and complexity of the issues in preservation and conservation, with the ultimate aim of making these materials easily available.

We all know that each library should commit itself to conserving such materials in its holdings and make them easily accessible. But, this task of conservation is a long term enterprise that can only be accomplished successfully through the combination of vision, conscience, commitment and cooperation at national and international levels. I am not a specialist in Malay manuscripts, but a librarian who has studied some of these materials in many libraries, research institutions, museums and private houses in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia for my research. To avoid undue repetition and yet able to contribute to the continuity of ideas in this workshop, I will attempt to speak briefly on the materials and the problems of conservation of Malay manuscripts from a librarian point of view.

The Materials

Most of the Malay manuscripts extant are written on paper. It is well-known that the invention of paper, and its mass production later on, had created a cultural revolution. It facilitated writing of manuscripts on an unprecedented scale all over the world at different periods of time. In less than a century, hundreds of Malay manuscripts spread all over the Malay world.

Before the introduction of European paper in Southeast Asia in the 17th century, Malay scribes and authors in the royal courts in Nusantara and learning institutions in Middle East used Arab and Chinese paper. They were sometimes called Oriental Paper. The Chinese paper came through trade contact between China and Nusantara. The Arab paper was used by Malay religious authors and scholars while residing in Mecca, Medina and other cities in Arabia. The various courts, corresponding to centers of penmanship in the Malay world over a period of six hundred years from the 15th century to the 19th century were, in random order, Aceh, Barus, Riau-Lingga, Terengganu, Pahang, Palembang, Singkel, Banjar, Pontianak, Madura, Makasar, Sambawa, Sambas, Kota Waringan, Kedah, Landak, Johor, Malacca, Bangka, Belitung and others. Even before the advent of paper, there were already Malay manuscripts in pre-Jawi scripts in Batak, Rencong, Javanese, or old Malay script etched on stones, written on tree-
barks, parchments and vellums made from animal skin, like sheep, goat or cow. The Jawi script is believed to have emerged in the Malay world in the 10th century. The oldest specimen of old Malay language may be observed in stone inscriptions found in Kuala Terengganu in 1303, and the oldest evidence of Jawi writing in manuscript documented today is dated 1590 in Agaid al-Nasafi. Being expensive and difficult to prepare, parchments and vellums were only occasionally used and mainly restricted to important documents like the recording of family trees in certain royal families. They are durable compared to the easily-decayed-palm-leaf manuscripts, made from talipot palm or fan palm trees growing profusely in humid and hot tropical climates. These documents or manuscripts, already rare originally (due to various technical reasons in both preparing and writing them), are indeed very rare now. They can be seen preserved in certain public libraries and museums. They also pose unique problems in preservation, conservation and transliteration. In historical perspective, they are the forerunners of paper manuscripts, which in turn are the harbingers of printed books and journals today. Like paper, palm leaves, tree barks, vellums and parchments are organic in nature, thus subject to change and deterioration with the passage of time. Worse still, paper and ink since the 19th century have a greater potential for change because of acid chemicals added in their manufacture and thus have a shorter life expectancy than their counterparts of the earlier days. Many of the manuscripts written on hand-made paper more than 300 years old are still stable, while the manuscripts of more recent origins have shown signs of aging under the same storage condition in libraries. Many investigators found that the strongest early paper, also called the best quality paper, have very little acid content. In the early days, lime wood ashes and other traditional bleaching agents, available in the household and gardens, were used. As a result, with minimum conservation treatment but maximum protection and care, the early hand-made paper centuries ago will survive for a long time to come. The only power we have over this natural process of change and deterioration is to control the rate of change and deterioration in the best possible way we can. Like most businessmen, paper manufacturers are only interested in quick money and huge profits. They are not concerned whether the paper used for manuscripts and books last and can be preserved for 'posterity'. They care more about the surface characteristics, white and smooth, and ink resistant, and not the quality requirements of preservation in libraries. Since the 19th century, quality of paper has dropped so low that they commonly lack the necessary strength and durability to guarantee a reasonable life span in either storage or use. At a glance, paper from the earlier days are generally thicker and heavier compared to their modern counterparts that are smoother and more flexible.

While talking about paper quality, let us mention briefly about the factors determining good quality paper in the early
days and the reasons for its inferior quality today. Paper was invented in later Han Dynasty in China, in AD 105, by stamping or beating hemp, linen rages, mulbery tree barks, ropes, fishing nets in mortars with running water until a smooth paste of fibres was obtained. In the long and tedious process, no chemical was added apart from natural ingredients with some of them mentioned earlier. By the end of the 5th century, paper became such an important commodity that it was used all over Central Asia and was brought to the West subsequently. The paper so made was known to be of the best grade for writing and printing from libraries point of view. It was strong and durable. Durability in paper refers to the degree in which paper retains its original qualities under constant usage. Samples of paper so made can still be seen in old manuscript scrolls from Tang Dynasty, AD 618-907, found in Tun-Huang, now preserved in the Library of Congress, USA. An example of a Malay manuscript on quality paper, not that old though, is Siratulmustagim by Syed Nurudin al-Raniri, documented to have been written in Acheh in 1634, i.e. some 300 years back. It is still in good condition and white, while newer ones have discoloured and have been damaged in one way or another.

Paper continued to be produced from pure rages, tree barks, fishing nets and others until early 19th century when the demand for paper outstripped the supply of rages. Then, man began to turn to wood pulp, straw and grass as raw materials to be added with alum rosin sizing, starch, chlorine and other chemicals. Alum rosin is necessary to help the wood pulp fibres in absorbing ink, thus preventing ink from feathering, staining and blotting; chlorine, a bleaching agent, is necessary to improve the brightness of the paper by removing impurities while starch is vital to hold fibres together. These chemicals are vital in overcoming many problems encountered in making paper, other than improving the brightness and opacity of the paper, thus enhancing the writing and printing quality. They are introduced to cut cost and shorten production time, so that more paper can be produced to meet the ever increasing demand in book printing and newspaper industry. Since then, paper making becomes a chemical process, at the expense of its permanency. This means paper deteriorates faster, and its useful life span is very much shortened. In short, the principal sources of high acidity in factory-produced paper are chlorine and alum rosin. Talking about manuscripts we are not concerned with the acid-free or alkaline paper produced by using the latest technology and processes in the factories nowadays. Instead, what we have to do now is to stop the deteriorating effect of traces of chlorine and alum hidden in the paper manuscripts extant. There are ways to deacidify the acidic paper and to prolong the life expectancy of paper. If improperly stored or stored in unsuitable environment, they will have a much shorter life. The signs include the paper becoming progressively yellowish, brittle and break on touch eventually. The best example is the newspapers
using the cheapest paper. Likewise are the modern type-written manuscripts that are already showing signs of decay and aging after a few years and of course, the cheap paper back books in libraries all over the world.

Ink also deserves our attention because it is indispensable for writing on paper, parchments, vellums, palm leaves and tree barks. Most Malay manuscripts are written in black ink. Only the important words and sentences in some non-Quranic manuscripts are written in red or maroon. Upon closer examination, many types of black ink are used. They are carbon ink, prepared traditionally from charcoal, soot, lamp black, paper ash, mixed with coconut oil, salt, latex from buah jagus, mangosteen skin, black pepper, pulut rice, cuka nipah and others, depending on the techniques used and the availability of these ingredients, from time to time. (Generally, the black colour in the ink is derived from the charcoal, soot, paper ash and lamp-black which have been ground into fine powder and mixed with the fine powder of fruit skins that have been boiled earlier into paste and ground into powder later on). Soot or jelaga and other ingredients ensure permanency and durability of the dark colour, coconut oil enables the ink solution to flow easily, latex from buah jagus helps the soot to stick permanently onto paper, black pepper powder enables the ink solution to dry much faster, pulut hitam and salt serve to absorb odour. Some plant-based dyes extracted from flowers, roots, stems, biji kundang, asam jawa, buah kesuma keling and daun inai provide an additional lively and luxurious colour. The ink so produced is not only clear - and does not spread, stain or blot, but can also penetrate the fibres of paper without passing right through them. Another interesting quality is that it is not sticky and flows easily and smoothly from the nib of lidi kabung, tip of quill and other writing instruments used as pens. This home-made ink is of superior quality compared to that available commercially later on due to two main factors: its intense black colour does not fade easily and it has little acidity, thus it is not harmful to the colour or corrosive to the paper. On the contrary, the so-called 'modern ink', containing iron gall, sulphate and gallo-tannic chemicals, is acidic and perforates and corrodes the acid paper extensively. Such damage is due to the sulphuric acid added to improve the flow of the ink in the manufacturing stage. Reacting with moisture, heat, light and dirt in the atmosphere, this chemical acid eventually causes oxidation of the ink. This can burn, perforate the paper and continue to do so on the adjacent sheets, one after another, if the damage is not treated. This usually happens to manuscripts kept intact for a long time: uncirculated and forgotten. Because of the oxidation of the ink, the original black writing will continue to fade or turn brownish. Another reason for the early Malay manuscripts, for example, to remain in good condition, with its clear and black writing, is the alkalinity in the early paper that neutralises the acid in the carbon ink.
Though the traditionally self-made ink is of high quality and permanent, not all the writing in the Malay manuscripts are of equal quality: dark and lustrous. This is due to the mixture of the ingredients, depending on the availability of the types of fruits, for example, the techniques involved and the quantity used. Details of each stage in the process of manufacturing differ. This traditional craft and technology, used to be a tradition passed from father to son, has only recently been committed to writing by Wan Ali. It is certainly a major scientific achievement in the history of Malay civilization. Unfortunately, this tradition is dying now as it is seldom being practised after the onslaught of factory ink that is commonly and conveniently available.

Though I have not eye-witnessed both the writing or recopying of Malay manuscripts anywhere in Malaysia, Singapore or Rhio-Lingga Islands, writing and copying were certainly carried out using a stylus, a pen, or some kind of writing tool. Old Malay informants reveal that lidi or duri kabung was popularly used. This was confirmed by bits and pieces from such a plant found in between the leaves of some old manuscripts. Duri kabong was preferred because it was durable and hard compared to 'pen' made from pokok resam, quills from cocks, geese or eagles that required regular sharpening using a sharp knife. It was mentioned in the 1991 facsimile edition of Thufat al-Nafis (published in Kuala Trengganu) that the hand written version of this manuscript is still in good condition. It is believed to have been copied for the Royal court in Terengganu during the reign of Sultan Zainal Abidin III (1881-1918) by Haji Abdul Rahman ibni Inche Long (1834-1914) on quality paper, using lidi kabung pen and traditionally made ink from lamp and extracts from plants as natural dyes. This illustrates that manuscripts written on quality paper with quality ink will survive for a long time provided that they are well maintained in a suitable storage environment.

Agents of Destruction

Except for a few, most Malay manuscripts have been damaged by mechanical, chemical, biological, environmental and human destruction agents in various ways and stages even though they are only being used occasionally. This is the first impression one gets when looking at them, or turning their leaves. A common sign of decay, or rather premature aging is the appearance of brown spots, known as foxing. Such stains are the result of chemical reaction between iron impurities in the paper and organic acid released by fungi infestation. These traces should not only be considered as a warning of deterioration, but also an indication that temperature and relative humidity in the storage area are above the safety level. Foxing is generally observed in factory produced paper from the 19th century onwards and not so much on paper containing almost pure cellulose fibres from the earlier days, and written with home-made carbon ink.
Paper deterioration is a complex process resulting from a combination of many factors, mentioned previously, besides being a clear sign of ageing. This process works slowly in different ways under different environments resulting in paper becoming yellow, brittle and if untreated, will crumble between covers, fall apart in our palms or simply turn to dust. In short, when one particular process is at work, the other agents (such as climatic and temperature variations, light, insects, poor storage condition) will in turn all add their cumulative effects to the forces of deterioration. The main culprits are the traces of chlorine, alum rosin and other chemicals left in the paper due to insufficient washing. Generally, acidity due to excessive use of acids and chemicals is blamed to be the hidden enemy creating the most severe problem. In that perspective, then all the books written and printed on acid paper will eventually become unusable on their own. The decomposition takes place because aluminium sulphate rosin which is sensitive to humidity and heat, will undergo hydrolysis, (if the books and manuscripts are stored in humid and hot areas) and breaks down the cellulose fibres in the paper. The primary cause of acidity in the paper is attributed to the process and the method in paper production in the factory.

Paper deterioration is now recognized as a major crisis facing scholarship. Manuscripts and books on acidic paper, some experts say, may last as short as 30 years. Up to 40% of library collections of 30 years old in USA and Europe are generally suffering from acid embrittlement. Library of Congress estimates that 77,000 books among its 14 million items are endangered each year and will become too fragile to handle in years to come. Our concern is the durability and permanence of the affected paper. One of the solutions commonly used in treating this ailment is deacidification. This is done by introducing magnesium carbonate which works as an alkaline buffer against acid-catalyzed hydrolysis. But, it is of limited effectiveness, simply because the strength of the damaged paper cannot be restored. Acidity in paper is usually measured by using a electronic instrument, called pH meter or using a moistened strip of litmus paper. In the former the value of 1 means the paper is most acidic, the value of 7 means neutral and the value of 14 shows the paper is most alkaline; and in the latter, the blue litmus will turn red if the paper is acidic. Good quality paper made in the past had high alkaline contents derived from the use of wood-ashes and chalk as whitening agents, and clear river water. Such alkaline paper can withstand the injuries caused by acid ink and other acid in the atmosphere. Through practical experience, the eyes and the sensitive hands of the conservators may be able to detect paper where oxidation and hydrolysis have already taken place but at advanced stage because the process of deterioration works rather slowly, thus almost invisible at the early stage. It proceeds at a rate dependent on a number of factors such as acid, gases, smoke, dust, moisture, ink, light, insects, and heat. These agents are broadly classified as biological, physical,
chemical, environmental, bacterial and human. Although all paper is prone to damage by these factors, including ultra-violet light for instance, its resistance to the influence from light is again dependent on the types of paper, the cellulose fiber and the acidity content. The brighter the light, the more destructive is the ultra-violet radiation, either from the sun or fluorescent-tubes. Nevertheless, it is a fact that hand-made paper centuries ago have a higher resistance to light than their modern counterparts from factories. Thus, Malay manuscripts which need treatment are practically as recent as 100 years old or less, on paper made most probably after the 1850s. Once damaged in any way, wear and tear can develop very easily along weakened structures and parts, apart from becoming yellowish and progressively brittle. Such damages develop cracks on tree barks and palm leaves which get darker with age. The prevailing very humid and hot weather in Southeast Asia, with temperatures ranging from 29 to 32°C during the day while 22 to 24°C during night, coupled with its annual rainfall of between 250 to 300 cm, causes most environmental damages to library materials directly. Indirectly, such a weather is very conducive to the easy growth of bacteria, fungi and insects.

We tend to put the blame on acid paper and the natural environment for causing damages to manuscripts and printed materials in Southeast Asia so much so that we often overlook human negligence and incapability in preserving them and enhancing their life span. It is a common sight that Malay manuscripts are stored in normal storage areas, which are damp and hot, badly ventilated, thus ideal for fungi, insects and bacteria, in most small libraries and all the private houses. As a result, manuscripts therein are damaged and embrittled much faster. Fungi, which feed on the nutrients in paper such as glue, starch and adhesives, also affect ink, particularly iron gall ink. Over a period of time, the colour of the black ink fades, making the manuscripts difficult to be restored, or even copied effectively using photography reproduction machine. Though fungi infestation often appear as white, black or green spots or stains, called mildew, it is crucial to examine whether such stains are actually the result of fungi growth or due to other bacteria or cause. The tiny fungi spores ubiquitously present in the air could develop into mould with temperature at 20°C and humidity in the range of 65%. Our concern from the beginning is paper deterioration and paper varies in its resistance to fungi attack. Here again, because of the chemicals used, factory produced paper is more vulnerable to fungi attack compared to the almost pure cellulose fibre hand-made paper centuries ago, even though stored in the identical storage environment. This is yet another reason why Malay manuscripts from the earlier days (now preserved in libraries in Europe) survive better than those as recent as 100 years old in Southeast Asia.
Insects, like cockroaches, bookworms, silverfish, moths, slickets to mention a few, which thrive easily in hot and humid climates are not only household pests, but also library pests. Being nocturnal pests, they tend to hide in dark places, like cabinets or drawers, in between pages or leaves of manuscripts and books during the day and emerge at night roaming for food. They are prolific. Once they find a food source, they remain close to it. Cockroaches, for instance, are not only voracious and would eat virtually anything, but also excrete a dark liquid which discolours any object over which they crawl. The attack of bookworms is evident by the fine dust left behind after drilling holes in the manuscripts or books. As the literature on destruction by insects on library material is plenty, thus the few examples mentioned above is deemed sufficient.

It is a fact that temperate countries have fewer insect and pest problems, but the atmosphere in industrialised countries in Europe is more contaminated and more acidic. But it is also not true that libraries in Southeast Asia have fewer such environmental problems. Such problems are in fact getting bigger as countries in Southeast Asia march towards industrialization. Like in Europe, most major libraries and museums in Southeast Asia are concentrated in urban and industrial areas. Everywhere harmful gases like sulphure dioxide, smoke and other acid gases from the combustion of coal, oil and other fuels from the factories and vehicles in the atmosphere, react with traces of iron in the paper and ink thus producing sulphuric acid and causing oxidation. The mechanism of decomposition of cellulose fibres in the paper is therefore repeated. This hidden chemical attack taking place within the paper is visible only after the damages have taken their toll. The end result is the paper turning yellowish, brittle and no longer permanent and durable.

In Southeast Asia there are, in fact, some Malay manuscripts that have been damaged because of 'doing nothing' attitude on the part of librarians and owners of manuscripts. This arises from lack of concern and pure negligence in maintaining such materials stored in a 'special collection'. As they are inaccessible and unusable, they rot on their own natural course. It is definitely wrong to keep manuscripts in such a place. Inadequate staff with expertise and insufficient funds are always cited as reasons or rather excuses for not properly maintaining the collection. The damages inflicted in this way are not less than those resulting from mishandling by library staff and general readers which constitutes another cause for the damages. Readers have to be reminded not to drop food crumps from their mouths after meals, leave behind lip-stick marks, and others which may entice insect attack and activate fungi infestation.

Awareness of the agents of destruction is not sufficient. We need to develop effective means to preserve the manuscripts and stop them from deteriorating further. To do this, we have to
commit ourselves with the best intention so that the damaged manuscripts can be preserved as long as possible in their 'original' format. This involves managerial decision and conservation expertise. As mentioned earlier, manuscript deterioration in Southeast Asia is also due to human amateurish approaches, or negligence of factors of destruction. We know that it is impossible to recopy the manuscripts from acidic paper onto alkaline paper. Alternatively, it is our professional duty to create a suitable storage environment because prevention is better than cure. In that perspective, we are grateful to the early Europeans who collected and then deposited the early Malay manuscripts in the libraries in Europe and also the scholars who painfully documented them and lastly the librarians as well as the curators who made every possible effort to conserve and preserve them. Without them, many more Malay manuscripts would have been destroyed in the tropical climate, through human negligence and other agents of destruction in Southeast Asia.

Methods of Treatment

Some of the Malay manuscripts preserved in the libraries in Europe date back to the 1600s. They are among the oldest Malay manuscripts extant. They include Ms Laud Or. 291 Hikayat Seri Rama, dated 1633, Ms Pacoke 433 Hikayat Bayan Budiman or Hikayat Khoja Maimun, dated 1598 – 1600, Ms Douce Or. e. 4 a letter from Sultan Alaudin Shah of Aceh to Sir Hary Middiction, dated 1602, Ms Laud Or. Rolls b. I, a letter from Sultan Perkasa Alam Johan of Aceh to King James I of England, dated 1613 all in the Bodleian Library and some others in the University of Leiden Library. Prior to their comfortable homes in Europe, they might have survived years of destruction inflicted by wars, men, insects, mechanical and environmental disintegration processes. How many of the manuscripts listed in Werndy's list, published in 1738, are still available have yet to be determined and located. They have reached the age of some 300 years by now. Such items in their 'original' form are certainly priceless and unique. Owning them is now considered as prestigious as being the major reason for acquiring and preserving. Most of the 10,000 copies of Malay manuscripts collected and documented, as mentioned in the beginning of this paper, are just copies from other copies made as recent as 100 or even 50 years ago. Regardless of their age, our stipulated concern is their physical preservation and conservation, as most of them are yellowish with stains, holes, ink feathering and some are so brittle that they break upon touch. Conservation and preservation have direct relevance to the library's management policy. But, will the current physical state of manuscripts affect a priority in conservation among scholars and librarians? Nobody can doubt that all libraries must protect them against decay and mishandling, by treating them while still possible, and keeping them in proper storage place. It is a pity to note that some of the Malay manuscripts in Southeast Asia, as recent as 100 years old are...
already in irreversible deterioration due to sheer negligence and other causes discussed earlier. Usually, the top and bottom few pages are damaged, torn or missing. We often question whether all the manuscripts extant are equally important to the institutions and scholarship? Do the libraries intend to keep them as long as practically possible as part of the library's rare collection? Do we not intend to discard them as not-so-important, out-of-date and damaged beyond-repair printed materials? What then are the reasons for maintaining them knowing that very few readers ever use them now? Are they being conserved and maintained because the profession of librarianship and tradition of scholarship think that the collection is its own reason for existence? This last question is no different from the fact that a large number of printed materials in libraries are also unused and irrelevant to the current programmes of teaching and learning. In other words, one should not confuse utility with importance. As mentioned in the beginning of the paper, manuscripts are preserved for historical, cultural and legacy reasons, especially in Malaysia and Indonesia. The present low level of utilization does not indicate that manuscripts are not important. Similarly, past usage is not a reliable use indicator for the future. In any sense of the word, manuscripts are basically rare items which libraries should be proud of owning and preserving. But, preservation policies towards them vary significantly from one library to the other. In Southeast Asia, we are also concerned with the Malay manuscripts that are still being kept in private collections. Problems of their conservation and preservation are serious, as they are stacked in cupboards or in one corner of the house after the decease of the owners years ago. Consequently, silver fish, cockroaches, bookworms and other insects can be seen attacking them besides the problem of premature aging, as they are left unattended to for a long time.

What then are the practical solutions to the problems of physical deterioration of Malay manuscripts? New technology to help check the process of deterioration, which is complex in nature and staggering in magnitude, must be looked into, as the traditional book repair is absolutely unsuitable. Binders who bind and repair simple works, will definitely not meet the demands of conservation required to keep the manuscripts in a more permanent manner. So far, what has been done are mass conservation, fumigation deacidification, creating conducive storage environment, training more conservators as well as improving the shelving of manuscripts. The last point here is pertinent to the correct method in handling and storing manuscripts, which can prolong their life span. If ordinary strong books can be stored upright on shelves, the fragile and loose leaves manuscripts should be stored horizontally in acid free boxes. One should avoid stacking them on top of one another. Many manuscripts in private houses and even libraries are stored in cabinets one on top of the other. The common
problem is some of the leaves get stuck to one another because of the effects of gravity which is the heaviest on the manuscript at the bottom. Separating them require patience and skill besides evaluating the strength of the leaves. Tight shelving always results in damages arising from forces exerted downwards. As such, friction and stress created by forcing a manuscript in and out will cause unseen damages in the long run. Once this happens, the material will become increasingly weaker. Another good rule of thumb is never shelve manuscripts too near the floor. This is to prevent dirt and water moisture that result from routine janitorial maintenance. All these care will inevitably demand considerable amount of attention, experience and knowledge. Another problem is that most libraries fail to persuade the university management to give the best for manuscript collection management and conservation. From the top manager's point of view, it is paradoxical to spend so much money and other resources on restoring a few Malay manuscripts, merely to satisfy the desire of owning them, especially when these resources are becoming increasingly scarce, or being stretched to their limit.

Earlier, we discussed that paper deterioration is due to hydrolysis arising from the reaction of acid in the paper with heat, moisture and light. This destruction process is very complicated and difficult to manage. A certain amount of ultra-violet light will kill fungi and microscopic mould, but it is also harmful to the paper. How then do we strike a balance between light and darkness when the former, at the right level, is vital to safeguard the materials from insects and fungi attack and the latter essential to prolong the life span of the paper? Ideal protection of manuscripts against sunlight is a storage place without windows and it is lighted only when necessary with low voltage lamps. Fluorescent tubes are preferable to tungsten bulbs as they are cooler in heat. In windowed rooms, the light should be diffused by putting up opaque shades or heavy curtains. Better still, the manuscripts should be kept in closed containers. Exhibition of manuscripts should be for a minimum period to reduce exposure to light and heat. Similarly, the use of fungicide and insecticide needs to be considered their toxicity to human beings, their reaction with other chemicals, their cost and availability. Formaldehyde is an effective fungicide on manuscripts and paintings, but detrimental to leather and parchment, as the chemical tends to harden such materials. These chemicals should not come into contact with library materials, especially the manuscripts. We must remember that fumes and poisons harmful to pests, fungi and insects are also dangerous to man and the books. Alternatively air purification systems are required to protect the manuscripts against atmospheric pollution by charcoal, oil and other chemicals. Closing permanently the manuscript collection to the general public is not the thoughtful solution. This action may protect the manuscripts from human mishandling, but invites
damages in other way. For instance, manuscripts in regular use are unlikely to be damaged by insects because at least the leaves are turned, aired, and traces of damages are noticed. The probable solution would be the creation of a suitable storage area with optimum temperature between 20 - 25°C or 60 - 70°F and relative humidity at 40 - 50%. Temperature and humidity controlled at such level are also quite comfortable to human. On humidity, an equipment to measure it is hygrometer which must be checked for accuracy with the aid of a psychrometer. Optimum storage condition requires round-the-clock air conditioning facility. Otherwise, ventilation or circulation of air should be controlled to prevent too much fluctuation in heat and moisture. Wooden furniture and curtains are found to be effective as the former prevents condensation while the latter absorbs moisture and heat when humidity and temperature are high in the day. Another point is the the room must be well-maintained against vandalism, fire and water leakage. It must also be provided with good house-keeping: no old cardboard box ideal for bookworm and silverfish, no dead insects or food on which insects and cockroach can feed, and no flower pots which may tilt the relative humidity level. Maintaining such a room will provide a combination of solutions to our various problems. Many factors which directly and indirectly affect the chemical, biological and other damaging processes will the brought under control. Looking at it from another angle, it can be said that with temperature and humidity controlled we can check the subtle photochemical oxidation attacking the paper. And by eliminating insects and removing harmful gases, we can effectively slow down the rate and course of subsequent deterioration process. It is, however, not easy to maintain such an integrated control management in small libraries, not to mention the private houses. An alternative is the air-conditioning facility, which is merely a local adaptation to the natural environment of constant high temperature and high relative humidity in Southeast Asia. The main problem of this facility is that it is not available during the nights, holidays and long weekends. Although carpets, curtains and ceiling fans tend to protect the manuscripts to some extent, by stabilizing the extreme atmospheric variation between the day and night, rainy and hot seasons, they are however inadequate. Likewise with dehumifiers seen in some libraries.

Paper scientists generally agree that the life span of paper can be doubled for every 10°C the storage temperature is reduced. Thus, theoretically, the acidic paper would have a better chance of survival under cooler storage environment. This is the other reason why Malay manuscripts in the temperate climate in Europe are in a better condition compared to those in the tropical climate in the Malay world. After controlling the temperature and humidity, the next vital step is to keep the treated manuscripts from further attack in acid free boxes and containers or polyester jackets. These boxes not only serve to keep the manuscripts against being unnecessarily pressed, but
also protect their edges from damage. It is absolutely essential to be reminded not to put infested manuscripts in acid free boxes. There are reports that acid from the paper will not only attack the manuscripts in darkness, but also spread to the acid-free boxes in the course of time. Traditional way of keeping manuscripts in private houses is wrapping the loose leaves in cloth and tied with a cord of ribbon. In the past, such a method was necessary as it not only protected the manuscripts from insects, heat, light, moisture, dust but also enabled the materials to be circulated en bloc more easily, devoid of abrasion. Another indigenous Malay technique for protecting manuscripts from insects was to keep natural herbs. These insect repellents are as effective as modern fumigation techniques. In some libraries, the wrapped-up manuscripts are stored in sterilized cupboards or boxes. But, to be effective, the manuscripts must be examined and aired regularly like those practised in China and Japan in the past.

We repeat that the main purpose in whatever conservation treatment is to help to slow down the process of deterioration from gradually destroying the physical format of manuscripts. There are basically two strategies in achieving that: preventive and curative. As a preventive measure, all newly acquired handwritten manuscripts must be treated before being allowed into the collection to prevent harmful bacteria and fungi already attacking the manuscripts from infesting other manuscripts. Once infested, the paper cannot be reconditioned satisfactorily. Before treating either the newly acquired manuscripts, regardless of their condition, or the already damaged ones in the existing collection, the conservator has to accurately assess the physical condition of the manuscripts, identify the infestation and other related problems and lastly treat them with fungicide, insecticide or others. Such an initial assessment would require skill and professional knowledge, as visual examination is frequently unreliable, because the deterioration of paper is often subtle, hidden and invisible at the early stage. Conversely, the standard laboratory methods in testing are avoided owing to the fact that such procedures are generally destructive to the already brittle paper. In other words, the whole process of conservation and treatment demands dexterity, skill and is a difficult-cum-labour-intensive operation. Each manuscript must be dealt with individually, turning leaf after leaf, part by part, and line by line in extreme cases, especially when the ink has penetrated the leaves and gone to the other leaves, or the manuscript is riddled with holes borne by bookworms. Here, due consideration must be paid to the particular nature of damages and the properties of the materials used in paper and ink manufacturing in order to know the exact nature of the damage and the cause. Is it due to fungi or acid attack? Such a question is vital because some fungi growth may produce discoloration while others may not, although the end result is the same - the cellulose fibres are weakened. The
difference between acid and fungi attack is paper attacked by acid becomes yellowish and brittle progressively and crumbles or breaks upon touch eventually, while that by fungi has stains but may still be handled and folded without breaking. The best solvent for removing stains of dirt, dust or others from manuscript leaves is water, although ethanol and chloroform are also often applied. Cleaning is usually done by brushing it in one direction using soft brush, instead of cotton wool, so as not to abrade the paper fibres. If dry cleaning method does not work, then some solvents like water, ethanol and chloroform will help. The choice of the solvents will depend on the nature of the stains, the condition of the paper and the after effect of the solvents on the paper. Manuscript conservation is certainly a specialization, involving intensive training to understand and treat the very complex and slow process of deterioration due either to oxidation, hydrolysis, fungi infestation, insect or bacteria attack. Here the conservators must understand the cause of damages as thoroughly as the solution to the problems. They must have a well-rounded grasp of what can be achieved using certain methods and what cannot be resolved by such measures. Their creativity and dexterity are needed to develop a theoretical policy as well as a practical approach to conservation. After neutralization or deacidification for instance, physical strengthening will be required, perhaps through lamination. At present, most libraries in Southeast Asia have a bindery unit, but not conservation unit with qualified staff specializing in conserving and treating manuscripts and rare books. This is because these libraries are relatively young compared to major libraries in Europe or USA. Being young, and inevitably housing mainly newly printed materials, the issue of conservation is not of utmost concern yet. But, it will become one in the very near future. To date, the newly established libraries are concentrating on the acquisition of materials to expand their respective collections. The few conservators trained in the west and now working in the National Archives and Pusat Manuscript at the National Library of Malaysia, find themselves very short-handed, thus unable to deal with the whole spectrum of damages in manuscripts. No matter what it is, the accurate diagnosis of the problems and the timely treatment of the manuscripts are crucial. The damages are cancerous in nature and can only be slowed down but not cured at the present moment.

Librarians and scholars know what to do theoretically and have made valuable suggestions for conserving the damaged Malay manuscripts. But, one must realize that many of the problems encountered just cannot be solved immediately, partly because the required resources are not available, and partly because most of the manuscripts kept in Southeast Asia have reached their final stage of survival, though only 100 years old or so. The suggestion that more conservators be trained deserves serious consideration as more and more printed materials in libraries in Southeast Asia have deteriorated or have been damaged like their
counterparts in Europe and USA. The problem of limited budgets, or budgets being stressed to the limits, is nothing new. The thorny problem is without the technician-conservators, the damaged library materials and manuscripts cannot be repaired as quickly as they should be. Sending them outside for conservation and repair is an option, but subject to the availability of a contingency fund. Without an in-house conservation unit with modern equipments and skilled or experienced professionals, it will be difficult to handle conservation treatment effectively and consistently. The best alternative and the most one can do, arising from due concern, is to randomly check through the manuscripts as a part of added duty performed during the spare time. Under such situation if the condition of a manuscript causes only the slightest suspicion, the material will not be treated and deemed not worthy of treatment. Very often, traces of damages are discovered much too late, or might not be discovered at all until notified by the readers. It is essential to repeat that treatment cannot be delayed until insects, chemicals, bacteria, human and other atmospheric pollutants have destroyed the manuscripts as it is impossible to restore the strength of the paper when it is absolutely without strength, so badly discoloured, so full of insect-drilled holes, or so badly stained by fungi or insects' droppings and others. Expensive chemical treatments like deacidification, make sense only for manuscript materials which have some physical strength left. Otherwise, they are beyond hope of ever being able to be restored. If so, they must be copied in some way or left untouched.

The main objective in conservation is to prolong the useful life of the paper and ink by skilfully applying all the technical means at our disposal and within our means, although it is costly and difficult, and further more there is not a universal panacea to the problems of physical deterioration of paper and ink. As a result, only some very important and not-so-badly damaged manuscripts can be conserved and preserved in their 'original' format for historical interests, intrinsic value, and bibliographic information. The inherent qualities of the 'original' paper, parchments, vellums, tree barks, inks, pigments, for instance, will enable scholars to study the finer points of typography, watermarks (if there are any), and others which are impossible to get from surrogates, ie photocopies or microforms. In other words, the value of the hand-written copy of the manuscripts is even greater as they are cultural and historical artifacts themselves, and not just their contents. Conservation is originally seen as preservation of both the information and the carrier of that information. But, from the practical economical and convenience points of view, it is seen more as the preservation of the information in any format. This is particularly so because libraries are to supply information about information. To play such a role effectively, information must be disseminated timely, without too much beauractic
hindrances. With microfilming technology developed some decades ago, and now the optical disk and CD-Rom technology, libraries are capable of providing rapid user access and delivering ever an increasing quantity of information. Very badly damaged manuscripts that cannot be conserved in their physical format can now be copied using modern photography technology. This problem of copying and recopying is nothing new in Malay manuscripts long ago. The difference between now and the past is the technology used. Facsimile edition is yet another way in preserving the information. It is very expensive, hence not a popular method. A more popular way is preserving the contents is by transliterating them per se, without editorial interference, as it has been done to Syair Agung (IBKKM - UKM, 1991). The basic question now, as was in the past, is the issue of either doing it now or not, now or never, and it must be done now and not later. For practical and economic reasons, all manuscripts in papers, vellums, tree barks and other media, should be microfilmed, so that their copies can be reproduced conveniently from the master copy to meet the demands of readers all over the world. After microfilming, manuscripts which do not contain intrinsic value require no maintenance of the 'original' formats. Otherwise, they should be properly packed and stored for future evaluation. After filming, the master negative copy should be carefully stored in environmentally controlled room. It needs to be reminded, however, that microfilming is not straight-forward matter. The process requires preparing the manuscripts in the right order which may need the expertise of scholars. By preserving the information, intellectual content, through microfilming we can avoid using the 'original' manuscripts, which then can be preserved for a much longer period. Also, because of operational reason, most libraries do not intend to buy manuscripts in their 'original' format. For back-up facilities, they rely on national and other academic or research institutions. How long will microforms last, while our experience with paper manuscripts goes as far back as 2000 years? University Microfilms Inc in USA and Inter Documentation Company in the Netherlands claim that the useful life of microforms can be long and definitely be prolonged, provided that they are handled professionally and stored in a suitable room.

Conclusion

The actual and potential damages to manuscripts can be encountered with some degree of effectiveness by a variety of restoration and conservation methods, which are basically either preventive or curative approaches. What should be done to conserve these materials is our shared responsibility to be undertaken with full commitment and conscience. What should be done must be done right now by asking for more funds, training more conservators and upgrading poor storage areas, to mention just a few. To achieve those, a lot of money, letter writing, meeting, and arguments are the natural course of action to put
our case through to the top management. We must not allow the complexity and the magnitude of the problems deter us. We cannot transfer this problem to other people or to the next generation before it is too late. With conscience, commitment and vision, the problems involved can be handled with willingness and not something to be dreaded of. We have to remember that a good Malay manuscript collection will remain so only if it receives continuous attention and action. What used to be the concern of conservation has now become a serious problem of the survival of these materials deteriorating in our libraries. All we can do is to save them as much as possible, by slowing down the rate of deterioration in whatever manner we can. Depending on the extent of damage, the main conservation treatment consists of cleaning the dirt, dust and stains, removing old repairs, strengthening the paper by deacidification, applying insecticides and fungicides against insects and fungi.

Although the onus conservation lies on the libraries possessing the materials, efforts at national and international levels are necessary too. Such a cooperation would allow maximum number of the manuscripts in various libraries to be saved, assuming that most libraries may not have all the technological know-how and resources at their immediate disposal. Although the application of certain technology and chemicals has been effective in checking the rate of deterioration in paper and ink, new technology, chemicals and conservation methods must be explored to provide solutions to not only the existing problems but also to prevent others from arising. Thus, libraries and museums should work hand in hand with chemists, natural scientists, biologists and experts in other fields in exploring new solutions to various chemical, biological, bacteria problems. Although these experts are not conservators, their in-depth knowledge and wide experience in their respective fields, can be indispensable to the fulfillment of conservation tasks. A realistic conservation consciousness must penetrate the library management, and to be an integral part in the life of scholars and library staff. To give manuscripts their individual attention requires massive amount of time, labor and in short, library resources. Lastly, every library staff and reader should be educated to be genuinely concerned with the physical survival of library materials and be responsible for handling them accordingly. They should not be part-time or temporary workers with no commitment to the library materials. Checking the newly acquired manuscripts thoroughly can free the library from more serious treatment problems later on, because 'diseases' can be checked before they infest and attack the other manuscripts. This is not just for the sake of conserving Malay manuscripts, but also other old library materials. This problem ought to be considered in the face of the total conservation and preservation needs of the library rather than a separate decision involving only the curators and conservators. This means that a sound conservation policy and programme should be introduced as part of
effective library management in Southeast Asia now. One should also remember that scholarship and librarianship will not be what it is today if scholars and librarians did not inherit the records from the past. No libraries should ignore the problem of deterioration in their collections, regardless of their age and regardless of how technologically advanced they are. Our concern is not merely the preservation the intellectual records of the past but rather for the future.

References


MY EXPERIENCE
IN MAKING MICRO-FILMS
OF SUNDANESE MANUSCRIPTS

1. Background

In the course of tracing manuscripts containing the Dipati Ukur Legend, since the beginning of 1976 until the end of 1977, I explored various corners of the West Java territory, in particular the Priangan area.

After that I started getting to know the conditions and wealth of manuscripts in West Java, in collection centres as well as in scattered places of the community. My acquaintance and knowledge of the existence of the manuscripts in the West Java area, which then were given the name Sundanese manuscripts, the naming of which is based on the type of culture that is dominant in that area, through in addition research on the manuscripts in this area which was sponsored by the Centre for Guidance and Development of Language Department of Education and Culture (Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan) since 1979-1986, as well as inventory activities and recording of Sundanese manuscripts sponsored by The Toyota Foundation in 1981-1982.

Based on the my tracing in 1976-1977, an illustration is obtained concerning the condition of the Sundanese manu-
scripts as follows. "Currently the fact is that the ever decreasing number of Sundanese manuscripts, especially those still scattered in the community, is caused by aging, purposely destroyed, and irrevocably lost" (Ekadjati, 1982: 1-2). As evidence of the said illustration, the above statement is accompanied by their examples (Ekadjati, 1982: 11-12, 34, 47-112). The causes of aging of the manuscripts is that for the manuscripts paper is generally used, severely damaged, or completely destroyed, found in the regions of Garut, Bandung, Ciamis, and Cirebon. A number of the manuscripts at Kabupaten, South Bandung, had been deliberately burned by certain individuals because of belief reasons, that the manuscripts, which were regarded as sacred by certain circles in society, at that location had become a source of evil from the religious point of view of a certain group in society. The event of burning of the manuscripts happened in about the year 1967. That at Kabupaten, now included in the kampung of Cikatul, the village of Tenjonagara, District Pacet, Bandung Regency, a number of manuscripts were found that, besides being claimed by its former owner (Sukari) and certain people of the local community, witness also by P. Roo de la Faille, a candidate Controller of the Cicalengka region who visited the location in beginning of 1894 (Faille, 1895: 8-20). Where as number of the manuscripts which were the Elite of the Sukapura Society at Tanjumalaya and the Elite of the Bandung Society in the city Bandung, were lost when they were left behind during the evacuation in the Revolution for Independence (1946-1949). Likewise is the case with several of the manuscripts, private property of individuals in the city of Bandung (among others the property of the parents of Rohendi Sumardinata) and the ones at Majalaya, South Bandung, were also lost because of a change in generation of the owners.

Based on library research and the field work mentioned above, a picture is obtained that the existence of the Sundanese manuscripts were sufficiently large in number, even though not as large as the number of Javanese manuscripts and Malayan manuscripts. The Sundanese manuscripts are scattered at several domestic collection institutions (among others the National Library at Jakarta, the Sri Baduga West Java State Museum in Bandung, the Prince Geusan Ulun Museum in Sumedang) and overseas institutions (among others the Leiden University Library, the Netherlands, Bodleian Library and Royal Asiatic Society, England), as well as those scattered in the West Java community and those outside West Java. In the years 1982-1983 we managed to take inventory of and record 1418 Sundanese manuscripts (Ekadjati et.al. 1983). In 1987 the Sundanese manuscripts that we managed to take inventory of and record numbers 1920 (Ekadjati et.al. 1988). However, we still got information of the existence of a number of Sundanese manuscripts scattered in some circle of society and at several collection loca-
tions, for which we have not yet the opportunity to take inventory (See Skadjadi et al., 1988: 545-549). Indeed, the fixed number of all the Sundanese manuscripts cannot yet be assessed until now. This is due to the following factors. First, not all collection locations which keep the Sundanese manuscripts have catalogued the manuscripts completely. Second, many of the manuscripts in the community have already changed hands from the original keeper, sometimes up to more than twice. Third, it often happens that unexpectedly a manuscript was found at a certain location, about which no information had been obtained previously of keeping a manuscript. Fourth, for certain reasons, there are many owners of Sundanese manuscripts who do not make the manuscripts available for inspection or even for people to have a look at. Fifth, of a number of Sundanese manuscripts many are kept secret by their owners, because the status of the manuscript is regarded as a legacy and sacred object. Sixth, a number of Sundanese manuscripts whose existence were already known, then got lost or damaged due to several reasons, like change of generation of owners, natural process (aging), eaten by insects (rice, insects), other interference (water, humidity), improper keeping of the manuscripts, deliberately destroyed, disasters (floods, fires, left during evacuation) (Skadjadi et al., 1988: 7-8).

However, as stated in point three above, it often happens that unexpectedly a new manuscript is found, which, however, does not imply that number of Sundanese manuscripts is increasing. This statement carries the meaning that what is increasing is the amount of information on manuscripts, not the manuscripts themselves. Concerning the number of the manuscripts themselves, it may be said that since the 1980's the number has not increased, because since that time it may be said that no person has made new Sundanese manuscripts, originals as well as copies. The last that I witnessed was that there were still persons who made manuscript copies in 1977 in the neighbourhood of Ledeng, the Bandung Municipality, and heard that there were still people who copied manuscripts at the end of 1979 in the Cicalengka area, the Bandung Regency. The existing reality was exactly the opposite, the number of Sundanese manuscripts is increasingly decreasing, due to the reasons mentioned in point six above. It is feared that the decrease in number of Sundanese manuscripts will become increasingly larger, because society's concern for the manuscripts is increasingly fading and because the function of the manuscripts in society is increasingly decreasing. The wealth and conditions of the Sundanese manuscripts, as well as the apprehensions of the condition of the Sundanese manuscripts at present and in the future as stated above, urge me to make efforts to (1) trace and continually take inventory of Sundanese manuscripts, (2) gather and preserve the said Sundanese manuscripts through photographing, photocopying.
and micro-filming programs, as well as (3) study and analyze the said Sundanese manuscripts in stages for understanding and the benefit of their contents.

2. The Micro-Filming Program

With good intent and of good spirit, in 1986 I submitted a proposal to The Toyota Foundation for the making of micro-films of Sundanese manuscripts to be found in society. At that time I had hoped to be able to borrow the micro-filming equipment which is the property of the Directorate General of Culture, which was being used for the making of micro-films of Javanese manuscripts at the Sonobudoyo Museum of Yogyakarta. My proposal proved to be approveable, but for its implementation I had to wait for the micro-filming equipment from Yogyakarta, the use of which was extended because the program had not yet been completed.

In the course of waiting for the micro-filming equipment, unexpectedly Mr. Alan Feinstein of the Ford Foundation came to Bandung at his own initiative. Mr. Alan Feinstein apparently had heard of and understood the problem that we were facing, and then offered his services for the implementation of our program. Of course we spontaneously accepted his offer, enthusiastically and with good hopes.

Based on an intensive discussion on the situation and condition of the Sundanese manuscripts as well as our program plan, The Ford Foundation is prepared to render aid for the implementation of our program, including the provision of funds and portable micro-filming equipment to be carried to manuscript locations even in the remotest places, i.e. the GS HRP camera. As I have no knowledge at all in handling micro-filming equipment, I and the staff of the Padjadjaran University Research Centre, attended an upgrading course and training at the Sonobudoyo Museum at Yogyakarta under the auspices of Dr. Tim Behrend, as well as at the Jakarta National Archives under the auspices of Mr. Hueni Djasara and Mr. Agus Kusumarmanto of the Indonesian Branch of the Genealogical Society of Utah.

With as guideline the list of Sundanese manuscripts organized in 1987 (Skadji et al., 1988) as well as new information, at the end of 1988 after going through the intricacies of bureaucracy and my settling in Leiden, which has for me a historical meaning, for 8 months (February-October 1988), the micro-filming activity of Sundanese manuscripts was begun. In this case we collaborated with the National Archives and The Genealogical Society as well the consultante Dr. Tim Behrend and Mr. Alan Feinstein. The first steps was carrying out manuscript photographing experiments to find out the best level of light intensity for the manuscripts to be photographed. After the result were known, then we started the real photographing of the manuscripts by starting with the manuscripts kept at several
collection locations in Bandung, that are: the Sundanology Library (now: Patanjala Library), the Office of the Societal and Cultural Research Centre, Padjadjaran University, Sri Baduga West Java State Museum, and the Office of EFSO Bandung, with the consideration that in the event of failure, the activities could be repeated. Next, the manuscripts worked on were the ones at the Prince Gauwan Ulun Museum at Sumedang, the Keraton Kaecirebonan, and Keraton Kasepuhan in Cirebon, the Cigugur Museum in Kuningan, The Situs Purbakala Banten Lama Museum in Serang, as well as those in the community. The locations of the safekeeping of manuscripts in the community are varied; there are those in town, which could be easily visited, there are ones which were located in distant villages, which could, however, be reached by motor vehicle, and there are those in remote locations which could only be visited by walking for several kilometers. Likewise there are manuscript locations with sufficient electricity, and there are ones with inadequate electricity (less than 1000 watts), and there are ones without any electrical facility, so that wherever we went, we took along a small power generator.

In the process of field work we faced several difficulties and obstacles, that is, in the form of (1) attitude and limitations of knowledge concerning the manuscripts of the persons contacted in the regions (officials of the cultural section, manuscript owner, and others), (2) manuscripts which were relocated, (3) the tradition of the local community, (4) the long journey to be made on foot, (5) unexpected occurrences. For instance, in the case of matters of bureaucracy, the person in question is often not at his post, the manuscript was lent out by or had already been transferred to another person with an address far away, the manuscript owner suddenly cancelled his willingness to show the manuscript for incomprehensible reasons, the belief that his manuscript may only be taken out from its safekeeping at certain times only (12 Mulud/Rabi’ul Awal, Wednesday waka-san), a sudden failure or damage in the working mechanism of the micro-filming equipment. Part of the obstacles could be overcome on the spot or at another time, part of them could not be overcome at all. Such a case was among others when we faced the (1) Kanoman Sultan at Cirebon to request permission for his manuscripts to be micro-filmed, (2) the owner of manuscripts in Sukabumi who permitted his manuscripts to be taken out only on the date 12 Mulud, the micro-filming equipment suddenly did not function, which was also the case in Cigugur (Kuningan) and Gunung Jeti (Cirebon). On the other hand, we also experienced joyful events in our field work, like great attention and help from those we visited; especially in the collection of manuscripts of surrounding places, which were formerly not known, a sufficiently large number of manuscripts were obtained, and the completion of a task well done. One example is, the atten-
tion and help from Sultan Sepuh and Sultan Cirebon in Cirebon, the Head of the Cultural Department in the regencies of Garut, Cirebon, and Subang, a community authority in Pameungpeuk (Garut), the finding of a number of manuscripts in Ujung Gebang (Cirebon).

After arriving at the places of safekeeping of the manuscripts, the stages of activities implemented were:

(1) An approach towards the owner of the manuscript to ask for permission for temporary borrowing of the manuscript in his possession for the purpose of micro-filming the manuscripts. We explained that the making of micro-films would take only a few hours, to be carried out at that place, and the manuscript would be returned at that time in its original condition. These need to be put forward to give the idea that the owner of the manuscript would not in any way suffer a loss. On the other hand, the owner was shown to gain the benefit of his manuscript being cleaned, treated with chalk for the maintenance of the manuscript, and an amount of money for future maintenance.

(2) Physical cleaning of the manuscripts. By using a brush, the manuscripts were rid of dirt/dust adhering to them. In case of damage, they were repaired, like folded pages, and loose bindings.

(3) Data taking of manuscripts. The data were recorded on a form previously prepared. Data taking was carried out for physical data of the manuscript, manuscript contents, as well as other information which were important for the study of the manuscripts at some future time, like for instance, the origin of the manuscript.

(4) Preparation of certain data of manuscripts (title, location, estimated age) and film data (real number, sequence number of manuscript, distance of photographing) on a previously prepared metal board.

(5) Photographing the manuscript; preceded by the photographing of the data board; measuring the distance between manuscript and camera. Light intensity was also measured.

The negatives as the results of photographing were sent to the National Archives for developing. The results were then examined, with reference to the extent of success. If the results were deemed a failure, photographing was repeated. We once took repeat photographs, namely, for the manuscripts in the Kasapuhan Sultanate, for one reel of film. After the whole result of photographing was considered successful, in the meaning that it was legible, of the negative four sets positives were made. The four positive films were to be kept in safekeeping, respectively one at Unpad, Bandung, the National Library at Jakarta, the United States, and EFEO France. The negatives were to be
kept at the National Archives in Jakarta.

Mention need to be made that we used a Fuji 16 mm film. Every reel of film was filled with about 50 manuscripts, depending on the thickness of the manuscripts. Thus there are films with less and once with more than 50 manuscripts. The activities of micro-filming the manuscripts that we carried out took 50 reels of film. The number of manuscripts photographed was 1894 manuscripts. The greater part of the manuscripts were written on paper, only some were written on lontar leaves. The characters used to write the manuscripts consists of Sundanese-Javanese, Arabic, and Latin characters, whereas the language used were the Sundanese, Javanese, and Arabic.

From the point of view of contents, the manuscripts may be classified into several types, among others, religious teachings, historical literature, arts, adat law, folklore, and language. Among the types of manuscripts, the greatest number was on the teaching of the Moslem religion, followed by literature and historical literature.

The records of data will be compiled and organized in a catalogue and will be published in a series under the title Katalogus Naskah-naskah Nusantara (Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Archipelago). At present the data are being processed and entered into the computer, to facilitate ease of publishing and manuscript data searching for some future research on manuscripts.

Hopefully with the compiling of Sundanese manuscripts which were originally scattered on micro-film, study activities in Sundanese manuscripts and the Sundanese culture in general may be enhanced.

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* Mulud or Rabī‘ul-awal is the name of the third month of Javanese or Islamic calendar.

** Rebo Wukasen is the name of the last Wednesday of the Saper month (the twice month of Javanese or Islamic calendar).
Javanese Literature in Surakarta Manuscripts: 
A Consideration of the Significance of 
Indigenously Constructed Bodies of Javanese Inscription

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are now becoming more accessible to readers—both in Indonesia and abroad. This paper, and my work, are meant as part of a more generalized movement towards re-opening Javanese language manuscripts to readings which may, I hope, touch the presents and futures of Javanese subjects.

The Central Javanese city of Surakarta, located near the banks of the Solo River on a fertile plain between two volcanos, was founded in 1745 when Pakubuwana II, the then-ruling King of the Kingdom of Mataram, moved there with what was left of his war-ravaged court. The king and his courtiers proceeded to the new palace, or karaton, under Dutch escort. Within four years of the establishment of the new court and new city, the dying Pakubuwana II had signed Mataram's sovereignty over to the Dutch, and war once again raged over Central Java. In 1755 the Kingdom of Mataram was split in two, into the twin realms of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Two years later, Surakarta was again split with the establishment of the secondary Mangkunegaran Principality in 1757.

Despite its dismal political beginnings, over the course of the nearly 250 years from its 1745 establishment, Surakarta has come, for many Javanese, to mean, or to represent, the seat of authentic Javanese (high) culture. Privileged in this representation are the imagined cultural preserves of Surakarta's two courts: the Karaton Surakarta and the Mangkunegaran. For many late twentieth-century Javanese, a dominant icon of that high culture is the literature which was produced at those

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2 I have in mind especially the recent cataloguing and microfilming of Javanese language manuscripts at the Karaton Yogyakarta, the Yogyakarta Sonobudoyo Museum, and the National Library in Jakarta. See note 19 below.
courts during the so-called “Surakarta Renaissance,” the period spanning the new court-city’s first 125 years of existence. The products of this putative literary renaissance in Surakarta are today believed to represent a return of Javanese writing to its brilliant pre-sixteenth-century Golden Age of Indic (Hindu-Buddhist) classics. The cultural brilliance of the original classical age is thought to have been displaced by the cultural darkness which supposedly shrouded the era of Islamic conversion of the late fifteenth through the early eighteenth centuries. It is furthermore believed that the new classical age of writing in Surakarta—this “Renaissance”—was engendered in part by the peace afforded by the post 1755 colonial fragmentation of old Mataram. Contemporary conventions hold that with this relative peace, the literary arts once again could flower behind the exclusive palace walls of the newly dual Surakarta courts: it was then, as the story goes, that the courtly poets finally turned away from foreign Islam back to their native Javanese (Hindu-Buddhist) origins.³ Within the confines of this discourse of return, the works of these poets represent nothing less than a rebirth of Javanese literary culture to its presumed “original” truth. Moreover, according to popular imagination,⁴ the literary culture of the Surakarta Renaissance was a return which exceeded its ancient pre-Islamic source in sophistication and embellishment: it is considered a rebirth which transcended its origin. The works of this Surakarta “Renaissance” are often characterized by the adjective adiluhung (“high and noble”) as the quintessence of a refined (or alue) and reserved court culture in contradistinction to the rough (or kasear) and lively culture of countryside and the coarse (perhaps even more kasear) and “fanatical” culture of the usually rural, and allegedly alien, Islamic educational institutions, or pesantren.

The origins of this popular composite image of Surakartan court literature, an image of rebirth and return as well as of refinement and exclusion, are to be found in nineteenth-century Dutch colonial philology. Dutch philology on Java was born in the second quarter of the nineteenth century along with Dutch consolidation of its first truly colonial authority over the island. These new colonial developments followed in the wake of two determinative moments in the colonial history of Java. The first of these moments was the temporary displacement of Dutch power on the island by the British from 1811 to 1816. As well as initiating institutional changes which transformed the political and administrative landscapes of the colony, the British rule also saw the beginnings of scientific study of native culture and literature.⁵ Dutch administrators, upon their return to power in Java, were not blind to the usefulness of this new institutionalized knowledge and in the coming decades strove to emulate British scholarship, citing in particular

³Notably, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, The History of Java. 2 vols (London: Black, Parbury & Allen, 1817) and John Crawford, History of the Indian Archipelago, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: A. Constable & Co., 1820). It should be noted here, however, that Raffles in fact based much of his research on earlier unpublished works of Dutch historiography (see Donald E. Weatherbee’s “Raffles’ Sources for Traditional Javanese Historiography and the Mackenzie Collections,” Indonesia no. 26 [1978]. pp. 63-93). What was novel about Raffles’ work was its scientific form and publicity: that is, it was through the publication of Raffles History that the scientific study of Java became first recognized in the institutional structures of Anglo-European Orientalism.
the proven political utility of British cultural policies in India. The second critical moment in colonial history of early nineteenth-century Java was the final defeat of indigenous Javanese royal power which marked the end of the Dipanagara War in 1830. It had been a devastating war. Led by a Yogyakarta prince and supported by a network of rural Islamic masters, the war had raged five years and claimed the lives of 15,000 colonials as well as over 200,000 Javanese. In post-Dipanagara and post-British Java, Dutch colonial authority realized its project. It would be in the interest of colonial authority to cultivate and frame a variety of elite culture in Java which could effectively control the indigenous population while excluding the rebellious and Islamic elements which had energized Dipanagara's campaign. The philological project served, more or less consciously, this colonial interest. The philological quest for origins worked together with the consolidating colonial authority to frame "traditional Java" by attempting to delineate the "proper" contours of that tradition's "genuine" (asli) culture.

An important feature of nineteenth-century colonial philology was the development of Dutch collections of Javanese language manuscript materials. The beginnings of the impressive Javanese manuscript collections now housed in Leiden University Library and the National Library in Jakarta (originally assembled by the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen) are to be located in between the Netherlands and Java—in a space occupied by 1830s and 40s colonial Surakarta. At that time in Surakarta, a handful of European and Indo-European philologists were involved in a project to collect and to commission copies of what they deemed important or representative exemplars of Javanese literature. It was these texts, originally collected for the purposes of training Dutch officials for Javanese civil administration, which ultimately made their way into the colonial literary archives. The early colonial philologists who propelled the formation of the archive occupied interesting positions between Javanese and Dutch cultures, being colonial officials who at the same time enjoyed close ties to Surakarta's royal courts. In addition to collecting "the literature," these

4See, for example, the lengthy memo written by the linguist and Bible translator Dr. J.F.C. Gerick to Governor General van den Bosch circa 1830 (Dr. T.C.L. Wijnmalen, "Nota van Dr. J.F.C. Gericke omtrent de Oprichting van een Instituut voor de Inlandsche Talen en Literatuur," BKJ vol. 21 (1874), pp. 313-339.
5The "colonials" who lost their lives included Javanese as well as other indigenous soldiers who fought in and with the Dutch colonial army. According to M.C. Rickels, 15,000 lives lost by government troops. 7000 belonged to "Indonesian" soldiers and 8000 to Europeans (A History of Modern Indonesia (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1981), p. 113).
6For a thoughtful study of the colonial considerations that shaped the political settlements imposed by the Dutch upon the central Javanese principalities in 1830, see V.J.H. Houben, "Aftand van Gebied met Behoud van Aantwen" (M.A. Thesis, Leiden University, 1976). Houben discusses, among other things, the colonial project to preserve and conserve the "traditional" prestige (cultural authority) of the indigenous courts in the interest of Dutch political, military, and economic domination of central Java.
8This collection is described in Pigeaud's four volume Literature of Java (The Hague and Leiden: Nyhoff and Leiden University Press, 1967-1980).
9The manuscripts are listed in Poeborjokara's Lijst der Javaanse Handschriften in de Boekenit van het Koninklijk Bataviasch Genootschap, Jaarboek Bat. Gen., vol. I (1933).
10In the introductory notes to vol. II of his Literature of Java, Pigeaud states, "the collection of Javanese manuscripts of the Leiden University Library came into prominence in consequence of the acquisition of codices collected in Java for the training colleges for East Indian civil service officials which were established at the suggestion of Professor Roorda [1803-1874] of Delft and Leiden," Literature of Java, Vol. II (The Hague: Nyhoff, 1968), p. 7.
11Especially important in this regard were the directors of the colonial government's Institute for the Javanese Language in Surakarta which operated 1832-1843. The original director (1832-1834) was the German Bible translator and linguist, G.F.C. Gerick. The second director, C.F. Winter (1834-1843) was a Java-born Eurasian philologist who himself
same colonial philologists, and after them their students, produced editions of, and wrote treatises on, works from the body of Javanese literature they were in the process of amassing. Out of this generalized philological project gradually grew the canon of what is now conventionally recognized as the literature of Java. What is often overlooked is the fact that the canon was doubly defined by colonial scholarship. It was Dutch philology, with its own distinctive tastes and predilections that not only initially selected the texts which were to constitute "the literature" but also constructed out of this preselected body of inscription what has come, in postcolonial scholarship, to be accepted as the literary canon.14

authored a number of "traditional" Javanese literary works. Winter (1799–1859) worked in collaboration with some of the most important palace literati of the period, notably R. Ng. Ronggawarsita II (whom he betrayed; see my "Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future: Exile and Prophecy in an Historical Text of Nineteenth-Century Java" [Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1990], p. 51), the pujongga R. Ng. Ronggawarsita III, and Mangkunagara IV. In addition to directing the Institute and writing Javanese literature, from 1825 on Winter also served the colonial government as official translator. The Surakarta Institute was closed in 1843 when civil service training for Dutch colonial administrators was removed to the Royal Academy of Delhi in the Netherlands. The leading figures behind the Delft Academy were Minister of the Colonies J. C. Baud and the Professor Roorda mentioned above in note 12. It was especially under Roorda’s tutelage that the Javanese manuscripts collected by the Surakarta scholars travelled to the Netherlands.


For a careful consideration of Winter’s political role as official translator, see V.J.H. Houben, "Kraton en Kumpeni: Surakarta en Yogyakarta 1830-1870" (Ph.D. Dissertation Leiden University, 1987).

For a descriptive survey of canonical texts as authorised by Dutch philology, see Dr. R.M.Ng. Poerbatjarka, Kupustakan Djanic (Jakarta and Amsterdam: Djambatan, 1952).

The Dutch, however, were not the only collectors of manuscripts on Java. After several decades of European oriented and initiated philological activity in Surakarta, the impulse towards library development and institutional conservation of manuscript materials began to show among Surakartans Javanese as well. In 1857, towards the end of the period that was later to be characterized as Surakarta’s literary Renaissance, the first of Surakarta’s (and Java’s) indigenously constituted libraries was established at the Mangkunagara palace. It was no doubt in response to colonial conditions and in particular to the colonial philological impulse, that Mangkunagara IV, an important Javanese literatus and a reliable vassal of the Dutch colonial government,15 instituted this library, the Reksa Pustaka ("The Guardian

Poerbatjarka, though a Javanese gentleman and "traditional" poet (see, for example, his little-known macapat rendition of the Kelawin Smardenah [HN 431]), was first and foremost a Leiden-trained philologist (see Benedict Anderson, Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 213-14. The canon, as it is popularly construed and institutionally propagated in Indonesia today, includes the Old Javanese Kelawin classics favored by the Dutch and Dutch-inspired philologists, but it features certain genres of works composed by the "poets-laureate" of the Surakarta Renaissance. The most often invoked canonical texts of "traditional" Javanese literature in today’s Indonesia are the Yasadipuran Bratayuda, Rama, and Dewaurants (Modern Javanese versions of the Old Javanese "classics"). Mangkunagara IV’s Wedhakatana and Pakubuwana IV’s Wilaing Roh (ultra-refined didactic works composed by the two Javanese rulers to teach proper behavior in the hierarchical-stratified society of the nineteenth-century court), Ronggawarsita’s Kalaikdha (a didactic "prophecy"), and the "encyclopedic" Centuni (the overly Islamic content of which tends to be ignored). For a contemporary survey of the "classics" as defined by the texts chosen for public readings in 1980s Yogyakarta, see Bernard Arps, Tembang in Two Traditions: Performance and Interpretation of Javanese Literature (London: SOAS, 1992), pp. 121-23.15Prior to his installation by the Dutch as Mangkunagara, this prince had served the colonial government ably and faithfully as an officer in the in the Mangkunagaran Legiun. When the colonial government deployed the Legiun in the Dipanagara War the young Mangkunagara-to-be and his troops saw combat action against the "Javanese rebels." For a wonderful account of Mangkunagara IV’s special relationship with the Dutch, see John Pemberton, The Appearance of Order: A Politics of Culture in Colonial and Postcolonial Java (Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1989), pp. 124-78. As a writer Mangkunagara IV is famous for his highly refined didactic works. His best known work is
of Books”), at his court. Then in 1890, the innovative Sasradiningrat IV, Grand Vizier of the Kapatihan (an office which had owed dual allegiance to the Dutch colonial government and the Karaton since the 1743 treaty which eventuated in Surakarta’s establishment) organized the Radyapustaka (“The Royal Bookery”), Surakarta’s second institutionalized manuscript repository. Perhaps resisting the conservative colonial impulse to cultural preservation, Surakarta’s senior court, the Karaton Surakarta, was the last of the city’s royal focal points to consolidate and institutionalize its manuscript holdings. Only in 1920, with the establishment of the Sasana Pustaka (“The Place of Books”) library, was Pakubuwana X moved to assemble the Karaton’s manuscripts in a single repository—along with his growing collections of indigenous and Dutch newspapers, journals, and printed books.

The literature inscribed in the Surakarta manuscripts comprises a body of writings that has been largely overlooked by the major scholarship on Javanese literature to date—despite that scholarship’s privileging of the the works of the so-called “Surakarta Renaissance.” Interestingly, the literature of Java found in these Surakarta manuscript collections, produced and assembled by Javanese subjects from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries is not, as it turns out, identical to the “literature of Java” which has been identified by colonial philologists. And these Surakarta writings comprise a literature which is even less identical with the imaginary adiluhung literature which has evolved in postcolonial Indonesia. In the case of the “literature of Java” whose home is the colonial literary archives and whose contours have been shaped by colonial and postcolonial philological (and other) discourses, the balance is tipped towards the Old Javanese “classics” and their Modern Javanese translations. The literature inscribed in the Surakarta manuscripts, on the other hand, tends to articulate more contemporary (eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century) concerns. Among these manuscripts are myriad histories of Java (including journals of the writers’ presents, histories of their immediate and not-so-immediate pasts, and “modern” re-writings of ancient histories which look forward to various postcolonial futures), a wide variety of Islamic religious tracts, and countless compendia of useful local knowledge.

As the texts of the Surakarta manuscripts become more accessible to the international scholarly community, future work on Javanese writing will, I hope, turn to a critical examination of these other, indigenously constructed, bodies of Javanese inscription. Such a critical

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17I do not mean to imply that the Surakarta manuscripts are totally divergent from the Javanese writings collected by the colonial philologists. Indeed, there are a considerable number of manuscript works exemplars of which are to be found in all of these collections: the three Surakarta repositories and the major colonial literary archives (i.e., Leiden University Library and the National Library in Jakarta). What I wish to emphasize, however, are the specific contours of, and different lacunae in, all the various collections of Javanese inscription.

18I am currently working on a four-volume descriptive catalogue of the Surakarta manuscripts which I hope will facilitate future scholarship. The first volume of the series which will describe the manuscripts of the Karaton Surakarta should see print in the near future (Nancy Florida, Javanese Literature in Surakarta (Ithaca: Cornell U. Southeast Asia Program, forthcoming)).

19The Surakarta manuscripts are not, of course, the only indigenously constituted literary archives. Other sources for study and comparison are the manuscripts of the contemporary
turn would, I expect, produce an invigoration of the discourse on "Javanese literature," an invigorated discourse which would contest colonial and postcolonial canonical pronouncements on the literary cultures of "traditional" Java. Because these other bodies of writing include kinds of inscription whose very existence scores the canonical facade, an examination of them will doubtless lead to novel scholarly (and popular) constructions of the meaning of writing in "traditional" Java. These alternative constructions will then come to undermine the colonial and postcolonial idealized adiluhung view of "traditional" Javanese literature. The adiluhung view—a politically conservative view which moves to constrain Javanese writing within the unitary construction of the sublimely overwrought "classic" as a genre of writing which owed its re-birth to a "peace and order" afforded by Dutch rule—will falter before the plenitude of evidence inscribed in the manuscript witnesses stored in these Surakarta collections.


Yet to receive much attention are the myriad small collections of Javanese manuscripts assembled by private individuals and institutions in Indonesia. Timothy Behrend has opened the discussion of these collections, both those currently known and those yet to be "discovered," in his "Small Collections of Javanese Manuscripts in Indonesia," Archipel no. 35 (1988), pp. 23-42. Other Indonesian manuscript archives, though not indigenously constituted, which have become or are becoming more accessible through microfilming and cataloguing are the fine Sonobudoyo collection in Yogyakarta (see T.E. Behrend, Katalog Induk Naskah-naskah Nusantara 1: Museum Sonobudoyo Yogyakarta [Jakarta: Djambatan, 1990]) and the collection of the National Library in Jakarta (now in the process of being microfilmed and catalogued under Timothy Behrend’s direction).

Each of the three major Surakarta manuscript collections—the Karaton’s Sasana Pustaka, the Mangkunagaran’s Reksa Pustaka, and the old Kapatihan’s Radjapustaka—forms a unique archive, the contours of which were shaped by the preferences of its individual collectors as well as by the particular sentiments of the court with which it was (and is) associated. The differences among these collections suggest the particularity of the Javanese literatures inscribed in them—they are differences which mark the variegated textures of Javanese writing in Surakarta. Different approaches to writing developed variously over time in the historical specificities of the divergent contexts within which authors wrote, and in that writing helped to create. In the years to come, thoughtful readings in and of these complex and diverse constellations of Javanese inscription, written and assembled by Javanese subjects, may well suggest new perspectives on Javanese culture and history which will exceed what have come to be the established frames of understanding.

The Surakarta Manuscripts: Worlds of Javanese Writing

The manuscripts of the major Surakarta repositories comprise some 5,000 texts inscribed on nearly 700,000 pages of paper, bound into over 2,100 manuscript volumes. The Sasana Pustaka of the Karaton Surakarta houses 1450 titles in some 700 manuscript volumes. As the site of the inscribed knowledge of the senior heir of old Mataram, this repository in particular has been supposed a bulwark of a conservative, that is "classical," (Hindu-Buddhist) adiluhung literary culture. What the actual Karaton texts reveal, however, is a livelier, much more diffuse, and especially more Islamic literary culture than had been previously
assumed. The Reksa Pustaka library of the junior Mangkunegaran court, with approximately 2000 titles in approximately 950 manuscript volumes, is the largest single collection of manuscript materials in Surakarta. An examination of these manuscripts reveals the changing contours of inscription at this court over time. Especially notable in Mangkunegaran inscription and collection is the phenomenal proliferation of archaic histories and wayang (shadow-play) texts over the course of the nineteenth century. The public Radyapustaka Museum houses some 1,200 titles in some 450 manuscript volumes. With manuscripts which were inscribed in the 1720s at the Karaton Kertapati, this collection includes some of the oldest manuscripts in Surakarta. Originally developed by the highly cultivated Sasradiningrat IV, this collection shows the hand of the discriminating collector. The same can be said of the small, but excellent, private collection of K.R.T. Hardjonagoro which houses some eighty-five titles in about thirty manuscript volumes.

The various manuscripts housed in these four distinct Surakarta repositories date mostly from the nineteenth century, with the oldest of the manuscripts dating from the early eighteenth century and the most recent comprising new, late twentieth-century works. It is impossible to characterize "in general" what is contained in these manuscripts, for they compose the remarkable range of "traditional" Javanese interests in the detailed specifics of their diverse and concrete inscription. Among other things, these Surakarta manuscripts written in and of the Javanese past include historical chronicles and documents, political correspondence, extensive court diaries, prophecies, classical poetry, refined moralistic tracts, erotic lore, treatises on Islamic theology and law, Sufi speculative lyrics, scripts for shadow-puppet plays, compendia of court lore, and manuals of magical and divinatory practice.

Before turning to critical issues concerning text, author, and audience in "traditional" Java. I would first like to introduce a few specific examples from among the many Surakarta manuscripts, thus to illustrate more concretely the range and interest of the materials. One of the oldest manuscripts extant in Surakarta, tucked away in the Radyapustaka collection (RP 348), is a volume which was inscribed in the Kartasura Karaton in 1729-1730. Written in archaic script and illuminated in color and gold-leaf on ancient Ponorogo bark-paper, the volume is provided with an uncharacteristically chatty copyist's introduction. We know from this preface that this manuscript, a unique collection of Islamic songs, was inscribed by the night-guard at the palace gates upon commission of the queen (grandmother of the young newly installed king) to help insure the success of her grandson's reign. The young king's reign was, in fact, to be a nearly unmitigated disaster. That boy-king was none other than Pakubuwana II, the founder of Surakarta mentioned above under whose hapless rule Kartasura would fall and Javanese sovereignty would be signed over to the Dutch.

20 Although there are a few "original compositions" dating from the 1970s and 1980s, most of these newer works are typed transliterations of older works.
21 I realize that the use of the word "traditional" is problematic. I use it here and elsewhere as a modifier for Javanese writings, writers, and audiences to refer to the chirographic textual universe inscribed and inscribing Modern Javanese language in Javanese script in the period preceding World War II and the Indonesian national revolution. I do not imagine "the traditional" as a unitary or homogeneous category.
Another extraordinary volume offers a rare glimpse of the Mangkunagara principality's founder: none other than the unfortunate Pakubuwana II's cousin and rival, the warrior prince ("Samber Nyawa" or "He Who Seizes Lives") whose many years' military campaign resulted in the establishment of the Mangkunagara court in 1757. This volume (MN 222A), which had lain unread and uncatalogued until it was rediscovered by the head of the Mangkunagara's Rekha Pustaka library in the early 1980s, is a small leather-bound book which was composed and inscribed (at least in part) by Mangkunagara I himself. Inscribed ca. 1769-1777 on bark-paper, this compilation of thirteen texts is written in part in Arabic. The volume includes excerpts from the Qur'an, a history of the Islamic prophets, speculative Sufi lyrics on the nature of man, a concise narrative history of Prince Mangkunagara's military struggle, and a sampling of royal and saintly genealogies.

Another text important for an understanding of the dynamics of Javanese history in the latter half of the eighteenth century is inscribed upon a bundle of severely water-damaged folios which lie, still unbound, in the Karaton's Sasana Pustaka library. This text (KS 62A), a prose history of the war which was to split the kingdom of Mataram in 1755, was, according to its colophon, obtained (or copied) by Pakubuwana IV (r. Surakarta, 1788-1820) from the court of his great-uncle and sometime enemy, Hamengkubuwana I, the founder of Yogyakarta (d. 1792). Details of this same Surakarta king's artistic practices are provided in another Karaton manuscript (KS 395): the book of shadow-play scripts Pakubuwana IV apparently used when he performed as dhalang ("puppet master").

While the Surakarta volumes may teach us much about the details of Javanese dynastic history and the characters of particular Javanese rulers, they contain many other lessons as well. From them we learn, for instance, of relationships extending across class and gender lines in what has come to be known as "traditional Java." Reading these texts of Javanese writing will help us to understand the customary boundaries (and their transgressions) which characterized evolving "premodern" Javanese society. From them we may glimpse also the trajectories of Javanese ritual practice. Stored in the Sasana Pustaka is a late nineteenth-century history (KS 108) composed by the boatman of the then-reigning king Pakubuwana IX. In relating a moment of his family history, the boatman's text at the same time sings his gratitude to the king. The history details the arrival of the king's gift of a case of alcoholic beverages to the boatman's village home upon the festive circumcision of the boatman's son. An early twentieth-century Karaton text, remembering relationships across class lines in eighteenth-century royal society (KS 66), relates the history of Pakubuwana III's low-born queen, the woman who would give birth to Pakubuwana IV. In a latter nineteenth-century biography of a Javanese noble (RP 60), a discussion of the elderly Pakubuwana IX's decision to take a commoner as his queen details the resistance which had grown to such unions by the late colonial period. Poems poking derogatory fun at minority racial and ethnic groups in central Java (i.e., the Chinese, Arabs, and Europeans) are found in late nineteenth-century manuscripts stored in both the Mangkunagara and Radyapustaka collections (MN 535 and RP 1068.3). An early nineteenth-century didactic poem, manuscript copies of which grace all three
Surakarta libraries (RP 1068.1, MN 391B, KS 377.2, 378, 574.4, 576.8), includes a comical satire of court etiquette in the hands of a nouveaux riche from the trading class. A neo-traditional typescript in the Mangkunagaran collection (MN 584) chronicles, in “classical” verse, the 1971 dedication of the Mangadeg foundation in a manner which features President and Mrs. Soeharto in ritual action.24

R. Ng. Ronggawarsita (1802-1873), often called the last of the pujongga (or authentic “classical” court-poets), is regarded today as having been the greatest of Javanese writers. His writings (including several autograph manuscripts) abound in all three major Surakarta collections. Among those writings are copies of a text which, significantly, never found its way into the European collections: that text, Serat Jayengbaya ("The Book of He Who Conquers Danger") is a poetic satire on the vagaries of the poet’s contemporary Surakarta society.25 Copies of this satire are found in both the Radayupastaka and Karaton collections (RP 338, KS 388, 415.5). While all three collections hold copies of volumes from Ronggawarsita’s famous, largely prose Pustaka Raja ("Book of Kings") series, the Mangkunagaran’s holdings of that particular work are remarkably extensive (MN 5-95, 119-166, 494-500). In the Radayupastaka collection, a map, hand-drawn by the poet, localizes the Indian Mahabhara on Javanese soil (RP 362).

23For more on this poem, Serat Mac Ngagten, see Suzanne A. Brenner, "Competing Hierarchies: Javanese Merchants and the Priyayi Elite in Solo, Central Java," Indonesia 52 (October 1991): 55-83.
25For more on this text, see my “Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future,” pp. 44-55.

Treatises of practical knowledge, navigating existence through changing Javanese worlds over time are of particular interest in the collections. An autograph Ronggawarsita manuscript in the Mangkunagaran library traces the historical and other complexities of the multiple Javanese, European, and Islamic time-reckoning systems used in nineteenth-century Java (MN 2). The Karaton library holds a manuscript with notes on calendrical divination used strategically by Hamengkubuwana I during the course of the great war of partition (KS 600), as well as manuscript translations of nineteenth-century Dutch social studies books proclaiming the “white-man’s civilizing mission” in Asia (KS 622, 622B). In the Mangkunagaran collection is a macapat verse history of Napoleon Bonaparte (MN 273, 274) which the reigning Prince Mangkunagara composed in 1864 after a prose version which a Eurasian philologist cum colonial official had earlier prepared for that prince’s predecessor. A late nineteenth-century Karaton text charts the history of Dutch participation in Javanese politics from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries (KS 5). All three collections boast late nineteenth-century translations into Javanese verse of Chinese texts, notably of the renowned Romance of the Three Kingdoms (KS 625, MN 556-564, RP 140-144). And in the Karaton library (KS 148-158) is the multi-volume Sri Pustaka Madyapada ("Book of the Whole World"), a “traditional” history (or babad) in “classical” verse of World War I and of Surakarta in the 1910s, in which is imbedded a Kawi-Javanese dictionary.

Among the Surakarta manuscripts are texts which write reflexively of the spiritually charged and materially effective relationship enjoyed between writing and the world in Javanese thought. In the
Mangkunagaran's Reksa Pustaka is an illuminated catalogue of magically empowered calligraphical talismen (raja) in Arabic script (MN 586.4). The Karaton has a particularly well-developed collection of Sastrahariendra ("The Book of Sublime Writing") texts (KS 574-577) in which is written, at least in part in Islamic idiom, the Hindu-Javanese deities' legacy of empowered writing to man. All three libraries hold manuscript copies of Kridhagsara texts (KS 576.1, MN 553, RP 301, 367.3) which magically write the relationship of Javanese script and human bodies.

26 Roughly, the title translates as "the (sometimes erotic) play, performance, or praxis of script."
Text, Author, and Audience

The mutually implicating relation of writing to person, here illustrated, raises a number of issues concerning text, author, and audience in Java. Despite the low rates of literacy in Java preceding the 1945 Indonesian national revolution, the "literate" audience for the written texts of "tradition" was not as small as might be imagined. The great majority of texts written in the prerevolutionary era were composed in macapat poetic metres, which were meant for sung performative readings and hence for melodic aural consumption. Indeed, even the solitary reading of these poetic texts usually entailed (and entails) the intoning of the melody in the reader's mind. Sometimes the melodic phrasing of the poetry in performance actually determines the sense of a given passage.27 Although solitary readings of these texts were clearly important to the professional literati (and others) who inscribed them,28 the majority of "readings" of macapat texts in the prerevolutionary period were perfomed aurally by Javanese as they listened to public textual recitations. It is precisely because of the usually public and aural performative nature of macapat textuality and its reception, that the notion literacy, at least as far as macapat texts are concerned, should be understood differently in the context of prerevolutionary Java than it is in modern Indonesia. In "traditional" Java, the literate audience included persons who were "illiterate" in the narrower sense of the word, and yet, through practiced and sensitive listening, had become highly conversant with literature.29

The public reading of macapat texts was not an uncommon event in "traditional Java." Where then were some of these scenes of reading? And who were the audience? Public recitations of inscribed texts were standard fare in Surakarta court culture in earlier days. Notably, macapat readings of "traditional" texts entertained, up to the 1960s, large, fluid, and heterogeneous groups of court servants nightly in the Karaton Surakarta. The readers of the texts were male members of the elite corps of military guards. These "voice guards"30 sang by turns from inscribed texts throughout the night, every night except for Wednesday and Saturday nights when they were preempted by shadow-play performances. They sang from a wide variety of texts selected from the palace scriptorium.31

Although upon occasion some of those listening were members of the royal family and their closest retainers, routinely most of the audience consisted of the less exalted workers at court who listened as they attended

27Bernard Arps recent work on tembang traditions in Yogyakarta and Banyuwangi confirms this observation (Tembang in Two Traditions, esp. Chapt. 11).


30That is, jajasewa.

to their various duties—perhaps stopping their work at times to attend more closely. The consumption of “court literature” was thus hardly the exclusive preserve of royalty and high courtiers. The audience for these texts, made up of the quite heterogenous and socially stratified group of persons who were the actual participants in “traditional court culture” in Java, included the tailors, cooks, janitors, boatmen, nursemaids, washerwomen, and others employed by the palace. Indeed, the higher nobility were less likely to be present at these scenes of reading than their more humble subordinates, since the elite were less likely subject to the burden of night duty. Many, if not most, of the audience were not resident at court; daily (or nightly) when their shift was done, they recrossed the karaton walls to return home to their villages or urban neighborhoods, bearing with them what they had heard.

“Traditional” Javanese literature, sometimes misnomered “court literature,” has always had a life which extended well beyond the palace walls. There is, for example, ample evidence that much of what is called “court literature” grew out of and through textual traditions in the rural Islamic educational institutions, or pesantrėn, of Java. The pesantrėn were important sites of production and dissemination of “traditional” Javanese texts at least through the mid-nineteenth century. Macapat recitation was popular in these Islamic institutions. There are among nineteenth-century texts descriptions of the sometimes exegetic readings of Javanese poetic and other works at pesantrėn. A careful reading of these descriptions reveals a surprisingly diverse audience, an audience which could include both men and women, pupils (or santri), and neighbors of the pesantrėn in which the reading was performed.

Although court and pesantrėn were important factors in the proliferation of “traditional” Javanese literature, persons associated directly with neither of these institutions were by no means excluded from the practice of reading. Among ordinary Javanese villagers, the recitation of macapat texts has been, and sometimes still is, a regular feature at certain everyday ritual events, such as the celebration of the birth of a child. There is evidence which suggests that reading (or listening) was even more popular among ordinary commoners in the nineteenth century, though it is questionable (to some) how much they understood what they read (or heard). Take for example the evaluation of common literacy in C.F. Winter’s elitist Javansche Zamenpraken (Javanese Conversations), a textbook for Dutch students of Javanese language and literature which was compiled at the Surakarta Institute of Javanese Language (1832-1843). In Conversation 35, the Dutchman Tuwan Anu (Mister So and So) asks his prospective Javanese teacher, Gunawan, why “the Javanese” like reading so much if they don’t understand what they are reading. Gunawan answers:

As for the priyayi [the bureaucratic elite], they are only interested in the story without troubling themselves with what the words mean. For most of the commoners, [reading] is just a prop to keep them awake so the robbers won’t come. As for the readers themselves, they usually don’t know anything beyond the story-line; they don’t understand a lot of the words. I’m not just talking about Kavi [Old Javanese or archaized literary Javanese] texts either—given even ordinary Javanese texts,

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32Notably, up to the early nineteenth century, the pesantrėn virtually monopolized indigenous paper production in Java.

33See, for example, the descriptions in the Serat Cenurini (especially Cantos 225-228) and Serat Cabolang (especially Cantos 205-207) and my discussion of these passages in "Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future," pp. 35-36.
those who could really explain [what they’re reading] are rare indeed. So all that singing ringing out in the night, is nothing more than the night guard or maybe somebody showing off his voice to the neighbors—so that they’ll be impressed that he can read and that he has a good voice.  

I wonder. That the ordinary readers-listeners were not attending to, nor perhaps understanding, the discursive meaning of every word of any text most certainly does not exclude the possibility of their having intelligently read that text. The active process of reading, that is making sense, of any text includes much more than being able to come up with appropriate glosses for unfamiliar words—perhaps especially in the case of “traditional” Javanese poetic forms in which textual sense is somewhat more sensuous and somewhat less discursive. At any rate, reading-listening was undeniably a pleasurable activity to some nineteenth-century Javanese commoners. And it was at least interesting and engaging enough to keep them awake at night.

The popularity of reading among the common folk is attested to in Zamenspraken’s Conversation 69, in which Mister So and So is visited by the young poet Kawiswara (“Voice of Kawi”) who, having heard the Dutchman is in the market for the classics, has come to sell him a Kawi manuscript, a volume no doubt destined for Leiden or Batavia. Kawiswara himself is not the owner, but is acting as middleman for a

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poor boarder [pengindung] at “Suradilagan.” The owner’s asking price is a ream of good Dutch paper. Also working for Mister So and So, and present at that time was the elder poet Kawireja (roughly, “Rich with Kawi”). Kawireja comments on the well-preserved condition of the artifact and presumes:

That’s because he never read it and none of his neighbors ever borrowed it—none of them could have understood its words. Usually Javanese books which are frequently read and frequently lent out aren’t that clean. They may have oil spilt on them and be all stained with betel chew or other filth. Using a cigarette butt to mark his place, when the reader gets sleepy, he uses the book for his pillow (emphasis added).

Evidently the pleasures of going to bed with a good book were not unknown to “the Javanese” in former days. Scenes of reading in nineteenth-century Java were many and varied. What was read, and written, was also much more varied than is sometimes imagined today.

Who then wrote these many and varied texts? What can we say about authors and authorship in “traditional” Java? How is the notion of “author” related to the reality of “text” in Java? At the outset, it is important to note that the words used in Java to designate “writer” do not share with English (and French) the cognate “authority” of the “author.” The Javanese words for “writer” connote a much less inflated status for “the textual worker” (ingkang akarya sastra) than does the Anglo-French “author.” The Javanese “writer” (panulis, panyerat) may be the person
who physically writes or inscribes (anulis, anyerat) any text, the "scribe" by whose hand the written artifact is produced. Then again the writer may be the work's "composer" (panganggit, pangiket): s/he who "interlaces" (nganggit) and "binds together" (ngiket) words or texts in textually productive manners. Significantly, in the discursive terms of Javanese writing, there is often no clear distinction between these two categories of writing: that is, writing as physical "replication" of prior inscription and writing as "original" composition. On the one hand, the "scribe" enjoyed a modicum of poetic freedom in his or her "copying" (murun, nedbak) of texts which often engendered new variants and versions of old texts. On the other, the "composer," working within conventions of Javanese textuality, would sometimes borrow (that is, copy) from older works, interlacing (nganggit) and rebinding (ngiket) old textual fragments into new contexts to create his or her "original" work.

A dramatic illustration of this form of composition is Ronggawarsita's Kalatidha (Time of Darkness), a text which is today perhaps the most famous of Javanese poems. Sometimes bruited as this "last of the pujongga's" late nineteenth-century expressive signature of the end of traditional Javanese power, 36 the Kalatidha is actually composed of a cunning repetition of an early nineteenth-century prophetic lament on future moral decline, interlaced with an inverted quotation about power's past excellence from that same earlier work, and then punctuated by the poet's own drolly provocative observations. The earlier work from which Ronggawarsita borrowed is the Serat Cabolang:

Centhini 37 itself a profoundly intertextual work composed, in part, out of borrowings and allusions from a host of still earlier works. My point here is not to expose the Kalatidha (or the Cabolang-Centhini) as "derivative," but rather to point to the very intensely self-conscious intertextuality of "traditional" Javanese writing. Indeed, none the less "original" an expression due to its intertextual reality, the meaning of the Kalatidha is doubly complicated as both a signature of the end of tradition and a critical commentary upon and reaffirmation of tradition's prophecy of its own end.

I mentioned above that Ronggawarsita, the Kalatidha's "author" is today revered as the last, or better the seal, of the pujongga. Although pujongga may be glossed as "court-poet," 38 the English gloss misses pujongga's implications in Javanese. In the Javanese discursive world, to be a pujongga means (or meant, as the case may be) to be a master of language with a prophetic pen. The true pujongga was s/he whose writing was prophetic not just as the record of an already determined foresee future, but rather as a kind of writing whose very inscription

36 See, for example, Benedict Anderson's evocative treatment of this work in his Language and Power, pp. 201-02 and 242-43.


38 Indeed, there was an spiritual-literary office of pujongga (or sometimes, bhujangga) at Javanese courts which dated from days of Majapahit and probably became reinitiated with the "Surakarta Renaissance." For a retrospectively constructed listing of historical pujongga by the last Javanese to hold that office, see Ronggawarsita's Serat Salasilah, Unggah Pandangan Nata ing Tanah Jawa, awit Pandangan Ratu Prahu Dewatacengak, Mediangkamulan (composed Surakarta, [mid-nineteenth c.]: inscribed Surakarta, 1878). M.S. Reksa Putraka Mangkunegaran [henceforth RP] Cat. No. B.84; SMP MN 245. The office has remained vacant since Ronggawarsita's death in 1873. It is widely accepted that there will never be another pujongga. Two rationales for this absence are offered: that the pujongga-ship is no longer relevant; and that no modern Javanese could ever fulfill the stringent intellectual and especially supernatural requirements for the position.
itself could (or would) materially effect a future. Often writing about the very distant past, the sometimes anonymous pujongga wrote these texts of material prophecy self-consciously to affect the practical and political realities of both the historical presents in which they wrote and the imagined futures towards which they wrote. They wrote and rewrote history, not just after the fact, but also before and in suggestive anticipation of it. Composing their works in the profoundly intertextual and reflexive world of “traditional” Javanese literature, the prophetic writers sometimes constructed their texts to contest and transform prior texts and contexts into something quite novel and often yet unknown. The orientation of such texts, original works composed out of, against, and as comments upon other texts, could be an as yet indeterminate future waiting beyond the horizon.39

Perhaps it is because writers in “traditional” Java, however original and sometimes potentially radical their thought, were self-consciously not the authors of their own words, that in most cases the “writer-composer” remains unnamed in the inscribed texts of Javanese manuscripts. Those writers who are named in the texts (or recognized by colonial and postcolonial traditions of Javanese literary history) as the works’ composers tend to be professional literati or high royalty. They include, of course, the official pujongga of the “Surakarta Renaissance” (i.e., the two Yasadipuras and Ronggwarsita), their immediate predecessors, and some of their less famous associates (including a couple of Indo-Europeans).

Other recognized writers are a handful of Javanese princes and kings, the most prolific of whom were apparently Mangkunagara IV and Pakubuwana IV.

Although assuredly a limited group in terms of the society at large, the writers of Javanese texts were not restricted to rulers and their renowned poets-laureate alone. Other less well-known writers at court were the women composers, such as the female soldier-scribes of the late eighteenth-century Mangkunagaran40 and Ny. T. Adisara, the “lady-pujongga” of the late nineteenth-century Karaton Surakarta.41 There were a goodly number of petty nobles and palace functionaries, not all of whom were professional writers, who wrote and signed their works throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. These other “court-poets” include, for example, a tailor, a boatman, and a goat-trainer as well as an aspiring philologist and a bevy of well-placed bureaucrats.

Not all the writers named or naming themselves in the Surakarta manuscripts were directly subject to the courts. A fair number of works issued from members of the extra-royal Islamic religious community. Some works claim internally to be compositions of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century saints (walli) who are said to have brought Islam to Java. Others texts were composed by hajis returning from Mecca or by masters (kyaal) of rural pesantren. Among the often rural practitioners of the

39See “Prajuriti Carik Estri,” Serat Babed Nitiik Mangkunagaran Dai 1711 djamugi Ehé 1716 (composed Surakarta, 1791; inscribed Surakarta, circa 1793-1809); MS Radyapusaka (henceforth Rp) 329 carik; SMP RP 48B, esp. p. 84; and Ann Kumar, “Javanese Court Society and Politics in the Late Eighteenth Century: The Record of A Lady Soldier, Parts One & Two,” Indonesia, 29-30 (1980), 146 & 67-11.

40Adisara authored a number of works some of which have been conventionally attributed to Pakubuwana IX. See, for example, her Wulang Rajapurta published in Pakubuwana IX’s Wira Javara, ed. Hadjana HP (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Proyek Penerbitan Buku Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah, 1979), pp. 46-66.
shadow puppet theater were other textual workers. There are, for example, a sprinkling of texts (largely compendia of play scripts) which are “signed” by village dhalang. I do not, however, mean to suggest that all these non-court writers, whose writings (afterall) we encounter here in royal collections, wrote in opposition to, or in total isolation from, the courts. Autonomous village dhalang, for example, frequently performed at court while court dhalang often resided in villages. Some of the rural pesantrêns had been established by grants of land and privileges by the courts. And the literate kyai who mastered some of these rural Islamic institutions numbered among their pupils, princes and high courtiers from the capital. Literate kyai, as it turns out, were not the only writers to come out of the pesantrêns. It is a little discussed fact that the three most famous of Surakarta puâjongga, the two Yasadipuras and Ronggawarsita mentioned above, were products of (among other things) Islamic pesantrêns educations. The writings of these literary lords of the putatively un-Islamic Surakarta Renaissance, closely read, reveal (again, among other things) the deep influence of this early Islamic, rural education upon their consciousness.

The hitherto overlooked diversity of writers writing in Java as well as the intricate networks of relationships across time and space among these writers, their writings, and their audiences suggests a much more complicated and hence implicitly more interesting world of Javanese textuality than the adiluhung view of a rarified and insulated court literature would have us believe. I was brought to this fascinating world through my work with the manuscripts of the Surakarta royal repositories. My work with these manuscripts is but a beginning. It will be future readings, in detail, of these and other manuscripts produced at different places and different times in the Javanese past which will ultimately shape our understanding of what it meant to write in “traditional Java.”
completed targets for thirty-two texts on musical performance in the Radjapustaka and Mangkunagaran collections.

The Catalogue
The present comprehensive descriptive catalogue derives in part from these preliminary microfilm target sheets.88 However, the expanded descriptive entries in the present volumes have been substantially revised and refined on the basis of further research. A number of errors and inconsistencies in the originally filmed targets have been here rectified. John Pemberton and David Wyatt contributed substantially to the production of the final catalogue. Both offered essential technical expertise, Pemberton designing a customized file format and Wyatt creating a filter program. Pemberton also entered a considerable segment of my original data into computer format and provided many helpful comments and criticisms of earlier drafts of this introductory chapter. The publication of this four-volume descriptive catalogue of Javanese writings is supported with a grant from the Henry Luce Foundation.

The Manuscript Descriptions
The manuscript descriptions in the present volumes include information on titles, authors, dates and places of composition, dates and places of inscription, and identities of scribes. Also provided are subject heading strings, sometimes multiple, for every title identified. The entries include notes on the physical size and condition of the


manuscripts as well as descriptions of scripts and scribal styles, papers, and watermarks. Concise synopses of contents are provided for every manuscript title, including notes on each of the multiple titles bound together in any compilation. Included in the descriptive notes are discussions of the manuscripts' colophons and any other internal evidence determinative of provenance, authorship, transmission, or past ownership. Often provided are cross-references to comparable texts in the same or other Surakarta repositories as well as to texts described in previous manuscript catalogues and bibliographical guides such as Pigraud's Literature of Java, Poerabjana's Kapustakan Jawa and Indonesiaische Handschriften, and R. Poerwawangsa's Penelitian Kawankarsaneing Poesoeboedoe Baja Djaw.

Manuscript Description Format
Project number: Shelf number Reel number
Standardized title: Title as it appears.
Author: Names(s). Composed: Where, When.
Inscribed: Where, When.
Scribe: Names(s).
MS. collation [illuminations]; MS, size
Subject classifications.
Brief narrative description of contents.

Sample Manuscript Description
KS 67A unc perpetrator VI SMF 1107; R164/6
Buk Iber Sampayan-dalem lingkang Simuhun Kanggeng Susuhunan Pakubuwana kapering III suwan kapering IV, warsa 1703 dumas 1738.
On Surakarta Manuscript Project (SMP): Collation

**Project numbers.** The descriptions are collated according to their project numbers. These numbers are preceded by abbreviations designating the respective repositories: KS for manuscripts of the Karaton Surakarta's Sasana Pustaka, MN for manuscripts of the Mangkunegaran's Raksa Pustaka, BP for manuscripts of the Museum Radjapustaka and HN for Handjaya's collection. These numbers proceed roughly thematically according to subject. Some of these project numbers have appended letters (e.g., KS 1A, KS 1B, KS 1C, etc.). These appended letters were used for volumes located late in the project which were thematically closely related to volumes which had been previously assigned numbers and filmed.

**Series.** Descriptions with "Series" appended to a project number precede and identify multi-volume series.

**Compilation.** The major entry for a compilation, describing the bound volume as an entirety, is indicated by the project number followed by "." (e.g., KS 502.0). The individual texts inscribed in any compilation are designated by sub-numerals (e.g., KS 502.1, KS 502.2, etc.).

**Shelf numbers.** Following the project numbers are the shelf numbers of the manuscripts in the original repositories.

**Reel numbers.** Following the shelf numbers are the reel and item numbers for the original filming of the text as well as for any reshoots that may have been deemed necessary. Reel numbers are preceded by "SMP" (for Surakarta Manuscript Project). For example, "SMP 110/1; R164/6" means that the original film of the described text is on Surakarta...
Standardized titles. The primary bibliographical entry for each text is that text's standardized title. The text is indexed under the title or titles provided in bold in the lines immediately following the project collation numbers. When a single text is known by two or more titles, each of those titles is listed and indexed, the alternate titles preceded by "-" signs.

Titles as they appear. Often there follows, in brackets and italics, yet another title: the title as it appears in the original manuscript or upon the captioned board covering the manuscript. This "title as it appears" is included in the entry both to record original orthographic peculiarities and scribal variations and to preserve the record of previous indigenous categorizations of the volumes.

The determination of title for these volumes proceeds from, and often corrects, any earlier work in the field. As I noted above, this determination was a sometimes involved procedure. Occasionally title captions which are contemporary with the inscription of the manuscript are provided. Sometimes a work or rendition announces its own title within the text of its writing. However, for many a text (or often fragment of a text) the clues by which one may uncover the writing's name are much more subtle. I have often determined titles of unidentified texts (and fragments of texts) by means of content analyses as well as by

50Titles were standardized purely to make the materials more accessible to potential users. Without some standardization, indexing would not have been possible. The interesting, often erine "titles as they appear" are, of course, also recorded.

Inter textual comparisons. Most of the texts of the Surakarta manuscripts were composed in verse, and comparisons of beginning lines of cantos has proven a very useful method to establish textual identities. I have sometimes assigned titles to unknown works and to undesignated compilations. Assigned titles are enclosed in brackets.

Authors. The authors' names follow the titles in the entries. When possible, I have included the authors' birth and death dates. Rarely is there a straightforward provision of the author's name in the Surakarta manuscripts. The writers of many of these texts remain unknown. In the course of my bibliographical work, identification of authors, where possible, depended sometimes upon conventional attribution, sometimes upon internal evidence in the texts. I have occasionally attributed authorship on the basis of style, and often established it from sandi agama, a kind of hidden anagrammatical signature that became popular in nineteenth-century Surakarta. Where I have attributed authorship, the author's name is enclosed in brackets.

Provenance and Dating of Composition, Compilation, and Inscription. Composed/Compiled. The places and dates of the works' (or renditions') composition (or in the case of some codices, compilation) follow next in the entries. By composition, I mean the original writing of
any work. By compilation, I mean the productive textual work of assembling a volume of collected texts. Again this information is established or attributed on the basis of internal evidence, as well as upon conventional designations. My attributions are indicated by the use of brackets. Not rarely the date of composition is written into the initial or concluding stanzas of poetic works. These dates were almost always written in sangkala, or chronograms (often spheriotic phrases, whose words when read backwards, signify—by a logical system of associative conventions—different numerical values).52 I re-cipher these numerical values and translate them to the Gregorian calendar in the descriptive notes to the texts.

Inscribed. The places and dates of inscription follow next. By inscription I mean the material, chirographic act of the physical writing of the artifact. Inscription refers to the original writing of the text in the case of autograph manuscripts. More often inscription refers to an act of copying. Provenance and dating of inscription have often been established by internal textual evidence. As in the case of composition and compilation, colophones at the beginning and end of the text sometimes record the date of inscription. Many of these dates are written in sangkala, especially in poetic works. I should note, however, that it is sometimes quite problematic to differentiate dates of inscription from dates of composition.

I often attribute provenance and rough dates of inscription on the basis of scribal styles. Japanese scribal styles were remarkably uniform for certain places during certain time periods. For example, the distinctive style which characterized writing produced in the Karaton Surakarta’s Kadipaten in the latter nineteenth century was notably different from the mid-century style which preceded it. Again, another distinctive style came in vogue in the Surakarta Karaton around the turn of the twentieth century. My attributions of provenance and dating of inscription are indicated by the use of brackets.

Scribe. The following line records the name of the scribe, when identified or determined. Occasionally I determined scribal identity on the basis of hand-writing as I came to know and recognize the hands of some of the more prolific of idiosyncratic Surakarta scribes.

Manuscript Collation, Illumination, Size

Following are notations pertaining to manuscript collation, illumination, and size. Indicated are: 1) the status of the codex in a series, if applicable; 2) the actual number of pages of the described codex (variations and mistakes of pagination are noted in the narrative notes); 3) for a text internal to a compilation, the page numbers of the described text; 4) the presence of illumination, if applicable; and 5) the internal dimensions of the document by page.

On Subject Classification

Following, in italics, is the (sometimes plural) subject classification of the identified text. The assignation of subject headings was, of course,
problematic—pleasurably so. The act of categorization itself involves enormous epistemological assumptions, whether those assumptions are uncritically accepted, or challenged, or bent, or stretched. In assigning subject headings I tried to conform to a system which would assist the future location by potential readers of those texts which were most relevant to those readers’ fields of interest or investigation, while at the same time maintaining respect for the meanings these texts had enjoyed in the past contexts in which they had been inscribed. In practice this often meant a mischievous straddling of two epistemological worlds.

Let us turn to a closer look at several interesting issues of classification which arose in the course of this practice. For example, resisting the western hegemonic gesture which conventionally relegates a great many indigenous accounts of the past to the categories of “folklore,” “myth,” or “legend.” I chose to afford the (western) category of “history” to all such accounts of the past. This was a doubly interested move, and one—I should add—which was contested by some of my university trained Javanese colleagues in Surakarta. By this classification I meant both to appreciate the seriousness of these indigenous accounts of the past by recognizing the “reality” they inscribed in the Javanese past, and to foreground the fictionality (the constructed quality) of any history: Javanese or European. I then organized these histories geographically and—for the sake of pure convenience—chronologically, assigning Javanese (or Javanese-derived) genre designations where appropriate.

What this means, among other things, is that a nineteenth-century prophetic text which chronicles the history of Java from the island’s first human population (via Turkish colonization) to the Day of Judgement is categorized as “History: Java - Jangka [Prophecy] – A) 0001-2100.” A genealogy of Surakarta kings from Adam to Pakubuwana XI is classed as “History: Java - Genealogy – 0000-1900s.” And a history of Islam extending from the Creation through the early Islamization of Java is categorized “History: Islam: Java - 0000-1400s – Creation to Majapahit.”

A second example of epistemological mischief. There are a number of texts which treat ritual, ceremony, and courtly regulations at the palaces of central Java. These texts are classed under “Court [which court specified]. Ceremony, Lore, Hormat rules [courtly regulations], etc.” One series of texts in the Karaton Surakarta catalogues ceremonial umbrellas (songsong) ranked for royalty and retainers of the various Javanese courts (KS 210-213). Among these texts is one for the umbrellas of employees of the Dutch colonial government. In the spirit of the other texts in this series, and to reflect the colonial government’s participation in the ceremonial world of Javanese royalty, I classed this text: “Court, Netherlands Indies. Hormat rules - Songsong.” I fully expect some of my classifications to raise eyebrows.

These volumes are meant to facilitate both future works on Javanese texts and future understandings of Java. To those with a more general interest in Java, they are intended as an introduction to the worlds of
Javanese writing—and through those worlds to more deeply textured understandings of Javanese culture, history, and literature. To specialists on Javanese texts they are meant as a resource. And to those critical readers (both in Indonesia and abroad) whose works, in dialogue with these inscriptions of the Javanese past, will participate in the production of new meanings for the future, these volumes are meant as an invitation.

Nancy K. Florida
Ann Arbor, Michigan
November 1992
NOTE: This paper is a draft version of the introduction to a catalogue of Malay seals in British collections, and is not for quotation or reproduction.

p.4 Last 2 lines: A preliminary survey of Malay seals in British manuscript collections has now been completed, yielding approximately 274 individual seal matrices, out of more than 1000 seal impressions, of which approximately 177 matrices are represented by unique impressions.

p.11 Para.2, lines 10-11: Omit redundant sentence “The seal is ... Burgonje (1906: 189)”,

p.14 Between lines 15 & 16, before the end of the quotation, insert: Int surat raja2 Islam berkirim kepada Gubernur orang putih

p.15 Note 7: Kratz (1979: 54) pointed out that Delaurier (1845) relies heavily on Newbold (1971: II.337-345), first published in 1839.

Additions to Bibliography


THE ART OF THE MALAY LETTER

PART I: MALAY SEALS

Paper presented at the Workshop on Southeast Asian Manuscripts
KITLV, Leiden, 14-18 December 1992

Annabel Teh Gallop
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Oriental and India Office Collections
The British Library

Seal of Sultan Abu Bakar Tajuddin of Sambas, 1811
BL MSS Eur D 745/1, F 41
THE ART OF THE MALAY LETTER

Introduction

Malay letters constitute an important primary resource for the study of the political, diplomatic and economic history of the Malay world and for the historical development of the Malay language. In addition to the obvious value of the contents of these letters, there are a number of technical and visual aspects of Malay letters—such as the seal or the colour of the cloth wrapper—which tend not to be emphasized in publications or discussions of Malay letters. Yet these elements play an important part in illustrating the sophistication of the art of Malay letter-writing, which, in its every aspect, served simultaneously to acknowledge and to establish the relative status of the sender and recipient. In Wilkinson's words:

"...the ancient Malays paid the very greatest attention to the expressions used in official despatches. They discussed the draft of every letter in their Councils and they weighed the relative value of every word. They turned letter-writing into a sort of fine art; they wanted to flatter the recipient without in any way compromising the dignity of the sender of the letter" (Wilkinson 1907:21).

Thus the Muslim rank of the correspondents determined the position of the heading on the sheet of paper, and even the number of wax seals used to fasten the letter (Dulauzie 1845:16). This paper outlines a programme for an integrated study of 'The art of the Malay letter' with special reference to Malay manuscripts in British collections, and presents a preliminary enquiry into one of the areas identified, Malay seals.

Areas of enquiry

Six fields of study have been identified, which, taken together, cover all technical and artistic aspects of the Malay letter. Although each of these aspects may have been touched upon in previous researches, there is still a need for the basic building blocks of any systematic study: indexes and catalogues which describe in consistent detail the reality of the extant primary evidence. Once this is available, the results can be compared with the theoretical literature available, to give a more accurate picture of the theory and practice of Malay letter-writing than has previously been possible. The six fields are listed below, with short notes on the areas that should be addressed in any detailed study. In general, each field of study requires access to original untrimmed manuscript letters, though some aspects can be considered from facsimile reproductions or copies of letters.

1. Seals (Cap)

Malay terminology; media of impression (lamp-black, ink, wax); visual/aesthetic aspects (design, shape, size, decoration); etiquette (position on document w.r.t. the ranks of the correspondents); literary/linguistic/orthographical elements (language, script and wording of inscription).

2. Headings (Kepala surat)

Media (ink, glitter, gold, pigments); visual/aesthetic aspects (calligraphic skill, pictorial elements); etiquette (position on letter w.r.t. rank of the correspondents); literary/linguistic/orthographical elements (choice and significance of wording).

3. Paper (Kertas)

Type of paper (European, oriental); index of watermarks.

4. Decoration/Illumination

Malay terminology; media (gold and gold alloys, silver, pigments, ink, pencil, glue); visual/aesthetic aspects (analysis of motifs, identification of influences); method (freemhand, stencilled, stamped); preparation (to determine whether the paper was decorated prior to, during, or after the writing of the letter); etiquette (was the illumination of letters directly related to rank, or was the personal artistic taste of the sender a more important factor?); craftsmanship (was the scribe the illuminator/artist, or were other artisans involved?); implements.

5. Calligraphy

Malay terminology; media (ink, glitter, gold); visual/aesthetic aspects (artistic quality, special emphasis on first and last lines); classification of scripts and relationship to established categories of other Islamic scripts.
6. Envelopes

Malay terminology: media (paper or cloth: silk, linen, cotton); etiquette (relationship of media to rank, significance of colour and method of sealing); aesthetic/visual aspects (the art of the cutting of the paper wrappers); literary/linguistic/orthographical elements (style of address written on the envelope).

Source materials

Source materials fall into two categories: the primary source of Malay letters themselves, representing the actual 'practice' of Malay letter-writing, and secondary textual sources, pertaining to the 'theory' of Malay letter-writing. The letters can be categorised as a) original Malay manuscript letters¹, b) contemporaneous manuscript copies of Malay letters, usually copied for archival purposes⁵, and c) published versions of Malay letters⁶. The textual sources also fall into three groups: a) indigenous Malay letter-writing guides, known by the generic term of terasu, both in manuscript⁴ and print⁷, b) references to and contextual accounts of Malay letters in other Malay texts⁴, and c) analytical studies by scholars⁷.

The letters considered in this study are those written in Malay in the Jawi (Arabic) script⁴.

MALAY SEALS

"...seals provide data which corroborate, supplement and also alter known facts of history and at times furnish new information not available in any other source ... seals, like miniature paintings, constitute cultural revelations. They shed interesting light on art, iconography, kingship, administrative machinery. They serve as vehicles of expression for religious belief." (Tirmizi 1982:xv)

So many aspects of the study of Malay manuscripts are tantalizing in their very opacity, particularly regarding authorship, provenance and date. It is thus a real pleasure to work in a field where so much concrete information is crammed into a very small space, as is the case with Malay seals.

Firstly, a note on terminology: the physical (in this case usually metal) object which is used to stamp the document is termed the seal matrix, while the image formed on the document is termed the seal stamp or seal impression. As we will be dealing solely with seal impressions in this paper, they will generally be referred to simply as 'seals'. The study of Malay seal impressions has been somewhat neglected, not least because so few seal matrices are available for a complementary study¹. Yet, as in Tirmizi's words quoted above, Malay seals frequently offer information not found elsewhere in the document on which they are impressed; for example, dates, proper names, ranks or filial relationships. Occasionally, the shape alone may prove to be a unique clue to provenance⁵.

This paper is presented in the course of the compilation of a catalogue of Malay seals from manuscripts in British collections. Malay seals are here defined as seal impressions found on manuscript documents in Malay. These documents are usually letters or envelopes, but may also be proclamations, treaties, etc. Malay seals are not found in manuscripts other than letters or documents; the use of seals in Malay books - either as a mark of ownership or as evidence of reading/checking - is as yet unknown⁷. So far nearly 150 unique seal matrices, out of over 260 seal impressions, have been identified. The layout of catalogue entries is as follows:
Place name
Name of Individual (with biographical details when available)
Description of shape; max. diameter in cm; medium of impression
Transliteration of inscription if legible
Description of the document concerned with date
Collection and manuscript number
Collection and manuscript number of other examples of the seal
References/notes

Two examples of catalogue entries are given below:

SIAY

Sultan Abdul Jalil Saifuddin
12-petalled circle with decorative border; 7.3 cm; lampblack
Hamba Allah yang miskin tiada berdaya Sayid al-Syarif Paduka Seri
Sultan Abdul Jalil Saifuddin ibn maulana Sultan Uthman bin al-Syaikh
Ali Ba'awi sanat 1212
Letter to Philip Dundas, Governor of Pulau Pinang, 10 Muharam 1212 (5 July 1797).
BL MSS Eur.D.742/1, f 124
Other examples: BL MSS Eur.D.742/1, f 122

TERNATE

Sultan Muhammad Yasin
Circle; 3.6 cm; lampblack
Mulili buiddn Ternate sanat 1216
Letter to the British Commissioner (Komisaris Inggeris) in Ambon
(probably Col.J.Oliver), 26 Zulhijjah 1216 (19 April 1802)
BL Add.18141, f 2r
Ref: Gallop & Arps (1991:39,131)

The following comments on Malay seals are confined to descriptive observations on seals in the catalogue currently being compiled. An attempt has also been made to bring together the extant literature on Malay seals. There is thus the inevitable overuse of words like 'usually', 'generally' and 'commonly', but such caution is justified, for the much larger collections of Malay manuscripts in the Netherlands and Indonesia will surely yield evidence to further refine and correct these remarks.

Malay terminology

The appropriate term for seal in Malay is cap - from the Hindi 'chapp' (Wilkinson 1985:256) - signifying both the impression and the seal itself;

the verb 'to imprint a seal' being membubuh cap. For the word 'chap' Marsden (1984:1.114) has 'a seal, signet; impression of a seal'; Winstedt (1959:58) has 'linked stamp or seal' and, for 'chap mohor', 'a royal seal' (Winstedt 1959:218). Another Malay word commonly used for seal is materai, derived from tera. According to Wilkinson, 'The word tera is, however, used of the impression on coin and sometimes of the raja's seal, while chap is confined to stamping with colour or ink. This rule is not universal, chap being used even of the impression on gold coins (mohor) in the Hikayat Bustaman...Ch. tera a raja's official seal' (Wilkinson 1985:256).

Within seal inscriptions themselves, both 'cap' and 'materai' are used: the lamp-black seal of Encik Pandak, Syahbandar of Lingga, reads Bahwa ini cap dikurniakan Yang Dipertuan Muda kepada Muhammad dijadikan Syahbandar tarikh sanat 1224 while that of Engku Sayid Muhammad Zain al-Kudsi, courtier to Sultan Mahmud Syah of Johor and Palembang, reads Billah ta'ala al-wathiq materai al... al-Sayid Muhammad Zain bin Abdul Rahman al-Kudsi sanat* (also lamp-black). In the text of letters, materai is usually used to denote the (presumably wax) seal keeping the letter closed, as in a letter from Sultan Mahmud Syah to T.S.Raffles, 'make beta cabuilah dari pada materainya, maka terbukalah lipatannya serta beta tatap dari pada awal satar hingga akihirnya ('I broke open the seal and unfolded the letter, and I studied it from beginning to end') (Gallop & Arps 1991:134).

In the modern-day study of Malay sigillography, cap is strongly preferred because the word materai has become inalienably associated with revenue stamps in Bahasa Indonesia.

History and function

The two oldest Malay manuscript letters known were sent in the name of Sultan Abu Hayat of Ternate to King Manuel of Portugal in 1521 and 1522. These letters were published and translated by Blagden (1930) working from photographic copies of the originals, held in the Torre do Tombo archives in Lisbon. Unfortunately, the poor-quality photographs do not clearly show whether or not the letters may have originally borne seals. The oldest
confidante of Sultan Husain Syah of Johor, Abdul Kadir had just been ennobled with the title of Tengku Muda, and his airs had earned him the derision of the people of Melaka. One day, Abdullah was summoned to the house of Abdul Kadir:

"When I arrived, Tengku Muda greeted me with due respect and we sat down. Then he said, "I was anxious to invite you in, my friend, to ask to have a seal made for me." I replied "I know nothing about them". He said "Do not hide anything. For many people have told me that you made a seal of office for Mr Raffles, and several others for the Malay princes." I asked him "What shall be the wording on the seal?" Then he produced a piece of paper on which was written, "Allah mou b'ilah Tengku Muda Abdul Kadir ibnu-Sultan Husain Shah". I smiled when I saw the wording, to think that he has acquired a new father; as the Malay proverb says "The buffalo gave the milk but the cow gave the name to it". He saw me smiling and said, "Yes. We who know its meaning find it amusing". He thanked me profusely and I wrote the words in the form used for the seals of rulers. A goldsmith made it up into a seal the size of a silver dollar, and whenever Abdul Kadir sent a letter he used this seal on it. It was a source of amusement to people who laughed and poked fun at such a patent absurdity." (Hill 1970:275-6).

If this account is in any way typical of the period, then we can formulate a tentative reconstruction of the three-part process of production of a seal: the owner played a part in the choice of wording and shape; a scribe was commissioned to draw the final design; and then a craftsman such as a goldsmith contructed the seal, probably in silver or brass, to the scribe’s design. Within such a framework, some sketches for seals found in the personal diary of the King of Bone, Arumponse Ahmad al-Salih (1757-1812), can be seen as deriving from the first stage of the production process. The designs, comprising variations on octagonal themes, probably date from the period around A.H.1195 (A.D.1781)9. Although examples of the finished seal are only found on letters in the Bugis language and script, the seal inscription is in Arabic and is impressed in lampblack, and is visually very similar to the seals found on Malay documents10.

Malay seal yet identified in a British collection is that of Sultan Alauddin Syah, 9th Sultan of Aceh (r. 1568-1603), on a trading permit issued to Sir Henry Middleton in 1602. The next earliest seal in the present catalogue dates from half a century later: the seal of Kimalaha Salakah Abdul Kadir of Ambon, found on a letter dated 1658. The majority of seals in the present study date from a relatively brief period in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

The paucity of examples of seals from the early period leaves us with few clues as to when seals might have begun to be used in the Malay world, and within what contexts. Malay manuscript letters were not signed, and the function of the seal was clearly to authenticate the document. However, not all letters bore seals, though by the late 18th century, as a general rule, the more formal the letter and the higher the rank of the sender and recipient, the more likely was the letter to be sealed. Yet the most magnificent - and one of the earliest - of all extant royal Malay epistles, the letter from Sultan Iskander Muda of Aceh to King James I in 1615", does not bear a seal. These lacunae in our understanding of the theory and practice of Malay sigillography will not be filled until more concrete information emerges9.

Different seals were used concurrently by the same individual in different ways: in Aceh, the most important court documents bore the ninefold seal of state, authenticated alongside by the use of the small oblong personal seal of the Sultan. Less weighty documents not considered worthy of the ninefold seal - such as letters of recommendation given by the Sultan to messengers or foreign traders - were stamped with the single seal of the Sultan, also ratified by the addition of the small oblong one (Shnouck Hurgronje 1906:191).

The production of seals

For a vivid insight into the personal sensibilities and taste that could determine the shape and inscription of a seal, we are indebted to Musyid Abdullah for the following anecdote from his autobiography the Nikayat Abdullah (Singapore, 1849) concerning the upwardly-mobile Abdul Kadir. A
Method of use

In the present catalogue, the most common medium in which the impression of a Malay seal was formed is lamp-black, followed by ink (usually red but occasionally green, brown or purple). Wax (usually red, sometimes maroon, yellow or green) is also used and may be regarded as a sign of European influence. The choice of medium appears to be topographically influenced; in very broad terms, lamp-black was the standard medium in Malay regions with ink also in common use in the Malay peninsula, while wax was more prevalent in the vicinity of Java—where European influence was most firmly established. Thus seals on 19th century Malay documents from Banten, Cirebon, Madura and Batavia are only found in wax. An additional use of wax seals was to seal closed the folded letter, and some unique seal impressions are only known perforce in a damaged condition as the seal was broken when the letter was opened.

The method of impressing a seal with lamp-black was as follows: the seal matrix was oiled, and then held over a lamp or candle until enough lamp-black had collected; it was then impressed on the sheet of paper, which was sometimes first dampened (Siegel 1979:29) to better hold the lamp-black. Thus the inscription—the letters on the seal matrix being incised into the metal—would read in white against a black background in the seal impression. As lamp-black was often messy, sometimes a small flap of paper was affixed above the seal to prevent smudging when the letter was folded.

In a letter from the Raja of Kelantan to Sir John Anderson dated 1909 now in the National Archives of Malaysia, the seal flap is intricately cut-out (Bahan 1981:63).

The above description was compiled from a number of first-hand accounts of the process of sealing. The signing—i.e., sealing—of the Treaty of Friendship between Great Britain and Brunei on the 16 December 1846 (under which the island of Labuan was ceded to the British) is described by Captain Rodney Mundy:

"... his highness [i.e. Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin II] reappeared, bearing himself the royal signet, of which he seemed extremely proud, and which was really a creditable production for native workmanship."

With him came a host of followers, carrying wax tapers and hammers, and Chinese paper, when the great seal being held over the candle and blackened, the impression was stamped beneath the Malay impression of the treaty, my seal and signature being appended to the original English." (Mundy 1848:11.298).

This historic scene is depicted in an accompanying engraving (Mundy 1848:11.295) showing the scribe of the Sultan of Brunei sitting on the floor and holding the seal over the candle flame prior to stamping the Treaty. The Chinese paper mentioned above may have been used to make a seal flap—many 19th century Malay letters, though written on high-quality European paper, have seal flaps of oriental paper which, being thinner, was more suitable for this use. Half a century later, W.H. Treacher gave a similar account of the method of stamping a seal in Brunei:

"As writing is a somewhat rare accomplishment, state documents are not signed but sealed—'chopped' it is called—and much importance is accordingly attached to the official seals or chops, which are large circular metal stamps, and the chop is affixed by oiling the stumps, blacking it over the flame of a candle and pressing it on the document to be sealed. The chop bears, in Arabic characters, the name, style and title of the Official using it." (Treacher 1889:64).

The same principle is described in a comment from Singapore:

"The impression of the native chops on the paper is made by holding the brass seal in the smoke of a flame until it is covered with lamp-black, and then pressing it on the paper" (Buckley 1984:40).

Shape and design

The major influences on the shape of Malay seals are the circle and the octagon. Most seals are circles: sometimes smooth or notched, but mostly with eight 'petals' which range in shape from sharply triangular prisms (which transform the circle into a star) to semicircles and, most common of all, the 'onion-domed' ogee arches so often found in the decorated headpieces of the illuminated frontispieces of Malay manuscripts.

Octagonal seals are straight-sided or also 'petalled'. Less common are oval, rectangular or square shapes, while a few seals have ornamental headpieces. Amongst the more unusual shapes are the floriated square of
Batu Bara\(^9\), the lotus-shaped seal from Minangkabau\(^8\) – an old pattern often found in manuscript decoration and other decorative Indonesian arts – and the very distinctive four-petalled 'almond' shaped seals from Kedah, which were always imprinted in ink\(^8\). Some of the most beautiful seals are decorated with floral and foliate meander patterns. European influence – and in particular the seal of the Dutch Governor-Generals, which featured a ship – must be responsible for the European-style sailing ship, with full rigging and anchor, depicted on the various red wax seals of the Tunku Pangeran Sukma Dliaga of Siak, Raden Muhammad\(^7\).

Most exceptional and dramatic of all the Malay seals is the 9-fold 'thunder seal' of the Sultans of Aceh, known as the cab sikeureng in Acehnese and cap sembilan or cap halilintar in Malay, the only Malay seal to have received serious study. The seal was first published and discussed by Snouck Hurgronje in 1895 (see English translation, 1906:129). It was G.P. Rouffaer (1906) who showed conclusively that the Acehnese great seal – with the name of the current ruler in a central circle surrounded by the names of 8 of his predecessors – was directly modelled on the seal of the Moghul emperors of India, the symbolism of this linkage of dynastic power and greatness being clear. The seal is also reproduced and discussed in Snouck Hurgronje (1906:189). In a more recent study, Siegel (1979:23-31) has explored some of the symbolic associations of the wording and shape of the seal, in the specific context of the Acehnese world view. However, unique though the shape of the 'thunder seal' undoubtedly is, some other aspects appear less so when seen in the context of other Malay seals (see below).

There are undoubtedly symbolic associations with the shape of the seals, and it is for precisely such a study that there is a pressing need for more facsimile reproductions of seal impressions. During the reign of Sultan Hasym of Brunei (25th Sultan, r.1885-1906), Treasher commented:

"The Sultan's Chop is the Great Seal of State and is distinguished by being the only one of which the circumference can be quite round and unbroken; the edges of the Wazirs are always notched" (Treasher 1889:64).

However, other examples of royal seals from Brunei belie this prescription – the seals of Sultan Muhammad Tajuddin (19th Sultan) and Sultan Muhammad Kanzul Alam (21st Sultan) are both petalled circles. While the seals of the Sultans of Johor and Pahang are completely round, so are those of many minor chiefs. So far, the largest seal identified is that of Sultan Mansur Syah of Perak, a circle 6.2 cm in diameter with a scalloped edge\(^8\).

Inscription and calligraphy

The inscription on a Malay seal is generally written in Arabic, Arabic and Malay or Just Malay (the present catalogue also includes one seal in Balinese and one in Dutch). It usually bears the personal name and rank of the owner, often with a religious invocation and a date. Most seal inscriptions are wholly in Jawi (Arabic script), but under European influence, partially romanised inscriptions are also found on some seals from as early as the late 18th century. The inscription usually runs horizontally across the seal in 2-3 or more lines. Sometimes the inscription continues around a border. Difficulty in deciphering inscriptions is due, in the case of lamp-black, to excess smudging, and in the case of wax, usually to damage to the seal and the loss of wax.

The most common religious appellation used in Malay seals is Al-wathiq billah. The description zil Allah fi al-alam is found not only on the seals of the Sultans of Aceh (see Siegel (1979:23-31) for a detailed discussion of the derivation of this phrase) but also on those of the rulers of Gubu, Perak, Sambas and Terengganu. Other common Arabic phrases used are khalifah al-rahim, al-imam, fi sabil Allah while in other cases purely Malay phrases like hamba Allah yang miskin tiada bardaya are used. Calligraphic considerations and line-breaks also play a part in the arrangement of the inscription in the seal. Certain stylised layouts have clearly been chosen for symbolic reasons, notably the inscription on the seal of Sultan Abdullah of Kedah\(^7\) which reads, from top to bottom, Aliah / Raja Abd / ibn Muazzam Syah (‘/’ denoting line breaks). In this case, the 'Aliah' of 'Abdullah' has consciously been placed in the most prominent position at the top of the seal.
Position

In Malay letters, the textblock is situated asymmetrically in the lower left portion of the sheet of paper, leaving a margin on the right hand side. The seal was almost always placed in this margin on the right, parallel to or just above the start of the first line. In a few examples, the seal is placed at the bottom of the page, and in one example, in the righthand margin but half way down the page. A few letters bear two seals, one in the normal position and the second, usually smaller one, in the bottom left corner at the close of the letter.

Some letter-writing guides or studies carry strong prescriptions on the position of the seal, but whether these rules were adhered to or were relevant in different regions is not always clear. According to Dusaurier (1845:14), the further to the right that the seal was placed, the higher the status of the writer. If several seals were imprinted at the top (in the case of a joint letter or declaration), the lower the status of the official concerned, the further to the left the position of his seal. In his notes on Malay letter-writing based on the Cambridge University Library terasul manuscript (Add.3790), Wilkinson (1907) does not comment on the relative position of the seal other than to state that it is placed by the start of the first line. Winstedt (1919) prescribes:

"maka apabila ada surat2 dari pada Kerajaan atau Yang Dipertuan dipakailah cap2 itu ditekankan di sebelah kanan warkahnya sejajar dengan baris yang pertama pada ruang pujian2 itu dan cap segala pegawai dipukulkan sebelah kanan jus tetapi sejajar dengan penghabisan pujian2 dan jika cap orang kebanyakannya hanya di kaki surat." (Winstedt 1919:18)

An 1871 edition of a lithographed Malay letter-writing guide does contain four pages of instructions on the placing of the seal for royal correspondence. Starting with the seal being placed at the top of the sheet of paper in the middle of the page in the case of correspondence between two reigning monarchs of equal rank and descent, the following ten prescriptions are given, written in circles which emulate the position of the seal in descending positions down the right-hand margin, save for the last two which are placed at the top of their respective sample letters:

- Ini tempat cap Sultan yang kerajaan martabatnya yang sama tinggi silsilahnya sama besar pangkatnya itulah adanya
- Dari pada Raja kerajaan kepada saudara kerajaannya
- Kepada saudara anak Raja Muda atau kepada Raja Temenggung
- Ini tempat cap Sultan yang kerajaan kepada Temenggung Penghulu yang memegang kerajaan
- Ini tempat cap Bendahara kepada Raja yang kerajaannya
- Ini tempat cap Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan yang kerajaan kepada hulubalang kecil2 yang memegang m-a-l-q
- Ini tempat cap Adipati Temenggung Laksamana yang dikurniai cap atau yang tiada beroleh cap melainkan m-t-d-a kerajaan
- Ini tempat Yang Dipertuan kepada Bendahara atau kepada Bendahara yang lain2
- Ini tempat cap Sultan kerajaan kepada Bendahara Seri Maharaja

(Terasul 1871:ff 11v-13r)

However, these prescriptions do not really agree with the available evidence, and it is difficult not to concur with Wilkinson when he stated: "Even the published Malay 'polite-letter-writers' (terasul) show no true logical arrangement in their specimen of correspondence; they only approximate to the correct forms. Although we can see from them that there must have been principles underlying Malay letter-writing in the past, we cannot deduce what those principles were" (Wilkinson 1907:27).
Notes: THE ART OF THE MALAY LETTER

1. The two major collections of original Malay manuscript letters in British collections are the Light Letters, SOAS MS 40320 (see Kratz 1967) and the Raffles Family Collection, BL MSS Eur. D.742/1 (partially described in Ahmad 1971).

2. For example, the Farquhar letterbook, BL Add.12395, containing 117 copies of letters to and from Col. William Farquhar in Singapore and neighbouring Malay rulers, c.1820-21.

3. See, for example, Marsden (1954), Record van Eyssinge (1353), Dulaurier (1845), Meursinge (1845 & 1847), Shallabear (1897), Klinkert (1903), Dussek (n.d.), Voorhoeve (1977), Gallop & Arps (1991).


5. Proudfoot (1992:511-16) lists 19 separate editions and printings of various Kitab terasai, dating from 1866 to 1920. Numerous other versions were published well into the 1960s and 70s, although the focus of such works inevitably shifted over time, from presenting sample letters of petitions to rajas, to job applications and letters of resignation.

6. There are a number of famous episodes in the Sejarah Malaya pertaining to the edal istiadat (etiquette and customs) surrounding the writing, sending and receiving of royal letters.

7. In many early publications, Malay letters were merely included without comment as reading material for students of the language. Some of the art of Malay letter-writing are found in Dulaurier (1845), but the most systematic study is R.J. Wilkinson's Notes on Malay letter-writing (1907) which was based on CUL MS 3790 mentioned above, and reprinted without the introduction in Winstedt (1913). Winstedt's Nasca Sahifah (1919) draws heavily on Wilkinson's study.

8. A full enquiry into Malay letters should also take into consideration the use of other languages for international and inter-regional correspondence within the Malay world - namely Javanese, Balinese and Bugis, and Arabic, English, Dutch and Portuguese - to try to determine what factors governed the choice of a non-Malay language. For instance, a certain proportion of the small corpus of 17th century letters from Malay rulers are written in Arabic. Note should also be taken of letters in Malay in scripts other than Jawi - for example, a letter from Mads Lange to the ruler of Tabanan in 1852, written on palmleaf in Malay in Balinese script (BL Or.12971).

Notes: MALAY SEALS

1. No Malay seal matrices are held amongst the 900 Islamic seals in the British Museum, nor are any found in the catalogue of the 130 seals in the Ashmolean Museum (Kalus 1985) - the only published catalogue of Islamic seals in British collections. One seal/talisman belonging to a Malay noblewoman is on display in the Balai Pameran Islam in Kuala Lumpur, while 4 silver seals are displayed in the treasure room of the National Museum in Jakarta (E.219, seal of Sri Sultan Abdullah Muhammed Dadu Syah Johan, Aceh; E.220, seal from Aceh; E.221; E.63, seal of Panglima Teuku Muda Nyak Malim, Simpang Ulum, Aceh, dated A.H. 1061).

2. For example, the seal no.262 described as belonging to 'Sultan Muhammad Shah Amir-Al-Din' of 'Malaya' in Tirmizi (1882) 139-40) is, from its characteristic shape - a circle with ornamental headpiece - instantly recognizable as the seal of Sultan K'ai'it Nuku of Tidore (Gallop & Arps 1991:38-9,129-30).

3. For a discussion on the use of seals as marks of ownership in later Muslim cultures, see Rogers (1992:16-17).

4. BL MSS Eur.D.742/1, f 28

5. BL MSS Eur.F.148/4, f 106

6. Bodleian Library, MS Laud Or. Rolls b.1

7. Malay seals form a distinct subset of the larger class of Islamic seals, and as such, other Islamic cultures may provide some useful avenues of enquiry. One such frame of reference may be the Ottoman situation: imperial fermans were authenticated not with a seal but with the Sultan's (hand-drawn) tugra, while official decrees issued on the authority of his subjects mostly bear the seal of the official responsible in addition to the signature (Rogers 1992:11-13). Thus it may be the case that at the Acehnese court in the early 17th century, seals were used for some types of documents and not others, the sumptuousness and great size of the royal letter to King James I needing no further means of authentication.

8. Abdullah used the word 'cap' for 'seal'.

9. This data is found written on the same sheet as the sketches. The seal designs themselves have the date 'sanaat 121' which does not make sense. Three-digit dates on Islamic seals usually imply that the figure 'one' has to be added to designate thousands (Kalus 1986:12), but a date of A.H.1121 (A.D.1709) is irreconcilable with the dates of the Arumpone.


11. SOAS MS 40320/11, f 9

12. SOAS MS 40320/11, ff 29, 122

13. BL Add.45271, f 11r, and 20 other examples.

14. For example, BL MSS Eur.D.742/1, ff 121, 127

15. BL MSS Eur.D.742/1, f 20

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*Southeast Asian Manuscripts*

Balinese palm leaf manuscripts

H.I.R. Hinzler

Leiden, 14-18 December, 1992
Stylesheet Descriptions Balinese Mss
H.I.R. Hinzler

1. Registration No.
2. Title
3. Language/languages
4. Type of ms (for instance Ms. on lontar palm leaf, lempiran type)
5. Measurements
6. Number of leaves, type of numbering, type of script used for numbering.
7. Number of perforations per leaf (in the case of a ms on palm leaf)
8. Margins + measurement
9. Damages
10. Sides, coloured or not
11. Script, characteristics of script, measurement, blackened or not; number of lines per side per leaf/page.
   Scribe(s); name(s) of scribe(s)
12. Verse of prose; number of cantos; number of stanzas per canto; way the end of a canto is marked; way the end of a stanza is marked.
13. Metres; name of the metre; structure of the metre; regular or irregular;
14. How is the metre sung; reference to recording;
15. Title; explanation of the title; is the title mentioned in the text.
16. Author; name of author; caste; region; period;
   Date of composition
17. Complete or incomplete text.
18. Beginning of text; 1st & 2nd stanzas of a canto, in the case of tengahan metres, the 1st & 2nd of the buwa and of the dawa type; if prose: 2 lines.
19. End of text; final stanzas/prose
20. Colophon + translation into English
21. Summary of the text in English, references to cantos and stanzas in the case of a poem.
22. Genre of the text; meaning and function of the text or textpart.
   (theatre, ritual, etc.)
23. Mentioned in other catalogues (Brandes 1901; Juynboll 1912)
24. Used in critical text edition (Ms. A.B.C, etc)
25. Transliteration(s) on paper in Bal. or Latin script
26. Summary by others in Balinese/Indonesian/other languages
27. Collection; previous owner(s); year of acquisition by the Library
Canto V
1. Akame jwā nōd mango pākite,  jwā hina kanman, manyarāh pākite ati.  
2. Akame mā pākite jvā mēkam, jwā mākem, nārā hīk, nārā hīk ati.  
3. Mē na kame hōkam, ŋākite, dina mōkite, ŋākite, kame nōd mango, ŋākite, ŋākite ati.  
5. Ńo kame mōkite jvā ahi, ŋākite, mēkam, kame mōkite, ŋākite ati.  

Summary
Canto 1: Dō Gunati has only one son whom he loves and spoils. When his son reaches a certain age, however, he is old enough to receive lessons in good behaviour from his father. Dō Gunati wants his son to become pure by absorbing knowledge of the holy literature. In this way, a student becomes a radiant source for his surroundings and does not lie in misery. The basis for this all is the doctrine of the "Tūgha parāsukhā," the "purusha of the three bodies" consisting of kāyika, vācika, and mananika, by keeping to these rules a person leads a good life (sūstras 1-5). It is said that he holy literature that one should not do things by half. One should not be wild or aggressive, and one should treat well even those people belonging to the lower classes. One should be polite towards grown-ups. One should not seat oneself in a higher position when dealing with higher class people (sūstras 6-9). The meaning of vācika is explained. It says that one should always use polite words, engendering a word feeling in those to whom one speaks. One should not speak in riddles nor keep something back, or cheat anyone. If one does not keep to these rules, one will meet difficulties in life (sūstras 10-12). The meaning of mananika is then explained. It is something spiritual. One has to take care that one's mind is tranquil and that one can concentrate. In this way one's mind will become lucid and pure as a jewel (sūstras 13). How can one learn to be steadfast? Dō Gunati, will try to explain this, but since I am not an expert in these matters, I am not very good at it. There always is a chance that a strong, evil fire (man) will take possession of a person. How can a person prevent this? On the other hand it is possible that virtue (guna) will enter a person. In fact good and bad are closely related (sūstras 14-17). The king, named Sakaew, is excellent. He has five paths of sakti, lōhā, mōhā, mārā, and ēdā. The sakti of kroha, the name's are called pāka, sākha, mōm, mōkite, and nārā. jvā and mōdā are desired, with sākha and tēnga at his head. These confuse one's mind (sūstras 18-20). There are a host of ritual seducers, and many people have already victim to them. What can you do yourself in order not to fall victim to them? Wall, heed to my advice and listen to my explanations of how to tame the jvā (sūstras 21-24). Do not be deceitful, behave yourself in a gentle way, do not push yourself forward (sūstra 25). How should someone, who wants to

Canto II
A person should serve the world; he will then be regarded as a teacher (guru). He will gain or lose marks of favour depending on good or bad conduct, for there exist the 'eight divine modes of conduct' (astāstāvādha), that have to be applied by the māyā (āngi). These are: Indra, Mili, Kōvē, Kōvē, and Āgāh in the Dī Kāmattā. Indra and Āgāh are already introduced, the other three Indra, Tāna, Sākha, and Āgāh. Kōvē, Kōvē, and Āgāh are all evil (āgāh). The vow of Indra should always be applied by the Āgāh by presenting gifts like river dropping on the earth. The vow of Tāna consists in the four punishments (śvāda) for those who behave badly. The vow of Sākha means being firm, always avoiding insidious days and performing only good deeds. The vow of the moon (śāhlī) consists in making the world happy by using words sweet as honey. The vow of the god of the Wind (Bhūma) means inspiring love by good conduct (śvāda 4-9). People who behave well will gain the love of the Āgāh, those who act wrongly will be punished by him by means of the Tānasvāda. If you are full of love for the Āgāh, however, you will receive the Indrasvāda as a reward. The sixth vow, that of Vīrāvāma, means that the Āgāh daily pays on his best clothes and enjoys the good things of life such as food and drink, but not too much of them. If one drinks too much, one's mind gets confused. The vow of Indra is handling weapons (śvāda, flail, bed). These serve as a meditation in the defeat of fear. The vow of Āgāh means burning a fire thing (śvāda 20-20). He who strives for supremacy, revives power (śvāda), a very fine (śvāda), who revives fire (śvāda), through asceticism (śvāda 20-21). The task of a māyā is to maintain religion and enact regulations in order to purify the world, together with the māyā (āngi) who perform jāpa, yoga and asceticism (śvāda). A māyā should also apply joy (śvāda), mildness (śvāda), patience (śvāda), gottōnā (śvāda), wrath (śvāda), and charity (śvāda). You, my child, have to apply these as well. The aforementioned list refers to the digambaraśā, the two highest forms of good conduct. A complete list of them is given in the Dī Kāmattā śrāvāna. 1 tapa, 2 tapa, 3 samadhi, 4 śrāvāna, 5 Kāmata, 6 Kāmata, 7 Kāmata, 8 śrāvāna, 9 śrāvāna, and 10 śrāvāna.  It is full of joy, mild, firm and steadfast. Always give what you are asked for (śvāda 23-24). He patient in studying the holy literature, he gentle do not show anger. Consider the five sāsana (śvāda), the Ten Sāsana (śvāda), and the Six Fās (śvāda). If you do so, you are really a divine person (śvāda), worthy of being honoured. Having listened to my account, choose what you can use and apply this. Since as long as you live you have to perform good deeds, in order to build up merit (śvāda) on behalf of your soul. If you behave badly during your lifetime, your soul will...
will come and torture you (Isaiah 57:21). You will call out to me early, but I will not answer you. When you call out to me, I will not hear you. Your blood is upon your head for the deeds of your hands. You will be judged by your own deeds. I will also judge you in the blood of your enemies. For you made me fight for you, but I will not answer you. When you call out to me, I will not hear you. Your blood is upon your head for the deeds of your hands. You will be judged by your own deeds. I will also judge you in the blood of your enemies.

The text mentions passages from various books, including Isaiah and Exodus, discussing themes of justice, judgment, and divine punishment. It also references the idea of seeking the Lord and being judged by one's actions. The text concludes with a warning of judgment and the eventual call to seek the Lord for salvation.
Someone who does not marry the girl he loves, but searches all the time for someone who is rich, will die a bachelor. If someone is ashamed to mingle with children and laugh at the old and the sick, and only wants to deal with the rich and beautiful and if he does not want to honour the gods, such a person will carry a fantastic item (xtammas 14-32). If you do not honour your wife, you will be punished. It is better to perform puja with beautiful flowers, than to keep good fruit. Everyone, of high and low birth, is able to honour God in the same way. Everyone can, on account of his good or bad behaviour, be reborn in a person of higher or lower rank. If you live well, do not eat too much, keep what you need, bathe yourself regularly and brush your teeth, you may be reborn in a higher class (xtammas 33-50). It is better to live painlessly than to dress yourself up. A man, who behaves well, brushes his teeth daily, honouring the priests (wina) and his parents, receives a reward, but a bad scribbler, who does not behave in the right way will be punished. You, my son, should not behave like this. Since you are of high birth, you must have been a good person in a previous existence. And if you take care of yourself now, by cleansing yourself, saying holy formulas, obeying the orders of the priest, by honouring brahmanas and acting fairly and performing puja in the proper way, then you will receive the love of the deities, wisdom and finally Heaven. And, when you have finally achieved Heaven, you will always remember how to behave will, when you come from Hell, however, you are a low (mitaka), vile, pitiful person (xtammas 31-49).

Canto 19
In the Puranas, by Yoh Tan Akong the vegetation of the gaun (xtammas) 5 is treated. How will I explain to you how parents and their children should behave towards each other. As long as a child is below 7 years old it is honoured, spoiled, cherished and it cannot yet do things resulting in dosa (xtammas 1-2). When a child is 10 years old, it is not yet allowed to read the holy literature, but it should not have wrong ideas. As soon as you are older than 10, life will become difficult, so you have to learn how to think correctly and how to use the right words when you speak. If a child has a father who does not know how to educate his child, the latter will have a difficult life. The child will become impure because of his father. It will be ridiculed, endure hardship, fall ill. Therefore you, my son, have to try to live will, and listen to what is good in order to achieve a pure heart (xtammas 3-4). Then you will receive a place in Heaven later. Always heed your father's words, do not take the wrong steps, then your father will be happy. If you do not behave like this, your father will feel as if he is childless. Always behave well, act in a restrained manner, do not be cruel, do not quarrel, then you will not have to endure misery or dosa and gain Heaven. If you accumulate much gana, your dosa becomes less and less and will even disappear. If your dosa is already large, and there is no gana, everything is in vain. You will be embittered in your vikan (vishava) while you are still a child, and when you are older you will not be able to study the holy literature because you have become maled. The mind of a child is holy, if it does not resist the study of holy literature. So you have to do a good deed daily and praise bravely. You will become strong enough then to safeguard your body from sins. Honour your teacher, then you will feel fine. Take care to become rich, not materially, but in knowledge. Then you will be happy and die happy. Live in accordance with the scriptures, then you will reach your aim. Keep to the sastras sabdabhasa, the selected essentials of the books of learning (xtammas 35-76).
Or. 3687

Luh Baras, or Sumaguna, geguritan

Balinese

Manuscript on lontar palm-leaf, lampiran type.
11 Leaves, numbered 1-11 in Balinese script and 1-21 in Arabic numerals.

25.5 x 3.7 cm.

There are three perforations per leaf. The margins on the left, right and in the centre are marked by vertical strokes. These margins amount to 2.6 cm (3), 2.1 cm (C) and 2.7/2.8 cm (R). All sides of the leaves are coloured red.

Balinese script, small (0.2 cm), upright, very regular. Blackened. Four lines per side. The sa gegembulan is always marked in the proper way and can thus easily be distinguished from the pa gegembulan.

Verse, 55 stanzas. The metre is ginada, which belongs to the sekar alti type of metres. Each stanza consists of 52 syllables, the vowel in the final syllable being i. The structure is 8a, 8i, 8o, 8u, 8a, 4i, 8a. The metre is applied very regularly in this poem. It is not known whether a particular melody should be applied in this poem. A recording of stanzas 1-3, however, with the melody commonly used for ginada is to be found in Cassette No. C/xx.

The text is incomplete if compared to Or. 11.131 and Or. 15.472 which are both called Luh Baras. Both manuscripts have 149 stanzas. Or. 11.131 being from Samsam in Tabanan and Or. 15.472 from Puri Raiinerin in Kabakaba (Tabanan). There are too more poems, Or. 13.535 and Or. 12.733 which though entitled Sumaguna contain the same tale of Luh Baras consisting of 213 and 215 stanzas respectively. In these more complete texts the name of the metre ginada is announced in stanza 1a. The tale should be 'gurit', 'sung', according to Or. 11.131 and 15.472:2b and hence the text can be called a 'gaguritan'. In Or. 11.131 and 15.472:1b,c the author announces that he will begin a 'poem', 'gurit', and that it serves as a 'song', 'kidung', that can be sung for pleasure.

The title Luh Baras has been written by Van der Tuuk on leaf 1a both in pencil and in ink. The poem has thus received its title from the first personal name, that of the heroine Luh Baras or Nyai Luh Baras which occurs in stanzas 2c in the more complete has Or. 11.131 and 15.472, but the poem can, as already mentioned, also be called Sumaguna after the hero who plays a role in the poem. His name is mentioned for the first time instance 68 of Or. 11.131 and 15.472. In Or. 3687 the name Luh Baras is mentioned for the first time in stanza 1b and Sumaguna in stanza 48.

The name of the author and his region of origin are unknown. The poem can be dated to the second half of the 19th century on the basis of the language.

Beginning: (leaf 1b)
1. Iiyu anak mengarsayang, mapadik twa katampi, brahmana pragusti kawot, satriya leuhi sangguru, len prabali jajar karang, pada pedit,
nyané twara makaraz.

2. sede kurnama ning kapat, tumpok lulu manonoin, pabrasi bhlan
lanang wadon, pradaané pada nyaluk, masbiri mangu tiéwa, heluh
mwan, ada trunsa sada mabikas.

End (leaf 1lb)
54. mapete nabi jalan, muniiné saleing cambungin, koospan Nyaih Luh
Raras, lingsir sanja menek mumun, balé panggung pangungangan,
ngalik-aliik, katonang uli diwangan.

55. calin tamparé mapontang, pan dalan sor sawokir, muniin gongseng
kumangsong, ketégané cara ujung, cecedecan nyumangkirang,
nganyih-nyiik, tin tarunamé mendra.

Contents

Many men, brahmans, pragusti, satria, senggah, prabali and ordinary
jaba want to marry (= to abduct a girl), but they are not successful.
They are frustrated although they have plenty of opportunities to come
into contact with beautiful girls, as it is full moon of the Fourth
month (Purnama Kapar) coinciding with Tumpok Lulut (a Saturday Klon).
On this day girls and their mothers go and bathe in pools and bathing
places in the hope of being purified and receiving salvation later.
One of these girls is SI Luh (Baras). She bathes herself, puts on her
beautiful clothes and when she combs her hair the fish in the pool are
amazed by her beauty (stanza 1-16). Having bathed, Luh Raras and the
other maidens (daha) decide to return. They walk back one behind the
other in a row. Their clothes are described (stanza 17-19). The young
man (truna) are agitated when they see the girls pass by, and Luh Raras
in particular draws much attention. She looks as if she is a princess;
people say she is the daughter of a Kubayan who lives in Banjar
Tengah. Although many boys would like to abduct her, they cannot
afford to do so since they are penniless. Other boys just retreat,
shaken, not knowing what to do (stanza 20-23). 'If I can get her, I
am not afraid to die or be sinful'. "Having her as a wife, means being
in Heaven'. 'What is the purpose of one's life? To absorb the essence
of everything, in particular of love. But how does one achieve this?'"
'One is daily hampered by obstacles and then one's mind grows dull'.
'One smells a fragrant perfume on top of a mountain, but it is far
away and it eludes one'. Such are the thoughts of some of the young
men (stanza 24-28). However, if one is honest and loves someone
sincerely, one need not be afraid to die. Just abduct the beloved. But
if one's heart is ignoble, hampered by panic, merely concerned with
making love, such behaviour will prevent a person from thinking
clearly and being aware of real life'. These are the thoughts of other
boys (stanza 29,30). Other friends say: 'Just follow her, die
together, don't ponder over Hell or Heaven'. Such are the reflections
of the boys, overwhelmed by love (stanza 31-32). Meanwhile Luh Raras
goes home, because it is growing late. Her mother urges her to be
careful. Being grown up now, she should not stray too far away for
boys everywhere are sly and bad, gambling and drinking and all the
while planning to abduct her. Even though a boy is handsome, this is
no guarantee that his character is good as well (stanza 33-35). But
if your destiny is unlucky, you cannot escape it (stanza 36-37). In
Banjar Kangin there lives an orphan. Since early childhood he has
lived with his stepmother. She had brought him up because she also had
no family of her own. He is grown up now and is very handsome, with
beautiful black hair. His name is Sunaguna. In fact he and Luh Raras
are cousins. He is a member of the prabali. According to many people
Luh Raras and he would form a good couple. Not only is his character
good, but he is also skilled at many things: carving, carpentry, drawing, smithing, determining auspicious and inauspicious days, singing kidung and kakawin, bebasan (stanzas 38-43). He also smiles a lot. Because it is his birthday, he has been ordered to go to the priest (padanda) in the griya to ask for holy water. On the way back he waits for Luh Baras, hoping to meet her. He ponders on the possible ways to win a girl: by stratagem, by force, by abduction. There is no doubt that everyone has his own ideas about how to win Luh Baras, but it is hard to catch her (stanzas 44, 45). Meanwhile it is growing dark. Luh Baras seats herself in a high pavilion, clearly visible from afar. She starts weaving. The melodious sound of her loom gives joy to the hearts of the boys (stanza 55). Here the poem ends abruptly.

Mentioned by Brandes 1903: 131 (No. 616) and Juynboll 1912: 116. A typewritten transcription is kept under Or. 18.144. A concordance of the stanzas Or. 3687 has in common with Or. 11.131, Or. 15.472, Or. 13.535 and Or. 12.733 is to be found under Or. 18.xxx.

Van der Tuuk Collection 1894.
Or. 3732

Bharatayuddha marti, kakawin

Old Javanese with Balinese glosses

Manuscript on lontar palm-leaf, embat-embatan type. 9 Leaves, numbered 79-87 in Balinese script and 1-18 in Arabic numerals in pencil on the margins on the righthand side.

47.5/47.7 x 3.3/3.5 cm

The margins amount to 5.5/6 cm (l) and 2.4/4.8 cm (r). There are vertical stitches of cotton thread in the margins on the righthand side. One perforation per leaf on the lefthand side.

Balinese script, small (0.2 cm), and large (0.3 cm), upright, broad, regular, blackened. Three lines of script per side. The second line contains the text in Old Javanese, while the translations into Balinese are written on the first and third lines. These are connected to the Old Javanese terms in question by means of dotted lines (semut sadular). Although the script differs in size from time to time, the whole manuscript has been written by one scribe. There is a correction on leaf 82a in the second line on the lefthand side. The name 'Drestdyuma' is spelled incorrectly as 'Drestddyuma. The name is written in the right spelling in the left margin and surmounted by a rectangle.

The title is written by Van der Tuuk in ink on two pieces of paper glued onto the left margin of leaf 79a and the right margin of leaf 87b respectively.

The Bharatayuddha was written by Npu Sedah in East Java in honour of the king Jayabaya in 1197 A.D. This is mentioned in Canto 1,2b.

Verse, 21 1/2 stanzas, Indian metres. These are sārdulawkidita and girīa. The end of a line is marked by one carik and the end of a stanza by a ciri pasalinan. The change from one canto into another is marked by two ciri pasalinan intersected by a small circle. The manuscript is incomplete. It begins in Canto XI,10 at the end of line c, continued by the final stanza XI,11, and it ends abruptly in the final stanza of Canto XII,29b.

Beginning:
(leaf 79a)
XI,10c. ...ning syandana/ maka matya lawan Wirata karehan ngunin haneng sang Prabu//
XI,11. yeke sak caturanggan bretya rai Bisma whar surak tan pananggap/ iwir aglanan kari kesiin ring pala jengning wang sang Duryodanna/ maghang rat ri daceg kadi meamanapi warma ngutus mantuk/ nahan hecunira pasah ramyan pahungsir kata//o//

(leaf 79b)
XII,1. ata sedeng ira mantuk sang surulagha ring ayun/ tusca aji wira (sa)ng akarya, etc.

XII,2. lalu lariniran asasambat putranira pejah/ etc.
An English summary of the contents of the Bharatayuddha is to be found in Zoetmijlder 1974: 256-263. In the fragment of this manuscript the king of Wirata mourns because his children have been killed during the war. Drestadyumna is chosen as the new commander-in-chief. A new circle order is devised, namely the Garudavyuha. Drupada is at the head. Kresna wants to kill the teacher of both Pandawa and Korawa, Bisma. Bisma, however, says that he wants to be killed only by Arjuna's weapon the disc. Arjuna restrains Kresna from killing Bisma.

It appears that at least the first two stanzas of Canto XII, in which is described how the heroes return from the battle-field and how king Wirata weeps, may be sung during a Balinese death ritual, in particular during the ritual washing of a corpse (Anandakusuma 1972: 89). It is probable that for the sake of convenience Canto XII has been taken out of a complete manuscript and treated as a separate manuscript in order to be used by singers and translators during bebasan accompanying the ceremony.

Mentioned by Brandes 1901: 218 (no. 218), Juynboll 1907: 123 and rigaud 1968: 133. A transcription in Balinese script on paper is kept under Or. 4120.

An der Tuuk Collection, 1894.
BALINESE PALM LEAF MANUSCRIPTS
Manufacture, manipulation and magic
Writing materials, writing and scribes

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December 1992
Introduction
This article deals with a particular kind of writing material that was and still is being used in Bali and the western part of Lombok inhabited by Balinese. It is made of leaves. Those of the lontar palm tree (Borassus flabellifer or flabelliformis, or palmyra) are well known. This writing material is still being used for the rendering of texts, in particular texts which are important. This is why they were and continue to be kept and venerated by many Balinese. Another tree, the gebang (Corypha gebanga) is also mentioned (for instance in the introductory prayer of a wayang puppet performance by North Balinese dalang) in connection with writing material. It may also be called 'wild lontar' (Ginarsa 1975:92). The gebang, however, was, at least in the 1930s, very rare in Bali, whereas the lontar palm grew abundantly in the dry areas (Cox 1931: 189). In Lombok the situation was the reverse; the lontar palm tree had to be planted (Cox 1931: 189). In the lesser Sunda Islands the lontar palm was abundant (Cox 1931: 189). Another plant fibre, the bract of the pudak, by which the flower of the pandanus shrub is meant, may also serve as writing material, but only for short notes.

Leaves of the gebang and lontar palm tree were also used as writing material on other islands (Java, Madura, Sulawesi for instance), but their manufacture and role in these areas will not be taken into consideration here.

Most of the information collected for this article dates from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The main sources are the Balinese palm leaf mss now in the collection of the University Library in Leiden; the Kawi Balinese Dutch Dictionary (KBWNB) compiled by H.N. van der Tuuk between 1870 and 1894, but printed between 1897 and 1912; articles by Ch.J. Grader and Ch. Hooykaas (1941; based on data from Karangasem and North Bali respectively) and by I Ketut Ginarsa (1975; based on data from North Bali). More recent data are based on fieldwork conducted between 1972 and 1992 in various parts of Bali.

So far, not much has been written about Balinese palm leaf mss and their manufacture in the 19th and early 20th century. Not much is known either about the manufacture of palm leaf mss in the period earlier than the end of the 19th century.
Questions that should be asked in this respect are:
- who were/are able to manufacture writing material, and why did they do so?
- what kind of technical skills and tools are involved in the transformation of the leaves in writing material?
- do specific terms for tools, writing materials and writing exist in Balinese?
- is traditional writing material still produced in modern Bali?
- what was/is the value of palm leaf as writing material compared to other writing materials?
- who were able to write and read?
- what kind of alphabets and languages are involved in the case of palmleaf as writing material?
- is there a tendency to replace the old fashioned writing material by new material, in particular paper?
- is there any relationship between the contents or the character of the texts and the sort and size of the writing material?
- what is the oldest evidence of writing in general and writing on palm leaf in particular in Bali?
- in which collection is the oldest Balinese palm leaf manuscript kept?

The lontar palm tree and its leaves
Leaves of the lontar palm tree provide 'the best writing material' (Grader 1941:23; pers.comm. Catra 1990,1991) compared to those of the gebang tree.

Lontar palm leaves of the best quality are those that have been cut (petik) in the month of Karitka/Kapat (corresponding to September-October) and Kasanga/Kadasa (corresponding to March/April) and before the full moon (purnama) (pers. comm. Catra 1991,1992). Leaves that are cut in other seasons are either not yet fully developed or too old.

Ch.J. Grader made notes on the manufacture of lontar palm leaves for writing material when he was controller of the province of Karangasem in 1939 (Grader 1941:23). He mentions that the trees providing a superior quality of leaves for writing material were concentrated in the province of Karangasem, particularly in the areas of Culik, Kibu and Tianyar. These villages lie in the dry northern part of the province in the foothills of Mt. Seraya, Agung and Batur and not far from the coast. Palm trees providing leaves of an inferior quality for writing material grow in the wet area of Selat, uphills on the slopes of the Gunung Agung, to the
west of former royal centre Amlapura. Grader and the Sedahan Agung visited Griya Pendem in 1939 in order to watch the manufacture of writing material. This griya, a complex of buildings inhabited by members of the highest caste, the brahmans, is located in the town of Amlapura. Their informant, Ida Bagus Somija (old spelling) originates from a family of manufacturers of writing material and scribes. Ida Bagus Somija even showed a ‘number of tools’ that were used by his grandfather. Another place of manufacture is Griya Pidada. It is most probable that Griya Pidada in Amlapura is meant. There are griya by this name in Sidemen, Selat and Klungkung as well. A brahman family from Glumpang is also mentioned in this respect in Grader’s article. The author does not mention whether brahmans or Balinese from other castes were involved in the production of the ‘inferior’ writing material from trees in Selat. It is probable that they were brahmans too, because even now brahmans as manufacturers of k_ntar palm leaves for manuscripts are common. However, Catra, a member of the second caste, the satriya dalem, told me that he learned the manufacture of writing material from his father, the late Cokorda of Sidemen (pers. comm. Catra 1990, 1991).

The origin of palm leaves as excellent writing material seems to have been the area of Culik, Kubu and Tiantar. The best leaves from the aforementioned area were bought by the manufacturers in Amlapura. According to Grader (1941: 23), the leaves from Griya Pendem were also produced for selling, those from the other Griya and other areas were for private use only.

According to Grader’s informant, Ida Bagus Somija, the royalty of Sukawati, Abian Basé (in the province of Gianyar), Badung, Tabanan, Klungkung and Bangli ordered manufactured leaves for writing material “in the days when the kings were still ruling over Bali”. The period before 1906 must be meant. This implies that the royalty of the various little ‘kingdoms’ south of that of Karangasem placed orders for ready-made writing material, and that they employed their own scribes to produce manuscripts. It is striking that the realm of Bulièng is not mentioned by Grader’s informant. I Gusti Putu Djelantik, a descendant from the royal house of Tukadmungga, but adopted by the house of Sukasada, was an avid collector of palm leaf ms. After the Lombok Expedition of 1894 and the expeditions of the Dutch against Badung and Tabanan (1906) and Klungkung (1908) (which he joined) he was actively compiling a library of palm leaf books for his own collection. This collection was kept in Puri Gobraja (also called Puri Kanginan) in Singaraja. In addition he also ordered or
personally wrote many transcriptions from texts in which he was interested till his death in 1938. It is probable that he used leaves from the area of Calik, Kubu and Tianyar as well, but had them manufactured in Singaraja.

On the photographs illustrating Ginarsa’s article on the preparation of lontar palm leaves for writing material the brahman priest, the late Ida Pedanda Madé Kamenuh is engaged in the manufacture. At the time he was living in a griya close to the palace of the late I Gusti Putu Djelantik.

According to my informants from South Bali, the royalty from Tabanan and Krambitan also used leaves from trees in Jadi, in the mountainous area of Tabanan.

Grader (1951:23) remarks that even during the period when the royalty was still ruling in Bali, the demand for lontar as a writing material was never great. As a result, the number of specialists manufacturing the leaves was small. In this respect one has to bear in mind that leaves of the Borassus flabellifer were also in demand by Balinese women, who used them for their plaited offerings. Offerings made of dried, yellow lontar palm leaves were considered more sophisticated, more exquisite than those made of the young, green busung (cononut palm leaves). This means that the lontar palm did grow in areas, other than the aforementioned, but that the quality of the leaves was not good enough for the manufacture of leaves for books. At present it is not difficult to obtain dried lontar palm leaves in the quarters selling ritual implements in village and town markets.

The creation of the Lontar Foundation in Singaraja in June 1928 stimulated the preparation of leaves and the manufacture of manuscripts. The idea behind the Foundation, which was named Kinty Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk, after the two most famous Baliologists F.A. Liefrinck and H.N. van der Tuuk, was to preserve Balinese literature, to make inventories of all the mss collections in Bali and to make copies of important mss for the library of the Foundation. In the proposals (Berg & Goris 1929:11) salaries for four scribes (fl. 960.-- per year) and the cost of leaves, and other tools (fl. 180.-- per year) were enumerated. Between 19/12/1928 and 17/7/1941 the Foundation collected 2263, mainly new made, palm leaf mss. Although there was a decline of the manufacture of palm leaves for writing material after 1941 in the whole of Bali, from the end of the 1970s onwards leaves for writing are manufactured again. This occurs mainly in the area of Amlapura - Boda Kling - Pidpид -
Sidemen and in Tenganan Pagringsingan in the province of Karangasem. The main impetus for the manufacture of leaves for writing material was the possibility to sell small manuscripts, in particular illustrated ones, to tourists visiting the famous 'Law Court', the Kreta Gosa, in the town of Klungkung and the so-called 'Bali Aga' village of Tenganan Pagringsingan (see for instance Or. 23.053, ten illustrated leaves with scenes from the Ramayana and short texts in Balinese and English). The lontar project of Drs. I Wayan Warna of the Department of Education and Culture (Dinas Pendidikan Dasar) in Denpasar started in 1982-1983 did also revive the preparation of lontar palm leaves for writing material. Important texts from famous private collections were copied on palm leaf and deposited in the Office of the Department in Jin Melati. In 1988 the Documentation Centre (Pusat Dokumentasi) in Sanglah, founded in 1986, took this collection over and continued the copying important mss. till the end of 1991. The leaves used for all these copies originate from the area of Selat. They were prepared in Amlapura by Catra (pers.comm. Catra 1990, 1991).

Preparation of the leaves of the lontar palm tree

The leaves as such cannot be used. They first have to be prepared. The preparation of the leaves has two aims. The first aim is to obtain leaves that are dry, without sap, as such leaves last longer. The second reason is to protect the leaves from being eaten by insects, particularly termites (bubuk/klander). There exist Balinese terms for the preparation or conservation of the leaves: mubad, masipat, mawilah (KBNWB), which means treated with a herbal remedy.

The most extensive treatment is given to leaves on which important texts have to be written. The best and broadest and longest leaves are chosen. These measure about 1.15 m and are about 0.06 to 0.07 m broad. The ribs of the leaves are removed so that each leaf consists of one layer. For texts of less importance, such as notes, calendars, IOU's, letters, village regulations, leaves with ribs are used in most cases. These leaves consist of two layers connected at the top by the rib. Usually these leaves are soaked in water in order to straighten them. They are then bleached and dried in the sun. Because manuscripts of such leaves are often kept in the kitchen and even hung over the fire place where they are exposed to the smoke, the 'pages' become very hard, as if they are made of wood (see and smell for instance Or. 22.998, dated 1829, or Or. 22.999 and Or. 23.000 from the same period from Tenganan Pagringsingan). Moreover insects do not like the smoked leaves, so they are very
The drying of the leaves for sophisticated texts in the Karangasem area is described by Grader 1941: 24. The fresh, green leaves, which are rather broad at the beginning (about 6 cm) and smaller at the tip (about 2 cm) are selected. The broad ones are preferred. They are bundled and their tips are bound together, so they can be hung out and dried in the sun (majemuh). Ginarsa (1975:92) mentions a period of two or three days. They turn yellowish. After this the leaves are soaked in water for three to four days and dried again. Grader (1941:24) mentions yet another process: they are grated (nyutsut) with the hairy bark of the coconut. When the leaves are dry again, the spines are taken out. Then the smaller tips of the leaves are cut off. The leaves are put together in small bundles and rolled in order to be boiled (malablab) in a pan. Spices are put in the water. According to Ginarsa (1975: 92) the spices used in North Bali are: bark of the intaran tree (Azadirachta indica), bark of the book tree (Dracontomelon), root of the sikapa tree (Dioscorea hispida), the bud of the coconut and the temitis plant (Carcuma xanthorrhiza). Van der Tuuk (KBNWB 1897-1912, but based on research carried out between 1870 and 1894) mentions the following herbs to prepare lontar palm leaf: plawah, tengeh being the reddish bark from the tingi tree, bejadi being a kind of santen from which the oil has been removed, the bark from the intaran tree (Azadirachta indica) and palapah boreh an ointment in which the leaves are immersed. The leaves should be boiled for one night according to Ginarsa. In the morning the leaves, which have now become pliant, are taken out of the pan, washed with cold water, rubbed dry and put down on the ground in order to be dried and bleached in the sun. The leaves are now called pepesan (KA) as long as they are not inscribed. (An inscribed leaf is called tempir, KBNWB).

Ginarsa (1975: 92-3) mentions measures to be taken in order to smooth out wrinkled leaves. In the afternoon such leaves have to be moistened. This is done by sprinkling water over them. The half-wet leaves can then be easily smoothed. The next day the leaves are collected, bundled and placed in a press (pamlagbagan KA, Bll, or pamepesan Bll). A wooden slat (panyelah KA) is mounted in between each bunch of leaves in order to provide equal pressure. The top layer of leaves is also covered by such a wooden slat. This slat is called panggal KA. Finally, two bambu wedges (lait KA; pamacekan KBNWB) are pushed with a hammer between the top slat of the press itself and the slat covering the top bunch of leaves. Grader mentions that the leaves are taken out of the press temporarily every ten days in order to clean and rub them. Afterwards the leaves are placed once more in the press. This is continued for one or two galungan periods (galungan is celebrated once in 210 days. It takes
place in the week Dungulan of the wuku calendar, which corresponds with March and October).

Ginarsa writes that the leaves are pressed for 15 days only. Catra (pers.comm. 1990,1991) says that the quality of the leaves depends on the length of time they have been in the press. The longer the time the better the quality is, because by then all plant juices will have disappeared. He prefers a period of two years of 360 days. When the leaves are sufficient pliant and smooth (asah KA), they are cut to the right size. There exists a kind of cutter (panyangkan), but a small knife can be used as well.

The next treatment is the making of the holes (song KA) in the leaves. Balinese lontar palm manuscripts with a rib, only have a single hole of a diameter of 3 to 4 mm on one side (the lefthand side, where the writing starts). A piece of string of about 10 cm is put through the hole and knotted in order to keep the leaves of a manuscript together. The leaves without ribs are provided with three holes of 3 mm, one slightly eccentric and two at the sides. A long piece of string will be put through the hole in the centre to keep the leaves belonging to a particular ms together. This will be wrapped around the ms when it is not being read.

Recently I have seen people using a perforator to punch the holes, but in the old days special devices were used for the perforation. In order to mark the position of the holes on the leaves a piece of wood with three little holes is used. There exist measuring rulers (sukat KA) with three holes for the various sizes of the leaves. As already mentioned the hole in the 'middle' of the leaf is slightly eccentric. For a leaf of, for instance, 45.5 cm width, the position of the holes is usually at 2, at 22 and 43.5 cm. This means that the distance between the central hole and that on the righthand side is 1.5 cm longer than that of the central hole and that on the lefthand side. If one holds the finished lontar manuscript by the piece of string running through the central hole, the manuscript should slope to the right, so the page where the manuscript begins is the topmost leaf. If the manuscript slopes to the left, one is holding the manuscript upside down, and one should take the other end of the rope.

The positions of the holes are marked by means of charcoal or pencil, if the latter is available. For the punchholes a small instrument, the pamiretan (KA), pamirisat, empurit (BII) or pangirikan (KBNWB) should be used. It consists of a kind of wooden stylus ending in a sharp pin, like one leg of a pair of compasses. A small, sharp knife is tied against the sharp pin. This is pressed onto the leaf. By turning around the instrument, the hole is punched. Once the leaves have been provided with the proper holes, they are put in a pres
again, but now in a smaller one (pangadukan KA or pangandun KBNWB). The top and bottom slats are provided with occasionally two, but more usually three pins that pierce the holes in the leaves. These slats with pins are called agum (KA). The leaves are pressed tightly together by placing wedges between the agum and the pair of slats covering the bunch of leaves. If such slats are not used, iron tapes are strung around the slats (agum) of the press. The sides of the bunch of leaves are carefully trimmed (serat KA, Bil, KBNWB) and polished with pumice (batu kembung KA) and sandpaper (ampelas KA). Then the long sides can be coloured if desired. Red is the preferred choice. The best red is made of the kincu powder which is imported from China (see for instance Or. 22981, dated 1899, from Singaraja). To day a red paint is often used, which is rather coarse. Black may also be used. Important manuscripts from royal courts (Buléleng, Karangasem, Lombok) may be coloured with gold leaf, or red with scroll ornaments in gold (Or. 22.972 dated 1842 and Or. 23.002 dated 1911 both from Singaraja). There are numerous examples of such manuscripts dating from the end of the 18th century up to the 1930s in the Leiden University Library.

Finally, the short sides of the bunch of leaves are cut and smoothened. The sides are usually not usually painted. The leaves can now be taken out of the press.

To facilitate writing, horizontal lines (nyipat KA, ngorés KBNWB) are drawn on the surface layer of the leaves. There exist various instruments to make such lines (panyipatan KA). The most simple one consists of two pieces of wood or bambu of about 7 to 10 cm length which are connected by pieces of white thread (benang). The length of the thread varies in accordance to the length of the leaves. A more sophisticated tool is made of a slat of about 7 x 65 cm, sometimes provided with little legs. Two small pieces of wood are mounted at the outer ends of the slat and the pieces of thread are fastened on these little pieces of wood with pins. The number of lines of manuscripts containing a text in one language (Old Javanese, Balinese) is usually four. If it is a manuscript in Old Javanese with a translation into Balinese, there are usually only three lines but these are at a relatively great distance from each other. The original text in Old Javanese is written under the second line and the translations or paraphrases in Balinese are written under the first and the third lines (see for instance Or. 22.972). Texts on medicine and magic may also have 3 lines per leaf (see for instance Or. 22.978, Usada; Or. 22.989, Pangléyan). Only in very rare cases are manuscripts with five lines per leaf encountered.
The lengths of thread are dyed with a mixture of ink (mangsi) and the sap of leaves. Sap of the leaves of the delungdung is preferred in Karangasem. Sap of minced leaves of the kayu sugih (KBNWB) can also be used. The freshly dyed threads are pressed against the palm leaf which results in bluish or greenish coloured lines becoming visible. Later, when the leaves are inscribed, the lines can easily be removed by rubbing them with a piece of wet cotton. Presently wooden and plastic rulers are being used and the lines are drawn with pencil.

Grader 1941: 25 describes the mass production of small ribbed leaves (pipil) for the registration of land rent and the reclassification on Lombok. Many thousands of these leaves had to be prepared in the 1930s. (He does not mention where this took place, but I assume it was in the Griya in Karangasem he visited in 1939). A form of slicer for cutting the short sides of the leaves quickly and a kind of chopping block for cutting the long sides were designed. The mechanism of an old gramophone was adapted for making punchholes in the leaves.

Manuscripts
A bunch of leaves of the same size held together by a piece of string or rope forms a manuscript. The general name for a manuscript is rontal, because it is made of the leaves (ron) of the tal (Old Javanese term) tree. Rontal becomes lontar, because r and l are often interchanged in Balinese. Stringing the leaves together is called nyuluh (KBNWB). One has to take care that the leaves of a manuscript are stringed in the right order (nuptupang KA). Reading a book in the wrong way, for instance from back to forth, may lead to serious disturbances of oneself and the world (Calon Arang story). In order to facilitate the threading, the leaves have to be placed on top of each other (mitpilang ental KBNWB). The most precious type of string is made of human hair. In the old days in the palaces of the highest royalty (puri) the members of a royal household and their folk of lower descent loyal to them would “offer their hair” (masatya rambut) when an important member of the royal family had died. Strings were made from this human hair. This happened, for instance, in Puri Kanginan in Karangasem (pers. comm. Catra 1990,1991). Less precious materials used for the strings are plant fibres, (particularly duk), cotton (particularly benang and the ready made strings used for the bodices of elderly ladies (tali béha), blue or green plastic rope and shoe laces. Gold or silver knobs sometimes provided with rubies (anabhiratana, binusanan manik, mamodré mirah KBNWB), Chinese coins with a hole in the centre (képeng, kéìng), Dutch-Indies coins with a hole in the centre, beads and sometimes shirt buttons are tied to the
ends of the strings. To untie the string and take the leaves away is called ngembud (KBNWB). This should be done very carefully. Jumbling up the leaves of a manuscript (gebur, ngebur KBNWB) is very dangerous and may cause all kinds of mishaps.

The first leaf of a ms often consists of two leaves that are sewn together with gold, silver, iron or cotton thread. This is called jerejet (KBNWB). The holes at the utmost left and right of the first leaves of many of the ms manufactured for the Kirtya Liefwinck-Van der Tuuk between 1929 and 1941 are provided with iron laces. In many ms from the Kirtya collection three holes with such laces on either side are made.

Sizes of leaves and manuscripts

There is a close relationship between the sizes of the leaves and the character of the text that will be written on it. With respect to manuscripts written on leaves without ribs, in general the bigger the size the more important the manuscript and the more the likelihood that the language is Old Javanese. This means that a kakawin (poem in Indian verse in most cases based in the Indian Mahabharata and Ramayana), a parwa (prose translation of the Indian Mahabharata) and a purana (commentary on the Indian Mahabharata) can be expected in a manuscript that measures between 40 - 62 cm in length and from 3.5 - 4 cm in height. (Kakawin Siwaratrikalpa, Or. 3745, measures 56.5 x 3.5 cm; Kakawin Sutasoma, Or. 3716 measures 51.5 x 4 cm; the Kakawin Bhomantaka, Or. 3659, measures 47.5 x 3.5 cm; the Wirataparwa, Or. 3133, measures 49 x 3.5 cm; the Anggastyaparwa, Or. 3711, measures 54 x 3.5 cm; the Brahmandapurana, Or. 3730, measures 53 x 4 cm).

Palm leaves of a large size are rare and it is self evident that such rare leaves are only used for the most sophisticated texts or for texts ordered by the members of the highest royalty.

Didactic texts (sasana), texts on medicine (usada), texts on horoscopes and calendars (wariga), poems in Javanese or Balinese verse (kidung, geguritan), genealogies (babad, silsilah), incantations (mantra) are written on leaves of smaller sizes, usually from 25 to 39 cm. The height varies in most cases from 3 to 3.5 cm.

Texts on magic, in particular black magic (kaputusan, kawisesan) measure 11 - 20 cm in length and 2.8 to 3 in height.

A piece of ribbed leaf for a short note or a name measures between 8 - 11 cm.
Manuscripts on ribbed leaves are longer, up to 85 cm. The leaves in one manuscript may vary in length and height. Usually the text starts on the broadest side of the leaf, which is for instance 6.5 cm while the height on the righthand side is for instance only 3.5 cm.

There are, as far as I know, no specific names for manuscripts of a particular size. However, there are specific names for manuscripts with ribs: embat-embasan (KBNWB) for the larger ones, pipil (KBNWB) for the smaller ones. A pipil with the title of a text inscribed on it can also be attached to a manuscript on palm leaf. The terms Subeng and layang (KBNWB) are used for pieces of lontar of about 2 - 2.5 cm high that are rolled and worn in the earlobe. Young girls used to write love poems or messages for meetings on these pieces of leaf and leave them behind in the pleasure garden for their (secret) lovers. Illustrated palm leaf mss are called prasi.

There exist special terms for putting more than one text in one manuscript. To make one manuscript from two is called jinapit tunggal (KBNWB). To put two manuscripts with a close resemblance in one lontar is called mangkepan (KBNWB). To add various completely different texts to each other is called sanak (KBNWB) and putting two completely different ones together is called duang sanak (KBNWB). To put two different kidung (a genre in poetry) together is called makemptalan (KBNWB). To put three texts together, each separated by one empty leaf is called panta (KBNWB). A lontar tigang rancit (KBNWB) consists of three bunches of leaves not stringed into one lontar. A thick ms consisting of many pages is called samah (KBNWB).

Manuscripts on leaves without ribs are in many cases provided with a kind of boards (cakep, papan, KBNWB). Such manuscripts are called cakepan (KBNWB). The boards can be made of various materials. The light and dark brown speckled leaf base of the jaka palm tree (pujung KBNWB) is often used. However, insects are fond of this type of board. Catra (pers. comm. 1990,1991) prefers bamboo that has been used in the roofing of a kitchen, because it is so strong that insects cannot get through it. A manuscript without boards can be kept in a small textile bag (ules KBNWB). White and yellow cloth are preferred for such covers. In the villages around Amlapura (Puplid, Tenganan Pegringsingan), the ms containing the village regulations (Awig Desa) should be kept in a bamboo tube (bungbung). This tube may have a bamboo lid as well. A piece of string is attached to the top of the tube. The secretary
and scribe (panyarikan) of the village council has to bring the tube with the ms to each meeting. If not, he is fined (pers. comm. Catra 1990, 1991).

Very important manuscripts, for instance the Adiparwa, and manuscripts from a royal collection, are often kept in wooden boxes with a lid (kropak KBNWB). These are carved from one piece of wood. Such manuscripts are also called kropakan or kropak (KBNWB). A box for a manuscript containing many pages (for instance the kakawin Ramayana, the Adiparwa, the Bhomantaka, the kidung Malat) may contain two compartments (see for instance Or. 2200 and 2202, Ramayana). The majority of the kropak has one compartment. Wood from the jati tree (dark brown, black), the intaran tree (yellowish), and sometimes iron wood and ebony are used for such boxes. A kropak may also be decorated with paintings (see for instance Or. 2202, scenes from the Ramayana) and carvings (see Or. 22.718, Tantri scenes).

Storage of manuscripts
There is a specific term for the storage of manuscripts, sepel (KBNWB). A manuscript that has been stored for a long time and has not been read or shown is called buuk di sepelan (KBNWB). It is dusty and damaged, and indicates that the owner has not taken proper care. A group of lontar manuscripts is called bejog (KBNWB). They are often stored in a large, rectangular basket (sok). Baskets and boxes are sometimes stored in a kind of loft (tumah, langgatan KBNWB) made in an open pavilion (bale) or a sleeping house (umah metèn). Textile bags with manuscripts are usually provided with a wooden hook and are attached to or hung in the plaited bamboo ceiling (bedèg) of a pavilion. In palaces where the royalty had close connections with Europeans, manuscript owners had copies made of wooden, European chests (lemari, Ind.) for the storage of their lontar collection. This was for instance the case with the manuscripts of I Gusti Putu Djelantik from Puri Goberaja in Singaraja.

Treatment of manuscripts
On the basis of their contents and because, as will be treated later, the Balinese script is holy, manuscripts become holy as well. They have a vital force (idup, KBNWB) and cannot be thrown away when damaged, nor can they be sold. However, they can be loaned (maletas, KBNWB). They also have a guardian deity, Saraswati. On her name day (Saturday Manis of the week Watugunung), all the manuscripts from a collection are taken out and exhibited in a pavilion. They are cleansed and sprinkled with holy water by a priest
performing the Puja Saraswati. One is not allowed to read from the Friday evening onwards till the water is sprinkled over the mss on the following Saturday.

Anyone who wishes to read manuscripts regularly, needs to undergo a consecration (mawinten, madiksa KBNWB). Such a consecration has to be carried out by a brahman priest.

There is a tendency, at present, among the elderly Balinese to copy important texts written on paper onto palm leaf again. Texts which are important for them deal with religion, the soul and its release, medicine, the ancestors and classical literature in Old Javanese but based on Indian sources such as the chapters (parwa) from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. It may thus happen that a text which was written on palm leaf (in Balinese script) at the end of the 19th century, and was transliterated in Latin script and typed on paper in the 1970s, is copied again on palm leaf in 1990.

On the other hand, the wish to produce a number of copies of a text in a quick and cheap way in Balinese script existed by the end of the 19th century. The Landsdrukkerij in Batavia had lead types of Balinese script which made for Van der Tuuk’s dictionary in 1894. They were also used for the printing of Balinese textbooks published by the Landsdrukkerij between 1902 and 1916. From the 1920s onwards stencilled books and booklets with handwritten texts in Balinese script were published in Bali.

At present the Pusat Dokumentasi in Sanglah has a lontar preservation project in cooperation with IBM to scan the lontar mss. Their ideal is to provide these texts with a translation in Latin script in Indonesian and make printed editions of these versions. The project has just started and the results are not yet acceptable.

The oldest manuscripts

To date, the oldest known text on palm leaf from Bali in Europe is the leaf from the Laud Collection in the Bodleian Library (MS Laud Or. Rolss a.1) in Oxford, England. It dates from before 1635, when it was donated to the Library after the death of Bishop Laud in that year. However, close examination of the script and the text has shown me that neither the script nor the text are Balinese.

There are two early 17th century mss ascribed to Dang Hyang Nirarta in a griya in
Karangasem, and I have seen a ms by Mpu Siwamurti with a colophon dated 1537 Saka (1615 A.D.) in North Bali. For obvious reasons the exact locations and the names of the owners cannot be mentioned here. The majority of the ‘old’ mss in private and library collections in Bali and abroad dates from the early 19th century. The oldest Balinese ms from the Leiden University Library collection dates from 1667/8.

Owners of manuscripts

In the 19th century there existed restrictions for the possession, selling and reading of particular genres of literature in Bali - at least in Karangasem - and in Lombok. In Edict No. 10 in Liefrinck’s ‘Landverordeningen’ (1915, Vol. I) Agung Gede Ngurah Karangasem, a ruler from Lombok, forbid the selling, pawning and exchanging of manuscripts written and/or composed by priests (brahmans) and learned men. A specification of the texts and the genres involved follows: kidung, kakawin, agama, sasana, tutur, wariga, astadasaparwa, brahmandapurana, Sara Samadwaya, astakanda, tattwa, purwaka weda mantra and swareka. If one wished to possess such a text, one had to order a copy from someone who was entitled to do so (namely a brahman), and one had to pay for it. If one was unable to pay, one had to make the copy oneself, but in agreement with the rules.

The members of the three higher castes (triwangsa) were, in principle, allowed to possess all kinds of texts. Members of the lowest cast, the jaba, however, were only allowed to have kakawin and kidung provided they were handed over to them by brahman priests. The jaba were also allowed to possess mss with texts on consecrations (maswinten), mantra bebaturan, usada (on medicine) and saka (holy formulas of a less important type) with illustrations and to receive texts on “their own rituals, festivals and cremations” from brahman priests. It was not only these brahman priests, but also the other members of the triwangsa, who were not allowed to hand the forbidden texts over to members of the lowest caste. If the jaba wished to know the contents of the forbidden texts, for instance the chapters of the Mahabharata, they could go to the houses of the members of the higher castes and listen when such texts were chanted. The above restrictions were for the jaba’s own good, according to the edict. It was feared that if they possessed forbidden texts and read them, they would become haughty or might even harm themselves by half knowing and understanding these texts.

Script and writing

The script used in Bali as well as in Java originates from a South Indian script. It is a syllabic
script (*aksara* script). Each syllable consists of a combination of a consonant and the vowel *a*. Other vowels can be obtained by writing signs on top of or underneath these syllables. Clusters of consonants can be obtained by hanging (*gantung*) or sticking (*gempel*) syllables together. The languages used in Balinese classical literature and theatre are Old Javanese and Balinese. Old Javanese has many loanwords from Sanskrit. In Balinese literature and in theatre, in particular the *wayang* puppet theatre, reference is made to two alphabets and the order of enumerating the consonants and vocals. These alphabets are those for the Indian script and for the script for Old Javanese.

Script, in particular Indian script, and the alphabet are holy in Bali. It was given by God to man. By learning the alphabet and enumerating it in the right order, the cosmos and cosmic processes are stable. This is, for instance, expressed in the opening recitation of the North Balinese puppet player (*dalang*) before he begins to perform (see Sugriwa 1963 and also Ginarsa 1975). He stresses that the performance is based on the holy Sanskrit texts Mahabharata or Ramayana. These have become known by means of the texts written with ink on leaves of the *gebang*. Then the *dalang* enumerates the combinations of ten, five, three and two holy syllables, and the syllable *ong* that is all-compassing. He continues with the short and long vowels (*a,i,u,e,o,au*), and the consonants (*ka, kha, ga, gha, nga, ca, cha, ja, jha, na, ta, tha, da, dha, na, pa, pha, ba, bha, ma, ya ra la, etc.†). This is the order of the Indian alphabet.

The Old Javanese and Balinese alphabet and the order of the syllables are stressed in the Balinese *sasana* literature (the Prescriptions), in particular in the *Putra Sasana* (Prescriptions for Children). In the *Putra Sasana* a father has a conversation with his son. He explains the ideal life to his son. 'You have to take care that you become a real human being. This is only possible if you study. You have to study the holy literature (*sastra*). You have to study in order to know your inner self and to make your parents happy. If you do not study and do not know the holy literature, your parents are blamed. They do not receive a place in heaven after their death, but are punished in hell". An example of such a text is the *kidung* Anacaraka (Or. 3609[1]). Anacaraka means alphabet. The term contains the 1 - 5th letters of the Balinese alphabet: *ha, na, ca, ra, ka*. A *brahman* father tells his son: 'study the alphabet on and on. Only then you become a real human being. Concentrate on the letters of the alphabet. Don’t be afraid, for Saraswati the goddess of wisdom, will seat herself on your tongue and enter your mind. Don’t be afraid, study every day, study the holy literature. The
best texts are from Ancient Java. They are written by famous authors. Copy these texts, learn how to write and spell. But, when doing this, you have to pronounce the words and the letters one by one aloud. If you make a writing error, you have to eliminate (pati, to kill, by writing the i-kara above and the saka (u) underneath) the wrong letter and write it anew. You are not allowed to make mistakes. Moreover, when the communication between your mind and your hands is in order, you cannot make writing errors'.

The main implement for writing is a rather large and coarse iron knife, the panguitik or pangrupuk (KBWNB, Bil, KA). It consists of a flat piece of iron, of about 15 cm length and 2 cm broad. One end is slanting and sharpened. The other end is provided with a curly ornament (in North Bali), but in Karangasem a figure in wayang style is often cast at the top, for instance King Kresna or Twalêm, the fat main servant of the 'good' party in a theatre and puppet play. A wooden grip may be attached to a knife with a plain end. A figure may be carved out in it representing Twalêm, or another suitable person, for instance Saraswati the goddess of Wisdom. A sheath of plaited bamboo can be used to protect the sharp end of the knife.

The knife is held between the thumb and index fingers of both hands, or the right and left thumb and the right index finger of the scribe and pressed against the surface layer of the palm leaf. This surface layer consists of almost invisible horizontal ribs. When the knife is 'caught' in such a rib, there is a chance that it may slip. The horizontal stroke of the letter would then become too large. In order to prevent this, the scribe has to make the strokes of the letters as vertical or as round as possible. The scribe needs both hands to write. He takes a bundle of four to five leaves, which are held together at the ends by means of rings made of plaited bamboo or cow's horn. He holds this bundle between the middle and ring fingers of both hands, while holding, as mentioned before, the knife with his thumb and index fingers. A knife that has become blunt is called sumitik (KBWNB).

The leaves are provided with horizontal lines under which the letters are incised. Sometimes a leaf is provided with vertical lines at the outer ends. These serve as margins. The margins always contain the outer holes of the ms. The same is done with the hole in the centre of a leaf. There is a margin on both sides of it. These vertical margin lines may be drawn with ink or plant sap or incised.
An extensive terminology for writing and script exists in Balinese. There are many technical terms for writing in general and there are special terms for bad and crammed handwriting causing illegible texts. Terms for corrections also exist. This is another proof of how important proper writing is for the Balinese. The various terms are given in Appendix 1.

The script in old (18th century and early 19th century) manuscripts is often small (0.2 cm high) and upright. In more recent manuscripts (1920s and later), the script is also upright, but larger (0.3 cm high) and broader.

When the letters are inscribed in the surface of the leaves, they are only slightly visible. The letters have to be blackened. Candlenuts (tingkih, Aleurites moluccana Villd) are burned, crushed, mixed with oil (lengis) and rubbed fine. The black paste is rubbed into the grooves of the letters and on the whole surface of the leaves (tingkih matunu; ningkihin, nyipatin, mawilah KBNWB). A coarser type of paste is obtained by burning and crushing dry coconut meat and mixing it with oil. With a piece of dry cotton (gamet KBNWB) the leaves are wiped (ngwilahin KBNWB). In the end only the black of the letters is visible. If the leaves have become dusty after some time, they can be cleansed with a piece of wet cotton (nghudin KBNWB).

**Spelling**

Precise rules for spelling (ugger-ugger), noted down in textbooks, did not exist until the end of the 19th century. The author of the first Balinese printed book on spelling was I Ranta (1874). The book is printed in Batavia in Javanese characters, because Balinese types did not yet exist at that time. I Ranta was educated at the College of Education for Schoolteacher in Bandung, Java. The first printed schoolbook for Balinese characters and their transliteration in Latin script was by the Javanese schoolteacher in Singaraja (North Bali) Mas Niti Sastro and I Gusti Putu Djelantik. It was printed in Balinese types in 1911.

These printed spelling rules reflected rules that always had been orally transmitted. The correct spelling of kakawin in Old Javanese was of great importance. Two rules, for example, valid for prose texts and poems of the kidung and gesurian genre could not be used in kakawin. These are ‘matengenan majalan’ (KBNWB) - if the final vowel of one word is the same as the first vowel of the next word, the vowel need only be written once, and skipping the 'r' when the following vowel is ya,ka,ta, but writing double y, k, t instead. A trick
applied in *kakawin* only to create a long syllable, is to write the *nga* as a *cecek* above the preceding syllable instead of next to the preceding syllable (KBNWB). Van der Tuuk (KBNWB) gives another example of a rule for spelling: *ngébot*, of a manuscript in which a consonant is 'killed' (*aksara pati*) by writing a vertical stroke where this is not allowed or the reverse.

It it beyond the scope of this paper to further deal with the various spelling rules.

**Corrections**

There exist many terms for crossing out syllables, correcting and replacing syllables or words that are wrongly spelt and omitted. The most common way to make a correction is by writing a small cross at the top of the syllable or passage and by adding the omitted characters at the top or bottom of the writing line of in the margins. For serious corrections, part of the surface layer is cut out and the corrected word or term is written on the layer beneath. The third method is to cross out the syllable or word in question. This method is considered 'not good' (pers. comm. Catra, 1990, 1991). The fourth method is the one mentioned above in the poem, namely by writing the *i-kara* on top and the *suku* underneath the wrong syllable or syllables.

**Copying manuscripts**

The original ms is called *mémé, tempa, ampas* (KBNWB), *ina* (KA, Lombok). The copy is called *panak, sisya* and copying is called *manakin*. The colophons of mss mention the fact that a ms is copied. In addition the name of the owner of the original ms are often mentioned. The scribe has to take care that the ms he has copied is complete (*pepek, mepek* (KBNWB).

Another term that may be found at the beginning of a poem, in particular a poem in Balinese (*geguritan*), in a story (*satau*) in Balinese or in the colophon of the ms, is that the author mentions which source has inspired him (*kakawin* or prose in Old Javanese) for his work. This is called *nyebit*. The author may also mention, that he wrote his work of art 'completely in accordance with a holy text' (*napak di sastrané* KBNWB).

**Scribes**

Being able to write was not restricted to either caste or sex. This is made clear in literary sources from the 16th century onwards, but the data in texts from the 19th century are the
more abundant. In the geguritan Sumaguna (Or. 3687), dating from the second half of the 19th century, the male hero - a prabali belonging to the lowest caste - can do all sorts of things very well: carving, drawing, singing and reading literary texts. In the story of Pakang Ras (Or. 3701) noted down in the second half of the 19th century, two rascals encounter a princess. When she discovers that they are illiterate, she immediately begins to teach them how to read and sing kidung. Or. 3060(4) contains a letter on palm leaf which was written before 1887. It is from a lady belonging to the lowest caste, Ni Gadung, who complains that her lover, a Gusti, has not visited her for three days. 'Have you forgotten about me, or have you been bribed?' she asks him. The answer by the Gusti is scribbled on the same piece of leaf: 'Yes, I took note of your letter'.

Love letters and poems were written on the bract of the pudak flower, as mentioned above. In the 19th century poem Luh Cidra or Kawiswara (Or. 3693) the male hero, Kawiswara, writes a love letter on such a bract. He hides it in a bunch of flowers that he has picked for his lover, Luh Cidra. He puts the flowers on the couch in the pavilion visited frequently by her. She discovers the letter, reads it and writes an answer on the small curled piece of lontar palm leaf (subeng) that she wears through her earlobe. She hides the piece in the garland she has made for him.

A scribe, usually a man, was a person of distinction. This is apparent from the colophons of manuscripts of the 18th and 19th century. The rulers of the kingdoms employed scribes. These were not only members of high caste, but also of low caste families. It happened quite often that royal families and brahman families had to split up and settle somewhere else. A new palace (puri) or brahman household (griya) was built and a library had to be set up. In other cases, a person - quite often a royal person - became interested in a particular literary genre (for instance kakawin or kidung), and he ordered scribes to borrow texts with such poems and copy them for him. Another reason to copy a manuscript was because the original version was damaged in such a way that it could not be repaired. It was copied and the damaged manuscript was ceremonially destroyed by being burnt.

Not only the names of scribes are quite often mentioned in the colophons of manuscripts, but also the reason why the text was copied and the circumstances under which this took place. An example is ms. Or. 3649. It contains a translation into Balinese of the Old Javanese Kakawin Arjunaawiwaha at the request of Gde' Ngurah Karangasem, ruler of Lombok. The translation was done under the guidance of the ruler himself. The scribes were Pan Lengar
and his son-in-law Pan Geniang (both belonging to the lowest caste). They completed the translation in Puri Kretasura in 1827. Another example: the copying of the Old Javanese kakawin Ramayana with interlinear translation in Balinese (Or. 2200) was completed on the 6th November 1807 in Asmapringgi (by which Amlapura in Karangasem is meant) in Puri Amlaraja by someone called Dyah Pantara Winda, a (royal) descendant of Arya Wandira in the village of Sandi. The manuscript was completed on the day Gde Karang Wayan Karangasem left Karangasem, after he had been vanquished by Bagus Djelantik Lanang Paguyangan and Wayan Djelantik. The name of the owner of the mss is Ida I Gusti Ngurah Madé Karangasem.

It is interesting to note that in general more is known about the names of the scribes and the owners of the manuscripts than about the authors of Balinese texts. An author, in particular of a kidung and a geguritan was not important enough to be mentioned. It was the prestige of having a library, ordering a copy and writing a copy for someone that counted, not the talent to compose a text.

Palm leaf mss and the future
The education system of Indonesia is directed towards modernization and uniformity. Traditional culture, literature and local languages are recognized and to a certain extent their study is stimulated. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the younger generations of Indonesians do not show much interest in their traditional literature. Schoolchildren in Bali can hardly read and write Balinese script. Attention is focussed on the Indonesian language which is written in Latin script. The number of University students who study Balinese literature, both in Balinese and Old Javanese, is limited. When the specialists in traditional literature - the older generation of Balinese without formal education - have died, there will be no use for the preparation of palm leaves as writing material, except for some coarse illustrated mss for the tourist market. Therefore, the whole process from the cutting of the leaves to the writing and reading of the manuscripts, should be documented thoroughly before it is too late.

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*Manuscripts*

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Or. 3693, *Geguritan Luw Cidra/Kawiswara*, 24.9 x 3.9 cm, V.d.Tuuk Coll., 1896.
1. Satua Pakang Raras, 23 x 2.5 cm., V.d.Tuuk Coll., 1896.
2. Anggastaparwa, 54 x 3.5 cm., V.d.Tuuk Coll., 39p., 1896.
5. Kakawin Siwaratrikalpa, 56.5 x 3.5 cm., V.d.Tuuk Coll., 103p., 1896.
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8. Purwagama, Ktra Upapati, 60.5 x 3.6 cm., Puri Gobraja Singaraja, 28p. in box, 18.
9. Pangleyakan, Pandeslan, 15.3 x 2.8 cm., Puri Gobraja, Singaraja, 1899, 9 & 14.
11. Tutur Pawacana, 53.5 x 3.6/4 cm., Tenganan Pagringsingan, 17p.
12. Wariga, 43.2 x 3.8 cm., Tenganan Pagringsingan, 11p.
13. Aji Krakah & Krakah, 49.9 x 3.4 cm., Puri Gobraja Singaraja, 22 & 12p, 1911.

Appendix 1

Terms for writing and script in Balinese (based on KBNWB)

- a letter, drawing, painting, something written
- to write
- the hand of writing characteristic for a scribe
- depth of a letter
- a letter carved out deeply
- a letter that is almost invisible
- a letter slightly carved out
- letters that are clearly written
- letters that are clearly visible
- fine, small script
- beautiful script
- coarse, clumsy script
tatar
mrusmus
embreng, ngremeng
benyud
mamadu
korup
oruk, urem
durbhiksa
semput
tebel, bebed, seksek
nglékain pepaos
brechit, pabrechit
brenyit
breset, brusut
běngor
gulik

Terms for foreign scripts (based on KBNWB)
jréwé
masisirig

Terms for manuscripts and texts (based on KBNWB)
bongkol
panembé
cangkuak, macangkuak to start in the middle; the beginning
of the ms is missing
tuktuk
kaping wuntat
jangkep, pepek
nungkak lengisé

the beginning of a manuscript
the ending of a text and a manuscript
the close of a text and a manuscript
the ms is complete
the ms is incomplete
anas the leaves are smooth
let an old, used leaf
layu bunga of a new, not mouldy manuscript
mounted between two old and mouldy ones
tugak a poor and incomplete text, because
words and syllables are skipped
makrenyedan of someone who has made many
mistakes because he was confused

Terms for specific ways of writing (based on KBNWB)
ganjil a note or word in the margin
anggwan a word or letter written under
a magical drawing (rerajahan) to
explain its meaning
semut sadulur little dots in a text with glosses
arti meaning, explanation of a foreign
word
marti interlinear translation in Balinese of a
text in Old Javanese
magnetang basa text in Old Javanese with an interlinear
translation into Balinese
cowak, coak open space between two words or
letters because the surface layer
of the leaf is damaged or speckled
unteng text in Old Javanese in the centre
line of a marti text
tulang gihing translated text parts at the top and
bottom lines of a marti text

Terms for corrections in mss (based on KBNWB)
tugak a text in which words are omitted
meckang to cross out a syllable
kucek, ngucek
gorêt, ngorêt,
guwêt, gwêt, nguwêt,
norêk
pajang, pahajeng to correct
gumanung to correct by writing the word or
syllable that has to be added under
the writing line
ngencolin to add a syllable that has been skipped
tampak dara to place a cross above the writing line,
referring to a syllable or word that
has been added
makupak, compak, nyompan to take away the surface layer of
a leaf that contains a word wrongly
written or spelled and to write the
correction on the layer beneath
kajokan words are skipped
wirupaning aksara the scribe asks forgiveness for his bad
handwriting

Dirt on mss and damaged mss

bucek illegible syllables because of stains
brecek, clocos,
genyi, maganggêng dirty
makamal illegible because of dirt
kumur partly illegible because of dirt
mormor dirty and illegible because of dirt
lutlut the letters are wiped out because
because of age
lebur the letters are wiped out because
someone has wept over them
gubeg, gubig handled too frequently
ngetngetan eaten by insects (moth eaten)
mrakmuk, meknek eaten by white ants
gladen, tuludan
ayem
lalahan
liyed, leg
racek, los

Terms for literacy
sastra, tastra
nystra
racek sastra
gwacen
tgeledin
racek-bacaka
nileh, ngebitang
tabisa nastra
abuntut tra tawanga

with folds and dents
the leaves are mouldy because they
were cut from the tree when they were
too young
speckled
crooked leaves
a leaf broken by pressure
holy literature
literate
to consult the holy literature regularly
to read
to read a text repeatedly
to read incidentally
to a leaf of a ms
not able to read or write
of an illiterate

N.B. The majority of these terms do not occur in the latest edition of the Kamus Bali-
Indonesia (1991). This is a clear sign, that the manufacture of palm leaves for writing
material, and the reading of texts on palm leaves is on the decline.
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Southeast Asian Manuscripts

Asian papers in Malay manuscripts
a provisional assessment

Russell Jones

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ASIAN PAPERS IN MALAY MANUSCRIPTS
A PROVISIONAL ASSESSMENT

-Russell Jones

One of the advantages of discussing the materials on which manuscripts are written (as opposed for example to language or script) is that any findings can usually be extended to the manuscripts produced in other traditions. There is no linguistic boundary. I will refer to Malay or Indonesian manuscripts more or less interchangeably in this discussion. The conclusions furthermore can be extended beyond the confines of South East Asia, some can be applied to manuscripts from India for example, and even manuscripts from Africa. And of course vice versa. The study of Malay manuscripts may be regarded as a narrow specialisation. But we shall find that for the development of the study we must be aware of what happened long ago in China, and later in India, the Middle East and Africa, and above all in Europe. Human history is intertwined in this story.

The story emphasises the interdependence of different countries and of different continents. Most Malay manuscripts are written on paper of European make. Indeed, as we know, it was the Industrial Revolution in Europe which allowed the great Malay manuscript tradition to come into being. Just as it was the spread of printing from Europe in the nineteenth century that killed it. But both these techniques began in China. And while printing probably passed fairly directly from China to Europe, there to be revolutionised, paper went through a prolonged intermediate formative stage in the Islamic world. We have to know something about that.

So most Malay manuscripts, and I would dare say most Indonesian manuscripts, are written on paper made in Europe. Fortunately, I say that because European paper is very communicative to those who care to interrogate it. It will always tell you something of the mould on which it was made, e.g. laid or wire, and will often give you a good idea as to what country it was made in, sometimes at what paper mill. I suppose that is just coincidence that in some languages (such as French) the noun paper is masculine; or it may have something to do with the perceived fact that paper is not coy about disclosing its age to those who care to make acquaintance with it. The fact that not many Indonesian specialists are versed in the interrogation of European paper is not due to any dearth of information. Much has been written about papermaking and its history in Europe. The mass of information is admittedly not easily accessible, being found largely in scattered articles in many languages and monumental
watermark catalogues. But it exists, as can be demonstrated by any specialist on European paper one cares to seek out. And - this is the point - from this mass of material the Indonesianist needs tocul only certain very basic facts on papermaking technology, and he needs detailed information only on the relatively small proportion of papers that found their way to South East Asia. It is salutary to reflect that the needs of Indonesianists could be largely met by the production of a fairly comprehensive study incorporating just these aspects. It is all they need to undertake the necessary investigation of the supports of nearly all Indonesian manuscripts.

Perhaps a cautionary word is appropriate before we get too confident. It is that the mass of European material, as comprehensive and useful as it is, has to be adapted and reinterpreted for our particular needs. For the dating of manuscripts by means of watermarks (and other lookthrough features), for example, it is important that we construct our own chronological framework rather than rely on the existing watermark catalogues. My experience tells me that this is feasible, and that it works.

The problems are clearly soluble, and no doubt a solution will be provided as soon as that fact is generally recognised. It needs funds (insignificant funds if some benefactor such as H.M. the Sultan of Brunei was disposed to be generous) and organisation. Today I should like to leave that aside and give some attention to a problem for which there is no such satisfyingly straightforward solution. That is the problem of supports used for Malay manuscripts other than European made paper.

Materials other than paper.

These include tree bark (deluang) palm leaves (jantak), bamboo, wood, rattan, buffalo horn, copper plates and animal products. They do not lend themselves to very productive scrutiny, but they must be mentioned, and should be systematically registered and investigated further. Appendix 'A' contains a suggestion for a first step.

From what has been said, you might conclude that European paper is somewhat brazen, it reveals all. Asian paper on the other hand is coy, it is shy, it is a puteri malu. So identifying non-European paper is much farther from solution that that of European paper. For Asian paper we are still at the stage of trying to define our corpus of material and to evolve methods of studying it. We have to challenge longstanding assumptions such as for example that if paper is unusual it must be "Chinese paper". It may well be; on the other hand it may not be. We have to focus out studies close-up; we have to meticulously examine and describe the identifying features of these papers scattered through the manuscript collections. Before we can do that, we must make an inventory of these scattered papers; we do not have one yet. It will seem perverse to direct so much energy to the study of materials which are found in perhaps five per cent of the manuscripts extant. And even more perverse to spend a good deal of time studying Chinese paper, when that appears to be rarer still.

Furthermore, we cannot turn our attention away entirely from European paper, because the availability or not of that must have been a determining factor in the use of alternative supports for writing. I am confident that eventually we shall find our answers, but not until we get the problems into focus.

To get down to business: Let us put ourselves in the position of say an Indonesian ruler nearly five centuries ago - what choice of material did he have if he wanted to have a letter written and sent? We learn from the Malay texts that letters and the accompanying gifts were of central importance. I am almost convinced that our mythical ruler would have been acquainted with paper from the Islamic world before the European Christians arrived. As a Muslim he would surely have had a predilection for that.

Yet most of the earliest letters sent by the Indonesian rulers to the earliest Europeans in the area are on European paper. Was this the most easily available? Did the European emissaries themselves urge him to send a letter to their own king or governor, and at the same time provide the paper for him to use? Did they sometimes provide the scribe?

The earliest European paper used in the Indonesian area that I have seen is in Lisbon, in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. It is in the letters described by Blagden (1930). They are dated 1521 and 1522 AD. I have inspected them, and without question they are written on European paper. (One bears a watermark depicting a vertical serpent; it resembles e.g. Heawood 3763, but has 'bubbles' above head; there are many serpent watermarks from ca 1522 onwards. The other has a hand with a 7-petalled flower above it; cf Heawood a.g. 2468). I suppose we must always bear in mind the rather remote possibility that these letters are copies made for the Portuguese in Malaka of the originals, which may not have been written on European paper; but that is unlikely.

That such European paper was already circulating in Asia, possibly as an article of commerce, can be established. The same Arquivo has evidence of
We have corroborations of these early occurrences from an external source. In "A Chinese vocabulary of Malacca Malay words", believed to have been compiled in the fifteenth century before the Portuguese arrived on the scene, we find the word kertas (as well as kalam). (Edwards and Blagden. 1930-32. 734.)

The fact that in these early days 'paper' was known by the Arabic loanword kertas must be of profound significance to the question as to whether paper came directly from China or via the Islamic world. It is well known that many Chinese loans occur in Malay and Indonesian, but I have never heard of any form of the Chinese word for paper as a loan word in Malay or any other Indonesian language.

2. THE ROLE OF EUROPEAN PAPER

The dominant factor governing the circulation of paper in the area during Company and colonial times was economic. There were three important streams of paper supply to the Indonesian area. The first was from the Netherlands. It was inevitable that the Netherlands Indies government (and before it the VOC) would favour the importing of paper from paper mills in the Netherlands. The same appeal to the colonial government in the Malay Peninsula: it favoured the importation of paper from British mills. I have not investigated whether these powers actually banned the importation of paper from other than the colonising country. The third stream in order of importance was paper made in northeastern Italy (formerly within the Austro-Hungarian Empire). This paper enjoyed no special preference and must have arrived by less formal channels, perhaps along the trade routes of Islam. That is the pattern at least after colonies were well established. Prior to that, one finds all sorts of paper being used in the area, evidently Italian, French, and perhaps Spanish and Portuguese.

In a rounded account of paper in the Netherlands Indies Hank Voorn (1978, 4-5) mentions the strongly protectionist laws which benefitted the paper makers in the Netherlands, and the importance of the Indies market to them.

We must make it clear that our discussion is about paper of writing quality. We have some figures for the imports of paper into the Netherlands Indies in 1898 which show that commercial imports (when we include newsprint and packing paper) were not mainly from the Netherlands:

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this, the earliest reference to movement of European paper in the region that I have seen. It is an order dated 23 January 1515 made in Goa by Alfonse D'Albuquerque himself. It instructs Francisco Curvinel to supply 30 mãos of paper to Gaspar Corriss for use in the Straits (at Ormuz, Mecca) (?) for marketing in Persia. The paper must have been available in the store in Goa, for two days later Gaspar Corriss signed a receipt for it on the back of the order. The order and receipt are written on a small slip of undistinguished paper (about 12 cm x 15 cm) with no clear laid lines, so perhaps of local make.

A mão of paper (cf French main, 'quire' in English) consists of 25 sheets. So the order was for 750 sheets, or a ream and a half. The implication is that by 1515 AD the Portuguese godown in Goa stored at least significant quantities of European paper.

We have other evidence of European paper being distributed in the Archipelago. When Pigafetta's party arrived in Brunei early in 1521 their present to the ruler consisted of "a Turkish coat of green velvet, a chair of violet coloured velvet, five culls of red cloth, a cap, a gilt goblet, and a vase of glass, with its cover, three packets of paper, and a gilt pen and ink case." To the herald who had met them they gave "a coat of the Turkish fashion, of red and green colours, a cap and a packet of paper." For seven other chief men who had accompanied him they gave "for one cloth, for another a cap, and for each a packet of paper." (Pigafetta, 1574. 111) (That paper was already known in the area is proven by the fact that one of the Malay words collected by Pigafetta was kertas."

In fact we have indications that paper was known in the area earlier, both in the Hikayat Raja Pasai (where paper, pens and ink are mentioned) and in the Sejarah Malaya. In this latter text, to the best of my recollection the substance on which letters were written is not specifically mentioned, somewhat surprisingly. But during the Singapura period (ca. 1400 AD) we get the legendary tale of a wood shaving being sent by the Betara Majapahit to the ruler of Singapore; the shaving was seven fathoms long and very thin (nipisnya sepati kertas) (— MS Raffles 18 p. 26.) The second reference comes towards the end of the fifteenth century when Hang Nadim was on a visit to Keling; there he was given paper on which to sketch the design of textile materials desired by Sultan Mahmund of Malaca (— MS Raffles 18 p. 139). Perhaps this tale may be interpreted as meaning that Indians were more conversant with paper than the Malakans.

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The article just cited discusses the reasons why European paper mills had not been set up in the Indies, and lists the failures of such ventures in Calcutta, Australia, Venezuela, Brazil, Bueno Aires and Egypt. It could have included the unsuccessful Dutch attempt to set up a paper mill in Batavia in the 1660s (See Henk Voorn, 1978, 7-10). So the possible argument that paper makers in the Netherlands and Britain would have used their influence with the colonial governments to discourage such local economic initiatives is not the whole story. Pigeaud writes: "In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the supply of European paper, made in a Dutch paper mill in Java, gave Javanese authors the opportunity to write down anything they thought of interest" (Pigeaud, 1967, 36). But according to Voorn, apart from mills making cardboard and packing paper, in fact no paper mill functioned in Indonesia until the Padalarang mill was opened in 1923 (Henk Voorn, 1978, 13-15).

I have heard indirectly from Professor Drewes that in the 1930s the Balai Pustaka relied on paper imported from Europe; and if that was not forthcoming, it could not publish. Then a paper mill was set up in Bandung, and they used their paper.

3. THE USE OF CHINESE PAPER IN THE REGION

A Chinese chronicler ca 1200 AD recorded that outside China, paper was made in Corea and Java. Of the paper made in Java he wrote: "This paper is thick and strong." The sheets were about 7.5 to 10 metres long. (Claudine Salmond, 1983, 116) From the fact that the paper was "thick and strong", and on account of the dimensions of the sheet, Claudine Salmond thinks it must have been tapa. But one cannot be certain. We do know that large sheets of real paper were made in China. Sung Ying-hsing (1966: 230, writing of seventeenth century China,) observes that bark paper was made in large sheets, necessitating correspondingly large vats. The mould was so large that it required two vatsmen, working opposite each other, to handle it. But this was not tapa; it was real paper, formed from pulp made from mulberry bark, bamboo and rice straw. Elsewhere we are told that in the tenth century AD a sheet of Chinese paper was made fifty feet long.

(Taien, 1985 : 48). This assertion does raise technical questions however. In about 1250 AD Chau Ju-kua, the Inspector of Maritime Trade in Hokkien Province, wrote that in Tonkin (the region of present-day Hanoi in Vietnam) "They do not know how to manufacture paper and writing brushes, so those from our provinces are in demand." (Chau Ju-Kua, p 45)

In about 1505 AD a visitor to Tenasserim (on the east side of the Bay of Bengal in present day Burma) recorded "Their writing is on paper like ours, not on the leaves of a tree like that of Calicut." (Varthema, 1863: 209).

Fires, writing in 1515, mentions the Lequjos (from the Ryukyu islands, between Japan and Taiwan). He says that they traded with China, specifically with the "port of Poqam", which would probably be Amoy. These Lequjos brought various merchandise to Melaka inter alia "They bring a great store of paper and silk in colours ..." (Fires, Tome. 1944:128-30).

The paper could have been from Japan, but the likelihood is that it was from China.

In 1596 Dutch travellers found that in Bali, palm leaves were used. But they continue "They also write on Chinese paper of different colours, very fine and pure, also [they write] on a sort of paper made from trees." (Lodewyckse, Willem, 1915:120) (cited by Reid, 1982:225).

In Cambodia around 1600 AD it was reported that: "Ils ont un écriture particulière qu'ils transcrivent sur du papier du Chine avec un pinceau ..." (i.e. 'brush') (San Antonio, 1914:98).

In 1636 a visitor to Siam recorded: "All daily happenings, (messages, sessions of the court, etc.) are written as open letters on bad paper with a little round pan of soft baked earth. The signature is wanting, but the letter is confirmed with a mark or with a seal, with which the king has honoured the writer. Those who have not received any mark from the king, use a little cross or stroke where the name ought to be.

Everything concerning the trade, the courts, and other public places, is daily noted down in books of black paper and every day these books are closed and sealed.

But all definite and important affairs such as letters from the king and mandarins, commands, ordinances, sentences of law, contracts, prescriptions, obligations and so on, are written on fine Chinese paper with black ink. When the letter consists of more than one sheet of paper, each sheet is signed at the corner, so that it can not be changed for
another or forged." (Vliet, Jarema van. 1910:97-8). Regarding the reference to black paper cf. Reid p. 228: "Burmesse also used their own coarse paper for everyday purposes, but blackened it first and then wrote in a white chalk pencil (Trant 1827:255)".

In Europe in the early 19th C., remarkably enough, artists liked to use paper from China (known curiously as 'India paper') for engravings. It seems that the paper introduced as lignings in tea chests set the fashion. Penny Jenkins writes (1990:47) "That which is used for the lignings of tea chests is equal in quality to any ..."

This may help us understand an observation we find in the Hikayat Abdullah. Musyfi Abdullah (1960 MPH edn p 264) describes how he wrote his description of the Singapore fire with a pencil on "kertas Cina membagkus daun teh". We can surmise that with the tea imported into Singapore came the paper for the scribes.

**Chinese paper in Indonesian manuscripts**

I have not seen a Malay manuscript written on the traditional thin Chinese paper. It is not really suitable for use with the pen. As is well known, even for the Chinese brush, or wood block printing, the paper is normally doubled back so that only one side is used. I have never seen any manuscript other than Chinese or Japanese) written in this form.

Not infrequently the catalogues of Malay MSS do allude to 'Chinese paper'. In at least some cases it is erroneous, the paper being western 'wove' paper: 'Chinese paper' seems to be have been used sometimes as a catch-all category for paper with no clear look-through characteristics.

There is some evidence of paper of Chinese origin being made for writing that is thicker than the traditional fine Chinese paper. (The Laarde MS no. 291 may be such. Cf Jones 1968b). I have not been able to find out much about this thicker Chinese writing paper, which is right outside the main Chinese tradition of paper making.

We can look at a few of the references to Chinese paper. Firstly we can remove a possible doubt raised in R & V p 127: A manuscript in the Skene Collection at Oxford (MS 5, Syair Syamsu'i Alam) is described as being on "Eur-style paper watermarked with Chinese characters." This is in fact European paper made for Guthrie & Co, whose name is given in Jawi and Chinese characters as well as in English letters. See App. "B.

I think the only MS described by Teuku Iskandar in his forthcoming magnum opus as being on 'Chinese paper' is Cod Or. 1999 (LUB). I would rather think the paper is European wove. We could perhaps look at it together in this workshop.

**Chinese paper imported into Indonesia**

Henk Voorn (1978, 7) refers to the frequent references in the Dutch Dagh-Register in Batavia to the importation of paper from China. But this was mostly Chinese 'sacrifice paper' for the Chinese population, and coloured paper, often for ceremonial purposes. So it is not relevant to the manuscripts. A letter received by Governor Speelman in 1681 incidentally discussed the purchase of Japanese paper (Henk Voorn, 1978, 7). I do not know anything else about the import of Japanese paper into Indonesia at this time.

**Chinese paper made in Indonesia**

Definite references to the Chinese making paper in Indonesia are rare. But there is mention of it taking place in 1902. The Chinese made paper from bamboo, which they made into a stuff, which was shaped in moulds into sheets, which were dried and pressed. "The Chinese use this paper unsized for their brush writing." In fact some of it was sized and then it could be exported to Europe for engravings. (Enc. Ned. Indië, 1902, sub Papiers.)

**The Use of Chinese paper in Indonesia**

Referring probably to the early nineteenth century, Peter Carey writes: "Apart from Javanese and European paper, locally made Chinese paper (kertas dheidhek) produced from pulped rice husks, was also used quite extensively for less important documents. This was particularly the case with lower level official reports during the British period. The copies of the secret correspondence between the courts which are edited in this volume (...) for example, were written on this thin Chinese paper probably for reasons of economy, and there are at least three documents emanating from the Yogyak court (...) which also use this material. But, despite this additional supply of locally produced paper, the Central Javanese rulers preferred to use paper of European manufacture whenever possible." (Peter Carey, 1980:3)

We also learn that in 1809 Daendels in Batavia ordered his subordinates to use Chinese paper or lower quality paper for envelopes and for wrappings. This may have been locally made too.
Papermaking in India

The art of papermaking was probably introduced to India in about the 13th century AD by Muslims. Paper was first imported from Iran, but later it was "produced in India in centres like Daulatabad, Ahmadabad, Lahore, and Kashmir. The centres of excellence of paper manufacture were by the 16th century producing beautiful papers of thick and durable quality, capable of being highly burnished and decorated." (Losty, p 12; see also Russell Jones, 1966a.)

Regarding the introduction of European papermaking to India, it is on record that the first papermaking machine was set up in Serampore (near Calcutta) in 1812, by William Carey for missionary work. "Serampore paper" came into general use in India to describe a type of indigenous white paper. (See 'yellow paper' below.) In 1820 a steam engine was introduced in Serampore for operating the beaters, and by 1832 they had installed Fourdriner papermaking machines. But it seems these ventures did not succeed "due to lack of demand for paper and the Government's apathy." It may have been in the 1870s before European papermaking really got going in India. (Foder, 1979, vii, 4, 5; Diehl 1964:59.

Use of Indian paper in the Indonesian region

Surat paper

In 1682 the Dutch had subdued the state of Banten. When the Dutch Governor and Council in Batavia wished to write to the old ruler and the young ruler, they chose special paper to show their respect. This was "a gilded Surat paper", that is, paper from Surat (on the western coast of India). In the previous year, going to considerable lengths to show honour to the Chinese governor of Fujien, they had written a letter in Dutch and Chinese also on 'gilded Surat paper' (Henk Voorn, 1978:7).

Later we shall mention British Library Ms no. Eur. D.742/1, f 58-60, no doubt also on Surat paper.

In 1806 an outgoing Dutch Governor of the northeastern coast of Java remarked "that the rulers often asked for sheets of gold-rimmed surat paper (made in western India) for important official decrees..." (Carey 1980:2). At a paper congress in 1986 Dr Hank Voorn "showed slides of 'The Dutch gift papers in the Collection of the Royal Library in the Hague'." (IPF Information 1986, pt 3-4, p 91). It would be interesting to see these papers.

Manzur Abdullah records that when Sir Stamford Raffles came to Melaka from India in December 1810 "he brought with him... paper for writing letters to Malay rulers and princes with gold and silver headings..." (Hill, 1955:72). The Malay reads "serta kertas membuat surat kepada raja-raja Melayu yang telah tertulis dalam bunga emas dan perak..." (Hikayat Abdullah, 1862:93-94).

Greentreer & Nicholson (1910:12) describe MS Leuca Or. b. 1 (R) -- the letter dated 1615 AD from the ruler of Aceh to James I of England -- thus "Material: Oriental paper, recently backed with calico, and furnished with parchment tail-piece." It is impossible now to investigate the paper of this work. They add "Ornamentation: the space occupied by the writing was sprinkled beforehand with crimson and gold dots." They also describe the rich patterned ornamentation (for illustration in colour, see Surat Emas p 35.).

When I visited the R.A.S. on 17 November 1992 Graham Gardner was restoring a Palembang treaty from Raffles Malay no. 142. It is on gold speckled paper. He expressed the view that it would have been speckled while the paper was still wet, and that the paper would be probably from India.

Yellow paper

But according to Professor Chaudhuri, of SOAS, the Serampore paper was actually yellowish; one is reminded of the paper used in Raffles scriptorium for the Ht Raja Fassil and associated manuscripts. There is mention of a yellow paper when in 1861 Governor Speelman in Batavia received a letter 'in Persian' from a Muslim lord written on "fine yellow paper adorned with red flowers". It is not clear to me who the sender was (Henk Voorn 1978:7).

Coming to modern times, we learn that "some publishers print kitab on orange-tinted ('kuning') paper (produced especially for them by Indonesian papermills) because this seems more 'traditional'" (Martijn van Bruinessen, 1990:235).

So-called 'India paper'

"India paper" (like Indian ink) has been applied in Europe to almost any thin paper from the Far East. And "India paper" has nothing to do with India, it comes from China. (Fenny Jenkins : 46)

It is worth noting that we may have samples of indigenous Indian paper at our disposal for examination in unexpected places. I refer to books published in places like Calcutta. One day thumbing through vol. 12 of Asiaflack Researches, published in 1816 at Calcutta, I was intrigued to find that the paper was very reminiscent of some of the Asian papers we
find in manuscripts. This source could be exploited by any one with access to an oriental library.

By 1892 the European paper mills in India were thriving. "The steam paper mills established in the neighborhood of Calcutta and at Bombay have almost entirely destroyed the local manufactures of paper which once existed in many parts of the country. The hand-made article, which was strong though coarse, and formed a Muhammadan speciality, is now no longer used for official purposes" (Hunter 1892:721).

Of the catalogues of Malay manuscripts I have seen I recollect only one where the paper is attributed to India on account of its watermark: Cod Or. 7335 (Undang-Undang Palembang). The paper is described (by Teuku Iskandar) as "Indian made European laid paper; watermark Geneca and FINE." (estimated late 19th C.) "this undang-undang was accepted at the command of Van der Muelen (district officer) on 21 January 1891."

But the evidence suggests that many more letters and manuscripts are on paper from India, especially handmade paper.

5 ABOUT ASIAN PAPERS IN GENERAL

Identifying the scattered examples of Asian papers, and discovering anything at all about their origin, is difficult. It occurs to me that we can proceed in two ways. Firstly we can locate and register the manuscripts in the various collections in the world, and invite specialists on Chinese, Islamic and European papermaking to examine them and give opinions; a variant of this plan would be to bring as many as possible of the manuscripts written on enigmatic paper to one centre and there hold a conference with the various specialists present at one time. Such a step would constitute a great leap forward in our knowledge of the culture we are studying and its links with the non-Indonesian world.

Alternatively, and in the meantime, those codicologists within this field who have some specialist knowledge of paper should take the trouble to make careful descriptions of the more unusual papers whenever they have the opportunity; if we have time available, we should not content ourselves with saying merely that a manuscript is written on "Asian paper".

Microscopic examination of the fibres would obviously be very helpful.

For a start in this kind of investigation, some very useful notes on identifying the fibres in Asian papers can be found in Paper Conservator Vol 3, 1976.

Describing Asian paper is not simple. But I will give a couple of examples to illustrate what can be accomplished with much patience and no great expertise.

I. The first is a discussion of the paper used for the well-known Bodleian manuscript of the Hikayat Seri Rama. The reader is referred to Indonesia Circle no 41, 1986, p 49-53: 'One of the oldest Malay manuscripts extant: the Laude Or. 291 manuscript of the Hikayat Seri Rama'.

The noticeable features of the paper include these: the paper used for fols 323 onwards is remarkably poor, even having holes which were there before the manuscript was written (so no writing is lost as a consequence). I have found inferior paper in the later parts of other manuscripts; it was natural that scribes would use up their better paper first. These later leaves display deckle edges, which show that the type of mould used was one with a deckle (European paper was nearly always made from such a mould).

The main run of paper (fols 1-322 approx) also displays deckle edges. A singular feature is found near the edge of the mould: a pair of thickened chain lines close together, with loops over the double lines every 2.0 cm or so. Chain lines and the intervals between them can be overwhelmingly effective in identifying papers (for a technical discussion of thorough research carried out in Estonia see Utier, Öie & Leo, 1991.) In the main run of our Hikayat Seri Rama we find a singular pattern of chain line intervals. The chain lines lie vertically in the leaf, and the intervals are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>19 mm</th>
<th>19mm</th>
<th>19 mm</th>
<th>10 mm</th>
<th>19mm</th>
<th>19 mm</th>
<th>19 mm</th>
<th>19 mm</th>
<th>10 mm etc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

I have no idea where such a paper would come from, but knowing this pattern would be of inestimable value in matching this paper up with any other paper coming to light, particularly as a betasradiograph of the lookthrough features of the paper is provided in the publication cited. Most significant is the occurrence of a Chinese red ochre stamp on two leaves of this codex. It is a strong indication (not amounting to proof) that the paper was of Chinese origin.

II. The second is a more recent essay at description which has not been published. In the Ricklefs and Voorhoeve Catalogue (1977:77) we find a description of an R.A.S. manuscript registered as Raffles Java 1. It comprises various texts in Javanese, has 317 pp and regarding the paper

The C Cripps paper we can dismiss from our minds with one observation. It allows us to date the codex around 1819, and implies (rather surprisingly) that the codex must have been copied after Raffles left Java in 1816.

There is a reproduction of the MS in Annelot Gallop’s Surat Emas, p 84. In a caption Ben Arps writes (referring to the first Javanese text in the codex, p 1-136) "The illustration shows the first pages of one of the manuscripts of the Bratyayuda Kasih collected by Raffles. Its wide margins and the fact that each stanza begins on a new line show that it was especially written for him." The caption includes "ink on Chinese and English paper."

On 17 Nov. 1992 I was able to make some provisional observations on this manuscript following a rather hasty inspection of it. I examined pp 1–100, 200 to end; the leaves after p 317 are blank and dry point ruling is evident, I cannot decide whether by master or not.

The paper

The leaf dimensions are 29,5 x 20,0 cm. The edges are gilded. The main run of paper is clearly handmade, as is attested by faults, e.g. water spots, and opaque lumps, e.g. p 275. It is very coarse, p. 79 having embedded in it a sliver of wood 1.2 cm long; this deforms adjacent leaves too. The paper is of a brownish colour.

Curiosities of the paper

The paper appears to be lightly burnished, suggesting it may be Islamic (Indian?) rather than Chinese. One side of the leaf bears indented lines, sometimes in the form of the segments of a concentric circle, sometimes more or less parallel but irregular and sometimes (e.g. p 245) crossing each other: the total effect being rather like the indentations formed by scribbling with a pointed stick. This could be due to a burnishing instrument, but is it conceivable that any one would burnish with a an instrument having a projection? It could be the result of the paper while still wet being laid against a wall of plaster or board for drying – the Chinese traditionally used this method of drying sheets of paper. It is puzzling, but could be a very useful clue for matching with other papers.

Chain lines

This paper has a singular pattern. The chain lines are vertical. There are no bar shadows. Five chain line intervals taken together measure 11,0 cm (one interval therefore being 2,2 cm). Now on some leaves (I suspect once on each pair of conjoint leaves, probably corresponding to the sheet as it came from the mould) there is one narrow chain line interval, 0,6 cm. In two respects this is extremely unusual; firstly because it is not at the edge of the mould, where narrow intervals are often found in European papers; secondly, the width of this narrow interval is taken out of the widths between the two immediately adjacent chain line intervals.

cms
2.2 2.2 1.8 0.8 1.6 2.2
ch. lines

The two front and rear end leaves, blank, are on similar paper but lacking chain lines altogether. Islamic paper often has a different chain line pattern from European. "In Arabic paper the chain lines are often grouped in twos and/or threes and there is no fixed distance between each line of group of lines" (Gacek, 1984:xi).

I was able to examine this paper together with the R.A.S.'s paper specialist, Graham Gardner. We concluded that there was no particularly Chinese feature about the paper. The slight burnishing could point to Islamic made paper (perhaps from India). We agreed that we were somewhat baffled by it, and we could not make any persuasive suggestion about its origin.

Paper used in Raffles' Buitenzorg scriptorium

Most of the Malay manuscripts in the Raffles' collection are on well-made and easily recognisable European paper. However, some fifteen of the manuscripts are on paper which is not recognisably European. The paper is characteristic enough to identify the codices which use it. The fifteen works are Raffles Malay nos: 7, 43, 44, 45, 46, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 60, 61, 67. It was when I was preparing an edition of the last, the Nikayat Raja Pasai, that I came into contact with this curious paper.

A further identifying feature is a note in Javanese at the end of each of these manuscripts and each entry, reflected in the Ricklefs & Voorhoeve catalogue with "the MS is from Kuyi Suradinsangga, bupati sepuh ing panagari Demak, nagari Bogor, warsa 1742 (A.D. 1814). In fact Kuyi Suradinsangga was appointed translator in Raffles' translators' office in Buitenzorg (i.e. Bogor) on 30 June 1814, and remained there probably until November 1815. Now the thirteen dated manuscripts bearing the Javanese note fall between 13 September 1814 and 29 July 1815 (Russell Jones, 1987:vi-vii). It seems that the fifteen manuscripts were copied there for
Raffles under Kaysi Suradinangga's superintendence, and mention of his name tells us nothing about the provenance of the models on which these manuscripts were based. For further discussion of Kaysi Suradinanggala, see Sarwono Pusponosudro 1976:18 and especially Chambert-Loir 1980:38-41. An attractive illuminated letter by Kaysi Suradinanggala is illustrated in Surat emas raja-raja Nusantara, p 99: I know of no evidence for the suggestion that he gave manuscripts to Raffles (ibid, p 20).

A list of the fifteen manuscripts with brief notes on the paper will be found in App. "C". Unless stated otherwise, the codices have leaves of dimensions roughly 26 x 20 cm. with slight variations.

The paper of codex Raffles Malay 67 of the Hikayat Raja Panai is quite typical of this group and therefore can represent these manuscripts in general. The leaf size in this codex is 23.0 x 17.2 cm.

My notes on its paper were "rather coarse; is weak, rather brittle; is strange; it is laid, with clear laid and less clear chain lines, but chain lines are at irregular intervals (e.g. narrow chain line interval in centre of rear end leaf); could it be from a bamboo mould? Furnish contains opaque impurities, reminiscent of what one finds in some European papers of a century or so earlier. But this does not resemble early European paper; colour creamish brown; stiff. No watermark."

The paper has a remarkable feature (to be found in only some of the 15 manuscripts). On some of the leaves can be seen a reinforcing strip of identical paper 0.7 cm wide running vertically about 3.0 cm from binding; the writing runs over these strips, so they were affixed before the MS was written; yellowish glue is visible at the edges; but there is no sign of a break in the paper under the strip, so it was not a repair strip; furthermore (so far as I could see) it does not represent what one would expect, a join between two leaves of paper. These strips are found on the later leaves of the codex (e.g. fols 68 seq.), so we may surmise that paper reinforced in this way was less desirable, therefore left till last. If the strip is found on any leaf it is not found on the conjoint leaf. The distance between chain line intervals was not measurable. There is no soiling of front or back pages to suggest that the manuscript was used before being bound.

Do these MSS have a local paper because by 1814/1815 Raffles had used up his supplies of European paper? All Raffles MSS need to be studied in chronological order insofar as they can be dated. The feature which identifies this group of manuscripts most easily is the note in Javanese.

We should not of course assume that the type of paper discussed here occurs only in those manuscripts. It may occur in others of Raffles' manuscripts copied in 1814 or later. My feeling is that this stock of paper may have been imported from India.

Finally, in the British Library is a specimen of a letter written to the Malay ruler of Palembang in 1782 by the Dutch Governor-General, Reynier de Klerk. (See Surat emas raja-raja Nusantara, by Annelbel Tah Gallop & Bernard Arps p 49. It is Ms no. Eur. D. 742/1, f 55-60.)

(Notes: The date in the ornate script at the foot of the letter seems to read "11 limahelas Agustus seribu tujuh ratus lapan puluh tahuhan". In any case the date given, 1782, cannot be correct as de Klerk died 1 September 1780 at his home in the Molenvliet, Batavia.)

Unusually "this letter is written on Oriental paper made from jute fibres, the usual design featuring speculation that 'ready-decorated' sheets of paper may have been imported from India." (I have not examined this interesting letter; presumably it is on traditional handmade Indian paper, of "Surat paper" above.)

For a note of some manuscripts which invite further careful investigation of their papers, see Appendix "D".

6 Acehnese Sarakatas

Cod Or. 8244 contains a number of sarakatas (decrees) issued by the Sultans of Aceh, from the Snouck Hurgronje legacy. They bear dates from the 18th C. onwards. They are described by Teuku Iskandar as being "tracings or copies"; he records some as being written on "tracing paper" and some on "parchment-like paper". I queried that they are on "thick, amber-tinged tracing paper".

I have not examined them, but Acehnese sarakatas do raise problems. Chambert-Loir (1977:308-9) has discussed them, and his doubts as to their authenticity are shared by Creceulius and Beardow (1979), and by Russell Jones (1988, 104.) One at least in Cod Or. 8244 is marked "valach".

I have been able to examine some sarakatas in the Library of Universiti Kebangsaan, Kuala Lumpur, and the possibility cannot be ruled out that some, perhaps even all, are fakes. But are some genuine? And if so, what kind of paper are they written on, that at first glance is so unlike any other paper used for Malay manuscripts? What can be said about the
7 KERTAS

This Maly/Indonesian word for paper cannot be ignored in such a study as this. It is known that it comes from Arabic, although it is not the usual Arabic word for paper. Let us look at a few occurrences of it:

Winstedt (1939, p 27) refers to a copyist of the Hit Perang Pandawa Jaya who "talks of Dutch paper", on the last page of Raffles Malay no. 2 in the E.A.S., to which he refers. We find a poem containing these words: Banyaklah hikayat yang sudah pecah * yang pusing tiada boleh berkata Tamashiah hikayat ayu muda * ditulis di dalam kertas Olanda

We find that the manuscript is actually written on British paper (watermark BUDGEN & WILMOTT / 1811). So either the copyist took his copy from a manuscript on Dutch paper: or "kertas Olanda" was a generic term for European paper in general; Wilkinson's dictionary supports the latter.

A manuscript of the Salasiah of Kutsai, of which the whereabouts is not known, bears within it, or in a jotting on the codex, a note that it is written on kertas Arab. In fact it is written on Dutch paper from the wellknown Pannekoek mill (Kern, 1956, p 2)

In the Syair Perang Mengkassar (edited by Skinner in 1953) p 218, stanza 529, we find:

diterima dalam kertas Cina (recorded on Chinese paper) (9.2.2A)

In fact the manuscript is on paper with a watermark I TAYLOR / 1796. On p 300 Skinner observes "Many Malay ms. are written on Chinese paper". Is that really so?

A manuscript, probably of recent date as it is written in an exercise book, purchased by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Brunei in 1969, MS no. 0059, has these references:

Stanza 4:

Supaya terurus madah rencana dikerang dagang arif yang hina titulis kepada kertas Cina syairnya rajang sebarang guna.

Stanza 629:

Tamat syair tamat rencana dengan pertolong tuhan rabbana jkis menurut gundah gulana * habis kertas di kedesia Cina.

(Aspoon HJ Braham. 1992.)

Dr Claudine Saloum informed me about another curious example of the use of kertas. It comes at the beginning of a Malay poem published in Bintang Barat, 7 Jan. 1871. The syair is called:

Snair satoe orange totoeopan di Padang (he was put in prison for debt) and the opening words are:

Snair int mula dikerang * tersurat pada kertas wangkang What kind of paper is kertas wangkang? Paper brought hither in a Chinese sailing vessel?

There are many other instances of the use of kertas in manuscripts. The one conclusion we can draw from these examples is that whatever a copyist writes about the kertas he is using, it may not be true of the paper in copy which comes down to us.

### Appendix "A"

**MATERIALS OTHER THAN PAPER**

The very provisional list given here is supplied as a kernel around which more satisfactory lists can be concocted; it is based mainly on Malay manuscripts.

**DELUANG** For a full discussion of this, see Claude Gilliot, 1983. Pigues (1977:36b) observes: it was only after the arrival of Islam that deluang was used for writing purposes.

**In Dutch collections**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cod Or.</th>
<th>1665</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cod Or.</td>
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<td>Cod Or.</td>
<td>14.430</td>
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</table>

**Klinkert 44**

**Klinkert 128**

**MSS on "Tree bark"**

KITLV Library no. Or. 333. A Rencong MS on tree bark. (Privately owned)

Cod Or. 6905 MS in Rencong script on tree bark, folded as accordion. Missiebestuur, Tilburg. MS A 1075. A letter from a chief to the Dutch Consul in Singkawang. "In Malay on tree bark, folded like a Batak book"; "only the inside of the tree bark is written on".

Breda KMA 6557/17. 36 ff. "Fligh'. "tree bark paper".

Breda KMA 6557/23. 66 ff. Islamic pieces, "thin fine paper with laid texture just discernable; perhaps of Asian make".

**In Britain** e.g. British Library Or. 11365, a Panji story. In Malay, is on Javanese paper (R & V 110).

and Royal Asiatic Society: Raffles Malay 47, 1768 AD? Hit Mehe Indera Dewa Kesuma (and fragment of Tajul's-salatin.) (R & V p 138 "Javanese paper").

**LONTAR**

Cod Or. 5149 ) Palm leaf MSS mostly in Javan-Balinese, Cod Or. 5257 ) with some Malay

For a good discussion of lontar see Keut Dinarna, 1975). Also note the comment by Bernard Arps: "Although Javanese manuscripts in Banyungan are written on paper and in Perso-Arabic script (paggon), the Yusup poem is called Jontar Yusup. The term Jontar here means "manuscript" and "literary work"; it does not refer to the material of which the leaves of the manuscript are made." (in Indonesia Circle 53, 1980, p 36.)
ROUND BAMBOO
Cod Or. 3422A Rencong character
Cod Or. 3422B Rencong character
(Other MSS e.g. KITLV Or. 396) are kept in bamboo tubes.

BAMBOO STRIPS
Cod Or. 67744
Cod Or. 6617
Cod Or. 6618
Cod Or. 6619
Cod Or. 6620
Cod Or. 6621
Cod Or. 6904
Cf (K & V 110) Seribu Maka a work in
Lampung script is written on 27 bamboo strips.

WOOD
Cod Or. 17.065 A letter on a wooden board 20 x 13 x 0.75 cm, from Aceh.
Bears the draft of a letter; wooden boards may have been used for drafts,
childrens exercises etc; perhaps the text was planned off for reuse.

OTHER MATERIALS
Jasper (1964:5) mentions manuscripts from Sumatra also on copper plate,
buffalo horn and rattan. Perpustakaan Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala
Lumpur, has a manuscript (no. 43) evidently written on kulit kembling
(parchment from goat skin) and Ding Choo Ming reports a manuscript written
on perul jambu (vellum?).

Appendix "B"

NAMES AND MOTIFS IN WATERMARKS WITH ASIAN ASSOCIATIONS

(The papers all appear to be of European make)

BATAVIA [cf G KOLFF & Co] Cod Or. 5743 Cod Or. 5744 Cod Or. 5746
Cod Or. 5747 Cod Or. 6057 (1856) Cod Or. 6062 Cod Or. 6492 (ca 1908?)
Cod Or. 6504 Cod Or. 6544 (1907) Cod Or. 6545 (1907)
Cod Or. 6579 (1908) Cod Or. 6586 Cod Or. 6589c Cod Or. 7338
Cod Or. 7361 (1866) Cod Or. 7362

GUTHRIE & CO Cod Or. 5525 (ca 1897) Cod Or. 5830 (ca 1892)
Cod Or. 5833 (ca 1897) Cod Or. 5897 (ca 1897) Cod Or. 5934
Cod Or. 6546 Cod Or. 6730 Cod Or. 6718 (1867) Cod Or. 8539
Cod Or. 8546 (ca 1903) Cod Or. 6755B (1899) A'dam KIT 647/609

G KOLFF & Co [Occurs in MSS from Aceh after 1890 AD; cf. VAN HAREN
NOMAN EN KOLFF] Cod Or. 5743 Cod Or. 5744 Cod Or. 5746 Cod Or. 5747
+ BATAVIA Cod Or. 6057 (1856) Cod Or. 6062 Cod Or. 6064 Cod Or. 6492 (ca 1908 ?)
Cod Or. 6504 Cod Or. 6544 (1907) Cod Or. 6545 (1907) Cod Or. 6579 (1908)
Cod Or. 6586 Cod Or. 6589c Cod Or. 7075 Cod Or. 7088 Cod Or. 7229 Cod Or. 7230
Cod Or. 7231 Cod Or. 7234 Cod Or. 7237 Cod Or. 7238 Cod Or. 7240 (1904?)
Cod Or. 7241 Cod Or. 7243 Cod Or. 7336 Cod Or. 7954 (ca 1903?)

NEDERLANDSCH INDIE + 1895 Cod Or. 17.992

SINGAPORE Cod Or. 7312 (1890) Cod Or. 7650 (1889) SOAS 40507

ELEPHANT WITH PALM TREES: this is always associated with the GUTHRIE
watermark (see above).

RICKSHA PULLER This fine large watermark occurs in the end leaves of SOAS
manuscript 36500, dated 1891 AD, of the Bustanu's-Salatin Bab vii. The
leaves also have as countermark TRANSMARINE TRADING Co. (The main run is
Italian paper with 'moonface' watermark.)
There is no clue there as to where this paper was made; but the ricksha
puller also occurs - this time in the main run of paper - in Museum
Nasional manuscript no. ML 487, dated ca. 1902. ML 487 is an agreement
between Van Swieten and Bedung, but has various other notes. There the
main run of paper also carries a large watermark, 15.5 cm high,
consisting of an oval bearing the legend "MADE IN AUSTRIA EE & Co."

There is no reason to believe that any of these papers was produced in
Asia. I surmise that they were all made in Europe for the eastern market.
In the latter half of the nineteenth century, large-scale customers could
specify the watermarks they wanted. A paper mill would keep a large number
of dandy rolls bearing the watermarks of these customers for use as needed.

Note: Where known, the year that the manuscript is written is given in
parentheses. (*) indicates a following element appearing in the watermark.
ROUND BAMBOO
Cod Or. 3422A Remong character
Cod Or. 3422B Rencong character
(Other MSS e.g., KITLV Or. 396) are kept in bamboo tubes.

BAMBOO STRIPS
Cod Or. 6774A
Cod Or. 6817
Cod Or. 6818
Cod Or. 6819
Cod Or. 6820
Cod Or. 6821
Cod Or. 6904
Cf (R & V 110) Seribu Maksa a work in
Lampung script is written on 27 bamboo strips.

WOOD
Cod Or. 17.068 A letter on a wooden board 20 x 13 x 0.75 cm. from Aceh.
Bears the draft of a letter; wooden boards may have been used for drafts, childrens exercises etc; perhaps the text was planed off for reuse.

OTHER MATERIALS
Jaspan (1964:5) mentions manuscripts from Sumatra also on copper plate, buffalo horn and rattan. Perpustakaan Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, has a manuscript (no. 43) evidently written on kulit kambing (parchment from goat skin) and Ding Choo Ming reports a manuscript written on perut jembe (vellum?).

Appendix "B"

NAMES AND MOTIFS IN WATERMARKS WITH ASIAN ASSOCIATIONS

(The papers all appear to be of European make)

BATAVIA [cf G KOLFF & CO]
Cod Or. 5743
Cod Or. 5744
Cod Or. 5746
Cod Or. 5747
Cod Or. 6057 (1886)
Cod Or. 6062
Cod Or. 6492 (ca 1908)
Cod Or. 6504
Cod Or. 6544 (1907)
Cod Or. 6545 (1907)
Cod Or. 6579 (1908)
Cod Or. 6586
Cod Or. 6590
Cod Or. 7338
Cod Or. 7391 (1886)
Cod Or. 7362

GUTHRIE & CO
Cod Or. 5825 (ca 1897)
Cod Or. 5830 (ca 1892)
Cod Or. 5833 (ca 1897)
Cod Or. 5897 (ca 1897)
Cod Or. 5834
Cod Or. 5945
Cod Or. 7330
Cod Or. 8215 (1887)
Cod Or. 8539
Cod Or. 8546 (ca 1903)
Cod Or. 87595 (1899) A'dam KIT 674/809

G KOLFF & CO [Occurs in MSS from Aceh after 1900 AD; cf. VAN HAREN
NOMAN EN KOLFF]
Cod Or. 5743
Cod Or. 5744
Cod Or. 5746
Cod Or. 5747 + BATAVIA
Cod Or. 6057 (1886)
Cod Or. 6062
Cod Or. 6064
Cod Or. 6492 (ca 1908)
Cod Or. 6540
Cod Or. 6544 (1907)
Cod Or. 6545 (1907)
Cod Or. 6579 (1908)
Cod Or. 6586
Cod Or. 6590
Cod Or. 7075
Cod Or. 7088
Cod Or. 7229
Cod Or. 7330
Cod Or. 7231
Cod Or. 7234
Cod Or. 7237
Cod Or. 7238
Cod Or. 7240 (1904?)
Cod Or. 7241
Cod Or. 7338
Cod Or. 7954 (ca 1903?)

NEDERLANDSCH INDE + 1895 Cod Or. 17.992

SINGAPORE
Cod Or. 7312 (1890)
Cod Or. 7650 (1889) SOAS 40507

ELEPHANT WITH PALM TREES: this is always associated with the GUTHRIE watermark (see above).

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There is no clue there as to where this paper was made; but the ricksha puller also occurs - this time in the main run of paper - in Museum Nasional manuscript no. ML 487, dated ca. 1902. ML 487 is an agreement between Van Swieten and Badung, but has various other notes. There the main run of paper also carries a large watermark, 15.5 cm high, consisting of an oval bearing the legend "MADE IN AUSTRIA ER & Co."

There is no reason to believe that any of these papers was produced in Asia. I surmise that they were all made in Europe for the eastern market. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, large-scale customers could specify the watermarks they wanted. A paper mill would keep a large number of dandy rolls bearing the watermarks of these customers for use as needed.

Note Where known, the year that the manuscript is written is given in parentheses. (+) indicates a following element appearing in the watermark.
Appendix "C"

THE REGENT OF DEMAK MANUSCRIPTS IN THE RAFFLES COLLECTION

Raffles Malay 7. Date (fol. 79) July 1815. Syair Bidaseri etc.
The description in the Ricklefs & Voorhoeve Catalogue (p 134) reads "Eur.
paper". My note on the paper is "stiff, off white. Laid lines visible but
chain lines not visible. On folis. 61v, 65v &c strips of paper neatly
posted on as Raffles MS 67. No w/m."

Raffles Malay 43. ca 1814 AD. Ht Dalang Penguda Asmara
The description in the Ricklefs & Voorhoeve Catalogue (p 138) reads "Eur.
paper". My note on the paper is "stiff, off white. Laid lines clear, no
chain lines. No w/m."

Raffles Malay 44. 1815 AD. Ht Cabut Tunggul.
The description in the Ricklefs & Voorhoeve Catalogue (p 138) reads "Eur.
paper". My note on the paper is "stiff, off white, laid lines horizontal;
no chain lines; similar to Raffles Malay 67."

Raffles Malay 45. 1815 AD. Ht Cekel Wameng Pati.
The description in the Ricklefs & Voorhoeve Catalogue (p 138) reads "Eur.
paper". My note on the paper is "stiff, off white, laid lines horizontal;
no chain lines. No w/m."

Raffles Malay 46. ca 1815 AD. Ht Dewa Mandu.
The description in the Ricklefs & Voorhoeve Catalogue (p 138) reads "Eur.
paper". My note on the paper is "As for Raffles Malay 67 (Ht Pasai).
laid lines horizontal, no bite of paper stuck on."
(Edition by Chambert-Loir, 1890.)

Raffles Malay 51. 1815 AD. Ht Dalang Penguda Asmara.
The description in the Ricklefs & Voorhoeve Catalogue (p 138) reads "Eur.
paper". My note on the paper is Paper "stiff, off white, laid lines
horizontal or vertical; no chain lines; as for Ht Pasai."

Raffles Malay 52. 1814 AD. Ht Raja Babi.
The description in the Ricklefs & Voorhoeve Catalogue (p 139) reads "Eur.
paper". My note on the paper is "as for Ht Pasai; laid lines vertical."

Raffles Malay 53. 1814 AD. Hikayat Si Miskin.
The description in the Ricklefs & Voorhoeve Catalogue (p 139) reads "Eur.
paper". My note on the paper is "Stiff, off white, laid lines horizontal;
no chain lines, similar to Raffles MS 67."

Raffles Malay 54. 1814 AD. Ht Ahmad Bisanu.
The description in the Ricklefs & Voorhoeve Catalogue (p 139) reads "Eur.
paper". My note on the paper is "stiff, off white, laid lines horizontal;
no chain lines; similar to Raffles Malay 67."

Raffles Malay 55. 1814 AD. Hikayat Indraputra.
The description in the Ricklefs & Voorhoeve Catalogue (p 140) reads "Eur.
paper". My note on the paper is "thick, laid lines visible, they are
vertical; chain lines not clear." It is only 28.0 x 18.3 cm.
(Edition by S M R Mulyadi, 1983.)

Raffles Malay 58. 1815 AD. Ht Raja Syah Johan Indera.
The description in the Ricklefs & Voorhoeve Catalogue (p 140) reads "Eur.
paper". My note on the paper is "laid lines horizontal" (otherwise as
Raffles Malay 67). The leaves are only 24.5 x 18 cm.

Raffles Malay 59. ca 1815 AD. Ht Kaillah dan Damiah.
The description in the Ricklefs & Voorhoeve Catalogue (p 140) reads "Eur.
paper". My note on the paper is "stiff, off white; laid lines horizontal;
as for Raffles Malay 67." The leaves are only 24.5 x 16.0 cm.

Raffles Malay 60. 1814 AD. Ht Syahi Mardan.
The description in the Ricklefs & Voorhoeve Catalogue (p 140) reads "Eur.
paper". My note on the paper is "laid lines horizontal; as for Raffles
Malay 67." The leaves are only 24.0 x 18.0 cm.

The description in the Ricklefs & Voorhoeve Catalogue (p 140) reads "Eur.
paper". My note on the paper is "stiff, off white, laid lines horizontal,
no chain lines, as for Raffles Malay 67." The leaves are only 24.5 x 18.0

Raffles Malay 67. This has been discussed already.
Appendix "D"

SOME MANUSCRIPTS WHICH COULD BE EXAMINED FURTHER

The paper in these three manuscripts in Dutch collections could be investigated further:

MS KIT 45/327 "Iklau hagg" is written on "Primitive (locally made ?) paper without watermark" (- RJ)

MS KIT 687/64 (letter of appointment) may be similar, needs rechecking.

Breda KNA 6557/6 A religious treatise, 12 ff. I describe as "thin handmade laid paper; no watermark; (possibly not of European make)"

I offer some very provisional notes (mostly by me) on some other inadequately examined Malay manuscripts that I have come across, firstly in the Museum Nasional Collection in Jakarta:

ML 82 1875 Sakarat al-Maut. "W/m lines in some leaves only; no w/m."

ML 124. 1813 AD. Ht Raja Banjar. "Paper brown, thinish and rather rough - looks 'primitive'; not very fragile, but has been eaten away especially at corners." Five ch. line intervals, vage, 11,0 cm.


ML 445. 1824 AD. Misir al-Tullab. "Paper looks old, rather rough; no w/m."


Finally, some manuscripts in British collections which might repay further careful examination:

A. S.O.A.S. MSS

MS 12260 1810 AD faint ch. & laid lines, crude paper, narrow interv.

MS 46198 1837 AD R & V 165 "Chinese paper" "Oriental (Chinese) no w.m. .06 .09 thick" "Paper is curious: laid, rather faint lookthrough; very thin, hairy impurities, straw bits, must be Asian make, maybe Chinese. Within binding it has a green/black close-woven clothe (canvas?) sof cover.

MS 166220 Pre 1816 AD. "stained brown" "laid oriental"

MS 175096 ca 1825 "Oriental paper"

B. BRITISH LIBRARY

Add. 12392 1815 AD. Ht Banjar. Hj Wan Ali "Chinese paper"

Add. 12394 ca 1815 or earlier. Syair Sultan Maulana (described 1981 for Skinner.) (R & V p 109 "Chinese paper..") Is off-white; not stiff; laid lines faintly visible (bamboo wood ?)

C. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

LI 6.25 Pre-1600 ? Al-Burda Paper "v. coarse, hints of vague laid lines in places; fol 41-48 are deluang" has conspicuous blemishes (paper repaired while being made ?)

D. INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY (Now BRITISH LIBRARY)

Malay B.3. 1810 AS. Syair Silambari etc 1810 AD. folios 1-18, 49-77 probably local paper. (R & V, 123 "Chinese paper"); according to a note inserted in the codex these runs show 'bamboo' constituent. The rest European laid and some perhaps European wave (flax & hemp) according to the note.

Malay B.4. 1805 AD. Ht Pandawa Jaya Paper "local, no identifying features".

Malay B.6. 1805 AD. Ht Muhammad Hansafiyah "Thinish paper with very faint laid and chain lines.« (R & V p 123 "Chinese paper")


Malay B.12. 1801 AS. Ht Raja Dewa Maharupa. Paper "Rather flimsy, soft, brownish, rough texture, 'primitive'. I think not European. Many 'bits' engraved in it. Consistent throughout codex." "Faint laid lines, and in places traces of chain lines. (5 chain line intervals 9,3 cm.)

Appendix "E"

SOME FEATURES TO HELP IDENTIFY EUROPEAN PAPER

European paper moulds are distinguished by their rigidity and the use of metal wires (parallel or woven): indicative of European paper would be:

Clear watermarks
Clear and regular chain and laid lines
Blue tinted paper (mostly late 19th C.)
Paper with printed lines, or ledger paper
Possibly rubrication of the ink?
Deckle edges (see e.g. Cod Or. 7347); but deckles can be found on Asian papers (see e.g. Russell Jones 1986:50).

So when I see in descriptions terms like "thick, strong, white" to describe the paper I am inclined to conclude it is European.

Perhaps some paper described as e.g. 'thin wove paper' would prove on examination to be of Asian make. For identification of Asian paper we could bear in mind the observation by a specialist on the papers in an Islamic manuscript collection: "Broadly speaking, two types of paper were used: Oriental (probably Persian) and European. The Oriental paper is mostly laid, without chain lines" (Gacek 1985:ix)

Sources


Enc. Ned. Indië, 1902, sub Papier.


Cheu Ju-Kua. (1911) F. Hirth & W W Rockhill. Cheu Ju-Kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi. (He wrote it about 1250 AD.) (St Petersburg.) Reprinted Taipei: Ch’eng-Wen Publishing Company.


November 1992 Russell Jones, Little Antron, Antron Lane, Mabe, Cornwall TR10 5JD, England


Jones, Russell. 1986B. One of the oldest Malay manuscripts extant: The Loui Or. 291 manuscript of the *Hikayat Sari Rama. Indonesia Circle* 41 p. 49-53.


Reid, Anthony. 1968. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680*. 1: The Lands below the winds. Yale University Press. A good survey of writing materials used in S.E.A. is given on pp 225-9.1

Rouffaer see Lodewyckz., Willem.


Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology

International Workshop on Indonesian Studies No. 7

Southeast Asian Manuscripts

Variation in Bugis manuscripts

C.C. Macknight & I.A. Caldwell

Leiden, 14-18 December, 1992
Variation in Bugis Manuscripts

C.C. Macknight1 and I.A. Caldwell2

Over the last fifty years or so, scholars have gradually come to pay more attention to the processes of orality; they have tried to discern the characteristics of oral expression and reception and wondered about the stability and reliability of various forms of oral memory. More recently, the implications of printing have been elucidated and even the effects of more modern technology have been discussed. The study of manuscript traditions is far older and, it could be argued, lies at the heart of the European humanist tradition of scholarship. Yet it is no simple matter to take over the methods of studying the Latin, Greek and Hebrew texts of the European tradition into other cultural contexts and it is important not to assume the possibility of transferring cultural categories from one situation to another. In each cultural and historical context, each issue, such as the purpose of committing information to writing, the expected readership or the mechanics of creating a manuscript record, needs to be examined afresh. This paper explores some of these fundamental questions in respect of the Bugis manuscript tradition of South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

Anyone who has tried to sort out some of the concepts involved will appreciate the need to use terms precisely. Some words are so vague or ambiguous that they are perhaps better avoided altogether, such as, for example, 'book' or 'author'. Although we have, perhaps, to use English, the following description of the process of creating and using a Bugis manuscript is intended to establish the concepts and define certain terms for later use in this paper. The more important of these terms are italicized. A scribe writes a text either with ink on the page of a codex or, prior to the introduction of paper and occasionally since, by incision on a palm-leaf strip which is then sewn end-to-end with others to form a strip-roll (Macknight 1986: 222). This text, that is any written representation of language, may be newly created by the scribe (a so-called autograph) or it may copy a pre-existing written text or represent an oral performance. Note that the term 'copy' does not necessarily imply an exact copy, but merely a version of the model text. In the same way, a written representation of spoken words cannot normally convey intonation, accent or other subsidiary information and there are often important verbal differences between the spoken and the written. The result of the scribe's work is a manuscript. This manuscript text may then be read by anyone wishing to access the words either silently or, probably more commonly for manuscript texts, by speaking the words out either in a mumble or in some way intended to share the content with listeners, an audience in the literal sense of the word.

A crucial concept, to be distinguished from those so far introduced, is that of a work. A previous paper explores the concept of a work in the sense of a body of text which, once at least, possessed a unity of some sort (often with some internal structure) in the mind of its creator (Macknight 1984). This does not preclude the use of previous material in a work nor its misunderstanding and

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misuse by readers and, especially, later copyists. The first or new-created version of a work may be oral of which, before the days of sound recording, only a written version survives and, as already noted, written text is very frequently represented orally. Pelias (1979) deals extensively with the inter-relationship of the spoken and written in Bugis literature. In this paper, however, we are only concerned with variations between various manuscript versions of works.

A further restriction is to limit the discussion to material written, for the greater part, in the standard Makassar-Bugis script. (The slight qualification is needed since very many of the texts would have a few words or standard phrases in the Latin or Arabic scripts and some codices have various items in different scripts.) Caldwell (1988) has convincingly argued that writing was introduced into Bugis society about AD 1400 and the easiest assumption is that the system and form of this writing were fairly closely related to the standard script of later centuries. While the system of the script shows its ultimate Indic derivation, its immediate source is by no means clear. The form of the characters as a whole cannot be related in any systematic way to any other set of characters. Moreover, there has been a major simplification in the system compared with likely sources made possible by a peculiarity of the major South Sulawesi languages: syllables may only conclude with an open vowel, a nasal or a glottal stop. This means that the script can continue to be (barely) adequate without any means of suppressing the vowel, that is indicating a consonant without a following vowel. Such a limitation would be impractical for most languages and it is important to note that it is not shared either by superficially similar scripts such as those from Sumatra (Jaspan 1964) or those from Java with which easy historical links can be made. (The similar lack of means to suppress the vowel in Philippine scripts, which is so troublesome that there have been numerous attempts to remedy it, is strong evidence of the derivation of those scripts from a South Sulawesi model.)

Effectively, the South Sulawesi script is limited to showing a series of consonant + vowel units; these can be conveniently represented, in Latin script, by an upper case consonant and lower case vowel, thus Bö.Në. (The null consonant is shown as Q). Two slight refinements to this system are used irregularly: there are four pre-nasalized consonants so that one can write Qa.Ru.Mp.O.Në for Arangpoqnd (but one also finds Qa.Ru.Po.Në) and the intervocals or glides -y- and -w- can indicate the absence of a glottal stop after the first vowel (but one finds both Go.Wa and Go.Qa for the major Makasar state.)

However careful, talented and experienced a scribe may be and even if logically the possibility of perfection must remain open, it is extremely likely that any manuscript version of a work will vary from the model from which it was copied. Indeed, one should not assume any intention of identity. The most common form of variation with which we are familiar in other traditions is that in the form of the characters or letters; we recognize the handwriting of particular individuals or, in a more general sense, the handwriting characteristic of particular periods and deriving from certain educational backgrounds. While there may perhaps be some scope for a more systematic study of Bugis and Makassar standard script palaeography, even the broad outlines of change are not yet established and much useful information on most manuscripts is likely to come from a study of the paper on which the text is written. The variation with which this paper deals concerns greater or smaller differences in the sequence of characters on the page; there are five levels of such variation, each larger than the last in the scale of variation.

1. Script alternatives. As explained above, the script itself, which is deficient in many respects, is in used in such a way as allow alternative renderings of the same word. A very common example is Nai, which often does little more than introduce a new sentence. Strictly, this should be rendered Na.Qi.Ya, but one also find Na.Qi.Qa. and, as an abbreviation, Na.Yi. Similarly the pre-nasalized characters, -NGKa-, -MPa-, -NRa-, and -NYCa-, which are usual in writing Bugis (but not Makasar), are by no means always used and the same word can be rendered in different ways on the same page.

2. Scribal errors. The usual standard of formal accuracy in South Sulawesi manuscripts is quite high, but examples can be found of all the usual slips: repetition of phrases, omissions, incorrect or incomplete characters, and so on. As we shall show, there are particular problems in rendering material from foreign languages.

3. Alternative wording. In prose and even in some cases in verse, it is possible to substitute one word for another of similar meaning, to add or subtract a descriptive phrase or personal name, without significantly changing the sense conveyed. Such differences cannot be put down to error since both the copy and, presumably, the model are formally correct in a linguistic sense, and the easiest explanation is a concern on the part of the scribe for clarity of expression or for euphony. Such a suggestion, however, implies a more casual attitude towards maintaining the exact comparability of model and copy than we are accustomed to in the Western tradition. We may also expect some genres to be more affected than others by variation of this type, reflecting in turn perhaps differences in the intended use for a manuscript.

4. Changes in content. The next level of variation involves introducing significant content which could not be derived from the model or omitting significant content so that the meaning of the model is not transferred to the copy. The most common occasion for addition is the desire to explain or specify something which seems obscure, though the result may not always help a modern reader. Another way of putting the nature of this level of variation is to say that there is no inner problem with integrity of the model's content as there is with its form. The question of what constitutes significant change and thus allows this to be distinguished from the previous level of variation might, in some cases, be arbitrary, but the distinction between form and content is worth making.

5. Structural change. The limits to this level are somewhat uncertain on both extremes; on the one side, there can be no clear measure as to how many or how great changes in content need to be introduced before the change can be better described as structural and, on the other, the demarcation between large-scale, structural variation among the versions of one work and the creation of two works may be fairly arbitrary. Two examples, however, illustrate the utility of retaining this level of analysis. The process of oral composition involves, by definition, the re-creation of material at each performance and yet the oral composers will maintain that they are merely reproducing a particular work. It would be inappropriate to separate manuscript representations of oral performances which, in the oral register, would be kept together. This appears to be the case with much I La Galgo material. A second example can be seen in textual items which begin
with several paragraphs related to the many other versions of the Chronicle of Boné and then degenerate into a mere list of rulers. These items are wholly dependent on some version of the full chronicle and it seems sensible to describe them as yet further versions of the work, albeit at the limit of variation.

The first three levels of variation can tell us a little about scribal practice. A point which emerges from some close comparison is that transmission from one manuscript version to another is by way of sound rather than the appearance of the writing. In practical terms, this means that the scribe pronounced the words read from the model text and then wrote down the characters representing those sounds. Such a procedure is unsurprising given the nature of the script and a skill in literacy probably somewhat less than that which modern scholars can command. There are also many parallels from a wide variety of time and place.

The clearest demonstration of this point is in the effectively random variation in the representation of a word such as Naia. The various script alternatives chosen by a scribe bear no systematic relationship to other distinctions that might be drawn between manuscripts. The point is confirmed by certain scribal errors. For example, in one version of the Chronicle of Boné the scribe has written the meaningless word kenne'ana (Ke.Ne.Na.Na) for genne'ana (Ge.Ne.Na.Na) or genne'ana (Ge.Ne.Na) found in many other versions and giving good sense. The substitution of ke- for ge- is easily explained as an aural slip; the written characters are quite dissimilar. This example also illustrates the third level of variation; the second -na is a modal suffix indicating completion, but in this particular context it is effectively redundant. Its presence or absence, like the occurrence of script alternatives, is not a guide to significant distinctions between manuscripts.

The struggle of the Bugis scribe with materials from another language can be instructive. A case for which we have some external control is the text of the treaty of Bungaya agreed between Sultan Hasanuddin of Goa and Cornelis Speelman, commander of the Dutch East India Company forces, on 18 November, 1667. There is a reliable Dutch text transcribed by Stapel (1922:237-47) and both Makasar and Bugis manuscript versions exist in some numbers. It is not clear whether there ever was an 'official' Makasar version and much of the negotiation leading up to the treaty was conducted in Portuguese and Malay (Stapel 1922:179, 183), but it seems probable that the Bugis versions derive from the Makasar. Part of Speelman's formal title was Former Governor of the Coromandel Coast - 'oud Gouverneur van de Cust Choromandel' in the Dutch text. In one Bugis version, this has ended up as 'riolona [former], gonorodor [governor, from the Portuguese governador] riko, setta, koroma[n][deli]. The punctuation division within the attempt to render 'cust' is clear evidence that the meaning of the model (or the model's model) was not understood; the scribe has been struggling to represent the sounds he has derived from his model.

3 For a brief discussion of this phenomenon in the European tradition, see Timpanaro 1976:21-26. We are not sure of the potential for psycholinguistic discussion of variation in Bugis materials along the lines followed by Timpanaro, but it is possible in theory.

4 item 1 in the Netherlands Bible Society (NBS) collection Manuscript 100, held in the Leiden University Library, the word occurs on p.3, line 5 from the bottom.

5 item 3 in NBS 99.

6 A vowel mark before 'riko' suggests that this should perhaps be 'rieki', but neither word makes sense in this context.

Another version7 of the same passage displays an instructive variation. This omits Speelman's name and begins 'riolona, gonorodor, kosetta, gonorodor, maa[n][deli]. While 'cust' has remained as 'kosetta', the oral similarity of the first two syllables of Coromandel to those of the word for governor seems to have confused the scribe, who was then left with a meaningless three syllables, 'ma[n][deli].

Another glimpse into scribal practice is provided in some of the I La Galigo materials among the Schoenemann collection in Berlin. These manuscripts seem to have been collected by Schoenemann himself, probably in 1849, and may have been copied to meet his request. There are many instances where the scribes have made corrections to their first written version. A mistake is crossed through, surrounded by a ring of dots or even erased; the new, and often obviously correct material is written over the old, or inserted above the line or in the margin as may be convenient. The errors, where they are still legible, take all the forms common at the second level of variation: repetition, omission, and so on. The easiest, indeed the inescapable explanation of their origin is that the copy was being taken from a prior manuscript as a model, perhaps with some degree of vocalization, but not representing either the performance of an oral composer or the spoken dictation of another. The point may seem trivial, but every detail needs to be established in each context.

The third level of variation and some of the difficulties it causes in relating manuscripts can be further illustrated by referring again to the versions of the Bungaya treaty. While a Makasar version, in section 17 of the treaty, twice refers merely to the Karangew to indicate Sultan Hasanuddin of Goa, the two Bugis versions below and above specify Karangew, a Makasar 'chaos' in both cases. The Dutch version differs so much in construction that comparison at this level is not meaningful. More interestingly, this Makasar version of the section omits the word for three against one of the kinds of gun in an inventory of arms, though this is found in both the Dutch and Bugis versions and can be reconstructed from the Makasar list's total.

Section 3 of the treaty deals with material salvaged from two Dutch shipwrecks, that of the Walvisch and the Leeuwit. Not surprisingly, the two Bugis versions omit these names and refer to the wrecks merely by the place where they occurred. Just to complicate any simple idea of the relationship, however, the Bugis versions supply the Christian name, Jacob, for the consular Mac who was involved in this business. The Christian name is not given in section 3 of the Dutch, though it does appear in section 1.

Variation at these three initial levels fairly closely equates with what Proudfoot (1984) has described as "white noise" in the transmission of Malay texts. For materials in the South Sulawesi script, however, it is worth drawing these finer distinctions. There are yet other questions which can be investigated through some combination of the nature of the script, the pattern of scribal error and alternative formulations of the same content. To the extent that such variation

7 Item 172 in NBS 208.
8 Dr Macknight is preparing a catalogue of these manuscripts.
9 Illustrated in Stapel 1939: opposite p.342. The original appears to be manuscripts 668/216 in the collection of the Tropical Museum of the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam. It is discussed in another connection by Noordman (1991:470-5).
is a matter of style, rather than error or mere randomness, it may be possible, with a great deal of minute analysis, to develop some sense of the stylistics involved. Another line to pursue is that of dialect and the effect on a text of the particular background of a scribe. Noordyn (1955: 10-11) and Casse in Le Roux (1955: 706) draw attention to some dialect variation of vowels which could be represented in script. In the same way, a legendary work in Bugis dealing with Labuaja in the Sinjai area regularly uses 'U' instead of the usual 'U' as a prefix. This seems to be consistent with the data available in the systematic linguistic study by Prifig and Friburg (1968: esp. App. B), but much more work is needed for definitive results from manuscript sources. A point deserving particular attention because of the circumstances surrounding the copying of many nineteenth century manuscripts obtained through the efforts of European collectors is the effect of a scribe, whose primary language was Makasar, copying Bugis works. Macknight and Mukhsis (1979) give several examples of this in the unique manuscript of a work dealing with praus.

Variation at the fourth and fifth levels described above can be termed substantive. A point not often perceived is that such substantive variation implies a use for the new version different from that of the model or performance from which it is taken. This change of use may be intentional, that is it may be the consequence of the scribe deciding to add to or reshape his model in the light of particular requirements, or it may be circumstantial and arise from factors such as the model missing a page or lack of time or space in a codex in which to take a full copy of the model.

A body of material which nicely illustrates these points is that concerned with maritime law and associated with the name of Amanna Gappa. The original versions of this work can be plausibly attributed to the head of the community of traders from Wajo in Makasar at the beginning of the eighteenth century, though no doubt he was working on earlier materials (Noordyn 1987: 16). There is no question that we have here a work as described above in that which was attempted by Amanna Gappa was a codification. Tobing (1977) has published a very useful edition of one version of the work and in his introduction discusses briefly another 17 versions. If we take just one of these versions10 and look at how it compares with the published version,11 the usefulness of our categorization of variation readily appears. The 21 published sections of the code have been expanded to 36 partly by addition of new material as noted by Tobing (1977:20-1) and partly by the expansion of the treatment of particular topics and the subdivision of sections. This amounts to structural change or level five variation. If we go on to look at just one short section, numbered 5 in Tobing and 12 in the longer version,12 the 16 words of the former equate fairly closely with first 18 words in the latter; the longer version then supplies another 52 words of elaboration. It is easy to find variation at the first three levels in the closely parallel sections, though that is not our concern here. It is the elaboration, in this case setting out in more detail the duties of various crew members, that exemplify the fourth level of variation.

It would be an interesting exercise to try to determine the particular circumstances which demanded a fuller statement of the legal code. A quick inspection suggests the plausible idea that the longer version reflects the fruit of experience and perhaps some technological and social changes. An important avenue of enquiry would be to consider the history of the codices within which the various versions are found, bearing in mind the added complication that we are dealing in most cases, not with the codices themselves, but with European commissioned copies.

We may come now to the issue of editorial practice. How does this understanding of the scribal tradition which produced the extant Bugis manuscripts affect the work of a modern editor wishing to present a particular work?

On one matter recently in dispute among philologists working in the literatures of the Indonesian archipelago, there is now a measure of agreement: most scholars would prefer to have access to a text in a 'diplomatic', rather than 'critical' form. In other words, the first task of an editor is to present as accurately as possible a copy of one version of a work, perhaps with other versions in parallel as well or, at least, reference to readings in other manuscript versions. There is no cause to dispute this approach with respect to the publication of Bugis materials, especially since the ability of all modern scholars to engage in the aptly-named phase of divinatio in the work of the textual critic is so painfully limited by our lack of contextual knowledge.

One slight complication which does arise, however, comes from the high desirability of a transcription into the Latin script, rather than a direct transcription into the South Sulawesi script. (The frustrating inadequacies of the original script render this even more necessary than might at first be the case, even though the technical means of reproducing the script would not now be hard to procure with a little programming.) In practice, one needs to distinguish a transcription style of orthography, that is one which both renders the language and can be unambiguously reduced to show all the characters and punctuation of a manuscript, from a standard style of orthography, that is one which meets standards of linguistic consistency. The differences are not substantial. (Both have to be distinguished again from the literal style of consonant and vowel as used above.)

A more difficult question arises regarding the applicability of the critical method to Bugis works13. We have seen that it is not possible to reconstruct the exact archetype of a set of Bugis manuscripts of a work because of level one variation and, often, level three variation as well. The attempt to build a stemma can, however, be helpful in coming to terms with the textual history of a work. In some cases there is no difficulty in constructing a useful stemma to help the editor choose between substantively different versions. A close knowledge of all the various versions may also help to elucidate particular textual difficulties in a 'diplomatic' version.

In some cases, however, it is not possible to construct a stemma. Sometimes the work is too short for any conclusive argument to be drawn - Bugis works are often no more than a few manuscript pages in length - or internal contradictions may preclude its construction. Here it is worth reminding ourselves that even in the world of the Greek and Latin classics, where the ambition of

10 In manuscript 130 (in the old catalogue system) of the Yayasane Kebidayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara collection. Following Noordyn (1955) this may be ascribed to MAK 130.
11 In MAK 107.
12 MAK 130, p.5, lines 1-14.
13 By this phrase we mean process of recensio.
recreating an autograph is, in many cases, not so very far out of reach, the construction of a reliable *stemma* may not be as easy as traditionally supposed. As McDonald remarks in a pithy summary (1970: 1049), 'Seven manuscripts of Aeschylius suggested a *stemma*, seventeen have destroyed it, and there are more manuscripts of Aeschylius!'

A way forward in this difficulty is to make a distinction between grouping and phylogeny. More specifically, one should not allow the utility of grouping particular versions of a work together to lead one directly into attempts to establish a sequence of copying events. The two processes can be kept apart.

In the manuscripts of the Chronicle of Boné, for example, it can be suggested on grounds of provenance and from some textual indications that one group of versions has been copied in Macassar, another group is associated with Boné itself. Within each group, however, the prospects of untangling a neat succession of copying seem slight; there are too many minor differences at the level one and level three variation and too great a possibility of 'contamination' among the versions of such a well-known work. Caldwell (1988) has dealt in detail with the relationships between the versions of the ten historical works he presents in 'diplomatic' form. It is instructive that he is only able to produce a *stemma* for some of these.

Many of the points made in this paper will seem familiar to those philologists working with Javanese, Balinese or Malay - and perhaps further afield. The debate on these matters goes back a long way, as van der Molen (1983) shows, and in recent years one thinks of contributions by Brakel, Jones, Kratz, Sweeney and Proudfoot on Malay matters; Worsley, Day, Kumar, Ricklefs, Ras, Behrend and Vickers on Javanese and Balinese matters. There is an excellent summary of all this in Robson (1988). Within the compass available here, however, we have deliberately avoided drawing parallels on both theoretical and practical grounds. Firstly, it seems worth making the point that the several manuscript traditions across the archipelago should not be lumped together; there may well be particular features of each which do not apply generally and, in the nature of the script, there is certainly a source of such difference as shown above. Secondly, and more generally, by building up a structure for Bugis materials from first principles, we have had in mind to lay out a programme for later investigation. We still have much to learn from a close study of the variations in our manuscripts.

References


14 Dr Macknight and Dr Mukhilis have an edition of this chronicle in preparation which will list the versions and use them in *stemma*. The text, however, will be a 'diplomatic' transcription.

15 This is a somewhat less optimistic view than that of Dr Noordyn in his evaluation of the manuscripts of the Chronicle of Goa and Talloq (Noordyn 1991:451-3). We note that Noordyn wishes to produce the 'best possible edition of the text ... taking into consideration all the relevant material in the manuscripts'. He is thus aiming for a critical, rather than a diplomatic edition. This choice raises issues beyond the scope of this paper.

16 In fact, he has a *stemma* for only two of his works. For the other eight, a *stemma* was deemed unnecessary for two, not attempted owing to the brevity of the work for three, rendered impossible because the two manuscripts are different versions of the work for one, in another it was rendered impossible because the manuscripts fall into two distinct groups with differences between the two deriving from different oral sources and in the last case it was impossible because of textual contradictions.


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*Southeast Asian Manuscripts*

Ahmad-Muhammad: a Javanese verse romance
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AHMAD-MUHAMMAD: A JAVA VERSE ROMANCE

A study in the methodology of cataloguing Javanese palm-leaf manuscripts, with special reference to Leiden University Library Oriental Manuscript L.Cr.3673/2.

by

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1. By considering one text, the Ahmad-Muhammad, a romantic tale in Javanese masopet Verse, and by concentrating mostly on one particular manuscript, I propose to examine the methods of cataloguing Javanese manuscripts over the past hundred years. This year marks the centenary of the publication of the first substantial catalogue of Javanese manuscripts, that by A.C. Vreede, of the Leiden University Library collection, in 1892. In the present paper, attention will be given to palm-leaf manuscripts from the Pasirir, the north coast ofJava, and to the text itself, with its Indonesian, Indian and Islamic elements.

The work of seven scholars, who were also either collectors or cataloguers, will be considered. It will be necessary as well to refer to some of their predecessors, who set standards and pointed the way to the work to be done on the collections. Some of these were involved in controversies of principle and method: The most famous clash was between E.H. van der Tuuk and T. Koedam in 1834–5. This was described even-handedly by E.N. Uhlenbeck (1964, pp.51-5), who noted the points at issue, and the differences of tradition and method of the two men, which reflected a wider difference of academic approach continued in later times, as for example in the papers of J.L. van Brandes (1899, 1903), in which he criticized the work of Vreede. Uhlenbeck says, 'Such in the Koedam - Van der Tuuk polemic is now only of historical interest.
The study of Javanese was not much furthered by it. (Op.cit., p.53). While this is true, the controversies partly explain a divergence in cataloguing traditions, which we can now exploit positively, as for example, by using the different approaches and materials provided by Brandes and H.N.Juyboll in their descriptions of manuscripts in the Van der Tuuk collection.

A further aspect of the present study is the fact that neither palm leaf manuscripts, nor the Pasaisir literature, were main preoccupations of nineteenth century Javanists. Their work had begun in response to the need to train colonial administrators, the desire to translate the Bible, and the revival of Javanese literature in Surakarta. In the latter part of the century, especially from the time that Javanese studies in the Netherlands were centered in Leiden, attention was especially given to the study of Old Javanese texts and inscriptions, the grammar and lexicography of Old and Modern Javanese, and wider aspects of Indonesian linguistics. Soek Hurgronje and his followers studied Indonesian Islam, especially of Sunnists and the Western Pasaisir, but not the Eastern Pasaisir, and the spread of Islam eastwards from there. However, many collectors in Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok did bring in a good number of manuscripts originating from the Hindu communities in those parts. Many of these were lontar, palm-leaf manuscripts, which were eventually placed in the libraries in Jakarta and Leiden.

When the collections came to be catalogued, the work fell to highly-qualified Javanists, none of whom, however, had made either palm-leaf manuscripts or Islamic literature their main areas of study. Nevertheless, we owe it to them that good records of the Pasaisir manuscripts were made; but their background of non-specialisation in this area explains why some aspects were overlooked, or dealt with only in a summary manner. This suggests aspects of the work which still needs to be undertaken:
2. Work on the palaeography of the Javanese script as represented in the lontars, as well as the re-examination of colophons, so that the manuscripts can be better categorized chronologically and by place of origin.
3. The editing of more Pasaisir texts for publication.

The chosen manuscript, L.Cr.3673, from the Van der Tuuk collection in the Leiden University Library, is a lontar of 217 folios, 30 x 33cm, with four lines of text a side, in what Pigmeau calls Balinese script, but which, (as indicated in the discussion below), would be better called Lombok Javanese script. Only one of its binding boards remains, which is of thick wood with bevelled sides, with a pattern or repeated crosses; the top and bottom surfaces. The manuscript begins with a fragment of text on the first two folios, of the 21st. Kassim in the mac hunanbang metre, beginning with two stanzas in Javanese, followed by seventeen in Javanese. The Javanese verses indicate the provenance of the manuscript, which is reinforced by the use of mac hunanbang, which is frequently used by Javanese writers, though less by Javanese. The main text of the Ahmad-Muhammad then follows, in which the story is related in 35 cantoes of macapat verse.

This manuscript is the principal palm-leaf representative of the Ahmad-Muhammad in the Van der Tuuk collection. It is paired by a transliteration on paper of 156 pages in the Balinese script, L.Cr.3944. The making of copies was a regular practice of Van der Tuuk, as may be seen from many other examples in the collections. It was the copies which were principally studied by the collector, who in many cases added marginal annotations. It was from the copies, too, that the cataloguers made their descriptions, while they usually dealt summarily with the original lontars. The consequence of this approach was that attention was concentrated upon content and linguistic features, while physical features of the original, including material description, style of script, age and provenance were often overlooked. In the Van der Tuuk collection there are also other lontars of the Ahmad-Muhammad, some fragmentary, some including a sequel. There are still others, such as L.Cr.4016, which is present only as a copy on paper, with a fuller text of 39 cantoes written on 80 pages, which according to Brandes (Beschrijving 1, 1901, p.31), is founded on a lontar of 153 folios, of which no further details were given, but which was presumably originally borrowed by Van der Tuuk for study.
If these manuscripts be compared with those in other collections, the variations will be seen to be even more considerable. This does not arise so much from scribal error, as from the tradition of free handling of texts which goes with the practice of oral performance. The impression of variety is further reinforced by comparison with the Malay prose Bिनक दिनुह अहमद अहमद, where the roles of Ahmed and Muhammad are reversed, (Minaster, 1959, pp.54, 193-5); or the rendering of the story as a jamban drama in Bali, where the White Elephant who bore Muhammad away is represented as a Rangda figure with a blue mask, (Zacait, 1956, pp.96, 142, 291-2). However, the main outline and thrust of the story is fairly similar in all, as indicated in the subjoined summary.


A widow had two sons, Ahmed and Muhammad: she bought then a bird as a pet. Now a ship's captain dreamt that whoever ate the heart of the bird would become a king, and whoever ate the head would become a minister. The captain contrived to meet the widow and charm her into having the bird killed and roasted. However, when it was cooked, he was away, and the boys, not knowing the circumstances, ate the bird, Ahmed taking the head and Muhammad the heart. When the captain returned, he was angry and threatened the boys, who ran away. They chanced to meet an ascetic, Sheikh Jajung, who gave then each a kris, with which they killed the captain's servants who had pursued them.

The boys wandered on and slept in the forest. Now a White Elephant, sent out by Siti Bagdad, niece of the late Sultan of Egypt, came to the forest, seeking a prince to become king and marry the Sultan's daughter, Princess Ratna Kusuma. The elephant took Muhammad and placed him in his howda, and then returned on his way. When Ahmed woke, he followed the tracks of the elephant, and came to a widow's house. She adopted him, and betrothed him to her daughter, Ni Rara Buncakar. Now emissaries from Egypt found Ahmed and brought him to the court. Siti Bagdad fell in love with him, and feasted him. He vomited the bird's head, which she picked up and swallowed, so that the magic power it contained was transferred to her.

Ahmad reproached her, but after a heated exchange, she chased him away.

Ahmad, wandering in the wilderness, met two jinn, from whom he obtained instruments of magic: a shirt which could fly, an arrow which always returned to its bow, and a sack ever full of one's favourite food. With these, Ahmad re-entered the palace unobserved and gave the food and drink to Siti Baghdad. She was sick and vomited the bird's head, which Ahmed took, and he regained his magic power from her. He went off to his adoptive mother and Ni Rara Buncakar. Siti Baghdad had his pursued, but with his magic devices, Ahmad escaped unharmed.

Ahmad now reappeared before Siti Baghdad, and reproached her for her treacherous attack. After a reconciliation, they flew off to the island of Nanjeti, and while he was asleep, she took his magic bow and left him. Ahmad, now desperate, wanted to kill himself: but he heard two birds talking about a magic tree nearby, a kastuba, whose wood had wonderful powers. Ahmad thereupon broke off a bough, and it became a flying horse, Sembrani: a branch from the top became a saddle, and a twig became his whip. Then there appeared a troop of jinn, followers of Dewi Kuraisin. Ahmad fought them and killed many: but Umar Raya revived them, and arranged a marriage between Ahmed and Irnaya - Dewi Soja, daughter of Dewi Kuraisin. He then returned on his flying steed to Egypt, intending to attack Siti Baghdad, but when he found her asleep, relented and was again reconciled to her. Preparations were then made for the wedding of Ahmed's brother, Muhammad, to Ratna Kusuma as King and Queen of Egypt.

In the sequel (not in L.Or.3673 or L.Or.4010), Dewi Soja had a son by Ahmad, Braiya, who brought him to Egypt. He was adopted by Siti Baghdad, and was engaged in various battles. Afterwards, Braiya lived with his father and step-mother, while Muhammad and Ratna Kusuma ruled as King and Queen.

3. *Metres and Cantoes of L.Or.3673/2*

Brandes (Beschriften I, 1901, pp.35-6), gives excerpts in Balinese script of three verses at the opening and six at the end, together with the first lines of each of the 35 cantoes, and the colophon of L.Or.3644, the paper copy of *Lontar* L.Or.3673/2. He does not name the metres, which cannot
always be determined from the first lines, since certain metres, like *sincin* and *pangkur* both begin in the same way, a line of eight syllables, with the vowel a in the last. The metres have to be determined from the text, and can be compared with the entries in other catalogues, where parallel texts are described, with this feature identified. The sequence L.or. 3673/2 is as follows:

2. *Sinon*: Keran manah nakoda. (The captain’s dream of the magic bird).
5. *Dangdang Gula*: Fang kapangieh Muhammad layag ruling. (Muhammad is taken up by the White Elephant).
6. *Kilil*: Sihang soka mada peki. (Ahmad follows and comes to a widow’s house).
7. *Genbuh*: Ki Ahmad anguc par. (He meets and is betrothed to her daughter).
8. *Kemirin*: Siken palib mendangganyar nire. (He is brought to the court in Egypt).
9. *Asmarandana*: Baya ta incun puniki. (Siti Baghaid makes Ahmad sick, and steals the bird’s head).
10. *Dura*: Fan Ki Ahmad narjite denira npecap. (Ahmad left and met the jin).
11. *Sinon*: Tamuran Siti Baghaid. (He returned to Siti Baghaid and regained the bird’s head).
12. *Dura*: Jejenang engah vasoki lurah pray. (He went to his adoptive mother).
15. *Dura*: Gegege juba utusan prapate ika. (Jinn from Ajarak came to fight).
16. *Asmarandana*: Ki Ahmad tamurun ari. (In L.or.1046, there are two additional cantos here, in *sinon* and *asmarandana*).
18. *Dura*: Weten ditum Malayu kalah ayudde. (The jinn are defeated).
19. *Dangdang Gula*: Datu Benda garjiteg ari. (In L.or.1046, there is an additional canto, in *Dura*, here).

Although the manuscript is of Lombok provenance, as indicated by various features including the style of the script, this reckoning shows that the reception is that of Java. Other texts of provenance from the Saok community use only six metres, *asmarandana, dangdang gula, durma, man kumbang, pangkur* and *sinon*. The presence of the other metres listed above, and the absence of *man kumbang*, are indicators of an imported text, and probably an early one.

The recording of metres and openings of cantos facilitates the collation of manuscripts of the same text. As an example, we may cite Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja manuscript E.434 (= L.or.15,358), described by Figaud, (Literature of Java IV, 1980, p.146), where it is headed Ahmad Muhammad and Raden Saputra.
No indication of content is given by Figeaud, but he lists the metres used, which show that this manuscript (which is a typed transcript of a ms.) had 43 cantoes. What the meaning of the double title may be is not explained: but the original may simply have been a manuscript of the Ahmad Muhammad in which some parts of the Raden Saraga had been accidentally introduced. At any rate the sequence of cantoes with the titles of their metres (which alone are given by Figeaud), show that most of the text probably had some correspondence with L.Cr.487/2, and L.Cr.490. However, the middle cantoes, 16-20, show a sequence of cantoes not in the Ahmad Muhammad, being in ginuti, sinon, muailham, sinon, andi. Brondes, (Beschrijving III, 1915, p.2), indicate that the Raden Saraga is short soon in four cantoes, so perhaps the unexplained cantoes in K.43 belong to this text. That is evident from this is that the catalogue description is indicative of the probable structure of the manuscript, but does not supply sufficient information to make a proper collation. In this respect, the practice of R.M. Sp. Poerbatjakrake in his Kanak (1940), and Indonesische Handschriften (1950), is more informative. So too are the transcripts, summaries, and lists of cantoes and metres in the typescripts of J. Boegjarte in the Leiden University Library collection.

4. The Meaning of the Text
What is the real theme of the Ahmad Muhammad? and why did it have such widespread popularity in so many communities in Indonesia? Figeaud (1977, p.121), says: "The romantic tale of the two brothers Ahmad and Muhammad who were antagonists was appreciated as an illustration of the mythic context going on in Universe and human history for ever and ever, and as a learned Balinese could regard the romance as referring to the undecided struggle between his ancestral religion and Islam which was fought in historic times." This seems a highly speculative interpretation, and if it was really held in Bali, was late, since the text was current earlier elsewhere. In any case, as we now have it, Muhammad disappears from most of the story, and the real confrontation is between Ahmad and Siti Hadijah, their love-hate relationship, and the strategems by which they endeavour to outwit one another provide the focus of interest.

The other link connecting the episodes of the tale is the constant employment of one form of magic or another. This begins with the captain's charming the boys' mother, introducing the bird with magic-giving powers or enki, then the krisese given to Ahmad and Muhammad by the sheikh, and the White Elephant who came to choose Muhammad as a king. Later we have Ahmad's encounter with the jinn, from whom he obtained the flying shirt, the magic bow and arrow, and the sack of plenty. Later still we have the magic khanya tree, whose bough provides Ahmad with a flying horse with which he goes off to fight with the jinn, and then to marry one of their princesses. This preoccupation with magic tells us something of the social and psychological milieu in which the story was composed. These motives of the principal characters are the gratification of desires and the acquirement of power. It is no doubt these universal characteristics which ensured the popularity of the tale, perhaps as an escapist story for the consolation of the deprived. In this fantastic and fairy tale aspect, and in its superhuman elements, it may be compared to the science fiction now so popular on television.

The magic items themselves suggest a syncretism from various sources: the magic bow and arrow in typically an Indian or Hindu-Javanese theme, such as is found in the Ramayana and the Arjuna wiwaha; an elephant-choosing a king comes from Buddhist lore, while encounters with the jinn, and their command of various magic resources is Middle Eastern and Islamic in origin. If the various versions are also compared for the variations in proper names and titles, the same mixed, threefold, origins suggest themselves. What is clear is that a great deal more study of the text is required, to provide a publishable edition of the Javanese version, and perhaps Malay and other versions too; and thorough, comparison with the various versions in the different languages of Indonesia. The results of such a study would go beyond what would be required for, or feasible for inclusion in a catalogue: but the absence of an edition of this text, as of many others from the Javanese Fatinir, point to the need for more work of this kind.

One characteristic of the Ahmad Muhammad, and comparable texts, like the Jowar Sah and the Jaka Prateke, is that although they have some Islamic features, they have no real Muslim content. The Ahmad Muhammad indeed has a prefatory canto with Islamic reference, but this could almost be held to be the author's apologia for setting it forth in the world. Some of the personal and place names, and some of the magic elements are of Islamic origin, but there is no Muslim theological content, and no real Muslim ethos in the story, which is very much more in line with the general character of earlier stories of a popular kind imported from India.
5. The Collecting and Cataloguing of Manuscripts

Before considering the central role of Van der Tuuk, and the cataloguing work of Tveedt and his successors, there are three earlier scholars whose activities have a bearing on the present study. The first of these is A.B.Cohen-Stuart, 1823-1875. In 1844, at the age of nineteen, he went to Surakarta, and became an assistant to Winter and Silken in the work of Hakley and Javanese translation, so was linked with the earlier school of Javanese studies, which is evidenced by his editions of the _Javanese_ (1856, 1861), and by his _Kawi_ (narrative in Pashto) (1875). However in 1862, he went to Batavia to undertake various commissions for the Government, and to act as a consultant to the Bataviaasch Geenootschap. For the latter, he made a list of the Javanese manuscripts in their Library (1853), and a catalogue of Hakley and Javanese manuscripts, which was published in 1876. He also collected manuscripts himself, and had transcriptions made, especially of palm-leaf manuscripts in the Genootschap's collection. Of his own collection of 183 manuscripts now in the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta, 23 are Javanese Muslim texts, probably mostly from the Pasirin, and many of them transcribed from palm-leaf manuscripts already in the possession of the Genootschap. His range of interests and method of work on Javanese manuscripts resembles that of his exact contemporary, Van der Tuuk.

The second name is Palmer J.van den Broek, who was active in Javanese studies and the collection of manuscripts in the second half of the nineteenth century. Of particular interest is the collection of 21 Javanese palm-leaf manuscripts purchased from him by the Leiden University Library in 1876. Most of these were Old Javanese texts acquired in Bali. There was also a _lontar_ of the _Satanara_ from Lombok (L.Cr.224c), and of the Bugisnaga (L.Cr.222a). The wider significance of this acquisition is that previously, the Leiden University Library had only possessed 14 Javanese _lontar_ in all. We may note that this new acquisition was made during the time that Professor H. Korn held the Javanese chair at the Rijksuniversiteit in Leiden, 1974-7, contained copies of these Old Javanese texts which became a major concern of Javanists in the following years.

Thirdly we have to consider Zacc Roorda, 1901-1974, not in the breadth of his work as leading Javanist in the Netherlands of his time, but in his controversy with Van der Tuuk, 1864-9, since that had a direct bearing on later trends in collecting, studying and cataloguing Javanese manuscripts, and the two men represented two streams of academic approach to Indonesian studies, which continued to be both productive and divisive for many decades afterwards. For the present purpose, Ultraeck's account (1964, pp 351-5) clarifies the points at issue. Firstly, Roorda accorded Javanese prime status in the Malay-Polynesian language family; secondly his historical explanations tended to be based solely on Javanese facts; thirdly he used a preconceived logical framework in his expositions; and fourthly he relied too much upon Winter's translations and artificial conversations, rather than on genuine Javanese texts. Moreover, Roorda had never visited Java. By contrast, Van der Tuuk had gained a wide first-hand experience in the field of various Indonesian languages, and was well acquainted with the historical comparative method of linguistics as applied to Indo-European languages, which enabled him to adopt this approach to Indonesian studies. Roorda's strength was in descriptive linguistics and the logic of language. These differences were reinforced by differences of temperament and personal animosity, which was no doubt engendered on Van der Tuuk's side by hard work in the field and lack of recognition at home.

We do not now need to consider all the developments of the controversy, or even to take sides, because their ideas and their work and that of those who followed them can now be drawn upon as complementary rather than mutually exclusive, and modern Javanese and Indonesian studies came to new conclusions, in which both streams of academic thought and method have a contribution to make. It is however important to note the main points of the controversy, because they explain certain features of later scholarship, and in particular the style, emphasis and selection of data used in the various catalogues.

For H.N.van der Tuuk, 1824-1894, the collection and study of palm-leaf manuscripts was an important part of his activity. So too was the study of the Javanese Pamakir literature, as it was to be found in Java, Bali and Lombok; nevertheless, for him, this was a minor preoccupation in a wider-ranging research into the whole field of Javanese literature as then available to him. What is interesting for the present is his methodology in handling manuscripts. This was evident early in his career: when he had a commission from the Netherlands Bible Society to translate the Bible into Batak, he forthwith went to London, to study the Batak manuscripts in the British Museum, and at this time also described the Malay manuscripts in the late...
India House in London (1811, 1849). Later he did similar service for the
Raffles and Parrybar collections of Malay manuscripts in the library of
the Royal Asiatic Society; the catalogue he produced being published both
in Dutch and English in 1866. Another significant, but short work was
his *Notes on the Kawi language and literature* (Batavia, 1881). These articles
show Van der Tuuk as a highly competent and painstaking cataloguer
no doubt influenced the methodology of later cataloguing of Malay and other
Indonesian languages, such as that undertaken by Smits-Princeton and
Ph.J. van Roonol. However, in his work on Javanese manuscripts, his main
interest was not in cataloguing, but in assembling and studying materials
required for his *Kawi-Balinessesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, which was edited
after his death by J.L. Brandes and D.A. Rinkes (Batavia, 1907-1912). Not
only was the finalising of this work left to his successors, but also the
cataloguing of his Javanese, Balinese and Javan manuscripts, which was
likewise undertaken first by J.L. Brandes, and completed by Th. Th. Figeeud,
(Batavia, 1901-1926). In the course of his work, Van der Tuuk was based at
Singaraja, but also had links with other places in Bali, as well as visiting
Lombok and Java. When he acquired palm-leaf manuscripts, in most cases he
had copies made, in the Balinese script on quires of double-foolscap paper,
which facilitated the study of the texts, and enabled him to make marginal
annotations. Sometimes in his own hand he made Romanised extracts or
collations of texts, which like the Balinese copies are now to be seen in
his collection in the Leiden University Library. He also made notes about
texts, or about topics of cultural and lexicographical import for Javanese,
written in Dutch, which are now to be seen in five codices, L.Cr.3265, 3266,
3269, 3270, 3276. Where he did not gain possession of a palm-leaf manuscript
he had a copy made on paper, of which an example is the long version of the
Ahmad-Unaheem at L.Cr.4016. Sometimes the manuscripts themselves, or the
annotations he made, gave clues of date and provenance, but this was not always
the case, and these gaps left problems for later cataloguers, who either passed
over these matters in silence, or else made suggestions which in many cases
need to be reviewed. Further work, especially on the palm-leaf manuscripts
in the collection is needed to determine whether their provenance is from
Java, Madura, Bali or Lombok, and to suggest approximate dates by paleo-
graphic study.

A most important source of our knowledge of his manuscripts is his own
Dictionary. His style was extensive and digressive; but under a
headword, he would gather detailed information about a topic, or a
text or a character. Where this was germane to his purpose, Brandes
quoted long items from Van der Tuuk's Dictionary in his Beschrijving.
Indeed this was the chief source of his descriptions; and where these
failed, Brandes often confined his entries to brief physical descriptions,
long excerpts and little or no comment. In the case of the Ahmad-Unaheem,
we have a long article from Van der Tuuk, quoted by Brandes (Beschrijving,
1901, pp.29-30, with an introduction giving references to related texts in
the Dictionary, a note that the story was known in Europe, and a note that
three versions were known in Bali and one in Lombok. One of the versions
was a tangahen text in demung metre; but the other two from Bali and the
one from Lombok were all mawap, and neither the descriptions by Brandes,
nor those of Jyunboll and Figeeud tell us which was which of these mawap
versions. Van der Tuuk's note continues with a comparison of the versions
of Bali and Lombok by collating verses which tell of the magic kentabu
tree (Canto 14 in most versions), and by a further comparison with the
manuscript in Arabic script, L.Cr.4021, which he calls 'the Javanese original.'

To look more widely at the significance of Van der Tuuk's collection: when
this came as a legacy to the Leiden University Library in 1896, it more than
doubled the holdings of the Library for Javanese, and greatly extended the
range of texts and topics in the field of Javanese literature available for
study in the Netherlands.

All the scholars we now have to consider were highly qualified in Old Javanese
generally in modern Javanese also, and some extended their interests and
activities into archaeology and the arts. All of them became cataloguers
of Javanese manuscripts, usually in mid-career when they were
already established as academic scholars. The nature of the cataloguing
task, however, was to deal with what was in front of them, and not to be
restricted to their own specialised interests in the spheres of Indonesian
and Javanese studies. None of them can be said to have been concerned in
the first place wholly or even mainly in the handling of palm-leaf manuscripts,
or in the background of the history, development and theology of Islam in
the north coast of Java, and the regions to which it was afterwards extended.
However, all of them did tackle these challenges, and have provided us with valuable and extensive information by way description and interpretation of these classes of manuscript and the texts they contain. Nevertheless, the manner in which they came to engage upon their task explains why certain aspects of the cataloguing of the Fanaisir manuscripts need further work of identification and clarification in many cases.

The first in the succession of major cataloguers of Javanese manuscripts was A.J. Vreden, 1840-1908. His *Catalogus van de Javaansche en Nederschoone Handschriften der Leidse Universiteits-Bibliotheek* was published in 1896, so today we commemorate the centenary of this publication. Vreden was the direct heir of Tako Roorda. On Roorda's death in 1874 K. Korn took over the Javanese department at the Rijksinstituut for three years, but then Vreden was appointed to this post in 1877, and became the first Professor Javanese in the University. Moreover, he had married Roorda's daughter. Some of Roorda's manuscripts came to him, and thence eventually to the University Library. When Vreden catalogued the Javanese manuscripts, he brought with him the traditions of Roorda's school. He did not himself invent the style adopted for this class of material, but he did put his own imprint on it. Though his work was attacked by Brandes in 1893, both on motives of method, and alleged errors of fact, his Catalogue is in fact a highly competent work, and provided a mass of essential information then, which is still of great value today. One of the features of his work is his provision of long summaries of many important texts, especially of those which had not been published, or for which no earlier descriptions were available.

Like other cataloguers, whose paper manuscripts were available, he based his main descriptions upon these. He confines his entries for palm-leaf manuscripts to a short section of 21 pages, with brief descriptions towards the end of his catalogue. Hence, for instance, his main description of the Ahmad-Uhasmed is based on L.O.R.1865/1, a quarto codex, which he notes has some Madurese features, and besides a physical description, gives a two-page summary, followed by notes for comparison with the Malay version. The other manuscript he deals with, L.O.R.1877 is a lontar, of which he gives a short description, and then, as in his practice with other texts, quotes and collates short excerpts from the two manuscripts.

Vreden was the first to provide a substantial general catalogue of Javanese manuscripts, and, in the form in which he produced it, an introduction to Javanese literature. He influenced later cataloguing method and style, in particular his immediate successor in this field, H.R. Jynemell, but also other subsequent workers more indirectly. An important aspect of his background was his early experience in East Java, where he was engaged in sugar production, and gained a close knowledge of the Madurese people and their culture, from 1861 onwards. Uhlenbeck (1964, p.176), notes that it was Vreden who first made a large part of the Madurese manuscripts of Leiden accessible to a wider public, as well as publishing Madurese texts and a grammar. His work on Madurese, and on the Javanese catalogue was attacked by Brandes (1889, 1893). Nevertheless, Vreden's Madurese experience is significant also for the present study, since the Madurese culture is itself, at least in part, closely linked with that of the Javanese Fanaisir, and the spread of Islam eastwards in the sixteenth century. Javanese texts of Madurese provenance, as well as those in the Madurese language, in many cases indicate the migration of the literary aspects of Islam further eastward, and may help in reconstructing the history of the movement and its literature in Bali, Lombok and elsewhere. In 1892, Vreden presented a collection of Javanese manuscripts to the Leiden University Library, and in 1906, a further collection, some of which he had inherited from Roorda, were presented by his heirs.

J.J.A. Brandes, 1897-1905, after studying theology at Amsterdam, took up Oriental Languages in Leiden, and gained his doctorate for his thesis on the comparative phonology of the Western Malay-Polynesian language family in 1894. In this work he developed the ideas of Van der Tuck on the comparison of Indonesian languages, formulating his mentor's work as Van der Tuck's First and Second Phonetic Laws. In the same year he left for Java as Tjalaheu - an official linguist, and after his arrival was appointed Chairman of the Commission for Archeological Research in Java and Madura. He developed interests in Old Javanese and epigraphy, and edited Javanese and Malay texts. We have already referred to his editing Van der Tuck's Dictionary, as well as his cataloguing of Van der Tuck's manuscripts in Batavia before they were despatched to Europe. Both these works were well advanced, when he himself died in Java at the age of 48, and these undertakings were completed by other hands.
Brandes was a major collector of Javanese manuscripts, of which 695 are now to be found in the collections of the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta. Many of these are copies of Antvaramach Genootschap items, both codices and lontar and cover a wide range of literary subjects, as well as babady, law codes and so on. The collection contains five manuscripts of the Ahmad-Muhammad (Br.194, 297, 362, 615, 619), all incomplete and summarily described by Doebjs (Indonesische Handschriften, 1950, p.128). More accessible is what he has to say about the manuscripts in the Van der Tuuk collection (Beschrijving 1, 1904, p.31).

Having quoted Van der Tuuk at length and dealt with the tongkonan version from Bali, he introduces the mejaifit versions with a note of his own, (my translation):

"The description of such popular texts as the Amad is very burdensome, especially because of the freedom with which they were treated (by the copyists), so that the various examples of the same version differ one from another so much, that one is tempted to treat them all as independent recensions. Yet this is not correct; they should be understood rather as varieties, or if you like, so many editions of the same version, granted that most of the variations have arisen unintentionally, due to a lack of acquaintance with the pristine text. A necessary consequence of this fact is that, if one wants to make them some degree known, one must engage in repetitions, which one would rather leave out, but which are unavoidable. It is also difficult to take one text as a basis for the descriptions. For almost every manuscript, one is obliged to begin anew."

In this passage, we can see both the weariness of the worker, and the care and diligence with which he pursued a sometimes none too congenial task. If we look at Brandes's Beschrijving as a whole we can see that the tributes which have been given to it are thoroughly deserved. This work is of a unique and authoritative character, which still preserves its value, in spite of the fact that the Van der Tuuk manuscripts were twice more catalogued, first by Juynboll, then by Pigacut.

The Beschrijving is arranged in different order from the Vreede - Juynboll volumes, which divide Javanese literature up by subject, and so sometimes separate the descriptions of disparate texts from the same manuscript.

Brandes adopts an alphabetical arrangement by titles, except that certain cycles of stories, like those of Amir Hamzah, are grouped under one general head, Amir. However, the alphabetical arrangement also means that the descriptions of different texts within a composite manuscript are given at different parts of the catalogue. This method obscures the understanding of the physical characteristics of a manuscript, or the association of texts, not necessarily by origin, but by use. His general manner is to begin with a quotation from Van der Tuuk's Dictionary when an appropriate one is available; but where there is none, quite often to leave the entry with a title head, and no explanation.

Next he gives extensive excerpts from the beginnings and endings of the type manuscript (which is nearly always the copy written on paper, and not the original lontar when such pairs are present), followed, in the case of poems, which form the bulk of the collection, by the first line of each canto. All these excerpts are given in the original scripts, whether Javanese, Balinese or Pêcén-Arabic. However the names of the metres are only occasionally given, and when these, as is the general case, are not stated, it is not always possible to identify them, because some of the different mejaifit metres begin with the same kind of first line. Moreover, sometimes a false division of lines is given, or if it is a long one, then not a complete line, which can be misleading.

Notwithstanding these difficulties in interpreting the data supplied by Brandes, the provision of long excerpts, and lists of first lines, is of great value in assessing the texts, or attempting to collate them with others. Each entry is completed with a brief physical description, and is followed by shorter descriptions of other manuscripts of the same text.

Some of the short texts, such as certain melaka are reproduced in their entirety, so that the Beschrijving also serves a source book for some Javanese poems not easily accessible elsewhere. This method was followed (1926) by Pigeaud in editing the fourth volume of the work, dedicated to texts without known titles, and including many of devotional import, both Hindu and Muslin. This volume also contains tables giving the Leiden Oriental (L.O.) numbers, which were only added after the collection was incorporated in Leiden. Pigeaud's work on this volume must be reckoned as part of his formation as a cataloguer, as he was to undertake the major enterprise of the complete Catalogue of the Leiden collections of Javanese manuscripts in the 1960's.
H.H. Juyboll was the son of A.W.Th. Juyboll, 1834-1897, who after studying at Leiden, taught at the Indische Instelling in Delft, where his son was born. H.H. Juyboll himself studied at Leiden under Vrede, whom he assisted by preparing title and author indexes for the Catalogue of Vrede (1892). In 1893, he offered as his doctoral thesis Drie boeken van het Oud-Javaansch Kahabharata in Kawi-tekt en Nederlandsche vertaling, verschenen met den Sanskrit tekst. The three books were the Agramvanava-embakā and Pratihānikā-parvan, parts 15-17, the latter sections of the Sanskrit text, represented in Old Javanese by abbreviated versions in prose. (See: Poerbarjo, 1952, pp.16-13; Deetzold, 1974, pp.79-92). His parental and academic background, and choice of study, placed him firmly in the tradition of Noord and Vrede, and this was confirmed by his subsequent career in Leiden, from the end of the 1890's till 1912 being engaged in preparing a series of catalogues of Javanese manuscripts in the Leiden University Library, and from his appointment in 1906 as Director of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde until his retirement in 1932, largely engaged in the cataloguing of the Museum's collections. He also published a catalogue of the Javanese, Balinese and Madurese manuscripts in the NKLV Library (Na Eeuw, 1914). He also published many articles on Indonesian studies, especially relating to Malay and Javanese literature, one of which we may note for our present purpose: Enige episodes uit de geschiedenis van Ahmed en Iubnurmad. (TDI, 2de Serie, 5, 1899). Besides these he edited Old Javanese texts. His versatility as a linguist is witnessed by the series of catalogues of manuscripts in the Leiden University Library: Malay and Sundanese (1899). A supplementary Catalogue of Javanese and Madurese in two volumes (1907, 1911), and a Supplementary Catalogue of Sundanese, with a Catalogue of Balinese and Sasak (1912).

In style and form, Juyboll's catalogues of manuscripts followed that of Vrede; but he had a greater bulk of material to cover, and he divided his subject up into two major sections. His volume of 1907 was devoted to Madurese manuscripts, followed by Old Javanese inscriptions, and Old and Middle Javanese poems. The second (1911) included New Javanese poems, and Old, Middle and New Javanese prose. His first volume includes short descriptions of four manuscripts of the Ahmed-Wahnam in Madurese (L.C.R.5449, 4959, 4951/3 and 4952/4), as well as the tenggada version of this text in Javanese from Bali, L.C.R.4015 (pp.220-1). His second volume contains descriptions of all the Javanese manuscripts of the Ahmed-Wahnam.
The early work of the Javanese scholar R.W.Ng.Poerbatjarka (1884-1964) was on the relationships of Old Javanese literature, monuments and epigraphy, (Uhlenbeck, 1964, pp.19-20). In 1914 he published a paper, "De god van Raden Wijaya, eerste koning en stichter van Majapahit." He co-operated with F.W.van Stein Callenfels in articles about the Pranayana at Panataran (1916), and the Parahyangan at Candi Jago (1919), and assisted N.J.Krom in his edition of the Pararaton (1920); see Uhlenbeck, 1964, p.227). He completed his doctorate in the University of Leiden in 1925, "Bijdragen aan de studie van het archipel, metbetrekking tot de nabijzijnde oude letterkunde, vooral de heilige literatuur en literatuur in het algemeen," in which he was brought up in the controversy over alleged interpolations in the Kedawisak.

In his later work, Poerbatjarka did outstanding service by surveying certain classes of Javanese literature, and by his listing and cataloguing of manuscripts, particularly those of the Bataviaasch Genootschap. In this he united with the great advantage of describing his own national literature, as well as drawing on the living traditions of Dutch scholarship. In 1939, he published: Lijst der Javannische handschriften in de boekentuin van het Kon.Pat. Genootschap (Jaarboek KNG, Batavia, 1939). He prefaced this work with a summary of the character of the collections, containing especially those of A.J.W.Engelenburg from Lombok, and of Cohen-Stuart and Brandos, discussed above. The list is in alphabetical order of titles with summary indications of physical characteristics, and in some cases brief notes of contents, or of particular manuscripts. This list was drawn on by Pigosaud, who gave a list of titles by their catalogue numbers under the headings of the constituent collections in his literature of Java (Vol.II, 1968, pp.872-904). This work of Poerbatjarka appears to have been a planned preparation for a more detailed cataloguing project on which he was to embark later.

A most important development of Poerbatjarka's work was his co-operation with G.W.J.Drews in two articles relating to Javanese Muslim mysticism: "De Panahelen van Abdool-Kadir Djalani" (Bibliotheca Javanica 9, Bandung, 1930), and "De geheime leer van Soemarn Ronang" (Soeleek Vondill) (Djawa 16, 1939). These works pressed a wider interest and activity in the field of Javanese Muslim literature, where a great deal of research still needed to be done.

In 1940, Poerbatjarka published Pandji verhalen onderling vergelijken (Bibliotheca Javanica 9), in which he discussed not only the Javanese stories, but also Malay, and Cambodian versions. In the same year appeared his Beschrijving der handschriften Senak, his first major catalogue of Javanese manuscripts. This was a most important achievement on two scores. First of all, the subject itself was difficult, though this literature played an important part wherever the Javanese religion had spread. It had previously been tackled by P.H.van Romond in his Leiden doctoral thesis of 1895: De romans van Amir Hamsa. New Poerbatjarka brought to this task his experience in dealing with the Bataviaasch Genootschap collections, as well as all the previous writings of the Leiden cataloguers. In particular, Vreede had described and summarized at great length, a copy of the Senak of Yasadipura, that is the late Surakarta version (1.0.r.1787; Vreede, 1992, pp.36-60). Poerbatjarka, in his turn gave a long description of an earlier version, from Kartasura of 1715 A.D., Ms.613 (Beschrijving, 1940, pp.9-53). This is much clearer to follow than the account of Vreede (who had interspersed page numbers in his description), because Poerbatjarka indicated each chapter in his summary, and followed this by quotations of five stanzas at the beginning, two at the end and the colophon, and then the beginnings of each of the 145 cantos and the names of the metres used. In these latter features he was following the practice first widely used by Brandes: but Poerbatjarka improved on both his predecessors, by the fullness of his account, and the clarity by which he indicated the structure of the poem. In the rest of the catalogue, he described the many manuscripts of the Amir Hamsah cycle in this collection, both paper and palm-leaf. Most of these were separate episodes or fragments; many from the North Coast belonged to the earlier Rasir version, which antedates both those of Kartasura and Yasadipura. Nevertheless, wherever he could, Poerbatjarka referred back to his description of the Kartasura manuscript. Where this was manifestly impossible, he gave complete descriptions, with physical characters, brief summaries, beginnings and endings, cantos and metres. After dealing with the main story, he began on hunting, branch or later tales, and concluded with a register of proper names and a list of the manuscripts treated, 71 in all. This work is a model for a detailed catalogue of Javanese manuscripts, incorporating the best features of the earlier catalogues, as well as the special knowledge which derived from Poerbatjarka's writing about the literature in his own language.
The Japanese war prevented immediate resumption of this work, which was begun again after Indonesian independence. In 1950 appeared Indoensische Handschriften, jointly with P. Voorhoeve and C. Kooyman. Poerbejatjaka's constituted the main part of this catalogue, which continued the descriptions of the Jakarta manuscripts, completing the work on the Amir Hamzah cycle with descriptions of manuscripts of Pengemian and other later stories, and followed by a treatment of Anbiya texts about the lives of the Prophet, Pasanten literature, in which he included various tales of Islamic background, and finally, Suluk and Frisiban. He included entries for the Ahmad-Mubammad under the Pasanten literature, at p. 128–9. He referred back to the Juyboll and Brandes catalogues, so that his notes on manuscripts in Jakarta, 17 in all, are summary, except for the last, a quarto codex of 209 pages in the juton script of which he gives the beginning and ending stanzas, the cantos and metres; these versions appear to differ considerably from the others.

Poerbejatjaka's last important work was Kepustakaan Djawa, published in 1952. This was short survey, published both in Indonesian and in Javanese editions. In this, he divided Javanese literature into seven sections:

1. Earliest Old Javanese, including the Ramayana and the prose Arab of the Mahabharata
2. Classical babawin: Arjuna wirika, etc.
3. Later babawin:Nota rakatengah, etc.
4. Middle Javanese prose: Tantri Kamadaka, etc.
5. Middle Javanese poetry: Dewaruci, etc.
6. Islamic period: The works discussed here included suluk and the other categories he had dealt with in his catalogues of 1940 and 1950.
7. Early period of Surakarta: Beginning with a discussion of the work of Yasadipura I and II.

Poerbejatjaka's contribution to the study of Javanese literature was great and varied. His cataloguing and general survey work related especially to the collections of the Bataviaasch Genootschap, now the foundation of the manuscript collections of the National Library of Indonesia at Jakarta. His programmes and general view of the task was sound, and his special contributions to the cataloguing of the Javanese Islamic literature in the two volumes of 1940 and 1950 are of the highest importance, not only for their content, but also for the style he adopted and the standards achieved.

Th Gomez Figuad was born in 1899. He studied Indonesian languages at Leiden, and his doctoral thesis (1924) was De Tantu Pengemian van oud-Javaansch proes-geschrift, one of the oldest Javanese texts which contain extensive indigenous mythological tales. He was a member of a most distinguished cadre of young scholars, who from then till overthrown by the Second World War, played leading roles in the development of Malay and Javanese studies in the field, and in Indonesian Archeology. An affectionate memoir by G. Z. Z. Drees, in BRI 145/2–3, 1989 pp. 203–7, speaks of his as the Reector of Dutch Javanists. Drees accords him a prominent place in the succession of distinguished Javanists from the time of Taco Boedra onwards. The linking of his name with Boedra is not unjust, since his first years in Java were partly addressed to revision work on the Geerke–Boedra dictionary of Javanese. However, his first major task in Java links him more directly with Branden, as it fell to Figuad to prepare the fourth volume of Branden's Beschrijving for publication in Weltevreden in 1926. This was a significant induction to his later work in cataloguing Javanese manuscripts, not least because the volume he was dealing with contained unidentified, or untitled texts, a problem with which he had to cope on a larger scale in his later work.

Although Figuad's revision of the Geerke–Boedra dictionary was not published, most of his work in Java up to the onset of the Japanese war was in one way or another connected with it. This can be seen from the character of the romanised copies of Javanese manuscripts presented by him to the Leiden University Library in 1935, 1936 and 1938. They included such items as Bahu Bata, a Javanese encyclopedia (L 00.6681), Bahu Bata, a Javanese dictionary, works descriptive of various aspects of Javanese life, and collections of plays. Significantly, one manuscript was a collection of moralistic treatises in verse in copies left by Branden (L 00.6657), while among the items presented in 1938 were several relating to Javanese Muslim mysticism, the same year as when Poerbejatjaka and Drees were actively engaged in researches in this field.

Figuad's own publications during this period include articles about Blambangan, the easternmost part of Java, where he had done some of his field research, especially Anteekeningen betreffende de Javaanse Coatbook.
Secondly, the first volume (1967) can stand on its own and be read as a survey of Javanese literature. However at every point this and the succeeding volumes are cross-referenced, so that further information on category, character and content of any particular manuscript can be found by proceeding from the serial entry to the introductory volume. Thirdly, the descriptions themselves are in numerical order of press marks, and the entries are mostly quite short, beginning with a physical description, the barest indication of contents, and references to earlier catalogues and other literature, as well as to the relevant section of Vol I. In the main catalogue in Vol II, the entries up to L0r.562, corresponding to acquisitions by the Library up to 1966, have all been described in previous catalogues. The rest of Vol II, a small part of Vol III and the whole of Vol IV contain later acquisitions up to 1977, and greatly outnumber the previous part. In these sections, Pigouad used some discretion as to giving longer descriptions where required, but often it was not necessary to do so, because numbers of the items are copies, often typed transliterations in the Roman script of manuscripts already in the collection, while others are further variant copies of texts already well known. The need for longer and more detailed descriptions of the newer material is in many cases met by the transliterations, summaries and lists of cantoes and metres typed in Roman script by J. Seegwart. Copies of these transcripts and notes are held within the Leiden collection and are referred to below. The general character of the catalogue can be exemplified by the successive entries for Ahmad-Haakham manuscripts, L0r.4015-4022, in Vol II, pp.125-4. Here only the barest details are given because all those had been catalogued twice before, by Juynbol and Brundes, to whose catalogues the appropriate references are given. By contrast, where an important text is described which had not been dealt with before, a much fuller description is given, as for example L0r.5768a, Adi Saka (Vol II, p.343) or L0r.6624, Babad Lombok, (Vol III pp.403-4). The general conciseness of the entries may be contrasted with the very full and detailed ones in Poerbatjaraka’s catalogues: both approaches are valid, according to the purposes for which the catalogues are written.

When we come to consider the Pasirir Javanese literature and its extension into Madura, Bali and Lombok, we have an area which presents special critical problems, which have been addressed by Pigouad, but only partly solved by him. The difficulties are partly inherent in the literature and in the manuscripts themselves, and partly in the judgments he made.
Another difficulty is the ambiguity of terminology that Figueiredo employs in describing manuscripts from Bali and Lombok. For instance he calls L.Cr.3565, Laba Darna, a Javanese-Sasak romance. This categorization appears to be based upon observation of Van der Tuuk, quoted in Branda (Beschrijving II, p.125) that the manuscript contains some Sasak terms and so is probably of Lombok provenance. However, the story and many of the personal names are Hindu, so a Lombok Balinese source is possible; it certainly does not seem to be a text widely known in Sasak circles. Conversely, L.Cr.3663, Puspakarna, is described as Balinese-Javanese romance in macapat metres, Muslim fiction. Now Puspakarna does not belong to Bali at all; it is one of the most frequently met Javanese tales among the Sasaks: but there is nothing in Figueiredo’s description to suggest this provenance, nor is the term ‘Muslim fiction’ satisfactory: it has, it is true, an Islamic veneer, and derives from the Malay Hikayat Inderawatara, but the story is of Hindu and Indian type. The two texts are of similar fairy-tale character, and for want of more precise categorisation, would be both better described as ‘Javanese romances of Lombok provenance’. A similarly confusing description is that of L.Cr.3596, which is described as ‘compilation of Javanese-Balinese (Sasak) Muslim religious poetry.’ Can this mean either in regard to language or provenance? A safer and clearer description would be ‘Javanese Muslim religious poetry, the manuscript of Lombok provenance’. This kind of problem arises partly because, in the interests of completeness, the terms chosen are too imprecise to avoid ambiguity. Does ‘Balinese’ mean from Bali? Or from the Balinese community, perhaps in Lombok? Or in the Balinese language? Or in the Balinese script? We cannot always tell: the need is for more detailed, precise and defined terms. Another reason for the difficulty here is the way Van der Tuuk went about his work. He gathered together manuscripts from various places, and had copies made on paper by Balinese scribes in Singaraja. In the process, the provenance and local characteristics of many of the items may be obscured, or overlooked, or was not recorded, and by the time they came into other hands to be catalogued these facts were often irrecoverable: but not always! A re-examination of the manuscripts, especially the palm leaves, will in at least some cases clear up these doubts, and will result in more precise descriptions, or reassignments, varying from those made by Figueiredo.
Another area where review of Pigeaud's conclusions is needed is in the description of the scripts used for Javanese. This will be discussed below. Meanwhile, it should be said that, in spite of some of the problems arising from Pigeaud's descriptions, particularly of texts which belong to the periphery rather than the Central Javanese tradition, Pigeaud's patient and comprehensive work supplies in good measure most of what a researcher needs as he enters into his work. This is enhanced in that he provides catalogue descriptions also of the other, mostly small, collections of Javanese manuscripts in the Netherlands, as well as summary lists from the libraries of Java and Bali. Pigeaud died in 1966.

To conclude this section, by considering the contribution of Pigeaud's co-worker, the Javanese scholar J. Soegiarto. In his catalogue, Pigeaud makes due acknowledgment of his work, and describes those items produced by Soegiarto, and now incorporated in the Javanese manuscript collections of the Leiden University Library. In 1930, Soegiarto came from Java to the Netherlands, to assist Professor G.J. Berg, then in charge of the Javanese department, in dealing with Javanese manuscripts. Subsequently he served in the same office under Professors Drewes and Uhlenbeck. From 1946 onwards, romanized transcriptions of Javanese manuscripts he made by Soegiarto were incorporated into the Leiden University Library collection: L.Car.7217-7228 and L.Car.10,395 - 10,777; 394 items in all. In many cases, he also made summaries of contents in Dutch, as well as schedules of opening lines of cantones and names of metres, which were often shelved together with the original manuscripts. From 1963 onwards, these descriptions were collected and registered as L.Car.10,965 - 10,967. These are summarily noted in Pigeaud II, p.677, and in Pigeaud III, pp.102-7, where they are listed by manuscript number and short title. The total number of summaries included in L.Car.10,965-7 is 396. Both the transcriptions and the summaries provide valuable additional information about manuscripts described in the older catalogues, while for those described only by Pigeaud in his catalogue, Soegiarto's notes and transcriptions are general the only additional resource for those who wish to study the Library. In style, in extent, in importance, and in the authority they have as coming from a scholar from the Javanese community, they resemble and compare well with the cataloguing work of Poerbatjarka, and for the benefit of Javanists everywhere they need to be published. As for Ahmad-Mohammad, Soegiarto produced summaries and schedules of L.Car.1985/1 (from Bantara), L.Car.1985/2 (from East Java), L.Car.7779 (from Cirebon) and L.Car.8656 (from the North Coast of Java). He also made a complete romanized transcription of L.Car.1985/1, at L.Car.10,964.

The seven scholars and cataloguers, Van der Toek, Vreede, Brandes, Juywball, Poerbatjarka, Pigeaud and Soegiarto have done the most over the past hundred years to establish the methodology and practice in the cataloguing of Javanese manuscripts, and so to provide the prime resource for other scholars of language, literature and culture of the region. Of course they involved many other people, in the first place, the Javanese, Madurese, Balinese and Sasak who were writers, copiers or donors of manuscripts, or who were employed by the libraries to assist the collectors and cataloguers in transcribing, interpreting and conserving the manuscripts. What is most remarkable is that such a large and varied literature, extended both in time and place, and diverse in character, including historical, religious, technical and belles lettres, has in fact been so substantially and on the whole reliably documented. Yet this extent and diversity has left some aspects of the subject so far untreated, especially when these features have not been at the centre of interest and attention of the Javanist scholars. Such is the case both with Javanese palm-leaf manuscripts, and with Panasir Muslim literature, two categories which are closely interrelated. Of course they have not been entirely neglected, and this fact gives us the basis for examining what has already been done, and what still needs to be attempted. The reason for this situation lies in what was first available in the way of Javanese manuscripts, what was the purpose of the study, and what were the preferred preferences of the researchers. A picture built up from these considerations will be seen to be manifestly different from the totality of Javanese literature and its many facets. While what has been done is extensive and valuable, there still remains much to do. This is especially the case in fields important in the cultural history of Java and Indonesia, but which have been less attractive to Western researchers. In the concluding sections of this paper, I shall attempt to consider these neglected areas of study.

6. The physical features of palm-leaf manuscripts

The Delft collection of Javanese manuscripts transferred to the Leiden University Library in 1864 contained 35 items, of which only nine were lontara. Record's personal collection, which came to the Library in 1908 contained 29 items, none of which were palm leaves. Many of the Delft manuscripts were codices bound in leather, fairly uniform in size, and evidently commissioned and copied in Surakarta specially to be sent to the Delft Academy for teaching and study purposes. In Vreede's catalogue of 1892, there are among the hundreds of manuscripts treated, 65 lontara, of which 35 are Old Javanese texts and 6 Panasir Muslim. However, up to this time there had been little material for the study of
of palm leaves, and little in the way of Muslim literature available, even if we add in the few which were in codex form. This contrasts with the situation in collections elsewhere of palm leaf manuscripts from other countries such as Burma or Nepal, where they were the most numerous type of document, and where therefore their physical character and the script in which they were written of necessity occupied the scholars-cataloguers more substantially, and where hence the methodology of cataloguing this class of material had progressed further.

The situation, however, was changed when Van der Tuuk embarked on his researches from his base in Bali. His collection contained 265 \textit{lontar} in Javanese, Balinese and Sasak. However, this only partly resulted in increased study of palm leaves. In most cases, Van der Tuuk himself had copies made on double foolscap sheets in the Balinese script, and it was these that he studied, and often annotated in the margins. Thus, when they came to be catalogued separately by Brandes and Juyboll, the descriptions were placed under the headings of texts, not under individual manuscripts, so that composite manuscripts were dealt with in two or more places in their catalogues. This meant that features of such manuscripts as a whole, or their context and associations when they were in use in their communities were either obscured or overlooked. A single instance may point to the problem which the cataloguers themselves made by their methods of handling. L.O.R.3596 is a \textit{okepan}, that is to say a palm-leaf manuscript, threaded between two binding boards, in this case of plain wood of semicircular section. It has 87 folios, 21.5 x 3 cm, with four lines a side of writing. It contains two texts, the former, \textit{Babad Sakra}, a Sasak poem on a rising in East Lombok in 1856, followed by a romantic poem, \textit{Layon Sari}, well-known in a Balinese version, but here rendered in Javanese. There is a copy on paper, L.O.R.3949, which also includes both texts. In Brandes's catalogue, I, p.142, the \textit{Babad Sakra} is described, and is numbered 174 (copy), 175 (lontar), the original being given the subsidiary notice I. The \textit{Layon Sari} is noted as a Javanese text at Vol II, p.120, with summary description, 597 (copy) and 598 (lontar), after a long excerpt headed \textit{Redactie van Lombok}. Brandes was correct in his descriptions, but the only connection between the two texts is the citation in each place of the earlier accession numbers, \textit{lontar} 20 and \textit{Bundel} 98.

When this same manuscript was described by Juyboll, both halves were included in his volume of 1912: the \textit{Babad Sakra} under Sasak at pp.200-1, and the \textit{Layon Sari} among the Balinese manuscripts at p.114, though he does note that this particular text was written in Javanese. The probable explanation is that since the first item was Sasak, Juyboll missed the other when he was going through the manuscripts for his Javanese catalogue. This mistake may perhaps also explain why Figiawi missed cataloguing this Javanese \textit{Layon Sari} altogether: he has no entry for L.O.R.3596, nor for L.O.R.3949. Taken together, the two stories suggest that the manuscript almost certainly came from a Sasak source, and this association no doubt explains why Brandes spoke of the \textit{Layon Sari} as being a Lombok romance. The story is of the wife of Singandangan, who disappeared and died in the forest, but was brought to life again. Perhaps in the mind of the owner, the story was seen as an allegory, fitting the fate of Sakra, which was defeated by the Balinese Raja of Lombok, but hopefully would rise again. The Sasak source is probably to be confirmed with the angular writing in the manuscript, which is more generally associated with Sasak than Lombok-Balinese. The small size of this manuscript may mean that it was originally used as an amulet, or at least that it was meant to be portable.

An even smaller manuscript is L.O.R.3191, 14 x 3 cm, which also contains two texts, the first \textit{Nabi peran} = \textit{Nabi mubsin} in 27 folios, an old popular Muslim legend, of the Prophet's shaving, and the virtues arising from his falling hairs, followed by \textit{Rumah ing Longi} = protection in thought. There is no doubt that this was an amulet, since the colophon states that it belonged to the Hindu ruler of Bali, Anak Agung Gede Agatjum Asem, and was written in Saka 1814 (1892 A.D.) relating to the insistent war with the Sasaks of Lombok, whence it was brought back to the Netherlands by a customs officer who had been engaged in the Dutch campaign there.

Another Lombok manuscript where one of its constituent texts throws light on the provenance of the other is the Ahmad-Mohamad, L.O.R.3673, the leading item discussed in the present paper. The relation of size of the palm-leaf to the subject of the text, or the use for which the manuscript was intended is also illuminating in many cases. In general, Old-Javanese \textit{kebrawin} are written on long leaves, averaging 50 cm, whereas many of the later romantic poems in \textit{macapat} metres from Lombok are shorter, those of the Ahmad-Mohamad and \textit{Jagapakrama} averaging 30 cm in length.
There is an indigenous classification of palm-leaf manuscripts by purely external features. Where they consist of leaves cut into long uniform strips, and held together by a cord through the middle hole, they are called lontare. The outerfolios may consist of two leaves sewn together, which in some cases bear titles or decorations. If the text has a pair of wooden or bamboo covers, the whole is called oakenan; while important manuscripts may be kept in a wooden box, and the whole is then called a bropaken. Another form, often used for letters, or ephemeral purposes is the embang-obemang, consists of a leaf folded along the central rib. If the document consists of several leaves, these may be of varying length, and are held together at one end by a cord passing through holes made for the purpose. These various types are explained by Brundes (Beschrijving 1, 1901, p.v), and by Ziehmelder (Balunmen, 1974, pp.37-8); the terms are used in the classification of the lontare in the body of Brundes’s work. Both the size of the leaves and the absence or presence of binding boards and boxes, and the plainness or elaboration of these may often be indicative both of subject matter, and of origin. Fine writing, carved and decorated binding boards and boxes may naturally indicate a royal or aristocratic patron or owner, and the kind of texts which interested them, such as the Old Javanese kakawin and law books, and in Bali the courtly Kelm Panci tales. On the other hand, smaller leaves, less carefully written are often to be associated with the popular literature of Muslim communities. As far as cataloguing practice is concerned, the more detailed the descriptions of the external features of a manuscript, the more likely is it possible to place them into their local, cultural and social context.

7. The palaeography of the Javanese script as represented in palm-leaf manuscripts.

Charles Bendall in his Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in the University Library (Cambridge, 1885), included a table of forms of the Bower script relating to dated manuscripts which makes it possible to assign approximate periods to manuscripts which have no dated colophons. No such practical aids are available for Javanese palm-leaf manuscripts. It is true that Pigou in his Literature of Java (vol III, 1970) presents photographs of some lontare, followed by explanatory commentaries and transcriptions of the excerpts illustrated. Moreover, his Catalogue of Indonesian Manuscripts, part 2 (Copenhagen, 1977), plates 16-25 and 35-38 illustrates more palm leaves, and some decorated binding boards, and accompanied by explanations. The variety of the physical character of the leaves, binding boards and scripts are well represented, but the analysis of forms which could be tabulated so as to provide keys for placing and dating other manuscripts, has not yet been made. The case of Javanese is much more complex than that of Nepal, since a wider area, and a greater variety of literature is involved. Moreover the proportion of Javanese manuscripts which have colophons which have dates and places in them is rather small. There is however, one collection which could provide a starting point for such an enterprise. This is the Lombok collection in Leiden, LOr.5102 - 5439. This consists of 333 lontare which formed the palace library at Cakranegara when it was taken by the Dutch expeditionary force in 1894. The majority of these manuscripts must have been of local origin, and a significant minority are dated. A study of this collection would make it possible to tabulate and date different styles of script from Lombok, and note their changes over the years.

However, the question is not only a matter of date, but also of place. Pigou and III shows examples of some easily distinguishable forms of the Javanese script used in Java, such as that of East Java c. 1500 A.D. (plate 22); 17th century Buda script from the Tengger (plate 23), and that of East Java of the late 16th century (plate 25). But when we come to consider the East Java Pasaiir script, and those of Kedu, Bali and Lombok, there is much greater similarity among them, and the differences and diagnostic clues are subtle and small. This difficulty is compounded by the fact that it was a region where many popular texts were current throughout, such as the Tumur, Satliwara, and the Bonek Ant Rowah. Moreover it is certain that not only did the texts migrate, but in many cases the manuscripts themselves were moved from place to place. It seems probable that many such, which have been tentatively assigned to one part of the region in the catalogue descriptions, may, as a result of closer study, really belong to another, and that present descriptions should be treated with some reserve. That there are diagnostic differences is indicated by Pigou; but these have not yet been sufficiently investigated or categorized for an accurate assessment of place of origin to be made for many of the manuscripts.

One particular problem is the terminology currently used. Texts are described as written either in the Javanese or the Balinese scripts. However, the Balinese is really one of the Pasaiir rounded forms of Javanese curvile, of which those of Java, Kedu and Lombok are others; whereas the use of the term Javanese unqualified usually means the angular script now employed in painting, deriving from the kraton square script. For the Pasaiir scripts,
it would be better to speak of Javanese rounded cursive, adding the region where possible (Cass Fasirir, Blambangan, Madura, Bali, Lombok, etc.). The present undefined use of the term Balinese is particularly confusing with reference to manuscripts emanating from Bali or Lombok, and within Lombok to those of Balinese or Sasak origin. It is probable that the Sasaks received their script direct from the Javanese and not from the Balinese, and the contents of catalogues such as Jaynball, who frequently categorized manuscripts of Sasak provenance as being in badly written Balinese script, should be replaced by descriptions based upon the analysis of the Sasak style of Javanese script, which is characterized by being usually smaller and more angular than the apart from any difference in certain individual characters.

The importance of the palm leaf manuscripts is that they are original Javanese documents, whereas so many of the items in the library collections are later copies in other forms. But it is the old originals which convey some of the essential data for assessing time and place of origin, and other contextual features of the literature which often now go unrecorded. To achieve this refinement of documentation will be a long a difficult task, for two reasons. Firstly, there is the inherent character of the manuscripts themselves, where differentiation of characters is often quite small, and has led to errors both of indigenous copyists, and of western scholars. This is particularly the case in the mucapat poetry of the sixteenth and later centuries. The collation of copies of manuscripts of any popular poem reveals not only the amount of variation which is universal, but also the number of times where the differences are accounted for by the difficulties of the local copyist in reading the text before him. A second problem is that since the Javanese script has been general abandoned in favour of the Roman for printing, there are few scholars, Javanese or Western, familiar with any form of Javanese writing, let alone the older and rarer types. Notwithstanding all these problems, the analysis suggested, and the results to be expected from it, are technically feasible. There are sufficient Javanese palm leaf manuscripts in the libraries of Indonesia and Europe, and there is sufficient on record in the analysis of palm leaf manuscripts from India, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Mainland Southeast Asia to provide a precedent and a methodology for application to materials from Indonesia.

8. Spelling

20 symbols are used to represent the consonants, with an inherent ke, ha, ma-ka, ng, ke, etc., with five signs for other vowels, which are written attached to the consonant signs, and special signs for words ending in ng, rh and ng. Besides these there is a wide range of special forms for conjunct consonants, which occur not only internally, but also quite often even at the junction of two words. There is also a sign for suppressing a vowel after a consonant. Though these conventions mostly account for the spelling of ordinary Javanese texts, there are many other letters and diacritics which are called for in special contexts, and which if used diagnostically, can help to place particular manuscripts in their place and time. Two Javanese letters, ja, ko - contrast with the dentals, tar, dar. This phonemic contrast does not exist in Balinese or Sasak, so when Javanese texts were copied in Bali or Lombok, these pairs were sometimes confused. Again there are a further eight letters, the abjad, which are the remains of a fuller series of signs needed for writing Sanskrit in the Javanese script. These are of fairly frequent occurrence in personal and place names, and in some of the more technical vocabulary of Sanskrit origin, such as especially occurs in religious contexts. Still another matter is the fact that the persen or Arabic script is also used for some Javanese Muslim works. Diacritical signs for use with the letters of the Javanese alphabet, to identify underlying Arabic sounds not indigenous to Javanese, are available, but not regularly used in Javanese script. Another important fact is that some texts are preserved both in the Javanese script on palm leaves, and in the Arabic on paper. A comparison of the two may in some cases explain variations in the manuscripts and help with emendations to eliminate scribal errors. In the case of old Javanese texts, where Sanskrit elements in the vocabulary are particularly prominent, the correct use of the extended syllable is significant. By contrast in the Javanese Pasien manuscripts, the special letters may be used arbitrarily, while words of Arabic or Persian origin may be represented in Javanese in varied ways, which may provide additional clues as to where a manuscript was written or copied. This will probably prove significant as designating manuscripts as being of Madurese or Sasak provenance, since the spelling of Javanese adopted in these areas often reflected local and not standard pronunciation. The whole of this subject needs analysis from the study of manuscripts whose place and date of writing is known, so as to provide guidelines for categorizing those which lack these features.
9. Metres and Cantos

A large proportion of Javanese manuscripts are in verse, many being narrative poems in several cantos, with each canto in one metre which differ from the next. A full description of a manuscript needs for each canto the naming of the metre, the opening lines of each canto, and the number of stanzas it contains. It is also desirable, following the practice in Brandes's Beschrijving, to cite several stanzas at the beginning and end of the manuscript, as well as colophons when they are available. With these features, it is possible to go a long way, at least in the initial stages, to collecting copies of important texts, such as the numerous examples of the *Yudha* and the *Ahmad Muhammad*, or sorting out the parts of episodic story-cycles such as the *Pandi* and *Amir Masah*, especially where the titles of the epics are not known. The problem with this ideal course is that it requires a specialized expertise, demands much scholarly time, bulk out the catalogues, and adds to the expense of editing and publishing them. It is not surprising that such legitimate aspects of cataloguing have only appeared in few works, where the number items to be handled are few, as for example in the exemplary *Catalogue of Indonesian Manuscripts* of the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Three of the scholar-cataloguers, however, did employ this method more generally. The first was Brandes, in his Beschrijving of the Van der Tiek collection: it is the presence of these features which make such a valuable work. However, we meet problems even there. He gives lists of opening lines of cantos, but does not name the metres, so that without the titles they cannot always be identified. By listing the *mesangit* metres which are most frequently met in modern Javanese, quoting the number of syllables in the first line, and the vowel of the last, we have the following:

8a. Padjur, Simor.
12a. Durna.
8i. Asmarandana.
10i. Dangdang Gula, Mijil.
12i. Has Rumambang.
7u. Gambuh.
8u. Gimanti.
12u. Megatruf, Pucang.

If we quote the second line of the stanzas, the ambiguities disappear: but we still have to reckon with the occasional use of other, rarer metres.

Of course, if the names of the metres are also quoted, this provides more certainty: but a number of difficulties still remain. The titles are sometimes included in the manuscripts at the heads of the cantos; and less often, they are incorporated in a verse at the end of one canto, to alert the reciter that a change of metre is about to occur. Moreover, the metres have alternative names beside the common ones. This may be seen from the list given by Figueiras, (Literature of Java III, 1970, pp.83-5). In Bali and Lombok, still other names are in occasional use: perhaps the explanation is that they may refer to different tunes for the same metre. Yet another complexity is the fact that the same name is employed for varieties of the metre in different places. In Bali, for instance, several rhythms than in Java seem to be favoured, so that the same lines in the Balinese *Pura* or *Jangkur* metres have eight syllables, while the standard Central Javanese would require seven or nine. This feature may help to determine the place of composition, or at any rate the recession, of a manuscript containing a Javanese text. (See: Harrison, 1957, pp.494-5).

Yet another problem for the poet was the conforming of the line to the rules of the metre. Quite often, the cataloguers suggest that the writer was irregular or careless in his composition; but in many cases there is a different explanation. *Dunya* may be written and scanned as *dunja*, and *dua* as *dwa*. The poet may be introduced or suppressed both in writing and in pronunciation in the interests of getting the rhythm right. In analysing the verses of a poem, these considerations may often save what appears to be irregular in the text was not so in performance. Conversely, if a part of a text is analysed in order to identify the metre, the varieties of usage in spelling need to be kept in mind.

The importance of having the main poetic features of a text available in a catalogue description lies in the fact that besides accidental variation in texts in transmission, there is a great deal of legitimate freedom in the treatment of texts by Javanese performers. This is brought into contrast between the rather careful preservation of Old Javanese texts, which were revered by generations of *pencak* users, in comparison with the performance of *mesangit* poems by traditional singers, for whom improvisation was permitted and admired. The great variation among poems in *mesangit* metres may be, at least in part, by the incorporation of those features when new copies were made.
Much of what is needed is to be found in the catalogues of Poerbatjara's of 1940 and 1950: these are particularly serviceable for the study of the Pasaisir literature. However, for providing a more extensive body of information of this kind, the most substantial is the work of J. Soegiarto. His summaries of texts and lists of first lines of cantos and names of artists provide just the kind of information which is not largely in accessible. It would be highly desirable to publish these, namely the typescripts included in L.Cr.10.880 (Descriptions of the Poemen, Sowak Marga and KITLV collections) and L.Cr.10.885-7, (Descriptions of many of the manuscripts throughout the Leiden University Library collection). If this were done, three objects would be achieved: firstly, it would honour the memory of a great Javanese scholar; secondly, it would make the Leiden University Library collections much more substantially available to scholars everywhere, even more than they now are with the catalogues of Vreede/Juynholt, Brandes and Figea; and thirdly it would provide an extensive resource for the study of traditional Javanese literature. It may be that Soegiarto's work would need some editing; possibly, the summaries could be translated into English. If this were done, Soegiarto's descriptions could be published in one or two volumes as supplements to Figea's Literature of Java.

10. Editing and Publishing of Pasaisir Poems texts

Clearly the writing of catalogues is not in itself enough to advance the study of the Pasaisir literature: this must go hand in hand with the study, editing and publishing of particular texts. We have already examples in the sustained interest in certain texts exemplified by scholarly publications. Such are the the writings of Humming, Krommer and Dreesen on the early Jatiwara (L.Cr.266), of Schrieke and Dreesen on the Book of Benjamin (L.Cr.1920), and by Zoetmulder on the suluk literature. In more recent times, the Jatiwara has been studied by T.B Behrend, and the Yasa by B.Arm, and we look forward to definitive editions of these texts. However there are many others, particularly the legendary histories of Islam, the local chronicles and the romantic poems, such as the Ahmad Muhammad which need to be published if an understanding of the early development of Islam in Java and the adjacent regions is to be achieved. In some cases, such as an editing programme for the Amir Hamsho tales, this would need to be linked with the Javanese and Saak shadow plays. It is no doubt premature to suggest specific texts for editing and publishing. However we have a good guide as to what needs to be considered from the first volume of Figea's Literature of Java, where he surveys the Pasaisir literature (religion, pp. 76-113, history and mythology, pp. 129-52, and belles lettres, pp. 211-26). With this we have the whole of Poerbatjara's two catalogues of 1940 and 1950, which together describe in detail much of the Pasaisir literature, and by his categorisations help to define what is to be included. The Leiden University Library has several collections of Romanized typed transliterations of Javanese manuscripts, including those of Figea, Soegiarto, the Gedong Kirtya, Sumberaja and others. All of these contain a significant minority of Pasaisir Javanese texts which could be drawn upon as a first stage towards editing texts for publication. We may instance the Romanized copies of the Jatiwara made for Figea (L.Cr.6690), the Anbiya, Ahmad-Muhammad, parts of the Amir Hamah, not only from Java, but also from Madura and Lombok. Local histories from Madura, Blambangan and Lombok, and numerous others all in transliterations made by Soegiarto. Abundant materials exist in Leiden, partly prepared, and waiting for further study and publication. We should salute the collectors, cataloguers and literary scholars for what they have already done, but to recognize also that there is a huge task still waiting to be entered upon.

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*Southeast Asian Manuscripts*

Sasak Manuscripts, script and spelling
Th.C. von der Meij

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The Sasak people of Central and East Lombok have a long tradition of transmitting their literature on prepared leaves of the lontar palm. Manuscripts are found in great numbers. Up to the present day people in Lombok still read their manuscripts in reading sessions. They use the manuscripts during ceremonies but also for the sheer pleasure of doing it. Often experts offer explanations of what is read to the public. Manuscripts are written to this very day.

In this article I would like to draw attention to general features of manuscripts from Sasak origin and the use of aksara script among the Sasak. I will try to describe the script on the basis of a number of lontar manuscripts I have consulted. All these manuscripts have a colophon in Sasak thus their origine need not be doubted. If not otherwise indicated the examples were found in manuscripts of the Puspakrema, a text I am currently preparing an edition on.

I will not describe manuscripts and script used by the Balinese people of West Lombok, as their tradition is Balinese rather than Sasak. Of course it is a distortion of the actual situation to distinguish between these two traditions in a rigid way. Balinese manuscripts have found their way well into the Sasak areas whereas also Sasak manuscripts have found their way to Bali through Sasak settlements there.

Neither will I not describe the general features of aksara script as that has been done before. However, a detailed description of lontar manuscripts will be given because I feel such a description is lacking up till now.
Javanese script is usually regarded as the origin of all aksara scripts used in Indonesia - Sunda, Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok - and often the aksara script found is described in relation to Javanese, and in the case of Sasak manuscripts, also in relation to Balinese script. However, by doing so deviations in script and spelling in relation to another script and spelling are recorded in stead of the script and spelling themselves. Features of Sasak script can thus be described as being remarkable - because different from Javanese script - whereas, if these features are described within the boundaries of the script itself, they may not seem remarkable at all.

For instance, if we look at Sasak script we notice the general use of 18 aksara and we tend to think "What happened to the 2 more as found in standard Javanese?". The reason for this surprise is the fact that Javanese has 20 aksara and thus other languages using aksara are expected to have 20 too. Actually, Javanese uses 20 aksara to distinguish in writing 20 different consonants. In Sasak, only 18 consonants are known and thus only 18 aksara are needed. No reason for surprise!

It is bewildering that our eyes and brains can easily distinguish scribal traditions by just glancing at manuscripts. Yet, how difficult is it to describe those features. We simply do not yet have a vocabulary for the description of an aksara script. Because of this we are usually inclined to describe forms of letters and other features by comparing them with another script.

For instance, we may say that Sasak script looks like Balinese only it is a bit smaller and rounder and some features of Balinese script are not found. What we are doing is not describing features of either scripts, but relations between scripts, deviations from one script to another and the reasons why there are relations and deviations.

More interesting still is the danger of describing things which are not there instead of what actually is. If we describe Sasak script in terms of Javanese script we notice that features found in Javanese script are not found in Sasak. But, if we notice that, are we actually describing Sasak script or yet again the difference between the two?

In short, it is the script and the manuscript we want to describe, not relations between traditions, nor actual differences and variations and certainly not features which are not there.

Origin of Sasak script

It is generally assumed that the inhabitants of Lombok did not use script before the introduction of aksara script. There is no evidence that script was used in Sasak area's before aksara script was introduced. A look at the history of the island shows that the script has come from Java and or Bali. The island has been overpowered by Balinese and Javanese alternately from as early as the 11th century A.D. If we agree that the conquerors would also have brought their script with them we may argue that from that time onwards an aksara script has been in use on the island. We should however bear in mind that there are no very old manuscripts from Lombok thus we have no proof of the actual existence of script in the early times.

Whatever the case, since the islamization of the island, begun by Sunan Prapen of Demak (North-coastal Java) in the sixteenth century Javanese literature became well known on the island and we may assume that ijontar manuscripts have existed there too at that time.

Sasak script may have originated from a mixture of Balinese and Javanese scripts developing in its own way to become the script as we know it now.
Sasak Iontar

Illustrations of a Sasak Iontar can be found in Pigeaud's Literature of Java part III (Pigeaud 1970:25) on the cover of Bunga Rampai. Kutipan Naskah Lama dan Aspek Pengetahuannya¹ (TIM 1990), and in Zoetmulder's Kalangwan illustration 2a² (Zoetmulder 1974).

Sasak Iontar manuscripts contain a number of leaves, held together by a string (a coated thread or a string of coloured plastic). The leaves are kept between wooden boards which are sometimes decorated with carvings. The leaves contain three holes, two at the sides and one just left of the centre. The thread holding the leaves together runs through the second hole of the boards and leaves, and is firmly tied around the whole manuscript to keep leaves and boards together. Sometimes wooden pins are put through the holes at the sides of the leaves as well as through the boards in order to keep the leaves firmly in place. At one end of the string (or sometimes at both ends) is attached a kepeng (Chinese coin with a hole in the middle), a button, a piece of wood, a bead, or - rarely - a small wooden animal, the other end of the string is usually tied into a knot. Bamboo boards are only used for very small manuscripts. A manuscript is hardly ever kept in a matching wooden box. If the string of the manuscript is unwound and the string is held by the coin, the part where the text begins points upwards. The boards are often rather thick (1-2 cm).

Manuscript sizes vary from very small - 5 cm - to rather large - 50 cm - dependent on the text contained in it. A reasonable relation between the size of the text and the size of the manuscript is maintained. Thus, short texts are not written on very long leaves, nor are large texts written on very small ones. The short side of a leaf is about 3 cm wide.³

A manuscript opens with two or three leaves bound together at the holes with thread in a star-like pattern. The text usually (but not always) starts at the reverse side (side b) of the third of the three leaves which are found at the beginning of the manuscript.

The script is carved into the leaf with a sharp knife. The letters are moreover blackened to make them easier to read. This is not always the case however. Latin numerals are often written in pencil, aniline pencil or pen.

In general both sides of the leaves of the manuscript contain script with the exception of the first and last leaf which may show writing on one side only: on the b-side at the beginning of the manuscript and on the a-side of the last leaf. Each side of a leaf contains four lines of script. A different number of lines per side is rarely found. At most 7 lines have been encountered. Leaves containing less than four lines are most often found at the end of the text because less than four lines were needed. The script found in these manuscripts varies in size. Sometimes it is rather large, sometimes extremely tiny. The esthetic quality of the script varies too. Some scripts are indeed "birds' scribbles", other scripts are very delicately carved and a pleasure to read.

Many texts have a colophon at the start and at the end, often in another language than the text itself e.g. Sasak of Balinese.

³ Although I am no expert in the field I have the impression that the Iontar leaves used by the Sasak people is not of the best quality. Often the leaves are brittle at the edges and because they are seldom dyed at the cuttings they tend to be eaten away by insects. Many manuscripts are black due to smoke perhaps from the fire in the kitchen where they are kept. Because of the smoke insects stay away from the kitchen and the manuscript thus survive longer. Damages occur mainly at the edges or around the central hole due to frequent use.
The leaves of the manuscript are often numbered in aksara script and in Latin script. Numerals are mostly indicated on the b-sides of the leaves. In case more ways of numbering are found, often the Latin numerals are found on the a-sides of the leaves.

Mistakes made during the writing of a manuscript are often simply indicated by rather crude erasure of the wrong aksara or other feature deemed wrong. Sometimes mistakes are indicated by the addition of a superfluous vowel sign, thus making the aksara meaningless and thus indicative of a mistake.

Manuscripts containing poetical texts (nearly all) are sometimes provided with little threads or bamboo clipping through the hole on one of the sides of the leaf to indicate the start of a new stanza. Sometimes not a new stanza is indicated but something else the nature of which I do not know yet.

Many manuscripts are incomplete. Many are moreover seriously damaged. Nowadays larger manuscripts are often cut in pieces and sold apart provided with nice wooden boards showing carvings of frogs, lizards, birds and the like.

Illustrations in manuscripts are very rare.

Spelling in manuscripts from Lombok

In dealing with a particular script there are a few matters we have to bear in mind. Of course there are individual characteristics to be reckoned with and also temporal and regional ones to deal with. A systematic inventory of these characteristics is very necessary to explore the boundaries of the script. However, it is lacking at the moment. Thus, we shall endeavour to describe the more general features of this script.

The aksara script of Lombok uses 18 aksara, plus 18 pasangan, and a number of other characters.

| aksara and |  | special signs | sastra swara and | aksara murda |
| vowels | | | pasangang | numerals |
| ha | la | e | pa-cerek | re | a-kara | a | 1 |
| na | pa | é | nga-lelet | le | i-kara | i | 2 |
| ca | ja | u | cecak | -nga | é-kara | é | 3 |
| ra | ya | i | layar | -r | | | 4 |
| ka | ña | o | wighan | -h | sa-kembang | sa | 5 |
| da | ma | ' | paten | - | pa-gedé | pa | 6 |
| ta | ba | cakra | -ra- | ta-gedé | ta | 7 |
| sa | ga | pénkal | -ya- | | | | 8 |
| wa | nga | | | | | | 9 |

A special set of aksara are used in a number of manuscripts. These aksara are provided with a little downward stroke to the right much like the cerek found e.g. in the pa-cerek. A system of 9 corresponding couples of such aksara emerges. Thus, when such an aksara ha occurs, we should read ba and vice versa.

The occurrence of these special aksara is unpredictable. No system in use can be extracted from the evidence we have

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4. I shall use the Javanese names for letters and other features as I do not yet know if the Sasak people themselves have names for them.
now. Few of these special aksara have also been found in manuscripts described by Poerbatjaraka (Poerbatjaraka 1940: 77). The following correspondences occur:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ha</th>
<th>&lt;--- ha</th>
<th>da</th>
<th>&lt;--- ta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>&lt;--- la</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>&lt;--- ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca</td>
<td>&lt;--- nga?</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>&lt;--- ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>&lt;--- pa</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>&lt;--- ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ka  | <--- wa |

The following punctuation marks are found:

pada lingsa (.), pada lungsi ("), adeg-adeg (\), guru (\), and pancak (\,\,). The manganjap to denote the start of a new verse is seldom found.

The following characteristics of spelling in Sasak manuscripts may be encountered (An attempt has been made not to go into details of any particular scribe):

1. Substitution of t with d, and d with t, in final position. (langit - langid, alit - alid)
2. Substitution of g with k, and k with g, in final position. (gawok - gawog, angadek - angadeg)
3. Substitution of p with b, and b with p. (murup - murub)

5. A striking example of the use of the second set of aksara as described above, is found in Or. 22.469 leaf 67a1: Kadatangen musuh katah, saking abasah sang katon, nama ratu abesi gagah, prakosa tanpa sama is written: katadengen muguh wadah, gaking abagah gang wadon, nya neta abegi gagah, praeoga tanra saya

6. In Or. 22.469 103b1, the ha is used for sa: bangsyan clearly should read sangsyan.

7. The correspondence ga - nga is not found in the manuscripts consulted by me. They may be found in others. However, sometimes nga is used for ja.

4. Often a nasal is expected but not found, or found but not expected. Nasals at the end of a word are frequently omitted, also found in Jatiswara manuscripts (Behrend 1987:21).

5. In clusters of the nasal and c or s, the h is not always found, but sometimes n.

6. The spelling of words with u or w vary: often various forms occur e.g. dwê - duwê, tatabuhan, twan - tuwan, urap-wurapan. Also substitution of w for h is frequently encountered, also in manuscripts from the Jatiswara e.g. anawuri for anhuri, wawu for wahu (Behrend 1987:19).

7. The tarung is often indicated as a half circle attached to the aksara while sometimes deleting a part it.

11. The swa is sometimes indicated with the aksara ha directly followed by a pasangan. (ejim, emas)

12. The final consonant of a word is often melted with the first consonant of the following word if it is the same one.

mrakeñcana mrak keñcana
iwakeñcana iwak keñcana
bangunegari bangun negara

14. In some manuscripts pasangan sa and pa are used instead of the aksara sa and pa throughout the manuscript.

15. Final h is sometimes spelled with the aksara ha instead of wihan.

16. Frequently the ng as closing consonant of a syllable is spelled with the aksara nga. (see also Behrend 1987:21).

17. Sometimes /dha/ is indicated with an aksara ta followed by a pasangan da.

18. Sometimes the spelling of /é/, or /i/ are indicated as y/(X)/a, where X is an aksara. The occurrence is unpredictable.

ydan dén
putrayna putrané
ydaynang déning
19. Sometimes the spelling of é or i as found in 18 are combined with the peculiar spelling of the aksara noted above.

paygaban paséban
haihinyaki bibiniréki

20. Frequently the a-kara is preferred to the aksara h with the i vowel in words like ing, ingsun, as is also the case with manuscripts from the Jatiswara (Behrend 1987:21).

21. Often manuscripts show the cecak above almost all aksara even if this is not necessary.

22. Many words end in wigfhan where not expected, in other examples it is deleted where expected (also in Jatiswara manuscripts (Behrend 1987:21).

23. Frequently aksara lampah ('walking letters') are found, not only between words but also within them.

24. If a word ends in a consonant and the next word starts with ra, the ra is sometimes indicated with a cakra.

Conclusion

Above I have tried to describe a number of features of manuscripts and spelling as found in manuscripts in the Sasak area. It is by no means complete. However, once it has been completed we may indeed try to understand the relation this script has with either Balinese or Javanese script. A preliminary conclusion is that the form of the letters is very much Balinese but the spellings conventions are Javanese more than Balinese. Therefore it is useful to call this script Sasak in order to denote its own peculiarities.

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Southeast Asian Manuscripts

Many greetings from Madura

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MANY GREETINGS FROM MADURA
An exercise in eighteenth century codicology

Willem van der Molen

1. The problem

On Tuesday 29 May 1777 Natakusuma of Sumenep on Madura wrote a letter to Van Setten in Batavia, to tell him that his children were well again. In the age of the telephone one would not take the trouble to write such information down; formerly, it would have been written down but the letter would subsequently have been thrown away. Natakusuma’s letter has been preserved, and therefore we can find out something more about literacy in a certain area of the Indonesian archipelago in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Natakusuma wrote in Javanese, in Javanese characters, on European paper. How common was it for a Madurese nobleman in 1777 to use European-made paper and to correspond with a European? What does the letter tell us about its sender and addressee and the character of their contact? Can we say something more about the script of the letter beyond its being ‘Javanese’: does it represent a particular type, to be connected with a certain time and place or with a certain environment; which position does it occupy in the history of Javanese script? etc. etc.

Unfortunately our knowledge in the field of Indonesian codicology and palaeography comes close to nothing; for the time being there are more questions than answers, even at the most general level. This is not because sources are lacking, also for the eighteenth century, but because so little research has been done until now. Paper, for example, has only recently begun to be studied in a systematic way by Russell Jones, who among other things wrote about the problem of the lapse of time between the manufacture of paper and its actual use (Jones 1988). But a survey of watermarks found in Indonesian manuscripts does not yet exist, and surely will take many more years as long as it is prepared by one person only. Sometimes the learned insights raise new questions themselves instead of answering the old ones. De Casparis, in his treatise on the history of writing in
Indonesia, states that there is only one type of Javanese script after 1500; Pigeaud distinguishes more than a hundred. 1

In this paper I want to present a description of Natokusuma’s letter, as an illustration of the difficulties we can expect at the present state of affairs. Quite apart from its seemingly unimpressive contents, the letter is useful as a starting point for such a description by its mentioning a date and the name of a place. Following Hellinga and Vermeeren (1961-1966/1967), I will first discuss the document as it is without text, i.e. paper and ruling, then the aspects which come with the text: script, lay-out, completed letter. I begin with a discussion of the history of the letter, including its present state. The Appendix contains a photocopy of the letter, together with a transliteration and translation of the text.

2. Origin

The author of the letter, raden ary a tuneng gung Natokusuma, was born in 1741 in Limbur on the island of Madura. 2 He succeeded his father in 1762 as the regent of Sumenep; the panembahan of Madura was his father-in-law. He revealed himself in his administration as a weak personality, got addicted to opium according to the reports, and had the in Dutch eyes dubious reputation of being a pious Muslim. Nevertheless he enjoyed the support of the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie until the end of his life. He was without doubt the richest administrator of the whole island. In 1776 he was given the title of pangeran by Batavia. About 1799 he was temporarily removed from office because of senility. He died in 1812. 3

Hendrik van Setten, in the letter referred to as “budho fan Setuh”, stayed from 1773 until 1778 in East-India, not in the service of the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie but as a common citizen. He earned his living as an usher (Dutch: bodc) for the surrounding territory of Batavia of the board of aldermen and, during the first two years, also as the

1De Casparis 1975:61: “[...] until the end of the sixteenth century or later. By that time, however, the script in Java had already developed into its typically modern Javanese form and from then on till the present time it underwent only minor stylistic modifications.” Pigeaud a.o. in 1967-1970 Illpassim.
2I have found the year 1741 nowhere but in 1765 he was 24 years old (De Jonge 1883:26).
3This information can be found in the transfer statements of the successive governors and directors ofJAVA’S Northeast Coast, Van Osenburgh, Van den Burgh, Silberg and Engelhard (De Jonge 1883:26, 443; De Jonge 1884:114-115; De Jonge 1888:155-156) and the article ‘Madura’ in the Encyclopaedeie van Nederlandse-Indië. Hageman provides us with slightly different information; he has Natokusuma in 1768 succeed his father as raden tunenggung Tiranganagara II and in the same year be promoted to pangeran Natokusuma; he does not mention his source (Hageman 1858:334).

warder of the municipal jail. 1 Consequently, he belonged to the lower circles of Batavian society; my source of information classifies him among the “mindere burgerlijke bedienden” (lesser civil servants, Naamboekje [s.a.]: 26).

From the letter it appears that Natokusuma and Van Setten were quite close: their wives are mentioned, the illness of Natokusuma’s children, Van Setten’s sympathetic involvement. How did they know each other, what did Natokusuma, being a member of the upper class of the indigenous society, have in common with a lower class fellow like Van Setten? Did Van Setten perhaps know Javanese (if so, where did he learn it)? Natokusuma has presumably at least once been in Batavia: when the title of pangeran was bestowed upon him in 1776. I do not know whether an usher of the court would have played a role in that visit, but it does not seem very likely. As for Van Setten’s possible knowledge of Javanese, the Dutch of his days are not remembered for their eager study of Indonesian languages, but if Van Setten knew Javanese, that in itself of course can precisely have been the reason why he would have been involved, although at the same time there was an official interpreter for Javanese. The board of aldermen had two ushers working for it, one for the community inside the walls and one for the outer districts. Van Setten being assigned the outer districts may have had contacts with the Javanese community who, in accordance with the regulations, in those days were assigned their living quarters outside the walls. Van Setten would of course have known Javanese well if he would have been born on Java, but I do not think that this was the case: after resignation he left for Holland (Naamboekje [s.a.]: 117).

The letter is dated “tanggal 18 sasi Rabiulukher taun Dal angkani waras 1703”. The Dal year 1703 of the Javano-Muslim calender began on Monday 10 February 1777 A.D., so the eighteenth day of the fourth month fell on Tuesday 29 May 1777 A.D. 2

How is it possible that such an insignificant letter like Natokusuma’s survived a period of more than twohundred years? Virtually nothing is known about its history. Nowadays the letter is in a bundle of documents owned by drs. H. Borkent of Oegstgeest; information about the origins of the bundle does not reach further back than a few years, when it was bought at a flea market in Amsterdam. The collection consists of slightly over twohundred documents of varying character, held together by a cardboard wrapper. Most of the documents are handwritten letters in Javanese and Malay, there are a number of facsimiles of Javanese letters, and one or two printed and typed documents. The dates of

1Naamboekje [s.a.]: 27, Naamboekje [s.a.]: 27, Naamboekje [s.a.]: 117. The year 1773 is the first year Van Setten’s name appear in these Naamboeken.
2Encyclopaedeie vol. V s.v. ‘Tijdrekening’. The article gives me the freedom to choose between Sunday 9 and Monday 10 February as the first day of 1777 A.D.; as 1776 was a leap year, 1 opt for Monday 10th.
the letters cover a period of about one century, from the end of the eighteenth until the end of the nineteenth century. Natakusuma’s letter is the only one from the eighteenth century; of the nineteenth-century letters by far the greater part consists of official correspondence between Javanese and Dutch officials about the middle of the nineteenth century, from Central Java as well as from various towns in the central and eastern districts along the north coast of Java. I do not see any coherence in the bundle as a whole: it is possible that smaller parts of it belonged together and were lumped together with what seemed to be similar things by a second-hand bookseller not long ago.

The document of Natakusuma did not survive the ages without damage. This regards the paper mainly; the text happens to have remained almost completely intact. The back page of the letter is worn to such an extent that the left upper corner has disappeared, while the remaining piece is much darker along the right-hand side than the rest of the page and the other pages. See fig. 1:

![Fig. 1. Wear of fol. 2 (verse side).](image)

There is some slight damage along the edges. At one time the letter has been stored in an archive or something: the surface is marked by folds, which in their turn have furthered the process of deterioration. See fig. 2.

![Fig. 2. Folds (fol. 1r).](image)

The lines of fig. 2 have to be interpreted as follows: the sheet was folded along line A, so that B and C coincided, then the sheet was folded again along B/C, finally along D.

### 3. The paper

The letter has been written on the first page of a sheet of hand-made paper, folded once. Usually, descriptions of Javanese material – and, for that matter, of Indonesian material in general – are limited to the outward appearance of watermarks, which can then either be looked up in the well-known watermark repositories or, more often, have to wait further identification. According to the manuals, however, this procedure is not precise enough, due to such problems as the gradual deformation of the watermark on the sieve. To avoid the risk of wrong identifications, one has to take into account not only the form of a watermark but also its exact position on the sieve as well as the pattern of the chain and laid lines. One has to make clear the exact position of the knot where the watermark has been sewn to the mould, and even to tell from which side of the paper one has been
looking at it, from that side which has faced the sieve or from the other side (‘zugewandt’ and ‘abgewandt’ or Z and A respectively; Gerardy 1980:41-43).

In fact, the idea of such a detailed description is not completely new in the field of Indonesian studies. Jones, in an article on the codiologic description of Malay manuscripts, proposed it as early as 1974. But so far I have not seen any effect in print. Mulyadi, who has a keen interest in watermarks, does not pay attention to it (Jones 1974:49; Mulyadi 1983).

When not folded, the sheet measures 31.8 by 40.8 cm. To decide on the A or Z side, a matter of interpreting the surface of the paper, is in the case of Natakusuma’s letter hampered by the age of the paper, or perhaps I should say by my lack of experience. A way out would seem to be the orientation of the watermark, as there happen to be some characters in it, but the manuals are incredibly silent about this. Only Gaskell gives the information that watermarks as a rule were tied in mirror image to the moulds ([1985]:61). If he is right, then the following description is based on the Z side.

The chain lines run vertically at a distance of 2.4 cm from each other. Shade lines are clearly visible. The space between chain line and paper edge is 2.03 cm on the left and 2 cm on the right side. Between each of the two extreme chain lines and the edges of the paper there is an extra chain line, 0.5 cm from the edge on the left and 0.7 cm from the edge on the right side.

There are 9 laid lines to the centimeter.

The sheet contains both a watermark and a countermark. The main mark, which is in the right half of the paper, has the form of a crowned circular surround containing the motto ‘PRO PATRIA ETUSQUE LIBERTATE’; inside the circular surround is a lion, standing over the word ‘VRYHEYT’ and holding a stake with a hat on top. Under the surround the name ‘VAN DER LEY’ is written.

The countermark consists of the characters ‘GR’ with a crown over them. ‘GR’ stands for Georgius Rex or Guilhemus Rex; these are the ‘royal ciphers’ which the Dutch papermakers of the eighteenth century used to give to their paper, originally in view of the export to England but later on to virtually anywhere (Vroom [1960]:120-121). For the distances between the two marks and between the marks and the edge of the sheet the reader is referred to fig. 3.1 The same diagram also shows the position of the marks in relation to the chain lines. For the sake of clarity I have left these figures out of the diagram but I give them here: the main mark lies 1.5 off the two nearest chain lines, on both sides, while the three components of the name ‘VAN DER LEY’ lie precisely stuck between the surrounding chain lines, and the characters ‘GR’ touch the surrounding chain lines to the extent that the R sticks out 0.2, and the G 0.3 cm. The height of the characters is in the first case 0.6 cm (the capitals 0.9) and in the second case 1.4 cm. No dots, representing the stitches which tie the watermark to the mould, are visible; is it possible that a running stitch or some other device has been used?

Fig. 3. Watermark and countermark.

I have not found references to paper that matches the above description. Van der Ley was from 1674 until 1774 a famous papermaker in the Zaantsereek in the west of the Netherlands. The firm had its hey-day in the first half of the eighteenth century. After 1774 it continued in another form until 1835 (Vroom [1960]:322-331, 403-404). The Liberty watermark described here appeared in 1710; the royal ciphers are at least as early as that.

The preparations made for the writing down of the text have been simple. The sheet of paper has been folded in such a way that the left half, with the countermark in it, has been detailed description.
4. The writing

The text has been written in Javanese script with pen and ink. In matters of Javanese palaeography two works show the way: Pigeaud’s catalogue of Javanese manuscripts in the Netherlands (1967-1970, 1980) and De Casparis’s monograph on writing in Indonesia (1975). Pigeaud describes manuscripts from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, covering the period from which Natakusuma’s letter stems. He gives no palaeographic analysis – that is not the aim of his book – but every entry identifies the alphabet used, so his catalogue nevertheless contains a wealth of palaeographic information. This attention for the palaeographic aspect of manuscripts is also characteristic for Pigeaud’s later catalogues. De Casparis on the other hand does not discuss the period of Natakusuma’s letter – his survey does not go beyond 1500 – but he explicitly discusses the traits of the Javanese script in the various periods of its history; by doing so, he gives clues for palaeographic research also of Modern Javanese script.

Pigeaud typifies every manuscript with a short indication of the script in which it has been written. After having identified the main type of script, Javanese, Arabic, Latin, etc., he usually gives more details according to category, origin, form, measures, etc. Curiously enough, he gives this specification in the case of Javanese script only. Pigeaud distinguishes different categories of Javanese script: *budā*, *kraton*, and – presumably – the rest. The origin is sometimes indicated rather vaguely: Central-Java, Pasirir, etc., at other times more precisely: Solo, Yogyakarta, Cirebon, etc. As to form, a cursive and an upright type can be distinguished, while there are also a quadrat and a perpendicularly type. The measures are expressed in terms of ‘large’ and ‘small’.

Next to the manuscripts accorded one of these labels, there are also manuscripts which go by several tokens at the same time. Manuscript LOr 8941, e.g., has been written in quadrat script, LOr 1789 in quadrat script of a *kraton*, LOr 1869 in quadrat script of the *kraton* of Solo, NBG 14 in bold quadrat script of the *kraton* of Solo, etc. With the help of such combinations Pigeaud distinguishes more than a hundred different varieties. To these he sometimes adds some rather impressionistic qualifications, such as ‘clear’, ‘rustic’, ‘old fashioned’, etc. Wherever it occurs, the year in which the manuscript was written, is mentioned.

An important addition is formed by the facsimiles of writing in volume III of the cata-

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1 Two other palaeographic studies are Holle (1882) and Damaia (1955). Holle gives a list of characters in facsimile, without commentary, from dated inscriptions; Damaia compares various Southeast-Asian scripts on the basis of five characters.

logue. There are twenty-one, three of which are Arabic; so the facsimiles show but a very small part of the possible variation.

The value of Pigeaud's classification appears at second thought to be quite limited. Nowhere he explains his criteria or the characteristics of the distinguished varieties. Now it is not difficult of course to see the difference between italic and upright script, but how do I know whether it is the italic script of Solo or of the northeast coast? Only if I happen to find among the facsimiles a picture exactly matched by the script of Natakasuma's letter - quod non - , I can apply Pigeaud's classification, be it without a scholarly justification of what I see. Pigeaud's nomenclature of one hundred odd items has to be provided with the necessary clues, before we can use it.

Leaving Pigeaud's catalogue, "full of learned discussions on Javanese, Balinese and Arabic script" (De Casparis 1975:11) aside in anticipation of the required supplementations, I turn to De Casparis for a scholarly analysis. His book on Indonesian palaeography is the only attempt until now to write a coherent history of, a.o., the Javanese script. It is a pity that it had met with so little serious response.

De Casparis follows the development of the Javanese script during a period of more than one thousand years, from the beginning of the fifth century until the end of the fifteenth century (my term 'Javanese' is an anachronism for the first centuries). He divides this period into a number of sub-periods of two to three and a half centuries, more or less corresponding to certain periods in political history. In his introduction De Casparis warns the reader, however, that the historian may make such cuts but that in reality there is a continuous development (1975:11). Only twice one can say that there is a distinct cleavage: between the so-called Early and Later Pallava script, and between the Javanese scripts from the middle of the fifteenth century and the Javanese script in its modern form. But even these discontinuities do not seem to form a rupture in history but rather to be due to a lack of material, concealing the developments for a certain stretch of time.

De Casparis describes the various phases as follows. Firstly, he indicates the overall impression of the script of a certain period, and what it is that brings this impression about. Secondly, he discusses individual signs as far as different in that period from the preceding period. Finally, he considers the historico-cultural background of the script concerned.

An example is the so-called 'normal script' from the Kadiri period (c. 1100-1220), to be distinguished from the 'Kadiri Quadrade Script', an ornamental script from the same period. After having remarked that the inscriptions from this period (our only source of information) clearly show a continuation of the preceding period, an impression brought about especially by its analogous type of 'painted serifs'. De Casparis mentions a second trait which characterizes the script as a whole as well but, conversely, distinguishes the Kadiri period from the preceding one: the vertical elongation of the characters. During the preceding period the height and width of the characters were more or less the same; now, the characters are higher in relation to their width, just a little bit but quite consistently:

The actual difference, if expressed in measurements, is slight, approximately 5:4 or even a slightly lesser ratio, but it is consistent and therefore unmistakable. It entails a clear predominance of the vertical over the horizontal lines (De Casparis 1975:41).

Among the individual signs there are four which show a striking development: the paten, the aksara ra, the saudhangan i and the pasangan wa. De Casparis demonstrates this in a meticulous description of the way in which those signs are written. Take the paten for example:

In all the earlier inscriptions in Kawi script, including those of Airlangga [i.e. the immediately preceding period], the paten starts on top of, or well above, the aksara and runs subsequently in a wide curve round its right-hand side. In the Kadiri inscriptions, on the other hand, the paten starts precisely at the top level of the aksara but then runs below the base line in an elegant curve to the left. The complete height of the paten becomes precisely twice that of the normal letters. This innovation proved successful; at least for the next few centuries the paten retained this basic shape (De Casparis 1975:41).

Finally De Casparis gives the script under discussion its place in the framework of cultural history. The Kadiri period is known in history as a period of a highly developed, very refined court culture with a flourishing literature, and the script seems to reflect this in its balance between functional clarity and aesthetic elegance, thanks to an almost perfect regularity and refined, but nowhere dominating, stylistic embellishment (1975:41-42).

Although De Casparis occupies himself with one particular period, it is evident that he observes a number of principles which might also be applied successfully to the description of the writing of other periods. One of the most important principles is the idea of writing as a system of symbols with communication as its chief function, in which the constituent elements influence each other, and which is subject to change as a whole. Among other things, this means that all the signs used should be unequivocally differentiated; therefore, signs which are too similar tend to develop new distinctive features (an important drive for modification, next to changes in technique and taste, and the human tendency towards simplification). Another implication is that one should not look at the development of individual letters in isolation but of letters as part of the whole system (De
Casparis 1975:7-9). The consistent elongation of the Kadri aksaras referred to above, for example, is not directly compared with the shape of the corresponding aksaras in the preceding period, but as the quotient of height and width: absolute values might say something about the proportions of a given specimen of script, but relative values inform us about the script in general of a given period.

At one point, however, I disagree with De Casparis. For a correct analysis of individual letters and their relation to the other elements, it is necessary not only to describe the visible shape, as the result of a movement of the writing hand, but to understand how the result came into being by that movement, in other words to describe the structure of a letter. The successive strokes, which build a letter, are part of that structure, but no less important are the order in which they are drawn and the movements of the pen through the air, when it is lifted from the paper in order to make a connection at some other point, etc. These can help us to see how a given shape could generate a new one: what at first sight looks totally different, e.g. the presence of a new stroke, might in reality be the result of the same movement but now with the pen permanently in touch with the paper. De Casparis does not pay attention to this aspect, and therefore he is sometimes not able to give a satisfying description or to explain a certain development. An example is his 'static' analysis of the inscription of Ngadom in Central Java (De Casparis 1975:65-66), whereas a 'dynamic' analysis would lead to completely different results. As I have tried to show this already, I do not want to annoy my audience by a repetition of the old argument but refer to Van der Molen (1983:96-97).

Although De Casparis himself explicitly expresses his debt to Dani 1963 (see De Casparis 1975:4), it is clear that Indonesian paleography has profited also from Ullman, whose Ancient writing from 1932 cannot but have inspired it: the list of factors which modify a script, the various aspects of writing discussed, and the order in which they are discussed - overall impression, individual signs, historico-cultural context - all stem from Ullman. Now Ullman is not the latest development in western paleography. My disagreement is inspired by a method which was developed as early as 1952 as an alternative to the pre-war approach by Mallon. The analysis of a script according to this method involves several aspects. One of the most important aspects is the structure (or 'ductus' as Mallon calls it) of a letter, defined by Mallon as the number of strokes, and the order and direction in which they are drawn. Later scholars have criticized Mallon for laying too much stress on the aspect of ductus; they have tried to redress the balance by working out the other aspects and adding new ones (see Glissen 1973 e.g.). However, these elaborations do not seem to have invalidated Mallon's method but rather to have supplemented it.

It is out of the question to give a full analysis of the script of Natakusuma's letter here in the sense of De Casparis's and Mallon's work, but I will try to outline a few characteristic traits on the base of the principles laid down by them.

If script is defined as a system in which all the signs should be univocally differentiated, it seems odd that there would be different signs with the same meaning and different meanings expressed by one sign. Nevertheless, this seems to be the case in the script of Natakusuma's letter. The pasangan ha has two forms: similar to the corresponding aksara, but with initial reduction if it follows behind the preceding aksara ( \( \text{ha} \) ), with changed final part if it is placed under the preceding aksara ( \( \text{ha} \)). In the text examples can be found of the post-written pasangan in line 8, of the sub-written pasangan in line 3 (uncertain), 4 and 6.

It looks as if the sign \( \text{ha} \) has been assigned two meanings: as a punctuation mark and as a \( \text{h} \) in final position. Examples in lines 1 (in the second ka\( \text{ta}\) of haka\( \text{ta}\) ka\( \text{ta}\)) and 2 (after sumnap). Note that there is another sign for the final \( \text{h} \), as illustrated in the first ka\( \text{ta}\) of haka\( \text{ta}\) ka\( \text{ta}\).

The shape of the aksaras \( \text{ta} \) and \( \text{ba} \) in the script of Natakusuma's letter is very similar. Both are written with the same ductus, in two times. They cannot be distinguished from each other except by the little stroke with which the second component begins: in the \( \text{ta} \) it is straight, in the \( \text{ba} \) it is wavy. See fig. 5 (the figures and arrows clarify the ductus, the dotted lines indicate the intersection where the pen has been lifted from the paper).

Fig. 5. Structure of the \( \text{ta} \) and \( \text{ba} \).

This is presumably an example of those situations where tension within the system, caused by the great similarity of two signs, according to De Casparis could lead to a change in the shape of one or both of the signs, which in its turn would mark the end of the period to which the script of Natakusuma's letter belongs. This is indeed what happens in a later variety of Javanese script. In the case of the \( \text{ta} \) and the \( \text{ba} \), it is the \( \text{ta} \) which will undergo a change. The movement of the pen, which invisibly bridges the two components in the time of Natakusuma, in a later period becomes manifest in the shape of a line which connects the two components. This is a change which implies a difference of
structure. The 'a' in its new appearance is written in one time. See fig. 6.

Fig. 6. Development of the 'a' and 'a'.

The aksara 'a' (2.3) has no such near counterpart as far as I can see. It has a peculiar shape if we take into account another of the changing forces behind the system: the writing hand has to make a detour to arrive at a point where it could arrive also with less effort. This will happen in fact at a later stage, when a simple loop replaces the more demanding earlier movement.

The relevant part of its structure could be described as follows. It is written in one uninterrupted movement of the pen. The initial rising and descending line halfway its descent turns to the left and, making a circular movement which touches the initial ascender, at the base level continues in a horizontal direction to the right, but with a distinct, upward indent exactly below the descender. It is this circular movement with upward indent which later on will be replaced by one loop, producing the same appearance with less effort but, at the same time, giving up another characteristic trait of the script used in the letter of Natakusuma. See fig. 7.

Fig. 7. Structures of the 'a'.

5. The text

The text block occupies part of the upper half of fol. 1r; exact measurements are given in fig. 8. Note that there is no right margin; the text has been written up till the very end of the lines. The text is graphically divided into three sections. The first section, which contains the names of the sender and addressee and the greetings, begins with a sort of pada madya or pada aushap, the punctuation mark for opening a letter addressed to one's equal or one's inferior. Which one is meant here is not yet clear to me due to lack of comparative material. The second section is separated from the first by a piece of blank; it contains the proper message, introduced by the expression "saumunatik kadya suapanika, wiyosipun..." ("After having said this, first of all..."). This section in its turn is separated by a piece of blank from the final section, which starts on a new line and contains the date of the letter.

The scribe of the letter - whether this is Natakusuma himself or a clerk is not important for the present analysis - several times makes a mistake. In line 1 a superfluous 'a' is crossed out in the Javanese way, i.e. made illegible by adding two vowels. Line 5 after "ing" contains the remains of a character which was begun but not continued. In "tangat" (line 8) the pen slipped while writing the 'a'. These mistakes do not spoil the impression of the letter as a neat document. The adding of the omitted 'i' in line 2, however, is poor.

Of the other irregularities I only mention that the sign for the 'i' in line 3 has landed on the second syllable of "sadaya", resulting in sadéya instead of sédaya. The name of Natakusuma's residential town is spelled in two different ways: once as "Summap" and once as "Summep" (line 2 and 10). A peculiar feature, foreshadowed by the irregularly distributed prickings (see p. 8), is the outright neglect of the ruling - to the advantage of the letter.

There are some aksara muda in the letter: na, ë, sa, ëa, and ëGa. The low frequency with which they occur does not allow to decide whether they have already the honorific function of later years.

The scribe has taken the trouble to render some foreign sounds properly with the help of the diacritical signs available to him in this script, in the words "fan", "dogyali", and "rabhušakē" (see lines 2, 7 and 10).

6. The completed letter

In the left margin of fol. 1r is a circular, red wax seal with the name of the sender, in Latin characters. The impress has not come through completely; it reads:

1 Pange<ran> |
2 <Na-ta> |
3 Cass...mo |
4 t Sumap |

The missing syllables filled in by me in line 1 and 2 do not give any problem; of the r as
well as of the Na glimpse is still visible; anyhow, not much else could have been written there. The spelling "Cass. mo" with an a is strange; yet, as far as I can see, there is a difference with the a of "Sumap" in the following line. Whether we should read oe or u in the missing part, I do not know: cf. the fourth line where an u is spelled, a representation of the [u]-sound in Latin characters which I would not expect at this date. It seems as if

![Diagram](image)

Fig. 8. Position of the seal (*) and the text on fol. 1r.

the designer of the seal had to solve a problem of space. Otherwise I cannot explain the concise spelling of the last line. "T" must be the Dutch preposition te ("at"); "Sumap" is the efficient rendering of Sumap, realized by using the ascending line of the u also as the first descending line of the m, and the last descending line of the m at the same time as the first descending line of the a.

The seal is placed in the 5.1 cm wide margin left off the text, at 4.6 cm from the upper edge, 1 cm from the left edge, 1.5 cm from the text. See fig. 8.

After the letter had been completed, it was folded to a smaller size as illustrated in fig. 9. It was folded first along line I, bringing line II and III together. Then it was folded along lines II/III, as a result making IV and V, and VI and VII all to coincide with each other. Along these it was folded for the third time. Finally, it was folded vertically along the lines IX and X. On would suppose that the sender, not yet satisfied, gave a final touch by the folds along lines XI and XII, but the fold through the seal is quite impossible. As there is no address, I suppose that an envelope has been used.

![Diagram](image)

Fig. 9. Original folding lines.

The above is my interpretation of the numerous folds which run across the sheet. I have no proof that there have ever been such things as 'original' or 'archival' folds. The order in which the folds have been made, can of course not be seen; I base myself on the distances between the lines. Fig. 10 gives an impression of the present state.

While some of the folds are very distinct because of the damage they have caused to the paper, other folds can hardly be seen. In view of the present owner's peace of mind, I have refrained from experiments.

7. Conclusion

A few conclusions can be drawn from the above. The identification of "budho fan setah" as the usher Hendrik van Setten has revealed an unexpected relationship between an upperclass Madurese and a lower class Dutch in late eighteenth century East Indian society. My precise description of the filigree pattern at this moment does not say more than that paper produced by the Van der Ley company in the west of the Netherlands at
some point in the eighteenth century found its way to faraway Madura. De Casparis's palaeographic method, if supplemented with some more modern findings, seems a promising one to define the various types of Modern Javanese script. The finished letter evokes the image of a man who did not care too much about outward appearances.

Fig. 10. Fol. 1r. Present pattern of folds.

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NAAMBOEK. [s..a.], Naamboek van de wel-edele heeren der hooge Indische regering, zoo tot, als baten, Batavia; mitgaders van de politie bedienden, die van de justitie, de kerk, burgery, zeevaart, militie, artillerie, chirurgie, &c., zoo als deselve onder ultimo december 1775 allier in weeren zyn bevonden: item de gouverneurs, directeuren, en commandeurs, mitgaders verdere opperhoofden en mindere bedienden, op de respectie compoturen van Indië. Nevens een list van de personen, die gerepatrieerd, en een van die naar de buiten-compoturen vertrokken zyn, item een van de overledenen. Batavia: Egbert Heenen.


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Diplomatic transcription:

1. punikah šērat saha tabe kahula hiĩkaĩ hakatah kañah sakin sahutara hijējandikaĩ
   katiēn paperaįrį īnasakusuma [1]
2. h hiĩkaĩ hafaįgah panaĩ-gaĩ kumpni hīni sumnap. h ūmatēn gaĩ hiĩkaĩ sahutaraĩ
   tuvan budo fan setaỹ hīni nāgāri batawĩ [1]
3. yah kalayan tabe kula ūtēn rayi hijējandikaĩ h sartī taben higak kanak kahula
   sadēyaho dūngha hijējandī [1]
4. h miwah ūtēn rayi hijējandikaĩ kalayan kan mugi suqah sa-qūdāna yusayn kaŋ
   apaŋhāri, šalameţīn2 šalami-ramāne, [1]
5. hīni [↩] dah. dunya puniki; sasampunī kadya sapunika, hawiyos kahula
   hasukha hunīpa [1]
6. ūtēn hijējandikaĩ, yen iŋ maŋke sakitipun hanak kahula sampun šami saras
   kalihipun, pikanutu [1]
7. du'aih hijējandikaĩ, kalayan punika, kahula haŋtari pikintun. ūtēn kaŋa hīnjandikaĩ,
   hawair [1]
8. nzi liše gajšal. tab; kalayan maŋi kawula hanitįpakan hīni hutusān kahula, manawi
   wonite [1]
9. n kanusahanipun., baiën laŋkuri pitulun iŋbēnandika; [1]
10. kasērat hīni panagari sumnep., tāŋgāl., 18, saśi rahiulakāk tāhun dal., haŋka ni
    waśa; [1]
11. 1703: [1]

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[1] Text lost due to damage of the paper.
[2] An awkward form of the pasangan ta or a subscript pasangan ba?
Critical translation:

1 Puritik serat saha tabe kawula ingkang akathah-kathah saking saudara ijengandika kangjen pengoran Natakusuna |
2 ingkang apulenggahi panagari Kumpeni Sumenep dhumatenga ingkang saudara tuwan budho fan Setah ing nagari Batawi |
3 ya kalan kawul tabe dhenteng rayi ijengandika sarta tabeni anak-anak kawula sadaya dhusteng ijengandika |
4 miwa dhenteng rayi ijengandika kalan kang mugi suthara sinungena yuswa khang apanjen, solenteng salami-lamine |
5 ing dalem dunya puniki. Sasampun kadya supunika, awyos kawula asuka uninga |
6 dhenteng [ijengandika yen ing mangke sakitipun anak kawula simpun sami saras kalihpin, pitanuku |
7 duga ijengandika. Kalayan punika kawula angaturi pikintun dhateng karsa ijengandika, awar- |
8 ni lisa gangsal tung, kalan kah dem bukwa antipaken ing utusan kawula. Mawawi wonte |
9 n kasuahanipun, bosen langkung pituhung ijengandika. |
10 Kaseru ing panagari Sumenep, tunggal 18 sasi Rabiuulakher taun Dal, angkani warso |
11 1703.]

Translation:

1 Letter and many greetings from kangjen pengoran Natakusuna |
2 in Sumenep to mister bode Van Setten in Batavia |
3 and wife and greetings from all my children to you |
4 and your wife. May yours be a long life and well being for always |
5 in this world. After having said this, first of all I would like |
6 to let you know that both my children have recovered, thanks to |
7 your prayer. Further, I have the honour to offer you |
8 five kegs of oil, which I send with my messenger. If |
9 difficulties arise, I count on nothing but your help. |
10 Written at Sumenep, 18 Rabiuulakhir Dal |
11 1703. |
ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS IN MALAY MANUSCRIPTS
AT THE NATIONAL LIBRARY
by Mu'izzah

Preface

It is known that ancient Indonesian literature is written in regional scripts, such as Sundanese script (Lambang), Patok script, Javanese script, Bali script and Bugis script. Besides those Jawa scripts, also used in Malay manuscripts.

Regional manuscripts from Bali, Java and Patok are written on adawang, paper, palm-leaf and tree bark, whereas the Malay manuscripts are only written on paper. National Library, the new institution which has the authority to handle the collection on Indonesian manuscripts, keeps a great deal of Malay manuscripts. Before March 1972, those manuscripts belonged to the collection of the Central Museum of the Department of Education and Culture. Some catalogues and lists concerning these manuscripts are among others written by Cohen, Stuart, 1972; L. F. C. van den Berg, 1972; H. H. Junyball, 1949; Ph. S. van Borkel, 1933 and 1921; Poerhatjarsa, C. Nouwens and P. Voorhoeve, 1950; Sutardja, et al. 1972; J. Howard, 1974; and E. U. Kracht, 1980. Starting from catalogues and some notes of Mrs. Rujianti Malyadi, I started to register and to work on illuminated Malay manuscripts.

Illuminated manuscripts relates to the art of drawing and how the copyist or the illuminator did it on paper. Illuminations are usually found on the frontispiece of manuscripts while illustrations
can be found anywhere. Although illuminations and illustrations are different terms, both make manuscripts as a kind of art.

Each illumination and illustration on manuscripts has its own uniqueness. Therefore, this paper is intended to examine both of them. "Illumination is a term derived from the effect of shimmering light given by gold on manuscripts pages, originally meant gilding. Today it means any kind of text embellishment, including illustration, heraldry and colored letters as well as gilding" (Folson, 1890:57). That term is also used by Kratz (1980:28) in his article on Malay manuscripts of the Overbeck collection. It is used to explain that on the first or second page of the manuscripts are decorative pictures in the form of a frame bordering the text. In comparison with Javanese manuscripts, Malay manuscripts have less rich pictures, especially from the aesthetic point of view. However, this does not mean that they are inappropriate to be examined. This paper is intended to show the variety of pictures in manuscripts, explain their function and study whether the inclusion of pictures is particular a certain style of a certain period based on my initial research.

In the world of publishing and printing, pictures or illustrations of a book are one part of features like typography, colouring and its lay out. They must meet the aesthetic norm. There are four functions of illustrations. (1) to explain the content of the text, (2) to decorate the page, (3) to arouse a certain atmosphere on the page of the book and (4) to fill up blank places (Riyadi, 1991:9). Based on the fourth functions of illustrations in modern printing, pictures in Malay manuscripts can be determined whether they have the same function or not.

Illuminations in Malay Manuscripts

From the data of the Malay manuscript collection at the National Library, there are 45 illuminated manuscripts. This paper will discuss several examples as its substance referring to the genre of the manuscript, quality of the picture and the variety of colouring. Malay manuscripts never use golden ink, unlike Javanese manuscripts, e.g. Babad Cirebon which is nicely written with golden ink. The majority of National Library’s collection of Malay manuscripts have simple illuminations because they are drawn by using only ink, drawing pencils and water colour. In addition, the colours turn to be a mixture of yellow, green, blue, red, orange, brown and purple, e.g. found in the Hikayat Maharaja Ruma I (M1.286), Ridadah Al Hidayah (M1.314), Syair Tala’ Kow Eng (M1.248) and Hikayat Farusara (M1.176). Manuscripts with water coloured illumination are considered as "young" manuscripts.

To make neat pictures, drawings in Malay manuscripts are first done by sketching the picture with a pencil, later followed by water colouring, as clearly seen on the unfinished frame-drawing in the Hikayat Bulan Berwelah I (M1.356), Isma’ Yatim III (M1.418) and Syair Damawulan II (M1.721).

The variety of motifs in Malay manuscripts are depicting natural objects such as plants, animals, stars, the sun and moon, besides geometrical lines, figures of a mosque and wayang puppets. These pictures have various shapes based on the illuminator’s desire to adapt them to their functions in the text.
The first shape found in Malay manuscripts are frames used as the border of the text which are usually found either on the first page only or on both first and second pages. Its function is merely to decorate the page and is called illumination (Gajjar, 1951-79). The copyist or the illuminator must have a particular intention in putting this decoration on the first page of the manuscripts. Probably it can be compared with book covers in modern printing.

Most decorative frames found on one page or more are rectangles or squares; most of them have half circles or domes on their tops, while lines are connected in the middle at one point to form a cone with flowers, buds, stars or the moon on top of it. That shape might have connection with the Malay belief that God is the Almighty and the Only One.

Various of frames are varied, some of them frame the whole text on the first and second pages, some are only found on the first page. This can be found in Syair Kumbang dan Melati (M1.7). In that manuscript the decorations of lotus and jasmine’s leaves appear as if they creep to frame both the first and second pages. That type can be found in Hikayat Raja Kerang (M1.8), only the creeping leaves motif frame the page with a palace roof on top of it. In Syahribul Indra VIII (M1.600) the decorations of grape leaves and the creeping roots are put below, whereas on top of it the picture is fully combined with geometric figures and variation of vine and its fruits. The shape of the picture is like a mihrab (a place for priests to pray) with a dome and stars on the top. The picture is made by using very bright red, blue, yellow and black water colours which is quite exquisite. In the Raja Indra Walewali (M1.599), the picture around the frame is full of stars drawn in yellow, blue, red and brown water colours. The frames of Mahaprajna Romo IV (M1.158) are also full of flowers and geometric figures.

There are also frames with pictures of the top of the text, whereas for the borders of the other part was only a single line (M1.600). That kind of frame can be found in the Indra’s Name (M1.600) with tendril and jasmine’s leaves, or vines both on sides. In the Hikayat Pandawa Lima (M1.6) we also have the motif of tendril and leaves with a red rose in the middle, while Raja Budak I (M1.6) has the picture of a lotus bud. There are also frames with decorations on the top of the text and below it; on the left and right under there are only lines. This decoration can be found in Syair Mardan IV (M1.603) which has three stars below and on top of the text, drawn in water colours of yellow and brown in combination with red and blue. In Amsiyah V (M1.603) the picture is found of on the top and below the text which consist of geometric figures, combined with palm leaf and flowers on the lower part of the page.

Most of the pictures of flowers in the manuscripts are already mentioned in the lotus, as found in the Syair Cinta Berahi (M1.741). Syair Kumbang dan Melati, (M1.7) and Raja Budak I (M1.6). Why is the lotus used? Lotus symbolizes power, as it grows on dirty water and exist in a pure body, but let it not forgotten, that the root holds to the ground. Its bloom remains bright, noble, and beautiful (Raffles, 1817:354).

Pictures of stems, flowers and leaves can be identical with
vines and tendrils. According to Daneshvari (1988:27) vine tendrils appear frequently in Christian and Islamic art. In the former, they have principally eucharistic significance, while in the latter, their meaning is by no means certain. Furthermore, if we accept the symbolism of vine tendrils as a symbol of a future life in paradise, the most mundane of Islamic objects inscribed with vine pattern would be liable to have some eschatological meaning.

Some of the above mentioned illuminations show the Hindu influence proven by the lotus, but some of them also show Islamic influence represented by geometric and floral motif. A combination of these motifs is typically Islamic architectural art. Moreover, this is influence is enhanced by the fact of the use of a mihrab and a dome. Gallop (1984:59) considered that the combination of geometric and flora is in accordance with the Islamic orthodox tendency which forbids the drawing of living creatures. Therefore, pictures of human or animals can hardly be found in Malay manuscripts. Scribes and illuminators expressed their artistry by drawing merely decorative pictures on the first page. Curves and frames around text are full of decorations with motifs of leaves, interlacing geometric patterns and flora. Akbar (1984:20) states that one of the prominent characteristics of the Islamic art in repetition. A geometric or floral pattern in architecture for example, is frequently repeated. Covering the surface of the wall—as seen in Syahirul Indra VII (M1.365)—which indicates the close relationship between God and the value of the Islamic aesthetics.

Illustrations in Malay Manuscripts

The drawings found in Malay manuscripts is called illustration which follows the plot of the story (Gallop, 1984:87), identifying the character and explaining the story to support the meaning of the text. It is closely related with the content of the text. Therefore, it is called text-illustration (Vermeeren and Balinga, 1986:206).

Mikayat Margazti Buc dan Margazi Ierak (M1.244) tells us about the hero who is sailing to the shore; there is a picture of sailing boats in black ink on the bottom of page 118. On another page is a picture of the hero’s palace, also in black ink. The palace is called Ngarai Fadang Temurat, which is mentioned in the story. Sultan Taburat I (M1.193) tells us about the life of a fisherman. Above the text there is a picture of the fisherman’s life on the sea and a sailing boat as its background with blue and brown water colours.

In Wayang Arjuna (M1.244), Syair Cerita Wayang (M1.243) and Mikayat Furussara (M1.176)—three wayang stories—there are pictures of wayang puppets. Which support a passage of the story. In Mikayat Furussara (M1.176), for example, there is a picture of Garung, Petruk and Garubuk. The text tells us that they are talking about their duty to build the village; to excavate the ground and to cut the wood etc. On page 118 there is also a picture of Garubuk, Sejar, Petruk, Rara Aini and her child at the time they are in the forest.

Pictures in Syair Cerita Wayang (M1.248) are much simpler in comparison with the pictures in the Mikayat Furussara (M1.176) which look quite fine and well drawn with various water colours.
Attractive decorative pictures in manuscripts help the readers to understand the passage of the story better and give particular stimulations for the readers to enjoy the story.

Other types of illustrations are found in manuscripts about medicine and divination manuscripts. Illustrations here show how to make prayers, medicine and divining effective. There are also many pictures of primitive human shapes, rajah, floral and geometric variations. In *Jimat* (M.166), for example, there is a picture of circles with a kind of a star in the middle and a flower on one of its points. All points direct to the points of compass indicating goodness. In *Jimat* (M.164) there is a picture of a rectangle with a flower in the middle, and a leaf on each point as a guide. In the same manuscript there are also certain human names and their specifications. This illustration is a quite attractive triangle in bright water colour of green, yellow and red. Each point is decorated with marigold or tanjung flowers.

In the *Syair Bawak Buah Yang* (M.1254) we can find attractive illustrations in the form of pictures of various fruits, such as banana, grape, orange, guava, longan, and pomegranate. The various kinds of fruit in this symbolic poem are characters of the story; they can talk like human.

An illustration in the form of calligraphy is found in *Syair Ken Tembuh Jil* (M.1247). It has the shape of a bird with a flower in its beak, which is done with drawing pencils. We find this figure is decorated with Jawi script in a very fine and neat drawing and arranged as a poem (page:2).

There is another illustration found in a manuscript on genealogy in *Silsilah Laksamana Muhammad Yusuf*, the illustration has the form of a kind of a stick with lift and right lines bearing the names of Laksamana Yusuf's descendants. Drawings in *Silsilah Keturunan Raja-Raja Riau* consist of leaves and certain lines like a tree with red and black ink. I saw these manuscripts in the collection of Yayaun Indra Sakti in Pulau Penyengat, Riau.

**The Style of Writing**

It is difficult to trace the names of the illustrators and illuminators. The problem is we don't really know whether they are merely illustrators and illuminators or copyists as well. If they are also copyists, their names still can be traced through the colophons.

It is stated in a few colophons that Betawi and Palembang were places where certain manuscripts were copied. Most manuscripts written in Betawi were owned by Muhammad Bakir, Chamber-Loir (1394-44-67) explained clearly about Muhammad Bakir as a copyist of the 19th century. He also registered 27 manuscripts copied by Muhammad Bakir. Not all of them are illuminated, except *Agung Sakti* (M.280), *Hikayat Mahazaja Garebeg Jagat* (M.241), *Wayang Arjuna* (M.244), *Hikayat Merpati Man dan Merpati Perak* (M.240), *Hikayat Purwadari* (M.178), *Sultan Taharat J* (M.185), *Syair Ken Tembuh Jil* (M.1247) and *Syair Bawak Buah Yang* (M.1254). All of these manuscripts were copied around 1880.

Most manuscripts copied by Muhammad Bakir were for rent, whereas the ones copied in Palembang were not only for rent but for sale as well. Statements, whether certain manuscript were for rent can be seen in the colophon. We can see in *Syairul Terebur*...
(M1.400). *Syahru Indra VII* (M1.395)—which was in 1866 owned by Kasim Sarina of Kampung Ancol—*Hikayat Raja Kerana* (M1.604)—that these manuscripts are for rent, for ten cent night, and *Maharaja Roma IV* (M1.155) is for rent for twelve and a half cent a night in Kampung Kerukut.

Not only in Betawi illuminated manuscript for rent were found, but also in Palembang. Kratz (1977 and 1980) mentioned that the activity of writing and renting manuscripts in Palembang occurred in 1830.

In *Hikayat Fonuo: Lim 1* (M1.155) we find on top of the story a black triangle with an advertisement of a manuscript, which can be bought in Do Haji Khatib's shop. *Syahru Muda* (M1.77) tells us that the story was copied in June 1820 and it was sold to a certain Haji Bonjang.

The presence of illuminations on statements of purchasing and renting manuscripts are not only found in like the stories above, but it can also be found in a manuscript which tells about the life of the prophet, as in *Antika* (M1.335). It is explained in the colophon that the story is written by four persons; it is for rent for two cents a day. It is also explained in the colophon that the price is fifteen silver guilders and that it is owned by Muhammadin of Kampung Kerukut, Haung Teruati.

Based on various explanations in the colophons, we can deduce that illuminations and illustrations in manuscripts are not aimless. It is a method to "commercialize manuscripts" and to attract readers to buy or to rent certain stories.

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Southeast Asian Manuscripts

Collections of Bima Malay manuscripts
Sri Wulan Rejati Mulyadi

Leiden, 14-18 December, 1992
COLLECTIONS OF BIMA MALAY MANUSCRIPTS
by Sri Wulan Rujiati Mulyadi

Preface

The first time I learned about the existence of Malay manuscripts in Bima was in 1971 from Mr. Lalu Wacana, B.A., then the Head of Cultural Affairs of the Office of the Department of Education and Culture in Mataram. It was also Mr. Lalu Wacana who fifteen years later, in 1986, accompanied me to see Mrs. S. Maryam R. Salahuddin, one of the daughters of the last Sultan of Bima, Sultan Salahuddin (1915–1951), whom he mentioned as the owner and keeper of these Bima Malay manuscripts.

I went through these manuscripts which were partially kept in Mrs. Maryam's library in Mataram, but time was too short. It was only in 1988 that together with her I could spend more time to investigate a part of these Bima Malay manuscripts. Some were already laminated and bound by the National Archives, but a huge part of these remnants of Bima's palace documents was still in a poor condition.
The Kingdom of Bima and its Documents

The Kingdom of Bima in the past lasted five to six centuries before Indonesian independence (Chambert-Loir, 1985:11). Noorduyn has listed fourteen Sultans who reigned Bima since ± 1620--1958 (this should be 1951, the year in which Sultan Salahuddin passed away; Noorduyn, 1987:124).

According to local traditions, the Kingdom of Bima -- later, through Islamic influence also called the Sultanate of Bima -- was established when Maharaja Indra Zamrud, the son of Bima, arrived in the village Dara of Bima at 823 A.H. (1420 A.D.). In 1926 the Sultanate of Bima’s region reached as far as Sumba, Solor and Manggarai, the western part of Flores (Salahuddin and Ismail, 1988:3--5). Nowadays the region of Bima is merely a kabupaten, a part of the province of West Nusa Tenggara. It is 3,000 square kilometers wide with not more than 50,000 inhabitants (Chambert-Loir, 1989:609).

It seems that in the past the court of Bima owned an active scriptorium where scribes were busy writing manuscripts, consisting of letters, agreements, maritime laws according to the custom, accounts on the court’s activities, notes on tradition, ceremonies and festivities, works on Islam including the tasawuf and genealogies of Sultans and other dignitaries. All of these formed the Sultanate archives which seemed to be stored in the Sultanate library since many generations.


In 1990 the first issue of the Katalogus Naskah Melayu Bima was published through the assistance of the Governor of West Nusa Tenggara. Obstructed by so many circumstances, the second part of the catalogue was issued only less than two months ago. The total of manuscripts described in the first issue is 61; in the second one 107 are discussed in brief, which makes the total sum of 168 (Mulyadi and Salahuddin, 1990, 1992).

The majority of the manuscripts are now under the administration of the Yayasan Museum Kebudayaan "Samparaja" Bima (the "Samparaja" Cultural Museum Foundation of Bima). About 95% is for the time-being still kept in the library of Mrs. Maryam in Mataram, since the building to house these manuscripts in Bima is not finished yet. Outside this collection, eight other manuscripts are described. Six are in the Museum Negeri Nusa Tenggara Barat (State Museum of West Nusa Tenggara), Mataram, one is kept in the village Maria, while another one in the village Dara, Bima.
A huge fire broke out in Bima during the reign of Sultan Abdul Kadim (1751–1773) and destroyed many manuscripts (Noorduyn, 1987:100, 124). This accident is also mentioned in one of the manuscripts, where we can read that on 24 Rabiulakhir 1149 A.H. (= 26 July 1736 A.D.; note the difference of time mentioned by Noorduyn) Raja Bicara Abdul Ali has renewed an agreement mentioned in the Bo of Raja Mawar Kadi which was lost during the fire (Mulyadi and Salahuddin, 1990:VI).

One and a half century later another fire broke out at the court of Bima in 1918. A great deal of the court's documents were destroyed, including the old Bo which was written in Bugis Bimanese script (Abdullah, 1981/1982:2–3).

As mentioned before, some of the Bima Malay manuscripts are bound, but most of them are still in a poor condition. Remnants of manuscripts, comprising of loose leaves of paper -- sometimes parts of leaves -- often containing valuable descriptions of events and activities of the kingdom and the royal court in the past can not be ignored. To register these manuscripts chronologically is a difficult task, because even the years written on one page are not always in the right order. To collect the pages with the more or less same script is very confusing, because of the different types and the variety of the size of paper used by the scribes.

The two issues of the Bima Malay manuscripts catalogue are respectively divided into seven and nine groups, i.e.:
familiar ones are e.g. the Arms of Amsterdam, the Beehive, the Grapes, the Horn + "1818", the Lion, the Maid of Dord, the Strasbourg Lily, "DC Blauw", "J van Delden", "Durand" + "1790" + a small crown, "J Honig & Zoon", "J Pannekoek", "W & H Pannekoek", "VOC" + "A" and Zevenhuizen". Other types are e.g. "Andrea Galvani", "Pordene", "Beuedello Gentilo", "Cartieri de Moro", "V Dioro", "Guthrie & Co", "G Hieber & Co", "Nederlandsch Indie". There also watermarks depicting a crescent moon with a smiling face on a triangle shield, three crescents, a two-headed eagle, an elephant with a mountain and coconut trees as background, a peacock and a deer.

Paper seems to be scarce, even for the royal court’s scriptorium. The variety of size and quality shows that paper was a kind of "luxury" in the past.

I think it is quite interesting to stop for a while to discuss two types of watermarks, i.e. the Strasbourg Lily and the "VOC" + "A".

Paper bearing watermarks featuring the Strasbourg Lily is very much used. This old type of watermark is found in 42 manuscripts. At the bottom of the Strasbourg Lily depicted in those manuscripts are the letters "VDL", "VR", or "LVG". The examples shown in Churchill’s grotesque work originates from the years 1624—1789 (Churchill, 1935:83—84). Heawood explained that this mark is "found throughout the 17th century" (Heawood, 1950:22). The manuscripts themselves are accounts on events in Bima during the years 1619—1891.

Another frequently used one, the "VOC" + "A" watermark, is seen in 25 manuscripts. This type is not found in either Churchill’s (1935) or Heawood’s (1950) examples. This kind of paper was produced by the "VOC" mills which according to Voorn (1978:7—9) only lasted for about fifteen years, between 1665 and 1681. The manuscripts depicting this watermark cover the years 1697—1871.

Among these 67 manuscripts — 42 of which bearing the Strasbourg Lily and 25 the "VOC" + "A" watermarks — 15 depict both watermarks. Furthermore, at least 18 manuscripts can be easily recognized by its type of paper; all of them utilizing paper from the ship "De Vrouwe Geertruda". Some of them show its captain’s notes of 1—4 lines, some don’t. Dates found in manuscripts utilizing "De Vrouwe Geertruda"—ship’s paper varies between 1713—1836. The Strasbourg Lily watermark is found in three manuscripts, the "VOC" + "A" in seven and eight manuscripts bear both watermarks.

After checking on sixty examples of manuscripts "which bore a year in the paper, and which had also a reasonably reliable date of copying", Russell Jones concludes that "nine out of ten manuscripts are written on paper that is eight years old or less" (Jones, 1988:162—163).

In the examples we have seen of the Bima Malay manuscripts it seems that this conclusion does not fit. As mentioned above, we can see from Churchill’s examples that the latest year of “issue” of the Strasbourg Lily was 1789.
(Churchill, 1935:84). In our case of Bima this type of paper was still used to note events in 1891. More than one century later!

As we have seen, Voorn has shown us the years of the "VOC"—mills activities, i.e. 1665–1681 (Voorn, 1978:10). The Bima Malay manuscripts latest year mentioned in the "VOC" + "A" paper is 1871! Almost two centuries after the VOC—mills has stopped their production of paper.

Were these kinds of paper really stored that long -- one to two centuries -- in the Bima royal court’s scriptorium or elsewhere? The fact that the royal scriptorium also utilised used paper, i.e. 'De Vrouwe Geertruda’—paper, may strengthen the assumption that paper was really scarce in those bygone days. There might be no huge storage of paper or whatsoever, but it seems very unlikely that paper was ever bought on large quantities for the royal scriptorium needs.

Chambert-Loir noted that Malay was used in Bima since the 17th century as the language of politics and culture. Therefore all contacts with the outside world (correspondence, agreements, contracts), all historical chronicles and all kinds of literature were written in Malay (Chambert-Loir, 1989:618). In most of the Bima manuscripts, Malay is used, sometimes with Arabic phrases here and there: some are in Arabic, especially those writings on the Islam. The Bima language is found in a few manuscripts: sometimes in Arabic Bima which is usually vocalised, very seldom in Bima script. Beside the Arabic Bima and the Bima scripts, the Bugis Bima script is also used.

Names of court scribes are sometimes explicitly mentioned: a.o. in Ms. 1.38: Muhsin, Adam and Hasan bin Ahmad Jalai in Ms. 1.47. Abu Bakar in Ms. 2.10 and Hasan in Ms. 7.12. Another court scribe, Abdurrahman, is mentioned in Cerita Asal Bangsa Jin dan Dewa (Chambert-Loir, 1985:49).

There are not so many illustrations in the Bima Malay manuscripts, either functional or nonfunctional ones. Illustrations are mostly found in writings about directions on various matters, e.g. on choosing the right time and days in starting activities such as building a house (Ms. 9.1) and other activities (Ms. 9.7), for using weapons with the necessary prayers (Ms. 2.3), for uttering prayers in using certain “tattoos” on coconut trees to make thieves fall down (Ms. 2.12). There are also many coloured flowery decoration on several pages (Ms. 3.4) and an illustration of the Kaabah and a mosque (Ms. 2.18).

Several kinds of the Sultan’s and other dignitaries’ stamps are found in letters, decisions, agreements, contracts and regulations. Two stamps were already used in the 16th century.

Thorough investigation on these Bima Malay manuscripts should be done in the future to build the right culture image about a small but important part of Indonesia in the past, the Kingdom of Bima.
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Noorduyn, J.

Salahuddin, H. St. Maryam R. and H. Abd Wahab H. Ismail

Voorn, H.

Abbreviations:
EFEO : Ecole Française d'Extreème-Orient.
Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology

International Workshop on Indonesian Studies No. 7

Southeast Asian Manuscripts

Mengenal naskah kuno Perpustakaan Nasional RI
Nindya Noegroho BM

Leiden, 14-18 December, 1992
MENGENAL NASKAH KUNO PERPUSTAKAAN NASIONAL RI

Oleh: Mirdya Noegrah BM

Pendahuluan


Sebagai salah satu lembaga pemerintah non departemen, Perpustakaan Nasional RI mempunyai berbagai fasilitas yang lebih memadai dari pada sebelum menjadi lembaga pemerintah non departemen. Oleh sebab itu naskah kuno di awal tahun 1989 telah pindah tempat penyimpanannya.

Dengan fasilitas yang memadai, maka para staf koleksi naskah dituntut untuk lebih mengembangkan pengetahuan mereka dalam bidang pernaskahan, serta menyempurnakan bentuk layanan informasi kepada para pemakai jasa pernaskahan, dan juga diusahakan untuk menambah jumlah koleksi naskah kuno dari berbagai daerah. Bentuk dari penyempurnaan layanan antara lain diusahakan dalam hal penyempurnaan katalog naskah kuno.


Sampai saat ini koleksi naskah kuno PNRI yang telah terdeteksi 9626 buah dari berbagai bahasa dan daerah. Dan kemungkinan masih akan bertambah terus, sesuai dengan cita-cita dari PNRI untuk selalu menambah perbendaharaan koleksi naskah kuno. Baik membeli/hibah dari para pemilik, ataupun hibah dari suatu instansi pemerintah maupun swasta. Dan perlu diketahui bahwa
naskah-naskah milik PNRI pun masih ada beberapa yang belum terde-teksi karena masih tercampur dengan bahan lainnya, selain itu kondisi naskah yang sudah parah.

Apabila penambahan ataupun pengumpulan naskah-naskah kuno oleh PNRI dapat berjalan dengan mulus, tidak mengherankan apabila nantinya PNRI akan menjadi salah satu pusat naskah kuno. Terutama naskah-naskah dari Nusantara, baik itu berupa reproduksiinya ataupun bentuk aslinya.

Dengan adanya modernisasi sistem yang ada pada PNRI, mudah-mudahan para pemilik naskah mau menitipkan ataupun menyerahkan koleksi naskah kunoanya demi kepentingan pemerintah Indonesia khususnya, dan dunia pengetahuan pada umumnya. Dengan menitipkan atau menghibahkan koleksi naskah kunoanya bukan berarti nama pemilik akan hilang begitu saja, melainkan nama pemilik akan terabadikan pada koleksi naskah tersebut (misalnya Artati Soedirjo namanya akan tetap abadi pada koleksi AS). Dan masih banyak lainnya antara lain: Dr. Brandes, Cohen Stuart, Von de Wall, nama para kolektor ini sampai sekarang selalu dikenang oleh para pekar pernaskahan.


Semua pekerjaan pernaskahan ini dengan didukung oleh bantuan dari Ford Foundation, Japan Foundation, International Business Machines (IBM). Dari bantuan-bantuan ini selain berupa dana, dan peralatan juga bantuan tenaga konsultan untuk membentuk tata cara penyusunan katalog naskah serta pembuatan microfilm dan cara penyimpanan naskah.

Dalam rangka untuk menyusun suatu katalog naskah yang benar-benar memadai dan dapat memberi informasi secukupnya kepada para pemakai naskah, maka perlu diadakan pendataan naskah secara menyeluruh dan terinci.

Seperti telah disebutkan di atas bahwa jumlah naskah yang berada di PNRI untuk saat ini mencapai 9626 buah, dari sejumlah naskah ini dibagi dalam naskah yang menggunakan bahasa daerah/asing. Adapun perinciannya sebagai berikut:

1. Bahasa Aceh
   78 buah
2. --- Arab
   1058 buah
3. --- Bali
   983 buah
4. --- Batak
   219 buah
5. --- Belanda
   766 buah
6. --- Bugis/Makasar
   76 buah
7. --- Jawa
   2939 buah
8. --- Jawa Kuno
   411 buah
9. --- Jepang
   58 buah
10. --- Madura
    175 buah
11. --- Melayu
    1346 buah
12. --- Sunda
    401 buah
13. --- Ternate
    37 buah
14. --- yang belum diketahui
    487 buah
15. --- lain-lain
    512 buah

Dalam merinci pendataan naskah untuk pembuatan katalog, pengelompokannya adalah menurut: Kode, Judul, Bahasa, Aksara, Jilid, Bergambar, Watermark, Disalin dari /ke, Bahan, Bentuk, Nama Pangarang, Nama Penyairin, Tarikh Penyalinan, Informasi Microfilm, Referensi, Kategori Tekst dan Kata kunci lainnya.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Kode</th>
<th>Jumlah</th>
<th>Kode Naskah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>KBG</td>
<td>1098</td>
<td>(naskah Jawa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BR</td>
<td>689</td>
<td>(naskah Jawa/Melayu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>CS</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>(naskah Jawa/Melayu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ML</td>
<td>649</td>
<td>(naskah Melayu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>(naskah Melayu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>(naskah Jawa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>(naskah Jawa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>(naskah Belanda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>(naskah Sunda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>NB</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>(naskah Jawa dll)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ZPG</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>(naskah Jawa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>DJ</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>(naskah Jawa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>(naskah Jawa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>(naskah campur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>(naskah Arab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Peti 1 - Peti 104</td>
<td>2101</td>
<td>(naskah Jawa/Bali/Batak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Peti 105 - Peti 142</td>
<td>2309</td>
<td>(naskah Lampung dll)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Keterangan:**
Peti 1 sampai dengan Peti 16 merupakan naskah lontar dengan huruf Merbabu, selain itu juga terdapat di beberapa peti lainnya yang tercampur dengan naskah lontar yang ber huruf Bali.
Naskah-naskah yang berada di peti terdiri dari bahan lontar dan non lontar, jumlah naskah lontar 1635 dan non lontar 2782 buah.

**UPAYA PENYELEMAKAN NASKAH**

Dengan adanya bantuan-bantuan dari berbagai pihak seperti yang telah disebutkan di atas, bahwa upaya penyelamatan naskah kuno menjadi prioritas utama.

Adapun penyelamatan naskah bukan hanya fisik naskah saja yang perlu terselamatan, tetapi juga pesan yang ada dalam naskah tersebut harus abadi.

1. **Penyelemaan fisik naskah**

2. **Penyelemaan pesan**
   Untuk menyelamatan pesan atau isi naskah yang terkandung didalamnya, telah banyak dilaksanakan dengan jalan mengalih aksaraan beberapa naskah, baik Melayu, Jawa, Bali, Lombok, Bugis, meskipun jumlahnya belum begitu banyak.

Sebenarnya dalam hal penggarapan naskah-naskah koleksi PNRI ini telah banyak dikerjakan oleh beberapa instansi lain, tetapi hasil penggarapan itu tidak pernah diketahui atau dilaporkan ke PNRI. Jadi sampai sekarang berapa jumlah naskah yang sudah digarap belum terinventaris. Tetapi mudah-mudahan dengan adanya pembentukan sistem yang ada di pernaskah yang konsultan hal ini dapat teratasi.

**PENGEMBANGAN KOLEKSI**

Sesuai dengan program dan cita-cita PNRI, bahwa berburu naskah-naskah kuno di masyarakat sedapat mungkin dapat dimiliki atau diselamakan oleh PNRI (minimal reproduksinya).

Di dalam pencarian naskah kuno, apabila telah di dapat, maka naskah tersebut dimasukkan ke dalam koleksi yang mempunyai Kode NB (Naskah Baru). Jadi perlu diketahui bahwa naskah-naskah yang ber kode NB pasti akan bertambah atau, karena sesuai dengan program untuk terus mengembangkan dan menambah koleksi naskah. Pada koleksi NB ini belum dipisah-pisahkan baik dari segi bahasa, bahan, dan daerahnya, sehingga masih campur menjadi satu. Dan
mudah-mudah dengan pengarahan konsultan hal ini segera dapat dirapikan.

Kembalinya anak hilang

Adanya penambahan koleksi NB dengan tidak disengaja terdapat juga beberapa koleksi yang dahulu pernah menjadi koleksi Museum Nasional, yaitu naskah-naskah koleksi Prof. DR. Hoesein Djaejindingrat. Naskah-naskah ini didapat kembali karena PERTAMINA menghadihkan beberapa koleksi perpustakaannya kepada PNRI. Dari sekian ribu koleksi yang dihadiahkan terdapat naskah-kuno sebanyak 30 buah diantaranya pernah menjadi koleksi Prof. Hoesein.

Oleh sebab itu dengan adanya pengadaan naskah-naskah, kemungkinan akan menemukan sesuatu hal yang sangat penting, seba-
gai salah satu contoh kembalinya beberapa koleksi Prof Hoesein tersebut. Dan tidak tertutup kemungkinan suatu saat juga diketemu-
ukan kembali naskah-naskah yang telah dianggap hilang.

Menyinggung tentang naskah koleksi Museum Nasional (dahulu), kemudian menghilang dan menjadi milik PERTAMINA, memang tidak begitu jelas diketahui dan mengapa naskah itu dikatakan berasal dari Prof. Hoesein, hal itu pun begitu jelas diketa-
hui, yang penting iberat 'anak hilang' telah kembali lagi kepada pelukan seorang ibu.

Dengan demikian penambahan koleksi merupakan salah satu prioritas, karena dengan bertambahnya koleksi berarti akan semakin bertambah data-data yang ada di PNRI, dan para peneliti akan lebih enak untuk mencari tambahan data.

Penambahan naskah bukan berarti harus naskah yang di PNRI belum memilikinya, tetapi naskah yang di PNRI telah adapun, kalau ada yang menawarkan naskah sejenis tentu akan di terima, karena naskah tersebut kemungkinan mempunyai versi lain.

Adanya pemberian nomor baru

Pada koleksi naskah PNRI, disinyalir adanya pemisahan suatu koleksi menjadi koleksi tersendiri, hal ini terungkap melalui ketajaman Dr. T.E. Behrend. Dan sedikit diskusi bahwa tentang keberadaan naskah koleksi DJ (Koleksi Ir. Moens), merupakan pemindahan dari naskah koleksi BG, mengapa demikian? Sebab semua koleksi DJ mempunyai bentuk yang sangat lain dari yang lain dalam hal ukuran fisiknya serta kuit naskahnya. Sehingga oleh para pengelola terdahulu kemudian dipisahkan dari asalnya yaitu BG. Dan sedikit data yang kemungkinan agak mendukung adalah dengan tidak terdapatnya beberapa naskah koleksi BG yang secara berurutan. Jadi ini baru merupakan praduga saja, tetapi keciri-
gaan bahwa naskah DJ merupakan 'sempalan' dari BG akan terus diteliti kebenarannya. Seandainya keberadaan DJ memang benar 'sempalan' BG tentu ini merupakan suatu temuan yang sangat be-
rtati bagi para pakar pernaskahan. Juga perlu diketahui bahwa naskah-naskah DJ, kebanyakan berilustrasi dengan gambar warna-
nyai ornamen-ornamen dan biasanya hanya berupa tulisan saja.

Selain dari itu, naskah-naskah Centhini copy dari Mangkunegaran yang jumlahnya 13 buah (dahulu diberi kode SCB- Serat Centhini Baru). Berdasarkan pertimbangan tertentu, karena Serat Centhini ini kemungkinan akan bertambah lagi, maka sekarang diberi kode NB (Naskah Baru), dan naskah Centhini inipun memang belum seluruhnya, jadi belum selesai. Dan seandainya tidak akan bertambah lagi juga tidak akan mempengaruhi, sebab Serat centhini copy dari Mangkunegaran ini merupakan naskah yang ditulis tangan tetapi sangat baru baik dari segi bahan maupun tahun mengcopannya.

Selain dari itu naskah-naskah kertas yang masih dalam lembaran dan cara penyusunannya serta penomorannya kadang-kadang tidak sesuai, naskah-naskah ini kemudian dirapikan kembali baik penomorannya maupun penyimpanannya. Sekarang penyimpanan dari naskah lembaran ataupun yang belum terjilid dengan rapi dimasukkan ke kotak-kotak karton dan diberi kode tertentu supaya tidak membingungkan.
Memang semua pekerjaan dalam membenahi naskah ini belum selesai sehingga belum dapat dipublikasikan kepada para pemakai jasa naskah di seluruh dunia, dan mudah-mudahan akan segera dapat diselesaikan dengan baik di akhir tahun 1993. Adapun menurut rencana bentuk publikasi tersebut sebagai berikut:

1. Katalog naskah dalam terbitan.
3. Layanan jasa untuk para pemakai naskah di dunia melalui Fax atau surat.

Naskah-naskah berilustrasi

Dari sekian banyak koleksi naskah PNRI yang terdiri dari berbagai bahan dan bahasa serta aksara, juga terdapat beberapa naskah yang mempunyai ilustrasi-illustrasi yang sangat menarik bagi para peneliti.


Adapun jenis-jenis ilustrasi bermacam-macam antara lain:


Penyelamatan awal pada zaman dahulu

Pelestarian naskah kemungkinan telah dipikirkan, selain juga untuk tujuan suatu penelitian. Hal ini terungkap dengan banyaknya naskah-naskah salinan baik dari Kropak ataupun dari koleksi BG, dan salinan-salinan naskah tersebut biasanya berada di koleksi BR serta CS. Juga pada koleksi BG pun ada yang merupakan salinan dari Kropak, tetapi tidak sebanyak pada koleksi BR dan CS.


Para penyelam ini yang jelas merupakan pegawai atau memang seorang yang mempunyai keahlian dalam bidang astra sehingga mampu untuk menulis kembali naskah-naskah keropak ke dalam naskah kertas. Apakah kedua beliau tersebut merupakan pegawai atau asisten dari Dr. Brandes atau Cohen Stuart atau karyawan dari Koninklijk Batavische Genootschap, hal itu belum diketahui secara pasti, yang jelas beliau-beliau tersebut ikut andil dalam pelestarian naskah.

Selesai dari N.M Samsi dari R Panji Soerjja Widjaja, sekitar abad XX juga ada seorang penyelam yaitu Munchisura.

Dan perlu diketahui juga bahwa pada saat inipun penyelam-nan naskah lontar Bali koleksi PNRI sudah dilakukan walaupun baru taraf uji coba, naskah yang disalin adalah Pararaton. Penapa naskah itu disalin karena naskah Pararaton tersebut merupakan satu-satunya koleksi Lontar Bali yang ada di PNRI, dan dalam penyelamatan ini menggunakan penomoran yang benar, karena sebelumnya terjadi salah penomoran. Walaupun dalam penyelamatan ini ukuran

Copy naskah dari kerja sama


Sebenarnya jalanan kerjasama koleksi naskah ini dahulu juga sudah dilaksanakan dengan fihak KITLV Belanda, dalam hal pembuatan microfilm, sehingga koleksi naskah mendapatkan microfilm naskah-naskah yang tersimpan di Belanda.

Demikian juga halnya dengan fihak Inggris, PNRI mendapatkan hadiah microfilm naskah-naskah Nusantara yang tersimpan di London, hal ini didapat sewaktu adanya pameran Surat-Surat Emas Raja-Raja Nusantara yang pelaksanaannya bekerjasama dengan Departemen Pariwisata Pos dan Telekomunikasi.

Koleksi asli tulisan Ronggowsrato

Para pakar sastra Nusantara tentu mengenal dengan pasti pujangga besar kraton Surakarta pada Abad XIX, yaitu R.Ng. Ronggowsrato. Selain mempunyai karya-karya yang begitu gemilang, karena dianggap oleh para pakar, bahwa beliau membuat suatu terobosan besar dalam karya sastra pada waktu itu, misalnya karya-karya yang berisi tentang ramalan-ramalan, kritik sosial, budi pakerti dan sebagainya.

Satu abad yang lalu kehidupan pujangga besar tentunya masih dikenal sampai sekarang dan bahkan tulisan-tulisan asli oleh R.Ng. Ronggowsrato pun masih baik tersimpan di PNRI. Tentunya hal ini merupakan suatu kebanggaan tersendiri bagi PNRI yang dapat menyelamatkan beberapa tulisan pujangga besar tersebut, dan ini pun sudah diketahui sejak zaman Bataviaasch Genootschap, oleh Prof. Dr.R.M.Ng. Poerbatjaraka pun di dalam Jaarboek 1933 telah disebutkan. Koleksi-koleksi tulisan R.Ng. Ronggowsrato tersebut adalah sebagai berikut:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Koleksi</th>
<th>Nama</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CS. 2</td>
<td>(Silisilah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS. 8</td>
<td>(Niti sastra Kawi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BG. 92</td>
<td>(Menak Malebari)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BG. 93a,b</td>
<td>(Serat Aji Pamasa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BG. 95</td>
<td>(Serat Cebolek)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BG. 96</td>
<td>(Serat Gancaring Para Empu)</td>
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<td>BG. 97</td>
<td>(DasaNama)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BG. 119</td>
<td>(Pawukon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BG. 206</td>
<td>(Aksara Buda)</td>
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kemungkinan masih dapat diketemukan lagi beberapa tulisan dari beliau tersebut. Seputar telah disebutkan di atas bahwa saat ini koleksi naskah PNRI baru melakukan pembesaran secara besar-besaran.

Sebagai salah satu contoh ciri dari tulisan R.Ng.Ronggowsrato sebagai berikut: aksara Ja; sandhangan 'suku'; pasangan 'as' dan lain sebagainnya keliruan sangat spesifik sekali (dan ini tentunya hanya dapat diketahui kalau melihat naskahnya).
Penutup


Seperti yang telah disebutkan di atas bahwa naskah di PNRI senantiasa selalu bertambah, meskipun pertambahannya tidak menurut deret ukur, tetapi itu sudah merupakan pertanda baik bagi perkembangan koleksi.

Dengan adanya workshop semacam ini tentunya akan terjadi pertukaran informasi di bidang ilmu pengetahuan, dan dengan demikian jalinan kerjasama akan selalu ada. Dengan demikian perkembangan informasi akan segera di dapat karena adanya hubungan yang harmonis antar pakar.

Demikianlah sedikit tulisan tentang keberadaan naskah-naskah di Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, dan mudah-mudahan informasi yang sangat kecil ini dikemudian hari dapat ditingkatkan lagi, demi perkembangan dunia ilmu pengetahuan pada umumnya dan manuscripts khususnya.

**PNRI**

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Southeast Asian Manuscripts

Variation in the Bugis and Makasarese scripts

J. Noordyn

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Variation in the Bugis and Makasarese scripts
(draft, not for quotation)

by J. NOORDUYN

The few existing descriptions of the Bugis/Makasarese script give the overall impression of uniformity. This is probably caused by the fact that they are based on printed versions of the script. The uniformity in fact prevailing nowadays to a large extent in the use of the script may be attributed to two factors, printing and education in schools. When printing types of the Bugis characters were designed and cast in Rotterdam in the middle of the last century and from that time onwards were used for printing in both Makassar and Amsterdam, they became the models for teaching the use of the script in elementary schools, first in Makassar and environs, and afterwards progressively in other areas of South Celebes. The later handwriting of the script was clearly influenced by this process. One of the results was the emergence of a standard style of the script and concomitantly the disappearance (perhaps only from the official scene) of previously existing variations. Such variations can still be gleaned from older handwritten manuscripts kept in public collections.

The general works on the writing systems of the world seldom make mention of the Bugis and/or Makasarese script (or of the Indonesian scripts in general, for that matter). Even those which aim at exhaustiveness pay but little attention to it, usually just including the characters in a table and giving a text example (Biringer 1968:340, fig. 16.10; Jensen 1969:384-385, fig. 387; Friedrich 1966:133-134, fig. 308), sometimes inaccurately (in Jensen's table, /gə/ and /ha/ are interchanged). They follow Matthes' works but use written rather than printed types.

Damas in his description of the Bugis script of 1948, uses the Bugis printing types which are kept in the French National Printing Office (Imprimerie Nationale de France), which differ in some detail from those used by Matthes (see below in 1.3. and 1.4.), but he does not comment on this difference. In this way, he nevertheless in fact demonstrates some of the existing variation.

Hilgers-Hesse does not use printing types in her description of the Bugis and Makasarese script (1967) but apparently writes the characters, not conspicuously fluently, herself. She includes two brief passages in Bugis and in Makasarese script from manuscripts kept in Leiden, in which some variation is also visible. She includes many examples and a brief text but does not add more than a simple transliteration, not pointing out that the languages have nasals, glottal stops and
A study of such variations is of importance for two reasons apart from mere descriptive purposes. They may shed some light on the origin and development of the Bugis and related scripts, and on the way how the scripts of other languages such as those of Bima, Sumbawa, Ende and Wawonii were derived from the Bugis one.

For an attempted tracing of these developments, first the way how the standard printing types came into being shall be looked into. Then a number of older variations shall be collected. Finally the differences and additions found in other-language scripts derived from the Bugis one shall be considered.

1. The standard printing types

The one who initiated the efforts to develop printing types of the Bugis/Makasar script in the Netherlands was the Dutch theologian and Arabist R.P. Matthes, who was commissioned by the Netherlands Bible Society to study the South Celebes languages, compile grammars and dictionaries of them, and translate the Bible into them. He arrived in Makassar in 1848 and stayed there for ten years in his first period.

Before that time the Bugis script and the shape of its characters have been drawn in print in the west by three authors, T.S. Raffles (1827), J. Crawfurth (1820), and C.H. Thomsen (1832, 1833). These early illustrated samples had no influence on the developments in Makassar and the Netherlands but led to the founding of Bugis printing types in Austria and France.

1.1. Raffles

In his *The History of Java* (1817), Raffles includes a chart showing the 'Ugi or Mengkasar Alphabet' (fig. 1), in which he first gives a list of the characters in one line one after the other, then the 'Vowel Signs' and at the bottom two lines of 'The Ugi or Bugis Characters in connection'.

The list contains all characters except for the <a>, which is absent. They are placed in almost exactly the same sequence as that used later by Matthes, that is, first the velars, <ka>, <qa>, <nga>, <ngka>, then the labials, the dentals and the palatais, followed by <ra>, <la>, <wa>, <sa>, <ha>, and <e>; the only difference with Matthes being that the latter has <ha> following <a>. This was clearly a traditionally existing sequence of the characters. The only existing punctuation mark, three dots above each other, is used four times in the list, namely after the four velars, labials, dentals and palatais.

The sound value has been noted correctly below the characters, each time as a syllable including the inherent <a>, with the curious exception, however, of the <ra> and <wa>, which lack the inherent <a>.

Comparison of the characters in the list and those in the two lines of writing (as far as this is possible; the pala-

Derrinated consonants not expressed in the script.
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tals, <nra> and <ha> are lacking in the continuous writing) shows several differences in detail. In most cases the characters in the list show deficiencies in their shape, e.g. the upper bows pointing to the left of the <ga>, <pa>, and <mpa> are too short; the <ja> and the <sa> are practically identical, the upper horizontal of the <ja> being far too short; the internal dot in the <a> is in the centre below the main character instead of in the righthand circumflex.

Though the characters in the two lines of continuous writing are generally much better, there are also some errors or aberrations, e.g. the dot of the <ga> of mæga (after the first punctuation mark) is too low, making the character too similar to <pu>; the <te> of engkato (after the second punctuation mark) is practically identical to the <o> mark; the <na> of engkana (after the third punctuation mark, in the second line) has an upper line sliding far to the right.

One character in the list needs to be given special attention, that is the <nca>. It is identical to the <nya> character, except for two verticals standing on top of it, each with a brief curve at the top, the first going backwards and the second forwards. The small curve under the main one has its two ends upwards instead of downwards as in the usual shape, which also makes the verticals. We shall encounter this same shape again.

1.2. Crawford

Crawford includes in his History of the Indian Archipelago (1829), a chart of 'Alphabets arranged according to the Dewangari classification'(fig. 2), among which are a one-line list of the 'Bugi or Alphabet of Celebes' and two lines of continuous writing as a 'Specimen of Bugis writing'. The characters in the list are in the same order as in that of Raffles, except for the <ha>, which has been inserted between <nca> and <ya> here. The shapes of the characters are generally correct, except that some are a bit slanting (the <ta>, <nya>, <ha>, and <n> of the list), and that the <na> of asenna (after the first punctuation mark in the first line of continuous writing) is rather unclear.

There are several errors, however, in the sound values indicated above the characters in the list. In the first place the inherent <a> is never indicated; secondly, the prenasalization of <ngka>, <mpa>, <nra>, and <nca> is not mentioned and incorrectly indicated as aspiration ('kh', 'ph', and 'chh') or not at all (<nra> and <ra> are both explained as 'r'). The <ya> is also lacking here. The <nca> has the same unusual shape as in Raffles' list.

The two lines of continuous writing contain far less specimens of different characters than that of Raffles: only <ka>, <pa>, <ha>, <ta>, <na>, <ra>, <sa>, and <a>.

1.3. Thomsen
Thomsen has introduced both his (anonymous') publications containing Buginese texts in Bugis script, his Code of Maritimes Law (1832) and his Vocabulary (1833), with an exactly identical description of the Bugis script, entitled 'The Alphabet' (figs. 3, 4 and 5, 6).

This explanation starts with a list of three columns, with the respective headings 'form', 'name', and 'power', and containing the Bugis characters, their sound value including the inherent vowel <a>, and the corresponding consonant in English or another explanation, respectively.

The sequence of the characters is again mainly the same as in Raffles' and Crawford's representations, the only differences being that <a> has been inserted between <nca> and <ra>, here, and that the <ya> has been added at the end, following <ha>.

The characters have their usual shapes. Among them, the <nca> has to be mentioned as it has the two verticals on top as with Raffles and Crawford, but the curves at the tops of the verticals point both of them forward and the little curve below the main one is lacking here.

The indications of the sound values are correct except that the prenasalized ones have a final k, and the <ya> is explained as 'ya' and as a compound of a and i, which is in fact only the case when an <i> vowel mark is added.

The characters in the explanation fairly represent those used in the texts in Bugis script which follow in both books. They make the general impression of being slightly flattened and stretched sideways, the <a> and <o> marks are practically vertical rather than oblique, but as a whole the style is pleasant and carefully executed (though writing errors are not absent, such as in essoma, the first word of the sixth line on p. 1 of the Code, an <o> mark is erroneously written after the <a>). Thomsen's two publications are valuable as they are an early example of the style of Bugis script from the Malay Peninsula, outside of South Celebes.

1.4. Dulaurier

As was pointed out earlier (Noorduyn 1957:242), Thomsen's Code was reprinted in Paris by Edouard Dulaurier, professor of Malay in Paris, in 1845, in the 6th volume of the collection of maritime laws anterior to the 18th century (Collection de

2 It was already known in 1832 that it was Thomsen who was printing Bugis types in Singapore, from a letter by G. de Humboldt (or Wilhelm von Humboldt) published in the Nouveau Journal Asiatique, in which Von Humboldt discusses characters of the Bugis and the Philippine scripts referring to an earlier article on these subjects by E. Jacquet. He reports to have learned from Mr. Neumann after the latter's return from a voyage to Canton, that Mr. Thomsen, a Danisch missionary in Singapore, had started to print an English-Bugis vocabulary in the indigenous characters, but had abandoned the project for lack of funds. Neumann had brought the first sheet, containing some two hundred words, of this still unpublished vocabulary.
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lois maritimes antérieures aux XVIIIème siècle published by the expert in maritime law J.M. Pardessus (fig. 7), who had seen an announcement of the Code in the Journal Asiatique and had obtained a copy of it from Bengal in 1837 (Pardessus 1845:467-480, 377-379). At about the same time Dulaquier reprinted the text of the Code anonymously, now under the title Christomathies Océaniennes. Textes en langue bougì I, without translation or annotation. The printing types used by Dulaquier were kept in the French national printing office (Imprimerie Nationale de France), where they were used again by Damais in his article of 1948 mentioned earlier.

1.5. Seelieb
Thomsen's Code was also reprinted in Austria at the Imperial-Royal Court and State Printing Office in Vienna in 1854, with a German translation of the English part by E. Seelieb (fig. 8), a member of the State Printing-house, on the instigation of Professor H.C. Millies of Amsterdam (Noorduyn 1957:243). Millies was a theologian connected with the Netherlands Bible Society and in that connection interested in procuring printing types of the Bugis and Makasar script for the publishing of Matthæs' Linguistic and Bible translation works. He sent a copy of the Code to Vienna, but the results achieved there were not considered satisfactory and the Viennese attempt was not followed up.

Comparison of the Viennese types with those in the Code show that this decision was quite justified. Though the Viennese types are clearly based on the Thomsen ones, they display obvious misinterpretations in several instances, such as in the case of the <nga>, which seems to have a forward loop, that of <nra>, which is identical to <pa> except for the small line underneath, and the <ca>, which is quite aberrant.

1.6. Tetterode
A few years later Millies was successful in the Netherlands.

See Pelras 1975:256. A picture of the cover of this Christomathies Océaniennes is included in Pelras 1975:258.

' Damais' article is based on Matthæs' works except for the Bugis printing types. He points out there are some differences between the characters in Matthæs' publications and those of the French National Printing Office which he uses himself, but does not discuss or explain these (Damais 1948: 377).

He includes a brief text in Bugis characters taken from the first story published in Matthæs' Bugis anthology (Part I, 1872:1), with an interlinear transcription based on Matthæs' system. In the text, he erroneously writes a /ma/ and a /na/ for the nasals in the words amboq and indaq, respectively, which in Bugis script are not expressed, and thus writes in fact 'amabo' and 'anado'.
The type-founder N. Tetterode at Rotterdam succeeded - on his own expense, is expressly mentioned (Veth 1856:198) - in found- ing, under the direction of Millies, printing-types of the Bugis-Makassarese characters from models sent by Matthes. A specimen in broadsheet was printed in 1856 (fig. 9).

These types were generally accepted very favourably, also by Matthes, who only commented that a few of them were still less satisfactory, specially those for which the founder had too much deviated from the models sent by Matthes (Matthes 1857: 550). A set of the types was sent to Makassar and used for printing the first Bugis work edited by Matthes, the Boegi- neesch heldendicht op Daeng Kalaboe (1858), which was printed at Müller, Schmidt & Co. at Makassar (fig. 10). His Makasarese grammar (1858) was printed in these types in Amsterdam by C. Spin & Co (figs. 11, 12).

It is not difficult to see which were the types that ac- cording to Matthes still needed improvement. They were changed in the next few years and comparing the two founts elucidates that five types, <nga>, <ba>, <ca>, <ja>, and <sa>, were involved as well as all dots, both those belonging in the main characters and those used as vowel marks. The changes can in general be said to be in the direction of greater harmony and uniformity. Circles linked in <car>, <ja> and <sa> were elongated in conformity with other characters such as <ga> and <pa>; the small horizontal in <ba> and in <nga> was given a \ shape in conformity with, e.g., <ra>; the dots were changed from elongated parallelograms into diamonds, which made their sides parallel to all slanting lines in the main characters.

The new, improved fount certainly deserves the characteris- tics elegant and harmonious. It also clearly transpires that Matthes was the designer and he did an excellent job. His Makasarese chrestomathy (1860) (fig. 13) and Boegineesch heldendicht op den ersten Bonischen veldtocht (1862) (fig. 14) and all later works were printed in the new fount.

2. Variations in handwriting
One of the consequences of the internal harmonization of Matthes' fount of printing types was that a number of variants were, in this fount, either suppressed or systematically pres- cribed. First some examples of this consequence will be given, then some other variants collected from manuscripts will be described and illustrated.

2.1. Prenasalization
One of the few differences between the use of the Bugis/Maka- sar script for writing Bugis and for writing Makasarese is that for Bugis four characters indicating prenasalized conso- nants exist which are never used for Makasarese.

It is clear that two of these are related in shape to the characters for the non-prenasalized consonant concerned. Both <apa> and <anca> are identical in shape to <pa> and <ra> res- pectively, with the addition of a small oblique upward stroke on the left side and the right side, respectively, of the main character. The <anca> is related in shape to <nya> in that the small curve below the main <nya> is turned downwards instead
of upwards. The <ngka> does not seem to be related in shape to <kka> (fig. 15).

Linguistically there is no reason why these characters indicating prenasalization would be used in Bugis but not in Makasarese, as the four clusters concerned exist in both languages. It can be said, however, that it is no coincidence that three of the four are characters for indicating prenasalized voiceless consonants. Since a large scale devoicing of prenasalized consonants has diachronically taken place in Bugis, the number of prenasalized voiceless consonants greatly exceeds that of the voiced ones. Some examples out of many are: Bg langkarag vs. Mk langgarag ‘small prayer house’; Bg jampu vs. Mk Ml lambu ‘rose-apple’; Bg janci vs. Mk Ml janji ‘promise’. This is not the case in Makasarese. It is reasonable, therefore, that the four characters indicating voiceless prenasalized consonants are specially present in the script for writing Bugis. But from the fact that the shape of two or three of them is derived from that of the or a character for a non-prenasalized consonant it can be inferred that the prenasalized ones were later additions to the script.

Contrary to Matthæus’ rule that the characters for prenasalization should be written everywhere in Bugis where they occur in the language, one finds often the characters for non-prenasalized consonants used instead in manuscripts. One out of several examples is manuscript NB Boeg 87 of the Matthæus collection (fig. 16), written by an anonymous copyist in a style of writing described by Matthæus as ‘a letter considered pretty by the Buginese’ (Matthæus 1875:28-29). Compare also two Bone court diaries, KITLV Or. 545,270 (1745-1762) in which prenasalization is indicated (fig. 17), and KITLV Or. 545,269 (1804-1819) in which it is not (fig. 18).

It should be inferred that the characters for prenasalisation were in fact optional. They could be used or not used at will by the writer. A clear example is the early twenty-century autograph manuscript of the text edited by R.G.Tol, who found ‘absolutely free variation’ in this respect in this manuscript written by the professional author Mallaq dq Mahajeng (Tol 1990:132).

Another clear and significant example is the private letter written by Petta Bétteng on April 10, 1941, and addressed to Ince Nuruddin, in which the prenasalization characters are nowhere used (fig. 19). Conspicuous examples in the letter are...

* As was pointed out by Mills (1975:601-602), the Bugis devoicing of nasal clusters has in a few cases also complicated morphology, in that, e.g., early ** manggaug ‘to rule’ < gaug could be read without difficulty, but after the devoicing of the nasal clusters, the base gaug and prefixed manggaug would have to be written differently: writing a /ngka/ lets the reader know that a morphophonemic change is involved. However, this cannot be the sole reason for the special attention to voiceless nasal clusters in Bugis script, because there is no reason why manggaug would be more difficult to read and understand than mangkaug.
in the word *engka* 'there is' and in the place name Singkang, spelled *e.Ka* and *s.Ka*., respectively. Even as late as the year 1941, apparently, omitting the prenasalization characters was an accepted usage in the practice of letter writing by educated Buginese.

It should be noted here that, in the manuscript written by Mallag dq Manajeng, sometimes these characters for prenasalization were used for indicating a final nasal occurring in the syllable concerned (fig. 20), which is not indicated in any other way in the script (Tol 1990:124).

2.2. Final nasal indication in Makasarese by the Bugis shwa vowel mark

A direct link with the final remark of the preceding section may be found in the use in Makasarese of the vowel mark which in Bugis script indicates shwa and is styled *ancaq* in Bugis. Since no shwa occurs in Makasarese phonology, this mark could not be employed in writing Makasarese texts. As a consequence, Matthes does not mention it in his description of the Makasarese script and never uses it himself in writing texts in that language, even though he knew that it existed there too (Mk *ancaq*) and was employed occasionally in Makasarese texts to indicate a final nasal in the syllable concerned. According to him this use was for the benefit of beginners only (Matthes 1858:11; 1875:14). It may be that Matthes heard this explanation from Makasarese informants. It seems likely, however, that since this vowel mark could not be used for the same purpose in Makasarese as in Bugis, it was employed for indicating a final nasal as an alternative in the same optional, absolutely free manner as the characters for prenasalization were used in Bugis writing. An example of the use of *ancaq* for indicating a final nasal in Makasarese is manuscript NB Roeg 67 of the Matthes collection (fig. 21), written by a certain copyist I Sangga in Takalar (Matthes 1875:20). There is no reason to assume that this manuscript was written for beginning readers of Makasarese. The same peculiarity of script is mentioned to be found in some vocabularies written for Raffles, now in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society in London (Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:37).

2.3. Word separation

One of the rules introduced by Matthes for printing Makasarese and Bugis texts in Bugis/Makasarese script was the separation of words by leaving a space between them. Matthes applied this feature without comment and may have considered it a self-evident improvement based on the Western style of writing. That it was an European derived influence may also be inferred from the fact that spaces between words are also to be found in the text of the Code of Maritime Law edited by Thomsen (fig. 4).

Traditionally and in older manuscripts there was never a space between two words, as is the case in any India-derived syllabary script. The only way of indicating the beginning of the next word or group of words was the punctuation mark consisting of three dots above each other in a line slanting
backwards.

The habit of leaving spaces between words is a feature which clearly has gradually changed manuscript as well as letter writing. An example of the former is ms NB Boeg 205 (fig. 22), written by Ance Naangong, who was a teacher of Makassarese at the teachers' training college in Makassar; at the time Matthes was its first director (1876-1879), and the author of several books in Makassarese. An example of the latter is the letter written by Petta Bêténg in 1941 (fig. 19).

2.4. Flattened curves in cursive writing
A general feature of handwriting found in some manuscripts is what might be styled flattened curves. The elements of characters which are referred to here as 'circumflexes' and V-shapes are flattened down to slight curves, even approaching straight lines, in all characters in which they are constituent parts. This is probably what is indicated by Matthes as 'slipshod writing', e.g. in the manuscript NB Boeg 16 (fig. 23; Matthes 1875:9; cf. the picture of a few lines from this manuscript in Hilgers-Hesse 1967:558). But it also occurs in courtly written diary manuscripts and letters [e.g. in Bl. Add. 12359 (fig. 24) and Bl. Add. 205, 209, 214, 215; (fig. 27), dating from the 13th and the early 19th centuries] and may be ascribed to fluent cursive writing. It is also a conspicuous feature of the script in the Bugis inscription on stone in Brunei (Noorduyn forthcoming, fig. 25).

2.5. An alternative <a>
A small alternative detail is found in some manuscripts in the place of the dot in the initial <a> character. In the standard shape, the dot is placed in the righthand 'circumflex' of the basic character (\slash_\slash), but occasionally it is found in the lefthand 'circumflex' (\_\_\slash). This special way of writing the initial <a> character is found, for instance, throughout manuscript NB Boeg 105 of the Matthes collection (fig. 26), which was copied by a certain Aji Muda at Tempe (Matthes 1875:68).

That it may be a special habit of an individual writer is shown by the manuscripts written by Tajuddin ibn Sira al-Arifin (1813-1879), (former) Lieutenant of the Malays in Makassar, which also belong to the Matthes collection (NB Boeg 7, 28 [fig. 27], 208, 209, 214, 215; Matthes 1875:5-6, 12: 1881:7, 16, 22, 23). All these manuscripts show the same way of writing this character throughout, an additional peculiarity being that the dot is not placed in the lefthand but in the righthand 'circumflex' when an <o> vowel mark (which has its place to the right of any main character) follows the <a>. The same way of writing the initial <a> as in Tajuddin's manuscripts is found in ms Cod. Or. 1922 (fig. 28) written by an unknown copyist.

The dot in the lefthand 'circumflex' of the <a> character occurs also as a systematic feature in the Bugis stone inscription at the Udok-Udok cemetery in Brunei (Noorduyn forthcoming), which may date from the 18th century (fig. 25).
It is clear that this special alternative crops up now and then as an individual, personal option, which is made possible by the structure of the character concerned, because the righthand or lefthand placement of the dot is traditionally but not significantly determined.

1.6. Some other variants
There are a few other characters which are often found in a shape different from that of the standard printing type. A few examples are the following.

In apparently fluent writing, the <ka> is often written such that the second upward stroke starts at the point where the first ends, or both being almost horizontal and the one just following the other (see ms NB Boeg 182 [fig. 29], Cod. Or. 1923 VII [fig. 30]). This can be explained as a result of cursive writing. Another variant of the <ka> is that the two upward strokes do not lean forward, as is standard, but backward (see Cod. Or. 1922 V [fig. 31]).

The <ngka> has mostly the basic shape of a ‘circumflex’ with a small vertical stroke descending from the top. This is quite different from the standard type, on the one hand, which may be described as a prostrated capital F, but is basically similar on the other. If the standard type is described as a ‘circumflex’ with a descending vertical starting at a point slightly to the left of the top.

The <ca> is often not so much similar to the <pa> as in the standard form, but also consists of a basic ‘circumflex’, accompanied by a v-shape under the righthand leg of the ‘circumflex’ (see ms KITLV or 545,269 [fig. 17]).

The <ja> has often the rounded shape it had in the first style of printing types, which was altered shortly afterwards (see 1.6. above).

The <na> has often the shape of a basic double ‘circumflex’ with a single one below its centre. This is also only a slight difference from the printing type, if the latter is looked at in the same way as just described.

The <sa> character has sometimes the shape of an S, that is, either an oblique forward stroke with two small rectangular strokes, one upwards at its bottom and one downwards at its top, or an oblique backward stroke with the same small strokes (see ms Cod. Or. 1922 [fig. 28]).

The <ba> character – which is very rarely used in manuscripts because the /h/ consonant occurs practically exclusively in loanwords from Arabic in the Bugis and Makasarese languages – may be written as a circle with an oblique stroke, left high right low, within it (ms Cod. Or. 1922 [fig. 28]), or similarly to the European number 8 (ms Cod. Or. 1923 VII [fig. 30]).

2.7. The special Luwu’ characters
The list of special Luwu’ characters published in facsimile (fig. 32) and summarily described in 1988 (Noordyn and Salim) must be corrected in one respect, since the character described for <ha> in it indicates in fact the prenasalized <hba>. The list therefore contains 8 characters for which there are
no alternatives in the standard script and 5 for which there are.

Four of the former indicate syllables with prenasalized stops: three voiced stops (<mha>, <nda>, and /n/ja/) and one voiceless stop (/nta/), and four syllables with geminated stops (/mma/, /tta/, /nna/, and /ssa/). In all cases the characters have a composite shape in that they consist of the character for a non-prenasalized or a non-geminated stop with an added oblique stroke, three of these being a downward stroke at the right side, and five an upward stroke at the left side. In one case, the /nta/, it is not based on its non-prenasalized basic character — which is used for the /nna/ — but on that of <nya>. The characters having a 'circumflex' as base have their stroke on the left side, and those having a v-shape as base have their stroke on the left side. It is clear that these upward and downward strokes are similar to the upward strokes indicating prenasalization in the standard characters for <mpa> and <nra>.

The Luwu' <mpa> can be described as a <pa> with an added v-shape crossing its bow on the left side. There seems to be no reason for this exceptional shape, nor for not using the standard model for <mpa>.

The 'pa' forms for <nha> and <nya> seem to be constructed in a similar way. They consist of a basic 'circumflex' or <t> and a <pa>, respectively, and as <e> vowel mark intersecting its top, or alternately, this mark on its top and a dot below it. In this way, the last mentioned character looks like a standard <ba> with a dot below it.

Two of the four alternates for <ha> seem also to be constructed on the basis of a <pa>, but with two curves added, one above and one below the base. The character for <sa> has sometimes the S-shape which is also encountered in some manuscripts from outside Luwu' (cf 2.5. above).

These special Luwu' characters were found in ms Vt 123 of the Jakarta collection (fig. 31), which contains notes on Luwu' state affairs, such as the relations with the Toraja dependencies and with other states (Cense [1952]:5), and as yet in no other ms.

2.8. The palmleaf-style types

R.A.Kern, well-known for his voluminous catalogues of the Bugis La Galigo epic manuscripts, was the first to recognize the existence of a special style of Bugis script, which he named 'palmleaf style' (palmbladsschrift) because it is particularly (though not exclusively) to be found written on prepared leaves from the lontar palm (Borassus flabellifer). These lontar leaves are cut to the shape of ribbons of about one inch wide by two feet long, joined together for many meters and written with one line of script only. Kern mentions a few
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particulars of this style of Bugis script when he describes the manuscripts concerned (Kern 1939:580-3, 1075-6). This style, according to Kern, is a simplification compared with the style known from manuscripts on paper, flourished letters are avoided (what may be explained from the writing material); the a is often a single dot, etc. Curiously enough, not only the simplified types occur in this style of writing but also the more complicated ones, or those difficult to write: there are four different types of <ka>, three of <sa>, etc. (Kern 1939:581), or two characters for <ka>, /ja, <sa> en <a> used indiscriminately in one and the same paper manuscript (Kern 1939:1075).

If we look at the script used in two of the four sample manuscripts mentioned by Kern (Cod. Or. 5475 and 6147), we see particularly divergent shapes of four characters, those for <ka>, <ja>, <sa>, and <a>. The <ka> occurs in the form of an x, or in that of two horizontal strokes, the one after the other. The <ja> consists of three dots, two next to each other and the third one centred below them, or alternatively above them. The <sa> has two shapes, one, a vertical stroke, and second, a vertical stroke with a forward curl at the top and a backward curl at the bottom, together forming an e-like shape with a single dot. As to this character it should be added that the <i> vowel mark, represented by a dot, was regularly put above the dot representing <a>; but if the /u/ vowel mark would just have been a dot below the dot representing the <a>, the result would have been indistinct from the initial <i>, therefore, clearly, one extra dot was added here. As a result, initial <a> is represented by one dot, initial <i> by two dots one above the other, and initial /u/ by three dots each above the other.

Apart from these divergently shaped characters, the standard ones, as Kern remarked, are also used in these same manuscripts. Including the latter, there thus are three variant types for <ka>, three for <ja>, three for <sa>, and two for

centimetres and sewing them together. The beginning of the first ribbon is fixed in a notch of a wooden reel. By turning the reel around the ribbon is tightly wound on the reel. Rolled up the reel and ribbon form a disk. The end of the ribbon is fixed on a second reel in the same manner as the beginning. The two reels are fastened in a fork. When one reel is wound off the other is wound on. The text written on the ribbon can be read between the two reels. By turning the one reel while reading, the text on the ribbon shakes past the reader’s eye.

In but a few places in the world the above description adapted from Kern’s (1939:580-581) of an ingenious Bugis invention can be tested. The still extant palm-leaf ribbon kum are kept in Leiden (University Library Cod. Or. 5475, fig. 34), Amsterdam (Tropical Museum 673/4, fig. 35), Manchester (John Rylands University Library Bugi 3 and 3a; cf. Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:135), and Jakarta (Perpustakaan Nasional 780, Sureq Baweng, fig. 36).
<a>in this palmleaf-style.

According to Kern, a vertical drift can be observed in this style of characters. This is true for some characters only, namely in the following cases. The two strokes of the <ka> are verticals in this style; the <naka> consists of a basic 'circumflex' with a small vertical on top of it; the <ka> of a basic 'circumflex' with a small vertical on top of it which vertical in its turn has a small forward stroke at its top: the /e/ and <a> vowel marks are also practically vertical.

If there is any general difference in this palmleaf style of writing between manuscripts on paper and those on palmleaf ribbon, this vertical drift is stronger in the latter. Kern speculates that there may have been a time when the material written upon was bamboo tubes, on which the characters were placed one below the other, and that from this material one passed on to palmleaf tape, but nothing is known about this possibility (Kern 1939:581). This speculation might explain the vertical drift in the writing on palmleaf tape, which implied a change in writing direction from vertical to horizontal. It is of course known that the ancient Philippine script was written on bamboo tubes and in vertical direction, from bottom to top, left to right (Franklin 1934:16). But there is no evidence whatsoever that the same was also the case in South Celebes.

Though the extant Bugis manuscripts on palmleaf ribbon are few and probably not old, and this kind of writing material is not known to be used elsewhere, it may still be an ancient kind of material, as is shown by an ancient piece of information in the Chinese Sung Dynasty Annals, quoted by Kern from a translation by Groenewold. In it, it is told that, in 977, the King of P'uni (Brunel) sent tribute to the Emperor of China accompanied by a letter, which is described as follows:

'The letter was enclosed in different small bags, which were sealed, and it was not written on Chinese paper, but on what looked like very thin bark of tree; it was glossy, slightly green, several feet long, and somewhat broader than one inch, and rolled up so tightly that it could be taken within the hand. The characters in which it was written were small, and had to be read horizontally.' (Kern 1939:582). The writing material described here may obviously - in view of the measures mentioned, several feet long and slightly broader than one inch - be identified as a ribbon and may have been made from palmleaf, while the horizontal writing direction also agrees with the one on the Bugis palmleaf ribbon. Although there again is no guarantee that it was used in South Celebes at that time, there is the distinct possibility that the Bugis way of writing on palmleaf ribbons and the particular palmleaf style of script are old.

Kern supposes that the style of Bugis script we know from most paper manuscripts did not derive from this palmleaf style found on ribbon manuscripts because those were far too unsafe and easily broken, but from a style used on palmleaf paper (Kern 1939:582). But it should be remarked that such a style of script used on broad palmleaf material, and different again
from the other styles, is completely unknown. On the contrary, there is every reason to see in the palmleaf style of script an original style, from which the other style can be shown to derive, because it allows most lucidly an insight in the structure of the characters.

5. Graphs and graphemes in Bugis script

It is one of the most conspicuous aspects of the Bugis/Makasarese script that quite a number of its characters are mutually related in shape. A few examples are the characters which differ only by the absence or presence of a dot (<na> and <ta>; <ma> and <da>; <pa> and <ga>; <wa> and <a>); or by having one or two 'circumflexes' (<ta> and <wa>; <na> and <ya>). Clearly both a dot and a 'circumflex' are basic elements of these characters, which besides having one representation of sound each are also part of more complex characters and in those cases do not represent phonemes themselves. In those cases, they are basically graphs, non-significant building stones, in graphemes, significant writing characters, and only indirectly what the latter are directly, parts of the syllabary script system.

After eliminating the standard style of printing types as a factor development and focusing first on previously common variants and then on characters in the palmleaf style, it is now possible to proceed to show that the greatest part of the characters as graphemes were originally constructed of a few, in fact no more than four basic elements or graphs. They are

1. the vertical stroke, 2. the 'circumflex', 3. the v-shape, and 4. the dot.

If those graphs are taken into account, the following characters can be derived from them or from combinations of them.

1. the single vertical is <sa>; two verticals is <ka>;
2. the single 'circumflex' is <ta>; the doubled 'circumflex' is <wa>; the 'circumflex' with an internal dot is <na>;
3. the doubled 'circumflex' with an internal dot is initial <sa>;
4. two 'circumflexes' one above the other is <ra>; the 'circumflex' with a vertical stroke on its top is <nga>;
5. the 'circumflex' with a vertical stroke descending from its top is <ngka>;
6. the 'circumflex' with a vertical on its top which has a small horizontal at its top is <ba>;
7. the single v-shape is <ma>;
8. the v-shape with an internal dot is <da>;
9. the 'circumflex' combined with a v-shape below it, together forming a diamond, is <sa>;
10. a 'circumflex' combined with a v-shape to its left is <pa>;
11. the same combination with an internal dot in the 'circumflex' is <ga>;
12. the same combina-

* The terms 'graph' and 'grapheme' are used here language specifically and in a slightly different way from what is usual in general books on writing, in which 'graph' may be defined as 'any unit of any script', and 'grapheme' as 'writing sign representing a distinct element of the spoken language' (Sampson 1985:22, [adapted from 25]).
tion with an internal dot in the v-shape is a <la>; a ‘circum-
flex’ combined with a v-shape below its righthand leg is <ca>;
a ‘circumflex’ with a v-shape on top of it, together forming an
x-shape, is <ka>; the doubled ‘circumflex’ combined with
a single v-shape below its centre is <nya>; the doubled ‘circum-
flex’ combined with a single ‘circumflex’ below its centre is
<ncna>; the doubled ‘circumflex’ combined with a doubled v-
shape below it is <ha>.

5. a single dot is initial <a>; two dots above each other is
initial <i>; three dots above each other is initial /ui/
three dots in a triangle is <ja>.

The above results are for a large part what in Bugis is
styled the sulapa’ eppa’ wulanuji (or walaugui, alasugi, or
wolaugui), the quadrilateral rectangular geometrical figure,
which according to Mattulada (Mattulada 1985:8-10; cf. Cense
1979:17, 908) is traditionally explained as the origin of the
script as well as the essence of micro- and macrocosms. There
appears to be every reason for paying close attention to this
traditional concept. The Makasarese equivalent sulapa’ appa
may denote the ghosts of the four points of the compass, to
whom specific offerings are made, the spirits guarding the
four sides of the human body, and generally magic knowledge
(<<Kesa 1070,24-7>>) .

Another consequence of the systematically coherent structu-
re of the Bugis script as explained above is that this must
have some bearing upon the genetic relation of this script
with other scripts in the Southeast Asian region.

It is not doubtful that the general character of this
script is completely in conformity with all other India-derived
scripts in the area, as is shown by the following few basic
facts. It is a syllabic script; each character indicates a
syllable consisting of a consonant followed by an inherent
<a>; the marks for the other vowels are put above, below,
before, and after the main character, and in such a way that
the <i> mark is put over, the /u/ mark under, the /e/ mark
before, and the <o> mark after the main character. Moreover,
the traditional listing of the characters is according to the
articulatory features of the consonants represented by them,
though in a slightly different way from the Indian alphabetic
listing. The Bugis/Makasarese listing starts with the four
velars, in the sequence of voiceless stop, voiced stop, nasal,
prenasalized voiceless stop, followed by the four labials, the
four dentals, and the four palatals, and after these <ya>,
<ra>, <la>, <wa>, <sa>, <a>, and <ha>. The only difference
with the Indian listing is that in the Bugis/Makasarese one
the labials and palatals have - contrary to the logical se-
quence - changed place.

While it is undeniable that this general character must
derive from one or any of the other India-derived scripts, the
question must be asked which of the Bugis/Makasarese charac-
ters is derived directly from its counterpart in another
script such as a Sumatran, a Javanese or a Philippine one, and
which is wholly or partly invented locally. The answer must
clearly be based on the earliest variants rather than on the
printing types of the characters and must take into account
the graphic structure of the script as described above.

When a discussion of this relation between the various scripts, is based on a comparison of the concrete shape of the characters in the standard Bugis script and in the Javanese or Kawi and the Sumatran scripts such as Rejang, the conclusion may be unfounded. A conspicuous example is the Bugis and Sumatran (Rejang) characters indicating <ngka>. When they are considered to have a nearly identical shape in that which was described above as a prostrate F (Fachruddin 1979:41), this must be deemed mere coincidence since, as has been shown above, this shape of the Bugis character is a late development - originated in the framework of designing printing types - from the original one, which is quite differently a 'circumflex' with a vertical descending from its top.

The special structure of the script means that a designer must at one time have been at work in introducing this structure in the existing material. This does not mean that the script in this form is an invention pure and simple. Changes made must have been a remodelling of existing shapes, which derived from older forms. That such has been the diachronic development of this and other related scripts has lucidly been demonstrated by H.Kern already in 1882 and 1885 (Kern 1882:190-198, 1885:102-105, 108-109). Essential examples must suffice here, that of <ka> and <ma>.

The <ka> character was:
n left and right tips curved downwards, Kutai 5th c.: left and right verticals reach bottom, Early Kawi 8-10th c.: upper vertical stroke disappeared, Later Kawi 10-13th c.: middle vertical detached from upper bar, id.: left or middle vertical disappeared, Lampung/Batak: upper bar lowered and character turned 90°, Philippine:

The <ma> character was:
vertical rises, the ends turning down, left in loop, Kutai 5th c.: curved top bar and central bar to the right, Kawi 8-13th c.: vertical disappeared, loop disconnected from upper bar, Batak: lower bar disappeared, ends of top bar lowered, Philippine:
vertical disappeared, loop becomes dot, Bugis/Makasar:

In these two examples it is shown how a continuous development brings forth in the Bugis/Makasar shape of <ka> (two verticals) and <ma> ('circumflex' and internal dot) three of the Bugis/Makasar graphs, 1. vertical, 2. 'circumflex', 3. dot, which are used in other characters as shown above. It is also clear that, in the case of the Bugis/Makasar <ka>, the vertical shape of the palmleaf style is the original one, since the oblique position, either forward (standard) or backward (variant), both occasioned by cursive writing, derives from the vertical position used on palmleaf material.
note 7a to p. 16, l. 17.

That a design or reform of a specific script can be credited to a particular person is uncommon in the history of the writing systems of the world but not unknown. The most remarkable example is the Korean King Sejong (reigned 1418-50), who is credited with inventing and promulgating the unique Han’guil script in 1446; Chinese examples are the reforms of Qin and Li Su about -200 (Coulmas 1989:118, 94-95; Sampson 1985:122).

It is of course unknown if one person has designed the reform of the Bugis script and, if so, who he was. If one thinks of the early 16th-century Daeng Pamatte’, the first harbour master of Makassar, who is sometimes credited with inventing the Makasarese script or with reforming it (Cense 1951:54; Noorduyn 1969:153), there are several difficulties making this possibility less likely. For one thing, the early 16th century seems rather late for the invention or even reform of the Bugis script, and for that of the Makasarese script, too; there must have been a longer development before that time. The most serious objection is that, as Fachruddin has convincingly argued, the expression used in the Makasarese Chononki to describe Daeng Pamatte’s activity must mean that he introduced, not the Makasarese script, but Makasarese historical recording (Fachruddin 1983:35-40).

References
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3. The Bugis/Makasarese script as used for Bimanese
A few brief but pertinent details about how the Bugis/Makasarese script was used for writing the Bimanese language are given by Jonker in his Bimanese grammar (Jonker 1896:12), without giving examples, however.

According to him, the Bimanese as a rule made use of the Arabic script as it is altered for writing Malay, for writing their language. Less frequently they employed the Makasarese script. The latter could be done in different ways. Sometimes the Makasarese script was used unchanged, with the result that it must appear from the context whether the character for <pa> is meant to indicate a <p> or a <f>. This was the case in the manuscript, translated from Makasarese, from which Jonker published his text I in transcription in his collection of (untranslated) Bimanese texts (1894:3-6, 114). In it the Makasarese anca mark is used for indicating the final or prefixed nasal, as is done in writings in Makasarese (Jonker 1894:114). (The manuscript itself has not been preserved.)

Sometimes, however, Jonker goes on (Jonker 1896:12), several changes are made: the <f> is indicated by a character derived from the <p>, the <ba> by the Makasarese character for <ux>, which itself is then indicated by the sign x, a prefixed nasal may be indicated by a small extra stroke added to the characters of the <pa>, <ta> and <ba> (Jonker did not encounter such additions in characters for the other consonants which may occur prenasalized), or the nasal is written in full and above it is added the mark which in Bugis script denotes the shwa (ecce'), but here plays the part of the jemua in the Arabic script. However, indicating prenasalization is extremely rare. The composite characters which are sometimes used by the Buginese, do not seem to be usual in Bima.

Unfortunately, only a very few samples of Bimanese writing in Bugis characters have been preserved. Having seen and studied no more than some fifty short lines in three texts (in a privately owned manuscript), I cannot report more than this certainly too limited material allows. In general, it is true that overall the usual Bugis characters are used, with the following differences and particulars (fig. 37).

The two strokes of the <ka> occur both obliquely forward and obliquely backward, and that in the same text, and even in the same line.

The curl forward at the top of the <ba> does not curl upwards but downwards.

The <la> is identical to <pa> with a small horizontal curl above its back part. This is a marked difference from the Bugis <la>.

The <ha> is a duplicated 'circumflex' with two internal dots, as was stated by Jonker.

There are two variants for <a>, the usual Bugis one, a duplicated 'circumflex' with one internal dot in the righthand 'circumflex'; and an x; here again both indiscriminately used in one text and in one line. So there is a difference with Jonker's statement: I did not find any <ya> and thus do not know what character was used for it. It should be observed
that the x-shape indicates an <a> rather than a <ka> as in Bugis palmleaf style.

As to the prenasalized consonants, there is also a difference with Jonker's statement.

The <apa> is the usual one and is invariably applied.
The <mba> and <ngga> are positively not indicated, in the words ringgi and abuja, for instance, and no /nta/ and no <ngka> have been encountered, either.

Also <nya> and <nra> are not used, probably because these combinations of consonants do not occur in the language.
The <nca> does occur, but its shape is almost identical to that used by Thomsen in his Code of Maritime Law (Singapore 1833), as mentioned above (fig. 3): a duplicated 'circumflex' with two verticals on their tops, in three variants: the verticals bent backwards in one text, the verticals bent backwards with each a small stroke forwards at its top in the second text, and the verticals bent forwards with the same small strokes at their tops in the third text. It is remarkable that this shape (or its variants) has been reserved in Bima and in Singapore as well as in the old lists of Raffles and Crawford, but not in known manuscripts from South Sulawesi. It must be an or the old form, however.

The /pa/ character, indicating the nasal languages and not in the Bugis or Makasarese one, is a 'circumflex' with an S-shape at its righthand side, with probably a connecting stroke between the top of the second 'circumflex' and the centre of the S.

Another particularity is that the implosive /b/ and /d/ of Bimanese are not distinguished from the explosive ones in the script.

After studying the characters as they are used in writing Bimanese, it is possible to judge the list and facsimile's published by Zollinger in 1850 (fig. 38). One of the difficulties of this list is that there are thirty characters because several have been given twice though with different indications. The reason is probably that prenasalization is sometimes incorrectly not mentioned and sometimes mentioned (because it was pronounced by the informant?) though nothing indicated it in the shape of the character.

We shall discuss the characters in Zollinger's list one by one.
1. The <a> is correct;
2. This one, indicated as a palatal 'tja', is, in view of the facsimile, the prenasalized palatal <nca>;
3. This one, indicated as 'pha', is probably the <apa> on similar grounds;
4. The <na> is correct;
5. This simple 'circumflex' must be deemed incorrect as <sa>, as it is correctly the <ta>, and recurs as such in no. 8, but there is no other character indicating <sa>;
6. The <ra> is correct, but the same facsimile recurs in no. 22 and is there, inexplicably, indicated as 'rha';
7. This one, indicated as 'ta' is possibly the /nta/ meant by Jonker, a <ta> with two (rather than one) small strokes downward;
8. This character, indicated as 'tha', is in fact a <ta>;
9. The <ba> is correct; there are two other facsimile's of
<ba>, in no. 19 indicated as 'bha', and in no. 26 as 'nba';
10. the <la> is correct;
11. this character, indicated as 'gha', is in fact a <ga>;
12. the <ja>, indicated as 'dja', is correct; a second <ja>, indicated as 'dsja', is no. 27;
13. the <pa> is correct;
14. there are three times a <da>, here indicated as 'nda' (demonstrating in fact that there was no separate character for prenasalized da), in no. 18 indicated as 'dha', and in no. 29 as 'da';
15. the <wa> is correct;
16. the <ma> is correct; a second facsimile of <ma>, incorrectly indicated as 'ndha', is no. 23;
17. the <ca>, indicated as 'tscha', is correct;
18. the second <da>, see no. 14;
19. the second <ba>, see no. 9;
20. the <ka>, notably the oblique strokes leaning backward, is correct; a second <ka>, indicated as 'kha', is no. 25;
21. the <nga> is correct;
22. this character, indicated as 'rha', is in fact a <ra>;
23. the second <ma>, see no. 16;
24. the Bima character for <ha>, a Bugis <ya>, is correct;
25. the actual [not specified], see no. 30;
26. the third <ba>, see no. 9;
27. the second <ja>, see no. 12;
28. the x-shape, indicated just as by Jonker, as 'ja', was in fact, at least in the texts available, as demonstrated above, a variant <ca>;
29. the third <da>, see no. 14;
30. the Bima character for <fa>, without connecting stroke between 'circumflex' and S-shape, is correct.

If the eight numbers presenting second or third examples of the same character (nos 6, 18, 19, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29) are subtracted from the total of 30, and the two variants of <a> are included, there remain 22 characters, viz. one more (the /nta/) than found in text I, while one (the <sa>) is incorrectly given and thus in fact absent from the list. The correct indications could be established from correct, wrong or partly wrong indications by Zollinger and the results from studying the three texts available. The <sa> remains unknown for Zollinger's list, but the /nta/ is known only from his list.

4. The Bugis/Makasar script as used for the Sumbawa language

Not much can as yet be said about the Bugis/Makasar script as it was used in Sumbawa. There is a note by Matthes saying that usually the 'Malay or Arabic' script was used there and less commonly the Makasar script (Matthes 1872:82).

There is one manuscript on lontar palaeleaf in the Leiden University Library collection originating from Sumbawa (as a loan from A.A. Cense; see Voorhoeve 1952:218), demonstrating that this script was in use there. A preliminary investigation has shown that besides most of the common Bugis/Makasar characters (<ka>, <ja>, <nga> (?), <pa>, <ma>, <ta>, <da>,...
<na>, <nca> (?) <la>, <wa>, <sa>, and <a> in two variants, the x-shape and the dot) there also occur at least three or four characters of unknown shape, which have not yet been identified (fig. 39).

5. The Bugis/Makasar script as used for the Ende language
Ende is the name of the capital of the island of Flores, which is located in approximately the centre of the south coast of the island. The Ende language area stretches to the north coast and is wedged in between the Ngié language area to the west and the Lio language area to the east.
Ende is the only language of Flores having its own script. It was written on small pieces of lontar palm leaf. There are two publications on the language and its script (Roos 1877 [fig. 40] and van Suchtelen 1921 [fig. 41]), but both quite unsatisfactory because neither of them written by competent linguists. The linguist Jonker published a brief Encyclopaedia article about the language (Jonker 1917), listing the phonemes (though with unsatisfactory phonetic explanations), the single existing prefix and a few grammatical words. Jonker’s manuscript notes, containing carefully written textual and lexical material, and at least one text in the Ende script, have been preserved in the Jonker collection in the Leiden University Library (Voorhoeve 1952:124). The available data appear to be insufficient for a satisfactory description of the Ende script, since there are several special sounds in Ende and, moreover, the three sources about the script differ from each other in some detail. The differences and uncertainties will be mentioned in each case.
There are 15 characters in the Ende script known from the Bugis/Makasarese script (<ka>, <ga>, <nga>, <pa>, <ba>, <ma>, <ta>, <da>, <na>, <ja>, <ra>, <la>, <wa>, <sa>, <a>), some of which need a special note.
The basic shape of the <ga> and <pa> differ from the Bugis ones in that the righthand oblique runs parallel to the left one and does not curve backwards; moreover, the <ga> according to van Suchtelen has the internal dot to the right at the upper side, and according to Roos at the left on the under side, as usual in the Bugis <ga>; in the Jonker material, the <ga> is lacking.
The <la> bears the same basic shape as the <ga> and <pa> with a small ‘circumflex’ on top of the righthand oblique. According to Jonker (1917) there is no /l/ in the language, and it does not occur in his manuscript text.
The <sa> is a rising oblique and, in Roos’ list and text, additionally a nought-shape, both known as variants in the Bugis script.
Besides the <a> in its standard Bugis shape, Roos has the x-shape as alternative, and Jonkers’ text an x in which the descending bar is replaced by two dots, one at its upper and one at its lower end. The latter character is word-initially transcribed as <ha>. Van Suchtelen notes having seen the x-shape used for <a> or rather shwa, but was told that it was
old-fashioned.

There are special characters for the three prenasalized voiced stops occurring in the language. The <nga> is a <ga> with a second internal dot on the right or the left side, respectively. The <mba> has the shape of an x with a small descending serif at both top ends, according to Roos and Jonker, an alternative consisting of a duplicated 'circumflex' and a small one below its centre, according to Jonker's text, and a vertical with a backward curve and a forward curve on its top, according to van Suchtelen. Essentially these three variants hardly differ in shape and possibly were not more than that. The <nda> consists of a vertical on a 'circumflex' and a v-shape on its top, according to Roos, and of two v-shapes above each other, according to Jonker and van Suchtelen.

There are second characters for each of five consonants, which clearly represent distinct phonemes in each case, indicated by an added apostrophe here, which is only meant to distinguish two graphic marks and not to have any phonetic reference, (/g'/, /b'/, /d'/, /r'/, and /h'/).

The <b'a> is indicated as 'bah' by Roos, and as 'bp' by van Suchtelen and is pronounced as the special /b/ in the Sawu 'bana' word, according to Schulte. This indication means that it must be a glottalized or better still implosive /b'/, as commonly occurs in other languages of the Bima-Sumba group, to which Ende belongs. In that case, the /d'/ (indicated as 'dah' by Roos and 'dental' by Jonker) must be the glottalized or better implosive /d/ also occurring in the said languages. Whether the /g'/ then is an implosive /g/ remains uncertain, as it does not occur in the said languages; the <g'a> is indicated as 'nga' by Roos, as 'ghra' by van Suchtelen, and as a 'guttural' /r/ by Jonker, so possibly it is an uvular trill or a velar fricative, if it is not an implosive voiced velar stop.

Which kind of trill the /r'/ is cannot be ascertained. It is indicated as 'rah' by Roos and as pronounced 'between r and l' by Jonker.

The situation of the /h'/ is also unclear. Roos lists only one /h/. Jonker indicates this /h/ with a dot under the letter h in the transliteration of his text, and says that the h is pronounced softer than the h in loan words, which is indicated by a different character (Jonker 1917). According to van Suchtelen, the former h is 'clearly pronounced' and the other 'breathed as a transition between two syllables' (van Suchte-
len 1921:225). He has examples of clearly non-borrowed words with initial h written with two different characters, such as h'olo 'head' and hongga 'shave'.

The shape of these characters is as follows. The /ba/' is a v-shape with a small 'circumflex' on its righthand top (Roos), or a rounded 'circumflex' with a rounded v-shape below its righthand base (Jonker and van Suchtelen), so just the opposite of the former, and in fact identical to the Bugis/Makasar character for <ca> (which is lacking in Ende, according to Jonker, though van Suchtelen has a character for it).

The <d'a> is an S-shape or this same lying prostrate, according to Roos, and the latter according to Jonker and van Suchtelen.

The <r'a> is a <ra> with two rising strokes at the righthand side or (which is the same) two <pa>'s above each other.

The <f'a> is a horizontal with two backwards curves on its righthand side, one curving upwards and one curving downwards.

The first <h'a> has the shape of a Greek phi according to all three sources (the 6-shape given by van Suchtelen in his list seems to be an error, as this rather indicates <fa>; see van Suchtelen 1921:225). The second <h'a> is a 'circumflex' with two internal dots, according to van Suchtelen, though it is indicated by 'ya' by Roos (according to its value in the Bugis script). Van Suchtelen's 'ya' has the shape which is a or initial <ha> according to Jonker. Possibly there was some individual or regional variation or some change through time (see van Suchtelen's remark concerning an older character for <a> or shwa quoted above).

The shape of the character indicating <fa> looks very much like an Arabic <fa> without the dot on its head (Jonker and van Suchtelen), and may be derived from the Arabic script, though, contrary to the Arabic one, the horizontal is almost vertical in Roos' list.

According to Jonker (1917) there are no palatals in Ende except <ja>. Roos and van Suchtelen list a character for <nya>, however, which has the shape of two duplicated 'circumflexes' above each other (Roos) or a duplicated v-shape and a duplicated 'circumflex' above it (van Suchtelen). Van Suchtelen, moreover, lists a <ca> which has the shape of a duplicated 'circumflex' with a duplicated v-shape above it.

A closer study of the few examples of Ende writing on pieces of lontar palm leaf which have been preserved in the Leiden University Library and the National Library at Jakarta may create some clarification in a perhaps too complicated situation.

Two observations by van Suchtelen should be added here. According to him, the inherent vowel in each character is a shwa if it is a penultimate syllable; and in case of a penultimate /a/ an extra <ha>-<a> character is added between the first and the second syllable (van Suchtelen 1921:224).

In his time, Ende people used their script also for writing Malay and in that case added a small 'circumflex' at the righthand side above the character as a 'tanda mati' or 'killer' in case of a final consonant (ibidem). This is an interesting example of development in a script in use: the idea
Variation in the Bugis and Makasarese scripts

for an innovation is probably taken from elsewhere, in this case from the Arabic/Malay script, but the implementation in the shape of the new mark is adapted to the existing script. Most of the special characters in use in the Ende script are evidently local inventions, but likewise adapted to the style of the existing script.

6. The Wawonii script
Quite recently a largely independent script was discovered on the small island of Wawonii, located off the east coast of Sulawesi, just north of the island of Buton. Nothing was known about the language spoken on this island (or about the population in general, for that matter), apart from the fact that it belonged to the eastern Sulawesi or Bungku-Mori language group (Adriani 1914:218), until a 100-item wordlist of it was included in B.H. Bhurhamuddin’s language survey of Southeast Sulawesi of 1979 and a summary report on the language was written by a team of linguists from Ujung Pandang (Abdul Kadir Manyameang, Hamzah Mahmood, Rabiana S. Badudu, Tajuddin Makhun, Abdul Kadir Mulya, and Ambo Ganj) in 1983. They briefly report the existence of a special script, partly derived from the Bugis script and partly from the Arabic (Manyameang et al. 1983:180).

According to local tradition it was created by a certain Laembo, a descendant from the royal family of Wawonii, who had visited several regions in the archipelago in connection with disseminating Islam.

According to the list of the characters appended to the report (fig. 42), there are 15 syllabic characters. Six of these are clearly or probably derived from Bugis characters, namely the <ka> (an x-shape), <nga> (a vertical on a horizontal), <pa>, <ba>, <ta> (a horizontal), and <na> (a bow-'circumflex' and an internal small curve instead of the dot).

A few interesting details can be observed. In two cases, the <nga> and the <ta>, the Bugis 'circumflex' is flattened into a simple horizontal. The dot in the <na> looks like half a circle as a remnant of a full circle, the putative origin of the dot in the actual Bugis character.

Three characters could indeed derive from Arabic characters, namely the <ma> (a rising oblique with a loop at its righthand side), the <da> (an arrow point directed backwards), and the <a> (a rising oblique, like the alif).

But the shape of the remaining six characters (<ga>, <ya>, <ra>, <la>, <wa>, <sa>, and <ha>) cannot be recognized from elsewhere and therefore must have been invented by the designer of the script. It must be remarked that the shape of the <ha> character seems to be that of the Bugis <sa>, and thus may have been borrowed from there. Furthermore there are no characters for <ca>, <ja>, and <na> because these consonants do not occur in the language.

As to the vowel marks, there are also essential differences with the Bugis script in that the <i> mark is a dot below rather than above the main character, and the /u/ mark a dot after rather than below the main character.

Moreover, the script is complete by two other marks, not
as such present in the Bugis/Makasarese script, because the Bugis/Makasarese <i> mark above the main character has made room for a backward pointing curve above the main character indicating prenasalization, and a forward pointing curve above the main character indicating the inherent <vowel> vowel to be muted. The latter mark is the sukun of Arabic script, the paten of Javanese script, or, perhaps, the 'tanda mati' of the Ende script. As there are no final consonants in this language and no other consonant clusters but the prenasalized ones, no consonants remain unmarked in the way some final consonants are in Bugis/Makasarese script.

7. The former Makasarese script
The former Makasarese script is often styled the old Makasarese script because it was only used for writing texts in the Makasarese language and has become obsolete in the 18th century, when it was replaced by the then Bugis script, which has therefore been styled the Bugis/Makasarese one so far, but which we shall refer to henceforth as the Bugis script.

As a result, only very few manuscripts written in this Makasarese script have been preserved. I listed four of them a few years ago (Noorduyn 1991:472), namely one in London (British Library Add. 40329 [fig. 42]), one in Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum No. 668/216 [fig. 44]), one in Leiden (Leiden University Library NB Boeg 24 [fig. 45]), one in Jakarta (Arsip Nasional Makassar 374/1 [fig. 46]) and one in Buton (Sultanate's Archives). In addition there is the published reproduction (presumably on the basis of a photograph) of two pages from the Makasarese version of the Bungaya Treaty of 1676 concluded by the VOC and the Makasarese Kingdom of Goa (Stapel 1939: facing p.342; here fig. 47) from a manuscript at the time in the court library of one of the latest kings of Goa but presumably lost in or after the Second World War. Furthermore, there are two lists of the characters of the script, one published by Raffles in his table of 'Ugi or Mengkasar Alphabet' (fig. 1) and styled 'Another form of the Ugi or Mengkasar Letters found in old M.S.' (Raffles 1817:140), but originating from an unknown source, and one by Matthies (Matthies 1858: facing p.1 [fig. 48]), which is presumably based on the only manuscript written in this script he knew and possessed, that is, the above-mentioned Leiden MS belonging to the Matthies collection. According to Matthies, this script was known 'to few or no Natives' at his time (Matthies 1858:1). He learned to read the script with the help of Raffles' list (Matthies 1852: 403).

At first sight the Makasarese script differs strongly in character from the Bugis script. Hilgers-Hesse found only two characters the same or similar (Hilgers-Hesse 1967:551). In fact only the shape of <p> can be said to be the same in both scripts, whereas the <n> is the same but for the internal dot, which is lacking in the Makasarese character.

There are even several characters which have the same shape but express different sounds, such as Bugis <na> and Makasarese <ta>; <oa> and <nga>; <nya> and ba/.

In general, it can be said that, first, (as remarked by
Hilgers-Hesse (1967:551) the dot, which plays an important role in several of the Bugis characters, is completely absent in the Makasarese script. Secondly, in contrast to the straight lines and angles of the Bugis script, the Makasarese consists to a large extent of curves, curls and bends, and has a generally flowered and elegant aspect. Not surprisingly it is known in South Sulawesi, in contrast to the 'square' (uki' sulapa' oppa') Bugis script, as the uki' manu'-manu or '(flying) birds' script' (Fachruddin 1983:32).

In view of these general differences, it does not seem likely that, as Matthes assumes (Matthes 1858:1-2) and Hilgers-Hesse adopts from him (Hilgers-Hesse 1967:551), the Bugis script has derived, by gradual simplification (Matthes uses the terms 'truncation and mutilation'), from the Makasarese script. The two scripts must, moreover, have been in use at the same time, the one for writing Makasarese and the other for writing Bugis, in the 17th century and probably earlier, as Fachruddin rightly remarks (Fachruddin 1983:42).

A comparison of the seven samples of the script available shows, as Hilgers-Hesse remarked from comparing Matthes' and Raffles' lists only, that there is or seems to be much variation among them and even within one manuscript. One possibility of explaining this variation among various manuscripts would be to assume a change through time, if the older manuscripts appear to agree more among them than with the more recent ones and a development in the shape of some of the individual characters from the older to the later seems to have occurred. We shall briefly look into this question, taking as point of departure that the oldest manuscripts among them are the Bungaya manuscript (1667) and the Jakarta one (dated 1701), and that the others, being undated, are of uncertain age, though none is more recent than the late 18th or early 19th century.

The first thing which becomes clear is that Raffles' list contains many rather aberrantly shaped characters in comparison to all the other samples. It is a pity that his source seems to be unknown.

A comparison shows that eight characters are basically the same in all samples, namely <ga>, <nga>, <pa>, <ba>, <ta>, <na>, <ca>, and <wa>, and that four are the same except in Raffles' list, namely <na>, <ja>, <la>, and <sa>. The <nya> will be left out of consideration because it is not attested in three samples (Jakarta, London and Bungaya).

If now the characters with the most diverse shapes (<ka>, <da>, <ya>, <ra>, and <a>) are compared, the result is negative. There is no pattern in the similarities and dissimilarities in details among the samples, nor is there one shape from which the others may have developed. If the seven samples are numbered as follows: 1. Bungaya, 2. Jakarta, 3. Matthes, 4. Buton, 5. London, 6. Amsterdam, 7. Raffles, the emerging pattern of the variants is as follows:

- <ka>: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
- <da>: 1, 2=3, 4=5=6, 7
- <ya>: 1=4=6, 2=3, 5, 7
- <ra>: 1=3=4=7, 2=6, 5
Variation in the Bugis and Makasarese scripts

8. Derivation

An attempt at tracing back the derivation of the Makasarese and Bugis scripts from either a Sumatran or a Javanese prototype must start with making explicit the points of departure.

An undeniable fact is, that the Makasarese, Bugis and, to begin with, Old Javanese Kawi scripts differ considerably from each other, and therefore, if the former two derive nevertheless from Kawi this derivation must have been a very complicated affair.

In describing the variants in Bugis characters, two complicating factors have been encountered: one, an extreme simplification of the shape of the characters if compared with older (Sumatran or Javanese) forms; second, a strong structuralizing tendency in repeatedly using the same 'graphs' (such as 'circumflex', V-shapes, dot and vertical stroke). These two factors can be combined into one hypothetical process: simplification became oversimplification which led to imminent confusion between characters which threatened to become indistinguishable, and therefore had to be made distinct again by the addition of certain elements.

The Makasarese and Bugis scripts differ so much from each other that none of them can derive from the other, but both can derive from the same older script (now out of use and unknown) - which was closer to the Kawi script - through the similar processes of oversimplification and addition of distinguishing elements.

When these principles are applied, the most conspicuous example is that of the <ta> and <na>. When the upper part of the Kawi <na> disappeared, both characters became nearly identical, consisting both of an arch with a loop (curving backward or forward, but that is a small difference) at the left-hand base. Therefore, in Makasarese the loop was moved from the left to the righthand side for the <ta>, and eliminated for the <na>; in Bugis the loop was put in the centre, first as a small circle then as a dot, for the <na>, and eliminated for the <ta>. All were distinct characters again, but different in the two scripts.

A similar, though not identical, process can be assumed for the <ma> and <da> in Bugis. When the upper part and the righthand curve of the Kawi <da> disappeared and the notch in the lefthand vertical of the Kawi <ma> stretched, both characters became indistinguishable in Bugis, having both approximately a V shape, which was then corrected by adding an internal dot in the <da>. In Makasarese the righthand curve of the Kawi <da> had not disappeared, but the character either remained as it was (without the Kawi upper part), as one variant (Jakarta ms), or overturned backwards becoming a horizontal with a forward curving curl, at both ends, as another variant (London and Amsterdam ms).

In Makasarese there was no imminent confusion between <ma> and <da>, but between <ma> and <wa>. Here <ma> was topped by
two crossing strokes curving backwards and forwards, respectively, so as to distinguish it from the <wa>, as the Kawi <wa>, by also losing its upper part, had become similar to the simplified <na>; it was further distinguished from the new <na> by two curves curving backwards and forwards but not crossing.

How did the Bugis <ga> and <pa> become identical so that they had to be distinguished by an internal dot in the former, whereas the Kawi characters are each other's opposites, the former a simple arch and the latter an arch overturned on its back? Apparently the <pa> received an extra downward stroke at its lefthand side in both Makasarese and Bugis and remained thus. The Bugis <ga> became identical to the <pa> by an upwards stroke at its righthand base and became again distinct from the <pa> by the internal dot. The Makasarese <ga> was for no apparent reason topped by two diverging strokes curving backwards and forwards, respectively. This unnecessary ornamentation must probably be considered evidence of the tendency to flowering and elegance in the Makasarese script.

The <wa> and <ha>, <a> form another complex. When the Kawi <wa> lost its upper part, a circle open at the upper side was what was left. Its upper ends curved outwards as in the usual handwriting, and sometimes these curves were lengthened until the base line, as in the Jakarta ms (where a little detached curve was added over it as an ornamentation). This downward move also happened in Bugis and the result was the duplicated 'circumflex' of the standard Bugis <wa>. In that way this <wa> became identical to the Bugis <a>, which derived from the Kawi <ha> (as already observed by H.Kern), consisting of an up-down wave (-), and they were distinguished by the internal dot in the <a>. The Makasarese <a> also derived from the Kawi <ha>, as can most clearly be seen in the Amsterdam ms, where the wave in addition has an upward-downward loop at its righthand side as an ornamentation; apparently this same figure overturned backwards into standing position is the basic shape of the variants for <a> in the other Makasarese ms.

These examples of how Makasarese and Bugis characters may have derived from Kawi must suffice for the moment.

Leiden, 10 November 1992
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Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology

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Southeast Asian Manuscripts

Variation in the Bugis and Makassarese scripts

J. Noorduyn

Appendix

Leiden, 14-18 December, 1992
VARIATION IN THE BUGIS AND MAKASARESE SCRIPTS
by J. Noorduyn

Appendix
Illustrations
Variation in the Bugis and Makasarese scripts

ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Bugis, Makasarese and Bima scripts. T.S. Raffles, *The History of Java* (1817), chart facing vol. II, p. clxxviii.

Fig. 2. Bugis script and text. J. Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago* (1820), plate 17.

Fig. 3. Bugis script. C.H. Thomsen, *A Code of Bugis Maritime Laws* (1832), pp. IV-V.

Fig. 4. Bugis script and text. C.H. Thomsen, *A Code of Bugis Maritime Laws* (1832), pp. VI-VII.

Fig. 5. Bugis script. C.H. Thomsen, *A Vocabulary of the English, Bugis and Malay Languages* (1833), p. V.


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*Fig. 10.* Bugis text. B.F. Matthes, *Boeginesch heldendicht op Daeng Kalahoe* (1858), p. 1.

Fig. 11. Bugis/Makasarese script. B.F. Matthes, *Makasaarsche spraakkunst* (1858), p. 1.

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Fig. 48. Makasarese script. B. F. Matthes, Makassarese spraakkunst (1858), chart facing p. 1.

* Illustrations not yet ready.
Fig. 1. Bugis, Makasarese and Bima scripts. T.S. Raffles, The History of Java (1817), facing p. clxxviii.

Waramparang makuwañe tu \ maega puang ria \ engka to seddi bula \ engkana anekku seddi \ engka utaro waramparangake
Fig. 2. Bugis script and text. J. Crawfurd, History of the Indian Archipelago (1820), plate 17.

nari t[u] poana'i \ ane'na \ latosisa poana'i \ [u]aseng \ naiatosisa poana'i \ anakkeng \ lana ri tu risuro ri nabi No \ mawa asu \ mani...
the pronunciation and explanation of each word; the Italics stand for letters not contained in the text, thus the fifth word on the first page 「ימל」 lotara, is pronounced lontara.

The Appendix is part of a vocabulary collected three or four years ago, but not yet printed.
The moveable vowels are as follows:

- o like e, in pen, hen.
- u under the letter, like u in under.
- i above the letter, like i in tin, pin.

The Bugis language has two marks of punctuation; stands at the end of a complete sentence, and stands at the end of a subject.

They have adopted the European numerals for all purposes.

Fig. 4. Bugis script and text. C. I. Thomsen, A Code of Bugis Maritime Laws (1832), pp. VI-VII.
### THE ALPHABET

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<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhak</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cha</td>
<td>ch, as in Church; Engl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja</td>
<td>soft, between j &amp; y, ch.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>as in maniac</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhak</td>
<td>ch.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>a, in father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>w, English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>s.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>h.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nya</td>
<td>compound of ŋ &amp; ʌ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Fig. 5. Bugis script. C.H. Thomsen, *A Vocabulary of the English, Bugis and Malay Languages (1833)*, p. V.
### Vocabulary

**English, Bugis, and Malay.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English (Numeral)</th>
<th>Bugis</th>
<th>Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>satu</td>
<td>satu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>duwa</td>
<td>dua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>tiga</td>
<td>tiga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>oprak</td>
<td>ampat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td>lima</td>
<td>lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six</td>
<td>ówong</td>
<td>amam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>pițu</td>
<td>pițuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>asena</td>
<td>ampat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine</td>
<td>amam</td>
<td>ampat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten</td>
<td>sepulu</td>
<td>sepulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleven</td>
<td>sepulu</td>
<td>sepulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelve</td>
<td>asena</td>
<td>ampat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirteen</td>
<td>asena</td>
<td>ampat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourteen</td>
<td>asena</td>
<td>ampat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifteen</td>
<td>asena</td>
<td>ampat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixteen</td>
<td>asena</td>
<td>ampat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventeen</td>
<td>asena</td>
<td>ampat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighteen</td>
<td>asena</td>
<td>ampat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nineteen</td>
<td>asena</td>
<td>ampat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty</td>
<td>asena</td>
<td>ampat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>duwa</td>
<td>duwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>duwa</td>
<td>duwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>duwa</td>
<td>duwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>duwa</td>
<td>duwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 10. Bugis text. B.F. Matthes, Boegineesch heldendicht op Daeng Kalaboe (1858), p. 1.
MAKASSAARSCHIE SPRAAKKUNST.

EERSTE DEEL.

OVER SCHRIJFT EN UITSPRAAK.

EERSTE HOOFDSTUK.

OVER DE GESAASTE DER LETTERS.

1. De Makassaren hebben 19 letters, die door hen na eenig 4, 4, 4 (kortvloeiig Heussef), of noorders van het geschrift, den tens 4, 4, 4 (Hemschop), of 4, 4, 4, 4 (Hemschop) (het Arab. حرف, meervoud van حرف, letter) genoemd, en van de linker naar de regtse

2. Deze letters zijn de volgende:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


NB. De ës wordt in het oude letterschrift niet gevonden.

4. Vraag toes, mensch, en om weleer dus dit oude Alphabet door het andere behandelen, evenals bij vroeger oorsprong van den Inlander ten opzichte van deze kwade, lieden bij gebruik aan de daartoe vereisde historische kenmerken, volstond onmisbaar om een bepaald antwoord te geven. Zoowel kan men alleen met eenvoudig vaststellen, dat het oude schrift nog tegen het scheid van 17e eeuw algemeen gebruikt werd, aangenomen ik een handtekening in mijn brieven, hetwelk met deze letter geschoten is, en waarin gesproken word van personen, die te dien tijd in leven waren. Wellicht is het schrift later gepacht met het pauselijke volk, hetwelk sedert 1683 zoo zeer in zijn eigen ge-
boekt uen, al meer en meer achteruit gegaan. Mij ten minste komt het niet onwenselijk voor, dat men bij genoeg aan goede zins, en uit zekere soort van valseheid, of laat mij liever zeggen, weet om zich maar spoedig van den arbeid af te maken, de sierlijke oude Makassaresche letter onwillijkig hoe langere in meer afgeweken en misvormd heeft, tot dat er ten laste het tegenwoordig Alphabet is overgebleven. Ik verbood mij, dat een nauwkeurige beschouwing en vergelijking van beide letterschrijven deze wijze geving beroepen zal. Hieruit zou dus volgen, dat beide één en dezelfde oorsprong hadden. Doch waar deze te nemen, bij het volk zelf of elders?

§ 5. Het Makassaresche letterschrift, soowel het oude, als dat, betreklik tegenwoordig in gebruik is, heeft niet de minste overeenkomst in vorm met het Zabesjari of Sanskritesche letterschrift. Echter is het opmerkelijk:


2) dat de volgorde, waarin de letters gewoonlijk voorkomen, nagenoeg dezelfde is. (Vergl. Bopp, ter aangeh. plaats § 1).

3) dat bij die volgorde evenzeer hoofdzaklik tot grondslag ligt de indeling der letters, naar de organe, waarmede zij worden uitgesproken. Zoo zijn de ș, ș, ș, pittoral of sqlSession; de ș, ș, ș, labiale of lip-letter; de ș, ș, ș, hetzij linguale of tong-letter; hetzij dentale of tand-letter; de ș, ș, ș, palatale of verhooofdelate-letter. Voorts zou men de ș, ș, ș, zoals benoemd nog duidelijker blijken zal, voor gevarieeld semivocales of halfvokales kunnen noemen, en de ș, ș, onder de palatale, de ș, ș, onder de linguale, de ș, ș, onder de dentale, en de ș, ș, hetzij onder de dentale, beter onder de labiale letters kunnen rangschikken. Wet eindelijk de lippen ophoeling of lip-letter ș, alzoo de ș en ș betreff, zoo nu men de eerste, hetzij bij de palatale, hetzij bij de linguale of dentale, de beide laatsten bij de pittoral letters kunnen indelen. Tot verduidelijking deze volgende tabellen:

| Gutterschen | ș, ș, ș, ș | lu, lu, lu, lu |
| Latiaen | ș, ș, ș, ș | lu, lu, lu, lu |
| Dentales | ș, ș, ș, ș, ș | lu, lu, lu, lu, lu |
| Linguales | ș, ș, ș, ș, ș | lu, lu, lu, lu, lu |
| Palatales | ș, ș, ș, ș, ș | lu, lu, lu, lu, lu |

(Vergl. Bopp in zijn Saksdr. Grammaar § 1 en 99.)

Fig. 12. Bugis/Makasarese script. B.F. Matthes, Makassarese spraakkunst (1858), p. 2.
MAKASSAARSCHE CHRESTOMATHIE.

By the permission of his excellency the Governor of the East Indies.

In the name of God, the most merciful and most kind.

[Text continues in and out of the script, possibly discussing historical, cultural, or religious topics.]
van kinderen, lett. kinderen van of trap of ladels. Bij het beproeven van voluit en andere muziekinstrumenten duidt men de handen langs de schepen af. toen men met het woord *hadi* of *tua* (vaders), de zoon, vader, *kandis* spraakgebruik, slaap of vallen met het woord *sad* (kinderen) aan. Heer voor- keurten van deze aard vindt men in mijn Boeginesch Woordenboek op *hadi* en *tua*, gelijk ook op *sad* en *kadis*.

Men schrijft het Boeginesch, evenals het Makassarisch, van de linker- naar de rechterhand, en de letters eik op zich zelf.

§ 2. De Boeginesche letters zijn de volgende:

```
ku go ngi aika pa lu mu nga ta da na nig
java sija nga nga nia la wa sa a ha
```

§ 3. Gezien ik vroeger in mijn Makassarische spraakkunst erkennen moest, niet te weten, waarmee dit alfabet zijn oorsprong te danken heeft; zoo moet ik ook thans nog mijn verbaasde oordeel beïnvloeden. Trouwens, het is mij zelfs onbekend, welke orden door de Boeginesen en Makassaren bekend waren, voornamelijk in *soe-kor* en *too-kor*, de tegenwoordige woorden.regenissen van Tad-Celbes, die wellicht de oorsprong zijn bewoners dier gewesten geweest zijn, zoo gebeurde naar de binnenlanden verdrongen.

Ook thans kan ik nog niet de minste overeenkomst in vorm kennen met het *Baansischer* of Banjumkische letterschrift, ofschoon het steeds opmer- kelijker blijkt:

1) dat alle letters, op zichzelf staande, ingelijks met ene a worden uitgesproken. (Verg. F. Bopp in zijn *oweek* 0 ronnnt., Boognuis, § 1.)

2) dat de volgorde, waarin de letters gewoonlijk voorkomen, nagenoeg eé- nelijk is. (Verg. Bopp, ter aangeb. plaats § 1.)


Voorwaar zou men de *da*, *da*, *da* als bewezen nog leidelijker blijken zal.

---

Fig. 15. Bugis script. B.F. Matthes, Boeginesche spraakkunst (1875), p. 2.
Fig. 16. Makasarese text in Bugis/Makasarese script. NB Boeg 87, p. 151.
tapangolo ni ewangeng \ Raja Iskandar, majepu pura tajemmu \ Makkada maneng ni sininna tomatië arajang \ Tongeng ri tu
Fig. 17. Bugis diary text in Bugis script. KITLV Or. 545,270, p. 'November 1810'.

napawelai \ Matinroe Rompéading \ ri weminna Juna'ë \ ri purana \ Arung Ajannë \ ri 17 omo'na Rajab ri 23 té'na Juli 1812 héra'ë
Fig. 21. Makasarese text in Bugis/Makasarese script. NB Boeg 67, p. 1.
Pasal ampa'naasai \ kana-kananna \ Ana' I Kunjung Barani \ Somba karaeng \ kupansai' \ ri ulungku \ kukaulang \ ri kai-
longku \ asserokanai \ karaeng mariolowang \ ratu ri sallaman-
ha
Fig. 22. Makasarese text in Bugis/Makasarese script, written by Ance Nanggong. NB Boeg 208, p. 65.
Fig. 27. Makasarese text, written by Rajuddin. NB Boeg 28, p.11-12.

Parakara 8. nakana rapanga \ ponna niya' ata \ a'lukka
\ tanaturungangai karaenna \ naiyajiya \ nikana-kanangi \ ka-
\ taenna \ naponna ero' ambayaraki \ anu na'lukkaka atanna
\ nabayara'mi \ naponna \ tea karaenna \ ambayari \ nainampa mo
\ nibuang-batang \ tu-ma'lukkaka ata.
KORTE MEDEDELING

J. NOORDUYN AND M. SALIM

SPECIAL BUGINESE CHARACTERS IN LUWU MANUSCRIPTS

The Buginese syllabary found used in some manuscripts written in Luwu differs from that usually found in writings originating from other Buginese regions, in that several characters have a partially or completely divergent shape and that some of them signify consonant clusters usually not represented in writing. An example is Manuscript Vt 123 of the former Bataviaasch Genootschap (now Museum Nasionaal) in Jakarta, which at present is in Leiden for conservation and microfilming purposes. It is concerned with the history of Luwu and must date from around 1850, as the paper it is written on has a watermark CONCORDIA E D G ZN, which according to information from Dr. Russell Jones has been found used in the Indies between 1844 and 1860.

Fig. 32. 'Special Buginese Characters in Luwu Manuscripts' (1988).
Fig. 36. Bugis lontar ribbon text. Jakarta Vt 43.
1. [a]ke lo'i pana ka'uu[t'a], tampuuna tai besi ma tani dua ri[ng]gi lab[o]
2. ra'a ra-kamango ma tani sabua ri[ng]gi labo ol niwa hampa be.
3. [a]ke wali saori lo'i ma ncewi pana dolu janga meee mompi
4. tolu [m]buu nono-ku ai ma sidi dei ade ma tolu nai tolu
   [m]bu[a-]
5. ku sani-nai ake wali labo isarana ba nono ro ngaha-ta e-
6. de ampo laama la[ng]ga-ku adi-ta en upa apes upa la[ng][ga]-
   do'o
7. ake wali saori rawi-ta ngara-na karaso mani, ta-wehaku oha
8. sapi[ng]ga co[ng]go ampo ta-lli-ku, ede ampo cena-ku bala a-
9. i sidi ampo [n]toro kamango-ku ampo ta-ngahaku kai saha
   lobo
10. sakara wadu.

1. this is a medicine for warming one's tendons; first two
   ringgit of rust together with
2. one ringgit of dried blood together with some honey.
3. this is another very hot medicine: eggs from a completely
   black fowl
4. four pieces, to be drunk in the morning in three days three
   eggs
5. each day, this on condition that after eating and drinking
   we
6. walk forty four steps far.
7. this is another action called cleansing one's spers: we
   take rice
8. one soup plate full, we then soak it and expose it to dew
   the next
9. morning, then filter it to become dry, then we eat it with
   white sugar and
10. lump sugar.

Fig. 37. Bimanese text in Bugis script.
Omphalos van erwitten gevonden Bima-schetskaart

Fig. 38. Bimanese scripts. H.Zollinger, 'Verslag van een reis naar Bima en Soembawa in 1847' (1850), chart facing p. 135.
### OPMERINGEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>getalenduisdige lettergreep</th>
<th>schijnt men uitgesproken met de voornaamste lettergreep:</th>
<th>OPMERKingen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td><img src="null" alt="image" /></td>
<td>vreemde oorsprong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td><img src="null" alt="image" /></td>
<td>schijnt in het Boeg, in één vorm voor te komen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td><img src="null" alt="image" /></td>
<td>als onder h.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td><img src="null" alt="image" /></td>
<td>schijnt in het Boeg, niet voor te komen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oe</td>
<td><img src="null" alt="image" /></td>
<td>als onder ghr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Fig. 41.** Ende script. B.C.C.M. van Suchtelen, 'Endeh (Floris)' (1921), chart p. 223.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>Nga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tanda titik dan lengkungan yang mengubah bunyi fonem:

- a = /,
- i = /,
- u = /,
- e = /,
- o = /,
- ka = X,
- ki = X,
- ku = X,
- ke = X,
- ko = X

Tanda pengengauan: Tanda lengkung di atas huruf ( / )

- nta = ",
- nda = >,
- ngge = <,
- mba = <.

Tanda konsonan yang berdiri sendiri ( / )

- n = >,
- l = >,
- k = >

---

Fig. 42. Wawonii script. A. Kadir Manyameang et al., Struktur bahasa Wawonii (1982/1983), lampiran 2.
Fig. 43. Text in Makasarese script. British Library Add. 12351, p.
Fig. 46. Text in Makasarese script. Arsip Nasional, Makassar 374/1, p. 403.

Kappana \ iya ngasseng nikanaya passobakang \ ri butta
Cade chans in outing gerahle Makassarsche letters.

Fig. 48. Makasarese script. B.F. Matthes, Makassarsche spraak-kunst (1858), chart facing p. 1.
Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology

International Workshop on Indonesian Studies No. 7

Southeast Asian Manuscripts

On the decoration of Islamic bookbindings from Indonesia: variations on an Islamic theme
M. Plomp

Leiden, 14-18 December, 1992
ON THE DECORATION OF ISLAMIC BOOKBINDINGS FROM INDONESIA: VARIATIONS ON AN ISLAMIC THEME

1 Introduction

In 1924 Emil Gratzl published a book on Islamic bookbindings which for the biggest part consisted of reproductions of bindings originating from several parts of the Islamic world. As its title Islamische Bucheinbände: Des 14. bis 19. Jahrhunderts already suggests the book was intended to be a survey of the different styles within the art of Islamic bookbinding in its heyday; included were bindings from Egypt, South Arabia, Turkey and Persia. One of the last pages of his book contains a reproduction of an Islamic bookbinding from Java, Indonesia. The description of this reproduction is preceded by the following words: "Als Merkwürdigkeit sei zum Schluß noch erwähnt: cod.aq.764" ("In conclusion cod.aq.764 will be mentioned as a curiosity") (Gratzl 1924:34) (see plate 7). This remark clearly illustrates the attitude one had adopted at that time concerning the Islamic bookbindings from Indonesia: they were seen as 'curiosities'. This attitude was partly due to a complete lack of studies concerning the Indonesian variant of the Islamic bookbinding may be the first reproduction of an Islamic bookbinding from Gratzl's book probably represents the first reproduction of an Islamic bookbinding from Indonesia ever.

The western study of the art of Islamic bookbinding is not very old. It all started with the discussion on the Islamic bindings which Paul Adams included in his general history of bookbindings Der Bucheinband: seine Technik und seine Geschichte which was published in Leipzig in 1890. Other scholars soon followed his footsteps and began to study Islamic bindings. As a result several works on those particular leather bindings were published, some of them containing reproductions of bindings. T. Hendley for example wrote an article about the specific style of decoration found on Persian and Indian bindings and G. Migone published a catalogue with several reproductions of bindings. The First World War caused a general decline in the study of Islamic bindings and there were no major works published in those years. But by the twenties, Emil Gratzl was occupied with an extensive study on Islamic bindings the results of which he published in several articles. He was the one who wrote about the different regional styles of decoration on the Islamic bindings. At that time he distinguished only four styles: Egyptian, Persian/Turkish, North African and South Arabian (Bosch, Cartwell and Fetherbridge 1981:1). One can deduce from his use of the word 'merkwürdigkeit'('curiosity') when introducing the Javanese binding in his book Der Bucheinband that he did not consider the Javanese binding as belonging to one particular style. Another major contribution to the study of Islamic bindings after World War I was made by T.W. Arnold and A. Grohmann with their book The islamic book: A contribution to its art and history from the VII.-XVII. century. It was Grohmann in particular who paid attention to the Coptic influence on early Islamic bindings. This same issue was treated in the early fifties by T.C. Petersen. In 1962 another important work on Islamic bindings was published by M. Weisweiler: Der islamische Bucheinband des Mittelalters nach Handschriften aus Deutschen, Holländischen und Türkischen Bibliotheken. It derives its importance from the many
rubblings of bindings contained in it (Bosch, Carswell and Petherbridge 1981:1,2). In more recent years the place the bindings take within the whole of Islamic art has been stressed, the wandering of motifs from art form to art form being the connecting link.

Apart from the reproduction of the Javanese binding and its description in Guatzi's work of 1924 there has been no mention at all of Islamic bookbindings from Indonesia in older literature. Though in the recently (1991) published Golden Letters: Writing Traditions of Indonesia/Sandeet Emna; Budaya Tulis di Indonesia by Annabel Tch Gallop and Ben Arps another, however small, reproduction of a Javanese binding is included (Gallop and Arps 1991:100). The decorations on this binding turn out to be very similar to the decorations on the binding published by Guatzi in 1924. The absence of literature on Islamic bookbindings from Indonesia can probably be attributed to the lack of gold and grandeur of the bindings from Indonesia when compared to the beautiful bindings of other parts of the Islamic world. It is true however that some bindings from other parts of the world, although as unattractive as most of the Indonesian bindings, did attract some interest. But they were only described in terms of an early stage in the development of the famous 'grand' Islamic bookbindings from, for example, Egypt (Mamluk dynasty) or Persia (Timurid and Safavid dynasties). For the Islamic bindings from Indonesia however which are all relatively young and which at first sight do not show any development in their use of decoration and technique this cannot be the case.

In this paper I hope to ascertain the general character of the Islamic bookbinding from Indonesia with special attention paid to the decorations and to distinguish regional styles of decoration. Before I pass on to the reasons for occupying myself with the binding's decorations in particular, I first would like to say something about the purpose of the study on islamic bookbindings from Indonesia in general. As I have already mentioned before, the Islamic bindings from Indonesia which have survived can hardly said to be 'works of art' unlike many bindings from other parts of the Islamic world. It has been this qualification of the Islamic bookbinding as a 'work of art' that initiated the study on Islamic bindings in the past. As the Indonesian Islamic bindings lack this qualification it has been another factor that initiated this study of the Islamic bindings from Indonesia. What can be the purpose of knowledge about the general characteristics of the Indonesian Islamic bookbinding and the regional styles of its decoration? The answer on this question is directly linked to the relatively new branch of science called codicology, i.e. the study of the formal aspects of a manuscript. It covers, among others, the study of writing implements and materials, illumination, rubrication, binding methods, and bookbindings. Results obtained studying those formal aspects can be used in the study of individual texts, their use and their circulation. So the main purpose of codicology is to contribute to another branch of science, namely philology. Thus when one has several manuscripts of one and the same text and one would like to ascertain the relations between the manuscripts in order to make a classification of the variants in the text, codicology can help. It seldom occurs that the date as well as the provenance of a manuscript can be deduced from the text it contains. Using the knowledge gained from codicology one sometimes can place a particular manuscript within a particular manuscript tradition with its own spelling and language variants. For example, in theory it might be possible with the assistance of codicology to attribute a certain manuscript whose date and provenance are unknown to a certain court tradition. This is however not yet possible for manuscripts originating from the Indonesian archipelago because the different manuscript traditions, each with its particular style of illumination, rubrication or bookbinding, have not been subject to studies yet. With this study on the Indonesian Islamic bookbinding I hope to distinguish different kinds of bindings each with its own style of decoration and thus to contribute to a more general study on the different manuscript traditions in Indonesia.

Being one of the first to dedicate a paper to a subject concerning Indonesian codicology I have the advantage to be able to choose from a wide array of subjects. By way of my interest in the Persian language and culture I became acquainted with the beautifully decorated islamic bookbindings from this part of the Islamic world. With their intricate designs, gold and silver stamped motifs and fine filigrane work all meticulously executed they truly are works of art. As Indonesia has been part of the Islamic world for more than five centuries, these bindings made me wonder whether similar bindings could be found in the various collections of Indonesian manuscripts. There is more to a bookbinding than one at first sight would think and each one of the binding's aspects can be chosen as a subject to study. Endpapers, pastedowns, head- and tailband and the type of boards and leather used for the covers all can be studied in a separate way. The main reason I decided to take a closer look at the decorations on the bookbindings is the existence of a rather large corpus of literature on islamic bookbindings. In most cases the discussion on the bindings is based on the existence of different regional styles of decorations. It may be clear by now that no mention at all is made of the Indonesian Islamic bookbinding in these works. Nevertheless they can be used in a referential way while focusing on the Indonesian binding.

Apart from the two reproductions of a Javanese binding mentioned above there is no reference made to Islamic bindings from Indonesia in literature. The literature on bookbindings in general is used to compare the islamic bindings from Indonesia with those of other Islamic regions like Arab, Egypt, Turkey or the former Persia. To find out more about the specific character of the Indonesian binding I went through two collections of Indonesian manuscripts in Leiden, the collection belonging to the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology and the one belonging to the University Library, and noted down which manuscripts were provided with a leather Islamic bookbinding. As it turned out that the University Library's collection of Indonesian manuscripts included almost threehundred manuscripts with an Islamic binding, I did not have the chance yet to take a closer look at the decorations on all the bindings. Therefore, the following remarks about the bindings and their decorations are of a preliminary nature. But before passing on to the Indonesian binding I would first like to turn to the Islamic binding as it is known from the other parts of the Islamic world and its origin.
more square inner panels decorated with small motifs such as crosses, dots, quatrefoils, stars and lines framed by several small panels. Sometimes the inner panel was bordered by small friezes on its upper and lower side. From the ninth century on there were bindings with only one large rectangular panel framed by several narrow bands (Haldane 1983:11). This last decoration scheme later became a characteristic of the Islamic bookbinding.

Reproductions of fragments of Coptic bindings are sparse but Grohmann and Arnold included some in their book Denkmäler Islamischer Buchkunst from 1929. Especially plate 19a is very interesting because it shows a striking resemblance to later Islamic bookbindings with its large rectangular inner panel, narrow frame bands and pairs of mirrored S-shapes (see plate 1) (Grohmann and Arnold 1929:43,44). The motifs used on the leather bindings were based on old Hellenistic motifs and designs which continued to be used for a long time in the isolated Christian monasteries in the deserts where little innovation took place (Haldane 1983:12).

The young Islamic nation probably not only adopted the use of the codexform from the Copts but also the use of parchment and papyrus (Hussein 1970:93). It is not known however whether the book production by the Arabs was initiated by the Copts of Egypt or, already a century before the Islamic conquest of Egypt, by the Abyssinians from Ethiopia. But it is a fact that at the beginning of the seventh century AD the Arabs were acquainted with the codexform. According to Islamic tradition the Quran was the first Arab codex ever written. During the life of Muhammad the different parts of the Quran were preserved on loose sheets held together between two wooden boards. After Muhammad's death the caliph Abu Bakr (632–634 AD) ordered a new compilation of the Qur'an texts to be written by Zaid b. Thabit. Zaid b. Thabit made use of the codexform and thus produced the first Arab codex (Grohmann and Arnold 1929:35). This codex was soon followed by others and, although none of these early Islamic manuscripts have survived, we can assume, the rather conservative nature of the later Islamic art of bookbinding bearing in mind, that their formal aspects did not differ a lot from those of the younger ones that did survive. These Islamic manuscripts consist of a textblock of papyrus or parchment sheets (later on paper supersedes these two materials) bound by means of link-stitch sewing, which is attached to a bookbinding consisting of two covers and a spine, a fore-edge flap and an envelope flap (see plate 2). The boards consist of papyrus or paper board and are covered with decorated leather. As I mentioned before this fore-edge and envelope flap might be derived from a wrap-around flap system which was used on the Coptic manuscripts. But it is not only the use of the fore-edge and envelope flap of the Islamic manuscript that can probably be traced back to the Copts, also its format which was rectangular to almost square, the link-stitch sewing technique, the paper or papyrus pasteboard boards, and the motives used for the coverdecoration are all derived from the Coptic manuscript (Hussein 1970:96,97), (Grohmann and Arnold 1929:67). The Coptic binding can also be considered as the source of several of the techniques used by the Arabs for decorating their bookbindings. When comparing the different fragments of Coptic bindings it becomes clear that a wide range of techniques was used: blind stamping, blind tooling, cutting, mounting, plaiting, punching, filigree work and even painting (Grohmann and Arnold 1929:39–47).

Some of those techniques can also be seen on the Islamic bookbindings, although it seems to me that the
early Islamic bindings display a wider range of techniques than the later ones. Blind stamping, blind tooling, punching, cutting and mounting are the techniques used by the Arabs for decorating their bindings (Graham and Arnold 1929:67). But later on blind stamping, blind tooling and block-stamping, after it had frequently been applied by the Persian bookbinders, became the most used techniques.

The main subject of this paper is the decoration of the Islamic bookbinding from Indonesia as I have already stated in the Introduction. I am concerned not only with the motifs but also with the techniques used on those bindings. To be able to compare the Islamic bookbinding from Indonesia with the Islamic bookbinding known from other parts of the Islamic world I first have to define the general characteristics of this last group. As hopefully has become clear by now the early Islamic binding owed a great deal to the Coptic bindings, not only in technique but also in its use of motifs. The general scheme of decoration of the Islamic binding is in several of its aspects similar to the decoration scheme of the Coptic binding. It consists of a large inner rectangular panel centred by a design formed by means of small single stamps and lines. Four small corner-pieces are placed in the four corners of the inner panel and sometimes additional motifs in the form of small single stamps are used. The panel is framed by several narrow bands each consisting of a different small motif. Those cover decorations were partly repeated on the envelope flap, the central design however being reduced to a smaller one. The decorations on most of the early bindings from Egypt, Arabia and Syria are applied with only the help of a compass and a ruler and are always rather simple. The most common designs are symmetrical and they consist of knot or mesh work. Motifs frequently used in the frame bands are pairs of mirrored S-shapes, blind tooled single, double or triple fillets, mesh work, knot work, plain work, reversed S-shapes, undulating lines, squares, lozenges, rosettes and dots. As the Islamic forces continued to conquer other regions they were continuously confronted with other already existing writing and manuscript traditions, for example the Jewish tradition with their ornate manuscriptboxes and containers and the Manichaean tradition of Persia which was renowned for its lavishly decorated manuscripts (Bosch, Carwell and Petherbridge 1981:4,5). Although their exact contributions to the Islamic book are not that obvious, it only seems logical that those existing manuscript traditions must have had influence on the early development of the Islamic book.

By that time the Arabs no longer had the monopoly on the production of Islamic bookbindings. Amidst newly converted Muslims in Egypt, Syria and North Africa a whole new group of craftsmen slowly emerged, the members of which dedicated themselves to the development and perfection of the Islamic arts. In the field of bookbinding not many innovations took place, but the production of bookbindings by non-Arab craftsmen did result in the differentiation of the style of decoration. But that did not happen overnight and because in this period the Arabs still had a large cultural influence on the arts, the different styles of bookbinding and decoration are considered as belonging to one and the same group, i.e. that of the Arab binding. Within this group three different styles can be discerned: Egyptian/Syrian, North African and Yemenitic/South Arabic. Those three early styles are very similar and sometimes it is very difficult to decide whether a particular binding belongs to, for example, the Egyptian/Syrian style or to the Yemenitic/South Arabic style (Haldane 1983:20,21). The bindings of this period already show the consolidation of the technique of blind stamping and blind tooling and their decorations tend to become more intricate with more mesh and knot work. With the ongoing expansion of the Islamic influence in Persia and beyond, an assimilation of the Persian indigenous culture with the Arab/Islamic culture took place. It was at this point in time that the Arabs lost their dominance in the field of bookbinding. The Persians, with their Manichaean manuscript tradition, turned out to be great innovative artists and although holding on to the older Arab techniques and motifs, they refined old techniques and created new ones. Thus the use of the block-stamp became widely applied. No longer small stamps were used to form, for example, the central design of a bookbinding but one large stamp formed the whole design or, as sometimes was the case, only half the design which was then repeated to form the complete design. Another major change which took place about the fifteenth century consisted of the emerge and frequent application of the delicate almond-shaped medallion which centred the inner rectangular panel (see plate 3). Four large corner-pieces always accompanied such a medallion; they were deeply indented and very elegant (Haldane 1983:67-70).

But apart from the Copts and the Persians there has been another group which has contributed to the development of the Islamic binding and its decorations. In the years 1251-1265 AD Persia was attacked and subjugated by the Mongolian leader Hulagu who founded the dynasty of the Il-Khans. By way of his relations with the Great Khan who resided in China, influence from China started to penetrate into the different fields of Islamic art. An example of the importance of the Chinese contribution to Islamic art can be found in the Persian art of miniature painting in manuscripts. This famous miniature tradition emerged after the Arab miniature painting tradition, which in its turn is based on Greek/Christian/Byzantine painting traditions, merged with Chinese elements (Arnold 1928). It was however not during the reign of the Il-Khans that most of the innovations initiated by Chinese influence took place. A second and a cultural much more important Mongolian dynasty was founded in Persia by another mongolian leader, named Timur Lenk. The dynasty founded by him, the Timurid dynasty, reigned till 1500 AD. At the instigation of the Timurid prince Baysanghur Mirza who was the prime minister of his father Shah Rukh Mirza (1404-1447 AD), a library and an academy were founded. This academy lasted for more than a hundred years and many craftsmen and artists who were trained at this academy later moved on to other regions like Isfahan (the later political and cultural centre of the Safavid dynasty, India (Mughal dynasty) and Istanbul (Ottoman dynasty), thus disseminating the Timurid style of bookproduction (Haldane 1983:67). Under the influence of this Mongolian/Chinese/Persian tradition of painting and bookproduction more floral motifs, like the Chinese lotushead, were used on the bookbindings. The stylized Chinese cloud motif, which most of the times is reduced to a ribbon-like motif, would later become very popular with the Ottoman Turks (Haldane 1983:137) (see plate 5). Thus the decoration on Islamic bookbindings from this time on included scalloped almond-shaped medallions with delicate symmetrical floral work with tendrils, large and deeply indented corner-pieces with the same sort of floral work as the central medallion, small bud-shaped additional motifs on the vertical axis of the inner panel and framebands consisting of several cartouches and corner-pieces or fillets (see plate 3 and 6). Many of the bindings were gilted or painted. The use of painting for decorating bookbindings was already known from the Coptic bindings but was not applied to the early Islamic bindings. Now, under Chinese influence this technique was revived and was especially developed.
during the reign of the Safavid dynasty (1502–1736 AD). Finally this resulted in the technique of lacquer work being applied to bookbindings.

Another dynasty renowned for its lavishly decorated Islamic bookbindings is the Turkish Ottoman dynasty which was founded by Osman I in 1281 AD. The Turkish bindings have been heavily influenced by the Persian bindings for a long period. This Persian influence on Ottoman bookbinding can be explained in terms of a continuous migration of Persian artists and craftsmen, who were trained at the cultural centres of the various Persian/Mongolian dynasties, to the Ottoman court (Haldane 1983:67). This migration of artists and craftsmen to other parts of the Islamic world bears witness of the enormous impact the Persian culture must have had on other neighbouring cultures like those of the Ottoman dynasty and the Mughul dynasty. Again, as was the case with the Chinese/Mongolian contribution to the Islamic bookbinding, a parallel development took place in the field of miniature painting. Many of the early Ottoman miniature paintings betray Persian/Mongolian influence and according to documents kept in the Topkapi Palace Museum in Istanbul there have been several instances of Persian painters being transported to the Ottoman court in Istanbul by Ottoman sultans (Atasoy and Cagman 1974:19, 20). During the seventeenth century the Turkish bookbinders developed their own style of bookbinding and decoration which is characterized by its frequent use of coloured leathers and its use of particular motifs. One of these motifs which became very popular with the Ottoman bookbinders was a motif called 'rumî'; it was based on the form of the deeply serrated acanthus leaf and can be traced back to Byzantine artforms. Another popular motif called 'techi' is of Chinese origin; it is based on the Chinese cloud motif although it frequently resembles a ribbon (see plate 3) (Haldane 1983:137, 138). In a later period this motif was combined with the arabesque motif (Kihneel 1977:10). Eva Wilson mentions another style of decoration which already became popular during the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent (1520–1566 AD):

"... a composite style derived from drawings of an 'enchanted forest' and adopted to scroll designs with additional long serrated sax leaves and fantastic flowers to produce a restless, twisting and turning effect" (Wilson 1988:14).

It is this last design in particular which by the Persian binders was borrowed from the Ottoman bookbinders in the following centuries. But the 'techi' motif, sometimes combined with the arabesque motif, and the Chinese lotus motif are also used on Persian bookbindings from a later period (see plate 4) (Haldane 1983:137).

Finally a word on the bookbindings deriving from the various courts in India. Already long before the famous Mughal dynasty was founded in 1526 AD by the mongolian leader Babur, a descendant of Timur Lenk, Islam was brought to North India by way of invasions by the Arabs during the eight century. Due to the continuous expansion of power by the Turkish Ghamshid dynasty, the members of which were however completely 'Persianized' by way of their close contacts with the Persian courts, Persian elements were disseminated throughout India during the first half of the eleventh century. A new and a much more important influx of Persian elements took place during the reign of the sultans of Delhi (1206 – 1526 AD) when many Persians, among them scholars, artists, poets and craftsmen, fled to North India as a result of the continuous attacks by the Mongols and the growing increase in population. There at the Delhi court they found the protection and patronage they did not receive at the Mongol courts in their homeland. And again during the later Mughal period Persian scholars and artists moved to India, but now to escape from the influence of the Shiahites who dominated the political as well as the religious scene during the Persian Safavid dynasty (1502–1736 AD). In short, considering this migration of Persians to India which continued for centuries, it is not strange to see the Indian Islamic bookbindings resembling their prototype, i.e. the Persian bookbinding. The craftsmen working in India used the same style and techniques as the Persian binders; for example lacquer work was, especially in a later period, very popular with the bookbinders working at various courts in India. Under influence of the painting tradition of the Persian Qajar dynasty, which in its turn was influenced by western artforms, portraits began to appear on bookbindings from India. This phenomenon constitutes the last major contribution to the Indian bookbinding by the Persians (Haldane 1983:177).

With the Indian bookbinding I have reached the youngest known branch of the art of Islamic bookbinding. Having discussed the types of Islamic bookbindings from the various parts of the Islamic world I would like to pass on to the discussion of Islamic bookbindings from Indonesia in the next paragraph.

III The Indonesian Islamic bookbinding

Being primarily concerned in this paper with the Islamic bookbinding I will not discuss the manuscript tradition which includes the various palm tree manuscripts. In trying to ascertain the different styles of Islamic bookbinding in Indonesia I hope to contribute to the distinction of the various manuscripts traditions as being subdivisions of the codex tradition. What I expect to find are traditions which can be defined by means of their regional and/or social aspects.

Contrary to the Arabs and Persians, the Indonesians do not have treatises concerning the art of bookbinding. Moreover, recent studies on the Indonesian art of bookbinding are lacking altogether. Our knowledge about the different stages of bookbinding in Indonesia therefore has to be gathered from the objects themselves, i.e. the manuscripts. It may be interesting in this context to point to the existence of several treatises which are mentioned in Van Ronsseels 'Supplement–catalogus der Maleische en Minangkabauische handschriften in de Leidische Universiteits–Bibliotheek' (1921) on the pages 174–175. They discuss the production of several kinds of black and red writing ink in detail. Lists mentioning the names of bookbinders do exist in the Arab and Persian language are lacking in the Indonesian languages. Sometimes reference to bookbinders is made in private correspondences, for example between European scholars and their informants. In one of Raja Ali Haji's letters to Von de Wall which will be published by drs J. van der Putten mention is made of manuscripts which had to be bound in Batavia. The letter is
Before discussing the different groups of Islamic bookbindings originating from Indonesia, some obstacles I encountered during this study have to be pointed out. The first problem I was confronted with, I already mentioned in the Introduction: the absence of literature on Indonesian manuscripts and their Islamic bindings. In this way I had to turn to more general literature on Islamic bindings from other parts of the world for a model. Next there were the catalogues lacking sufficient information on the material used for the Indonesian bookbindings. As a result I had to browse through both the collections in person and note down the signatures of all the concerning manuscripts. To be able to attribute a certain type of bookbinding and its specific style of decoration to a certain time and place one has to have access to its date and place of production. Contrary to some rare instances in the Arab binding tradition where the name of the bookkeeper is contained in a stamp used for the cover decoration, the Indonesian bookbinders have never used such a device to reveal his identity. Thus it is only the date and place mentioned in the manuscript which can give one a lead to the date and place of production of the bookbinding. The date contained in the colophon can be considered as a date aure quern non for the production of the binding because although it is common practice to provide an old manuscript with a new binding, it seems highly improbable that an old binding is reused on a younger manuscript. Unfortunately only a very small part of the manuscripts originating from Indonesia are provided with a reliable date and place of production. Apart from this, one has to wonder whether the manuscript which was written in a certain place mentioned in the manuscript was not sent to another place to have it bound. I only have to refer to the above mentioned letter written in Sumatra in which mention is made of a manuscript being sent to Batavia to have it bound. It is possible that a binding attached to a dated manuscript is not the original binding. It seems most probable for a manuscript to be rebound only when the original binding was heavily damaged and considering the fact that most of the manuscripts are no older than twohundred years I have assumed that most of the bindings must have been the original ones. Thus in most cases I have used the date contained in the manuscript also as a date for the production of its binding. However this is not the case with some manuscripts which were bought in one time by European scholars and collectors. They had those rather old manuscripts bound or rebound with one and the same bookkeeper thus giving an uninformative look to a most of the times rather amorphous collection. And sometimes rebinding the manuscript left traces like newly attached pastedowns and endpapers or old unused holes in the spine of the textblock. When these phenomena occur one has to be on one's guard in attributing the date contained in the manuscript to the production of the bookbinding.

The manuscripts used to define the different types of Islamic bookbindings and styles of decoration in Indonesia turned out to be of rather recent dates. As I have already mentioned above most of them are no older than twohundred years and as a result of this one can expect difficulties in discerning developments in the use of techniques and certain motifs through time. In the next paragraph the different groups of Islamic bookbinding and their specific style of decoration will be discussed. Once again I would like to stress the preliminary nature of the remarks on the different groups of bookbindings in the following paragraph.
VII. Central Java, 1815-1830 (Plate 8)

The Javanese bookbinding the reproduction of which Gratzl included in his work of 1924 is very similar to several other bookbindings from Indonesia. All those similar bindings originate from Central Java and can be tentatively placed in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Some of the bookbindings have a fore-edge and an envelope flap but others lack those flaps. All bookbindings consist of thin and soft leather over solid leather boards. Most of the times the leather used is of a rather light brown colour and although the textblocks consist of either European paper or indigenous diwangkara-paper (tree bark paper), the most frequently used material for the pastedowns, endleaves or linings is the indigenous material. All the bindings are blind stamped and blind tooled. The upper and lower cover of this type of bookbinding have identical decorations. This decoration is partly repeated on the envelope flap, however the central medallion on the flap is reduced to half a medallion. The fore-edge flap is decorated with the same motifs as are stamped on both the covers but in a different arrangement. The decorations on the binding are discussed next.

The cover has a rather small rectangular inner panel which is framed by a broad frame consisting of several narrow bands the number of which varies from three to eight. The most common arrangement is the one that has five bands the outer of which consists of four blind tooled fillets. This band is followed by a band with a continuous line of pairs of mirrored S-shapes. The third band consists of reversed or normal hatched S-shapes forming an undulating line and the fourth contains mesh work with dotted interstices. The inner band either consists of quatrefoils alternating with dots or a line of small crown-shaped motifs. The inner panel is centred by a scalloped almond-shaped medallion which contains floral work with tendrils. It is defined by a triple line. The four corner-pieces are deeply indented, contain the same type of floral work as the medallion and are also defined by a triple line. There are no additional motifs stamped in the inner panel as is the case with some Javanese bindings from another type. This cover decoration is partly repeated on the envelope flap, but the central medallion is reduced to a half one. The fore-edge flap sometimes has a frame consisting of one or two blind tooled fillets. The same bands as can be found in the frame of both the covers are horizontally placed at its head and tail. The interspace is filled with triangles and roundels containing a large rosette.

The above discussed decoration scheme covers the decorations on most of the bindings in this group, but some variation also occurs. For example, some of the bookbindings from this type have a frame consisting of more or less than five bands. Moreover, although the decoratonscheme is always the same, the quality of the binding is not. Small stamps with delicate floral work which leave clear impressions on the leather attest of good craftsmanship. Ms. Lór. 2027 of the University Library represents an example of such a binding. On the other hand, the binding attached to ms. Lór. 2051 which has similar decorations shows sometimes irregular impressions and coarse floral work in the medallions and corner-pieces. The bindings attached to ms Lór. 2047, 2047, 2051, 2099 and 2157 from the collection of the University Library are examples of this type of Islamic bookbinding from Central Java. Apart from the above mentioned dated manuscripts there are bindings attached to manuscripts which are not dated and the origin of which is unknown, but which are very similar to the bindings discussed in this paragraph. Lór. 1828 is an example of such a manuscript; the ms is not dated but mentions the name of a scribe from Semarang in java colophon.

Although most of the examples originate from this region it may be possible that the use of this type of bookbinding was not confined to Central Java. The existence of a few bookbindings with similar decorations which probably all originate from Semarang, Madura or East Java points to the spread of this type of bookbinding to the North Coast and East Java. The bindings attached to ms KITLV Or. 1, Lór. 1828 and Lór. 2138 can be considered as belonging to this subgroup. This last binding has exactly the same decorations as Lór. 1828, probably originates from Groeik and is dated 1823 AD.

VII.2. &Auml;ngkalan, West Madura, 1891-1892 (Plate 9)

In 1897 a collection of manuscripts of mainly Madurese origin was donated to the University Library by Kiliaan. Most of these manuscripts contain a short note mentioning the place and year of purchase and the price paid for the manuscript. And in some cases the amount of money paid by Kiliaan for having the manuscript bound is also mentioned. The manuscripts were purchased in Bangkalan (West Madura) during the years 1891-1892. Several manuscripts of this collection have the same type of bookbinding with similar decorations. Probably Kiliaan, after having bought the manuscripts, ordered them to be (re-)bound by one and the same bookbinder who possibly worked in Bangkalan. Apart from these similar bindings the collection Kiliaan also contains old manuscripts from East Java and Madura with the original bindings. The Bangkalan-binding consists of thin and smooth, light brown leather over solid leather boards forming the upper and lower cover, the spine, the fore-edge flap and the envelope flap. The inside of the binding is lined with blue paper and some of the bindings are provided with a red, orange and blue or a red and orange sewn head- and tailband. The textblock either consists of European paper or diwangkara paper. The binding is blind block-stamped and blind tooled and the upper and lower cover have identical decorations. The spine is undecorated. Examples of this type of binding are: Lór. 4900a, 4900b, 4911, 4913, 4914 and 4915.

The rather broad inner, rectangular panel is framed by several narrow bands. The number of these narrow bands varies from two to four. The outer one consists of a blind tooled triple fillet and is followed by a band consisting of a line of small dots which is bordered by a line of small triangles. Small quatrefoils in squares separated by a double line form the third, or sometimes the second, band. The inner panel has a scalloped almond-shaped medallion which is defined by a double line. It contains a particular kind of floral work which is specific of the Bangkalan-binding. The medallion is centred by a large quatrefoil consisting of four serrated scrolls. The four quite large corner-pieces are deeply indented and are also defined by a double fillet. They contain a design with peculiar tapering, serrated leaves. Several small additional motifs are used to decorate the inner panel above and below the central medallion and also at its right and left side. They consist of small rosettes, tulip-shaped stylized flowers and a triangular flower motif. The cover decoration is partly repeated on the envelope flap but the central medallion is replaced by half a medallion. The fore-edge flap has a frame consisting of a double fillet. The same two to four bands as are found on both the covers are used on its head and tail and large eight or six petalled flowers, large and small rosettes, tulip-shaped flowers or triangular flower motifs are used to fill the space between the bands.
This next type of bookbinding is a very interesting one for more than one reason. First because of the age of the manuscripts belonging to this group which is rather old and second because of the beauty displayed by its bindings, a kind of beauty which is quite unusual for an Islamic bookbinding originating from Indonesia. There are only four manuscripts in the collection of the University Library which can be considered as belonging to this Bantenese type of bookbinding. Ph. 1970, 1971, 2052 and 2016. Before turning to the description of the general characteristics of this type of bookbinding, I have to say something about the environment in which these manuscripts probably circulated. Although Banten was a genuine Javanese sultanate and produced numerous manuscripts containing Javanese texts, the Malay language was frequently used in texts concerning law, religion, mysticism and administration as was the custom in other non-Malay sultanates. Apart from Javanese literature the sultanate also took part in the classical Malay literature and Malay literary texts were included in the private collection of the sultan and his relatives. Understandably such a royal influence with these texts resulted in beautiful manuscripts and lavishly decorated bindings of a fine quality. I am inclined to think that it is in this light that we have to view the manuscripts discussed next because they all are of a high quality and contain Malay or Arabic texts although they originate from a Javanese speaking society.

This Bantenese type of bookbinding consists of fine soft reddish brown leather over paper pasteboard boards in folio. A fore-edge and an envelope flap are connected with the lower cover. On its inside the binding is provided with a doublure or lining of the same reddish brown leather. European paper is used for the textblock to which a white sewn head- and tailband is attached. The binding is blind tooled and blind block-stamped. The upper and lower cover have identical decorations and the spine is left undecorated.

The unusual broad inner rectangular panel framed by only two narrow bands: a triple fillet and small reversed or normal S-shapes forming an undulating line. The inner panel itself is defined by a single blind tooled fillet. It has a peculiar almond-shaped medallion which is scalloped and which contains a particular kind of floral work with tapering serrated leaves, swiveling tendrils, fantastic flowers and Chinese lotus buds which bears a striking resemblance to a certain Turkish/Persian design on bookbindings from the sixteenth and eighteenth century. The floral work contained in both the medallion and the four corner-pieces is very delicate indeed and bears witness to the high standard of craftsmanship at the time of production. The four corner-pieces are rather large and deeply indented. A bud-shaped additional motif containing a stylized flower is placed above and below the central medallion. This cover decoration is again partly repeated on the envelope flap, the central medallion being replaced by a large type of bud-shaped motif. The fore-edge flap is decorated with one or more cartouches containing flowers and tendrils or the first part of the Islamic creed, the 'syahadat'. Sometimes the cartouches are framed by a double or triple fillet and flanked by small bud-shaped motifs. The doublure has a triple fillet on its outer edge.

Not only in its use of the particular Turkish/Persian floral work but also in its use of the bud-shaped motifs above and below the central medallion, the large bud-shaped motif instead of a half medallion on the envelope flap, the reddish brown leather and the large and deeply indented corner-pieces does this type of bookbinding resemble a certain type of Persian bookbinding from the sixteenth century.

This type of bookbinding which can probably be attributed to the royal court of Palembang resembles the above discussed Bantenese type of binding in various of its formal aspects. Those similarities probably result from the fact that, although Palembang was a Javanese court during several centuries, the Malay language was also used in this sultanate as a 'royal' language. Thus Javanese literature and Malay literature existed side by side as was the case in the sultanate of Banten and the sultanate of Palembang was part of the 'Pan-Malay' world with its particular culture of which the Malay 'grand' bookbinding was just one element. All the manuscripts with a binding belonging to this group contain Malay texts.

This type of bookbinding has a fore-edge and an envelope flap of dark reddish brown leather over paper pasteboard although Ph. 1895 has a binding of blue paper over paper pasteboard. The binding is lined on the inside with white or blue paper. The textblock consists of European paper with a red and white sewn head- and tailband attached to it. The binding is blind tooled and blind block-stamped. The spine is undecorated and the upper and lower covers are decorated in a similar way. Mas Lor 1895, 1896 and 2283 constitute this group of Palembang bindings.

The broad inner rectangular panel framed by only three narrow bands of the outer which consists of a triple fillet. This one is followed by small reversed or normal S-shapes forming an undulating line and the inner band consists of a double fillet. The inner panel is centred by a scalloped almond-shaped medallion which contains delicate floral work with tendrils. It is defined by a single line. The four corner-pieces are large and deeply indented and contain the same type of floral work as the medallion. Small bud-shaped motifs are placed above and below and sometimes also at the right and the left side of the central medallion. This cover-decoration can also be found on the envelope flap, the medallion being replaced by a large bud-shaped motif. The fore-edge flap has the same narrow bands at both the covers and the interspace is filled with cartouches and small bud-shaped motifs.

This type of bookbinding is again very similar to some Persian bindings from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century as was the case with the bindings from Banten. Although heavily damaged, the fine quality of the dark reddish brown leather, the delicate floral work of the stamps and the clear impressions on the leather all bear witness to the royal grandeur this binding once displayed.

Several bindings from Kora Gadang, Bukittingi or Padangpanjang attract attention because they differ in more than one of their formal aspects from the other Islamic bindings from Indonesia. These bindings constitute the group of Minangkabau bindings. Already at first sight it becomes clear that all the bindings belonging to this group have come apart from their original textblock. Some of them have been re-attached to the textblock and others have not. This coming apart from the textblock may be caused by the stiffness of the leather used for the binding in combination with the use of low quality glue. The format of this type of bookbinding is small; browsing through the various manuscripts I have not yet found an example of a Minangkabau binding in folio. As I have already said, the leather used is not the type of soft leather which
can be found on the bookbindings from Java or Madura. The leather used for this type of bookbinding is hard, stiff and thin and has a highly glossy surface. Younger bindings, which can be attributed to the middle of the nineteenth century, consist of leather of a light brown colour, contrary to the older bindings, produced in the first few decades of the nineteenth century, which usually are made out of leather of a darker colour.

The covers consist leather over very thin paper pasteboard boards. The bindings always have a fore-edge flap and an envelope flap. Apart from its stiff glossy leather this type of bookbinding has another particular detail: its use of painting and gilding techniques. Most of the older bindings still show traces of gilded fillets and motifs but the bindings of a more recent date only show yellow and black painted motifs. There is nothing known about the technique of gilding in Sumatra but it is possible that in the past the binders used the yellow paint on the fillers and motifs only as a kind of glue for the gold leaf which was pressed onto the wet paint. This same technique is used until this day even in our own country for gilding for example the faces of a church clock or the name-boards of our yachts. It is possible that, later on when gold leaf was no longer used, they continued to use the yellow paint. The black paint is used sparsely on the bindings, most of the blind stamped and tooled motifs and fillers are painted yellow. Next there is the horizontal and vertical axis of the interior panel which usually is only indicated by a pencil line or by a blind tooled fillet as a guide during the process of stamping. All the Minangkabau bindings have a yellow painted or gilded horizontal and vertical axis which thus form part of the decoration. All the fillers and motifs are blind tooled and blind stamped and some of those motifs are also painted or gilded. The upper and lower cover are always decorated in the same way. Examples of this type of bookbinding are the following ms: LOr 2356c, 14-624, 2014, 6092, 6119, 6987 and 12.272.

The broad frame consists of four narrow bands, the outer of which is a triple fillet. The second band is formed by a line of small S-shapes bordered on both sides by a double fillet. This one is followed by a band of small black painted squares which is flanked by a double fillet. The inner panel has a scalloped almond-shaped medallion containing delicate symmetrical tendril work. The medallion is defined by one or two yellow painted or gilded lines. The large and deeply indented corner-pieces show swirling tendrils with small leaves and are also defined by one or two yellow painted or gilded lines. Above and below the central medallion and at its right and left side a group of four small circles, yellow painted or gilded, are stamped. Both the vertical and the horizontal axis of the inner panel is indicated with gold or yellow paint. This covedecoration is repeated on the envelope flap, but the medallion is replaced by three or four groups of four small circles. The fore-edge flap has a frame of a triple fillet and has horizontal bands at its head and tail, the same as can be found in the frame on both the covers. The inner rectangular panel is filled with dotted lozenges or squares. Of course variations on this scheme of decoration do occur.

An enclosed note in ms LOr 12.272 makes clear that the man who donated this ms to the University Library had found the ms lying on the ground in the streets of Fort de Kock (Bukitting) in 1949, right after the Dutch had recaptured the city. The binding attached to this ms is as a result of this heavily damaged. The note continues with the name of the probable former owner of the ms, Siradji al-Din Abbas. Another ms from this type which is interesting for a different reason is LOr 12.832. This specimen represents the only dated bookbinding from Indonesia I know of. The fore-edge flap has a cartouche with the first part of the 'ayyabat', the Islamic creed, and the date 1219 AH (1804 AD)!

YII Islamic bookbindings from Indonesia: variation on an Islamic theme

The five above discussed types of Islamic bookbindings only represent a very small part of the bookbindings contained in both the collections of the University Library and the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology. Some bindings which could not be incorporated within one of these five groups were very interesting and unique in respect of the techniques and motifs used for their decoration. Although interesting, a discussion of all these unique bindings would fall outside the scope of this paper because these five types of bookbinding already supply enough material to produce a general picture of the Islamic bookbinding from Indonesia. Notwithstanding their various mutual differences, all the Islamic bookbindings originating from Indonesia do share some characteristics. Most of the bookbindings consist of two covers, a fore-edge flap and an envelope flap. For these parts of the binding brown leather is used on leather or paper pasteboard boards and sometimes coloured head- and tailbands are sewn onto the textblock.

The only techniques used for decorating the binding are blind toothing, blind stamping (cold stamps on moistened leather) and occasionally gilding and painting. The upper and lower cover of the binding are always decorated and have identical decorations. Also the fore-edge flap and the envelope flap are always decorated; the spine is left undecorated. The decoration on both the covers consist of one large rectangular inner panel which is framed by several narrow bands, the number of which varies from two to seven. These bands are formed by single, double or triple fillets, or lines of mesh or strap work or small motifs such as pairs of mirrored S-shapes, reversed or normal S-shapes forming an undulating line, quatrefoils, stylized flowers, and small crown-shaped motifs. The inner panel is covered by a scalloped almond-shaped medallion which contains delicate symmetrical floral work. This medallion is defined by a single, double or triple line. In the four corners of the inner panel four large corner-pieces are placed. They are deeply indented and contain the same sort of floral work as the medallion. And likewise, they are also defined by a single, double or triple fillet. Most of the bindings also have one or two additional, mostly bud-shaped, motifs above and below the central medallion. There are also some bindings with the same small motifs also placed at the right and the left side of the medallion. The cover decoration is partly repeated on the envelope flap. Instead of the medallion a large bud-shaped motif or a half medallion is placed at the centre of the envelope flap. The decorations on the fore-edge flap are various but almost all the bindings have a frame consisting of a single or double fillet. The inner panel has small additional motifs such as rosettes or bud-shaped motifs or is centred by a cartouche. Some fore-edge flaps have the same horizontal bands stamped at its head and tail as can be found in the frame on both the covers.

Before turning to the Islamic character of the above discussed type of Indonesian bookbinding a word on the nature of Islamic art. Islamic art is a conventional art. The artists and craftsmen were expected to work within "...established frame works of design and techniques' (Wilson 1988:9). The term 'Islamic art' covers a wide range of different artforms such as architecture, ceramics, metal work, carpets and textiles, miniature painting and of course bookbinding. All these different artforms share some characteristics which together constitute the nature of the 'Islamic art'. Geometry for example plays a large role in all the artforms, although it originates from architecture. Strict adherence to the geometric principles is important in
respect of the harmony which is the base of all Islamic arforms (Wilson 1988:9,14). Geometry has also
been important in the creation of the various Islamic designs. Although there is no explicit prohibition on
depicting living creatures in the Qur’an there has been among Muslims since long an aversion of using the
shapes of living creatures in decorative arforms. Only God creates and all he creates is transitory; it would
be very wrong to try to excel God and to create, in wood, metal or paint, creatures and in this way to
immortalize them. Muslim artists and craftsmen inspired by nature with the help of geometry created
designs of stylized flowers or plants in such a way that they were no longer recognizable as such (Kühnel
1977:3,4). Another characteristic of Islamic art is its ‘horror vacui’. Muslim artists always tried to fill all the
space; an undecorated part of the object could easily cause a particular motif to attract the eye and this
would disrupt the all important harmony (Kühnel 1977:6). The motifs and designs used in one arform were
not constructed to this arform but wandered from arform to arform. A striking example of this process can
be found in a reproduction of a part of the so called ‘Ardebil carpet’ on page 255 of the book ‘Islamische
Kunst’ (Islamic Art) by David Talbot Rice. This Persian carpet originates from the mosque of Isma'il Shaykh
in Ardabil and was finished in 1540 AD. The scheme of decoration as found on this part of the large
rug is exactly the same as can be found on a upper or lower cover of a bookbinding. One can discern the
rectangular inner panel which is centred by a scalloped alond-shaped motif containing symmetrical floral
work and tendrils and the smaller additional motif above and below the medallion. The corner–pieces are
scalloped and contain the same sort of floral work as the medallion. The inner panel is framed by several
narrow bands. One band contains cartouches and the inner band is filled with a stylized Chinese cloud motif
and flowers (Talbot Rice 1966:255). Most of the wandering motifs and designs were ‘invented’ in the royal
centres by architects and by craftsmen working on the ‘Arts of the Book’. Later on these motifs and designs
spread to other arforms and other regions (Wilson 1988:9,10). About the spread of these motifs Haldane
remarks:

‘... styles and motifs in Islamic art are repeated not only over a very wide geographical area and in
a variety of media but also over much longer periods of time than is generally found in Western
decorative art’ (Haldane 1983:8).

Eva Wilson gives a reason for this spread of motifs through space and time. According to her the various
dynasties that were founded in the Islamic world caused that many times in the past artists and
craftsmen moved from one cultural and political centre to another, new one, taking with them their skills
(Wilson 1988:10). One example of such an event is the fleeing of Timurid artists and craftsmen from Herat
to Tabriz, the centre of the new Safavid dynasty, about 1505 AD. The above mentioned academy founded
in Persia by the Timurid prince Baysunghur Mirza in the first half of the fifteenth century also stimulated
the spread of certain, Timurid, techniques and designs to other parts of the Islamic world. So over a long
period the same designs and techniques occur and reoccur with or without minor regional modifications in
the different parts of the Islamic world. That the above discussed type of leather bookbinding from
Indonesia belongs to this same tradition of ‘Islamic art’ I hope to elucidate next.

The general picture we get from the bindings belonging to the five different types of Indonesian
bookbindings shows correspondences with the Islamic bookbindings known from other parts of the world.
To begin with, the use of the fore-edge and envelope flap was widely spread amongst the Indonesian
bookbinders as is attested by the large number of bindings with such flaps. One can even assume that before
the impact of the European influence on the art of bookbinding in Indonesia, all the bookbindings were
provided with a fore-edge and envelope flap. As almost all the Islamic bindings which are not of
Indonesian origin, the Indonesian binding consists of thin leather which is mounted on boards. Only in a
few cases paper is used to cover the boards of an Islamic binding. Paper pasted board was already used as
material for the boards of the bindings in Egypt, Arab, Turkey, Persia and India. In Indonesia paper
pasted board was also used for the boards of both the covers, but next to the more commonly used leather.
Head– and tailbands were very common on non–Indonesian Islamic bindings, but they also may be known
in Indonesia because of the European influence. As I have already pointed out, for ages blind tooling and
blind stamping with cold stamps on moistened leather have been the most commonly used techniques for
decorating the Islamic binding in the whole world and it were these two techniques the Indonesian binders
borrowed from the Islamic bookbinders. The painting of blind tooled fillets as can be found on the bindings
belonging to the Minangkabau type of bookbinding can be traced back to the painted Persian bookbinding
which in its turn goes back to the painted bindings from the Mamluk period (Egypt, 1252–1517) and some
painted bindings of Arabic origin. Gilding, in Raja Ali Haji’s above quoted letter called ‘berair emas’ or
‘perada’, has been used only marginally on Indonesian bookbindings. This may be caused by the fact that the
gilding of bookbindings already reached its zenith in the Persian bookbinding of the sixteenth and
seventeenth century and afterwards never reached this level again.

The scheme of decoration used by the Indonesian bookbinders for decorating the binding is
fundamentally Islamic in its main characteristics. One rectangular inner panel which is centred by a roundel
or medallion, a frame consisting of several narrow bands, a single corner–piece in each of the four corners
of the inner panel, the use of additional motifs above and below the central medallion, the repetition of the
cover decoration on the envelope flap and the replacement of the central medallion on the envelope flap by
a large bud–shaped motif all belong to the scheme of decoration of the Islamic bookbinding known from
other parts of the world. Also in respect of its use of motifs the above discussed leather bookbindings from
Indonesia can be considered as belonging to the Islamic tradition. Single, double and triple fillets were used
on the early Islamic bindings, and before that on the Coptic bindings. Mesh work and knot work which fre-
quently occur on Islamic bookbindings from various parts of the world are part and parcel of the Indonesian
style of decoration on bookbindings as is the case with the pairs of mirrored S–shapes. This last motif is
very common in Islamic art and can be found on several of the oldest bindings originating from Arab,
Egypt and Syria. The type of medallion used on Indonesian bookbindings points to the Persian bookbinding
tradition. It is scalloped, almond–shaped and most of the times defined by a single or double line. It is filled
with the delicate symmetrical floral work and tendrils so specific for the Persian tradition. The four large
corner–pieces are deeply indented and contain the same sort of floral work as the medallion. They are very
similar to corner–pieces used on some Persian bindings. This same correspondence with the Persian
tradition can be seen in the use of small bud–shaped additional motifs above and below the central
medallion by the Indonesian bookbinders. The peculiar medallion with the tapering serrated leaves, Chinese lotus buds, swirling tendrils and fantastic flowers used on the bindings originating from Banten is exactly the same as the Turkish medallion which was later 'adopted' and widely applied by the Persians.

Bearing the nature of its formal characteristics in mind, the above discussed type of Indonesian bookbinding can be considered as a part of the Islamic art of bookbinding. Notwithstanding its correspondences with the other types of bindings of the Islamic world, the Indonesian binding has its own specific style. Older Islamic patterns and designs of various origin recurred on the Islamic bookbindings from Indonesia, but in a modified form. Motifs are borrowed and are applied with minor changes. This is the way the different branches of the Islamic art 'work': basing themselves on older patterns they borrow and modify, thus forming new 'looks' which at the same time look so familiar, i.e. variations on an Islamic theme.

VIII A Persian link?

Having placed the Indonesian leather bookbinding within the Islamic tradition one can wonder which type of Islamic bookbinding it is that the Indonesian binding is most closely related to. Once again one has to turn to the nature of the decorations on the Indonesian bindings for it may be that they give us a clue about the origin of these particular motifs and designs. But first I would like to say something about the time the Islamic binding made its first appearance on Indonesian grounds.

The texts which together constitute the Classical Malay literature as we know it today are, in their original form, contained in paper manuscripts in codex form which are provided with a leather bookbinding. Although there is no absolute certainty about the time and circumstances in which this literature started to be created, it is generally assumed, in absence of older manuscripts, that this took place after the coming of Islam to North Sumatra during the thirteenth century. Together with Islam the codex form, the use of paper and the use of a decorated leather bookbinding to protect the textblock from wear and tear were introduced to the Malay people in Sumatra. Due to the rapid spread of the new religion during the following few centuries people in other regions also became acquainted with this particular kind of codex form and they started to produce similar manuscripts. Thus, for example, the Javanese who since the time the wave of Indian cultural influence had reached the Indonesian Archipelago used palm tree manuscripts for the preservation and dissemination of their literature, now slowly began to mould their literature in the form of manuscripts in the codex form. As the introduction of the codex form in Indonesia is linked to the coming of Islam to this part of the world, we might turn to the process of Islamization in Indonesia in order to solve the problem of the origin of the Indonesian Islamic bookbinding (Jones 1986:121-140). As there are only a few sources which casually mention facts concerning the process of Islamization in Indonesia it is very difficult to ascertain who brought the new religion to which place in Indonesia and from where.

Therefore statements on this subject always have to be considered as being hypothetical. In spite of the scarcity of sources there have been various hypotheses and one of the most generally accepted is the one concerning the direct source of the new religion. This hypothesis assumes that Islam came to Indonesia from somewhere in India. Several places in India have been mentioned in this light: Gujarat, Bengal, Malabar and the Coromandel Coast (Brakel 1970:2). When speaking of the coming of Islam to Indonesia a large role is always ascribed to the Muslim merchants from South and Southeast India who, beside their merchandise, brought Islam to the commercial ports of North and Northeast Sumatra (Arnold 1913:364,365). Although the various hypotheses about the Islamization of Indonesia differ from each other in a varying degree, they almost without exception mention (South) India as a possible source of the early Indonesian Islam.

When comparing the specific Indonesian type of bookbinding with the other national styles of Islamic bookbinding there are two aspects of the Indonesian bookbinding which attract attention. The first one concerns the use of the scalloped almond-shaped medallion containing symmetrical floral work, the four indented corner-pieces and the small bud-shaped additional motifs above and below the central medallion on the Indonesian binding. Although some of these elements, apart or in combination with each other, have been occasionally used on older bindings which are not of Persian origin, the great popularity of these elements in this particular form and combination is initiated by the Persian bookbinders. The correspondence of the decorations on the Indonesian binding with those on the Persian binding becomes the more striking when one takes a closer look to the floral work contained in the medallion, the corner-pieces and the small additional motifs. The delicate symmetrical floral work found on most of the Indonesian bindings shows a striking resemblance to the decorations on many Persian bookbindings from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century. The specific motifs used on the bookbindings from Banten represent another peculiarity. The elegant medallions and corner-pieces used on this type of binding not only resemble decorations on some sixteenth and seventeenth century Persian bindings, but can be said to be identical with them. As already mentioned above, this type of decoration was 'invented' by the Turkish bookbinders using indigenous and Chinese/Mongol elements and was borrowed from them by the Persian binders during the fifteenth century. This type of decoration has gained its fame due to the Persians who widely applied it and as a result of this I am inclined to ascribe the use of these motifs on Indonesian bookbindings to Persian influence, as traces of Turkish influence in Indonesia are sparse contrary to Persian influence which turns out to have had a much larger impact on the Malay culture as one at first may think.

As a conclusion, it seems to me that the Indonesian bookbinding clearly betrays Persian influence. And although not very obvious at first sight, the field of bookbinding is not the only field in which Persian cultural influence can be pointed out. This Persian influence is foremost present in the field of Classical Malay literature which is closely related to the production of books and bookbindings. Many popular Malay texts such as the Hikayat Bakhhtiar, Hikayat Kasih dan Dana, Hikayat Amir Hamzah, Hikayat Muhammad Hafiziyah, Kitab Sersiha Masalah and the Bustan as-Salatin are known to be adaptations or direct translations of Persian texts. In some cases the manuscript containing the Persian text which is assumed to be related to the original which is now lost, does not originate from Persia itself but from India (Brakel 1975). (Pijper 1924), (Van Ronkel 1895). Apart from these texts which are closely related to their Persian
original, there are also Malay texts in which only ideas and quotations of Persian origin are used. Most of these texts are of a mystical nature. Hamzah Fanuri for example used quotations from various Persian sources. He used quotations from the works of Attar and Rumi, from the Luma'at of 'Iraqi, the Gulistan of Sa'di, the Gulistan of Syabistari and the Divan of Maghrabi (Al-Attar 1968:56). In other Malay texts of which the exact origin is unknown, Persian words, Persian names of persons and places and sometimes corrupt Persian verses occur. It is clear that at one time in the past there must have been close contacts between the Malay literature and the Persian literature, although the exact circumstances in which these contacts did occur remain unknown.

Persian elements not only occur in the Classical Malay literature but they were also present in other forms in the Malay world. For example there are some traditions, customs and words in the Malay world which in one way or another are connected to court life or to commerce and which can be traced back to Persian traditions. And when Ibn Battuta visited Pasai in the year 1336 he was received by the admiral's representative who was named 'Bohrus' which is a Persian name. Ibn Battuta also reported that there were several members of an Indian court who at that time stayed at Pasai: Amir Dawiana from Delhi, qadi Amir Sayyid from Shiraz and the shafi'iic lawyer Tajjudin from Iphahen (Marrison 1955:62,63). A verse of the thirteenth century Persian poet Sa'di is incised on a tombstone found in Pasai which is dated 1420 AD. Of sultan Mahmud of Malacca it is known that about the year 1480 he sent questions concerning religious affairs to the court of Pasai to be solved by the theologians from Khorasan and Iraq (Marrison 1955:63).

Besides Pasai there has been another Malay court where the Persian influence was rather strong, the court of Malacca. Several Persians or Indians who had been influenced by the Persian culture and literature lived and worked at the court of Malacca (Marrison 1955:54).

Considering at these different ways in which elements of Persian traditions penetrated into the different fields of the Malay culture, the existence of Persian influence in the Malay world as is attested by the various types of Indonesian bookbinding is not surprising at all. This is even more the case if one takes into account the impact Persian literature must have had on the Classical Malay literature, for the production of literature and the production of books are inseparable from each other. After establishing the fact that the various fields constituting the Malay culture betray Persian influence another question comes to mind. How did these foreign elements come to Indonesia from a culture so remote as the Persian one? The question put this way is in fact not correct, for the Persian culture turns out to be not as remote as it may seem. When I discussed the various ways in which the Persian influence manifested itself in the Malay world several times an Indian aspect was mentioned: the Persian originals of Malay texts originating from India, the Indian traders who probably played a role in the Islamization of Indonesia, the Persians and 'Persianized' Indians who resided at the court of Malacca and the members of an Indian court who originated from Delhi, Shiraz and Iphahen and who visited Pasai in the fourteenth century. Apart from this, the writer of the Malay Bustan as-Salatin, sayyid Nur al-Din al-Raniri, wrote his work as an imitation of the Bustan from the Persian poet Sa'di while he himself was an Indian from mixed blood and born in Gujarati, India (Marrison 1955:62). Moreover India has been pointed out as the source of early Indonesian Islam. It seems clear that there must have been contacts between these two countries since long-time. These same contacts brought other religions, i.e. Hinduism and Buddhism, to the Indonesian Archipelago many centuries before Islam came to Indonesia travelling the same paths. Thus together with Islam, the Persian elements known from Indonesia also travelled these same paths. There has probably never been direct influence from Persia on the Malay world; all the Persian elements came to Indonesia by way of its since long established contacts with India. After the Arabs had brought Islam first to North India during the years 712 and 745 AD, the various Indian sultans of mixed Turkish/Persian/Mongol blood of the so called Slave dynasty, the Delhi dynasty and the famous Moghul dynasty, brought Islam to other parts of India. Side by side with this new religion they also introduced the Persian culture and literature to the people in India. Although some of these sultans did not have Persian as their mother tongue, the Persian language, culture and literature had such a high status among the variousroyal houses in Asia during this period that it was very becoming for a sultan and his court members to be fluent in the Persian language and to occupy themselves with Persian arts and literature. Although the sultans from the various Malay courts did not master the Persian language themselves, they probably had people working for them who could read and write the Persian language. The sultans were acquainted with the traditions and customs of the Indian sultans and ordered their poets to write texts as imitations of Persian texts from India. This was the case the with the Bustan as-Salatin which was written by Nur al-Din al-Raniri by order of the sultan of Aceh (Buskell 1970:9). By way of the contacts between Malay and 'Persianized' Indian courts the Malay people became acquainted with the Persian bookbinding being one of the elements of the Persian culture brought to Indonesia. One might say that in this respect the Malay world represented the fringe of this large Persian sphere of influence.

XI Conclusion

One of the goals of this study was to ascertain the general character of the Islamic bookbinding from Indonesia and to distinguish its different styles of decoration. Although neglected by scholars in the past, the Indonesian Islamic bookbinding has to be considered as belonging to the Pan-Islamic tradition of bookbinding as is attested by several of its formal aspects such as its fore-edge and envelope flap and its decorations. Certain materials, techniques and motifs used by the Indonesian bookbinders turn out to have been used for ages in other parts of the Islamic world. As each Islamic artist or craftsman from all over the world did, the Indonesian binder chose whatever materials, techniques and motifs he liked from his models and used them in a somewhat modified form. This is the reason the Indonesian binding seems strange and familiar at the same time: it represents a variation on an Islamic theme.

I expected to find regionally and/or socially conditioned styles of bookbinding and decoration and this is exactly what I found. The five styles I have been able to distinguish until now are regionally as well as socially conditioned. So the beautiful bookbindings from the courts of Palembang and Banjarmasin consist of fine red leather, are lined with the same leather on the inside and have elegant medallions and corner-pieces containing delicate floral work with tendrils. The bindings belonging to these two types of bookbinding are
of a remarkable quality. Next there is the type of Javanese bookbinding which originates from the kauman in the Middle Javanese cities such as Solo and Yogya. These bindings are rather simple and probably made by orders of the well to do merchants living in the kauman. The bindings from Bangkalan, Madura, were ordered by a European and although the bookbinder was probably an indigenous person he may have adapted the decorations on the bookbinding somewhat in accordance to the European taste. In the Minangkabau area the one and the same type of binding is used for texts of an explicit Islamic character as well as for 'kaba', texts belonging to a Minangkabau literary genre. Most of these bindings are also of a high quality although less attention is given to the attachment of the binding to the textblock, as a result of which many bindings have come apart from their original textblocks. I expect that these five types of bookbinding and the ones which I hope to distinguish in the near future will attribute to the description of the various manuscript traditions in Indonesia which in its turn can attribute to the study of Indonesian texts in general.

What I did not expect starting this study was to find another field on which Persian influence, 'had left its mark', this time in a very literal way. Seen in connection with the Classical Malay literature where an Indian/Persian aspect can be pointed out, this fact corroborates the hypothesis concerning the contacts between Malay and Indian courts and the influence those contacts must had on the Malay court life and, in a later phase by way of the Malay literature, on the whole Malay world.

List of plates

1. Above. Part of Coptic binding, ninth century AD.
   Below right. Coptic binding, ninth/tenth century AD.
   Below left. Fragment of Coptic binding, ninth/tenth century AD.
   (Grothmann 1929: plate 19).

2. Lower cover, fore-edge and envelope flap of a an Arabic binding from the Maghreb (Tunis, 1425 AD) (Gratzi 1925: plate 5).

3. Upper cover of a leather bookbinding. Black leather over paper pasteboard; gold block-stamped. Persia, Shiraz, c. 1500 AD
   (Haldane 1983: plate 70).

   (Haldane 1983: plate 93).


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Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology

International Workshop on Indonesian Studies No. 7

Southeast Asian Manuscripts

The Laguna copper-plate inscription (LCT) (the oldest Philippine document)
A Javanese connection?
Antoon Postma

Leiden, 14-18 December, 1992
ON SCRIPTS AND MANUSCRIPTS IN THE PHILIPPINES: A brief note

Spanish writers in the Philippines of the late 16th century, expressed their surprise that upon their arrival, they found that almost every man and woman could read and write their own indigenous script. It was, of course, the Indic-derived syllabic writing mode, related to the scripts practised in various areas of the Indonesian Archipelago.

Francisco (1973), a Philippine epigrapher, estimates that the Philippine branch of the syllabic script was introduced to the Philippines around the 12th century A.D., at least before the arrival of Islam. Kern (1885) believes the Philippine scripts to be older than those found in Sulawesi.

Nothing definite can be said about their origin, except that they probably are derived from an Indonesian "mother"script.

The Philippine scripts have three separate vowel characters: A, E/I and O/U. They employ 14 consonant characters, with the inherent vowel in A: BA, DA, GA, HA, KA, LA, MA, NA, NGA, PA, SA, TA, WA, and YA. For PA, the character DA or LA was used in certain varieties. Vowel change into E/I was effected by a dot or small line added to the top of the aksara, and for O/U by adding these to the bottom.

Contrary to most of the Indonesian scripts, their Philippine "relatives" have no symbol to indicate the inherent vowel-loss in a syllable, like the Javanese patih (Sanskrit: viraha). However, since the Philippine languages contain many words with closed syllables (VC, VCV, etc.), the lack of a "klinkerdood" makes the correct reading of the Philippine scripts rather difficult, and, without knowledge of the language, practically impossible.

Efforts were undertaken by the early Spanish missionaries to remedy this deficiency by placing a little cross under the akṣara, but this never became popular. Some religious tracts were printed in a stylized version of the syllabic writing, accompanied by a transliteration and translation into Spanish, but further efforts to use the indigenous script for purposes of teaching and communication were soon abandoned.

Aside from the inadequacy of the syllabic script itself, a further reason was the teaching of the Roman alphabet to the Filipinos, who experienced the "new" script as more advantageous.

By the 19th century, the Philippine syllabic scripts were considered to have become extinct among the major language groups, but was found to be still existing among some marginal mountain tribes that had managed to stay clear of Spanish influence thus far.
As of now, the Philippine syllabic script is still existing, and practised, until today, among three ethnic cultural groups, one of which are the Tagbanwa on Palawan Island, and the other two can be found on the island of Mindoro: the Northern Buhid and the Southern Mangyan. However, the indications are that the scripts are involved in a process of gradual extinction, especially among the Tagbanwa and the Northern Buhid.

With regards to the Southern Mangyan, it is still being practised by the older generation, that uses it as a memory aid for recording their traditional poetry. A few years ago I had a book printed in their syllabic script, containing a collection of their folk-poetry. It was a bestseller overnight.

However, their children who are now attending the public schools that have been opened in the mountains, don’t seem to have much interest to keep the "old" script alive. I have been trying to encourage the younger generation to continue to practice the syllabic script, and wrote a primer for the schoolchildren. For purposes of better readability, I introduced (or reintroduced?) the nagin symbol, or pamudpod as it is called now (from: mudpod = to cut off), and it proved much easier to handle. It is being taught in the schools today.

The writing material is traditionally bamboo, but it can be found cut into a tree trunk, embroidered on their blouses, or just written on paper.

An interesting feature is the script written by a left-handed person, because it appears in mirror-type style, and has to be read from right to left, instead of the regular way from left to right.

With regards to original manuscripts in the Philippines, written in the traditional syllabic script, very little indeed has survived.

As far as I know, there are two manuscripts on so-called "ricepaper", each one written in the Tagalog version of the syllabic writing system. The contents of both are about a deed of sale of a parcel of land. These manuscripts are stored in the archives of the University of Santo Thomas in Manila.

Aside from these, there are a number of Spanish manuscripts that carry the signatures of Filipinos written in the traditional syllabic script. Until the end of the 17th century these indigenous signatures can still be found, but after that period, no more signatures are appearing in the syllabic writing.

Some dictionaries of the local Philippine languages during the 18th century, still featured occasionally traditional script examples to illustrate the right pronunciation of certain words, but the script appeared to be stylized very much, and didn’t seem to indicate the continuous practical application of the syllabic writing system.
As to the future of the existing scripts, time will tell.

A. Postma
Leiden
15 Dec. 1992

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**Contemporary Scripts**
1. Hanunoo-Mangyan + Buhid
2. Buhid at Manihaha
3. Buhid at Manihaha
4. Tagbanua - Palawan
5. Antique Syllabaries
6. Kutmi-Ilongo A.D. 450

**Philippine-Indic Scripts:** S-Mangyan; N-Buhid; Tagbanua, etc.
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Note: The table contains characters and symbols that are difficult to translate accurately due to the nature of the script.
THE LAGUNA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION (LCI)
(the Oldest Philippine Document)

A Javanese Connection?

by

Antoon Postma

INTRODUCTION

The new discovery of a copperplate with inscription is not a rare occurrence in Indonesia, although it certainly would be greeted by the experts with great appreciation and expectation. All the more so, when that inscription would happen to be in the Old Malay language, because inscriptions available in that language are less than twenty in number.2

But if this discovery would be made in the Philippines, the northern neighbour of Indonesia, and a relative in the Malayan branch of the Austronesian language family, that would be a great surprise. Indeed, because nothing of the kind had been found in the Philippines thus far, although that country is presumed to belong to the same geographical, historical and political area as Indonesia in its early days.

It is my pleasure to announce, that as of 1990, a copperplate with inscription, similar to the ones found in Indonesia, has been discovered in the Philippines, and that its language is Old Malay, and as such, is certainly a valuable addition to the meager body of Old Malay inscriptions in existence at the moment.

By a stroke of luck it has been my honour to present this extraordinary find to the world of Indonesian paleography, including the Philippines, because I was asked to "give my opinion" on the inscription when it was shown to me in January of 1990, at the National Museum in Manila, where the copperplate is being preserved at present.

At my decipherment and translation of the inscription I gratefully acknowledge the expert advice I received from my good friend Dr. Johan de Casparis, and express my appreciation to the genuine interest shown by Sukarto K. Admodjo, and the late expert paleographer Boechari, when I met them personally in Indonesia.

INITIAL FINDINGS

Laboratory analysis established that the plate was copper, indeed, with measurements of 20 x 30 cm, approximately, and that it contained, on one side only, ten lines of characters of the Early Kawi Script in common use during the 10th century A.D. in the greatest part of insular and coastal Southeast Asia, where inscriptions have been encountered.
The language was clearly Old Malay (or OM), with the usual number of technical Sanskrit words, and, surprisingly, a number of Old Javanese words, not expected in an Old Malay context.

The date was another surprise, because the inscription read 822 Saka, or exactly 900 A.D., more than 50 years after the Old Malay stone inscription of Dann Puhawang Oils (Gandamali I) of Central Java, and more than 40 years before the stone inscription of Kebon Kopi of West Java, both OM inscriptions as well.

Only one plate was found, although the text clearly indicated that there was at least one more plate that belonged to the complete inscription. But any additional plates seem to have been lost forever, due to lack of understanding of its value.

PLAICE OF ORIGIN

It is unfortunate that this interesting copperplate with inscription was not found in the context of a strictly controlled archeological excavation with scientific data, etc. It was said to have been accidentally discovered during dredging activities in the Lumbang river, along the lake of Laguna de Bay, in the Province of Laguna, east of Manila.

However, to lend credence to the allegation, it is a fact that all along the southeastern coastline of the lake, where the river is being dredged for sand, innumerable items of historical value have been brought to the surface. I was told that there had been objects of gold among them, like bracelets, earrings and necklaces. Some bronze images were found as well. Most of these objects ended up in the hands of antique dealers.

I personally went to the old town of Lumbang to investigate the veracity of the allegation that the copperplate was discovered there, and I interviewed various persons, among them the finder himself of the copperplate. I am now quite satisfied to accept the Lumbang river in Laguna Province as the place of provenance of the rare historical document that is now a prize possession of the National Museum in Manila.

For that reason I decided to call it the Laguna Copperplate Inscription, or LCI for short.

CONTENTS

The LCI appears to be a jayapaktra, or a deed of legal judgment, regarding the acquittal of a substantial debt, maybe incurred by a person in high office. The mentioned debt, involved a substantial amount in gold (almost one kilogram!), that apparently was still unpaid. Our “document” of acquittal (the LCI) is executed by, and in the presence of certain leaders and officials of rank, some of whom are mentioned by name, with their respective place (or area) of jurisdiction.

The LCI coincides with the reign of King Balitung (899-910), in Central Java, of which period a great number of inscriptions on copper-plate have been discovered, all of them in the OJ language, most of them Royal Charters, or Decrees, and the majority with the customary elaborate mention of the name of the King.

The LCI does not fit into that picture, because it is not written in the Old Javanese (or OJ) language, is not a Royal Charter, nor does it mention the name of a King, or any other name in the traditional formula.

This goes to show that the LCI that is found in the Philippines, should be evaluated and researched as belonging to the Philippines, and should be analysed from a Philippine standpoint of view.

AUTHENTICITY

An important aspect of the LCI, that had to be established without a shadow of a doubt, was its authenticity, especially so when bearing in mind the various fake “historical documents” that in the past have been presented in Philippine context.

Fortunately, some of the foremost experts in the fields of Paleography and Old Indonesian languages, were readily available with their professional opinions (like the experts mentioned above). They assured me that the LCI is genuine and authentic, as based on the identical script-type, known to have existed during the 10th Century, and the correctness of the language(s) employed. Surely substantial elements that would be hard to imitate or falsify in present times, without being noticed by the experts.

The script of the LCI is well executed, in a regular style, and doesn’t present great diffculties in its reading. A curious writing-error-cum-correction can be found in the inscription, where the last part of a compound Sanskrit-derived word was accidentally omitted by the engraver of the copper-plate. When he afterwards noticed his mistake, he deftly inserted the missing syllable under its intended position, and gave dotted indicators of his amended correction. (See line 3; middleparti fru)

LANGUAGE

In the language of the LCI, there are a number of technical Sanskrit words, common to this type of inscriptions, and a number of OJ words, but the main language of the LCI is clearly OM, with several words that are identical or closely related to the Old Tagalog language (or OT) of the Philippines. Clear cognates to Tagalog of certain words found in the LCI are: anak (child), dayang (noblewoman), hadapan (in front), hutang (debt), lanjan (acquitted of debt), ngaran (name), pamanagat (Chief), tuhan (honorable person), and others etymologically related. As a clarification, however, it should be said that several of these words are shared by the OJ and OM languages as well, as members of the same branch of the great Austronesian language family.
THE TEXT

1) swasti śaka warsatīta B22 waisākha māsa ding jyotiśa caturtha 

2) 'nawāra' sāna tatālā dayang angkatan lawan dngka sānāk bar-

3) ngārān si bukaḥ 

4) anak daṅg2 wahan3 namwan dibari warādāna wiśuddhāśtra ulīḥ 

5) sang pangat segpāti di tūndū-

6) n barjā'2 dang hwan nāyaka6 tuḥān pailah jayadewa, dīkrāna dang 

7) hwan namwan dngan dang kāya-

8) sīvā suddhānu dipar-lappas7 hutangda wālandā kā1 su8 B dīhada-

9) pan dang hwan nāyaka tuḥān pu-

10) liqrān kāsmurān: dang hwan nāyaka tuḥān pailah barjā'ī gānāsak-

11) ti, dang hwan nāyaka tu-

12) hān bānwānān barjā'ī bārūtā tathāpi sādānā sānāk kāparāwīs 

13) ulīḥ sang pangat de-

14) wata barjā'ī sang pangat māngnān barjā'īmāng pangat ya mākānā sādānā anak

15) 9 cūcā dang hwan namwan suddhā ya kāparāwīs dīhutangda dang hwan 

16) namwan di sang pangat dēwata. Ini grang

17) 10 syāt syāpāntāna pascat dīng ārī kumudān āda grang urang baru-

18) jara wūngh lappas hutangda dang hwa

1. The 2nd day of the 7-day week.

2. dang is a honorific particle occurring in OJ and OM texts.

3. hwan seems to be an honorific particle, but it is not known in any OJ or OM inscription. Could it be Old Tagalog?

4. sang is a typical OJ honorific particle, used frequently in OJ inscriptions and usually combined with hwan. It occurs in combination with pentalgat as well.

5. barjā', as suggested by de Caspars, should be read as barjā'ī (to become, to happen to be) like in lines 6, 7 & 8, and is probably an error of the engraver, that he failed to correct.

6. In 10th century Java, a nāyaka was a government assessor for the payment of land-taxes. What function this represented in the Philippines of those days, is not clear.

7. laps in OJ has the same meaning as in OM, in the expression found in the "Vocabulario ..." of Fr. Francisco de San Buenaventura: "laps na ang utang ko sa lya" (my debt to you has now been dissolved, or acquitted).

8. ka is an abbreviation of kati, and su of suwarna. Both words signifying a certain weight of gold. See at the Translation.

9. From here the text continued on at least a second plate which, however, has not been found together with the first one. It might have been disposed off without realization of its value.
(TENTATIVE) TRANSLATION

1 (1) Hail! In the Saka-year 221; the month of March-April; according to the astronomer: the 4th day of the dark half of the moon; on (2) Monday. At that time, Lady Angkatan together with her relative, Bukah by name, (3) the child of His Honour Namwan, was given, as a special favor, a document of full acquittal, by the Chief and Commander of Tundun. (4) the former Leader of Failah, Jayadewa. (5) To the effect that His Honour Namwan, through the Honourable Scribe (6) was totally cleared of a debt to the amount of 1 kati and 8 suwarna (weight of gold), in the presence of His Honour the Leader of Puliran, (6) Kasumuran; His Honour the Leader of Failah, namely: Ganasakti; (and) his Honour the Leader (7) of Binwangan, namely: Bisruta. And, (his Honour Namwan) with his whole family, on orders of the Chief of Dewata (8), representing the Chief of Mduang, because of his loyalty as a subject (slave?) of the Chief, therefore all the descendants (9) of His Honour Namwan have been cleared of the whole debt that His Honour owed the Chief of Dewata. This (document) is (issued) in case (10) there is someone, whatsoever, some time in the future, who will state that the debt is not yet acquitted of His Honour ... B

1. To be considered as preliminary, pending further research.
2. Jayadewa, the Chief of Tundun seems to have enjoyed a higher position than the others, because additionally he was a Sambali, a promotion after having been the past leader of Failah.
3. Although the name is Sanskrit, meaning "Divine (or Royal) Victory", it doesn't necessarily mean that this person was a foreigner. Preferring foreign names to their own indigenous ones, was as much a fashion in former times as it is today! See further: line 6, Ganasakti ("Host of Power"), and line 7, Bisruta ("Famous").
4. Official clerks had to be employed for important documentary transactions, like this legal judicial decision.
5. One kati is about 617.6 grams, and one suwarna (the 16th part of a kati) is about 38.6 grams. The total weight of gold that had to be paid as debt, was 1.5 kati, or approximately 926.4 grams.
6. The persons that are mentioned were the official witnesses required for the validity of a judicial case, or jayapatta.
7. OJ hulun means slave, but also "being subordinate, subservient". It might be that Sir Namwan had technically become a slave, because of his debt, together with his family and descendants, as was usually the case.
8. The name that follows is probably Namwan. This last line might be part of a curse formula, whereby transgressors are threatened with punishment, here or in the hereafter. Unfortunately, we might never know, unless the 2nd "page" will turn up.

LANGUAGES AND PROBLEMS

The main Malay languages of Indonesia and Malaysia, in the course of their exposure to Indian culture, commerce and religion acquired a great number of Sanskrit words, and adapted these to their own linguistic needs and rules, providing them with their own affixes, and simplifying the spelling of these "foreign" words.

However, certain standard, legal and astronomical formulas or expressions, among others, were presented unchanged, and regularly occur in their inscriptions. The LCI is no exception, since the required a great number of Sanskrit words that belonged to the Pali, a language that was spoken in the Malayan countries and its southern neighbours, and it is therefore not surprising that the LCI contains a liberal amount of words derived from Sanskrit, starting as it does with a line in traditional Sanskrit astronomical terms that indicate the date of the inscription in details.

The main language of the LCI is OJ, as stated above, and the "lingua franca" or trade language of the whole Malayan area during those times, it was the medium of communication with outlying regions that used their own indigenous languages like in the Philippines. Problems in understanding this trade language were slight, because the Philippine languages were closely related to the Austronesian vernaculars of their southern neighbours.

In the LCI, aside from the usually to be expected Sanskrit words, and the DJ cognates with OM, there occur also a number of pure DJ words, like nagara (name) and pamalagat (leader or Chief), that have no cognates in OM, and, moreover, have not occurred in any OM inscription thus far. These words are accepted as DJ words, but could be GT as well, because they exist in both of these languages.

TAGALOG MIGRATIONS

Tagalog is the National Language of the Philippines, out of the many languages spoken there, and the reason is undoubtedly, because Tagalog is spoken in the ancient harbour and trade center of Tondo/Manila and its immediate surroundings, the Metropolis of the Philippines.

Recent Philippine linguistic studies (see Bibliography: Zorc), indicate that around one millennium ago Tagalog-speaking settlers must have arrived from Eastern Visayas or Northeastern Mindanao, Philippines, to establish themselves in or around the Tondo/Manila area, joined later (around 1200 A.D.) by Malays from Brunei, and gradually expanding their influence on surrounding social and linguistic (Southern Luzon) groups.

Now it is a linguistic fact that Tagalog, among the many Central Philippine languages, is the one with the largest number of loanwords from Indonesian languages, like Javanese and Malay, including the Sanskrit derived words that had become part of
these languages. This strong Indonesian presence in Tagalog clearly indicates long-lasting and sustained contacts and communication with Southern Indonesian neighbours. When these contacts first started is a question that should be left to historical linguistics for an answer, but it can be presumed that these were already ongoing before the said emigration of the Tagalogs from the southern Philippines.

A surprising aspect of this influence Tagalog has received from Indonesian languages, is the apparent evidence that the Old Javanese language is the main donor of these Indonesian loanwords in Tagalog. Javanese and Malay are closely related, although they are two different Austronesian languages. They have many words in common that came as loanwords into Tagalog, like dagang (princess), garing (ivory), huta (fortification), and similar ones, that occur in both Javanese and Malay, so that either of the two could have been the donor language. On the other hand, Javanese has many words that don’t occur in Malay, and vice versa.

However, it so happens that aside from the liberal quantity of Malayo-Javanic loanwords that occur in Tagalog, there are also a great number of words like halik (kiss), gunita (recollection), kapwa (fellowman), lahat (all, whole), moom (lord), tisaga (endurance), wali (end), and many others, that only are available in Old Javanese in related meanings, and cannot be found in Old Malay. It is even to such a large extent, it seems to indicate that we have to think of a "Javanese Connection" in the Tagalog language of early times.

THE TAGALOG ANGLE OF THE LCI

Returning now to the LCI, it is clear that we are dealing there too with certain Old Javanese influences, like the script and certain words in the inscription. In fact, Dr. de Casparis thought these Old Javanese elements in an Old Malay inscription, to be a very puzzling aspect of the LCI. Words like ngaran and pangalat shouldn’t have been there, because they are pure Old-Javanese words, that can’t be found in Old Malay.

With the help of the Tagalog language, more insight could be given to solve this perplexity, especially so, since ngaran (OJ) is used with the prefix bar- (OM). In an OM inscription, one would have expected bar-nama, instead of bangngaran (to name), because nama is the (Sanskrit-derived) word for "name" in Old & Modern Indonesian/Malay.

Pangat (or pangalat) is another OJ word that frequently occurs in OJ inscriptions (not in OM ones), often preceded by the honorific OJ sang like in the LCI. On the other hand, those acquainted with the Tagalog language will recognize pangat immediately as a Tagalog word as well, in rather common use, though at present mainly with the meaning of "title of a book", or "heading of a chapter".

The oldest Tagalog dictionaries (see: Bibliography), present-
ing the linguistic picture of the 16th Century (and probably earlier, since words are slow to change), mention namagat as a title or "special name" for persons. It seems, moreover, that even at the beginning of the 20th Century, namagat was still used as a title for important persons.

The abbreviated forms magat and gat were used in OT as well, and still fashionable in the Philippines at the arrival of the Spaniards in the 16th Century. Moreover, until now there are the surnames of persons like Gatdula, Gatmaitan, Gatbonton, etc. in the Philippine telephone directory, as a reminiscence of once existing titles for Chiefs (namagat) in charge of certain limited territories in pre-Spanish Philippines. Likewise, there was the title of a noblewoman, or the wife of a Chief, who was addressed in Tagalog as deskang, a word occurring in the LCI as well (line 2).

Therefore, the word namagat, repeatedly (5 times) mentioned in the LCI, might well be the common honorific reference to Chiefs, or important persons, in the Philippines of the 10th Century A.D., "borrowed" from the OJ namagat, a common word also in that language of those early times, though not used anymore in Modern Javanese.

PERSONAL AND PLACE NAMES

Aside from Tagalog related words for the linguistic aspect in general, the LCI mentions also a number of names of persons and/or places, and close attention should be paid to them, because they might furnish vital clues regarding the political and topographic background of the LCI.

One of the personal names, Bukah, cannot be doubted, because it is introduced by the OJ (and Tagalog) personal marker bi (line 2). Other names without the SI prefix, seem to be more in conformity with its use in OM inscriptions.

Other possible personal names are: Angkatan (line 2): Nam-wran (passim); Jayayedewa (line 4) as well as Ganaskati (line 6) and Bisurata (line 7).

The toponyms or placenames are: Pailah (line 4+5), Tundun (lines 3), Puliran (line 5), Binwangan (line 7), Dewata (line 8), and Mbang (line 8). Also Kasumuran (line 6) as a possible qualifier to Puliran.

Philippine (including Philippine) names are: Angkatan, Binwangan, Bukah, Kasumuran, Pailah, Puliran, Tundun and Mbang, and maybe Namwran as well. Names of Sanskrit origin are: Bisurata, Dewata, Ganaskati, Jayayedewa (G. J. & J. are both compound words).

LAGUNA DE BAY OR BULACAN PROVINCE?

Since the LCI is allegedly found in the Laguna de Bay area, Pulilan, as the old name for the southeastern lake area, according to some old Tagalog dictionaries, might be considered as one of the candidates for the LCI Puliran.

In fact, I personally was convinced at first, that in Pulilan, along Laguna de Bay, I had located the place Puliran mentioned in the LCI (line 6), and also Pailah (line 4+6), that easily could have been the earher name of Pila in Laguna. Moreover, archaeological excavations near Pila has indicated this area to be "one of the most important centers of trade, as well as of culture, during the early part of the present millennium ...".

However, it seems that Pulilan was a popular town's name in the early Philippines, because another town with the same name can be found in Bulacan Province, north of Manila. Therefore, Pulilan along the Angat (pronounced Angat) River, in the Province of Bulacan, I thought to be a better candidate. All the more so because, after carefully studying the map of Bulacan Province, I additionally found at the headwaters of the same river, the village of Paila, in the Barangay of San Lorenzo at the eastern part of the Municipality of Norzagaray.

Furthermore, along Manila Bay, north of Manila (and Tondo!), is located the village of Binwangan, belonging to the Municipality of Obando, situated at the mouth of the Bulacan River. One can further find, as an unexpected bonus, to the north of the town of Calumpit, along the large Pampanga River (but close to the Angat River), the village of Gatoluda, that seems to refer to the name Bukah in line 2 of the LCI. All this encouraged me to consider the northern Manila district of Tondo-Boracay, a separate town in earlier times, situated at the mouth of the Pastel River, as the synonym of the name Tundun in line 3 of the LCI.

By having shown that five of the (place)names mentioned in the LCI, find their counterpart name within the limited area of what is now known as Bulacan Province in the Philippines, I think a basis has been established for a working hypothesis, that the LCI is referring to this portion of Bulacan Province in the Philippines of the 10th Century.

It is important to note that all these five places mentioned, separated from each other at varying distances, are situated along a river, or rivers, that enabled the 10th Century Filipinos to make use of them as an effective (and often only) means of transportation and communication between the different settlements. Moreover, these "water-highways" were (and still are) emptying into the open sea (China Sea), by way of Manila Bay, and offered the seafaring traders of China and further Southeast Asia, an easy access to interior trading centers via these riverine communication-lines. It can further be presumed, that during those times, these rivers running much deeper, and certainly were more navigable than they are today, in view of the present deteriorating ecology and especially, since the Ipo and Angat flood-control dams have been constructed at the huge watersheds area of the Angat River.
I wish to state expressly, that the strength of the argument in favour of locating the LCI placenames in the Philippines, i.e., the Province of Bulacan and neighbourhood, is not on the basis of the similarity of mentioned names to be found there (some are also found somewhere else in the Philippines), but on the fact that these names are found there collectively in a unit, in a geographically limited area, and interrelated to each other as possible trade centers located along natural waterways.

With regards to Dewata, mentioned in line 8 of the LCI, it could be a personal name or a placename. As to the latter, the map of Mindanao mentions Dewata (or Diwata) in three locations: 1) as Diwata Point of Butuan Bay; 2) as Diwata Mountains east of Butuan City, and 3) as Mount Diwata further to the East.

It should be remembered that archeological excavations around Butuan City in Agusan del Norte have established trade relations with datings that go back to the 10th century A.D.

Speculations about a possible relationship of the Diwata area (= Butuan and surroundings) and the LCI might not be considered too far fetched.

THE IMPLICATIONS

If the above supposition is correct, it means that the Laguna Copper-plate Inscription (LCI) can be considered the oldest calendar-dated Philippine "document" existing at present in the Philippines, predating by some 620 years the Pigafetta account of the Magellan exploratory expedition in 1521, a date considered to be the start of Philippine history.

It further means that the Philippines, or part of it, under whatever name, can now take its rightful place on the 10th Century map of Southeast Asia, in the presence of the Kingdoms of Srivijaya (Sumatera), Majapahit (Java), Angkor (Kampuchea), and the Champa Dynasty (Vietnam).

De Casparis called the LCI: "One of the most important discoveries of late", for reasons that: 1) the Philippines has now been freed from its pre-Spanish isolation; 2) a well-organized form of government based on customary law apparently has been existing for more than a thousand years; and 3) an important link in the history of the Indonesian (and Tagalog) languages has been established.

I believe that in the light of this new historical evidence for an organized political existence of part of the Philippines, all previous pre-Spanish historical data pertaining to the Philippines, will have to be re-examined and re-evaluated. Take, for example, a certain Chinese Record of the 13th Century, where mention is made of the place Pi-ju-ju, and another Chinese record of the 14th Century where Ma-li-liu is mentioned, both of which are considered to be identical. Scott mentions (e.g., p.73) that "a consensus of scholars has come to consider (Ma-li-liu to
be) Manila*. I wonder if Pulu-lulu could have been identical with Pullian.

However, this paper is only a initial presentation bound to be preliminary, and imperfect in its analysis, but certainly sufficient to whet the curiosity and interest of historians of the Philippines and SE Asia, as well as paleographers, linguists and sociologists of these areas.

When the Kota Kapur inscription, one of the famous 7th Century Sriwijayan Inscriptions published by Professor Hendrik Kern in 1913, after three years of intensive studies, it was more than 20 years after its discovery in 1892, and eight years after the death of Brandes in 1905, who had studied it for more than ten years.

After Kern, the giant in paleographic, linguistic and historical scholarship of India and SE-Asia, scholars of lesser stature, but giants nevertheless in their respective fields of expertise, like Blagden, Cosdes, Ferrand, Kron, etc. and de Casparis as late as 1956, published subsequent translations and commentaries of their own, further amending its original interpretation, and maybe the last word has not been said about it yet, pending further discoveries and studies.

Compared with this one and other famous OM inscriptions, the Laguna Copper-plate Inscription is still in its toddling infant stage of research, because it is just a few years ago since it arrived at the Manila National Museum. And only in August 1990 I presented my initial findings, with thanks to de Casparis for his suggestions, to the forum of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association at its 14th Congress in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

At that time I met Boechari, the Indonesian expert in paleography, who was so kind to give me his impromptu comments studying the LCI with me on the spot."

After I discovered the geographical location of the toponyms mentioned in the inscription on a Philippine map, an improved version of my paper was published in the Manila National Museum Papers in May of last year (1991), followed by an updated version in Philippine Studies of last May of this year (1992), and a lecture in September at the University of the Philippines with a further amended interpretation, based on additional studies and research.

With this presentation at an International Workshop on Indonesian Studies, with the topic: Southeast Asian manuscripts, I have incorporated the latest insights that have been gained through further research and welcome comments from interested scientists. Moreover, I have stressed certain aspects of the LCI that will be better understood and appreciated in an "Indonesian context", and might lead to clearer interpretations of this OM copperplate inscription that belongs to the Philippines.

So now I'll be looking eagerly forward to the improved translations and critical commentaries of the Laguna Copper-plate Inscription by the available experts in the field, so that eventually Philippine scholars can consider the impact the LCI might have had on Southeast Asian history in general, and Philippine history in particular.

In the meantime, the pleasure has been mine in having been able to present my humble findings to this gathering here at the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology in Leiden, with my ardent expectations that the LCI will be subjected to earnest studies by those scholars who could further contribute to its better understanding and thus lead to its eventual final analysis.

N O T E S

(1) Ethnographer of the Mindoro Mangyan Culture, and researcher of Philippine Paleography. Director of the Mangyan Assistance & Research Center at Panaytayan, MANSALAY, 5213 Oriental Mindoro, Philippines


(3) I am grateful to Dr. de Casparis for correcting my previous erroneous reading of 844 Saka, or 922 A.D. which was based on the samples presented by Holle (1882).

Interestingly, it is not the first time that the reading of the number-character for 4 has caused doubts, whether it should be read as a 2, or not, and vice versa.

The classical case happened with two other jayapatras (Sarkar (1972): # 73 & 90, Vol. II, pp. 90 & 198 resp.), where Brandes, Stutterheim and Goris disagreed among each other, about the correct reading of the number 4 or 2 in the Saka dates.

J. Damals (1951/52), in his phenomenally ingenious study on the dating of Indonesians inscriptions, proved Brandes and Stutterheim wrong in the first case (829 Saka), but proved Goris wrong in the second one (844 Saka).

I feel comfortable with the thought that even the experts make their mistakes!

(4) To my knowledge, there are not many jayapatras available for a comparative study with the LCI. The ones best known can be found in Sarkar (1972) Vol. II, # 73 & 90, whereas in Brandes (1918) Vol. II, # 79 & 85, additional ones are presented. But sometimes a jayapatra has strong elements of a presasti, or a deed of a land grant, as well.

However, the LCI has all the elements of a "pure" jayapatra, and as an OM inscription is a unique one.

(5) Kern makes some interesting semantic observations regarding
(6) Dr. de Casparis wrote: "The language of the LCI is for me the greatest problem. The basis is undoubtedly DM, but there is apparently an OJ influence as well. "I can't explain very well the Javanese influence on the language of the LCI." (Personal communication)

(7) Bika in Modern Indonesian/Malay; mag in Tagalog.

(8) In DM inscriptions, like the one of Gandaali (Casparis 1950, pp. 61-62) and Bodjokerto (Boechart 1966, p. 245), the Sanskrit derived word name is used as the regular DM word for "name".

(9) Davang in the LCI would be difficult to maintain in its DJ meaning of 'prostitute'. Here too a Tagalog meaning would make more sense.

(10) See also Kern: Verspreide Geschriften, Vol. VII, p. 51, where he refers to the Tagalog kamagat.

(11) It might be possible that in the LCI we are dealing with a Philippine brand of the DM language, prevalent in that area during the 10th century.

(12) It should be noted that the personal marker d occurs regularly in Tagalog before a personal name, without implying any meaning of contempt or disparagement, and as such, might be different from OJ and DM interpretations.

(13) It is interesting to observe that apparently the LCI is the only DM inscription where d is used as a personal marker.

(14) During a short stay in Yogjakarta in August 1990, I consulted the "Repertoires Onomatiques" of both Damais (1970) and Damas-Setiono (1976/77) for any mention of the toponyms occurring in the LCI, but I found none in these two studies, except for the name of Mbang that does occur in DJ inscriptions earlier than the LCI. (For Mbang as toponym, see: Stutterheim (1940), o.c. p. 20.) Tundun or tunduh (Tondo!) does occur as well in DJ inscriptions, but not as a placename. Tundun and tunduh are synonyms in the DJ language, both derived from the Sanskrit tunda with meanings of: "beak, snout, trunk". In DJ the meaning shifted to: "face, front (side)". (See Zoetmulder, s.v. Tundun and Tunduh)

(15) San Buenaventura: Vocabulario... 1613, Noceda-Sanluca: Vocabulario... 1860, and Lakawi: Diccionario... 1914, are among them.

(16) The r/l shift is a regular feature in Philippine linguistics [e.g. ngaran/ngalen (name)] and does not change the meaning. It is, moreover, a regular consonant change as well in Tagalog loanwords from OJ, e.g. halik-areki asason-racun, etc.

(17) Tenazas (1960); o.c. p. 13.

(18) Might this give an explanation for kasumuran as a qualifier to Puliran, to distinguish it from another Puliran that did not have the characteristics of kasumuran, that in OJ/OM could mean "with a well (= sumur)?"

(19) I am grateful to Isagani Medina for pointing this out to me. Later I found it confirmed by the Official Census Data for 1960.

(20) The coordinates for this district and the other preceding ones are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pulilan</td>
<td>14° 54.2' N &amp; 120° 50.8' E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fallan</td>
<td>14° 54.5' N &amp; 120° 06.9' E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binangan</td>
<td>14° 42.2' N &amp; 120° 54.3' E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gatubac</td>
<td>14° 35.5' N &amp; 120° 45.9' E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tondo</td>
<td>14° 36.9' N &amp; 120° 58.3' E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(21) In 1920 a golden statue (of 21 karats and weighing 1791.5 grams) was washed up on the banks of the Butuan River, and was declared by archeologist Bosch to be strongly influenced in style by Javanese similar statues, especially the bronzes of Nganjoa. In 1991 an ivory seal stamp was discovered in the same area, bearing the OJ relief inscription of ibutan (at Butuan). The type of script suggested a date of the 11th century or earlier. Furthermore, a thin rolled-up goldstrip was reported from the Butuan area, with an inscription in old Javanese characters in Sanskrit. De Casparis recognized it as a mantra, often used as a charm and inserted in devotional statues.

(22) I don't mean to assert that the Philippines was a Kingdom of sorts during those times, but only that it was existing as a trading center or centers for its Chinese or Malayian "neighbours".

(23) Chao Ju-kua's "Chu Fan Chih" (An account of the various barbarians) of 1225 A.D.

(24) Wang Ta-yuans "Tao I Chih Lo" (Summary notices of the barbarians of the isles) of 1349 A.D. cf. Scott 1904, p. 73, and Wada 1929, p. 147

(25) I was very sad when I learned from de Casparis that Boechart had died in May 1991.

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APPENDICES:

1) Vocabulary;
2) Gold, Debts and Slavery.
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APPENDIX 1

Laguna Copperplate Inscription (LCI): Tentative Vocabulary

Abbreviations:

J = (Old) Javanese
B = Bisaya (Phil.)
Bul. = Bulacan Province, Phil.
K = Kapampangan
M = (Old) Malay/Indonesian
NN = Tagalog Vocabulary (NS in UST, Manila), before 1913?
NS = Noceda/Sanlucar: Tagalog Dictionary (1860)
S = Sanskrit (derived)
SB = San Buenaventura: Tagalog Dictionary (1613)
SL = Serrano Laktaw: Tagalog Dictionary (1914)
T = (Old) Tagalog
W = Wilkinson: A Malay-English Dictionary (2 vol.)
Y = Mangyan (Mindoro, Phil.)
Z = Zoetmulder: Old Javanese - English Dictionary (2 vol.)
& = et cetera; and others as well
? = uncertain
1-10 = line of the inscription

-a (M) 10 suffix
urang barujara 10 a person is stating, saying
l Eda (M) 10 that there is, there are
sádánya sának 7 all of his/her relatives
sádánya anak cucu 8 everyone of his/her descendants
-an (M) suffix
hadapan 5 in front
kamudyán 10 subsequently; thereafter
kasumaran 6 (personal/place?) name; qualifier to Puliran?
-anak (J/M/K/Y) 3 8 child; son/daughter [anak (T)]
anak cucu daw hawan namwran 8-9 descendants of his Honour Namwran
anakda daw hawan namwran 3 son/daughter of his Honour Namwran
sának 2 7 relative(s)
angkatan 2 personal name (?)
dayang angkatan 2 Lady Angkatan
ári (M) 10 day [ári (M); ári (T)] on the day
(d)bar- (M) 2 to become; represent; to wit
bárdi (M) 7 to become; represent; to wit

+bhakti (S) 8 devotion; trust; loyalty
dari bhaktinda 8 because of his/her loyalty
binwán 7 toponym; (Binwingan, Obando, Bulacan, R.P.)
náyaka tuhán binwingán 7 the Leader of Binwangán
bi'sruta (J) 7 personal name; [bi'sruta (S) = famous]
bukah 2 personal name; Bukah
bárdi (M) 3 to become; Ebari (M); ibye (K); bigay (T);
was given

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Z = Zoetmulder: Old Javanese - English Dictionary (2 vol.)
& = et cetera; and others as well
? = uncertain
1-10 = line of the inscription

-caturtha (B) 1 fourth day (of the ....)
caturtha krśna-pakṣa 1 the fourth day of the waning moon
cucu (M) 9 grandchild(ren);
anak cucu 9 descendant(s)
-dā (M) 9 10 possessive honorific suffix; (-da = -nda)
anakda 3 the son/daughter (of His/Her Honour)
hutangda 5 9 10 his/her debt
dāna (S) 3 gift; donation;
varadāna 3 special gift or favour

-jang (J/M/T) possessive honorific title
dang hawan namwran 3-4 9-10 His Honour Namwran
dang hawan náyaka 4-6 His Honour the Leader
dang kEyastha 4 the Honourable Scribe
dari (M) 8 from; since; because of
bhaktinda 8 because of his/her loyalty
dayag, (J/M/T) 2 prostitute (J); noble-woman (M); wife of leader (T)
dayang angkatan 2 Lady Angkatan
dewata (S/J/M/T) 7-9 God (J/M); fairy/nympth (K/T); placename in Mindanao
dang pangat dewata 7-8 (the) Chief of Dewata
di sang-pangat dewata 9 to the Chief of Dewata
di (M) passim at, on; by; through; passive tense
dibari 3 was given
di hadapan 5 in front of; in the presence of
di hutangda 9 to, with his debt
dikrama 4 thru conduct, behaviour; by action of (?)
diparhulun B was a slave; a subject, etc.
diparlapas 5 acquitted (from debt)
di sang-pangat 8 to; (the) Lord
di tundun 3 at, in, of Tundun (Tondo)
ding (M) 10 (same as di, but only in DM)
ding ári (M) 10 on the day
ding jutiga 1 1 according to (the) astronomer/astronomy
dingan (M) 2 4 (together) with; by [dengan (M); dungan (B/Y/K)]
dengan sañak 2 with his/her relative(s); cf. dengen (OJ) = companion
ganašakti (S) 6 personal name; [ganašakti (S) = host of power]
ganašakti 6 to wit; Banasa
grang (M) 9 10 if, perchance [gerang (M); galang (K); barang (Y)]
grañ grang urang 10 there might be a person
grañ grang 9 if this, however, possibly
hadap (M) 5 front; opposite; [hadap (T); harap (K); rap (K)] in front of; presenting oneself before
hulun (J/M) 8 slave; subject; subordinate [hulun (M)]
diparhulun 8 was a slave, subject, etc.
di hutangda 5 9 10 debt; [utang (K/T/Y/B)]
hutangda 9 to, with His/Her debt
hutangda 10 His/Her debt
hawan (T) possessive honorific title; = hyang (OJ) ?
howan namwran 3-4 9-10 His Honour Namwran
dang hawan náyaka 4-6 His Honour the Leader
hutangda 5 9 10 his/her debt
hutangda 9 to, with His/Her debt
barjadi sang pangat 8 representing the Chief of ...  
Jayadewa (S) 4 personal name; lit. royal victory; diwa = spirit (T)  
tuhan pailah Jayadewa 4 Jayadewa, the Elder of Pailah  
ayotiga (S) 1 astronomer  
diyotiga 1 according to the astronomer  
kakati (S/J/M/T) 5 certain weight for gold [617.6 grams (?)]  
k 6 7 9 10 prefix  
kamudyan 10 later; thereafter  
kapaравис 7 9 altogether; complete  
kasumuran 6 qualifying Pulin 7; [sumur (J/M) = a well]  
kamudyan (J/M) 10 following: hereafter; [kamudian (M)]: kamudik (J) = rudder  
ding 粥 kamudyan 10 at a following day: in the future  
(kaparравис (J/M) 7 9 altogether; complete: [havis (M)]: [havis (J) = finishing]  
будна санак kaparравис 7 all his/her available relatives  
сужда ya kaparравис dihutang 9 completely acquitted from his/her debt  
kasumuran 6 place name (?); [sumur (J/M) = a well]  
tuhan puliran kasumuran 6 the Elder of Pulin-with-a-well (?)  
lkayastha (S) 4+5 person of the Kayasth or writer caste; scribe  
dang kayastha 4+5 the honourable scribe  
l krama (S) 4 conduct; behaviour; action;  
dikrama 4 thru conduct, behaviour; by action of (?)  
kang (S) 1 the dark half (of the moon)  
kragenapaksha 1 the dark half of the moon; waning moon  
(+)lap(M/T) 3 10 freed; acquitted; [lapas (J/M); laps (T-SE+NS)] diarpapussa hutangda 5 (she) has been acquitted of his/her debt  
lawon (J) 2 together with His/Her ...  
maik (M) 8 and; then; subsequently  
makka 8 month  
misaika maika 1 in the waisaka-month (about March-April)  
mang (B) name of person or place (?)  
mang (Mang) mang 8 his/her relative(s) (brother or sister)  
+ na (M/T) 2 with his/her relative(s) (brother or sister)  
maika 8 and; then; subsequently  
mang 8 addic cuku 8 all his/her existing descendants  
mawar 3-4 10 personal designame; [mawar 3-4 10]  
dang hwan mawar 3-4 9(12) 10 (?) His Honour Mawar  
l naya (S) 4 5 6 leader  
dang hwan naya (B) his/herHonour the leader  
--na (B) possessive honorific suffix (--na = -da)  
dari bhatkinda 8 because of his/her loyalty  
saadanda (M) 7 all his/her relatives  
ngaran (J/Y/B) 2 name; Engalan (T); nama (M)  
barang si bukah 2 being named Buka  
pailah 4 6 toponym; [Paila, Bulacan, or Pila, Laguna, R.P.]  
tuhan pailah Jayadewa 4 Jayadewa, the Elder of Pailah  
naya (S) naya pailah 6 the Chief of Pailah  
(kpaka) (S) 1 lunar month  
krupnasapaksha 1 on the dark side of the moon  
pangat (J) 3 7-9 official; Chief; megat (M)  
imagat (T) 1 pangat (k/T) = special name; title (of book)  
sang pangat 3 7-9 the Honourable Chief  
par (M) 5 B prefix; [per- (M); pag- (T)]  
daparanulah 8 was a slave; subjected to someone  
diarpapussa 5 was acquitted (from debt)  
kaparравис (J/M) 7 9 altogether; complete  
pascat (S) 10 next; following; subsequent  
pascat ding 3 10 on the day following  
patra (S) 3 document of complete debt acquitted  
puliran 5 6 placename; [Pulilan, Bulacan, or Pulilan (NN+BN+NS)  
SL = Laguna de Bay], Laguna, Philippines (?)  
tuhan puliran kasumuran 5-6 the Elder of Pulin-with-a-well  
sak (M) 3-7 9 prefix of intensity (expressing a following vowel)  
(i) all that belongs to him/her  
(s) all that belongs to him/her  
(u) all the related "children"  
 superintendent 6 all of them; [sa-a da = saa (M) = as many as be]  
san~ (M) 7 8 all his/her existing descendants  
saadanda san~ 7 all his/her available relatives  
saka 822 1 the Saka-year of 822 (900 A.D.)  
(S) 1 sam~ (M) 2 3 5 9 the Honourable Chief  
(s) commander; person-in-charge; army-chief (M)  
pangat sang san~pati di tungan 3 the Honourable Chief & Commander of T.  
(tungun (J/M/T/1) personal designame in various degrees  
(tungun 3 4 9-12 10 (?) His Honour Tungun  
swasti saka warsathta 822 1 1 Ha! The Saka-year of 822 (900 A.D.)  
swasti saka warsathta 822 1 Ha! The Saka-year of 822 (900 A.D.)  
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A dictionary usually gives the equivalent word from one language to the other. However, in the oldest Tagalog dictionaries mentioned above, you will get much more. They will give you an adequate definition and description of each word, often with its origin and use, and will illustrate this with a number of related sentences in both Tagalog and Spanish.

As concepts like gold, debt, slavery and class-distinction in the LCI are coming to the fore, I tried to familiarize myself with these words in the SJ & SB dictionaries, and early Spanish writings.

The amount and wealth of information available there, relative to each of these concepts, was amazing indeed!

GOLD

Already Scott, in his essay on Tagalog Technology as culled from SB, wrote: "One of the richest vocabularies in the whole dictionary is that pertaining to metallurgy and metal-working, including special subdivisions for goldsmithy and jewelry."

The quality of gold was subdivided in accordance with its karat contents, and the weighing scales were always available (there was a special bag for carrying them around!) to determine the differences from 24 Karat, the dalisay gold, till the poorest kind (below 10 karat), the botok gold, that was mixed so much with silver and copper, that it could hardly be called "gold" at all.

As to the practical use of gold, Scott further writes: "Goldsmithing almost doubles the metal-working vocabulary with more delicate tools and sophisticated techniques like soldering, fusing, enameling, filigreeing - and adulterating - to produce dozens of varieties of chains and necklaces, brooches and pendants, pectorals and collars, diadems and bracelets, beads, rings, anklets and arm-bands, earrings and plugs, and dental inlays. It was, as a matter of fact, the glitter of just such gold chains dangling from Filipino necks that first dazzled the eye of the Spanish conquistador - those kamagi as thick as a man's finger and reaching down to the chest, or the six-strand gamaw or lokay-lokayan which so completely disappeared into colonial coffers that the terms were already archaisms when Father San Buenaventura recorded them."

DEBT & USURY

Though gold appeared to be in possession of almost everyone to a greater or lesser degree, it was not uncommon, it seems, that rather suddenly, for one or other reason, one could find his
gold treasure completely gone. SB presents various Tagalog words for the Spanish acabar, "to find oneself without any valuable possessions whatsoever".

One of the reasons for this sudden reduction to the state of poverty, might be explained by the central theme of the LCI, expressed by the word hutang or debt, mentioned there several times.

In the SB the process of incurring debt is graphically described by a series of related words expressing the notion of borrowing in various degrees, with the attached rates of interest upon repayment.

Depending on the agreement, a debt could increase on a daily, monthly or yearly basis by as much as 100 %, or, upon repayment within any time period agreed upon, with an increase from 50 to 150 % interest. Usury at its best (or worst!).

If not paid with money, landproperty was another means of payment, or service to the person indebted to. However, any food or other needs provided during these "service" activities, was chalked up additionally again as debt, etc.

When a debt was finally paid, one could say (in OT): "lapas na ang utang ko sa iyo" (my debt to you is now now dissolved), using almost the same words present in the LCI.

If, however, in the end the debt could not be paid, either by money or by temporary servitude, the debtor could legally be forced to become a slave, often together with his whole family and descendants, thus becoming the victim of a purposeful scheme of the one who lends him the money, i.e. to acquire a cheap but valuable working force.

SLAVES

Upon the arrival of the Spaniards in the Philippines in 1521, and fifty years later in Manila, they found established among the local population an elaborate and complicated system of permanent servitude or slavery.

A wealth of early Spanish documents is still available attesting to this, and explaining in detail the intricate complexity of an enslavement maze that displayed the whole gamut of subservience and merciless exploitation.

Many slaves were born that way, and acquired as a "heritage" by a new master after the death of the former one. Others were purchased, after having been captured by pirates on one of their frequent maritime raids, coming from nearby or far, from the North or the South. The term given by SB for buying or selling slaves, is simply bayar, also meaning: "to pay".

On the highest rung of the enslavement ladder stood the namamahay, the slave that could live with his family in a house of his own, a privilege he had acquired by paying for it in gold. He could be called by his master for work activities, but had more freedom than the slaves of a lower class.

The sañgigilir slave stayed at the bottom-part of his master's house, who claimed total "ownership" of him and his family, and treat him in any way thought fitting.

The lowest types of slaves, and the most wretched, were those whose master was a slave himself, whether a namamahay or a sañgigilir, for there was little or no hope for any improvement in their miserable state.

Freedom from slavery could be obtained by 'paying the price' which was higher for slaves of a lower class. Sometimes they became free, or maharlika, at the death of their master, through an express stipulation in his testament.

Once free, a maharlika could be considered on the same social level as a timawa, a commoner or a person who had never been a slave before.

Altogether, slavery was a taken-for-granted social situation during the 16th Century, and all the indications are there, that, in view of its complex design, enslavement had first started many centuries earlier.

SOCIAL CLASS DISTINCTION

From the above it is clear that there were different degrees of social recognition in pre-Spanish Philippine society.

Those on the top were the Principalities, the Chiefs, the Leaders. They were the ones who possessed most of the gold and the power that came with it. However, the territory of a Chief or Pako (also Maginoo) was usually rather limited.

The early Spanish reports on the situation in the Philippines mention that the Chiefs "ruled over but few people, sometimes as many as a hundred houses, sometimes even less than thirty". Also "it often befalls that in one village, however small it may be, there are five, six, or ten chiefs, each of whom possesses twenty or thirty slaves, whom he has the power to sell, or treat as he pleases".

With regards to the different Chiefs referred to in the LCI, their territory would indeed be limited, if the placenames discussed above, prove to be Pulilan, Pila and Tondo, because these places are located within a short distance from each other.

The next social level, below the Chiefs who were a class in itself, was apparently occupied by the timawa, the commoner, and the maharlika, who was no longer a slave. Still, they had their obligations to their Chiefs, and had to avoid the dangers that could cause them to be punished or even be reduced to enslavement
for often flimsy reasons.

The lowest of the social ranks in early Philippine society, probably constituting the majority of the population, was composed of the slaves, who among themselves had their own ranking system, as described above.

The supreme skill and competence of such a refined and exquisite technique on goldsmithing; the elaborate and ruthless debt-and-repayment usury apparatus, that could, and often did end up in abject slavery for generations to come; and the inevitable subdivisions in the class-strata of established society, they all didn’t sprout up like mushrooms overnight, but had to take root for a considerable time, before they could develop into the incredibly complicated systems as described by SB, and to a lesser extent by his contemporary lexicographers MN & SJ.

Returning now to the LCI, and noticing the brief and matter-of-fact mention there of the situations described in detail by SB and others, as propounded above, would it then be considered as too "preposterous" or "unfounded" to construe a possible link between these two extremes in time, even if separated by a considerable number of years?

NOTES:

2) Scott: l.c. p. 533.


5) On these points the early Spanish reports were rather confusing, and sometimes even contradictory. This reconstruction is based on information culled from Pedro de San Buenaventura.

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Southeast Asian Manuscripts

Overview of materials used in Cirebon manuscripts
Titik Padjadjaran

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OVERVIEW OF MATERIALS
USED IN CIREBON MANUSCRIPTS

Titik Pudjiastuti

1. Introduction

If we are talking about Javanese manuscripts, we realize that our knowledge is still very little. Until now, the only manuscripts considered on Javanese are coming from Solo and Yogyakarta. Little attention is paid to Pasiesir manuscripts. The study of Javanese manuscripts -- though it has been studied for more than 100 years -- is mostly done only in the field of literature and philology, while little attention is paid to codicology. Even now we still don't know exactly the physical characteristics of such as: the Solo, Yogy, Madura, Cirebon, or Banten manuscripts. Therefore, in my paper, I should like to describe the material used for the Cirebon manuscripts. Let me first start with some information about Cirebon.
2. Cirebon

Geographically, Cirebon is included in the province of West Java and corresponds to the former Dutch residency of Cirebon; it consists of the kabupaten (regencies) of Cirebon, Kuningan, Majalengka, Indramayu, as well as the municipality of Cirebon proper. The region covers an area of 5,642.569 km². The region is bounded on the east and northeast by the province of central Java, on the south by the regency of Ciamis, on the west by the regencies of Sumedang and Subang, and on the north by the Java sea (Abdurrahman 1982: 11).

As one of the centers of Pasisiran or coastal literature in Java (Pigeaud 1967) and the center of the expansion of Islam in West Java (De Graaf 1989), Cirebon is rich with historical sites. Physical structures such as keraton, old mosques, ancient buildings, traditional pesantren and centres of Javanese-Islamic tradition are all found in relative abundance.

In addition to such well known antiquities, the historical landscape of Cirebon is also revealed by the wealth of manuscripts still surviving in the region. Cirebon manuscripts are kept in two circles, keraton and community. By keraton circles is meant the four local keraton, namely: Kasepuhan, Kanoman, Kacirebonan, and Keprabanan, as well as the royal relatives who stay within the keraton wall environment. Society circles, by contrast, refers to the keepers or owners of manuscripts who reside outside the keraton walls. They include guards of sacred grave sites (diwanangkatan keramat desa), village chiefs (luwuh), cultural liaison officers (penulis kebudayaan), school teachers,
and artists. In addition, village meeting halls (Balai desa) and district offices (Kantor kecamatan) also occasionally have small copies of manuscripts.

3. Material of manuscripts

Based on my observations in the field of old manuscripts in Cirebon, are written on various kinds of materials. Below is the description about those manuscript materials.

3.1 Lontar (palm-leaves)

Throughout much of Java, Bali and Lombok lontar (palm leaves), are the most common medium for book making. Cirebon manuscripts which are written on lontar are large in number, most of them originating in the non-keraton community. Those lontar are found in two forms namely Jempiran and embat-embatan. Most of the lontar jempiran manuscripts are those made from palm-leaves with the spine (lid) remand. embat-embatan manuscripts still have the spine attached. Both sorts may be protected by wooden and boards (peperangkap kaya) and tied with a string (wrapped not threaded). Some embat-embatan are folded over three or four times and made more compact for storage. This seems to be a special features of Cirebon lontar. Generally the Cirebon lontar manuscripts are not placed in a keropak, but in let open without protection or wrapped with cloth as a holy object.

 Concerning the production process of lontar, seeing that its physical characteristics do not differ much with the lontar of Bali (the difference is possibly only in form and size), it may be assumed that the production process is the same as the lontar in Bali. For clarification, please read the articles concerning lontar by Ginarsa (1976) and Grader & Hooykaas (1941).

3.2 Cirebon Paper

This paper, under typical storage conditions, is soft, pliable, never brittle, and frequently frayed, displaying fibers that are 'hairy' like cotton. The term Cirebon paper is the temporary name. I am using to indicate the paper which manuscripts owners in Cirebon refer to as cotton paper (kutai). This is a hand-made paper which is traditionally processed by using simple equipment. Some of characteristics of this paper are:

a. In a worn condition, the paper is hairy and feels soft like cotton

b. The profile is not flat, in one sheet of paper if it is made open, it will be seen that a part is rather thick and another part is thin, even transparent.

c. The paper surface is ivory-yellow with a sheen, thin and smooth.

d. Because of its smooth shining surface, this paper does not receive ink well. As a result, when the paper is damp, the ink may easily be removed, though it won't smear.

e. Its fibers appear to be intact and stretched the full length. Other dyes that in the production process, its raw material is not destroyed by making pulp, but is flattened and stretched
by hitting again and again or by rolling. Besides that, its fibers are tough and strong, and are not easily broken.

f. When used for covers, the paper is left thicker, more rough, it has no sheen, and is dark brown in general because it is colored with sap of tree bark *angsana*.

Seeing these characteristics, it is not surprising if the Cirebon community supposes that this paper is made from cotton. Especially since most of the paper which is found in Cirebon is indeed damp or worn condition, so that the paper appears hairy. It is interesting to note that paper has a smooth sheen, there are some people who suppose that it is *telo* paper, the paper which the raw material is from cassave roots.

According to an analysis of a paper sample done at the botanical laboratory "Herbarium Bogoridens" of the Balitbang (development research agency) of botany of LIPI (Indonesian Science Institution) Bogor, the raw material of Cirebon paper is not from cotton or cassave roots but from the bark of tree of the *beringin-beringinan* sort (family *Moraceae*).

According to Heyne (1987), a Dutch botanical expert, the fiber of the bark of the *moraceae* family, indeed has a tough characteristic, not easily be broken and is durable. Therefore it is much used as material for cloth and paper production.

Heyne mentions two types of plants, the bark of which is used as a raw material for paper (1987: 2033). The first, *Broussonetia papyrifera* tree, known as the mulberry paper tree (*papan-kerperibada*); in Indonesia it is called *pohon sepukau*. The second is the *pohon deluwang*. Although both trees have bark which may be made use of as the raw material of paper, but Heyne was unable to ascertain that both trees are of the same type, as physically they are quite different.

Trustingly Heyne's information, it seems likely that it may be the raw material of Cirebon paper originates from the same family as the *sepukau* and *deluwang* trees, namely from a member of the *moraceae* family. But to determine precisely which species of the tree further research is needed.

As regards the problem of place and process of its making, all matters are still vague. It may be, as is the case with *deluwang* paper produced at the Tegalari pesantren in Ponorogo, that Cirebon paper was also a product of pesantrens which existed in Cirebon. The more if we pay attention to the text of the manuscripts which use Cirebon paper, both from the keraton and community circles. It is seen that most of the contents constitute Islamic teachings such as: tarekat, mahrifat, tazauf and prayers. Meanwhile, from an informant, Idah Dyajakepani who gave the information, that most manuscripts kept in the keraton most of them are indeed gifts from pesantrens which still exist in the Cirebon region.

For a description of the manufactory process for the Ponorogo *deluwang*, see Soetikno (1939). Heyne asserts (1987: 661)

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3 The *pohon sepukau* is a tree that originates from China; it is widely distributed around the globe in a variety of climates and belongs to the forest tree type. Its characteristics include: being a small plant, with a stem measurement not more than an arm, its height is twice the man's height, it never blooms but sends up new shoots from its root network. These shoots are also easily transplanted (Heyne 1987: 644). The *pohon deluwang* as the other hand, is a shrub which is only known in the Tegalari village, Ponorogo, East Java. Its characteristics include: being a small plant of which the stem measurement is only 1.3 - 2.5 cm, and its height 2 - 3 meters, its stem has a dark red colour and sends up new shoots from its root network. These shoots are also easily transplanted (Soetikno 1939: 191).

4 He is uncle of Sultan Sepuh from the keraton Kasepuhan. He is also one of the responsible persons of the library of keraton Kasepuhan.
that as long as the equipment and technology used are traditional, this process does not change widely from place to place, so we may assume that tree bark paper production in Cirebon was similar to that in Ponorogo.

3.3 European Paper

Most of the manuscripts originating from the keraton and community circles are written on European paper. European paper is easily known, as in general its watermarks or chain lines and laid lines are visible in the paper. From a number of sample manuscripts which I examined this research, I have observed the following watermarks:

1. The paper which does not possess a watermark, but only chain lines and laid lines. There are laid lines containing between six or ten lines in one centimeter.
2. Countermarks: J. DOMAS, WENO H.C., or SUPERFINE 1896.
3. Beehive, surrounded by plants and countermark in the form of the initial MS & Co.
4. A figure 4 with its foot in the crotch of a letter W.
5. Strasbourg Lily.
6. A plain lily without other ornaments.
7. Crown lion in medallion all its varieties, including:
   - VRFHEYT
   - PRO PATRIA EUJUSQUE LIBERTATE, countermarks include IV, KONING & DESYARDIN.
   - CONCORDIA RESPARVAE CRESCUNT, countermark include K & HS & Co. W R & Z.
   - PRO PATRIA EENDRAGT MAAT MAGT, countermark include HF DE CHARRO & ZOON, VDL.
   - PRO PATRIA EUJUSQUE LIBERTATE.
8. Garden of Holland, countermarks such as: D & C BLAUM, H I & ZOON, or C & I HONIG.
9. A sort of celtic cross with an X in the middles.

10. The paper having a watermark in the form ascarved oval shield the under part becoming pointed and in the centre there is a picture of a man in the moon (see Behrend, Pencetakan Kerja Proyek Mikrofilm FSU).

3.4 Lined paper

A large number of more recent Cirebon manuscripts from both the keraton and community circles, use lined paper. It seems that its format has a relation with the contents of a manuscripts. Lined paper with a folio size (21 x 33 cm) is mostly used for writing long texts, such as babad (chronicles) or legend texts, while lined paper of a smaller size (16-18 x 21 cm) is used for writing short texts and contains study material such as prayers or prambon (divining manual).

4. Japanon Ink

One other significant codicological feature of Cirebon manuscripts is the distinctive ink. This ink is called by my informants and collectors of manuscripts in the community as 'tinta japaron' japaron ink. It is generally met in manuscripts, the material of which is of Cirebon paper. This ink has the following characteristics:

a. having a pitch black colour,
   b. is reflective a shiny
   c. does not dissolve if it comes in contact with water so that it will not run or be observed in the paper.
   d. it has a distinctive order.

In Gegesik district, the Kusw (chief) of north Baysanluq Lor village, owns a set of equipment that its owner identifies as inkstand. Those equipment consists of two small ceramic earthen pots with feet with the measurement of 14,5 x 15 cm with a height of 4,5 cm, and a ceramic bowl with cover, having a
diameter of 8 cm with a height of 11 cm. In these three tools, reaminders of dried ink are found adhering to the surfaces.

Based on Heyne (1987) and Lemmens (1992) from a number of plants which are usually made use of as dye substances, only one type is mentioned as being able to be used for making ink: the *anacardium occidentale* (Anacardium occidentale) or in Indonesian, *'jambu mede'* (cashew tree).

The *'jambu mede'* is a large tree, the height of which is 8 - 12 m, with a stem measurement reaching 40 cm. The origin of this tree is from South America and it grows in tropical regions. The oil from the thick skin surrounding the cashew nut is used to make ink. This oil contains *cardol* and *anacardium acid*. *Cardol* although it is very poisonous (if it comes in contact with the skin, it may cause a terrible rash), but it is very durable and cannot vanish easily. As for *anacardium acid*, in a compound with ammonia it is very useful as an oil for blackening hair (Heyne 1987: 1225). Another benefit from this tree is the sap of the trunk which may be made use of as a very good paper glue. According to Heyne, a book with glued with this sap will not be attacked by insects (Heyne 1987: 1224).

In Cirebon, the word *japaros* is not only known as ink, but also as a fragrant oil (a kind of perfume; yellow coloured and has a special smell), which is thought to originate from Arabic countries. The Javanese word *japaros* probably comes from Arabic *za'farân*, meaning saffron (Indonesian: kasumba).

Given this meaning, it is quite possible that the raw material of *japaros* ink is a mixture of cashew nut and saffron oil, especially considering the specific smell of *japaros* ink. But, to know all these with certainty, further research is still needed.

5. Final notation

From several problems which I have submitted, I wish to extend some notations:

1. Almost all of the manuscripts found in Cirebon, are in alarming condition, damaged or damp. One large bag of lontar manuscripts which I saw, at the *Bali desa* of Bayalangu, Begerir district, are totally damaged, broken into small pieces, which are difficult to be put in the right order and impossible to be read. Cirebon manuscripts are severely threatened, and should be immediately given attention if they are to be saved.

2. Manuscripts materials which are met in Cirebon come in many varieties. Even at the Sumber district office several pieces of small stone are kept, each of which contains three lines of writing (all are in letters of the Pegon alphabet). According to the head of the cultural section of the district office, there are large numbers of these stones, but in the hands of some people. The writings on these stones seem to contain a story about *Balad Cirebon*, because from a part of those exiting stones, some names are found such as Cakrabuwana, Susuhunan Faqiyah Mangkualam etc.

3. As it is the case about European paper which are much used as the materials of manuscripts in Cirebon, after having been checked with the pictures of seal in the list of paper seals which have been arranged in good order by Churchill (1935) and Heawood (1950). It may be known that most of them are European papers which were produced around the 18th up to 19th century. There are only two watermarks (9 and 10) which are found in the samples of Cirebon manuscripts are not be known in the sample of the watermark list composed by Churchill and Heawood.
4. Whereas concerning Cirebon paper and japaran ink, I have presented preliminary and partial results of my research or an introduction to the findings. More dependable conclusion must away further research.

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Divine letters: writing and lontar in Bali
Raechelle Rubenstein

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DIVINE LETTERS
Writing and Lontar in Bali

by Raechelle Rubinstein

I. Introduction

Balinese traditional palm-leaf books or lontar are made from the 'leaf' (ron) of the 'Palmrya palm', the *Borassus flabellifer* (jala). They are inscribed with a small, sharp knife called a pangrupak or panquik. The incisions are then blackened with soot from an oil-lamp mixed with ash.

The lontar encompass a vast range of writings that include correspondence, records, administrative documents, regulations of many types, prose texts, poetry, historical-genealogical texts, vocational manuals, philosophical texts, liturgical texts, and so on. The languages in which they are composed are Balinese, Kawi and Sanskrit. These languages are not only related lexically, but also chirographically, for they are written in a common script, which I will refer to as Balinese script, with additional letters used for the classical Kawi language and Sanskrit.

The Balinese words that designate 'script' are aksara and sastra/tstra. They mean "letter" as well as "syllable", signifying that Balinese script is a syllabary. Sastra/tstra also means "written text". All of these words derive from Sanskrit, and this points to India as the source of writing in Bali. Balinese script is also related to scripts found elsewhere in Indianized Southeast Asia, such as Javanese, Burmese, Thai and Khmer. However, all are mutually unintelligible because of their different appearances, having undergone development at the local level (Guy 1982:6).

Balinese script has attracted Western scholarly attention since the second decade of the 19th century, when serious commentary on Bali commenced. It is within philological circles that interest in script has been greatest, but not because it has been considered a subject worthy of study in its own right, rather because it is the medium of lontar texts and is the key to reading them. Thus, the philological enquiry has focused almost exclusively on their contents, that is, on their words, while virtually ignoring other features that contribute to meaning, such as script, spelling, colophons, and the character of the collections from which they derive. Departures from this approach are few and relatively recent in the 140 year history of the textual criticism of Balinese lontar texts. They include a short critical commentary on the philological approach to these texts, and a short section that deals with scribal errors that arise from features of handwriting in Worsley's edition and translation of the *Rahad Rulieng* (1972:92, 97-101), also, a new approach to text editing and translating implemented by Van der Molen in the *Kurjarakarga*
which is used by a wide range of literate practitioners whose vocations can be broadly described as magico-religious.

The text relates the divine origin of letters, in short, that all writing has a divine origin and is, therefore, charged with life-force, with supernatural potency. It classifies writing into three categories: wreasta or horestra, swalita or swalita, and modre. It relates that each category was created by one of three deities who comprise the divine triad named Sang Hyang Tiagarâna. These deities are described as Hyang Guru Bokha (God of Writing), 6 Sang Hyang Kawêswara (God of the Lord of Poets) and Sang Hyang Saraswati. The text also associates each category with chirographic form and sound. 7

Wreasta consist of the basic 18 letters of the Balinese alphabet. The text relates that they were created by the god Sang Hyang Kawiwsara. Their sound is described as "firm" or "definite" (âkârâ). 8 Their form is "moving" (molâh), possibly a metaphor for their ability to combine with other letters in a sequence that leads to the formation of words.

The second category consists of the swalita, a term that has been interpreted in various ways; 9 some manuscripts of the Tutur Ali Saraswati define it as "ang" (àng) being the phoneticization of the sacred syllables 7 (àng) and 3j (âh). In some mystical texts, ang and ah are associated with Buddha and Siwa respectively (Buddhism and Hinduism are the Indian religions that have influenced Balinese traditions that have influenced Bali). Ang is also one of three sacred syllables that comprise the ongkara or om, the symbol of the single, supreme divinity, which is sometimes used as a focus in meditation. Other manuscripts define the three sacred syllables as the "coming together" (patâmô) of the gods Brahmâ and Wisnu in the rvabhineta, which is a philosophical formula that denotes the inseparable but opposite nature of all elements in the universe. 10 Alternatively, it is interpreted as "forming one letter" (manegek âstra). Sang Hyang Guru Bokha is named as the creator of the swalita. The swalita’s sound is described as a bee or a bird awaiting the fall of rain: the humming of bees and the reverberation of the sacred syllable om are often equated in Bali. Most manuscripts of the Tutur Ali Saraswati characterize the swalita as a "living letter" (âstra urip). The origin of this epithet may rest on the association of the swalita and the ongkara. The ongkara has another name, prãwaja, which derives from the Sanskrit root prãw, which means "life" or "breath of life" (Monier Williams 1976:s.v.).

The final category of letters is termed modre. There are 2 standard definitions of modre. It is defined either as the dasâkara (the 10 sacred letters), or as a fusion of them. These definitions represent modre diagrammatically. 11 The text mentions that modre were created by Sang Hyang Saraswati. It refers to them as "dead letters" (âstra mati), which may be a metaphor for their unpronounceable

II. The Divine Origin and Supernatural Potency of Script

When a lontar can no longer be used, for example, because it has been damaged, it is not thrown away. Instead, it is burned. It is burned, because the Balinese believe that letters, like the human body, have a divine origin and are charged with life-force, with a soul. Upon death, this must be liberated from its material bonds through cremation so that it can return to its origin. There is nothing surprising about this belief given that religion in Bali is not a complementated aspect of life but an inseparable facet of the universe. It is only natural that religious beliefs, including the notion of omnipotent gods, should extend to reading, writing and the literary world. 12

The philosophical foundations of this and other beliefs about letters together with details of some rituals that accompany literate activity are detailed in a number of literature. The key text is the Tutur Ali Saraswati (The Religious Doctrine of the Sacred Writ of Saraswati). The goddess Saraswati, like her Indian counterpart, is popularly associated with eloquence, literature, and learning. According to pictorial representations she holds a lontar among other attributes. 13 The Tutur Ali Saraswati is a basic manual

(1983), in which he drew inspiration from the distant Middle Dutch philological tradition and investigated the history of his manuscripts and their traditions, including paleographical and codicological features.

Apart from philological scholarship that touches on script, a number of studies have appeared that deal, either explicitly or in passing, with various aspects of script, such as its description (including manuals for teaching script), its history, morphology, alphabet, mysticism, and its rituals associated with literate activity (e.g. Schwartz 1931; Niti Sastro & Dj’iantik 1931; Simpen 1979; de Casparis 1975:42 passim; Ginaras 1980; Goris 1926:55-135; Weck 1976:67-80; Hooykaas 1964:21-39; Soebadio 1971; Tzuruchin 1987:7-27, 41-63, 95-105 passim; Rubinstein 1987:57-89, 169-206, 236-272 passim). However, a comprehensive study of Balinese lontar script is still lacking.

In this paper I explore one aspect of script — the way in which the Balinese perceive it. In fulfilling this aim, I will examine relevant lontar texts. It will also be necessary, at times, to move beyond the narrower, codicological domain of what the inscribed palm-leaf has to impart on the subject, and consider a range of Balinese beliefs and behaviour regarding literate activity.

In the following sections of this paper I examine the divine origin of script and its supernatural potency, atubak mysticism, and the web of rituals that have been elaborated around reading and writing. In the ‘Concluding Remarks’, I consider the implications of my findings for an understanding of the Balinese lontar tradition.

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appearance when they are written. The sound of the *modre* is described as fire, air and water of equal intensity, or the sound heard in the ear when air is being inhaled, which is a reference both to the elements and to the gods, for fire, air, and water are manifestations of the divine triad Brahma, Iswara and Wisnu.

Some other texts categorize writing differently, nonetheless acknowledging its divine origin and supernatural potency. The *Svaravāṇijana Tutur* (The Relioust Doctrine of Vowels and Consonants) is an example. It expounds the philosophical basis of the craft of writing poetry, in particular the genre known as *kekavin* (poems composed in Sanskrit metres). It is a manual used by poets, especially *kekavin* poets.

The *Svaravāṇijana Tutur* categorizes writing according to phonetic principles. It divides letters into two categories – vowels (*svāra*) and consonants (*vaṇijana*). It associates short vowels with male gods and their corresponding long vowels with their consorts. The short vowels are said to be 'fathers' (*vāyaḥ*), and the long vowels 'mothers' (*vānaḥ*). They combine as 'partners' (*kurāṇa*) and 'bear' (*vānaḥ*) 'families of letters [consonants]' (*varggākṣara*). The letters within each family are related phonetically, as a series of consonants grouped together because the same organs come into contact in their production as speech sounds (see Appendix, Table 1).

Belief in the divine origin of letters and the life-force that they possess manifests itself in a variety of ways. For example, it is alluded to in the asides made by some scribes in *lontar* manuscripts that they have copied. The copies of a traditional writer and scribe, Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen, a poet, writer and scribe who had copied more than 400 texts, exemplifies this point.

Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen usually commenced his asides by protesting his 'ignorance' (*saṃgha, vaṃgha*) and his 'ignorance and trifling knowledge of writing and literature' (*vajjhi* = *vaṃgha*, *vajjhi* = *vaṃgha*), such protestations being common among traditional writers and scribes. He would next apologize for his 'misshapen writing' (*vīrya ning akgāra*), and request his readers' indulgence for any errors in spelling and metre. Spelling and metre, though different and designated by different terms, are, nevertheless, intertwined here: to spell correctly is to write correctly, and to spell incorrectly is to write incorrectly. He lamented spelling errors by means of different metaphors which appear with such frequency in his colophons that they assume the character of formulas. The most recurrent of these metaphors alludes to death and disease. The most commonly encountered declaration of this type is: 'many of the letters are dead'. *kekavin* propounds: 'many have died in battle' and 'they have collapsed since they are dead' (*vimurccha var pēlah*). Some other metaphors that he has used contain expressions that can be associated with multiple ways, including as allusions to battle, such as 'the spelling advances and retreats' (*pasangnya mara mundane*). This and some other metaphors that he has used are connected with breathing and breath control in yoga (*pasang surya, luncē tēka; mara mundane*). Their use to designate incorrect spelling conjures up an image of writing as something that possesses life-force, that can breathe and that can be killed. To spell/write correctly is to preserve that life-force. Conversely, to misspell/write incorrectly is to eliminate it.

The use of battle imagery for writing undergoes development in the notion that writing is a powerful weapon. The association of letters and weapons appears to be fundamental to the Balinese discourse about literacy. For example, the *Canda*, a manual of *kekavin* proseody that is studied by poets, includes a lengthy section devoted to the 'letters' (*saṃkta*) of letters. It concerns the correspondence between letters and weapons, and involves the renaming of letters with alternative or completely new names (*gānaṃsa; parināma; "second name?" [Zoetmulder 1982: s.v.]) or 'synonyms' (*danaṃsa*) of their old names, and the attribution of characteristics to these new or alternative names and characteristics denote weapons, or are properties associated with warfare. For example, the weapon synonyms and characteristics ascribed to the letter named *candra* (*candra*) are suggested by its round shape and the meaning of *candra* as 'discus'.

Likewise the *candra* is 'an instrument for shooting projectiles', it 'rolls along (like an arm)', it is 'Kr̄ga's discus weapon when he fights', and also a 'carriage'.

To these synonyms careful attention should be paid. As well as to that of 'to strike someone's head with a discus'.

Another example of letters as weapons is found in the *lontar* text entitled the *Svaravāṇijana*, which is a manual of *kekavin* orthography used by poets. In a section that codifies orthographic terminology, four configurations of letters found in words of Sanskrit origin are given names that refer to weapons. The name given to each includes the term *baira* (a circular, thunderbolt weapon): *brāhmbaira* (Brahma's *baira*), *vīgubaira* (Vīgu's *baira*), *śivarbaira* (Śiva's *baira*), and *huṇaṇgbaira* (priest's *baira*). These configurations are not related to just any weapon, but to the powerful weapon of gods and priests.

The comparison of letters and weapons is not merely capricious. In the first place, *śatra* and *śatra*, the Kavi words that mean 'letter'/"Writings" and 'weapon' respectively, are homonyms, for *śa* and *śa* are homophones in Kavi. The notion of letters as weapons puns on *śatra* and
Moreover, this pun is realized in the belief that letters and, hence, textual knowledge, embody supernatural tools and are a powerful tool or weapon, an idea which I explore in the next section of this paper.

The religious discourse that underpins Balinese beliefs about script also equates writing and the practice of yoga. An example of this, which occurs in the colophons written by Tj. Pedanda Made Sidemen, has already been mentioned above. Further illustration is found in the passage that codifies orthographic terminology, also mentioned above. There, three configurations of letters found in words of Sanskrit origin are given names that equate them with the yoga performed by gods: *wiguvyoga* (Viṣṇu's yoga), *brhemyogha* (Brahma's yoga), *jśarvyogha* (Iśvara's yoga). In other words, they possess the yoga performed by these gods. The Balinese not only consider yoga to be a supremely difficult interiorized ritual for worshipping the divine, but they also consider it to be a means of obtaining and accruing supernatural power (gakti).

While this rich allusion - the reference to weapons and yoga - echoes the lively minds of the authors of these texts, it should not be confused as the product of an individualistic conception of relations in the world. It is, instead, grounded in a perception that all Balinese share of relations in the world, a world in which writing is divinity created and supernaturally charged.

### III. Alphabet Mysticism

Writing in Bali serves an ordinary communicative function, as the contents of *lontar* indicate. However, it can also serve in supernatural communication. This belief is expounded in the *Tutur Aji Saraswati*, the *Svaravyājīna Tutur* and some other texts. They consider letters to be a tool for communicating with supernatural forces; letters lie at the heart of alphabet mysticism.

This belief is underpinned by the doctrine of niskala-sakala duality. Niskala is the 'unmanifest', 'that which lies beyond the realm of the senses'; it is 'the quality of the Divine in the metaphysical world'. Sakala is its opposite. It means 'material', 'what lies within the bounds of human, sensorial perception'; it is 'the quality of the Divine as it manifests in the world'. The Divine, represented by a number of deities, is thus immanent in the natural world and is associated with elements of it, such as the human body. The human body is the microcosmos (small world) of the macrocosmos (world). The metaphysical world is the macrocosmos (bhuvana agung: 'great world'). The bhuvana alit is a microcosmic version of the bhuvana agung.

The *Tutur Aji Saraswati* adverts to a correspondence between the macrocosmos and the microcosmos, the latter possessing an ) symbol and the former a triangle. It assigns to each letter a referent in both the macrocosmos and the microcosmos, thereby associating the Divine and the human body through the agency of letters (see Appendix, Table 2). Letters as a supernatural tool that can be manipulated to influence the course of events, a belief which has manifested itself in the complex, abstruse and supernaturally powerful practice of alphabet mysticism.

The *Svaravyājīna Tutur* also associates the macrocosmos and microcosmos through the agency of letters. It relates the creation of the 18 basic letters of the Balinese alphabet within the body. However, both the process of their creation and their positions within the body differ from information supplied earlier in the same text. They also differ from information supplied in the *Tutur Aji Saraswati*. However, these different interpretations of the same phenomena are merely alternative explanations that derive from a single conceptual framework.

The *Svaravyājīna Tutur* tells that prior to the creation of letters there was the *windu* or (o), symbol of the void, located in the fontanelle. It was associated with a particular color and sound. It 'gave birth to', 'brought forth' (ngawatwanga) the god *e* (Sang Hyang Ekbra) located in the brow. In turn it 'gave birth' (manak) to ha (vn), the first letter of the alphabet, also located in the fontanelle. Ha in turn 'gave birth' to the next letter of the alphabet *ma* (*m*), which is located in the space between the eyes. This process of the creation of letters continued, with each letter of the alphabet giving birth to the following one. All are assigned a position in the human body.

Another component of alphabet mysticism mentioned in both the *Tutur Aji Saraswati* and the *Svaravyājīna Tutur* are groups of sacred letters. While the basic letters of the Balinese alphabet can be used in alphabet mysticism, they can also be used in everyday communication. Sacred letters, on the other hand, are never used in day to day communication, but in magico-religious activity. They are held to possess the most marvellous of powers and render mantra (religious formulas) supernaturally efficacious. Each group comprises a fixed number of letters: 10, 5, 3, 2 and 1. What they share in common is that each is a manipulation of the names of Siva as supreme god. They all have microcosmic referents as well. The larger groups of sacred syllables reduce to become the smaller groups: from 10 to 5, from 5 to 3, from 3 to 2, and from 2 to 1, symbolizing the transmutation of the many different aspects of the god Siva to a single, supreme form. Different texts rearrange and transform these basic patterns on the name of Siva in an infinite number of ways. The groups of letters are also represented diagrammatically (see Appendix, Figure 1).
The ten sacred letters, the dasaksara, are:

\[ \text{Ja (sa), Va (ba), Ta (ta), Ja (a), Va (i), Ma (ma), Ci (ca), Si (si), Wa (wa), Ya (ya).} \]

As I have already mentioned, the dasaksara are sometimes equated with modre. A further explanation is that they are constituted by the union of the dasadita (10 types of virtuous conduct) and the dasabhuja (the 10 forces). According to the Tutur A\i Sarasvati, the dasadita is formed by the first half of the Balinese alphabet led by modre, and the dasabhuja is formed by the last half of the alphabet at whose head is the swasti.

The dasaksara comprise 2 series of 5 letters. The first 5, which are known as the pahcabrahama (5 Brahma). They are the initial syllables of the names of 5 aspects of Siwa:

- ma - Sadyojita
- ba - Bamadewa
- ta - Tatpurusa
- a - Aghora
- i - T\\'ana.

The final series of letters, na-ma-si-wa-ya, is named the pahcakasara (5 letters). Read together, they form nama shiva (Sanskrit: shiva namah), meaning 'Homage to Siwa!'

The pahcakasara contracts into the tryakasaara (3 letters), a-u-m. They in turn become \( \text{a} (\text{ang}) \), \( \text{u} (\text{ung}) \), \( \text{m} (\text{lang}) \), by the addition of the nasal, the ulucandra. The ulucandra consists of three elements: \( \text{u} \), the ardhad酰ra, (middle-moon), and the viyarda. It evokes the reverberating quality of sound associated with meditation. \( \text{Ang-ung-lang} \) symbolizes the Tripurusa, the divine triad of Brahma, Wisnu and Iswara respectively.

The tryakasaara transmutes into the rvabhinada (the two divided). The rvabhinada is comprised of two syllables, \( \text{Ja} (\text{am}) \) or \( \text{Ja} (\text{ang}) \) and \( \text{Ja} (\text{ah}) \). The rvabhinada is closely connected with the rvabhinada t\'an pahstra (rvabhinada without letters). \( \text{Ja} (\text{am}) \) or \( \text{Ja} (\text{ang}) \) and \( \text{Ja} (\text{ah}) \). It designates inseparable opposites such as male-female, life-death, fire-water, exhalation-inhalation; it is a

The organizing principle underlying the groups of sacred letters is the navasanga. The navasana (Sanskrit navaha and Kavi/Balinese sangga mean 'nine') is a cosmological compass around which all forms of religious activity are oriented. It comprises 9 directions; the 4 cardinal directions, the 4 intermediate directions and the centre. When the nadir and zenith are also included, the navasana has 11 directions, representing the entire cosmos. Each direction is associated with a deity, a letter, a number, sound, colour, a weapon, a semi-precious stone, and other elements. The deities associated with the 8 compass points are aspects of Siwa; Siwa, as the supreme deity, is associated with the centre. When the dasaksara is read, 2 clockwise rounds of the compass are made, each of which concludes in the centre where Siwa resides. First, na-ba-ta-ya corresponding to the cardinal directions are read. The clockwise reading, that they form is completed with i in the compass centre. That is followed by the clockwise reading of na-ma-si-wa, which correspond to the intermediate directions, ending with ya in the centre. Utterance of the dasaksara "recreates the dimensions of the universe...at the same time naming the higher-order principle which subsumes it all" (Zurbuchen 1987:51-54).

Alphabet mysticism makes use of all the letters - the basic 18 letters of the Balinese alphabet and sacred letter groups. It is employed in rites of passage and other types of ritual activity. It is based on the notion that letters are a powerful link between the macrocosmos and microcosmos - the self or community - and can be manipulated to influence the course of events, both in a positive and in a destructive sense. For example, the treatment dispensed by a bali\'an usada (traditional healer) may include letters, sacred syllables, mantra or drawings executed on lontar or a range of other materials. However, to gain a fuller understanding of how alphabet mysticism operates, one must dispense with the Western notion of writing as something that is confined exclusively to a page or leaf. In Bali, the metaphysical power of writing can also be held by sounding it. This is performed by specialist practitioners who employ their own life-force (hayu) to activate its power. Although this involves the sounding of letters, it is essentially a literate activity that is made possible by and is grounded in writing:

Sacred syllables (modre) uttered by the priest, bali\'an or other practitioner are also a vehicle of power, and can affect the outer world because they are a distillation of the "written language within the body" (sastra ning sarira), a literal exhalation or "ex-pression" (forcing out) of inner power toward some external goal, which may be either positive, "right" (tenen) or negative, "left" (kiwa) in its result.

(Zurbuchen 1987:96)

Thus, bali\'an usada utilize their knowledge of the macrocosmic and microcosmic referents of letters, which they activate by means of their own life-force, to influence the functioning of their clients' bodies. Because letters refer to parts of the body, they are particularly relevant in healing; they can be manipulated to control and protect the body, to effect cure or relief of physical distress. It is important to note that illness is perceived as caused by metaphysical forces or by a person who has petitioned those forces:
...a balian can control the functioning of the human organism through control of these mystical syllables or aksara in akṣara. Through yogic samadhi (yoga-meditation), knowledge of the aksara and the recitation of them, a balian usada can observe the passage of the soul in the body and initiate healing processes. Mystical forces within the body are aroused through the correct utterance of aksara by those who know their precise position within vessels, organs, space or faculties.

(Lovric 1987:71-72)

Alphabet mysticism also features in meditative yogic practices. In samhāra yoga, the individual deposes his own body, which is the receptacle of a mystical body, to merge with the cosmic soul and thereby attain transitory liberation from the bonds of existence. The gīnāsiddhānta (Sobadian 1971) is a lontar text in Kawi originating in Bali which deals with the liberation of the soul through yoga, illustrates the functions of letters in yoga: they enable the yogi to identify himself and the macrocosmos, and they are signposts inscribed on the mystic body which locate the centres through which the soul passes on its journey to commune with the Divine.

The use of writing in magico-religious activity is not uncommon in literate, traditional societies. According to Jack Goody in *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (1968b, 1968c:206), there are 3 reasons for the existence of this phenomenon: first, writing was sometimes considered a superior means of communication to speech; it materialized speech and enabled its transmission and perpetuation over time. Secondly, in regions where writing has been associated with the priesthood, religion legitimized literacy and came to dominate it. Finally, because writing came to traditional societies from cultures with higher levels of technical achievements, it was seen to possess special, supernatural powers and became the property of religion. All of these reasons could apply in the case of Bali.

III. Rituals of Literacy

Belief in the divine origin and the supernatural potency of letters has a number of consequences. One is the ascription of supernatural potency to writing materials. Thus, the Tukur Aji Sarasvati states that parts of lontar have macrocosmic and microcosmic references. The former are the Panca Pandava, the 5 legendary heroes from the Mahābhārata epic, while the latter comprise parts of the human body which are held to symbolize the Panca Pandava (see Appendix, Table 3).

Another consequence is the belief that lontar texts, even texts that have no role in magico-religious activity possess supernatural properties. For example, Liefvinkel (1934:98-206 passim) cited cases of sima desa (village regulation) that had acquired sacred status either because they were considered to be of godly origin or to be the property of the gods, or to be pingit (supernaturally charged).

Perhaps the most important consequence of these beliefs has been the development of ritual practices to complement the activities of reading, writing, and the handling and storage of lontar. Some of these rituals are established through custom, while others are prescribed in texts.

There are rituals that apply to reading, that have no textual basis in the individual, but arise from classical literature (kekavin, kidung, parva) and historical-genealogical texts (babad), is preceded by a ritual. Offerings are presented, incense is burned, and mantra is recited by a qualified person. Ritual practices also accompany the reading of other types of texts, and vary from place to place. For example, Grader (1969:231-2, n.36) has outlined the ceremony undertaken by the pasek desa (village head) of Kubutambahan each time he consults the village records. First he would entreat the permission of the village protective deity before opening the basket containing the records, then he presented caanggan pranti offerings while sprinkling the basket with holy water and reciting mantra.

Writing is also the focus of ritual activity that has no textual foundation. There are ritual conventions associated with writing which require that writing in a lontar should be bounded by mystic configurations of letters. Thus, the beginning and conclusion of kekavin poems and each change of mantra requires the pepadan (lontar cover) and the windu pemada: ए ॐ ॐ ओ ॐ. This consists of 2 pepadan/pemada separated by the windu, which, as mentioned above, is one of the three constituents of the sutra. The sandhi symbolizes the god Wani. Various interpretations of the pepadan symbol have been proposed. Sugriwa (1978:15 has interpreted it as four letters: स (santuwan ma), ए (nga), ज (santuwan ja) and म (santuwa pa), which combine to read मांगासा meaning 'to recite a mantra' (muttered or recited mantra). Kaler (1982:16) has ascribed to the pepadan the meaning 'to request well-being (nuna ica), while Ziefchen (1987:97, n.18) reports that some literati consider it to conceal the three constituents of om, namely ang-ung-mang. Other types of writing are bounded by the mystic configuration of the panti windu panti: म ॐ म. A change of subject is also indicated by the panti windu panti, a single panti (म), carik kalih (double comma: ॐ) or two sets of carik kalih separated by the windu: ॐ ॐ.

Always preceding the mystic configuration with which a text commences is a mantra suppurating the gods. Its aim is to ensure that no hindrance or misfortune of supernatural origin will befall those who compose, copy or read texts. Typical of such mantra is:
Ong! Awighnam astu nama siddham!
Ong! Let there be no hindrance! May this offering bear success!

At the conclusion of texts, the closing mystic configuration may also be preceded by a mantra. For example:

Ong! Subhan astu tatastau astu!
Ong! Let there be result! So be it! Let there be!

As regards the ritual conventions relating to reading and writing and storing lontar prescribed in texts, the Tutur Aji Saraswati states that the following mantra must be recited:

the mantra to write;
the mantra to request a boon to write;
the mantra to 'cross out' (amaniten/amanih: "to kill") letters (first this must be recited over the tip of the paungtin (stylus for inscribing lontar));
the mantra to cross out vowels as well as the tengganan (mute symbol) and numbers;
the mantra for uninitiated people who "take exalted writings" (amanub tasra levih);
the mantra to open exalted writings;
the mantra to read;
the mantra to close and store writings;
the mantra to absorb knowledge quickly;
the mantra to burn letters/literature;
the mantra to 'wear' (angrangguk) letters.23

Dire consequences are said to ensue in the case of failure to recite them. One Tutur Aji Saraswati manuscript specifies the unfortunate outcome of crossing out letters without the protection afforded by their recitation (HKS 3260:3):

a short life-span results should the cecek ("be") be crossed out;" blindness and headache are the consequences of crossing out the hulu (the letter termed 'head' /); lameness arises if the suku (the letter termed 'foot'/ 'leg'); deafness and stomach ailments follow the crossing out of the talong ("; talinga means 'ear')."

The most important community-wide ritual associated with literacy is Odalan Saraswati, the religious anniversary of the goddess Saraswati, when homage is paid to her. Like other odalan (anniversary), it takes place each 210 days in the Javanese-Balinese calendrical cycle. It is observed both by literates and non-literates.

Each stage of the ritual is prescribed in the Tutur Aji Saraswati. For example, one manuscript (HKS 3260) relates that the ritual must be observed before sunset on the day of the odalan. For its duration, no letter may be crossed out nor any writings destroyed. Transgression of this prohibition brings disastrous consequences: 'lack of success comes with the wrath of Goddess Durga and malevolent supernatural beings' (tuna gidi, tur galakin desti, mwang Durga kala dengen) (HKS 3260:1). Upon conclusion of the ritual, after the sun has passed its zenith, it is permitted to write, to read texts, and to recite mantra.

In celebration of the anniversary, the lontar owned by a household are collected at a central point. During the ritual, they become the symbol (pretima) of the goddess. The ritual includes the presentation of offerings (banten) to her. They include eighteen banten Saraswati, one for each of the eighteen letters of the Balinese alphabet. Each contains the engkara made from fried, moulded rice dough.

With regard to the handling of lontar, custom dictates that they should not be handled by people who are 'ritually impure' (sekhel). For example, during menstruation. As for storing lontar, a variety of practices exist. What they share in common is that lontar tend to be stored in ritually pure or sacred space, for example, 'upstream' (hulu) rather than 'downstream' (teben), on an offering shelf located high up in the northeast corner of a room (plangkiran), or within a pavilion (gedong) or the repository for sacred objects and property of the gods within a temple (padyimpenan).

IV. Concluding Remarks

In the preceding pages I have outlined Balinese beliefs and behaviour regarding script. I mentioned that the Balinese believe letters to be a divine creation in which the Divine is present, and that they consider letters to possess an even greater capability than the basic letters of the Balinese alphabet in this regard. Because of the supernatural power of letters, writing, lontar, and textual knowledge are treated with great deference, to which end numerous ritual practices exist for literate activity.

While this information is important in its own right, it has ramifications for an understanding and appreciation of the lontar tradition. Because philology is the discipline that has shown greatest interest in lontar and has been responsible for the production of a number of very fine text editions and translations, and because a knowledge of script has a special place in philology and philology has so much to learn about script, I feel that it is important to bring this discussion back into a philological framework.

Until the early years of the 20th century, text editions were published in script, albeit modern Javanese script (e.g. Friederich 1850, 1852; Kern 1875, 1900; Gunning 1903). Sometimes, this changed. It became the norm to transcribe editions into Latin script. The reasons for
this must have included publication costs, and making texts accessible to people unfamiliar with script.

The transposition of lontar texts into a Western critical discourse involves their radical reshaping. For example, when a text is transliterated, it undergoes a radical transformation. Firstly, the Balinese script is replaced by a foreign script which obscures the symbolism of Balinese letters. For example, the uiuwanda, ै, is composed of three symbolic elements, ओ ॐ ॐ, but its transliteration, ng, does not reflect this. Another example is the letter cakra, ॐ ङ, which is compared to a discus weapon, to an instrument for shooting projectiles, and so on, and is transliterated as ra. However, ra does not possess the form of ॐ which is suggestive of those weapons. Secondly, transliteration introduces word division into the continuous Balinese script. The rationale behind word division is that it enables editors to record their interpretation of words as units of language. Third, the spelling of words is revised to reflect their Sanskrit etymologies. In other cases, Sanskrit spellings are revised to avoid duplication of letters. For example, mārga would be rewritten as mārga. However, this revision contravenes the spelling of the shrūmbhāra: a ऋ followed by r र: suraŋ in the first syllable of a word, must be proceeded in the second syllable either by a single consonant in the case of ऋ (�) or th (ॐ), or else a doubled consonant or 2 dissimilar conjunct consonants.

In describing the philological process involved in transliterating texts, my aim has not been to enter into a discussion about its advantages or disadvantages.Instead, it has been to show how very different the transliterated text is from the inscribed palm-leaf original. The issue is not whether texts should or should not be transliterated, but that the philological enquiry proceeds with a Western notion in mind of what a text, script, and so on, are. This has resulted in the virtual neglect of Balinese beliefs, practices, processes and interpretations. However, an understanding and appreciation of the Balinese textual world cannot result from studying texts in isolation from their cultural context. Balinese beliefs and behaviour regarding letters must be taken into consideration.

NOTES

1. Lontar is the metathesis of rontal. The Balinese also refer to lontar as rontal and ental.

2. Writing in Indonesia reveals the strong influence of Indian Pallava script, which is in turn related to the scripts used in inscriptions in southern India and Sri Lanka from the 3rd to 5th centuries. Later Pallava script is the precursor of the Early Kawi script found in Old Javanese inscriptions dating from around the middle of the 6th century (de Casparis 1975:13-14).

3. Balinese beliefs about script, especially alphabet mysticism, bear a marked resemblance to Indian Hindu Tantric beliefs. These have been described in a penetrating study by Gupta et al. entitled Hindu Tantrism (1979). Several scholars who have, either expressly or indirectly, considered various aspects of Balinese alphabet mysticism, have noted this resemblance (e.g. Goris 1926, Weck 1976, Soehadji 1971, Rubinstein 1988). This is not to say that Balinese and Indian Hindu Tantric beliefs are identical, for the transmission of Tantrism to Java and Bali must have witnessed its reinterpretation at the local level.

4. Tatur is a generic term for texts that speculate on the 'soul' and its communion with the supreme divinity.

5. The pictorial representation of Saraswati only has a very short history in Bali (Hooykaas 1964).

6. Hooykaas (1964:39), in a discussion of the meaning of this god's name, adverted to the Balinese meaning of reka: "create". However, I feel that the Kawi meaning of rekha - "line", "drawing", "letter" (Zoetmulder 1982:s.v.) - is more appropriate. Thus, Sang Hyang Guru Rekha is the deity who bestows linear shape, such as the form of letters.

7. In Indian Hindu Tantrism, letters are also regarded as phonetic manifestations of deities (Gupta et al. 1979: 42).

8. sKkn (Bal.) means 'firm', 'definite'. Does it refer here to the clarity or distinctness of the sounded letters?

9. The definitions of svalita given in my manuscripts are clear. However, the interpretation of svalita appears to have posed a problem for others. I Ny. Kaler (1982:iv), for example, describes svalita as "akṣara untuk menuliskan Bahasa Kawi dan lainnya lagi" (the script for writing Kawi and other things). Zuruchen (1987:57), who has based her remarks on Kegoglo (1978:14-15), states that svalita are the svaravanyana (vowels and consonants) together with the vrestra "which are combined or abbreviated to make another symbol which may or may not have mystic import".
10. See p.8 below.

11. See Appendix, Figure 1.

12. Nyan tang caakra jantrikulungan/
    sukravanayuddha krupa len sakata/
    daasanama yoki huningâns/
    mwu muggra hulu yûkti karuhana.

13. See p.5 above.


15. A similar doctrine is found in Indian Hindu Tantric mysticism. It views the human body as resembling or equivalent to the macrocosmos, and envisages a mystic body intraposed within the human body (Gupta et al. 1979:57).


17. See p.3 above.

18. In Indian Hindu Tantrism, the first phase of phonic emanation was the nada and the bindu, which constitute the mystic primordial constituents of om (Gupta et al. 1979:53-56).

19. See p.3 above.

20. According to Weck (1976:40), the rvabhineda tan passtra is ordinarily referred to as the rvabhineda.

21. In Indian Hindu Tantrism, the duality of the supreme god is also a fundamental principle (Gupta et al. 1979:54-55).

22. In some cases, these gimsa deng attained an elevated status because of the mystique surrounding them - the fact that they were seldom read or could not be understood.

23. The rubric to this mantra reads "angrangsek têstra". Angrangsek (Bal. and Kawi) means 'to wear' or 'to put on'. Angrangsek têstra might refer to the ritual inscribing of letters on various parts of the body as occurs during pawintenan (ritual purification in preparation for the receipt of sacred knowledge). This involves inscribing the body, in particular the tongue, with letters, and is intended to transfer their supernatural power to the recipient. Alternatively, angrangsek might refer to the 'adorning' or 'clothing' of consonants with the vowels or the mute symbol. They are written above, below, to the left and to the right of the consonants. Schwartz (1931:8-9) gives "pangangge-soera" or "sandangan-soera", meaning 'vowel clothing', as the generic terms for the vowels together with the mute symbol.

24. The term used in the text for this letter is fûstra mangucek. The consonant quality of mangucek suggests that the cecek, also known as the pepet, might be the intention here.
APPENDIX

a. ṍaṭāṭkṣara

(Kaler 1982:39)

(b) paṭicabrahma

(Kaler 1982:36)

c. paṭicākṣara

(Kaler 1982:36)

Figure 1. The ṍaṭāṭkṣara, paṭicabrahma and paṭicākṣara

TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial vowel</th>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ṛ (ra)</td>
<td>Ṛṇ (raṇ)</td>
<td>earth (daṇḍa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṛ (ra)</td>
<td>Ṛṣ (raṣ)</td>
<td>fire (daṇḍa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṛ (ra)</td>
<td>Ṛṣ (raṣ)</td>
<td>wind (daṇḍa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṛ (ra)</td>
<td>Ṛṣ (raṣ)</td>
<td>air (daṇḍa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṛ (ra)</td>
<td>Ṛṣ (raṣ)</td>
<td>water (daṇḍa)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The word paṭicākṣara does not occur in Kari. I have taken it to be paṭicākṣara because the previous consonant in the four horizontal columns, Ṛ, is associated with Ṛṣ.***
### TABLE 2
POSITIONS OF LETTERS IN THE MACROCOSMOS AND MICROCOSMOS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aksara</th>
<th>Position in bhavana agung</th>
<th>Position in bhavana alit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>अ (ha)</td>
<td>east</td>
<td>thoughts/mind (अंगन)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आ (na)</td>
<td>east</td>
<td>liver (हाति)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>इ (ca)</td>
<td>south-east</td>
<td>root of tongue (वृद्धिन लिड़ह)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ई (ra)</td>
<td>south-east</td>
<td>eyebrows (आ़ि)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उ (ka)</td>
<td>south</td>
<td>ears (पानाकिन्न)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ऊ (na)</td>
<td>south</td>
<td>whites of eyes (पुतिह नेत्र)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ऋ (wa)</td>
<td>south-west</td>
<td>waist (बांक्यांग)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रु (la)</td>
<td>south-west</td>
<td>lips (लम्बे)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ऋ (ma)</td>
<td>west</td>
<td>face (मुख्हे)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ढ (ga)</td>
<td>west</td>
<td>neck (बावंग)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ण (ba)</td>
<td>north-west</td>
<td>head/skull (पिला)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्र (ta)</td>
<td>north-west</td>
<td>eyes (नेत्र)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्र (nga)</td>
<td>north</td>
<td>nose (कुनुह)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्र (pa)</td>
<td>north</td>
<td>feet/legs (कुकु)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ट्र (da)</td>
<td>north-east</td>
<td>chest (अंगकाह)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ट्र (ja)</td>
<td>north-east</td>
<td>hands/arms (रांगन)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठू (ya)</td>
<td>centre</td>
<td>speech (जाब्दा)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठू (हा)</td>
<td>centre</td>
<td>love/remembering (अमा)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्र (pamada)</td>
<td>nadir</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चर (carik)</td>
<td>zenith</td>
<td>all joints (बुकु-बुकु केह्ब)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वृ (windu)</td>
<td>the Void</td>
<td>spleen (हालि)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अर्ध्ध- (ardhacandra)</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>liver (हाति)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नद (nāda)</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>heart (पुपुशुह)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The *pamada* is not assigned a place in the bhavana alit.
** Neither the *ardhacandra* nor *nāda* are assigned places in the bhavana agung.
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R 9; HKS 3585
Candakiraga
Lōr 4570
Candākṣara
K 279 = HKS 1584
Canda (Warākṣara)
HKS VI-7 = K 213
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SOME EXTERNAL FEATURES OF JAKARTA MANUSCRIPTS

BY MARIA INDRA RUKMI
SOME EXTERNAL FEATURES OF JAKARTA MANUSCRIPTS

BY MARIA INDA RUKMI

Preface

The spreading of printing has begun since 1659 at the period of the VOC. One of the earliest book printed is a Malay dictionary published in Jakarta in 1707 (Gallop, 1989:1-4). The development of printing then spread to Malaka in the 19th century with the arrival of missionaries from London (Ismail, 1982:177).

Although the printing machine was already well-known at the Malay archipelago at the beginning of the 17th century, this does not mean the disappearance of the tradition of writing Malay manuscripts. This is proofed from the well-developed activities in writing Malay manuscripts in the 19th century, one of the Malay scriptorium was once in Batavia (Jakarta). At that time the writing of manuscripts in Jakarta was sponsored by the general secretary and by personal collectors who might be the owners of the manuscripts who lent their manuscripts.

This paper will discuss a number of manuscripts owned by the Jakarta lending libraries which are now kept in the National Library in Jakarta. The examination will touch the physical part of the manuscript, namely: quires, linings, paginations and rubrications. It is interesting to know how a manuscript was made in the 19th century because at that time the structure of the printed book appeared to influence the form of the written book. This paper is a preliminary study on the physical side of Malay manuscript, so it is mostly a descriptive explanation of them.

Lending Libraries In Jakarta

Before describing the external features of the manuscripts, a brief illustration will be given about Jakarta lending libraries in 19th century. The colofons and notes in Jakarta manuscripts show that there were manuscripts lent out. At that time lending manuscripts could be done as one of the activities to earn money. The cost of lending was ten cents, as it was told in the Hikayat Indra Maulana, ML 393. The places of lending libraries were spread over different kampungs such as Krukut, Pecenongan, Kampung Jawa, Kampung Pluit, Kampung Tembora, Sawah Besar, Kampung Sawah Jembaran Lima, Tanah Abang, Kampung Bali Prapat, Kampung Rawa Sentong, Kampung Pekojan (Iskandar, 1981:145-146). There are also other places mention in manuscripts I have examined at the National Library i.e. Gang Langgar Tinggi of Pecenongan, Kampung Gedung Panjang, Kampung Muka Jembaran, Kampung Mangga Besar, Kampung Pasirwaran, Kampung Baru, Kebon Jare, Kebon Jeruk, Kampung Ilir, Kampung Kramat Pulo.

The owners of lending libraries were the people from many different social stratifications. For instance Muhammad Hamzah Abdullah Baju who lended Hikayat Syahrul
Indra CS 146 B was a district assistant. Muhammad Bakir, an author and scribe who had various collections of manuscripts, was a guru ngaji. In Hikayat Sang Boma it is written that the owner was the wife of a mandor Naihun. There were many kinds of manuscripts for lending in Jakarta, namely: stories about Islam, folk romances, panji stories, wayang stories, syair.

**Quires**

The first step before writing is to prepare the materials. The Malay manuscripts are in general written on papers: including the Jakarta manuscripts. The paper is folded and then cut according to size. In this case there are certain sizes that have been determined before. A sheet of paper folded once forms a folio, twice a quarto, and three times an octavo. For a better insight a model is given below:

![Diagram of quires]

Sheets of paper that are already folded and cut, are arranged and divided according to the group. In its group the number of sheets of paper is not the same. There are for instance four sheets, six sheets, eight sheets, twelve sheets and so on. Gathered sheets of paper that are already folded and cut form a quire.

A manuscript consists of several or many quires. This depends on how thick the manuscript is. For example, Hikayat Syahrul Indra ML 391, has 65 sheets thick, with 7 quires. The gathering of quires is counted as follows:

- quire I 8 sheets
- quire II 12 sheets
- quire III 12 sheets
- quire IV 12 sheets
- quire V 12 sheets
- quire VI 8 sheets
- quire VII 4 sheets

![Diagram of quire I]

quire I 8 sheets
Lining

When we examine western manuscripts written in the Middle Ages it seems that there is a difference in the method of lining in comparison with books nowadays. Before the manuscripts are written, small holes are made with a sharp tool. These holes are guides for lining the manuscripts. About pricking of the manuscripts, in Europe there are many different variations in models. This depend on the period, geographical areas and the special character of the monastery (Shailor, 1991:13). In the 12th century most of the lining are blind linings. At the end of the 12th century ink was already used for linings. In the 15th century the most used ink were red and purple (Hermans and Gerda C. Huisman, 1979:31).

How about Malay manuscripts? To keep up the neatness of the writing, the scribes of Jakarta manuscripts in the 19th century used the same western method. There are also prickings in Malay manuscripts (personal communication, S.W.R.Mulyadi). I do not find traces of the prickings in examining a number of Jakarta manuscripts; most of them have blind lines. Beside there are also manuscripts with penciled lines, some using ink.

Some manuscripts with blind linings are Hikayat Raja Handak, CS 106; Hikayat Abu Samah, ML 388; Hikayat Sang Boma, ML 215; Hikayat Maharaja Bikrama Sakti, ML 592; Hikayat Indra Maulana, ML 393. Examples of manuscripts with penciled lines are among others Syair Damarwulan, ML 190; Hikayat Cindabaya Br 206, Hikayat Syahrul Indra VI, ML 391; Hikayat Si Miskin ML 384, Marapati Emas dan Marapati Perak, ML 249; Syair Bush-buahan ML 254.

Some texts need a different scheme of lining. This is seen in western manuscripts. The writing of calendars needs columns. Law texts have places for notes of explanations (Hermans and Gerda C. Huisman, 1979:33). Jakarta manuscripts that were lent out at the 19th century consist of texts in the form of syair and prose. For writing the syair the pages are divided into two columns (see below).

Syair Bush-Buahan ML 254
Syair Damarwulan ML 190

Jakarta manuscripts in the form of prose are stories or Hikayats, e.g. Hikayat Si Miskin, ML 384; Hikayat Abu Samah, ML 388; Hikayat Cindabaya, Br 206. Most of every page has lines to make left and right margins as well as above and below. Lining is done with pencil or ink. Open spaces at the right and left margins are sometimes used to write notes or corrections of the text, while the margin below is used for writing catchword.
Paginations

Pagination is one of the important things in writing manuscripts. It seems that it is not as easy as we think. Jakarta manuscripts show that sometimes there was a wrong sequence in the pagination system. From the colour of the ink and style of writing pagination, it can be said that it has been done by the scribe himself or even by readers who added it in. Sometimes they wrote with pencil only. The system of pagination in Jakarta manuscripts show various manners as can be seen and the examples below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<table>
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<th>1</th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Hikayat Sand Boma ML 215</td>
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<table>
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<th>NO 2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hikayat Syahrul Indra CS 148</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rubrications

On the pages of Jakarta manuscripts, sometimes the texts are written with red ink. The use of striking ink is to mark parts of texts which are considered prominent. This is called rubrication. Besides red ink, Jakarta manuscripts also used black, blue, purple or green ink. From observing a number of Jakarta manuscripts rubrication has many functions such as:

1. As a title.
   For example in the Hikayat Syekh Abdulkadir Jailani, ML 256; the beginning of the text, "Hikayat yang pertama" is written in red.

2. To show the beginning of paragraph or a full stop.
   In this case, the words are alkisah maka tersebutlah, syahdan, maka, arkian, kalakan, Hatta, Adapun and so on.
   To differentiate the beginning of a paragraph or a full stop. This can be seen from the length of the sentences in colour.

3. To write words or sentences in Arabic.
   In general, this kind of rubrication is used for Islamic texts. This can be seen in Hikayat Abu Samah, ML 388.

4. To write the name of a person.
   For example in the Wayang Arjuna, ML 244 and Hikayat Sultan Taburat, ML 183 E.
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Southeast Asian Manuscripts

From Kartasura to Serakarta
Alex Sudewa

Leiden, 14-18 December, 1992
From Kartasura to Surakarta

Alex Sudewa

IKIP Sanata Dharma, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

1. Introduction

The Javanese culture is one of the major classical cultures in pre-modern Southeast Asia, but its literature history is poorly known. Even though the cultural heritage in the form of temples, life supporting equipment, and manuscripts, is beyond any doubt as to its quantity as well as its value, yet the historical arrangement of those cultural products has never been finalized. The frustration caused by this state of affairs is widespread among literary scholars (Teeuw, 1986; Day 1981: 13; Behrend 1987: 1). The consequence is that researcher on Indonesian literature, especially on Javanese literature, tend to apply their research targets beyond the socio-cultural context. Most of the classical literature works have been traced back to their original forms, the time of their production, under whose regimes they were written, and their religious backgrounds.

Only during the last two decades has Teeuw advocated that scholars under his supervisory apply the modern literature theory synchronically, while considering the reader’s horizon in the socio-cultural context. Teeuw’s encouragement has produced some dissertations under his guidance, written, among others, by Sutrisno, Sardjono, Ikram, Wirayamartana, Suratna, Abdullah, and Sudewa. Proceeding the appearance of the literati under Teeuw’s sponsorship, historical research scholars had contributed their research after applying the modern literary basic concept on historical literary works, so that literary works have been
evaluated in the social context of the time (Kummar 1976; Ricklefs 1978; Day 1981).

Those historians’ research works have enhanced that every manuscript variation needs observing in its socio-cultural context.

It means that the treatment of a manuscript according to the literary basic theory, develop in Europe, is not alien anymore to researchers of the classical culture in Indonesia, especially for these two last decades. In this workshop I would like to show that paleography is not to be ignored in positioning a literary work to its socio-cultural context.

2. The Javanese Literature Renaissance

The end of the eighteenth century is a very important period for the Javanese literature development, since a great many literary works were produced during that period. The name of the author Yasadipura Sr. as well as Yasadipura Jr., is closely related to the period, which has been called by research scholars the Javanese literary renaissance. Scholars like Pigeaud (1967: 236), Poerbatjaraka (1956: 128), Uhlenbeck (1964: 137) state that the Javanese literary works appearing at that time represent literary work restoration due to the fact that these works were ignored and not well-understood before. Subardi (1975), McDonald (1983), Wiryamartana (1990), Behrend (1987) and Sudewa (1991) have tried to dig up the factors of the culture of that period, enhancing the restauration. According to Subardi, it was the syari’at spirit that urged Yasadipura to reform Sèrat Cabolet (1975: 19-20). Behrend (1987: 361) supposes that the restauration was due to the spirit to hold high the political and the cultural authority, and Sudewa (1991: 251) is of the opinion that it was the royal palace that has insisted on the reformation of classical and local works to make them more actual and suitable to their periods.

Wiryamartana considers that the desstructuralization of the society at that time
urged King Paku Buwana III to reform *Strat Wiwaha Jarwa* with the objective that the ideal human profile at that time could be reformulated (1990:456-458).

Ricklefs doubt whether the term renaissance is proper to call the Surakarta period during the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. There are indeed not many Javanese manuscript dated back before the 1770, and since most of the Javanese manuscripts were originated during the turn of the centuries, there prevails the illusion among literary workers that that period is the time of rebirth of the Javanese literature (1974:219-226).

Ricklefs's argument, repeated in his book in 1978, challenged the question concerning the reason for the Surakarta royal palace to produce a great many and voluminous manuscripts by the end of the eighteenth century, drawing the attention of so many researchers. Possibly the paleographical analysis may turn light to this dark problem.

3. Kartasura Manuscript

In order to find out what happened in the literary world during the Surakarta era, it is necessary to do a comparative study on manuscripts originated in this era and those derived from the period before, i.e., the Kartasura period. From Yogyakarta I have been able to benefit from two manuscript, viz., *Strat Iskandar* and *Strat Yusuf*, stored in the Museum of Radya Pustaka in Surakarta, respectively numbered 262 and 261, both written on daluwang sheet.

*Strat Iskandar* dates back to 30 September 1729 traced from the colophon,

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sanga kalane dhu timulis / kerti panca obahing rat / parêng ing
Sinasah Epom / tanggal ping endem ingetang / sari Rabiyawan / Èje
khurafé kang tahan / parêng wakul Julungsekar /
```
(The chronogram when this work was written/ the five behaviour is the move of the world/ it was happened on Friday Pon/ the date was the sixth/ the month was Rabiyulawali/ the letter of the year was R/ and the wuku was Julungan kari)"

One of the pages of this manuscript is attached in the Appendix with the number KIs.

Sbrat Yusuf dates back to 1 November 1729, also traced back from the colophon,

$sasangkalane duk timulis/ tirta panca rasaning rat/ Anggara Kasih dinane/ anjuu tanggal ping lima/ Langkiri wukune ngentang/ Rabiyulakhir kang tengku/ tahun Je mangsa kalima$/$/$

(The chronogram when this work was written/ the five water is the value of the world/ the day is Anggara Kasih/ the date was the fifth/ the wuku was Langkiri/ the month was Rabiyulakhir/ the year was Je and the mangsa was the fifth/)"

One of the pages of this manuscript is attached in the Appendix with the number KYu.

From Museum Pasat, Jakarta, I have made use of Sbrat Menak with the number BG 613, also written on datuwan sheets and according to Pecahjara it was written in 1715 owned by Kanjeng Ratu Balitar, the wife of King Paku Buwana I (1940: 9), and like Sbrat Iskandar and Sbrat Yusuf one of its pages is attached in the Appendix with the number KMe.

The writing style of those three manuscripts are to be compared with the writing style of the manuscript originated in the Surakarta era. In selecting these manuscripts to be compared a difficulty has been met as to its respective copying dates. LOr 1786 originated in Surakarta at the beginning of the 19th century, of which one of its facsimiles is attached to Pigeaud (1970, plate 36) is one of them. In the analyze this manuscript is presented as P.
The writing style from the end of the 19th century is to be obtained from the manuscript of Sbrat Rama Suryawinata, stored in the Museum of Sana Budaya, Yogyakarta, with the number A.A, and originated in Surakarta, 4 December 1896 traced back from the colophon.

mrah sarkara denira marwani, marun sungen Sbrat Rama Jarwa/
manjarwi Sukra Wage/ tanggel ping pitu ikur/ Maditlawal tahun
limakir/ sedya wruh astha brata/

( For the sake of sweetness I begin to write Sbrat Rama Jarwa, it was Thursday Wage/ the date was twenty-seventh/ in the month Limaditlawal/ in the year Limakir/ and the chronogram was eager to understand the eight meritorious deed/)

One of the copies of these pages is numbered SR and attached in the Appendix.

4. From Kartasura to Surakarta

Before comparing the two writing styles of the manuscripts of both eras, an agreement had better be made on the writing technique terminology of the Javanese characters to facilitate the analysis. The so-called kaki or leg of a letter is a vertical line, forming the letter concerned. The letters ha, la, and ga have respectively five, five, and three legs. The so-called paruh or beak is a pointed scratch, facing either right or left. The letter ma has two beaks facing right. The so-called mata or eye is a circle, either hollow or not, attached to a certain letter. The letter na, ka, sa and ca are letters each with its own eye. The telinga or ear of a letter is a knot attached to a leg of a letter. The letters ra and ga are letters, each with an ear.

After glancing and comparing the Appendix of P, and SR, with KIs, KYu, and KMe Appendices it is clear that the two kinds of manuscripts give the basic
impression of great differences, although both of them look beautiful. The Kartasura writing style looks refined with its thin but clear pen craft, while the Surakarta writing style looks strong and dignified with its thick and big pen scratch craft. This basic different impression will continually colour the letter by letter comparative analysis.

The letter ha, la, ga, pa, and ya are found all over P and SR, showing clear letter legs. Compared with the writing style in Kls, KYc, and KMe an extra leg is given. The letter ha which has four legs in the Kartasura era with thick left legs (KYu 2, 3, 4; Kls 8, 9; KMe 5, 6) have six legs in the Surakarta era (SR 1, 3, 4; P 1, 2, 3, 4). The increasing number of legs in the Surakarta era, and the narrowing of legs in the Kartasura era seem to have been done on purpose. The narrowing of legs is clearly visible, because the left leg of the letter ha looks thick in general. In KYu that left leg looks like two legs and not like one thickly scratch'd leg.

The tendency to economize legs in the Kartasura era can also be observed in the letter ha, la, ga, pa and ya, whereas the Surakarta version seems to waste legs.

The letter nu, ka, sa and ca are eyed letters. In SR the eye is hollow (SR 1, 3, 5, 6, 7). In P the eye is closed and looks like a thick spot (P 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8). In the era of Kartasura the eye opening is often observable (Kls 4, 13, 15), but more often than not that eye is closed and forms a black spot.

The letters ra, cakra, and layar

The letter ra in the Kartasura manuscript has two legs and one ear facing left (Kls 2, 7, 8; KYu 4; KMe 1, 3, 5, 10). The eared leg is often scratch into two legs, so that this letter seems to have three legs (Kls 4; KYu 3, 5, 6; KMe 2, 8, 9). In the era of Surakarta this letter has always three legs, so that the ear looks as if it had its own leg, because the first and the second legs are widely separated from each other (SR 1, 2, 3; P 1, 2, 3, 8).
As a semi-vowel ra can be placed below the consonant concerned in the form of a bow or cakra, which is attached to the leg on the right. In the era of Kartasura this bow reaches out far above the consonant (KMe 5, 6, 7; KYu 1, 4, 12; Kls 6, 7, 9, 15). In the era of Surakarta this bow also reaches out above the consonant, but in a few cases this bow is relatively short (SR 4, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 16).

The letter ra can never be made a stop by a trap of another letter. The letter ra which is stopped changes into a layar or sail. In the era of Kartasura a layar is always long, reaching out above the following letter, while in the era of Surakarta this layar is scratch short, and always remains over the letter concerned, never above the following letter (KMe 1, 3, 6; Kls 1, 7, 8, 13; KYu 1, 2, 5, 7, 9; SR 4, 6, 8, 11; P 4, 6, 7, 11).

Sandhangan or accessories

A Javanese letter is always pronounced with the vowel /a/; in order to have it pronounced with /i/, /u/, /ou/, /e/ and /e/ an accessory is needed.

The wulu or feather, and the pêpêti or blockage, denoting /i/ sound and /e/ sound, have almost the same shape in the form of a semi-circle placed over the letter concerned. In the Surakarta manuscript the shape of the wulu and the pêpêti differ in that the wulu is a semi-circle, and the pêpêti is bigger and hollow (P 2, 4, 5, 12; SR 1, 2, 4, 5), while in the Kartasura era both the wulu and the pêpêti are almost the same size, both oval, only the oval shape of the pêpêti open underneath facing the letter concerned (Kls 1, 2, 4, 5; KYu 1, 2, 4, 5; KMe 2, 3, 4).

The sound /u/ is indicated by lengthening the leg on the far right to go downwards to make a hook facing right, so that it is called a suku, or a leg. The left corner of the hook is made pointed resembling a beak. In SR this beak is very long and narrows into one line. This is also the case in KYu, Kls, KMe. In P, however, the two legs are not narrowed, so that they remain two legs or two lines.
The sound /e/ is indicated by taling. In the era of Surakarta this taling has three legs, and the third leg is lengthened. In the era of Kartasura this leg does not look like a leg of a letter, consisting only of two short lines, the right of which is made longer (KMe 5, 6; Kl. 6, 7; KYu 2, 3, 4).

The sound /ou/ is indicated by two symbols, separated by the letter concerned, which is traditionally called the taling-tarung, for some traditional Javanese people it means: the fighting fish, the left being the taling, the right the tarung. In the era of Surakarta this tarung resembles a fishing hook, and in the era of Kartasura its form is very simple, resembling a crooked line (KIs 4, 5, 6, 8), or a semi-circle open on the left side (KMe 5, 6; KYu 6, 9, 10).

Wijah

The letter ha ending a word is called wijah. In the era of Surakarta it looks like a little spot, followed by a crookes line downwards, almost resembling a bird with a long tail (SR 2, 8, 9). In the era of Kartasura the spot and the tail are separated (KMe 5, 8, 10; KYu 11, 12, 13, 14, 15). In Kl. the spot and tail are unified resembling the wijah in the era of Surakarta (KIs 9, 10, 11, 15).

Some pasangan or traps

Every letter has its own form of pasangan, or trap, functioning to make another letter a stop. In this analytical comparison only three forms of traps, viz., of the letter ma, the wa, and the tu.

The Kartasura manuscript makes the ma trap like a half circle open on the right side and placed under the letter concerned. At the beginning of the semi-circle is attached a small knot, often resembling a small circle (KMe 2, 9, 12, 16; Kl. 15; KYu 3). The thick knot and the small circle at the beginning of the trap are also visible in the Surakarta manuscripts, differing only in the fact that in the era of Surakarta this trap is open on the upper side (SR 1, 10).
The trap for wa is oval hanging on the last leg of a letter. There is no difference between the wa trap from Surakarta and that from Kartasura.

The trap for ta is according to the manuscript from Surakarta the same as the letter ta written underneath the letter concerned, but the two forelegs are substituted by a right horizontal line (SR 10). If this ta trap is given an accessory it becomes another ta letter (SR 6). In the era of Kartasura this kind of ta trap is also used (KMe 12; KYu 15). But in the manuscripts from Kartasura the general of the ta trap is rather oval in shape and attached to the letter trapped, and in the middle of the oval there is a scratch resembling the Latin letter ϋ (KMe 5, 16, 17; KYu 15).

5. Some Concluding Remarks

It does not have to be stated here that the differences as the result of the analysis that is concerned only with three Kartasura manuscripts and two manuscript from Surakarta can be regarded as a solid conclusion. The only conclusion that can be deduced from this study is that this conclusion is merely based on weak illusions.

The differences between the manuscripts from Surakarta and those from Kartasura are far from being principal, since they are only concerned with differences of writing styles. The letter legs of the Surakarta script are apt to be relatively big, and the ear of the letter ra in the era of Surakarta forms a leg of its own. That is also the case with the beak of the letter ta, while the eyes of the letters sa, na, and ka in the era of Surakarta tend to become big, and often open.

If in the era of Surakarta the letter are made large by their copyists, but it is not the case with the layar and the cakra. Surakarta copyists tend to limit the space for these two letters, while copyists from Kartasura craft these two letters
into decorations. Most probably the differences has been caused by the availability of writing utensils. In the era of Kartasura the writing utensils used enable the copyists to scratch narrow lines, small closed eyes, and long scratches, functioning as decorations. On the other hand, the writing utensils used by Surakarta copyists did not allow them to make thin and narrow-spaced legs, because the writing utensils used tended to spoil the writing.

It is to be stated here that ink spill is not tolerable in Javanese manuscripts. It is true that some writing mistakes may be found in a Javanese manuscript, but never any ink spill.

Most probably the differences in the writing styles between the Kartasura and the Surakarta manuscripts have been caused by the writing utensil technology development. Probably it is not too speculative to say that the writing utensils used in the period of Surakarta was European made, including paper, pen and ink, that if used to write Kartasura letter models, ink spills would have been brought about easily, so that copyists of manuscripts of Surakarta modified the Javanese characters to avoid ink spill.

If the above assumption is true, the overflow of manuscripts in Surakarta during the turn of the 18th to the 19th century, which is regarded as the Javanese literary renaissance by the literature researchers, is a transformational phenomenon, caused by the writing utensil technology development. McLuhan’s argument that medium is the message is also applicable to the situation on Java at that time.

It is obvious that this conclusion is far from solid, for it needs more intensive, more ambitious, and more analytical proofs. However, it is certain that paleographical study, which has not been developed yet in the classical literary research in Indonesia, especially concerning the Javanese literature, will give a very important contribution to position a literary work in the socio-cultural context.
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[Content not clearly visible due to handwriting style]
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF WEST JAVANESE

MOUSLEM MANUSCRIPTS ( external features) (1)

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In anticipation of our forthcoming Catalogue raisonné of West Java- nese Moslem Manuscripts at the moment in the press after a bilateral coo- peration between C.F.E.O. and the National Research Centre for Archae- ology ( Puslit-ARKENAS ) (2), I would attempt to expose two aspects of this on -gone study:

- the first one is : why it is important to pay interest to manuscripts from private collections, besides those from public collections ;
- the second aspect of this study is to show the steps of our research and put at the students and researchers’s disposal, an approach resul- ting from a long contact with both people, manuscripts and archaeolo- gical remains in their surroundings.

As a first answer, the public collections’s Manuscripts are well kept in security, but completely separated from their original context, while the private collections’s Manuscripts, are in a very dangerous situation due to the fact their owners are not conscious of the rare value of pusaka they kept. This absence of consciousness must be under- stood in the occidental meaning of source of many cultural,historical or literary survivals which are so important to try to fulfill our knowledge about, between others, Sundanese history, and not in the indonesian tra- ditional meaning of a kind of respect which is based not on scientific preoccupations but, traditionnal, emotional and sensitive respect towards evidences of the past. This constatation explains why so many pusaka, be they sacred weapons, or sacred textiles, statuettes, manus- scripts or stones still exist without theirs owners have any idea about historical or archaeological values. It is this special meaning we must keep in mind before we begin any study on West- Javanese Moslem Manuscripts.
If Malay, Javanese and Balinese manuscripts are considered to make a whole which is well known, listed and substantially catalogued, the same cannot be applied to Sundanese manuscripts. The research on manuscripts from West Java has not been, until now, very intensive, moreover if they are termed as private collections. At first, it is necessary to note how little interest has been paid to so many privately and collectively owned manuscripts. It seems worthy to exclude some scholars who have used manuscripts belonging to private collections (be they family, popular, noble or sacred), such as Husein Djajadinatingrat (3) and R. Satjadjibrata (4), without quoting Dutch scholars. They made abundant use of material to which they had access through their family possessions or which they could reach through other ways. But however, editions of texts translated from Sundanese are rare. This deprives researchers of a corpus which is altogether linguistic, literary, historical, mythological, religious, and more particularly Islamic for the manuscripts we are working on.

Apart from some good catalogues contributed by Dutch scholars in the \textit{XIX and XXth centuries}, such as de Vreede and Juynholl, Kern, Brandes, Poerbatjarka and Mened Sastrahadiprawira in the thirties, Pigeaud, Verhoeve, J. Noordyn in the fifties, R.M. Atanahardja in the sixties (5), which was pursued together by Haris Sukanda Natasamrit in the seventies, the last inventory, compiled by E. Ekadjati (1988), enumerates a total 2054 Sundanese manuscripts and their whereabouts, for the most from foreign and Indonesian public collections. They are as follows: Netherlands 785, England 3, Sweden 1, National Library Jakarta 404 (89 from which are not catalogued) - regional Museum Cigugur 18, Museum Prabu Gossan Ulun di Sunedang 16, Museum Negri Java Barat di Bandung 50, private collections 554, and those kept by Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient (E.F.R.O.), in the Study Centre in Bandung, at the time of this inventory, i.e. 90 items, but which, around in 1990, had reached more than one thousand items.

For us, it has become evident through research however that several thousands manuscripts, may be more, had escaped from first detection by both E.F.R.O. and The National Research Centre of Archaeology teams carried out in 1980-1984. It is the reason Hasan Muarif Ambary and myself decided to invite Yus Rusyana and E. Ekadjati to take part in a more thorough research program initiated early in 1980-1981. After earlier philological researches (Sukanda-Tessier: 1977, 1980), I first began to consider the intrinsic problem that we faced, and that was how, through the study of manuscripts, to gain an insight and knowledge of a tradition that is still alive, living and in use up to this day in modern Indonesia? This realisation resulted in the development of a "new approach" on these West Javanese Manuscripts which belong to a living tradition (Sukand-Tessier: 1974, 1977, 1980, 1982). The basic points and methodology used are presented here accompanied by my archaeo-philological approach which forms a principal guide to this introduction. This approach has a long story because to talk about thousands manuscripts of West Java is to make an incursion into the private collections harbouring them. My virtually permanent presence here in the field has enabled me to gain access to several collections, situated mainly in this vast area South of Bandung, and in the surroundings of Jampang, Cianjur, Subang, Sunedang, Garut, Tasikmalaya and Ciamis. The circumstances of my first discoveries in this area during several missions have already been noted in both my research reports and in later publications (6), and need not to be repeated here; they were later described and developed into more specifically philological researches. Let me just say that personal contact with these texts, mostly unedited (7), experience in the field, and intimate knowledge of the people, who are the authors, enables me to shed a first light on one of the least known cultures of Indonesia (8). In a recent publication (1987), I gave a complete insight about the socio-religious situation of these mostly rice-cultivating mountainous people who still pay respect to their ancestral traditions although they already have embraced moslem Faith.

Found in West Java and for the most part produced in West Java, it is nevertheless not surprising to find many non-Sundanese manuscripts among them, especially Javanese ones. This indicates the wide and intensive circulation of cultural wealth and all the traces and borrowings this brings about. About the presence of Javanese MSS. in West Java, it is not necessary I think, to invoke a possible "Javanese-speaking part of West Java such as Banten" (Noordyn: 1985:62) to explain it. The proportion of Javanese
Ms. I found in West Java during our Inventory is a sufficient evidence to support the theory of full circulation of cultural "goods" throughout Java, and may be, even more. Up to early XXth century, each Sundanese spoke Javanese and we do remember that the Sundanese princess Ambekasih is said to learn sastra Jawa & Sunda, in the meaning of Javanese and Sundanese hanacaras characters (Sunarto & Sukanda- Tessier, 1983: IV. 26. 3-8). All along several copies of the same manuscript we get full evidence of these traces and borrowings, especially the linguistic ones. The same can be said after Ms. Sajarah Cikundul (9), where Sundanese people were said to be skill in using Sundanese and Javanese languages. The following anecdote explains that their cleaversness is proved by their correspondence which is versificated and automatically sung when written or red.

The same conclusion can be drawn from the fact that old Javanese texts (i.e. Jawa kunu and Jawa tengahan) can still be found in Sundanese families, as the case for Carisoan Prabu Siliwangi. Prof. Dr. Partini Sardjono has recently emphasized this point in bringing evidence that, even in West Java, we can find old Musantarian master works (10).

I

Sundanese pusaka and philological aspects.

What is considered as pusaka or sacred patrimony is not only the very ancient manuscripts from earlier times of Islamization. Each new copy which is made, i.e. which renewed the "physical aspect" of a too old manuscript, is also considered as charged with sacred spirit, truth and charisma. That is to say, in other words that an ancestral inheritance the population is respected by, is subject to regular "renwal", i.e. written out again and again for daily, traditional dan ceremonial use, being sung, read, borrowed and continually circulated from village to village.

In this case, a lot of copies which come down to us do not always allow us to establish a "genealogical tree" for each manuscript. It is chance that provides each manuscript, such as other archaeological remains, we cannot therefore judge the true value of these fruits. The very most we are able to establish is a logical "provisional kinship", thanks to our philological approach, which will assuredly be called into the question again and again, by the discovery of an unptenth text: the originals of which have for a long time been discredited as a result of their often non existent calligraphical qualities, their lack of respect for prosodic and metrical rules - i.e. to say their genuine rules - their absence of a binding and the poor form that they present to us. It is however most important to recall at this point that the normally used philological criteria cannot always be applied (11).

At first we consider such manuscripts as ugly, incorrect, damaged, or by frequent use, by smoke and rain, crossed out and changed, but who knows that, may be, they are the only surviving examples of some vanishing "archetypes" whose authenticity only philological work can establish? The multitude of copies made throughout the course of time are often re-writings passed from scribe to scribe in a manner quite similar, respectively, for the original "mother manuscript" is very high. It is the story thread, the global subject which are felt to be the sacred burden, not the manner or form which transmits them.

The copies, which are almost never made at the command of a Prince, or the work of an historiographer, were never intended to be anything more than a means of fixing in one's memory a written tradition; a written tradition of mountaneous people's keeping and perception with an equally formidable vocal art. People, be they reader, singer or listener are not interested in the external physical aspects of a written text, only in the message that a text carries. On the other side, scribes for their part, use words and letters, for which no spelling or punctuation rule exists; they are content to lay down a received inheritance (Sukanda Natasamita: 1982, 1988). Readers and singers restore intuitively their faulty verses and misspelt words. Good examples of this are tinggal for tinggal by for-
getting the diacritic sign jeer, and gugurt for gugurit. The crippled word can be deciphered without any difficulty because:

* it is their own language
* they know a lot of full stanzas by heart
* specific rhymes are known for each metre (pupuh).

All these changes are possible because the concept of authors doesn't exist, a text is a collective good, often the colophon consists of the scribes or copyists's names, which are linked intrinsically with their remote models. The scribe respects the message, manac, suai, the general thread of related events, characters, names and toponyms, but with no hesitation he embellishes with, or distracts from a character or circumstances as he sees fit. Of this there are thousands of examples. It is this, that in philological jargon is called the variæ lectiones, these countless variants are as many as they are varied creations of the copyists’s imagination. A gifted copyist will add as a pantun teller, spice and colour to a description such as that of Lasmaya's arrival, "splendidly harnessed", "ready to set about", "with her own hands her flabbergasted rival" (Wawacan Ogin atawa Raden Anarsaki. L: 1-4; LI: 1-13; LII: 1-6). Just as a less talented or more restricted copyist will copy exactly his model even though he may not completely understand it, but if he pretends to possess a little literary knowledge, talent, a rare gift in improvisation, he will add to his model, without modifying it, but overloading it with piquant funny details, which are made to be remembered, not to be read only, not to be appreciated intellectually in the solitary environment of a reading or study room, in a universe full of classical literature, but to be read and sung to a multitude, articulated with emphasis and ad libitum (Sukanda- Tessier : 1982, 1987). We name them interpolations.

The copyist, without doubt, modifies, rejuvenates here and there his model. Every copy is a linguistic murder in its own right. If the old archaic word becomes incomprehensible, the scribe "translates", replaces, modifies it (if he still understands the original), and inserts a synonym. If not, he inserts what he believes to be a close approximation of the original meaning. But anyway, it is our task to discover these alterations. We pay a high philological price for the words that we decipher, the Sundanese people do not use "kid glove" methods on the text nor do they themselves correct the text they are reading; often they themselves are the only ones who fully understand the text they read. In this way a clever reader with an exiting text can overpass all other readers. "We always need a good reader, even if he is not a remarkable singer. "We prefer him to anyone else for miles around". This selection by the people, who are after all the principal users is one of the most original aspects of this tradition. The modesty and tolerance of the art of writing Sundanese works is beautifully expressed by the author of Carita Ratu Pakuan (Atja, 1970:44), the colophon of which ends:

sugan aya sastra leuwih
sudaan, kurang wawahan.

if I say too much, take it out,
if I say too little, add it in.

Such is the situation for epic texts, may they are mythological, hagiographical or historiographical ones. But the situation differs if we examine sacral manuscripts. By sacral, I mean all written texts which are venerated as sacred writings so that it is impossible to consider them such as other manuscripts. They must be recopied exactly as the original one, with the same spelling, they can't be thrown or abandoned, but burnt and their ashes ritually drank (Sukanda- Tessier: 1992 : 277-280).

It is obvious then that apart from the approach to the texts as an ancestral living inheritance, we must consider them as survivors of creative past; activities building up a mass of unpublished masterpieces and finally, if they are moslem manuscripts, they are the expression and witness of Islamization, the great period which gave birth to considerable written activities which true socio-politico-religious impacts we are very far from appreciating it very well (12).

As already pointed out by Robson, it is difficult to understand Nasantarian philological problems which arose with vernacular popular manuscripts, specially Sundanese ones. Why copies are so numerous? Manuscripts
are not always intended to be carefully kept on para, but to be used by generations of readers where some copies are necessary for ceremonial uses. By this way it is non-intentionally Sundanese people saves its own culture and literature in singing its manuscripts. As the texts are held in great respect, they are read, chanted or sung, copied and recopied, generation after generation, lent or hired, and still have a strong attraction. They retain a large measure of cultural, literary or religious traits, belonging not only to the geographical area where they were produced or utilized but also the whole Nusantarian world. The Islam's arrival didn't stop the ancient ritual written activities, and even had perpetuated them, since we know that during more than ten centuries, brahman class continuously wrote and copied ritual Manuscripts, especially religious ones. (Padoux; 1990). But more democratically Moslem scribes, whoever they were, wrote and copied manuscripts in a perfect cultural continuum.

After all, most of these manuscripts are in use among the rural, mountain and rice-growing Sundanese population, thanks to the continuing of a very ancient vocal art called beluk described hereafter. Therefore as they are part of the ancestral wealth, they are revered and confer an eminent social position and a sort of divine grace (berkah or ganjaran) upon those who own them, write, copy or decipher them (see supra and 13.).

II

THE BELUK VOCAL ART

When one speaks about Sundanese vocal "performance" where old literary or religious written texts, the wayangan or epics, were sung in the old fashionable beluk manner, may be it would evoke French medieval epics chansons de geste, both religious or sacred Mystères, although in beluk art, there is no musical instruments to accompany human voices, and though there is another kind of Sundanese epic narrative performance, called carita pantun, which can be also compared to French chansons de geste.

Between an extraordinary wide panoply of cultural and, for most of them, musical activities (14), the Sundanese people, which don't have any visible magnificent temples as its neighbour, own a remarkable vocal art called beluk (Sukanda- Tessier, 1977: 10-12, 15, 82, 131-136). It is rather difficult to ascertain its origin, the period where it began to flourish, the possible (or not) foreign influence, the socio-cultural circumstances which produced this very original art. We can't assume that this vocal art appears in very remote times, may be prehistorical ones, because the rare use of the beluk singers preserved their "internal and cerebral voices". They use also a kind of special tremolo behind their throats, which seems to be regurgitated from stomach or abdomen. We only know that aborigen people from Murung in Australia (cf. Conklin), or Indonesian people from Cambridge (cf. Condominas) have a kind of thrilling voice which is able to dompt or fascinate ferocious beasts in jungle, or which is used to pronounce certain sounds from far away in mountains with special meanings. We can say the same with the non human pronunciation of mantra which are specifically divine language which doesn't be reproduced by human voices, except under special conditions.

But this chronological possibility of the beluk's origin doesn't erase other possibilities. Between others, we don't know vocal uses during Hindu-Buddha times, except in singing sloka from Kawi literature, but on the contrary, we know that begin with the Islamization of Java, the use of human voice is very important in Islamic times. Voice is the main tool to proclaim the allmightiness of God with adan, the God's appeal, but also with the psalmodic manner to read Al Kur'ân. The inhuman and extraordinary difficulty to spout out very high sounds in ngaji can be compare with extreme and high sounds in beluk vocal art. If it will be proved that there is a common starting point between beluk voices and ngaji voices, of course we can assume that this art would originated at least with the Islamization of this part of Java. But it seems still now a very speculative possibility which needs the help of ethno-musical studies (15).

Finally, although the origin of matrical prosody (pupuh and guru wilangan) are partly Javanese, they are no Javanese song in the Sundanese repertoire and this kind of singing is unknown in Javanese culture (16). It would be impossible to treat in depth, in this short contribution, all aspects, and specially the musicological ones of the vocal beluk, so
I shall mainly deal with the way in which it is carried out and refrain from a quantitative description of the number of béluk groups (17). For clarity's sake, I will sketch briefly definitions and descriptions where I shall try to answer where this archaic vocal may be found, when, why, who sings it and what kind of manuscripts are used as written support of first reading. Finally I shall emphasize the role kept by this vocal béluk in saving thousands manuscripts from destruction, negligence or oversight.

a) Definition of béluk

According to Oosting (1879:830-831), béluk is quoted as the final sound oe (u) of a strophe (cindek) sung in a special manner. He reports also about nambilang and tarik.

For Coolman (1913) béluk is: to sing témbang with a strong or forceful and even shrill voice.

For Sarjadi (1954) the vocal art called béluk can be defined as follows: témbang nu aturanana istimewa, umpama nu milu iringiringan, nu nambilangla lalaki, sorana diletukkeun tapi dibédaakeun, which means: a kind of song with special rules, for instance, if the singer who is going to participate is a male, his voice must be soft and in the same time keen and high.

For Eringa (1980) béluk is an archaic manner of singing témbang, verse by verse, with loud and high voice, and only by men.

By comparison, we just know from Roorda (1875) that, in javanese IV. ambéluk is used to call somebody with loud voice, without any mention to sing.

For Horne (1974), in verbal derivation we note: mbéluk mengeng 2, to call to, yell at ... For Zoetmulder (1982), abéluk is: to hoot (owl), and koko béluk: a part. kind of owl; dok béluk: different nocturnal bird (?)

So, old Javanese only knows three meanings i.e. owl, to hoot, and to call loudly. It is not impossible that the Sundanese word béluk takes allusion to the shrill voice of the owl.

It is clear, which is also denoted by R. Sarjadi, that this béluk art is characteristically secular or profane, not distinctively sacred or "ecclesiastical" and, of course, not "monastic". By that, it must be distinguished from the Qira'ah science, or tajwid which, in

Sundanese, is called ngaji/ngaan, and takes very peculiar proportions in the annual Musabahah Tilawatil Qur'an Contest (MTQ), and which is a religious or para-religious activity. In this respect, it must be kept in mind that it is impossible to mix the recitation of the Holy Qur'an with the béluk art, whatever possible technical vocal likenesses these two vocal arts may have, especially in regard to superhuman feat of strength they have both in uttering sounds. The holy recitation has a religious character, while the béluk is a profane, secular one. Thanks to God must be pronounced by a Muslim by reciting the takbir, i.e. the pronouncement of the hamdalah thirty three times after the daily prayer (18).

In the same kind of activity we find also the Qasidah songs which are profane choirs with a religious inspiration (pupujian), which save also some valuable literary sources.

We shall see further that béluk vocal art is essentially connected or not connected with Islam. But what is certain is that béluk belongs to témbang bhuhe, i.e. the old manner of singing melodies according to prosodic rules (a whole dangling with a fixed number of pupuh, or poetic metres).

b) The béluk vocal art: living traditions of singing manuscripts.

Unfortunately, surprisingly little has been written about béluk. The first eye-witness account about béluk, though concisely was given by Kunst (1949 I: 392-394), then my own account (19) after a first mission in the southern region of Bandung and a short description I made in French and Indonesian recently (20).

A description of this vocal art which still appears in rural and most generally hinterland countries, may obviously emphasize the prominent role it plays in socio-religious life.

* where?

As I have already quoted when I did my first inquiry in 1964, béluk singers are chiefly found in somehow great quantity in the southern region of Bandung where famous groups from Batu Karut, Cipar, Cipinang, Maruyung, Cikalong, Lamajung are found.

In the general list of all kinds of artistic activities which are found in Java, between 1973 - 1976 (21), vocal béluk is described as a speciality of the Priangan region. Other references show that the béluk art is also found in six subdistricts of the Kuningan region, i.e. Cibinggin Cilimus, Ciniru, Garawangi, Kagede and Lurugan (22), and in one subdistrict of Pandeglang (23). Documentations which have been carried
out in Majalengka, Sukabumi, Cianjur and Tanggerang do not show any bēlu group in these regions. It must just be quoted as an adaptation of tēmbang art and bēlu art in the South of the Cianjur region, in the subdistrict Kadupandak, under the name of Seni Tērēbang bēlu (24). Here, bēlu is said to be identical with macapat, and was associated, around 1930, with the tērēbang group which seems to be already and firmly implanted. The textual support was no more wawacan, the Sundanese epos, but islamic lauds and Kitab Barjanjil besides other non-religious songs, and even traditional Kātuk Tilu dance.

Other groups have been also inventoried in Garut and Ciamis regions.

*When?

The bēlu vocal art can be described as a public rural performance at the occasion of ceremonial family festivities, such as seventh month of pregnancy, birth, fourtieth day of birth, circumcisions, or at the occasion of communal festivities, such as harvest, purifications of a new place, a village, or construction of a new house, or also religious occasions and some important dates of the traditional Muslim calender which require a special mark.

A specific occasion to "nanggap bēlu" during the seventh month of pregnancy occurs when the written support of the vocal is one of the most famous Sundanese epic, i.e. Manakib or Layang Seh Abdul Kadir Jaelani. Everybody knows that this pseudo hagiographic text is a magnification of the moslem hero Abdul Kadir Jaelani who is venerated in West Java and elsewhere (Drewes, 1938) as the sponsor and teacher of one of the most famous esoteric school, i.e. Tarekat Kadiriyah which is very prolific among Sundanese people, and especially in the Southern part of Bandung.

During the reading and the singing of each hikayat which composed the story, every young girl in her prime has to wear a necklace with seven strands of cotton white thread. After one hikayat is finished, they made a little knot, so each knot means a part of the Abdul Kadir Jaelani text which passed from sunset to sunrise. Like that, we are able to know how many hikayats were sung during this ceremonial festivity, quoting that the quantity of hikayat greatly varies after each manuscript.

This little necklace is nothing but the future ritual necklace which will be worn by her first child if she marries and which is said to protect each newborn child.

It is interesting to note how great is the charismatic influence of Abdul Kadir Jaelani so that a mere reading of his life story can bring about felicity and occult protection, as a strong antidote through a cotton necklace, to a not yet conceived infant. To this, the Sundanese say that the cotton necklace was made with niat, with firm and strong muslim purpose, which is the first step to any wish and pray.

In Part III of this writing, Perception of Islam as a part of written living literature, which is a tentative approach of study on Islamic manuscripts, I should quote in what place a text such as Wawacan Ogin is estimated and how great is its value in the feeling of gratitude after his niat, when the rice peasant sows his sawah (see also Sukanda-Tessier, 1987: 98).

It may be remarked that since Independence Day bēlu groups participate often in cheering up 17 Agustus's celebration chiefly held in Bandung or its vicinity. Other new urban occasions, such as the Governor son's circumcision in the eighties, appear sometimes. Besides this, special demonstration of bēlu can be done on demand, for instance, at the occasion of Séminaire d'Analyse de Contes held in Jakarta, University of Indonesia, 16-20 June, 1986, organized by U.I.-B.A.L. AUPELF, and animated by Prof. Zumbthor and, between others, myself. A bēlu performance was organized by Haris Sukanda Natarasmita at the French Cultural Centre. The bēlu group accompanied by the Head of Mekarsari village, came from Cipinang, Maruyung and Cikalong and numbered around twenty singers. They offer an appreciative demonstration of bēlu art, reading and singing old arabic texts for this french speaking specialist of orality and oral literatures, who was fascinated by the singers and their facial expressions, besides the translation I did simultaneously of the excerpts of Wawacan Samaun and Wawacan Ogin (25), and
prove how vivid this archaic art still is (26).

Finally another demonstration of bèlul art was given by the Ciaupus bèlul group under the direction of Lan Suryana, especially organized by Haris Sukanda Natassamita for Drs. Win van Zanten in September 1982 (27), for Dr. Ywa Bussyana in May 1985, and recently in October 1986 for the artistic Director of La Maison des Cultures du Monde, Françoise Gründ, by the Maruyung bèlul group.

* how ?

One can ask how this vocal art is performed. It is generally at the host’s home that a bèlul performance takes place. Sometimes the chief responsible of the bèlul group is contacted beforehand in order to choose the date, the epic text and the singers. Some texts and some singers are so famous that it is very difficult to get them, especially if harvest time is coming.

The bèlul art is a manner of singing old written epic texts. Because of this fundamental characteristic, if there are no written epics, there are also no bèlul art. In other terms, if people saves its written patrimony, there are great possibilities to find also bèlul groups, but bèlul art without written epic is surely destined to disappear.

Before the text is sung, it must be read. And it is a most delicate task. The bèlul art consists of adapting (applying) to the stanzas the suitable melody which is directed by the kind of the cantos. In other words we can hear firstly the text which is read by the reader and after his reading, one of the singers sings the verse or the whole stanza which was just read. The last verse of the stanza is generally punctuated by all the singers as a whole a cappella canto. What is remarkable are the human voices, deep and soft, shrill and so sharp, so elevated above the human possibilities of the voice, but also so pathetical, such as the expression of human weakness. These strong impressions are emphasized by the rural, often mountainous atmosphere where metaphorical questions seem to be more sensible in the solitude.

But it is not rare that singers do not hear the reader well, or may be intentionally they do not repeat exactly a certain word, so that the meaning changes and every body burst out laughing, such as, for instance, the singers must sing: ... kangkang raja ngalahir ... but they change ngalahir in ngadahdir, so that the meaning: "his Majesty says " becomes "his Majesty slavers while sleeping"!

Because of this surroundings, it is clear that this art plays a social function between the performers, the public, the singers and other authoritative personalities. In all these cases the bèlul art seems to be an important mean to express sacrality, human attitude of thanks to God, or to Sri, thanks to holy ancestors in respect of ancestral tradition. By means of bèlul, and because teh script is mainly arabic, the text serves to thank the ancestors and God. Because of ancestral traditions people must perform a lot of hajat or sidkah to invite their neighbours to "sidkah sampulakaneun". It is the reason that there is a very small difference which is only felt, I think, by the pure Muslims who can’t mix tradition with religion.

* by who ?

Only one man, generally respected for his knowledge of ancient characters, aksara, arab or pegon, read the text surrounded by a lot of female and male singers. The bèlul singer is a common old man or old woman, because under forty years old they are only allowed to hear. The transmission of their art is generally by hereditary way. When they are still young or intended singers, they must content themselves with listening to senior bèlul singers. After long years, step by step, they can participate in the chorus which punctuate the end of each stanza (see also a first description in Sukanda-Tessier, 1977: 131-134).

About forty years old they can begin to use their full voices. This voice is characterised by:
- shrill sounds,
- a peculiar vibration of each sound,
- propensity for appoggiatura, vocalisma and other vocalic ornaments,
an over-shrill tone of the voice which is felt as a vocalic growl, and which gets a very similar likeness with the shrill sounds of the coranic psalmody. This quality is recognized by other senior bēluk singers.

- an exceptional breath which allows the singer to "hold the note" during several verses and even a full stanza.
- the bēluk's peculiarity, i.e. this indefinable manner which consists of turning inside out of his voice by a retroflex note. This sound is uttered between the cheeks and the throat. It is remarkable that the bēluk singers get an abnormally developed cheek muscles.

From a technical point of view, voices which are able to sing bēluk must be well exercised to reach such a high and such a shrill tone. It seems to be the privilege of mountain people between forty and seventy and more years old.

Some traditional methods are used by bēluk singers to keep their voices clear and high. One of them is said "to drink a broom's water", nagleueu cai sapu. For this, a rice stem with its ear is boiled with glutinous brown rice, then strained. This liquid is put outside for cooling in a dewy place at daybreak and must be drunk on an empty stomach one glassful.

c) The use of manuscripts

It is now easy to put forward the following equation: manuscript + writer + reader + singers = bēluk art. Here appears the importance of the manuscripts. One sees by that how important this vocal activity is, because through it, people can save an old patrimony. This patrimony consists of written epics which are called wawacan (the reduplication of prefix wa, waca baca, to read, and substantive suffix an). The main feature of a wawacan is that it is a hand written epic text, may be in Sundanese and Javanese aksara characters, or most often in Arabic or Pegon ones.

About the classical wawacan literature, it is difficult to ascribe to them a "period" because we generally meet with XIX and XXth century copies. But it is clear that these favorite texts (which can be saved by generations of rustic bēluk singers), are the result of a very remote cultural activity where I found a lot of pre-Islamic features in the middle of the specific literature of the beginning of the spread of Islam. The Wawacan Ogin text of which we already achieved the critical edition in 1980 but which must wait for further publication because the discovery of other unexpected copies, is a very good instance of this kind of literature.

The most popular texts which are chosen for bēluk are hagiographical islamic stories, and generally all kind of islamic stories, war stories such as Wawacan Amir Hamzah, royal wanderings with old-pseudo palace style of life such as Wawacan Danumaya, Wawacan Bayawak, or Wawacan Ampling Darma. Love or erotic stories such as Wawacan Rangganis, which were so appreciated in the beginnings of the XXth century, don't seem to be, in the same privileged place nowadays. Texts which seem to be a mere religious or mystic teaching, such as Wawacan Syahadat, are not chosen for bēluk purposes, because of religious commandments. But, on the contrary, stories with a lot of adventures, duels, battles, descriptions of courageous actions are considered as very fascinating and people are found of them, common or noble people.

The manuscripts which are generally adapted to this vocal function are of many sorts. There are of historical kind such as Wawacan Prabu Sindula, Wawacan Prabu Rean Santang, Wawacan Prabu Walangunungan which tell episodes of historical or hagiographical persons's life in the Islamization of Java's atmosphere. There are manuscripts of Islamic kind such as Wawacan Bimau Sare at Wawacan Sifat Dus Puluh, Wawacan Mekkah, while indeed these kind of religious texts ought to be read individually, such as macapat texts. There are also philosophical texts, such as Wawacan Ganda-sari, Wawacan Suluk which are generally read by members of mystical or esoterical organisations, and not specially meant for the public. The same is to be said for esoterical or mystical texts such as Wawacan Tasiwul and Wawacan Tarsi (28).
Finally there are recreational texts such as Wawacan Abu Nawas from the 1001 Night Tales, or serial texts such as the seven texts of which Wawacan Suryaningat, Wawacan Suryakanta, and Wawacan Rangga-

wulung are the most popular, or pseudo-hagiographical texts such as Wawacan Abdullah, Wawacan Amir Husein (which was written by R. Satjadibrata's father R.H. Mah. Amin), or as a mean of propagation of Islam with famous texts such as Wawacan Tarekat, Wawacan Abdul Kadir Jaelani, especially destined for members of the Tarekat Kadiriyah Organisation, or for the santri (students of a pasantren or Islamic school). We must bear in mind that one essential purpose including the expanding of written activity which allows the wide dispersion if Arabic and Pegon scripts.

III

EXTERNAL FEATURES OF WEST JAVA NESE Ms.

The popularity of a Ms. can be evaluated in considering the number of its copies. Since nowadays it seems quite difficult to evaluate the exact amount of West Javanese Mss. from private collections. After a first Inventory I initiated with Dr. Hasan Muarif Ambary in 1980-1985, and after some tentative to inventory public collections and some private ones (cf. Ekadijati a.i. Naskah Sunda), it seems an very important moral question to decide if an integral inventory would be realistic now (cf. Sukanda-Tessier, BEFEEO 79.1. (1992 : 214, 269, 277-290). Nevertheless the most important now is to deal with recent Catalogues which bring a new light on the situation.

The Catalogue raisonné which is now in the press contains 966 Ms's titles, which doesn't mean 966 Mss. We determine Mss. which contains only one text - such as mostly Epics of Islamization, but among old bark-tree Mss., we find very often several texts for each Ms. For instance, the E.J. or Syapei or Wiganda's collections. Here, I just quote the content of our introduction to our Catalogue which contains not only external features, such as:

a) supports (gold, silver, coper charts, lontar, nipah, bambu, daquwung, hendsalam,

b) dimensions

Ms.s present different dimensions, evenmore they are old. With the beginning of this century they are often written on buku sekola (about 1960-1990), but also Dutch register (1880-1950). Between 1860/1870 and 1920/1930 folio pages (33 x 21, or more) are used, fold in two pieces. There are two dimensions if lontar Mss., the long one (more than 40 cm.), or less than 40 cm. The length also allows three linear or four.

Dimensions depends also on the content, if they are old Koranic Mss., they are big enough, but if they are Sahih, Paricimbon, Janpe, mantra, langjawekan, they can be smaller.

c) kuras / Kata ulang ("remarque")

Generally paper is fold by ten pages, and the ensemble is said kuras. Each kuras is sewed with vegetal or cotton thread. Up to the second quarter of this century each pages contains the repetition of the last word, kata ulang (in French : remarque). So it was easier to collate these pages inside one kuras. The pagination which appears during the XIXth century, is now more frequent.

d) thread

There are two kinds : singguru, kind of vegetal thread, thin or thick, or : sewing cotton thread if Ms. are younger than about one century.

e) writing tools

The Catalogue Raisonné's motto sounds as follows:

Peso panggot ninggung lontar
Daquwung kaliranggang mampis
Kuwek canggeun beja awak
Mo beunang dispus duel...

Lontar is "written" with peso panggot, daquwung and other papers are coloured by
vegetal inks with hanupat or paku andam. Hanupat is the internal big part of injuk kawung from kawung tree ( A. Saccharifera (Labill).) Paku andam is Asplenium madurancium Mtt, Filicées, which is found along bank river and is also used to vanney (anyaman). Both hanupat (which is more fragile than paku andam), the two "pen" are cut very sharply, but the frequency of use explains why the Mss.'s scripts are so irregular; these vegetal pen become too soft and thick. Hanupat also cannot reserve an enough content of ink, but paku andam, which is an empty pipe, has a longer use. Generally paku andam pen allows arabic calligraphy, but since the middle of XXth century another imported pen is used as kalaim.

i) inks

In old Mss. scribes used several "inks". Besides Cina ink which is known since long times, and the burnt kemiri fruit which is used to blackened longir leaves with arang, Sundanese scribes made their own natural inks from vegetals. The black ink is obtained with black jelaga (Sdn : oyan) from petrol lamp mixed with kembang damar. After boiled, they are mixed again with air ketan hitam (Sdn : cai dalhna), just before the glutinous rice become thick (hubur).

After other scribes, the black ink is produced also with kembang dayang flower, when it smells during night.

Another ink is obtained by mixing jawenkotok medicinal red leave (Celosia cristata), Amaranthaceae, with tajen water from black glutinous rice...

But, to obtain other colours, for instance orange, it is easy to mix white glutinous rice water (just before it become thick) with Curcuma longa L. Scleranthera (koneng, or kunir, or curcumin). And to obtain red or plum colours to decorate letters or meter's names, they do a mixture with tree gandola's leave (Basellia rubra L. Chenopodiaceae) which is already dark red or black and water. More recently scribes did also, during the independence War their ink with oyan mixed with black "suie" from little petrol lampu tempel. Now they obtain a nice cardinal colour in mixing blue common Parker ink, oyan and spirits.

j) pagination

There are no rule: some old Mss. get pagination in aksara, other in arabic numbers, but mostly are without any pagination.

k) regular

Old european papers are without line, visible or not, so Indonesian scribes make their own lines which are said "nail lines". Recently they trace them with pencil (cf. Sukanda Tessier, in BEFOE, 1984). Modern papers, such as these from Padua Jungang industries, get already blue "fabric" lines, sometimes so narrow that they do their own.

l) decorations

Generally the "popular" Mss. are without any decoration, or if scribes do some ones, they are very simple. The chief reason seems to be their practical use. Nevertheless they are some Mss. which are very nice, between others Kitab Safinah, EJ collection n° 17, or Sajarah Aneka, And Collection n° 191, or Wawacan Ogo, HSN Collection n° 332, or Marakib with a nail decoration for each hikayat which are decorated with flowers' vases.

But for the most, there are only each meter which presents decorations, with red or blue or plum colours, the puhpuh numeration, the strophe, the punctuation...

It is clear that there are no rule and it depends only on the imagination or the fantasy of each scribe.

m) collections

Between others see: Sukanda- Tessier, 1987: 10th Kerjasama EFEO- Puslit ARKENAS, and our Catalogue which contains Mss. from 52 private collections. There are no one from kabuyutan collections, nor from kraton collections except those from Talaga kingdom some dissimilated Mss. from Pamijahan sacral mosque.

n) Pasantren collections

They are some Mss. which have been written by future santri as script exercises, specially religious ones (Kitab Fidah), these unfinished Mss., with numerous repeated paginas presents a lot of empty paginas (pages vierges). Then, after so-
me times, the blank pages served to copy wawacan, or others. A good example is
given by a Ms. from a private collection were we find an old Kitab Safinah, with
beautiful arabic script, copy from the Xl vinyl century. On the reverse side of the Ms.
I found some years ago the interesting Saijara Sang Nata Agung's text ( another
version of Stillhwang'l's life. This last text is badly written in poor Pegon script,
on other notes and traditional agrarian calendars.
If the Kitab Safinah can be dated in the Xlvilh century, this text - which seems
unicum - can hardly be written before the beginning of the present century.

IV

P R O S O D I C  R E G U L A T I O N S

a) Meter's general features

It is generally admitted that the metric system which is used in Nusanta-
rarian epic works, such as kakawin, kidung and wawacan, originate together from
India and old Indonesia. Wawacan are epic written texts which are
firstly read by a leclee and repeated after, strophe by strophe by the singers,
without any kind of instruments. Following the course of the story, the epic is
divided in pupuh or canto which determine the song. They are seventeen kinds
of canto which are divided in their turn into , following the javanese usage :
tembang gede, i.e. KSAD, or kinanti, sindom, asmarandana, dangdanggula,
tembang alit ( clik ) : pucung, maskumambang, magalru, mijil, wirangrang, pangker,
durma, lambang, gambuh, balakbak, hadrang, jurudemung and gurisa.
These two categories of meters are both used in epic texts, but the first one is
specially used in Tembang Sunda, in addition to an old octosyllabic sundanese
verse, tanpa pupuh or purwakanti which is so frequent in oral literature pantuh.
Pupuh are not only submitted to prosodical regulations, but own specific melodies.
Links between meters and melody has not been yet explained up to now but it
seems prudent to think that during sanskritisation of Old Nusantarian Literature,

poetical Skr. regulations penetrate in Nusantarian literature, as it can be seen
in old Javanese master pieces. No one of these seventeen pupuh are similar
to Skr. meters.

The names of pupuh are from Javanese origin and the lagu
( melodies ) are autochtonous Sundanese origin, derived from Sun-
danese cithara- epic tales ( the so-called pantun ). There are the same
seventeen pupuh, metres, not divided in tembang gede and tembang
cilik or macapat, according to the Javanese usage. But in poetical
or epic Sundanese texts, the 17 pupuh are not only a specific pros-
dic manner to express the content of a wawacan, but also the
large fan of metres procures several internal meaning possibilities.
For instance the mijil metre is often used to express a new situa-
tion, the durma metres to express belligious aims, or a declaration
in war in process, or description of war preparatives, while asma-
randana concerns special sweet romance. In the same view kinanti
metre express the loneliness, the regret, the sadness and the remem-
brance of remote happy times or experiences besides the religious
meaning of sung incantations such as kidung. Also dangdanggula
metre is used to depict prologue or beginning of epics. It is of
course a very old and traditionnal aspect of Nusantarian prosody,
because as well as in Javanese poetry, such is the situation in
Sundanese poetry. For instance, it is impossible to describe love
chapter in jurudemung metre which is specially reserved to politi-
cal descriptions or decisions.

It is important to note that these " popular " copies, which are used
by peasants for their ceremonial familial and communautary rites, don't have any
trouble with orthograph or prosodical regulations. Even if the text is wrongly ortho-
graphed, or wrongly " dangding " ( with a fautive versification ), the reader and
the singers can reestablish the true verses or the true words.
Of course this brief report needs a deeper study about all faces of this peculiar manner to express epic world with all its specificity (39).

We must keep in mind that wawancan (and also pantum) still possess until now, and especially in hinterland region, a didactic aspect which to be the main function of all these activities, besides that of religious or ceremonial purposes and though they have almost disappeared from the urban world. I remember, when hearing Wawancan Pajajaran, when a mother dissuades her son to cross straight to Sabrang, I remark a sudden noisy agitation in the direction of the female corner, as if something is happening. They just exchange their views about the danger to "nyabrang" or "meutus lautana ka Sabrang" (34), to go to Sumatra, with a lot of personal experiences. It is a mere anecdote which shows how strong still are ancient literary advices.

who writes and why?

The writers or scribes are usually former santri, students from pasantren, or Islamic traditional schools. In ancient times, to write was not a common, habitual activity within traditional society, as it is in modern societies. We must keep in mind how here the social, formal exceptional function of the scribe still is. For the Sundanese people, it is a specific function, where the scribe is considered well, even venerated. But now, no matter who writes, it is indifferent.

It is not clear whether the scribe writes or copies. All the question for a philologist is exactly here. How far a scribe is a copyist or a writer. It seems, in short, that he is mostly a copyist who is very free with his model, but accurate enough. For him, to write is a religious activity, even a kind of duty. To write a wawancan is considered to be of the same value as to perform the Pilgrimage to Mecca and everybody knows that in Sundanese area the Pilgrimage to the grave of Sunan Gunung Jati Mount and his
tomb is traditionally hold in so great a favour that it is still considered to be of equal importance with a pilgrimage to Mecca. The same must be said about the Pamijahan pilgrimage to the Abdul Muhyi’s cave. In this respect we quote the similitude of this around 800 meters underground passage or "womb passage or cave" with the womb-caves and other sacred places dedicated to the Dewi in Asia (34).

In the same respect, to write a wawancan is considered as a ganjaran, a kind of good action which can be taken in account by God to decrease sins. In the same way, to build a little mosque, has the same value (39). With this religious background it is clear that the "profession" of a scribe is still traditionally considered as important, though in the orthodox environment one remarks a clear tendency to fight against these practices considered otherwise as heretic and not Islamic (36).

All this gives us the true reason why in so many cases, the Arabic and Pegom scripts are not always very good, or very beautiful in term of calligraphy, or exact in accordance with grammatical and poetical rules. For the scribe, it is not a problem whether he writes perfectly or not. The important thing is, he can write in Arabic or Pegom script a story which begins with the bas-malah, i.e. to pronounce the name of Allah and to praise Him. Among Sundanese scribes, because it is a very current popular written activity, we often find a poor quality of calligraphy. But for the historians what does it matter? How many wonderful manuscripts with spendid calligraphy have a very poor content? Here, in Sundanese and in West Javanese manuscripts in a whole, we must pay attention to the subjects: the scribe owns a thing to say, as a holy task or pretended to be one, and any how he must write, he must bring his message to a lot of persons.

Indeed, it is the truly remarkable aspect of this art which needs for its existence the support of manuscripts. We can imagine how important for the archaeologists these cultural remnants of the past are, saved by its own people. By way of singing these texts,
the public is numerous, the aim is reached, the lesson is heard, the song which is poetry is sung (ṣa). Of course I just evoke how greater the task is if the text which is sung has a religious content. By this way Islam is magnified, the name of the Prophet and God is repeatedly lauded, and scribes, singers and public per-petuate their religion and culture.

For more than four centuries now there has been no more royal and genuine authority in West Java — this is worthy of note, as it is no longer the prince nor his descendants who are guardians of traditions, such as in Java, but the people, the descendants of the guardians. This unique feature probably explains a certain number of main features belonging to the Sundanese culture, and the most interesting of this is that it is turned in towards itself, affecting to be hermetic, a fact which everyone likes to recognize but which has been the element of salvation of this culture.

But from an archaeological point of view, we must keep in mind the long presence of megalithism in Sunda up to the Buddhism's arrival in the VIIIfth century, which is especially attested, in iconography, by the "Pajajaran style" (Satyavati Soleman, 1985; Sunarto & Sukanda- Tessier, 1983). It is true that mesolithic and neolithic periods were characterised by populations who were mesolithic's makers. They were hunting- picking up - fishing people who have physical aptitudes and knowledges of their environment of which we aren't aware of. Konkhlin and Cornemais's works allow us to better imagine the formidable human possibilities face to face with an inhospitable milieu. Their physical predispositions, between others, allowed them to establish long distance contacts, for instance with the help of knocked langage. This langage is not other than a manner to transmit code messages which are so easy to be listened to in mountainous regions. The Sundanese Kohkol is one of these remnants of the past. But the human voices, as they are said in oral literature allow the elocution of extraordinary vocal faculties, with producing shrill sounds which originate not from throat, but from cervix and abdomen. It is not impossible to think that the beluk vocal art may exist thanks to this ancient propensity which is kept along generations and which became associated, after a long time without time, to new possibilities offered by Islamization.

May be we can propose the following hypothesis: the use of human voice with the aim to transmit news or messages may be was not intended to have the function of a vocal art, but only a technological function. But, as we already saw above, among characteristics of Islamic faith’s transmission, human voice was used in tow cases: ring the adan, and for the sacral reading of Al Kur’ân which is named ngaji, in Sundanese after the kiroah science (19). Therefore, it is not vain to think that the association of a knocked langage used in very ancient times up to now in this part of Java, with one of the fundamental aspect of the Islamic liturgy, allows a new application on ancient cultural propensity until the birth of an unique vocal art in West Java.
1. This article is a revised version of two papers originally presented at the XXXIIth International Congress of Asian and North-African Studies (ICANAS, Hamburg, August 25-30th 1986), the second at the Xth International Association of Historians of Asia (IAHA, Singapore, October 29-31st 1986), while the part II was dedicated to Alij Rosidi and formally intended to commemorate his 50th birthday (Nov Sundanese: People save its ancient culture, Nekasari Dec. 1984 - July 1985.). But, because some inexcusable hindrance, it couldn't be published in this occasion (1988). It is taken up here by evident links between beluk and Sundanese manuscripts.

2. As the fruit of a survey carried out between January 1981 and November 1984, springing from former research which started sporadically in 1966 during an ACHR mission and then continued after I joined the E.R.E.O., this programme finally became the main part of my research bilateral programme with Puslit-AREKMAS since 1976. This shall not have been possible without the active participation of our team, especially Haris Sukandar N. and R.M. Atamindradja, Dra. Syamsuddin and Syarifuddin, Dra. S. Kalsurni and H. Sunarto.

3. Some Sundanese Ms. have been deposited by Museum Nasional, Jakarta, on Husin Djajadiningrat's initiative. We can also observe the role that family Ms. have played in the determination of historical events, such as Husen Djajadiningrat's elder brother narrated in his Mertopraning (1966; 210; 228).


5. In the same way, Sunda's literacy and music's taste has been moulded by extreme familiarity with literary works, such as Wayangan Madi Yusuf, Wayangan Amir Hamah, Wayangan Sultangi, which were composed by his father Haji Muhammad Amid, Hoofd Pinkphulu Sumedang.


8. For mostly javanese texts, see Robson's keen reflections (1988: 4, 26-31).


In his Tembang Sunda Cianjurian, Wim van Zanten touches lightly on beluk vocal art.

See Kawit, 1982, no 32: 14-16, and especially about pupuh and its characteristics and names, see Sukandra-Tessier, 1977:132-134. For a previous description of this art, see Sukandra-Tessier, 1977: 131 seq. and photos n° 7,8,9; also id: 1987: 97-98.

We note here how often Arabic terms are substituted when quotations of Koran are read, such as:

- Allahuakbar: takbir
- Subhanallah: tasbih
- Alhamdulillah: tahmid
- Lailaha illalah: tahlil
- Pembacaan tahlil: tasyahud
- Al-ajara: dengenal Allah: taswuf


Sukandra-Tessier, 1986 b).


See Kawit, 1976, n° 16 IV/II / 36 - 37.

See Kawit, 1980, n° 23: 36 - 38.

See Kawit, 1982, 32: 24-25. It must be considered a contradiction between Kawit n° 32, 1982, and Kawit n° 16, 1976, where it is said that beluk is only found in the Priangan region. The author of Seni Tembang Beluk (n° 32: 24) says that this vocal art can also be found in Cianjur and Sukabumi.

Here an anecdote which happens when this performance was at its first stage: it was during the fasting month, Puasa (May 1986). When the singers heard that we hope they can bring Wawacan Ogir across Raden Amarsakti - which it is one of the important pre-Islamic Sundanese epic - spontaneously they refuse because, they said, it is not possible to sing Ogir during th noblest Islamic month. To my astonishment they said: "there are too much zanan wiku, zanan Hindu in this epic and during Puasa it is not decent ". Because our purpose cannot be changed, they proposed to sing Wawacan Samaun before Wawacan Ogir, because Samaun is the Prophet's champion and this epic is convenient for the situation. So, without any intention.

Haris Sukandra Natasasmits can present, after a long argumentation, firstly Wawacan Ogir in the beluk manner and then Wawacan Samaun in the macapat manner.

Sukandra-Tessier, 1986 d)


Manuscripts on Tasauf-Sufi, as a way to reach perfect communion with God includes "five ways", i.e. saearet, tarekat, hakakat, mafiyat dan tasawuf (murni) (pure). To oppose to the four general first steps: connaissance de la loi religieuse, de la voie, de la réalité et de la science. cf. Rasjid, 1977: 26-27; and see also for the Sundanese reality: Grasrihus, 1874: 3-4.
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Sacral manuscript. Bugel Kabuyutan, South Bandung, barktree, Pegon script, Javanese language. Kitab Thari'qat (ketauhidan)
Offerings before sacral manuscripts can be seen once a year. (see p. 29)

Offerings during the Wawacan Ahmad Muhamad's reading and performance.
Bèluk group from Batu Karut, West Java (October 1984). The reader and his manuscript.

a bèluk singer.
Map 1: West Java and Bandung-Soreang-Ciwidey-Banjaran region.

Map 2: Subdistrict Banjaran, Bandung Regency, South Bandung. This region can be considered as a 'manuscripts barn with neighbouring subdistricts Pameungpeuk, Soreang, Cikalong and Ciwidey, where beluk groups are numerous.'
Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology

International Workshop on Indonesian Studies No. 7

Southeast Asian Manuscripts

Pustaha, the Butak bark book.
A literature study on the production and the set up of a plan of conservation

René Teygeler & Henk Porck

Leiden, 14-18 December, 1992
Summary of the lecture to be presented by Rena Teegeler and Henk Porck at the Workshop 'Southeast Asian Manuscripts' at the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, Department of Southeast Asian Languages and Cultures, University of Leiden, December 14-18, 1992.

Pustaha, the Batak bark book. A literature study on the production and the set up of a plan of conservation.

About a year ago seven fragments of written bark were found at the Paperhistorical Collection of the Royal Library in The Hague. They were acquired at an auction in 1970 by the former curator of the Paperhistorical Collection, and are presumably of Batak origin. The bark fragments appeared to be in such an abominable state, that intervention of the Conservation Department of the Royal Library seemed unavoidable. Before anything could be done, it was important to verify the presumed Batak origin of the pieces of manuscript. H.J.A. Promes, one of the few scholars with expertise in this field, undertook a textual analysis of the bark, on which basis its Batak provenance could be clearly indicated. Also his investigation showed that the fragments do not form one manuscript, but that they belong to several different Pustaha's: Batak divination-books mainly written on bark.

Unfortunately a complete transcription and translation of the text could not be accomplished on short notice. That is why it was decided to concentrate on only two of the seven parts. Besides, the translation was severely interfered by a strong discoloration of the margins of the bark sheets, obliterating many characters. In this connection a number of trials were conducted with UV-reflectography, UV-fluorescence photography, IR-reflectography and IR-photography at the photographer's studio of R. Gerritsen in Amsterdam. On basis of these experiments, the Section of Optical Techniques of the Royal Library was able to make excellent IR-photo's of all fragments, visualising the complete texts, using a simple IR-film (Kodak High Speed Infrared 2481).

R. Teegeler, working as book and paper conservator at the Conservation Department, was already engaged in conducting a literature study on the manufacture of the Pustaha, including aspects as the sort of bark, the harvest of the bark, the recipes of the inks and the writing-implements. As several points were still unclear, it was decided in cooperation with H. Porck, the present curator of the Paperhistorical Collection, and also conservation scientist at the Department of Library Research, to apply a number of botanical and physico-chemical analytical techniques for a more detailed characterisation of the Pustaha and some aspects of its production.

Determination of the type of bark was performed by microscopy of a sample of one of the fragments by P. Baas at the Rijksherbarium, Hortus Botanicus of the University of Leiden. X-ray fluorescence analysis of the black writing ink and the red pigment used in the Pustaha was conducted by P. Hallebeek at the Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science in Amsterdam. Dating of the material by a carbon-14 technique was planned at the Van de Graaff Laboratory in Utrecht, but it was postponed until a later stage in the research plan.

A more detailed damage survey of the Pustaha fragments indicated that much dirt has accumulated on the surface and some mould stains were present. Most of the material suffered serious mechanical damage showing loose bark fibres, torn and crumbled edges and corners. Some sheets had become totally or partly detached.

As the Conservation Information Network and other sources of literature did not contain relevant and applicable publications with regard to the restoration of Batak bark manuscripts, an adequate plan of conservation treatment still had to be developed. For the conservation treatment we choose an extremely cautious approach. The manuscript will be photographed in detail prior to the conservation treatment.

Some pilot tests with different cleaning techniques indicated that for the removal of dirt and mould stains careful and selective aqueous cleaning offers the best results and minimises the risk of losing authentic material. Some of the Pustaha sheets, apparently joined in a former restoration, have to be separated on grounds of textual discrepancies. Other sheets where the original interconnection has disintegrated will be rejoined by splitting the bark locally and inserting strong Japanese paper. Because a high relative humidity (RH) is needed for the relaxation of the material, the operations will be performed in an air-conditioned chamber, where the RH can be regulated. Where the original joints are formerly restored by sewing, the used threads will be maintained.
Loose bark fibres will be fixed with rice-starch, while the crumbled corners of the bark sheets, consisting of different layers of dislocated fibres, will be strengthened layer by layer with a combination of starch types and where necessary with Japanese paper.

In agreement with the present restoration-ethical standpoints, only natural organic substances will be used, whereas the application of synthetic conservation materials is rejected. Only in this way we can live up to the conservation adagium: conservation prevails over renovation.

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International Workshop on Indonesian Studies No. 7

Southeast Asian Manuscripts

A royal collection of Bugis manuscripts
Roger Tol

Leiden, 14-18 December, 1992
A number of Bugis manuscripts kept in the National Library of Indonesia can be identified as originating from one source, the collection of the ruler of Bone, La Pawawoi Karang Ségiri (1826-1911). This paper makes a modest attempt to observe this collection as a whole, with the intention to throw light on the 'taste' and textual environment of the highest nobility - and therefore the most influential factor in the Bugis area. First the collection is identified. Then the composition of the collection will be analyzed according to the main spheres of interest it represents, viz. history, religion, and practical knowledge. A note on Bone diaries is included: considering all extant Bugis diaries in the world, a surprising continuity is apparent over a long period of time. A description of each manuscript is appended to the paper.

Location of the Collection

The National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta holds a number of manuscripts originating from South Sulawesi. These manuscripts formerly belonged to the Koninklijk Bataviasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen (KBG). After Indonesia's independence these manuscripts - like all other manuscripts kept in that institution - were stored in the National Museum, and were transferred to their present location in 1987(?).

A Collection Within A Collection

A description of the manuscripts may be found in the catalogue prepared by a team headed by Jumsari Junus (1983:119-34). All titles mentioned in it have been taken directly from a previous Dutch inventory of the manuscripts labelled 'various languages' kept at the KBG, and are consequently in the Dutch language. A number of these titles point to similarity of origin as they apparently have been taken from a bundle of manuscripts referred to as het pak VT.81

1 Paper prepared for theKITLV workshop Southeast Asian Manuscripts, Leiden, 14-18 December 1992. It is a pleasure to thank the management of the Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia for granting permission to carry out my research. Of the staff at the manuscript department I wish to thank in particular Dra. Siti Hasniati for her generous assistance. Thanks also to Dr. D.J. Premice for rendering my English less incomprehensible.

2 Dutch 'Verschillende Talen'. Thus the call numbers of these manuscripts bear the prefix 'VT'. In practice under this heading were assembled all manuscripts written in languages other than Malay, Javanese and Balinese. The list is called Klapper verschillende talen van de archipel 'Register various languages of the archipelago' and may be consulted at the library.
There can be no doubt about the provenance of this collection of manuscripts: At the time of the so-called Fourth Boné War they were looted by the Dutch from the palace of the Boné ruler. Since we know that the occupation of the capital took place on 30 July 1905 (Weekblad voor Indië 2 (1905-06:384), it is plausible to assume that the manuscripts were taken as spoils of war on the same date or shortly afterwards. The photo on page 16 shows the scene immediately after the seizure of the palace. We see Dutch soldiers dressed in royal Bugis clothes inspecting royal objects taken from the palace. Some of these items were sent to the museum in Batavia - most probably together with the manuscripts. Some manuscripts such as VT.230 also seem to bear witness to the sudden transfer of ownership, since they are for the most part empty.

Boné’s monarch at that time was La Pawawoi Karaeng Segéri, who became ruler of Boné in 1896, about 55 years old. He and his escort had fled the capital Watamponé and managed to evade capture until November 1905, after a - for the Dutch government - embarrassing pursuit.

The person in whose name both the monarch and the manuscripts were seized was C.A. van Loenen, Colonel of the Infantry. As we have seen, the manuscripts arrived in Batavia first. La Pawawoi followed in December 1905 on his way to Bandung where he was exiled.6

The Composition of the Collection7

In this paper I use the term ‘manuscript’ as referring to a physical entity, not as referring to a particular ‘text’. So by this definition one manuscript may contain more than one ‘text’.

Call-number VT. 81 itself consists of at least 25 distinct manuscripts.8 The pack is wrapped in packing paper and tied with a string. From a physical point of view, i.e. with regard to size, number of pages, type of paper, writing material, and the like, the manuscripts in this pack form a heterogenous set. Apart from VT.81, royal manuscripts are also found in call numbers VT.223 to 230. Since each of these last mentioned call numbers contains one manuscript, the minimum number of royal manuscripts amounts to 33.

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3 Bericht over de ontvanger namens de Bevelhebber der Expeditie naar Zuid-Celebes van een pak schriften, welke in het huis van den Voorz van Boné zijn gevonden en bieide deze voor de handelsinspectie aan.
4 I have not been able to locate these photographs in the National Library of Indonesia. However, they are most probably those published in Weekblad voor Indië, 1905-06, p.315, where a photograph can be found corresponding to this description together with other photographs also offered by Zimmerman, viz. one portraying the old female ruler of Taná, and one with the mosque of Watamponé (Notulen 1905:100).
5 Bone (in old sources often spelled Boni) is regarded as the principal (i.e. most prestigious, influential) kingdom of the Bugis. There existed a small number of other large kingdoms as well in the Bugis area (the Southwestern part of Sulawesi with the exception of the city of Makassar [Ujung Pandang] and its most southern tip). Each of these acted as chief kingdom of quite a number of vassals. The history of South Sulawesi shows a constant movement in shifts of allegiances between these kingdoms and their vassals. From the 19th century onwards four wars were fought between the Dutch and the Bugis from Bone. The last took place in 1905 and meant the end for the relative independence of the Bone rulers in managing state affairs. After that year authority was fully in the hands of the Dutch. For the older history of South Sulawesi see Andaya (1981). On the Bone war of 1905 see Tol (1990; forthcoming) and Locher-Scholten 1991.
6 La Pawawoi died in 1911 in Batavia.
7 A more detailed description may be found in the appendix.
8 Some items seem to contain more than one manuscript. (or fragments thereof)
Let's take four items to start with: the oldest, the most recent, the smallest and the largest manuscript.

The oldest manuscript in the collection is probably VT.81(10), an original daily register (also termed 'diary') from 1795 to 1807.

The most recent manuscript could be VT.226, which is a cash book mentioning the year 1902.

The smallest - but by no means most insignificant - item is VT.81(12): an original letter of one page, dated 10 November 1866, from Ahmad Singkerruq Rukka, Ruler of Boné from 1860 to his death in 1871. This monarch was the father of La Pawawoi Karaëng Ségréi (Patrunru 1989:268).

The most voluminous manuscript (VT.225) has 393 pages, bears the date 1824, and contains historical accounts of the kingdoms of Boné and Wajoq. The manuscript also contains an original stamp whose owner can be identified as La Oddang Datu Larompong, Arung Pénéski, who could have used this stamp from 1888 to 1893.

These observations already give clues to certain aspects of the nature of the collection. We see that the collection basically consists of 19th century manuscripts. The fact that correspondence of a previous ruler (and relative) was kept, combined with the fact that relatively old manuscripts form part of the collection, points to a tradition of keeping a royal family archive, which was transferred from one ruler to his successor.

The nature of the collection as a whole may be characterized by the following set of notions:

I) history,
II) religion, and
III) practical knowledge (including on sexual behavior).

These three spheres will be dealt with below in more detail. It is very remarkable that almost all manuscripts are on the utile (useful) side of the balance, as there are no manuscripts containing dulce (entertaining) texts. There is not a single line from that great Bugis mythical epic I La Galigo, probably the most voluminous work in world literature. 'Literary' texts are only found within the contexts of one of the three categories mentioned above. So we come across toloq texts within the historical sphere, texts on Lukman al-Hakim which are religiously oriented, and fragments on adat matters, possibly taken from the La Toa, which have a practical focus.

As will be apparent from the descriptions, these spheres of interest transcend the physical limitations of a manuscript. In other words, there is not a one-to-one correlation between 'manuscript' and 'genre'. It is important to note that almost all manuscripts contain more than one text, which belong to more than one 'genre'.

I) History

a) A note on diaries from Boné

Of the historical manuscripts found in the collection, probably the most spectacular are the three diaries from Boné, from 1795-1807 and 1837-1842 (from the other one the headings with the years are missing).

Bugis diaries have a peculiar, chaotic, form. This is caused by their conventional, rigid lay-out, which is more or less similar to a condensed form of the modern 'Executive Diary'. For each month of the Christian era there is one (folio) page available with dates already provided, so that the space for one day is limited. At the head of the page the year is written (in Arabic numerals). In the upper left corner the name of the month is given (in Malay with Arabic letters). In a vertical column parallel to the left margin of the page the dates of the months are written. Each Friday is marked with the word Jum'at (in red Arabic letters).

Usually we see many dates with no entry; apparently nothing worth mentioning had occurred on those days. However, there are also days full of events that should not have been left unrecorded. In those cases it often occurred that the space assigned for one day was simply not enough. In order to expand his scribal Lebensraum, a writer would start to fill up the free space left on the other days and the margins of the page, rotating the page to do so. This fact causes the chaotic pattern of streams of letters moving across the page.

Consequently, the reader of such diaries has constantly to turn it around in order to be able to understand the message. Although the reader is thus actively involved in the process of reading, it does not make a very practical impression. Photo shows one page of such a diary.

Up to now, quite a few Bugis daily registers have been identified in at least five other collections: The British Library, The India Office Library, SOAS, KITLV, and the La Galigo

9 Cf. also Macknight 1984.
Museum in Ujung Pandang. When we compare the dates from these diaries with each other an interesting pattern emerges.\textsuperscript{10}


These bare figures motivate the following observations.

Firstly, all these diaries taken together represent a continuous stream of indigenous historical information on the period 1745 to 1910, i.e. almost two centuries.\textsuperscript{11}

Secondly, all these diaries seem to stem from one location, the Boné court. As far as I know, no Bugis diaries from other regions are known to exist. In view of these facts, we may even conclude that the phenomenon of keeping daily registers in the Bugis area was a practice peculiar to the Boné court.

Thirdly, the periods between 1774-1812, 1818-1819, 1823-1840 and 1876-1893 are continuously covered by at least two different manuscripts. Moreover, two concentrations can be identified, viz. the years 1792-1796 which are covered by four, sometimes even five diaries, and the years 1877-1888 which have been included in three to four diaries. The period 1792-1796 is more significant from a historiographical point of view since it is represented in diaries from four different collections, whereas the other concentration is only represented in diaries from the KITLV collection. It is probably no coincidence that the period 1774-1812 of heightened activity almost perfectly corresponds with the reign of one particular ruler, viz. La Tenriappu Sultan Ahmad Saleh Syamsuddin posthumously called Matinrod ri Rompgrading, who ruled from 1775 to 1812 (Panuru 1898:215-23).

The fact that so many diaries were kept at the same time by different writers, is an exciting thought for philologists, historians and linguists alike. Eventually it, must be possible to write an inside history of the Boné court for a specified period of time.

b) Apart from these daily registers many other manuscripts bear witness of profound historical interest, although there seems to be an underrepresentation of the well-known Bugis genre of *atoriolong* 'chronicles'. One such text seems to have a particular relation with the kingdom of Wajoq (VT.225). We come across various forms of correspondence, from ruler to rulers, and between ruler and subjects. Also the so-called 'literature' is historical in nature. Of the historical texts, *tolok* are by far the most popular. In this royal collection we notice several of them, of which one manuscript (VT.81(17) is even devoted entirely to a single text, the *Tolodata Boné*.

II) Religion

Many parts of the manuscripts deal with Islamic matters, ranging from short magico-mystical formulas to full-fledged tracts on Islamic law. Frequently one or two pages of a manuscript have been used for jottings on Islamic belief, be it the profession of faith, a prayer, praying techniques, or short magic diagrams and magic formulas. This is an indication of the importance that was attached to the Islamic faith. Another indication could be the size of a manuscript such as VT.81(6), the largest among these manuscripts, entirely devoted to the praise of God and Muhammad.

Two manuscripts contain stories adapted from the Islamic literary heritage (VT.81(9) and VT.81(25)). In both cases they probably deal with versions of the story of Lukman al-Hakim. So apparently there was some room for entertainment at the Boné court, be it within Islamic control.

Remarkable is a text (VT.223) which is clearly related to the Qadiriyyah mystical order. No links to the most influential mystical order in South Sulawesi, the Khalwatiyyah (Bruinessen 1991:251), have been found in this collection.

III) Practical Knowledge

a) sexually oriented texts.

Quite a number of texts in the collection deal with practical matters, on sexual behavior between husband and wife. These facts of life are related within an Islamic mystical framework. It therefore forms an interesting subcategory, as it combines aspects from the religious category with plain practical matters. One of these texts is written in Makassarese and in that way almost symbolizes the close affiliation by intermarriage that existed between the courts of Boné and Goa, the main kingdom in the Makassar area.

\textsuperscript{10} Data have been taken from Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:27-38 and Noordhuizen 1984-6. Presently no data on the Ujung Pandang collection are available to me.

\textsuperscript{11} Only the following gaps (amounting to 28 years) occur in this period: 1763-68, 1843-48, 1851-67 1869.
b) The other items of the collection are extremely varied and give a good insight into what other matters were really important for the royalty at the Bone court.

Of course a number of texts have directly to do with royal life and etiquette, and relations between rulers and subjects. The major texts in this field are Budi Isthiraq and La Toa. Fragments of both these texts form part of the collection (VT.81(2), VT.81(11), VT.81(18)).

A number of cash books testify to the practice of royal bookkeeping. Prominent among the recorded practical knowledge are magic formulas, e.g. against rice diseases, but also as love charms. Furthermore substantial attention is paid to all forms of traditional medication, with herbs, with magic formulas, and also by means of birds. Very practical indeed is the science of determining days of good and ill omen. Diagrams with such information are also regularly found. Also common in this category are architectural sketches of buildings (houses and forts in this collection), with more or less extensive written information on building techniques.

In conclusion

Being a first report, this paper cannot foretell the end of the story. It is quite possible that other manuscripts from the collection of the National Library of Indonesia also originally belonged to this same collection. Possible candidates are the manuscripts that in the catalogue descriptions are linked to a certain Van Lakerveld, an army officer in command of the district of Berau, who apparently donated a number of manuscripts to the KBG. To judge from the descriptions, these manuscripts could very well be part of - or closely connected with - the collection described here, but the matter needs further investigation.

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APPENDIX

A preliminary description of the manuscripts from the collection of La Pawawi Karang Ségri, kept in the National Library of Indonesia

The collection consists of 33 manuscripts. Twenty-five are stored in one pack with call number VT.81, each wrapped in red packing paper and carrying a number. These will be described as VT.81(1) to VT.81(25). The other eight are stored separately, with call numbers VT.223 to VT.230.

Unless stated otherwise, the manuscripts are written in the Bugis language, using the Bugis/Makassar script.

VT.81(1) An unbound manuscript of 38 pages, 31.7 x 20.2 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved, although partly disintegrated. Probably written by Arung Cinemmung Daeng Palallo (pp.7-8) in La Cokkong (Boné); bears a date 1801. Contents: on the history and culture of Palakkâ (region in Boné).

VT.81(2) Part of a manuscript consisting of 60 pages (three quires). 31.5 x 20 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved (watermark "Pro Patria") on p.1, although partly disintegrated. No colophon.
Contents: At least two texts: from p.18-end a fragment of the Budi Istîharaq, a kind of compendium for monarchs (cf. Matthes 1864:65-465). On p.59 a fragment that runs parallel to p.299 of Matthais' edition, viz. on sexual behavior (related in mystical terms). The text(s) preceding this are of a similar nature.

VT.81(3) An unbound manuscript of 33 pages (two quires). 32.4 x 20.3 cm. Clear writing, paper partly disintegrated (watermark "Pro Patria"). Loose leaf with watermark "I.B. Davids". No clear colophon [there is a year 1213 (=1798) mentioned on p.25]
Contents: a) pp.2-18, kind of debit and credit book, possibly kept by Petra Ponggawad, Commander of the Boné army (son of La Pawawi, killed in action in 1905).
b) pp.18-24: Fragment of a toloq (heroic-historical poem), possibly the Toloqna Boné on events in the 17th century. [cf. VT.81(17)]
c) p.25- Various notes, e.g. wise sayings (p.28), pastrys (p.30).

VT.81(4) An unbound manuscript of 20 pages (pp.10-11 blank). 30 x 19 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved, although partly disintegrated. No colophon.
Contents: Various notes, a.o. magic formula's (p.1; 19-20), peculiarities of chicken (pp.2-6), house building (pp.6-9) and astrology.

VT.81(5) An unbound manuscript of 24 pages. 31.5 x 20.5 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved, although parts are missing. Watermark "Pro Patria Vrijheydt with Dutch Lion" (p.8) with countermark "GLB" (p.17).
Contents: part of a (probably original) daily register from Boné (cf. entry of 26 August hurwotq ri Boné mabbenuni 'I returned to Boné to spend the night'). One month per page. No years mentioned (this is very unusual in daily registers; probably the upper part of the manuscript [the place where the years are mentioned] has been cut off). Also remarkable is the fact that the months June and July are empty whereas all preceding and following months are filled.

VT.81(6) Two large sheets of 61 x 47 cm. Clear writing, paper partly disintegrated and with holes. Bugis and Arab script and language. No watermark. No colophon.
Contents: Islamic: on the qualities of God and His prophet.

Contents: Islamic: praying techniques.

VT.81(8) Three sheets of paper, 27 x 18.2 cm., two of which written in the same hand. Legible writing, paper partly disintegrated. Vague watermark ("Crow").
No colophon.
Contents: a) the two sheets are on Islamic matters. b) part of the early history of Boné (mention of To Mununng 'He who descended from heaven').

VT.81(9) An unbound manuscript of 16 pages. 33 x 21 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. 14 blank pages.
No colophon.
Contents: Probably a fragment from the Islamic story of Lukman al-Hakim.

VT.81(10) An unbound manuscript of 173 pages, 31.3 x 19.4 cm. Clear writing, paper partly in good condition, other parts in different stages of disintegration. Considerable ink corrosion. Many pages in wrong order.
Contents: Original daily register from Boné, January 1795 to May 1807 (December 1795 missing). One month per page. Interpersed with various short notes (on loans, debts, horse theft, fragment of a Makassar sinrilig, astrology, traditional medication for curing buffalos, auspicious and ominous days, house building, agriculture), usually on pages following a December month.

VT.81(11) An unbound manuscript of 42 pages. 38.7 x 23.4 cm. Clear writing, paper disintegrating.
No colophon.
Contents: On adat matters, esp. relation between rulers and subjects. Probably a fragment from the La Tua.

VT.81(12) One sheet. 33.2 x 21 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. With black stamp at head of paper. The stamp has the form of an ellipse, the whole measuring 6.5 cm wide and 5.5 cm high, made up of three concentric ellipses. The innermost ellipse measures 4.2 x 2.2 cm and bears the Dutch coat of arms (crowned with two lions and the text Je Baumendirat). The surrounding ellipse has a width of 0.6 cm and has the name Ahmad Singkerrrau Rukka; in Arabic letters in the upper half, and in Bugis letters in the lower half. The outermost ellipse with a width of 0.5 cm has in Roman capital letters the text ACHMAD SINKARROO ROEKKA (upper half; the "S" is reversed) and LEENOVST VAN BONIE (lower half; "sizerain" of Boné).
Contents: An original letter from the ruler of Boné Ahmad Singkerrrau Rukka, written in the port town of Pallinėq and dated 2 Rajab 1286, i.e. ... 1869. It is addressed to a certain Daeng Mairoq and declares him (and his direct kin) a free man, i.e. not belonging to the class of slaves. He is given a piece of land in Duta which he is to administer according to the adat rules. This letter will protect him from claims on the land by persons from royal circles. Apparently the letter was never sent. It could also be a copy.
VT.81(13) An unbound manuscript of 65 pages. 31.3 x 19.4 cm. Legible writing, paper in bad condition. Contents: (Part of) original daily register from March 1837 to May 1842. One month a page. Some months not filled in.

VT.81(14) An unbound manuscript of 85 pages. 21.5 x 13.4 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved, although parts are missing. Bugis and Arab language and script. No colophon.

Contents: Various kinds of magic formulas, referring to medication, exorcism, erotica, and other things.

VT.81(15) A manuscript of 159 pages. 15 x 11 cm. Clear writing, although irregular (almost childish), paper of pp.31-90 almost totally decayed by ink corrosion; the other pages in reasonable condition. Watermark only partially visible (the letters "LV..." and "...G"). Bugis and Arab language and script. On front cover written in Roman letters "Sirajet Agama Islam". No colophon.

VT.81(16) An unbound manuscript of 44 pages (two quires). 31 x 20 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. Watermark (p:25) "Pro Patria" coat-of-arms with crown and lion. In border written "Liberati". Under the lion written backwards "VRYHEY". Wrong numbering: page "26" should be page one, page "24" is in fact the last page. Written in different hands.

No colophon.

Contents: Various historical and practical notes. On Boné, Goa, Soppeng and Wajoq (p:4), on agriculture (p:4), fragment of a telok (pp:6-10), on buffalo muscles and love charms (p:11), topographical list of districts and vassals of Boné (each entry about 5 lines long) (pp:12-21), a number of blueprints of forts (benteng) with annotations (last pages).


Contents: Toloona Bone: a heroic-historical poem on the war between Boné (assisted by the Dutch) and Goa [this war took place around 1670; see also VT.81(3)].

VT.81(18) An unbound manuscript of 25 pages. 32.5 x 20.6 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved, although partly disintegrated. No colophon.

Contents: On royal ethics, probably a fragment from the La Toa.

VT.81(19) A manuscript of 12 pages. 31.2 x 19.6 cm. Legible writing, paper in reasonable condition, although partly decayed.

No colophon.

Contents: On Islamic creed and doctrine.

VT.81(20) A manuscript of 3 pages. 34 x 21.3 cm. Containing a few small pieces of paper. Legible writing, paper in reasonable condition.

No colophon.

Contents: Islamic matters, man's deeds in this world are judged in the hereafter.

VT.81(21) A manuscript of 12 pages. 33.6 x 24 cm. Containing a number of smaller loose sheets. Various sorts of paper; one sheet of cash book paper.

No colophon.

Contents: Various notes. On prayers, astrology. Contains also an (empty) envelope from a "Peteta I Telleng" to the Panangulu Lompona Joaq [army commander] of Boné. Also a letter from the latter to Peteta I Telleng in which mention is made of a visit by "Tuang Pítoroq (term for the local Dutch government official). This letter is undated and written on a piece of cash book paper (probably beginning 20th century).

VT.81(22) A manuscript of 64 pages (pp.38 and 40 empty). 10 x 8.3 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. Watermark "Crescent" (7).

No colophon.

Contents: This very small manuscript contains a story about the duarung bird.

VT.81(23) An unbound manuscript of 2 pages. 21.4 x 17 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. Bugis and Arab script and language.

No colophon.

Contents: Islamic: praying techniques.

VT.81(24) An unbound manuscript of 4 pages. 32.5 x 22 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. Bugis and Arabic script and language.

No colophon.

Contents: Islamic creed.

VT.81(25) Two unbound manuscripts totalling 33 pages. 32.5 x 20.6 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved, although parts are missing. Two kinds of paper, each written in a different hand. Watermark "Pro Patria": Incomplete. No colophon.

Contents: Possibly an adaptation of a Muslim story such as Lukman al-Hakim.

VT.223 A manuscript of 154 pages. 20 x 15.5 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. Bugis and Arabic script and language (also Makassar). Opens as an Arabic book. Watermark: "Pro Patria" with "Vryhey". Written in at least two different hands.

No colophon.

b) A mystical treatise on sexual life between husband and wife (in the Makassar language mixed with Bugis). Written in another hand (the letters are much smaller). This text is preceded by an imad-like list of transmitters, starting with Muhammad and Gabriel and ending with the name of the writer's anergru (teacher) Syaih Muhammad ibn al-Syaih Abdul Karim of the Qadiyyah mystical order. The name of the writer is not mentioned (pp:58-77).
c) Traditional medication, e.g. for pregnant women (77-154).

VT.224 A manuscript of 38 pages. 13 x 10 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. Written in two different hands. Probably originally two different manuscripts bound together.

No colophon.

Contents: a) A mystical treatise on the use of the tampalitetto bird (kind of woodpecker; symbol of prosperity) in traditional medication (pp:1-12). In order to read this part, the manuscript has to be turned upside down. The text reads from right to left (like an Arabic book).
b) A mystical treatise on sexual life between husband and wife (pp:13-37). This text in normal order.

VT.225 A manuscript of 393 pages. 34.5 x 21 cm. Legible writing, although many pages decayed by ink corrosion. Different kinds of paper. Contains also one sheet of ruled paper (about 1900).

No colophon.
Contents: A kind of compilation, containing histories of Boné and Wajoq. Also a complete treatise (dated 1824) on the introduction of the Islamic faith in Wajoq. Contains also part of a sheet with an oval black soot stamp quite similar in shape to the stamp described under VT.81(12). This stamp has two concentric ellipses, the inner one similar to the one described above. The outer ellipse has the text (in Roman capital letters) DAGOYEBILAROEPOE (upper half) and TAJARORIDIE RIWAJOE (under half). This is a mutilated spelling of Datoe ri Larompong, Cakkuridi ri Wajoq 'Ruler of Larompong and [title of high official] of Wajoq'. The bearer of this stamp can most probably be identified as La Ouldang Dato Larompong, Arang Peneki (1852-1932), who combined these two functions for some time. He called himself Dato Larompong from 1893, whereas he fulfilled his function as Cakkuridi from 1888 (cf. Tod 1990:323-6).


VT.227 An unbound manuscript of 5 pages. 33.5 x 10 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. No colophon. Contents: a word list (?) [should be checked].

VT.228 A manuscript of 44 pages (only first 10 and last 10 pages written upon). 33.5 x 10 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. Blue paper. No colophon. Contents: a word list (?) [should be checked].

VT.229 An unbound manuscript of 7 pages. 34 x 22 cm. Ruled paper with no watermark. Paper in bad condition. Glued together with low quality adhesive tape, so its condition can only deteriorate. Bugis and Arabic script. No colophon. Contents: Modern copy (probably beginning 20th century) of the Bungay Tract of 1669 between the Dutch and Sultan Hasamuddin of Goa.

VT.230 A manuscript of 166 pages (only 21 pages written upon). 32.5 x 20.5 cm. Clear writing, paper in deteriorating condition, partly disintegrated. No colophon. Contents: Various notes. On weapons (p.2), diary notes (pp. 6, 19, 30), traditional medication (pp.146-7), magic formulas against rice diseases (p.148), ominous and auspicious days (pp.150-1, 166).
THE PALACE OF LA PAWAWOI KARAÆNG SÉGÉRTI on 30 July 1905, moments after its seizure by the Dutch troops who are seen entertaining themselves with clothes and attributes (Weekblad voor Indie 2 (1905-06):315).

A PAGE FROM A DAILY REGISTER FROM BONÉ; May 1814 (KITLV Or. 545)
THE TRADITIONAL VIETNAMESE SCRIPTS
TRƯƠNG Văn Bính

In 1918, the last mandarinate examination in Huế was abolished. This event marked an end to the traditional education which was the only way to recruit the officials for the court; it also meant a termination of the use of the traditional scripts, the Hán Nôm.

Geographically Viet Nam lies in South East Asia. However, Viet Nam has culturally received a great influence from the Chinese culture, due to the fact that Viet Nam from 111 BC to 939 AD was a province of China. After the independence in 939, Chinese culture continued to flourish in Vietnam and the Chinese writing system remained an official writing system of the Vietnamese court until the beginning of this century, when the Romanized Vietnamese, the Quốc Ngữ, replaced the traditional ideographic writing systems.

In this article we try to understand these traditional Vietnamese scripts, their position in the imperial Vietnam and in the modern time as well as the present situation of books published in these scripts.

1. The Vietnamese language

The Vietnamese is a tonal language. The question of which language group it belongs to is still a matter for discussion. Some nineteenth century scholars (e.g., Aymonier) considered Vietnamese to be merely a Chinese dialect. More recently, scholars are uncertain whether Vietnamese developed from a Mon-Khmer language with the adoption of the Thai tonal system; or from a tonal Thai language with the Mon-Khmer vocabulary (Haudricourt, Nguyen Dinh Hoa). The latter view was shared by Nguyen Van Huyen who maintained that Vietnamese belongs to the Austroasiatic family of languages with the strong influences from Chinese, Malay and Aryan languages (DeFrancis 1977:5).

The tonal system

Vietnamese is monosyllabic and the syllables have tonal values, therefore, tones play a very important role in the meaning. Take a word as ba. Its meaning will change if we put different tone on it. There are in total six different tones:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tonal Mark</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mid level tone</td>
<td>ba (father)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>high rising tone</td>
<td>bá (earldom, chief vassal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>low falling tone</td>
<td>bà (lady, grandmother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>low rising tone</td>
<td>bài (lure, bait)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>high broken tone</td>
<td>bà (waste, exhausted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>low broken tone</td>
<td>ba (thoughtless)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Traditional Vietnamese writing systems

The growth of Vietnamese writing systems developed parallel with the history of Vietnam. During a millennium of Chinese occupation, Hán (Chinese characters) was used for writing. After the independence in 939, this writing system remained the official writing system of the Vietnamese court and Nôm (ideographic Vietnamese) started to develop. These two writing systems existed alongside each other until the Quốc Ngữ (Romanized Vietnamese) replaced them in 1918 after the abolition of mandarinate examination in Huế.

Hán

The legendary history of Vietnam was ended in 258 BC when the kingdom of Âu Lạc was incorporated into the realm of Nan Yue or Southern Yue, one of the several heterogeneous Yue kingdoms lying south of the Yangzi River and the pure Chinese kingdoms to the north of it.

In 221 BC the first emperor of China consolidated these Chinese kingdoms into a unified empire that soon gave way to the Han Dynasty (207 BC - 220 AD). The Han emperors pushed their empire further south to absorb the kingdom of Yue in the south of the Yangzi River; and the kingdom of Nan Yue located further south and comprised of what are now the Chinese provinces of Guangxi and Guangdong and the northern part of Vietnam in 111 BC.

With the policy of assimilation, the Chinese ruler started to introduce Hán, or the Chinese writing system, as soon as the occupation of Vietnam was complete. This writing system rooted deeply in Vietnam and became the official writing of the Vietnamese court during the period of independence, except for a brief period of the Trần Son dynasty (1788-1802) which used the Nôm as an official language.

The Chinese writing system is an ideographic system, not a phonetic system. Concerning the formation of Chinese characters, Xu Shen (about AD 120) in his dictionary Shuowen jiezi (Discussions of Simple Graphs and Explanation of Compound Graphs) arranged the Chinese characters in six categories:

a/ Xiangxing 形 (pictographs): for example the original form of character ri (sun) ☀ is now 日; yue (moon) 月 now 月; shan (mountain) 山 now 山; mu (tree) 森 now 森; zi (child) 儿 now 儿.

b/ Zhishu 許 (simple ideographs): for example character yi 一 (one); er 二 (two); san 三 (three); shang 上 (up); xia 下 (down).

c/ Huiyi 會意 (compound ideographs): for example character ming 明 (bright is a combination of character 日 (sun) and 月 (moon); character hao 好 (good, love) is a combination of 女 (woman) and 子 (child); lin 林 (forest) is a combination of two characters 木 (tree).

ô/ Zhuanju 轉註 (derived characters): for example character lai 來 (come) was probably a picture of a wheat but now the original meaning does not exist anymore.

e/ Jiajie 假借 (loan characters): for example character wang 国 has its basic meaning "net", and it is borrowed for the meaning "have not".

ô/ Xingsheng 形聲 (phonetic compounds): for example the pronunciation of character fang 方 (square) is borrowed for the other combinations, fang 仿 (oppose), fang 仿 (timber), fang 豐 (resemble), fang 仿 (enquire). This category is regarded as the last stage in the development of the Chinese script which forms the great majority of the Chinese characters and in this way the new characters have been created. In Shuowen Jiezi, the phonetic compounds occupy as many as four-fifths of all characters; and in the seventeenth century dictionary Kangxi Zidian as many as nine-tenths.

However, the Han used in Vietnam was Vietnemized Chinese. For writing, the Chinese character remained unchanged in Vietnam, but for pronunciation, the language had a Sino-Vietnamese pronunciation. For example, the Chinese pronunciation of the two characters 越南 as Yuean (in the official Chinese pinyin transcription system); the Vietnamese pronunciation would be written as Việt Nam.

Through the strong influence of long centuries of close contact with Chinese, words of Chinese origin occupy about one third of the Vietnamese vocabulary, as estimated by Nguyễn Văn Huyễn (1944:250). Nguyễn Đình Hạo (1961:15) estimates that the total amount of Chinese words in formal writing occupies even about sixty percent of the Vietnamese vocabulary.

Nôm

After the independence in 939, the adaptation of Chinese characters did develop. The first traces of the Nôm characters dated 1210 had been found on a stone inscription of the Thập Miếu pagoda of the Yên Lãng district of the Bình Phú province (Đào Duy Anh, 1973:14)

Nôm is an ideographic script, derived from Chinese and adapted for writing the Vietnamese language. The formation of the Nôm characters is similar to the ways in which the Chinese characters were formed. However, all the Nôm characters can be arranged in three categories:

a/ Hái 象 (compound ideographs): in this category one combines two Chinese characters to express the meaning of a Nôm word. For example: the Nôm word trời 禪 which means "heaven" is a combination of two Chinese characters thiên 天 (heaven) and thượng 上 (above); trum 軗 which means "chief" is a combination of two Chinese characters nhàn 人 (man) and thượng 上 (above).
b/ Giá tá 假借 (loam characters): one borrows a Chinese character in order to write a Vietnamese word. This happens in three ways:
- borrowing a Chinese character with an ancient Sino-Vietnamese pronunciation. For example: character túi 袋 means "age" (modern pronunciation is tui); character mầu 瑪 means "season" (modern pronunciation is màu);
- borrowing a Chinese character with a modern Sino-Vietnamese pronunciation. For example: thành thịnh 城市 (stad); hoàng kim 皇帝 (gold);
- borrowing a Chinese character for pronunciation only. For example: the Nôm word tọi 卒 means "good", but the Chinese meaning is "soldier"; chi 至 means what, but the Chinese meaning is "of".

c/ hình thành 形聲 (phonetic compounds): characters in this category consist of two parts. The first part contains characters borrowed from Chinese, simply for reference to pronunciation. The second part comprises Chinese characters for reference to the meaning of words. For example: the Nôm character đến 陸 (arrive) is a combination of two Chinese characters chi 至 (arrive) for meaning, en diển 典 for pronunciation.

Since this writing system was created for the purpose of writing Vietnamese spoken language, some scholars have had the tendency to regard this writing system as a phonetic script. Trương Vĩnh Ký (1888:7) spoke of an ideophonetic script; and Cordier (1935:121) of a phonetic-semantic script. Thus the Vietnamese syllable nấm which means both "five" and "year" is written as follows:

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năm 南秣 : year <nam 南 (south) and niên 年 (year)>
năm 南秣 : five <nam 南 (south) and ngũ 五 (five)>
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In the beginning, this script was mainly used to write Vietnamese names and oral literature. Later, when the script was more fully developed, it was used to compose poems and to write novels in verse. Since the sixteenth century, it was also used by catholic missionaries for their propagation work. This writing system existed side by side with the Chinese script. However, it was not the official writing system of the Vietnamese court, except for a brief period of the Tây Sơn dynasty (1788-1802).

3. The Hán Nôm collection:

3.1. The Hán Nôm under the dynastic periods:

After a millennium of Chinese occupation, the impact of Chinese culture on Vietnam was enormous in all walks of life. Vietnam at that time was highly sinicized. The administration system was modelled after the Chinese one. Thus, the early rulers of the newly independent Vietnam realized the need of continuation of the Chinese administration system. Therefore, these rulers did not hesitate to embrace the whole Chinese ideas about governing a country by the literati.

Like the Chinese civil bureaucracy, the Vietnamese bureaucracy was composed predominantly although not exclusively of degree-holding scholars, who had been selected at periodic public examination. First, the candidates had to take an examination at the local level. After passing this examination, the scholars continued to take part in the triennial metropolitan and palace examinations.

Since the state ideology was the Confucianism, all these examinations were based on the Confucian classics. The basic classics were the Four Books: the Analects of Confucius (Lục Ngữ), Mencius (Mạnh Tử), the Doctrine of the Mean (Trung Dung), and the Great Learning (Đại Học). And later the students continued to study the Five Classics: the Classic of Songs (Thi Kinh), the Classic of Documents (Thư Kinh), the Classic of Changes (Địch Kinh), the Record of Rituals (Lễ Ký), the Spring and Autumn Annals (Xuân Thu).

Thus, after the independence in 939, the Chinese culture continued to flourish in Vietnam and the Chinese script, the Hán also continued to function as an official writing system of the Vietnamese court. In 1076, the Van Mieu or the temple of literature was constructed at the southern gate of Thang Long (present Hà Nội), devoted to the cult of Confucius. The first mandarinate examination was organized in 1075 and in the following year, 1076, the Quoc Tử Giám or National University was founded within the precinct of Van Mieu.

During the period from 939 until the Ming invasion in 1407, Vietnam continued to develop the Confucian studies. Books were engraved by the state as well as the private publishers. There were several titles of books of this period which are still known, these are Hinh Thu (Book of justice) of the Lý dynasty (1009-1225), Quôc Tríệu Thông Lệ (Comprehensive rites of the national court) and Trần Tríệu Đại Diện (Statutes of the Trần court) of the Trần dynasty (1225-1400). However, those books together with all other books such as Vietnamese dynastic records, legal codes, military manuals, collections of poetry composed during this independent period were destroyed systematically by the Ming Chinese invaders. Although the Ming occupation period was short, from 1407 to 1427, it left a deep scar in the cultural life of Vietnam. The destruction of books during this period was a great loss as Ngô Sĩ Liên, a fifteenth century author of the Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư (A Complete History of Imperial Vietnam) mentioned: "The cruel Ming invaders were present everywhere, and the books of the whole country were burned to ashes" (Nghiên Cứu Hán Nôm, 1984:28).

After Lê Lợi drove the Chinese troops out of Vietnam in 1427, he established the Lê dynasty (1427-1789). The Lê kings put a lot of efforts in searching for the old books and built up their libraries again. Among the survival books, there are several important buddhist works written by the Vietnamese monks about the history of the Vietnamese Buddhism and its teachings such as the Thiên Ưyên T%p Anh (Collected Flowers from the Zen Garden), the Khóa Ht Loc (Records of the Discourses on the Emptiness). The Lê dynasty continued to consider Confucianism as the state ideology and recruited their officials from the Confucian scholars. Thus, books were printed,
schools opened and mandarinate examinations organized. King Thanh Tong (1460-1497), a poet himself, was very much concerned with the promotion of the learning - as a means of training young men for the enlarged bureaucracy and of diffusing Confucian ideology. The Quốc Tự Giám University was enlarged with new lecture rooms, a library and three hostels for students. From 1462, the king introduced a solemn ceremony in which the names of the candidates having been successful in the triennial national examinations (thi hộ) were proclaimed at the palace, and from 1484 their names were inscribed on the stelae standing at the Vạn МеНа (Temple of Literature). The reign of King Thanh Tong was also a golden period of the Lê in which many important works were produced such as the Thần Nam Du Họ Táp (Encyclopedic Collection of the Heavenly South), the Đại Việt Sư Kỳ Toàn Thú (A Complete History of Imperial Vietnam) by Ngô Sĩ Liên, the Linh Nam Trích Quy (The Collection of Legends from Linh Nam), the Luất Hồng Đức (Hồng Đức Code), the Bận Thảo Thức Vật Tốt Yêu (Abridged Treatise on Plants) by Phan Phú Tiên. However, this peaceful period did not last very long. From 1558 to 1772, Vietnam engaged in a civil war between the Trịnh family in the North and the Nguyễn in the South.

This situation led to the rise of the Tây Sơn dynasty (1788-1802) in which the Chinese invasion took place in 1787 and was defeated in 1789. Although this dynasty had a short life, it did contribute greatly in promoting the using of the Nomm as an official writing system. All the imperial edicts and proclamations were written in Nomm. Businesses, religious ceremonies, examinations were all carried out in Nomm. Thus, the whole system was changed to substitute the Nôm script for the Hán (Chinese script). King Quang Trung persuaded scholar Nguyễn Thị wśród (1723-1804) to leave his retirement to head the Vụ yans Sổ chính (Institute of Political Studies), for translating the Chinese classics into Nôm. These reforms were altered when the Tây Sơn was overthrown by the Nguyễn dynasty.

The Nguyễn (1802-1945) continued to recruit their mandarins through examinations. The first regional examinations (hướng thì) were held in 1807 in six provinces. The metropolitan examinations (hố thì) was offered in Huế in 1822 and the palace examination (đính thì) was organized in Huế in 1829. From 1822, the examinations in Huế were held roughly every three years (Woodside, 1971:179). Since the Nguyễn moved the capital from Hà Nội to Huế, the Quốc Tự Giám (National University) and the Vạn МеНа (Temple of Literature) also moved to the new capital. The influence of the Confucian education rooted deeply from the top to the bottom of the Vietnamese society. In the imperial palace there was a school called Tốp Thiền Dạng (School of the Concentration of Excellence) for the imperial princes; the Quốc Tự Giám for the sons of imperial relatives, the sons of high officials and the nominated students from provinces. The book printing was more or less a monopoly of the court. Textbooks such as Four Books and Five Classics were engraved in the capital; and the printing blocks were stored at the Quốc Tự Giám. Thanks to the unification of Vietnam and the peaceful period of the first half of the nineteenth century, the Nguyễn dynasty succeeded in publishing the greatest works such as Đại Nam Thục Lục (Veritable Records of Imperial Vietnam), Đại Nam Hội Điển Sự Lế (Compendium of Institutions and Institutional Cases of Imperial Vietnam), Lịch Trích Hiện Chưởng Lợi Chí (A Reference Book of the Institutions of Successive Dynasties) presented to emperor Minh Mang in 1821 by Phan Huy Chú. Further, Cao Xuân Đức compiled in 1909 the Đại Nam Nhữ Thông Chí (Gazetteer of Imperial Vietnam). The nineteenth century was also a century in which the popular literature in Nôm was flourishing. The greatest poem of Vietnam, Truyền Kỳ (The story of Kỳ) written by Nguyễn Du was published.

Concerning the court documents, the Châu Bản (Vermilion Books) which were personally perused and signed by the emperors with their vermilion writing brushes; and the Địa Bổ (Land Registers) of the Nguyễn dynasty were kept at the Quốc Sử Quản (Historical Institute) in Huế.

Since the examination was the only way to recruit the court officials, the Confucian education continued to flourish from dynasty to dynasty and books on Confucian classics were published by the court. This policy remained unchanged until the French colonisation.

3.2. The Hán Nôm under the French colonisation:

As soon as the French forces occupied Saigon in 1859, the traditional schools and the mandarinate examinations were abolished. In 1865 the southern part of Vietnam received the final death blow with the definitive termination in French occupied territory of the examination system based on Chinese. However, in the unoccupied territory of the central and northern parts of Vietnam the traditional education remained strong. In June 1884, the Treaty of Huế confirmed the French protectorate over the central and northern parts of Vietnam. In these protectorates the traditional education still continued until 1915 when the mandarinate examination in Tonkin was abolished and 1918 the abolition in Annam.

During that time, the QuốCx<*>, the romanized Vietnamese was promoted to replace the Hán and Nôm; and the French education replaced the traditional one.

The QuốCx<=> or National Language is a romanized Vietnamese writing system. This system was created by the Jesuit missionaries at the end of the sixteenth century in Vietnam. In 1624, the French Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes was sent to Vietnam. He learned to speak Vietnamese and continued to romanize the language. In 1651, he published the first book in Romanized Vietnamese, called Dictionarium Annaleticum, Latinum et Latinum (Vietnamese Portuguese Latin Dictionary). His effort was in the first place meant as a tool for facilitating the foreign missionaries to learn spoken Vietnamese, since the writing system in Hán and Nôm was too complicated for them to master. Romanized Vietnamese in this period was exclusively used within the foreign Catholic community. This fact explains why, for a period of almost two centuries, from the publication of Rhodes' dictionary in 1651 to 1838 when the second dictionary was published by Father Jean Louis Taberd called Dictionarium Annaletic
**Latinum** (Vietnamese Latin Dictionary), there was no serious effort in publishing books in Quoc Ngõ.

Furthermore, the romanized writing system was also not widely used among the Vietnamese Catholic, and Christian books were published more in Nôm than in Quoc Ngõ. For example, in 1837 the missionaries and their converts began to distribute on the countryside a printed Nôm text entitled **Thánh Giáo Lý Quốc Ngõ** (Essential Principles of Christianity in the national Language).

When the French started to colonize Viet Nam, Romanized Vietnamese got strong support. The French government promoted this writing system in order to replace Hán and Nôm. At the beginning, the use of Quoc Ngõ received strong protests from the Vietnamese nationalists, since they held that this writing system was a product of the colonials. But later, they realized that through this writing system it was easier to learn how to read and to write; and that it could be a useful instrument in educating the masses in their struggle for national salvation. Therefore, they turned to support the spread of Romanized Vietnamese. The leading nationalist promoters for using Quoc Ngõ were Phan Bội Châu and Phan Chánh Trịnh, who established the first school that used Quoc Ngõ for teaching, the **Đông Kinh Ngữ Thục** (Tonking Free School). As a result, Quoc Ngõ gained territory rapidly and reached its climax in 1918 when the mandarinate examination in Hủế was abolished.

The Vietnamese nationalists sincerely believed that the promotion of Quoc Ngõ along with the westernization of Vietnam were the way for salvation of Vietnam. Therefore, in their teaching programs beside the scientific subjects, they put also a lot of efforts in changing the traditional customs. Propaganda for such activities took the form of public lectures, poetry recitals and popular dramas. These publications were circulated widely outside of the school as well. One of the most famous message of the Free School movement was the incitement to adapt western ideas and practices, as the "haircutting chant" revealed (Marr, 1971: 170):

Comb in the left hand,  
Scissors in the right,  
Snip, snip, clip, clip!  
Watch out, be careful,  
Drop stupid practices,  
Dump childish things,  
Speak openly and frankly  
Study western customs  
Don't cheat or bluff  
Don't lie  
Today we clip  
Tomorrow we shave!

These reformist ideas and nationalist feelings dominated most of the activities of the school. The Vietnamese greeted the Free School with enthusiasm. This alarmed the French and led to the closedown of the school in January 1908.

Although the Free School had a very short life, less than a year, its influences on the Vietnamese intelligentsia was enormous. This paved the way to the literary movement in the period between two world wars (1918-1945), in which the Vietnamese intellectuals were willing to cooperate with the French authority in promoting the Quoc Ngõ and westernizing of Vietnam. The **Đông Dương Tạp Chí** (Indochina Review) was established in 1913 and the **Nam Phong Tạp Chí** (Southern Wind Review) in 1917. These two magazines called on the Vietnamese to learn from the civilized people of France.

From 1932 to 1940 the literary scene in Vietnam was dominated by a group "social" writers led by Nhịt Linh. He published a new journal **Phong Hóa** (Customs) in 1932 and **Ngày Nay** (Today) in 1935. These social reform-minded writers formed a literary group called the **Tự Lực Văn Đạo** (Self-Reliance Literary Group). This group advocated the social and literary reform in which they attacked the traditional values, especially Confucianism and Hán Nôm literature as being backward. Up to this point, the Quoc Ngõ was fully developed and able to replace the traditional writing systems entirely.

The abolition of mandarinate examination in 1918 was a deathblow to the publication of books in Hán and Nôm and the abdication of emperor Bao Dài in 1945 marked an end to the old chapter of the history of Vietnam. From that time the preservation of these books met with many difficulties:

Firstly, these Hán Nôm books were no longer used in examination, thus they became an out of date product and therefore only a few people wanted to keep them.

Secondly, people who could read those books were getting rarer and rarer.

Thirdly, the independent fighters also considered those books a feudal product which hindered the progress of the country and obstructed the way to independence.

As a result, the Hán Nôm books were sold on the market as an old paper. Mr Hoàng Xuân Hãn, a senior Vietnamese scholar who lives in Paris, told this author that before the Second World War he bought those books per ox cart! Thanks to his efforts a lot of Hán Nôm books have survived.

### 3.3. The situation of the Hán Nôm books during the war period, 1945-1975:

On September 1945, Hồ Chí Minh issued a declaration of independence. The French forces returned with military assistance by the British and Americans to start the First Indochina War. The defeat at Điện Biên Phủ in 1954 led to the division of Vietnam into two parts, North and South. The Second Indochina War began soon afterward until 1975.
During these two wars, the Hán Nôm books suffered the greatest losses:
- the loss caused by the wars in which a great number of books was destroyed. Among others, the imperial archives of the Nguyễn dynasty were burned down.
- the loss occurred during the land-reform programs in North Vietnam from 1954 to 1956 in which the Hán Nôm books were considered as a product of feudalism. Thanks to the strong reaction from the people, this reform program was stopped in 1956 and the communist government recognized the cultural value of the Hán Nôm books.

In both parts of Vietnam, there were efforts made in preserving Hán Nôm books. In the North, a group of scholars was assembled to translate the historical books from Hán Nôm into the modern Vietnamese. Several important historical works were published such as Đại Nam Thục Lục (Veritable Records of Imperial Vietnam), Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư (Complete Book of Historical Records of the Great Vietnam), Kinh Từ Việt Sử Thông Giám Cương Mục (Complete Mirror of Vietnamese History, Text and Commentary, Compiled by Imperial Order), Lịch Triều Hiến Chương Loại Chí (Reference Book of the Institutions of Successive Dynasties), etc...

In the South, the Hán Institute established in Huế tried to organize the imperial archives. And in Sai Gòn, the presidential department of culture made a similar effort of that in the North in translating the Hán Nôm books into the modern Vietnamese. The books published included Lễ Trí Giao Hóa Đồ Lưu (Moral Catechism Rules of the Lê Dynasty), Viên Đại Loại Ngữ (Classified Talk from the Study), Đại Nam Nhĩ Thống Chí (Gazetteer of Imperial Vietnam), etc...

4. The present situation of Hán Nôm books:

After 1975, Vietnam was united. The Hán Nôm books in both parts of Vietnam were taken care of by the Comité for Social Sciences and the Hán Nôm Institute was established in 1979.

The present Hán Nôm collection consists of several collections from different libraries:

a/ The collection of the École Francaise d'Extrême-Orient, established in 1901 by the French colonial government, was handed over to the Vietnamese Ministry of Education in 1958. This collection had 3500 books, 25,000 rubbings of stone inscriptions, 1800 reports on land-register and customs, 457 biographies of city gods, 132 imperial canonizing edicts (Nghiên Cứu Hán Nôm, 1984: 31).

b/ The collection of the private libraries such as Long Cường, Hoàng Xuyên Hận, Hội Khai Trí Tiến Đức, etc... has more than 2000 titles. Further, we would like to mention here the collection of Hội Cổ Học in Huế was moved to the North by a military unit in 1975 and "we have no idea about the fate of that collection!" (Nghiên Cứu Hán Nôm, 1984: 17).

c/ The collection of the imperial libraries in Huế such as Tự Khuê, Sư Quán Thư Sách, Tạo Hiến Viên, Tạng Thư Lâu, Ngữ Các Thư Sách, Tần Thư Thư Sách, Cố Học Viên Thư Tịch Thư Sách, Thư Viện Bảo Đại, Hoàng Lễ Tử Khổ, Hoàng Nguyen Tử Khổ, etc... has not been registered yet.

d/ The collection of the imperial archives includes the Châu Bàn (Vermilion Books) and the Địa Bố (Land Register).
The Châu Bàn was the original court documents of the Nguyễn dynasty which the Vietnamese emperors had personally perused and signed with their vermilion brushes. However, the great part, eight tenth, of these imperial archives was lost during the Second World War. The documents were partly burned down, and partly "sold at the markets as old paper!" (Nguyễn Đình Dậu, 1989: 45). The remainder is now only 611 bundles in total.
The Địa Bố was luckily survived the destruction. This is the registration of land in every village in Vietnam from 1805 to 1836. Today this collection still has 10.044 bundles (Nguyễn Đình Dậu, 1989: 44). In 1963 the imperial archives were moved to Đà Lạt and in 1975 again to Sai Gòn. Now they are temporarily housed at the former presidential palace.

e/ The collection of Hán Nôm books preserved in the buddhist temples; this collection has, beside the enormous body of the buddhist canon, also many important books concerning religion, philosophy, literature, medicine, etc... These books have not been registered yet.

5. The problems concerning preserving Hán Nôm books:

As we discussed above, the Hán Nôm books faced many difficulties in surviving. In preservation, these books also face many other difficulties. Beside the tropical climate which destroys everything in due time, the greatest difficulty was the lack of specialists on Hán Nôm. Today, the Hán Nôm have become the dead languages and those who still know these scripts can be counted on the fingers of one hand. While the readers are getting rarer and rarer, the tremendous amount of information concerning the imperial Vietnam remained untouched. Therefore, the need to preserve the Hán Nôm materials and the need to train a group of specialists on these scripts are very urgent.
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THE SCRIPTORIA IN THE MERBABU-MERAPI AREA

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Introduction

A systematic observation and discussion of two manuscripts of the Merbabu collection (jontaras 53 and 187) was undertaken by W. van der Hogen (1983). S. Supomo (1977) used one manuscript of the same collection (jontar 219) for his textual criticism of Kakawin Arjunavijaya, but failed to decipher its colophon and suggested that it is West Javanese (1977:86). The present writer consulted some manuscripts of the same collection and edited one of the texts, i.e. Arjunavaraha (Malayo-Polynesien 185, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris) (Kuntara Wiryaartana, 1980). This manuscript (Mal.-Pol. 185) and many others belonged originally to Friederic's collection and were brought to Paris by Zotenberg's initiative and care (Feer, 1809:8).

The Merbabu collection, which is now housed in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta, includes manuscripts containing various texts, e.g. kakawins, tutars, mantras, upabhoga, and primbons. According to the colophons they originated in various places of Merbabu area. Some manuscripts containing Pimaba-Kawi text from Surakarta (NBS 109, NBS 122, NBS 123, LOr 1857, and LOr 1792) have colophons that point to Mt. Merapi (Giri Mandaragri) (Kuntara Wiryaartana, 1980:294-297). Another colophon pointing to Mt. Merapi (Ardi Ma(n)daragöni) is found in a manuscript containing Putra
Sangaskara text (Kuntara Wiryanartana, 1990:298-299). For these reasons it is fit to join together the Merbabu and the Merapi area as one complex of scriptoria. Not all colophons are examined and not all places mentioned there can be identified, but the researches reported above offer some clarifications.

The locations of the scriptoria

Damalung and Panrihan are known as the former names of Mt. Merbabu (Noorduyn, 1882:418). In the cursory examination of lontar 127 (Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta; Poerbatjaraka, 1933:345), containing Putru Sangaskara text, by the present writer is found a colophon mentioning the name Sang Hyang Giri Kanistan. Is this also another name of Mt. Merbabu?

According to the examined colophons the scriptoria were spread over Mt. Merbabu and Mt. Merapi: their tops (vyagra), slopes (gorer), and feet (jong) in all directions. The locations are as follows:

1. Mt. Merbabu


   c. Sang Hyang Ardi Damalung, foot (jong), south-west (hirin
imba(ng) nariti), Gadörwindu: lontar 53, Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta, Kunjiarakarna (prose version) (Van der Molen, 1883:282)

d. Sang Hyang Giri Har(r)di Pamrihan, foot (jöng), west (imba ng kulon), Rabut Fëzik: Malay-Polynésien 185, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Kakawin Arjunawijaya (Kuntara Wiryanartana, 1980:19)

e. Sang Hyang Ngardddhi Giri Panrihan, foot (jöng), north-west (imba ng byabaya), Hanakasa, Patön: lontar 220, Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta, Kakawin Arjunawijaya (Kuntara Wiryanartana, 1980:17)

f. Sang Hyang Giri Kanistan (Merbabu?), foot (jöng), further specifications not yet deciphered: lontar 127, Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta, Putru Sangaskara

2. Mt. Merapi

a. Ardi Ma(n)daragöni, slope (gööö), north-east (i(e)bang ersanya), Sidapaksa: lontar kept in Dakan, Putru Sangaskara (Kuntara Wiryanartana, 1980:289)

b. Giri Mandaragöni, foot (jöng), north-east (hiëbang [see] harsanya), Kunjöö (Metep?): NBS 109, NBS 122, NBS 123, LDr 1857, LDr 1792, University Library of Leiden, Wiwaha Kawi (Surañkarta)

(see Appendix I)

3. Unidentified

Mountain (no name), part (no specification), point of compass (no specification), Subadrapatí: lontar 164, Perpus-

The places mentioned in those colophons are not yet identified, except perhaps Sidapaksa (Kuntara Wiryaartana, 1980:299). But this preliminary observation may serve as a guide in grouping the manuscripts according to the scriptoria.

The dates of the manuscripts

The kind of the year used in the colophons of the manuscripts of the Herabu collection puzzled the researchers. Van der Molen (1983:76-87, 297-300) and Kuntara Wiryaartana (1984:257-260) have struggled on deciphering it, but have not yielded satisfactory results.

One of the problems is the use of two kinds of wuku, i.e. wuku dałe (‘inside wuku’) and wuku jaba (‘outside wuku’) with their respective names (lontar 53: wuku dałe prangbakat, wuku jaba wukir; lontar 187: prangbakate wuku dałe; lontar Dakan: wuku jaba wukir). And sometimes in the one and the same colophon there are more than one number of the year. Following the name of the year (lontar 53: tahun kaligon), the deciphering based on Tenggerese calendar did not solve the problem (Van der Molen, 1983:81-83). It needs further examinations.

The numbers of the (Saka) year found in the colophons are as follows:

1. lontar 127: four dates: 1587 (i saka wiri horog marga
From the years listed above it can be inferred that those manuscripts were written between the second half of the seventeenth century to the first quarter of the eighteenth century. This period ranged from the beginning of the reign of Amangkurat I (1646-1677) to the reign of Pakubuwana I (1704-1719) (Ricklefs, 1974:16-26, 1981:66-82). It seems that the crisis of the Mataram dynasty, the foundation of the new kraton at Kartasura, and the
following turbulent years did not disturb the activities of the 
aïars (religious and literati) in the neighboring mountainous 
area. It is likely that the literary activities of the Kartasura 
Court literati were supported by those of the naïars. Here lies 
most probably the great contribution of the periphery, which is 
itself a literary center, to the kraton as cultural center.

There is a question about the existence of the scriptoria, 
study centers, or padespokans. The report of Bujangga Manik's 
journeys through Java stated that around 1500 Denalung was one of 
the study centers in Java (Noorduijn, 1982:416). Did the scripto-
ria emerge not long before 1500, following the waning age of 
Majapahit (cf. Schoemann in Van der Holen 1963:111), or had they 
existed since far earlier time even before the center of Majapahit 
Kingdom was established in East Java?

The book

All the manuscripts of the Merbabu collection were made of 
lontar or ron tal, sìwàlan-leaves (Borassus flabellifer). On a 
journey through a part of Merbabu regions, from Magelang via 
Kopeng to Salatiga, the present writer did not observe sìwàlan-
trees growing in that area. In botanical science it is known that 
sìwàlan-trees grow in humid area along the coast. The lontars 
must be brought from the nearest sawang area, the north-coast 
around Semarang and Jepara (cf. Van der Holen, 1983:88).

The preliminary examination of the manuscripts listed by 
Poerbatjaraka (1933:280-376) in comparison with those listed as
buda-manuscripts by Cohen Stuart (1872:26-46) with the guidance of Van der Molen's identification of the Merbabu collection (1983:117) yielded the measurements of the manuscripts as follows:

1. The maximal length is 64 cm and the maximal width is 4.5 cm.
2. The minimal length is 17 cm and the minimal width is 2.5 cm.
3. The majority of the manuscripts has the length ranging from 36 to 46 cm and the width ranging from 3 to 3.5 cm.

(see Appendix II)

The examination of these measurements will clarify the interrelation of the scriptoria.

The script and spelling

The script used in those manuscripts is known as aksara buda or aksara gunung (Piggaud, I, 1967:53, 81, 283; III, 1970: 22-23 [facsimiles plates 23-25], 53-54; Van der Molen, 1983:98, 115-117). In Kanggawarsita's study the Merbabu script (KBG 206, specimen nr. 9, p. 8; cf. Poerbatjaraka, 1933:283) is called Punika hakara buda hingkang kahanggo para hajar-alar hing rad. These are buda letters which are used by the religious in the mountains. Van der Molen's palaeographical investigation (1983:98) comes to the conclusion that the Merbabu script of iontars 53 and 187 in correspondence with Ngadoman script is the continuation of earlier Central Javanese script.
The lists of characters given by Van der Molen (1983:283-284) and Kuntara Wiryamartana (1990:460-462) show that every scriptorium has its own characters with slight form differences. It is likely that there were exchanges of manuscripts to be copied among the scriptoria. The transmission of Kakawin Arjunawiwaha in Mal.-Pol. 165 shows that some errors in copying came from the form differences of some characters adopted by the scriptorium of the exemplar and that of the copy (Kuntara Wiryamartana, 1990:26).

Van der Molen (1983:99-108) has much contributed to the investigation of spelling conventions of lontars 53 and 187. Further examinations on spelling conventions must give attention to some treatises on awarawayāṭana, e.g. lontar 108 (Poerbatjaraka, 1933:355)

The problem of originality or textual transformation

From the texts edited by Supomo (1977, Kakawin Arjunawijaya), Van der Molen (1983, Kuntara Wiryamartana), and Kuntara Wiryamartana (1990, Kakawin Arjunawiwaha) it is evident that the texts of the Merbabu manuscripts contain readings different from those of the correlated texts of the West Javanese and the Balinese tradition. The interpolation theory initiated by Kern and followed by Gunning and Poerbatjaraka, especially in relation to kakawins, was refuted by many scholars (Zoetmulder, 1974:66-67). Some kakawin texts from the manuscripts of the Merbabu collection raises
once again the problem of interpolation, but now in terms of textual differences among the traditions.

Kakawin Arijunawijaya of lontar 218 has two cantos instead of two stanzas (according to Balinese tradition) in canto 63 (Supomo, 1977:86, 176-177, 326-329). Kakawin Arijunawijâha of Mal.-Pol. 165 and Wiraha Kawi of NBS 109, NBS 123, and LOr 1792 has one stanza added after canto I, stanza 8 (Kuntara Wiryamartana, 1980:108-109, 297-298). Some variants in Kakawin Arijunawijâha of Mal.-Pol. 165 show better readings than those found in Balinese manuscripts (Kuntara Wiryamartana, 1990:202-208). These cases point to the needs of the reappraisal of the Javanese tradition. In one of the theses (stellingen) appended to his dissertation Van der Molen stated: "Supomo's interpretation of the difference between the Javanese and the Balinese tradition in Arijunawijaya 63.8 and 8 was based on the unproved premise that the Balinese tradition is purer than the Javanese tradition" (stell- ing 7). This statement must be taken seriously in the subsequent researches on the interrelated texts of the Javanese and Balinese manuscripts.

Concluding remarks

The Herbabu collection is an important treasure of manuscripts of Central Javanese tradition. The Herbabu tradition is a pivotal link between the Old Javanese tradition and the New Javanese tradition, mainly the Kartasura-Surakarta Court tradition.
It has also much to say about the Old Javanese tradition vis-a-vis the Balinese tradition.

In subsequent researches the Merbabu-Merapi area is recommended as one and whole complex of literary and religious activities comprising some heterogenous subtraditions. It needs the collaboration of some interested scholars to delve its wealth and treasure.
Appendix I

The Locations of the Scriptoria

1. ? 1. 219
2. ? 1. 187
3. Windusabreng
   Windusujan 1. 53 (?)
4. Gortengahlor
5. ? Mal.-Fol. 165
6. Temulur
   Temukidul 1. 220 (?)
7. Ngadoman
8. Gedakan
9. Sidopakso: L. Putru Dakan
10. Metep: NBS 109, et al. (?)
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International Workshop on Indonesian Studies No. 7

Southeast Asian Manuscripts

Acquisition of Malay Manuscripts by the Centre for Malay Manuscripts, National Library of Malaysia: an overview

Wan Ali Wan Monoat & Zawiyah Babu

Leiden, 14-18 December, 1992
Acquisition of Malay Manuscripts by the Centre for Malay Manuscripts, National Library of Malaysia: an overview
by
WAN ALI Wan Mamet and ZAWIYAH Baba

1. Introduction
This paper presents a general overview of the Malay manuscripts collection, particularly the acquisition policies and activities of the Centre for Malay Manuscripts. An assessment of the subject's strength and weaknesses of the collection will also be made. Some of the earliest manuscripts available in the collection are also described.

2. Background
Handwritten manuscripts in the Malay language or Malay manuscript in short reflect the intellectual development and depth of the Malays. They are an important part of the cultural legacy and wealth of the Malay peoples, embodying their thinking and culture from early times. As such, it is often expressed as the cultural and intellectual heritage of the Malay people. It is the medium by which the Malays record their experience, knowledge, and intellectual thinking considered of significance, not only for their own learning and reference but also for use by later generations. Every aspect of knowledge: history, religious beliefs, medicine, literature, social etiquette, law, etc., are dealt with in Malay manuscripts.

Libraries in the country have been very selective in acquiring Malay manuscripts. Manuscripts are not given priority in acquisition, and are usually considered as part of Malaysian collections. The difficulty in tracing, maintenance, high cost, and the select group of users compared to printed materials are factors which contribute toward the development of the attitude. Among musulims, manuscripts were acquired very selectively mainly for exhibition and not for research. The voice of concerned groups such as historical and literary associations and Malay literati were basically ineffective to change the situation.
Until recently, the conservation of Malay manuscripts in Malaysia was not given serious attention. Malay manuscripts in the hands of individuals were not cared for properly, mainly due to ignorance of the preservation methods and lack of facilities. The manuscripts were usually kept together with other books, kites and journals on book shelves, which would easily collect dust and exposed to insects. The hot and humid climate of the country are also a major cause of deterioration. Some of the individual owners even considered them as material of little value, more or less as "scrapbooks" of history that could be disposed when the time comes.

Since the early days when the Malays first learned to write and read, especially after Islam was introduced to the region, culminating in the introduction of the Jawi script, thousands of Malay manuscripts have been written. These manuscripts covered a wide range of subject which reflects the rich cultural and high intellectual attainment of the Malays.

3. The Centre for Malay Manuscripts

Many individuals and organizations have voiced their concern about the state of affairs of Malay manuscripts in this country. There were no institution that was ready to take the responsibility due to several reasons such as financial, staffing, academic and technical expertise. The concern become a reality when the then Director-General of the National Library of Malaysia, Dato' Hashim Sam Abdul Latiff took an active part in the matter and proposed the National Library of Malaysia as the national institution to be responsible for Malay manuscripts in this country. Furthermore, the library already have conservation facilities.

Recognising the need to preserve the intellectual and cultural heritage of the Malays, The Honourable Anwar Ibrahim, the then Minister of Culture, Youth and Sport, designated the National Library of Malaysia as the National Centre for Malay Manuscripts on October 10, 1983. In 1985, the Centre for Malay Manuscripts was formally set up as a division of the National Library of Malaysia to exercise the function. Since then, the National Library has taken various steps to build up expertise relating to Malay manuscripts, academically and professionally.

The functions of the Centre are as follows:

a. To trace and acquire Malay manuscripts irrespective of form.
b. To document Malay manuscripts, maintain a union catalogue and publish bibliographies.
c. To provide facilities for storage, preservation and reproduction of Malay manuscripts.
d. To provide facilities for research relating to Malay manuscripts.
e. To disseminate the knowledge available in Malay manuscripts through publication, research and exhibition activities.

4. Definition of Malay manuscripts

The definition of Malay manuscripts as practised by the Centre for Malay manuscripts is as follows:

Malay manuscripts are handwritten texts relating to all aspects of Malay civilization written on all forms of writing materials.

Within this definition Malay manuscripts are further identified as:

i. Manuscripts in the Malay language.

ii. Manuscripts in the languages of the Malay stock especially those closely related to the Malay language.

5. Acquisition Policies

When the Centre was first set up in 1985, the number of Malay manuscripts in the collection of the National Library of Malaysia was very small. There were 142 volumes of original Malay manuscripts and 3 rolls of microfilm in the collection. The acquisition of Malay manuscript by the Library prior to 1985 was undertaken as part of the project for Malayana collection.

Soon after the Centre for Malay Manuscripts was set up, the tracing and acquisition of Malay manuscripts was given priority. A special budgetary allocation for the purchase of Malay manuscripts was set aside every year, though the amount was quite minimal.
Very often, the amount required to purchase Malay manuscripts exceeded the allocation. Thus, many manuscripts have to be paid for from the following years' budget.

The Centre was successful in acquiring a large number of Malay manuscripts during the period (1985-1988). The success can be partly attributed to the acquisition policy during the period which stressed on both quantity and quality. The stated policy of acquiring Malay manuscripts was the Centre for Malay Manuscripts will acquire all available Malay manuscript irrespective of their subject content, completeness and degree of damage. The policy was made as such in order to preserve whatever manuscripts available in the country and to build up a basic collection of Malay manuscripts at the National Library. The price for Malay manuscripts at the time was minimal and those in private collections were relatively easy to find. Information provided by academicians and government officials who know of the whereabouts of Malay manuscripts in the course of their research and duties, but were not able to buy them due to financial constraints, greatly assisted the National Library with the task of tracing these manuscripts. Thus, despite financial constraints, the Centre for Malay Manuscripts was able to acquire a large number of Malay manuscripts.

However, since 1989, the acquisition of Malay manuscripts became more selective. The policy was changed since the number of manuscripts in the collection has increased considerably. Many of the manuscripts in the hands of individuals in the country which has been a matter of great concern has been acquired and preserved. Furthermore, a large number of the manuscripts offered by dealers or those located by the officers of the Centre, were often in worse condition than those already in the Centre’s collection. Thus, the new policy of acquisition for manuscripts was that the Centre for Malay Manuscripts is to acquire Malay manuscripts selectively and the quality of Malay manuscripts in the collection has to be maintained and improved.

However, in the course of acquiring manuscripts, the traditional method of selling manuscripts in bulk, rather than by titles resulted in the difficulty of exercising the new policy effectively. The manuscript dealers were not concerned with the price of each item, as long as the total for the whole was reasonable. Often, manuscripts not selected for purchase and returned to the dealers were donated to the National Library anyway. Thus, the policy was not really very effective in the sense that manuscripts which were incomplete or in various stages of deterioration were still added to the National Library’s collection.

From 1991, the policy for manuscript acquisition was further refined. The new policy since then was that the Centre for Malay Manuscripts is to acquire Malay manuscripts deemed to be useful for research and preservation purposes. The quality of the collection has to be maintained and improved. The change in policy has been successfully implemented and many of the recent acquisitions are valuable manuscripts, though the price paid are high. The main reasons for the change can be attributed to the following factors:

a. A considerably bigger allocation for the acquisition of Malay Manuscripts.

b. The large number of similar titles already available in the collection as against the other titles.

c. The recent discovery of ‘fake’ manuscripts i.e. those detected to be copied very recently (pirate copies).

d. The emergence of new suppliers who can deliver manuscripts of better quality.

6. Acquisition activities

Malay manuscripts are acquired through purchase, donation, bequest and copying. A trust account has been set up to facilitate the receipt of financial contributions from the public, which are tax exempt. The purchase price of manuscripts are decided by the ‘Committee for the Pricing of Malay Manuscripts’ which normally meet every month. Not many valuable manuscripts are acquired through donation and bequest. However,
quite a number of manuscripts are acquired through copying activities every year. Besides the direct purchase of manuscripts in microfilm copies from other institutions, manuscripts are also microfilmed during visits and when some of them are allowed to be borrowed for conservation treatment at the National Library. The projects to trace and document Malay manuscripts covers both inside and outside the country. So far four projects have been undertaken overseas: the Netherlands, West Germany, France and Singapore. A bibliography of Malay manuscripts in those countries would be published upon completion of each project.

Within the country, the projects to trace and document Malay manuscripts are undertaken throughout the year as a matter of course. In addition to information that are obtained by the Centre from informants and documentation search, visits to museums and individuals outside Kuala Lumpur are undertaken from time to time.

The collection development performance for Malay manuscripts in the Centre up to October 1992 are as follows:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Original manuscripts (Volumes)*</th>
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<td>1984</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
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<td>1988</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>1539</td>
<td>1085</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>1157</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 1992</td>
<td>1717</td>
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* includes a few facsimile copies.

7. Strength of the collection
From surveys of the collection of Malay manuscripts in the Centre undertaken from time to time, it was found that the greatest number of manuscripts are on Islam. Among the subjects in Islam, the bigger collections are on fiqh, tausid, tasawuf and tarikh, in that order. The Centre probably has all the manuscripts written by Sheikh Daud Al-Fattani. Among his writings not known before are Wasiya al-sabur (MS 559), Warda al-zawahir (MS 1136) and Fara'id fawaid al-fikra fi al-Imam al-Mahdi (MS 692). The Centre also has some of the manuscripts written by Shamsuddin Al-Sumatani.

The titles with more than 10 copies in the collection as at the end of 1990 are as stated below:

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<th>No.</th>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Azimat</td>
<td>57</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bahjat al-mardiya</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Bidayat al-hidayah</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Bulugh al-maram</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Dua</td>
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8. Important manuscripts

There are several manuscripts in the collection that are considered very important:

8.1 MS 1517

Collections

The volume contains several titles. Based on the fact that the paper used is Italian, with the water mark tre scapolli "three caps", we believe it was written about the year 1729 A.D.


Probably the oldest bab I of the Kitab Bustan al-salatin available. The kitab was originally written by Nuruddin al-Raniri in 1638 A.D.

b. Umdat al-nisab
50 pp.

Probably the oldest Malay manuscript available concerning the family tree of Prophet Muhammad s.a.w.

c. Firasat tubuh manusia
6 pp.

Explains about the human body and their significance in terms of the person's possible characters and deeds in the future.

d. Tanbih al-Famii
80 pp.

Question-and-answer kitab about muslim prayers.

8.2 MS 1102

Sirat al-mustaqim
173 pp.

The original manuscript was completed by the author, Sheikh Nuruddin al-Raniri in the year 1064 A.H./1654 A.D. on the order of the Queen of Aceh, Safiuddin [1541-1678 A.D.]. The kitab in the collection was copied in the year 1091 H/1680 M. It was written on European hand-made paper with the watermark of old Proptaria. Probably it is the oldest Sirat al-mustaqim available.

8.3 MS 1588

Shameuddin al-Sumatrani was a follower of Hamzah Fansuri, the leader of wujudiyah aulism. Their writings were burnt on the order of the Sultan of Aceh. As such, the writings of Shameuddin al-Sumatrani are considered rare. The paper used is oriental with rough texture and fibres. The manuscript is undated but it is believed to have been written prior to 1600 A.D. In this volume of 18 titles, 12 are writings of Shameuddin al-Sumatrani as listed below:

a. Risalah Jawami al-Famai
4 pp.

b. Anwar al-daqaqiq fi kasyfi asar al-raqalq
7 pp.

c. Dairah al-wujud
4 pp.
d. Risalah kasaf serar al-wujud
   4 pp.

e. Bayan al- Qurub
   4 pp.

f. Risalah pada menyatakan perkataan Ayat thabitah
   3 pp.

g. Risalah mithal al-wujud
   10 pp.

h. Risalah pada menyatakan keabihan insan daripada
   sekelian alam yang lain
   4 pp.

i. Kasyrin sir al-rububiyah fi kamal al-ubudiyyah
   11 pp.

j. Haqiqat al-sufi
   22 pp.

k. Haq al-yaqin fi asydeh al-muhasaqiyn fi zikri
   serar al-sufiyin al-muhasaqiyn
   46 pp.

9. Conclusion

The Centre for Malay Manuscripts has been set up in 1986 to be the focal national point
of research relating to Malay manuscripts. The main activities of the Centre in the first
few years has been to trace and acquire Malay manuscripts. So far, the acquisition
policy has passed through 3 phases. The present policy of acquisition is basically very
selective. Among the collection of Malay manuscripts in the institutions of the country
documented so far, the National Library of Malaysia has the biggest collection. Most of
them are manuscripts in the Malay language. The strength of the collection is in Islamic
manuscripts. In the future, the activities of publishing journals and books will be given
priority, without jeopardizing the regular ongoing activities such as tracing, acquisition,
documentation, and preservation of Malay manuscripts.