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91 Annual Report on Education, SS & FMS, 1918, §94; 1919, §72. The titles issued up to 1920 were: Baja Akal 1919; Hisab I 1918; Hisab III 1919; Ilmu Alam 1918; Ilmu Alam 1919; Malay Reader: Standard III 1920; Malay Reader: Standard IV 1916; Malay Reader: Standard IV 1917; Misai Huruf Rumi 1918.a, b1, 1919; Misai Melayu 1919; Neraca Subiah 1919; Pelajaran Akal 1919, 1920; Penimpin Pengetahuan 1917, 1918; Penasambah Akal 1917; Penasambah Akal 1920; Rebugp Bacaan 1919, 1920; Tangga Pengetahuan 1920; Tawarikh Melayu 1918, 1919
92 Pelysarun Abdullah 1832, 1839, 1862, and in magazine form in Cermin Mata 1858-59.
94 Another classical work, Sultan Ibrahim, was used as the third-standard government Malay reader during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It seems to have been chosen for its brevity, simple narrative, lack of local reference (it is set in Iran), and absence of overly Islamic values.
95 Winsted, "Classical Malay Literature", p.177 calls Abdullah "master of an easy colloquial Malay style" taking as his model the conversational passages in the Sejarah Melayu, which he edited. Colloquial is, as the rest of Winsted's comments shows, a misnomer. The rather curt style of the Sejarah Melayu, which Abdullah and European scholars found attractive, was not typical of more widely read recreational prose texts. The term 'unmeasured' here differs little from Sweeney's 'non-stylized': see his "Professional Malay Storytelling".
97 Stewart-Nagle, Educational Needs, Table XIII, etc.
101 Wilkinson, "Education of Asiasits", p.687. Wilkinson here advances one of his personal hobbies, the need for school libraries supplied with good literature. His account of the Malay literary scene is somewhat jaundiced on this account. Here and elsewhere he ignores or dismisses locally-published books.
102 Zainal Abidin, "Malay Journalism in Malaya", p.249 (on the older generation in the 1930s).
103 This was the basis of Shellacbar's arguments about spelling reform, Hunt "Translation of the Bible", pp.43-44.
104 In English schools, Annual Report on Education, SS, 1899, §19. Hence books like Difficult Words 1890, Sauits Vocabulary 1894, English 1894, Vocabulary: Prigle 1893 etc., Vocabulary: Kezlar 1895 etc., Improved Illustrated Reader 1895, Aid to the Study of English 1896 etc. On

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105 Annual Report Selangor, 1894, §64.
109 These include the rumi Robinson Crawfor 1893, Sultan Ibrahim 1899.b, Duabelas Cerita 1893, and Perumpamsam 1894, as well as the jawi Juhul 1888.
110 The titles comprising the series are listed under the heading Malay Literature Series in the Index of Persons and Institutions.
111 Note again Dussek's report of 1912, quoted in Rolf, Origins of Malay Nationalism, p.135: "there was once again a serious shortage of books in the schools, and often reaching was done almost entirely from the Hikayat Abdullah, the Sejarah Melayu (the two best known Malay histories), and the newspapers Utusan Melayu."
112 Figure 3 is constructed similarly to Figure 2, but treats multi-volume editions as single items.
114 Wilkinson, "Education of Asiasits", p.686. See also Maier, In the Center of Authority, p.120.
116 And thus also a member of a comprador community, S.P.S.K. Kader Shibli was moreover editor of an English language newspaper
117 Bible: New Testament 1913; Orang yang Cari Selamat 1905; Hitam yang Cantik 1913.
118 The best survey of the Chinese-published Baba material is Lombard-Salomon, "Littéraire en Malais romanisé", revised and translated as "Writings in Romanized Malay".
119 The Koh & Co. Press which published mainly Baba miscellanea is advertised as 'printers, stamp-makers, merchants and commission agents' Lautan Akal 1907.
120 Sun Pang 1904-05, vol.3, pp.ii-iii.
121 San Guo 1892-96, vol. 1, p.130. Allowance must be made for some sympathy-seeking hyperbole.
122 Zheng Dong 1895, vol.2, end, vol.3 p.1, etc.
123 See note 167 below.
124 The exceptions are Renconga Plasta 1915 (Kuala Lumpur); Vocabulary: Ang 1919 (Malacca); Pantun Malis 1908, Dictionary: Chia 1918 (Penang). All of the great translations of historical romance appeared in Singapore during this period.
125 Salmon, Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia.
127 Salmon, Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia, pp.21-25. Teo argues for a Batavian influence on Singapore translations, Teo, "Chinese Popular Fiction", p.36.
EARLY MALAY PRINTED BOOKS

128 Note the price given in both Straits dollars and Netherlands Indies guilders, and the advertisements included.

129 Tong Yu Jinliang 1889 and Perawakan Berumah Tangga 1886 by Lim Tjay Tat (of Batavia), and Abu Bakar 1896 by Na Tian Piet (originally of Sumatra).

130 For biographical information, see Song, One Hundred Years, pp.166-167; Lombard-Salmon, “La littérature en malais romanisé”, pp.84-86 (= “Writings in Romnized Malay”, pp.74-75).

131 E.g. at San Guo 1892-96, vol.3, finally appended 2 pages.

132 San Guo 1892-96, vol.22, in the finally appended 2 pages: “Sabah salim-an Chria 'Sam Kok' ini ada banyak bunting kapala puyai keja saya dengan minak mahupun ma nyata-kan yang saya sedia dadak ada im kuan mau turun-kan lain chria China lagi”.

133 Namely, Erdu Mei 1889; Fan Tang 1889, 1891-92; Jingga Qijuan 1889; Leifeng Ta 1889, 1911; Luo Tong Sao Bei 1907; Mou Youlong 1915; Qin Xuemei 1889; San Guo 1889, 1892-96; Sanhe Baojian 1910-16; Shao Tang a 1896; Song Jiang 1899-1902; Sun Pong 1904-06; Wushua Lou 1890, 1910-13; Wumei Yuan 1891-92; Xiyou Ji 1911-13; Yue Fei 1891; Zheng Dong 1895; Zheng Xi a 1896; Zhongyi 1889, 1915; Zhong Zuo 1889.

134 Teo, “Chinese Popular Fiction”, p.65

135 Cf. Salmon, Literary Migrations.

136 Salmon, Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia, §V (pp.473-504).

137 Medhurst, “Voyage up the East Coast”, 1 September 1826; Arms in The Missionary Herald, 33 (1837), p.166.


139 Salmon, Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia, pp.20-21; Skeat, Malay Magic, p.521.

140 Salmon, Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia, pp.16-17. The former was reprinted many times in roman script in the Netherlands Indies: ibid., pp.510.


142 This seems true for Singapore-Malaysia, if not quite so entirely for Java, as will be noted below.

143 E.g. Yue Fei 1891, footnotes passim; Erdu Mei 1889, appendix, tabulating equivalents in ‘chakup China’ and ‘chakup Malayae;’ most elaborate is the table of equivalents San Guo 1889, p.1-vi which gives ‘bahasa Melayu bahas baih’, ‘bahasa Melayu Jawi Pakan’ and ‘bahasa China Jawa Pakan’ which is the last Bahasa Malay.

144 Note Chan Kim Boon’s autobiographical discussion of changes in his dialect in the introduction to San Guo 1892-96, vol.1, p.ii Also Syair dan Pantun 1890, p.87; Imam Nasib 1897, pp. etc. The choice of register was also a subject of correspondence in Siniahg Tunor, 24 Sept 1894, 29 Dec 1894, etc.

145 Tongyi Xin Yu 1877; Tong Yu Jinliang 1889; Vocabulary: Lin 1888

146 Dictionary: Chia 1918; Vocabulary: Ang 1919

147 San Guo 1892-96, vol.10, within pp.i-x


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150 San Guo 1892-96, vol.5, preface, cited in Teo, “Chinese Popular Fiction”, p.48: Note also Teo at p.47 n.2 where it is suggested that these stories might be read aloud to in-laws by the dutiful daughter-in-law (pace Teo’s translation).

151 Xiyou Ji 1911-13, vol.9, end.

152 Of Baba books, 68% of volumes are illustrated, in many cases profusely; Of Muslim books only 2% of volumes have illustrations, in the main cover illustrations, or diagrams associated with the subject of the text (e.g. the surrounds of the Ka’bah in Haji dan Umrah 1900); only four works have illustrations of characters at all comparable to the Baba books: Pelenduk 1890, 1891 which has an attached final page picturing the animal players in the tales; Indera Sebaha 1889, 1891, 1901 and Laila Majnun 1888, two works with interleaved illustrations, both of which are translations of Hindi plays which gained local popularity through theatrical performances; and Alaudin 1890-b which is a translation from a Western source of a tale popularized on the stage. Reproductions of some of these illustrations will be found in Gallop, “Early Malay Printing”, pp.101, 106, and Pages from Yesteryear, plates 11, 36.


154 Orang yang Cari Selamat 1905. See reproduction at Pages from Yesteryear, plate 14.

155 For an example, see reproduction of San Guo 1892-96, vol.20 p.2901 in Pages from Yesteryear, plate 36 (which has taken this reproduction from a third source without acknowledgement; the frame and legend below the frame belong to the secondary reproduction.)

156 Sampson, Writing Systems, p.164.

157 Fan Tang 1899, colophons of vols 1, 4; Fan Tang 1891-93, colophons of vols. 5, 6; cf. the colophon of vol. 7, mentioning reading only.


159 San Guo 1892-96 vol.18, within pp.i-xxiv etc., vol.7, after p.xiii, etc., vol.9, p.ii etc., vol.15 pp.xi-xvi, respectively.


161 San Guo 1892-96, scattered across the introductory sections of each volume.

162 Abu Bakar 1896.

163 Notably in Erdu Mei 1889, in which his authorship is not evident. He is named in the Gazette registration.

164 Proudfoot, "Formative Period", p.112. The books were offered for sale by the "set", both when printing was complete and while it was still in progress, however no discount was offered: San Guo 1892-96, vol.6, final 2 pages.

165 In July 1896, Chan Kim Boon was still offering complete sets of Fan Tang 1891-93 (completed in February 1893) and Wamen Yuan 1891-92 (completed in May 1893): San Guo 1892-96, vol.30, final p.ii. San Pong 1904-06 vol.3 pp.i-iii & vol.4 appended p.1-2, gives a good account of the marketing of a four-volume work printed in 200 copies, sold over a two and a half-year period:
# Early Malay Printed Books

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SALES OF SUN PANG 1900-06</th>
<th>vol.1</th>
<th>vol.2</th>
<th>vol.3</th>
<th>vol.4</th>
<th>all</th>
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<td>200</td>
<td>200</td>
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<tr>
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<td>70</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>± Sept 1905</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>± Sept 1905</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>late 1905</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>234</td>
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<tr>
<td>1904-05</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>214</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apr 1905</td>
<td>2+123</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>2+123</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>174</td>
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<tr>
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<td>86</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>37</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>51</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct 1906</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>154</td>
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<tr>
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<td>+20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>+20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>+30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Kuala Lumpur</td>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Malacca</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Malacca + Kuala Lumpur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stock remaining</td>
<td>202</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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166 Cerita-Cerita Lotong as the ‘ketambahan’ in San Guo 1892-96, vols.17-, and Jingu Qiguin in vols. 28.


168 Works of over 300 pages from the Muslim presses: Amir Hanum 1883, 1888, 1896; Anibya 1892, 1900; Burdah 1904; Bustamam 1874, 1895, 1900, 1914; Cindar Mato 1904; Fais al-Rahman 1894; Faruk al-Mazail 1874; Fatih al-Syam 1879, 1893; Gana’i Mina 1886, 1894; Ghalam al-Syaur 1892, 1894, 1906, 1909; Jafaar al-Thalabi 1880; 1906; Majeed al-Khatib 1892, 1894, 1906, 1909; Majeed al-Malik 1894; Majeed al-Malik 1900; Muhammad Hanifah a... 1911 (8 editions); Mansyur 1893 a, b, 1895, 1901; Nabi Muhammad 1885; Panji Semiring 1874; Quran 1884; Sabit al-Mashtad 1859, 1872; Sirat al-Mashtad 1864, a±1878, b 1900s, 1912; Syah Kubai a±1893, 1903; Tajwiz al-Quran 1870; Tashih al-Gafebilis 1888; Zubaidah 1874... 1920s (15 editions)


170 In San Guo 1892-96, Chan Kim Boon gives regular reports on the progress of his translation. He had not finished drafting all 30 volumes until volume 11 was going into print. Knowledge that the whole translation was complete perhaps reduced the excitement of shared new discovery, but Chan hoped it would encourage confidence in subscribers.

171 von Dewall, “Eine Indische Druckerei”.


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# Introduction

173 Ahmad dan Muhammad 1860, followed by Bidayat al-Mubaddi 1861. Of less certain status are Miskin Marakaroh 1857 probably printed at Bukit Zion (Keasberry’s press) and Sabit al-Muhsin 1859.

174 This judgement is based on an examination of the Catalogus der Koloniale Bibliotheek, which reveals only two works on religious subjects for the 1860s, one in jawi, Taj al-Salatin (Semarang, 1866), and one in runi, Kitab Undang-Undang Mendirikan Islam Khatib (Batavia, 1861). Note also early publications in Javanese (Kitab Kuran [etc], in Javanese script, Batavia, 1858) and in Sundanese (Kitab Tuhqah, Batavia, 1853, 1858). All the Batavian imprints are, however, most likely government publications.

175 Hurgonjie, Mekeka, pp.286-287.

176 For the period 1860-1920, Muslim publishers account for 60% of editions compared with government and mission at about 37%. The proportions of titles are similar. This is impossible to know with certainty, for print-runs are known generally only for mission publications and works registered for copyright. For the evidence as far as the registrations go, see Proudfoot, “Formative Period”. The near parity suggested there markedly understates school-book publishing, which was not liable for registration if printed at a government press.

177 The list of kitab in Haji Muhammad Sirin b. Salih’s catalogue of 1897 gives a good impression of the range of secular reference works which were put out by Singapore Muslim publishers, all classed as kitab. These included the few school books published by the Muslim commercial press together with dictionaries, letterwriters and readyreckoners. See Proudfoot, “Nineteenth Century Bookseller’s Catalogue”, p.6.


179 Brunsted, Volksonderwijs, p.22. Its early Singapore editions are Sirat al-Mashtad 1864, ±1878.

179 E.g. Arabic with interlinear Malay, many works including Umun al-Barshin 1883, Akidat al-Malik 1883; with Javanese pegan Fais al-Rahman 1894, Muhkiasur al-Hikam 1894, Ghaifat al-Takrib 1893; also with Sundanese Fasalan 1905; and with Bagis Barmacu Mahora Bugar 1896. Cf. van Bruinessen, “Kitab Kunin”, p.235 on this format.

180 Muhkiasur al-Hikam 1894, Huon al-Ablak 1900 are examples of this.

181 See the list of Javanese works in the Index of Languages other than Malay

184 Sirat al-Mashtad 1864; Abu Syahma 1901. Cf. also Bidayat al-Mubaddi 1861, which however does not use the term.

185 In the 1980s, 31% of Muslim editions were kitab, 19% hikayat, 41% syair.

186 Sifat Djuatul Islam, 1873 etc., Pelandak 1883 etc., Perang Setembul 1885, Indera Patera b 1911, Cendawan Patah 1913. The copist of Pelandak 1890 quips that he is turning Hikayat Raja Boma into verse (“·I bermurah surat hamah surat l I Hikayat Raja Boma yang sakit l dibuang syair melipurkan hair”), though his work seems never to have appeared in print. There were also syair versions of newspaper reportage: Achek a 1870 etc., Lempang Kuran 1884 etc., Dusima 1912 etc.

Many syair refer to these listening as well as to those reading (as e.g. Daging 1884, Kahar Mayhur 1889.a, Juragan Budiman 1886, Lautan Akal 1914, etc.). A conventional opening used in syair also anticipates listeners: "Dengarkan tuan suatu mahu/tuakan/cerita/riwayat" etc. — though this phrase is so formulaic that not too much should be made of it. Prose, too, was for shared reading: Gul Bakaliku 1905. Sweeney, Reputation Live On, p.31. Cf. Maier, In the Center of Authority, p.83.


Ken Tabuhan 1873 (taman metri causa = teman).


Juragan Budiman a (petua: rules of the craft)


On theatre, Skeat, Malay Magic, pp.516-521, and Abdul Kadir, Budaya Popular, ch.2. For Abdul Muluk: also Naeron Hashim, "Syair Abdul Muluk dalam Penentusan", and Salmon, Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia, pp.20, 229, on its popularity among the Peranakan Chinese and performances at Chinese New Year. These syair texts should probably be distinguished from the 'book of the film' in hikayat form published in the wake of successful Malay and Persian Opera performances such as Lekai Majnun, Indera Bangsawan, Dewa Manda, and Gul Bakaliku. Syair Dewa Laksmi may also belong to this class. Hikayat Dewa Manda survives only in advertisements.

van Brunssen, "Kebab Kuning", p.261.

Muhammad Hanafi 1875 etc., "Dimulakumkan kepada sekalian cewek dan tuan-tuan yang membaca utu yang mendengarkan hikayat ini ... ."

Syair Abdul Muluk too often has the full title "Syair Abdul Muluk Isterinya Siti Rafiah"; Syair Haris Fadhillah is once named "Syair Siti Dhawiah", often "Syair Haris Fadhillah dengan Siti Dhawiah", and once more subtly "Syair Haris Fadillah Suami Siti Dhawiah".

Roff, Origins of Malay Nationalism, ch.2. Press freedoms were matched by a particular aversion by the British to involvement in religious questions. As Roff comments, this made the Straits Settlements "sweeping posts" for critics and reformers. The Dutch, by contrast, endeavoured to keep a watch on religious agitation in Singapore as it frequently involved natives of the Netherlands Indies and spawned publications largely destined for the Indies: Reid, "Nineteenth Century Pan-Islam", p.274; also Hjortrup, Ambilovelse Adviiser 2:1655, The Achehese, pp.182-183. An example is the inauguration in 1906 in Singapore of the reformist magazine Al-Imam, destined for circulation in the Netherlands Indies. Such activities were reported to Batavia.

Parts of which were also known by various other names, including Kampung Dalam because of proximity to the Sultan’s palace, Kampung Sultan, Kampung Melayu (also applied to a street running east of the Mosque), Kampung Mesjid Baru (in the 1860s), Kampung Mesjid Sultan or simply Kampung Mesjid, Kampung Haji, and Kampung Kalang. Sultan Road is not to be confused with Jalan Sultan, several blocks to the east. Even at the end of the nineteenth century this area was on the margin of the urban settlement.

The name Bussorah Street was also current, but may have applied to the block contiguous with Beach Road, also known as Kampung Intan.

201  Kisah Singapura 1876 panasim. The bustle of this neighbourhood are a concluding theme at the end of several syair.

202  Da'ana 1912, Kahar Mayhur 1889.a

203  Jawi Peranakan no.701 (22 September 1890); cf. Bird, Golden Chersonese, pp.168, 256.

204  Juragan Budiman b 1880s, Aceh 1884.

205  Roff, Origins of Malay Nationalism, pp.48-52; also Malay and Arabic Periodicals, pp.3-5.

206  I.e. the statistic excludes publishers who are incorporated bodies, such as Jawi Peranakan, Matbuah Melayu.

The following printes have evident Javanese backgrounds:

from undefined locations in Java

Tuan Ismail bin Jawa
Haji Muhammad Siraj b. Haji Muhammad Yahya al-Jawa
Haji Termed b. Siti Wangsa
& ? his son, Abdul Karim Termed

Banyumas
Tuan Syahuk Haji Muhammad Ali b. Haji Mustafa Banyusman, Purbalingga & his brother, Haji Muhammad Nub b. Mustafa Banyussman, Purballingga

Juwana
Haji Abdul Rahman b. Haji Abdul Razak Juwana
Haji Muhammad Nub b. Haji Ismail Juwana
Haji Muhammad Kasim negerinya Juwana dan Baweanc

Pati Negara
Haji Muhammad Taib b. Haji Muhammad Zain Pati Negeri

Rembang
Abdal Karim b. Suradin orang Jawa negeri Rembang
Haji Muhammad Salih Jawi Rembang & his sons
Tuan Haji Yahya b. Haji Muhammad Salih al-Jawi
Haji Muhammad Siraj b. Haji Muhammad Salih Rembang & probably Haji Muhammad Sidik b. Haji Muhammad Salih

Semarang
Haji Abdullah Semang
Haji Muhammad Said b. Haji Arsyad Semang & his sons
Haji Muhammad Majahid b. Haji Muhammad Saad
Haji Abdullah b. Haji Muhammad Saad
Khalid b. Haji Muhammad Saad

Muhammad Salih al-Samaran


208  E.g. Arbab 1887.b

209  Syah Mardon 1891

210  Ibarat Maksimak Pari 1893, concerned almost exclusively with syair and hikayat. Incidentally, Overbeck gives the notional stock of a Malay bookseller as a hundred titles (Malaiische Weisheit und Geschichte, p.2).
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211 Terasa 1894 a,b
212 Daftar Kitaab a 1898; see Proudfoot, “Nineteenth Century Bookseller’s Catalogue”.
213 T.A. Melville, “The Post Office and its History”, ch. XIV of Malacca, One Hundred Years of Singapore. See pp. 121, 130, 140, 155.
214 Daftar Kitaab a 1898, for Malay text, see Proudfoot, “Nineteenth Century Bookseller's Catalogue”.
215 For the lists of agents, see the relevant editions in the Description.
217 Jawi Peranakan no. 638 (8 July 1889), no. 644 (19 August 1889), no. 709 (29 December 1890), Indera Sekaba 1889.
218 Daftar Kitaab a 1898
219 In the case of separately advertised titles, like Indera Sekaba 1889, the agents may have held stocks, but generally they must have taken orders in the same way that the agents for newspapers took subscriptions. (There is not surprisingly a congruence between the agents of Siraj and those for Jawi Peranakan.) and not too much about its distribution can be inferred from the fact that the newspaper Jawi Peranakan had an agent in Paris). However van Brinnesen, “Kitab Kuning”, p.228 describes the later practice of publishers sending off almost the entire edition of a newly reprinted kitab to retailers all over the country.
221 Annual Report, Perak, 1898, p.26 (1893).
223 Apart from a couple of titles published at the Jovee Government Press (Pendjaya Jovee 1878, Jalan Kedaton 1881, Permauluan Jioografi 1884, Sifir Muhammad 1886), only two put out by Haji Muhammad Majiah (Miskin Marakarmah 1903, 1915; Alf Lailah wa Lailih 1903) and one edition by Haji Muhammad Siraj (Sultan Ibrahim 1908.a).
224 Of 180 such advertisements found in the colophons of books included in the Survey, only 10% relates to scholarly religious texts. There is an understandable tendency for syair to be advertised in syair, hikayat in hikayat, and so forth, though nearly 30% of the Muslim publishers’ titles were kitab. Might the lack of advertisement for kitab might be thought therefore to stem from a reluctance to advertise in a revered work of learning? This notion is weakened by the prominent mention of publishers and others associated with the production of kitab books, and further by the attachment of stock lists to some kitab, albeit to none published in Singapore (cf. Chepeti al-Fakhri, Mecca: Mabasha al-Karimiya al-Amiran al-Islamia, 1310). In Singapore, advertisements were carried only in the popular syair of admonition (e.g. Cerma Islam 1907, Hikakat al-Islam 1903, Kawad al-Islam 1879, Sifir Daaspulah 1886, Siraj al-Kalbi 1916, Tawhid 1889) and, in the same category, in the prose Makhary 1900, along with a single notice in Barosani Maka Bugis 1896 and a brief list in the modern work Umm al-Madhahib 1905.
225 E.g. Jawi Peranakan no.655 (4 November 1889) advertises 5 Muslim texts in 35 titles, no.660 (16 December 1889) advertises 17 Muslim texts in 89 titles; no.709 (29 December 1890) advertises 18 Muslim texts in 96 titles. Daftar Kitab a (Proudfoot, “Nineteenth Century Bookseller’s Catalogue”) has no Muslim texts in 115 titles.
226 Takzil al-Ujar 1887, Masalah Seriba 1888, Haji dan Umrah 1888, Fath al-Mu'in 1889, Bidaday al-Salikin 1889, Wustai Rasul Allah 1889, Majmuk al-Akham 1890, Majmua al-Sirriah 1893, Munjutay 1893.a,b, 1895, Durra al-Madikyat 1893, Majmuk al-'A'mal 1894, Maktatir al-Hikom 1894, Majmua al-Sirriah 1894. In any case, most of the titles here advertised are not his own publications.
229 Fatihah al-Ihliyaj a, 1900; Kulsyih 1901, 1902.
230 This information comes from documents seized by the Dutch administration, see Hurgonje, Ambisiileke Adviezen, 3:1948-1952.
231 See Taikwin 1918
232 Benh Bahasa 1917, Tiang Ugama 1918.
233 Namely Wizyeh al-Afrah 1908?, Munyak al-Musallii 1908?. They are included among the books used for instruction in the Kota Bharu mosque in 1920: see Abdulhadi Alwi, "Development of Islamic Education in Kelantan", p.200 n.88.
234 Blok, "Siar Peraug Atjeh", pp.568-569
235 Haji Muhammad Said advertises the fact in some of his books: Bastaq al-Katibin 1892, Donda Setia 1902. A Javanese ticket is bound into the KITLY copy of Raja Budak 1891 printed by Haji Abdul Karim.
236 Fatuh Arifin 1870, note p.(iii).
237 Makkhasar al-Hikom 1894 (for Haji Abdallah, Semarang), Majmuk al-'A'mal 1894 (for Syaikh Salim Mahrum, Semarang), Huan al-Aklak 1900 (for Abdul Salam, Surabaya).
238 Proudfoot, "Malay and Javanese Printing in Bombay".
239 Zwemer, "Native Press of the Dutch East Indies", pp.40, 41
241 See the Index of Persons and Institutions under the respective names.
242 Abdul Mulak 1870, 1871; Indera Bangawan 1871; Seri Baniian 1871; Ken Tabuhan 1872
243 Bab al-Bat'a 1873, Bidaday al-Salikin 1873, and Juzagun Budiman 1873, all by Tuan Haji Abdul Majid & Tuan Haji Ishak & Tuan Ismail min Jawa.
244 Ken Tabuhan 1869 (Encik Long & Encik Abdul Rahman b. Abdul Samad); Bidaday al-Salikin 1872 (Haji Abdul Rahman b. Haji Abdul Razak & Haji Muhammad Kasim); Bab al-Bat'a 1873 (Haji Abdul Rahman b. Haji Abdul Razak Jawa & Haji Muhammad Kastim Boyan); Targhib al-Nas 1873 (owned by Haji Muhammad Aqib b. Haji Akmad, Palembang & Haji Hamzah, Singapura); Abdul Mulak 1874 (Haji Abdul Majid & Haji Ishak).
245 E.g. Juragan Budiman 1869; Kawad al-Islam 1865; Taj al- Mulak 1869; Terasa 1869.
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1893-a, b, 1895, Ken Tabuhan 1901, Abdul Muluk 1901, Indera Sehawa 1901. No doubt others which he published and which acknowledge no copyist were his handwork.


269 Aceh 1886-b, Juragan Budiman 1886; cf. Harias Fadlilah 1888.

270 Taj al-Muluk 1887, Sultan Mansur 1888, Panji Semirang 1888 c, Ba’h Singapura 1891, Bidasari 1903-b, Yatim Muzafa 1903.

271 Abdul Muluk 1887-b, Indera Bangsawan 1901, Panji Semirang 1888 c.

272 Sifat Dua puluh 1889 b, Syah Mardan 1891.

273 Raja Hirimaya 1893, Terasal 1894-a, Indera Sehawa 1896.

274 Syah Mardan 1891.

275 Peraturan Bula Sepak 1895. Another use working the same technology, but apparently not by Siraj, was Haji dan Umrah 1900, illustrated in Gallop, “Early Malay Printing”, p. 106.

276 Sultan Ibrahim 1900 a.

277 Terasal 1887, 1894 a, Dagang 1897 b, Bakhtshah 1888, Indera Sehawa 1889, 1896, 1901, also Punan Seloka 1889, Indera Bangsawan 1889.

278 Jubili Melaka 1891.

279 Indera Sehawa 1889, Punan Seloka 1889, Indera Bangsawan 1889.

280 Mukhtasar al-Hikam 1894 (for Haji Abdullah, Semarang); Majma’ah al-A’mal 1894 (for Syaik Ali Salim Mahrun, Semarang); Dauratul-Mukhtiyar 1893 (for Muhammad As’ad al-Yafi’, Macassar); Waziat Rasul Allah 1890 (for Baden Aji Azhari b. Syaikx Mahmud, Palembang); Bidaiyatul-Salikin 1889 (for Haji Muhammad Nur b. Abdul Rahman, Pariaman).


282 Air Mawar 1881, Zafulahah 1883.

283 Pengeratin 1885, Iblis 1885, Mekah 1886, Sifat Dua puluh 1886, Unggas 1886, Arboh 1887 a, Anak Raja 1887, Arboh 1887 b, Air Mawar 1887, Dagang 1887-a, Tukor Mimp 1887, Punan Seloka 1887, Kiamat 1888 a, Bidaiyatul-Mubadi 1889.

284 Hargronje, Ambtelijke Avisjes 3:176.

285 I believe Overbeck, Malaise Weisheit und Geschichte, p. 6 reports this recollation. “Ein solcher Schreiber leiste einst in Singapore und schrieb fast alle größeren Werke für die malaisischen Verleger, aber es starr, und es fand sich niemand, der seine Stelle einnehmen konnte, wenigstens nicht für größere Arbeiten.” Although Overbeck identifies this copyist as responsible for Kuris Menginder 1906, which the Gazette memorandum attributes to Haji Muhammad (also of Riau), the description of the copyist’s career fits only Ibrahim.

Zeri Banian 1888, Sultan Mansur 1900, Haris Ronak 1900, Haris Fadzilah 1900, Terusar 1900 a, Raja Hirmya 1903, Uggass 1887.


Perang Zainun 1893, Gharib 1884, (with Siraj: Raja Hirmya 1883. Perhapa also Hilayat al-Anam 1893.

The complexities of these works are further illustrated by some of the editions upon which Ibrahim worked with Said. First, two of the editions which Ibrahim prepared and printed at his own press were in fact titles which Ibrahim had acquired from Said. In the copywright registrations of Dagang 1887 and Air Mawar 1887 Ibrahim informed the Registrar that the publication was a copy of a book belonging to Said, implying that Said owned or had himself previously published the titles. The two prior editions Dagang 1887, 1884 were indeed published by Said; but the prior edition Air Mawar 1880 was also published by Ibrahim, but for sale by Said, suggesting either that Ibrahim had then been commissioned by Said or that Ibrahim was even then working with Said’s permission. (There is no evidence of an earlier publication of Air Mawar by Said.) Second, in eleven of the editions which Ibrahim prepared for Said, the printing was undertaken by a third party, most frequently Haji Zainal, but also Taib, and Haji Said al-Jawa. None of these printers is known to have done other work for Said, implying that the principal working relationship was between Ibrahim and the respective printers. Said’s role is clearly stated both in the texts themselves and in the memoranda of registration as being that of proprietor. In the absence of a claim to proprietary rights to the texts concerned, this must imply that Said financed printings actually undertaken by Ibrahim with Zainal, Taib, Tahir and Siraj al-Jawa. The linkages are illuminated after 1886 not only by the information recorded by coypists and publishers on the printed books, but also in some cases by an alternative set of information in the memoranda of copyright registration. A major difficulty in using the latter is the mismatch between the preambles of the registration, which are predicated on typographic production in a mature print culture, and the reality of a cottage industry of lithographers. For instance, the registration wishes to distinguish author/editor and printer. Thinking of the lithographic process, how is the preparer of the lithographic transfer-paper to be categorised? In the terms of a manuscript literary culture he is in a sense the author, in that he has produced a new copy of the text. The term used (yang menyurat) is ambiguous. Or is he an editor, adapting a traditional text to this new form? — this notion makes more sense in Western categories than those of the Singapore lithographers; in their terms an editor is rather one who restores a text (benarkan, benukan) previously erroneously copied. Or is he the printer (yang mengecapnya), for the preparation of the transfer sheets is the major task of the processes of reproduction by print? The roles of author and printer defined by the registration form could be reversed, and indeed there are instances of this. We noted above a few syair copied by Ibrahim and printed by Zainal for Said. In other cases, syair whose printed texts credit Ibrahim as author (yang menyurat) are registered with him as printer, and Zainal as author/editor.¹

¹ Ken Tabuhan 1890, Nazihat Bapa 1890, Pelakuk 1890, Ardan 1891, Syams Bahrun 1891, and two unidentified works Malay History 1890 a, b.

² Acek 1889.

³ Panji Semirang 1888 b

⁴ Buzan al-Kashih 1892.

⁵ Said had previously published only Ken Tabuhan 1873 and Nazihat Bapa 1883.

⁶ Mayat 1890, Umalak 1890, and Rejang 1893; cf. Panji Semirang 1888 b (in which the text has Ibrahim as copyist and Said as publisher, while the registration has Taib as author/editor, Ibrahim as publisher and copyist publisher, and Said as printer); and Haris Fadzilah 1890, Pengatun 1904, and Nazihat Bapa 1907 (in which conversely Ibrahim is named author/editor in the memoranda of registration, while other writers’ names appear in the printed texts).

² Miskin Marakarnah 1903, colophon: ‘adapun hikayat ini pada awalnya dicap dan dicetak oleh Thomas Trusty maka pada 27 November 1902 itu telah disiabalah naskah dan registter hikayat ini pada Haji Muhammad Majalah bin Haji Muhammad Said ialah yang berkusa mengecap selama-lamanya dengan registter’.

Another interesting case is Askar al-Tasdiq 1898. As printed it title-page assigned copyright to Haji Muhammad Amin, while its colophon and the relevant Gazette memorandum gave ownership to Haji Muhammad Akip. The trouble has been taken to paste a slip of paper over Amin’s name on the title-page replacing it with Apip. Was this done only on the copies submitted to the copyright Registrar? They are all we now have.

² It would appear that two editions appeared within a day or so, or the names of different publishers, and in slightly different format, both though following the same pagination and number of lines per page: either because both were copied from an earlier printed edition no longer extant (the 1874 edition is different in layout), or in this perhaps more likely — that the nominally earlier edition of Haji Muhammad is a retouched reprint using the same sheets as the Ibrahim-Said edition.

² Nazihat Lais-i-nti 1917.

² Abdullah, Dofjar [Kibub].

² van den Berg, ‘Mohammediamsche godsdienstendwijkw’, p 554.

² Syair Taj al-Mulak 1887, p 88: ‘... kitaub2 cap Mekkah bahasa Melayu macam2 namanya karangan Syniak Daud Panani dan Syniak Arsyad Banjar di dalam 2 tahun ini baru kekur...’.

² Kibub Suria Terasal 1887, front cover; with colophons of Abu Samuh 1887, p 39, Derma Tashioh 1887, p 72, Haris Fadzilah 1887, p 84, Taj al-Mulak 1887, p 88. An earlier notice of similar effect is found in Bilis a 1880, p21.

² Hurgronje, Ambtelijke Advies 3:1762-3: ‘moet dan niet vergezen ... hier regelmatig gemailporteerd’. The reference must be to Miskin Marakarnah 1887, which may have been Keasberry’s work. It is interesting to compare Hurgronje’s observations with those of van den Berg, “Mohammediamsche godsdienstendwijkw”, who in 1886 noticed only Arabic-language books printed in the Middle East in the libraries of the scholars he visited in Java (see pp 521, 523, 529, 533); these books were printed in Cairo, Istanbul, or in Syria (Le Hadramout, p 170).
300 Hurgronje, Ambtelijke Adviezen, 3:1893. However, as noted above, Malay publishing in Bombay goes back at least to 1874.

301 The diversity of outside influences is nicely conveyed by the note to Jimak 1891 which states that this Singapore edition has been produced in response to customer demand following the production of a fine edition of the same work in Mecca by "Matbath Bili", surely a reference to the Leiden publisher of orientalia. We find also the converse, the direct reproduction of a Singapore imprint in Istanbul: Perang Setambul 1879.

302 Note the pairs Bidayat al-Salikin 1906, 1912; Fazlstan 1905, 1906; Laatif al-Taharat 1906 a, 1906 b. He had earlier commissioned the printing of Panjharah 1903 in Bombay. For Syahki Badal's other Bombay printings see Matbath al-Karimiah in the Index of Persons and Institutions. The books he printed in Bombay display on the title page the address of both the Bombay printing and the Singapore office.

303 Primuban Sekolahbang 1914, colophon.

304 E.g., Majma'at al-Sauri' 1905, colophon: "Kitab ini telah dicetak dengan persetujuan al-Haji Ali bin Muhammad Fadhillu Semarang di dalam tempat cap yang bernama 'Matbath Muhammadi' di dalam negeri Bombay bi yad Muhammad Taib''.

305 Terasul, Singapore: Alibbai Syaraffali, 1921. The title page is reproduced in Figure 3 below. The title page clearly identifies Alibbai's office at 75 Arab Street as the place of production. Page 3 however identifies the printer as Alibbai's company in Bombay: "in tahmin Alibbai Syaraffali and Company Private Limited Tajir al-Kutub wa Malangan, Madba' Muhammadi, Bombay".

306 Zweren, "Native Press of the Dutch East Indies", p.40 and the anonymous "Arabic Literature in Java" report imports of Arabic books to the value of fl 10,000 into West Sumatra and Samarran in 1916 and note a piece in De Locomotief a year later reporting increased importation of Arabic books from into Java from Cairo, Mecca and Singapore.

307 Dzaima 1912, back cover. In about 1917, Siraj issued a comprehensive catalogue of books in Arabic, Malay, and Javanese, of which over half the listed editions were printed in Cairo: see "Singapore Book Catalogue".

308 The data for measuring output is very imperfect. Available evidence suggests that in the period 1900-1920 Bombay Malay kitab printing achieved a bulk four times that of Singapore. This undoubtedly understates the Bombay production quite substantially. 'Bulik here means output measured as number of pages.

309 Meccan imprints are most often singled out for special mention by bookdealers, although they will not have constituted the majority of the books in stock. See e.g. Ibarat Manakam Pari 1903, Pagar Madi 1903 vol.1, Rejung 1893, Pagar Madi 1903, Mekrajat al-Salun 1903. Note the priorities in Ganja Mara 1897: 'sedia bermacam2 kitab2 Arab dan kitab2 Melayu taba' Mekah Setambul Mesir Bombay dan laiz2'.

310 Overbeck, Malaiische Weisheit und Geschichte, pp.2, 6, 11. (These specific observations should be distinguished from the historical references to the death of Malay literature: Malaiische Erzählungen, p.3; Malaiische Weisheit und Geschichte, p.1 etc. Krautz, "Hans Overbecks Wissenschaftliches Werk", p.348.

311 van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", p.232. Egyptian presses had long been the specialists in Malay-language lithographic printing in the Middle East, especially that of Mustafa al-Abdi al-Halabi ("Kitab Kuning", p.231). The majority of kitab in the Za'ba collection, assembled in the first part of the century, are Egyptian imprints: cf. Koleksi Za'ba.

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312 As early as 1879, Haji Muhammad Said experimented with type-set printing, having the Mission Press publish Abdul Muluk 1879 on his behalf. But, for whatever reasons, no further work was placed with the Mission Press until Haji Muhammad Siraj had Peraturan Bola Sepak 1895 done there, followed by Haji Muhammad with Hajj dan Umrah 1900 and another unidentified title Traditions 19007. Meanwhile the few commercially published Muslim works to appear typographically before 1890 were those published by the Jawi Peranakan Press (Penggeli Hati 1878.a. b; Kompany Boyan 1883; Dikir Naksabandah a 1880c; Perang Singapura a 1883; Pangeran Kajar 1887; Alaudin 1900.b) and Hukum Muflak 1880.

313 Cf. van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", p.235. Rubrication was conveyed by the thickening of the pen. See illustrations of such text in Zamakhayri lhehe, Tradisi Pesanenm, pp.29, 32.

314 After a short initial period, Jawi Peranakan 1876+ switched from lithography to typographical work, though its competitors Nujum al-Faiz a 1870a, Syams al-Kamar a 1870a and Sekolah Melayu 1888 were lithographed. The editor of Jawi Peranakan's rival, Sekola Melayu, felt obliged to apologize for using lithography. (Taib, Editorials, p.50).

315 Before the arrival in Southeast Asia of typographic books in Malay from Mecca in 1887, typographic books in Arabic from the Middle East were already accepted, indeed esteemed: see van Ilen Berg, "Mohammedanse godsdienstboeken", p.529 n.1, where the text conventions described are those of a type-set book.

316 "adaptasi Hikayat Si Miskin ini telah biasa dicap dengan cap batu maka buku ini dicap dengan huruf timah terlebih terang dan bersih daripada cap batu sebab pun dicap dengan huruf timah ini kerana banyak pembelii minta-minta cap dengan huruf timah". Cf. the earlier Penang publication Gul Bakawati 1852 in which the translators also explain that they had abandoned lithography for the clarity of typography ("pada tahun 1880 telah khatamiah dengan cap batu tetapi tiada begitu terang maka pada tahun ini hamba capkan kembali dengan huruf timah pulak adanya").

317 Jawi Peranakan no.867 (23 April 1894).

318 Thus the government presses of Riau-Lingga (in various guises as Matbaah al-Risiah, Ofis Cap Gubernement Lingga, Lingga and Sairais Press, Percetakan Kerajaan Lingga and its Singapore affiliates Matbaah al-Admaidah and Matbaah al-Iman) and of Johor (Jabatun Cap Kerajaan Johor etc.) are contributors. The first typographic printing for the Riau press was Undang-Undang Polisi 1893; for the Johor Press Sijf 1886 followed by Majmuk al-Ahkam 1890.

319 The Jawi Peranakan Press had published a few books much earlier, beginning with the recreational anthology Penggeli Hati 1878.a. b. The Denoduya Press published a Tamil weekly, Singal Nesan from 1887 to 1890. In the period under consideration, Matbaah Melayu printed Al-Iman 1906+; Matbaah al-Ilimah put out Majakal al-Islam 1914+, and Matbaah al-Urash put out Saura Perniagaan 1914+.

320 In this period the only typographic publisher of Malay-language books with more than nominal vertical integration of production and retailing was the Methodist Publishing House, a gantan基金 organisation measured against any of the Malay presses, which published more in English than in Malay. In fact even in this case we find instances of extreme vertical specialization as the British and Foreign Bible Society used the Methodist Publishing House to set up Malay books in type and cast plates which were then sent for printing offshore in Yokohama: see Fukui Press in the Index of Names and Institutions.

321 E.g. Abdul Muluk 1879 and Kurraj al-An 1892 by Said (printing the former at the Mission Press, and claiming himself to be the printer of the latter), and Miskin Murakarmah 1915 by Majdiah (at the Methodist Mission Press); Qarib 1894 by Aliun; Raja Guhure 1916, Benah Hakam 1917 by Idris, who was not a significant lithographer.
EARLY MALAY PRINTED BOOKS

322 Majrur al-Abidh 1890, Napoleon III 1889, and Gui Bakawali 1905 respectively.
323 Salasiah Melayu dan Bagis 1911.
324 Nasihat Perempuan 1903.
325 Cindar Mata 1904.
326 Mawalib Rabb al-Falak 1858, reprinted, apparently at the same press, in 1882.
327 Note Miskin Marakarma 1915 published for Majahid by his brother Abdullah in Singapore; but this was in all senses a Singapore reprint, destined for school use. Note also Majjahid’s involvement in Kurbi Mengedera 1906 with his father.
328 Dagang 1887 b. Terasul 1887, 1894 a, 1899 a. The Singapore printer Anin was involved in reprinting Indera Sebahu 1896, Terasul 1899 a, Terasul 1894 a. He was later to reprint Bustamam 1914, translated by Puthi.
329 Tanjung Penangir 1864+, Pemimpin Warra 1895+ and Lengkap Ngalul Bulan 1900 were all lithographed.
330 Binsang Timor 1900, later renamed Cahaya Pulau Pinang 1900+.
331 Both were operated by Ahmad b. Ibrahim, interestingly enough of Singapore extraction.
332 Marong Mahawangsa 1898, Cendawan Puth 1900, Inera Mengedera 1900.
333 Ismail Hussein, “Selected Bibliography”, p.94, estimates the number of Malay literary manuscripts in European, American, Indonesian and Malaysian collections as 5,000. For other estimates, see Ding, “Access to Malay Manuscripts”, p.433.
334 Haji Muhammad Said. For the items making up this total, see the index of Persons and Institutions.
335 In order to give a better picture of reading material actually accessible to the general reader, certain classes of material listed in the available are not included in this chart. Excluded are all works in languages other than Malay, with the sole exception of Muslim kitab in Javanese (which may have been used in Malaysian pospek-pesantren); publications aimed primarily at a European audience, for example the publications of the Royal Asiatic Society and the various dictionaries and vocabularies, other than those used in schools; mission publications clearly destined for the Netherlands Indies, in the Dutch Romanised spelling; and non-book materials such as calendars, tickets, charms and the like.

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338 This is based on information noted in Proudfout, “Pioneer Publisher”, p.14; Klinkert, “Schrijven”, p.177, and Proudfout, “Formative Period”, 111. In the first article, Proudfout infers a reduction of one-third to one-fifth in cost from manuscript to typography; however lithography was about half as costly as typography. Klinkert’s information on costs in Riau in the 1860s accorded surprisingly well with the information from Palembang in the 1900s. The information in Iskandar, “Jakarta Lending Libraries”, pp.148-151 suggests somewhat higher costs for manuscripts in Batavia ca. 1830-1875.


340 Even in the literary centre of Riau, Klinkert’s strategy for finding any particular title was to send messengers around the villages to make inquiries. Abdullah’s eagerness to pick up whatever was available is perhaps explained by the account he gives of his father’s mission to collect manuscripts on behalf of the Dutch government (Abdullah 1903, vol.1, pp.6-7). To collect or copy 60 to 70 books, his father had had to traverse a large territory (Riau-Lingga, Pahang, Terengganu, Perak), and had required letters of introduction from the Dutch Governor of Malacca, a ship flying the Dutch flag, and expenditure of $500. On the other hand Abdullah says that in Malacca Raffles collected 360 Malay prose works, and that people were eager to sell manuscripts ‘when they commanded a good price’ (p.61).

341 Ding, “Access to Malay Manuscripts”, pp.427-428, 437, sees this as evidence of commercialisation of the manuscript. However even then Raffles had to borrow other books and had them copied by four or five copyists employed on this task alone (ibid.).

342 So a manuscript copy of Berma Syahidan dating from 1826 was sold by the Singapore printer and bookseller, Khalid b. Muhammad Said, probably after 1912.

343 Brumund, Volksonderwijs, p.9. At a higher level, copies were authorised (diabalan) by a guru of note. On access to religious writings, cf. Hurgroje’s amusing story in Meuka, p.166; Mohammend Makki Sibiah, Mosque Libraries, p.105.

344 Hussainiyah’s observations on the Malay literature known to the Malays of Sri Lanka are pertinent: “The absence of manifestly dynamic Malay chronicles in Sri Lanka, may be understood as an indication of the community’s lack of interest in the history of distant Malay regions. ... A further question may be raised as to whether such dynamic chronicles of Malay courts were as readily as accepted by the members of this community as other kinds of manuscripts containing popular literary and religious works. Before the advent of the printing press, manuscripts were usually in the exclusive possession of Malay aristocratic and noble families.” Orang Rejimen, p.140.


346 Again the tenor of the remarks at the end of the printed texts suggests unease by manuscript owners over the damage their manuscripts are likely to incur through careless handling (e.g. Kutar Masyhur 1889 a), and the awkwardness arising when borrowers fail to return manuscripts in good time (e.g. Sultan Mansur 1903). In a later day, note die Jasselin de Jong’s experiences described in “Privately Owned Manuscripts”.

347 Bikassari 1905.

348 Gunja Mara 1886.

349 Iskandar, “Jakarta Lending Libraries”, pp.148-151; Kratz, “Running a Lending Library”, p.3; Proudfout, “Pioneer Publisher”, p.14. The question of whether these manuscript lending libraries were a Chinese innovation is not so relevant here as their association with the cash economy and urban settings. Lending libraries continued to operate with stocks of printed books: Ruzmanah Muslimah 1916. It is possible, even likely, that late nineteenth century booksellers also loaned books on hire, but I have no contemporary evidence of this.

336 The first censuses to consider literacy took place only in 1911 (Report on the Censuses of the Federated Malay States, 1911, The Census of British Malaya ... 1921) and 1920 (Nederlandse Indië. Volksstelling ... 1920). The former are very inadequately cross-tabulated.

337 Roff, Origins of Malay Nationalism, p.51.
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349 Sweeney, A Full Hearing, has discussed this process from the point of view of an expansion in the skill of literacy. Here I am suggesting that, at least to begin with, the important view of expansion was not so much in the skill of literacy as in the opportunities to use literary texts. In the longer term, greatly increased levels of literacy undoubtedly became the prevailing influence.

350 Cina Berahi 1884 etc.

351 Dikir Nakeybandiah 1883 etc. Though perhaps these had always had a market in manuscript too.

352 Klinkert, ["Schrijvers",] p.177. Maier, In the Center of Authority, p.89; also his p.115.

353 E.g. Gul Bakawali 1880 etc.; Laiaj Majnun 1888; Indera Sebuk 1899 etc.; Bastamam 1895 etc., Ganja Mara 1897 etc. (— from Hindi); Alf Lailah wa Lailah 1878-79 etc.; Napoleon I 1888; Napoleon III 1899; Alaudadin 1890 etc.; Seribu Jana Hari 1919 (— from European languages); aside from kiasu: Sinar Gemala 1894; Gharib 1894; Hayat al-Hayawan 1896; Sempurna Pelajaran 1906; Marthari Memancar 1906; Mazlan 1913; Raja Ghfir 1916; Hasy bin Yusak 1918; Adab al-Fai 1921; Simpulan Islam 1921; Siraj al-Anam 1921 (— from Arabic).

354 Sweeney, A Full Hearing, p.9.

355 Sweeney, A Full Hearing, p.72, makes this point.

356 European printers, mission or government, were not starved of capital as were their local Muslim counterparts. Consequently European publishers had access to both fine lithography and the more capital-intensive technology of typography. Their presses carried out English-language printing and printing of Malay in the Roman script, for which typography was invariably used. Since European publishers had the facilities to use either typography or lithography for printing a jawi, it is instructive to note that until the 1890s lithography continued to be the medium of choice. (Note the lithographic printing of Abdullah 1850 by the Royal Asiatic Society, Sraits Branch, and Wilkinson’s Penang lithographs Mawangwa 1898, Cendawan Palik 1900, Dendra Mengendera 1900.) The exception was the higher standard school readers, which were typeset, and thus in a similar graphic style to that of the newspapers which were also used as reading material. (The second standard reader Pokon Pelajaran and all higher standard readers were typeset. The first standard reader Pasca Pengestalan was always lithographed, or produced by photo-mechanical techniques which produced a result indistinguishable form lithography. However this cannot be taken as preference for the lithographed graphic form, as jawi type large enough for elementary readers was not available.)

357 Adalah pada pernum pulai dahi yang adanya jalan di mana dahi dan jalan di mana jalan memberikan kemamanan duaa akhirat oleh sebab itu berpaling dengan pikiran saya mengenai apa yang bagian, suapaya mudaan pada kehendak masa dan pikiran baharu pada masa ini,.......

358 Of 80 titles typographically printed by indigenous publishers in the Singapore area, a subject breakdown follows; the last column indicates the items in each category in syair form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>titles</th>
<th>syair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>popular moral tracts</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical accounts and reportage</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitab</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiction</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>students’ books</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other books of reference</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>official publications</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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360 Perang Singapura a 1885, Pangeran Kubah 1887, Napoleon I 1888, Napoleon III 1889, Perjalanan Sultan Lingga 1894, Inanub Juna St 1897, George 11, Salasilah Ketah 111, Salasilah Melayu dan Bagasi 1911, Daism 1919.

361 E.g. Muhammad Hanifah 1875 etc., Amir Hakeem 1883 etc.

362 E.g. Abdul Mulak 1867 etc., Bidasari 1877, Kubah Maxyate 1885 etc., Zaiduloh 1874 etc., Taj al-Mulak 1877 etc.

363 The nearest offering for contemporary history would be Aceh, the allusive histories of the Animal and Flower Syair cannot be counted here for their references and indeed the notion that they contained references had long since passed.

364 In a few syair: Lampung Karam, Aceh, Bah Singapura, Kampung Boyan, Perak, Dasima; and even fewer prose works: Perang Sejumul and perhaps Nahkoda Muda.

365 Also Kampung Boyan 1883; Perang Singapura a 1885; Napoleon III 1889; Juba Malak 1891; Perjalanan Sultan Lingga 1894; Inanub Juna St 1897 etc., Salasilah Melayu dan Bagasi 111, Johor e 1914, 1916, 1926; Pelayaran Muminin Ibrahim 1919. The exception is Mahmud 1914, a new verisimilar translation from Arabic of the story of Sultan Mahmud b. Sultan Umam.

366 Maier, In the Center of Authority, p.99. Maier does not comment upon the contrast in technology.

367 "karangan ulama yang dahu liat disebut narumah", in Ual al-Din 1863.


369 This seems to be the motive for author identification in the compilations Penggegi Hari 1878, Penerang Hari 1911. A non-authorial acknowledgement understains this point: Napoleon III 1889 establishes its novelty not by acknowledging an individual author but a substitute contemporary source, "tersalin dari Pembari Betawi".

370 Gul Bakawali 1893, Gharib 1894, Gul Bakawali 1905, Penerang Hari 1911, Maslan 1913, Raja Ghfir 1916, a feature shared by these typographic works with lithographed translations and adaptations cf. Bastamam 1900, Indera Sebuk 1899 etc., Ganja Mara 1897, Dasiama 1912 and 1916, Seribu Satu Hari 1919. The point is that the number of translations was increasing as the use of typography also increased. On the other hand, anonymous works established in lithography do not gain authorial acknowledgement simply because they are reset in type: Abdul Malak 1979, Abu Nawas 1916, 1917, Silam Buri 1887, 1890, Taj al-Malak 1898.

371 So the name of S.P.S.K. Kader Sahib (Lauan Akal 1907-) would identify the work as non-traditional creation of a Jawi Peranakan Malay-speaker, if this were not already obvious from the use of roman script. To make the point the author followed his name with the sobriquet "Peranaan Pulau Pinang". This need to identify style or register lay also behind the use of epithets like 'soorang daripada ahli Johor' (Teho-Teho 1914: here perhaps to differentiate the style to be expected from the author from that suggested by the name of the publisher Syahib Uthman b. Muhammad Ali al-Hidayah), or 'soorang pengangat jawi Peranakan ... Singapura' (Penggegi Hari 1878 etc., referring to the compiler, M[u'amil] M[hammadd] S[aid] bin Dada Malayiddin), and perhaps 'budak jauhari' for Aceh 1884 etc. if it is to be taken as an allusion to Johor. The style in which a name was given might also be telling.
INTRODUCTION

384 Namely Abdul Muluk 1879, Abu Nawas 1917, probably Akidat al-Munajjin 1893, Bidepat al-Mabadi 1917, Dattina 1919, Majmuk al-Ahkaam 1890, Miskin Marakarmah 1915, Sijsa Daulapah 1920, Silam Hari 1887, Silam Hari 1908, Taj al-Muluk 1898. One work, Bidepat al-Mabadi 1861, was to be published subsequently in both lithographic and type. For this purpose, 'Singapore publishers' has been taken to include Rian and Jorbar publishers.

385 Pegar Madi 1903: "Dan barang siapa aja menaruh syair hikayat yang belum pernah dicap boleh bawa kepada hamba supaya hamba beli atau hamba capkan", the implication of 'menaruh' being that this is a manuscript in one's possession, not of one's composition; similarly Baranji Maksu Bugis 1896: note also the trope of seeking manuscripts high and low for reproduction, Kumbang Cambuson 1890, Leela Kayangon 1890 etc. Cf. Siraj al-Anam 1921 "demikian juga suka membeli naskah karangan baharu".


387 The conventions of the two media strongly suggest differences in the manner in which they were read: the preference for prose in typography, together with its graphic poverty, increasingly discriminating and 'modern' punctuation, and its more regular spelling all point toward more private reading.

388 Cf. van Bruinesten, "Kitab Kuning", p.227-228 on an analogous dualism in Indonesia, though there expressed in a preference for jawi script or Roman script.

389 Roff, Origins of Malay Nationalism, p.87; also p.77. Note how the parties respond to threats to Islam: in lithography, popular titles are concerned with the military defense of Islamic states, as in Acheh, Perang Setambul; in typography the challenge is to learn from the successes of non-Muslims in Napoleon, Matshari Memancar.

390 Even so, few typeset books of commercial recreational reading were available even by the mid 1920s. A catalogue issued by the Singapore bookseller Abdullah bin Muhammad Said in 1925 (kindly supplied to me by Virginia Hoofer) lists some 600 locally published and imported items of literature likely to interest Malay readers. It includes works in both Arabic and Malay. Among its Malay-language works are books in both jawi and runi. It classifies Malay-language publications under several headings, and distinguishes those which are typeset from those which are lithographed. It shows that typography is strong in the area of textbooks, both those used in the government schools, and kitab, but not significant elsewhere. The figures for the Malay-language listings are summarised under the headings which Abdullah uses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kitab-Kitab Melayu</th>
<th>147 of which 51 % typeset</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kitab-Kitab dan Hikayat-Hikayat Melayu Pelajaran Sekolah</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahasa Melayu huruf Ingeris Romanais</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hikayat-Hikayat Melayu</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syair-Syair</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azimat-Azimat Kitab dan lainsya sebelah kertas</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is to be remembered that typography was by now exercising its main influence through the periodical press.

391 Roff, Origins of Malay Nationalism, pp.75-74

392 The chart depicts only jawi material, but is otherwise is constructed on the same basis as Figure 4. The qualifications outlined for Figure 4 apply here also.


394 Abdul Kadir, Budaya Popular.
EARLY MALAY PRINTED BOOKS

395 Anderson, Imagined Communities.

396 Based on Nederlandish-Indië. Volkstelling ... 1920; The Census of British Malaya ... 1921; and British Malaya. A Report on the 1931 Census.

397 Namely, Hikajat Robinson Crusoe, trans. A.F. von de Wall, Batavia, 1875; Tjiuris ... Lawah-Lawah Merah, Batavia 1875. See Catalogus der Koloniale Bibliotheek, p.294; Salomon, Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia, p.31.


399 Pramoedya, Tempo Doeloe, pp.6-7; Salomon, Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia, p.95-96.

400 Pramoedya, Tempo Doeloe, p.3; Hoffman, “Indies Malay”.


402 Malay in Dutch script (huruf Holanda, huruf Olanda) was counterposed to simply to Malay script (huruf Melayu) or to Malay in Arabic script (huruf Arab). For these terms, see the stocklists in Carreira Seorang Berputus, Batavia: Lange, 1857; Lawah-Lawah Merah, Batavia: Albrecht & Ruache, 1891; and in other Batavian publications. In the Straits Settlements, where use of the Roman script was less widespread and less culturally fraught, the more neutral term ‘Romanised’ (huruf rumi, also huruf romanis, huruf Romanis) was current alongside ‘English script’ (huruf Inggris) or ‘European script’ (huruf orang Eropa) in contradistinction to jawi script (huruf jawi). Malay script (huruf melayu) or Arabic script (huruf Arab). See respectively Binsang Timor, passim; Salaisiah Melayu dan Bugis 1911, Laisan Akit 1907 (advertisement by Siraj); Ilma Nazir 1897, Laisan Akit 1907 (advertisement by Koh & Co); Iman Jabi 1897 a; Binsang Timor 29 November 1894 (advertisement by Siraj), etc.

403 In her excellent article, “L’edition chinoise”, Salomon demonstrates that Singapore was the Southeast Asian centre of Chinese-language publishing, especially periodical publishing, while the Chinese on Java played an analogous role in publishing in Malay. “Enfin on constate un clivage très net entre l’éditio à Singapour, qui semble-s-i, n’imprime pas ou guère pour les Malais, et celle des Néerlandaises qui de plus en plus s’ouvrit sur le public local” (p.133). She relates this contrast to the educational choices made by the two communities (p.117).

404 In 1921, Chinese speakers of Malay in Java amounted to 55%, in the Outer Islands 10% (Nederlandisch-Indië Volkstelling ... 1920). In 1911 Straits-born Chinese accounted for only 13% of the Singapore population (Marriot, “The Peoples of Singapore”, in Makepeace, One Hundred Years of Singapore, vol.2, p.362).

405 Pramoedya, Tempo Doeloe, esp. p.9. Salomon, Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia, pp.16-17, 20 argues convincingly for Peranakan participation in the manuscript culture which pre-dated print.


407 See Dick, “Rise and Fall of Daulism”.

408 For the situation mid-century, see Krookamp, Early Schoolmasters, pp.341, 305-307, 402; Brumund, Volksonderwijs, pp.60, 70. See also Catalogus der Koloniale Bibliotheek, §§ (pp.331-340).

409 So the Commissie voor de Volksleerar of Balai Pustaka, charged with providing wholesome reading material to support the schooling system, printed most of its Javanese titles and some of its

INTRODUCTION

Sundanese and Madurese titles in traditional scripts, while printing Malay in the Roman script. (The Malay Literature Series launched contemporaneously by the British also used Roman script only but, as we have seen, was overtaken by parallel jawi editions.)

At the turn of the century, the style of Malay taught in Netherlands Indies government schools was brought closer to that taught in the Straits schools (mainly in jawi script). Klinkert and later Ophyuen, as Inspector of Native Education, had been influential in promoting a standardised Riau or Peninsular Malay as ‘high Malay’ appropriate for government school use. See Forbes, “Klinkert’s Malay Bible”; Hoffman, “Indies Malay”, p.89. Ophyuen’s policies no doubt influenced the house style of Balai Pustaka, but did not accord with newspaper practice.

410 Cf. Anderson, Imagined Communities, on pilgrimages.

411 See Hurgonje, Ambelijke Advies en 2:1622. A correspondent to Thamarat al-Funan (Beirut) in 1899 comments that his friends who cannot read Arabic ask about the contents of the Arabic newspapers. They propose that a Malay-language a newspaper in Arabic script would attract many subscribers and generate great interest, for the existing Malay newspapers in Roman script do not take up any issues which are unacceptable to local authorities. The date is significant, for at this time no Malay-language jawi script newspapers were available from Singapore. (See Proudfoot, “Nineteenth Century Bookseller’s Catalogue”, p.3).

412 During the nineteenth century there appears to have been little lithography produced in the Netherlands Indies. An exception is the books and pamphlets published in the 1890s in Batavia by the Government mufti, Sayid Uthman b. Abdullah b. Akil and associates. Sulaiman Manh’ becomes active in Surabaya only in the early twentieth century, shortly before his move to Singapore.
DESCRIPTION

Ordering of the following listing is alphabetical by short title in common romanised form. Baba translations of Chinese works are listed under Pinyin titles for consistency with Salmon's bibliographies. Word divisions are ignored, as is the Arabic particle al-. Thus Malayan Miscellanies appears before Malay Colloquial, and Fath al-Ma'in appears after Fath Makkah.

Under a common title are grouped variant versions (if any) ordered in turn by known or presumed date of publication. Works of unknown date listed first.

Titles of books are generally short of conventional qualifying phrases such as 'yang amat indah-indah ceriteranya', as well as introductory formulae such as 'Bambalah yang bernama ...', 'Hadha ... al-musanna ...', 'Nilah ...'.

Dates are by preference the latest date of publication or printing given in the publication; there may be discrepancies between this date and, for instance, the information supplied to the Registrar of Books. Dates in the Muslim calendar are given Western equivalents. Unless a day of the week is specified, exact conversion is problematic, as the Muslim calendar current in the Straits Settlements was based on actual moon sightings. If the day of the week is specified and the date agrees with the calculated (hijri) calendar, the equivalent is marked with 'w', otherwise with 'b'.

Pagination, when known, is indicated broadly. Generally the covers of books have been ignored in paginating while title-pages and colophons have usually been noted. However a distinction between cover and title page may not always be apt, when, for instance, the text begins inside the front cover. Subsidiary page sequences, e.g. of introductions or advertisements, are not systematically reported, though the number of pages involved may be denoted with [2] etc.

Format is described in terms printing technique, language and script, page size, and layout. Page size is an unreliable characteristic determined by the book's history of binding and rebinding rather than original printing. The text of lithographed jawi books is generally framed on the page by a ruled border. Typeset jawi books often share this feature. When present, the frame provides the dimensions of the print page, otherwise reference is made to the block of print, though this distinction is not always consistent. It is understood that syair printed in the jawi script have the conventional layout in which each pair of verses falls to the right and left of a vertical column ruled down the centre of the framed area.

Bibliographical references are given for two purposes: (1) to relate an edition to listings in other significant bibliographical sources; and (2) to indicate sources which give some account of the specific edition. Not usually included are incidental references to the item which may be found for example in the bibliographies of recent publications; nor are references given to summaries of contents which are not related specifically to any listed edition. For such general content summaries, reference may be made to Winstedt's "A History of Classical Malay Literature", Liaw Yock Pang's Sejarah Kesusaataraan Melayu Klasik, Ismail Hamid's Kesusaataraan Melayu Lama dari Warisan Peradaban Islam, or other standard works.

Sherborn's "Bibliographies" have rarely been noted, as they rely on the Gazette registrations for information on Singapore Malay publications.

Gazette registrations are reported quite fully. Recorded details of author, proprietor, publisher, printer are always recorded, as is the information on pagination, size of edition, price. Other information, such as title, or description of contents, is omitted if not useful or interesting. Such information can be retrieved from the Gazettes at the places indicated.
EARLY MALAY PRINTED BOOKS

It should be assumed that the author/editor named in the Gazette memoranda of lithographs generally refers to the copyist.

Contemporary information from other sources, particularly from booksellers’ advertisements and publishers’ notifications of other titles in stock or in the press, has been used cautiously to supplement the information which can be drawn from Gazette registrations and the extant books themselves. Sellers of books are noted separately only when they are not also their publishers. Only those sales agents mentioned on the books themselves are listed, not those who advertise the books for sale.

Abbas

1837.a

1st edition

Cetara Hikayat Sayid Abbas ibn Sayid Zain; History of Said Abbas, or the Sin of Murder

Penang

1837

16pp.; in edition of 2500 copies

References

Ibrahim, “Early Printing”, pp.63-65 [as 1838];

1837.b

2nd edition enlarged

Cetara Hikayat Sayid Abbas ibn Sayid Zain Suaimin Cik Nurati yang Sudah Bumuh Cik Minah Isteri Fu Ka Mat dan Anak Tirinya bernama Basir di Temat Bemaminya Batu Maung Dalam di Bandar Pulau Pinang ... 7 Februari 1837

author & publisher: Tuan Paderi Beighton

Penang

1837

24pp. (1-24); typeset jawi, illustrated, [in edition of 2000 copies: Ibrahim]

Contents: narrative followed by: 12 nasihat, 17 moral lessons, 22 hymns

References

Ibrahim, “Early Printing”, pp.63-65 [as 1838]. p.69 reproduces tp;

Abdau

1896

Kliah Abdau: Cik. Nazam Melayu: tp; author: [Abdul-Munaf]; translator & proprietor: Haji Hamzah Kohad

printer: Haji Muhammad Hasan

Singapore:

21pp. (tp: 2-21); lithographed jawi, in Arabic & Malay on alternate lines, on 21 x 16.5 cm pages in 17 x 12.5 cm frame, with 12 pairs of lines per page

Contents: Arabic text with paraphrase in Malay verse; “menyatakan ilmu Usul al-Din”

Notes: copyright notices on tp and p.21 both appear to have been altered, formerly assigning rights to “Haji Muhammad Hasan, tungkap cap”

Location

BL OIOC 14516.b.59

1896-1 st edition

Kliah Nazam Melayu daripada Makna Abdau author & proprietor: Haji Hamzah, 26 Pahang Street, Singapore

printer & publisher: Haji Hasan

Singapore & Lingga

26 August 1896 (publication); 15 August 1896 (printing)

21pp.: on 4to pages, in edition of 580 copies, priced $0.30 per copy

Contents: religious book

Reference

SSDG 23 October 1896, p.1908, registration no.295

1907

Abdu Makna: Abdur Makna Salawat Jilai dan Syakh Baldawi; Abdur dengan syarifnya Makna Melayu

[7 Singapore]

[Before August 1907]

References

Indera Jaya 1905; Salawat al-Quran 1905; Mukaddimah Nazm 1906 (advertised as forthcoming); Cermin Islam 1907 (advertisement)

Abdullah

1849

[1st edition]


publisher: [B.P. Kasberry]

printer: [Bukit Zain]

Singapore:

[17 Jamaludinwali 1265 = 10 April 1849

1848 edition]; 22 October 1840 = 25 Syaban 1256: 6r

44pp. (tp: 1-44); lithographed jawi with illustrations on 26 x 21.5 cm pages in 21.5 x 11.5 cm frame, with 15 lines per page; pages 1 & 2 have wide coloured floral borders, [priced at $4.00 per copy:] $2.50

Notes: some copies include an interleaved preatory dedication, in typeset English, to LL-Col. W.J. Butcher, perhaps among the 12 copies Butterworth purchased: the external dimensions vary greatly from copy to copy

References

Logan Philological Library 1880, item 228 (no.290);
Bibliotheca Fere 1888, item 197;
Cordier, Bibliotheca Indoindica 1913, col. 1423 (2 references: one to edition published 1840, the other about 1840-43) & col. 1428 (as 1849);
Blagden, “List of Malay Books”, 1899, item 31, 36;
Evans, Penang Library 1911, p.1; Hikayat Abdullah 1917-17, introduction;
Hikayat Abdullah, Jakarta: Leenbaga Kebudayaan Indonesia, 1953;

reproduction of the PNI exemplar, with some missing pages rewritten by the editor.

Hill, Hikayat Abdullah, p.24;
Byrd, Early Printing, item 52;
Pages from Yesterday, plate 2 illustrates p.2;
Gallo, “Early Malay Printing”, pp.98-97, p.114, n.25, p.120

Locations

BL OIOC 14624.e.1 < Trinhier @ microform Ox. Misc. 5009 @ NLS microform NL 9085; OIOC ORB. 30445 (OLR Malay F6 306/36.G.7.7); ORB. 30446 (OLR Malay F6 306/36.G.8); ORB. 30447 (OLR Malay F6 306/36.G.15); ORB. 30448 (OLR Malay F6 306/36.G.16);
KTLV bh 91 << Kasberry [includes dedication].

NLS (rare) MR 599.503 ABD (Q11.497)
<br> Klinkert @ microform NL 9717;
<br> (rare) MR 599.503 ABD [includes dedication] << Hill @ microform NL 7810;
<br> PNI XXIII 96.c.1 [not found]
<br> PUPP [not found], probably = Greening, Catalogue of 1922, B 1450;
<br> RAS 7A (Maxwell 31, 36) (2 copies: 1 imperfect) RUL (o) 860 B 12; (o) 890 A 26;
<br> SOAS EC:34.2 31372;

1880

2nd edition

Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Mansyi: tp; Hikayat Abdullah: tp; publisher & proprietor: [dengan bantuan] Royal Asiatic Society in Singapore

printer: Lim Kong Chuen, Choo Koh Yew Hnin, Daeah Tehk Air No 52

Singapore

1880

496pp. (tp: 1-496, 2pp: obs); lithographed jawi, illustrated, on 21 x 16 cm pages in 17 x 11 cm frame, with 15 lines per page; the first two pages decorated in yellow and green; on back up the title in jawi is surrounded by Chinese characters advertising the press.

Contents: 1-5 introduction

Note: Some three-quarters of the edition was sold in bulk by the Royal Asiatic Society to the Education Department.
References
JSBRAS 4 (1979): xv, xviii-xix, xxi; 7 (1881): xxi;
NBG 1880 4th quarter;
Cheng, "G.storyuan E. Shih", reproduces 2pl;
Salmon, "L.Edition chinoise", pp.118-19,
reproduces and translates 2pl;
Hill, Hikayat Abdullah, p.25;
Pages from Yesteryear, plate 9
[Illustration];
Guillick, "William Maxwell", p.22
Locations
NLS (rare) MR 959.503 ABD @ micro-
form NL 9122;
KITLV vb 255 [imperfect: 1-15 missing];
SOAS IBA920 58892;
RUL (o) 891 F 92 < Hugonije;
PUPP M 899.11 Abd (I 886)
1888-89
Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir
Munsi yang Berguna di dalam
Tempat Belajar Kanak-Kanak
Meladu yang di dalam Singapura,
Pulau Pinang dan Melaka
Publisher: Tuan Inspector of Schools,
Strains Settlements
Printer: Matra Gubernment Singapura
Singapore
Typeset jawi, on 22 x 16 cm pages in 15 x
10.5 cm frame, with 19-20 lines per
page, [price 0.50 per part :SSGG, and
sold commercially for 0.50 per
part: $2]
Supplied to schools by: [Kelly & Walsh,
Singapore :SSGG]
In 2 parts
Part 1
1888 :gc; 1887 :p
24pp. (pp. 3-241)
Part 2
1889 :gc; 1888 :p
24pp. (pp. 243-487)
Locations
Annual Report on Education, SS, 1888,
[44]; 1889, [88];
SSGG 14 March 1890, p.336 etc. (advertis-
ements);
Jawi Perakans no.640, 22 July 1889 etc.
[part 1], no.652, 14 October 1889
[parts 12] (advertisements by Sing);
Cordier, Bibliotheca Indocinica 1913, col.
1428;
Byrd, Early Printing, p.40;
Kohar Rony, "Malay Manuscripts", p.130, item 3a(1)
94
Locations
KITLV vb 256 [bound as one volume];
*LC [volume 21];
OISA Skat 14 Pampb box 1 [2 volume
1] < Blagden; Skat Pampb box 1a
8.9 [volumes 1, 2 respectively];
SOAS IBA920 39141;
ULC U8843.e.101 < Wilkinson [bound
as one volume]
1890
Reprint of 1888-89 edition
2 vols
1890
Price $0.25 per part :SSGG
Supplied to schools by: Kelly & Walsh,
Singapore :SSGG
References
Annual Report on Education, SS, 1890,
[48];
SSGG 9 January 1891, p.62 etc. (advertis-
ements);
1894
Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir
Munsi yang Berguna di dalam
Tempat Belajar Kanak-Kanak
Meladu yang di dalam Singapura,
Pulau Pinang dan Melaka
Publisher: Tuan Inspector of Schools,
Strains Settlements
Printer: Matra Gubernment Singapura
Singapore
In 2 parts
Part 1
1894
Typeset jawi, format probably the same as
Abdullah 1897-98, [price 0.40
per copy :SSGG];
Supplied to schools by: Kelly & Walsh,
Singapore :SSGG
References
Abdullah 1897-98, tpc
Annual Report on Education, SS, 1894,
[45];
SSGG 12 October 1894, p.1703 etc.
(advertisements)
1897-98
Reprint of 1894 edition
Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir
Munsi yang Berguna di dalam
Tempat Belajar Kanak-Kanak
Meladu yang di dalam Singapura,
Pulau Pinang dan Melaka
Publisher: Tuan Inspector of Schools,
Strains Settlements
Printer: Matra Gubernment Singapura
Singapore
Typeset jawi, on 23 x 16 cm pages in 17 x
10 cm frame, with 19 lines per page,
[price 0.40 per part :SSGG, and
sold commercially for $1.00 per set
*Depot]
In 2 parts
Part 1
1897 :gf; 1894 :p
24pp. (pp. 3-241)
Part 2
1898
26pp. (pp. 243-502)
Contents: part 2 begins with 'Darulah
Colonel Farquhar kena ikam'
References
Depar Kudah a 1898;
SSGG 7 January 1898, p.28 etc. (advertis-
ements);
Locations
SOAS IBA920 2725 [part 1 only];
IBA920 173249;
PNM NM 992.992309591 ABD [part 2
only, bound with part 1 of 1915
edition]
1903
Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir
Munsi
Publisher: Methodist Publishing House
Singapore
Typeset rumi, on 21 x 13.5 cm pages
In 2 parts
Part 1
1903
[sold for $1.00 per copy :Kilirun Budi]
Part 2
1903
18pp. (173-353)
[sold for $1.50 per copy :Kilirun Budi]
Notes: Malay Literature Series, no.4
Reference
Kilirun Budi 1906 (advertisement)
Locations
SOAS IBA920 56985 [part 2 only]
1907-08
Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir
Munsi
Publisher: Methodist Publishing House
Singapore
Typeset rumi, on 21 x 13.5 cm pages
In 2 parts
Part 1
1907
171pp. (pp. 1-1, 2-3, text 3-171), [priced
$1.00 per copy :SSGG]
Part 2
1908
181pp. (173-353)
Notes: Malay Literature Series, no.4
Part 1 was used as a school reader. Supplied
to schools by: [Kelly & Walsh,
Singapore :SSGG]
References
SSGG 31 December 1908, p.3150 etc.
(advertisements by Kelly & Walsh);
NBG 1909 2nd-3rd quarters [not found at
PNM];
Cordier, Bibliotheca Indocinica 1913, col.
1427 & col. 1428
Locations include
BL OIOC 14628.c.1(4); OIOC
14653.d.4(12) (IOLR Malay
D248(1));
NLS MR 899.1 MAL (5,6) @ micro-
form NL7774;
KITLV lh 336;
RUL (o) 891 F 10;
SOAS IBA920 139601; IBA920
232960; IBA920 232961; IBA920
56985 [all part 1 only]; IBA920
173250 [part 2];
PNM NM 992.9923 ABD [part 1];
*UM (Z) PL2136 Abdak.H [part 2]
< Z/a'ba
1907-08†
[Part 1 apparently not registered]
Part 2
1st edition
Author: W.G. Shellabear
Proprietor, Publisher & Printer:
Methodist Publishing House, Singapore
Singapore
January 1908 (printing & publication)
180pp.; on demy 8vo pages, in edition
of 3000 copies, priced $0.75 per copy
Contents: life story of Abdul Kadir
Munsi
Reference
SSGG 18 December 1908, p.2968,
registration no.667
1911-15
Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir
Munsi yang Berguna di dalam
Tempat Belajar Kanak-Kanak
**EARLY MALAY PRINTED BOOKS**

Melayu yang di dalam Singapura Pulaai Pinang dan Melaka

**proprietor:** Tuan Inspector of Schools, Straits Settlements

**publisher:** Mathi Kelly & Walsh Ltd

**Singapore**
type set jawi, on 22 x 14.5 cm pages in 16.5 x 10 cm frame, with 20 lines per page

**in 2 parts**

**1915-17**

Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munui

**sp:** Hikayat Abdullah Jnt2

**author:** Abdullah b. Abdul Kadir

**editor:** W.G. Shellabear

**publisher:** Tempat Cap Sidang Methodis

**Singapore**
type set jawi, illustrated, on 21 x 13 cm pages, with 25 lines per page

**in 2 parts**

**part 1**

1915; preface January 1915

165pp. (q, [1], 3-165)

part 2

1917

170pp. (166-339)

Contents: a critically edited text based on Abdullah's autograph edition of 1899 [preface]

**References**

Kohar Rony, "Malay Manuscripts", p.130, item 3.2(a)

**Locations**

BL: OIOC 14624.c.4; OIOC 14653.d.262(c) (IOR Malay D10(2)) [part 2 only];

PNM NM 928.9923029511 ABD [part 1 only, bound with part 2 of 1898 edition];

RUL (o) 800 E 64 [part 2 only];

UKM (Kedeksi Khas) DS592A2 1915

1915-17

editor: W.G. Shellabear

**proprietor, publisher & printer:** Methodist Publishing House, Singapore

**Singapore**

part 1

1st edition

January 1915 (printing & publication)

165pp.: on demy 8vo pages, in edition of 3500 copies, priced $0.30 per part

or (for 60 for letter paper)

**Reference**

S5GG 9 April 1915, p.498, registration no.903

part 2

2nd edition [sic]

November 1917 (printing & publication)

173pp.: jawi, on demy 8vo pages, in edition of 3000 copies, priced $0.60 per part

1830

2nd edition

Certera Hikayat Abdullah dan Sabat

[Text no.6 O'Sullivan]

**printer & printer:** The S.C. (Singapore Chronicle)

**Reference**

S5GG 11 January 1918, p.38, registration no.1033

1916

2nd edition

Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munui

**publisher:** Methodist Publishing House

**Singapore**

part 1

1916

170pp.: typeset rumi

**Notes:** Malay Literature Series, no.4

**Locations**

DB K 92 A8;

ULC 843.31.c.90

1917

[3rd edition]

Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munui

**publisher:** Methodist Publishing House

**Singapore**

part 1

1917

170pp. (3-170); typeset rumi, on 21 x 13.5 cm pages

**Location**

SOAS IBA920 173250

Abdullah dan Sabat

1829

Certera Hikayat Abdullah dan Sabat

**Singapore**

1829

Contents: A summary of the story is given in The Christian in Singapore, no.1 (April 1861), pp.29-30. It concerns an apostatized Arab milif of noble birth from Madras who wrote apologies for Christianity; he moved to Penang and was finally executed in Acheh

**Reference**

Medhurst, China, p.591

1837

4th edition

Certera Hikayat Abdullah dan Sabat

**author & publisher:** Tuan Padieri Beighton

**Singapore**

1837

15pp. (1-15); typeset jawi, on 21 x 12.5 cm pages, with 22 lines per page, in edition of 2000 copies

Contents: 1 story of Sabat, 13 Christ's teachings on redemption

**Notes:** the first edition printed at American Mission Press

**Reference**

? Bibliothèque Foutr 1888, item 330(88)

[referring to "Trois traits: livre de lecture pour l'amusement et l'instruction"]

**Locations**

BL: OIOC 1442D.17(5) <Maison neve << Millies @ microform Or. Mic. 5010;

SOAS ESB/SFS 338322(4) [in process]
EARLY MALAY PRINTED BOOKS

1837.b
Hikayat Abdullah dan Sabat [nl]
[Singapore: BL]
n.d.: [1837 - BL]
24pp. (1-24); typset jawi on 15 x 9.5 cm pages in unframed text block of 12 x 7 cm with 17 lines per page
Contents: 1 story of Sabat, 23 concluding byline
Reference
Bibliothèque Faveur 1888, item 535(46)
Locations
BL OIOC 14620.b.136(6) < Maison- neuve [<< Millet>>]
"LC

Abdul Muluk

1800's
1800's
[? 1800's]
Contents: the Life and Reign of Abdul Muluk, King of Barbery
References
Logan Philological Library 1880, item 247 no.310

1867
Syair Abdul Muluk
publisher (empunya pekerjaan): Muhammad Ali b. Uthman Melaka
Singapore
Ithnin 30 Jumadilakhir 1284 [@ 28 October 1867]
203pp. (1-203; col); 1 lithographed jawi, on 19.5 x 15 cm pages in frame 15.5 x 11 with 18 lines per page.
Reference
Bledgen, "List of Malay Books", 1899, item 86
Locations
RAS Maxwell 86

1868
Syair Abdul Muluk [tp, col]
publisher: Haji Muhammad Tahir, Kampung Bangkahulu
Singapore
Sabtu 4 Jumadilakhir 1285 [7 Jumadilalwal, @ 22 August 1868]
203pp. (2-203); lithographed jawi, on 20 x 15 cm pages in 15.5 x 10.5 cm frame, with 18 lines per page

1870
Syair Abdul Muluk
Singapore
Ithnin 24 Jumadilakhir 1287 [7 Jumadilalwal, Monday 22 August 1870]
Lithographed jawi, on 20 x 16 cm pages in 16 x 10 cm frame
Reference
Locations
RUL (o) 896 G 11 [incomplete; last page only]; in binding of Faun al-Arifja 1870

1871
Syair Abdul Muluk
author: [Raja Ali Haji]
publisher: Al-makram Akbar Sidin & Haji Muhammad Yahya, Lorong Mejied Sultan Ali, Kampung Geland
Singapore
Khamis 12 Syar’ban 1288 [26 October 1871]
202pp. (tp, 2-202); unnumbered; lithographed, on 19 x 14 cm pages in 15.5 x 10 cm frame, with 18 lines per page
References
Bledgen, "List of Malay Books", 1899, item 84;
NG 1905 4th quarter
Locations
PNI XXXII 996
RAS Maxwell 84

1874
Hikayat Sultan Abdul Muluk: [Raja di negeri Barbary] [RUL]
author: Raja Ali Haji, [Viceroy of Riau]
copyst: Muhammad Sadik
publisher: Haji Abdul Majid & Haji Ishak, di depun Mejied Sultan Ali, Kampung Geland
Singapore
Notes: probably title page not at head of text

1879
Syair Abdul Muluk [tp, col, It2]
publisher: Haji Muhammad Said
printer: Mission Press
Singapore
3 May 1879 [col]
181pp. (tp, 2-181); typset jawi, on 23.5 x 14.5 cm pages in 18 x 11 cm frame, with 20 lines per page
Locations
Rosts Catalogue 1897, no.463 (p.27)
Locations
NLS (rare) MR 899.2302.A1.5524 < Winstead @ microform NL7522 ; ? SOAS 37054 [not found]

1880.a
Sultan Abdul Muluk Raja di dalam negeri Barbary [tp]; Syair Abdul Muluk [It2, col]
publisher: Haji Muhammad Said
Singapore
18 Syar’ban 1304 [May 1887]
152pp. (2-152); unnumbered; lithographed, on 20 x 14.5 cm pages in 17.5 x 10.5 cm frame, with 24 lines per page
Location
SOAS IBA810 24412(5)

1887.b
revised edition: 'tolah dibetulkan karang-sanya daripada yang dahulu
Syair Abdul Muluk
author: [Raja Ali Haji]
publisher: Tuan Haji Muhammad Siraj b. Haji Salih, Lorong Mejied Sultan, Kampung Geland, Mashta Haji Muhammad Siraj, Sultan Road [of]
Singapore
1 Rabuakhir 1305 [December 1887]
152pp. (2-152); lithographed jawi, on 21 x 15 cm pages in 17 x 11 cm frame, with 24 lines per page, (sold for 0.30 per copy)
References
probably SSGG registration no.30;
Jawi Peranakan no.638, 2 December 1889 etc. (advertisements by Siraj)
Locations
RUL (o) 893 F 16 < Hugeronje;
BL OIOC 14625.s.2

1887.b
1st edition
Syair Abdul Muluk Syir Rafi
author & proprietor: Haji Muhammad Siraj, Kampung Geland, Singapore
publisher & printer: Encik Uthman Melaka, Singapore
Singapore
31 December 1887 (publication); 17 December 1887 (printing)
152pp. page size not given, in edition of 2400 copies, priced 12.5 cents per copy
References
SSGG 20 April 1888, p.833, registration no.30

1890
Sultan Abdul Muluk [tp]; Abdul Muluk Isterinya bernama Syir Rafi [of]
copyst: Ibrahim
printer: Haji Muhammad Sidik
Singapore
Roh Thai [name of] Bab 1 penggal 1 [of]; 25 Safar 1308 (October 1890)
152pp. (2-152); lithographed jawi, on 21 x 16 cm pages in 17 x 10.5 cm frame, with 24 lines per page
Location
BL OIOC 14626.c.8

1890!
3rd edition
author: Encik Ibrahim
proprietor, publisher & printer: Haji Muhammad Sidik, 43 Sultan Road, Singapore
Singapore
20 February 1891 (publication); 2 February 1891 (printing)
152pp. on 4to pages, in edition of 1200 copies, priced 0.25 per copy
Contents: Malay stories
References
SSGG 3 April 1891, p.555, registration no.101
1891
Syair Abdul Muluk Isterinya bernama Siti Raffah
author: [Raja Ali Haji, Viceroy of Riau]
copyright: Ibrahim
publisher: Haji Muhammad Sidik, Kampung Gelam
Singapore
Thelasa ... 1308 [August 1890-August 1891]
152pp. (p. 2-152); lithographed jawi, on 20.5 x 15 cm pages in 17.5 x 10.5 cm frame, with 24 lines per page
Location: BL OIOC 14625.c.11(3)

1891
2nd edition
author: Eniek Ibrahim
proprietor, publisher & printer: Haji Muhammad Sidik, 42 Sultan Road, Singapore
Singapore
21 August 1891 (publication); 17 July 1891
152pp.; on 40 pages, in edition of 1000 copies, priced $0.10 per copy
Reference: SSGG 6 November 1891, p.2718, registration no.109

1892
Syair Abdul Muluk Isterinya Siti Raffah
author: Syair Abdul Muluk Sultan Barbari Isterinya bernama Siti Raffah
copyright: Haji Muhammad Siraj, Kampung Gelam, etc
publisher: Matba' Haji Muhammad Siraj
principles: Haji Muhammad Sidik
Singapore
1 Muharram 1310 [July 1892]
152pp. (2-152); lithographed jawi, on 20.5 x 15 cm pages in 17.5 x 11 cm frame, with 24 lines per page
Location: BL OIOC 14626.c.12(5) @ NLS microform NL9086

1892
2nd edition
author: Haji Siraj
proprietor, publisher & printer: Haji Muhammad Sidik, 42 Sultan Road, Singapore
Singapore
23 September 1892 (publication); 8 September 1892 (printing)
152pp.; on 40 pages, in edition of 800 copies, priced $0.15 per copy
Contents: Malay stories
Reference: SSGG 28 October 1892, p.2970, registration no.160

1893
Syair Abdul Muluk dan Siti Raffah
author: Haji Muhammad Amin, Kampung Bali Lane, Singapore
1 Dhulhijjah 1310 [June 1893]
152pp. (2-152); lithographed jawi, on 22.5 x 16 cm pages in 18 x 12 cm frame, with 24 lines per page
Notes: corresponds line for line with 1887.6 edition, only substituting 3 new lines for last 5 of p.152
Location: RUL (a) 893 D 7

1894
Syair Abdul Muluk Isterinya Siti Raffah
author: Haji Muhammad Amin
Singapore
25 Dhu'a Al 1311 [May-June 1894]
152pp. (2-152); lithographed jawi, on 23 x 16 cm pages in 18.5 x 11 cm frame, with 24 lines per page, [sold for $0.25 per copy, Dafar]
Reference: Dafar Klub a 1896
Locations: NLS (aro) BPSS 20; ULC U8843.c.109(4) < Wilkinson [last page obscured]

1894
1st edition
author: Haji Muhammad Taib
proprietor, publisher & printer: Haji Muhammad Amin, 37 Bali Lane, Singapore
Singapore
30 July 1894 (publication); 25 July 1894 (printing)
152pp.; on 40 pages, in edition of 600 copies, priced $0.10 per copy
Contents: Malay poem

1901
Syair Abdul Muluk Isterinya Siti Raffah
author: [Raja Ali Haji, Viceroy of Riau]
publisher: Matba' Haji Muhammad Siraj, kedai 43 Sultan Road, Kampung Gelam
Singapore
1 Muharram 1319 [April 1901] coel; 1901 sp
152pp. (2-152); lithographed jawi, on 20 x 14.5 cm pages in 17.5 x 11.5 cm frame, with 24 lines per page
Location: BL OIOC 14625.c.14(5)

1901
1st edition
author: Haji Siraj b. Salih
proprietor, publisher & printer: Haji Siraj al-Jawa, 48 Palembang Road, Singapore
Singapore
9 May 1901 (publication); 4 May 1901 (printing)
152pp.; on 40 pages, in edition of 1200 copies, priced $0.15 per copy
Contents: Malay story
Reference: SSGG 12 July 1901, p.1122, registration no.441

1902
Syair Abdul Muluk
author: Matba' Haji Muhammad Amin, belakang Mesjid Sultan, Kampung Melayu
Singapore
20 Rabiaulakhir 1320 [July 1902]
152pp. (2-152); lithographed jawi, on 20.5 x 15 cm pages in 16.5 x 10 cm frame, with 24 lines per page
Locations: RUL (a) 891 F 17; UM PS5117.4 AM

1914
Syair Abdul Muluk
author: [Raja Ali Haji]
publisher: Haji Muhammad Amin b. Haji Abdulah, Kampung Tembaga, Jalan Baghdad Street
Singapore
1332 = 1913 [i.e. December 1913]
131pp. (p. 2-130, coel); lithographed jawi, on 23 x 17 cm pages in 21 x 11.5 cm frame, with 28 lines per page
Location: PNI XXXII 1982

1914
Syair Abdul Muluk
author: [Raja Ali Haji]
publisher: Haji Muhammad Amin b. Haji Abdulah, Kampung Tembaga, Jalan Baghdad Street
Singapore
1332 = 1913 (i.e. December 1913)
131pp. (p. 2-130, coel); lithographed jawi, on 23 x 17 cm pages in 21 x 11.5 cm frame, with 28 lines per page
Location: PNI XXXII 1982

1914
Syair Abdul Muluk
author: [Raja Ali Haji]
publisher: Haji Muhammad Amin b. Haji Abdulah, Kampung Tembaga, Jalan Baghdad Street
Singapore
1332 = 1913 (i.e. December 1913)
131pp. (p. 2-130, coel); lithographed jawi, on 23 x 17 cm pages in 21 x 11.5 cm frame, with 28 lines per page
Location: PNI XXXII 1982

1917
Syair Abdul Muluk
author: [Haji Muhammad Idris]
publisher: [Haji Muhammad Idris]
[Singapore]
[Singapore]
lithographed jawi; format similar to Tawadul Jarir 1917
Location: DB K 398 Ta [p.89-95 only]; in bindings of Tawadul Jarir 1917

1920
Syair Abdul Muluk
author: [Haji Muhammad Idris]
[Singapore]
[Singapore]
lithographed jawi, on 23 x 18 cm pages
Location: DB MSS 118 [not found]

Abraham
1831
The Call of Abraham
Tract no.17
publisher: Mission Press
printer: J.H. Thomsen
Singapore
1831
Reference: O'Sullivan, "London Missionary Society", p.81

Abu Bakar
1896
"Shaer almarhoem beginda Sultan Abubakar di negeri Johor"
EARLY MALAY PRINTED BOOKS

1907
Hikayat Abu Nawas
publisher: Haji Muhammad Said b. Haji Arsyad, Kampung Haji, Lorong Mejsid Sultan
Singapore
25 Dhuhahir 1324 (February 1907)
80pp. (2-86); lithographed jawi, on 20 x 15.5 cm pages in 14.5 x 11 cm frame, with 15 lines per page
Contents: story of a famous Arab jester and poet, alias Hasan ibn Hani. BL
Notes: pp.2-82 correspond page by page with pp.20-100 of Dermah Taisiah 1869
Locations:
BL: OIOC 14625.c.44; OIOC 14653.b.5
(OLR Malay B5)

1907
1st edition
author: Muhammad Ali b. Mastapa
proprietor, publisher & printer: Haji Muhammad Said, 51 Sultan Road, Singapore
Singapore
9 February 1907 (printing & publication)
85pp.; on 40 pages, in edition of 1000 copies, priced $0.08 per copy
Contents: story of Abu Nawas
Reference:
SSGG 12 April 1907, p.648, registration no.620

1914
Hikayat Abu Nawas :cobc.tp,h2,coil; Abu Nawas :tp
publisher: Muhammad Idris, 20 Aji Lane
Singapore
1332 [November 1913-November 1914]
76pp. (2-76); lithographed jawi, on 21 x 15 cm pages in 16 x 10.5 cm frame, with 17 lines per page, [priced $0.15 per copy].annat
Notes: purchased by Muhammad Abdullah, 16 Ouatam Road.annat
Location:
SOAS IBAB00 453201

1916
another work

1916
1st edition
"Cherita Abu Nawaz, Satu Orang yang Blijak"
publisher & printer: Koh & Co
Singapore
August 1916
48pp. (p.1,1-48); typset jawi, on 16 x 10 cm pages, with 30 lines per page, priced $0.60 per copy
Notes: the preface explains that this romanised version has been prepared to satisfy desire of Baha Peranakan readers for access to the story;
cf. Cherita Rampai-Rampai 1916
Reference:
Lambird-Salmon, "Chinese of Malaya", p.88, item 14
Locations:
BL: OIOC 14625.a.15; OIOC 14653.b.61 (OLR Malay B41)

1918
Hikayat Abu Nawas :tp,2tp,h2
publisher: Tempat Cap Muhammad Idris, Kampung Aji Lane 20
Singapore
1336 [October 1917-October 1918]
76pp. (p.2,2-76, 2tp); lithographed jawi, on 19 x 14.5 cm pages in 16.5 x 11 cm frame with 15 lines per page
Reference:
Winstedt, "Hikayat Abu Nawas", p.15
Location:
RAS 64A: A Collection of Malay Prose Works (1) - Winstedt [first page bound upside down]

Abu Synuhmah
a: 1871
[1st edition]
Hikayat Abu Samah
[Singapore]
c: 1288 (1871-72)
Reference:
Abu Synuhmah 1881, tp
1881
[2nd edition], 'buhara dicap sudah dahulukala dengan ini sudah sepuluh tahun lamasnya.'
Hikayat Abu Samah
print: Ibrahim, di hadapan Mesjid Sultan, Kampung Haji
publishers: Encik Amin at. Haji Umar, di luar pinas kota Sultan di sebelah tangan besi, Kampung Gelam
Singapore
Ahad 28 Ramadhan 1298 [24 August 1881]
47pp. (p. 2-47; unnumbered); lithographed jawi, on 20.5 x 14 cm pages in 15.5 x 10.5 cm frame, with 17 lines per page
Reference: Winstedt, "Classical Malay Literature", p.318
Location: SOAS IBA800 63225(6)

1887
Hikayat Abu Samah
publishers: Haji Muhammad Sairin at Haji Muhammad Salih Rebbang, di hadapan Mesjid Sultan, no. 51, Kampung Gelam
Singapore
20 Rajah 1304 [April 1887]
39pp. (II), pp. 4-38, col.; lithographed jawi, on 20 x 15.5 cm pages in 17.5 x 11.5 cm frame, with 22 lines per page
Note: this book is a copy of an earlier edition
Reference: Blagden, "List of Malay Books", 1899, item 67 (as Hikayat Abu Samah)
Jawi Peranakan no.658, 2 December 1889 (etc. advertisement by Siraj)
Locations: UM PL5112.1 Has (incomplete, ends with p.28); RAS Maxwell 67; RUL (o) 891 F 29 < Ophuysen; (o) 872 E 86

1891
Hikayat Abu Samah
publishers: Haji Muhammad Taib, rumah 31, Kampung Ball Lane
Singapore
3 Safar 1309 [September 1891]
39pp. (II), pp. 4-38, col.; the number '39' appears at top of pp. lithographed jawi, on 20.5 x 15 cm pages, [priced $0.10 per copy].
Note: the colophon lists 39 books in stock and mentions 3 others
Reference: Daftar Klub a 1298
Locations: KITLV hh 251; OSA Skeat box 9(A) 12 [3 copies, one lacks front cover]

1901
Hikayat Abu Syahmah
author: Haji Muhammad Said
publishers: Haji Muhammad Arsyad, di hadapan Mesjid Sultan, no. 51, Kampung Gelam
Singapore
19 Dauluhjiah 1319 [March 1902]; wrongly for 1318, April 1901: BL copy was registered with the Colonial Secretary's Office (Singapore) 5 September 1901 and received at BL at 31 December 1901; 30 Rabiallahul 1319 [July 1901]: col. lam
39pp. (1-35, col.; lithographed jawi, on 20 x 15.5 cm pages in 16.5 x 11.5 cm frame, with 22 lines per page
Contents: Islamic religious instruction
Notes: 'Sudah disahkan serta ayat Qur'annya, siasa mas baha jangka dilirangan, jikalau diikat selamat dunia akhbar jangka dibahasakan, khabar bida sekalian sadara, jikalau tak ikut kita menanggung kepada wakaf dibamarkan ke hadapan Tuhan kita ...'
Sold by: Haji Muhammad Majahid
KITLV copy
Locations: KITLV hh 276; BL OIOC 1620.S.19(8)

1910
Hikayat Abu Syahmah
publishers: Haji Muhammad Said at Haji Muhammad Arsyad, di Kampung Silung belakang Mesjid Sultan
Singapore
bulan Maulid (7 Rabiallahul 1328, March 1910): col. 19 Zaulhijjah 1327 (+1 January 1910): col
39pp. (1-35, col.; lithographed jawi on 20 x 14.5 cm pages in 16.5 x 11.5 cm frame with 22 lines per page
Sold by: kedai Altealet at Haji Majahid at. Haji Muhammad Said, 39 [7?] Acin Street, Pulau Pinang; kedai Haji Abdullah at. Haji Muhammad Saad, 82 Arab Street, Singapore
Note: in bindings, the col. of an unidentified work dated 15 Jamadilakhir 1328 [June 1910]
Location: RAS 64g: A Collection of Malay Prose Works (5) < Winstedt

1919
Hikayat Abu Syahmah
publishers: Dar al-Tibaat al-Misriyyah
Singapore
1919
Location: UM KAT PL180 A3 1919a

References
SSGG 15 November 1901, p.2208, registration no.449
SSGG 3 December 1909, p.4219, registration no.708
SSGG 15 November 1901, p.2208, registration no.449
SSGG 3 December 1909, p.4219, registration no.708

1909, a
1st edition
Hikayat Abu Syahmah
author: Encik Ibrahim
publishers: publisher & printer: Haji Muhammad Saad, 82 Arab Street, Singapore
Singapore
9 July 1909 (printing & publication)
36pp.: [jawi], on 40-page pages, in edition of 1000 copies, priced $0.10 per copy
Contents: story of Abu Syahmah beloved son of the great caliph Umar
Notes: the IOL register notes that this title was out of print by 1912
Reference: SSGG 3 December 1909, p.4219, registration no.708

1909, b
Syair Abu Samah
Singapore
1327 [January 1909-January 1910]
400 pages
Reference: Evans, Catalogue ... Federated Malay States Museums 1925, p.87: MSC

Acara Manusia
1891
Hikayat Acara Manusia dengan Binatang di Hadapan Mahal Raja Jin
author: [J. Landesberger .BL]
publishers: Dwant Hermann Katz
printer: Tuun Brill, Leiden
Jobor
1891
318pp. (2, 318); typeset jawi, on 20cm pages, [sold for $3.50 per copy].
Contents: a religious tract, [t.Subject matter] diraja dasi bahanan yang menjelaskan hubungan antara manusia dengan beberapa kias dan ibarat yang bebas diambil berbagai faedah dan pengajaran yang semampunya...'
Note: 'sudah dicapkan di negeri Eropah kerana diajukannya persamakan yang berhak pada ke bawah Duli Yang Mahasis Duta Jobor.'
Sold by: Gudang Katze Bonheur, Singapore; kedai Tuan Haji Abdal Samad at. Haji Muhammad Amin, 177 Arab Street, [Singapore]; kedai Haji Pueh at. Syalih Abu Batir, Pulau Pinang
References: Jawor Peranakan no.748, 17 August 1891 etc. (advertisement); Daftar Klub a 1898 ['Acara Manusi atau Penduga Akal']; Nukhoda Muda 1900
Locations include: BL OIOC 14650.S.94; OIOC 14650.S.66; UM PL139.3 Hik; SOAS 431812