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A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE SYAIR PERANG
SIAK, WITH A CONSIDERATION OF ITS LITERARY
AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

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of

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in the

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by

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The discovery of tin in its upper reaches in the late Seventeenth Century made the Siak River the principal access to the Menangkabau Daré in the Eighteenth Century when Menangkabau gold and tin were important commodities in trade between Europe and China.

Prosperity in the Straits of Malacca also attracted the Bugis, and regional politics in the Eighteenth Century was characterised by continual conflict between the Menangkabau and Bugis.

The Dutch Company in Malacca broke its longstanding policy of neutrality when an alliance between Alam, the ruler of Siak, and the Bugis threatened their flow of goods from Siak. The ^{Dutch} helped Alam's half-brother, Mahmud, take the throne, and placed a garrison at Pulau Guntung to ensure their monopoly. Mahmud denied Malacca's sovereignty or right to restrict trade, and massacred the garrison.

The Syair Perang Siak gives a Siak account of the Dutch punitive expedition of 1761. The campaign was an aside in the flow of international history and had little lasting significance.

The thesis analyses the structure and contents of the syair and it is shown that

(i) Raja Kecil's story is introductory and serves to show that Siak was not subject to Johor or Malacca;

(ii) Mahmud is the central figure in the eyes of the poet; and

(iii) although most of the text concerns Ismail, he serves only to keep alive the right of Mahmud's descendants to rule in Siak.

The hypothesis is presented that the syair is a work of political propaganda written to establish the right of Mahmud's heirs to the Siak throne.

It is inferred that the syair was written in about 1820, at the time when the Netherlands was reentering Sumatra after the Napoleonic Wars. It was designed to press the claim of Raja Akil, an officer of the colonial militia, to succeed Said Ali as Sultan of Siak.

KL 154 is adopted as the base manuscript. It is the one manuscript written in the social milieu of the syairist. KL 153 and v.d.W. 273 are copies of KL 154 and were written for Dutch scholars by scribes unfamiliar with the background to the text.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. AIMS AND INTENTIONS

One of the dilemmas in preparing this thesis has been to know whether the work under consideration should be considered as history or literature, whether to focus on the times of which the syair speaks or the syair itself.

To seek "history", in the sense of past events, in a syair which has few personal or place names, no dates, and alludes to rather than narrates events seems a futile exercise. Yet, "history", in the sense of someone's thoughts on the past, it most certainly is. We are fortunate in having within Netscher's history,⁽¹⁾ compiled from journals in the old Malacca archives, a parallel account of the central events referred to in the syair, and it is quite remarkable how the sequence of events follows a similar pattern in each case so that it is possible confidently to match particular events from each source.

The syairist's approach to the past may satisfy many of the requirements of history presented (though not necessarily agreed with) by E.H. Carr.⁽²⁾ For example, he saw the past through the eyes of his own time, and he saw his main task as evaluating, not recording. However he falls short of the more stringent requirements of G.R. Elton⁽³⁾ for he was not bound by his material and he felt

(1) NETSCHER, E. "De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak..."

(2) CARR, E.H. "What is History?" pp. 20-22.

(3) ELTON, G.R. "The Practice of History" pp. 77-78.

no restriction on his right to make history by "choosing this fact and ignoring that". Nor is it certain that the syairist saw himself as a chronicler of events.

The events were real enough to him and doubtless he regarded any fact presented as historically accurate, but the Malay poet was much more interested in his effect on his audience. His art was to make them exult with the victor, sorrow with the anxious and troubled, and weep with the mourner. Here is a recent Indonesian view of the purpose of this syair:

"Pada masa dahulu, apabila Syair Perang Siak akan dibacakan, maka diadakan semacam upacara khidmat diistana (baik diistana Siak maupun diistana Pelalawan) untuk mengingat para pahlawan yang telah gugur dalam pertempuran-pertempuran itu. Dan waktu itu dipanggillah keistana beberapa biduan yang elok dan merdu suaranya untuk membacakan Syair Perang Siak ini.

Suasana yang khidmat itu, diresapi dengan irama syair yang berbagai jenis lagunya, menimbulkan aneka perasaan bagi yang mendengarnya. Pada saat sedih, airmata akan berjatuhan dan isak sedu memenuhi ruangan. Tetapi bila syair sampai pada saat pertempuran, iramanya yang tegas menimbulkan semangat juang yang tak mau diam". (4)

[In former days, when the Syair Perang Siak was to be read, special ceremonies were arranged (in the palaces of both Siak and Pelalawan) to honour the memory of the men who had

(4) See p. 7.

fallen in those battles. For the occasion, singers of pleasing appearance and fine voice were summoned to the palace to present the Syair.

The respectful atmosphere was pervaded by the great variety of rhythms of the syair which gave rise to as many different feelings within the hearers. At moments of sadness, tears would flow freely and sobs would fill the hall. But when the time of battle arrived in the syair, the martial rhythms brought out fighting spirits which would not be still.]

It must be allowed then that the Malay poet's preference for atmosphere and emotion over sense and factual narrative, make the explicit evidence of the syair most difficult to use in the production of a factual regional history.

A literary approach, on the other hand, need not restrict itself to a consideration of rhyme and rhythm, imagery and emotion. Nor need it eschew any consideration of the object of the poet's attention. The syairist would have been aware of more conventional history and his intention was to complement it rather than compete with it. A full appreciation of this syair requires some prior knowledge of the period which the poet assumed his audience had.

A literary approach may not only tell us why the poet records Sultan Mahmud Syah's funeral in a certain way, but it may also reveal why he records Sultan Mahmud Syah's funeral in preference to Raja Kecil's. Besides explaining

(4) T.S. DJAAFAR M et.al. "Cerita-Cerita Rakyat di Daerah Riau" p. 24.

the mode of recording military engagements, it may also explain why particular engagements, considered too trivial to include in the Sejarah Melayu⁽⁵⁾ yet verifiable from Dutch sources, should be recorded in preference to more broadly significant events. Answers to such questions could facilitate the placement of the syair in its literary, social, political and historical perspective.

A basic premise of this thesis is that the syair was a deliberate and conscious product of an individual who knew that "the most effective way to influence opinion is by the selection and arrangement of appropriate facts".⁽⁶⁾

The dilemma then is whether to focus on the events of 1761 to see what the syair adds to our understanding of that time, or to focus on the author and his work and to consider it from a literary and historiographical standpoint to see what it adds to our understanding of the Malay view of history and the use to which literature might be put.

I have chosen to focus on the poet and his work though, paradoxically, the body of the material presented relates to the events referred to in the syair (and the reason for this will become clearer later on). There is no "broad-fronted attack upon all the relevant material",⁽⁷⁾ to present a sweeping account of the region and the period. The "history" dealt with is circumscribed by the subject matter of the syair. The syair is concerned with historical events

(5) SM. For explanation of this text see pp 135-136.

(6) CARR, E.H., op.cit., p. 11.

(7) ELTON, G.R., op.cit., p. 88.

and so it must be tested for historical accuracy, but the procedures of this thesis are literary and only concerned with history insofar as the syair itself is about history and the poet was an historical person in an historical setting.

By studying the "chronicler" (if our author may be so classified) and his work, it is hoped that this thesis may come into Carr's "category of the raw materials of the historian" (8) and provide ^{historian} the _Λ with sufficient information to be able to make a valid judgement about whether or not he can and should use it. Such a decision and the question of how it might be used are outside the scope of the present inquiry.

To clarify the foregoing generalisations, there follows an outline of the methodology adopted.

(i) The fact of the syair's existence is taken as the starting point. Using the access given by the three extant and available manuscripts of the syair, a valid text of the syair is sought.

(ii) By analysing principally the ideas expressed in the syair, and also the range of literary techniques used to communicate those ideas, an assessment is made of the authors purpose in writing.

(iii) Then, moving outwards from the syair and comparing it with contemporary accounts and established historical constructions, an attempt is made to fit the syair into a chronological, social and political framework.

(8) CARR, E.H., loc.cit.

The empirical evidence on which hypotheses are developed is contained in the substance of the syair itself. The further the argument spreads away from the syair, the less is the thesis based on fact and the greater is the probability of error.

The justification of this approach relies heavily on Naguib Al-Attas's support of reflective analysis; discursive, deductive and dialectical procedures; and of interpretation as against fact, where empirical evidence is lacking. (9)

In "attaining certain knowledge by finding something the opposite of which is inconceivable" and accepting "that the test of truth is clarity to natural reason or self-evidence" (10), however, I fear that (whatever the merits of Naguib Al-Attas's arguments may be) most "certainty" and "self-evidence" arrived at in this work are owed to the "ignorance which simplifies and clarifies, which selects and omits" (11) as much as to the virtues of the logical process set out by Naguib.

However, the present writer attributes his overdependence on "natural reason" and the diminution of factual evidence as his arguments move away from the fact of the syair, not to any lack of zeal in seeking factual evidence, but to the paucity of available evidence. In the pattern of dialectical method advocated by Naguib, this thesis is intended as the first, affirmative category of a Hegelian

(9) NAGUIB AL-ATTAS, Syed "The Origins of the Malay Sha'ir" p, 41.

(10) *ibid.*

(11) CARR, E.H., *op.cit.*, p. 14.

triad. It is hoped that this thesis, like a Hegelian category, contains within itself sufficient evidence to deduce the second negative category; and, that it is of sufficient interest to stimulate such a development.

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The opening sections of historical background depend heavily on two unpublished theses by Dianne Lewis and (for the later period) C.L.M. Penders. They were especially valuable for assembling and finding sensible patterns in Dutch documentary material.

Towards the end of December 1975, when the thesis was being finalised, Leonard Y. Andaya's book became available. The first two sections were rewritten in the light of the new assessments and additional factual data it provided. The novelty of that material at the time of writing has probably created an imbalance in favour of the earlier period.

For the body of the thesis, as has already been stated, the syair itself was the principal source. However, it could not have been fully understood without the parallel account of E. Netscher. The Sejarah Melayu (Cod Or 7304) provided a broad background and the Tuhfat al-Nafis provided corroborative evidence.

The many other sources used for detail are acknowledged in the usual way. However, it should be recorded that the works of O.W. Wolters, although outside the period of the syair, have provided a model of scholarship and an inspiration.

B. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

SIAK AND TRADE

"Say, Billy, got a yaller ticket?"
 "Yes."
 "What'll you take for her?"
 "What'll you give?"
 "Piece of lickrish and a fishhook."
 "Le's see 'em."

MARK TWAIN

The people with whom the Syair Perang Siak is concerned are primarily of Menangkabau origin. The Menangkabau highlands comprise the whole of the mountain backbone of central Sumatra, and its people are quite uncharacteristic of those in South East Asian highland areas.

Robert Burling,⁽¹⁾ writing of mainland South East Asia, characterised hill people as hunters and fishers using primitive ladang agricultural techniques, politically, socially, culturally and linguistically fragmented and mutually hostile. This was in strong contrast to the people of the plains who developed advanced agricultural methods based on irrigated rice fields (sawah) which allowed denser population and required settled communities having stable centralised government to maintain it. Such a political and economic base facilitated the spread of ideas and the development of cultural, linguistic and religious homogeneity. Plains civilisations, said Burling, develop sophisticated courts around the sovereign power which were more readily accessible to foreign influences.

In Sumatra almost the exact opposite is true. There,

(1) BURLING, Robbins "Hill Farms and Padi Fields", pp.1-6.

the Menangkabau highlands have exercised a continuing, if fluctuating, influence over the peoples on the outskirts of their realm along the west coast on the Indian Ocean and the rivers leading east to the Straits of Malacca and the South China Sea. Names, like Pagar Ruyung, associated with the Menangkabau heartland, were known in story and legend far beyond the coast of Sumatra.

The civilisation of the Menangkabau Daré (Darat) was based on the settled wet-rice pattern which allowed for dense population. Raffles in 1818 estimated it to be in excess of a million, ⁽²⁾ and his letter to the Duchess of Somerset ⁽³⁾ provides many glowing pictures of the industry and technical sophistication of its well-ordered and closely settled communities. Approaching Pagar Ruyung, for example, he saw "The whole country, ... as far as the eye could distinctly trace, was one continued scene of cultivation, interspersed with innumerable towns and villages, shaded by the cocoa-nut and other fruittrees. I may safely say that this view equalled anything I ever saw in Java; the scenery is more majestic and grand, population equally dense, cultivation equally rich. ... Here, then for the first time, was I able to trace the source of that power, the origin of that nation, so extensively scattered over the Eastern Archipelago." ⁽⁴⁾

(2) RAFFLES, Sophia "Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles". p. 363.

(3) *ibid.* pp. 342-363.

(4) *ibid.* p. 360.

This extensive community was knit together by a strong and structurally unyielding matrilineal kinship system. At times there was a superstructure of kings, which may have followed succession in the male or female line and may have been dominant or have had a secondary role, but it was always dependent on the strong matrilineal kinship organisation which controlled the land and its inheritance according to firmly established and universally understood adat sayings.

The Menangkabau civilisation had, in 1818, a relatively advanced technology typical of a stable and enduring community. Raffles reports water-wheels used for irrigation in advance of any he had seen in Java, ⁽⁵⁾ and ancient skills in iron work and pottery, ⁽⁶⁾ the products of which were in demand outside the Menangkabau Daré, as well as its famed production of gold.

One of the characteristics noted by Burling in the plains civilisations, however, was missing. ⁽⁷⁾ The Menangkabau Daré was not accessible to foreign influence. The world's great religions did seep into the area, but they were of a derivative nature and adapted by the Menangkabau to their own modes of thought. Buddhism was not brought by Indian or Chinese, but by Javanese and Malay. Although Islam found its first foothold in Indonesia on the neighbouring northern tip of Sumatra in the 13th and 14th centuries

(5) *ibid.* p. 356.

(6) *ibid.* p. 363.

(7) BURLING, Robbins, *op.cit.*, p. 5.

and Islam in its unorthodox Sunni or Sufi form did penetrate inland in the 16th century, we can read of the struggles of local Islamic orthodoxy to influence Menangkabau community affairs against the resistance of the "Kaum Adat" in the first half of the Nineteenth Century. (8)

Raffles knew of no Chinese or European who had ever visited the country. (9)

Siak was one of the many means of access to the Alam Menangkabau. Before looking more closely at Siak's role in Sumatran trade, particularly in the Eighteenth Century, it is important to see the overall pattern of trade between the Alam Menangkabau and its rantau, and between Sumatra and the international trade routes.

The only European, of whom I am aware, to enter the Menangkabau Daré before Raffles was Thomas Dias, a Portuguese from Dutch Malacca. In 1684, he ascended from Siak, where he was the Dutch agent, and reached the eastern edge of the highlands. (10)

The eastern approach, though assisted by navigable rivers for a considerable distance, requires a difficult overland crossing of sparsely populated and little travelled foothills. The western approach, from the Indian Ocean was shorter, better defined and less perilous.

Wolters (11) quotes an early Sixteenth Century source which attributed the existence of the west coast ports of Barus, Priaman and Tiku to the access they gave to the Menang-

(8) UMAR-AHMAD TAMBUSAI "Riwayat Perjuangan Tuanku Tambusai Pahlawan Riau" eg. pp. 24-28.

(9) RAFFLES, Sophia, op.cit., pp. 341 and 356.

(10) See below, p. 354

(11) WOLTERS, O.W. "Early Indonesian Commerce" pp. 180-1 and note 56.

kabau highlands. There is also the implication that Barus the most northerly of those ports was peopled by Batak who brought down the produce of the Menangkabau. The Dutch established a settlement at Padang to collect the same products. Their preference for the west coast stemmed from very early times. The Portuguese had coasted up East Africa, crossed to Goa (on the west coast of India) and followed the conventional Indian and Arab trade routes which took them through the Straits of Malacca. Here they established themselves in 1511 and sought to dominate the trade route from "A Famosa" the fortress of Malacca.

The Dutch, settled in Batavia, in the early 17th Century, found that by continuing to sail south from the Cape of Good Hope they could exploit the westerly winds of those latitudes till they reached the desired meridian, then turn north and have the benefit of the South East Trades to take them across the Indian Ocean to the Sunda Straits or their desired destination. This route was pioneered by Hendrik Brouwer and others in 1611 and was recommended by the Dutch Company to all its shipping by 1613. (12)

The VOC thus had a west coast orientation to Sumatra. Even when they took Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641, the Dutch foresook any prior intention they may have had of maintaining Malacca as an entrepot, and used it for peace keeping in the Straits area to allow trade to flow freely

(12) "The Australian Encyclopaedia" Vol. III, p. 470.

to Batavia. (13)

As late as September 1841, Baud, the Netherlands Minister for Colonies, ordered the withdrawal of all troops from eastern Sumatra (14) with the intention of controlling the Menangkabau Daré and channelling all trade west to Padang.

To the east of the mountains were extensive low plains covered with dense forests which gave way to swamp lands nearer the coast. Sandbanks, hazardous to shipping, extended far out to sea forming, in places, a multiplicity of islands.

Only the rivers flowing from the mountains permitted travel or habitation. Yet the strength of these rivers combined with the tidal currents of the Straits made access to the mouths of many of the rivers unreliable. The rivers may for convenience be divided into three sections: those flowing to the north east, to the narrows of the Straits and to the South China Sea.

The northeast, where Aceh often controlled the sea-ports, and the rivers flowed from a Batak hinterland, is largely outside the scope of the present work.

The rivers flowing into the narrows of the Straits of Malacca: Rokan, Siak and Kampar, all rise in the Menangkabau region. The most important of these is the Siak for it alone has year round access. Both the Rokan and the Kampar have dangerous bores and sandbanks at their mouths making access hazardous and necessitating considerable delays. The

(13) ANDAYA, Leonard Y. "The Kingdom of Johor 1641-1728" p. 32.

(14) PENDERS, C.L.M. "The Expansion of Dutch Control on the Central West and East Coasts of Sumatra" p. 207.

role of the Siak River in trade between the Menangkabau Daré and the East-West traffic through the Straits of Malacca is our central interest and is returned to later.

Traditional access to the Menangkabau heartland was through the rivers which flow into the South China Sea: the Inderagiri, Batang Hari (Jambi) and the Musi (Palembang) and their tributaries. It is the Inderagiri (or Kuantan) and its tributaries which actually rise in the daré. Flowing south through Lima Puluh Kota and east from Lake Singkarak, they drain the waters of almost the entire heartland, though this fact is not significant for trade which must travel overland till it reaches the navigable waters of the foothills. Equally as accessible is the Batang Hari leading to Jambi.

Palembang is also accessible from the mountains, but the route was simply an extension of the route to Jambi. Raja Kecil, as a youth on his way to Rawas, first reached the Batang Hari and continued to Rawas via Limun on the upper reaches of the Tembesi and went on down the Musi to Palembang. ⁽¹⁵⁾ On his return, despite civil war (or perhaps because of it) he preferred to return to the highlands via Jambi. ⁽¹⁶⁾

Adityavarman, the first Menangkabau king, moved from Malayu (Jambi) to the highlands in AD 1349 ⁽¹⁷⁾ to escape the tyranny of Majapahit. An army from Majapahit eventually penetrated into the highlands by the same route in 1409. ⁽¹⁸⁾

(15) SM p. 414.

(16) SM p. 422.

(17) MANSOER, M.D. et.al. "Sedjarah Minangkabau" p. 58.

(18) *ibid.* pp. 226-227.

That, however, was by no means the first contact between the highlands and the south east coast of Sumatra.

Wolters provides evidence of maritime emporium towns in the Palembang-Jambi area from as early as the Fifth and Sixth Centuries. A number of kingdoms on the southern shores of the South China Sea sent missions to China in the first half of the Fifth Century but these gradually ceased till, by AD 473, only Kan-t'o-li at Palembang was sending missions, showing that it had established a monopoly in carrying the China trade.⁽¹⁹⁾ From its most favoured geographical position⁽²⁰⁾ Kan-t'o-li continued to control the China trade till a weak Ch'en dynasty in China from AD 557-589 no longer provided a certain market.⁽²¹⁾ Other kingdoms began sending missions to China and hegemony on the south east coast of Sumatra passed to Malayu (Jambi).

Again in the Seventh Century, the powerful Sui and T'ang dynasties attracted foreign trade.⁽²²⁾ Again, one kingdom established a monopoly. It was Srivijaya based in Palembang that alone sent missions to China after AD 670.⁽²³⁾ Unlike the Fifth and Sixth Centuries, the Srivijayan period was marked by an increase in local produce as a main trading item, rather than as a substitute, because China's sources of supply in western Asia were no longer

(19) WOLTERS, O.W., op.cit., p. 230.

(20) *ibid.* pp. 226-227.

(21) *ibid.* pp. 224-225.

(22) *ibid.* p. 232.

(23) *ibid.* p. 231.

available. (24) At this period also there was, from the beginning, a rivalry between Srivijaya-Palembang and Malayu-Jambi. (25) Between AD 1079 and 1082 the hegemony moved finally to Jambi which took with it the name of Srivijaya. This occurred at a time of economic difficulty for Srivijaya in its trade with China and the threat of rivals from Java and India. (26)

The foregoing may be an oversimplification of Wolters' sometimes tentative reconstruction, but overall we can see a marked similarity here to the pattern of Johor. For example, when Raja Muda in 1709 wished to join with his Orang Laut allies and meet a Siamese threat openly, he moved the capital from the relative security of the Johor river to Riau on the island of Bintan. (27)

A short time later in 1716, when suffering external setbacks and dissension in his own supports, Raja Muda was forced to follow the Sultan back to the Johor river, (28) where the gardens and plantations assured supply and the jungle gave the hope of personal safety in an emergency.

On the south east Sumatran coast, Palembang was the forward post when trade was the important consideration and a strong Chinese dynasty provided an assured market and a

(24) WOLTERS, O.W. *op.cit.*, pp. 232-233.

(25) WOLTERS, O.W. "The Fall of Srivijaya in Malay History" p. 93.

(26) WOLTERS, O.W. "Early Indonesian Commerce" pp. 250-251.

(27) ANDAYA, Leonard Y. *op.cit.*, p. 214.

(28) *ibid.* p. 241.

measure of protection for its suppliers.

Jambi became more significant when trade diminished, and the king was less sure of being able to attract local produce with his kingdom's economic dominance, and had to act to ensure his own domestic supplies. Jambi was important in the Srivijayan period when it was necessary to establish a firm control over the local production of resins, cloves, pepper, camphor and the multiplicity of materia medica which Chinese medicine demanded. (29) Finally Jambi was important for the line of retreat it offered. The Cola raids of the Eleventh Century made Jambi a preferable base, and we have already seen that Adityavarman after two years as King of Malayu (Jambi) from 1347 found it advisable, under Javanese pressure, to retire inland.

All three of the advantages of Jambi point to one thing - the access it provided to the Menangkabau highlands.

The history of the Menangkabau region has not been written in the way that Wolters and Andaya, by their thorough, far-reaching and fundamental research, have provided a safe framework for the early maritime kingdoms of south east Sumatra and Johor in the 17th and 18th Centuries. Indeed, the isolation of the Alam Menangkabau from curious foreigners, and the paucity of indigenous written material may mean that such a history can never be written. Nevertheless, one can make the broad generalisation that the predominant means of access to the Menangkabau Daré at any particular time was governed largely by the activities of external forces. These activities may have taken the form

(29) WOLTERS, O.W., op.cit., pp. 232-233.

of trading initiatives from China, India or Europe, or of local squabbles. When certain activities made one line of access unprofitable, undesirable or difficult, another line was developed by the initiative of either the Menangkabau people themselves or the would-be trader.

It is within these terms that some explanation can be sought for the emergence of Siak in the Eighteenth Century as a strong force in the affairs of the Straits of Malacca, though it is not the present intention to argue in detail the interdependence of the rise and fall of the various local kingdoms, for that would be a major task in itself.

In the straits of Malacca, emporium towns grew up in response to overseas trade at either extremity. To the north, for example, were Aceh, Kedah and Penang and to the south Singapore, Johor and Palembang. Only one emporium town developed in the Straits and that was at Malacca itself where the shipping channels run close to the Malay Peninsula. Shallows and sandbanks kept the international shipping well away from the Sumatran east coast on the straits.

The Kingdoms of the central Sumatran east coast related to one or other of these international entrepot ports. The competition which Siak gave Malacca for a period in the 18th Century was abnormal and, as we shall see, created largely by the ambivalence of the Dutch themselves.

The Malaccan Sultanate at various times established a hegemony over Siak, Kampar and Inderagiri which provided Menangkabau gold and pepper and local "honey, wax and lignum aloe, and foodstuffs", with Inderagiri and Kampar

supplying most of the Mengangkabau produce and Siak the major part of the local produce. In return Malacca supplied Coromandel and Gujarati cloth. (30)

When the Portugese captured Malacca in 1511, the Malaccan sovereignty over the Sumatran ports passed to Johor ruled by the descendants of the Malaccan line.

As the fishing industry developed at Bengkalis, at the mouth of the Siak River, in the Sixteenth Century and especially in the Seventeenth Century, the Sultan of Johor maintained a syahbandar there to rule in his name. (31) It was with this traffic in terubuk and terubuk roe that Raja Kecil became involved on his arrival in Bukit Batu. (32)

So, at the beginning of our period, there was very little to Siak apart from its jungle produce and the partial access which it afforded to the Menangkabau highlands.

In November 1674, the Menangkabau rulers of Petapahan and Kota Renah in the foothills of the Barisan and the upper reaches of the Siak sent down to Malacca a sample of their tin and in January 1676 signed a contract promising all their tin to the VOC. (33)

Since 1667-8 there had been a growing demand for tin in Europe. Malacca was asked to collect 100,000-400,000 pounds weight annually. It was used in Europe for brass

(30) MEILINK-ROELOFSZ, M.A.P. "Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago" pp.30 , 80-1.

(31) *ibid.*, p. 81.

(32) SM. p. 425.

(33) HOFFMAN, J.E. "Early Policies in the Malacca Jurisdiction of the United East India Company ..." p. 24 and 29. These two apparently separate references probably refer to the same treaty.

and pewter and in India to exchange for coin to use in purchasing Coromandel cloth. (34)

The discovery of commercial tin to the east gave the spark to revive outside interest within the Menangkabau Daré which had been long hemmed in on its west coast (35) and as close as Petapahan on its eastern border by the now very much weakened Aceh. (36)

Menangkabau initiatives led to disputes throughout the area. The Menangkabau Sultan of Kuantan came into conflict with the downstream kingdom of Inderagiri over control of tin (37) and there were disputes between Petapahan and Kabon, a new tin area, for control of this lucrative trade. (38)

Johor and Malacca took a major part in stimulating these disputes. When the Laksamana Paduka Raja realised the growing demand for tin, he took the opportunity of a Menangkabau revolt in Siak to visit the river in 1683, collect tribute and establish his own syahbandar in Bengkalis with instructions to restore trade to the interior. (39) Malacca sought to establish its own contacts with the highlands, and the journey of Thomas Dias in 1684 is clear evidence of this, but it still sought legal ratification of its trade in the 1685 Contract with Johor.

(34) ANDAYA, Leonard Y., *op.cit.*, p. 106.

(35) *ibid.*, p. 110.

(36) *ibid.*, p. 146.

(37) *ibid.*, p. 110.

(38) *ibid.*, p. 204.

(39) *ibid.*, p. 132.

The Laksamana was incensed by both the threatened loss of a growing source of revenue which he had been trying to cultivate for some years, and the implied denial of Johor's sovereignty which would very quickly be dissipated once Malacca established a monopoly of trade.

The promise in the 1685 Contract of exclusive trade in tin and gold on the Siak River, did Malacca no good despite its contract with Kota Renah, Kabon and Giti. The Laksamana and his successors, the Bendahara and the Raja Muda, disowned it and ignored it. In 1686 Johor renewed a treaty with Petapahan assuring that all Menangkabau goods would be sent to Riau.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Successive agreements between Johor and Malacca over trade in Siak placed increasingly harsher restrictions on the Dutch and contained claims to sovereignty in the Menangkabau rantau of the upper Siak River that Johor had not previously entertained.

Any joy the Dutch may have felt over Jacob van Naerssen's treaty with the Siak tin states faded when the Johor Bendahara was able to contrive, during wars between Kabon and Petapahan in 1690 (which the Dutch believed he had instigated himself), to divert Menangkabau produce down the Kampar River where Johor ships waited to collect it.⁽⁴¹⁾

The Bendahara incited Kabon against Petapahan in 1692 to destroy Dutch trade with Petapahan,⁽⁴²⁾ and reinforced Johor's control over the tin states with a tribute collec-

(40) *ibid.*, p. 146.

(41) *ibid.*, p. 173-4.

(42) *ibid.*, p. 176.

ting mission in 1694, though Petapahan refused to acknowledge it. (43)

The VOC were not to achieve in fact the rights they were granted in the 1685 treaty until well into the Nineteenth Century. Their trade with Siak fell away, not only because of the intransigence of Johor but also because the civil strife at its source dried up the supply of tin.

By the Eighteenth Century, Malacca had lost much of its predominance as a leading entrepot. The VOC had made a conscious decision to build up Batavia at the expense of Malacca and the Malaccan government was not permitted to use military measures in support of its trade. (44) The VOC policy was "leaving the Asian trade to the natives and 'plucking the fruits of prosperity' by taxation". (45)

This policy had serious results for Malacca because Siak was an acknowledged tributary of Johor and, without using military coercion, the Dutch had no authority to tax ships travelling with a Johor cap to and from Siak and the Sumatran east coast.

The Laksamana, Paduka Raja Tun Abdul Jamil, the effective ruler of Johor in the 1640s (46) and the Bendahara Sri Maharaja Tun Habib Abdul Majid who succeeded him in 1688 and ruled up till the end of the century, (47) had both exploited Malacca's weaknesses and attracted most local trade to Johor where they could provide a greater variety of Indian cloth at the lower price than the Company.

(43) *ibid.*, p. 178.

(44) *ibid.*, p. 30-33.

(45) *ibid.*, p. 78.

(46) *ibid.*, p. 159.

(47) *ibid.*, p. 180.

As competition for Siak tin and gold trade became more intense and Johor wished to assert its sovereign rights, one article became unusually significant - pedro de porco. Pedro de porco were kidney stones of animals which were used for medicinal purposes and as charms and were the traditional preserve of the king alone. The Bendahara Tun Habib sent instructions to Bengkalis and Siak in 1694 that all pedro de porco were to be delivered to him⁽⁴⁸⁾ as an acknowledgement of his sovereignty as well as for their intrinsic value.

In Holland in the Eighteenth Century they were worth ten times their weight in gold.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Raja Kecil used them as ceremonial gifts to accompany letters. While in Riau he endeavoured to ensure his supply and monopoly of this Siak item by threatening the death penalty for offenders.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Such a penalty was customary for offences involving lese-majesty.

A factor of increasing importance in Eighteenth Century trade was the China tea trade. This had an indirect but increasing influence on Siak. European financiers objected to the outflow of coin, especially gold, to pay for this product.⁽⁵¹⁾ The drain on gold supply in trade with China was a problem as old as the Roman Empire. The 18th Century European traders sought to ameliorate the difficulty with

(48) *ibid.*, p. 178.

(49) LEWIS, Dianne "The Dutch East India Company and the Straits of Malacca." p 49

(50) *ibid.*, p. 49.

(51) *ibid.*, p. 40.

cheap Menangkabau gold and the Siak River at that time became the major centre of that trade. (52)

Even Dutch efforts at monopolist contracts could not gain them control of this trade, for again their overheads made them unable to compete in cloth with Muslim Indian merchants. (53)

In the 1740s the Malaccans were allowed to pay higher prices for gold, and their contacts with Siak increased. (54) The detail of this contact is discussed below. Gold prices continued to rise and the Company was again priced out of the market. Siak must have provided a threat to Malaccan trade when, in 1746, Malacca accepted a vessel from Java for fear it "might go and deal with the English captain Munro at Siak, and take opium and cloth back to Java". (55)

By 1772 when the gold trade had collapsed⁽⁵⁶⁾ and more accessible tin was being developed elsewhere, such as in Bangka, interest in Sumatra turned to pepper; but that was a product associated at the time with Palembang, Jambi and Inderagiri, ports which had direct access to Batavia and were not always within the ambit of Dutch Malacca.

Siak was left to provide such products as "sapanwood and resin, along with ivory, sago, rattans and wax"⁽⁵⁷⁾ to the VOC and jungle goods, fish and foodstuffs such as rice to the Malaccan burghers. (58)

(52) *ibid.*, p. 40.

(53) *ibid.*, p. 41.

(54) *ibid.*, p. 43.

(55) *ibid.*, p. 183.

(56) *ibid.*, p. 44.

(57) *ibid.*, p. 49.

(58) *ibid.*, p. 65.

Timber for ship-building and repair was plentiful on the Siak River but among seafaring people in the days of wooden ships and fragile spars, access to timber seems to have been regarded in much the same light as watering and victualling, and few restrictions were placed on its exploitation, other than as a means of political antagonism.

Timber became more important when the China trade became more intensive. The trade brought with it the growth of the English Company which developed close contacts with Kedah and eventually, in 1786, needed to establish a port of its own at Penang to provide tin for its trade and a harbour for its fleet to wait, repair itself and take on supplies.

Sultan Mahmud of Siak in the 1740s and 1750s traded with Kedah where Indian merchants exchanged cloth for tin. (59) Not only were the English involved in the Kedah trade, but English merchants such as Munro visited Siak. (60)

However, the main Sumatran interest of the English Company was in the pepper ports of north Sumatra. This brought them into contact with Siak again for the aggressive new Sultan of Siak, Said Ali, established a tenuous hegemony over much of the north east coast during his reign from 1791-1811.

After the confused times of the Napoleonic Wars, there was fierce competition between the Dutch and English to re-establish their claims: the Dutch to regain their losses,

(59) *ibid.*, p. 183.

(60) *ibid.*, p. 183.

the English to hold what they had gained against the French when Dutch territory became French territory.

The English government, seeking to re-establish a strong Netherlands in Europe, was not always an ally of the English merchants in the East. The Dutch, without the backing of advanced industrial techniques at home, could not compete with the English and had nothing to sell. In defence, they introduced monopolistic policies which antagonised the English. Their only hope was to intensify the economic policy begun in the Eighteenth Century. In 1705 they had gained territorial control of Java⁽⁶¹⁾ and during the century turned from trade to the production of cash crops such as coffee and tea.⁽⁶²⁾

However, such a change in the Dutch attitude had little permanent effect on Siak for the 1824 Treaty of London divided the English and Dutch spheres of influence down the middle of the Straits of Malacca separating Siak from Malacca, its traditional trading partner.

Siak remained an independent sultanate till 1858⁽⁶³⁾ but its main interest to outsiders was its putative claim to suzerainty over the northern pepper ports, a claim which was shown to be shallow indeed when put to the test. When the Dutch tried to implement their 1858 contract with Siak and take over the northern pepper ports, they began a war with Aceh that lasted more than 30 years.⁽⁶⁴⁾

(61) ANDAYA, Leonard Y. op.cit., p. 197.

(62) COWAN, C.D. "Continuity and Change in the International History of Maritime South East Asia." p 11

(63) PENDERS, C.L.M., op.cit., p. 334.

(64) *ibid.*, p. 337.

On the west coast the Dutch were impelled to penetrate inland by the fear of the Paderi and the English. The Paderi had tried to attack Padang during the English interregnum⁽⁶⁵⁾ and, after the Dutch had taken over Padang and Priaman, Raffles refused to hand back their third port of Air Bangis.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Encouraged to action by anti-Paderi Menangkabau refugees, the Dutch moved inland to try to re-establish trade, and were confronted with the almost complete fait accompli of Paderi control.

Du Puy, the Dutch representative, concluded a treaty, in February, 1821, with some Menangkabau chiefs.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The Paderi resisted and Batavia had to send in reinforcements which arrived in December 1821. The commander of that force found the military situation so bad that, if the Dutch wished to stay in Sumatra, his only course of action was to attack with vigour.⁽⁶⁸⁾ By 1823 the Dutch had a strong foothold in the middle of the Menangkabau Daré,⁽⁶⁹⁾ but the war dragged on for many years.

Van den Bosch in 1830 was interested in occupying the east coast at strategic spots to control access to the highlands⁽⁷⁰⁾ and had a grand plan for peopling the east coast with "a more industrious people" and establishing a considerable coastal trade,⁽⁷¹⁾ but the need to pacify the

(65) *ibid.*, p. 74.

(66) *ibid.*, p. 76.

(67) *ibid.*, p. 87.

(68) *ibid.*, p. 92.

(69) *ibid.*, p. 96.

(70) *ibid.*, pp. 140-1.

(71) *ibid.*, p. 153.

English whose traders from the Straits Settlements were jealous of their rights to enter the east coast, led to Baud's adaptation of the van den Bosch dream. Baud's plan was to occupy the highlands and seal off the trade to the eastern rivers at its source.

Siak thus had little hope of re-establishing trade in the Nineteenth Century. Its one short period of significance was as a means of damaging the Paderi after 1820. For a resurgence of outside interest, Siak had to await the Twentieth Century and the discovery of oil.

C. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

SIAK AND SIAKKERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

... the wafts from his old home pleaded, whispered, conjured, and finally claimed him imperiously.

KENNETH GRAHAME

The story of the Siak line begins with the journey of Raja Kecil down the Siak River to Bukit Batu in the early years of the Eighteenth Century. He discovered prosperous Menangkabau traders in Bengkalis who accepted his authority and by 1717 was established as their leader.⁽¹⁾ Raja Kecil, however, was not a solitary figure but one of a number of similar adventurers within the pattern of Menangkabau expansion.

The flow of Menangkabau migration had been slowed by the ascendancy of Aceh. In the first half of the 17th Century Aceh had controlled the west coast outlets south to Padang,⁽²⁾ and, to the east, had commanded a tributary relationship from Petapahan on the very threshold of the Alam Menangkabau. With the withdrawal of Aceh, there was a resurgence of Menangkabau migration. Restrictive Dutch policies to the west gave them a preference for the east.⁽³⁾ At the same time Johor was moving into the east coast rivers, for, by the Dutch arrangements with Aceh and Johor in 1641, Aceh handed over its rights on the Rokan and Siak Rivers to Johor.⁽⁴⁾

(1) SM. pp. 425-6.

(2) SCHRIEKE, B. "Indonesian Sociological Studies". Part I, pp. 52-54.

(3) ANDAYA, Leonard Y. "The Kingdom of Johor, 1641-1728". pp. 76. See also pp. 111-112.

(4) *ibid.*, p. 82, note 104.

Two preliminary points should be made.

(i) Temporary or permanent Menangkabau emigration is a recurring phenomenon caused by the intransigence of the matrilineal kinship organisation in matters of inheritance.

(ii) When documents refer to Bengkalis they probably refer to the Orang Laut population, though Raja Kecil found many Menangkabau traders there. References to Siak in the late 17th and 18th Centuries probably refer to Menangkabau people, though Orang Laut settlements extended along the lower reaches of the Siak River. Sultan Abdul Jalil made a clear distinction between his people, the Orang Laut, and the Menangkabau settlers in the Malay Peninsula.⁽⁵⁾ The close connection between the Johor Sultanate and the Orang Laut is a continuing and significant theme in Andaya's "The Kingdom of Johor 1641-1728".

There were a number of Menangkabau adventurers claiming royal connections and status who sought power in the Straits prior to Raja Kecil. In 1677, Raja Ibrahim, ruled the Menangkabau states on the Malay Peninsula in opposition to Johor and Malacca;⁽⁶⁾ in 1682, Raja Hitam led a revolt against the Laksamana Paduka Raja in Siak;⁽⁷⁾ in 1687, the Raja Sakti tried to gather support against the Dutch;⁽⁸⁾ a Menangkabau revolt in 1705 led to a punitive expedition by Raja Muda to Bengkalis and Siak in 1708.⁽⁹⁾

(5) *ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

(6) *ibid.*, p. 109.

(7) *ibid.*, pp. 131-2.

(8) *ibid.*, p. 149.

(9) LEWIS, Dianne "The Dutch East India Company and the Straits of Malacca, 1700-1784", pp. 115 and 133.

No sooner had Raja Kecil taken Riau and returned temporarily to Siak in 1719 than he was attacked by Baginda Sultan Maharaja also claiming the authority of the ruler of Pagar Ruyung. His mission, he claimed, was to restore everything to its previous order. (10)

The Sejarah Melayu (Siak Chronicles) (11) describes Raja Kecil's early life after leaving the Menangkabau homeland to become involved in Palembang affairs (12) and visit Johor in the service of the Sultan of Palembang; (13) to return subsequently to Rawas and marry; and to take part in a civil war in Jambi before returning to Pagar Ruyung to announce his intention of going to Siak. (14) Andaya advances contemporary events occurring in Palembang, Johor and Jambi which increase the probability that the SM gives an authentic account of Raja Kecil's early life. (15)

On his arrival in Bengkalis, Raja Kecil claimed to be an official Pagar Ruyung emissary but a number of facts casts doubt on his genuineness. These were the arrival of Baginda Sultan Maharaja in 1719, also from Pagar Ruyung, in opposition to him, the absence of the Pagar Ruyung cap on Raja Kecil's letter of introduction of 4th December 1717 to Malacca, and the contradictory ideas expressed in that letter from those in letters from Pagar Ruyung received the previous

(10) ANDAYA, Leonard Y., op.cit., p. 286.

(11) Cod Or 7304. See L "Explanation, Definitions and Abbreviations" pp. 135-137

(12) SM. p. 414.

(13) SM. pp. 415-6.

(14) SM. p. 422.

(15) ANDAYA, Leonard Y., op.cit., pp. 261-2.

August and October. ⁽¹⁶⁾ It is not improbable, of course, that there was a division of opinion, and even of authority, in the highlands or rantau (in its narrower sense).

It is also doubtful that Raja Kecil accepted and propagated the oft told tale of his descent from Sultan Mahmud Syah of Johor (murdered ⁱⁿ 1699), (although it is noteworthy that Raja Kecil's son by the Johor Princess, Kamariah, was named after Mahmud Syah). We are again indebted to Andaya for pointing up the absence of any such claim in his letters to Malacca of 1719, ⁽¹⁷⁾ and for the fact that it was the Bendahara Tun Abdullah who took back with him from Bengkalis the story of a son of Sultan Mahmud Syah being sent by the Menangkabau Emperor to claim his rightful heritage in Johor. ⁽¹⁸⁾

The suspicion of collusion between the Bendahara and Raja Kecil in the attack on Johor is corroborated by the Portuguese account of events in the Johor River in 1718. ⁽¹⁹⁾ The Orang Laut who had provided the police force of the Johor Sultans in time of peace and their military arm in time of war as well as providing the Sultan's transport, had been alienated by the murder of Sultan Mahmud Syah which broke the continuity of the centuries old alliance between the descendants of Sri Tri Buana and Demang Lebar

(16) *ibid.*, pp. 250-2.

(17) *ibid.*, pp. 271 and 284.

(18) *ibid.*, p. 253.

(19) *ibid.*, p. 256.

See also LEWIS, Dianne, *op.cit.*, p. 314.

Daun. The Orang Laut supported the mystic majesty inherited by the Johor Sultans rather than their persons. The Bendahara would certainly have realised that he needed a descendant of Mahmud Syah if he wished to rally the Orang Laut and overthrow the aggressive Raja Muda. If Raja Kecil had been in Palembang, where many of the Orang Laut proposed to go after the murder, (20) and if he had visited Johor in 1713 in the retinue of Pangeran Dipati Anum from Palembang, he too would have understood the situation.

In fact elements of the Orang Laut did rise in support of Raja Kecil (21) though it is noteworthy that fighting broke out in Bengkalis between the Orang Laut who had gathered there and the Menangkabau, over whether Raja Kecil was a descendant of the Johor Sultan. (22) The Menangkabau, it seems, recognised Raja Kecil only as a son of the Menangkabau royal house.

The story related in SM was readily adopted by Malay writers for it offered an explanation for the defeat of Johor and fulfilled the requirements of the theme that derhaka would be punished by divine retribution. (23) The syair relies on Raja Kecil's support from Pagar Ruyung and makes no mention of descent from the Malaccan line.

Raja Kecil did not spend the whole of the period 1718-1722 in control of Riau. Within six months, following a

(20) ANDAYA, Leonard Y., op.cit., p. 276, note 49.

(21) *ibid.*, p. 264.

(22) *ibid.*, p. 264.

(23) *ibid.*, pp. 265, 271 and 272.

misunderstanding with Raja Kecil, Sultan Abdul Jalil (re-
stored to his former status of Bendahara) fled to Trengganu.
 Raja Kecil, following the Malay pattern, returned for safety
 to Bengkalis and left the regalia in the care of the Orang
 Laut as surety for his return. ⁽²⁴⁾ In Bengkalis, Raja Kecil
 was subjected to Bugis attacks and eventually responded by
 returning to the Orang Laut and taking the offensive. How-
 ever, in battle, fortune repeatedly favoured the Bugis, ⁽²⁵⁾
 and he abandoned Riau, though not the hope of regaining it,
 in 1722.

The presence of the Bugis in Johor territory is im-
 portant in the syair for it is used as the reason for refu-
 ting Johor's suzerainty over Siak, ⁽²⁶⁾ and is therefore
 the implied motive for Raja Kecil's attack in Riau. ⁽²⁷⁾
 (The syair is here perhaps ~~a little~~ anachronistic, for it
 is generally agreed that Raja Kecil's invasion of Johor was
 the cause rather than the result of Bugis domination of
 Johor).

Although the Bugis had been in Johor territory in the
 Seventeenth Century, two factors early in the Eighteenth
 Century brought them into greater prominence. Daing Marewa
 and Daing Manompok drew the Bugis groups together under
 their leadership; and, some Bugis had been used in Johor to
 replace the disaffected Orang Laut in their duties of pa-

(24) *ibid.*, pp. 280-1.

(25) *ibid.*, pp. 290-2.

(26) Stanza 9.

(27) Stanza 22.

trolling, fighting and rowing.

When Daing Marewa came into conflict with the Raja Muda over the distribution of spoils from his involvement in the Kedah civil war, the resulting Johor-Bugis wars created a Malay-Bugis division of loyalties in the Straits area. The Menangkabau, at first aligned with Raja Muda, became disenchanted when the hostilities dried up trade on the Siak River in fear of both the Bugis and Johor patrols. (28)

In the words of the syair

"ke Johor konon ketaklukannya
 raja Bugis memerintahkannya
 muafakat Menangkabau sekaliannya
 hendak mencarikan rajanya". (29)

As we have seen above, Johor's claim to suzerainty in Siak increased in the latter half of the Seventeenth Century and, despite rebellion, and conflict with Dutch Malacca, was well based in fact down to the time of the Bugis wars of 1715-1717. As late as December 1715, Petapahan thought it prudent to send a delegation to the Raja Muda objecting to his latest tax imposition, rather than ^{to} reject tribute outright. (30)

For the next 25 years, until Sulaiman found the strength to take independent action, the pattern of conflict in the Straits was based on the division between the Bugis and Menangkabau. The Bugis gave the throne to Sulaiman and displaced the Orang Laut and many of the Orang Kaya in the

(28) LEWIS, Dianne, op.cit., p. 146.

(29) Stanza 9.

(30) ANDAYA, Leonard Y., op.cit., p. 236.

functioning of the state and, thereby, were absorbed into the administrative structure of Johor. Indeed, Johor's interests became synonymous with Bugis interests.

On the Menangkabau side, Raja Kecil continued to oppose the Bugis faction till his death in 1746. After 1722, Raja Kecil had greater military success against the Bugis with victories at sea in 1725⁽³¹⁾ and 1727.⁽³²⁾ The latter victory won for Raja Kecil the return of his wife, Kamariah and his son, Mahmud.⁽³³⁾ ⁽³⁴⁾ For the first time Raja Kecil's 14 year old son, Alam, would have met the 4 year old Mahmud. The mutual antagonism of these two boys set the pattern in Siak affairs for the whole of the period of the syair and beyond.

Raja Kecil's newly successful policy of aggression received a setback with a heavy defeat in 1728.⁽³⁵⁾ This, together with the death of his antagonist, Daing Marewa, in the same year,⁽³⁶⁾ marked the beginning of the end of the more active phase of Raja Kecil's career. With the coming of age of his sons, their conflict broke down the clear cut Bugis-Menangkabau division.

(31) *ibid.* p. 307.

(32) *ibid.* p. 308.

(33) SM. p. 441.

(34) Many writers prefer the name Muhammad in its various spellings. In Jawi, Muhammad is usually spelt m-h-m-d and Mahmud m-h-m-w-d. I am not sure whether the lack of discrimination between these two names is of Malay or European origin. Mahmud is preferred here following SM and H. von de Wall.

(35) ANDAYA, Leonard Y., *op.cit.*, p. 311.

(36) LEWIS, Dianne, *op.cit.*, p. 160.

Alam was born in Rawas⁽³⁷⁾ and followed his father to Siak when he heard in Palembang that his father ruled there.⁽³⁸⁾

Mahmud, as we have seen, was an anak gahara whose mother was the daughter of Sultan Abdul Jalil of Johor and elder sister of Sultan Sulaiman.

Curiously, it was the youthful Mahmud that Raja Kecil married to the daughter of a renegade Bugis, Daing Mateka, to seal an alliance.⁽³⁹⁾ Alam later allied himself with the mainstream of Bugis activity and, after 1748 married Daing Khatijah, the sister of Daing Kemboja.

Dr Lewis indicates that the brothers alternated quite frequently in Siak. Mahmud succeeded his father in 1746 but was soon driven out by Alam.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In 1747 he returned to Siak.⁽⁴¹⁾ Alam settled in Siantan but was attacked by Sulaiman who had supported Mahmud in his attempt to regain Siak.⁽⁴²⁾ Alam returned to Batu Bahara where he allied himself with the Bugis. He successfully invaded Siak again in 1753.⁽⁴³⁾ Mahmud sought help from Sulaiman who was now asserting his independence from the Bugis^{and} offered to acknowledge Johor sovereignty in return.⁽⁴⁴⁾ It was in fact

(37) SM. p. 422.

(38) SM. p. 443.

(39) LEWIS, Dianne, op.cit., p. 160.

(40) *ibid.*, p. 181.

(41) *ibid.*, p. 182.

(42) *ibid.*, p. 182 note 40.

(43) *ibid.*, p. 191.

(44) *ibid.*, p. 191.

the Dutch who sent a small force to help reinstate Mahmud in 1755. (45)

Control of Siak from the death of Raja Kecil may then be summarised:

(i)	Mahmud	1746
(ii)	Alam	1746-1747
(iii)	Mahmud	1747-1753
(iv)	Alam	1753-1755
(v)	Mahmud	1755-1760 (Mahmud's death)

Some of this is reflected in the SM⁽⁴⁶⁾ but very little in the syair. Two elements in Mahmud's final takeover of Siak however are crucial to an understanding of the syair: his willingness to barter Siak's sovereignty and the interference of the Dutch. ^{two} These elements are connected.

Since his accession, Sulaiman had been in the power of the Bugis. His freedom to seek support had been limited to judicious marriages such as the marriage of his daughter to Mansur of Trengganu in 1729. (47) The Dutch had, for 80 years, maintained a policy of neutrality and peacekeeping, acting only to defend their trade routes which most local princes were wise enough to leave unmolested. The rise of the Bugis caused the Dutch some concern and they were sympathetic to Raja Kecil in his struggle with them (48) and supplied him with gunpowder and munitions. (49)

(45) *ibid.*, p. 192.

(46) SM. pp. 448-470.

(47) LEWIS, Dianne, *op.cit.*, p. 180.

(48) ANDAYA, Leonard Y., *op.cit.*, p. 299.

(49) LEWIS, Dianne, *op.cit.*, p. 165.

The death of the Raja Muda, Daing Cela, at Riau in 1745 and the absence of his successor, Daing Kemboja, in Selangor gave Sulaiman the chance he had waited for and he sought the aid of the Company.⁽⁵⁰⁾ He had little power to offer trading concessions, but to show his sincerity he offered the Company the territory of Siak.⁽⁵¹⁾ Siak, of course, had not been subject to Johor for thirty years. Although it was at the time ruled by Alam (1746-7), Mahmud (who was currently attempting to gain control of the Mengakabau at Rembau) was embittered by the gift and declared that both Siak and Riau were subject to Pagar Ruyung and that he would not accept orders from any other power.⁽⁵²⁾ We have seen that Mahmud offered the sovereignty to Sulaiman seven years later - a clear indication that he continued to regard himself as the rightful and independent ruler of Siak.

Although the Dutch did not immediately take advantage of the gift, they did not quibble at Sulaiman's right to make it. This is a splendid example of the legalistic attitude of the Europeans in justifying their occupation of territory (to the extent that the overlord would not have considered his right) by reference to their treaties with long absent landlords. It explains their preoccupation with establishing the succession of once powerful dynasties. Such gifts and treaties became the premises on which Dutch

(50) *ibid.*, pp. 180-1.

(51) *ibid.*, p. 181.

(52) *ibid.*, p. 182.

and English diplomats built their mutually irrelevant arguments which, until quite recent years, were the primary concerns of historians.

An attempt is made below⁽⁵³⁾ to show that the early section of the syair is designed to counteract the notion that Johor maintained any residual rights in Siak which it could transmit to Malacca. The syairist was thus showing that Dutch aggression against Siak was the use of naked force.

We have seen in Section A that Siak was, in the time of Mahmud, an important supplier of Menangkabau gold. The threat of Dutch intervention was used to make Siak more acquiescent to the will of the VOC.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Malacca provided gun powder and supplies to help Sulaiman attack Alam at Siantan,⁽⁵⁵⁾ and eventually in 1755 helped Mahmud retake Siak apparently in the belief that he would be more amenable to Dutch wishes than Alam had been (especially since his^[Alam's] alliance with the Bugis).

Alam responded by attempting to form a coalition with the Bugis against Sulaiman and the VOC.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The Dutch saw an opportunity to rid themselves of the Bugis and made a treaty with a reluctant Sulaiman in 1756. Daing Kemboja acted first and besieged Malacca for some months from October 1756.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Kemboja and Alam required Dutch neutrality

(53) Sections G.H and I.

(54) LEWIS, Dianne op.cit., pp. 184-5.

(55) *ibid.*, p. 190.

(56) *ibid.*, p. 192.

(57) *ibid.*, p. 193.

while they destroyed Sulaiman and Mahmud. (58) The Dutch could not accede to such a demand and the besiegers, without the power to inflict permanent injury on the Dutch and in some danger of a terrible revenge from Batavia if they should try, retired.

The Dutch after making peace with Kemboja in 1758, again withdrew into neutrality. (59) In the conflict that was to come between Malacca and Mahmud, Kemboja, restored in Riau, refused to take sides. (60)

As a relic of their brief involvement in local affairs, the Dutch retained their factory at Pulau Guntung. It had been established in 1756 to ensure gold supplies from the Siak. One assumes Mahmud did not approve of its establishment, but, as the immediate beneficiary of the Dutch action in removing Alam, there was little he could do at the time. However, when the Dutch placed heavy restrictions on trade, he did react, and violently.

Because of its high overhead costs, the VOC could only compete for gold when protected by exclusive policies. They excluded from Siak all vessels from Aceh, Kedah and India (the source of cloth to pay for the gold). (61) We get a hint of Mahmud's immediate response from Governor Dekker's 1759 Report where he suggested that three ships rather than two were necessary for efficiency: one to stay on the river,

(58) *ibid.*, p. 194.

(59) *ibid.*, p. 200.

(60) *ibid.*, p. 206.

(61) *ibid.*, p. 225.

one to transport the cargoes between Siak and Malacca, and one to patrol the Kampar River. (62)

The most negotiable portage between the Siak and Kampar Rivers was from Mempura to Pelalawan. With the mouth of the Siak River cut, it seems that Mahmud was forced to utilise this difficult crossing to avoid the garrison at Pulau Guntung hence Governor Dekker's need for the third ship. The usual charge of piracy was made (63) when Mahmud took measures to insist that the alternative route, involving greater hardship and the risk of Dutch reprisal, should be used.

The impossible situation was resolved by Mahmud in the massacre of the garrison at Pulau Guntung in 1759.

Ironically, the VOC, having suffered their own hardship during their recent conflict with the Bugis and having found their involvement in the area financially unrewarding, were considering withdrawing their garrison. In December 1759 they withdrew a similar garrison from Linggi. (64) It was the honour and stature of the Company rather than the arguments of the Malaccan officers of the need to maintain the garrison and exclude others, that persuaded the VOC to mount the 1761 punitive expedition and remain in Siak until 7th May 1765, (65) the earliest date that they could retire with decorum.

(62) *ibid.*, pp. 43-4.

(63) *ibid.*, p. 226.

(64) *ibid.*, p. 220.

(65) *ibid.*, p. 221.

The punitive expedition of 1761 against Mahmud's son and successor, Ismail, comprises the major part of the subject matter of the syair. It will be seen that the war was not against the Bugis who remained neutral, nor against Sulaiman who had been an ally of Mahmud before his death in 1760. It was caused by a dispute between Mahmud and the Dutch, though Mahmud did not live to fight the battles. The war was not primarily about trade, though trade had caused the dispute. The war was an isolated incident outside the mainstream of events. The result affected only one family and mattered little in the broad sweep of regional history.

As the syair points out, to be successful Malacca needed a Siak ally. That need was satisfied by a reconciliation with Alam which resulted in the Treaty of 1761.

The defeated Ismail spent twenty years in exile. During that time he combined with Mansur of Trengganu to fight the Bugis, and returned to Siak shortly before his death in 1781. Meanwhile Siak was ruled by Alam and his son Muhammad Ali. The latter was a strong figure in Siak and he had an aptitude for survival. He pleased the Dutch⁽⁶⁶⁾ and managed to remain in Siak throughout the reigns of Mahmud, Ismail, Alam and Yahya. As a son of Alam and a son-in-law of Mahmud by his marriage to Tengku Ambang Besar, he had a secure place during the rule of both sides of the family. Some sources do not acknowledge him as being Sultan himself,⁽⁶⁷⁾ yet he was ever the power behind the

(66) *ibid.*, p. 227.

(67) WINSTEDT, R.O., "A Malay History of Riau and Johore" p. 302.

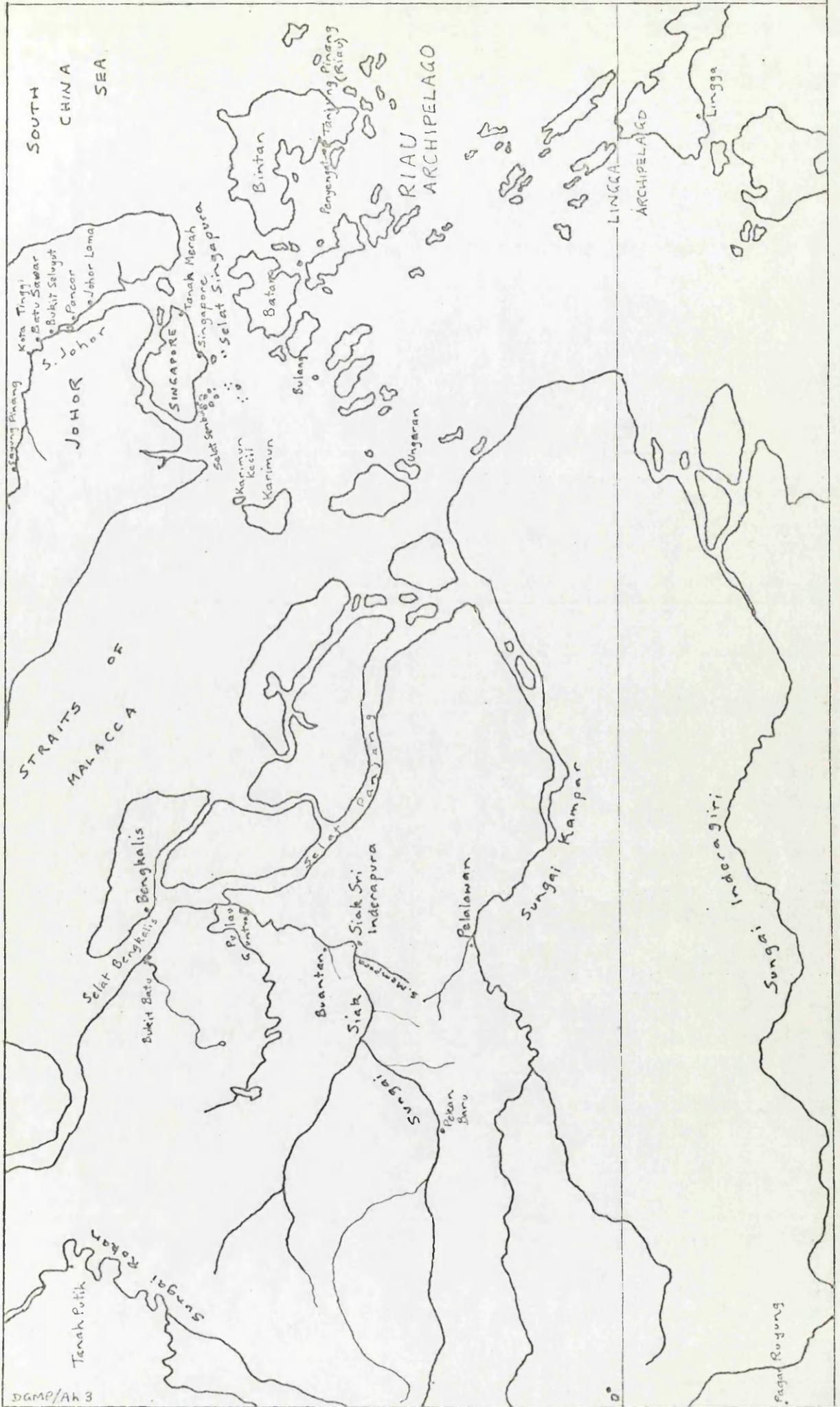
throne. He was Ismail's leading military commander in 1761 and it was his death in 1791 that left Yahya without the power to carry on as sultan.

Yahya was oppressed by Said Ali, son of an Arab (Said Osman) and Tengku Embung Badariah, (the daughter of Alam). He frightened Yahya into going on a visit to Trengganu, ostensibly to visit the grave of his mother, ^{where he} died at [^] Dungun in 1791. Said Ali, who had ruled in his absence as regent, succeeded him.

Said Ali was a strong king and extended Siak's influence along the east coast of Sumatra, especially to the north. His brother was installed as Sultan of Pelalawan in Kampar and there remained a close connection between the two houses.

The line of Ismail and Yahya appears to have lost any claim to significance. Ismail's brothers and their descendants seem to have suffered humiliation under the new regime and scattered around the coast and islands of the South China Sea where SM follows the exploits of some of them. This aspect is taken up again in Section I "Hypotheses concerning the Origin of the Syair".

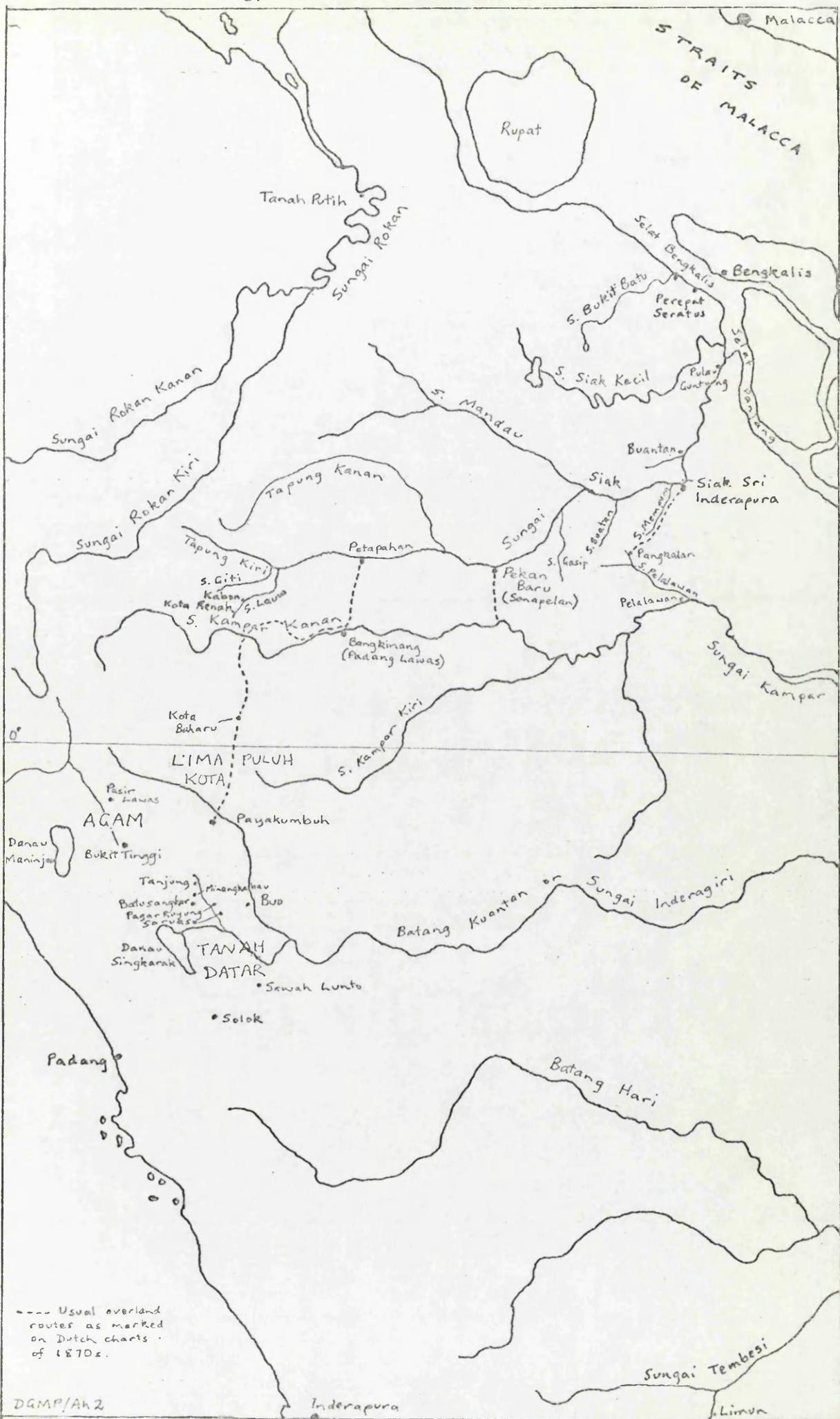
2. CENTRAL EAST SUMATRA, JOHOR AND RIAU



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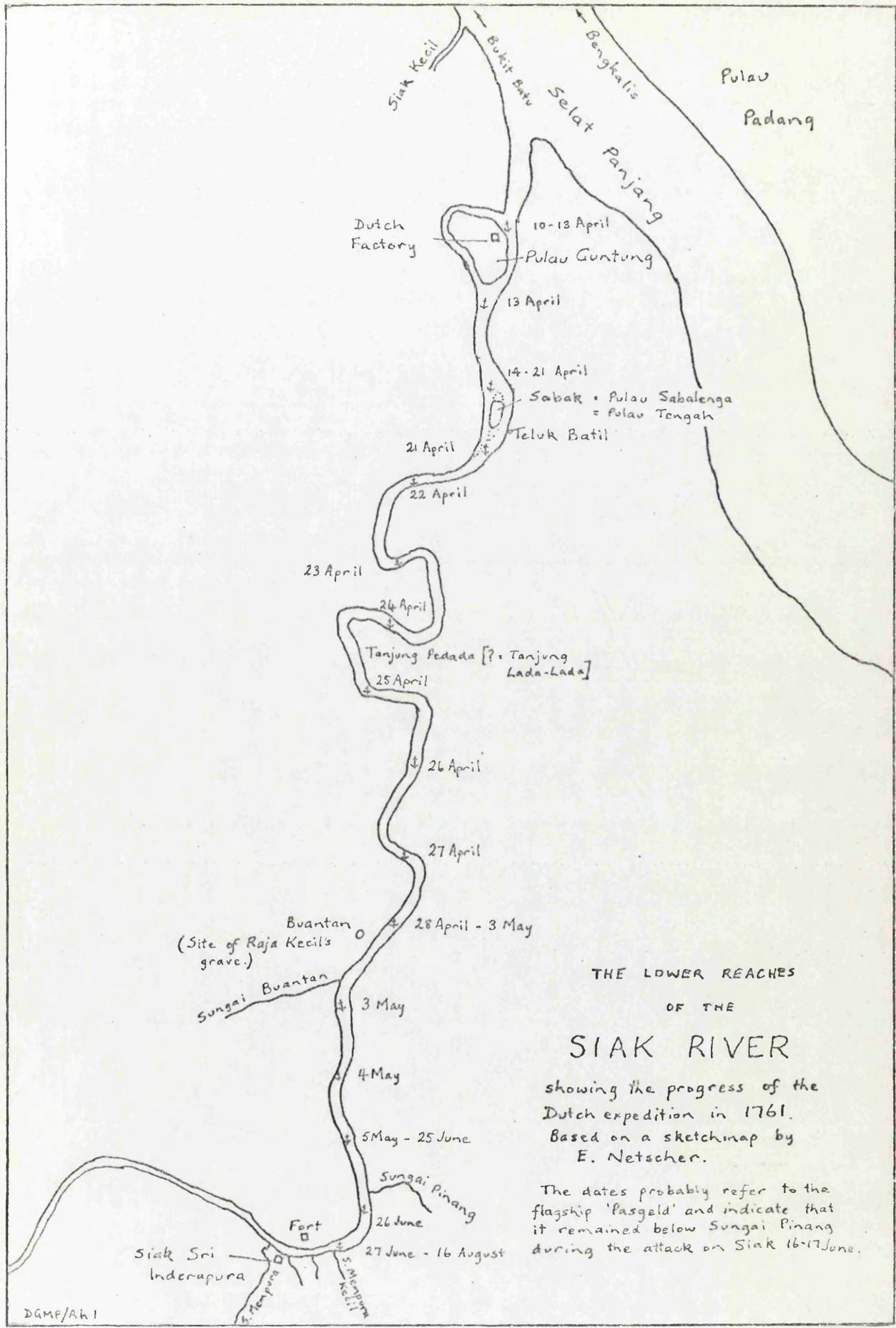
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Pagar Ruyung



--- Usual overland routes as marked on Dutch charts of 1870s.

4. LOWER SIAK RIVER



E. THE SULTANS OF SIAK

AND GENEALOGY OF THE DESCENDANTS OF RAJA KECIL.

Bahawa hamba minta diperbuatkan hikayat pada Bendahara, peraturan segala raja-raja Melayu.

SEJARAH MELAYU, RAFFLES MS 18

The following is a list of the Sultans of Siak who appear in the Syair Perang Siak or who are relevant to the arguments presented concerning the origins and significance of the syair.

None of the information is available in the syair itself but must be gleaned elsewhere. Sultans ^{not} are mentioned by name or title in the syair and their identification is based on inferences drawn from other works. The one exception is Muhammad Ali (St 252a) who was Panglima Besar to Ismail during the campaign of 1761.

The name used throughout the work is written in capitals. Except where an individual is widely known in literature by a particular name, the name chosen is the briefest and simplest. For example, the name Raja Kecil is preferred because he is already widely known by that name, but his son, normally called Mahmud Syah, is here called Mahmud because he is known by a variety of names and is not a significant figure in general histories to date. The same rule is applied to persons other than sultans where there is no risk of ambiguity.

The information is not intended to be exhaustive but relates only to matters that are believed to be significant to the syair.

I RAJA KECIL 1st Sultan of Siak

Tuan Bujang (SM p. 413)

Sultan Abdul Jalil Syah (SM p. 431)

Abdul Jalil Rahmat Syah Yang Dipertuan Raja Kecil
(TENE p. 26)

Marhum Buntan (TENE p. 28)

Kecil may also be written Kecik

b. 1699 or earlier

d. 1746

His antecedents are disputed. See for example WINSTEDT, R.O.

"History of Johore" pp. 54-55.

Sultan of Johor 1718-1722

Sultan of Siak 1722-1746

Capital in Siak at Buntan.

m. the daughter of the Dipati of Batu Kucing in Rawas
(SM. p. 422)

m. Tengku Kamariah, d. of Sultan Abdul Jalil of Johor
(SM. p. 430)

Children include IV ALAM q.v.

II MAHMUD q.v.

and Tengku Busu See St 174c and note
St 232b and note

Also married and had children in Kedah.

II MAHMUD 2nd Sultan of Siak

Tengku Buang

Raja Mahmud (also Muhammad etc.)

Tengku Mahmud

Sultan Mahmud Syah

Sultan Muhammad TE p. 39.

Tengku Buang Asmara Tengku Mahkota (TENE p. 28)

Abdul Jalil Muhammad Syah TE p. 38.

Sultan Abdul Jalil Muzaffar Syah (TENE p. 28)

Marhum Mempura Besar (TENE p. 32)

b. early 1723, in Riau, son of Kamariah. See St 70c note.

d. 23rd November, 1760 (NET p. 111)

Sultan of Siak 1746-1760. (See above pp. 41-42)

Capital at Mempura (Siak Sri Inderpura)

Children include III ISMAIL q.v.; Tengku Ambang Besar

(who married V MUHAMMAD ALI q.v. See also St 232b and note);

Abdullah (See St 258 note); Musa (See St 260a note); Abdul

Rahman (See St 261a note).

III ISMAIL 3rd Sultan of Siak Nov. 1760 - July 1761

6th Sultan of Siak 1779 (NET p. 134) - 1781
(NET p. 136)

Sultan Ahmad Syah (SM. p. 478)

Sultan Ahmad Abdul Jalil Syah (SM p. 137 and SM p. 471)

Sultan Alamuddin Syah Ismail TE 40

Sultan Abdul Jalil Rahmat Syah (NET p. 133)

Sultan Abdul Jalil Jalaluddin Syah (TENE p. 32)

Marhum Mangkat Dibalai

Capital at Mempura (Siak Sri Inderpura)

b. ?Ca 1745

d. towards end of 1781 (NET p. 136)

m. Tengku Sani, daughter of Tengku Busu, youngest son
of IRAJA KECIL

m. Raja Neh, daughter of Sultan Mansur of Trengganu, 1771

Children include VI YAHYA q.v.; Tengku Badariah (who
married Akil, Sultan of Sukadana)

IV ALAM 4th Sultan of Siak 1761-1765 or later

Raja Alam (SM p. 448)

Sultan Alamuddin Syah (TE p. 42)

Sultan Abdul Jalil Alamuddin Syah (TENE p. 35)

Marhum Bukit (TENE p. 36)

b. Ca 1714 in Rawas to the daughter of the Dipati of
Batu Kucing and I KECIL. See St 70c note.

d. Ca 1779 in Senapelan (Pekan Baru)

Handed over government to son Muhammad Ali in 1765 but
may have retained legal title till death in ca 1779.

Capital at Senapelan (Pekan Baru)

Children include^V MUHAMMAD ALI, Tengku Akil (SM p. 453)
and Tengku Embung Badariah who married Said Osman

V. MUHAMMAD ALI 5th Sultan of Siak 1765-1779 (NET 134)

Tengku Muhammad Ali

Sultan Muhammad Ali

Sultan Muhammad Ali Abdul Jalil Muazzam Syah (TENE p. 38)

Sultan Abdul Jalil Mualam Syah (NET 134)

Marhum Pekan

Not regarded by WINSTEDT, R.O. "A Malay History of
Riau and Johore" p. 302 as a Sultan, probably because
Ismail returned soon after the death of Alam.

b.

d. 1791 (NET p. 143)

Panglima Besar and/or Yam Tuan Muda to II MAHMUD (TENE p. 29)

III ISMAIL, (SM p. 471, 473), IV ALAM, VI YAHYA.

Sultan of Selangor 1784 (NET 138)

See St 232b note.

VI YAHYA 7th Sultan of Siak 1781-1791

Tengku Sulong (SM 467)

Sultan Ahmad Syah (NET p. 137)

Sultan Yahya Abdul Jalil Muzaffar Syah (TENE p.38)

Marhum Mangkat di Dungun (TENE p. 39)

b. ? ca 1760

d. 1791 in Trengganu. (NET p. 143; WINSTEDT, R.O. loc.cit.)

m. Tengku Aminah, daughter of Tengku Musa and sister of AKIL.

Went to Trengganu in 1789 (NET 139) ostensibly to visit the grave of his mother, but probably for fear of Said Ali.

VII SAID ALI 8th Sultan of Siak 1791-1811

Tengku Udoh (NET p. 138)

Sultan Abdul Jalil Syaifuddin (NET p. 145)

Said Syarif Ali Abdul Jalil Syaifuddin Baalawi (TENE p.39)

Marhum Kota Tinggi (TENE p. 40)

Son of Said Osman bin Sy^ahab and Tengku Embung Badariah the daughter of IV ALAM (NET 139)

Regent to V MUHAMMAD ALI in Selangor 1784.

Chief of Bukit Batu 1788 (NET p. 139)

b.

d. 1st February 1821 (NET p. 147)

Handed over government to his son, Ibrahim, in 1810 (NET p.147)

m. Tengku Woh, daughter of Tengku Musa.

VIII IBRAHIM 9th Sultan of Siak 1811-1827

Sultan Abdul Jalil Khaliluddin Syah (NET p. 147)

Sultan Assyaidis Syarif Ibrahim Abdul Jalil
Khaliluddin (TENE p. 40)

Marhum Mempura Kecil

b.

d. ? 1827 PLUVIER, Jan M. "A Hand book and Chart ..." p 28

Succeeded to the throne on the retirement of his father

VII SAID ALI.

F THE SYAIR IN OUTLINE.

I Doxology 1-4

- 1 Bismillah
- 2 Praise God and His prophet.
- 3 Poet seeks pardon.
- 4 Has the king's approval.

II RAJA KECIL'S STORY 5-109

A Raja Kecil called to Bengkalis 5-21

- 5-8 Bengkalis was a thriving mart without a king.
- 9-14 The traditional overlord in Johor had been conquered by the Bugis and messengers went to Pagar Ruyung in Alam Menangkabau to seek a ruler.
- 15-18 Raja Kecil made the perilous journey through the forest.
- 19-21 Raja Kecil arrived and was accepted by all.

B The invasion of Johor 22-46.

- 22-27 When Raja Kecil stated his wish to attack Johor, detailed preparations were made.
- 28-33 The fleet set off in state and called at Perepat Seratus, Karimun Kecil and Selat Sembulan.
- 34-38 At Tanah Merah, Kecil prayed for success but could not sleep.
- 39-46 When Kecil entered Johor, the king was playing chess, but he and his people soon fled before the Siak guns.

C Raja Kecil established his kingdom at Buntan 47-69

- 47-51 People of Bengkalis agreed to accompany Kecil.
- 52-56 They built a new mart including defence works.
- 57-69 Buntan became a thriving centre for people of all nations, including the Dutch at Malacca, who were attracted by Kecil's just rule.

D Kecil's two sons quarrelled. 70-88

- 70-73 Kecil loved his two sons equally. They were cham-

pion fighters and gave him grandchildren but they were jealous of each other.

74-81 Their youthful antagonisms developed into civil war which threatened the country.

82-88 Kecil blamed the elder son for the quarrel and implied that he should go into exile. Both sons were heartbroken.

E Alam's Departure 89-109

89-100 Alam accepted responsibility for what had happened and set off downstream.

101-108 On his way downstream, Alam called to visit his own people who received him with honour and affection.

109 The poet's apologies.

III MAHMUD'S STORY 110-219

A Mahmud became King 110-122

110 Poet's apology.

111-112 Mahmud was sorrowful and sought means to compromise.

113 Kecil died.

114-118 Mahmud languished under the strain.

119-122 Mahmud was installed and all acknowledged him.

B Mahmud established himself at Mempura but before he could carry out his intentions became ill and died 123-174.

123-126 Mahmud established at Mempura.

127-132 His success attracted the envy and ill will of the Dutch and he planned to retaliate in a holy war.

133-151 His plans were interrupted by a chronic illness for which no cure could be found.

152-159 Mahmud's final injunctions for his family and subjects.

160-166 The seance.

167-174 Mahmud died.

C The Panegyrics. 175-203

- 175-194 The subjects mourned.
 195-196 His womenfolk mourned.
 197-202 The common folk mourned.
 203 The palace servants mourned.

D The Funeral. 204-219

- 204 Mahmud was placed in coffin.
 205 Ismail was installed as Sultan.
 206-213 Mahmud was carried on a bier in a funeral procession to the burial site.
 214-215 The burial.
 216-219 Ismail returned home and Mahmud's story ends.

E Poet's Comments 220-227.

IV ISMAIL'S STORY 228-244

A Ismail took office 228-244

- 228-232 Ismail was only an inexperienced youth when he became king, and was guided by his uncle and cousin.
 233-236 News came that the Dutch, allied with Alam, intended to attack.
 237-244 All rallied to Ismail's support.

B The men of Siak were ready for the foe 245-280.

- 245-247 Peoples were armed, and fortifications and ships prepared.
 248-251 The king's ship was manned.
 252-256 Muhammad Ali's ship was well manned and armed.
 257 Tengku Perang sailed 'Awan'.
 258-260 Abdullah sailed 'Tandang Masyhur' and was supported by Tengku Musa.
 261-265 The other nobility took part.
 266-277 There were many commoner chiefs and leaders.

278-280 Poet's apologies.

C The Preparations 281-294

281-286 Defensive works armed with cannon were erected.

287-288 Boom placed across river.

289-292 A floating fortress was built and manned.

293-294 The troops prepared their personal weapons.

D The time drew near. 295-311

295-297 When the Dutch were sighted, the Bukit Batu folk fled to Mempura.

298-304 Ismail assembled his leaders and people and persuaded them to confront the foe.

305-311 They assembled their forces.

E The Siakkers advanced downstream. 312-327

312-323 The Fleet heading downstream made a wonderful spectacle.

324-327 They confronted the Dutch at Pulau Guntung and prepared for battle.

F The Dutch Fleet. 328-339

328-331 Visboom realised he should not underestimate The Siak forces and prepared for battle.

332-334 Said Osman used deceit to spy out the defences.

335-337 The Dutch kept a careful watch but made no advance for fifteen days.

338-339 The Dutch began to attack.

G The First Engagement 340-365

340-348 The Siakkers with Muhammad Ali in command carried the fight to the Dutch.

349-353 The Dutch responded.

354-361 Even at midday both Siakkers and Dutch pressed on and fighting continued till nightfall.

362-365 They prepare for the next day.

H A Period of Respite. 366-372

- 366-367 The Dutch were pinned down and could not advance.
- 368-372 A foolhardy captain attracted scorn and opprobrium to himself.

I Further preparations at Pulau Sabalenga 373-392

- 373-384 Floating Fortress brought down and tactics devised.
- 385-389 The deployment of forces.
- 390-392 The Dutch came within range.

J The Battle of the Eastern Channel 393-408

- 393-397 The Siakkers attacked.
- 398-399 A great spectacle.
- 400-401 The Dutch repulsed any advance.
- 402-404 When the floating fortress was hard pressed, Tengku Busu broke through and attacked from the rear.
- 405-408 The battle raged at close quarters and the Floating Fortress was lost.

K The Battle of the Western Channel. 409-433

- 409-419 Sheikh Salim became separated and escaped around Sabalenga to the Western Channel where fighting had not commenced.
- 414-419 There Ismail and others went to his rescue.
- 420-424 Joined by Muhammad Ali and battle raged.
- 425-433 The Dutch advance was overwhelming.

L The Siak Retreat 434-459

- 434 The tide reached its peak.
- 435-437 The Siakkers assessed their resources.
- 438-444 Tengku Busu rallied the troops and the battle continued.
- 445-446 Sunset ended hostilities.
- 447 The Siakkers lost only one man; the Dutch lost many.

448-459 The Dutch relentlessly pressed on to Sungai Pinang.

M The Battle for Siak Sri Inderapura. 460-508

460-466 The Siak forces retired behind the boom and prepared their defence works.

467-470 The troops were deployed and established their positions.

471-480 Dutch did not attack for two months and the Siakkers sent down fireships which the Dutch managed to avoid.

481 Poet seeks pardon.

482-489 Alam persuaded the Dutch to attack.

490-500 The Dutch were ruthless and irresistible and had no thought of the consequences.

501-505 The Siakkers were resolute in defence but had no answer to the vigour of the Dutch attack.

506-508 Poet's comments.

N Ismail's Departure. 509-520

509-513 Farewells.

514-518 A short stay in Pelalawan then on to Tanjung Marapusan.

519-520 Ismail in exile.

O Poet's Comments. 521--528

V THE POSTSCRIPT

529-530 Doxology

531-535 Ismail ill but his minister continues to plan.

536-546 Followers expressed continued loyalty.

547-551 Ismail was for abandoning pretensions to royal status but ministers opposed it.

552-565 The solution was found in a marital alliance.

566-575 Tengku Busu sought and found a wife for Ismail in Trengganu.

G THE MEANING OF THE SYAIR

Is it as Grand as a King and Factors
and all the other things you said?

A.A. MILNE

It is a recurring theme of this thesis that the Syair Perang Siak was written by an individual with a specific political motive. Two elements need to be established before such a claim can be substantiated: the date of authorship and the precise purpose of the author. There is no explicit factual evidence about either of these elements. Proof therefore relies on the less certain method of proposing possible solutions and testing them for consistency against all available evidence.

The two elements of time of writing and purpose of writing are mutually interdependent. Any change in one requires change in the other. Conversely, any certainty about one fixes, within limits, the other.

The one thing about which we may be certain is the syair itself. In this section the structure of the syair is examined in detail to discover what it reveals about the intentions of the author.

Although this section is intended to be factual rather than discursive (that is, it is intended to provide objective material for later argument), it does also present hypotheses about the purpose of the syair as they are suggested.

The Doxology.

The doxology offers no evidence other than the tantalizing imprimatur of a king given the honorific "Duli mahkota" (St 4a). "Duli mahkota" is used quite freely in the syair to refer to Mahmud and Ismail (though not to Raja Kecil), and even to Tengku Abdullah (St 418a).

Raja Kecil's Story.

Raja Kecil's part in the syair is purely introductory. He establishes the proper succession of the line and provides its independence.

The people of Bengkalis no longer consider themselves subject to Johor (because it has been taken over by the Bugis) and seek a ruler from Pagar Ruyung (St 9-10). The syair is not explicit about the identity of the candidate and seems to suggest that it is the king himself who goes (though the poet may have assumed that his audience would be familiar with the story of Raja Kecil's origins), but his royal status is clear. Raja Kecil struggles through the forest (st 15-18) before arriving at Bengkalis and is immediately accepted by all (19-21).

The poet has established Raja Kecil's fitness to rule by showing his descent from the rulers of Menangkabau, the fountainhead of Malay kingship. The journey through the forest evokes the preparation for kingship made by Rawana and Airlangga in the forest. (1)

(1) For references see St 16-18 notes.

The account of the attack on Johor (St 22-46) is almost parenthetical. It begins and ends abruptly. No territory is gained and no change is made in Raja Kecil's position, yet a very important principle is established - the Siak line is not inferior in authority or power to the kings of Johor.

No special preparations are made - only the equipment available is used (St 24-25) - yet Raja Kecil looks the part of a rightful king (St 30). Stanzas 35 and 36 indicate the grounds on which Kecil is contesting the battle. He is testing the question of who is the rightful heir to Seri Tri Buana and he is asking Allah to judge. The battle is practically uncontested. Raja Kecil has triumphed, not by force of arms, but by divine right.

When they come to gather the spoils of war, the Siakkers find that there is less than they expected (St 45). One of the attributes of kingship is that it attracts the wealth which is needed to maintain its supporters. The absence of property in Johor shows again that the king of Johor was using a name which he had neither the authority nor substance to support. As Sultan Mahmud of Malacca said, "Jikalau ada pedang kerajaan yang sa-bilah itu pada Sultan Muda, emas pun adalah", which according to the author of the Sejarah Melayu meant "apabila kerajaan, ada emas". (2)

One then asks why the poet considered it necessary to

(2) WINSTEDT, R.O. "The Malay Annals or Sejarah Melayu from Raffles MS No. 18", p. 209.

show the superiority of the Siak over the Johor rulers when Johor played no further part in his narrative. For the answer, we must look at the technique employed by European powers to establish or justify their rights to interfere in the affairs of local states. We have already noted that the Dutch entered Siak in 1756 on the invitation of a Johor sultan who, in his 34 years on the throne at that time, had had no power over Siak, ⁽³⁾ and ^{that} the Dutch advanced into the pepper ports of north east Sumatra after 1858 on the authority of the Sultan of Siak which was similarly without basis in fact. ⁽⁴⁾ In Kalimantan too Sultan Abdul Rahman's newly founded settlement at Pontianak was taken over by the Dutch in 1776 on the authority of the Sultan of Bantam who had no real power in the area. ⁽⁵⁾ The English and Dutch colonists in the period after the French Wars at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century conducted many well-documented paper wars over their relative rights to control particular territories. Their legal arguments were based on treaties with kings claiming hegemony over a range of states. The kings used their putative rights over the other states for bargaining, but their claims were usually contested by others or rejected by the subjects.

The poet therefore establishes the independence of Raja Kecil and his heirs from any residual claims which the Johor empire might have had over Siak and denies anyone the

(3) See above , pp 38-44 .

(4) See above, p. 30

(5) LEYDEN, Dr "Sketch of Borneo", p. 103.

right to negotiate on their behalf.

The poet has no further need for Johor and returns abruptly to Siak where Raja Kecil clears virgin forest and builds a city at Buntan (St 52-56). The city prospers and attracts all manner of foreigners, including the Dutch from Malacca (St 61), because of Kecil's just rule (St 65).

Here Kecil reinforces his independence by clearing new ground and building a new kingdom in the well-established literary tradition of Vijaya at Mahapahit, Malik'l-Saleh at Pasai and Sultan Iskandar Syah at Malacca. (6)

The aura of kingship adhering to Kecil is transmitted to his grandchildren (including Ismail) in Stanza 73.

This is the end of Raja Kecil's primary role in the story. The right of his descendants to rule in Siak has been established by his antecedents, by his action and by the good fruits of his actions. By inference, the Dutch support of his mart showed that they acknowledged his position.

It should be noted that when the brothers, Alam and Mahmud quarrelled, neither is shown to be the superior of the other, a fact which becomes important later. Kecil addresses himself to Alam, the elder brother (84-85), and in doing so implies that he should accept responsibility, which he does, without however renouncing his right to succeed his father.

Alam's departure (St 89-108) is brief. It confirms

(6) For references, see below St 52 note.

that his exile was an act of his own will for the good of the nation and that he retains his affection for his people and they for him.

Mahmud's Story.

Mahmud's Story is curiously lopsided. It says little of his life but takes 82 stanzas (St 133-215) to recount his illness, death and funeral. This is all the more remarkable when it is noted that Raja Kecil's death is given one line (St 113c).

There is no ill will shown towards Alam, and Mahmud attempts to effect a compromise with him, but, before he can achieve anything, Raja Kecil dies and Mahmud is installed as Sultan (St 119) thus removing the possibility of maintaining an equal status with Alam.

Mahmud establishes his own city at Mempura (St 125-126) and it is so successful that it attracts the envy of the Dutch (St 127-128). Mahmud has done no more than Kecil did, yet the Dutch policy changed. The poet gives no details of Dutch hostility or of Siak reaction, but there is a clear impression that the Dutch action was grievous and prolonged (St 130), and that it warranted a holy war (St 132). The notorious attack on Pulau Guntung (though it is not mentioned by name nor described in the *syair*) is thus put in the context of the initial attack of a holy war to right (unnamed) wrongs rather than a capricious act of unprovoked violence.

Mahmud's death is treated in much more detail and with more feeling than his father's. Kecil's death is announced

parenthetically - "paduka ayahanda sudahlah mangkat" (St 113b) - as though he were an historic figure and his parting was a significant historic fact, but no matter of emotional concern. The announcement of Mahmud's death takes the whole stanza (St 171) and uses a gentler euphemism - "baginda dipanggil khalikulbahri" (St 171d).

Mahmud's illness and death (St 133-174) takes 41 stanzas; the mourning (St 175-203) takes 28 stanzas; and the funeral (St 204-215) takes 11 stanzas. For the poet, the significant thing about Mahmud is his death. In death he re-established his status and in so doing established the status of his descendants. Stanza 208 shows that the royal insignia was once more complete. There had been a suggestion in Stanzas 75c and 95c that the regalia was divided but stanza 115 (if it refers to the regalia) shows that a considerable effort was necessary to replace it.

The poet has to maintain a nice balance between Mahmud and Alam. Both are equal, for the poet needs Alam later in the syair, but Mahmud has been made primus inter pares.

There is also the suggestion that the death of Mahmud was untimely and therefore notable. He was taken in the prime of his life leaving a void in the kingdom which no one could fill. His sons especially were not yet ready (St 196).

What Raja Kecil began, Mahmud maintains and expands, but in doing so incurs the displeasure of the Dutch in Malacca, and then he dies before the events he has set in motion can be resolved in a satisfactory manner.

What has to be said to establish the legitimacy of the line has been said about Kecil. There is no need to repeat the same material for Mahmud. It is sufficient to show that he is Kecil's rightful heir. Neither Kecil nor Mahmud is the subject of the poem. They set the framework. Yet the poet cannot slight Mahmud with only a passing reference. The description of the death and the funeral is a fitting way to give due attention to Mahmud and at the same time establish the stature of Mahmud and his descendants. So the introduction ends and the story proper begins.

Ismail's Story.

Ismail is the principal subject of the syair and his story fills the major part (St 228-575) with 347 stanzas, but he is, in no commonly used sense, its hero. The account is of the gradual overcoming of the Siak forces by the Dutch, though it is not the Dutch who effect the final defeat, but Alam. On the positive side, we see Ismail's growth from dependent childhood to the independence of young manhood, but too late to change the course of events.

Ismail is too young to rule (St 228-229) and has to depend on regents (St 232). The Dutch take this sign of weakness as a signal for attack (St 233-236), implying that they dared not do so during Mahmud's lifetime. Even now they need Alam, a fitting ruler of Siak, as an ally (St 234-235).

Ismail is at a loss to know what to do (St 237) but Tengku Busu and Muhammad Ali are confident that they can handle the matter or at least feel compelled to try (St 238-

244). Siak had no shortage of good men (St 245-277) and some good equipment (eg. St 253, 255) though most of their craft are inferior to the Dutch (St 301). Ismail's brothers are mentioned by name (St 258, 260, 261) and Abdullah's name is associated directly with Raja Kecil (St 258). The poet sees nothing strange in praising the younger brothers' prowess in battle and as leaders of their own ships whilst urging the older Ismail's unreadiness for his task.

Sheikh Salim (St 263, 386 and 409-415) receives prominent treatment in the syair, possibly to counteract the religious prestige of Said Usman in Alam's party. The suku chiefs of Tanah Datar and Lima Puluh Kota, too, are prominent (eg. St 269 and 271) giving Ismail the moral support of the Menangkabau homeland.

When the Dutch appear off Bukit Batu, Ismail proves a man of decision (St 298-303 and 310-311) - though much of the work remains with his uncle and cousin (eg. St 384) - and he gives purpose and leadership to his people (St 304, 376, 381-382). He claims the support of divine providence in a holy war (St 308).

The change which has come over Ismail is stressed by the Dutch surprise at the strength of his forces. Alam has led them to expect a child easily cast aside (St 328-329).

There is some feeling against the Dutch at the first encounter (St 325d, 331b and 337) but it is amazingly slight. There is no criticism of Alam and some respect for him (St 336) though Said Usman attracts opprobrium (St 332-334).

The first encounter is an honourable affair with nei-

ther side suffering loss or disgrace (eg. 356, 358). The Dutch demonstrate the strength of their firepower (St 359-360) and Ismail confirms that he is an effective leader.

Stanza 447 emphasises that Ismail's rule was divinely ordained for, like a true king, he casts a mantle of safety over his people so that only one Siakker (compared with more than 15 Dutch) die after a whole day of pitched battle at Pulau Sabalenga. (The fact - though not important in this context - appears to be contradicted elsewhere such as in 424c and 425d. 424c may apply to Dutch losses, but 425d, coming after kapal dan kici, almost certainly applies to the effect of the gun fire of the Dutch ships).

The poet safeguards Ismail's honour and proclaims his fitness for kingship, but his efforts cannot conceal the fact that the Dutch gain the ascendancy after the decisive battle of Pulau Sabalenga (Teluk Batil) (St 393-446) and inexorably move upstream with increasing speed. The only recognition of the Dutch successes given by the poet is a slight increase in the frequency of pejorative terms used towards them (448a, 452a, 453b).

When they retreat behind the boom that defended Siak, the Siakkers are still resilient enough to take the initiative (St 474-486), though fortune still favours the Dutch (St 408 and 501).

For two months the Dutch remain below the boom, uncertain of their ability to overcome Ismail's forces (St 472) which are continuing to show ingenuity and fight. For the poet, the turning point comes with the entry of Alam into

the picture. Alam advocates attack (St 482) and promises to shoulder the brunt of the heavy fighting (St 486). His initiative gives the Dutch renewed confidence (St 487) which leads to the final attack on Siak.

Again the Siakkers begin the fighting (St 491) and are effective (St 492). The daring of the Dutch and their indifference to loss of human life are telling factors (St 492-497) yet the Siakkers, although bewildered (St 496), are prepared to fight on, confident that right will prevail. The crucial factor on this occasion is the presence in the front line of one whose sakti was the equal of Ismail's (St 486) and so the Siak losses are heavy (St 503) and they are overwhelmed (St 505).

Ismail has not been defeated by the Dutch - as rightful ruler by descent and divine ordination, he could not be defeated by them; but, when they are led by one of equal standing, their firepower and ruthlessness become too much.

Ismail's story is one of defeat. His exile seems final (St 519) yet the poet ensures that he has a strong case to return. As a son of Mahmud, his descent is without peer. He is defeated, but his defeat is honourable, and only due to his immaturity and inexperience. He has valiantly proved his fitness to rule against overwhelming odds. His only obstacle is Alam.

The postscript confirms Ismail's status in exile. He still attracts the loyalty of his people (St 538-546) and is accepted as a son-in-law by the ruler of Trengganu (571) though he again falls back on the guidance and direction of his uncle, Tengku Busu St (549-551; 565-566, 574-575).

H THE PURPOSE OF THE SYAIR

Orang Jawa biasa mencari "rasa",
yakni maksud sesuatu ceritera.

SANUSI PANE

The possible motives in writing the Syair Perang Siak may quickly be narrowed down without discussion. It has no religious, moral or didactic purpose. As entertainment it falls into no customary pattern, and stories of losses and defeat are not usually popular fare for the pleasure seeker who likes to identify with a successful character. For the same reason, like the Bharatayuddha which Javanese are said to be reluctant to perform, little use could be found for the syair as a piece of sympathetic literary magic for the pilgrim in the rites de passage or a contender in battle. While the Arjunawiwaha may give hope of immediate bliss to a couple at their wedding, even at a funeral, Mahmud's demise could offer little in the way of hope, because his inauspicious death was followed by almost immediate disaster. And even the heady stuff of Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah which was thought too potent for the Malaccans facing battle⁽¹⁾ would be preferable to the dismal string of losses suffered by Ismail. That prospect few participants would wish to contemplate on the eve of battle. Indeed, one finds it impossible to suggest any occasion each year on which the syair might fittingly be read in the istana at Pelalawan.⁽²⁾

(1) WINSTEDT, R.O. "The Malay Annals" pp. 191-2.

(2) See Appendix 1, pp 455-456.

If the syair is of little value in promoting good things for the future, neither has it value as a eulogy of past glory. Raja Kecil comes out of it well, but the syair is clearly not about Raja Kecil. He provides only an introductory background. Mahmud, though a key figure in the syair is not developed as a hero. Ismail would not wish to be remembered for his early losses when he later achieved many shining successes⁽³⁾ and eventually "collected a large force, with 100 sail of vessels of various sizes, conquered Siack in three days, and again resumed the sovereignty".⁽⁴⁾ (The last point presupposes that the syair was not already written by the time of Ismail's return to Siak in August, 1779).⁽⁵⁾

As history, the syair suffers from being concerned with a narrow and relatively insignificant campaign, quite apart from the mainstream of events in the region, (see above, pp⁴⁵⁻⁴⁷), which occupied only 3-4 pages of Siak's own history.⁽⁶⁾ Yet it is, without doubt, historical, for a few of its named characters are identifiable in contemporary sources and many of the activities described in detail have close parallels in contemporary documents.⁽⁷⁾

That would seem to place the syair in the category which Winstedt⁽⁸⁾ calls "topical". Yet the Syair Perang

(3) SM. pp. 476-517.

(4) ANDERSON, John "Mission to the East Coast..." p. 342.

(5) NETSCHER, E. "De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak" p.134.

(6) SM. pp. 471-474.

(7) That is, contemporary to the events described in the syair rather than the syair itself. The parallels between Driese's and Visboom's journals used by Netscher and the account in the syair are remarkably close.

(8) WINSTEDT, R.O. "A History of Classical Malay Literature" pp. 155-156.

Siak is more than topical, for a writer concerned with describing the dramatic events in Siak from April to June 1761 would not have spent 219 stanzas on events covering the previous forty years and more.

In the only two "topical" poems mentioned by Winstedt that are immediately accessible, ⁽⁹⁾ Entji' Amin wasted no such time getting down to business in his "Sya'ir Perang Mengkasar" ... ⁽¹⁰⁾

"Tamatlah sudah memudji Sultan
tersebutlah perkataan Welanda sjaitan
Kornilis Sipalman penghulu kapitan
tatkala ke Buton membawa angkatan".

which Skinner translates as ...

After paying homage to the Sultan
we begin the story by telling how the damned
Hollanders,
under the supreme command of Cornelius Speelman,
were about to set out for Buton".

Neither did Munsyi Abdullah in his "Shaer Kampong Gelam Terbakar" ⁽¹¹⁾ delay in getting to the fire. Both Entji' Amin ⁽¹²⁾ and Munsyi Abdullah ⁽¹³⁾ were eye witnesses to the events they described and they were concerned to tell it as they saw it, however much they may have done so to suit their own purposes and in keeping with their own prejudices.

(9) *ibid.*

(10) SKINNER, C. "Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar" pp. 76-77.

(11) SKINNER, C. "Shaer Kampong Gelam Terbakar: Abdullah bin Abdul-Kadir"

(12) SKINNER, C. "Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar", pp. 26-27.

(13) SKINNER, C. "Shaer Kampong Gelam Terbakar : Abdullah bin Abdul-Kadir", p. 34, St. 9.

One does not get the impression that the author of Syair Perang Siak was an eye witness to the events he relates. Indeed, he disclaims any such authority in the early sections, ⁽¹⁴⁾ but is ambiguous about it towards the end. The narrative, though reliable in outline, and quite full in parts, lacks the intimate details and asides one expects from an eye witness account. The episode of Encik Mangid (St 368-372) is the kind of anecdote that would have been recounted many times by those present. The description of the defences at Mempura are described in some detail and it is just possible that the writer was present at Mempura, ⁽¹⁵⁾ though such physical features may be viewed at a later period.

If the syair is not a topical, journalist's account as are Syair Perang Mengkasar and Syair Kampong Gelam Terbakar, and not a history in either a Malay or European sense, then we must look to the syair itself to determine what it is designed to be and do.

There is, of course, the underlying assumption in what follows that the work is the deliberate and conscious effort of an individual and not a chance collection of material.

As we have seen above, the syair shows that:

- (i) Raja Kecil was a king by divine right and had an unquestioned claim to the kingdom of Siak;
- (ii) he was independent of Johor or any other empire;
- (iii) his eldest son, Alam, chose at his father's suggestion, to leave the kingdom in favour of Mahmud;

(14) See, for example, Stanza 4c.

(15) See Stanza 470b note.

- (iv) his second son. Mahmud, inherited his father's position and reaffirmed the primacy of his line;
- (v) Mahmud died leaving the Dutch unpunished for their harsh conduct;
- (vi) The Dutch saw the kingdom in the hands of the youthful Ismail as an opportunity to overcome Siak;
- (vii) no malice was felt towards the Dutch or Alam;
- (viii) Ismail's long resistance surprized the Dutch;
- (ix) although they had stronger forces, the Dutch were unable to take Siak;
- (x) only when Alam, the son of Kecil, took a leading role was Ismail defeated; and
- (xi) even in exile Ismail retained the dignity and style of kingship and his status was acknowledged by others.

Who, then, would wish to make these points, and in what circumstances?

The narrative favours the descendants of Mahmud. They inherit not only the authority of Kecil but also the primacy of Mahmud. Such things would be important to one who wished to reaffirm his claim to the throne of Siak.

The fact that the Dutch needed to take Siak at a moment of weakness, and the strength of the Siak resistance confirm the legitimacy of the rule of Mahmud's descendants.

The stress on an unholy alliance between the Dutch and Alam, and the absence of any recrimination towards them show that the owner of the syair needed the support, approval or acquiescence of the Dutch and the descendants of Alam

in his ambition - though it is unlikely that the throne would have been contested in this manner with Alam himself.

The most probable answer to the question posed above is: a descendant of Mahmud who wished to make a claim for the throne of Siak and needed Dutch support or approval and the acquiescence of Alam's descendants to effect his wishes.

That is to say, the Syair Perang Siak is a work of public relations or political propaganda designed to give literary authority to the aspirations of its owner.

The next section presents the hypothesis that the syair was written for either:

- (i) Ismail in Trengganu about 1770
- or (ii) Raja Akil in Palembang about 1820.

I HYPOTHESES CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF THE SYAIR

And the Poets,
 It is those straying in Evil,
 Who follow them:
 Seest thou not that they
 Wander distracted in every
 Valley?

KORAN xxvi 224-225

Before proceeding with the development of the hypotheses concerning the origin of this syair, it would be helpful to seek some parallel circumstances in which such sagas are customarily produced.

It is a curious paradox that the development of literary activity (using the term 'literary' loosely to include material transmitted orally and dramatically) is not usually associated with settled and stable civilisations, but is a function of change and movement in society.

The Australian Aborigines, as Meggitt⁽¹⁾ observed, may have lacked technological sophistication but "this was balanced by the complexity of their religious ideas and the elaboration of their ritual activities". Mythical ancestors and culture heroes provided a permanence in a changing nomadic existence. They "had defined the characteristics of the totality once and for all when they had participated in its creation and shaping ..."⁽²⁾ The aboriginal man's myths, songs and rituals ensured that the provision of the necessities of life of which they spoke would continue, so that the members of the religious cult, following their ancestors along the route marked by their totemic sites,⁽³⁾

(1) MEGGITT, M.J. "Indigenous Forms of Government ..." p.169.

(2) *ibid.*

(3) HIATT, L.R. "Local Organisation ...", p. 273.

would come, at the proper time, to gather the seasonal supplies of food, or survive in unusually hard times by following the devices of their ancestors when the expected supplies did not eventuate.

For the Australian Aborigine, the stories he told and performed were his keys to survival in a harsh and unproductive environment. They offered certainty where all about him was uncertainty.

The early settlers of the Indus valley were farmers and builders. They have left evidence of their architectural, pottery and metal working skills;⁽⁴⁾ but the earliest literary source, The Rg Veda was the work of an invading people.⁽⁵⁾ These Aryan invaders did not live in cities⁽⁶⁾ and left no archaeological remains, but they did leave a literary record.⁽⁷⁾

The Aryans were warlike horsemen and stockbreeders on the "fringes of civilisation"⁽⁸⁾ but "their military technique was in advance of that of the Middle East, their priestly schools had raised the tribal sacrifice to a fine art, and their poetry was elaborate and formalized".⁽⁹⁾ The Aryan "priests had perfected a very advanced poetic technique".⁽¹⁰⁾

(4) BASHAM, A.L. "The Wonder that was India". pp. 27-28.

(5) *ibid.*, p. 29.

(6) *ibid.*, p. 30.

(7) *ibid.*, p. 31.

(8) *ibid.*, p. 34.

(9) *ibid.*

(10) *ibid.*, p. 31.

It seems that the wandering herdsman depended more on the oral or written story than the settled farmer or city dweller. The city dweller had his achievements and status illustrated all about him; but for the wandering tribesman, past successes and customs were only a memory. Such memories would be rekindled by the storyteller's tales, containing accounts of correct behaviour and procedures exemplified in the deeds of ancestral heroes.

The gathering together of tribesmen at night around the campfire in unfamiliar or hostile surroundings would have provided an ideal situation for the germination and flourishing of sagas about "great sages and tribal leaders". (11)

Perhaps an even closer parallel may be drawn between the Malay historical syair and the European sagas of the 4th to 10th centuries A.D. Once again we find that heroic sagas began and developed in a time of physical movement and activity. Chadwick⁽¹²⁾ noted that the writing of heroic poetry "coincides with what is generally known as the Age of National Migrations..." when "the Teutonic nations broke through the frontiers of the Roman empire and carved out for themselves extensive kingdoms within its territories". Again we have the pattern of migrating warriors creating permanence and legitimacy for themselves with literary techniques.

Of special interest for the present purpose are two

(11) *ibid.*, p. 32.

(12) CHADWICK, H. Munro "The Heroic Age", p. 28.

stages in the development of European sagas. The earlier poems of the 4th - 6th Centuries were interested in the individual and his exploits or those of a royal family. Such events were recorded by the court minstrel immediately after the occurrence.⁽¹³⁾ The later sagas of the 9th - 10th Centuries were concerned with the nation as a whole, and the exploits of individuals simply demonstrated the prowess of members of that nation, to enhance its triumphs.⁽¹⁴⁾ The work may have been composed at a time remote from the events it portrayed and was based only on the historical knowledge and imagination of the poet. As Chadwick says of the description of Beowulf's funeral (and these remarks could be applied as well to Mahmud's funeral St.175-215): "We have no reason for supposing that the poet had any information regarding Beowulf's real funeral. The description... is that of such a funeral as might reasonably be expected for a man of Beowulf's rank and reputation".⁽¹⁵⁾

These parallels from vastly different circumstances cannot in any way limit or define the answers to questions concerning the origin and purpose of a Malay syair. The Malay syair is a separate form in a unique environment. It can only be understood in terms of its own uniqueness. For hypotheses to be valid they must be based on analyses of syairs in their own context without prejudices brought from other cultures.

Nevertheless, other cultures can suggest questions to

(13) *ibid.*, pp. 83-87.

(14) *ibid.*, p. 34.

(15) *ibid.*, p. 158.

be asked and avenues to be explored. We may ask, for example, whether Syair Perang Siak conforms to the pattern of the earlier European sagas which praised the victories and valour of living princes and aimed to record their glory so that it would be celebrated for all time,⁽¹⁶⁾ or whether it conforms to the later epic poems which took a broader view and developed a greater concern for what may happen rather than simply for what had happened.

The foregoing examples of the development of historically based literature indicate that, in the search for the origins of the Syair Perang Siak, we should look first to a time of flux, a time when those, whose story it was, were seeking status and stability in a political scene where their claims were not based on clearly observable fact and the legitimacy of their claims needed the support of an authority above themselves. In particular terms, one must seek a period when descendants of Mahmud were not in power in Siak or elsewhere, but were striving to establish a claim for territorial sovereignty.

There were two periods when the descendants of Mahmud were without a permanent land-based settlement:

- 1) during the reign in Siak of Alam and Muhammad Ali from 1761 to 1779; and
- 2) during the reign of Said Ali from 1791 to 1811 and his son Ibrahim from 1811-1827.

During the former period Ismail retained an interest in Siak and maintained his claim on the throne.

(16) *ibid.*, p. 88 and 94.

In the latter period there was no immediate claimant to the throne for Yahya had left Siak in fear of Said Ali who had succeeded by the default of any more legitimate heir. For a pretender to the throne of Siak we need to pass on to the period after Napoleon's defeat and banishment to Elba in 1813 when Europeans were again looking to their territories in the East and their enterprises gave some hope to the ambitions of Raja Akil in Palembang that the status quo might be upset.

(i) The Case for Ismail in Trengganu.

Ismail's adventures after leaving Siak on 16th June 1761 are recounted in some detail in SM. (17) He devoted himself to "piracy", principally against the Bugis whom he hoped to drive out of the area. For that purpose he formed an alliance with Sultan Mansur of Trengganu and married his daughter, Raja Neh, in 1771. (18) Ismail also maintained a close relationship with the ruler of Palembang which he used as his principal base and source of supply. Indeed, it was the Sultan of Palembang who provided him with the bride price for his marriage in Trengganu. (19)

In Siak, Alam retired from government at the end of 1765 or the beginning of 1766 to Senapelan (Pekan Baru) and was succeeded by Muhammad Ali. (20) Soon afterwards Ismail made his first overt move to return to Siak. He made an overture to the Dutch in Malacca in 1768, (21) and an unsucc-

(17) SM., pp. 475-513.

(18) NETSCHER, E. "De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak.."p.132.

(19) SM., p. 508.

(20) NETSCHER, E. op.cit., p. 133.

(21) *ibid.*

successful invasion of Siak in 1773,⁽²¹⁾ that is, two years after his marriage in T^rengganu.

One aspect of the syair which supports the claim for Ismail is the abruptness with which the postscript ends. The wedding is not described, it is only negotiated. If Ismail had embarked on physical preparations for his return to Siak, the importance of the syair would have faded into the background. The syair had value as a stimulus, an encouragement, a lubricant or a justification for action, not as an alternative to action. Ismail and his contemporaries were realists involved in power politics where 'possession' was the substance and 'right' was the shadow. As has been demonstrated above, the accomplished fact and the settled dispute depressed rather than encouraged the literary urge. The accomplished alliance with Trengganu through marriage and preparations for the forthcoming invasion are consistent with the diminished need to continue the syair.

In 1776, three years after his first attempt at re-taking Siak, Ismail again approached the Governor of Malacca offering friendship. Netscher remarks on the fact that Ismail then used the name and title "Sultan Abd'oeldjalil Rahmat Sjah".⁽²²⁾ As Netscher had access to the complete archives of Malacca, we may assume that his surprise had some basis in contemporary opinion as shown in reports and correspondence. The inference to be drawn is that the Dutch had not previously acknowledged Ismail as a properly

(21) *ibid.*

(22) *ibid.*

installed Sultan of Siak. The syair, if written at the time, would have lent support to Ismail's right to assume a kingly title for the syair is adamant that the insignia was complete at the funeral of Mahmud⁽²³⁾ and that Ismail was properly installed in succession to him.

Ismail felt the need to impress the Dutch with his claim. Although he did not follow up the invitation of the Governor to visit Malacca in 1776,⁽²⁴⁾ he had made two attempts to conciliate them with expressions of friendship and to make clear his intentions so that they would not be affronted by his actions. The syair is entirely consistent with this attitude. Much of its material is best seen as presenting a case for a Dutch audience. It demonstrates that the Dutch had unjustly deprived him of his kingdom⁽²⁵⁾ but its tone bears no hint of ill will or recrimination towards them.

Nor does the syair show any animosity towards Alam or his son Muhammad Ali. Indeed it omits the episode recorded in SM⁽²⁶⁾ and T al N⁽²⁷⁾ of Muhammad Ali's treachery towards Ismail when he watered the gunpowder and scuttled his own ship after receiving threats from the Dutch fleet against his father, Alam. SM and T al N attribute to that action the immediate cause of the defeat of Ismail and his flight to Pelalawan. The syair also omits the fact that Muhammad Ali, in company with a party of Bugis, followed Ismail overland to Pelalawan and attacked him there early in August

(23) See St 208 and note, and p. 73.

(24) NETSCHER, E., op.cit., p. 134.

(25) See pp. 74-77 and 82.

(26) SM. p. 474.

(27) T al N, pp. 141

1761. (28)

The attitude expressed in the syair is also consistent with what is known of Ismail's actions on his return to Siak. SM⁽²⁹⁾ and T al N⁽³⁰⁾ tell of Muhammad Ali's flight to Petapahan and that Ismail sent Tengku Ambang Besar (his sister and Muhammad Ali's wife) to fetch him back, and made him Yam Tuan Muda.

One advantage of the theory of an early date for the authorship of Syair Perang Siak is that it explains the presence of the syair in Pelalawan.⁽³¹⁾ TE has information about a MS of the syair which was inherited by Sultan Syarif Hasyim (1892-1930) of Pelalawan. Tengku Said Abdul Rahman (the brother of Said Ali, the 'usurper', who succeeded Yahya, the last sultan of the line of Mahmud, to the throne of Siak) became the first sultan of Pelalawan.⁽³²⁾ It is difficult to understand what appeal the syair would have had for the descendants of 'usurpers'. The founder of this line, Said Osman is shown in the syair to have been treacherous.⁽³³⁾ However, Said Ali was clearly a realist and a pragmatist and was not overly concerned with strict historical accuracy. In a letter written to Malacca on 1st September, 1798, he had taken to himself the legitimacy not only of Alam but also of Mahmud.⁽³⁴⁾

The deposed king, Yahya, took refuge in Pelalawan in 1791 in the same way that his father had done exactly thirty years before. There he was able, for a time, to hold Pelalawan against a large force after a desperate,

(28) NETSCHER, E. op.cit., p. 129.

(29) SM. p. 515-516. (32) TENE. p. 39.

(30) T al N. pp. 192-3. (33) St. 332-334.

(31) See Appendix 1. (34) NETSCHER, E. op.cit., p. 145.

battle.⁽³⁵⁾ (The account in SM pp. 548-552 gives a different version in which Yahya had already gone to Lingga and the fighting was left to Musa.) It is possible that when Abdul Rahman eventually conquered Pelalawan he took over the MS amongst Yahya's possessions as part of the regalia of kingship which, as a newly appointed ruler, he would have been keen to accumulate. In time, any uncomplimentary stories of the succession of Said Ali would have been forgotten and the MS would have been retained as recording events in the past of the new line as if they had been their own. Indeed TENE⁽³⁶⁾ records no impropriety on the part of Said Ali. According to their account Yahya was visiting the tombs of his ancestors on the Malay peninsula when he died at Dungun. Said Ali as regent during his absence naturally succeeded him.

Then, too, such an origin for the text is not inconsistent with its presence in west Kalimantan, for most of the descendants of Mahmud who later spread around the coast of the South China Sea, including an eighteen year old Akil,⁽³⁸⁾ left Siak at the same time as Yahya and took with them, one assumes, some of their family heirlooms.

A basic objection to an early date for the syair is that the poet claims not to have been an eye-witness.⁽³⁸⁾

(35) ANDERSON, John "Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra..." p.177. CF. NETSCHER, E. op.cit., pp. 143-145.

(36) TENE pp. 38-39.

(37) SM. pp. 548, 549 and 553.

(38) See St 4c and note, and St 470b and note.

This is confirmed by the absence of unusual or insignificant anecdotal material such as an eye witness typically records because it is part of his personal experience, and hence memorable for himself.

A possible solution to this difficulty is that the poet was from Trengganu and was commissioned by Ismail for the task during his sojourn there. The possibility of an author from Trengganu is more than idle conjecture for TENE⁽³⁹⁾ have traced a tradition in Pelalawan that "naskahasli ... ditulis oleh Encik Abdullah (Encik Lah) yang berasal dari Terengganu".⁽⁴⁰⁾

It is, however, remarkable that Anderson does not mention the syair. Anderson was in Siak in 1823, three months after a Dutch ship brought overtures for re-establishing a trading relationship with Siak. The people of Siak were well aware of the rivalry between the English and the Dutch. The subject was discussed with the Sultan,⁽⁴¹⁾ Tuanku Pangeran⁽⁴²⁾ and the four datuk or suku heads.⁽⁴³⁾

Tuanku Pangeran, who was very likely identical with the Tuanku Pangeran Kesuma de Laga whose genealogy appears in Begbie,⁽⁴⁴⁾ was an opponent of the Sultan.⁽⁴⁵⁾ He was

(39) See Appendix 1.

(40) It may be noted in passing that TE uses tulis when he clearly intends to convey the notion of composing. The meanings of words like karang, surat and tulis are crucial when determining the background of a MS.

(41) ANDERSON, John op.cit., pp. 165-166 and 170.

(42) *ibid.*, pp. 167-168.

(43) *ibid.*, p. 171.

(44) BEGBIE, P.J. "The Malayan Peninsula" opposite, p. 284.

(45) ANDERSON, John, op.cit., pp. 164, 167-168, 176-177.

an older, ⁽⁴⁶⁾ widely experienced and well informed man, and wrote a letter to the Governor in Penang which Anderson agreed to deliver for him. ⁽⁴⁷⁾ The letter, which is quoted by van der Kemp, ⁽⁴⁸⁾ requested the occupation of Siak by the English to forestall the Dutch.

The third relevant fact in this regard is that Anderson was an avid collector of details concerning the culture of the people he visited. From Deli, he included in his report a list of the most significant literary works in current use. ⁽⁴⁹⁾ If the Syair Perang Siak had been known in Siak or its domains at the time of his visit, it seems most unlikely that Anderson would not have been made aware of it. The syair, though not anti-Dutch, made clear that the Dutch had, in the eyes of the author, unjustly taken over the trade of Siak as they were attempting to do at the time of Anderson's visit. It would have provided an admirable weapon in the arsenal of Tuanku Pangeran who feared that the Sultan would accept Dutch impositions. ⁽⁵⁰⁾

It is true that Tuanku Pangeran was a grandson of Alam and the syair is not Alam's, yet, at the same time, it acknowledges Alam's status as a rightful ruler of Siak. There is no evidence that the older Tuanku Pangeran had himself any pretensions to the throne of Siak, but, if he had, the

(46) He was 67 years of age in 1824. BEGBIE, P.J. loc.cit.

(47) ANDERSON, John op.cit., pp. 176-7.

(48) KEMP, P.H. van der "De Zendingen van Ibbetson en Anderson ..." pp. 215-6.

(49) ANDERSON, John, op.cit., pp. 290-1.

(50) KEMP, P.H. van der, op.cit., p. 216.

syair would have been much more in his favour^{than in the favour} of the occupant at that time, Said Ibrahim, the son of Said Ali.

To repeat, it is remarkable that, if the syair existed and was known in Siak in 1823, its existence was not disclosed to Anderson, probably by Tuanku Pangeran, and recorded by him as evidence of Dutch aggression and intrigue, and local opposition to it.

(ii) The Case for Raja Akil.

Raja Akil was to the early decades of the Nineteenth Century what Raja Kecil was to the early decades of the Eighteenth Century. They were both ambitious, adventurous and daring in the pursuit of their goals. Both had the same goal. It was the founding of a dynasty which had some pretensions to hegemony over other states in the Malay world. Both achieved some prominence for a short period but had eventually to be content with more circumscribed spheres of influence. Kecil had to retreat from Johor to Siak. Akil had to make his sultanate in the backwater of Sukadana. Both failed in their greater ambitions but their energetic activities had far reaching repercussions during and after their time on the centre of the stage.

The one difference which separated these two princes was the extent of European involvement in their lives. Kecil, at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, had to contend with many influences. Bantam and Mataram were by that time under the sway of the VOC, but the Siamese, Bugis, Indian Muslims, Danes, French, Spanish, English, Portuguese and Dutch were all influential in varying de-

grees and were considered worthy allies from time to time. When Raja Kecil took Johor, the man with the greatest prestige there was - if we are to accept the opinion of Tavares⁽⁵¹⁾ - the Portuguese governor of Macao. None of these powers was overwhelming or irresistible. The Dutch were the strongest but they had a policy on non-involvement in local affairs. Kecil was able to act as an independent agent, seeking and taking support wherever he could get it and using ^{the} power politics of the time on an equal footing with his opponents.

Akil, on the other hand, lived at a time when the English and, to a greater extent, the Dutch were taking a course of action which would lead them within a few decades to complete dominance of the Malay world. Where Kecil had been able to act as an independent agent, limited only by his power, ability and support, Akil saw correctly that his only hope for political advancement lay in attaching himself to the European powers - first to the English and then to the Dutch. Without their patronage, he had practically no hope of success. He had to seek his goals within a superstructure of all-pervading European interests which limited his freedom of action and were not, except within narrow limits, negotiable.

Such was Akil's stature in the early period of Dutch advancement after the Napoleonic Wars that it is remarkable that his story has not been the object of the same kind of

(51) HUGHES, T.D. "A Portuguese Account ..." p. 124ff.

attention from historians that Raja Kecil has recently been receiving. Perhaps that attention awaits the publication of Dr. Roolvink's edition of the Sejarah Melayu text contained in KBG 191 W which he calls a 'Hikayat Raja Akil'. (52)

So little material is readily available on this highly significant figure that it is necessary to give a brief outline of his career before beginning to argue the case for a Raja Akil text.

Akil was the fifth son of Musa - the third son of Mahmud - (53) and Encik Salimah, the daughter of an Orang Kaya from Serasan.

His early childhood was in Sultan Abdul Rahman's newly founded (54) settlement of Pontianak (55) and he was almost certainly there during the period when the Dutch occupied the settlement from 1776-1790. (56) There he would have become aware, from an early age, of the power and the techniques of the Dutch, even if they were not conscious of his presence.

In Pontianak, Akil came under the influence of Said Abdul Rahman (brother of Said Ali) who was later to become the first Sultan in Pelalawan. (57) Said Ali himself

(52) ROOLVINK, R. "The Variant Versions..." p. 312.

(53) See St 260a note.

(54) Founded in 1770.

(55) SM. pp. 520 and 530-532.

(56) These dates follow LEYDEN, Dr. "Sketch of Borneo" pp. 101-103. HUNT, J. "Sketch of Borneo..." pp. 15-16 differs in a number of details.

(57) TENE p. 39. Not to be confused with the Sultan of Pontianak though both were of Arab descent.

took Akil to Siak in 1788 (or earlier)⁽⁵⁸⁾ when Akil was a youth of fourteen years of age.⁽⁵⁹⁾ From these two ambitious men Akil would have learnt much of the ways of the world. Both were intent on taking power and were willing to use underhand devices to achieve their ends.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Not only would Akil have been present at discussions in Siak during these unsettled times, but his arrival with Said Ali, coming directly from Musa in Siantan⁽⁶¹⁾ would itself have been a significant political ploy.⁽⁶²⁾ Musa's eldest son, Endut, was at that time Yang dipertuan Muda of Siak.⁽⁶³⁾ Musa's daughter, Tengku Aminah, was married to Yahya himself.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The sons of Said Osman realised the significance of Musa's family in Siak and, for their own ends, curried favour with Musa. Both Said Ali and Said Abdul Rahman married daughters of Musa - Tengku Khatijah⁽⁶⁵⁾ and Tengku Woh;⁽⁶⁶⁾ and, Said Ali took with him to Siak Musa's son, Akil, as a symbol of Musa's patronage.

From an early age, then, Akil was closely involved in the politics of his times and they were times of change.

(58) NETSCHER, E. op.cit., p. 139.

(59) SM p. 536. And therefore born in 1773-4. See also SM p. 553 and NET p. 143.

(60) SM p. 537.

(61) SM p. 535.

(62) It is possible that this close association of Akil with the Saids in Siak led to Anderson being given the incorrect form "Syed Akhil" ANDERSON, John op.cit. p. 342, but more probably it was a confusion with a politically active "Syed Akil" some of whose activities are given in TARLING, Nicholas "British Policy ..." p. 140 note 645.

(63) NETSCHER, E. op.cit., p. 139.

(64) *ibid.*

(65) SM p. 523

(66) NETSCHER, E. loc.cit.

He would have been well aware of the mechanics of and the realities within power politics.

The period in Akil's life with which we are immediately concerned is the time of increased European involvement in local affairs after the French Wars.

Akil's first appearance in European sources is in M.H. Court's account of the British in Palembang⁽⁶⁷⁾ where we can infer that Akil was quick to give an account of his origins in the royal family of Siak. However, the impression given to Court that he was the son of the exiled sultan⁽⁶⁸⁾ was not necessarily a deliberate misrepresentation by Akil, for he would have naturally used the term ayahanda for Yahya who had been "expelled" and whose kingdom had been "usurped" by an "Arab".⁽⁶⁹⁾

Two points emerge. Akil had come to the fore as a natural leader and he associated himself with the kings of Siak- but not with the current king, Said Ali (or Said Ibrahim), an "Arab".

Since the takeover by Said Ali in 1791, Akil had "fled with his family to Lingen, whence he came to Minto [in Bangka]. In the course of his residence at Lingen, he had frequently visited Billiton, and had acquired a knowledge of the country, and of the chiefs inhabiting it".⁽⁷⁰⁾

(67) COURT, Major M.H. "An Exposition of the Relations of the British Government ..." p. 203ff.

(68) *ibid.*, p. 204.

(69) The idea that Yahya was expelled and usurped by a foreigner almost certainly came from Akil himself and no contemporary account contradicts this interpretation.

(70) COURT, Major M.H., *op.cit.*, p. 204.

In 1815, he was employed by the British as an envoy and adviser on local matters and was appointed chief of the Island of Billiton with the purpose of excluding the opposition party from that island. (71) He carried out his duties with vigor and enterprise, and such was his success in this and later activities that he was roundly abused by the author of "Syair Perang Palembang".

"Hollanda semuanja banjaklah lari,
diusir hulubalang kesana kemari,
Radja Akil Siak pentjuri,
didalam rakit melingdungkan diri.

"Itulah Radja jang sangat hina,
ditanah Melaju tidak berguna,
ditanah Belitung membuat pesona,
masuk Kompeni pergi ngelana.

"Masuk Kompeni kapir charabi,
anggur dimakannja dengan serabi
patutulah [? patutlah] rupanja bagai labi-labi,
hampirlah akan memakan babi.

"Senantiasa membuat durhaka,
patutlah djadi isi neraka,
djalan Islam tiada suka,
itulah orang jang kena murka". (72)

The vehemence of these stanzas written by his opponents is a real tribute to the effectiveness of his opposi-

(71) *ibid.*, p. 205.

(72) ATJA, Drs. "Sjair Perang Palembang" St 31-34.

These stanzas occur (with slight variations) in the same position in "Syair Perang Ménténg." See WOELDEERS, M.O. "Het Sultanaat Palembang 1811-1825" p 197.

tion.

One wonders to what extent Akil was aware of the existence of the Syair Perang Palembang which was written in 1819-1820.⁽⁷³⁾ If he was aware of it, it may well have shown him the power of the written word and provided him with the impetus to embark on literary activities of his own.

As is made clear in the syair quoted above, with the passing of the English and the arrival of the Dutch, Akil transferred his allegiance to the new power and became a protege of Muntinghe⁽⁷⁴⁾ who became the Commissioner for Palembang and Bangka in October, 1817.⁽⁷⁵⁾

It is reasonable to assume that Akil accompanied Muntinghe when he arrived at Pontianak on 18th July 1818 as commander of the 600 soldiers who supported Commissioner van Boekholtz's expedition to Western Kalimantan.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Akil would almost certainly have continued with Muntinghe and van Boekholtz to Sambas when Georg Muller, with whom Akil was to develop a close association in the years that followed, was installed as acting Resident on 23rd September, 1818.⁽⁷⁷⁾

He would have been invaluable to the prosecution of Dutch ambitions in Western Kalimantan, for, wherever they called, Akil was known and memorials to earlier Siak visits could be pointed out.⁽⁷⁸⁾ These reminders of earlier days would have taken the form of relatives and fami-

(73) *ibid.*, p. 1.

(74) *ibid.*, p. 7.

(75) *ibid.*

(76) IRWIN, Graham "Nineteenth Century Borneo", p. 50.

(77) *ibid.*, p. 51.

(78) BLUME, C.L. "De Indische Bij ..." p. 373.

lies into which they had married as well as physical relics. The Dutch Resident's house in Pontianak, for example, stood on the site of the Siak settlement of the 1770s where Akil had spent his childhood. (79)

The same could be said for Akil's followers, for, by that time, he and all his chiefs had been given commissions in the Dutch Colonial forces, in effect, making all their people an integral part of the Dutch administration. Akil was given the rank of Major and the leaders of his forces were made Captains and Lieutenants. There were eleven such officers, each with his own ship. (80)

Akil went on to become the Sultan of Sukadana in 1827 which included Matan. His capital was renamed New Brussels symbolising the abortive Anglo-Dutch policy of a Greater Netherlands designed to act as a bulwark against renewed French aggression in Europe. The new name also symbolised Akil's indebtedness to the Dutch for his position. The motives and expectations of the colonial administration have not been discovered, but the Sultanate remained a minor post, quite secondary to neighbouring Pontianak and Sambas, which had the economic stimulus of Chinese miners in their hinterland, and it ended with the death of Akil in 1849.

Most likely there are many references to Akil's career in Dutch archives, but the first specific Dutch reference

(79) *ibid.*, p. 372.

(80) *ibid.*

which I have found (apart from van der Kemp's reference to Rear Admiral Wolterbeek's log-book ⁽⁸¹⁾) occurs in the records of Georg Muller which were collected and annotated by C.L. Blume and Dr. E. Muller (Georg's brother) and which have already been cited. It is this work on which Veth ⁽⁸²⁾ depends for most of his references to Akil.

Georg Muller was sent to Kalimantan again in 1822. ⁽⁸³⁾ In November of the same year, he met up with Akil - probably not for the first time ⁽⁸⁴⁾ - on a mission to Simpang and Matan ⁽⁸⁵⁾ and the name of Akil and his leaders recur many times in the accounts of the expeditions that follow.

For the present purpose, we are not concerned with the details of that mission, but we are treated by Muller to a rare insight into his relations with Akil, and Akil's attitude to his own position in the political circumstances at the time. Muller drew an analogy between Akil and Virgil's Aeneas who, after the sack of Troy, wandered the world until he founded his own kingdom, and whose descendants eventually founded Rome. The analogy was appropriate enough to be taken up by Veth ⁽⁸⁶⁾ and others. More importantly, we may infer that Akil gave a clear impression to Muller of an exiled king in search of a kingdom.

The passage from Muller is central to our concerns

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- (81) KEMP, P.H. van der "Het Nederlandsch -Indisch Bestuur" p. 216.
- (82) VETH, P.J. "Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling".
- (83) BLUME, C.L. op.cit., p. 115.
- (84) See above, p. 102
- (85) BLUME, C.L. op.cit., p. 220.
- (86) VETH, P.J. op.cit., Vol. 2, p. 153.

with Akil's role and self-image at that time and so is quoted here in extenso:

"Gedurende ons verblijf te Simpang, in November 1822, spraken Officiëren en volk dikwijls over zekeren Sultan MAMOED. Op de vraag: wie dan toch eigenlijk deze Sultan MAMOED was, vatte Radja AKIL het woord op, en zeide hij met zichtbare geestvervoering: 'Hij is wettig erfgenaam van den troon van Siak, want hij is de ouste zoon van onzen stam. Wij erkennen hem als Sultan.' Wij luisterden met gespannen aandacht, als de spreker, gelijk een andere AENEAS, / den kampstrijd van Siak en de lotgevallen der Vorsten en afstammelingen van dit Rijk verhaalde. "Langen tijd," dus ging hij voort, "heeft het lot ons, na de verovering van ons vaderland, over de zeeën verstrooid, tot dat het geluk ons weder heeft vereenigd. Hier heb ik eindelijk mijnen ouden eerwaardigen vader wedergevonden. Hij had van toen af in verdriet en kommer geleefd, maar zal in het vervolg door mijne zorgen een beter lot genieten. Ik zal hem verplegen en voor hem waken, en de eer niet onwaardig zijn, dat ik uit denzelfden stam der Siaks ben gesproten." Gelijk de vrome Trojaan weleer zijnen vader op de schouders wegdroeg, zoo voerde ook Radja AKIL zijnen vader (of wel zijnen oom MAMOED) naar Pontianak.

Elk schepeling heeft den mond vol van zijne voorouders. Het woord: matroos, is onder hen onbekend; zij zijn medgezellen en reisgenooten. Elk stuurman schijnt een andere PALINURUS te zijn en bezingt den lof van zijnen vader en van de Vorsten en Opperhoofden van Siak, waarbij hunne eigene lotgevallen en gevaren niet vergeten

worden ..."(87)

[During our stay at Simpang in November, 1822, these Officers and people often spoke of a certain Sultan Mahmud. To the question: who was this Sultan Mahmud, Raja Akil seized the opportunity and with visible emotion said, "He is the lawful heir to the throne of Siak, for he is the oldest son of our line. We acknowledge him as Sultan". We listened with rapt attention as the speaker, like another Aeneas, related the struggle for Siak and the fortunes of the princes and descendants of that kingdom.

"For long," thus he continued, "our fate has scattered us over the seas, after the conquest of our fatherland, until our fortunes have united us again. Here I finally rediscovered my old and venerable father. He had from that time lived in grief and sorrow but will in the future, under my care, enjoy a better lot. I shall tend him and watch over him and I shall not be unworthy of the honour that I am descended from the same Siak line.

As the pious Trojan of former times carried his father away on his shoulders, so Raja Akil took his father (or rather his uncle, Mahmud) to Pontianak.

Every crew member was full of talk of his ancestors. The word sailor is unknown among them; they are comrades and travelling companions. Every helmsman seems to be another Palinurus and sings the praise of his father and the leaders and princes of Siak, not forgetting their own adventures and perils]

(87) BLUME, C.L. op.cit., pp. 372-373.

There are some difficulties in interpreting this passage. One wonders how much of this account was Akil's and how much was Muller's. The first question is whether Akil was speaking in the present tense as Muller represents him. The absence of tense inflexion in Malay makes it possible that Akil was referring to past events. If he was sure that his audience understood the background, he would not have felt the need to indicate tense.

Who, then was the Sultan Mahmud that Akil spoke about so rapturously to Muller. If he was a significant person to Akil and was being presented by him as pretender to the Sultanate of Siak in 1822, then one would expect to find him featured prominently in SM, the "Hikayat Raja Akil". There is indeed a Sultan Mahmud mentioned on page 583. Almost certainly, however, it is Sultan Mahmud, grandson of Sultan Sulaiman of Johor. He died in 1812.

The only other candidate in SM is Tengku Mahmud who first appears at Billiton where the Siak family meet him after their evacuation from Pelalawan in 1791.⁽⁸⁸⁾ At that time he takes a secondary role in the story to Tengku Ibrahim, the second son of Musa.

Tengku Mahmud is a paduka adinda to Musa⁽⁸⁹⁾ and a paduka ayahanda to Akil.⁽⁹⁰⁾ This would seem to make him a son of Tengku Busu, the youngest son of Raja Kecil. Von de Wall shows Tengku Busu, as having a grandson named Tengku Mu-

(88) SM. p. 552.

(89) SM. p. 563.

(90) SM. p. 577.

hammad. (91) He would suit the role very well, if he were not a generation too late, for he was an anak gahara whose mother was the daughter of the Sultan of Matan. By aligning himself with his cause, Akil would gain status in west Kalimantan where he was later to rule.

We have the evidence of Muller that Akil took Mahmud to Kalimantan and the unusually thorough von de Wall mentions no other Mahmud there, yet it is too cavalier to assume that both the name and generation given in von de Wall are incorrect.

SM tells us very little of Tengku Mahmud and such information as it does give is not especially flattering. When the Yam Tuan Muda (? = Tengku Endut) is involved in a dispute in Kebu, he retires to Billiton. In the Cerucuk River they find Tengku Mahmud who retreats with them up-river and the Orang Berunai do not follow. (92)

Some time later Akil's younger brother, Tengku Sembok, meets Tengku Mahmud in Tambelan and they go to Sambas. (93) Finding it a suitable place, Tengku Mahmud seeks Yam Tuan Muda and returns with him to Sambas where the Yam Tuan Muda of Siak settles under the protection of the Sultan of Sambas. (94)

Tengku Mahmud, hearing of a dispute in Billiton between Musa and a (?) Bugis named Jafar, takes five ships to help, is intercepted by Jafar and just manages to escape

(91) WALL, H. von de "Matan, Simpang, Soekadana ..." p. 123.

(92) SM. p. 563.

(93) SM. p. 566.

(94) SM. p. 567.

and flee to Tambelan .⁽⁹⁵⁾ There he stays until Akil takes it upon himself to visit him, and is persuaded to accompany him to Karimata. Tengku Mahmud is dissatisfied with this place and they go on to Kota Waringin. We now get the impression that Akil is tiring of Tengku Mahmud's dependence on him, for he asks for rice supplies and without a word about his intentions to Tengku Mahmud leaves for Billiton.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Akil then becomes involved with the English and Dutch and Mahmud reenters the story only briefly.

After transporting Chinese from Batavia to Billiton, Akil intends to make for Mentok. Tengku Mahmud - once more it seems travelling with Akil, or living in Billiton - wishes to go to Pontianak instead. Akil goes to Mentok and Tengku Mahmud is ignored.⁽⁹⁷⁾ The story is blunt and uncompromising.

Can this be the "Sultan Mahmud" of whom Akil spoke in 1822? Tengku Mahmud certainly existed within ten years prior to that time and was a senior relative of Akil's. Yet he seems to have had no great following or power. It was Akil who commanded the Siak forces, not Mahmud. It was Akil who was known to Major Court, John Anderson, Rear Admiral Wolterbeek and Georg Muller as a leader, not Mahmud. Perhaps it was easier for Akil to present the claims of another for political office knowing that he would be the power behind the throne and would succeed him; but everything we know of Akil suggests that he was not one to seek

(95) SM. p. 570.

(96) SM. pp. 577-8.

(97) SM. p. 597.

a lesser role or play down his position:

Akil's clear dominance from as early as 1813 and the ambiguous position of Mahmud lead one to believe that Muller misunderstood Akil's story. There is some evidence of this in Muller's account where he claims that it was Akil's grandfather who was expelled from Siak.⁽⁹⁸⁾ (In fact, Akil's grandfather, Mahmud was not driven from the throne of Siak. That fate was suffered by Akil's uncle, Ismail, in 1761, and his cousin, Yahya, in 1789 and/or 1791. Mahmud died in Siak while very much in control, as the syair insists. He had had a chequered career and lost some battles to Alam, but he finished up the victor).

Akil may have spoken of Mahmud, the senior member of his family, but the Mahmud on whom the Siakker's claim to the throne of Siak Sri Inderapura rested, was Mahmud, the son of Raja Kecil who ruled between 1746 and 1760. He was the founder of their line and set them apart from Said Ali and Said Ibrahim who traced their descent from Alam. If they were to return to Siak, their claim would be based on the primacy of Mahmud's claim over Alam's.

That is precisely the attitude revealed in the analysis of the subject matter of the syair. It was Mahmud who was chosen ruler as distinct from Alam, whose descendants at that time^(ca 1820) ruled in Siak. Alam could not have taken Siak from Mahmud's heir^{in 1761} without the military might of the Dutch. Nor could the Dutch have taken Siak without the authority of Alam. Even their combined forces had found it

(98) BLUME, C.L. op.cit., p. 374.

necessary to take Siak from its rightful ruler at a moment of weakness, and even in that moment of weakness victory had not come easily for the invaders. Surely the implication of the author was that, since the Dutch had unjustly taken Siak from Mahmud's heir, it was their duty, now that all prior hurts had been forgiven or forgotten, to restore Siak to Mahmud's heirs.

The introductory section (St 5-109) too can be seen as a presentation of correct political interpretations for Dutch ears. The period of which we are speaking (1815-1824) was a period of intense rivalry between the English and the Dutch for control of the area surrounding the Straits of Malacca. The oft-described "paper war" over the ownership of Singapore illustrates the intensity of the rivalry during a period when there was no properly installed sultan of Johor between 1812 and 1823.⁽⁹⁹⁾ The English and Dutch applied European rules of inheritance to Malay situations, rediscovered ancient treaties, and used any device to further their ambitions for power by seeming to apply reason and legality to their cause.

Akil would have been well aware of the techniques, implications and results of this rivalry, for he was involved in it both in Palembang and Kalimantan. He would have known precisely what could be read into apparently innocuous words like "... and Dependencies".⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

(99) The latest account has been written by C.H. Wake. See especially WAKE, C.H. "Raffles and the Rajas" p. 49.

(100) *ibid.*, p. 53. See also pp. 43-4 above.

The intention of the introduction to the Syair Perang Siak is clear. Siak was not a dependency of Johor and its future could not properly be allowed to hang on the determination of who was to rule Johor, but it must be dealt with separately as an independent sultanate. The proper place for presenting such an argument was, of course, to the Dutch administration.

The inference that the syair was a piece of political propaganda intended, whether directly or indirectly, for Dutch ears is supported by the absence of any malice or resentment in the syair against the conquerors of Siak. Akil was not only an ally but a significant member of the Dutch administration who saw his future to be dependent on the good will of the Dutch. He would also have realised that any claims on Siak would have to be supported by some proof that he could establish a viable government and win the support of the people of Siak, and this explains the favourable treatment given to Alam in the syair. We have also seen that Akil had, in his early years, close associations with Said Ali, the recently retired Sultan of Siak⁽¹⁰¹⁾ and his brother, Said Abdul Rahman, Sultan of Pelalawan.

So far we have seen that the syair provides an ideal vehicle for Akil to press his claims to the Dutch for his restoration to the throne of Siak. But so it does for many other descendants of Mahmud scattered about the region.

(101) Retired 1810, died 1821.

Why must it be assumed to be written for Akil? The answer to this is straightforward. Akil was the acknowledged leader of the Siak families. This fact is abundantly clear from Muller's account.⁽¹⁰²⁾ Akil did, in fact, become a Sultan in Sukadana which is proof that he himself was ambitious for kingship. One cannot imagine that the Dutch would have created, or allowed the creation, of a sultan without some insistence by the candidate of the properness and worth of his cause.

We even have an indication that Akil desired the kingdom of Siak and had rallied some (probably local) Dutch support. John Anderson, when he visited Siak in 1823 reported rumours that "Syed Akhil⁽¹⁰³⁾ who has been residing some time at Palembang, and whose pretensions to the throne of Siak, it is said, the Netherlands government has some intentions of supporting, is the son of Rajah Musa, a descendant of Sultan Ahmud Shaw [Yahya]⁽¹⁰⁴⁾; but he has no just claim whatever."⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ This tantalising snippet given without further explanation or reference is the one hard piece of evidence that links Akil in about 1820 with the kingdom of Siak at that time, and so provides a slight basis of fact for the assumption that Akil maintained a real practical interest, as distinct from an academic historical interest, in Siak affairs.

(102) BLUME, C.L. op.cit., p. 372.

(103) The description that follows shows that Tengku Akil or Raja Akil was intended. See p. 99 *fn* 62.

(104) Akil was, in fact, Yahya's cousin: his fa-br-so.

(105) ANDERSON, John op.cit., pp. 342-343.

Why then should Akil have developed ambitions to return to Siak at that particular time when he was aged about 46 years? There were two events at the time which would have given him hope for success. First, the Dutch returned to the East with a fierce determination to establish trading monopolies throughout the area. Akil had seen the effectiveness of their determination and the fragility of local rulers before it. Second, Said Ali, whose long reign in Siak extended the hegemony of the kingdom over much of the East Coast of Sumatra, died on 1st February, 1821.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ This dominant and forceful king had handed over the reins of government in 1810 to his son Ibrahim and his successor was a weak and sickly man⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ who died in 1827.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

The death of Said Ali in 1821 would have eased the way for Akil to replace Ali's ineffective son.

Finally, there are two coincidental dates which link Siak to Akil, and Akil to the syair.

(i) In 1827, Ibrahim died and was replaced by Ismail, thus removing any last hope Akil might have had for returning to Siak.

In 1827, Akil was installed Sultan of Sukadana. Was this a compensation for the loss of Siak?

(106) NETSCHER, E. op.cit., p. 147.

(107) TENE. p. 40.

(108) TENE loc.cit. says that Ibrahim died in 1815 but PLUVIER, Jan M. "A Handbook and Chart of South-East Asian History" p. 28 gives the date of his death as 1827, and that is corroborated by the evidence of ANDERSON, John op.cit. p. 342 that he was still living at the time of Anderson's visit to Siak in 1823.

(ii) In 1849 Akil died.

In late 1849 or early 1850, the MS L1 of the Syair Perang Siak was written. Was it written to commemorate the death of the prince for whom it had originally been composed?

To summarise, the Syair Perang Siak can best be seen as an article of political propaganda written for a descendant of Mahmud who had pretensions to the throne of Siak. The most likely individual for whom the syair would have been written was Raja Akil. The most likely time that it would have been written was about 1820.

This inferred connection between the Syair Perang Siak and Raja Akil and the period around 1820 is hypothetical. It is presented not as a final assessment but as a starting point from which discussion can proceed as new evidence is discovered.

If a case is stated in the first instance, it provides a guide as to what evidence is relevant as it comes to hand. One piece of evidence which is essential to any definitive statement about the Syair Perang Siak is the Pelalawan MS and no finality can be arrived at until it has become available for study and comparison.

J A DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

And an answer came directed in a writing unexpected
 (And I think the same was written with a thumbnail
 dipped in tar);
 'Twas his shearing mate who wrote it ...

A.B. PATERSON

The MSS used in the preparation of the text are

- (1) L1 - KL 154 Syair Perang Siak
- (2) L2 - KL 153 Syair Perang Siak
- (3) J - v.d.W. 273 Syair Raja Siak

In addition there are two Pelalawan manuscripts (P1 and P2) and a modernised printed version by Tenas Effendy (TE).

1) L1

This MS is held in the Leiden University Library and is listed as number 195 Sja'ir Perang Siak I in van Ronkel's "Supplement-Catalogus ..." (1) where it is described as coming from the KLINKERT COLLECTION 154, being 20.5 x 16 cm, 60pp and having 20 lines/page.

The folios appear to have been numbered though for the most part, they do not show up on the microfilm used.

The numbering used here is as follows:

page 1 has 'Sjair Perang Sijak' written by hand in Roman script (folio 1);

pages 2 and 3 are blank (but have been heavily used by others as note paper);

page 4 begins the text;

page 61 ends the text;

page 63 has the colophon reproduced below (folio 32).

The significant part of the colophon is the central

(1) RONKEL, Ph. S. van "Supplément-catalogus der Maleische en Minangkabausche Handschriften in de Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek", p. 85.

circle which provides the information that it was written in 1266 A.H. which year began on 17th November, 1849.

I am informed that the Library catalogue has recorded the date as 1256 A.H. or 1840. It will be seen that in line c of the circle, the introductory flourish of the nun of enam is very similar to the lam of puluh (the following word, line d) which could lead to a reading of lima for enam. However the repetition of enam leaves no doubt about the intention. The date must be 1266 (or alternately 1255). It could not be 1256.

The line surrounding the circle is an injunction to borrowers to take care of the work. The radiating arms do not appear to have any continuity or significance, though in the south-west diagonal there is the intriguing snippet "ke Kampong Gelam tuan terikat" and in the north vertical arm is "dikarang orang negeri ^{Jawa} (~~2~~) ~~s-l-w~~".

The margins, and especially the endpapers of the MS have been used freely by others for making annotation (not apparently relevant to the text) practising letters, copying this and other texts, practising decorations, and even for computation. This has been done in a variety of hands from childish to mature, from which one may reasonably infer that the MS was held for a time in its court of origin where it was a secondary copy and used by scribes and their pupils for notepaper.

The text itself is unmarred by these additions.

Letters may appear in a variety of ways even within the confines of a single word. The lack of discrimination between ra and sin is shown in the following examples. The first shows no distinction at all between ra and sin. The second shows one ra formed like sin with two others formed in a more conventional pattern.

St 525a-c surat

سورة

sarat

ساراة

St 410a-c garang

گارغ

bersarang-sarang

بیرارغ-سارغ

Similar lack of discrimination could be shown between sin and syin; kaf and ga; and most letters where dots are significant in determining the letter. This is not simply a matter of dots being omitted. Syin with three dots often occurs where sin would be expected.

Ll appears to be aware of the ambiguity created by the lack of discrimination in his dal and lam, so he often writes lam as l-h, la or la-h, for example,

St 360c jangan dikata

جانگندى كات

St 474d kepada kepalanya

كفد كفالنا

St 85c menjangka lara wirang

منجانگك لارو ویرانغ

St 104b tidak lagi

تيداك لايكيب

There is no consistency in any of these forms however.

Spelling is equally inconsistent. A single word like badan occurs on 13 occasions and is spelt in seven different ways:

b-d-n (3)

b-d-n-(a) (4)

n (1)

b-d-a-n- (1)

b-d-(a)-n (1)

b-a-d-n (1)

b-a-d-(a)-n(2)

Even allowing for errors in my reading of 'a' and '(a)', the variety is considerable.

Mati, besides being spelt in the conventional

m-a-t-y is also spelt

m-a- <u>z</u> -y
m-a- <u>d</u> -l-y
m-a- <u>d</u> -(a)-y
m-a-(a)-t-y
m-t-y

in the 16 occasions when the word occurs.

Even in a word like Allah where a strong convention might be expected, there are six varieties:

a-l-h-

r-a-l-h

a-l-h-(a)

a-l-l-h

l-h

a-l-(a)-h

The other MSS show no variation in the spelling of this word on 43 occasions.

Finally, compare the spelling of doa dipinta in consecutive stanzas

34b

دعادي فينا

35b

دعادفتو

b) The writer is most particular about the physical length of his lines. Although his writing lacks regularity or fluency, could not be considered attractive, and, as we have seen, is careless about fine distinctions, yet he goes to great lengths to ensure that each line has precisely the same physical length and each line of a stanza rhymes or gives the appearance of rhyming.

The techniques of extension or compression of words to fit the physical space are numerous. It may be a simple matter of stretching

St 188b digambarkan

دگامبارکن

or squashing

St 272d jab

جا

Letters normally indicated only with dots may be given their full form like the ya in

St 209b wazir diberikan

وزیردی برافکن

Extra letters may be omitted or added

St 161c peterana

فات پترانا

perhaps inadvertently, as in

St 401a melanggar

ملفگرا

where an upstroke has been separated and made into an alif.

Patterns of dots as in doa dipinta (above) may be added as a last resort, or, more commonly, a device which sometimes gives the appearance of an angka dua and sometimes of an elaborate mim.

St 103a muka 

St 114c berfikir 

St 89c perahu yang sudah dibakar 

In the last case it will be noted that the problem was created by the scribe for himself. He had already unnecessarily contacted the spelling of perahu to f-r-(a)-w and sudah to sy-w-d and forced the dal to do double duty for sudah and dibakar.

(See also St 44c note and St 49d note.)

There are even cases where the last verse of a page has been repeated, apparently to maintain the uniform length of each page. See pages 35-39 of the MS.

In the Notes and Commentary section, many explanations have been required to account for readings where the MS appears to prefer a rhyming word to one with a more appropriate sense. For example, see St 89c dibakar, St 99a ditimpas and St 116d ratu.

Although, in deciding the text to be adopted, an effort has been made to accede to the syairist's wishes in all respects, a stanza like 141 is an insurmountable hurdle. The final words in each line are

pergi

mereka

terungkap

bercakap.

The writer has no difficulty in contriving to make the final letter into a ba or something which looks very like a ba. The less flexible imperative of the typewriter makes this a most difficult feat to imitate.

c) The third peculiar feature of L1 is the use of numerous extraneous small alifs shown as '(a)'. The decision about whether 'a' or '(a)' is intended is often a subjective one. They are only shown as (a) when there is some clear indication that a is not possible.

No decision has been reached about the significance of the "small alif", but it has been discussed in greater detail in Appendix 2.

2) L2

L2 is also held in the Leiden University Library and is listed as number 196 in van Ronkel's "Supplement-Catalogus ...".⁽²⁾ It is there described as coming from KLINKERT'S COLLECTION 153 and being 21 x 17.5 cm, and having 60 pp and 20 lines/page.

Van Ronkel surmises that L2 is a copy of L1 and notes that it concerns Bengkalis in Siak at the time of the war with Johor. This is copied from (or repeated in) the Dutch title page of the MS which in turn is a simple translation of the introduction to L2 which he quotes.

(See the Text p. 139).

(2) *ibid.*, p. 85.

As this is accepted as a fair indication of the subject matter of the syair, ⁽³⁾ it should be stated explicitly that the syair has only a few stanzas about either Bengkalis or Johor. In fact, the syair is about a war between Mempura (Siak Sri Inderapura) and Dutch Malacca.

Although it is an unsatisfactory indication of the contents of the syair, the introduction in L2 is an acceptable and time-honoured way of opening a manuscript. There was a well established convention in medieval monasteries of cataloguing manuscripts in their libraries by the first words of the second page no matter how many works were contained within the one volume. ⁽⁴⁾ The same convention is observed in the Sejarah Melayu (Cod Or 7304) which begins

"Inilah cetera Raja Iskandar Zul Karnain tertulis di dalam negeri Betawi ..."

yet the greater part of that work extends into the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries. The very fact that it refers to itself as the "Sejarah Melayu" is an extension of the same principle.

No page number shows up on the microfilm. For the numbering used here:

Page 1 contains a handwritten Dutch title page. It gives the summary copied by van Ronkel (see above) and adds

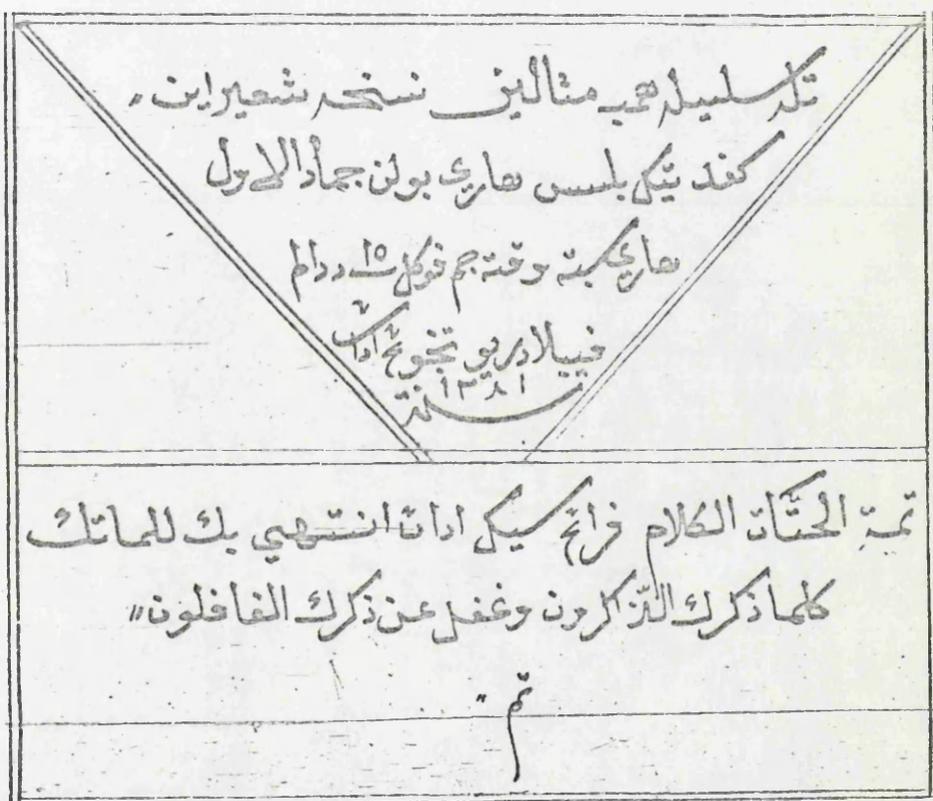
(3) Eg. in BOTTOMS, J.C. "Malay Historical Works" p. 49.

(4) SAVAGE, Ernest A. "Old English Libraries" pp. 103-104.
WORMALD, Francis "The Monastic Library", pp. 24-26.

"benevens een aanhangsel" which is again a reflection of the information supplied in the MS (See Text above St 529). In the same hand is the announcement that the MS was the "Eigendom van het Nederl. Bijb. Gen".

Page 3 begins the text.

Page 66 ends the text and the colophon is on the same page.



From the colophon we learn that the MS was completed on the 13th day of Jamadi '1-awwal, a Saturday, at 10 o'clock, in the year 1281 Sanat, which, by my reckoning, would be 15th September, 1864.

The place is not so certain:

"di dalam fi balad di Riau tanjung adanya".

This I take to be ~~a certain building at~~ Tanjung Pinang

in Riau.

L2 is a model of clear, attractive and unambiguous calligraphy. There is no inconsistency or uncertainty in form or spelling except when the writer does not appear to have understood his subject matter.

L2 makes some use of diacritical marks. (See Appendix 3.)

3) J

J is held in the Bagian Naskah, Museum Pusat, Merdeka Barat 12, Jakarta. It is listed as CDLXX Sja'ir Radja Siak in van Ronkel's "Catalogus der Maleische Handschriften ..." (5) where it is described as from von de WALL'S COLLECTION 273, 33 x 20.5 cm, 62 pages and 19 lines/page.

Van Ronkel here indicates that he understood that the subject matter concerned a war between Siak and the Dutch, but he adds a curious rider:

"Berijmd verhaal van de verwickelingen in het rijk van Siak, en van de wijze waarop door het Nederlandsche Goevernemt daaraan in 1857 een einde werd gemaakt". (6)

The takeover by the Dutch in 1857 may have found support in the Contract of 16th January, 1761 with Alam, (7) but it would take the greatest legal sophistry to read into the syair any support for the rights of the Dutch to act in 1761. Indeed the VOC justified its conquest in 1761 by

(5) RONKEL, Ph.S. van, "Catalogus der Maleische Handschriften in het Museum van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen" p. 349.

(6) This passage is shown in quotation marks so it may again be copied from a title page or library catalogue associated with the MS.

(7) NETSCHER, E. "De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak..." pp. 113-114 and Bijlage XXIII.

reference to a grant by Sultan Sulaiman in 1745,⁽⁸⁾ yet the syair explicitly rejects any right of the Johor rulers to decide Siak affairs.⁽⁹⁾

No page numbers show up in the microfilm. In the page numbering shown here

page 1 has the title SYAIR RAJA SIAK in Jawi script in the same hand as the remainder of the MS, and No. 273 in European style Arabic numerals;

page 2 begins the text;

page 62 ends the text.

The colophon appears as an extra stanza, undifferentiated from the remainder of the text.

The colophon provides no information about the provenance of the MS.

J has a clear free and unaffected hand, It is quite legible though makes no concessions to formality and convention. Lines remain the length they occur naturally and there is little of L2's meticulous attention to detail.

J is the most self-consistent of the three MSS in its spelling and forms.

(8) *ibid.*, p. 127.

(9) See above, pp. 68-71.

4) P1

P1 was a very old MS kept in the palace at Pelalawan. It was written by Encik Abdullah from Trengganu and was lost in the Revolution of 1945-1949. (See Appendix 1).

5) P2

P2 is a copy of P1 made in 1937 by Tengku Johan Bin Ibrahim. (See Appendix 1).

6) TE

This is a modernised printed version by Tenas Effendy believed to be based on P2.

It has been published twice:

- (a) TENAS EFFENDY "Syair Perang Siak" (disusun kembali oleh) Badan Pembina Kesenian Daerah Propinsi Riau
Pekan Baru 5 Mei 1969.

A short introduction gives the genealogy of the kings of Siak.

- (b) As the final section in
OK. NIZAMI DJAMIL and DJOHAN SJARIFUDDIN SH
"Selayang Pandang Antropologi Budaya Riau"
Badan Pembina Kesenian Daerah Propinsi Riau
? Pekan Baru 1972 pp. 35-119

This is clearly an economy measure. Unless one knew it was there, it would be very easy to miss a single line mention of Syair Perang Siak in the Table of Contents. The cover title and the title page refer only to the first article. There is a similarly unnoticed second article by TS. UMAR M. entitled "Catatan Ringkas Upacara Penyambutan Adat di Daerah Riau".

TE has about 290 stanzas which have no parallel in the version of the text given here. Of the remaining 376 stanzas some are similar in their ideas, in a few words, in a line or a verse. Though many are identifiably the same stanza, none that I can recall are identical.

K THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE MANUSCRIPTS

Writing obscures language; it is not a guise
for language but a disguise.

SAUSSURE

Three points are clear concerning the relationships of the MSS L1, L2 and J, though no statement can yet be made about P1 and P2.

- (a) The MSS are very closely related.
- (b) L2 and J are both copies of L1.
- (c) L1 was written in a court where it has social and political meaning, but L2 and J were made to satisfy European scholarly interests.

These three statements are unquestionably true from a variety of evidence and make L2 and J insignificant for the purposes of the present study.

Considerable evidence was collected before these findings were accepted finally. Much of the internal evidence has been left in the Apparatus Criticus in the footnotes to the Text. Some attention has been drawn to it in the Notes and Commentary, and Appendix 2 retains one aspect of the evidence for another purpose.

However, for the most part, the self evident fact of the close relationship of the MSS, and the circumstances of the writing of L2 and J make it unnecessary and irrelevant to argue the relationship in detail. Instead a brief outline of the kind of evidence that could be used is substituted.

We may see the close relationship in the identical beginning and ending of the three manuscripts and the fact

that all three occasionally omit the same verse.⁽¹⁾ On one occasion two stanzas (St 234 and 235) are repeated as St 239 and 240. All three make the identical error.

The simple chronological fact that L1, written in 1849, is older than L2 written in 1864 makes dependence in one direction only possible in that case. That dependence may be shown clearly by observing the effect of L1's peculiar characteristics set out above⁽²⁾ on L2 and J.

L1's inconsistent forms and spellings often misled L2 and J. For example, in St 187c, L1 spells majlis with syn rather than sin. L2 reads it as s-ny. In St 235, which was repeated as St 240, L1 is not clear in the writing of raka causing L2 to write r-w-n and J to omit the word, yet when the word recurs in St 240 and L1 is clear, both L2 and J copy without difficulty.

L1's filling of lines caused problems for L2 and J. In digambarkan (St 188b), illustrated above p. 121, both L2 and J regarded it as two separate words. J has digambar2 sekalian and L2 (always more cautious and less imaginative) has digambar kalan (?).

The line filler resembling a mim or angka dua caused many errors, especially in J⁽³⁾, but L2 also falls into the trap in St 185c. The reason for this difference between L2 and J is probably that L2 is less inclined himself to

(1) For example, St 268a-b and 342a-b.

(2) Pp. 118 - 123.

(3) For example St 103a, 248d, 263a, 213c.

use the angka dua for doubled words and so less likely to see its use by others.

One of the most prolific causes of error is the small alif, (a). About 50 examples of misreadings or misspellings caused in L2 or J by the appearance of (a) in L1 have been collected. Some of these are set out in Appendix 2.

There is also evidence in the MSS to show that L2 and J were not familiar with the subject matter of the syair. They tended to transliterate letter by letter when L1 was not explicit where one would expect a scribe rewriting a syair he had often heard read in court (if he had not read it himself) to adapt the obscure section to his own memory or understanding of the story. Given L1's capricious forms and spellings, the copiers are thus led to write words such as L2's kalan (above).

Besides this, it is amazing the extent to which L2 and J do not recognise place names which would have been common-place to a Siakker. These include Buantan, (4) Mempura (St 125d), Tanah Datar, (5) and Lima Puluh. (6)

Given that L1 is the only MS written in a social milieu where one would expect the syair to be preserved for its inherent value to the local community, there is little to be gained from further consideration of the other MSS. Copies made for European scholars, while necessary and commendable, tell nothing of Malay attitudes to their liter-

(4) See St 53c note.

(5) See St 396a note.

(6) See St 541b note.

ature and historiography.

Nevertheless, I conclude with a few speculations concerning the provenance of the MSS to offer the stimulus (and a target) for anyone with evidence concerning the background of these MSS to produce it.

L1, I believe, was written in Sukadana, or one of its outposts such as Matan or Karimata, to honour Raja Akil, Sultan of Sukadana at his death. L1 remained at the court of his son Tengku Besar Anom who gave it to H. von de Wall on his visit to the west coast of Kalimantan in 1853-55. (7) Von de Wall had spent much time in the region in an official capacity since 1834 and we can see his close interest in and knowledge of the Siak family from the genealogy he compiled which is by far the most complete and accurate. (8)

On his return to Batavia in 1855, he had L1 copied by a local scribe to make J (v.d.W 273). This eventually came into the possession of the Bataviaasch Genootschap.

L2 is believed to have been written at Tanjong Pinang in Riau in 1864 (see above p. 125). We know that Von de Wall was himself in Riau in January, 1864 after his visit to Malacca from 12th July 1860- 14th February 1862. (9) It is reasonable to assume that Von de Wall had the copy made in Riau at that time.

H.C. Klinkert visited Riau for two years in 1865-1866 to study Malay language preparatory to translating the

(7) STIBBE, D.G. (Ed) Encyclopaedie von Nederlandsch-Indie, ^{vol. IV} pp. 663-4. ^{see} Wall

(8) WALL, H. von de "Matan, Simpang, Soekadana ..." pp. 112-123.

(9) WALL, H. von de "De Vormverandering der Maleische Taal" p.9.

Bible. (10) He then proceeded on to Singapore and, since his friendship with von de Wall seems to have subsequently cooled, (11) we may assume that he acquired the two MSS L1 and L2 during his stay at Riau. These also passed into the hands of the Bataviaasch Genootschap before being returned to Leiden University.

(10) WALL, H. von de "Eenige Opmerkingen op Drie Kleine Geschriften ..." p. 305.

(11) *ibid.*, pp. 306-307.

L EXPLANATIONS, DEFINITIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Three subdivisions are referred to in the text:

a line is one line of print as set out in the text;
 a verse, as in the original sense of that word, is a line
 of writing in the manuscript or two lines of the text;
 a stanza is four lines or two verses with an aaarhyme
 scheme.

The syair form is normally thought to consist of
 separate stanzas each containing one idea. The concept of
 a verse within a stanza should therefore have little value.
 It has been used because it has been found useful!

BKI Bijdra-gen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
 uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor
 Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.

JMBRAS Journal of the Malayan (or Malaysian) Branch of
the Royal Asiatic Society

JSBRAS Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic
Society

KD Kamus Dewan

This is the dictionary used to standardise the
 spelling of the text, though it had to be modi-
 fied to conform with the new spelling system of
 1972. See Bibliography under ISKANDAR, Teuku.

NET Netscher.

See Bibliography under NETSCHER, E.

SM Sejarah Melayu

The use of SM refers exclusively to Cod Or

7304 which refers to itself (p. 647) as Sejarah Melayu. Other editions of the 'Sejarah Melayu' used would be cited under the name of the editor. See, for example, WINSTEDT, R.O.

T al N Tuhfat al-Nafis

See Bibliography under RAJA ALI AL-HAJI RIAU, Al-marhum for description.

TBG Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

TE Tenas Effendy

When used as a citation, TE refers to the 1972 edition of Tenas Effendy's modernised version of the Syair Perang Siak.

TENE Tenas Effendy and Nahar Effendy

See Bibliography for description.

VBG Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen

VKI Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.

VOC Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie - Dutch East India Company.

On the next page is the scheme used for spelling out the text in the apparatus criticus, notes and elsewhere:

ق	<u>k</u>	س	s	ا	a
ك	k	ش	sy	ب	b
گ	g	ص	<u>s</u>	ت	t
ل	l	ض	<u>d</u>	ث	th
م	m	ط	<u>t</u>	ج	j
ن	n	ظ	<u>z</u>	چ	c
و	w	ع	'	ح	<u>h</u>
ه	h	غ	gh	خ	kh
لا	la	غ	ng	د	d
ع	'	ف	f	ذ	dh
ي	y	ق	p	ر	r
ث	ny			ز	z

II THE TEXT AND APPARATUS CRITICUS

- ROSALIND From the east to western Ind,
No jewel is like Rosalind.
Her worth, being mounted on the wind,
Through all the world bears Rosalind ...
- TOUCHSTONE Sweetest nut hath sourest rind,
Such a nut is Rosalind.
He that sweetest rose will find
Must find love's prick and Rosalind.
- ROSALIND ... I was never so be-rhym'd
Since Pythagoras' time.
- SHAKESPEARE: AS YOU LIKE IT III ii

GENERAL REMARKS AND EXPLANATIONS

The Text follows L1. If L1 is not explicit, either L2 or J is used.

For the sake of consistency, the spelling of the text follows ISKANDAR, Teuku "Kamus Dewan". Where appropriate the spelling of "Kamus Dewan" (KD) has been modified in accordance with the rules laid down in "Sistem Ejaan Rumi Baharu Bahasa Malaysia".

The footnotes are primarily to indicate variations and uncertainties in the readings of the three manuscripts. They may also contain inconsistencies in spelling and reference material for other matters to be taken up in the Introduction, Commentary and Appendices.

In the footnotes, when words are spelt out letter by letter, they follow the scheme given on the previous page (p. 137). In addition there is the "small alif" (a) (See Appendix 2). When (a) is written without a hyphen, it indicates that, in the MS, it is written directly above the letter which precedes it. For example, St 50c m-a-'-w(a) and St 51b r(a)-ng-y-t mean that the small alif is written directly above the wau and ra respectively. (a) occurs in L1

Inilah syair cetera daripada Bandar Bengkalis L2 3
 didalam negeri Siak masa berperang "Tanah Johor".

- 1 bismillah itu suatu asma L1 4
 suatu disebut mula pertama J 2
 zat dan sifat keduanya sama
 perhimpunan wujud sekalian nama
- 2 alhamdulillah puji yang sedia
 bagi Allah Tuhan yang mulia
 berkat Muhammad sayid al-anbia
 jangan bernama yang sia-sia
- 3 astagfirullah hambamu tobat
 minta ampuni janganlah lambat
 dipohonkan kepada nabi dan sahabat
 pekerjaan maksiat jangan terjabat
- 4 dengan berkat duli mahkota
 ibarat dahulu sudah nyata
 tidak dipandanglah dengan mata
 sekadar fakir mendengar cerita

1a asma: L1 s-m-a L2  J s-m-a

1b pertama: L1 f-r-a-t-m-a L2 f-r-n-a-m J f-r-n-a-m

1c zat dan: L1 ذن دن L2 دن دنان J omits zat.

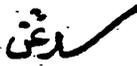
1d wujud: L1 a-w-j-w-d L2 and J w-j-w-d

sakalian: L2 sakaliannya

2b bagi: L1 b-h-k-y L2 d-b-h-g-y J b-a-k-y

4 J omits stanza 4 and J alone has "dengarkanlah...Siak".

4b sudah: L2 sudahlah

4c dengan: L2 

4d sekadar: L1 

Dengarkanlah suatu syair Siak.

- 5 tersebutlah kisah suatu peri
 madahnya dahulu orang yang bahari
 Buantan belum menjadi negeri
 kayunya banyak akar dan duri
- 6 tatkala zaman ketika itu
 bandar Bengkalis yang tertentu
 indahnyanya bukan lagi suatu
 orang melihat berhati mutu
- 7 itulah negeri asal mulanya
 ramainya tidak lagi taranya
 tidak beraja konon khabarnya
 sekadar orang besar memerintahkannya
- 8 ramainya bukan alang kepalang
 selup dan kici berselang-selang
 sampan penjaja salang-menyalang
 sampan pemukat tidak terbilang

J 3

5b madahnya: L1 مده L2 مدهن

5c Buantan: L1 Buantan L2 buatanya J hutan

6a ketika: J k-r-t-y-k

6c bukan: J bukannya

6d berhati mutu: L1 برهتير موتو J برهتي متو ?= berahi mutu

7d besar: L1 b-sy

memerintahkannya: L1 مرنتهك L2 مرنتهكن J مرنتهكن

8b selup: L1 s-w-(a)-1-b L2 s-w-a-l-b J s-l-w-f

kici: L1 k-c-y L2 k-c-k J k-c-y

berselang-selang: L1 برسالغوم L2 برسالغ J برسالغ

8c penjaja: L1 f-n-j-a-j L2 f-j-a-j J f-r-j-a-j-b

salang-menyalang: L1 سالغ مبالغ L2 سالغ مبالغ

سالغ مبالغ J

- 9 ke Johor konon ketaklukannya
raja Bugis memerintahkannya
muafakat Menangkabau sekaliannya L1 5
hendak mencarikan rajanya
- 10 duduk berkampung mencari mesyuarat
ke Menangkabau menyuruh membawa surat
pergilah orang berjalan darat
dipersembahkan ke bawah duli hadirat
- 11 berjalan itu tidaklah khali
pagi dan petang tidak peduli
ke Pagar Ruyung langsung sekali L2 4
masuk menghadap ke bawah duli
- 12 baginda pun sudah hadir di penghadapan
alat kebesaran dengan kelengkapan
disembahkan surat dengan tetapan
hati baginda giap-giapan
- 9a ketaklukannya: L1 k-t--a-w-(a)-k-k-n-ny
L2 k-t--l-k-k-n-ny
J k-t--l-w-k-k-n-ny
- 9b memerintahkannya: L1 مَرِيْتَهَكَتْ L2 مَرِيْتَهَكَتْ J مَرِيْتَهَكَتْ
- 9c muafakat: L1 m-w-f-k-t L2 m-w-f-a-k-t J m-w-a-f-k-t
- Menangkabau: L1 مَنَقَابَاوْ L2 مَنَقَاوْ J مَنَقَاوْ
- 9d mencarikan L1 مَنَجَارِيْ اَكْن L2 مَنَجَارِيْ اَكْن J مَنَجَارِيْ اَكْن
- 10a mesyuarat: L1 مَشْوَرَة L2 مَشْوَرَة J مَشْوَرَة
- 10b ke Menangkabau menyuruh: L1 كَتَمَابَاوْمَشْوَرَة L2 pergi mesyuarat
كَمَدَاوْمَشْوَرَة J
- 12d baginda: Omitted in J.
giap-giapan: L1 كِيَاب كِيَاب L2 كِيَاب كِيَاب
J gila kesengatan

13 surat dibaca oleh baginda
sesak belah di dalam dada
lalu bertitah duli yang syahda
memanggil panakawan mana yang ada

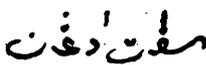
14 setelah berkampung sekaliannya
mencari muafakat mana dapatnya
sudahlah putus bicaranya
menantikan saat dengan ketikanya

15 masa berangkat raja bestari
ketika mesyuarat saat musytari
serta dengan wazir menteri
diiringkan sekalian isi negeri

16 tidak berapa lama antara
baginda berangkat dengan segera
melalui hutan rimba belantara
gundahnya tidak terkira-kira

13c syahda: L1s-h-d L2 sy-h-d-a J sy-h-d-a

13d panakawan: L2 pegawai

14d saat: L1 ^{dengan} 

15d isi: L2 s-k-s

16a antara: J antaranya

16b segera: J bersegera

16c belantara: L1 t-n-t-a-r-(a) L2 t-n-t-a-r-a J b-l-n-t-a-r-

21 kerajaan baginda sudahlah tentu
tidaklah lagi berhati mutu
laksana emas sudah semutu
mencari muafakat pula suatu

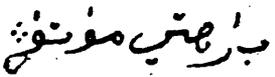
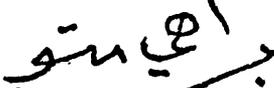
22 muafakat dicari dalam dan tohor
baginda hendak melanggar Johor
dari pagi sampai ke zohor
putuslah muafakat sudah masyhur

L2 5

23 bicara itu sudah syarikat
laksana ikan di dalam pukak
akal pendapat seperti sikat
negeri Johor hendak diangkat

24 lalu bertitah duli baginda
kampungan orang tua dan muda
serta pegawai anum berida
baiki perahu mana yang ada

21b tidaklah: L1 t-y-d-l-h L2 t-y-d-k-l-h J t-y-a-d

berhati mutu: L1  J  = berahi mu

21c semutu: J termutu

21d pula: L1 f-w-(a)-l-k L2 f-w-l-k J f-w-l

22a dalam: L2 di dalam

23a sudah: L2 sudahlah

23c pendapat: J pandangan

24d baiki: L2 baikkan

- 25 sampan dan kakap sudah serta
itulah yang ada dijadikan takhta
lalu dinaikkan alat senjata
itulah konon khabar berita
- 26 sudah mustaid sekaliannya
menantikan waktu dengan ketikanya
mencari langkah dengan sangat/nya
suatu pun jangan ada bahayanya
- 27 sekalian tunggul sudah terdiri
hebatnya tidak lagi terperi
memohonkan tolong khalikulbahri
mudah-mudahan rahmat diberi
- 28 baginda berangkat menarik nafas
turun ke kenaikan kajang dipapas
dibongkar sauh dayung dikipas
tidaklah sempat membakar kapas

J 5

25b takhta: J titah

25c lalu dinaikkan: L2 lalulah naik

26a mustaid: L2 menghiasi

26c sangatnya: L2 saatnya

27a tunggul: L1 t-ng-k-l-a L2 t-ng-g-l-2 J t-ng-k-l

?=tangkal

27b hebatnya: J hatinya

28b turun: L2 تَوْرِن

dipapas: L2 دَخَانِي

- 34 ke Tanah Merah sampai serta
kepada Allah doa dipinta
berkat Muhammad penghulu kita
jangan memberi nama yang lata
- 35 matahari masuk berayun petang
doa dipinta tangan tertelentang
berkat datuk di Bukit Si/guntang
janganlah apa aral melintang
- 36 semalam itu berhenti di Tanah Merah
sekalian kawan disuruh kerah
kepada Allah baginda berserah
sebarang cita dapatnya murah
- 37 hari pun malam sudahlah gelap
bintang pun timbul banyak mengerlip
baginda beradu tidaklah lelap
banyaklah pikiran datang menyelap

J 6

- 34b doa dipinta: L1 دعادي فينا
L2 d-‘-a-d-f-y-n-t J d-‘-a’-d-f-n-t-a-’
- 35b doa dipinta: L1 دعادفتو
L2 d-‘-a-d-f-n-t-a-’ J d-‘-a-d-f-n-t-a-’
- tangan: L2 dengan
- tertelentang: L2 terlentang
- 35d aral: L2 ‘-r-d = ardz
- melintang: L2 merintang
- 36d cita: L2 and J citanya
- 37c tidaklah: J tiada

- 38 malam tua tidak baginda beradu
memikirkan lawan dengan jodoh
mengeluarkan titah tersedu-sedu
bagaikan pecah rasa empedu
- 39 sampai kepada waktu dinihari
semboyan berbunyi tidak terperi
baginda tidak berbanyak peri
serta sekalian wazir menteri L1 8
- 40 berdayung baginda sehari itu L2 7
tidaklah konon berhati mutu
rajanya bercatur khabarnya tentu
orang Johor akalnya mutu
- 41 Raja Tengah leka bercatur
tiada didengarnya orang bercatur
bunyi meriam seperti guntur
tulang dan sendi sudahlah gentar

38a malam tua: L1 مالو توء L2 m-a-l-m-t-w J m-a-l-m-a-y-t
= malam itu

tidak: J omits.

38b dengan: J dan

jodoh: L1, L2 and J j-w-d-w

38c tersedu-sedu: L1 tersendu2 L2 tersedu-sedu J tersendu

38d empedu: L1 ممدوء L2 ممدوء

39a sampai: L2 sampailah

39b tidak: L1 t-y-d L2 t-y-d-k J t-y-a-d = tiada

39c berbanyak: J banyak

40a berdayung: L2 berdayunglah

41d gentar: L1 k-n-t-w-r L2 g-n-t-w-r J k-t-w-r

- 42 baginda pun masuk ke kuala
bunyi meriam sangat menggila
seperti bertih rentaka lela
gong dan gendang serta pula
- 43 musuh datang bunyi sora-knya
catur tinggal dengan menterinya
khabar orang tiada didengarnya
syah dan amat juga disebutnya
- 44 isya datang amat pun tiba
raja pun turun lari ke rimba
sana sini teraba teraba
seperti ikan dimabuk tuba
- 45 orang Menangkabau naik ke darat
orang Johor lari melarat
tinggal harta segala yang berat
tidaklah sampai dengan isyarat

42b menggila: L1 m-k-y-(a) L2 m-g-y-l J m-ng-k-y-la

43b tinggal: J ditinggal

43c tiada: L1 t-y-d L2 t-y-a-d-a J t-y-a-d

44a isya: J setelah

44c sana: J ke sana

teraba teraba: L1 t-r-a-b-t-r-a-b

L2 t-r-a-b-a-r-a-b

J t-r-a-b-2

45c tinggal: J tinggallah

50 bandar Bengkalis tuanku tinggalkan
janganlah banyak tuanku pikir^k_{an}
daripada yang mahu banyak yang segan
mana pemukat sahaja tinggalkan

51 mendengar titah paduka ratu
segala rakyat berhati mutu
sebab meninggalkan dusunnya itu
gundahnya hati tiadalah tentu

52 di Buantan dititahkan membuat negeri
orang menebas sehari-hari
kayunya banyak akar dan duri
tidaklah guna berbanyak peri

53 hutan ditebas sudahlah terang
rumah diatur seberang-menyeberang
negeri Buantan zaman sekarang
ramainya bukan sebarang-barang

54 orang Bengkalis penuh belaka
teluk dan rantau berisi belaka
serta dengan dusun pesaka
diaturnya itu bagai dijangka

50c J daripada yang maaf banyak yang makan
mahu: L1 m-a-⁶-w(a) L2 m-a-w-a J m-a-⁶-f

50d tinggalkan: L2 ditinggalkan

51a-b Omitted in J.

51b rakyat: L1 r(a)-ng -y-t L2 r-⁶-y-t

51d gundahnya: L1 k-n-d-ny L2 k-f-d = kepada J gundahnya

52a Buantan: L1 b-w(a)-t-n L2 b-w-t-n J b-w-t

52d guna: L2 b-g-w-n

53a ditebas: L1 ^{دوش} J b-s-r = besar

53b diatur: L1 d(a)-y-t-r L2 d-a-t-w-r J pun

53d sebarang-barang: L1 sebarang sebarang

54a Bengkalis: J b-ng-k-a ? = Bangka

- 55 penghulu Buantan serta juga
dengan sekalian adik dan kakak
dengan hamba raja berserta juga
tidak menaruh was dan sangka
- 56 telah mustaid alat negeri
dengan kota pula terdiri
orang bekerja sehari-hari
meriam diatur kanan dan kiri
- 57 dagang pun datang tidak berhingga
pencalang dan kici belah semangka
ramailah orang berniaga
sekalian jenis ada belaka
- 58 datangnya itu tidak berselang
ramainya bukan lagi kepalang
lancang penjajap dengan pencalang
kakap dan baluk tidak terbilang
- 59 selup dan kici ada belaka
tiang salih-salih belah semangka
berapa sekoci dari Malaka
datangnya tidak lagi berhingga
- 60 masanya zaman negeri Buantan
ramainya lagi bukan buatan
sebab adil baginda sultan
sampai sekarang jadi sebutan

L2 9

L1 10

55a Buantan: L1 b-n-t-n-(a) L2 b-n-t-n J b-n-t-n

56b kota: L2 kuat J kotanya

60a Buantan: L1 b-w(a)-n-t-n L2 b-w-a-t-n J omits.

61 datanglah dagang dari sana-sini
serta utusan dari kompeni
menghadap baginda sultan yang ghani
wartanya masyhur sampai ini

62 ramainya negeri tidak terkira
rasaklah lorong pekan pesara
tidaklah lagi yang haru-hara
serta adil dengan bicara

63 lorong sampai kanan dan kiri
tidaklah boleh meluluskan diri
budak penjaja yang gahari
banyaknya tidak lagi terperi

64 berapa kedai Keling dan Cina
banyaknya tidak tepermana
sekalian dagang ada di sana
berniaga sekalian mulia dan hina

65 kerajaan baginda di negeri Buantan
sangat majlis penglihatan
perintahnya adil dengan perbuatan
tidak sekali yang kejahatan

61c menghadap: L1 m-ng-d-b

61d sampai: L2 sampainya

62b rasaklah: L1 s-sy-k-la L2 and J segala

63c gahari: L1 k-h-a-r(a)-y L2 k-h-a-r-y J k-h-a-r-y

65a Buantan: L1 b-w(a)-n-t-n L2 b-w-a-t-n J h-w-t-n = hutan

65b sangat: L2 sangatlah

65d tidak: L2 tiadalah

yang: L2 dengan

66 Tanah Datar tiang kerajaan
 mendirikan daulat yang kemuliaan
 dengan Lima Puluh bersamaan
 serta Pasir dengan kesukaan

67 gempar seorang yang tidak ada L2 10
 itulah tidak bersama ada J 9
 sama sebai muda-muda
 itulah wazir duli baginda

68 ialah wazir yang bijaksana
 serta arif dengan sempurna
 orangnya banyak hina-dina
 tidak menaruh gundah gulana

69 orang menghadap tidak terperi
 tiada lompang sehari-hari
 serta dengan wazir menteri
 ramainya tidak terperi

66a Tanah Datar tiang: L1 
 L2 t-a-n-h-d-a-n-r-a-t-y-ng

66d Pasir: L1 f-sy-y-r-(a)
 L2 f-sy-y-r J f-a-s-r

kesukaan: L1 k-sy-w(a)-k-a-(a)-n
 L2 k-a-s-w-k-a-'-n
 J k-s-k-a-'-n

67a gempar: L1 and J k-m-f-r L2 g-m-f-r
 ada: L1 and J d-d

68a-b omitted by J.

68a bijaksana: L1 and L2 bijak laksana

68c orangnya: L2 orang nin

69a menghadap: L1 m-ng-d-b

69d tidak terperi: L2 and J tidak lagi terperi

- 70 itulah kisah usul mengindera
 baginda pun sudah berputera
 dua orang sama setara
 jayeng seteru tiada bertara
- 71 sudah berdaulat paduka anakanda
 menaruh cemburu sama muda
 sangattlah suka paduka ayahanda
 serta dengan anum berida
- 72 sukanya bukan sebarang-barang
 laksana bunga kembang dikarang
 melihatkan putera yang dua orang
 cahaya yang kelam menjadi kurang
- 73 tambahan pula beroleh cucu
 laksana gunung dengan mercu
 serta pakaian kain dan baju
 cahayanya seperti kandil dan tanju
- 74 tiada berapa lama antara
 tiadalah muafakat dengan saudara
 hampirlah negeri haru-hara
 hendak menanggung duka sengsara

70a mengindera: L1 m-⁶-n-d-r J m-ng-n-l-l-h = mengenallah

70b sudah: L1 s-w-d

70d seteru: L1 (a)-sy-t-r-w L2 a-s-t-r-y J a-sy-t-r-w

tiada: L1 t-y-d-(a) L2 t-y-a-d-a J t-y-d

71b cemburu: L2 cemburuan

71d anum: L2 b-r-a-n-m ?= berenam

73d cahayanya: L2 omits -nya

dan tanju: L2 d-t-n-j-w ?= ditinjau

74a lama: J lamanya

75 dengan saudara tidak muafakat
masing-masing dengan hakikat
sebab kebesaran tidak syarikat
kurang pendapat laksana sikat

76 sudahlah takdir khalikulbahri
alamat susah isi negeri
segala hulubalang dengan menteri
gundahnya tidak lagi terperi

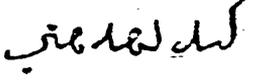
77 mendirikan kubu sebelah-menyebelah
orang negeri sudah berbelah
sudahlah dengan takdir Allah
tidak mencari benar dan salah

78 banyaklah orang berhati pilu
seorang di hilir seorang di hulu
banyaklah kena sudah terlalu
sebelah-menyebelah menjadi malu

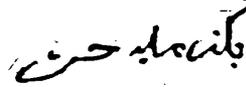
L1 12

79 berperang itu sama senegeri
gundahlah hati segala menteri
hairan memandang tidak terperi
kerana berkelahi sama sendiri

76a takdir: J d-t-k-d-y-r

79b gundahlah hati: L1 
L2 k-n-d-l-y-h-t-h-a-t-y= kanda lihat hati
J k-n-d-h-l-h-h-a-t-y

- 80 yang keempat suku tidak bersatu
bukan melebihi hasrat berhati mutu
remuk redam tidak bertentu
laksana kaca jatuh ke batu
- 81 demikianlah konon khabarnya karang
muafakat tak dapat lalu berperang
didalamnya itu serang-meny Serang
ada yang lebih ada yang kurang
- 82 baginda pun tahu lalu murka
merah padam warna muka
haram sekali tidak kusangka
akan menjadi mala petaka
- 83 datanglah titah duli baginda
menyuruh memanggil paduka anakanda
pergilah menteri anum berida
tuanku dipersilakan paduka ayahanda

- 80b bukan melebihi hasrat: L1 
J baginda melihat
- 81a karang: L1 k-r-ng L2 g-r-a-ng = gerang = gerangan
J k-a-r-ng
- 81c didalamnya itu: L1 d-(a)-d-y-l-m-ng-a-y-t-w
J didalam kampung
- 82a tahu lalu: J terlalu
- 82c haram sekali: L2 khabar sekali-kali
- 82d mala petaka: L1 m-w-l-h-f-sy-t-a-k
L2 m-w-l-f-s-t-a-k
J m-w-la-f-s-t-a-k

84 datang menghadap paduka anakanda
 certa dengan adinda dan kakanda
 lalu bertitah paduka baginda
 apa diperkelahikan dengan saudara muda

85 didalam negeri jangan berperang
 engkau tidak dapat dilarang
 jangan menjangka lara wirang
 pergilah engkau salah seorang

86 anakanda pun tunduk tidak berkata
 duduk berendam dengan air mata
 sudahlah nasib untungya kita
 hendak menanggung dukacita

J 11

87 anakda menyembah bermohon kembali
 baginda memandang berhati sali
 berkat keramat segala wali
 janganlah apa mengali-ngali

84a datang: J datanglah

85a jangan: J tuan

85c menjangka lara wirang: L1 منجنك لروبيرغ
 L2 menajakkan lalu berperang
 J منجنكى لروبيرغ
 ?= menajakkanlah rupå berperang

86a anakanda: L2 anakda

87c segala: L1 s-k-a-l-y L2 s-g-a-l = segala J s-k-l ?= segala

87d apa: Omitted in J.

- 88 tersebutlah kisah madah suatu
 adinda dan kakanda berhati mutu
 mendengar titah paduka ratu
 mencari fikiran supaya tentu
- 89 demikianlah konon disebutkan fakir
 didalam menyurat mencari fikir
 umpama perahu yang sudah dibakar
 tidak berguna kayu dan ukir
- 90 ada kepada suatu hari
 lalu bertitah raja bestari
 memanggil segala hulubalang menteri
 buruk dan baik boleh dicari
- 91 setelah datang sekalian itu
 mencari muafakat supaya tentu
 barang siapa mahu bersatu
 khabarkan benar kepada ratu
- 92 ayuhai sekalian sanak saudara
 kita hendak keluar segera
 janganlah lagi banyak bicara
 siapi perahu dengan segera

88a madah: L1 m-l-(a) L2 m-d-h = madah J m-d-h = madah

89b mencari: J menjadi

89c perahu yang sudah dibakar: L1 *فرويشو باکیر*
sudah: J tuah

dibakar: L1, L2 and J d-b-a-k-y-r

91d benar: J omits

92b kita: L2 kita nin

92d siapi: L2 siapkan J supaya

- 93 perahu pun siap sudah belaka
menantikan waktu dengan ketika
sudahlah takdir tuhan yang baka
haram sekali tidak disangka
- 94 tidaklah engkau diangan-angan L2 13
baginda berangkat berpanjangan
habislah fikir dengan rundingan
biarlah mati aib ni jangan
- 95 tatkala baginda hendak berangkat
dengan menteri sekalian muafakat
sebab kebesaran tidak syarikat
dengan saudara jadi masyakat
- 96 diputuskan hati oleh baginda
meninggalkan seri paduka ayahanda
sebab kebesaran hati berbeda
bercerai dengan saudara muda
- 97 baiklah saat dengan ketika
baginda berangkat didalam duka
tingallah sekalian adik dan kakak
kita nin janganlah kenang juga

94a engkau: J d-a-ng-k

94b berpanjangan: L1 and L2 b-r-f-n-j-ng-ng-n

94c-d omitted by J.

96a diputuskan: J diputihkan

96c berbeda: J b-r-y-d-a ?= berida

96d muda: L2 m-w-d-2

97d nin: J ini

janganlah kenang: L2 jangan dikenang

- 98 yaum al-isnin ketika sari
pukul delapan saat musytari
berangkatlah baginda raja bestari
diiringkan setengah isi negeri
- 99 pasang surut air pun timpas
baginda berangkat menarik nafas
turun ke perahu kajang dipapas
dibongkar sauh dayung dikipas
- 100 kenaikan berdayung sangat lajunya
lalu selawat akan nabinya
memohonkan rahmat kepada tuhannya
suatu jangan marabahayanya
- 101 teluk dan rantau singgah belaka
menghiburkan hati sangatlah duka
turun menghadap sekalian mereka
membawa persembahan tebu dan nangka
- 102 datanglah segala tua dan muda
datang menghadap duli seri pada
persembahan sekalian mana yang ada
semuanya disapa oleh baginda

98b saat: L1 s-ng-l-t

98d setengah: L2 oleh J segala

99b menarik: J m-n-a-m-y-ng

100a sangat: L2 sangatlah

101b menghiburkan: L1 m-ng-b-w-r-k-n L2 m-ng-m-b-w-r-k-n

J m-ng-y-b-w-r-k-n

101d tebu: L1 ^رتَبُو L2 n-y-w-r = niur = nyiur

nangka: L2 n-a-k

102a muda: J m-w-d-h

102c persembahkan: L1 and J persembahkan L2 persembahan

102d disapa: L1 disiap

103 disapanya dengan manis muka
tinggallah kamu segala mereka
tinggallah sekalian adik dan kakak
tinggallah dengan sendi lega

104 tinggallah anak tinggallah nyawa
tinggallah tidak lagi terbawa.
baik-baik encik saudara
mudah-mudahan bertemu jua

105 ayuhai sekalian adik dan kakak
kita ni jangan dikenang juga
emaslah sudah jadi tembaga
dinilainya tidak ada berharga

106 janganlah adinda berhati sali
kita ni pergi lambat kembali
berkat keramat sekalian wali
harapkan tolong tuhan yang azali

J 13

107 terkenangkan untung bukan suatu
anak miskin lagi piatu
remuk redam hati pun mutu
laksana kaca jatuh ke batu

103a disapanya: L1 d-sy-a-f-ny ?= disiapnya

manis: L1 *منى* ?= m-sy J *مشى* ?= m-sy-r-h

muka: L1 *موكه* J *موكه* = muka2

103d sendi: J s-d-y

lega: L1 and J l-y-k-a L2 l-y-k

104b tidak lagi: L1 *تيدوليكير*
L2 t-y-d-k-l-h-k-y-t = tidaklah kita

105b ni: L1 n-y L2 n-n J a-y-n

105c emaslah: J m-sy-r-a-l-h ?= musaralah

106b ni: L1 n-y L2 n-n J a-y-n

107b lagi: J k-y-t = kita

- 108 terkenangkan badan duduk seorang
sakitnya bukan sebarang-barang
sampailah sudah ke negeri orang
sedikit yang ada banyak yang kurang
- 109 habislah madah yang direcana
disuratkan fakir wali yang hina
sajaknya janggal banyak tak kena
kerana hati bimbang gulana
- 110 tersebutlah kisah madah yang tinggal
sajak diatur banyak yang janggal
adalah laksana merak mengigal
barang pekerjaan dengan tawakal
- 111 duduk berfikir sehari-hari
dengan sekalian hulubalang menteri
saudara pun sudah meninggalkan negeri
gundahnya hati tidak terperi
- 112 didalam hati gundah gulana
dicari muafakat yang sempurna
saudara pun sudah pergi mengelana
sesal pun tidak lagi berguna
- 108b sakitnya: J menyakitnya
- 108d banyak: L1 b-y-ng
- 109a habislah: L2 h-ny-l-h = hanyalah J h-ny-a-l-h = hanyalah
madah: L1 m-d or m-l L2 m-la = mala J m-d-h
- 110a J repeats 110c as 110a
madah: L1 m-d or m-l L2 m-w-d = muda
- 110b diatur: L2 di atas
- 111d tidak: L1 t-y-d L2 t-y-d-a-k J t-y-a-d
- 112c mengelana: L1 m-ng-k-n L2 m-ng-k-la-n J m-ng-k-a-n
- L1 15
L2 15

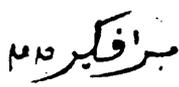
113 tidak berapa mencari muafakat
paduka ayahanda sudahlah mangkat
dengan saudara tidak syarikat
bicara yang panjang menjadi singkat

114 tidaklah dapat baginda berfikir
akal hayatnya sudahlah mungkir
umpama perada yang sudah bakar
tidak berguna tulis dan ukir

115 berkampunglah orang isi negeri
dengan hulubalang wazir menteri
orang bekerja sehari-hari
sudahlah kebesaran raja yang bahari

116 telah selesai daripada itu
hilanglah akal menjadi mutu
gundahnya hati bukan suatu
beri cahayakan paduka ratu

117 dari itu datang berbeda
menanggung masyghul di dalam dada
daripada zaman ayahanda dan bunda
belum merasa demikian ada

- 114a berfikir: L1  J  = berfikir-fiki
- 114b hayatnya: L1  L2 h-y-n-n J j-a-h-t-ny
- 114c bakar: L1, L2 and J b-a-k-y-r
- 115a berkampunglah: L1 and L2 b-r-k-m-n-ng-l-h
- 116d cahayakan: L1 c-y-k-n L2 c-h-y-a-k-a J c-y-k-n
- 117d belum: L2 belumlah

- 118 tambahan fakir yang menyurat L1 16
 siang dan malam di dalam gelorot
 mudah-mudahan daripada kudrat
 disampaikan Allah barang hasrat
- 119 lalu menobatkan duli baginda
 ganti marhum paduka anakda
 berkampunglah hulubalang menteri anum berida
 serta hulubalang anak biduanda
- 120 setelah tabal mahkota duli
 ganti marhum yang telah mati
 wazir menteri imam dan kadi
 sekaliannya datang menjunjung duli
- 121 segala yang datang memohonkan rahmat L2 16
 memintakan doa baginda selamat
 dengan syafaat nabi Muhammad
 mudah-mudahan beroleh nikmat

118c pada: L2 paduka

kudrat: L2 h-d-r-t = hadirat

118d hasrat: L1 h-y-sy-r-t

119a menobatkan: J m-ny-b-w-t-k-n = menyebutkan

119b anakda: L1 a-n-k-d L2 a-n-k-d-a J a-n-k-n-d

119c menteri: Omitted in J.

berida: L2 b-r-b-y-d-a = berbeda

120b ganti: L2 akan ganti

mati: L1 m-a-z-y L2 m-z-a-l-y J m-a-d-y

120d sekaliannya: J sekalian

121c syafaat: L1 s-m-a-ng-t ?= semangat L2 s-f-a-l-t

J sy-f-a-l-t

- 122 telah selesai menobatkan sultan
kembalilah sekalian kerapatan
duduk di dalam dengan jawatan
masing-masing dengan perbuatan
- 123 ada kepada suatu hari
lalu bertitah raja bestari
mengampungkan orang isi negeri
serta hulubalang wazir menteri
- 124 datang menghadap sekaliannya rata
lalu bertitah duli mahkota
apa bicara sekarang kita
cari muafakat pula serta
- 125 muafakat dicari dengan bicara
sebab terkenang akan saudara
lalu bertitah seri betara
kita hendak masuk Mempura
- 126 tidak tersebut kisah dan peri
perkataan baginda membuat negeri
di Inderapura bandar yang gahari
zaman ini sukar dicari

J 15

123a ada: J adalah

123b lalu: L2 lalulah

124c bicara: J bicaranya

125d masuk: L1 m-sy-k-s-k

Mempura: J f-w-r-a-2 = pura-pura

126a tersebut: J tersurat

127 kerajaan baginda di Inderapura
jayeng seteru tidak bertara
wartanya masyhur tidak terkira
Melaka hendak dikira-kira

L1 17

128 sudahlah takdir tuhan ilahi
tidaklah dapat kita salah
hilanglah asyik dengan berahi
hendak menjadi bantah kelahi

129 jikalau dikenang-kenang belaka
memberi pilu hati yang duka
wallah tidak diangka-angka
hendak menjadi mala-petaka

130 bicara banyaklah dan kurang
tidak berhenti dengan berperang
zaman duli mahkota orang
di Inderapura kerajaan garang

L2 17

127c wartanya: L2 w-r-y-t-a-ny

terkira: J terkira-kira

128a ilahi: L1 *إله* L2 and J a-l-h-y

128b bantah: L2 berbantah

bantah kelahi: J

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129c wallah: J a-w-l-n ?= ulah

diangka-angka: L2 disangka-sangka

130a bicara: L2 bicara itu

banyaklah: J itulah

130d garang: L1 and J k-a-r-ng L2 g-a-r-a-ng

131 puji dikenang sudahlah tampas
tidaklah sempat membakar kapas
kelasinya seorang tidak yang lepas
meriam dan harta habis dirampas

132 niat duli khalifah Allah
mengerjakan perang sabil Allah
bilangan umat nabi Allah
lebih kurang tidaklah salah

133 dengan takdir tuhan yang esa
kudrat iradat amat kuasa
tidaklah sampai bagai dipaksa
kerajaan duli mahkota desa

134 selama baginda mengidap rayu
lemah longlai mendayu-dayu
laksana dendang di pucuk kayu
bagai di undangan Indera Bayu

135 banyaklah penyakit duli baginda
bengkak leher batuk pun ada
bagaikan belah rasanya dada
tidak keluar suara bersabda

131a tampas: L1 t-m-f-sy J t-m-f-t

131c kelasinya: J k-la-m-y-n ?= kelamin

131d habis: L2 habislah

132a niat: J titah

132b and d: J inverts L1 b and d and gives a-d-c-b.

132c umat: L1 w-m-t L2 a-w-m-t J zaman

132d lebih: L2 terlebih

133b kudrat: L2 pada kudrat

133d duli: L2 baginda

desa: J d-s-a-f ?= disapa

135a banyaklah: L1  b-a-b-ng-k-l-h J datanglah

136 habislah hari berganti bulan
isi istana sangat kesukaan
sungguhpun boleh baginda berjalan
barang disantap tidak tertelan

137 deman batuk tiada berhingga
berapa belian dengan jaga
jadi minuman air geliga
pucat baginda bagitu juga

L1 18

138 rebah bangun duduk berjalan
sehingga sampai sepuluh bulan
janji sudah telah berbetulan
alamat negeri menaruh kesukaan

139 belas menentang para putera
didalam kalbu tidak terkira
ke sana-sini tersera-sera
wajah ditentang hilang cedera

L2 18

136b isi: isinya

kesukaan: J kedukaan

136c sungguhpun: L1 s-ng-k-f-w(a)-n L2 s-ng-k-f-w-n

136d tidak: J tiadalah

137a deman: L1 d-m-m-a

batuk: J a-s-n-ng

tiada: L1 t-y-d J tiadalah

137b belian: J b-k-y-n ?= bagian

137d pucat: L1 w-c-k-t L2 f-w-c-t J a-w-c-f-ny = ucapnya

138c sudah telah: J sudahlah

138d kesukaan: J kedukaan

139a menentang: L1 m-n-n-ng ?= menenang

139b terkira: J terkira-kira

139c tersera-sera: J t-r-a-s-2 = terasa-rasa

139d cedera: c-h-h-r-(h) L2 b-c-a-r-a = bicara J c-d-r-a = cede

140 anakda memandang sangat gelurat
 usahkan kurang bertambah berat
 segala pegawai bermesyuarat
 menghimpunkan tabib laut dan darat

141 ke hulu ke hilir mereka pergi
 berhimpunlah tabib sekalian mereka
 sekalian mulut sudah terungkap
 sebilang orang tidak bercakap

142 keluh kesah baginda berbaring
 kiri kanan rebah mengiring
 melihat baginda sangatlah gering
 air mata tiada yang kering

140a anakda: J anakanda

140c pegawai: L1 f-k-w L2 f-k-a-w-y J f-k-w

140d menghimpunkan: L1 m-ng-y-f-w(a)-n-k-n

L2 m-ng-y-f-w-n-k-n

J menghimpunkan kerah

tabib: L1 t-b-t-a L2 t-a-b-b J t-a-n-h = tanah

141a mereka pergi: L1 

L2 m-r-a-y-k-b-b-r-k-b

J m-r-a-y-k

141b tabib: L1 t-a-t-b-t-a L2 t-a-b-b J t-a-n-n

mereka: L1 m-r-a-k-b L2 m-r-a-k-b J m-r-k

141c mulut: J m-w-l-n-a = maulana

sudah: L1 ny-y-l L2 sudah J tidak

142b kanan: L2 dan kanan

142d air mata: L2 bermata

tiada: L2 tidak

kering: L2 k-r-y-ng-k-r-y-ng

143 isi istana sangat gelorat
melihat duli bertambah berat
laksana ajung yang amat sarat
takut dipukul ribut barat

144 daripada hendak berpuas hati
kepada tabib disuruh ubati
para putera berusak hati
zamzam durja tiada berhati

145 tidak sekali beroleh santap
menatang duli hati tak tetap
para putera hadir menghadap
tuanku coba sedikit santap

146 santap sedikit tidak seperti
itu pun dengan diikuti
demi putera melihat pekerti
bertambah rawan rasanya hati

143a sangat: J s-f-r-t = seperti

143c ajung: J →

takut: J k-n-h ?= kena

J
اجع

144a daripada: J d-r-y-h-y-d-f = dari hidup

144d zamzam: L1 j-m-(a)-j-m L2 j-m-j-m J j-m-2

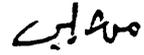
berhati: J berhenti

145b menantang: J m-n-n-t-ng = menentang

146b diikuti: L1 (a)-d-y-k-w-t-y

L2 d-a-y-k-w-t-y

J d-k-w-a-t-y = dikuati

- 147 berapa ubat yang dikenakan
ada yang disantap ada yang disapukan
pilunya tidak terperikan
zamaz durja berhamburan
- 148 tidaklah dapat fakir berkata
kepada alamin tuhan semata
niatnya patik sekalian rata
barang selamat duli mahkota
- 149 duli yang maha mulia memberi titah
panggilkan tabib supaya nyata
ia menghadap selaku bertih
jadilah khabar antah berantah
- 147a berapa: J beberapa
- 147d durja: L1 d-r-(a)-j L2 d-r-a-j J d-r-j-h
- 148b alamin: L1 a-l-m-y-n-(a)
 L2 a-l-m-a-l-m-y-n
 J sekalian
- 148c niatnya: L1 n-y-t-(a)-ny L2 n-y-t-ny J hatinya
- 149a maha mulia: L1  ?= mahdi L2 maha mulia
 J mulia
- 149b panggilkan: L1 and J f-ng-k-a-k-n
supaya nyata: L1 d-y-s-f-y-t
 L2 d-y-s-y-f-t-h
- 149c L1 
menghadap: L1 (a)-m-ng-d-f-a L2 a-m-ng-a-d-f
 J a-m-ng-a-d-f
- bertih: L1 b-(a)-r-t-h L2 b-la-t-h J d-a-t-h

- 150 habislah akal luput upaya
putera dengan hamba dan sahaya
mengubati hadirat duli yang mulia
lepaslah takdir batuk sia-sia
- 151 dengan perlahan baginda bertitah
janganlah kamu sekalian berbantah
mengubati saperti orang yang latah
sakitku ini tidak akan betah
- 152 tinggal baginda salah perasaan
baginda beramanah serta berpesan
isi istana bertangis-tangisan
pilunya tidak berputusan
- 153 kepada anakda baginda beramanah
kerjakan sembahyang fardu dan sunat
di hamba dan sahaya hendaklah minat
jauhi olehmu nama khianat

- 150a luput: J l-w-f-ny
upaya: J upaya upaya
- 150c mulia: J mulia mulia
- 150d takdir: L1  L2 t-r-d-r J t-k-s-y-r
batuk: J b-n-f
- 151c mengubati: L1 m-ng-w-b-t-(a)-y
L2 and J mengubat ia
- 151d sakitku: m-ng-k-y-n = mungkin
ini: L2 omits J k-w-a-t-y
- 153a anakda: L1 a-n-ng-d-(a) L2 a-n-k-d J a-n-k-n-d
- 153c di: J omits
minat: L1 and L2 m-y-n-t J m-ny-n-t ?= menyunat
- 153d jauhi: L1 L2 and J j-a-h-w-y
nama: J a-f-a-m

- 158 mendengar titah seribu pati
 hancur luluh rasanya hati
 sampun pekulun andeka kesateria
 jangan tuanku berusik hati
- 159 mendengar baginda sudah berpesan
 putera mendengar rebah pingsan
 isi istana bertangis-tangisan
 rupanya tidak berkeputusan
- 160 belas menentang putera mengindera
 mencarikan ubat seri betara
 berupa junjung raja udara
 dengan biduan malim para

- 158a mendengar: L2 mendengarkan
- 158c andeka: L2 a-n-d-r-a ?= indera
 kesateria: L1 k-sy-t-y ?= kesini
 L2 k-s-k-t-y = kesakti
 J k-s-t-y
- 159d rupanya: J r-y-w-h-ny = riuhnya
- 160a menentang: L1 m-n-t-ng
 L2 m-n-n-t-ng
 J m-m-n-d-ng = memandang
- 160c berupa: L1 b-r-(a)-f
 L2 and J b-r-a-f = berapa
- raja udara: L1 *راجة واديه*
- raja: J d-r-j-h
- 160d malim para: L1 *مليم پارا*
 L2 and J m-l-m-f-a-r-a

- 161 setelah alamat sudah terkena
segala biduanda dengan arakan
ada yang di atas peterana
segala biduan memukul rebana
- 162 segala mereka duduk beratur
memukul rebana seperti guntur.
junjungan duduk tidak bertutur
duduk terpikir seperti catur
- 163 sepatah seorang menghambur bahana
maraklah sultan raja yang ghana
kobarlah segala isi istana
ada ke sini ada yang ke sana

161b biduanda: L1 b-y-d-w-d-n J biduan
arakan: J a-r-k-ny

161c peterana: L1 f-(a)-a-t-r-k-a-(a)-n فئات رقات
L2 f-n-t-r-k-a-a'-n
J r-a-t-r-t-n

161d biduan: L2 biduanda

162a segala: J setelah

162c tidak: L1 y-t-d L2 b-l-y-la J b-n-d ?=bunda
bertutur: L2 s-r-a-y-b-r-t-w-r
terpikir: J tafakkur

163b maraklah: L1 m-r-a-k-l-a-h
L2 m-r-k-a-l-h = murkalah
J m-a-r-a-k-l-k = mara kelak

163c kobarlah: L1 and J k-w-b-r-l-h
L2 k-w-b-r-y-l-h = kuberilah

163d kesana: L2 كسان

- 164 belas menentang putera bangsawan
lalai dan mabuk barang kelakuan
melihatkan duli yang dipertuan
langkah bertakhta igau-igauan
- 165 isi istana habis kesakitan
berapa jenis makan-makanan
hadir mustaid kiri dan kanan
jikalau baginda ada perkenan
- 166 tidaklah lagi ada terhemat L2 21
kepada Allah memohonkan rahmat
berkat duli yang keramat
jikalau ada boleh selamat
- 167 gering baginda terlalu berat L1 21
ditentang laku sangat gelorat
barang kehendak dengan isyarat
lidah kelu mulut pun berat

165a habis: L1 a-sy-a L2 a-b-s J a-y-t = itu

165c mustaid: J m-n-a-ng-s = menangis

165d jikalau: L1 j-k-l-w-k-n

L2 j-k-l-w J j-k-l-w-k-n

perkenan: L1 f-r-k-t-n-n L2 and J b-r-k-n-n

166a tidaklah: L1 tidak

lagi: L1 d-la-h-k-y

167b ditentang: L1 d-y-t-ng

laku: J lakunya

167c kehendak: L2 y-ng-d-k-h-n-d-a-k = yang dikehendak

J kehendaknya

167d lidah: L1 l-y-d

pun: L2 -nya

- 168 dengan isyarat raja bestari
memanggil anakanda sekalian mari
bangkit dayang kesana bestari
duduk beratur kanan dan kiri
- 169 kiri dan kanan baginda menoleh
zamzam durja sebagai meleleh
di lahad badan hendak beralih
seperti lakuan tah semalih
- 170 melihat permana bagai dipeta
baginda menyapu air mata
meninggalkan dunia sangat bercinta
melainkan ampun tuhan semata
- 171 bilangan raja mahkota negeri
sebelas bulan enam hari
yaum al-isnin ketika sari
baginda dipanggil khalikulbahri

168a-b omitted in J

168b anakanda: L2 anakda

168c kesana: L1 k-sy-n L2 k-s-n J k-s-n

169c di lahad: L1 d-la-h-h-t L2 dilihatnya J d-la-h-n
beralih: L2 berleleh

169d lakuan: J lakunya

tah: L1 t-h L2 t-h J b-t-h

semalih: L1 s-m-l-y-h L2 s-m-b-l-y-h J s-m-b-l-h

170b air: L1 a-y-'-r L2 s-a-'-y-r J airnya

170c dunia: L1 d-y-n-a L2 and J d-n-y-a

sangat: L2 s-k-t-ny

171a raja mahkota: J mahkota raja

171c yaum al-isnin: L1 yaumlah isnin

sari: L1 and J sy-r-a-y L2 m-sy-t-r-y = musytari

- 172 datanglah kudrat daripada Allah
pada Izrail di sana terjumlah
bilangan umat nabi Allah
akhirulkalam la ilaha illa llah
- 173 dengan selesai baginda berangkat
kalimah Allah tiadalah **lughat**
putera mengindera berlari dekat
bawalah patik ayahanda berangkat
- 174 didalam demikian didengar baginda
diangkat tangan dari atas dada
Tengku Busu melarang anakanda
biarlah selesai perjalanan ayahanda
- 175 setelah mangkat duli mahkota L2 22
gobarlah negeri gegap gempita
saburnya tidak menderita
medan menjadi laut senjata

- 172d la ilaha illallah: L1 a-l-h-la-l-l-h
L2 Allah melainkan Allah
J Allah Allah
- 173b lughat: L1 and J la-l-w-k-t L2 l-w-k-t
- 173c berlari: J biarlah
- 174b dari atas: L2 di atas
- 174c Busu: J bungsu
anakanda: L2 anakda
- 174d biarlah: J biar
perjalanan: L1 and L2 f-r-j-a-l-n

176 bahananya azamat tidak terperi
sesaklah lorong kanan dan kiri
bertagarlah ratap isi negeri
tuanku dimanalah patik cari

177 wahai junjungan mahkota lara
tingallah negeri Inderapura
dengan hulubalang menteri wazira
dengan rakyat bala tentera

L1 22

178 ayuhai junjungan mahkota patik
tuanku gemala tengah dirantai
parasyna laksana kuntum dipetik
sejuknya saperti embun yang titik

179 tuanku raja yang bersilah-silah
turun-temurun khalifah Allah
sahib dermawan arif billah
junjungan sisi dipelihara Allah

176a azamat: L1 a-d-m-t L2 a-m-t J ' -t-m-t
tidak: L1 t-y-d L2 t-y-d-a-k J t-y-a-d

176b lorong: L2 لورنڠ

177a lara: J larah

178a ayuhai: L2 y-a-a-l-h-y = ya ilahi

178b tuanku: L1 and L2 t-w-k-w

di rantai: L1 d-r-t-y-k L2 d-r-t-y-k J d-r-n-t-k

tengah: J anakanda

179a bersilah-silah: J b-r-s-y-la-2

179c billah: ?= billahi L1 b-a-l-h L2 and J b-a-l-l-h

179d sisi: L1 s-y-d-y L2 s-d-y = sedia J s-y-d-y

180 tuanku telah jadi mahkota
 silah-silah marhum bertakhta
 tidaklah dapat hendak berkata
 hilang di ruang-ruang mata

181 tuanku tidak lagi terperi
 gemala mahkota didalam negeri
 alamat luruh kuntum di jari
 hilang tak dapat patik cari

182 alamat duli ghaib dijulang
 suramlah cahaya syamsu gemilang
 sekalian zamzam mawar di balang
 sungguhpun ada baunya hilang

183 sedang kuntum mengurai layu
 kumbang melangsi mendayu-dayu
 padam gemala desa Melayu
 hilang disambar geruda bayu

180a telah: L1 and L2 t-h

180b silah-silah: L1 s-l-y-s-l-h - salasilah

180c tidaklah: J tiada

 berkata: L1 and L2 b-r-k-t J d-k-a-t

181a tidak lagi: L1 t-y-d-l-h-k-y L2 t-y-d-k-l-h-la-g

 J t-y-d-k-l-h-la-k-y

 terperi: J t-r-f-t-r-y

181d tak dapat: J di hadapan

182d sungguhpun ada: L1 sungguh ada pun ada

 L2 sungguhnya ada pun

 J sungguhpun ada

 baunya: J mahkota

183b kumbang: J k-m-b-y-ng

183d bayu: J bayu2

184 guruh menggeram sayup bahasa
pelangi membangun dari angkasa
kelamalah cahaya mahkota desa
remuk redam hati binasa

185 tuanku mahkota raja junjungan
nasab Iskandar dewa kayangan
tidak diangka di angan-angan
mahkota ghaib dari julangan

186 karamlah bayu mangkin dikenang
surainya ikal patah mayang
zamzam durja berlinang-linang
selaku riak air yang tenang

184a guruh: L1 c-w-r-h L2 c-w-r-h

menggeram: J m-ng-k-r-w-h ?= mengguruh

bahasa: L1 b-h-sy L2 b-h-s-a J b-h-a-n = bahana

185b nasab: L1 n-sy-b L2 n-s-y J n-y-s-b or n-s-y-b

Iskandar: L1 s-y-k-n-d-r L2 s-y-k-n-d-r J s-y-k-d-r

185c diangka: L2 d-s-y-ng-k-a

di angan-angan: L1 d-ng-n-a-ng-n

L2 d-ng-n-a-ng-a-n-2

J d-ng-n-a-ng-n

186a karamlah: L1 كرامله L2 كرامله

dikengang: J d-a-k-ng

186b surainya: J s-w-r-a-y-n = sura ini

mayang: L1 مونغ m-ng-w-n-ng

L2 m-ng-w-n-ng

J m-ng-w-n-ng

186d riak: L1 ريكو L2 rupa J r-b-k-w

187 cahaya di kening warna dadu
bermanik seperti kuntum berkudu
majlis durjanya sangat merdu
laksana seroja di kolam madu

188 cantiknya tidak terperikan
umpama patih digambarkan
patik ini banyak yang dihadapkan
putuslah harap duli tinggalkan

189 apalah daya duduk bercinta
gustinya tidak menderita
sudahlah nasib untungya kita
mabuk berendam air mata

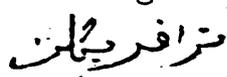
190 tuanku tidak lagi bertara
nirmala sambar betara indera
padamlah gemala bala tentera
hilanglah cahaya seri Mempura

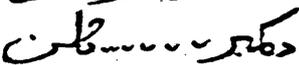
187b bermanik: L2 bagaimana

berkudu: b-r-'-w-d-w L2 b-r-k-w-d-w J b-r-a-f-w-d-w

187c majlis: L1 m-n-j-l-sy L2 m-j-l-s-ny J m-n-j-l-s

durjanya sangat: L2 sangat durjanya

188a terperikan: L1 

188b digambarkan: L1 

L2 d-g-m-b-r-k-a-l-n J d-k-m-b-r-2-s-k-l-y-n

189a daya: L2 jadi

bercinta: L2 bercita

189b gustinya: J sakitnya

189d air: L2 and J airnya

190a tidak: L1 t-y-d L2 t-y-d-a-k J t-y-a-d = tiada

190b nirmala: L1 n-w(a)-r-m-la-h L2 n-w-r-m-l-h

J n-w-a-b-r-m-la

- 191 bukankah patik hamba yang baka
 patik diamanah duli paduka
 haram sekali tidak diangka
 abdi yang hina menjunjung murka
- 192 menjunjung murka semena-mena
 heranlah patik abdi yang hina
 menentang segala isi istana
 tidaklah ke sini duli yang ghana
- 193 tidaklah ke sini seri betara
 meninggalkan segala para putera
 meratapkan duli seri nara indera
 putuslah putus bahana suara

191a baka: L2 

191b diamanah: J d-f-r-m-n-t

 duli: J duka

191c haram: L1 and J h--- L2 h---

192a murka: L1 m-r(a)-k J m-r-a-k

 semena-mena: L1 s-m-n-(a)-m-a-n

 L2 s-m-a-n-m-a-n

 J s-m-a-n-2

192b heranlah: J h-y-r-a-f-l-h ?= hiraplah

192d ke sini: J k-s-y-h-a-n = kasihan

193a ke sini: J kasihan

193c nara: J omits

- 194 bunyinya ratap menderu sabar
 kalbu didalam bagaikan lebur
 zamazam durja bagai ditabur
 laksana benih jatuh terhambur
- 195 merataplh mengindera wayang perwira
 murkalah duli akan manira
 kepada siapa menaruhkan putera
 anakda nin belum samperi bicara
- 196 kudrat Allah tidak disangkal
 putera ini belum sampai akal
 dengan siapa anakda ini tinggal
 tempat bertanya kata yang musykil

194a menduru: J m-n-d-r-w-2

sabar: J omits

194b lebur: J l-w-r-h ?= luruh

194d benih: L1 m-sy-[or ny-]y-h ?= masih J m-y-t ?= mayat

195a wayang perwira: Should read "dayang perwara"?

195b murkalah: J murka

manira: J m-y-r-h ?= merah

195c menaruhkan: L1 m-n-h-r-h-(a)-k-n-(a)

L2 m-n-a-r-h-k-n

J m-n-d-r-a-a-k-n

195d anakda: J anakanda

samperi: L1 and L2 s-m-f-r-y

J s-m-f-r-n = sempurna

196a disangkal: L1 d-s-k-la L2 d-s-ng-k-l J d-s-k-l

196b sampai: L2 bersampai

196c anakda: J anakanda

tinggal: L1 b-t-ng-k-la L2 b-t-ng-g-l

196d bertanya: L2 b-r-a-n-ny

musykil: L1 m-sy-k-la L2 m-s-k-l J m-s-k-l

- 197 dilihatlah duli laku putera
kalbunya gundah tidak terkira
ditinggalkan oleh seri betara
laksana tasik di tengah segara
- 198 ditinggalkan oleh seri paduka
anakda duduk didalam duka
- 199 tidaklah belas duli yang ghana
menentang laku isi istana
berangkat dari negeri yang fana
ditinggalkan patik abdi yang hina
- 200 ditinggalkan patik hamba yang leta
siang dan malam duduk bercinta
ditinggalkan oleh duli mahkota
laksana cermin tiada bermata
- 201 belasnya patik menentang peri
selaku-laku lupakan diri
manikam sudah luruh dicari
gemala di desa hilanglah seri

197d gundah: L1 k-n-d L2 k-n-d J k-n-d-h

tidak: L1 t-y-d L2 t-y-a-d J t-y-d-k

197c ditinggalkan: L2 ditinggal

197d di tengah: L1 d-y-t-ng L2 d-y-t-ng J d-t-ng-h

segara: L1 s-w(a)-k-a-r L2 s-w-k-a-r-a J s-k-a-r-a

198 These lines may be either a-b or c-d. J omits the verse.

199c fana: J baka

200b bercinta: L1 b-r-c-y-t-a L2 b-r-c-n-t J b-r-c-n-t

200 c-d omitted in J

201c manikam: L1 and J m-h-n-y-k-m L2 m-n-y-k-m

dicari: L1 d-j-a-r(a)-y L2 and J d-j-a-r-y

201d di desa: L1 d-y-d- $\sqrt{?n}$ -y-sy L2 d-y-d-a-n-sy J d-d-y-s

202 hilanglah seri gemala di desa
hilang memberi putus asa
kalbu hancur rusak binasa
laksana dipagut ular yang bisa

L2 25

203 akan ratap isi istana
tuanku berangkat hendak kemana
murkakan patik semena-mena
selaku tidak akan berguna

204 sudah dikapan imam dan kadi
memohonkan rahmat segala wali
anakda mengangkat berhati sali
kedalam keranda dimasukkan sekali

205 lalu menabalkan mahkota duli
ganti ayahanda yang telah mati
segala pegawai menjunjung duli
serta bentara panglima sekali

206 setelah selesai pekerjaan baginda
mayat dimasukkan kedalam keranda
diletakkan kepada usungan yang syahda
raja diraja diperbuatkan anakda

202b putus asa: L1 f-w(a)-sy-t-a-sy-y = pusat isi
L2 f-w-a-s-t-a-s J f-w-t-s-a-s

202c kalbu: L2 k-l-b-ny = kalbunya
binasa: L1 b-y-n-a-s-ny

204a dikapan: L1 d-k-f-a-n-n
imam: L1 m-a-m

204c mengangkat: L1 m-ng-k-t L2 m-ng-ng-k-t J m-ng-k-t

205b mati: L1 and L2 m-a-d-l-y J m-a-d-y

205c pegawai: L1 قلو L2 f-g-a-w-y J f-k-a-w-y

207 menentang payung delapan terkembang
rupanya bagai syamsu mengambang
belas melihat adik dan abang
hendak berjalan bagaikan tumbang

208 pawai diatur oleh bentara
enam belas pembesar sama setara
enam belas dian dipasang segera
hebatnya tidak lagi terkira

209 delapan tetampan yang disandangkan
kepada wazir diberikan
usungan diangkat dijalankan
dipautkan calang arak-arakan

207a menentang: L1 m-n-n-t-ng L2 m-n-b-t-ng J b-n-t-ng

207c abang: L2 k-a-k

207d tumbang: L1 and J t-m-b-ng L2 t-w-m-b-ng

208a pawai: L1 *فلوي* L2 and J f-a-w-y
diatur: L2 d-a-n-t-r

208b pembesar: L1 *فبارهن* f-b-a-r-h-n
L2 f-b-a-r-a-h-n J f-b-r-a-h-n

208d hebatnya: L1 h-b-t-ny
L2 h-a-t-y-ny = hatinya
J h-y-b-t-ny

209a tetampan: L1 t-n-a-f-n

209b wazir: L1 w-z-y-r(a) L2 w-z-y-r-b-a-r-w J w-z-y-r-a-y

wazir diberikan: L1 *وزیردی براکن*

209d dipautkan: L1 d-(a)-f-w-k-n L2 dipukulkan J d-a-f-w-k-n
calang: L2 rebana

210 jenazah diangkat diarak lalu
serunai nafiri gendang dipalu
orang bergendang lakunya pilu
memukul nobat menundukkan hulu

211 diarak langsung lalu ke makam
emban-emban emas berakam
ajaib memandang pudu manikam
ketika itu menjadi sekam

L2 26

212 tuanku indera digendang nafsu
junjungan putera marhum bungsu
sedang diarak longlai lesu
rahmatnya lebih disinar syamsu

213 menentang syamsu dikandung teja
bagai dituang zamzam durja
mengarak duli mahkota raja
bertakhta di atas raja diraja

210a jenazah: L1 j-n-a-j-h-a L2 and J j-n-a-z-h

210d menundukkan: L1 m-n-d-f-k-n ?= mendapkan
L2 m-n-d-k-k-n ?= mendakakan
J m-n-n-d-k-k-n

211b emban-emban: L1 h-m-b-n-(a)-h-m-b-n
L2 h-m-b-a-n-h-m-b-a-n
J h-m-b-baris di atasl-h

emas: L1 a-m-sy-(a) J m-sy-r-h ?= mesyuarat cf 105c

211c ajaib: L1 '-a-j-a'-y-b L2 '-a'-y-b = ghaib J '-j-a-y-b

211d sekam: J m-a-n-k-m - manikam

212c bungsu: L2 

213a dikandung: L2 d-k-n-d-a-ng

213c raja: J r-a-j-2

213d raja diraja: J r-a-j-2

- 214 jenazah pun sampai diletakkan
 imam dan kadi membalikkan
 ke dalam kubur dimasukkan
 tanah di atas disimburkan
- 215 talkin dibaca dicucurkan
 tetampan disandang disediakan
 mayat sedia mendengarkan
 imam dan kadi membacakan
- 216 telah selesai daripada itu
 baginda berangkat berhati mutu
 gundahnya bukan lagi suatu
 remok redam tidak bertentu
- 217 serta sampai ke dalam istana
 berkampunglah sekalian hina-dina
 hati baginda gundah gulana
 itulah perintah tuhan yang ghana
- 218 sudahlah iradat tuhan yang azali
 baginda duduk berhati sali
 segala pegawai menjunjung duli
 memohonkan ampun lalu kembali
- 219 tamatlah kisah marhum mangkat
 di Inderapura bandarnya berkat
 akal pendapat sudah singkat
 laksana ikan dalam pukut

L1 26

218a sudahlah: J sudah
 iradat: J a-r-a-t

219c sudah: L2 sudahlah

219d dalam: L2 di dalam

224 dari pada badan tidak bertuah
umpama jantan tidak berbuah
terkenangkan marhum hilanglah arwah
sungguhpun miskin biasa mewah

225 dengan demikian betapalah sudah
duduklah dengan berhati gundah
mengenangkan untung tidak faedah
disuratkan syair pantun dan mudah

226 syair dikarangkan dengan rencana
suratkan sekadarnya fakir yang hina
banyak ditambah sajak tak kena
bukan menunjukkan bijaksana

224a badan: L1 n L2 b-a-d-a-n J ny

224b jantan: L1 j-n-t-w(a)-n L2 جَنْتَانِ J j-n-t-w-ng = jantun

224c hilanglah: L1 h-y-l-ng-l L2 h-l-ng-l-h J h-y-l-ng

224d biasa: L1 b-y-a-sy L2 b-y-a-s J b-n-a-s

225d dan: J dengan

226a dikarangkan: L2 dikarang

226b suratkan: L2 disuratkan

sekadarnya: L1 كَوْرَخِ =? setarikh
L2 juga J s-k-d-r-ny

226d bukan: L1 b-w(a)-k-n L2 b-w-k-n

J y-ng-a-k-n = yang akan

menunjukkan: L1 and L2 m-n-j-k-k-n J m-n-n-j-k-k-n

bijaksana: L1 b-j-k-a-l-k-s-a-n

L2 b-j-k-l-k-s-a-n

J b-j-k-l-k-s-a-n

- 227 duduk berfikir pagi dan petang
memohonkan rahmat tangan telentang
berkat datuk Bukit Siguntang L1 27
janganlah apa aral melintang
- 228 tersebutlah kisah duli baginda
kerajaan ganti paduka ayahanda
amat teruna bangsawan muda
menanggung masyghul di dalam dada
- 229 belumlah patut merintihkan kerja
dari mata dari mauan sedang remaja
dipenting-penting kepada durja L2 28
ditinjau maya tiri buruj
- 230 putera yang lain jangan dikata
sekaliannya di rambat semata-mata
kepada pendapat di dalam cita
musykil menanggung perang sengketa

227c berkat: J a-y-b-w-r-k-n = hiburkan

227d melintang: L2 merintang

228c amat: L1 d-a-m-t

229a patut: L1 dapat

kerja: J k-r-h

229b dari mata: L2 a-m-t

remaja: L2 b-r-m-a-j J omits

229c dipenting-penting: L1 and L2 d-f-n-t-y-ng-f-n-t-y-ng
J d-f-y-n-ng-2 = dipinang-pinang

229d ditinjau: L1 d-n-t-j-w L2 d-a-n-t-j-w J d-t-n-j-w

230b di rambat: L1 d-r-(a)-m-b-t L2 d-r-a-m-t J d-r-m-t
semata-mata: L1 s-m(a)-a-t-s-m(a)-a-t

L2 s-m-a-t-m-a-t J s-m-a-t-2

230d musykil: L1 m-sy-k-la L2 m-sy-k-l J m-s-k-l

sengketa: J s-k-a-t

- 231 apatah daya dirundung malang
kelamlah cahaya yang cemerlang
seperti amanah marhum yang hilang
mana perintah lakuan dalang
- 232 tiang kerajaan duli tuanku
ayahanda dan kakanda kedua memangku
laksana zamzam didalam sangku
sejuknya saperti embun yang beku
- 233 tiada berapa kerajaan baginda
dipangku oleh ayahanda dan kakanda
serta pegawai anum berida
didengarlah khabar oleh Wolanda
- 234 datanglah khabar dari seberang
mengatakan Wolanda hendak menyerang
dengan ayahanda bersama sekarang
hendak membalas lara wirang

- 231a dirundung: L1 d-r-(a)-w-n-d-ng
J d-r-a-w-n-d-ng ?= dari undang
- 231c amanah: L1 a-w-m-n-t L2 and J a-w-m-a-n-t
- 232a tiang: J yang
- 233c pegawai: J f-ng-k-a-w-h = penggawa
- 233d Wolanda: L1 (a)-w-y[or b]-l-n-d
L2 w-l-n-d-a J w-y-l-n-d-a
- 234d lara wirang: L1 la-r-(a)-w-y-r-ng
L2 la-l-w-b-r-a-ng
J la-r-w-b-r-ng

235 sudah berkemas segala belaka
kapal dan kici belah semangka
akan ayahanda bagitu ~~semangka~~ juga
membaikkan kelengkapan sekalian raka

236 mendengar ayahanda sudahlah mangkat
dengan baginda sudah muafakat
khabar bicara sudah syarikat
negeri Siak hendak diangkat

237 demi baginda mendengar warta
tersenyum manis bertitah serta
khabar Melaka sudahlah nyata
sekarang apa bicara kita

L1 28

238 berdatang sembah ayahanda dan kakanda
serta pegawai anum berida
barang yang mana kehendak Wolanda
patik sekalian sedialah ada

239 datanglah khabar dari seberang
mengatakan Wolanda hendak menyerang
dengan ayahanda bersama sekarang
hendak membalas lara wirang

235b kici: L2 k-c-k

235d raka: L1 r-n L2 r-w-n J omits

237a mendengar: L2 mendengarkan

warta: L1 (a)-w-r(a)-t L2 kata J w-r-t

239b mengatakan: L1 m-ng-k-n-(a)

239d lara wirang: L1 r-a-w-y-r-(a)-ng

L2 r-a-w-b-a-r-a-ng

J r-a-w-b-r-ng

and 240:

239_^ Cf 234 and 235

240 sudahlah berkemas sekalian belaka
 kapal dan kici belah semangka
 akan ayahanda bagitu juga
 memperbaiki kelengkapan mana yang raka

J 27

241 apatah guna patik ditimbang
 menjunjung kurnia kasih dan sayang
 kepada niat malam dan siang
 badan rebah jiwa melayang

242 sembah pegawai anum berida
 mengangkat khidmat mengira dada
 barang dimana kehendak Wolanda
 tiada berpaling barang sabda

243 berdatang sembah isi negeri
 mengangkat khidmat sepuluh jari
 jikalau tuanku kedua berdiri
 patik sekalian mengembari

240 Cf 234 and 235

240b semangka: J s-w-m-ng-k

241a ditimbang: L1 d-t-y-m-b-ng L2 d-t-m-b-ng J d-t-y-y-ng

241c niat: L1 n-y-y-t-h

241d badan: L2 badan pun

jiwa: L1 c-y-w L2 j-w-a J c-y-w-a

242b mengangkat: L1 m-ng-k-t L2 m-ng-ng-k-t J m-ng-t-a-k-n

khidmat: L1 k-y-d-m L2 f-y-d-a-m-t J f-y-d-m

242c Wolanda: L1 w-(a)-y-l-n-d L2 a-w-l-n-d-a J w-y-k-a-n-d

243c khidmat: L1 k-y-d-m L2 kh-d-m-t J k-y-d-m

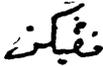
243c kedua: L1 k-d-w L2 k-d-w-a J k-d-w-a

berdiri: L1 b-r-(a)-y-r-(a)-y L2 b-r-d-y-r-y

J b-r-a-y-r-y

243d mengembari: L1 m-ng-m-b-a-r-(a)-y

L2 y-ng-m-m-b-r-y = yang memberi

- 244 apatah gunanya tuanku penak
daripada liar tuanku perjinak
sekarang sudah menjadi ternak
umpama gandum boleh ditanak
- 245 setelah sudah putus bicara
menurunkan kelengkapan dengan segera
mengarahkan rakyat bala tentara
ramainya tidak lagi terkira
- 246 setelah dinaikkan alat senjata
hebatnya jangan lagi dikata
apilan terdinding seperti kota
adalah laksana di dalam peta
- 247 ditentang kenaikan telah terumbang
rupanya bagai syamsu mengambang
naga gentala jikalau mengembang
laut yang tenang bergelombang
- L1 29
J 30
- 248 panglima kenaikan duli yang mulia
Panglima Usyu dititahkan dia
pada pemandangan di mata sahaya
seperti gunung biram cahaya
- 244b liar: L1 l-y-r-(a) L2 l-y-r J l-r-a
- 244c ternak: L1 t-r-(a)-n-k L2 and J t-r-a-n-k
- 244d gandum: L1 k-n-d-m L2 k-a-d-m J k-n-d-w-m
- 245c mengarahkan: or mengerahkan?
- 246a dinaikkan: L1  L2 d-n-a-'-y-k-n J lengkap
- 246c terdinding: J terdirilah yang
- 247a terumbang: L1 t-r-(a)-w-m-b-ng L2 and J t-r-a-w-b-ng
- 247b bagai: L2 saperti
- 248b Usyu: a-w-sy-w
- 248d biram: L1 b-r(a)-m L2 b-r-a-m J b-r-m

- 249 kapit timbal Panglima Ahmad
di dalam kenaikan merapat rahmat
ditentang-tentang kepada hemat
Allah dan rasul memberi rahmat
- 250 Panglima Kulub kapit tertentu
kepada Megat Seri Rama ia menantu
bersama-sama di kenaikan itu
hatinya keras saperti batu
- 251 dengan Tuk Salik jadi berempat
sebesar tuju hatinya mampat
di dalam kenaikan raja bersifat
pertikaman di dalam penuh dan tumpat

249a kapit: L2 kapitan

249b merapat: L2 mendapat

249d memberi: L1 m-m-b-a-r-(a)-y

250a Kulub: L1 k-l-w-(a)-b L2 كلوب
J k-l-w-b

250b Megat Seri Rama: L1 m-a-k-t-h-sy-r-y-r-m

L2 m-w-a-k-t-s-r-y-r-a-m

J m-a-k-t-s-r-y-r-a-m

menantu: L1 m-n-n-t-w L2 m-n-n-t J m-t-w

251a Salik: L1 and L2 s-l-y-k J s-l-y-f

251b sebesar: L1 sy-b-sy L2 and J s-b-s-r

251d pertikaman: L1, L2, J f-r-t-y-k-m

251b tuju: L1 t-w-(a)-j(a)-k

L2 t-w-a-j-f

J t-w-a-j-k

252 panglima besarnya Tengku Muhammad Ali
menantu marhum yang telah mati
saudara sepupu ke bawah duli
menghadapi lawan sedikit tak khali

253 kenaikan bergelar Medan Sabar
laksana geruda akan menyambar
bangsawan berkapit berbimbar
ditentang selaku pulau ambar

254 bangsawan berkapit dua bersaudara
sekalian baharu remaja putera
di penting-penting di dalam bicara
handalan marhum Inderapura

255 Harimau Buas dua bertaulan
dengan Jembalang Gantung bertimbangan
di haluan Medan Sabar yang handalan
akan panglimanya Buyung Sembilan

252a besarnya: L1 b-sy-r-(a)-ny L2 b-s-r J b-s-r-ny

252b mati: L1 m-a-d-(a)-y L2 m-z-a-l-y J m-a-d-y

252d sedikit: J s-d-y-a-k-n ?= sediakan

tak khali: J t-a-l-y ?= tali

khali: L1 k-l-y L2 gh-a-l-y

253c berbimbar: L1 b-r-(a)-b-m-b-r L2 b-r-b-m-b-r

J b-r-a-b-m-b-r

254b remaja: L1 and L2 d-r-m-a-j J r-w-m-a-j

254c di penting-penting: L1 and L2 d-f-n-t-y-ng-f-n-t-y-ng

J d-f-y-n-ng-2

255b jembalang: J j-m-a-l-ng

255c yang: J omits

255d Buyung Sembilan: L1 b-w(a)-y-ng-s-m-b-y-l-n

L2 b-w-a-y-y-ng-s-m-b-y-l-n

= buaya yang sembilan

J b-w-j-ny-s-m-b-y-l-n

256 kapit timbalan Buyung Sembilan
Panglima Tih orang handalan
dengan Panglima Buyung bertimbangan
ditentang selaku kota berjalan

257 ada pun akan Tengku Perang
kenaikan Awan disebut orang
jikalau kepada zaman sekarang
sukar dicari bandingan garang

258 Tengku Abdullah saudara sultan
sikapnya seperti harimau jantan
cantik majlis penglihatan
cunda marhum mangkat Buantan

259 Tandang Masyhur gelar kenaikan
hatinya tidak terperikan
di dalamnya hamba yang handalan
dengan kapal diperhadapkan

J 29

- 256a kapit: L2 مَاخِيْرَ
timbangan: L2 t-m-b-l
Buyung Sembilan: see 255d fn
- 256b Panglima: J panglimanya
Tih: L1 t-h L2 t-a-h-u J -ny
- 256d kota: L2 k-w-a-t
- 257d garang: L1 k-r-ng L2 k-w-r-a-ng J k-a-r-ng
- 258d cunda: L1 c-n-d L2 j-n-d-a J j-n-d
mangkat: L1 m-ng-k-t L2 m-ng-y-k-w-t J m-ng-k-n
Buantan: L1 b-w-(a)-t-n L2 and J b-w-a-t-n
- 259a tandang: J t-l-h = te/lah
gelar: L2 bergelar
- 259b terperikan: J dapat diperikan
- 259c handalan: L1 ' -n-d-la-l-n

- 260 kapit timbal Tengku Musa
saudara duli mahkota desa
usul bangsawan muda berbangsa
dengan Wolanda hendak temasya
- 261 Tengku Abdul Rahman saudara baginda
syabaslah ia ke hari muda
jikalau senjata samalah ada
Wolanda tak boleh mengada-ngada
- 262 Raja Lontar ketika itu ada
datang menghadap duli baginda
jikalau berperang dengan Wolanda
tidak berpaling barang disabda
- 263 Syeikh Salim waris ulama
pentingan Arab cahaya ugama
kalam mustahak kata selama
melawan Wolanda jadi panglima

- 260a kapit: L2 كَافِيْنَ
Musa: L1 m-w(a)-sy J m-w-s-ny
- 260d Wolanda: L2 وَوَلَنْدَا
temasya: L1 t-r-m-a-sy L2 and J t-r-m-a-s
- 261b syabaslah: L1 s-a-b-sy-la-h L2 s-h-a-b-y-s-l-h
J s-a-b-s-l-h
- hari: L1 h-a-r(a)-y J h-a-r-a-y
- 261d Wolanda: L2 وَوَلَنْدَا
mengada-ngada: L1 m-ng-d-ng-a-d(a)
L2 m-ng-a-d-ng-a-d-a
J m-ng-a-d-a-2
- 262d disabda: L1 and L2 d-s-b-d J d-s-b-l-h ?= di sebelah

- 264 orang kaya Megat Seri Rama
sikapnya tampan bagai sang Bima
sungguhpun umurnya sudahlah lama
berananya bagai Maharaja Berma
- 265 anaknya Raja Dewa Indera
ke bawah duli ia bentara
kepada pendapat budi bicara L2 32
orang yang tidak gentarkan mara
- 266 orang kaya Seri Akar Raja
zaman marhum terlalu manja
jikalau kepada bermain buruj
wallah tidak memalingkan durja
- 267 orang kaya Paduka Seri Indera
handalan marhum mangkat di Mempura
teguh yakin tidak bertara L1 31
ke bawah duli usul mengindera
- 268 a-b missing
ke bawah duli raja kuasa
pentingan marhum mahkota desa
- 264b tampan: L1 t-a-m-f-m(a) L2 t-a-f-n J t-a-m-f-a-m
- 264c sungguhpun umurnya sudahlah: L2 sungguhnya umur sudah
- 264d Berma: L1 b-r(a)-m-a L2 and J b-r-a-m-a
- 266a Seri Akar Raja: L1 sy-r-(a)-y-a-k-r-r-(a)-j
L2 s-r-a-y-k-r-a-j J s-r-y-a-k-r-r-a-j
- 266c buruj: L1 b-w-r(a)-j L2 b-w-r-a-j J b-w-r-a-j
- 266d durja: L1 d-r(a)-j L2 k-r-j ?= kerja J d-r-a-j
- 267b mangkat: L2 m-ng-ng-k-t = mengangkat
- 267c teguh: L1 t-k-w L2 t-g-w-h J t-k-h
yakin: L2 dan yakin
- 268d pentingan: J pentingnya

269 orang kaya Raja Lela Muda
 penghulu Tanah Datar dijadikan baginda
 rupa sikapnya seperti geruda
 bercakap malu dikapar Wolanda

270 orang kaya Raja Lela Wangsa
 ialah hulubalang yang perkasa
 niatnya hendak berbuat jasa
 ke bawah duli raja kuasa

271 orang kaya Raja Indera Pahlawan
 penghulu Lima Puluh khabarnya tuan
 harapan duli yang dipertuan
 tidak sekali gentarkan lawan

272 Syahbandar Mu^hn sebuah penjajab
 berapilan di haluan berdinding jab
 jikalau doakan dengan mustajab
 sabil Allah barang sekejab

269c rupa: L2 rupanya

geruda: L1 k-r(a)-r(a)-d 
 L2 g-r-d-a J k-r-a-r-a-d

270a Wangsa: L2 a-ng-k-a-s ?= angkasa

272a Syahbandar Muhin: L1 and L2 s-h-b-n-d-r-m-w-h-y-n
 J s-h-b-n-d-r-m-w-h-n

penjajab: L1 f-n-j-b-b L2 f-n-j-j-b J f-n-j-a-j-b

272b berdinding: L1 b-r-d-n-d-ng J b-r-d-n-d-y-ng

272b ← L2 sabil Allah barang sekejab

jab: L1  J 

272c mustajab: L1 m-s-t-j-b-a-(a)-b

L2 m-s-t-j-a-b J m-s-t-j-b

272d sekejap: L1  L2 s-k-j-b J s-r-k-j-b

273 Encik Mahil saudara Encik Kari
bercakap di hadapan raja bestari
jikalau ada Allah memberi
selaknatnya Allah kita tampari

274 Panglima Latif jadi mata-mata
dengan Raja Dewa Indera sekata
hebatnya seperti gajah yang meta
segala mereka menurut kata

275 Panglima Dewa seorang bernama
kepada Panglima Besar ia panglima
sahaja masyhur sedia lama
ke bawah duli raja utama

L2 33

276 Penghulu Betun penghulu hamba raja
orang yang syabas kepada keraja
jikalau kepada bermain buruj
tidakkan tewas di medan raja

273a Mahil: L1 m-h-y-l L2 m-a-h-y-l J m-h-y-l

Kari: L1 k-r(a)-y L2 k-r-y J k-r-a-y

273b bestari: L1 b-sy-a-r-y

273c memberi: L m-m-b-a-r(a)-y J memberi salam

273d selaknatnya: L1 *selaknat* L2 s-l-^l-n-t J *selaknat*

274a Latif: L1 and J l-t-y-f L2 s-l-y-f

274c meta: L1 and L2 m-n-t J m-t

274d mereka: L2 m-r-y-k-'-t

275b besar ia: J s-r-y

276a Penghulu Betun: L1 f-ng-w-l-m-l-w-b-t-w-n-(a)

L2 Panglima Lubutun

276b syabas: L1 sy-a-b-sy L2 ny-a-b-t J s-h-a-b-s

keraja: L1 k-r-r(a)-j L2 k-r-a-j J k-r-r-a-j

277 Penghulu kubu hamba yang asli
datang menghadap ke bawah duli
mati perang syahid sabili
mengikut warisnya Baginda Ali

278 terhentilah kisah cinda yang dikarang
akan puji-pujian sekalian orang
sajak diatur banyak yang kurang
akal nin pendap hati tak terang

L1 32

J 31

279 diaturlah sajak banyak tak kena
di dalam hati gundah gulana
disuratkan juga sembarang guna
harapkan ampun dengan kurnia

280 fakir menyurat belum biasa
tambahan badan tidak kuasa
sebab dititahkan mahkota desa
jangan menjadi putus rasa

277a hamba: J hamba raja

warisnya: L1 w-r(a)-sy-ny L2 w-r-a-s-a

278a cinda yang: L1 c-y-n-d-(a)-y-k L2 r-w-a-y-t = rawi itu
J c-y-n-l-y-k

278b puji-pujian: L1 f-w(a)-j-y-f-w(a)-j-y-a-n

L2 f-w-j-y-n J f-w-a-j-y-f-w-a-j-y-a-n

278c sajak diatur: L2 sajaknya itu

diatur: L1 d-(a)-t-a-t-r J d-t-a-t-r

banyak: J s-y-k

279c sembarang: L1 and J s-b-r-ng L2 s-b-a-r-a-ng

279d harapkan: L1 h-r-b-k-n J h-a-r-b-k-n

280b kuasa: L2 s-n-t-w-s = sentosa

280c sebab: L1 s-b-b-a

286 bercinta pergi jangan dikenang
bukannya wadun sekalian lanang
jikalau datang Wolanda meminang
di laut darah niat berenang

287 talinya batangan diperbuat pula
seberang menyeberang tali dihela
diaturnya batang sela-menyela
dengan rantai diikat pula

288 dengan daulat mahkota orang
batangan pun sudah habis terkarang
indahya bukan sebarang-barang
boleh berjalan seberang-menyeberang

289 kici diperbuat kota berjalan
diaturnya berkeliling pula apilan
dinaikkan meriam bertimbangan
di atasnya panglima yang handalan

286a jangan dikenang: J janganlah ia kenang

286b wadun: L1 w(a)-d(a)n L2 w-dh-a-n J f-a-d-a-n

286d darah: L2 darat

niat: L2 b-n-t-h

287c sela-menyela: J sebelah-menyebelah

287d diikat: L2 diikatkan

289a kici: L1 k-c-y L2 k-w-n-c-y = kunci J s-k-j-f = sekejap

290 pertama panglimanya Amping Berantah
orang yang tidak tahukan kata
jikalau jalan berkelahi dan bantah
membujur lalu melintang patah

291 berkapit penghulu hamba raja
orang yang tidak memalingkan durja
jikalau kepada bermain buruj
bolehlah dapat jadikan baja

292 berapa kapit yang handalan
duduk di dalam kota berjalan
cakap segala handai dan taulan
badan rebah jiwa berjalan

290a pertama panglimanya: L2 pertamanya panglima
Amping Berantah: L1 a-m-p-y-ng-b-r(a)-n-t-h
L2 a-m-f-y-ng-b-r-n-t-h
J a-m-f-y-ng-b-r-a-n-t-h

290b kata: L1 k-t L2 g-t-h J k-a-t
tahukan: L1 t-h-w-(a)-k-n-(a)
L2 t-a-h-w-k-n J t-a-w-a-k-n

291b orang yang: L1 and J orangnya
durja: J d-a-r-a

291c buruj: L1 b-w-r(a)-j L2 بُرُجَا J r-a-j-a

291d dapat: J dengan

292a handalan: L2 handal-handalan

292c-d J omits

292c cakap: L1 c-k-f L2 c-w-k-f = cukup

292d badan: L2 badan pun

293 sekalian pekerjaan sudahlah usai
ditentang handal terlalu basi
setengah mereka belumlah selesai
membaiki lembing pedang perisai

294 sehari-hari tidaklah lampang
menggosok istinggar pemuras senapang
sementara ada sedikit lapang
menuang peluru timah bertampang

295 selesailah pekerjaan duli paduka
dikerjakan oleh sekalian mereka
duduk dalam waswas dan sangka
sebab mendengar khabar Melaka

296 suatu hari datanglah khabar
orang Bukit Batu sangatlah gobar
seorang pun tidak tertahan sabar
larinya bagai keluang yang bebar

293a sudahlah: J sudah

usai: L2 w-s-y

293b handal: L1 a-n-d-la L2 h-n-d-a-l-n J a-n-d-l-h

293d membaiki: L1 m-m-b-a-'-y-k-y(a)

L2 m-m-b-a-'-y-k-n

J m-m-b-a-y-k-k-y

294c ada sedikit: L1 d-s-d-y-k-y J a-d-s-d-y-k-h

295c dalam: L2 di dalam

waswas: L1 h-w-sy L2 h-w-a-s J w-a-s-2

296b gobar: L2 gh-b-r

296d keluang yang bebar: J gelombang jabar

297 melihat kapal kici pencalang
dengan penjajap berselang-selang
banyaknya tidak lagi terbilang
dipersembahkan kepada raja terbilang

298 demi didengar duli baginda
menyuruh menjemput ayahanda kakanda
serta pegawai anum berida
datang menghadap duli seri pada

299 berhimpun menghadap sekalian rata
ayahanda dan kakanda adalah serta
akan pekerjaan si putih mata
sekarang apa bicara kita

300 demikianlah titah raja bestari
kepada segala isi negeri
musuh ini baik kita hiliri
supaya jangan hampir negeri

301 berdatang sembah ayahanda dan kakanda
serta pegawai anum berida
apatah guna penjajap yang ada
halaulah dengan kapal Wolanda

297a kapal: L2 k-f-d = kepada

300c baik kita: L1 b-a'-y-k-y-t L2 b-a'-y-k-k-y-t
J b-a-y-k-k-n

300d negeri: L1 f-k-r(a)-y L2 f-g-a-r-y ?= pagari J n-k-r-y

301c guna: J gunanya

301d halaulah: L1 h-l-w-la-h L2 h-l-w-l-h J adalah

- 302 akan sembah segala kerapatan
ke bawah duli paduka sultan
jikalau sudah demikian perbuatan
baik dan jahat lekas kelihatan
- 303 jika tidak perintah bagitu
baik dan jahat lambat bertentu
jikalau sudah sampai ke batu
umpama emas dilihat mutu
- 304 kelengkapan dipenting sekalian dendam
kepada berperang sangatlah diandam
kepada niat cita ini adam
persembahkan jiwa sekali padam
- 305 setelah sudah putus mesyuarat
memalu gong memberi isyarat
menghimpunkan rakyat laut dan darat
isi negeri sangat gelorat
- 306 isi negeri sekaliannya gobar
kelengkapan seperti keluang yang bebar
laksana geruda akan menyambar
terdirilah tunggul di Medan Sabar

302c jikalau: L1 j-y-k-(a)

303a bagitu: L2 s-b-g-y-t-w

304a dendam: J d-n-d

304b diandam: L1 d-a-n-d-m L2 d-n-d-a-m J d-a-n-d-h

304c niat: L1 n-y-y-t-h

adam: L1 (a)-d-m-(a) L2 a-d-a-m J a-d-m

305a putus: L2 d-f-w-t-s

305c menghimpunkan: J m-ng-t-a-k-n = mengatakan

306b keluang: J k-l-m-b-ng = gelombang

keluang yang bebar: J

کلمة

307 tunggulnya hitam tidak berwarna
 adat pakaian raja yang rana
 sekalian pegawai yang hina dina
 mendirikan tunggul berbagai warna

308 kenaikan baginda merapat alrahmat
 mendirikan tunggul tanda alamat
 dengan syafaat nabi Muhammad
 perang sabil sekalian umat

L1 35

309 ditentang-tentang gegak gempita
 mengatur alat sekalian senjata
 akan kenaikan duli mahkota
 adalah bagai di dalam peta

310 sekalian alat sudah terkena
 sikapnya terbang bagai walimana
 lalu bertitah duli yang ghana
 kepada kakanda menghambur bahana

311 manakala bergerak kita
 kelengkapan siap sekalian rata
 insyak Allah jangan tuanku bercita
 esok hari hilirlah kita

L2 37

307b rana: L1 r-(a)-n L2 gh-a-n J a-n

307d tunggul: J omits

warna: L2 r-w-n

308d perang sabil: L2 berperang sabil Allah

309b alat: J jalan

310b terbang: L1 t-r-(a)-b-ng L2 t-r-a-b-ng ?= terabung

walimana: L2 **وَالْمَنَا**

311d esok: L2 esoklah

- 312 setelah kepada esok hari
sekalian tunggul sudah terdiri
dipalu gendang ditiup nafiri
berangkatlah sultan raja bestari
- 313 ditentang-tentang rupa kelengkapan
bagai harimau lepas tangkapan
tunggul terdiri gemerlapan
dayung seperti jari lipan
- 314 lalu dipalu gong semboyan
dibongkarlah sauh penjajap sekalian
khalifah Allah di dalam kemuliaan
ada yang dahulu ada yang kemudian
- 315 berangkatlah sultan raja yang ghana
terdirilah tunggul berula-ula
hilirlah kepada ketika kala
dipandang bagai naga bercula
- 316 berangkatlah dengan serunai dan gendang
isi negeri ramai memandang
di bawah payung dua terkembang
didayungkan oleh tentera mambang

J 35

312a kepada esok: L2 k-f-d-a-k-a'-y-s-w'-ny = kepada keesoknya
J k-a-y-s-k-k-n = keesokan

312c dipalu: L2 dipalulah

313c gemerlapan: L2 m-ng-g-r-a-la-f-n

315a ghana: L1 gh-la L2 gh-la J gh-a-n

berula-ula: L1 b-r-a-w-la-h-m L2 b-r-a-w-la-a-w-h
J b-r-⁶-l-m-a = berulama

317 L1 repeats a-b

317 hilirlah kenaikan Inderapura persanggi
sikapnya tidak bercelah lagi
ada yang rendah ada yang tinggi
laksana mega berarak pagi

L1 36

318 akan kenaikan duli yang ghana
didayungkan rakyat gempita bahana
segala pegawai duli mengerna
masing-masing laku dan bena

319 bunyinya tempek segala tentera
kaum di tasik mambang segara
bahananya lantas mengudara
sampai ke rimba belantara

320 dipandang segala isi negeri
pilu dan belas tidak terperi
terkenangkan marhum mahkota negeri
zamzam terhambur kanan dan kici

317 L1 repeats a-b

317b bercela: L1 and L2 b-r-j-la J b-r-c-l-h

317c rendah: L1 r-(a)-n-d L2 r-n-d-h J r-n-d

318b gempita: J sampai

319b kaum: L1 k-w(a)-m L2 k-w-a-m J k-w-m

319c mengudara: L1 m-ng-'-w-d-r-h L2 k-a'-w-d-a-r-a
J m-ng-a-w-d-r-a

319d sampai: L2 sampailah

rimba: L1 r(a)-m-b L2 r-a-b J r-m

belantara: L2 b-la-t-n-t-r-a = balatentara

- 321 berdayung menuju ke Kelakap
ditentang hebat terlalu sikap
pantasnya seperti paksi wakap
laksana singa akan menangkap
- 322 hilir berdayung berdahulu-dahuluan
umpama singa mencari lawan
bahananya sorak melangsi awan
ghaliblah hulubalang yang pahlawan
- 323 tidaklah panjang kisah dan peri
berangkatlah sultan mahkota negeri
berdayung sampai ke hilir negeri
tidak memandang kanan dan kiri
- 324 semalam itu juga hilir baginda
siang di Tanjung Lada-Lada
lepaslah tanjung duli seri pada
kelihatan kici kapal Wolanda

321a Kelakap: L1 k-la-l-b(a) L2 k-l-k-b

J k-f-l-k-a-s-b ?= kepala kasab

321b hebat: L2 hebatnya

sikap: L2 sikapnya

321c paksi: L1 f-k-sy-y L2 f-b-^ʿ-sy J f-k-s-y

322b singa: L2 

322d ghaliblah: L1 gh-a-l-b-la-h L2 gh-a-l-b-l-h

J gh-a-l-y-l-h ?= ghalilah

323a panjang: L2 dipanjangkan

323b mahkota negeri: J bestari

324a itu juga: L1 a-t-w-j-w-k L2 t-w-j-w-g J a-y-t-j-w-k

324c lepaslah: L1 l-f-s-a-l-h

324d kici: L2 k-c-k

325 demi dilihat oleh mata-mata
diatur kelengkapan sekalian rata
disabur-limbur orang kita
di kepala Guntung si putih mata

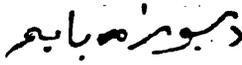
326 dipandang rupa kelengkapan
bagai harimau lepas tangkapan
dengan kapal berhadapan
lakunya tidak malu dan sopan

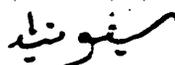
J 36

327 beratur berlabuh sekalian rata
apilan terdinding seperti kota
dengan Wolanda berpandang mata
mengisi meriam pula serta

L1 37

328 demi kapitan melihat peri
dengan baginda raja bestari
oranglah Siak menghiliri
lakunya tidak gentar dan ngeri

325c disabur-limbur: L1 
L2 d-s-b-w-r-a-m-b-a-y-m
J d-s-w-r-a-m-b-a-y-m

325d si putih: L1 s-y-f-w-t-y(a)-h 
L2 s-y-f-w-t-y-l-h
J s-y-f-w-n-ny

326c-d L1 repeats this verse.

326b lepas: L1 k-f-sy

327a beratur: L1 b(a)-r(a)-t-w L2 b-h-n-t-r-a-t-u = bahtera itu
sekalian: L2 sekaliannya

327d mengisi: J mengatur

328c oranglah: L2 orang ulu

menghiliri: L1 m-ng-y-a-h-l-y-y-r(a)-y
L2 m-ng-a-h-l-y-r-y

329 kapitan berkata dengan merdunya
kepada baginda ia bertanya
orang Siak nin keras sangat rupanya
bukannya kanak-kanak demikian lakunya

330 kapitan menyuruh memukul tambur
dalam kapal terlalu sabar
mengisi meriam dibubuh penabur
niatnya sahaja hendak berlabur

331 demi didengar oleh orang kita
bunyinya tambur Wolanda yang dusta
berbangkit geram di dalam cita
dipalu gendang gegak gempita

332 Tengku Said turun di kapal Wolanda
datang menghadap duli seri pada
berpeluk bercium adinda dan kakanda
zamzam durja luruh ke dada

333 seperti seorang syair merawan
kakanda bermohon adinda tuan
berdayunglah kelengkapan berkawan
khabarnya konon kepada lawan

329c sangat: J seperti

329d kanak-kanak: J layak

330b dalam: L2 and J di dalam

sabar: L2 

331b dusta: L1 and J d-s-t L2 d-w-s-t

331c cita: L1 and L2 c-y-t J c-t

331d dipalu: L1 d-f-l-w(a) L2 d-f-l-w-ny = dipalunya J d-f-a-l-w

333a seperti: L2 sepatah

333c berdayunglah: J berdayung

berkawan: L2 b-r-k-a-w-a-n-2

333d khabarnya: L2 khabarkan

334 kakanda segera memberi surat
kepada maharaja berjalan darat
segala pahlawan duli hadirat
mencoba meriam membuang karat

335 orang Wolanda sangatlah jaga
kapalnya satu kicinya tiga
serta malam mulutnya gogah
orang Siak demikian juga

336 jolong-jolong dengan pencalang
itu pun jaga bukan kepalang
sebuah bahtera seperti helang
kayu-kayuan baginda raja terbilang

L1 38

337 lima belas hari khabarnya tuan
yang duduk berkemalu-maluan
tidak ketahuan kawan dan lawan
yang duduk bertunggu-tungguan

335b kicinya: L2 k-c-k-ny

335c gogah: L1 k-w(a)-k-a L2 g-w-g J k-f-k-a

336a-b L1 repeats this verse.

336c bahtera: L1 k-b-r L2 b-h-t-r-a J h-b-r

337b berkemalu-maluan: L1 b-r-k-m-l-w-m-a-l-w-a-n

L2 b-r-w-g-w'-m-l-w-m-l-w-a-n

J b-r-m-a-l-w-2-a-n

337c kawan: L1 and L2 k-w-n J k-w-n-n

337d bertunggu-tungguan: J f-r-t-ng^{-g}-w-a-2-n

338 sampailah had genap bilanganya
kenalah bulan rasi bintangnya
kapal dan kici dilayarkannya
dipalunya tambur gemuruh bunyinya

339 menuju kelengkapan ia belaka
lakunya tidak waswas dan sangka
pintu meriam sekalian dibuka
mengadu untung malang celaka

340 demi dilihat oleh orang kita
berdayung menyongsong sekalian rata
bunyi sorak gegak gempita
dengan Wolanda berpandang mata

341 kapal dan kici berhadapan
laksana singa lepas tangkapan
langsung mara ke hadapan
rupanya tunam gemerlapan

338a had: L1 and L2 h-d J j-a-d-y
bilanganya: J bilangannya

338b kenalah: J k-n-h
bintangnya: J bilangannya

338c kici: L2 k-c-y-k

339b waswas: L1 h-w-sy L2 and J h-w-a-s

340b sekalian: L2 sekaliannya

340c bunyi: L2 bunyinya

341c mara: L1 m-a-r-(a)-h L2 m-a-r-h J m-a-r-a

341d gemerlapan: L2 m-ng-g-r-la-f-n

342

 seperti ular melihat makanan
 tidak menoleh kiri dan kanan

343 Seri Akar Raja panglima perang kiri
 berdayung ia segera menghampiri
 melihat Wolanda demikian peri
 disuruhnya dayung juga hampiri

344 setelah dekat sampai berkata
 dengan kici kapal perkata
 dipecahnya perang oleh orang kita
 maralah kelengkapan sekalian rata

345 dilihat Paduka Seri Indera
 menempoh dengan tempek gembira
 bahana meriam mengudara
 kelengkapan Siak berdayung mara

346 segala hulubalang tidak yang ingkar
 sekalian mara juga melanggar
 bunyi meriam seperti tagar
 kenalah kapal sangat bergegar

L1 39

344c orang: L2 orangnya

344d sekalian: L2 sekaliannya

345d Siak: L1 s-b-k-y(a) L2 s-b-a-g-y = sebagai J s-y-k

346a ingkar: L1 l-y-ng-k-r L2 a-y-ng-k-r J l-ng-k-r

346b sekalian: L2 sekaliannya

346c bunyi: L2 bunyinya

346d kapal sangat: L2 sangat kapal

sangat: L1 s-^l-t L2 s-a-^l-t J s-f-r-t

bergegar: L1 b-r-(a)-k-k-r L2 b-r-l-y-ng-g-r

J b-r-a-n-k-r

347 berperang dari kepala Guntung
di laut rempoh sekalian mengatung
Medan Sabar datang menuntung
dibedil dengan Jembalang Guntung

348 Harimau Buas ditembakkan pula
oleh duli raja yang ala
pelurunya datang bernyala-nyala
kenalah kapal tembus segala

349 kapal dan kici membalas rata
bunyi meriam gegak gempita
suatu pun tidak kedengar nyata
asapnya meriam gelap gulita

350 rupa pelurunya berlompatan
laksana ayam di dalam hutan
barang siapa terbilang jantan
ketika itu nyata kelihatan

347a kepala: L2 di kepala

347b rempoh: L1 r-(a)-m-f-w-' L2 r-a-m-f-w-' J r-a-m-f-w-h

mengatung: L1 m-⁶-t-w-(a)-ng L2 m-ng-t-w-ng J m-ng-a-t-w-ng

347c menuntung: L1 m-n-n-t-w-(a)-ng L2 m-n-n-t-w-ng J m-n-t-w-ng

347d dibedil: L2 dibedilnya

348b ala: L1 and L2 gh-a-l J t-r-⁶-l-y-2

348c pelurunya: L2 

349a rata: L2 belaka

349b bunyi: L2 bunyinya

349c kedengar: L2 kedengaran

349d gelap gulita: L1 k-l-n-k-l-y-t L2 g-l-f-g-a-l-y-t
J k-l-b-k-w-l-y-t

350a berlompatan: J b-r-l-m-f-t-2-n = berlompat-lompatan

350d nyata: J nyatalah

- 351 tembak Wolanda tidak berhenti
 menembak sepuas-puas hati
 dilihat laku dengan pekerti
 dari hidup sampai ke mati
- 352 bunyi meriam gegak gempita
 menderu seperti biram yang meta
 di atas zamzam terlata
 serba salah rupanya bertakhta
- 353 meriam seperti panah keludan
 sekalian tentera gempitalah badan
 bangsawan ada sahaja di medan
 tidaklah lagi memilih padan
- 354 patik ini abdi hamba yang haru
 akal pendapat terlalu tohor
 berperang pun sampai waktu zohor
 maralah kenaikan Tandang Masyhur

351b menembak: L2 menembak seperti

sepuas-puas: L1 s-f-w-sy-f-w-s(a)

351c pekerti: L2 s-f-k-r-t-y

351d mati: L1 m-a-(a)-t-y

352a bunyi: L2 bunyinya

352c atas: L2 atasnya

terlata: L1 t-r(a)-la-t L2 t-r-a-l-a-t-2 = teralat-alat

J t-r-l-a-t

352d serba salah: J s-r-a-b-s-la-m

353a keludan: L2 g-a-l-w-d-a-n

353b gempitalah badan: L2

كَمْفِيْلًا بَارَانَ

354a haru: L2

هَرُو

- 355 setelah dekat sampai berkata
ditembakkan meriam Gajah Meta
bunyi hebat sangat gempita
sekalian memandang duka cita
- 356 bangsawan berperang sama mengendan L1 40
meraginya patut bagai dipadan
pelurunya seperti panah keludan L2 42
semburnya zamzam sampai ke badan
- 357 berperang rakyat terlalu besar
dari pada zohor sampai ke asar
kiri dan kanan kapal berkisar
dibedilkannya segala meriam yang besar

355b Gajah Meta: L2 gajah yang meta

355c bunyi: L2 bunyinya

sangat: L1 *سفت*

355d memandang: L1 m-n-(a)-d-ng

356a menendan: L1 m-ng-y-d-n L2 and J m-ng-y-d-a-n

356b meraginya: L1 m-r-a-k-y-n L2 and J m-r-a-k-y-ny

356d semburnya: L1 s-m-b-w-r(a)-ny L2 s-m-b-w-r-ny

J s-m-w-r-a-ny

357b ke: J kepada

357d dibedilkan: L2 dibelahnkanya

segala meriam: J meriam segala

358. berperang pun tidak berketewasan
 bunyi meriam bertangis-tangisan
 umpama santan dengan manisan
 puaslah dahaga pada perasaan

359 Wolanda berperang tidak berhingga
 makin lama bertambah jaga
 bunyi meriam terlalu kuak
 dibubuhnya penabur beraga-raga

360 tembak Wolanda jangan dikata
 tidaklah sempat memejamkan mata
 sungguhpun banyak datang senjata
 seoranglah mati orang kita

358a berketewasan: L b-r-k-t-y-w-n L2 b-r-k-t-h-w-a-n
 = berketahuan

J b-r-k-t-t-w-a-n

358c santan: J s-t-n

manisan: L1 m-n-y-sy-a-n L2 m-n-y-sy-a-n

J m-n-y-s-a-n

358d perasaan: L1 f-s-r(a)-sy-a-(a)-n L2 f-r-s-a-n

J f-r-a-s-a-'-n

359a tidak: J tiada

359b makin: J mangkin

bertambah: L1 b-r-t-m-b(a)

359c kuak: L1 k-w(a)-h L2 k-w-k J k-w-a-h

359d penabur: L1 f-n-b-r(a) L2 f-n-b-r J f-b-a-r-a-2

beraga-raga: L1 b-r(a)-k-r-k-a

L2 b-r-a-g-r-a-g J r-a-k

360a jangan dikata: L1 جاندی بات

J janganlah

360c sungguhpun: L1 s-ng-k-h-f-n

- 361 berperang pun sampai malam hari
undurlah kelengkapan kanan dan kiri
berhimpun segala hulubalang menteri
datang menghadap raja bestari
- 362 datang menghadap ayahanda dan kakanda
serta dengan paduka adinda
berdatanglah sembah kepada baginda
memohonkan titah duli seri pada
- 363 lalu bertitah mahkota orang
kepada pendapat sahaya seorang
jikalau Wolanda mudik menyerang
baharulah kita lawan berperang
- 364 berdatanglah sembah isi negeri
mengangkat tangan menyusun jari
sebab Wolanda datang kemari
bukankah hendak melanggar negeri
- 365 telah putus sudah muafakatnya
bermohonlah pulang sekaliannya
oleh mata-mata diaturnya
barang ahual dipersembahkannya

J 40

L2 43

361a pun: J itu

malam: L2 malamnya

361b undurlah: L2 undur J a-y-d-r-l-h

362a datang: L2 datanglah

366 setelah kepada esok hari
Wolanda pun tidak mudik kemari
oleh orang kita dipitari
diperbuatnya bagai sehari-hari

367 oleh Wolanda dibalasnya
tidaklah senang bunyi meriamnya
segenap hari demikian lakunya
itulah konon khabar wartanya

368 seorang panglima terlalu garang
cakapnya tidak mengambil kurang
berlabuh di haluan sekalian orang
Wolanda melihat adalah berang

369 setelah malam sudahlah hari
dihanyutkan kici menghampiri
matahari pun belum lagi berseri
oleh Wolanda peluru diberi

366a kepada: J omits.

esok: L2 k-a-a-y-s-k-ny ?= keesokan

366c dipitari: L2 d-f-n-t-a-r-y

366d sehari-hari: L1 sehari ? = sehari-harian

367 J arranges the lines c-d-a-b

367b tidaklah: J tiadalah

367c segenap: L2 s-t-y-f = setiap

367d wartanya: L1 (a)-w-'-r-t-a-ny L2 a-w-r-y-t-a-ny
J w-r-t-a-ny

368b cakapnya: L1 c-k-b-ny J j-k

tidak: J tiadalah

370 Encik Mangid terkejut seperti latah
melihat peluru seperti katah
kalas dayung sekalian patah
dibongkarnya sauh lari men/ateh

371 hendak dibantu sekalian orang
Tengku Busu pula melarang
suka tertawa orang sebarang
panglima besar sedikit berang

372 itulah orang sangat sombongnya
membuat berani seorang dirinya
tidak dipikirkan kemudian harinya
sekalian orang mencercainya

373 berbedil-bedilan sehari
sampailah kepada lima belas hari
lalu bertitah raja bestari
kota berjalan hilirkan kemari

370a Mangid: L1 and L2 m-ng-y-d J m-⁶-y-d

370b katah: L1 and J k-a-t L2 k-a-t-h

370c sekalian: L2 sekaliannya

370d sauh: L2 سَاهُ

menateh: L1 and L2 m-n-a-t-h J m-n-a-t

371b pula: J pun

372d sekalian: L2 sekaliannya

373a sehari: L2 sehari-hari

373d hilirkan: L1 and L2 a-y-l-y-r-k-n

374 di dalam demikian baginda bertanya J 41
pada ayahanda dan kakanda keduanya
kalau kota berjalan suatu perinya L2 44
siapakah mahu menyertainya

375 berdatang sembah ayahanda dan kakanda
serta dengan paduka adinda
jikalau kota berjalan porak-peranda
sambil kita mana yang ada

376 lalu bertitah duli yang maha mulia L1 42
pada pendapat bicara sahaya
kalau kota berjalan satu bahaya
leburilah kita serta daya

377 berdatang sembah hulubalang menteri
mengangkat khidmat menyusun jari
jikalau kota berjalan suatu peri
tidaklah patik pulang ke negeri

374c perinya: J peri

374d siapakah: L1 and J s-y-f-k-n ?= siapakan

mahu: L1 m-a-⁶-w(a) L2 m-a-w-a J m-⁶-w-a

375c porak-peranda: L1 f-w-r-'^o-f-r-n-d-a [^o = tanda mati]

L2 f-w-r-a-'-f-r-n-d-a J f-w-r-n-d-a

375d sambil: L1 s-m-la L2 s-m-a-l-h J s-m-b-l

376b pendapat: L2 pendapatan

376c bahaya: J hari

377b mengangkat: L1 m-ng-k-t J m-ng-a-k-n

khidmat: L1 and J k-d-m

377c peri: J hari

378 panglima besar dengan panglima perang
sembahnya bagai mutiara dikarang
jikalau kota berjalan menjadi arang
kapal pun sukar pulang ke sebarang

379 demi didengar duli paduka
cakapnya sekalian adik dan kakak
takar juadah disuruhnya buka
makan dan minum sekalian belaka

380 berdatang sembah panglima perang
patik pohonkan titah sekarang
esok hari kita berperang
bagaimana pula lakunya gerang

381 akan titah mahkota duli
selaku tidak berkecuali
jikalau berbunyi meriam sekali
langgarlah ia jangan peduli

378b mutiara: L1, L2, J m-t-y-a

378d sukar: L2 segera J suka

sebarang: L1 s-b-a-r-ng L2 s-b-a-r-a-ng J s-b-r-ng

379a duli: J oleh

379b cakapnya: L1 c(a)-k-b-ny L2 c-k-a-b-ny J j-a-k

kakak: L1 and L2 k-a-k J k-a-k-k

379c takar: L2 m-w-k-w-n = mukun

380c esok: L2 esoklah

bagaimana: J b-a-k-y-ny

381d peduli: J f-r-d-w-l-y-2

- 382 meriamnya janganlah pedulikan
dayung juga sekalian rapatkan
sebaik-baik istinggar makan
maka baharulah diperhentikan
- 383 demi didengar adinda dan kakanda
akan titah duli seri pada
berbangkitlah geram di dalam dada
ditentang laku bagai geruda
- 384 bermohon pulang ayahanda dan kakanda
serta pegawai anum berida
patik nin lagi pun beda
sekadar dikarang mana yang ada

382a meriamnya: J meriam

382a janganlah: L1 j-a-ng-n-l L2 jangan

pedulikan: L1 فدوليكن L2 d-f-r-l-y-k-n

382c sebaik-baik: L1 من بيده L2 s-r-b-a-t-y-g-t-y-g
J s-b-b-t-y-k-2

382d baharulah diperhentikan: L1 بهارو دله فتره هنيانكن
L2 d-la-f-t-h-n-t-a-k-n
J d-ng-n-d-l-h-f-n-h-y-n-a-k-n ?= dengan delapan
hinakan

383c geram: L1 كرامه k-r-a-w-s L2 كرامه k-r-a-m-s
J كرامه k-r-a-k-s-h

383d ditentang laku: J d-t-n-k-l-h-k-w

geruda: L2 كرامه J k-r-a-d

384a dan: J omits

384c lagi: L1 la-h-k-y L2 la-g J la-k-y

384d mana: L1 ملك L2 m-l-n J m-d-h

385 setelah sampai kota berjalan
diaturnya kelengkapan bertimbangan
di kepala pulau kota berjalan
dikapiti kelengkapan yang handalan

386 adalah kapitnya yang terutama
Tengku Busu mula pertama
Raja Lontar serta bersama
Syeikh Salim waris ulama

L1 43

387 kapit timbalan Seri Akar Raja
hulubalang handalan biasa bekerja
panglima perang mahkota raja
laksana besi sudah berbaja

388 Syahbandar Muin panglima payu
kapit timbalan mengikut payu
lawan laksana geruda bayu
jika menyambar sahajakan layu

386b Busu: J y-w-s-f = Yusuf

pertama: L1 

386d waris: J w-z-y-r = wazir

387a kapit timbalan: L2 kapitan timbal

387b biasa: L1 b-y-s L2 b-r-y-s = berisi J b-r-s-m-a = bersama

387c perang: J a-w-ng = Awang

388a Muin: L1 m-w(a)-^l-y-n L2 and J m-w-^l-y-n

388b kapit: L2 kapitan

388d menyambar: J m-m-b-r-y = memberi

389 di kiri hilir duli baginda
dengan saudara adinda kakanda
di Pulau Sabak paduka ayahanda
di Teluk Batil hulubalang anum berida

390 demi kapitan melihat peri
kota berjalan pula menghiliri
di kepala Pulau Sabak ia berdiri
dikapiti kelengkapan kanan dan kiri

391 kapitan kapal hatinya pusing
sekalian tinggal disuruhnya pasang
mendengar tambur bangkit perangsang
dihanyutkan kapal ketika pasang

392 kapal dan kici dihanyutkannya
ke Teluk Batil sekalian perginya
dengan kota berjalan dipertemukannya
dengan peluru ia ditanya

L2 46

389b kakanda: L2 dan kakanda

389c pulau: L1 f-l-w L2 f-l-w-ny J f-a-l-w

390c Pulau Sabak: L1 f-w(a)-l-w-s-b-k L2 f-w-l-w-s-b-k
J f-w-l-s-b-k

391a pusing: J f-w-s-y-ng-2 = pusing-pusing

391b sekalian: L2 sekaliannya

391c tambur: J n-m-w-a-r

391d ketika: J k-w-t-k

392a dihanyutkannya: L2 s-r-t-d-ny-t-k-n-ny

392b Batil: L2 

393 serta bertemu lalu berperang
 ramainya bukan sebarang-barang
 gemuruhlah bunyi sorak orang
 maralah kelengkapan sekalian yang garang

394 pertama mara Tengku Perang
 Seri Amar Wangsa terbilang garang
 serta bertemu lalu berperang
 ramainya bukan sebarang-barang

395 ditimbali Megat Seri Rama
 Raja Dewa Indera yang terutama
 orang yang tidak membuang nama
 berperanglah ia bersama-sama

396 Raja Lela Muda panglima Tanah Datar
 berdayunglah ia dengan sebentar
 kapal dan kici meriam dipitar
 tidaklah ia ngeri dan gentar

393c gemuruhlah: L2 gemuruhnya

393d maralah: L1 m-a-r(a)-h-la L2 m-a-r-a-h-l-h J m-a-r-a

394a pertama mara: J f-r-a-m-n-a-m-r-m-a-w

395a ditimbali: L1 d-t-m-b-la-y L2 d-t-m-b-l-l-y
 J d-t-m-b-a-l-n

396a datar: L1 d-t-a-r L2 d-t-a-r-a J d-t-a-r-a

396b sebentar: L2 and J s-b-n-t-r-a

396c dipitar: L2 d-f-y-t-r-a

396d gentar: L2 g-n-t-r-a

- 397 Raja Indera Pahlawan berdayung mara
berkembar dengan Paduka Seri Indera
menembakkan meriam di penjara
kenalalah kapal banyak yang cedera
- 398 berperanglah itu sangat temasya
melanggar hendak berbuat jasa
di dalam peluru angkasa
tidak memberi hebat dan rasa
- 399 meriam seperti halilintar
tidak berhenti barang sebentar
peluru bulang-baling datang melontar
kenalalah penjajap sangat bergentar
- 400 oleh Wolanda dibedili
segala kelengkapan yang menghampiri
pelurunya berdengung kanan dan kiri
berdayung juga dihampiri

- 397a berdayung: L2 berdayunglah
397b berkembar: J b-r-g-m-b-r
397c menembakkan: L1 m-n-m-b-ng-k-n
di penjara: L1 (a)-d-f-n-j-r L2 a-d-a-f-n-j-r-a
J d-f-n-j-a-r-a
- 398b berbuat: L2 membuat
- 399a halilintar: J h-l-y-l-w-n-t-r
- 399c melontar: L1 and L2 m-l-w-t-r J m-l-n-t-r
- 399d kenalalah: J k-n-h
sangat: J seperti
- 400a dibedili: L1 d-b-d-(a)-l-y L2 and J d-b-d-a-l-y
- 400c pelurunya: L2 **فلورون**

- 401 tujuh buah hulubalang melanggar
di haluan kapal seperti pagar
bahana sorak seperti tagar
menembakkan meriam dengan istinggar
- 402 kota berjalan sudah tersesak
kapal dan kici datang mengasak
ke Teluk Batil sekalian berasak
di situlah perang sangat bergasak
- 403 demi Tengku Busu melihat perinya
kapal dan kici dihanyutkannya
maralah kelengkapan yang dijanjikannya
kapal dan kici dihadapinya
- 404 setelah sampai seperti nafsu
menembakkan meriam Tengku Busu
ke bawah beranda kelengkapan menusuk
kalam yang fasih menjadi bisu

401a melanggar: L1 *ملفكرايه*

401d menembakkan: L1 m-n-m-b-ng-k-n

403a Busu: J Yusuf

403b dihanyutkannya: J d-h-y-n-a-k-n-ny

403d dihadapinya: L2 serta dihadapinya

404a nafsu: J nafsunya

404c menusuk: L1 m-n-w-s-w(a) L2 and J m-n-w-s-w

404d kalam: L2 k-l-m-h

405 berperang itu berasak-asak
penjajap dan kapal tidak berjarak
peluru meriam sangat merosak
kenalah kapal berderak-derak

406 berperang itu sangat bergosok
lima buah yang termasuk
sebelah-menyebelah peluru merusuk
kapal penjajap banyak yang pesok

407 dilihat panglima kota berjalan
dia sebuah ketinggalan
jauh dari pada handai dan taulan
dikeratnya sauh kota berjalan

408 hatilah ihya pula menempa
kapal dan kici boleh bersapa
bunyi meriam amat bergempa
barang yang kena safan-safa

405a berasak-asak: L1 b-r(a)-s-k-s(a)-k L2 b-r-a-r-k-r-a-k
J b-r-s-w-r-k-2

405c sangat: J s-f-r-t

merosak: L1 m-r(a)-s-k L2 m-r-a-r-a-k J m-r-s-a-k

406c merusuk: L1 m-r(a)-s-k L2 m-r-a-s-w-' J m-r-s-a-k

406d pesok: L1 f-a-s-k L2 f-a-s-w-' J f-s-k

407b dia: L1 d-y[or b]-a L2 a-d J d-y

407c dari pada: L2 dari

407d sauh: J s-b-w-h = sebuah

408a hatilah: L2 hatinya

ihya: L1  ?=a-y(a)-a L2 a-y-' J a-y-n

menempa: L1 and L2 m-n-m-f-a J m-n-m-k

408b bersapa: J b-r-a-s-k

408c amat: L1 h-m-t(a) L2 a-m-t J '-z-m-t

- 409 Syeikh Salim perahunya tersekat
dimakan olak perahunya lekat
dengan kapal sangat berdekak
dimakan peluru habislah lukat
- 410 Syeikh Salim orang yang garang
kapal dan kici dilawannya berperang
dibedil kapal bersarang-sarang
pelurunya tembus seberang-menyeberang
- 411 Syeikh Salim sangat pangling
dibedilnya dengan peluru bulang-baling
jikalau kena rajuk dan geleng
lamalah sudah lari berpaling

L2 48

409a perahunya: L1 f-r(a)-h-w(a)-ny

409b perahunya: L1 f-r(a)-h-w-ny L2 perahu

410a&c garang

bersarang-sarang: L1

410c dibedil: L2 dibedilnya

410d seberang-menyeberang: L1 s-b-a-r-ng-m-ny-b-a-r-ng

L2 s-b-r-a-ng-m-ny-m-b-a-r-a-ng

411c kena: L1 s-(a)-t L2 k-n-a J s-a-t-w

rajuk: L1 r-j-w(a) L2 r-a-j-w J r-j-w

geleng: L1, L2, J k-l-y-ng

412 tembak Wolanda bertimpa-timpa
 pelurunya datang berupa-ruapa
 dahulu berkat Mustafa
 lepaslah besi tidak mengapa

413 lepaslah ia mengikutkan olak
 berkeliling pulau pula mengelak
 serta sampai berperang pulak
 bunyi meriamnya terlalu galak

414 demi dilihat duli baginda
 akan hal paduka ayahanda
 berangkat diiringkan adinda dan kakanda
 dipandang rupa bagai geroda

415 serta sampai lalu bergasak
 melihatkan ayahanda sudah tersesak
 penjajap dan kapal datang berasak
 ke hulu ke hilir berdesak-desak

412a bertimpa-timpa: J b-r-t-m-b-k-2

412b berupa-ruapa: L1 b-r(a)-f-r(a)-f L2 b-r-a-f-r-a-f
 J b-r-a-w-r-f-2

412c dahulu: L1 d-h-w(a)-(a)-l-h L2 d-h-l-w-a-l-l-h
 J d-h-w-l-w-a-l-l-h = dahulu Allah

berkat: L1 b-r(a)-k-y-t ?= berkita

mustafa: L1 m-sy-t(a)-f L2 m-s-t-a-f J m-s-t-f-y

412d lepaslah: L1 la-f-sy-a-(a)-la-h

413a mengikutkan: L1 m-ng-y-k-n(a)-k-n L2 d-m-a-k-n = dimakan
 J m-ng-y-k-t-a-k-n = mengikut akan

415b tersesak: L1 and J t-r-s-a-s-k L2 t-r-s-a-k

416 kenaikan dengan Medan Sabar
 kedua buahnya berbimbar-bimbar
 muda bangsawan bagai di gambar
 akan mati sedikit tak gobar

L1 46

417 dipandang laku adinda kedua
 laksana Ranjuna dengan Pendawa
 akan perang wayang Korawa
 selaku tidak sedarkan jiwa

418 akan kenaikan duli mahkota
 menembakkan meriam gajah yang meta
 pelurunya datang terlata-lata
 kenalah kapal tembus semata

419 ditembakkan meriam sekalian belaka
 sunting dan lela dengan rentaka
 ditentang panglima duli paduka
 tidaklah khabar mati dan luka

L2 49

420 demi dilihat panglima besar
 Medan Sabar disuruhnya kisar
 menghadap kepada kapal yang besar
 disuruhnya dayung juga menyambar

416b berbimbar-bimbar: L1 b-r(a)-b-m-b-r(a)-b-m-b-r(a)
 L2 b-r-a-m-b-r-a-m-b-r

418a mahkota: L1 m-h-k-w(a)-t L2 m-k-w-t J b-k-n-d

418c terlat^a-lat^a: L1 and L2 t-r-la-t-la-t J t-r -la-t-l

420b kisar: L2

420d menyambar: L1 m-ny-a-m-sy-(a)-r L2
 J m-ng-m-b-r

- 421 Jembalang Guntung ditembakkannya
Harimau Buas menggeram bunyinya
naik ke kapal tidak bertanya
barang yang berajal dimakannya
- 422 perang besar ketika itu pula
menembakkan meriam rentaka lela
pada pandangan di mata kuala
sebelah-menyebelah banyak yang cela
- 423 Tengku Abdul Rahman dengan Tengku Abdullah
pelurunya tidak ada yang salah
kenalalah kapal si laknat Allah
dari sebelah tembus ke sebelah
- 424 bunyi meriam seperti guruh
roma di badan bagaikan luruh
barang yang sampai ajal dan geruh
rupanya bagai buah yang luruh
- 425 bunyi meriam tidak berhenti
kapal dan kici berganti-ganti
di atas zamzam tertiti-titi
barang yang kena luka dan mati

421b menggeram: L1 m-ng-k-a-r-m L2 m-ng-g-a-r-a-m J m-ng-r-m

424a bunyi: L2 bunyinya

424b roma: L1 r(a)-w-m J r-w-m-h

424c geruh: L1 k-a-r(a)-h L2 گاراه J k-a-r-h

424d luruh: L2 لوروه

425c tertiti-titi: L1 and L2 t-r-t-y-t-y-t-y

J t-r-t-n-t-y

426 melihat peluru pergi datang
kepada mata sangat merintang
disambarnya jatuh lalu terlintang
sebentar itu menjadi buntang

427 peluru bersabung sebelah-menyebelah
ada yang betul ada yang salah
kurang tawakal kepada Allah
menahani kuat berlepaslah

428 melihat peluru berterbangan
ke atas udara berdengungan
segala hulubalang yang pentingan
ketika itu bercengangan

429 bunyi meriam bagaikan belah
tidak berhenti sebelah-menyebelah
ganggu tawakal kepada Allah
memakai acah maut tegah Allah

426d sebentar itu: L1 مبرائتو

427d berlepaslah: L2 b-r-la-f-y-s-l-h ?= berlapislah

428a berterbangan: L1 b-r(a)-t-r(a)-b-ng-n

L2 b-r-a-t-r-b-ng-n J b-r-t-r-b-ng

428b ke atas: L1 k-h-a-(a)-t-sy L2 k-a-'-t-s J k-a-t-s

428d bercengangan: J b-r-c-ng-ng-2-n

429c ganggu: L1 k-ng-k L2 g-a-k-h J h-ng-k

429d acah maut: L1 a-j-h-m(a)-t L2 a-j-h-a-m-t J h-d-m-t

430 peluru kapal berdengungan
 sabuk di pinggang berterbangan
 banyaklah mereka bercengangan
 lalailah sudah di angan-angan

431 bunyi meriam sangat berparab
 pelurunya datang sangat mudharab
 banyaklah mereka yang meniarab
 penuhlah dengan sampah dan sarab

432 mata-mata pun tidak lagi terkayuh
 mendengar peluru bunyinya riuh
 tulang dan sendi selaku layuh
 duduk memupur seperti puyuh

430a berdengungan: J b-r-d-ng-w-ng-2

430d lalailah: L1 لالئلا ?= laknilah
 L2 l-ny-k-l-h J la-l-y-l-h

431a sangat: J terlalu sangat

berparab: L1 and L2 berparap J k-r-b = kerap

431b mudharab: L1 m-z(a)-r-b L2 m-z-a-r-b J m-z-r-b
 [= mudharat]

431c banyaklah: L1 b-a-ny-ng-la-h

meniarab: = meniarap

431d penuhlah: L1 f-n-a-la L2 f-n-h-a-l J f-n-h-l-h

sarab: = sarap

432c layuh: L2 l-w-m-f-w-h = lumpuh

J la-y-w = layu

432d memupur: L1 m-m-w(a)-f-r L2 m-m-w-f-w-r J m-m-w-f-r

433 perang itu terlalu sabar
 bunyi peluru cebur-mencebur
 menderu bunyinya penabur
 barang yang kena sahajakan lebur

434 hulubalang Siak terlalu keras
 menembakkan meriam rentaka pemuras
 pasang pun tidak berapa deras
 tampaklah jalan terang laras

435 lima buah sangat termasuk
 ada yang tidak ada yang pesuk
 setengah mereka dadanya pesuk
 tidak tahan sampai esok

436 yang masuk banyak yang undur
 dimakan peluru sebagai kendur
 setengah mereka lakunya badur
 seperti orang terkejut tidur

433b cebur-mencebur: L1 c-b-r(a)-m-c-b-r L2 c-b-r-m-n-c-b-r
 J s-m-b-r-m-ng-m-b-r

433c penabur: L2 seperti penabur

434d terang laras: L1 t-r(a)-ng-a-la-h-r(a)-s(a)
 L2 t-r-a-ng-l-h-r-a-s

J t-r-ng-l-h-r-a-s ?= teranglah rasa

435d tahan: L2 tertahan

sampai: L2 sampainya

436b kendur: L1 k-n-d-r(a) L2 k-n-d-r-a J k-n-d-w-r

436c badur: = badur L2 

437 segala yang kecil banyak yang segan
tinggal segala yang pagan-pagan
penjajap dipenting panglima dayakan
kepada berperang tidakkan segan

438 demi dilihat Tengku Perang
akan hal sekalian orang
maralah pula memulihkan perang
serta dengan Panglima Perang

439 tinggal segala yang pilihan
mengiringkan duli yang dipertuan
segala hulubalang yang pahlawan
laksana singa mencari lawan

440 bunyi sorak gegak gempita
saburnya tidak menderita
segala pegawai duli mahkota
lakunya bagai gajah yang meta

437a kecil: L1 k-j-y-k L2 k-c-k J k-c-y-l

437c dayakan: L1, L2, J d-y-k-n

438b orang: J a-w-r-ng-2

438c maralah: L1 m-r(a)-h-la L2 m-r-a-h-la J m-a-r-a-l-h

440a bunyi: L2 bunyinya

440b saburnya: L1 s-b-w(a)-r-ng L2 s-w-r-a-ng

J s-w-r-a-ny = suaranya

menderita: L2 m-n-d-w-r-y-t

441 Panglima Besar di Medan Sabar
dengan adinda kapit berbimbar
di dalam peluru cebur-cebur
ia berdiri tidaklah gobar

442 bangsawan sebagai menyuruh mara
merdu paru bahananya sora
adalah hebat segala tentera
pelurunya lebat tidak terkira

443 didengar sabur gempita bahana
bunyi meriam amat gempita
bahana peluru anta permana
serba salah langkah bertahana

441b kapit: L2 kapitan

berbimbar: L1 b-r(a)-b-m-b-r(a)

L2 b-r-a-m-b-r J b-r-b-m-b-r

441c-d omitted in J

441d tidaklah: L1 t-y-d-la-h L2 tiadalah

442a menyuruh: L1 m-ny-w(a)-r(a)-h J m-ny-w-r-a

mara: J omits

442b merdu paru: L1 m-r(a)-d-w(a)-f-a-r-w(a)

L2 m-r-d-w-f-a-r-w J m-r-a-d-f-a-r-w

sora: = sorak

L1 s-w(a)-r L2 s-w-a-r-a = suara J s-w-r-a

442c hebat: L2 h-m-b-t

442d lebat: J l-m-b-t

443b gempita: L1 k-m-f-a-t L2 k-m-f-a-n J k-m-f-a-ny

443c anta permana: L1 a-n-t-f-r(a)-m-a-t

L2 a-n-t-f-r-m-a-n J n-ny-f-r-m-a-n

444 berperang itu sampai petang hari
peluru berdengung kanan kiri
bangsawan pun ada sahaja terdiri
tiada memilih sebarang peri

445 matahari masuk bagai ditolak
bunyi meriam bertambah galak
seperti makanan sudahlah jelak
kedua belahnya jadi menolak

446 malam hari berhentilah perang
kelengkapan undur seberang-menyeberang
kota berjalan ditarik orang
dimakan peluru bersarang-sarang

L1 49

447 dengan daulat duli mahkota
seorang mati orang kita
orang Wolanda kena senjata
lima belas orang khabarnya nyata

444b berdengung: J b-r-d-ng-ng-2

kiri: L2 and J dan kiri

444d tiada: L1 t-y-d L2 t-y-a-d J t-y-d-k

sebarang: L1 s-a-r-ng

445b bunyi: L2 bunyinya

446d bersarang-sarang: J b-r-s-a-r-ng-2

447c kena: L1 k-a-n[or t] L2 k-n-a J k-a-t

senjata: L1 s-j-a-(a)-t L2 s-n-j-a-t J s-j-a-t

- 448 Wolanda kutuk sangatlah jaga
serta malam bunyinya goga
hari siang demikian juga
kapalnya satu kicinya tiga
- 449 serta pasang dihanyutkannya
seberang-menyeberang keenam buahnya
dilihat mata-mata demikian lakunya
diaturnya kelengkapan sekaliannya
- 450 Panglima Besar hatinya gobar
disuruhnya dayung Medan Sabar
dengan perang berbimbar-bimbar
sekalian kapit hadir berkembar
- 451 kedua pihaknya samalah garang
serta bertemu lalu berperang
ramainya bukan sebarang-barang
selaku tidak dapat dilarang
- 452 Wolanda itu kafir yang cerdas
serta pasang berhanyut mudik
sekalian hamba yang didik
menembakkan meriam sekalian dibedik

448b goga: = gogah L1 k-w(a)-k L2 k-w-g J k-a-k-k

448d kapalnya: J kapal

448d satu: L1 s-t-w(a) L2 s-t-f

449c mata-mata: L1, L2, J mata2

450c berbimbar-bimbar: L1 b-r(a)-b-m-r(a)-b-m-b-r(a)
L2 b-r-a-m-b-r-b-a-m-b-r J b-r-b-m-b-r-b-m-b-r

450d hadir: L1 r(a)-h-z[or d(a)]-y-r

452b berhanyut: L1 b-r(a)-h-ny-ny J b-r-h-n-t-y-ny ?= berhentinya

452c didik: J d-b-a-l-k

452d dibedik: J d-b-a-l-k

453 orang Siak adalah duka
melihat kelakuan kafir celaka
di dalam tembak bagai dijangka
berhanyut mudik juga belaka

454 membedil tidak lagi berhingga
bunyi meriam sangatlah goga
tidaklah dapat lagi dijangka
kapal dan kici berhanyut juga

455 kapal dan kici jangan dikata
bunyi meriam gegak gempita
tidaklah sempat memejamkan mata
pelurunya datang melata-lata

L2 53

456 meriam Wolanda berbunyi selalu
pelurunya datang bertalu-talu
kapalnya sebagai berhanyut ke hulu
orang Siak adalah sebalu

L1 50

457 kapal dan kici hanyut berkapar
barang ke hadapnya ia terdampar
meriamnya tidak diberinya lapar
bunyi bahananya terlalu gempar

454b bunyi: L2 bunyinya

goga: L1 k-w-k L2 g-w-k J l-w-k = gogah

455c tidaklah: L1 t-y-d-la L2 and J t-y-d-k-l-h

456d sebalu: L1, L2, J s-b-a-l-w

- 458 sambil berhenti ia berperang
bunyi meriam tidaklah kurang
sungainya sempit arusnya garang
takut terlanggar kepada seorang
- 459 pasang mudik surut berhenti
tiga hari tiga malam demikian pekerti
bunyi meriam tidak berhenti
ke Sungai Pinang sampailah gusti
- 460 masuk sekalian kelengkapan
ke dalam batangan sekalian disimpan
menghadap ke hilir segala kelengkapan
tidaklah hati giap-giapan
- 461 telah beratur sekalian rata
baharulah pula rasa anggota
sekalian kubu bertunggu rata
mustaid dengan alat senjata
- 462 berapa buah kubu ditambahi pula
diperbuat oleh mereka segala
diatur meriam rentaka dan lela
seberang-menyeberang demikian pula

459d gusti: L1 k-sy-t-y L2 g-w-s-t-y J k-sy-t-y

460d giap-giapan: L1 and J k-y-f-a-f-n L2 k-f-2-f-n

461a sekalian: L2 sekaliannya

461b pula: L1 f-w(a)-l-h L2 f-w-l-y-h J f-w-l-h

rasa: L2 rasanya

461d mustaid: L2 mustaidlah

462c dan: J omits

463 segala rakyat yang didarati
dengan kubu sekalian dinarti
tanahnya tinggi bagai di hati
diaturnya meriam dengan pedati

464 suatu rumah dibuatnya
tiga pangkat diperbuatnya
Syahbandar Muin panglimanya
dengan pagar dikelilinginya

L2 54

465 berapa meriam dengan rentaka
pada tiga pangkat diatur belaka
diatur meriam sekalian seleka
tinggi rendah sekalian dijangka

466 setelah lengkap sekalian ditentang
menantikan Wolanda jikalau datang
Syahbandar Muin tidak berpantang
baik pagi baik pun petang

467 sebelah ke hilir sebelah ke kiri
Raja Lela Muda di sana berdiri
orang pesukuan zaman yang bahari
dengan meriam sekalian diberi

464a dibuatnya: L1 d-b-w(a)-t-h-b-ny J d-b-w-a-t-y-ny
L2 d-b-w-a-t-h-m-b-a-ny = dibuat hambanya

466d pagi: L2 f-r-g = pergi

petang: L1 f-n-t-ng L2 d-a-t-ng = datang

467c pesukuan: L1 f-sy-w-k-sy-w-a-n L2 f-s-w-k-w-a-n
J f-sy-w-k-w-w-a-n

468 ialah penghulu Tanah Datar
obat peluru sekalian dihantar
berkembar dengan Raja Lontar
dekatnya sampai orang melontar

469 di kanan hilir Raja Indera Pahlawan
penghulu Lima Puluh orang pesukuan
harapan duli yang dipertuan
laksana burung mati sekawan

J 51

470 di kubu besar segala hulubalang
oleh fakir tidak terbilang
akal pendapat berulang
sekejap timbul sekejap hilang

471 berapa buah gunung api
oleh mereka dilengkapi
minyak dan damar kayu api
hadir mustaid disiapi

472 hampir dua bulan pula berhenti
orang Siak hadir menanti
kapitan gundah di dalam hati
kukuhnya tidak terhemati

468a Tanah Datar: L1 t-a-n-h-d-(a)-t-r-(a)
L2 t-a-n-h-d-t-r-a J t-a-n-h-d-a-w-t-a-r-a

468c berkembar: L2 b-r-kh-b-r = berkhabar

468d melontar: J m-a-l-w-n-t-r

469b penghulu: J f-ng-l-y-m = panglima

470b terbilang: L1 t-r(a)-b-y-l-l-ng

470c pendapat: J f-w-n-d-a-f-t = pun dapat
berulang: L2 b-r-a-w-l-ng-2

471d disiapi: L1  L2 d-a-^h-y-s-y-a-f-y J d-a-y-s-y-a-f-y

472c gundah: L1, L2, J k-n-d

472d kukuhnya: L1 k-w(a)-k-h-ny L2 g-a-g-h-ny J k-w-k-h-ny

473 jikalau sekadar batangan kubu
 tidaklah gundah kepada kalbu
 gunung api jikalau terserbu
 akhirnya kapal menjadi abu

L2 55

474 segala pegawai dikampungkan
 Tengku Busu yang mengeluarkan
 gunung api baik kita hilirkan
 kepada kapalnya kita tempuhkan

475 sembah hulubalang menteri bentara
 itulah yang sebenar-benar bicara
 jikalau kapalnya sudahlah cedera
 lainlah sudahlah kira-kira

476 sembah pegawai sebilang suku
 sebenarnya titah duli tuanku
 kapal dan kici jikalau beku
 ia pun hampir masuk tertunggu

473b gundah: L1, L2, J k-n-d

473c terserbu: L1 t-r-s-b-w(a) L2 t-r-s-b-w J t-r-s-f

474d kepada kapalnya: L1 كفا كفلت L2 كفا كفلان

475a menteri: L1 m-n-t-a-r(a)-y L2 m-n-t-a-r-a-y
 J m-n-t-a-r-y

bentara: L1 b-n-t-a-r(a)-j-a J b-n-t-a-r-a-j

475b sebenar-benar: J sebenar

475c cedera: J c-l-h

475d kira-kira: L2 dengan kira-kira

476a sebilang suku: J s-l-ng-s-w-k-f

476c beku: L1 b-a-k-w(a) L2 b-a-k-w J b-a-k-f

476d tertunggu: L1 t-r-a-ng-k-w(a) L2 t-r-a-ng-k-w
 J t-r-t-ng-k-f = tertangkap

477 setelah putus bicara sekata
gunung api diatur sekalian rata
lalu selamatkan nabi kita
dihanyutkan hilir sekalian rata

478 demi dilihat Wolanda kufur
gunung api hanyut berkapar
kapal dan kici sekaliannya gempar
dengan peluru sekalian dilempar

479 dengan meriam ditembakkannya
kapal dan kici disiahkannya
sungguhpun besar rupa apinya
suatu pun tidak ada gunanya

J 52

480 kapal dan kici sekalian lepas
gunung api habislah tumpas
ditiup angin bagai dikipas
tidaklah sempat membakar kapas

481 tidaklah habis fakir mereka
cerita yang zaman baharu dibuka
dari pada fakir orang jenaka
haraplah ampun jangan murka

477c selamatkan: L2 diselamatkan

478a kufur: L1 k-w(a)-f-r(a) L2 k-w-a-f-r J k-w-f-r

479b disiahkannya: L1 d-s-y-h-a-k-n-ny L2 d-s-h-a-k-n-ny
J d-a-y-s-y-k-n-ny

479c sungguhpun: L1 s-ng-k-f-w(a)-n L2 s-ng-k-f-w-n

479d tidak: J tiada

ada: J a-f

480a lepas: L1 k-f-sy L2 k-f-s J l-f-s

481b jenaka: L1 c-n-a-k

481d haraplah: L1 h-r(a)-b-k-n

482 baginda sultan berkira-kira
dengan kapitan berbicara
baiklah kita melanggar segera
duduk pun hal sangat sengsara

L2 56

483 kapitan kici mendengar bicara
dari pada duduk berbangkit segera
itulah sebenar-benar bicara
baiklah kita melanggar segera

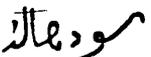
484 apalah sudahlah dengan bagini
sangatlah susah orang kompeni
jikalau tidak ada berani
mengapa mengambil gaji kompeni

485 sepatah seorang ia berkata
bunyi mulutnya sangatlah minta
lalu dijawab duli mahkota
itulah kehendak di dalam cita

486 janganlah susah kapitan garang
manakala kita menyerang
beta melanggar kubu seberang
supaya tentu lebih dan kurang

482b kapitan: L1, L2 k-a-f-y-t-n J k-a-f-t-ny

482c melanggar: L1 m-l-ng-k-r(a) L2 m-l-ng-g-r-a

484a sudahlah: L1  s-w-d-h-a-la-h

L2 s-d-h-h-a-lh

bagini: L1 b-r(a)-k-y-n-y L2 b-r-g-y-n-y J b-k-y-n

485b minta: L1, L2 m-n-t J m-t

486c seberang: L1, J s-b-a-r-ng L2 s-b-a-r-a-ng

486d tentu: J t-a-w

487 setelah putus bicaranya
kapal dan kici disiapinya
kapitan kapal bangkit berangkatnya
menantikan baik ketikanya

488 tidaklah dapat dikenangnya
akan menungkupi untungnya
kenalalah bulan rasi bintangnya
sampai sudah ketikanya

J 53

489 sampailah ketika yang dipuas
naik ke kapal mahkota desa
maralah kapal waktu isya
pasang mengaras maklum deras

490 melanggar tidak bertinggalan
kepada empat belas hari bulan
kapal dan kici jadi sangkalan
ditembak kubu bertimbalan

488a tidaklah: J tiadalah

488b menungkupi: L1, L2, J m-n-w-ng-h-w-f-y

untungnya: L1, L2 a-w-t-ng-ny J a-n-t-w-ng-ny

488c rasi: L1 z-k-'-sy-y L2 r-a-k-s-y J t-r-f-k-s-y

489a dipuas: L1 d-f-w-'-s(a) L2 d-f-a-'-s-a J d-f-w-s-a

489d mengaras: L1 m-ng-r-a-s L2 m-ng-a-r-s J m-ng-r-a-s

maklum: L1 m-l-w(a)-m L2 b-l-w-m = belum J m-l-w-m

deras: L1 b-r-s(a) L2 b-r-a-s J d-r-a-s

490a bertinggalan: L1 b-r(a)-t-ng-k-la-l-n

L2 b-r-t-ng-g-l-l-n J b-r-t-ng-k-a-l-n

491 mula-mula memecah perang
orang pesukuan seberang-menyeberang
lakunya tidak dapat dilarang
berananya bukan sebarang-barang

L2 57

492 sekalian kubu dibedilkannya
tidaklah senang bunyi meriamnya
barang yang mati sekalian orangnya
ke dalam air dicampakkannya

493 kapitan kapal bangkit berangnya
tidaklah sedar mati hilangnya
kepada batangan disekatkannya
tali batangan disuruh potongnya

494 segala kubu yang menanti
meriamnya berbunyi tidak berhenti
menjadi heran kepada hati
selaku tidak tahukan mati

495 berani Wolanda jangan dikata
kapal dan kici menembak semata
bunyi sorak gegak gempita
meriam dan pemuras berbunyi sekata

492c orangnya: J orang

493c batangan disekatkannya: J banyaknya disakitkannya

494b tidak: L1 t-y-d L2 t-y-a-d J t-y-d-k

495d dan: J omits

pemuras: L1  L2 b-r-a-s J 

berbunyi: L2 bunyi

496 tidak diangka sampai ke batangan
orang Siak bercengangan
tidak disangka di angan-angan
dia akan sampai ke batangan

L1 54

497 sampai ke batangan sekalian rata
kapal dan kici dengan perkata
bunyi meriam gegak gempita
tiada kedengaran orang berkata

J 54

498 demi dilihat orang kita
akan kelakuan kafir yang dusta
maralah kelengkapan sekalian rata
bunyi sorak gegak gempita

499 di dalam batangan sekalian beratur
bunyi meriam seperti guntur
tulang dan sendi sekalian getar
dekat kedengaran orang bertutur

500 berperang itu berdekat-dekat
tali batangan hanya menyekat
kiri dan kanan meriam memukat
sungai Siak bagai terangkat

496a diangka: L1 d(a)-c-k-a L2 d-a-ng-k-a J omits

496b bercengangan: J b-r-c-c-a-ng-n

496c disangka: L1 d-s-y-ng-k

497d tiada: L1 t-y-d L2 t-y-a-d J t-y-d-k

498a orang: L2 orangnya

498c maralah: L1 m-a-r(a)-h-la-h L2 m-a-r-h-l-h

499c getar: L1 k-a-t-r(a) L2 k-a-t-r J k-t-r

499d bertutur: L1 b-r(a)-t-w-t-r(a) L2 b-r-t-w-t-r

J b-r-a-t-w-r

500c dan: L1 omits

500d bagai: J bagaikan

- 501 kapitan tidak berhati walang
sekalian tidak membilang-bilang
dari pada nasib dirundung malang
niat tidak bercinta pulang
- 502 meriam yang besar berapa puluh
duduk di kubu sungai dan paluh
apinya terang seperti suluh
biarlah kapal hancur luluh
- 503 meriam penjajap sangat menggarang
bersambutan pula seberang-menyeberang
pelurunya kapal berseberang
yang setengah memakan orang
- 504 segala kubu orang pesukuan
tidak dibilang orang melawan
tidak tentu kawan dan lawan
seperti orang kemalu-maluan
- 505 setelah kapal mudik ke hulu
kapal dan kici berganti dahulu
orang Siak adalah sebalu
bagai diiris dengan sembilu

501c nasib: L1 n-s-y-f

dirundung: L1 d-w-r-n-d-ng J d-w-r-n-d-ng

502b sungai dan paluh: J hancur luluh

dan: L1 omits

502 c-d omitted in J

503c berseberang: L2 berseberang-seberang

503d orang: L2 sekalian orang

504b tidak: J yang setengah tidak

dibilang: L2 terbilang

505c sebalu: L1 s-y-a-l-w(a) L1 and J s-b-a-l-w

506 tidaklah boleh sahaya katakan
kehendak Allah sahaya sukarkan
di mana boleh kita cintakan
janji dahulu ditepatkan

507 sudahlah takdir tuhan alaihi
tidaklah dapat kita salah
hilanglah asyik dengan berahi
laksana bau-bauan dalam serahi

J 55

508 tamatlah sudah perang Siak disuratkan
perkataan tidak dipanjangkan
cerita itu sahaya katakan
tidaklah lagi terperikan

509 perkataan banyak bukan suatu
gundahnya hati tidak bertentu
remuk redam hati pun mutu
laksana kaca jatuh ke batu

510 tinggallah adik tinggallah kakak
tinggallah dengan sendi layak
kita ini jangan dikenang juga
jikalau untung bertemu juga

506b sukarkan: L1 s-w(a)-k-r-(a)-k-n L2 s-f-g-r-k-n
J s-w-k-r-k-n

506d janji: L1 j-n-j-y(a) L2 j-n-j-y-n
ditepatkan: L1 d-y(a)-t-a-f-t-a-k-n
L2 d-t-f-t-k-n J d-y-t-a-f-t-a-k-n

507a alaihi: L1 a-la-h-y L2 a-la-a-h-y J a-z-l-y

507d dalam: L2 di dalam

508c sahaya katakan: J s-h-j-a-a-k-n-2

510b sendi layak: L1 s-n-d-(a)-y-l-y-k L2 s-n-d-y-l-y-k
J s-n-d-y-l-y-k

- 511 tinggallah kakak adik saudara
 tinggal tidak lagi terbawa
 jikalau ada hayat dan jiwa
 mudah-mudahan bertemu juga
- 512 dari pada hati sangat gelorat
 ada yang ringan ada yang berat
 laksana perahu yang amat sarat
 datang memukul angin barat
- 513 duduk berpikir pagi dan petang
 memohonkan rahmat tangan telentang
 berkat datuk Bukit Siguntang
 janganlah apa aral melintang
- 514 sampailah ia ke Pelalawan
 bimbanglah hati tidak ketahuan
 terkenang kepada encik dan tuan
 laksana dimabuk makan cendawan
- 515 di situ tidak berapa lama
 empat hari akan kelima
 jikalau tidak suatu kerama
 memohonkan rahmat segala ulama

511b tinggal: L2 tinggallah

511c hayat: L1 and L2 h-a-y-t J h-y-a-t

511d juga: L1 j-w(a) L2 j-w-a J j-w-k

512a gelorat: = gelora

513d aral melintang: L2 'r-d-m-r-n-t-ng

514a Pelalawan: L1 f-w(a)-l-w(a)-la-h-w(a)-n
 L2 and J f-w-l-w-la-w-a-n

514c terkenang: L2 terkenanglah

516 turun ke perahu air pun timpas
diambil kajang lalu dipapas
dibongkar sauh dayung dikipas
baginda berlayar menarik nafas

517 kajap berdayung sangat lajunya
Tanggung Marapusan ditujunya
tinggallah sahabat sekaliannya
badan dibawa untung nasibnya

J 56

518 kakap berdayung ke Mempura
gempar mereka segala tentera
turun bertiup angin utara
tinggallah sekalian sanak saudara

L2 60

519 selama duduk di tanah seberang
sakitnya bukan sebarang-barang
laksana perahu di atas karang
kawan yang rapat menjadi jarang

520 selama ditinggalkan ayahanda dan bonda
menaruh masyghul di dalam dada
resak belah bagai digoda
bercerailah dengan adinda dan kakanda

516a timpas: J t-m-f-t = tempat

516b diambil: L2 diambilnya

dipapas: J d-f-a-f-t

516c sauh: L1 s-w(a)

517b Marapusan: L1 m-a-r-(a)-f-w-s-n L2 and J m-a-r-a-f-w-s-n

517c tinggallah: L2 tinggal

518a ke Mempura: L1 k-m-f-w-r-r-(a) L2 b-r-k-m-f-w-r-a

J k-m-f-w-r-r-a

519b sakitnya: L2 s-a-k-y-ny J s-k-y-n-ny

520c resak: L1 r-sy-k L2 and J s-s-k

belah: L1 b-a-l-b(a)

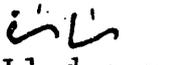
- 521 perang Siak tamatlah sudah
hati di dalam sangatlah gundah
hari asar matahari rendah
duduklah wazir tunduk tengadah
- 522 suratan tidak berketahuan
hatiku gundah bercampur rawan
siang dan malam igau-igauan
laksana budak ditempuh sawan
- 523 kepada badan tidak bertuah
umpama jantung tidak berbuah
terkenangkan untung hilang arwah
sungguhpun miskin biasa mewah
- 524 duduk tafakkur berdiam diri
hatiku gundah tidak terperi
dipohonkan kepada khalikulbahri
mudah-mudahan rahmat diberi
- 525 hari sabtu sudahlah surat
disambilkan juga di dalam gelorat
umpama perahu yang amat sarat
takut dipukul gelombang barat

521b hati: J hatinya

522a suratan: L1 s-w-r-t-t-n L2 surat pun J s-w-r-a-t-n

522b hatiku: J hatinya

523b jantung: L1 j-t-w(a)-n L2 j-n-t-w-a-n J j-n-t-w-ng

525a-c surat: L1 
sarat: L1 

525b disambilkan: L1 d-s-m-b-y-k-n

J d-s-m-b-w-ng-y-k-n = disembunyikan

gelorat: = gelora

526 hai segala arif bermata
janganlah apa wazir dikata
khatam buruk kertasnya lata
menyuratnya tiada dengan pelita

J 57

527 sudahlah dengan takdir Allah
tiadalah dapat lagi disalah
di lohulmahful suratan terjumlah
barang yang datang disyukurkanlah

528 Allah Allah malikulrahman
kurnia ini apa hambamu iman
dunia ini sudah matikan zaman
banyaklah makhluk tidak siuman

Inilah perhubungan kalam berkata-kata

[L2 only]

526c khatam: L1 h-t-n L2 and J h-t-n-ny

526d menyuratnya: L2 menyurat itu

tiada: L1 t-y-d L2 t-y-a-d J t-y-d-k

dengan: L1 d L2 d-ng-n J omits

527b ^atidalah: L1 t-y-h-d-la-h

527d disukurkanlah: L1 d-sy-w-k-r(a)-k-n-la-h

L2 d-sy-k-w-r-k-n-l-h

J d-s-w-k-r-k-n-l-h ?= disukarkanlah

528b kurnia ini: L1 k-r(a)-n-y-a-n-y L2 k-w-r-n-y-a-n-y

apa: J apalah

528c sudah: J sudahlah

matikan: L1 m-a-n-y-k-n(a) L2 meninggalkan

J m-a-t-y-k-n

zaman: J omits

529 bismillah itu permulaan kalam
dengan nama Allah khalikulalam
berkat Muhammad sayid al-anam
memberi rahmat siang dan malam

530 alhamdulillah mula dipuji
kemudian selawat akan nabi
dipohonkan juga nama yang keji
kepada Allah tempat kembali

531 dengarkan tuan suatu rencana
dikarangkan oleh wazir yang hina
aturnya janggal banyak tak kena
dari pada hati bimbang-gulana

532 tanggal pergi ke Pelalawan
bimbangya hati tiada ketahuan
terkenangkan aib yang dipertuan
rasanya dimabuk makan cendawan

533 bimbang gulana tidak terperi
selama wazir meninggalkan negeri
duduk berbicara sehari-hari
nasi dimakan serasa duri

529a permulaan: L1 permula
kalam: J omits

529c ala nama: L1 la-a-n-m L2 a-la-n-m J a-la-n-a-m

531a tuan: J omits

531c aturnya: J suratnya

tak kena: L1 t-k-n

532a tanggal: L1 and L2 t-ng-k-l J t-t-k-l = tatkala

532b tiada: L1 t-y-d L2 t-y-a-d J t-y-dk

532d dimabuk: J d-m-a-s-k = dimasuk

533c sehari-hari: J sehari

533d nasi: L1 n-a-s-y(a) L2 n-a-s-y-k J n-a-s-y

534 ke sana ke sini tiada berjalan
 duduk sehari seperti sebulan

535 itulah tanggungan wazir yang pokta
 siang dan malam duduk bercinta
 sebab memikirkan duli mahkota
 sedikit tiada diberi lata

536	ada kepada suatu hari	L1 58
	bertitahlah duli mahkota negeri	L2 62
	memanggil segala hulubalang menteri	J 58
	baginda bertitah berperiperi	

537 baginda bertitah merdu suara
 kepada hulubalang menteri wazira
 baiklah segera buka bicara
 sementara belum datang cedera

538 berdatang sembah segala menteri
 ampun tuanku duli bestari
 jikalau tuanku suatu peri
 patik tidak pulang ke negeri

535a wazir: L1 w-z

pokta: L f-w(a)-t L2 f-w-'-t J f-w-t

535d diberi: L1 d-y-d-b-a-r-y

538d tidak: J tiadalah

539 berdatang sembah Maharaja Seri Asmara
 itulah tuah kepala bicara
 jikalau sudah kedatangan cedera
 sembahnya tidak berantara

540 di dalam berempat patik yang tua
 berdatang sembah akan kecewa
 wazir bertuan tiadalah dua
 ke bawah duli persembahkan nyawa

541 orang kaya Seri Indera Muda
 penghulu Lima Puluh dijadikan baginda
 bercakap sedikit menampar dada
 itu yang perkenan kepada baginda

542 ia pun asal hulubalang
 cakapnya besar bukan kepalang
 jikalau tuanku kedatangan malang
 tidaklah patik bercinta pulang

539b tuah: L1 and L2 t-w-h J tuanku

kepala: L1 and J k-f-la L2 k-f-d

540a berempat: J empat

541b Lima Puluh: L1 l-m-a-f-w(a)-l-h

L2 la-m-f-w-l-k = lama pula

J l-m-a-f-w-l = lama pula

541c menampar: L1 m-n-a-f-r(a) L2 m-n-m-f-r

J m-n-a-f-k = menepuk

541d perkenan: J berkenan

542b besar: J b-n-d-r

542d bercinta: L1 b-r(a)-c-y-t L2 b-r-c-n-t J b-r-a-j-y-n

- 543 orang kaya Maharaja Tua Wangsa
bercakap besar tidak kuasa
niatnya itu berbuat jasa
ke bawah duli raja kuasa
- 544 orang kaya Paduka Seri Dewa
berdatang sembah tidaklah dua
jikalau tuanku beroleh kecewa
patiklah dahulu persembahkan jiwa
- 545 ia suatu orang muda L2 63
sembahnya itu banyak berbeda
jikalau tuanku porak-peranda J 60
samalah patik mana yang ada
- 546 berdatang sembah Syahbandar Bukit Batu L1 59
setianya teguh bangsanya tentu
laksana emas sepuluh mutu
sudah diuji kepada batu
- 547 mendengar sembah wazir belaka
baginda sultan sangatlah suka
berseri-seri warnanya muka
tidak menaruh was dan sangka

- 543a Maharaja Tua Wangsa: L1 m-h-r(a)-j-t-w(a)-w(a)-ng-sy
L2 m-h-r-a-j-t-a-f-f-r-ng-s
- 543c berbuat: L1 b-r(a)-b-w(a)-h
- 544b dua: L1 d-w(a)-h-a
- 544d jiwa: J nyawa
- 545a muda: L2 muda-muda
- 545b berbeda: J berbeda
- 547c warnanya: L1 h-w-r-n-ny
- 547d was: L2 a-w-s

- 548 lalu bertitah duli baginda
 kepada wazir mana yang ada
 kita ini sama muda-muda
 pekerjaan jangan dia berbeda
- 549 berdatang sembah wazir yang pokta
 ke bawah duli seri mahkota
 janganlah tuanku sangat bercinta
 tidakkan beroleh nama yang lata
- 550 nama yang lata dipohonkan sekali
 kepada Allah tuhan azali
 berkat keramat segala wali
 suatu pun jangan mengali-ali
- 551 wazir pun segera bermohon pulang
 di dalam hati sangatlah walang
 mencari pikiran tidak berselang
 letihnya badan bukan kepalang
- 552 sampai kepada tujuh hari
 pikiran dapat sudah dicari
 jikalau bagini laku dan peri
 baiklah baginda dicarikan isteri

548d dia: L1 d-y(a) L2 d-b-r-y J d

549d beroleh: L2 b-w-l-h

550b Allah tuhan: J tuhan Allah

azali: L2 and J yang azali

550c berkat: L1 b-r(a)-k-y-t ?= berkita L2 and J b-r-k-t

550d mengali-ali: J mengali

551b hati: J hatinya

551c pikiran: J pikir

552c bagini: J b-k-y-ny

- 553 telah kepada esok hari
datang menghadap segala menteri
berdatang sembah berperi-peri
baiklah tuanku duduk beristeri
- 554 jikalau tidak perintah bagitu L2 64
baik dan jahat belakan tentu
umpama emas sepuluh mutu
boleh diuji kepada batu
- 555 mendengar sembah menteri penggawa J 60
baginda tersenyum lalu tertawa
ada laksana hikayat Jawa
Panjinya seorang kalahnya tiga dewa
- 556 itu pun tidak apakan salah L1 60
sudah takdir dari pada Allah
segar tempat menghentikan lelah
kemudian pula kita berilah
- 557 jikalau kepada hati sendiri
belumah mahu kita beristeri
apatah akal bicara menteri
diturut juga sebarang peri
- 553a telah: J dan
esok: L2 keesokan
- 554b belakan: L1 (a)-b-y-la-k-n-(a) L2 and J b-y-la-k-n
- 555c ada: J adalah
- 555d Panjinya: L2 k-j-y-ny = kejinya
kalahnya tiga dewa: J kelananya tiga
dewa: L1 and L2 d-w
- 556c segar: L1, L2, J s-k-r
menghentikan: L1 and L2 m-h-n-t-y-k-n
J m-n-n-t-y-k-n = menantikan
- 556d berilah: L1 b-r(a)-y-l-h L2 and J b-r-a-y-l-h ?= berayalah

- 558 akan sembah wazir yang hina
ke bawah duli raja yang ghana
jikalau tidak sebab kerana
tiada putera buat demikian bena
- 559 tidak terbuat demikian ada
kerana terkenang kepada adinda
jikalau datang setan menggoda
pastilah susah duli baginda
- 560 disahut oleh Syahbandar Bukit Batu
yang sebenarnya katanya itu
jikalau beristeri paduka ratu
patik pun kena pula suatu
- 561 patik abdi hamba yang lata
ke bawah duli seri mahkota
jikalau selamat duli bertakhta
biarlah patik beroleh lata
- 562 lalu bertitah seri betara
kita pulangkan segala bicara
janganlah panjang lagi kira-kira
kita hendak dengan segera

558d tiada putera buat: L1 نبدفتربوة
L2 t-y-d-f-t-r-a J t-y-d-k-l-h-t-r-b-w-t

559a terbuat: J d-t-w-r-t = diturut

559b terkenang: L2 terkenangkan

559c setan: L1, L2, J sy-y-t-a-n

559d susah: L1 s-w-sy-h L2 s-y-s-h J s-w-ny

560b sebenarnya: J sebenar

560d pula: L1 f-w-l-w L2 f-w-l-k J f-w-l

563 disahut oleh wazir yang lara
sebenarnya titah seri betara
patik pun tidak banyak bicara
harapkan Allah yang memelihara

564 jikalau berdiri daulat mahkota
masakan patik beroleh lata
dengan berkat segala dewata
dipohonkan juga nama yang lata

J 61

565 setelah sudah putus mesyuarat
mengangkat tangan memberi isyarat
dengan berkat duli hadirat
dilepas Allah dari pada gelorat

566 wazir seorang dititahkan baginda
membawa titah kepada paduka ayahanda
datang pikiran di dalam dada
baiklah satu sandar muda

567 hari pun malam bulan terang
wazir berjalan dua orang
gundahnya bukan sebarang-barang
kawan yang rapat menjadi jarang

564a mahkota: L2 tuanku

565b mengangkat: L1 m-ng-k-t

565d gelorat: J d-r-w-r-t = darurat

566a dititahkan: L1 d-t-y-h-k-n

566c datang: L2 datanglah

566d sandar: L1 s-n-d-r(a) L2 s-n-d-a-r-a ?= sandera
J s-n-d-r

567d jarang: L1 j-a-ng L2 j-a-r-a-ng J j-ng

568 setelah sampai wazir yang bahari
mengangkat khidmat sepuluh jari
berdatang sembah berperi-peri
anakda konon hendak beristeri

569 hendak beristeri terlalu nyata
itulah titah duli mahkota
kepada patik mengeluarkan kata
minta ambil kepada sang nata

570 jikalau mahu duli baginda
ambil coba paduka anakda
kerana dia orang yang muda
hendak meminang banyak berbeda

571 Tengku Besar bertitah merdu suara
sahaya ini tidak banyak bicara
jikalau raja hendak memelihara
tidaklah lagi berantara

568b mengangkat khidmat: L1 m-ng-k-t-k-y-d-m
L2 m-ng-k-t-k-d-m
J m-ng-ng-k-t-k-d-m

569c mengeluarkan: L1 m-ng-l-w-r-w-k-n

569d minta: L1 m-n-y-t-k L2 m-n-t-a' J m-n-t-y-k

570b ambil: L1 a-m-b-y-la-h = ambil
L2 a-m-b-l-l-h = ambillah

570c dia: L1 and L2 d-y

570d berbeda: L1 t-r(a)-b-y-d L2 and J t-r-b-y-d-a

572 itulah niat di dalam cita
hendak bekerja di bawah takhta
jikalau diperhamba seri makhota
tidaklah panjang pemandangan mata

573 ada sedikit sahaya pikiri
kerana baginda banyak isteri
jika datang suatu peri
ke manalah sahaya membawa diri

574 disahut oleh fakir yang bahari
janganlah Tengku berbanyak peri
jikalau datang suatu peri
patik sekalian mengembari

J 62

575 patik pun asal hamba yang tua
rosak binasa pun mahu jua
jikalau tuanku beroleh kecewa
biarlah patik membuang nyawa

572a niat: L1 n-y-t-ny-h

572b di bawah: L1 d-b-a-w L2 d-y-a-w-h

572d panjang: L2 d-f-n-j-ng

pemandangan: L1 f-r(a)-m-n-d-ng-ng-n

L2 f-r-m-n-d-a-ng-n J f-r-m-n-d-ng-n

573a ada: J adalah

pikiri: L1 f-y-k-r-r(a)-y L2 f-y-k-r-r-y

J f-y-k-y-r-y

574d mengembari: L1 m-ng-m-b-r(a)-r-y

III TRANSLATION

"Bagaimanakah aku dapat mengerti, kalau tidak ada yang membimbing aku?"

KISAH PARA RASUL 8:31

The translation is no more than an interpretation of the text. There are many possible interpretations - the one given is that which seems most self-consistent and consistent with other sources, considerations of self-consistency taking precedence.

The purpose of the translation is to make the implicit explicit, and to put the syair into perspective without resorting to numerous and repetitive notes and commentaries, though notes are by no means eliminated.

The one characteristic of the syair which most conceals the intentions of the author may, at the risk of ambiguity, be dubbed the Problem of the Ethiopian Eunuch. (1) The poet does not mention the names of the Sultans and seldom mentions the names of their close and distinguished relatives, but uses honorifics or kinship terms (which may be interpreted specifically or generally), or no word at all. (2) Decisions about the grammatical subject of a sentence are sometimes sheer guesswork.

The problem is compounded by the absence of standard-

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- (1) His problem is in reference to a passage from Isaiah. "Now," said the eunuch to Philip, "tell me please, who it is that the prophet is speaking about here: himself or someone else?" Acts 8:34.
- (2) For a discussion of the use of honorifics for personal names, see Appendix 4.

isation of the forms of words, and word patterns. The requirements of prosody and rhyme in the syair take precedence over conventional morphology and syntax so that even where characters can be identified, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish subject from object.

Wherever possible the translation makes a firm judgement on the identity of the person referred to, and prefers a particular reference to a general kinship term. In doing so, the translation goes beyond the evidence in the interests of presenting a sensible and self-explanatory narrative.

In writing the translation two needs are kept in mind: the need for direct and readable English which can be read independently of the text or scanned rapidly for information; and the need of the reader to be able to identify the particular stanza and line on which judgements and inferences are based. The former need requires that the sense be stressed while the latter requires that the English be divided into stanzas and lines in precisely the same way that the Malay is divided.

These two requirements are, of course, inconsistent. Quite apart from the fact that the pattern of natural English does not follow the pattern of Malay, the requirements of prosody may give a line prominence out of keeping with its importance to the sense of the stanza. As Overbeck⁽³⁾ says, the reader sees "many gaps ... and ... many words for

(3) OVERBECK, H.O. "Malay Animal and Flower Shaers". p.110.

the presence of which in their place he will be unable to find any reason unless he realises that it must be looked for in the compulsion of metre and rhyme".

If a line has no purpose other than to fill a stanza, then translating it at all can only interfere with the sense and flow of the English. However, if the reader is to be able to check the judgements made, against the text and apparatus criticus, the procedure described above, must be followed.

The syair was intended to be read aloud in a particular social context where its significance was known and could be explained. Given the impossibility of discovering the completely correct interpretation, at least in the first instance, the question of whether it is worth attempting at all must be posed. The answer lies in the alternative. What value has the syair if its meaning remains clouded in obscurity without any attempt being made to reveal its secrets? As the Ethiopian complained, "How can I understand unless someone will give me the clue?"

Professor Ismail Hussein⁽⁴⁾ properly insists that textual reconstruction and interpretation should be performed by those who live within the cultural environment of the poet. Yet even this ideal is not enough. The scribe of the MS L2 who performed his task only fourteen years after L1, was often at a loss to identify even those proper

(4) ISMAIL HUSSEIN "The Study of Traditional Malay Literature", pp. 18-19.

names which were given. For this purpose "knowledge of Malay culture ... entirely gleaned from books and publications"⁽⁵⁾ is probably a better qualification than living "right inside the homeland of Malay culture"⁽⁶⁾ if the two are mutually exclusive. And so, the translation is added with misgivings, but without apology.

(5) *ibid.*

(6) *ibid.*, p. 19.

This is a narrative poem from the town of Bengkalis in the state of Siak telling of the time when it was at war with Johor.

- I.
1. "In the name of God" ~~who~~ ~~is~~ ~~but~~ one name
and has been known as one from the very beginning.
His essence and manifestations are a unity
for he is the sum of all his aspects.
 2. 'Praise be to God' has ever been our cry
for our god is the Great God.
By the grace of Muhammad, Lord of the prophets,

Let not their names be taken in vain.
 3. O God forgive me, your servant is repentant.
Be not slow to pardon.
May the Prophet and his companions
let no mischief fall to my hand.
 4. With the blessing of His Majesty, the King,
the tales of old are now expounded,
for, ~~though~~ I did not witness these events -
I only heard the stories.

.....
Here now is a tale of Siak.

- II.A.5. The story is told,
composed by our forebears, [of the time]
before a city was established at Buantan
when the site was nothing but forest and scrub.
6. At that time
the mart of Bengkalis was well established.
Its fineness was unsurpassed
and wondrous to behold.

7. It was the original settlement and people thronged there in unprecedented numbers. It is said to have had no prince but only a chief to rule it.
8. The port was ~~crowded~~ busy with one and two masted ships, jostled by pedlars' boats bartering their wares, to say nothing of the innumerable fishing boats.
9. It was said to be subject to Johor but Bugis princes ruled that country and the Menangkabau people ~~agreed~~ conspired to find their own king.
10. They met in council to seek a consensus and sent messengers to Menangkabau with a letter. Their envoys travelled upriver into the highlands to present their case before the king.
11. They travelled without respite or heed of time of day. Straight to Pagar Ruyung they went, entered and presented themselves before the king.
12. The king was already giving audience surrounded by his symbols of authority and arms. When the letter was presented to him on a tray his manner was reserved.
13. But, after the king had read the letter, he was overcome with emotion and gave orders to summon his officials wherever they might be.
14. When all had assembled they sought agreement on how it should be accomplished, and when that was settled they had only to await a propitious moment.

15. As Raja Kecil set off
at the auspicious time agreed upon,
all the ministers
and the populace escorted him out.
16. It was not long before
he was out of sight
and had passed into the depths of the forest wastes
where doubts drained his spirit.
17. Crossing a succession of mountains and plains,
he suffered from the heat as if he were in a
frying pan.
When deer and cattle, bounding away, caught his eye,
he took the opportunity to rest awhile and watch.
18. The Sultan was amazed
to see the domain of the jungle creatures.
The animals that bounded about
had a great variety of forms.
19. Raja Kecil was not many days on the way
before he arrived
in the country of Bengkalis, that ancient port,
where the people thronged to greet him.
20. When this prince of noble origin took his
place
the whole populace paid homage to him.
By the intervention of the holy places of all the walis,
~~and~~ there was no one who did not try to bring
himself to his notice.
21. When Raja Kecil's government was established,
all sign of despondency vanished.
When gold is absolutely pure
no questions are raised about its quality.

.

- B. 22. The matter was thoroughly canvassed when the King said he wished to invade Johor. All morning long the discussion lasted and the decision was made known.
23. When the discussion reached a consensus, they were like fish brought together within a net, for he used his wits and wisdom like a comb to plan the takeover of Johor.
24. Raja Kecil gave orders to gather all his men with their leaders to repair ^{whatever} ~~any~~ boats they had.
25. Even river boats were pressed into service and a suitable boat was provided with a throne. Guns were mounted on them so the story goes.
26. When all were made ready they awaited a propitious moment and diligently consulted the auspices to see that there was no danger in it at all.
27. With standards aloft making a wondrous sight, they called on the Creator of the Seas to grant them travelling mercies.
28. Raja Kecil drew a long breath and descended to his ship. The awnings were rolled up, the anchor was weighed, and paddles churned the water leaving no opportunity even to cook fish.
29. The vessel was rowed at great speed heading for Perepat Seratus. Prayers were made to the Prophet seeking complete safety for all on board.

30. Gongs and drums sounded as the sails were set and the local people, escorting them out, witnessed Raja Kecil seated in state and holding his sword of office as he was rowed away by an army of sea sprites.
31. They called at Perepat Seratus which pleased all the company, who went ashore in turns - each seeking his own pleasures.
32. When the tide had come flooding in they set sail for Karimun Kecil where the signal was given to prepare a meal for among these wild fighting men there were many who were quite domesticated.
33. They sailed on in the rolling seas with their bows pointed for Selat Sembulan. Waves kept on rolling towards them to entwine them like an ivy creeper.
34. On arrival at Tanah Merah Raja Kecil prayed that, by the grace of Muhammad, our Lord, he should not be sullied by this enterprise.
35. As the sun sank and hovered on the horizon, he prayed with arms outstretched that by the grace of his ancestor on Bukit Si Guntang, nothing should stand in his way.
36. That night they stayed at Tanah Merah and, after ordering a mustering of the company, Raja Kecil submitted himself to the will of Allah that his desires should fall to his hand.

37. When darkness fell
and the stars appeared to twinkle above,
the King lay down to rest but his sleep was broken
for many thoughts came to torment him.
38. With night almost past and the king unable to
sleep
for thinking of his adversary, Raja Muda,
he spoke to those about him in a voice broken with
emotion
as if shattered with an attack of choler.
39. Early the next morning
the call to arms was sounded with a great clamour
but Raja Kecil had few words
and it was the same with his ministers.
40. The King pressed on through that day
but he was no longer despondent so it is said,
for he had received intelligence that the King
of Johor was playing chess
and his people were stalemated.
41. Raja Tengah was absorbed in chess
and, with those around him did not hear
the cannon sounding like thunder
to shake the very bones and joints.
42. Meanwhile, Raja Kecil was entering the river mouth
to the frenzied roar of his cannon.
His swivel guns crackled like rice in a pan
while the gongs and drums added to the din.
43. When the cries of the enemy notified their arrival
the king with his ministers forsook his chess
and did not wait to hear the news.
His parting words were 'Check' and 'Mate'.
44. Under the cover of fast falling night
Raja Muda left the palace and fled into the jungle,
where, in his haste, he blindly groped hither
and thither,
like a fish, drugged for the catch.

45. When the Menangkabau came ashore,
the men of Johor fled far and wide,
leaving all their heavy property;
but it did not measure up to expectations.

46. Where they went is not certain
but, separated from their families
they were sorely crushed in spirit
like glass shattered on a rock.

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C. 47. That part of the story is now complete.
Raja Kecil wished to build a city of his own.
and to that end he sought discussion day by day
to ~~plan~~ ^{plan} it with his ministers.

48. The populace came to pay homage:
"Your pardon, Sire, may your following increase,
and may we be the substance of your increase,
so that whatever you command, it shall be done
as you will."

49. And the people of Bengkalis continued:
"We have little to say.
Whither Your Majesty commands us,
there we will go".

50. [Raja Kecil replied] "You will leave Bengkalis
but do not dwell too much on that.
More of you are unwilling than willing,
but it only means leaving the place where ^{your} boats are moored".

51. Hearing the King's words
all his subjects were discomfited
for it meant leaving their own villages and estates;
and their longings were not dispelled.

52. He instructed them to build a town at Buantan.
They cleared the ground day by day.
There was much timber matted with roots and thorns -
but there is nothing to be gained from too much
detail.

53. The forest was cut down and when it was cleared, he arranged houses on either side of the river. To the present day, Buantan remains a popular centre.
54. The Bengkalis folk filled the new territory along the length of the river and their rights to the land were worked out by Raja Kecil with great detail and precision.
55. The former headman in the region of Buantan and all his fellow villagers cooperated with the King's men and harboured no doubts or resentment.
56. When all the facilities needed for a settlement were prepared and fortifications were erected, the people worked daily to set up cannon to right and left.
57. There was no limit to the number of foreign traders who came with their ships shaped like half watermelons. People thronged to trade their infinite variety of wares.
58. They arrived continuously in unprecedented numbers. Pleasure boats, warships and trading ships, fishing vessels and cargo vessels were there without number.
59. European one and two masted ships, their masts rocking to and fro, and their hulls full-bellied, [were there] together with sailing boats from Malacca. There seemed no limit to their arrivals.

60. At that time, when Buantan was the capital,
the country was so populous
because of the just rule of the Sultan.
Indeed his justice is spoken of down to this very
day.
61. Foreigners came from here and there,
including envoys from the VOC,
to call upon the mighty Sultan,
word of whose fame reaches us today.
62. The business area was crowded beyond measure.
In every street and lane, stalls and shops were
crammed together,
but there was no confusion
for transactions were conducted with equity and
decorum.
63. Paths^{that} led off to right and left
were so crowded that one could not pass.
Pedlars with their balancing poles
packed their entire length.
64. There were so many Tamil and Chinese stalls
that they could not be counted.
Merchants of all nations were there
to trade - the mighty and the humble.
65. Raja Kecil's kingdom at Buantan
was a very beautiful sight.
His rule was just and his measures
never oppressive.
66. Tanah Datar was the fountain head from which
the kingdom
established its great authority,
and Lima Puluh Kota
and Pesisir were happy to acknowledge their
equal status.

67. Amid the hubbub there was one who did not join
the common throng.

He had no peer among them
yet he dressed the same as the other youths.
He ^{it} was who became the King's chief minister.

68. As chief minister he was skilled in practical
affairs
and his knowledge was both profound and wide-
ranging.

He had a large personal following
and he never seemed downcast or depressed.

69. Those who came to Raja Kecil's court were numberless.
There was not a vacant space for days on end.
The court officials themselves
formed an endless array.

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D. 70. That was the story of the origins of our royal line.
Now Raja Kecil had two sons -
both were of the same rank
and were themselves champion fighters for none
other could match them.

71. When the princes became rulers,
they retained the jealousies of their youth,
although the king, their father, was very affectionate
towards both the younger and the older equally.

72. He lit up with joy,
like a sprig of flowers in bloom
when he saw his two sons,
and gloom fell away from him.

73. Moreover his sons gave him grandchildren
so that Raja Kecil was like a mountain with many
peaks.

They were all decked out in clothing
which glowed like an array of lanterns.

74. But it was not long before the brothers' disagreement [spread to matters of state and] brought the country to the brink of ruin, and grief and torment in its train.
75. The brothers did not get on together for each was certain of his own rights. Because authority was not united, no all-embracing decisions could be made.
76. God, the Creator of the Seas, sent it as a sign of trouble ahead for the people. All the captains and ministers were deeply anxious.
77. Stockades were constructed on each side, for the people had divided into two camps, and by the will of Allah, they gave no heed to right and wrong.
78. Many became anxious when one brother established himself downstream and the other upstream; and, indeed, many were to suffer grievously, for both sides knew the ignominy of defeat.
79. It was civil war. The court officials were disturbed and startled to see that the hostilities broke into their own ranks.
80. Even the four Clan Chiefs were not united. Their will to carry on fell away and they sorrowed and were crushed to pieces with uncertainty as glass when it falls on stone.
81. That is the story as it is told. They were unable to come to an agreement and war developed. In the course of it they attacked each other. Sometimes one would gain an advantage and sometimes suffer a setback.

82. When the king learned of this he became angry,
his face reddened
and he said, "How can this be? I never suspected
that I was so cursed."
83. The king gave instructions
to summon his sons
and the message was taken by the ministers in a body:
"My Lords, your father, the King, commands your
presence."
84. When his sons came,
both Mahmud and Alam,
the King spoke to Alam:
"Over what do you quarrel with Mahmud?"
85. "Within our borders let there be no fighting
for no man may resist your wishes.
Do not reckon the pain of disgrace,
for one of you must go."
86. The princes bowed in submission. They said nothing,
but sat, bathed in tears,
for it is our human lot
to suffer sorrows.
87. Alam made obeisance and sought leave to depart.
Raja Kecil gazed at him steadfastly and unrelenting,
and said, "By all that is sacred to us,
do nothing to attract sympathetic attention to
yourself."
88. So goes the story -
Mahmud and Alam were heart-broken
to hear the solution which the King
proposed for settling the matter.
.
- E. 89. So goes the story as I tell it
seeking to understand it by writing it down
~~though he was~~ like a ship charred by fire
with its timbers and fittings useless.

90. One day
Alam gave orders
to summon all his captains and officials
that their loyalty may be determined.
91. When all were present,
to deliberate and clarify matters,
whoever was willing to join him
confirmed his willingness before Raja Alam.
92. "My people,
I wish to leave quickly.
Let there be no more discussion.
Prepare the boats straightaway."
93. All the boats were made ~~quite~~ ready
and they only awaited a propitious moment,
for, once the will of God the Eternal One has
been made clear,
there remains no value at all in further consideration.
94. They considered no longer.
Alam was going for a long time.
They put aside their meditation and discussion,
for it is better to die than bear such shame.
95. ^{When} Alam decided to leave at that time
he conferred with his officials,
because authority was fragmented
and this had caused difficulties with his brother.
96. It broke his spirits
to leave his father.
His pride had caused their difference
and separated him from his younger brother.
97. When it was time to leave,
Alam began his journey in a fit of melancholy.
"Stay in peace my brothers," he said.
"Let us not dwell on our memories of the past."

98. It was Monday
at eight o'clock - the chosen moment -
when Raja Alam set out
accompanied by a good part of the inhabitants
of the country.
99. The tide had turned and was ebbing out.
The prince drew a deep breath and set out,
down to the boats where they rolled up the awnings,
weighed anchor and rowed off strongly.
100. As the boats were swiftly rowed away,
they asked the Prophet's blessing,
and prayed for God's mercy
that no dangers should await them.
101. He made a point to call at his own settlement
to solace his downcast spirit.
All his folk came down to see him
bearing gifts of sugar cane and jackfruit.
102. They came, both young and old,
to present themselves before the prince,
and all who came brought and offered their produce
and each one was greeted by him.
103. He greeted them kindly:
"Stay in peace all of you.
Farewell by brothers,
let your lives be founded on ease and comfort.
104. "Farewell my children, farewell my dears.
Live quietly and do not allow yourselves to be
carried away [by over-enthusiasm].
Take care my comrades,
and may we meet again.
105. "Oh my brothers,
do not think about us,
for, when gold has turned to common brass,
it loses its appeal and value.

106. "May my brother, Mahmud, not fail to deal with you
fairly,
for I go now, and shall not return for a long time.
By the intervention of the holy saints
may you receive the divine aid of the eternal God.

107. "Spare a thought for the separated destiny
of this poor orphaned son
crushed and full of sorrow
like glass fallen on stone.

108. "Remember me living alone.
My sorrows are no ordinary ones
for, when one lives in a foreign land;
one has little and lacks much."

109. So ends the narrative,
which I, a humble scholar, have written.
The rhymes are jarring and inharmonious
because I was worried and sad to tell of it.

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III.A. 110. Now comes the story of the prince who remained
though I fear its rhymes, too, are faulty.
My tale may appear as a peacock displaying itself,
but whatever I do is accompanied by submission to the will of the Almighty.

111. Raja Mahmud sat, lost in thought, each day
with all his captains and ministers.
His brother, Alam, had left the country
and his sorrow at the loss was beyond description.

112. He was very depressed
for he tried to establish a harmonious dialogue.
but his brother had ~~already~~ gone to roam in exile
and there was no use dwelling on it.

113. But before any progress could be made,
their father, Raja Kecil, died,
and there could now be no reconciliation with
his brother -
the protracted discussions were cut short.

114. Mahmud could no longer think clearly.
 The quick intelligence that had stood by him
 throughout his life now failed him.
 He was like a metal plate eroded away
 and no longer useful for printing or engraving.
115. Then gathered the people of the country
 led by all the community leaders.
 They worked day by day
 until they had prepared fitting dignities for the
 King's enthronement.
116. When the preparations were made
 Mahmud went out of his mind and became melancholic.
 Such was his pining
 that nothing would rekindle his spirits.
117. From that time on he was a changed man
 and he ~~alone~~ bore the strain of sadness in his
 heart.
 While his father and mother lived
 he had not felt like this.
118. In addition, the storyteller
 says that day and night in the vehemence of his
 emotion,
 he asked that, from his infinite power,
 God would grant him his wishes.
119. Mahmud was installed
 in succession to his late father
 and in the presence of all the military and
 civil officials
 and the warriors and pages.
120. When Mahmud had been installed
 to succeed Raja Kecil,
 the civil and religious leaders
 all gathered to acknowledge him.

121. All who came sought God's mercy upon him and prayed for his safety asking for the ^{intercession} ~~name~~ of the prophet Muhammad that he may taste the pleasures of this world and the next.

122. When the ceremonies were complete, the court returned home, to their posts in the palace and their several appointed duties.

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B. 123. One day Mahmud gave orders to assemble the people and the captains and ministers.

124. When all had gathered, the King said: "How shall we proceed, let us confer together."

125. They sought a solution by discussion for the memories of troubles with Alam were still fresh.

Sultan Mahmud Syah said: "We shall go to Mempura."

126. History does not record in detail the story of Mahmud establishing his settlement, but Siak Sri Inderapura became a town the equal of which it is difficult to find, even to the present day.

127. The rule of Mahmud at Siak Sri Inderapura was absolute and unchallenged and, when word of his success was noised abroad, Malacca felt the need to reappraise it.

128. As was decreed by God himself, and His will man cannot gainsay, the Dutch lost their previously affectionate and conciliatory methods and sought cause for a quarrel.

129. If only he had considered awhile
and given room in his aggrieved heart for pity.
Oh my God, how could he know
what accursed fate lay in store.
130. While talk waxed and waned
there was no cessation of hostilities.
The reign of Mahmud
was a turbulent time in Siak Sri Inderapura.
131. The fondly remembered compliments were now cut
off in the past;
for now there was no time even to grill a fish.
Not one sailor was spared
and any cannon or wealth was commandeered for
the fray.
132. It was the intention of God's appointed ruler
to wage a holy war,
for, it is said, the true followers of the Prophet
cannot, within limits, be in error.
133. As decreed by the One God,
whose power and will are irresistible,
the opportunity never eventuated
for the realm of Mahmud.
134. For as long as Mahmud nursed his grief
he swayed listlessly and moaned continually
as a crow on the topmost bough
is buffeted by every whim of the Lord of the Winds.
135. He suffered from many complaints:
his throat was inflamed and he coughed
as if his chest would be rent asunder,
but he was unable to speak a sound.
136. Days turned to months.
The royal household was very solicitous
for, although the king could walk,
he could not swallow his food.

137. His coughing fits gave him no respite
and, though many sorcerers and attendants cared
for him
and prepared medicines for him,
he remained very pale.
138. By collapsing, rising again, sitting down and
walking about
he passed the next ten months
until his appointed hour was nigh -
a sign for the folk of the country to put aside
their own pleasures.
139. He gazed upon his sons with a pity
which plumbed the depths of his heart.
As he looked from one to the other he brightened
visibly
and all blemishes were seen to vanish from his
countenance.
140. However his children kept up their anxious watch
for, far from improving, his condition worsened.
All the officials met
to arrange for the gathering of doctors, both
local and foreign.
141. They went upstream and downstream
to bring all the physicians they could.
But all who came stood with mouths agape
and none dared offer an opinion.
142. Sighing and restless, Mahmud lay on his couch,
falling to left and right in turns.
Among those who saw the king so ill
there was no one who could keep from weeping.
143. The palace folk were in turmoil
to see the King's condition become more serious
as a heavily loaded ship
fears the westerly squall.
144. To ease his pain
they ordered the doctors to administer drugs.
The princes were heartbroken
to see that his expression showed no response.

153. Mahmud enjoined his children:
 "Perform your prayers , both obligatory and optional.
 Be concerned with the welfare of all your people.
 Guard your name against the charge of treachery.
154. "Never be guilty of treason
 for God and his Prophet will never condone it;
 but pursue the just war
 and follow in all things the example of the Caliph
 Ali.
155. "Seek God's mercy
 that you fall not into sin.
 Rule the people justly according to God's law
 and strive to implement the Prophet's injunctions
 amongst them."
156. The king spoke to his sons:
 "Cultivate a proper courtly manner,
 try to get on with each other
 and do not be too particular in your dealings with each other.
157. "I am alone
 because I fought with my brother.
 I forbid you
 to take upon yourselves the pain for such disgrace."
158. Hearing the words of the King, a thousand royal
 servants
 were crushed in spirit;
 "My Lords, Good Sirs, Fellow Warriors, the time
 has come,
 but there is no need for you to be at all concerned."
159. Hearing the king's latest words,
 the princes, on hearing them, fell away in a faint
 and the whole royal household sobbed convulsively
 till it seemed there would be no end to it.
160. Consumed with pity, the princes
 continued to seek a cure,
 and called up the state spirit
 with the aid of the court musicians and the
 pawang, Malim Para.

161. At a given sign
the courtiers and escort
placed Mahmud upon the dais
and all the musicians beat their timbrels.
162. All sat in order
and beat their timbrels like thunder.
The king sat silent, not uttering a word
but musing as if lost in a game of chess.
163. The cries spread
as first the Sultan's taper flared up
and then those of the household -
now here, now there.
164. The princes gazed with pity
at his listless and drunken manner
as they watched their father, Sultan Mahmud Syah
step back to his throne in a delirious state.
165. When he had regained his senses, the royal attendants
took manykinds of food
and placed them before him
in case he felt ~~would like some.~~
~~him, whatever his fancy.~~
166. They overlooked no chance
to beseech God's mercy
for the sake of their saintly king
that he may be saved if at all possible.
167. The King's illness worsened
and his condition was watched with great anxiety.
Whatever he wanted, he indicated with signs,
for he had lost the power of speech.
168. With a sign, the King
beckoned his womenfolk to him.
The ladies rose and approached him.
and sat in proper order on either side of him.

169. He turned to look right and left
and tears trickled down his cheeks.
In its burial niche, a corpse making to shift
its position
would perhaps move with as much difficulty.
170. Seeing them as if sketched for him,
the King wiped the tears from his eyes.
He deeply regretted having to leave this world
yet he sought God's pardon for his presumption.
171. It is said that His Majesty, the King,
on the sixth day of the eleventh month,
being a Monday,
was called to the presence of the Creator.
172. By God's will
he was gathered up by Izrail.
As with all the followers of God's Prophet,
his final words were the sacred formula: "There
is no God but Allah".
173. When he had spoken, he struggled to rise;
the word of God has no equivalent.
The royal princes ran towards him
as, supported by his servants, their father arose.
174. From within his chamber the king heard them
and lifted his hand from his breast,
but Tengku Busu forbade them to approach:
"Let your father prepare for his journey."
.
- C. 175. When the King died
the sorrow of the country created an uproar.
The confusion was unendurable;
the forecourt became a sea of weapons.
176. The din was indescribably awe-inspiring
as mourners choked the pathways on all sides.
The thunderous cry of the people was:
"Lord, where may your servants seek another like you?"

177. "Alas, O hapless king,
 say farewell to Inderapura
 and your captains and ministers,
 your subjects and fighting men.
178. "O my Lord,
 you are a lustrous jewel setting off a necklace.
 Your face is a picked bud
 cool as the fallen dew.
179. "My Lord, born of a line of kings,
 descended from the caliphate,
 most generous giver of alms, master of esoteric knowledge
 and certainly now in His care.
180. "You have now attained your heavenly crown
 and sit enthroned with your ancestors.
 But we have no words to express
 the void your passing leaves.
181. "We can find no more words to describe you
 for you are like a jewel in the crown of your
 country.
 The trailers of blossoms falling from your
 coffin are a sign
 that you have gone where we cannot seek you.
182. "We know that your spirit has been carried off
 for the very light of the sun is darkened.
 It is as though all the fragrant waters stored
 in their bottles,
 though still present, have lost their scents.
183. "As the bud reaches its fullness, it begins to
 wither and die
 while the bee shrills its constant song.
 The light of this jewel of the Malays is extinguished
 carried off by a giant bird.
184. "The thunder rumbles gently in the distance
 as a rainbow rises over the horizon.
 The light of our king is overwhelmed in gloom,
 we are overwhelmed with sorrow.

185. "Our noble lord and sovereign is
of the lineage of Iskandar and the heroes of
past eras -
though let it not be supposed
that he vanished from his bier.
186. "His devoted servants honour him the more in
recollection -
his hair curled like blossoms unfurling;
his expression glowing
like the gentle ripples on a placid pond.
187. "His brow glowed a bright red
with beads like buds swelling to open.
The beauty of his countenance was all harmonious
as is the lotus floating on a pool sweetened
with nectar.
188. "His incomparable beauty was such
as Javanese artists depict on their heroes.
We his many subjects who wait upon him
have lost all hope at his departure."
189. What could they do but sit and mourn
though their lord himself no longer suffered.
The fate of all of us is decided and we are
condemned
to exist in a stupor, bathed in our own tears.
190. "My Lord, without peer,
is no sooner wilted than is snatched away by
Betara Indera.
The light of this bright gem of the armed forces
is extinguished;
the glory of Mempura passes.
191. "Are we not servants of God.
and were we not enjoined by our king
not to be thought unwilling,
as humble servants, to bear his wrath?"

192. "We bore his wrath however capricious -
we simple folk who wait in wonder.
Now, to confront his court,
our king will never again be present.
193. "Our king will not return
but leaves behind all his sons
to mourn for their royal father -
their voices broken by sobs."
194. The sound of their mourning was a confused din
as though their very hearts were crushed within them,
and their tears were sprinkled about
like seeds scattered and falling to the ground.
195. The womenfolk too mourned:
"Why do you treat us so harshly?
To whom may we entrust the care of your sons
who have not yet reached an age when they can
act for themselves.
196. "Though God's will may not be denied,
these princes have not yet reached intellectual
maturity.
With whom may they live?
Where may they seek guidance in the proprieties
of court life?"
197. When the subjects saw the behaviour of the princes,
they could only guess at the sorrow in their hearts
to be left by the king, their father,
like puddles in the midst of a great ocean.
198. Forsaken by their father,
the children lived in sorrow.
199. "His Majesty had no pity
on us his people
when he left this transitory world
and abandoned us his humble servants."

200. These common servants,
 day and night sat pining,
 left behind by their king
 like mirrors with no one to look upon them.

201. The subjects' sympathy was such
 that they forgot themselves.
 As a gem, fallen to the ground, is sought by all,
 so it was with this princely light whose beacon
 had faded.

202. Gone was the lustrous beacon of this land,
 and, with him, went all their hopes.
 Their hearts were paralysed
 as though bitten by a poisonous snake.

203. This was the cry of the palace folk:
 "Where has our Lord gone,
 in needless anger at his people,
 as though we were no further use to him?"

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D. 204. When the Imam and Kathi had wrapped the body in
 its shroud
 they sought, by the intercession of all the
 saints, God's mercy upon him.
 His own people steadfastly bore him up
 and placed him in his coffin.

205. Then the new Sultan, Ismail, was installed
 to succeed his father, Mahmud Shah, Marhum Mempura.
 All the officials made obeisance
 together with the courtiers and captains without
 exception.

206. When all was made ready,
 the body, which had been placed in the coffin,
 was positioned on a splendid litter -
 a royal bier built specially by his subjects.

207. Leading the procession were the eight unfurled
umbrellas of the chieftains,
like eight suns hovering above the horizon.
It was piteous to see the royal brothers
attempting to walk but coming close to collapse.
208. The royal attendants arranged the insignia bearers
in order
for all sixteen of the chiefs were of the same rank.
Straightaway they lit their sixteen tapers
and the grandeur of the scene was breathtaking.
209. Eight shoulder cloths
were given to the royal ministers,
The litter was lifted and the procession begun
drawn by those without the shoulder cloth.
210. The bier was carried in procession
whilst flutes and trumpets were played and the
drums were beaten.
The drummers were filled with sympathy
and beat their royal march with heads bowed.
211. The procession headed for the burial site.
The bands were printed in gold patterns
and it was wonderful to look upon the gems encrusted
as if they were chaff scattered about at the
winnowing.
212. "May My Lord for whom we beat the drum with such
feeling,
he who is borne aloft by his sons
as they languidly carry him in procession,
receive the light of God's mercy more strongly
than the rays of the sun."
213. In the west the sun was circled by glowing colours
as though its substance was draining away
while the king was carried in procession,
held aloft on the royal bier.

222. And, as the days turned to months,
 Ismail lived beset by sorrow.
 His thoughts lacked clarity
 as if befuddled by chewing overripe betel.
223. The writer of this piece too
 spends his days and nights in emotional turmoil
 for this tale has been passed on from his grand-
 father with instructions,
 but the task, lightly undertaken has become a
 burden.
224. We gain little from this physical existence
 like the cock that sires no offspring.
 Thinking of his late majesty we lose our wits.
 He ever prospered on earth, although he was humble
 before God.
225. So how may the task be accomplished
 by sitting in sorrow?
 There is no profit in just recalling past fortune.
 The tale must be written out in verse or prose.
226. The syair is composed according to the story
 passed down
 and is written to the best of your lowly author's
 ability.
 Though much has been added the rhymes are poor
 and the work shows little skill or culture.
227. One sits, morning and evening, lost in thought,
 or imploring mercy with arms outstretched,
 For the sake of the ancestors who arrived on Bukit
 Siguntang
~~should~~ let nothing hinder the work.

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- IV. A. 228. The story is told how when Ismail
 inherited the kingdom from his father Mahmud,
 he was only a youth
 and suffered great sorrow within himself.

229. It was not fitting that he should be made to
groan under the offices of state already,
for, by appearances and from his desires, he was
yet a child.
The expression on his face became the centre of
interest
and they watched him as a navigator scans the
sky for the three constellations.
230. Of the other sons nothing is said.
They took their places on the dais for guests.
It was considered they thought
the difficulties of pursuing a battle for
succession too great.
231. What can one do when dogged by misfortune
and the bright glow is darkened?
As it was the injunction of the late king,
his orders were carried out.
232. The mainstay of Ismail's government
were Tengku Busu and Muhammad Ali who both looked
after the prince's interests,
as water in a fingerbowl
cools the fevered brow with the effect of icy dew.
233. Ismail had not long held the government,
under the guidance of his uncle and cousin
and with the support of all the palace officials,
when the Dutch heard news of the position.
234. News came back from Malacca
that the Dutch intended to attack
and were now allied with Alam
to repay the degradation they had suffered.
235. When there had been drawn up [in the harbour]
all available ships, looking like half melons,
the task was given to Alam
to repair any defects in their equipment.
236. For, when the ^{Dutch} had heard of Mahmud's death,
they contracted with Alam and
it became known that they had formed an alliance
to take Siak.

237. When Ismail heard the news,
he smiled gently and said:
"The report from Malacca is clear.
What do we do now?"

238. Tengku Busu and Muhammad Ali came
with all the officials and said:
"Whatever the Dutch have in mind
we, your servants, are ready for them."

239.

240.

241. "For how would we stand on Judgement Day,
if we accepted your grace and favour [and deserted
in a crisis].
We will strive continuously against the foe
while the body will stand and we still draw breath."

242. The officials too made obeisance
and pledged their allegiance:
"Wherever the Dutch accost us
we will not flinch from carrying out your commands."

243. The common folk came forward
and made obeisance

"If our two leaders take a firm stand,
we will all stand with them.

244. "Otherwise what use to you are we, your children
whom your family have tamed from our wild state
till now we are become settled citizens
as wheat is made fit to use as food."

.

B. 245. When discussions were over,
they quickly brought the vessels down
and arrayed the citizenry as an army
whose number was beyond reckoning.

246. After they mounted the guns
which made a terrifying sight,
breastworks were built around them as in a fort
and all was done with the precision of a drawing.

247. To see the vessels rocking at their moorings,
they appeared like the sun hanging above the horizon
or a great beast which, if it uncurled,
would send waves rolling out across the calm sea.
248. As master of the king's vessel,
Ismail appointed Panglima Usyu
who seemed to others
to be a glowing mountain or elephant.
249. The second in command was Panglima Ahmad.
Aboard ship he watched over the king with concern,
and, being mindful of his solicitude,
Allah and his prophet were merciful towards him.
250. Panglima Kulub was also at his side,
a son-in-law of Megat Seri Rama.
As with the others aboard that ship,
his spirit was as firm as a rock.
251. Tok Salik made up the fourth -
enlarged by magic spells and full of spirit.
Aboard the ship Ismail seemed
the centre of a melee - a crush of weapons.
252. The commander of the armed forces was Muhammad Ali,
a son-in-law of the late king, Mahmud,
and a first cousin of Ismail.
He fought the foe relentlessly, never seeking
respice.
253. His ship was named "Medan Sabar",
and was like a giant roc about to spring.
Those noble youths who supported him as he stood
on the platform
were like an island of ambergris to look upon.
254. Two noble brothers were his lieutenants
and were little more than youths;
yet their contribution in discussions was valued
for they had been trusted servants of Mahmud,
the late king.

255. 'Harimau Buas' one of a pair
with 'Jembalang Gantung' as its mate
were [the cannon] in the bow of the trusty
'Medan Sabar'
under the control of Buyung Sembilan.
256. In support of Buyung Sembilan
was Panglima Tih a trusty fellow
who, with Panglima Buyung, made a fighting team,
which confronted the foe like a floating fortress.
257. Tengku Perang led
the ship called 'Awan'.
Even to the present
it would be difficult to find one to compare
with his fierce courage.
258. Tengku Abdullah, a brother of the Sultan,
was poised like a tiger.
His comely appearance
made him a fitting grandson of Raja Kecil.
259. 'Tandang Masyhur' was the name of his ship
and there was a tremendous spirit aboard it
for it was manned by his own loyal subjects
who kept it headed straight for the foe.
260. His deputy, Tengku Musa,
was Ismail's brother.
Being of noble birth and a young man of standing,
he longed for his first sight of the Dutch forces.
261. Tengku Abdul Rahman was another of Ismail's brothers
in whom all rejoiced from the days of his youth.
Given equal weapons [he would ensure that]
the Dutch would not long be puffed up with conceit.
262. Raja Lontar at that time
presented himself at court.
If once they joined battle with the Dutch,
he would never turn aside no matter what he was
commanded to do.

263. Sheikh Salim, from a line of religious scholars, was a valued Arab and a shining example of the faith.
- Though his writings were important, he became a fighting man to oppose the Dutch.
264. Megat Seri Rama, a leading citizen, who looked a warrior with that forceful determination of Bima, although he was getting on in years, was as daring as Maharaja Berma.
265. His son was Raja Dewa Indera who was an attendant to the king. It was the general consensus that he was not one to quake in the face of danger.
266. Orang Kaya, Seri Akar Raja, was a great favourite in the time of the late king. If it came to a hand to hand defence of the parapets, by God, he'd not turn from the task.
267. Orang Kaya, Paduka Seri Indera, a trusted servant of the late Sultan Mahmud, was without rival for dependability and loyalty to his new royal master.
268.

 to Ismail
 and a valued servant of Mahmud.
269. Orang Kaya, Raja Lela Muda was appointed by Ismail to head the Tanah Datar contingent. He was like the garuda in his attitude and avowed that he would spread shame among the Dutch.
270. Orang Kaya, Raja Lela Wangsa was a gallant captain. His sole purpose was to render loyal service to his king.

271. Orang Kaya Raja Indera Pahlawan,
a chief from Lima Puluh Kota, brought encouraging
words:
"May your Majesty
never have cause to fear the enemy."
272. Syahbandar Muin had a ship
with breastwork on the bow forming a sure barrier.
He beseeched God
that he should be an agent of His will.
273. Encik Mahil, the brother of Encik Kari,
spoke before the king:
"If Allah allows it,
we will knock back these accursed of God."
274. Panglima Latif was in charge of security
working under Raja Dewa Indera whose confidence
he had.
He was as terrible as a rutting elephant
and all men obeyed his instructions.
275. Panglima Dewa was celebrated
as a lieutenant to Muhammad Ali.
He had long been known
as a servant of the crown.
276. Penghulu Betun was master of the king's estate
and a splendid fellow in his support of the king.
If it came to hand to hand combat on the ramparts,
he would see to it that the king's domains were
not encroached upon.
277. ~~The leaders of the palibades, his indigenous~~
Pengkulu Kubu, a servant of noble origin,
came before the king and said:
"A martyr's death in this Holy War
will enable us to follow the example of the
Caliph Ali."
278. So ends the canto which a great-grandson composed
in praise of all the combatants.
When the rhymes were arranged many fell short
for my wits were imprisoned and my mind unclear.

279. The rhymes I've composed are jarring
for there is a deep anxiety within me.
What is written is of little value
for which I ask your pardon and mercy.

280. I am not customarily a writer
and my constitution is not strong
[but I have pursued this task] because of an
injunction of the king.
that we should not become indifferent [to the past].

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C. 281. To return to
all the preparations of the King, Ismail,
he directed all his followers
in the construction of wooden pallisades as strong
as fortresses.

282. When all the pallisades were erected,
they assembled on both banks of the river to
await events.

It was the intention of all the people
to give their all in this Holy War.

283. Several stockades were constructed on both sides
of the river.
Their strength was that of no ordinary stockade
for they had been equipped with watch towers,
and their cannon had been laid to cover the
whole field of approach.

284. They set up all the cannon upon them and estab-
lished their lines of fire
facing downstream to confront any advance upstream.
All the king's serfs had been instructed in the plan
although their understanding was slow.

285. These structures were made very tall
and the cannon covered every angle;
besides which, more swivel guns were mounted
so that no one would consider retreating.

286. No one thought of retreat
for there were no timid women at the posts, but
true men.
If the Dutch should wish to force an alliance
they were ready and willing to swim in a sea of blood.

287. A boom was constructed
and drawn across the river from side to side.
It consisted of logs end to end
and joined with chain.
288. Under the auspices of the king's divine authority
the boom was soon completed.
It was such a fine and stable construction
that it could be used as a causeway to cross the
river.
289. Ships were used as a foundation for a floating
fortress.
Protective breastworks were added around all sides
and cannon were mounted evenly to balance each other.
The vessel was manned by seasoned warriors.
290. First among this detachment was Amping Berantah
a man of unrefined manners.
If his way was disputed
he ploughed right on, and those in his path
accepted the consequences.
291. His second in command was Penghulu Hamba Raja,
not one to turn from a task.
If it came to a hand to hand clash on the ramparts,
he would become as hardened steel.
292. Many reliable henchmen
formed the complement aboard the floating fortress.
It was the pledge of all these comrades
that, even when their bodies were brought down,
their spirit would fight on.
293. When all the major works were completed,
attention was turned to personal weapons which
were in very poor condition.
Many men were not fully armed
and so they set about repairing their spears,
swords and shields.

294. Day by day, without any protective cover from
the elements,
the troops had to scrub down and polish their
matchlocks, blunderbusses and muskets.
And, while there was yet breathing space,
they cast bullets from ingots of tin.

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D. 295. When the major works requiring his supervision
had been performed by them all,
then Ismail returned to the palace to wait in
doubt and anxiety
because of the reports from Malacca.

296. On the day when word came
the Bukit Batu folk despaired.
Not one of them could restrain himself
and their flight was as disordered as a flock
of bats on the wing.

297. When they saw the enemy fleet, single masted
vessels and a cargo boat,
interspersed with local fighting ships,
they were not able to count their number
but reported to the king who had now establishing
a name for himself.

298. As soon as Ismail heard the news
he gave orders to invite Tengku Busu and Muhammad Ali
and his whole retinue
to assemble before him.

299. When all were gathered before him,
and Tengku Busu and Muhammad Ali were at his side,
he said, "We have heard the deeds of the shamefaced Dutch.
What are we to do now?"

300. Then he went out and addressed
the people:
"Let us drive this enemy back downstream
so that they do not so much as reach our city."

301. Tengku Busu and Muhammad Ali came with the other officials and said,
 "What use are our vessels to drive away the ships of the Dutch?"
302. In reply to the council, Ismail said:
 "If we have done all we could, the justice of our cause will soon be apparent."
303. If the King had not spoken with such firmness, it would have taken much longer to decide the matter. When you stub your toe on a rock, you can recognise gold ore at once by its weight.
304. The fleet was ready for action as they crowded for the fray. If necessary, they were prepared to offer up their very lives.
305. When the meeting had concluded, the gong was sounded as a sign for all to gather from land and sea - the whole nation in a surging body.
306. The people were in a sombre mood - their weapons massed like bats in flight. Like the garuda about to swoop, were their banners set up in "Medan Sabar".
307. Black banners signified a royal participant dressed for battle in the customary manner while the lesser functionaries flew their variously coloured tokens.
308. The King's boat "Merapat Alrahmat" hoisted its banners as a sign that by the intercession of the prophet Muhammad, this was a Holy War for all believers.

309. Amid all the tumult,
 they made ready the weapons
 so that all aboard the royal vessel
 was shipshape as in a picture.

310. When all was in place,
 it appeared to rise up as the birdman.
 Then said Ismail,
 turning to Muhammad Ali:

311. "When we move off,
 let everything be done in order
 and cast aside any doubts, for it is God's will.
 We head downstream tomorrow."

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E. 312. On the following day,
 with standards aloft
 and to the beat of the drum and the blast of
 the trumpet,
 Ismail set off.

313. The total effect was
 of a tiger freed from ~~his bonds~~ a trap.
 Pennons shimmered at the masthead
 and the rows of oars were as regular as palm fronds.

314. The signal gong sounded,
 the anchors of all the warships were weighed
 and, like the successors of the Prophet in all
 their glory,
 they took up their positions in line astern.

315. The Sultan, setting out
 with ribboned banners in the rigging,
 in his progress downstream at the appointed hour,
 was for all the world like the horned dragon.

316. The departure was accompanied by flutes and drums
 and the populace crowded to see.
 Ismail sat beneath his two state umbrellas
 as he was rowed away by a heavenly host.

317. Gliding downstream went the fleet of Inderapura,
 extending over a league
 with not a single space between the boats.
 Some of the fleet were low in the water with
 little freeboard while others were fitted
 with castles,
 yet each followed in the other's wake like the
 scudding clouds of morning.
318. The king's flagship
 was rowed with great tumult by the people.
 All its officers were in brightly coloured clothes
 and each was concerned with his own duties.
319. The cries of this great host
 to the company of jinn whose domain is the seas
 created such a din that it spread through the air
 to the very heart of the primeval forest.
320. They were watched by all who remained behind
 and their hearts filled with nostalgia and longing
 as they recalled Mahmud who led them in the past,
 and tears fell on all sides.
321. As they rowed for Kelakap
 they made a wondrous sight
 as graceful as an eagle in flight
 as terrible as a lion about to spring.
322. They rowed downstream each one trying to overtake
 the other
 as lions seek their prey.
 The noise of the cries pierced the clouds.
 There was an air of victory about these heroic
 warriors.
323. I shall not extend my narrative and description
 further.
 The King set out
 and rowed downstream
 looking neither to right nor left.

324. Through the night the king headed downriver and with daylight came to Tanjung Lada-Lada. After rounding the point, the King could see the ships of the Dutch.

325. When we received intelligence that they were rigged for battle our people, in the gathering dusk, confronted the shamefaced Dutch at the head of
Pulau Guntung.

326. Fully armed, our ships gave the impression of tigers freed from their bonds, for, as they faced the enemy ships, there was no sign of diffidence or deference.

327. The fleet anchored in formation, their strengthened bulwarks forming a fortress as they faced the Dutch and primed their cannon.

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F. 328. [Aboard the enemy vessels] Captain Visboom watched events in company with Raja Alam as the Siakkers came downstream, but showed no anxiety or panic.

329. Visboom, speaking gently, sought Alam's explanation:
"These men of Siak appear to be considerable
adversaries.

They are not acting like children."

330. The captain gave orders to beat the drum and the ships were filled with frenzied activity - cannon were primed and loaded with shot to achieve a scattering effect.

331. When our people heard the sounds of the drums of the lying Dutch, their anger was aroused and they beat their own drums with great vigour.

332. Said Osman left the Dutch ships
and came to Ismail's lines
where he embraced Ismail and Muhammad Ali
and tears fell to his breast.
333. Then, like a character in a romantic poem,
Said Osman took his leave of Ismail
and rowed through his lines in a group,
taking with him, it is said, intelligence to
the enemy.
334. Muhammad Ali immediately sent word
to the chief in charge of the shore batteries,
and Ismail's forces
tested their cannon on him and cleared out the rust.
335. The Dutch kept a careful watch
aboard their ship and three brigantines
and at night the sounds of their conversation
was a sign of their continued wakefulness.
It was the same with the Siak forces.
336. Three sloops and 'Paarl D'Armour'
were also active in keeping a relentless watch.
One ship like an eagle stood out -
the renowned vessel of Alam.
337. For fifteen days it is said,
they remained there in shame
not knowing friend from foe.
Each side awaited the other's moves.
338. When the Dutch at last reckoned that the time
had come
and the heavenly signs were auspicious,
'Pasgeld' and the brigantines made sail
and sounded their drums
with a noise of thunder.

339. They came straight on
 showing no doubt or uncertainty,
 with gunports all open,
 offering their lives to the Fates.

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G. 340. When our people saw the Dutch advance,
 all our boats were rowed down to meet them,
 and, amid the din of battle cries,
 came face to face with the enemy.

341. The Dutch came on,
 like lions released from a trap,
 headlong into the fray
 till we could see the firesticks glowing.

342.

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as a snake with its eye on its prey
 looks neither to left nor right.

343. Seri Akar Raja a war leader
 rowed his boat straight for the enemy
 and, seeing the Dutch at close quarters,
 he gave orders to keep on rowing close.

344. When they were close enough to speak
 with those aboard the enemy fleet,
 our men opened fire
 as the whole fleet pressed the attack.

345. ~~Seeing~~ Orang Kaya Paduka Seri Indera could be seen
 rushing forward with impassioned cries and
 the crash of cannon splitting the air could be heard
 as the Siak fleet kept rowing onwards.

346. Not one of the men failed to honour his vows
 and all followed through and joined the attack.
 The sound of the cannon was like thunder
 and when the ships were struck, they shuddered
 from stem to stern.

347. The battle began at the head of Pulau Guntung,
but the vessels all swung about with wind and
tides, jostling each other.
Muhammad Ali's 'Medan Sabar' came to pour out
its fire
from its cannon, 'Jembalang Guntung'.
348. 'Harimau Buas' was also fired repeatedly
by Muhammad Ali,
and its shot, released with a flash of fire,
if it struck the enemy ships, it went right through.
349. The enemy ships replied with the same vigour.
The sound of their cannon was tremendous.
Nothing could ~~one cannon alone~~ be heard clearly.
The cannon smoke was pitch black.
350. The traces of shot bursting forth
were like wild fowl in the forest at the sound
of approaching footsteps.
Whoever reckoned himself to be a man
had the chance to show it then.
351. The Dutch kept up a stream of shot,
firing with a will.
Such was their vigour and enthusiasm for the task
it would seem that this was their appointed duty
throughout their lives.
352. Cannon thundered
like the roar of a rutting elephant.
Over the sluggish waters of the Siak River
utter confusion appeared to hold sway.
353. The cannon fire was as thunderbolts
and the whole force was in uproar.
Although the nobles made sure they were in the
thick of it
nothing would seem to go right.

354. Your writer is losing his wits
and his inventiveness has all but dried up,
yet the fighting he describes went on, for even
at midday
Abdullah's 'Tandang Masyhur' advanced from the rest.
355. When she was within hailing distance,
they fired 'Gajah Meta'
and the terrific report
quite overcame all who witnessed it.
356. The nobles engaged in combat
competing, as is fitting, with those of their own
rank,
while cannon shot, like thunderbolts from heaven,
sprayed them with water till they were quite
drenched.
357. The common folk fought a great battle
from noon through the afternoon.
The ships yawed here and there
as volley after volley came from their great guns.
358. Although the battle continued to rage, neither
side gained the ascendancy
and the sound of the others' cannon brought grief
to each side.
The milk of the coconut is so sweet
that it satisfies the thirst by pleasing the palate.
359. The Dutch maintained their offensive.
Indeed, the longer they fought, the more alert
they were.
The sound of their cannon was more of a bellow
because they loaded with small shot for greater effect.
360. The fire of the Dutch cannot be described.
There was no chance to blink one's eyes between
reports.
Although many of our people bore arms
only one died.

361. Hostilities continued till the light failed when the fleets retired from the firing line on both flanks and the officers both civil and military reported to Ismail.

362. Tengku Busu and Muhammad Ali came with the King's younger brothers. They came to seek the king's further instructions.

363. The King spoke thus:
"It is my opinion that, ^{only} if the Dutch come upstream and attack us should we take them on."

364. The common folk came to their king with all due honours and put the matter in realistic terms:
"If the Dutch have taken the trouble to come to these shores, can we not be sure that they will press their offensive to the capital itself?"

365. When a consensus had been reached all took their leave and the guards were left to organise those matters which had been proposed at the meeting.

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H. 366. When the next day came The Dutch did not come upriver immediately because our people had arranged their lines of fire to pin them down and continued to do so all day long.

367. The Dutch responded and there was no peace from cannon fire. All day it continued so it is said.

368. One daring captain [Encik Mangid] boasted that he would not be worsted and anchored his boat ahead of all the others so the Dutch might see his defiance.
369. When night fell the Dutch brigantines drifted upstream towards the Siak positions and, before dawn, the Dutch fired on them.
370. Encik Mangid was startled as a latah sufferer to see the cannon balls bowling here and there. With his rowlocks still broken [from the previous engagement] he upped anchor and struggled to coax his wayward boat to safety.
371. All wished to go to support him but Tengku Busu himself forbad it. The common folk laughed heartily at his predicament but Muhammad Ali was quite annoyed.
372. "He is concerned only with his own vain conceits. He performs feats of daring for self glorification and never considers the morrow". He was widely rebuked for his action.
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- I. 373. The gunfire continued day after day for fifteen days. Then Ismail commanded that the floating fortress be brought down to the front.
374. While arrangements were being made the king questioned Tengku Busu and Muhammad Ali his commanders in the field. "Only one thing remains to be settled about the floating fortress - who wishes to support it?"

375. Tengku Busu and Muhammad Ali
with the concurrence of Abdullah, Musa and
Abdul Rahman replied:
"If the floating fortress disperses them
we will join the attack from our own positions."
376. Ismail reaffirmed his confidence:
"It is my opinion that,
even if the floating fortress comes to grief,
our skill alone will be enough to crush them."
377. The officers of this vessel came
and with proper humility and respect said:
"If the floating fortress fails you in one particular,
we will not show our faces in Siak again."
378. The commanders and war chiefs came forward
and their obeisance was like a string of pearls:
"Even if the floating fortress is reduced to ashes
in the process
you may be sure that the enemy ships will not
find it easy to return to Malacca."
379. When the king had heard
the representations of all his companions,
he gave orders for jars of sweetmeats to be
broken out
and he shared a meal with them.
380. The war chiefs came and said,
"We await your command.
Tomorrow we rejoin battle.
What are your plans?"
381. Ismail replied
as though there were no possible alternatives:
"When the first cannon sounds,
attack with complete abandon."
382. "Give no thought to cannon fire
but row hard till you close with the enemy
at the effective range of small arms fire -
there take your stand."

383. When his comrades heard
 what the king said,
 their spirits rose within them
 till they seemed like the Garuda.
384. Tengku Busu and Muhammad Ali sought leave to retire
 taking the court officials with them:
 "We will find a way to get the better of them
 for we shall use whatever resources we have to
 the utmost."
385. When the floating fortress arrived
 with its guns mounted for action
 it took up its position at the head of Pulau
 Sabalenga
 where it was flanked by the rest of the fleet.
386. Its escort was hand picked -
 Tengku Busu was the first
 with Raja Lontar alongside him
 and Sheikh Salim from a family of theologians.
387. Supporting them was Seri Akar Raja
 a loyal soldier and no stranger to work
 for he was a war chief of the king himself
 and like tempered steel.
388. There was also Syahbandar Muin a valued captain
 to support these gallants.
 As a foe he was like the winged Garuda
 for, if he sprang, death followed surely.
389. Ismail held the western channel
 with his royal followers
 while Tengku Busu held the Sabalenga shore
 and others waited in reserve at Teluk Batil.
390. The Dutch captain saw how the forces were deployed
 with the floating fortress brought downstream
 and standing off the head of Pulau Sabalenga
 supported by the rest of the fleet.

391. Visboom's mind reeled.

As all the ships left their moorings, he ordered the
tapers to be lit.

The sound of the drums rallied their spirits
and the ships continued to drift up with the tide:

392. He allowed his ships to drift

right up to Teluk Batil

where they came within range of the floating fortress
and a volley of shots was their only greeting.

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J. 393. No sooner had they closed than battle was joined.

The crush of ships was unbelievable
and the war cries thunderous.

The whole fleet pressed the attack boldly.

394. At the head of the attack was Tengku Perang and
Seri Amar Wangsa, well known for his fighting spirit,
who came to grips with the enemy
in a wild melee.

395. Quickly up in support were Megat Seri Rama
and his distinguished son Raja Dewa Indera -
men who would not relinquish their honour lightly
and fought side by side.

396. Raja Lela Muda, leading the Tanah Datar contingent,
straightway rowed his boat
beneath the very guns of the Dutch men-o-war,
for he was not one to tremble and quake.

397. Raja Indera Pahlawan pressed the attack,
working in harness with Paduka Seri Indera.
Their cannon fire
found its mark on the enemy causing much damage.

398. The battle was a great spectacle.
They fought with a will for the honour and glory,
beneath a sky overcast with shot
but none was overawed.

399. Cannon flashed like lightning
not pausing for a second.
Chain shot came hurtling through the air,
striking our ships and shaking their whole frames.
400. The Dutch poured a stream of gunfire
into any ship that approached
and shots whistled all around
yet our people pressed on.
401. Seven boats of warriors attacked
but the prows of the enemy ships were like
protective fences.
The uproar of war cries was thunderous
as the cannon and small arms fire continued.
402. The floating fortress was hard pressed
with enemy ships closing in on it.
All were crowded towards Teluk Batil
where the battle continued hammer and tongs.
403. When Tengku Busu saw how the situation lay
with the enemy ships drifting upstream,
he thrust his vessel forward according to a
prearranged plan
and faced the Dutch head on.
404. When he reached his target, as though in a passion
Tengku Busu poured forth a barrage from his cannon,
probing the defences of the vessels' sterns,
and the fluent discourse of the enemy guns was
silenced.
405. The battle was now fought at close quarters
with no space between Siak and Dutch craft.
The cannon shot was very destructive
and could be heard raining against the enemy ships.

406. The battle continued with timbers grinding as ships met.

Five vessels were breached
as broadsides came from both sides,
and both Siak and Dutch vessels were peppered
with holes.

407. When the commander of the floating fortress saw that his vessel had been isolated and was far from the aid of his comrades he cut the anchor rope [and drifted into the midst of the enemy fleet].

408. Their spirits revived and hardened their resolve as the enemy fleet came close enough to exchange compliments.

The sounds of the cannon fire shook the timbers and whatever was struck was penetrated clean through.

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K. 409. Sheikh Salim's boat was separated when caught up by an eddy in the river's current. As it was drawn close to 'Pasgeld', it was peppered with gunfire till it was all but shaken apart.

410. But Sheikh Salim was a bold fighter and not so easily disposed of, for he continued to engage the enemy fleet in battle, though the fire of 'Pasgeld' riddled his boat with holes and the balls penetrated right through the hull.

411. Sheikh Salim was quite indifferent and fired off his chain shot. If he was hit, he simply grumbled and shook his head until, at length, he was forced to turn and flee.

412. The gunfire of the Dutch rained down all manner of shot upon them.

After invoking the blessing of the Prophet Muhammad, he escaped their shot.

413. Drawing out of range, Sheikh Salim followed this
current
and rounded the island to avoid passing through
the enemy again,
but here too rejoined the battle
and the sound of his cannon announced that he was
not yet a spent force.
414. When Ismail saw
Sheikh Salim's position,
he set out at once with his brothers following
for all the world like the Garuda taking flight.
415. Without hesitation he struck out for
Sheikh Salim who was clearly hard pressed
so that when the Siak and Dutch craft met, there
was a crush
of jostling ships, some making upstream, some
heading down.
416. The king's ship and 'Medan Sabar'
were both equipped with castles
manned by noble youths, as if in a picture;
prepared to fight to the death quite undismayed.
417. With the two younger brothers [Abdullah and Abdul
Rahman]
they [Ismail and Muhammad Ali] looked like Arjuna
and the other Pendawa
awaiting the conflict with the Korawa
quite unaware of the imminence of death.
418. Abdullah, aboard his boat, 'Tandang Masyhur'
fired the cannon, 'Gajah Meta',
so that the shots came in a constant stream
to strike the Dutch ships and penetrate clean through.
419. They fired all the other guns as well -
the swivel guns of all kinds.
To see these warriors of the king in action
one would think they knew nothing of injury or death.

420. When the fleet commander, Muhammad Ali, saw this, he ordered that his boat 'Medan Sabar' be turned to face the largest brigantine [Zeepard] and he gave the command to row straight for it.
421. He fired 'Jembalang Guntung', and 'Harimau Buas' growled a warning with its shots which boarded the enemy ships, without asking leave, to cut down those whose time had come.
422. In that great action the firing of cannon and swivel guns in that spectacle at the head of the estuary did much damage to both sides.
423. Abdul Rahman and Abdullah never failed to find their mark, striking the ships of these accursed of Allah and penetrating from one side right through the other.
424. The sound of the cannon was as thunder which seemed almost to shake the very hairs from the body while those whom luck was against or whose hour had come fell like ripe fruit from the tree.
425. The noise of the cannon did not let up for the enemy ships fired in succession as they sailed on in line astern whomsoever they struck suffered injury or death.
426. To watch the shot fly to and fro kept the eyes in a constant flurry of movement. They sprang up and fell striking anything which in a moment became as a grotesque corpse.
427. The shots left out from each side - some found their marks, some went wide. Those not willing to submit to God's will struggled vigorously to escape their fate.

428. The sight of the cannon balls flying about and whistling through the air was such that even the senior commanders were bewildered by it.
429. The crack of the cannon seemed as if it must split them,
yet there was no lessening of action on either side. Some, troubled by the thought of accepting God's will, sought means to avert the final hour and thwart the Almighty.
430. As the enemy cannon balls continued to whistle about, the waist cloths of our men were no protection but themselves were scattered through the air, so that many men were reduced to gaping in wonder and, so preoccupied were their minds that they did not fulfil their duties.
431. The sound of the cannon drummed on their ears, the shot wreaked havoc in its path. Many took cover flat on the deck amid the piles of bodies and debris.
432. The oarsmen broke off their rowing when they heard the cannon balls whistling overhead. They went weak at the joints and sat like quail with their faces white as chalk.
433. The battle continued in uproar with the sound of cannon balls plunging in the water merging into a roar as though they were grapeshot, and intent on crushing whatever lay in their path.
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- L. 434. The men of Siak never slacked their vigour but kept firing all their guns. As the tidal flow reached its peak and the current slackened The dusk made the way scarcely visible.
435. Five ships were seriously breached, some were holed but some were still in good condition. A number of people had wounds in the chest and would not live still the next day.

443. One could hear the uproar and tumult of confusion
 from the thunderous roar of the cannon
 and the whine of the shot from as far as Anta
 Permana.
 No matter where one stood, it was in the line
 of fire.
444. The fighting continued into the evening
 with shots whistling to right and left
 for the nobles were determined to hold their ground
 and none of them chose an easy role.
445. The sun set slowly as if resisted
 yet the tempo of firing seemed more insistent,
 until, having taken their fill,
 the two sides began to draw apart.
446. With nightfall the battle ceased,
 the ships retired from both sides.
 The floating fortress was towed away,
 destroyed by the fire from repeated attacks.
447. Under the auspices of the king's majesty,
 we lost only one man,
 while, of the Dutch who fell in battle,
 fifteen were reported for certain.
448. The accursed Dutch kept up a constant vigil
 for the sound of the drum beating the watches
 could be heard throughout the night.
 The same continued the following day
 aboard their ship and three brigantines.
449. With the tide they drifted upstream -
 their six vessels spreading across the river.
 When our lookouts saw it
 out fleet was made ready.
450. Muhammad Ali was disturbed [by the ruthlessness
 of the Dutch]
 and commanded his ship 'Medan Sabar' to be rowed out,
 rigged for battle
 with his whole complement at battle stations.

451. Both sides were equally aggressive.
As soon as they drew near, hostilities commenced.
They battled at close quarters
as if they could not be stopped.
452. The infidel Dutch were alert to their chances
for they allowed the incoming tide to take them
upstream
while their trained gunners
were free to fire their carefully laid guns.
453. The Siakkers were dismayed
to see the behaviour of these accursed Dutch
infidels.
In the midst of their gunfire, which was so accurate
it might have been surveyed,
they continued to drift right on upstream.
454. The firing never ceased
~~so~~ and the sound of the cannon was thunderous.
It became impossible to keep track of
the progress of the Dutch ships as they continued
to drift upstream.
455. The enemy ships
fired away with thunderous reports.
There was no chance even to blink an eye
between the volleys of cannon balls.
456. The Dutch cannon sounded continuously,
their missiles streaming out without ceasing.
As their ships ^{continued to} advance farther upstream,
so the men of Siak became insensitive to pain
and reckless with their lives.
457. The enemy vessels drawn by the current were spread
across the river.
Whatever stood in their way was cast aside.
Their cannon were insatiable -
creating a constant tumult of noise.
458. Even while stationary, they kept up the battle
and the firing of cannon never slackened
though the river narrowed and the current ran stronger
creating the danger of collision with another boat.

459. When the tide flowed in they came upstream, when it ebbed
 they stopped [and anchored]
 and for three days and three nights it continued
 thus
 with the guns never silent
 till, by stages, they reached Sungai Pinang.

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- M. 460. The whole fleet retired
 behind the boom
 and each ship faced downstream
 without any sign of reluctance.
461. When all was in readiness,
 there grew a new confidence.
 Those at the defence works awaited the enemy,
 their weapons at the ready.
462. Many additional ~~pallisades~~ earth works
 were erected
 and the field pieces laid in position
 on both sides of the river.
463. All those common folk who had waited upriver
 now manned the stockades.
 The earthworks had been built up
 and the guns laid on gun carriages for ready movement.
464. They had built a tower
 of three tiers
 and when Syahbandar Muin was given command
 he surrounded it with a pallisade.
465. Several guns
 were placed on the three levels
 and all were carefully laid
 and aligned with precision.
466. When all approaches were completely covered
 they settled down to await the arrival of the
 Dutch should they come.
 Syahbandar Muin's organisation was never found
 wanting,
 no matter what the time of day.

467. Downstream on the left bank
Raja Lela Muda took up his position
with his clansmen
~~and provided his men~~ with cannon.
468. He was a chief from Tanah Datar
and had brought all his own gundpowder with him.
He fought in harness with Raja Lontar
within a javelin throw of the boom.
469. At the foremost station on the right bank was
Raja Indera Pahlawan
a chief from the Lima Puluh clan.
Ismail relied heavily on him.
He was like a bird prepared to die with his flock.
470. In the main stockade were all the other warriors
whom your storyteller was unable to number
for his faculties were in a state of flux,
now rising, now forsaking him.
471. Several fireships
were prepared
with oil and resin for fuel
and manoeuvred into position.
472. For almost two months hostilities ceased
while the Siakkers remained in position waiting.
The Dutch Commissioners had misgivings
but their resolutions could not be underestimated.
473. ~~It was not a matter of the boom and stockades,~~
If it were just a matter of the boom and stockades,
[the enemy] need not worry;
but if the fireships were sent down upon them,
their ships must surely be burnt to ashes.
474. When all the officials had gathered,
it was Tengku Busu who went out to them and said,
"We should send down our fireships
to attack the enemy fleet."

483. The masters of the brigantines heard the discussion and rose from their places in support of the idea.
"What has been said is quite true.
We should attack straightaway.
484. "With things as they are
the Company is uneasy
for, unless we show some enterprise and daring,
why take the Company's wages?"
485. When each man had had his say
and expressed his agreement,
Raja Alam replied,
"Then we are of one mind.
486. "Do not worry my bold captains,
for, when we attack,
I myself shall lead the assault on the stockades
to decide the matter one way or the other."
487. After all matters had been decided,
they prepared the ships for action.
Visboom's fighting spirit rose within him
as he waited an appropriate moment.
488. There was no time for them to ponder
on the imminent upheaval in their lives,
for the moon was in conjunction with their stars
and their hour of destiny was upon them.
489. When the time came that satisfied all his requirements
Alam boarded the ship,
and it advanced as darkness fell.
They knew by their speed that the incoming tide
had reached them.
490. In the hostilities, nothing was left in reserve.
On the fourteenth day of Zulkaedah [16th June, 1761]
the Dutch ships were challenged
and fired on from the stockades on both sides.

491. The battle was begun
by our troops on both sides of the river.
They acted as if no one could stop them.
their boldness was unprecedented.
492. From all the stockades, they joined in the firing
so that there was never a moment's respite from
the sound of the cannon.
Those who were hit were all
unceremoniously dumped in the water.
493. Visboom's anger was roused
and he gave no thought to the consequences,
for, when his progress was obstructed by the boom,
he at once ordered that the bonds joining the
logs be cut.
494. All the stockades which had waited with guns
trained on the boom,
now opened fire and rained down an unceasing hail
of shot
that made one gasp in surprise
for the enemy appeared not to know the meaning
of death.
495. The daring of the Dutch was incredible
as their ships, answering the fire from the forts,
and the cries of their crews,
became one with the reports of the cannon and guns.
496. Since they had never considered the possibility
of them reaching the boom,
the Siakkers were dumbfounded.
Never in their wildest dreams had they thought
they would reach the boom.
497. Yet all vessels did reach the boom,
all those mentioned in the account,
and the sound of their cannon made such a din
that it was impossible to hear anyone speak.

498. While our people watched,
the lying infidel
brought up their whole fleet
amid shouts and tumult.
499. Within the boom all was in readiness
as the cannon continued to roar like thunder.
Their very bones rattled within them
for the enemy was close enough to overhear a
conversation.
500. As the combatants drew closer
till only the ropes of the boom separated them,
the cannon everywhere made the impression of a
seine full of fish
with the whole Siak river seething as if in a
great upheaval.
501. The king's lieutenants were not disconsolate.
They had no need for further discussion
for, although they had, to date, been dogged by
bad luck,
they did not even consider deserting their posts.
502. Many score of heavy guns
were mounted in stockades along the river and
at the mouths of streams.
Their flashes flared like torches
as they allowed the enemy ships into the reach to
be crushed.
503. The cannon of our boats joined in vigorously
repaying shot for shot with the other side.
The Dutch salvos to each side
took a life as often as not.
504. In the stockades, the clansmen
could not count those who opposed them;
nor could they distinguish friend from foe
for they were overcome with confusion.
505. When the Dutch ships continued upstream past the boom,
their whole fleet in line,
the people of Siak were shattered
as if slashed by a bamboo knife.

506. I cannot explain it.
My writings only cloud the will of Allah.
What is the use of mourning?
Our fate is predestined.
507. God had already decided his fate
and we cannot gainsay that.
Ismail's passions fell from him
like perfumes enclosed in a phial.
508. And so the Siak War, as it is recorded, came to
an end.
The story is not continued -
I have told it all,
there is no more to tell.

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- N. 509. Ismail spoke at length
for his bereavement made him uncertain.
His spirits were crushed and overwhelmed with sorrow
as glass is shattered upon stone.
510. "Farewell my brothers.
Farewell and do what is fitting.
Do not let your minds dwell on us who leave you
for only if Fate so wills it will we meet again.
511. "Farewell my brothers.
Stay, but do not let yourselves be influenced
against me,
for, while there is yet life,
I hope we shall meet again."
512. Those about him were devastated by his words
some more than others.
They were like overladen boats
struck by a sudden westerly squall.
513. [With his departure] those who remained sat all
day long, lost in thought
or beseeching mercy upon him with hands stretched
heavenwards:
"For the sake of the ancestors on Bukit Siguntang,
let no misfortune befall him."

514. Ismail reached Pelalawan
with his mind confused and anxious.
He reminded those who saw him
of one intoxicated with toadstools.
515. He did not stay there long,
but on the fifth day,
lest misfortune should befall his venture,
he asked the holy men to intercede for mercy on
his behalf
516. and embarked as the tide ebbed away.
They took up the awnings and stowed them
and, when the anchor was weighed, the oars flashed
and the king set off with a deep sigh.
517. They rowed fast
for Tanjung Marapusan
"Farewell my friends, all of you,
for I go where fortune leads me."
518. Then ^{the} small boats ~~then~~ set out to row back to Mempura
amid an uproar of excitement from the troops
A north wind descended [to provide power for the larger
sailing boats]
and he said farewell to all his kinfolk.
519. As long as Ismail lived in foreign lands
he suffered not a little,
like a boat stranded on coral,
with few close companions.
520. Since the death of his father and mother,
he had harboured sorrow in his breast.
As a log is split as if to torment
so he was separated from his kin.
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0. 521. So the Siak War ended
leaving my heart filled with longing.
When the afternoon prayer is over
I now sit in perplexed idleness.

522. These writings have not yet been shown to others
and my emotions are in turmoil.
Both my days and nights are filled with nightmares
as a child may be subject to fits.
523. In practical matters I had no status
like a core which never develops a fruit.
The recollection of my fortune drains my spirit.
Although a poor man, yet I have been reasonably
well off.
524. Sitting alone lost in thought,
my mind broods
and I beg Him who made the seas
to have mercy on me.
525. It is Saturday and the writing is finished.
It has been accomplished in the midst of unrest,
as an overladen boat
fears to be struck by the westerly waves.
526. O you who have the knowledge to see it,
speak no ill of the writer for
the poor finish or the poor quality paper
because it was written without benefit of a lamp.
527. By the Grace of God, it is finished.
Let no fault be found in it,
~~so that, when~~ All writings are gathered on the
Tablets of Fate,
We give thanks for whatever befall.
528. Allah, Allah, merciful Lord,
what rewards are these for your faithful servants
that this world offers only death
from which your creatures will not recover.

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V. Here follows a postscript:

529. With the name of God, the discourse begins.
In the name of God, the creator of the world,
and by the grace of Muhammad Lord of Mankind
grant us mercy both day and night.

530. 'Alhamdulillah' opens our praise to God
and then we ask a blessing on the Prophet.
We seek no exaltation for ourselves
but only to return to Allah.
531. Hear this story
composed by a humble minister.
Its metre is halting and its rhyme jarring
for it comes from a full and anxious heart.
532. When he went to Pelalawan
Ismail suffered incredible anxiety
as he brooded on his shame.
He felt as if he were drugged with toadstools.
533. He was very troubled
since his ministers left him.
He sat in conversation day by day
and ate his food as if it was thorns.
534. He did not move about
but remained in one place so that days seemed
like months
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535. That was the burden of the leading minister
who day and night was lost in plans
for Ismail
because he did not want him to be accorded an
inferior status.
536. One day
Ismail gave orders
to summon all the captains and ministers
and he laid before them his plans.
537. In cultured tones the king addressed
them:
"It is well that we begin to plan
while we are yet not betrayed."

538. The ministers spoke:
 "Your pardon, sire,
 if you say so,
 we will not return to Siak."
539. Maharaja Seri Asmara came forward.
 He spoke with authority and was a leader in
 discussion.
 If there were others who would betray the king,
 his allegiance would continue.
540. With the royal household were four old retainers
 who approached with such respect that they
 seemed guilty of some crime.
 "We acknowledge you as Lord - there is no other;
 and we offer you our lives."
541. Orang Kaya Seri Indera Muda
 was made chief of the Lima Puluh clan by Ismail.
 He said little but slapped his breast,
 and that was the characteristic which the king
 found to his credit.
542. He came from a line of warriors
 and he spoke bravely:
 "No matter what evil befall you
 I shall not think of deserting."
543. Orang Kaya Maharaja Tua Wangsa
 spoke bravely though he was not strong,
 for he was determined to bring honour to his name
 in the service of his king.
544. Orang Kaya Paduka Seri Dewa
 came forward by himself:
 "No matter what frustrations are your lot,
 I offer you my life in advance."
545. He was just a youth
 so he did not speak in conventional terms:
 "If you, My Lord, are forced to flee,
 I will be with you wherever you go."

546. The syahbandar of Bukit Batu came forward.
His loyalty was firm and his nobility beyond doubt
as twenty-four karat gold
tested by the touchstone.
547. When he heard the leaders' announcements,
Ismail was very pleased.
His face brightened
and his doubts and suspicions fell from him.
548. The king said
to his ministers:
"We are all just youths;
let our different roles not make distinctions
between us."
549. Tengku Busu spoke
before the king:
"Do not think such things, My Lord.
May you never allow your name to be sullied.
550. "Once you have sought a common name
before the Eternal Lord,
by the holy places of all the walis,
nothing remains with which you may distinguish
yourself."
551. The ministers now sought leave to retire
for they were troubled
and wished to seek a solution to their predicament
without delay,
but they were physically exhausted.
552. After a week
of deliberation they found the solution:
"If this is the situation
Ismail should marry."
553. The next day
they all gathered at the palace
and approached with proper deference:
"My Lord, we think you should marry.

554. "If you do not instruct us to arrange this,
for good or ill we are still committed to your cause
and, like pure gold,
no test will find us wanting."
555. Hearing their proposal
Ismail smiled, then laughed.
"It is reminiscent of the Javanese tale
where Panji alone defeats the three warriors.
556. "There can be no harm in it
if God has so ordained it.
Find a place where I can regain my health and
cast off this lethargy
and then I shall give my assent.
557. "If it were left to me
I would not yet choose to marry.
But what is your counsel
so that I may follow it?"
558. Then said the ministers
to the king
"If there is no reason for continuing, it is because
there is no prince to care for.
559. "Do not take this step
out of recollections of your other wife.
If Satan comes to taunt
it will certainly be difficult for you."
560. The syahbandar of Bukit Batu responded
and these were his very words:
"If you marry this princess
we, your servants, will also benefit.
561. "We are but humble servants
of Your Majesty.
If once you are established in your kingdom,
it matters not whether we are demeaned.

562. Then said Ismail,
 "I leave it all to you.
 Continue this equivocation no longer.
 I want an immediate decision."
563. The chastened wazirs replied,
 "It is as you say -
 we should not prattle on.
 Let us hope that Allah will guard our interests.
564. "If we establish Your Majesty's sovereignty
 how can your servants be demeaned,
 by the grace of all the Gods,
 if we were to ask a common name."
565. When they had come to a decision,
~~the wazir, Tengku Busu lifting up his hands~~
 they raised their hands as a sign
 and our blessed sovereign
 was released by God from his emotional uncertainty.
566. Ismail instructed one wazir, Tengku Busu,
 to convey his wishes to Raja Mansur.
 He considered the situation and said:
 "Would it not be better to take a younger man
 to support me?"
567. And so it was that on a moonlit night
 two wazirs set out.
 Their anxieties rose
 as the accompanying boats fell away.
568. When they arrived,
 they paid homage
 and approached to present their message:
 "Ismail wishes to take a wife."
569. "His intention to marry is clear
 and it is the king's wish
 that I should convey
 his request for a wife to you.

570. "Should you agree
to accept Ismail as your son-in-law,
because he is still young,
he is willing to propose a marriage outside
his rank."
571. Raja Mansur spoke fluently:
"There is little for me to say.
If your king will take care of her,
there is no need for delay.
572. "As I understand it, your intention is
to align yourself with my cause.
If your king is to become my subject
we need not exchange our views further.
573. "One further matter occurs to me:
Ismail has many wives,
but, if it should come to an issue,
where should I flee to?"
574. Tengku Busu replied,
"Give the matter no thought
for if it should come to the point,
we shall be a match for them.
575. "I am old now
and only await my end.
If my Lord is frustrated in his desires,
let me cast away my life."

IV. SUPPLEMENTSA. NOTES AND COMMENTARY

The introductory remark occurs in L2 only, where it is repeated in Dutch as a title page ("Gedicht over Bengkalis in Siak ten tijde van den oorlog met Djohor". (p. 1)) and in Ph. S. van Ronkel's "Supplement-Catalogus der Maleische en Minangkabausche Handschriften...". p.85.

4a duli makhota

The identity of the king for whom the syair was written is one of the major concerns of the Introduction where a case is presented for Raja Akil, Sultan of Sukadana.

4c tidak dipandanglah dengan mata

Towards the end of the syair, there is the suggestion that the poet was a witness to later events. Cf 470b note.

7c-d

William Dampier (DAMPIER, William, "Voyages and Discoveries" Pp. 80-1) discovered the extent of the limitation of government in Bengkalis in 1688 (that is, only 25 years or so before the advent of Raja Kecil). A certain Captain Johnson had been killed while seeking timber to fit out his ships near Bengkalis. ~~was killed.~~ His ship was attacked but two sailors managed to escape with it towards Bengkalis where the Syahbandar told them "that the People that did it were wild and unruly Men, not subject to Government, and that it was not in his Power to suppress them". Even within half a mile of Bengkalis ten or twelve of the Syahbandar's men were needed to protect the ship.

9b raja Bugis memerintahkannya

This is an anachronism. The Bugis were present in Selangor from ca 1680 (KENNEDY, J. "A History of Malaya...", p.59) and were a faction in Riau in 1712 (KENNEDY, J., op.cit., p.52). Captain Joao Tavares (HUGHES, T.D. "A Portuguese Account of Johore" p.127) in 1717-18, records that the Bugis "in Gior...being Royal slaves are insolent and oppress the People, robbing, wounding and killing and as they are surrounded by the shadow of the King no one dares to incur harm by resisting them".

From the same year, Andaya cites a letter which lays responsibility for the Bugis on the Dutch.

"In the letter received on 7 August 1717 was a request from the 'King of Pagar Ruyong' for Dutch assistance to recover for the Sultan of Johor the goods and the people who had been carried off by the Buginese in Bengkalis. The 'King of Pagar Ruyong' swore that if this were to be refused, he and the Sultan of Johor would declare war on the Dutch because the Buginese were, in effect, slaves of the Company". (ANDAYA, Leonard Y. "Raja Kecil and the Minangkabau Conquest of Johor, 1718", p.52)

It was Raja Kecil's threat of 1717 that forced Sulaiman, the new Sultan, in 1721 to take Daing Merewah as Yamtuan Muda. "Kecil's intervention in Johor had unwittingly paved the way for a long period of Bugis domination". (KENNEDY, J., op.cit., p.53).

If the Bugis did not rule Johor in the time before Raja Kecil became ruler in Siak, their activities were a major concern of the people in the area.

10d duli hadirat

Though it is unlikely that the poet had a particular individual in mind, Andaya (ANDAYA, Leonard Y., "Raja Kecil and the Minangkabau Conquest of Johor 1718", p.52 fn 4) quotes a letter that indicates that the appropriate person would be Yang dipertuan Putri Jamilan who refers to the Minangkabau at Bengkalis as "her children". See also SM 413-4 and TalN 40.

11c Pagar Ruyung

Pagar Ruyung had been the centre of the Menangkabau empire since it was founded by Adityawarman in 1349 (MANSOER, M.D. et al "Sedjarah Minangkabau", p.58). Thomas Dias was the first European to reach the Menangkabau homelands. He arrived in 1684 but, according to de Haan, only reached as far as Buo (HAAN, F. de "Naar Midden Sumatra in 1684", p.360), and his view is accepted without question by Schnitger (SCHNITGER, F.M., "Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra", Pp. 61-2), though Dias himself was in no doubt that he had reached Pagar Ruyung (HAAN, F. de, op. cit., pp.341 et seq.).

Sir Stamford Raffles in 1821 found it a ruin (RAFFLES, Sophia, "Memoir...", pp.341-342 and 356-361). See also St. 66 note.

14

The syair gives no clue to the identity of the chosen ruler. There is no mention of Raja Kecil's relationship with Sultan Mahmud Shah of Johor as in SM pp.409-424 and T al N pp. 34-40, nor his relationship to the King of Pagar Ruyung (See ANDAYA, Leonard Y., "Raja Kechil and the Minangkabau conquest of Johor 1718", pp. 52-3).

15 a raja bestari

= Raja Kecil. There is nothing in the syair to rule out the possibility that it is the King himself who accepted the office. If the King were sending one of his family, one would expect at least a stanza of leave-taking. It is only the ministers and the people who see him off (St. 15 c-d).

15b saat musytari

The Planet Jupiter exercises an auspicious influence on one seventh of each day or week. The lucky hour of the lucky day is sought.

16-18

There is a strong literary tradition of suffering and trials of hardship in the forest before great achievements, going back to Rawana (See SHELLABEAR, W.G., "Hikayat Seri Rama" pp.1-2) and Airlangga (See VLEKKE, B.M.H. "Nusantara" pp.44-5). For an explanation of this phenomenon, see MANGKUNEGARA VII of SURAKARTA, "On the Wayang Kulit...", pp.12-14 ff.

By his frequent allusions, the poet shows a wide familiarity with Javanese wayang literature.

21c semutu

Sepuluh mutu, that is 24 carats or pure gold, is probably intended.

22b Johor

At the time the capital of Johor was at Pancor, (GIBSON-HILL, C.A., "Johore Lama...", p.165), about 6km up the Johor River from Johor Lama.

Since the assassination of Sultan Mahmud Syah in 1699, Johor had been ruled by the Bendahara under the title of Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Syah III. Alexander Hamilton

(HAMILTON, Alexander, "A New Account...", p.52) who visited Johor in 1703 found him "of quiet Disposition, and a great Bigot to the Mahometan Religion, [and one who] disposed himself to Prayer and hearing Sermons". He "left the Management of his Government to a younger Brother, called Rajah Moudah, a covetous tyrannical Prince. The King never came out of his Palace, but devoted himself wholly to the Company of Priests...".

On the other hand, Joao Tavares (HUGHES, T.D. "A Portuguese Account of Johore", p.120-1) recorded that Raja Muda was "a clever and intelligent man" who commanded over 1000 boats and 5000 men at arms, not including crews of boats.

This younger brother, Raja Muda, adopted an expansionist policy. The Dutch at Malacca received on 19th March, 1710, a letter from him demanding that they should not trade with the East Coast of Sumatra, including Bengkalis. This demand resulted in a treaty in 1713 (HOFFMAN, J.E., "Early Policies in the Malacca Jurisdiction...", pp.34-5).

28

There is a Ciceronian concern for balance in this stanza

N V V N
V N N V
V N N V
- - V N

29b Perepat Seratus

Andaya mentions Perepat Seratus as a cause of disputed sovereignty between Johor and Malacca and he marks it on his map opposite Bengkalis between the mouths of the Bukit Batu and Siak Rivers. (ANDAYA, Leonard Y "The Kingdom of Johor...", pp. xvi and 178-9).

30c pedang

The intention here is to create a picture of Raja Kecil's fitness to rule. The sword was a sword of state (pedang kerajaan) as befits one seated on a throne. Cf SM 428 "Maka baginda pun melompat naik ke atas jambatan. Baginda memegang pedang kerajaan yang bernama Sapurjaba...".

32b Karimun Anak

John Crawford (CRAWFORD, John, "A Descriptive Dictionary...")

p.84) visited the island (Karimun Kecil) in 1824 and found it 2 miles in length, with high land throughout and uninhabited though the larger island (Karimun) had a population of about 400 Malay fishermen.

32d

The gently mocking tone of this line is out of keeping with the overall seriousness of the syair which suggests a misreading or possibly an unidentified allusion.

33b Selat Sembulan

Sometimes called Selat Sembilan, it is the most inshore of the western approaches to Singapore and is called after a single island of the same name in the strait.

33d seekor milun

TE 52/3 has seekor lipan, i.e. a centipede.

34a Tanah Merah

A navigational feature at the eastern end of Singapore island.

34b doa

With the voyage now all but complete, the prayers are for the forthcoming battle.

34b/35b doa dipinta/doa dipinta

The repetition of this phrase offers a convenient illustration of the extent to which Ll varies his spelling. (See footnote) d-y is written separately in the full form in 34b to fill out the line, yet the spelling of pinta is more contracted in 34b than it is in 35b.

35c Bukit Siguntang

Raja Kecil had a double claim to the honouring of the contract made by Demang Lebar Daun on Bukit Siguntang on behalf of his people. As the son of Mahmud Syah (the claim is not made in the syair but is well known elsewhere), he inherited the mantle of Seri Tri Buana; and as the ward of the Menangkabau princess (the syair gives the impression that he was a Minangkabau king), he came under the protection of the heirs of Sang Sapurba, Seri Tri Buana's elder brother. (WINSTEDT, R.O. "The Malay Annals...", pp.56-57). See also St. 227, 513 and 513 note.

38b lawan dengan jodoh

If this expression indicates a single person, it is probably Raja Muda of Johor as suggested in the translation. However, with his hindsight (cf St. 9b note), the author might have intended Daing Merewah the first Bugis Yam Tuan Muda of Riau and brother of Raja Kecil's life-long opponent Daing Perani.

38b jodoh

The break in rhyme is not apparent in the Jawi which is spelt j-w-d-w. The fact that visual rhymes are acceptable throughout the syair suggests that it was as much a literary as a spoken form. See also NAGUIB AL-ATTAS, Syed "The Origins of the Malay Sha'ir", p.54.

40c bercatur

John Anderson (ANDERSON, John "Mission to the East Coast..." pp.49-50) after his trip to the East Coast of Sumatra in 1823 wrote "The people amuse themselves playing at chess all day. This game is very common in all countries I visited and some very skilful players are to be met with".

The story of Raja Muda playing chess while he lost his kingdom is repeated in Tuhfat al Nafis but not in Sejarah Melayu. "Maka di-perma'alumkan-lah orang kapada yamtuan muda, maka tiada di-hiraukan-nya, sebab ia berlengah bermain chator; dua, tiga orang mempersempahkan, maka tiada juga yang di-pertuan itu memperdulikan, maka Raja Kechil pun tiba-lah di-pengkalan Rama, lalu naiklah ka-jembatan dengan segala pendikar hulubalang-nya serta membunyikan senapang-nya". (T al N p.43).

41a Raja Tengah

All other sources (e.g. HUGHES, T.D., "A Portuguese Account of Johore", p.120) give the name of the Johor ruler as Raja Muda. Alternatively, Tengah could be read as tengah, intensifying leka. (Tengku Tengah was the eldest daughter of Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Syah, whom Raja Kecil later passed over in favour of Tengku Kamariah when he wished to marry into the Johor family, and who later still married Daing Perani. See 430 et seq.)

According to Tavares (HUGHES, T.D., op.cit., pp.133-6), Raja Muda had fled the palace at Pancor on 4th March, 1718, a day or two before the arrival of Raja Kecil. The country was

defended by the Datubandar. (The date "1st March" on p.136 is surely a misprint for 6th March). Possibly the chess playing king was the "old king" Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Syah who became Raja Kecil's bendahara and was later assassinated at Pahang. See also ANDAYA, Leonard Y., "Raja Kecil...", pp. 54-59.

43b tinggal

Probably tertinggal or ditinggalkannya was intended.

43b menterinya

In chess, Menteri is the Malay equivalent of the Queen. In 43d syah and emat (Check and Mate) are, of course, also chess terms. The whole stanza may then be seen as an analogy between the game and the battle with the last line providing a very nice and portentous conclusion.

44 Cf SM 428 "Setelah didengar oleh Yang dipertuan Johor akan baginda itu sudah masuk kota, maka Raja Johor pun segera keluarlah dengan anakda. Baginda pulang di kampung bendahara lama, dan baginda pun sampai ke dalam kota. Baginda masuk ke dalam istana...". Note the ease with which Raja Kecil took the country.

44c teraba teraba

L1 uses a number of techniques to fill out the line of verse to fit the line of writing and this form may be one of them (cf 53d sebarang sebarang). However, it has been taken as a deliberate attempt to bring out the two senses implicit in the word, viz., the idea of haste and of groping.

44d dimabuk tuba

An entertaining description of the technique of fishing using the tuba sap as a drug may be found in MAXWELL, George "In Malay Forests", pp.246-264.

45d

The wealth of the Johor court was unexpectedly slight, implying that the rulers were not legitimate kings. The theory is that whom God has chosen, him will He cause to prosper.

46b

Separation from one's "in-laws" is a peculiarly uxorilocal Menangkabau way of looking at it.

There is the continual problem of how much weight may be placed on such evidence when considering questions such as, in this case, the extent to which the Menangkabau took their social organisation with them when they established settlements throughout the archipelago.

The syairist may choose words, especially final words, for their rhyme which in practice takes precedence over sense.

47

The poet abruptly drops the topic of Johor for it has served his purpose (and what follows may have damaged his case). He established that Siak was not a subject of Johor to be bargained off, as a chattel, by the ruler of Johor. On the contrary, the poet has shown Siak as the spiritual superior of the upstart and unproductive Johor line. The fact that Raja Kecil married into that line is ignored. The extent of Johor's hegemony over its "empire" was often a source of contention between the Netherlands and Britain as they attempted to rationalise their power politics with legal niceties. (See Introduction pp. 43-44 and 70.)

49d menghampiri

See footnote. L1 writes mim separately in its full form to fill the line. L2 reads mim as ber. That is, L2 transliterates keeping close to the L1 spelling and modifies the visual shape to make it legible. J, adopting the alternative method, seeks to make sense of the phrase as a whole. Each approach, though not peculiar to each MS, is the approach typically adopted by each. (Cf 71d seteru).

50a-b tuanku

Stanza 51 requires that stanza 50 should be taken as the words of Raja Kecil. Tuanku must, therefore, be used to refer to the Orang Kaya or suku heads of Bengkalis.

Penghulu are often called Tuanku in areas outside Menangkabau proper where a penghulu has the title of Raja (MANSOER, M.D. "Sejarah Minangkabau", p.13) and the term 'penghulu' is used for the head of a kampung. (JOSSELIN DE JONG, P.E. de, "Minangkabau and Negeri Sembilan...", p.11).

However, there is an error at this point in the Ms. L1 repeats 50a-b after 50c-d so that it is possible that a stanza has been omitted between St. 50 and St. 51.

50c segan

J reads makan because J himself tends not to form mim but leaves it open and undifferentiated from sin and ra.

52

Literary convention allows a king to legitimise his line by clearing virgin land to establish his realm. For example, Vijaya cleared the Forest of Trik to establish Majapahit; Maliku'l-Saleh cleared a forest to establish Pasai (HILL, A.H. "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai" pp.63-4); and Sultan Iskandar Syah established Malacca in a similarly uninhabited area (WINSTEDT, R.O., "The Malay Annals...", p.82).

53a ditebas

J misreads as dan besar and then omits dan to improve the sense.

53c-d

The statement that Buantan remained a significant town is contradicted by Driese's account. When the Dutch fleet arrived on 29th April, 1761, they found the kampung abandoned. Raja Alam took the opportunity to visit the grave of his father, Raja Kecil. (NETSCHER, E., "De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak..." p.121). The evacuation of Buantan may have been temporary because of the advance of the Dutch, but Anderson (ANDERSON, John, "Mission to the East Coast...", p.338) in 1823 found "only a few miserable huts".

53c Buantan

This is the third time that Buantan has been mentioned (St. 5c, 52a and 53c) but neither L2 nor J has realised the identity of the place or, perhaps, that it is a place name which indicates that L2 and J were scribes outside the social and political environment of Siak and its people. See also St. 60a.

53a sebarang-barang
Cf 44c teraba teraba

54a Bengkalis

J wrote b-ng-k-a and then left a space as if intending to check the spelling.

55a Buantan
See 53c note.

57b belah semangka

This appears to be a conventional metaphor describing European ships. See also St. 59b, 235b and 240b.

58

The initial impetus for renewed trade with Siak in this period came in 1674 with the arrival in Malacca of a cargo of tin from Petapahan (HOFFMAN, J.E. "Early Policies in the Malacca Jurisdiction...", pp.24, 27, 29, 31). Gold and pepper, from Menangkabau territory were also of interest to the Dutch (ibid. p.27).

59

The whole stanza is devoted to Dutch boats, yet Anderson (ANDERSON, John, "Mission to the East Coast...", pp.346-7) reports stories of Bugis, Javanese and Coromandel ships which formerly traded with Siak. Although Anderson would have wished to play down the role of the Dutch, it, nevertheless, seems clear that the author of the syair was playing up the role of the Dutch.

60a Buantan
See St. 53c note.

60c sultan

Now that he had a territorial base, Raja Kecil was referred to for the first time as Sultan. His full title was Sultan Abdul Jalil Rahmat Syah, Yang dipertuan Raja Kecil, and he reigned from 1718-46. His posthumous title was Marhum Buantan. (TENE pp.26 and 28).

61b kompeni

i.e. Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) or Dutch East India Company. See St. 59 note.

66

The understanding of this stanza requires an explanation of the confusing question of Menangkabau government and its adaptation in the rantau (i.e. provinces to the East - on rivers flowing into the Straits of Malacca or the South China Sea).

Lima Puluh Kota and Tanah Datar were both Luhak (territorial divisions in the central Menangkabau region). The third of the Luhak nan Tigo was Agam. The rivers rising in Agam flow westward and it was thus more closely linked to the western coastal region called, inclusively, Pesisir. It is probable, therefore, that f-sy-y-r-(a) (St. 66d) indicates Pesisir and is synonymous with Agam.

Lima Puluh Kota is the more northerly of the other two Luhak and is the district where the Rokan, Siak and the northern branch of the Kampar (Kampar Kanan), or their tributaries rise.

Tanah Datar is to the South and includes the sources of the southern branch of the Kampar (Kampar Kiri), the Inderagiri (which has tributaries extending north through the centre of the Menangkabau daré and well into L Kota) and the Batang Hari (which flows through Jambi) or their tributaries.

Accurate maps of the region are difficult to obtain. The map appended to Schrieke's collected works (SCHRIEKE, B., "Indonesian Sociological Studies", Part I) shows the historic centres of the Menangkabau daré are included in none of the three Luhak but in the district of Batipuh and Pariaman. One may speculate that ~~this~~ was a Dutch administrative device, but the question remains as to where the boundaries occurred.

The stanza shows the pre-eminence of Tanah Datar which was chosen as his domain in 1347 by Adityawarman (MANSOER, M.D., et al "Sejarah Minangkabau", p.56). His capital at that time was at Pagar Ruyung (ibid., p.58) which was within the boundaries of Tanah Datar. The ruler became known as Yang Dipertuan Raja Alam di Pagar Ruyung and was aided by Raja Adat di Buo

(the legal authority) and Raja Ibadat di Sumpur Kudus (who supervised religious matters) (ibid., p.64). It is not clear whether Buo and Sumpur Kudus were also in Tanah Datar, or were in Lima Puluh and Agam, respectively, where they met in this central area. Other centres nearby, such as Saruaso and Sungai Tarab, were the seats of lesser authorities.

Whatever the connection between the individual princes and the territorial Luhaks might be, the princes as a whole had little power even within the Menangkabau daré (the three Luhak). By the time the Dutch arrived in Sumatra in the Seventeenth Century, their actual power did not extend outside the Highlands (PENDERS, C.L.M., "The Expansion of Dutch Control... p.60). Kingship itself was a foreign, imposed, superstructure on the indigenous Menangkabau social and political structure. In time, without a basis of power, the Kings became little more than mediators in struggles between local units. If ignored, they had no means to enforce their will. They could not require their Subjects to attend at court, but they themselves had to visit their subjects, and there were restrictions on where the king could visit and how long he could stay (JOSSELIN DE JONG, P.E. de, "Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan...", p.106). "They were kings without soldiers: the poorest pretense of monarchs the world has known". (LOEB, Edwin M., "Sumatra...", p.102). Loeb's judgement is a harsh one for their authority, even without power, enabled them to continue for almost 500 years until the Padri wiped out the royal line in 1809 (MANSOER, M.D., op.cit., p.67), (or 1844 - JOSSELIN DE JONG, P.E. de, op.cit., p.8). The royal house of Menangkabau was looked to "with mystic veneration and considered primus inter pares". (PENDERS, C.L.M., op.cit., p.60).

The real power lay in the suku which were exogamous matrilineal units, but were not territorial. Suku were originally four in number. The head of the suku had the title Datuk. The territorial units were nagari. The luhak Lima Puluh Kota supposedly consisted of 50 nagari. Each nagari would include members of more than one suku.

The political structure adopted by Raja Kecil was therefore a mixture of suku and luhak notions.

In the Rantau, social organisation was not based on matri-

lineal descent and political office was inherited patrilineally (MANSOER, M.P., et al, op.cit., p.5). That is, the Fagar Ruyung notions of kingship had gained ground over the matrilineal suku structure.

The Menangkabau highlands were a land-based region with a relatively large population. Its agriculture was based on sawah and it developed a highly integrated and complex society which stressed stability and continuity. So unyielding was that society that there developed a tradition of temporary migration and overseas trading for those who did not fit the structure or felt oppressed by it.

Social structures developed in the highlands were unsuitable for the Rantau areas, and for Raja Kecil's Siak. Siak had a slight basis in territory and population. It depended on the goods which passed through it for its existence. A king in Siak needed freedom from constraint and the opportunity to act independently.

The syair often refers to the Suku without explaining their nature and gives them the names of the Luhak, that is, Tanah Datar, Lima Puluh and Pesisir [?=Agam]. SM (p.426) states that Raja Kecil created four penghulu (see St. 50a-b note) - probably on the same suku pattern - among the Menangkabau in Batu Bahara. Tenas Effendy (TENE, p.26) adds a fourth unit to make up the necessary number of the suku structure in Raja Kecil's Siak, namely, Kampar. (See St. 67a note). The Datuk Kampar, he claims, was recruited at the time Raja Kecil became Sultan in Buantan whereas the other three Datuk had been with him since he left Fagar Ruyung. Without supporting evidence, one guesses that names rather than leaders or structures were brought from Fagar Ruyung.

See also St. 207a note and St. 208 note .

67a gempar

Or Kampar? See St. 66 note for TE's fourth suku. In his modernised version, however, TE does not have an equivalent stanza.

67a ada

?=dedau, i.e. cry his wares.

67a-b

Ll has a marginal note in another hand - Lambang.

L1 repeated the stanza. In the repeated stanza there are no small alifs (a) which suggests that the small alif was not an essential part of the spelling.

70c sama setara

Von de Wall (WALL, H. VON DE, "Matan, Simpang, Soekadana... p.113), gives Raja Alam as an anak gundik (named after Kampung Alam) and Mahmud as an anak gahara. There is no reason for questioning that description, but it is worth noticing that von de Wall collected his information in West Kalimantan which was the home of the descendants of Mahmud. Most of Alam's descendants would have remained in Siak.

Cf SM's account of the origins of Alam. "Maka Tuan Bujang [Raja Kecil] mudik ke Rawas. Maka Tuan Bujang berbini dengan anak Dipati Batu Kucing dan tiada berapa lamanya Tuan Bujang duduk di Rawas itu. Maka beranak seorang laki-laki dinamakan Raja Alam" (SM p.422). If the chronology of SM can be trusted, this was before Raja Kecil's involvement in the civil strife in Jambi. We may speculate then that there was considerably less than 20 years difference in the ages of Raja Kecil and Raja Alam. See also T al N p.41 and ANDAYA, Leonard Y. "Raja Kecil...", pp.62-3.

Mahmud was the son of Tengku Kamariah, second daughter of Sultan Abdul Jalil of Johor (1699-1718). (See WINSTEDT, R.O., "History of Johore", p.54). When Raja Kecil was deposed by the Bugis in October 1722 (ibid., p.56), Tengku Kamariah was three months pregnant (SM p.438). Mahmud (Tengku Buang) was born after Kecil had returned to Buantan (SM p.439), and it was not till 1727 that he managed to take his wife and son (WINSTEDT, R.O., op.cit., p.57). This placed Mahmud's birth early in 1723. See also T al N p.69.

The efforts made to attain or retain custody of Mahmud as a child indicate the importance his heredity had for politicians of the time. However, the author of the syair was faced with a dilemma. He had spent most of the previous 70 stanzas asserting the superior claims of Raja Kecil to be heir to the royal line of Malay kings over the family of Tun Abdul Jalil, who was the Bendahara of Sultan Mahmud Syah of Johor.

The poet is therefore unable to press Mahmud's (Raja Buang's) claim to the throne of Siak on the grounds that his mother was Tengku Kamariah, the daughter of Tun Abdul Jalil. Mahmud's claim must stand on the fact that he was the son of Raja Kecil, a fact which puts him on the same level as Raja Alam.

71 and 72

Raja Kecil's even-handed policy towards his sons as described here has echoes of the Negarakrtagama's claim that Airlangga divided his kingdom "out of love for his children, in order that both could be rulers" andso created generations of discord. (SCHRIEKE, B., "Indonesian Sociological Studies", Part II, pp.16-17).

70d seteru

This is a good example of L2 being misled by the small alif (a), and spelling isteri which jayeng seems to rule out. On this occasion, J transliterates a-sy-t-r-w without appearing to consider the meaning. See St. 49d menghampiri and note.

73a cucu

For genealogical information see:

WALL, H. vonde "Matan, Simpang, Soekadana...", pp.113-123
SM pp.443, 447, 453.

BEGBIE, P.J., "The Malayan Pensinsula", chart facing p.284

77a

Mahmud was in Kota Besar and Alam was in Kota Tuan Besar.
SM p.450

80a yang keempat suku

See St. 66 and note.

80b bukan melebihi hasrat

Although this is an unlikely reading, the introduction of the king(baginda) into this section in St. 82 indicates that baginda is not intended here. The h also makes melihat improbable as melihat has already occurred four times with the conventional h.

82 In SM, too, news ofthe civil strife was kept from Raja Kecil (SM p.451), but in SM he died without ever learning of it.

84d saudara muda

The absence of any names in this section makes interpretation uncertain. The words saudara muda suggest that Raja Kecil is speaking to Alam about his younger brother, Mahmud. Cf St. 96d.

85d salah seorang

Raja Kecil does not say who should go, though he suggests where the blame lies. See St. 84d note. Alam takes it upon himself to go (St. 89-100).

87c-d

Cf St. 20c-d

89-100

The section concerning Alam's departure into exile contains no animosity towards Alam, but only sympathy for him which suggests that the author was either sufficiently far removed from the time to be free of partisan bias or deliberately trying to appease the descendants of Raja Alam.

89c dibakar

All three MSS write dibakir though dibakar gives the better sense. The syairist invariably prefers rhyme to sense. Cf St. 114c.

99a timpas

According to Wilkinson (WILKINSON, R.J., "A Malay English Dictionary") the use of timpas means that the tide had completely run out and was not simply ebbing. As this would be an inappropriate time to begin a trip downstream, perhaps St.99a is intended figuratively to mean: "We expect the tide to ebb and flow, but Alam's cause had reached its lowest ebb".

100

After leaving Siak, Alam left his family at Batu Bahara, and visited Palembang and Deli (SM pp.451 and 461), Siantan (SM p.467) and Matan (SM p.470) before returning to Siak with the Dutch forces in 1761.

102a teluk dan rantau

From what follows (St. 102-108), we may take teluk dan

rantau to refer to a particular place where Alam was territorial ruler (See stanzas 77 and 78) rather than the various settlements on the 90-100 km. trip from Buntan to the Straits of Malacca.

103d lega

The ya in the spelling suggests e taling ie. léga.

Wilkinson gives léga as an alternative pronunciation of lēga and refers it to vonde Wall.

106c

Cf St. 20c and 87c.

107b piatu

Alam was an orphan only in the metaphorical sense that he was separated from his kin. Raja Kecil was still living at this stage.

108a badan

Used as a first person pronoun, i.e. I, me, myself.

108c negeri orang

See St. 100 note.

111-112

The author seeks to reinforce the notion (See St. 89-100 note) that there was no residual ill-feeling between the brothers. The problem was the division of authority - a problem common among ruling families where there was no clearly established precedence - and not one of personal animosity between them. In contrast, SM (pp.450-463) details the extensive hostilities between Alam and Mahmud.

113b

The death of Raja Kecil is announced parenthetically in the context of Mahmud's endeavours to solve the problem of succession with his brother. When compared with the prolonged description of Mahmud's dying and death (St. 133-215) it is clear that Kecil is not regarded as the central character of the syair. His role is an introductory one designed to legitimise the rights of his descendants to the throne of Siak.

In SM also (SM p.451) Kecil's death is treated briefly.

114c bakar

See St. 89c note.

115d

Traditionally the new king was installed before his predecessor's funeral. If Alam had part of the regalia (kebesaran) (See St. 75), it would have been necessary to produce substitutes quickly. In the context of attempts at reconciliation and good will, the poet is deliberately vague about any such necessity.

By the time of Mahmud's funeral, the regalia was quite complete. See St. 207-210.

116d ratu

Ratu usually, though not always, means queen. Here it is clearly a concession to rhyme. Cf, St. 91c.

117c bunda

Kamariah, the second daughter of Sultan Abdul Jalil of Johor (the Bendahara).

118b gelorat

The form gelorat, rather than gelora, is used here, and subsequently, to conform with the poet's insistence on final rhymes.

119

11 has a marginal note referring to this stanza which reads: "Adalah konon seorang kelana bernama m-r-d-y-n-a-s-m-a-r-a-l-y-n-a budi pekerti t-y berguna".

119b anakda

The three MSS give anakda, or anakanda, yet the sense requires ayahanda.

120b mati

Cf spelling with St. 205b.

125d Mempura

Sungai Mempura is a tributary of the Siak River and its course marks the initial stages of the overland route to

Pelalawan. Anderson (ANDERSON, John, "Mission to the East Coast...", pp.340-1), saw the move to Mempura as a defensive tactic after Mahmud's attack on the Dutch station at Pulau Guntung. Mahmud, Ismail and Yahya were all to use Pelalawan as a means of escape from Siak.

126

The poet again disclaims any personal knowledge of the events he narrates. If the move to Mempura was, in fact, made after the attack on Pulau Guntung in 1759, it is unlikely the poet was witness to the events of 1761 which fill the major part of his work.

Stories of the time were still current when Anderson visited Siak in 1823: "The datus mentioned some anecdotes of the harsh conduct of the Dutch in former times, when that nation had a settlement at Pulo Guntong, from which they were expelled." (ANDERSON, John, "Mission to the East Coast...", p.171).

131

TE 65/3 makes this stanza more explicit, and his reference to Pulau Guntung seems a reasonable way of explaining the stanza: "Loji di Guntung sudahlah tumpas
Seorang kelasipun tidak lepas
Meriam dan harta habis dirampas.
Lojinya seperti telur dikupas".

TE expands this section by adding about 35 stanzas between St. 126 and St. 132.

136b kesukaan

J - kedukaan - is not a misreading but a deliberate correction. L1 and L2 are clear and unambiguous. Cf. St. 138d.

137b belian

L1, in fact, has kaf for lam but the oblique stroke has been scored out, changing it to lam. Hence J reads b-k-y-n. L1 made a similar slip in bulan (St. 136a) and corrected it in the same way.

139a para putera

Mahmud's sons were Ismail, Abdullah, Musa and Abdul Rahman.

139b terkira

J again mistakes a line-filling device for an angka dua.

139c tersera-sera

Tersera is a form of seri not found in KD. See Wilkinson sera III.

141

This stanza illustrates again the primacy of rhyme. L1 is quite uninhibited by conventional spelling and writes a final ba in each case.

142d kering

L2 reads a line filler as angka dua.

143d ribut barat

Westerly squalls are notorious in the Straits of Malacca for their suddenness and ferocity, and are often described in literature. See YULE, Henry and A.C. BURNELL, "Hobson-Jobson", p.867 under Sumatra for examples.

149

L1 has a marginal note 1122 in the European form of Arabic numerals.

149b supaya nyata

TE (p.67/8) gives the name of the tabib - Desa Sepatah.

151 latah

Swettenham (SWETTENHAM, Frank Athelstane, "Malay Sketches", pp.64-82) has written an article on this phenomenon.

153a beramanat

KD prefers amanah but amanat is used here to give the rhyme which is so important to the poet.

154d Baginda Ali

Ali bin Abu Talib was the fourth and last Orthodox Caliph (A.D. 656-661). He became caliph because of his close connection with Muhammad. He was the Prophet's cousin from the Hashim clan and was his protege, and he married the Prophet's daughter, Fatimah.

At the murder of their son, Al-Husayn, A.D. 680, the supporters of the descendants of Ali (the Alids) formed the Shi'ite party, whose theology endowed Ali with the charismatic qualities of Muhammad and developed them to near-divinity. Such a thing was anathema to the more orthodox, and much more numerous, Sunni party. (WATT, W. Montgomery, "The Majesty that was Islam", pp.3, 11, 15, 21; RAUF, M.A., "A Brief History of Islam", pp. 23, 34.)

When mysticism (Sufiism) developed in Islam, it was to Ali and the Shi'a sect that the sufis looked to justify their beliefs (ARCHER, R.L., "Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra", p.2). It is believed that the sufis from India were mainly responsible for the spread of Islam to Sumatra and its acceptance there.

158c kesatria

This is stretching the evidence of the MSS, but it is used for want of a better word.

158c

This line consisting of Javanese words is more likely a convention picked up from Panji tales than an attempt at realism. See St. 555c-d.

160-164

This section describes a berhantu which follows closely that described by Swettenham (SWETTENHAM, F.A., "Malay Sketches", pp.147-160).

[p. 153] "...each Malay state has its own special Spirits....

p. 154] In this particular State [Perak] there are four principal Jin; they are the Jin ka-raja-an, the State Spirit - also called Junjong dunia udara - Supporter of the Firmament; ...

"These four are known as Jin aruah, Exalted Spirits, and they are guardians of the Sultan and the State... In their honour, four white and crimson umbrellas were hung in the room... Only the Sultan of the State is entitled to traffic with these distinguished Spirits; when summoned, they decline to move unless appealed to with their own special invocations, set to their own peculiar music, sung by at least four singers and led by a Beduan (singer) of the royal family. The Jin ka-raja-an

is entitled to have the royal drums played by the state drummers if his presence is required...

[p.157] "...Most hantu have their own special Pawangs, and several of these were carrying on similar proceedings in adjoining buildings, in order that the sick monarch might reap all the benefits to be derived from a consultation of experts, and, as one spirit after another notified his advent by the upstarting flame of the taper, it was impossible not to feel that one was getting into the very best society.

"Meanwhile, a sixteen-sided stand, about six inches high... [a star shape formed from two superimposed squares] had been placed on the floor near the Pawang's mat. The stand was decorated with yellow cloth; in its centre stood an enormous candle, while round it were gaily decorated rice and other toothsome delicacies specially prized by Jin. There was just room to sit on this stand, which is called Petrana panchalogam... [p.158] and the Sultan, supported by many attendants, was brought out and sat upon it. A veil was placed on his head, the various vessels were put in his hands, he spread rice round the taper, sprinkled the perfume, and received into his hand an enormous chadak of grass, calmly awaited the coming of the Jin ka-raja-an, while the minstrels shouted for him with all their might.

"The Sultan sat there for some time, occasionally giving a convulsive shudder, and when this taper had duly flared up and all the rites had been performed, His Highness was conducted back again to his couch, and the Pawang continued her ministrations alone.

..."Just before dawn there was a sudden confusion with the curtains which hid the Sultan's couch, they were thrown aside, and there lay the King, [p.159] to all appearance in a swoon. The Jin Ka-raja-an had taken possession of the sick body, and the mind was no longer under its owner's control.

"For a little while there was great excitement, and then the King recovered consciousness, was carried to a side verandah and a quantity of cold water poured over him.

"So ended the seance.

"... The King did not die after all - on the contrary, I was sent for twice again because he was not expected to live till morning, and yet he cheated Death - for a time."

160c

Cf Swettenham (p.159). The State Jin takes possession of the King.

160c junjung raja udara

Cf Swettenham, p.156. Junjung dunia udara was another name for Jin ka-raja-an, the State Spirit and first of the four ^{Jin arwah.}
 160d ^{biduan} Cf Swettenham p.156. The jin arwah needed to be summoned by a biduan (singer) of the royal family leading at least four singers.

160d Malim Para

There is little to recommend this reading but no other suggests itself. Certainly a malim or pawang was an essential ingredient of a berhantu.

161a alamat

In Swettenham's case, the sign which began proceedings was the Pawang covering her head and face with a silken cloth. (ibid. p.154).

161b-c

Cf Swettenham, p.158. "...the Sultan, supported by many attendants, was brought out and sat upon it".

161c peterana

See Swettenham's description of the petrana panchalogam St. 160-164, note above.

161d

Cf Swettenham, p.154. "In a corner of the room were five or six girls holding native drums, instruments with a skin stretched over one side only, and this beaten usually with the fingers. The leader of this orchestra was the daughter of Raja Ngah [the Pawang]".

162b seperti guntur

Cf Swettenham, p.158. "...the minstrels shouted for him [the Jin] with all their might".

163

The flaring of the taper signified the arrival of the spirit. In Swettenham's berhantu other pawangs were performing similar rites in adjoining buildings. (ibid., p.157)

164

Cf Swettenham, pp.158-9: The king was conducted back to his couch where he was later found in a swoon. The jin had taken possession of his body and mind.

165

Cf Swettenham, p.159: When the King regained consciousness, he was carried to a side verandah where cold water was poured over him.

165d jikalaukan

I have not met this form elsewhere, but TE p.69/5 uses it, so the MSS have been followed. L2 writes jikalau.

171

Netscher gives the date of Mahmud's death as 23rd November, 1760. (NETSCHER, E., "De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak...", p.111). His death is also recorded in SM p.470 and T al N pp. 139-140, but neither treats the event in more than a paragraph.

171a bilangan

Ajal bilangan is the appointed hour of death.

172b Izrail

One of the four principal angels. Izrail (Azrael), the angel of death carries off the lives of all creatures; Israfil controls life; Michael gives daily bread; Gabriel is the messenger. (SKEAT, W.M., "Malay Magic", p.98).

174c Tengku Busu

The youngest of Kecil's four sons, Alam, Mahmud, Isahak, and Tengku Busu, though Kecil also had two daughters, and children in Kedah. (SM p.443; WALL, H. von de, "Matan, Simpang, Soekadana...", p.113)

Tengku Busu's daughter, Tengku Sani, married Ismail (SM p.466).

Tengku Busu went into exile with Ismail (SM p.475) where he acted as envoy in Ismail's negotiations with the Sultan of Trengganu (SM p.493). He died in Palembang (SM p.513).

Tengku Busu's descendants lived in Tambelan and married into the family of the Sultan of Matan (WALL, H. von de, op.cit., p.123).

175

Compare the treatment of the death of Mahmud with the brief mention of the death of his father, Raja Kecil, the founder of the line, St. 113b.

176

The repeated use of tuanku, a form of address, to begin stanzas suggests that the panegyrics which begin here and continue to stanza 203 are spoken by the mourners.

177c wazira

All three MSS add alif for the sake of the rhyme.

181c jari

Compare Skeat's record of the use of jari lipan.

"...the bier is covered with a pall (kain tudong) of as good coloured cloth (never white, but often green) as may be obtainable. There are generally two or three of these coverings, and floral decorations are sometimes thrown across them, the blossoms of the areca-palm and the scented pandanus being woven into exquisite floral strips, called "Centipedes' Feet" (jari lipan), about three feet long by two fingers in breadth, and laid at short intervals across the pall. There are generally from five to six of these floral strips, the areca blossom alternating with the pandanus". (SKEAT, W.M. "Malay Magic", p.403).

182c zamzam mawar

Fragrant waters are an essential part of funerals and their odours may evoke memories of funerals. See SKEAT, W.M., "Malay Magic", p.402.

183b kumbang

A swarm of bees is an unlucky omen (SKEAT, W.M., "Malay Magic", p.535)

184b pelangi

The significance of the rainbow is possibly explained by this quotation from Skeat:

"When only a small portion of the rainbow is visible, which seems to touch the earth, it is called tunggul ('the flag'), and if this is seen at some particular point of the compass - the west, I think - it betokens, the Perak Malays say, the approaching death of a Raja". (SKEAT, W.M., "Malay Magic", p.15).

185b nasab Iskandar

The evidence for this reading is meagre, but it gives a reasonable sense.

185c-d

If this verse is interpreted correctly, it affirms that Mahmud, as befits a Muslim, was truly mortal and, unlike the Hindu heroes, did not vanish heavenwards but died a human death.

186b mayang

The MSS appear to suggest menguning.

187b berkudu

kudu is also the red dye from the mengkudu plant.

187c merdu

Merdu usually refers to sounds and is inappropriate in this stanza except for its rhyme.

188b patih

"Seribu pati" in stanza 158a suggests that this office is a lowly one. Possibly the reference here is to a particular patih such as Gajah Mada, though cantik is an inappropriate description of that worthy.

193b para putera

Mahmud had four sons: Ismail, Abdullah, Musa, Abdul Rahman and a daughter, Tengku Sonet (WALL, H. von de, "Matan, Simpang Soekadana...", p.113). He also had an older daughter, Tengku Ambang Besar, who married Muhammad Ali, the son of Alam (SM p.454). She did not go to Kalimantan and, therefore, was not included in von de Wall's genealogy. SM pp.452-3 adds further details.

195a wayang perwira

All three MSS are quite explicit, yet T.E.'s dayang perwara (TE p.75/5) gives a better sense.

195d

This claim that Ismail was not yet an adult at the death of Mahmud is the basic reason given for the inability of Siak to defend itself against the Dutch.

According to the chronology given in SM, immediately

after the Dutch were expelled from Pulau Guntung, Ismail married Tengku Sani, the daughter of Tengku Busu, and Yahya, known as Tengku Sulong, was born before the Dutch invasion. (SM pp.466-467).

T al N (p.105) claims that Ismail was present at the massacre at Pulau Guntung.

Netscher (NET, p.108) records that Ismail commanded a fleet of 30 or 40 vessels off Riau early in 1760, that is, only a few months after the attack on the Dutch fort at Pulau Guntung on 6th November, 1759 (NET p.104).

See also St. 261a note.

197b gundah

Although L2 uses the same spelling (k-n-d) as L1, his intention is probably kanda. k-n-d is L1's usual spelling for gundah, whereas L2 usually spells it g-n-d-h.

201c dicari

All three MSS give dijari but dicari gives a better sense after luruh.

204a dikapan

The corpse is "shrouded from head to foot in fine new sarongs, one of which covers the body from the feet upwards to the waist, the other covering it from the waist to the head, ...when a rich man...dies, as many as seven [layers of cloth] may be used, each of the seven being made in one long piece, so as to cover the body from head to feet, the cloth being of fine texture, of no recognised colour, but richly interwoven with gold thread..." (SKEAT, W.M., "Malay Magic", pp.397-8).

204d keranda

The keranda is "a plain, oblong plank box" about "six feet long by three spans wide... Varnish or paint is forbidden in Malay coffins, but the planks are washed to ensure their cleanliness, and lined with white cloth (alas puteh). About three inches of earth is put into the karanda...". (SKEAT, W.M., "Malay Magic", p.399).

205

Wilkinson (WILKINSON, R.J., "Papers on Malay Subjects", p.100) gives the procedure in the case of Perak Sultans which appears to have been the same in Siak. "The Bendahara or Prime

Minister takes possession of the regalia of the deceased ruler and administers the government ad interim. At the expiration of seven days he sends or heads a deputation to the Raja Muda inviting him as heir presumptive to attend the obsequies and be installed as Sultan. ...the presence and proclamation of the new Sultan are essential features of the burial ceremony of the old".

205b mati

Cf the spelling in 120b and 252b (m-a-z-y, m-z-a-l-y, m-a-d-l-y, m-a-d-y) which use letters typically found only in Arabic loan words. Arabic words are often used as euphemisms in polite speech. For example, hamil is preferred to bunting. The attempt to make mati appear to be an Arabic word is possibly intended to soften the harshness of the idea it expresses. Elsewhere mati is spelt in the conventional way.

205c pegawai

The writing of this word illustrates one of Ll's individual traits that misleads the other MSS. After kaf there appears to be an alif joined to the following wau, thus forming a lam. This feature is quite common and is probably a flourish and not a letter at all. Ll uses the spelling f-k-w- in St. 140c above. Cf 208a pawai.

206c-d usungan... raja diraja

"A chief's bier is a huge platform, which it may take a hundred men to lift. A bier may be of several storeys. The bier of the commoner chief of Jelebu, for example, is of five storeys; the bier of a raja is seven. At the Jelebu rites a lad chosen from a privileged tribe scatters coins from the topmost bier; nine maidens of the same tribe are seated on the litter, eight keeping the corpse in position with their extended hands and the ninth holding a young plaintain tree as a symbol that 'the broken grows again' and the chieftainship of Jelebu never dies. At the funeral of royalty, sixteen girls used to support the body... Children are made to pass under a parent's bier before it is carried to the grave, not only as a token of respect, but to prevent them from pining for the deceased". (WINSTEDT, R.O., "The Malay Magician...", p.126).

207a delapan

It is difficult to know the significance of eight in the Menangkabau-based system. In the traditional Malaccan system as followed in Perak, the eight were penghulus of the second rank.

In Siak, as in Negri Sembilan, four appears to be the only subdivision, e.g. empat suku, and the four Undang districts. (GULLICK, J.M. "Indigenous Political Systems...", pp.9-10, 50, 90-94).

207c abang

L1 decides for rhyme, but L2 prefers the more usual kakak in this phrase.

208

The poet continued the Malaccan 4-8-16 pattern (see St. 207a note above) of ranking officials. The intention was to indicate that the regalia of kingship were once more complete and needed sixteen bearers to carry them. The Winstedt and Wilkinson (WINSTEDT, R.O. AND R.J. WILKINSON, "A History of Perak", pp.163-165) list five articles in the Perak regalia that the Sultan must wear at his installation, but they add ten other items of similar status and note that Sultan Ismail lost other items in the Perak war of 1876. They also list the "Naubat or Royal Band" separately (ibid., pp.159-160). The Jelebu regalia consisted of twelve items. (SKEAT, W.M., "Malay Magic", pp.26-27).

The Siak regalia was brought by Raja Kecil from Menangkabau (St. 12). The syair gives the impression that Raja Kecil was an independent ruler at Pagar Ruyung (See 15a note). Stanzas 75 and 95 suggest the regalia had been divided between Alam and Mahmud. At the death of Raja Kecil, Mahmud's people made good any deficiencies (St. 115) and here, at his funeral, Mahmud bequeathed to his successor, Ismail, a full set of regalia with the authority that accompanied it.

The importance attached to the regalia is illustrated by the reaction to the seizure of the Johor regalia by the Dutch in 1822. (See ANDERSON, John, "Mission to the East Coast..." pp.170-171; LINEHAN, W., "A History of Pahang", p.57. See also WAKE, C.H., "Raffles and the Rajas", pp.49, 57, 60, etc.).

208a pawai

For spelling, cf St. 205c pegawai.

208a diatur

L2's reading of dihantar suggests that he regarded pawai as the insignia themselves rather than the insignia bearers.

208b pembesar

This reading cannot be justified from the MSS but is the closest approximation that gives reasonable sense.

208c dian dipasang

Skeat (SKEAT, W.M., "Malay Magic", p.398, fn2) says that lamps are kept burning in the house while the corpse is there and for seven days and nights after the death. This line suggests that lamps were carried in the funeral procession to continue this ritual wake.

209a-b tetampan...diberikan

The shoulder cloths of the insignia bearers are clearly illustrated in the photograph of Sultan Ahmad and his staff in LINEHAN, W., "A History of Pahang", facing Table of Contents.

209d

The line is not clear. L2 reads dipukulkan for L1's d-(a)-f-w-k-n which by itself is acceptable in terms of L1's spelling, but makes calang (or cadang) difficult to explain so he replaces it with rebana. J simply copies L1 d-a-f-w-k-n. The reading adopted has little to recommend it, and appears to contradict diangkat in the previous line. The spelling of dipautkan - with t - is used because KD does not give the form pauk.

211b emban-emban

Are these the "5 bands swathing the corpse (lima tali-pengikat mariat)" spoken of by Skeat (SKEAT, W.M., "Malay Magic", pp.401, 404, 406)?

213

Cf SKEAT, W.M., "Malay Magic", p.402: The service was held at 1 p.m. to allow all participants to return home before nightfall.

213a teja

The vertical shaft of sunlight at sunset portends a raja's death. Cf St. 184b note.

214b membalikkan

The corpse is turned on its right side so it looks towards the west. (SKEAT, W.M., "Malay Magic", p.404).

214d disimburkan

"Eagle-wood and sandal-wood water (ayer gharu chendana) is then brought to the Imam who pours it out in three libations, each time sprinkling the grave from the head to the foot". (SKEAT, W.M., "Malay Magic", p.406).

215

For the purpose of sitting up to listen to the talkin the corpse is placed in a niche at the side of the grave so that no earth actually falls on it.

"Next is read the talkin, which is an exhortation (ajaran) addressed to the deceased. It is said that during the process of reading the Talkin the corpse momentarily revives, and, still lying upon its side, raises itself to a listening position by reclining upon its right elbow (bertelku) and resting its head upon its hand. This is the reason for removing the bands of the shroud, as the body is left free to move, and thus in groping about (meraba-raba) with its left hand feels that the garment is without a hem or selvage, and then first realising that it must be really dead, composes itself to listen quietly to whatever the Imam may say, until at the close of the exhortation it falls back really lifeless! Hence, the almost absolute silence must be observed during the exhortation..." (SKEAT, W.M., "Malay Magic", pp.406-7).

219c

Cf St. 23c and 75d. What appears to be a conventional line included for no other reason than to fill the stanza, here makes reasonable sense.

223a menyurat

Surat is the term normally applied to the copyist. Here for reasons of rhyme, it appears to be used for karang (compose).

223b gelorat

On a previous occasion (St. 118b) the form gelora has been preferred in keeping with KD.. Here the form gelorat, as used in the MSS is retained to maintain the rhyme.

223c datuk

If datuk is intended as a specific reference to a particular person, we may infer that the syair was composed by the grandson of a person who was living at the time of Mahmud's death and subsequently went into exile with Ismail - assuming the postscript was composed by the same person. This grandfather need not necessarily have been old enough to have taken part in the events, or even have witnessed them personally.

226d bukan

J, yang akan, avoids the less idiomatic bukan for tidak.

227

Cf Stanzas 35 and 513. See St. 513 note.

228c

This line stresses the youth of Ismail and so his lack of preparation for the task that lies ahead. See St. 195d note.

229

The intentions of the poet in this stanza is obscure.

230a putera

See St. 193b note. The poet is indicating that Mahmud passed on a kingdom undivided by internal division as Raja Kecil had done. Putera would be a most unusual way of referring to Alam.

231c-d

This verse appears to suggest that it was Mahmud's wish that Ismail should succeed. SM (p.470) confirms that Mahmud wished to be succeeded by Ismail and that he wished him to make a lasting settlement with his brothers. Cf TENE (TENE pp.32-33) and Anderson (ANDERSON, John, "Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra", p.341) who present the opposing view that Mahmud wanted the government transferred to his brother Alam.

232b ayahanda dan kakanda

Ayahanda is most probably Tengku Busu, the youngest son of Raja Kecil. See St. 174c and note. It was Tengku Busu to whom Mahmud gave his final injunction concerning his children (SM p.470).

Muhammad Ali, the eldest son of Alam, would have been of similar age to Tengku Busu though of the next generation. Kakanda would, therefore, have been the appropriate relationship to Ismail.

Muhammad Ali was the son of Alam by an anak pegawai (SM p.453). Begbie (BEGBIE, P.J., "The Malayan Peninsula", facing p.284) translates a genealogy of 1824 as "Raja Mahomet whose mother was of low origin".

Winstedt, in the genealogy he prepared from T al N (WINSTEDT, R.L., "A Malay History...", p.302) appears to indicate that Muhammad Ali was a son of Daing Khatijah, the daughter of Daing Parani. This would make him a full brother of Tengku Embung Badariah who married Said Osman. It was the progeny of this union that eventually succeeded to the throne of Siak and extended its hegemony at the turn of the century. However, to the best of my knowledge, there is no connection in the Tal N between Daing Khatijah and Muhammad Ali. SM does not refer to the Bugis alliance (SM pp.453 and 466) and T al N does not refer to Muhammad Ali's origins other than to indicate that he was a son of Alam.

Muhammad Ali married Tengku Ambang Besar, the daughter of Mahmud (SM p.454) and sister of Ismail. He did not accompany Alam into exile, but stayed with his wife (SM p.460). When Ismail succeeded Mahmud to the throne, Muhammad Ali became Yam Tuan Muda (SM p.471). Anderson (ANDERSON, John, "Mission to the East Coast..", p.341) records that "Raja Alum's son, who remained in the country although his father fled, and now became an enterprising youth, was elected panglima besar", and TENE (TENE p.36) uses the same expression: "Tengku Muhammad Ali bergelar Tengku Panglima Besar". See further references to panglima besar below.

When his father, Alam, expelled and replaced Ismail, Muhammad Ali stayed on in Siak. He succeeded Alam to become the fifth Sultan of Siak in 1766 (NET p.133) until Ismail returned by force in 1779 (NET p.134). (See also SM pp.514-516

and TalN pp.19Off.) TENE p.38 gives Muhammad Ali's reign as 1780-1782. The discrepancy in the date of the beginning of the reign may, in part, be explained by the fact that Alam did not die in 1766, but retired to Senapelan (Pekan Baru). (NET p.133).

On 14th May, 1784, Muhammad Ali, accompanied by his nephew, Said Ali, went to Malacca to aid the Dutch in their conflict with Raja Haji (BUYONG BIN ADIL, Haji, "Sejarah Selangor", p.25). After assisting van Braam to defeat Raja Haji, and Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor in August 1784 (ibid., p.27) Muhammad Ali became Pemangku Yang dipertuan Selangor, but before the end of the year disagreements with the Dutch caused him to leave Selangor to Said Ali and return to Siak (ibid., p.28). SM (p.523) leaves all the honour of ruling in Selangor and the opprobrium of a quick retreat to Said Ali.

TENE (TENE p.38) either by design or because of their sources, expunge much of the internal conflict from their account. They do not mention the return of Ismail for his second reign and the flight of Muhammad Ali (SM pp.514-416), and they do not explain the succession of Ismail's son, Yahya, to Muhammad Ali.

Muhammad Ali died in 1791 (NET, p.143).

232c-d

The point of these obscure similes seems to be that Tengku Busu and Muhammad Ali brought calm and confidence to the anxious uncertainty of post-Mahmud government in Siak.

233-234

The implications of these stanzas is that the Dutch did not dare to attack while Mahmud was in control, but, at a time of temporary weakness due to Ismail's youth, they were prepared to attempt it with the help of Alam.

234-235

These stanzas are repeated as 239 and 240.

234c ayahanda

i.e. Alam. Alam's claim to the throne was at least as good as Ismail's. See St. 231c-d note.

Alam was invited to Malacca in February 1760 from Batu Bahara and arrived on 25th September with ten quite large and

eight small vessels manned by 255 men and accompanied by his son-in-law, Said Osman, and the chief of Assahan (NET, p.110). That was before the death of Mahmud on 23rd November, 1760.

Alam signed contract with the Dutch on 16th January, 1761, after the death of Mahmud. The substance of the contract is given in Netscher (NET, p.113 and Appendix XXIII). A brief account of Alam's relations with the Dutch at this time is also given in ANDERSON, John, "Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra", p.341.

It is remarkable that there is no explicit or implied criticism of Alam's co-operation with the Dutch and actions against Ismail in the syair at this point, or later during hostilities. It is believed that this is not because of the author's indifference or his independent standpoint, but because of his wish to conciliate. The question is discussed in the Introduction.

234d

The syair is not explicit about Mahmud's offences against the Dutch though other sources make it clear that the massacre of the Dutch troops at the Pulau Guntung post was the cause of complaint. See, for example, ANDERSON, John, "Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra", pp.339-40. See also St. 128-132 and 131 note.

235d raka

L1 is not clear and causes uncertainty in the other two MSS, yet when the stanza is inadvertently repeated as St. 240 the intention is clear.

236

See St. 234c note.

237

Again, the poet stresses Ismail's unreadiness for office. See 233-234 note.

239-240

These two stanzas are accidental repetitions of St. 234-235.

242b dada

If dada indicates the height of the hands in the sembah,

then we would have to assume that the pegawai were not addressing Ismail, the Sultan, unless we again recognise the poet's insistence on rhyme before sense. See also 234c tuanku kedua note.

243c tuanku kedua

Tuanku kedua suggests that Tengku Busu and Muhammad Ali were being addressed (see St. 242b note). TE p.82/2 gives keluar for kedua, however a dominant role for the uncle and cousin at this stage are not out of keeping with Ismail's youthful inadequacy.

244d gandum

The implication seems to be that wheat is inferior to rice and needs special preparation before it can be cooked.

252a

This line is one of the very few substantial facts which explicitly set the syair in its historical perspective. Muhammad Ali is also referred to in the syair by titles and honorifics. See St. 232b note.

253c berbimbar

The three MSS are consistent and so the reading is accepted. KD gives bimbar as an archaic form of mimbar (pulpit or podium). The word is chosen here for its rhyme.

254c dipenting-penting

Cf 229c.

256d kota berjalan

This term is a specific reference to a particular type of vessel which plays a major role in subsequent hostilities. See 289a and note. In an age which has seen a "flying fortress", the expression "floating fortress" should be acceptable. Cf SM p.534.

258 Tengku Abdullah

Abdullah was the second son of Mahmud by a secondary wife. See St. 73a note. His exploits are extensively reported in SM and T al N.

Von de Wall (WALL, H. von de "Matan, Simpang, Soekadana..." pp.116-7) gives him two sons in Kalimantan - Tengku Idris and Tengku Muhammad. SM (p.518) gives him eight children, four

sons and four daughters.

According to von de Wall (WALL, H. von de, loc. cit.), Tengku Idris's son was Tengku Said ("gepensioneerd officier van de marine"). SM was copied in 1855 at the instigation of von de Wall by a Tengku Said (SM p.647). There seems no reason why these two Tengku Saids should not be one and the same person.

In about 1813, Tengku Said was old enough to leave his family in Lingga and join Akil in Mentok (SM p.588). He accompanied Akil on the expedition to Billiton and the attack on Cerucuk (SM p.591), and on his mission to Batavia (SM p.595). He seems to me to be a primary candidate as author of the SM, despite the use of the word surat in SM p.647.

The possibility that Abdullah was the Datuk of St. 223c note and his descendants were responsible, amid this literary activity, for the syair as well, is heightened by one of Abdullah's many adventures.

It was Abdullah who accompanied Ismail into exile thus giving him first-hand knowledge of the events described in the postscript to the syair. His half brother, Musa, (possibly because of his youth), stayed in Siak with his sister Tengku Ambang Besar, the wife of Muhammad Ali, who was a significant figure giving some continuity in the impermanence of court life in Siak (SM 474-475, T al N p.141).

Abdullah throughout SM is depicted as a daring and somewhat impetuous warrior who was ever at the forefront of battle: "Tengku Abdullah dengan segala saudaranya menjadi kepala amok" (SM p.511). His motto was "Biaraku mati jangan aku malu" (SM p.483) and he was capable of quarrelling with Ismail and standing his ground (T al N pp.166-168).

260a Tengku Musa

SM (pp.452-3) says that Musa was a son of Mahmud and a full brother to Tengku Ambang Besar who married Muhammad Ali. Possibly for this reason, he stayed in Siak with his brother-in-law when Ismail fled to Pelalawan. (See SM pp.474-5 and T al N p.141).

Musa later joined Ismail and Abdullah (SM p.489 and T al N p.154). His exploits are extensively reported in SM. He acted as mediator and peacemaker between his two older brothers in the quarrel at Trengganu (SM p.504, T al N p.167).

Four fruitful marriages are recorded. He married Tengku Ambung Mimunah, probably a Trengganu princess (SM p.509), Encik Akal, the daughter of Datuk Maharaja Dewa in Tambelan, Encik Salimah, daughter of an Orang Kaya in Serasan (SM p.512) and Encik Koyak from Galang (WALL? H. von de "Matan, Simpang, Soekadana...", pp.118-9).

The most significant of his children were Tengku Woh, who married Said Ali, Tengku Aminah, who married Yahya and Tengku Endut, his eldest son, who became Yahya's heir apparent in Siak (i.e. Yang dipertuan Muda). These were anak gahara and the children of Tengku Ambung Mimunah in Trengganu. (SM p.523, NET, p.139).

Musa's fifth son was Akil, who later became Sultan Abdul Jalil Syah of Sukadana (VETH, P.J., "Borneo's Westerafdeeling...", p.451). He was the son of Ence Salimah from Serasan and, therefore, an anak gundik (WALL, H. von de op. cit., p.118). It is this Akil that Roolvink refers to when he characterises SM as "a hikayat Raja Akil" (ROOLVINK, R., "The Variant Versions...", p.309).

Musa's eighth son, Jafar, became chief of the considerable Siak settlements on Karimata at the same time that Akil was Sultan in Sukadana.

Musa established a connection with Palembang and the adjacent islands of Bangka and Billiton which was later to be re-established by his son, Akil as the first step on his path to senior status in the Malay world of the early Nineteenth Century. (See, for example, SM p.491 and COURT, M.H., "An Exposition...", pp.204-5. For Musa in Bangka, see also SM p.492 and T al N, pp.155 and 178).

According to Muller, Musa was killed while helping Abdul Rahman, the first sultan of Pontianak, to subdue the inland mining settlement of Sangau. Muller gives the date of this war as 1772 (BLUME, C.L., "De Indische Bij", p.212 and 371). However, one must agree with Veth (VETH, P.J., op.cit., Vol.I, p.265 fn 2) that such a date creates problems of chronology. Musa's death in 1772 would make Raja Akil unexpectedly old when he accompanied Muller on his expeditions in 1822. This is especially the case if the Raja Isa who died with Musa at Sangau was his fourth son of the same name. The presence of Raja Haji at Sangau restricts the latest possible date because his death at Malacca in 1784 is well documented. Here SM has a more satisfactory account. SM has Musa returning from the

war with Sangau (SM p.513) and outliving Ismail (SM p.517), who died in 1781 (Veth's date for the death of Musa was 1780), and Raja Haji (SM p.522). He was still living in Siantan when Said Ali returned to Siak possibly in 1788 (SM 535-6) and was left by Yahya to defend Pelalawan against Said Ali in 1791 (SM p.550). Musa may have been killed at Sangau, but almost certainly it was on a later occasion. Musa had established Encik Salimah, the mother of Akil, at Pontianak and returned there quite frequently (SM p.513 et seq.).

For accounts of this period see LEYDEN, Dr. , "Sketch of Borneo", pp.99-104; BLUME, C.L., "De Indische Bij", pp.371-374 and elsewhere; Veth, P.J., "Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling", Vol. 1, pp.263-268 and elsewhere.

261a Tengku Abdul Rahman

Abdul Rahman was the fourth son of Mahmud (WALL, H. von de, "Matan, Simpang, Soekadana...", p.113). As he left no descendants in Borneo, von de Wall does not give further details.

He accompanied Ismail and Abdullah into exile in 1761 (SM pp.474-5). The fact that he was younger than Musa suggests that Musa was old enough to accompany Ismail had he chosen to do so and corroborates the account of the syair which gives the younger brothers an active role, if not a leading role, in the events of 1761. It also casts further doubt on the supposed youth of Ismail. See St. 195a note.

264b Bima

A character in the Wayang Purwa also known as Raden Bratasena and Raden Wrekodara. Second and coarsest of the five Pendawa (sons of Prabu Pandu), he was noted for his impetuosity and determination in righting wrongs. (ANDERSON, Benedict R. O'B. "Mythology...", p.12; HARDJOWIROGO, Pak, "Sejarah Wajang Purwa", pp.132-133).

264d Maharaja Berma

Possibly Berma Raja - grandfather of Rawana (ZIESENISS, Alexander, "The Rama Saga", p.9); but could also be two of the four kings Rama had to defeat as he built the causeway to Lanka viz. Maharaja Berma kuasa and Maharaja Berma berani (ibid., p.6). None is a very likely popular hero.

266c

This line is repeated in 276c and 291c. Its meaning is obscure. The main function ^{of buruj} is to provide a rhyme for raja which it does on four separate occasions. Although the poet is quite inventive and not, on the whole, repetitive, there is a natural tendency to repeat certain unusual words or phrases once or twice soon after they first appear.

269c geruda

L2 has, by this stage, realised that (a) does not indicate alif, but J has copies literally.

272a perjab

The final ba is used instead of pa for the rhyme which L1 insists should be both audible and visual.

272b jab

L1 could be kh-b-a-b or j-a-b. J could be j-b or c-b. ~~Jab is not usually used for fortresses or breastworks but is normally confined to certainty of spirit.~~

272d sekejab

= sekejap. J reads sy-r for sy in L1 because J would not write a full letter in this initial position though it is commonplace in L1 which uses various forms to suit the requirements of space.

276a Penghulu Betun

L1 began to write panglima and changed to penghulu. L2 took the final l-w to be part of the following word. The text follows J.

276b kerajaan

An unusual form. Possibly an abbreviation of kerajaan to allow for the rhyme.

~~277a penghulu kubu~~

~~This could be a proper name as Penghulu Betun and Penghulu Dewa above.~~

277c sabili

The final ya is for rhyme.

277d Beginda Ali
See St. 154d and note.

278c cinda

If Raja Kecil is taken as the point of departure, the great-grandson would be of the generation of Yahya and Akil. If Mahmud is taken as the point of departure, the great-grandson would be of the generation of Tengku Said (see St. 258 note and 260a note). The structure of the syair points to the conclusion that the syair was written for Mahmud and his descendants.

Although it is a mistake to put too narrow an interpretation on individual words, when seen in perspective, such details can contribute to the formation of patterns on which judgements can be made.

278c kurang

Ll is concerned that the physical length of lines are even and goes to considerable length in his calligraphy to expand or contract lines to fit this requirement. It is not impossible that kurang is a reference to the physical length of the line.

280c mahkota desa

Cf SM p.647 where the text was copied at the instigation of the Resident.

281c duli mahkota

Ismail begins to take the initiative.

286a jangan dikenang

J's "janganlah ia kenang" is also a possible reading of Ll for his dal is similar to his lam.

286c memintang

The interpretation given to memintang depends on the metaphorical connection between political alliance and marriage. A well-known precedent is the Bugis description of their relations with the Johor kings as a husband-wife relationship. (WINSTEDT, R.O., "A History of Johore", p.150).

287a talinya batangan

The boom is also referred to in Netscher (NET, pp.121, 124, and 126) and SM (p.473).

"...alsmede eenige der zwaarste baloors tegen eenige masthouten (die dwars over de rivier in 't water liggende vastgemaakte) aanlagen..."

[...and as well some of the heaviest cross bars were laid against several pine logs across the river and made fast...]

289a kota berjalan

Netscher (NET p.119) quotes Visboom's description:

"Volgens berigt van twee uit handen van den vijand ontvlugte Mooren had de kota berjalan 16 groote en meerdere kleinere kanons. 'Dat gevaarte vertoonde zich zoodanig als men de arke van Noach in het Bijbelsch prentenboek ziet, behalve dat hier zes groote schietgaten voor het 12 pponder kanon in waren.'"

[According to the report of two Indian Muslims who had escaped from the enemy, the kota berjalan had 16 large and even more smaller cannon. "That ~~great~~ colossus reminded one of Noah's Ark as illustrated in the Bible, except that this one had six great loopholes for 12 pounder cannon".

290b tidak tahukan kata

Appears to be used in the sense of tidak tahu bahasa i.e. coarse, untutored.

290d membujur lalu melintang patah

This saying is recorded in Wilkinson (under bujur), Brown (BROWN, C.C., "Malay Sayings", pp.95, 178, 204) and Muhammad Yusof Mustafa ("Mestika Bahasa", M16, p.209).

Wilkinson and Brown see it as an injunction to take the line of least resistance ("Lengthwise you get through, crossways you get broken") in relation to adat and other forms of authority. Yusof Mustafa takes an opposite view which fits the present situation better. ("Orang yang tiada endahkan sa-barang lawan; atau tiada memoleh sa-barang pekerjaan".) He looks at the obstacles, not as insurmountable natural barriers, but as petty difficulties in the path of a resolute man. It is not the traveller or his goods that are broken, but the obstacles.

293-294

Again the untimeliness of Mahmud's death and the unpreparedness of Ismail and his people are stressed. Their arms had been unused and there was not even accommodation for the assembled troops, for Mahmud's reign had been unchallenged. See St. 127 and cf St. 195d note, 228c note and 232-234 and note. For a contradictory view of Mahmud's reign see St. 130.

296b Bukit Batu

Bukit Batu is near the mouth of the Siak River on Selat Bengkalis and opposite the port of Bengkalis. Raja Kecil, without revealing his identity traded in fish from Bukit Batu when he first went down the Siak River (SM p.425). However, it was in Bengkalis that he established himself after a dispute in Bukit Batu. (SM p.426, T al N pp.41-42).

SM also records the flight of the Bukit Batu folk when an attack comes from Riau, during the rule of Mahmud before the death of Raja Kecil (SM p.448).

Here again the Bukit Batu folk flee at the first hint of the Dutch advance. (See also SM pp.472-473).

However, compare the description of the Syahbandar of Bukit Batu and his people in St. 546.

297

A considerable period of time elapsed between the appearance of the Dutch off Bukit Batu and the beginning of hostilities. Jan Jansz. Visboom, the "Kapitein-kommandant van het garnizoen te Malakka", and Arij Verbrugge, a merchant, received their instructions from the Governor and Council of Malacca on 21st January, 1761. (NET p.115)

They did not delay and arrived at Pulau Guntung on 25th January, 1761 (NET, p.116) where they re-established the garrison under August Hieronimus Seijdel (NET p.117) but did not encounter the enemy (NET p.116).

However, it was not until the third Commissioner, Joseph Driese, captain of the ship Pasgeld (who left Malacca on 7th April, 1761 with instructions to destroy the enemy without further delay) arrived at Pulau Guntung on 10th April, 1761 that the offensive began in earnest. (NET, p.118).

There was, therefore, a period of preparation lasting

two and a half months before any progress was made up the Siak River.

297a-b kapal kici pencalang / dengan penjajap

The kapal is a mistake because Pasgeld did not arrive until later (see St. 297 note) but the expression kapal dan kici is a conventional one.

The kici or brigantines were four in number:

Draak commanded by Lieutenant Is Buijs

Zeepard commanded by Jacob Wiek

Vrijheid commanded by Sjouke Jansz. Westerhout

Buis commanded by Hendrik Stuurman.

The pencalang was Paarl d'armour.

The penjajap belonged to Alam and his supporters such as Said Osman and the Raja of Assahan (NET, p.117).

A brigantine was a two masted vessel, square rigged on the fore-mast and fore-and-aft rigged on the main mast (UNDERHILL, Harold A. "Sailing Ship Rigs...", p.7). If it was a ship, then Pasgeld would have had three or more masts and been fully square rigged (ibid., p.2). This seems an inappropriate type of vessel for river use and it was more probably a variety of barque.

Cf ANDERSON, John, "Mission to the East Coast...", pp. 341-342: "The Dutch and Raja Alum now attacked the country with one ship, two brigs, three julong julong, and twenty penjajaps;...".

Cf SM p.472, "...kedengaranlah khabar dari Bukit Batu mengatakan kapal satu dan kici tiga penjajap lima belas datang dari Melaka".

See also St. 413 note.

297d

Cf St. 281c and note.

299c

That is, the Dutch and Alam had invaded his realm.
See St. 234.

300d negeri

Mempura or Siak Sri Inderapura.

303

The crisis has now brought out Ismail's inherent qualities of leadership. See St. 233-234, 237, 281, 293-4.

305d gelorat
= gelora

307a hitam

There is little confirmation elsewhere of a royal preference for black in battle.

308a Merapat alrahmat

Cf St. 317a Inderapersanggi.

TE p.89/9 gives Merfaturrahmat.

315a ghana

L1 and L2 prefer ghala for rhyme. J prefers ghana for sense.

317a Inderapersanggi

Or Inderapura persangga with f-r doing double duty for -pura and per- ?

319c mambang segara

See SKEAT, W.M., "Malay Magic", pp.88n and 91n.

320

Even as Ismail went out to defend his kingdom, it was Mahmud who was remembered.

321a Kelakap

Unidentified, but obviously between Siak Sri Inderapura and Pulau Guntung on the Siak River unless it is a classical allusion.

322b singa

The tanda mati in L2 was used to distinguish singa from siang (St. 324b). Both are spelt s-y-ng.

324a itu juga hilir

Nowhere else in L1 and L2 is itu spelt in this way. In the microfilm of L1, the alif shows only faintly and could possibly have been erased. It is, therefore, possible that L1 intended tuju ke hilir.

324b Tanjung Lada-lada

The only possible identification found is Tanjung Pedada shown on Netscher's sketchmap and the Admiralty Plan (3929-1965). It is approximately 9km above Pulau Tengah (= Pulau Sabalenga in Netscher) at Teluk Batil, and 15 km above Pulau Guntung (no longer shown as an island).

324d

At 4 p.m. on 13th April, 1761, Pasgeld, Zeepard, Buis and Paarl D'armour met 15 large vessels at a point above Pulau Guntung and fire was exchanged for $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours. (NET, p.118)

328a kapitan

There were three Commissioners: Visboom (See 297 note), Verbrugge, a merchant, and Driese, master of the Pasgeld.

328b baginda raja bestari

Alam. There had been a reconciliation with Alam on 21st December, 1759 (NETSCHER, E., "De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak...", p.102). He had allied himself with the Dutch in February, 1760 (ibid., p.110) and signed a treaty on 16th January, 1761 (ibid., p.113-114), that is, immediately prior to the invasion of Siak. See also St. 297 note.

329

The implication is that Visboom had been misinformed when he was told that government in Siak was leaderless and would be easily overwhelmed.

A parallel passage in SM clarifies the point:

"Maka kata kapitan kapal: 'Orang Siak ini terlalu keras hatinya dan berpandanglah kapal dengan penjajap...'

[Six months later, when the war was still not won, SM continued...] Dan kapitan kapal pun terlalu marah kepada Yam Tuan Raja Alam. 'Tuan Raja bilang negeri Siak boleh diambil tiga jam kerana rajanya kanak-kanak kecil.'"

(SM p.473)

332-334

Without a definite clue to the identity of Tangku Said adinda, kakanda and maharaja, the interpretation of these starzas is, at best, guesswork.

NET, p.119 records that 3 sloops went forward to reconnoitre on 15th April and Alam went aboard Pasgeld on 16th April for a council of war.

332a Tengku Said

Possibly Said Osman, who became a son-in-law to Alam by marrying Alam's daughter, Badariah. Their son Said Ali succeeded Yahya as Sultan of Siak. See also ANDERSON, John, "Mission to the East Coast...", pp.340-343, 351.

Said Ali was too young at that time to be involved in the war, if indeed he was born. Said Osman was not eligible for the title Tengku, but may have been given it by the author in retrospect.

332c adinda dan kakanda

Said Osman was, or was soon to become, the brother-in-law of Muhammad Ali but, as he had been associated with Alam in exile for some years, it seems unlikely that there was any strong bond of affection between Ismail and himself.

335b

Cf St. 297a-b note

336a

See St. 332-334 note.

336c bahtera

Ll k-b-r suggests khavar in current spelling, but khavar is not spelt in this manner elsewhere in the MS.

337a lima belas hari

Fifteen is an all purpose round number.

Netscher's equivalent was four days, from the arrival of the Pasgeld on 10th April to the first encounter on the 13th April, which lasted one and a half hours. (NET pp.118-9).

338c kapal dan kici

Only the vanguard, Zeepard and Buis were involved. (NET, pp.118-9).

342a-b

This verse is missing in all three MSS which shows the close relationship of the MSS to each other.

There is no means of identifying the individual referred to here, however, it is just possible that it is the same person as is referred to in 268a-b and that the name has been deliberately expunged. See St. 378a note and 394a-b note.

355

L1 repeated c-d.

J repeated the stanza replacing memandang 355d with mendayung.

358c-d

The sense appears to be that, although success is sweet, there are many who suffer. TE (p.96/5) achieves a better sense by replacing puaslah with pupuslah.

359c kuak

See 360c sunggupun note.

360a jangan dikata

L1 joined dal to jangan which caused J to write janganlah kata.

360c sunggupun

L1 wrote h which suggests that the h in k-w(a)-h (359c) may be h.

360c -pun

L1 has what appears to be pun written over itu as a correction. L2 read pun and J read itu.

360d

The deaths on the Dutch side overall were 25. The details are given in NET, p.127.

362

Words like ayahanda, kakanda and adinda may be used generically to refer to classes or generations of people in a particular relationship. The translation attempts to give specific references for these words where there is even the slightest justification for it.

362b adinda

For Abdullah see st. 258 note; Musa St. 260a note; and Abdul Rahman St. 261a note.

368-372

The poet used the episode of the bold but foolhardy Encik Mangid as a smoke screen to cover the retreat from Guntung to Sabalenga after the initial skirmish of 13th April.

371d panglima besar

This may have been Tengku Busu but Muhammad Ali has been specifically named Panglima Besar. See St. 252a. See also SM p.472.

373b lima belas

See St. 337a note.

373d kota berjalan

See St. 289a note. Netscher first mentioned contact with the kota berjalan on 14th April after drifting up from Pulau Guntung to Sabalenga with the afternoon tide. (NET, p.119).

375c porak-peranda

Note L1 has a normal tanda mati after porak which suggest that (a) is not used for this purpose, though (a) occurs many times in situations where a tanda mati would be appropriate.

378a panglima perang

Seri Akar Raja was Panglima Perang Kiri. Panglima Perang Kanan seems to have had his name expunged. See St. 342a-b note.

382c sebaik-baik

The unusual form of this word in L1 lead L2 and J to write serba tiga-tiga and sebab tika-tika (or tiga-tiga) respectively.

L2 read ga for kaf because in St. 382a (immediately above), L1 wrote the -nya of meriamnya with three dots below the letter and the lowest dot came immediately above the kaf in sebaik-baik.

382d diperhentikan

Both L2 and J were misled by the alif which is nothing more than a ligature. The same join occurs in pedulikan St.382a. The need to fill out the line caused the -kan to come apart from the join making it appear an alif.

383c geram

The final letter is a wau which the scribe has attempted to change into a mim. Cf St. 386b pertama.

384d mana

Either Ll's occasional strong upstroke (see for example pedulikan St. 382a) or the nun accidentally touching an intended alif gives the appearance of m-l-n. Ll in fact has either m-n or m-a-n. See also St. 401a melanggar.

385c kepala

Stanzas 390 and 392 suggest that kepala means the upstream end, that is the end nearer Teluk Batil or the southern end. This is contradicted by Netscher who asserts that the Dutch fleet's first contact ^{with} the kota berjalan was on 20th April when it was anchored at the north-east corner of the island, that is, the downstream end.

"'sAvonds met de vloed wordt weder het anker geligt en drijft het eskader to nabij de kota bedjalan, die bij den noord-oostellijken hoek van het eiland ligt." (NET p.120).

∟In the evening on the rising tide, the anchor is weighed again and the squadron drifts to the nearby kota berjalan which is situated near the north eastern corner of the island.∟

An attempt was made to tow the floating fortress upstream during the night under fire from the Dutch (NET, p.120). Could this be the episode in St. 368-370 transferred from the kota berjalan to Encik Mangid?

385c pulau

Not mentioned by name here but called Pulau Sabak in St. 389 and 390. Netscher (NET p.119) calls it Sabalenga.

386a kapitnya

The crew of the floating fortress is given in St. 389-392 so these are the escorts in their own ships.

387a Seri Akar Raja

See St. 378a.

389a kiri

In naming tributaries such as Kampar Kiri and Tapung Kiri

the word kiri (left) is taken as the left side when facing upstream - in this case the eastern shore. However, compare St. 414a note.

389c Pulau Sabak
= Pulau Sabalenga or Pulau Tengah.

389c paduka ayahanda
This expression is usually taken to indicate Tengku Busu (see St. 174c and note and St. 232b and note). However, Tengku Busu is already accounted for in this action (see St. 386). The expression, of course, may indicate any number of individuals named elsewhere or otherwise unknown. In St. 414b, for example, it indicates Syeikh Salim.

389d Teluk Batil
A village at the upper end of Pulau Sabalenga on the Eastern bank of the Siak River. It is marked on Netscher's sketch map and on current Admiralty Charts.

390a kapitan
Visboom or Driese. See St. 297 note.

394a-b Tengku Perang Seri Amar Wangsa
Seri Amar Wangsa has not previously been mentioned. Tengku Perang is mentioned (St. 257) as the commander of the ship Awan where he is given a place of honour between Muhammad Ali and Abdullah.

It is possible that this is the name omitted in either St. 268a-b or St. 342a-b. St. 268 occurs in the lesser company of orang kaya.

395
See Stanzas 264-5

396a Tanah Datar
More likely to be a local grouping than a company brought down from the Menangkabau highlands for the defence of Siak. See St. 66 note.

396a Datar
The spelling of L2 and J can be accounted for by a mark

in L1 which is neither 'a' nor '(a)' but an indication of the extent of the line. See also sebentar St. 396b, dipitar St. 396c, and gentar, St. 396d. J realised the error after two lines, but L2 was consistent to the end of the stanza.

397b Paduka Seri Indera

An Orang Kaya, he led a previous charge. See St. 345.

397c di penjara

This is more likely to have been dan/pemuras (pemburas) or similar phrase altered for considerations of rhyme.

397d cedera

Netscher gives a reckoning of the damage to 'Pasgeld' on this particular day (21st April, 1761) taken from Captain Driese's journal.

"Het Pasgeld had dien dag gekregen 25 schoten, meest 12 ponds kogels in den romp, waarvan 18 aan bakboord, en veel schade aan het tuig." (NET, p.120).

Pasgeld that day sustained 25 hits, mostly 12 pound balls, in the hull. Of these, 18 were on the portside. Considerable damage was done to the rigging.⁷

404c beranda

The manoeuvre appears to have been that, finding the ships were well defended from the front (see St. 401), the smaller Siak boats ran through the Dutch ships and attacked them from the rear where the high after deck (? beranda) provided a larger but less well defended target.

404c menusuk

All MSS write menu for its rhyme.

404d kalam

L1's exaggerated mim led J to write m-h. Cf St. 424b roma.

407a kota berjalan

For the fate of the Floating Fortress see St. 464 and Netscher:

"In de kota bedjalan was in een kwart uur tijds door

het Pasgeld zulk eene bres geschoten, dat men 'met wagen en paarden daar wel door kon rijden'." (NET, p.120).

∟In a quarter of an hour, 'Pasgeld' had made such a breach in the kota berjalan that one could drive a horse drawn waggon through it.∟

The Dutch received intelligence on 11th May from two Siakkers whom Raja Alam had sent to his wife that "in het gevecht van 21 April vier vijandelijke hoofden en al het volk van de kota bedjalan, op een na, zijn gesneuveld." (ibid., p.122)

∟...in the battle of 21st April, four enemy leaders and all the people from the kota berjalan, except one, had been killed.∟

408a ihya

Corrected in L1 and not clear.

410a and c garang...bersarang-sarang

The photocopy in the footnote illustrates the similarity of sin and ra on occasions in L1.

412c dahulu

Both L2 and J read dahulu Allah. They take d-h-w(a) as a shortened form of dahulu which is not unusual for L1. On the other hand, l-h is one of the typical ways in which L1 represents lam to distinguish it from dal. The two (a) are puzzling but there is a parallel in St. 412d lepaslah.

412c Mustafa

Taken to be a reference to the Prophet Muhammad on the basis of a similar usage in an inscription on a tombstone at Tingye Tujoh in Aceh. Marrison (MARRISON, G.E. "A Malay Poem..." pp.164-5) records the verse:

"Hijrat nabi mungstapa yang prasaddha

Tujoh ratus asta puluh savarssa..."

which he translates

"After the flight of the honoured Prophet, she who died,

In the year seven hundred and eighty-one..."

~~eldest son of Suleiman the Magnificent, born 1515 and executed by order of his father on 6th October, 1553. He was a favourite of the army (BROCKELMANN, Carl, "History of the Islamic People," page 294) but more significantly, he was a poet and historian and was beloved of poets and scholars~~

(HOUTSMA, M. Th. op.cit., p.763). He was, therefore, more likely to be known to the author of this syair.

413

The incident appears to be that Syeikh Salim, passing through the Dutch fleet, was severely punished by the flagship, Fasgeld, which was heavily armed. (It had two 12 pound cannon, twenty 6 pound, two 4 pound, six 3 pound and some smaller guns and a complement of 105 men, including 22 European and 14 Bugis soldiers- NET, p.118).

He rounded the northern or downstream end of Sabalenga where he would have found Zeepard, Buis and Paarl D'armour holding the western channel. (NET, p.120).

These were smaller brigantines: Zeepard had 46 men and 18 guns (the largest 6 pound); Buis had 53 men and 18 guns (the largest 3 pound); Paarl D'armour 8 sailors and 12 one pound guns. Paarl D'armour is described as a panchalang and was used as a pathfinder to test the navigability of the western channel (NET p.115).

See also St. 297a-b note.

413b-c pula

Pula in b is, in fact, the same word as pulak in c. L1 and L2 spell it with the final k in 75% of cases. It is here spelt pula in b in keeping with the policy of KD, but is spelt pulak in c at the insistence of the syairist that there should be a final rhyme.

Although J was not at any time greatly concerned with the niceties of the syair form, it is curious here that he spelt pulak in b, which he did on only one other occasion, but reverted to pula in c.

414a duli baginda

The fact that Ismail saw Syeikh Salim's plight suggests that kiri in St. 389a means left when looking downstream, that is, Ismail was holding the western channel and saw Sheikh Salim rounding Pulau Sabalenga below him only to meet the three ships mentioned in St. 413 note above.

If this is so, then the next 32 stanzas (to St. 446) describe the battle of the western channel. Netscher mentions no action in the western channel, but that is not to

deny that such an action occurred, for Netscher, at this stage, followed the journal of Driese who, as Master of the Pasgeld, was concerned with his own ship's actions.

414b paduka ayahanda

Syeikh Salim received the honorific ayahanda because of his prominence in the Islamic faith. See St. 389c note.

416a kenaikan

Not only is Ismail never referred to by name, but his ship is not given a name.

416a Medan Sabar

This was Muhammad Ali's ship and it is the first time that Muhammad Ali has been referred to since the night before this battle (St. 384), which corroborates the interpretation that Muhammad Ali, a leading figure of the initial battle at Pulau Guntung (St. 347c), was not involved in the battle of the eastern channel where Tengku Busu and the Kota Berjalan faced Pasgeld, Draak and Vrijheid.

See St. 385-389 et seq.

417

The stanza is a reference to the wayang purwa and the Bharatayuddha or the final war between the brothers - on the one hand the Pendawa, the sons of Pandu, and on the other the Korawa, the sons of Desterata.

If the analogy is pressed further, Arjuna the middle Pendawa would represent Ismail; his older brother, Bima (See St. 264b note) is Muhammad Ali; while Arjuna's two younger half brothers Nakula and Sadewa represent adinda kedua, that is Abdullah and Abdul Rahman (See St. 423a). (Musa is not mentioned by name in this section). Nakula and Sadewa are loyal to the other Pendawa but generally act as messengers and rarely play active roles on important occasions or in battle. The eldest Pendawa, the ascetic Yudistira generally remained aloof from the physical concerns of the earthly life.

418a-b

Gajah Meta is used in 355b as the name of the cannon aboard Abdullah's ship "Tandang Masyhur". Gajah yang meta is used metaphorically in St. 274c and 440d.

Although this stanza has gajah yang meta, the context suggests Gajah Meta, the cannon, is intended. If that inference is correct, then kenaikan refers to Tandang Masyhur and duli mahkota refers to Abdullah unless Ismail was aboard the same boat.

On the other hand, the introduction of Abdullah by name in St. 423 suggests this is Ismail.

418d kapal

Kapal is often used of Pasgeld to distinguish it from the smaller vessels or kici. It may also be used generically as here. Pasgeld was on the other side of the island at the time.

420c kapal yang besar

Assuming Pasgeld was in fact in the eastern channel, Zeepard with four 6 pound guns was the more heavily armed, though Buis had the slightly larger crew. However, it is most unlikely that the poet had any particular vessel in mind or was sufficiently familiar with the Dutch fleet to have been able to differentiate the roles of each vessel.

422a perang besar

? = Tengku Perang Besar or Panglima Perang Besar.

422c

If mata sungai is the source of the river, presumably mata kuala can mean the head of the estuary.

Kuala in L1 (though not in L2 or J) could be kula (=I) which would give a sense at least as good as the one adopted.

424b roma

L1's exaggerated mim lead J to write m-h. Cf St. 404d kalam.

426d sebentar itu

Note how (a) is larger than a.

431d penuhlah

The extra alif in L1 is really an upstroke intended to join to the lam. However, in spreading the word, the lam has been separated. Cf St. 382d diperhentikan.

432a mata-mata

These were the Syahbandar's agents and hence were experienced boatmen on the river. This stanza suggests that they were given the more menial duties and even these they could not perform under the stress of battle. As the collectors of taxes and customs, it is possible that a good deal of opprobrium, commonly felt towards tax collectors, attached to them.

432d

The connection between puyuh (quail - sometimes used for fighting) and pupur (cosmetic powder made from rice) is not apparent.

434d terang laras

Note spelling of Ll.

435a

Cf St. 406b. The five vessels lost were probably the same five as in St. 406b. The poet summarised the losses after the description of the battle of Teluk Batil and again towards the end of the battle for the western channel.

The five ships are consistent with Netscher "...vier vijandelijke hoofden en al het volk van de kota bedjalan... zijn gesneuveld". (See St. 407a note). That is, if one leader equals one ship, there were four ships in addition to the Floating Fortress lost.

438a Tengku Perang

In St. 394 Tengku Perang was busily engaged in the battle of Teluk Batil, but there is no necessary inconsistency here for, as they withdrew from the western channel, any fugitives could readily have been observed from Teluk Batil.

438d panglima perang

= Seri Akar Raja. See St. 343a.

443c Anta Permana

A legendary mountain?

445-447

Although the poet is insistent that both sides withdrew from the battle (of 21st April) on equal terms, the battle was decisive. The Dutch did not claim the victory until

17th June (almost two months later) but the pattern had been established. The Siakkers were effectively kept within the narrowing river and were unable to escape downstream short of breaking through the entire Dutch fleet of six ships and their allies.

Pitched battles were restricted and, subsequent to this point, engagements were of a fleeting and long range nature. Fireships, for example, were sent downstream. The tactics were designed to delay the enemy until the defensive works had been established at Mempura (Siak Sri Inderpura).

The Floating Fortress on which so much hope had been placed was unserviceable and all hope now rested on making the approaches to Mempura proof against attack.

447

Netscher does not confirm these numbers. On the Siak side, all on board the Floating Fortress were lost (see St. 407a note). On the Dutch side, 25 were lost altogether, consisting of 7 European soldiers, 17 European seamen and one native seaman. (NET, p.127). Fifteen is a favourite round number in the syair. Cf St. 337a and 373b.

448d kicinya tiga

Draak left for Malacca on 5th May, leaving three brigantines (NET p.122) however at this stage there were still four.

449b keenam buahnya

Cf St. 448d

449c mata-mata

"21 April... Slechts eenige weinige viandelijke praauwen blijven in het gezigt van het eskader liggen". (NETp.120)

[Only a few not very hostile perahus stayed within sight of the squadron.]

451

Cf NET p.120.

"22 April... Vijf vijandelijke praauwen doen eenige schoten, maar worden spoedig verjaagd.

"23 April... Te 8½ ure begint een gevecht met vijftien praauwen, dat tot 12½ ure aanhoudt, wanneer de stroom kentert en geankerd wordt. De schepen ontvangen veel schoten, waardoor verscheidene opvarenden gekwetst worden...

"24 April... Van 10 ure vóór tot 1 ure na den middag gevecht met den vijand...", etc.

[22nd April... Five enemy perahu fired some shots but were quickly driven off.

23rd April... At 8.30 a.m., battle was joined with fifteen perahu which lasted till 12.30 p.m. when the tide turned and the squadron anchored... The vessels took many shots and several of the crews were wounded.

24th April... From 10 a.m. till 1 p.m. there was an action with the enemy...]

459

After three days, that is on 24th April, Netscher's map shows the Dutch fleet anchored off Tanjung Pedada less than half way to Mempura. It is probable that the main body of the Siak force had in fact reached Sungai Pinang, leaving a few vessels to conduct a delaying rear guard action.

According to Netscher, the Dutch did not arrive at a position below Sungai Pinang until 5th May, that is thirteen days after the battle of Sabalenga on 21st April. They had stayed for three days at Buntan, Raja Kecil's capital and Alam had visited the grave of his father on 29th April. (NET p.121).

Here they received intelligence that the Siakkers had already retreated behind the boom. On the arrival of the Dutch fleet below Sungai Pinang on 5th May, they could observe the works for the defence of Siak and decided at a Ship's Council to await instructions from Malacca before committing themselves. (NET p.121).

Therefore, it was not till Draak returned with reinforcements on 10th June that a Ship's Council on board Pasgeld on 14th June decided to advance and on 15th June, the fleet actually passed Sungai Pinang (NET, p.123-25).

That is, the Dutch arrived near Sungai Pinang 13 days after the battle of Sabalenga, and passed Sungai Pinang 55 days after the battle of Sabalenga.

460b batangan

See St. 287a note.

462-465

The following details were given in a resolution of the

Ship's Council on 5th May. The defences consist of "vier koeboes (of batterijen) op de aarde nederstaande gemaakt, alle met grof geschut en manschappen wel voorzien; daarboven nog eene sterkte verheven in de boomen, alwaar volk, klein geschut (of paarden kulletjes) en handgeweer op was; ...alles met grof geschut, 'twelk men vertrouwde te moeten bestaan uit twaalf-, acht-, zes- en het minste vierponder kaliber, wijl men tot heden uit hun geschut nog geene / lichtere kogels had ontwaard. Daarbij wordt hunne artillerie door ons geschat te bestaan uit vijftig à zestig pees kanons van voornoemd kaliber." (NETSCHER, E., "De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak...", pp.121-122).

[...four kubu (or batteries) built at ground level and fully manned and equipped with large bore artillery; above these there was also a high stockade set back in the trees where the people were armed with light artillery (or horse artillery) and hand guns; all this with heavy artillery, which are believed to consist of twelve, eight, six and the smallest four pound calibre for to date no lighter balls had been observed from their guns. Our estimate was that their artillery consists of fifty or sixty pieces of the abovementioned calibres.]

These defensive works were discovered by Stuurman Jan de Vries when he took a boat to reconnoitre on 3rd May. (NET p.121).

469b Raja Lela Muda

Cf St. 269a-b

470b fakir

Cf St. 4c-d. For the first time, the author seems to take responsibility for the facts presented. However, fakir could also refer to his informant.

If taken to refer to the author, we may infer that he was old enough to have observed the events but not old enough to have taken part in the naval engagements down river.

If aged between 5 and 15 years in 1761, he would have been aged between 65 and 75 in 1821 when Raja Akil joined Muller's expedition in Borneo.

470b-d terbilang...pendapat

ll filled the lines by writing two lams in terbilang

and writing full and separate fa and nun for pendapat.

471a buah gunung api

Jan de Vries saw fireships on 3rd May (NET p.121) and eleven were sent down on 2nd June and "een vreeselijk en gansch verschrikkelijk vuur maakten en de geheele rivier dwars over bezetten..." (ibid., p.123) [made a frightening and terrible fire and occupied the river right across⁷; but they were first encountered below Sabalenga on 15th April (NET p.119) and on a number of subsequent occasions, for example, 19th, 21st April and 23rd April.

471d disiapi

L2 and J were misled by the full ya in L1 and wrote diisi api. However, stanzas 472-4 confirm that the fireships had not yet been fired.

472a dua bulan

25th April to 15th June, 1761. See St. 459 note.

472c

For the text of the Ships' Council resolution of 5th May, see NET p.121-122.

472c kapitan

Verbrugge was ill and returned to Malacca aboard Draak. The Governor appointed Driese as the Second Commissioner in his stead on 4th June (NET p.123).

474d kepada kapalnya

See fn. This illustrates how L1 distinguishes lam from dal. L2, contrary to his normal practice, follows L1 with k-f-la i.e. kepala.

478-480

Netscher quotes Driese's record of this episode of 2nd June: "Met de glazen der 2de wacht kwamen elf branders van de roovers afzakken, die een vreeselijk en gansch verschrikkelijk vuur maakten en de geheele rivier dwars over bezetten, wijl zij allen met balken aan elkander vast waren. Kort en zigt onder 't bosch op onze springers als mogelijk was en zenden de schuiten heen om den brand (was 't mogelijk) te

blusschen; doch, door Gods dierbaren zegen, zijn dezelve tusschen ons allen door gedreven, zonder iemand te beschadigen; doch digt langs ons schip heen.

"Ook schoot 't kanaille nu en dan met scherp op ons, waarop wij allen weder los brandden, wijl men dacht, dat zij met hunne roofvaartuigen daar achter mogten zijn."

On the bells of the second watch, eleven fireships of the pirates (!) connected with beams came downstream, which made a terrible and frightening fire extending right across the river. They came so close under our spars that boats were sent out to extinguish the fire if it were possible; but, through God's loving care, they were all driven through our lines without anyone being injured, although they passed close to our ship.

The rabble fired ball at us from time to time, whereupon we all returned the fire, since one thought that they might come from behind with their pirate vessels.⁷

479b disiahkan

The join between ha and kaf is separated giving the appearance of an alif. Cf St. 382a pedulikan, 382d diperhentikan and 43ld penuhlah. L2 read diisikannya.

481b

A further indication that the writer felt close to this period. Cf St. 470b fakir note.

482a-b baginda sultan...kapitan

By writing kapitnya J appears to be assuming that baginda Sultan is Ismail and is deliberately avoiding the use of the European word kapitan (although kapitan is also a possible form of kapit - see St. 501a). However, subsequent stanzas make it clear that baginda Sultan refers to Alam. (The poet has already accepted him as sovereign de facto and de jure.)

It is noticeable that Ismail has not been referred to by honorific (he is never referred to by name) since St. 469c when there was some hope of a recovery. The poet avoided associating Ismail with defeat or flight. In St. 514a he merits only the pronoun ia. See also St. 516d note.

Before the final battle of the campaign, it is Alam, a proper heir to the throne who took the initiative. The author considered it improper for the Dutch themselves to succeed in displacing a divinely appointed ruler.

483a kapitan kici

See St. 297a-b note.

484b kompeni

Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC)

488

The implication is that the Dutch would have preferred to delay longer but Alam forced their hand. See St. 485-6.

490b empat belas hari bulan

14 Zulkaedah 1174 coincides with 16th June, 1761. 14th June was the date of a Ships' Council which decided to begin the attack on the following day. 16th June was the day on which the final attack on Siak was made.

492c-d

The poet was again struck by the ruthless indifference of the Dutch. Cf St. 448-450.

494-505

Cf NET, pp.124-26.

498b kafir yang dusta

Although Alam is credited with much of the initiative and leadership at this time (See St. 482-489), the Dutch still received the opprobrium.

498c sekalian rata

Alam's fleet had been reinforced by the arrival on 9th June of eight penjajap and several kakap under the command of the "Radja van Assahan van Kampar" (NET, p.123).

500c-d memukat..terangkat

The meanings of these two final words are strained to fit the overall sense. It is not known whether these meanings were or could have been accepted.

501a kapitan

The context suggests a form of kapit rather than the European word kapitan which is used throughout the syair to indicate the Dutch leaders. See St. 482a-b note.

502 meriam

See St. 462-465 note.

502c-d

J omits c-d giving the final word of ^{line} d at the end of ^{line} b.

503d

Cf St. 447b and 482a-b.

Providence forsook Ismail and his people lost the protective mantle of safety his authority gave.

505d

This is a conventional simile which occurs, for example, in "Bidasari Lahir" (TAKDIR ALISJAHBANA, Sutan "Puisi Lama", p.54/1) and "Syair Burong Pungguk" (ibid., p.64/3).

506a

SM explains this turn of events as the result of a practical human device rather than as the whim of Allah. The frustrated Dutch turned in anger upon Alam and announced that, if Siak was not taken the following day, he (Alam) would be exiled to Ceylon. This was a known practice with insubordinate princes who could not be killed for political reasons.

Alam sent word of his predicament to his son Muhammad Ali. He and his wife Tengku Ambang Besar scuttled his ship Medan Sabar and watered the gunpowder, making the defence of Siak impossible for Ismail and he fled. See SM p.474 and T al N p.141.

507a takdir

The fate referred to was Ismail's, yet no word in the stanza gives any indication of the subject. See St. 482a-b note.

509-511

See 507a note.

510

Cf SM p.474-475: "Maka baginda pun undurlah ke Pelalawan dan saudara baginda bersama-sama pergi Tengku Abdullah / dan Tengku Abdul Rahman dan Tengku Kamat dan Tengku Hasim dan yang tinggal Tengku Musa dan kanda Baginda, Tengku Ambang Besar...".

511a saudara

If saudara has any purpose other than to provide a rhyme, it suggests that kakak and adik in St. 510 were used generally while in St. 511 Ismail was addressing himself specifically to his close kin.

512-513

It seems impossible that anyone, even a prince, making an overland journey from Siak Sri Indrapura to Pelalawan through difficult rain forest could find the opportunity to sit and think all day long. These verses are, therefore, taken to refer to those left behind. The journey from Siak to Pelalawan took three days. See SM (SM, p.548) for a detailed account of Akil's flight from Said Ali over the same route in 1791.

513

This stanza is similar to St. 35 and identical with St. 227. On each occasion it precedes a great and hazardous enterprise. In St. 35, Raja Kecil was about to attack Johor; in St. 227, the youthful Ismail was about to take the reigns of government, and here Ismail goes into exile.

514a ia

Since St. 469, Ismail has not been mentioned even by the use of an honorific. Stanzas which appear to refer to him have no subject. Ia is the first such subject. See St. 482a-b note and St. 507a note.

515b empat hari

Four days is a remarkably short stay - hardly long enough to prepare a ship for a long voyage. Possibly the ruler of Pelalawan was an unwilling host. Netscher (see St. 498c note) records the arrival of the "Radja van Assahan van Kampar (?=Pelalawan)" at Sungai Pinang on 9th June to

assist Alam. However, Netscher's account of Ismail's stay in Pelalawan is different. He claims that Ismail stayed at Pelalawan until driven out by Muhammad Ali, his recent ally: "...hij [Alam] zijn zoon Mohamad Ali met eenig volk, versterkt met 30 Boeginesche militairen en voorzien van twintig geleende geweren, over land naar Poeloe-Lawan zond, om den vijand in den rug aan te tasten. [Said Osman was guarding the mouth of the river with four boats.] Dit gelukte, en in de eerste dagen van de maand Augustus 1761 werd Poeloe-Lawan na een scherp gevecht veroverd. Radja Ibrahim [Tengku Busu] en Radja Ismail wisten echter te ontkomen." (NET, p.129). [Alam sent his son, Muhammad Ali, with some of his people reinforced by 30 Bugis soldiers and provided with twenty borrowed handguns, overland to Pelalawan, to attack the enemy in the rear. This action was successful and in the first days of August 1761 Pelalawan was captured after an intensive battle. Tengku Busu and Ismail however escaped.]

516d baginda

Ismail, now master of his ship and so master of his fate, was once more entitled to a suitable honorific. He was no longer a fugitive but an adventuring prince.

517b Tanjung Marapusan

Unidentified.

Netscher does not give Ismail's immediate destination but says that he became a pirate in the region. (NET p.132).

According to SM, Ismail went first to Riau, then to Tambelan and Siantan: "Syahadan tersebutlah perkataan Yang dipertuan keluar di Pelalawan dengan tiga buah kakap dan tiada baginda lama di Riau baginda berlayar ke Pulau Tambelan dan berhenti di Tambelan membuat perahu. Mana segala saudara baginda berperahu sebuah seorang dan sampai perahu baginda lima belas buah maka baginda pun pergi ke Siantan..." (SM p.475).

T al N (p.142) has the same account in outline as SM, though the relations between Ismail and the local chiefs are given a different perspective.

518

This stanza seems to be an explanation of St. 517c-d. Ismail, or at least some of his people, attempted to return to Siak but were prevented by the contrary winds.

SM (p.475) also states that Ismail intended to return to Siak. "Maka Yang dipertuan minta perahu Maharaja [of Pelalawan] lalu baginda keluar belayar ke Riau dan akan negeri Siak punlah." Negeri Siak may also refer to the settlements of Siackers on the various islands of the South China Sea.

519-520

The syair stresses the shattering effect of exile on Ismail. SM and Netscher stress the activity - boatbuilding and piracy.

521

This stanza taken to be a reference by the poet to himself could also refer to Ismail.

525a-c surat...sarat

See fn. Ll did not distinguish sin from ra. Cf st. 410a-c.

526c-d

In fairness to the poet, the poor logic is probable due to an incorrect reading.

526c khatam

The MSS are precise (see fn). Khatam is pure speculation.

531b wazir

This word is used 14 times in the remaining stanzas which is more than it has been used in the whole of the main part of the syair. It replaces hulubalang menteri as the expression for the king's advisers and leaders. This may be the result of the poet's (or the poet's informant's) changed status, or a new writer.

533b

Cf St. 519d.

534a-b

Cf SM. See St. 517b note.

535a wazir yang pokta

Probably Tengku Busu.

538c

That is, they were prepared to stay on if Ismail offered them some leadership and hope for a viable future.

539a Maharaja Seri Asmara

This orang kaya and Seri Indera Muda (St. 541), Maharaja Tua Wangsa (St. 543a) and Paduka Seri Dewa (St. 544) have not been mentioned previously which suggests that the older generation had gone their own way or returned to Siak, and Ismail had been accompanied into exile by the youth of his own generation. See also St. 548c.

541b penghulu Lima Puluh

The previous holder of this office was Raja Indera Pahlawan (St. 271a, 397a, and 469a).

541b Lima Puluh

Although the intention of L1 is clear because the expression has been used on three previous occasions (St. 66c, 271b, 469b), the slight variation of spelling in L1 (from l-y-m to l-m-a) caused L2 and J to write lama pula. (f-w-l-k is L2's normal spelling of pula).

546a Syahbandar Bukit Batu...

The people of Bukit Batu had not always been known for their resoluteness in the face of adversity. See St. 296b note and St. 448.

546c sepuluh mutu

I mutu = 2.4 karat

546d

A technique for testing the extent to which alloys, giving greater hardness, are present in gold.

551

The problem was Ismail's willingness to forego the trappings of office and authority (see St. 548). Although it was impossible to retain them without some real basis of power, if they were abandoned, there would have been little chance of maintaining the status quo, much less of re-establishing a basis of power.

It was the nobility who would suffer most, and they sought to retain the king's authority. (See St. 549-550). See GULLICK, J.M., "Indigenous Political Systems...", pp.44-45, 66 and elsewhere.

552d

There was more to this solution than simply solving Ismail's emotional problems. SM (pp.466-7) records Ismail's marriage to Tengku Sani, the daughter of Tengku Busu, and the birth of Tengku Yahya (whose pet name was Tengku Sulong, indicating that he was the first born) before the death of Mahmud. Although SM does not purport to give an accurate chronology, we may assume that Ismail married Tengku Sani before leaving Siak, and that she accompanied him in his escape. SM (p.475) records that Tengku Busu himself was with Ismail. It is improbable that father and husband would have left behind in Siak, Tengku Sani and Yahya, the heir to the Siak throne. (The place of Yahya's birth is not relevant in this regard, though it would doubtless have enhanced his claim to the throne if he were born while his father still ruled in Siak.)

The considerations of the wazirs were almost certainly political. The problem was stated on a number of occasions (ST 526c, 535d, 549d, 550a, 558, 561, and 564): Ismail's standing could not be allowed to decline as it would certainly do if he remained without a significant territorial base. It was in the wazirs' interests, even more than Ismail's, that he should retain his princely status. The method devised to ensure this was by a political alliance through marriage. In SM (p.475) we read "Dan Tengku Busu pergi ke Trengganu disuruh baginda hendak meminang". T al N (p.142) casts some doubt on whether the bride was provided. It is left to Netscher (NET p.132) to inform us that the king of Trengganu was Sultan Mansur: "Sultan Mangsoer van Trengganoe die hiervoren reeds werd bekend gesteld als de doodvijand van Daing Kambodja en het gansche Boegische vorstengeslacht van Riouw, verbond zich met Radja Ismail, om hem den oorlog aan to doen. Hij gaf hem zelfs, in 1771, eene zijner dochters, genaamd Radja Nèh, te vrouw." [Sultan Mansur of Trengganu, who was already well known as the mortal enemy of Daing Kemboja and of all the Bugis Princes from Riau, allied himself with Raja Ismail, to declare

war on him. In 1771, he even gave Ismail one of his daughters named Raja Neh in marriage.⁷

The marriage alliance therefore took place ten years after Ismail left Siak. It was not to provide an heir - Yahya already had that distinction - but to provide Ismail with a more secure basis of power.

555c-d hikayat Jawa/panjinya...

The popularity of the Panji stories in the Malay speaking world is attested to by the formidable list of 190 Panji MSS in Malay compiled by Abdul Rahman Kaeh (ABDUL RAHMAN KAEH, "Naskhah - Naskhah Panji: Satu Huraian").

555d tiga dewa

This reference is unidentified. The rhyme demands dewa though the context suggests dewi. Perhaps Ismail is drawing an analogy between his ministers and the three dewa.

558d

This line appears to deny the prior existence of Yahya (see St. 552d note) yet the line is sufficiently ambiguous in L1 to be read quite differently.

559b adinda

? = Tengku Sani

559c setan

Setan. i.e. sutan - the son of a Minangkabau ruler is also possible.

560c paduka ratu

This suggests a particular person was in mind. The discussion had not been about marriage itself but a particular alliance.

Tengku Busu's mother was a commoner and Tengku Sani's mother is not known to have been of royal descent. The title paduka ratu suggests a royal princess but it may also be used in anticipation of her marriage to Ismail. Cf St. 552d note.

566a wazir seorang

Tengku Busu. See St. 552d note

567

According to SM (p.475) they would have travelled from Siantan in the Anambas Archipelago which is a distance of 400 km. from Kuala Trengganu.

570d banyak berbeda

It appears that Ismail was sufficiently insecure in his position to accept an anak gundik, but this may be yet another example of rhyme taking precedence over sense.

572b

Alliance with Mansur meant alliance with "de doodvijand van Daing Kambodja en het gansche Boegische vorstengeslacht van Riouw." See St. 552d note.

573b isteri

Seteru would give a better sense but isteri gives the all important rhyme. Alternatively, baginda could refer to Alam or Muhammad Ali. Alam had moved to Senapelan (Pekan Baru) in 1765 and Muhammad Ali ruled in his place (NET, p.133).

Alam was married to Daing Khadijah, the daughter of Upu Daing Perani and therefore the sister of Daing Kambuja (T al N p.39). The stanza would then suggest that Sultan Mansur was wondering at the wisdom of giving the Bugis further cause to oppose him if he allied himself to Ismail. Raja Ali, the writer of T al N was quick to point out (T al N p.39) that it was a descendant of the marriage between Alam and Daing Khadijah who founded the royal line which was still ruling in Siak at the time he wrote, i.e. "yang dipertuan Sayed 'Ali".

575

The syair ends abruptly with no apologies from the poet so we may assume that there was an intention to continue it. The fact that Ll added a colophon indicates that the abrupt ending was not simply due to the fact that a copyist did not complete his task.

However, the notion of an alliance between Ismail and Mansur was completed in substance.

B WORD LISTS

1 PERSONAL NAMES USED IN THE SYAIR

This list only includes names of individuals involved in the narrative of the syair. Other personal names such as Muhammad, Bima and Panji are included in the general word list.

Central characters, especially sultans, are referred to by honorifics rather than by name. Raja Kecil, Alam, Mahmud and Ismail, although referred to often in the syair, are not included in this list because their names do not appear in the text. Tengku Busu and Muhammad Ali are listed here but there are many more references to them than are listed.

For a discussion of the use of honorifics instead of personal names, see Appendix 4 and for information about the identity and relationships of the central characters, see Introduction pp 53-60.

Amping Berantah [Panglima]	290a
Buyung Sembilan [Panglima]	255d, 256a, 256c.
Encik Kari [TE p 86/2 Encik Qari]	273a
Encik Mahil [TE p 86/2 Encik Muit. Cf Syahbandar Muin]	273a
Encik Mangid	370a
Iskandar	185b
Maharaja Seri Asmara	539c
Maharaja Tua Wangsa [Orang Kaya]	543a
Malim Para	160d
Megat Seri Rama [Orang Kaya]	264a, 395a, 250a
Megat Seri Dewa [Orang Kaya]	544a
Paduka Seri Indera [Orang Kaya]	267a, 345a, 397b.
Panglima Ahmad	249a
Panglima Dewa	275a

- Panglima Kulub 250a
- Panglima Latif 274a
[mata-mata]
- Panglima Tih 256b
- Panglima Usyu 248b
- Penghulu Betun 276a
- Penghulu Hamba Raja 291a
[Second in command of the Kota Berjalan]
- ^{Penghulu Kubu 277a}
Raja Dewa Indera 265a, 274b, 395b
[Son of Megat Sri Rama; page to the king; mata-mata]
- Raja Indera Pahlawan 271a, 397a, 469a.
[Orang Kaya; Head of Lima Puluh suku]
- Raja Lela Muda 269a, 396a, 467b.
[Orang Kaya; Panglima from Tanah Datar]
- Raja Lela Wangsa 270a
[Orang Kaya]
- Raja Lontar 262a, 386c, 468c.
- Raja Tengah 41a
- Seri Akar Raja 266a, 343a, 387a.
- Seri Amar Wangsa 394b
- Seri Indera Muda 541a
[Orang Kaya. Leader of the Lima Puluh contingent.]
- Syahbandar Muin 272a, 388a, 464c, 466c.
- Syeikh Salim 236a, 386d, 409a, 410a, 411a.
- Tengku Abdul Rahman 261a, 423a.
[Brother of Ismail; son of Mahmud.]
- Tengku Abdullah 258a, 423a
[Brother of Ismail; son of Mahmud.]
- Tengku Busu 174c, 371b, 386b, 403a, 404b, 474b.
[Brother of Mahmud; uncle of Ismail; father-in-law
of Muhammad Ali; also known as Ibrahim.]
- Tengku Muhammad Ali 252a
[Son of Alam; son-in-law of Tengku Busu.]
- Tengku Musa 260a
[Son of Mahmud; brother of Ismail; father of Raja Akil]
- Tengku Perang 257a, 394a, 438a.
- Tengku Said 332a
- Tuk Salik 251a

2 PLACE NAMES USED IN THE SYAIR

For locations, see maps on pages 49-52.

- Bengkalis 6b, 19c, 50a, 54a.
 Buntan 5c, 52a, 53c, 55a, 60a, 65a.
 Bukit Batu 296b, 546a, 560a.
 Bukit Siguntang 35c, 227c, 513c.
 Cina 64a
 Guntung [Pulau Guntung] 325d, 347a.
 Inderapura [Siak Sri Inderapura] 126c, 127a, 130d,
 177b, 219b, 254d, 317a.
 Jawa 555c
 Johor 9a, 22b, 23d, 40d, 45b.
 Karimun Anak 32b
 Lima Puluh 66c, 271b, 469b, 541b.
 Melaka, 59c, 127d, 237c, 295d.
 Melayu 183c
 Mempura 125d, 190d, 267b, 518a.
 Menangkabau 9c, 10b, 45a.
 Pagar Ruyung 11c
 Pasir 66d
 Pelalawan 514a, 532a.
 Perepat Seratus 29b, 31a.
 Pinang [Sungai Pinang] 459d
 Sabak [Pulau Sabak] 389c, 390c.
 Selat Sembulan 33b
 Siak 236d, 328c, 329c, 335d, 345d, 434a, 453a, 456d,
 472b, 496b, 500d, 505c, 508a, 521a.
 Tanah Datar 66a, 269b, 396a, 468a,
 Tanah Merah 34a, 36a.

Tanjung Lada-Lada 324b

Tanjung Marapusan 517b

Teluk Batil 389d, 392b, 402c.

Wolanda 233d, 234b, 238c, 239b, 242c, 260d, 261d,
262c, 263d, 269d, 286c, 301d, 324d, 327c,
331b, 332a, 335a, 340d, 343c, 351a, 359a,
360a, 363c, 364c, 365b, 367a, 368d, 369d,
400a, 412a, 447c, 448a, 452a, 456a, 466b,
478a, 495a.

3 OTHER PROPER NAMES

Gajah Meta 355b, 418b.

[A cannon aboard Tengku Abdullah's ship,
"Tandang Masyhur".]

Harimau Buas 255a, 348a, 421b.

[A cannon aboard Tengku Muhammad Ali's ship,
"Medan Sabar"]

Jembalang Guntung 347d, 421a

[A cannon aboard Tengku Muhammad Ali's ship,
"Medan Sabar".]

Medan Sabar 253a, 255c, 306d, 347c, 416a,
420b, 441a, 450b.

[Tengku Muhammad Ali's ship]

Tandang Masyhur 259a, 354d.

[Tengku Abdullah's ship.]

4 GENERAL WORD LIST

The first occurrence of each word is noted and frequencies greater than one are given in square brackets. Each form in which the word occurs is noted except for the suffixes -lah, -nya and -kah.

abang	207c	alih	169a
abdi	191c [5]	beralih	
abu	473d	Allah	2b [43]
acah	429d	alun	33a [2]
ada	13 [69]	beralun-alun	
mengada		mengalun	
adat	307b	amanah	152b [4]
adik	55b [22]	beramanah	
adinda		diamanah	
adil	60c [3]	amat	44a [8]
adu	37c [3]	ambang	207b [2]
beradu		mengambang	
mengadu		ambar	253d
ahual	365d	ambil	368b [5]
aib	94d [2]	mengambil	
air	86b [9]	diambil	
ajaib	211c	ampun	3b [7]
ajal	421d [2]	anak	46b [22]
berajal		anakanda	
ajung	153c	anbia	2c
akal	23c [11]	andeka	158c
akan	29c [34]	angan	94a [4]
akar	5c [2]	angan-angan	
akhir	473d	diangan-angan	
akhirulkalam	172d	anggota	461b
aku	157a [2]	angin	480c [3]
ala	348b [2]	angka	496a [4]
alaihi	507a	diangka	
alamat	76b [6]	diangka-angka	
alamin	148b	angkasa	184b [2]
alat	461d [7]	angkat	15a [31]
alhamdulillah	2a [2]	berangkat	
Ali	154d	mengangkat	
(See also Baginda Ali)		diangkat	
ali	20d [3]	anta	443c
mengali-ali		anta permana	
		antah berantah	149d
		antara	16a [4]
		berantara	

- anum 24c [11]
 apa 17a [35]
 berapa
 mengapa
 apatah 231a [5]
 api 471a [10]
 apilan 246c [4]
 Arab 263b
 arah 245c [2]
 mengarahkan
 arak 161b [7]
 berarak
 mengarak
 arakan
 arak-arakan
 diarak
 aral 35d [3]
 arang 378c
 aras 489d
 arif 68b [3]
 arus 458c
 arwah 523c
 asa 202b
 asak 402b [4]
 berasak
 mengasak
 asal 7a [3]
 asap 349d
 asar 357b [2]
 asli 277a
 Asma la
 astagfirullah 3a
 asyik 128c [2]
 atas 161c [8]
 atur 41b [28]
 beratur
 mengatur
 diatur
 diaturnya
 awan 257b [2]
 ayah 71c [29]
 ayam 350b
 ayuhai 92a [3]
 ayun 35a
 berayun
 azali 106d [3]
 azamat 176a
 baca 13a [3]
 membacakan
 dibaca
 badan 108a [13]
 badut 436d
 bagi 17b [46]
 sebagai
 berbagai
 berbagai-bagai
 bagaikan
 bagaimana 308d
 bagi 2b [2]
 dibagi
 baginda 12a [93]
 Baginda Ali 277d
 (See also Ali)
 bagini 484a [2]
 begitu 137d [5]
 bahana 163a [13]
 bahari 5b [7]
 baharu 254b [5]
 bahasa 184a
 bahaya 26d [3]
 marabahaya
 bahtera 336c
 baik 24d [24]
 baik-baik
 sebaik-baik
 baiki
 membaiki
 membaikkan
 baja 291d [2]
 berbaja
 baju 73c
 baka 93c [2]
 bakar 28d [5]
 membakar
 dibakar
 bala 177d [3]
 balai 283c
 balang 182c

balas 234d [4] membalas dibalas	beda 96c [6] berbeda terbeda
balik 214b membalikkan	bedik 284a [2] dibedik
balu 456d [2] sebalu	bedil 347d [8] berbedil-bedilan membedil dibedilnya dibedilkannya
baluk 58d	beku 232d [2]
bandar 6b [4]	bela 554b belakan
banding 257d bandingan	belah 13b [20] sebelah sebelah-menyebelah
bangkit 168c [7] berbangkit	belaka 54a [15]
bangsa 260c [2] berbangsa	belantara 16c [2]
bangsawan 164a [9]	belas 138a [8]
bangun 138a [3] bangun-bangun membangun	belian 137b
bantah 128d [3] berbantah	belit 33d dibelit
bantu 371a dibantu	belum 5c [10]
banyak 5d [42] berbanyak	bena 318d [2]
barang 36d [39] sebarang sebarang-barang	benar 77d [7] sebenar-benar sebenarnya
barat 143d [3]	bengkak 135b
baring 142a berbaring	benih 194d
basi 293b	bentar 396b [3] sebentar
batang 287a [12] batangan	bentara 205d [4]
batu 46d [8]	berahi 128c [2]
batuk 135b [3]	beranda 404c
bau 182d [2] bau-bauan	berang 368d [4]
bawa 10b [8] membawa terbawa dibawa	berani 264d [5]
bawah 10d [17]	berat 45c [8]
bayu 134d [4]	beri 27d [20] memberi diberi diberikan
bebar 296d [2]	berida 24c [11]
	berita 25d
	berkat 2c [16]

bertih	42c	[2]	buat	47b	[26]
besar	7d	[25]	berbuat		
besi	387d	[2]	membuat		
bestari	15a	[1]	diperbuat		
beta	486c		diperbuatkan		
betah	151d		dibuatnya		
betapa	225a		diperbuatnya		
betara	125c	[7]	terbuat		
betul	138c	[3]	perbuatan		
berbetulan			bubuh	330c	[2]
biar	94d	[5]	dibubuh		
biasa	224d	[3]	dibubuhnya		
bicara	14c	[31]	budak	522d	
berbicara			budi	156b	[2]
biduan	160d	[2]	Bugis	9c	
biduanda	119d	[2]	bujur	290d	
bijaksana	68a	[2]	membujur		
bilang	8d	[16]	buka	339c	[4]
sembilang			dibuka		
membilang			bukan	6c	[28]
terbilang			bulan	136a	[9]
dibilang			sebulan		
billah	179c		bulang-baling	399c	[2]
bimbang	109d	[5]	bunda	117c	[2]
bimbar	253c	[4]	bunga	72b	
berbimbar			bungsu	212b	
berbimbar-bimbar			buntang	426d	
binasa	184d	[3]	bunyi	32c	[46]
binatang	18c		berbunyi		
bintang	37b	[3]	buruj	229d	[4]
biram	248d	[2]	buruk	90d	[2]
bisa	202d		burung	469d	
bismillah	1a	[2]	cahaya	72d	[10]
bisu	404d		cakap	141d	[9]
boleh	63b	[13]	bercakap		
bongkar	28c	[5]	calang	209d	
dibongkar			campak	492a	
buah	224b	[14]	dicampaknya		
sebuah			campur	522b	
berbuah			bercampur		
buang	334d	[3]	cantik	188a	[2]
membuang			cari	9d	[27]
buas	255a	[2]	mencari		

mencarikan		dahaga	358d
dicari		dahulu	4b [8]
dicarikan		berdahulu-dahuluan	
catur	40c [4]	dalam	13b
bercatur		di dalam	
cebur	433b [2]	ke dalam	
cebur-mencebur		dalang	231d
cebur-cebur		damar	471c
cedera	139d [5]	dampar	457b
celah	317b [2]	terdampar	
bercelah		dan	1c [161]
celaka	339d [2]	dapat	14b [26]
cemburu	71b	darah	286d
cemerlang	231b	darat	10c [7]
cendawan	514d [2]	dari	22c [37]
cengang	428d [3]	dari pada	
bercengangan		datang	33c [69]
cerai	46b [3]	berdatang	
bercerai		kedatangan	
cerca	372d	datuk	35c [5]
mencercai		daulat	66b [5]
cerdik	284d [2]	berdaulat	
cerita	4d [3]	daya	189a [4]
cermin	200d	dayang	168c
Cina	64a	dayu	134b [2]
cinda	278a	mendayu-dayu	
cinta	549c [11]	dayung	28c [27]
bercinta		berdayung	
cintakan		didayungkan	
cita	36d [7]	dekat	173c [7]
cium	332c	berdekat	
bercium		berdekat-dekat	
contoh	154d	delapan	98b [3]
coba	145d [3]	demam	137a
mencoba		demi	146c [16]
cucu	73a	demikian	81a [18]
cucur	215a	dendam	304a
dicucurkan		dendang	134c
cula	315d	dengan	4a [146]
bercula		dengar	4d [28]
dada	13b [12]	mendengar	
dadu	187a	mendengarkan	
dagang	57a [3]	didengar	
		didengarnya	
		kedengaran	

dengung	400c	[4]	ekor	33d	
berdengung			seekor		
berdengungan			elak	413b	
derak	405d		mengelak		
berderak-derak			emas	21c	[6]
deras	434c	[2]	emat	43d	
derita	175c	[3]	emban	211b	
menderita			emban-emban		
dermawan	179c		embun	178d	[2]
deru	194a	[3]	empat	80a	[5]
menderu			berempat		
desa	133d	[9]	keempat		
desak	415d		empat belas		
berdesak-desak			empedu	38d	
dewa	185b	[2]	enam	171b	[4]
dewata	564c		keenam		
di	12a	[91]	enam belas		
dia	248b	[5]	encik	104c	[2]
diam	524a		endan	356a	
berdiam			mengendan		
dian	208c		engkau	85b	[3]
didik	248c	[2]	entah	169d	
dikit	108d	[3]	esa	133a	
dinding	246c	[3]	esok	311d	[6]
berdinding			faedah	225c	
terdinding			faham	284d	
dinihari	39a		fakir	4d	[12]
diri	27a	[25]	fana	199c	
sendiri			fardu	153b	
berdiri			fasih	404d	
mendirikan			fikir	88d	[7]
terdiri			berfikir		
doa	34b	[4]	fikiran		
doakan			gahari	63c	[2]
dua	1c	[17]	gajah	274c	[2]
kedua			gaji	484d	
duduk	10a	[35]	galak	413d	[2]
duka	74d	[7]	gambar	188b	[2]
dukacita	355d	[2]	digambar		
duli	4a	[86]	gandum	244d	
dunia	170a	[2]			
duri	5d	[3]			
durja	144d	[11]			
dusta	331b	[2]			
dusun	51c	[2]			

ganggu	429c	gering	142c [2]
ganti	31[9]	geruda	183d [7]
berganti-ganti		geruh	424c
berganti		getar	499c
gantung	221b [2]	ghaib	182a [2]
bergantung		ghalib	322b
garang	130d [10]	ghena	163a [8]
menggarang		ghani	61c
gasak	402d [2]	giap	12d [2]
bergasak		kegiatan	
gegak gempita	175b [11]	kegiatan-giapan	
gegar	346d	gila	42b
bergegar		gobar	175b [6]
gelap	37a [2]	goda	520c [2]
gelap gulita		menggoda	
gelar	253a [2]	digoda	
bergelar		gogah	335c [3]
geleng	411c	gong	30a [4]
geliga	137c	gosok	294b [2]
gelombang	33c [3]	bergosok	
bergelombang		menggosok	
gelora	118b [8]	guna	52d [10]
gemala	178b [6]	berguna	
gembira	345b	gundah	16d [21]
gemerlap	313c [2]	gundah gulana	
gemerlapan		guntur	41a [3]
gemilang	182b	gunung	17a [9]
gempa	408c	guruh	184a [2]
bergempa		gusti	189b [2]
gempar	67a [4]		
gempita	318a [5]	habis	47a [12]
gemuruh	338d [2]	had	338a
genap	285b [3]	hadap	11d [30]
segenap		berhadapan	
gendang	30a [8]	menghadap	
bergendang		menghadapkan	
gentala	247c	hadapan	
gentar	41d [6]	dihadapnya	
bergentar		penghadapan	
gentarkan		hadir	12a [7]
gerak	311a	hadirat	10d [4]
bergerak		hai	526a
geram	184a [4]	hairan	18a [2]
menggeram			
gerangan	380d		

hakikat	75b		hemat	166a	[3]
hal	414d	[3]	terhemat		
halau	301d		hendak	9d	[42]
halilintar	399a		henti	31a	[16]
haluan	33b	[5]	berhenti		
hamba	3a	[17]	diperhentikan		
diperhamba			terhenti		
hambur	147d	[5]	heran	192b	[2]
berhamburan			hibur	101b	
menghambur			menghiburkan		
terhambur			hidup	351d	
hampir	74c	[9]	hikayat	555c	
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 sebutan
 tersebut
 disebutkan
 sedang 183a [3]
 sedar 417a [2]
 sedarkan
 sedia 2a [5]
 sediakan
 sedikit 252d [7]
 sedu 38c
 tersedu-sedu
 segala 20c [58]
 segan 50c [3]
 segar 556c
 segara 197d [2]
 segera 16b [13]
 segi 285b
 persegi
 sejuk 178a [2]
 sekam 211d
 sekarang 53c [10]

sekat	409a	[3]	senjata	25c	[8]
menyekat			senyum	237a	[2]
disekatkannya			tersenyum		
tersekat			seperti	23c	[47]
sekoci	59c		sera	139c	
sela	287c		tersera-sera		
sela-menyela			serah	36c	
seladang	17c		berserah		
selamat	29d	[5]	serahi	507d	
selang	8d	[4]	serang	81c	[5]
berselang			menyerang		
berselang-selang			serang-menyarang		
selap	37d		serba	352d	[2]
menyelap			serbu	473c	
selawat	29c	[4]	terserbu		
selawatkan			seri	96b	[24]
selesai	116a	[8]	berseri		
selup	8b	[2]	berseri-seri		
semangka	57b	[4]	seroja	187d	
semata	148b	[4]	serta	233c	[46]
sembah	10d	[36]	bes ^r ta		
menyembah			menyertai		
disembahkan			serunai	210b	[2]
persembahkan			sesak	13b	[5]
dipersembahkan			tersesak		
dipersembahkannya			sesal	112d	
sembahyang	153b		setan	559c	
sembarang	279c		seteru	70d	[2]
sembilu	505d		setia	546b	
semboyan	32c	[3]	si	325d	[2]
sembur	356d		sia	2d	[2]
sementara	294c	[2]	sia-sia		
sempat	28d	[5]	siah	479b	
sempit	458c		disiahkannya		
sempurna	29d	[3]	siang	118b	[9]
semua	102d		siap	92d	[5]
senak	32a		siapi		
menyenak			disiapi		
senang	367b	[2]	siapa	91c	[5]
senapang	294b		sidi	179d	
sendi	41d	[5]	sifat	1c	[2]
sendiri	557a		bersifat		
sengketa	230d		sikap	258b	[6]
sengsara	74d	[2]	sikat	23c	[2]
			silalah	83d	
			dipersilakan		

silah	179a	[2]	suruh	10b	[14]
silah-silah			menyuruh		
bersilah-silah			disuruh		
simbur	214d		disuruhnya		
disimburkan			surut	99a	[3]
simpan	460b		disurutkan		
disimpan			susah	76b	[4]
sinar	212d		susun	364b	[2]
disinar			menyusun		
singgah	31a	[2]	syabas	261b	[2]
singkat	113d	[2]	syafaat	121c	[2]
sini	44c		syah	43d	
ke sini			syahbandar	546a	[2]
situ	402d	[2]	syahda	13c	[2]
siuman	528d		syahid	277c	
sombong	372a		syair	225d	[3]
songsong	19d	[2]	syamsu	182b	[5]
menyongsong			syariat	155d	
sopan	326d		syarikat	23a	[5]
sorak	43a	[9]	syukur	527d	
suara	135d	[4]	disyukurkan		
suatu	1a	[30]			
sudah	4b	[86]	tabal	120a	[2]
sugul	222a		menabalkan		
suka	31b	[8]	tabib	140d	[4]
bersuka			tabur	194c	[4]
kesukaan			ditabur		
sukar	126d	[5]	penabur		
sukarkan			tafakkur	524a	
suku	80a	[6]	tagar	176c	[3]
pesukuan			bertagar		
sultan	18a	[12]	tahan	296c	[3]
suluh	502c		menahan		
sunat	153b		tertahan		
sungai	458c	[4]	tahana	443d	
sungguhpun	136c	[8]	bertahana		
sunting	419b		tahu	82a	[7]
supaya	88d	[6]	tahukan		
surai	186b		ketahuan		
suram	182b		takar	379c	
surat	10b	[16]	takdir	76a	[10]
menyurat			takhta	25b	[7]
disuratkan			bertakhta		
suratan					

takluk	9a		tarik	28a	[4]
ketaklukan			menarik		
takut	143d	[3]	ditarik		
tali	287a	[4]	taruh	55d	[8]
talkin	215a		menaruh		
talu	456b		menaruhkan		
bertalu-talu			tasik	197d	[2]
tamat	219a	[3]	tatang	145b	
tambah	48b	[14]	menatang		
bertambah			tatar	278c	
ditambah			ditatar		
ditambahi			tateh	370d	
penambah			menateh		
tambur	330a	[4]	tatkala	6a	[2]
tampak	434d		taulan	255a	[3]
tampam	264b		bertaulan		
tampang	294d		tawakal	110d	[2]
bertampang			tebas	52b	[2]
tampar	273d	[2]	menebas		
menampar			ditebas		
tampari			tebu	101d	[2]
tampas	131a		teguh	429d	
tanah	19c	[4]	teguh	267c	[2]
tanak	32c	[2]	teja	212a	
ditanak			telah	14a	[35]
tanda	308b		setelah		
tandang	259a		telan	136d	
tangan	35b	[6]	tertelan		
tanggal	532a		te/lentang	35b	[3]
tanggung	74d	[6]	tertelentang		
menanggung			teluk	54b	[2]
tanggungan			temasya	260d	[2]
tangis	152c	[3]	tembaga	105c	
bertangis-tangisan			tembak	348a	[19]
tangkap	313b	[4]	menembak		
menangkap			menembakkan		
tangkapan			ditembakkan		
tanju	73d		ditembakkannya		
tanjung	324c		tembus	348d	[4]
tanya	196d	[5]	tempa	408a	
bertanya			menempa		
ditanya			tempat	196d	[4]
tara	7b	[7]	tempek	319a	[2]
setara			tempuh	345b	[3]
bertara			menempuh		
			tempuhkan		
			ditempuh		

temu	104d	[7]	timbang	241a	
bertemu			ditimbang		
dipertemukannya			timbul	37b	[2]
tenang	186d	[2]	timpa	412a	
tengadah	521d		bertimpa-timpa		
tengah	98d	[7]	timpas	99a	[2]
setengah			tinggal	43b	[41]
di tengah			bertinggalan		
tengku	570a	[2]	meninggalkan		
tentang	139a	[21]	tinggalkan		
menentang			ditinggalkan		
ditentang			ketinggalan		
ditentang-tentang			tinggi	285a	[4]
tentera	30d	[9]	tinjau	229d	
tentu	6b	[15]	ditinjau		
bertentu			tiri	229d	
tertentu			titah	13c	[40]
tepat	506d		bertitah		
ditepatkan			dititahkan		
terang	53a	[5]	titi	425c	
terbang	310b	[3]	tertiti-titi		
berterbangan			titik	178d	
ternak	244c		tiup	312c	[3]
tertawa	371c	[2]	bertiup		
teruna	228c		ditiup		
tetampan	12c	[3]	tobat	3a	
tetap	145b		tohor	22a	[2]
tewas	276d	[2]	tolak	445a	[2]
berketewasan			menolak		
tiang	59b	[3]	ditolak		
tiarap	431c		toleh	169a	[2]
meniarap			menoleh		
tiba	44a		tolong	27c	[2]
tidak	4c	[256]	tua	24b	[5]
tiada			tuah	224a	[3]
tidur	436d		bertuah		
tiga	448d	[6]	tuan	48b	[40]
tikam	251d		tuanku		
pertikam			bertuan		
timah	294d		dipertuan		
timbang	249a	[11]	tuang	213b	[2]
bertimbangan			menuang		
ditimbali			dituang		
timbangan			tuba	44d	
			tuhan	2b	[12]

tuju	29b	[6]	ula-ula	315b	
menuju			berula-ula		
ditujunya			ulama	263a	[3]
tujuh	401a	[2]	ulang	470c	
tulang	432c	[2]	berulang		
tulis	114d		ular	202d	[2]
tulang	41d		umat	132c	[3]
tumbang	207d		umbang	247a	
tumpas	480b		terumbang		
tumpat	251d		umpama	89c	[12]
tunam	341d		umur	264c	
tunduk	86a	[3]	undang	134c	
menunduk			undur	361b	[3]
tunggu	337d	[3]	ungkap	141c	
bertunggu			terungkap		
bertunggu-tungguan			untung	86c	[10]
tertunggu			beruntung		
tunggul	27a	[8]	upaya	150a	
tungkup	488b		urai	183b	
menungkup			mengurai		
tunjuk	226d		usah	140b	
menunjuk			usahkan		
tuntung	347c		usai	293a	
menuntung			usali	20a	
turun	28b	[9]	usik	158d	
menurunkan			berusik		
turun-temurun			usul	70a	[3]
turut	274d	[2]	usung	206c	[2]
tusuk	404c		usungan		
menusuk			utama	275d	[3]
tutur	162c	[2]	terutama		
bertutur			utara	518c	
			utus	61b	
ubah	48d				
berubah			wadun	286b	
ubat	144b	[5]	wahai	177a	
mengubati			wajah	139d	
udara	160c	[4]	wakap	321c	
mengudara			waktu	26b	[5]
ugama	263b		walang	501a	[2]
uji	546d	[2]			
dijuji					
ukir	89d	[2]			

wali 20c [7]
 walimana
 wallah 129c [2]
 waris 263a [3]
 warna 82b [5]
 berwarna
 warta 61d [4]
 waswas 295c [4]
 was
 wayang 195a [2]
 wazir 15c [27]
 wirang 85c [4]
 wujud ld

yakin 267c
 yang 2a [212]
 yaum 98a [2]

 zaman 6a [11]
 zamzam 144d [13]
 zat lc
 zohor 22c [3]

C. APPENDICES1. THE "PELALAWAN" MANUSCRIPTS

Tenas Effendy (1) has done a great deal of work in the local history of Riau and on the "Syair Perang Siak" (2). His work is especially important for it makes extensive use of local sources. This may have some shortcomings as far as chronology and perspective are concerned. A number of significant inaccuracies in the dates of the reigns of the Siak Sultans, for example, are pointed out in Section I-E, "The Sultans of Siak...", pp.53-60; and, it has been pointed out elsewhere that TE's account glosses over differences and quarrels between factions in Siak, and gives too bland a view of a history filled with disputation and violence.

However, it is too easy to assume that the precision of dating, naming and description in European accounts is attributable to a greater objectivity and accuracy in recording facts. Even allowing that the Europeans of the time sought to present a balanced and accurate picture (a generous allowance in most cases), there remains the very real problem of the extent to which they understood the contemporary local situation. Yet, without a well developed and documented account based on indigenous material, it must be assumed that the Western historian will instinctively accept the European sources and discard the local sources.

It is fortunate, moreover, that Tenas Effendy appears to have used local sources exclusively (though I have no confirmation of this). In the Introduction to his edition of Syair Perang Siak (3) he begins a sentence: "Menurut catatan yang ada dalam naskah Pelalawan...". The absence of other references suggests that his sources are unpublished archival documents.

His work and the work of the Badan Pembina Kesenian Daerah Propinsi Riau as a whole gives the opportunity and a hope that, when the history of the region is written, it will be based firmly on indigenous sources giving a local perspective. Other sources, including European, would then be used properly-to corroborate, elaborate and give depth to the perspective.

(1) Abbreviated to TE (or TENE when collaborating with Mahar Effendy) when cited throughout the thesis.

(2) See Introduction p.136 and Bibliography for detailed citations.

(3) TE p.37

For the time being, however, little information can be gleaned about the extent or detail of the sources available in Sumatra. In particular, I have not been able to view the Pelalawan MSS which are crucial to any final discussion of the origin of this syair. Tenas Effendy's edition is of little help in this regard because it gives no indication of the extent to which he has adapted it and added to it. Indeed, there is no certainty that he used the Pelalawan MS for his edition though that assumption is reasonable.

My knowledge of the Pelalawan MSS is entirely the result of a letter from Tenas Effendy (4), dated 1st November, 1974 (5). Because of its importance to the arguments of this thesis, the relevant section of the letter is quoted in full:

"Dalam arsip Kerajaan Pelalawan (kerajaan ini berakhir th 1945) terdapat sebuah naskah Syair Perang Siak, yang tiap tiap tahunnya dibacakan di istana Pelalawan dengan suatu "upacara khusus Menurut Sultan Syarif Hasyim bin Abubakar Fakhruddin (1892 - 1930) naskah syair tersebut adalah naskah asli yang beliau warisi turun temurun. Naskah ini menurut beliau ditulis oleh Encik Abdullah (Encik Lah) yang berasal dari Terengganu (Malaysia). (Keterangan ini diperdapat dari bp. Tengku Said Umar, cicit Syarif Hasyim yang selama beberapa tah menjadi Sekretaris pribadi beliau.)

"Setelah Syarif Hasyim mangkat, naskah disimpan oleh Tengku Said Osman, sebagai Pemangku Sultan (1930-1940). Setelah putera Syarif Hasyim yang - bernama Tengku Said Harun dilantik sebagai Sultan Pelalawan dengan gelar Syarif Harum Abdurrahman Fakhruddin (1940-1945), naskah ini disimpan oleh beliau.

"Sebelumnya, yakni th. 1937, naskah ini disalin oleh Tengku Johan bin Ibrahim.

"Dalam masa perjuangan revolusi phisik bangsa Indonesia 1945-1949, naskah aslinya disimpan oleh Tengku Long Esah, adik kandung Syarif Hasyim. Setelah beliau meninggal dunia, naskah ini disimpan oleh menantunya yang juga merupakan keluarga terdekat Sultan, yakni Tengku Tonel (jaksa Kerajaan Pelalawan). Dalam masa revolusi itu, penduduk Pelalawan meninggal -

(4) The letter is signed as Sekretaris Badan Pembina Kesenian Daerah Propinsi Riau, d/a Ktr. Gubernur EDH Riau Pekanbaru.

(5) This letter arrived during my visit to Pekanbaru so that I had no knowledge of it or its contents and was unable to follow it up in person.

kan kota Pelalawan, tidak terkecuali keluarga T. Tonel. Dalam pengungsian itu naskah asli bersama salinannya disimpan oleh putera T. Tonel yang bernama Tengku Nasir Said Alwy.

"Berakhirnya masa revolusi, T. Nasir kemudian menjadi Kepala Kecamatan, yang berpindah-pindah, sehingga arsip kerajaan Pelalawan dan naskah-naskah diatas kurang diperhatikan. Maka baru baru ini saya menemui T. Nasir yang - sekarang berada di kota Pekanbaru, menanyakan tentang naskah asli itu.

Yang baru berhasil dijumpai adalah salinannya, yang ditulis oleh Tengku Johan. Sedangkan naskah aslinya sedang diusahakan mencarinya ke Pelalawan. Mudah-mudahan usaha ini akan berhasil."

∟In the archives of the Kingdom of Pelalawan (which ceased to exist in 1945) was found a copy of the Syair Perang Siak which was read each year in the palace at Pelalawan with special ceremony. According to Sultan Syarif Hasyim bin Abubakar Fakhruddin (1892-1930) that manuscript of the syair was the original one which he had inherited from his forebears. He further attributed this manuscript to Encik Abdullah (Encik Lah) who came from Trengganu (in Malaysia). (The foregoing explanation was received from Tengku Said Umar, the great-grandson of Syarif Hasyim who for many years had been his private secretary.)

When Syarif Hasyim died, the manuscript passed into the possession of Tengku Said Osman, the Interim Sultan (1930-40). When the son of Syarif Hasyim named Tengku Said Harun was installed as Sultan of Pelalawan with the title Syarif Harun Abdurrahman Fakhruddin (1940-1945), he took over the manuscript.

Previously, in 1937, the manuscript had been copied by Tengku Johan bin Ibrahim.

During the Indonesian Revolution 1945-1949, the original manuscript was cared for by Tengku Long Esah, a younger brother of Syarif Hasyim. When he died, that manuscript was taken over by his son-in-law who was also closely connected with the Sultan, that is T. Tonel (public prosecutor of the Pelalawan government). During the Revolution, the inhabitants of Pelalawan including T. Tonel's family, fled their city. During their flight, the original manuscript and the copy were cared for by the son of T. Tonel, named Tengku Nazir Said Alwy.

After the revolution, T. Nazir became Head of a Kecamatan(6)

(6) A Kecamatan is a local administrative authority next in order after a Tropinsi and a Kabupaten.

and moved about, so that the archives of the Kingdom of Pelalawan and the manuscripts mentioned above received less attention. Quite recently, I met T. Nazir who now lives in Pekan Baru, and asked him about the original manuscript, with the result that I was shown the copy, written by Tengku Johan. Meanwhile, efforts are being made to find the original manuscript in Pelalawan. I hope that those efforts will be rewarded.⁷

... ..

It is worth noting here, since I have seen it referred to in no catalogue or survey, that Badan Pembina Kesenian Daerah Propinsi Riau has published a volume entitled "Cerita-Cerita Rakyat di Daerah Riau" (7) which describes a surprising amount of indigenous literary material not otherwise known (not to the present writer at any rate).

In the section headed Sage (8) it lists (besides the Syair Perang Siak), Raja Indera Fahlawan (9) a kisah about the Datuk of the Lima Puluh Suku in Siak who is mentioned in the syair. The stories concern his exploits from before Raja Kecil's emergence up to his part in the attack on the Dutch factory at Pulau Guntung and the subsequent overthrow of Ismail.

Also described are the kisah Mawar Kampar, from Pelalawan, Raja Aji from Riau and Lancang Kuning from Bukit Batu.(10)

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- (7) TS DJAAFAR M et al: "Cerita-Cerita Rakyat di Daerah Riau". The contributors include Tengku Nazir and Tenas Effency.
- (8) *ibid.*, pp.22-32
- (9) *ibid.*, p.26
- (10) *ibid.*, pp.27-32

2. THE SMALL ALIF (a)
AND ITS EFFECT ON L2 AND J

One of the more noticeable features of L1, which does not occur in L2 and J, is the incidence of extraneous alifs in the MS.

When confronted with a similar phenomenon in the MSS of the Svair Perang Mengkasar, Skinner (1) sought the explanation in phonology and attempted to reach conclusions about the speech patterns of the copyists. However, without becoming entangled in the linguistic difficulties of correlating speech and spelling, more can be learnt about the matter by considering the orthography alone.

We may begin with the proposition that there are two distinct forms: alif, 'a' and small alif, '(a)'.

The existence of two forms is suggested by the erratic occurrence of alif in certain situations - showing even more inconsistency than one grows to expect in the spelling of L1. Stanza 68, occurring at the foot of page 10 was inadvertently repeated on page 11. When the error was noted, the repetition was scored out. There were 6 small alifs in the first copy of St. 68. None were repeated in the second copy.

There is, in fact, a general decrease in the incidence of (a) on page 11. This diminishes justification for thinking that (a) might be a later addition in another hand, but we are left with the clear impression that (a) is not an integral part of the spelling.

Taking the line (St. 24d)

بايكر افرامان بايغ ادا

baiki perahu mana yang ada

I would argue that there are four alifs and four small alifs. The alifs are joined initially in baiki and mana and unjoined in ada. The small alifs occur in baiki, perahu and mana thus
 b-a-'-y-k-y(a)-f-r(a)-h-w(a)-m-a-n-(a)-y-ng-a-d-a

It may be contended that the alif over ra in perahu

(1) SKINNER, C., "Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar", pp.53-4

and after the nun in mana are justifiable in the spelling and should be accepted as alif.

The guidelines used in making a decision are the size and position of the alif, and the conventions used in spelling the same and similiar words on other occasions. In the material that follows a conservative view is taken. Unless the letter is clearly (a), it has been recorded as alif. In fact, the first alif in perahu, although believed to be an (a), is recorded as a.

It will be seen in the line, 24d, above that (a) is written higher than a and it is not joined. (a) tends to be smaller than a, though this is not a sure sign. The (a) over the ra in perahu is as big as the alifs in ada. In sebentar itu (st. 426d)

مبنايتو

the alif introducing itu is much smaller than (a) over ra. In bercerai dengan anak (St. 46b)

باجراي دغن انو

I would read (a), a or (a), and a. All three are much the same size. If anything, the first (a) over ra is a stronger stroke than the other two.

It is believed that (a) is intended to be written over letters though there is much variation (probably fortuitous) in the positioning of (a). It occurs before, above and after letters, and, on occasions, appears to be used to separate words. In

melanggar (St. 401a)

ملنگراره

raja udara (St. 160d)

راجا واداره

it will be seen that the (a) intended, it is believed, to be above the ra and wau, have slipped to the left on all occasions. This was caused in both words by Ll endeavouring to spread the line of writing to fill the space provided. For the same reason, melanggar has an apparent alif between nga and kaf. It is not a letter^{at}/all but an upstroke which has become detached from the kaf.

Despite Ll's inconsistency, the best test for (a) is the conventions evidenced elsewhere in the MS. In the borderline case of perahu above, we can discover that, of the eleven

occasions when the word was used, Ll spelt f-r-h-w four times. Three times the small alif (a) was clearly above the ra. Twice it followed the ra and on two occasions a normal alif seemed to be intended.

The most difficult decision occurs in cases where alif might be expected and is consistently used yet the size and positioning suggests (a). In buah alif occurs in nine out of 14 occasions. On each occasion it is written in the manner of (a) above the wau.

In buat the incidence of alif is 12 out of 26. Again alif is justified and might be preferred.

Yet, if we take the words bukan and bulan where alif would not be expected in association with the wau, we find that the incidence is 14 out of 28 occasions and 4 out of 9 occasions respectively.

In buah, buat, bukan and bulan, alif is associated with the wau in about fifty percent of occasions. Because it has the appearance and position of (a), and because it is associated with wau where alif would not be expected in as great a proportion of cases as where alif could be written, it has been read (a).

In a survey of the incidence of (a) in words beginning with the letters a and b (2), it became apparent that (a) is closely associated with particular letters in quite remarkable proportions:

ra	-	199
wau	-	130
ya	-	32
dal	-	29
nun	-	16
ba	-	15
nga	-	9
sin	-	5
ha	-	3
ta & alif	-	2
nya & <u>kaf</u>	-	1

(2) This sample may be prejudicial in minor degrees. For example the proportion of ba may be too high and mim, which is sometimes associated with (a) is not recorded. However, the broad pattern is reliable and any other sampling would have deficiencies.

Two hypotheses suggest themselves but neither can withstand a thorough-going examination. However, it is not impossible that (a) has a number of functions.

The frequency of (a) occurring with the ra in the prefixes ber-, ter- (76 times in the sample or on almost every occasion) leads one to suppose that (a) served in the function of a tanda mati, indicating that the ra was not the beginning of a new syllable. This supposition is made less likely, though not eliminated, by the fact that Ll uses a conventional tanda mati in St. 375c.

فونفرند

porak peranda

A number of the remaining cases occur with ra in a final position as in melanggar (illustrated above) where it could have the same function as in ber-. This could also explain some of its use with sin, though not all as shown in St. 44c.

سنا سينا

sana sini

(There are other uncertainties here, however. The first (a) may, in fact, be alif and the second may refer to the ya rather than sin.)

The same applies to most of the other letters in the list.

The use of (a) associated with the alif in such words as pekerjaan is a special case. It is difficult to show that (a) is not intended as an alif. Here it occupies a position typically held by a hamzah, yet its function is very similar to that described above - to mark the end of a syllable.

The second hypothesis that suggests itself arises from the great frequency of the association of (a) with wau and ya. The (a) may be used as a means of indicating that wau and ya have the function of vowels rather than consonants.

It is frustrating and unrealistic to seek absolute certainty from investigating a manuscript as unreliable and subject to whim as Ll. Its lack of consistency makes it inevitable that any hypothesis will be shown to be in error. Therefore, until further evidence about the habits of court scribes and biduan becomes available, one can conclude that

L1, which was kept at and used in a Malay court, was marked by the scribe or reader to assist in reading the text. The marks indicated the final letter of syllables and words, and where written above wau or ya indicated that they should be read as vowels.

Whatever is the truth concerning the origin of (a) in L1, it is fascinating to follow the effect of the occurrence of (a) on L2 and J. Neither one uses (a) nor appears to have any understanding of its purpose. They come to terms with it and the frequency of misreadings diminishes as the syair proceeds and when the sense is clear, but they are never eliminated because the sense of L1 is often obscure and L1 and J had no prior knowledge of the events and many of the proper names.

Most of the misreadings, especially in L2, are simply letter by letter transliterations of what seems to have been written, and have themselves no apparent meaning. J, because he more often attempts to write a sensible word, provides most of the following examples.

St. 6d L1 berhati J berahi

The customary (a) over the ra of the prefix ber-causes this early error here and again in St. 40b.

St. 9c. L1 Menangkabau J menangkap

J here takes (a) over wau to represent dots making pa.

St. 32c L1 semboyan J semua itu

Again (a) over wau causes the error.

St. 38a L1 tua(?) J itu

J's reading is reasonable. L2 cautiously copies L1 t-w omitting the (a). (a) here is above the mim of malam, indicating that the mim is final.

St. 50c L1 mahu J maaf

Again (a) over wau causes it to be read as fa

St. 56b L1 kota L2 kuat

(a) over wau again.

St. 70d and 127b L1 jayeng seteru L2 jayeng isteri

(a) was used as a tanda mati above the nga. L1 and J took it to be the first letter of the next word. On the second occasion L2 followed J in copying a final wau rather than changing it to ya. On both occasions each kept the(a).

St. 157d L1 lara wirang L2 laru irang (?) J laru berang

By putting (a) over wau here, L1 damages the theory that (a) shows wau to be a vowel. The intention of L2 and J is not clear.

St 175c L1 saburnya L2 suaranya

(a) over wau

St. 187c L1 merdu J m-r-a-d-w

St. 132a L1 murka J m-r-a-k

St. 264d L1 Berma L2 and J b-r-a-m-a

St. 266c and St. 276c L1 buruj L2 and J
b-r-a-w-j or b-w-r-a-j

(a) over ra was responsible in each of these cases.

St. 269c geruda k-r(a)-r(a)-d J k-r-a-r-a-d

St. 386b L1 Busu J Yusuf

(a) over wau makes wau seem fa.

At 416b L1 berbimbar-bimbar L2 berambar-ambar (?)

All three ra had (a) above them.

As L2 and J became accustomed to L1, they began to notice errors. L2 followed L1 h-r(a)-t (harta St. 45c) and wrote h-r-a-t but scored out the alif. The same thing happened in St. 186c with durja (L1 d-r(a)-j).

On at least one occasion, however, L2 saw an (a) which was not there. In St. 142a, L1 spelt air mata with an initial alif. L2 ignored it as (a), took ya as ba and wrote bermata.

3. DIACRITICAL MARKS

Diacritical marks are used only in L2 which, of the three manuscripts, needs them least.

One would expect them to be used to clarify foreign words, unusual proper names or words with spellings likely to cause ambiguity. One would expect the diacritical marks to be used when the word first occurs and gradually to be discontinued.

There is no pattern to suggest that any of that is true. As will be observed in the list below, words with diacritical marks tend to be commonplace words which had already occurred on a number of occasions previously. Only in Allah, which invariably has a tasdid over the two lams are diacritical marks used consistently.

<u>Stanza</u>	<u>Word</u>		<u>Frequency</u> <u>with</u> <u>Diacritical</u> <u>marks</u>	/	<u>Frequency</u> <u>of</u> <u>word</u>	<u>Position</u>
38a	beradu	برادو	1	/	3	2nd
	Allah		43	/	43	
33a	beralun-alun		1	/	2	1st
221a	badan	بدان	2	/	13	3rd & 8th
436c	badut	بدوت	1	/	1	1st
191a	baka	بكا	1	/	2	2nd
221d	berat	برات	1	/	8	6th
212b	bungsu	بونسو	1	/	1	1st
291c	buruj	برجا	1	/	4	4th
392b	Batil	باكال	1	/	2	2nd
38d	empedu	مفدو	1	/	1	1st
353b	gempita (gempitalah badan)	گمپیتالان	1	/	5	2nd

383d	geruda	سُرْدَا	1 / 7	5th
424c	geruh		1 / 1	1st
354a	haru	هَرُو	1 / 3	3rd
224b	jantan	جَنْتَان	1 / 3	1st
256a	kapitan	كَافِيتَن	2 / 14	5th & 6th
260a	kapitan	كَافِيتَن		
250a	Kulub	كُلُوب	1 / 1	1st
420d	kisar	كَيْسَن	1 / 2	2nd
272d	berlebur		1 / 4	2nd
62b	lorong	لُورُونْج	2 / 3	1st & 3rd
176b	"	لُورُونْج		
424d	luruh	لُورُونْ	1 / 5	5th
28b	papas		1 / 3	1st
348c	pelurunya	فَلُورُونُونْ	2 / 36	2nd & 10th
400c	pelurunya	فَلُورُونُونْ		
94c	runding		1 / 1	1st
330b	sabur	سَابُونْ	1 / 6	3rd
420d	menyambar	مَشْسَر	1 / 7	6th
370d	sauh	سَاوْ	1 / 6	4th
39a	semboyan	سَبُونِينَا	1 / 3	2nd
322b	singa	سِينْج	1 / 4	2nd

28b	turun		1 / 9	1st
48d	berubah	يُرْوَبِرُ	1 / 1	1st
20a	usali		1 / 1	1st
310b	walimana	وَلِيمَانَا	1 / 1	1st
260d	Wolanda	وَلَنْدَا	2 / 35	6th & 7th
261d	Wolanda	وَلَنْدَا		

4. THE USE OF HONORIFICS FOR SULTANS

Although the syair relates significant events from the lives of five Sultans of Siak, only one is named and that is Muhammad Ali (1) who was not sultan during the period of the syair and about whom there is some question as to whether he was ever recognised as a sultan. For the others - Raja Kecil, Mahmud, Ismail and Alam - although each is mentioned many times, only Mahmud is in any way identified by personal name or by title. It is only by inference that one can establish the identity of the subjects of the syair. Without the guidance of parallel accounts, it would be impossible to make sense of the narrative.

The poet, if he was not deliberately creating an esoteric work, must have assumed in his audience considerable knowledge of the events described.

The disclosing and use of personal names is often accompanied with some shyness and misgiving. The knowledge of a person's name implies some kind of power over that person. In our own society, small children may be heard to say "I know your name", and the one addressed may be seen to react with discomfort or aggression depending on his nature. In Indonesia, there is still a preference for leaving the disclosure of one's name to a third party.

However, that does not explain the use of honorifics for the sultans and others in the syair in preference to their personal names or titles. There is no objection to personal names in themselves. Thirty-nine such names are used in the syair.

Encik Amin displayed no similar coyness in identifying the Sultan di Goa and the Sultan di Telok and other dignitaries in the Syair Perang Mengkasar written at least a century earlier.(2)

There is a scriptural concern with the sanctity and hidden nature of God's name. The pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton in Jewish practice was transmitted only to qualified disciples

(1) St. 252a

(2) SKINNER, C. (Ed.), "Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar".

by the Rabbi. It was used only in special ceremonies at the Day of Atonement and otherwise replaced by a substitute word(3). We can see the same reluctance to reveal God's name and identity in the scriptural account of Jacob's struggle with a man at the River Jabbok:

"Then Jacob asked him, 'Tell me, I pray, your name' . But he said, 'Why is it that you ask my name?'... So Jacob called the name of the place Peniel, saying, 'For I have seen God face to face, and yet my life is preserved.'"(4) Again, in the Book of Judges, we find:

"And Maniah said to the angel of the Lord, 'What is your name, so that, when your words come true, we may honour you?' And the angel of the Lord said to him, 'why do you ask my name seeing it is wonderful?'"(5)

However, this Jewish custom does not seem to have been carried over into Islam. D.S. Margoliouth claims that the Koran gives an injunction against addressing the Prophet as an ordinary man, basing his claim on Sura xxiv 63(6), but most translations of the Koran interpret that verse differently. It is customarily seen (and this is supported by the context) as an injunctions to heed the Prophet's demands to perform one's religious and moral duties before one heeds the demands of other men.

Certainly there can be no rule in Islam forbidding the use of the names of the prophets and saints for those are by far the most popular Muslim personal names.

We must, therefore, look to indigenous customs for clues to the solution. At a primitive level, Schebesta found that negrito peoples have prohibitions about the way they must address their parents(7), and Loeb found restrictions on modes of address quite common in Sumatra. In Aceh, there is a tabu on the names of the dead, so that family names do not exist and it was forbidden to mention the name of one's father,

(3) HASTINGS, James (Ed.), "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics".

(4) GENESIS 32: 29-30

p 171.

(5) JUDGES 13: 17-18

(6) HASTINGS, James, op.cit., p.140

(7) SCHEBESTA, Paul, "Among the Forest Dwellers of Malaya", p.113

(8) LOEB, Edwin M. "Sumatra, Its History and People" pp 243-4.

mother, uncle or spouse(8). Menangkabau adopt little titles (galar ketek) when they are married, and titles when they become penghulu. These are inherited with the office and allow the holder to be addressed freely without using personal names, for it is an insult to ask the name of an elder member of a family.(9)

The Menangkabau custom provides a basis for the phenomenon of honorifics in the syair, but it does not explain it. The Menangkabau name was a single title inherited from all previous holders of the position. The honorifics of the syair, as we shall see, consist of a great variety of appellations.

The Batak have a prohibition on subjects mentioning names of rajas even after the death of the raja. Loeb found a parallel in Timur where it was also forbidden to use a word containing syllables from the name of a dead king. Thus the fact that there had been a king named Horpanaluan prevented the use of the word tuhor (buying) and caused a change in the language.(10) The usage in SM is that rulers are mentioned by name before their reigns and after their deaths. While reigning, titles are used.

The cap of Menangkabau Sultans reveal no ~~such~~ reluctance to use the names of dead kings for it is the name of the greatest king, the founder of the dynastic line which appears on the seal together with the title of the present incumbent. As this title does not vary, the cap remains unaltered and appropriate for successive kings. Likewise, SM gives names and titles for rulers of Siak and elsewhere. The syair was written in the same social milieu and either for the same generation or the generation earlier. It, therefore, remains a puzzle to know why the syairist so studiously avoided mentioning the Siak sultans by name or title.

The following survey of the actual use of honorifics for sultans in the syair does not explain why they are used to the exclusion of names and titles but it does give pointers to the way they are used. It confirms the contention in the Introduction that Mahmud is the most important figure in the

(9) *ibid.*, pp.107 and 118

(10) *ibid.*, pp.65-6

syair even though the syair is not principally about Mahmud. Mahmud is given a much greater variety of honorifics. They are grander and less repetitive than the other three sultans. Some of the variety is explained by the fact that Mahmud is referred to many times posthumously because his funeral is described in detail, but that description too was a deliberate choice of the poet and cannot, therefore, be seen to lessen Mahmud's preeminence.

The survey was made of 150 honorifics which, though not exhaustive, include the majority used in the syair. Raja Kecil had 23 mentions and 13 different terms applied. Alam had 12 mentions and 6 different terms applied. Mahmud had 29 mentions and 27 different terms applied. Ismail had 51 mentions and 23 different terms applied.

Mahmud has only two terms repeated while the others average two uses per term. Much of the duplication occurs in the word baginda. Kecil has it applied to him on 18 occasions, Alam 6, Ismail 11, but Mahmud is referred to as baginda on the first occasion only.

The following terms are applied to all three: Raja Kecil, Mahmud and Ismail, or all four, including Alam.

duli mahkota
 baginda
 raja bestari
 duli baginda

Raja Kecil had seven terms applied exclusively to himself including

duli yang syahda
 raja usali
 seri paduka ayahanda
 baginda sultan yang gahari

Alam had no terms applied exclusively to himself.

Mahmud had 21 terms applied exclusively to himself, including

seri betara
 duli mahkota orang
 duli khalifah Allah
 sultan raja yang ghana
 junjungan mahkota patik
 tuanku mahkota raja junjungan

mahkota ghaib
 marhum mahkota desa

Mahmud is also actually identified for anyone familiar with family history and court titles. He is called:

seri mempura
 marhum Inderapura
 and marhum mangkat di Mempura

Ismail had 14 terms applied exclusively to himself including

duli mahkota negeri
 tuanku duli bestari
 duli
 sultan mahkota negeri
 duli yang maha mulia
 mahkota raja

He also has the dubious distinction of being referred to as ia at the time of the fall of Siak in 1761. During the last days, Ismail was not directly referred to at all for 44 stanzas. When first mentioned again, he was given the perfunctory pronoun ia. (11)

It should be remembered that the identification of individuals in the syair is purely a matter of inference and there can be no absolute certainty about the association of particular honorifics with particular individuals.

None of the foregoing explains the esoteric nature of the Syair Perang Siak which is, to the knowledge of the present writer, unique amongst syair of the time. The striking feature of the syair is that it needs much more than the usual amount of interpretation to discover the poet's intentions. This appendix is an acknowledgement that an unresolved problem exists and it is included for that purpose only. If the solution to this crucial problem had been found, it would have been included in the body of the work.

My unsupported guess is that the poet considered his work politically dangerous and concealed the impact of his writing from those whom it might offend. The correct interpretation could be readily revealed for appropriate ears.

(11) See St. 514a and note.

5. THE USE OF IMAGERY

Imagery in the syair is almost always presented in the form of a simile beginning with laksana, bagai, selaku, seperti or umpama. Two of the few exceptions are the verses:

St. 285c-d jikalau datang Wolanda memenang
di laut darah niat berenang

and

St. 105c-d emaslah sudah jadi tembaga
dinilainya tidak ada berharga

Comparisons are drawn with everyday objects one would expect to find or hear of in a Malay community. Daring, speed of action and ferocity are compared with a variety of animals:

St. 313b laksana harimau lepas tangkapan
St. 321d laksana singa akan menangkap
St. 253b laksana geruda akan menyambar
St. 342c seperti ular melihat makanan
St. 274 seperti gajah yang meta
St. 336c seperti helang

It is curious that the lion has many more mentions than the tiger, suggesting perhaps that literature is a more important source than nature.

Ferocity also compared with natural noise-making phenomena

St. 339a seperti halilintar
St. 353a seperti panah keludan
St. 424a seperti guruh
St. 41c seperti guntur

Despondency and broken hopes are often referred to in terms of drunkenness and fragile glass. A bird in the wind and ships at sea are also easy prey to disaster.

St. 222d umpama dimabuk pinang yang malan
St. 44d seperti ikan dimabuk tuba
St. 514d laksana dimabuk makan cendawan
St. 509d, 80d, 46d laksana kaca jatuh ke batu
St. 134c-d laksana dendang di pucuk kayu
bagai di undangan Indera Bayu
St. 143c-d laksana ajung yang amat seras
takut dipukul ribut barat

Good qualities and beauty are seen in terms of gold gems, flowers and dew.

- St. 21c laksana emas sudah semutu
 St. 328b bagi mutiara dikarang
 St. 181 gemala mahkota didalam negeri
 St. 178c-d parasnya laksana kuntum dipetik
 sejuknya seperti embun yang titik
 St. 187d laksana seroja di kolam madu

From mythology, the geruda and tentera mambang are often mentioned. The poet's use of heroes from classical literature is similar to Encik Amin's. (1)

- St. 264b bagi Sang Bima
 St. 264d bagi Maharaja Berma
 St. 417 dipangang laku adinda kedua
 laksana Ranjuna (Arjuna) dengan Pendawa
 akan perang wayang Korawa
 selaku tidak sedarkan jiwa.

The poet shows he recognises his legendary allusions as Javanese in

- St. 555c-d ada laksana hikayat Jawa
 Panjinya seorang kalahnya tiga dewa

and he shows his first-hand knowledge of Javanese in the line

- St. 158c sampun pekulun andeka kesateria.

(1) SKINNER, C., "Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar", pp.25-6

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