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A 14th Century Malay Manuscript from Kerinci¹

When Petrus Voorhoeve visited the Sumatran regency of Kerinci in April, and again in July 1941, he transliterated a large number of manuscripts written on buffalo and goat horn, as well as on bamboo internodes inscribed with the Kerinci *surat incung* script.² Other manuscripts, including those on paper, tree bark, bark paper (*daluang*), and palm leaf (*lontar*) were photographed and later transliterated³. Voorhoeve sent the complete list of some 200 transliterated Kerinci manuscripts to the Netherlands, Batavia, and Kerinci, but due to the Japanese invasion apparently none of the documents reached its destination. It was only discovered in 1975 that the copy sent to Kerinci had indeed arrived and subsequently survived both war and revolution (Watson 1976). A copy of this document, entitled *Tambo Kerinci*, is currently in the library of the KITLV (Voorhoeve [1941]).

Convinced that the *Tambo Kerinci* had disappeared, Voorhoeve published a preliminary list of the Kerinci manuscripts in Volume 126 of the *Bijdragen* (Voorhoeve 1970). Under No. 160 of this list (corresponding to No. 214 in the *Tambo Kerinci*), Voorhoeve mentions a *daluang* manuscript from Tanjung Tanah (Mendapo Seleman, about 15 km southeast of Sungaipenuh, the capital of Kerinci) that was shown to him on 9 April 1941. He was able to photograph the manuscript but found the quality of the pictures unsatisfactory: “The circumstances in Tandjung Tanah, on the covered bridge with a large crowd surrounding the operations, were picturesque but not ideal for photography.” He describes the manuscript as “A small booklet,

¹ I am indebted to Ian Proudfoot who has made many valuable suggestions, and to Tim Behrend for his insight into questions of terminology.

² The scripts (*surat*) of the southern part of Sumatra are better known in the literature as the *rencong* script following van Hasselt (1881:5). The use of the term *surat rencong* is, however, limited to a few areas, and unknown in Rejang or in Lampung (Voorhoeve 1940:3). Jaspán (1964), who studied manuscripts in the Rejang area, introduced the term Ka-Ga-Nga following the first three letters of the southern Sumatran alphabets. In Kerinci the script is commonly referred to as *surat incung* meaning cursive script.

³ It cannot as yet be confirmed that the manuscripts in question are indeed written on the leaf of the *lontar* palm, which is unknown in Sumatra except in the dry part of northernmost Aceh (A. Whitten, email correspondence 2.10.02). One can also not exclude the possibility that another material than *daluang* has been used in manufacturing the bark paper.

written on *deluwang*, sewn at the back with thread. Two pages of rëntjong writing, the other pages Old Javanese writing. [...] The text is a Malay version of the books of laws Sarasamucchaya [...] As far as I remember most of the text consists of lists of fines. One thing I recollect quite clearly is that the name Dharmasraya is mentioned in the text. This is the place where in Saka 1208 (A.D. 1286) a statue of Amoghapasa, sent to its king by his Javanese suzerain, was erected” (ibid p. 384). He calls the manuscript “clearly pre-Islamic” (ibid p. 389).

The script that Voorhoeve calls "Old Javanese" is one of the local Sumatran Late Pallavo-Nusantara scripts, which Casparis (1975:57) more aptly called “Malayu”.⁴ He uses this term, however, mainly for the script of the Adityavarman inscriptions. The use of the term “Malayu” in this article does not imply that the script of the Tanjung Tanah manuscript is the same or closely related to the Adityavarman inscriptions. Whether there is indeed a close affiliation can only be confirmed by future research.

I saw the manuscript for the first time in 2002 at the same location where Voorhoeve photographed it sixty-one years earlier, and apparently in about the same condition as described by Voorhoeve. The manuscript measures 10 x 15 cm and consists of 17 leaves of bark paper, sewn together, and written on both sides.

I reported on the manuscript on several occasions, including the July 2003 Symposium of the Masyarakat Pernaskahan Nusantara (MANASSA) in Denpasar, and in a hitherto unpublished publication (Kozok [forthcoming]) in which I argued that this manuscript may will prove to be the oldest extant Malay language manuscript. My theory that the text must be of considerable age is based on the following:

1. The text does not contain a single Arabic loanword⁵. Any dating based on this fact alone would be fairly problematic since we know too little about the spread of Islam into the upper Jambi and Minangkabau area. One can, however, say with

⁴ I suggest the use of the term ‘Pallavo-Nusantara’ instead of the Java-centric terms ‘Old Javanese’ or ‘Kawi’. Late Pallavo-Nusantara refers to the regional scripts of the Majapahit period (1250-1450).

⁵ The text in the *incung* script, however, seems to include the word *Allah*. It is hence likely that the *incung* text is not contemporary with the main text, but constitutes a later addition on the available blank pages. This hypothesis is also corroborated by the fact that the *incung* text appears to be some kind of magic formula, apparently unrelated to the main text.

confidence that a relatively long legal text that does not contain any Arabic loan word is unlikely to date later than the 17th century.

2. The text makes reference to the kingdom of Dharmasraya⁶ that is only mentioned in 13th and 14th century historical sources. The polity of Dharmasraya was located close to the present village of Sungai Langsat on the shore of the Batang Hari in the Pulau Punjung district, Sawahlunto Sijunjung regency, West Sumatra. This is the place where the above mentioned Amoghapasa Lokesvara statue was found bearing an inscription (in contemporary East Javanese script) that the statue was presented in 1286 by King Kertanegara to King Srimat Tribuanaraja Mauliwarmadewa in Suwarnabumi (Sumatra) (Casparis 1975; Krom 1926:333, 413; Manguin 1996; Voorhoeve 1970; Westenenk 1920). Chinese sources report that three kings ruled San-fo-ch'i (Sriwijaya) in 1373, namely Palembang, Dharmasraya (Jambi), and King Adityavarman (Minangkabau). The last report that mentions this kingdom dates to 1377 when the son succeeded the maharaja of Dharmasraya. In the same year Majapahit attacked Jambi, which may be the reason why Dharmasraya is not mentioned any further (Suleiman 1977).

3. Besides a short introductory text in Sanskrit language and Malayu script, and the main document written in the same script but in the Malay language, the book also contains a short text of two pages in Malay language and Kerinci *surat incung* script. The kind of *surat incung* found in this text is, however, considerably different from the script of other manuscripts from Kerinci, and Voorhoeve describes it as “much nearer to the Middle-Malay rëntjong” (Voorhoeve 1970:384). As a matter of fact, the manuscript can only be read if one knows all existing variants of the southern Sumatran scripts. Some letters are typically only found in Serawai (Bengkulu), while others are only known in Lebong or Lampung, and two of the five diacritics, namely the diacritic /i/ and the *tanda bunuh* (Jv. *paten*, Skt *virama*), do not resemble any of the southern Sumatran scripts but show a striking affinity to the respective letters of the Malayu script! The *surat incung* text of the Tanjung Tanah manuscript is hence very likely to be much older than the average Kerinci manuscript. Although Kerinci manuscripts are not typically dated, we know that the

⁶ The Tanjung Tanah manuscript uses the spelling Drammasraya.

Kerinci script was abandoned in the second half of the 19th century in favor of the Arab-Malay Jawi script. Jawi manuscripts became common in Kerinci by the late 17th and early 18th century. It is thus likely that the majority of existing *surat incung* manuscripts on buffalo horn and bamboo were produced between the 16th and 18th century with the *surat incung* text of the Tanjung Tanah manuscript clearly preceding this date.

The manuscript is dated but unfortunately the reference to the Saka year is illegible. Although Voorhoeve and Poerbatjaraka called the script of the Tanjung Tanah manuscript “Old Javanese” they did not support this assertion with any firm evidence, and my attempts to have the manuscript dated on palaeographic evidence by contemporary scholars were also unsuccessful. Two of the four scholars I contacted were inclined to date the manuscript to a much later date, possibly the 17th or 18th century, whereas the two others believed that the script could date between the 13th - 15th century. Unfortunately none have yet come forward with evidence to support their respective views.

In May 2003 I visited Kerinci again, and took more photographs of the Tanjung Tanah manuscript that was kept together with other sacred heirlooms (*pusaka*) in the attic of the owner’s house. At this time I asked the owner – more aptly referred to as caretaker since all *pusaka* are property of a lineage – and gained permission to take a small sample of one of the blank pages for laboratory testing. After returning to Honolulu I sent the sample to the Rafter Laboratory in Wellington for enhanced precision radiocarbon dating. The results of the sample (laboratory code NZA 18645) were returned on 24 November 2003. The sample yielded a conventional radiocarbon age of 553 +/- 40 BP.⁷ The radiocarbon date was then calibrated based on published tree-ring calibration data according to Stuiver et. al. (1998). The calibrated age in terms of a 2 sigma confidence interval is: 1304 AD to 1436 AD. This indicates that there is a 95% probability that the sample has an age of between 1304 AD and 1436 AD.

⁷ Radiocarbon measurements are always reported in terms of years ‘before present’ (BP). This figure is directly based on the proportion of radiocarbon found in the sample. It is calculated on the assumption that the atmospheric radiocarbon concentration has always been the same as it was in 1950 and that the half-life of radiocarbon is 5568 years. For this purpose ‘present’ refers to 1950.

Combining the radiocarbon date with the available historical sources, it seems to be highly probable that the manuscript dates to the 14th century. The radiocarbon data suggests a date in the second half of the 14th century and the historical data suggests that it is probably not much younger than 1377 AD, after which date Dharmasraya disappears from the historical map.

While it can be assumed that the main text was written not long after the *daluang* paper was manufactured, we cannot readily assume the same for the *surat incung* text. It is possible that this text was added at a later time on some of the blank pages of the manuscript.

The Tanjung Tanah manuscript is hence considerably older than the previous oldest known Malay manuscripts – two letters from Ternate dating to 1521 and 1522 published by Blagden (1930).⁸ As a Malay manuscript written in a Late Pallavo-Nusantara script, the Tanjung Tanah manuscript indicates that there was a tradition of Malay writing on perishable material that predates the introduction of Muslim and European paper and Jawi script, and suggests that this tradition may extend back as far as the earliest Malay inscriptions in the 7th century (in Pallava script). The Tanjung Tanah manuscript also makes obsolete the theory that there was no tradition in the Malay world of writing on palm leaf or similar materials before the arrival of Islam (Jones 1986:139). This theory – already proposed by Friederich (1854) and again, more recently, by Abdullah (2000:405) – is meaningful only if one accepts the premise that the Malay language manuscripts in the *surat* scripts of Kerinci, Bengkulu, Pasemah, and Lampung do not constitute Malay writing.

The Tanjung Tanah manuscript reminds us that any discussion of the early stages of Malay literature needs to take into consideration the large amount of Malay manuscripts produced in indigenous pre-Islamic scripts in upriver (*ulu*) Sumatra⁹. It

⁸ In 1988 Al-Attas claimed to have encountered the oldest extant Malay manuscript dating to 1590 AD. In the chapter “Previous accounts of some of the oldest Malay manuscripts”, he gives a comprehensive account of previous known oldest manuscripts without, however, making any reference to Blagden.

⁹ Generally, the southern Sumatran manuscript tradition has remained widely unnoticed, and is inadequately documented. The main resources remain Voorhoeve’s catalogue of manuscripts in German collections (1971) and Jaspán’s Folk Literature of South Sumatra (1964). There are however, many unpublished descriptions and transliterations of southern Sumatran texts, including 135 *surat incung* manuscripts in Voorhoeve’s *Tambo Kerinci*, and nearly one hundred bamboo manuscripts of the collection of the museum of Bengkulu. The majority of southern Sumatran manuscripts remain as sacred heirlooms (*pusaka*) in private collections.

also suggests that the *surat* scripts of Sumatra may be much older than generally assumed. The prevalent view is that the Sumatran as well as the Philippine *surat* scripts derived from the Malayu script of the Minangkabau kingdom of Adityavarman. This theory, that sets the year 1286 (the date of the Padang Roco inscription in West Sumatra) as the *terminus post quem* for the birth of the Sumatran scripts, is supported by Marschall (1967:564) and Teuku Iskandar (1996:46) and is also shared by De Casparis, (1975:66) who, however, cautiously adds that “there is little evidence to substantiate this view.” There is indeed neither firm evidence that the Malayu script is the immediate progenitor of the Sumatran *surat* scripts nor can it be assumed that these new scripts replaced the obsolete Malayu script as suggested by Cribb (2000:38). As I have argued recently it is possible that Sumatran *surat* scripts coexisted with the Malayu script and its predecessors: The latter being associated with royalty while the *surat* scripts were used for trade and domestic purposes (Kozok [forthcoming]-a; Kozok [forthcoming]-b).

This theory of duality is supported by the Tanjung Tanah manuscript. Although it is possible that the *surat incung* text was added at a later stage, the script is certainly of considerable ancestry and adds substance to the possible coexistence of Pallavo-Nusantaric and *surat* scripts well before Adityavarman times.

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Transliteration

Voorhoeve (1970:385) mentions that during his second visit to Tanjung Tanah he collated Poerbatjaraka's transliteration with the original, and adds: "but I cannot recall whether I succeeded in deciphering the complete text." I have not yet had the chance to check the reliability of the transliteration but my first impression is that the transliteration is overall very accurate. Those who wish to collate the transliteration

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with photographs taken in 2002 can do so by visiting the following website:
<http://www.hawaii.edu/indolang/surat/>.

The following transliteration by R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka has been copied from Voorhoeve's *Tambo Kerinci* (pp. 152-157). I have not yet collated Poerbatjaraka's transliteration with the original text, but so far as I can see the transliteration is very accurate. There are a few minor obvious mistakes such as a redundant hyphen in line 4 of page 8, and some words are not separated, e.g. *orangtandangbartah* in line 5 of page 8, and *mamoenoehsangaboemikan* in line 4/5 of page 9. The following punctuation marks were used in the transliteration: a single slash, which occurs only once, denotes a vertical line, a double slash indicates two vertical lines, which is the equivalent of a full stop. The combination *//..//* represents two vertical lines followed by a dot and two further vertical lines, and '&' indicates a pair of a punctuation mark resembling two commas: " , , ". Note that the text is composed using the pre-1942 spelling convention.

III. DISIMPAN OLEH DEPATI TALAM, DOESOEN TANDJOENG TANAH

214. Boekoe ketjil daripada kertas Djawa (daloewang).

Toelisannja hoeroef Djawa Lama; doea halaman toelisan rentjong. (lihat gambar No.29)

Disalin oleh Toean Dr. Poerbatjarakan. Edjaan seperti No.188. Doea lembar kertas soedah terlepas daripada boekoe itoe. Roepanja kedoea lembar itoe asalnja satoe lembar sadja. Kertas daloewang itoe diperboeat daripada beberapa lapis daoen jang dipoekoel mendjadi satoe, djadi moengkin djoega kalau daloewang itoe basah, maka lapisnja itoe terpisah lagi. Lembar jang pertama, jaitoe (kalau betoel doegaan saja tadi) halaman no.1 daripada boekoe itoe, soedah terlaloe robek, sedikitpoen tidak terbatja lagi hoeroefnja.

Halaman. 2:

.....
...çri...ka...satita.....
masa wesaka //
.. ong //..// djyasta masa titi
kresnapaksa //.. // diwasa ...
pdoeka sri maharadja karta.....

çri gandawangça mradanamaga...
... saka..... kartabe.....

Halaman 3:

anoegraha at..sang...kamtta
nrang pda mandalika di boemi koerintji ...
si loendjoer koerintji maka ma...
t prabalang-balangnan disa pra...
di s..idangnga desa hallat...
hallat di desa pradesa ba-
nwa sahaja, djangan.....

Halaman 4:

pda dipatinja jang soerang-soerang.....
barang tida... da pda dipati, dwa ta
hil sapaha dandanja // sedang
panghoeloenja bahawoemman tyada
ja manoeroenni, tyada ja manoeroenni
pahawoemman, mangada ...kah ka-
lahi, didanda satahil sapa-

Halaman 5:

ha // djaka balawannan kadwa sama
kadanda kadwa // poenarapi djaka ma-
ngannakan djoedi djahi, jang adoe mra...
danda satahil sapaha, jang ba-
djoedi kadanda satahil sapaha soe-
rang-soerang, gaggah raboet dirampassi ma-
lawan mangoenoes karris toe-
mbak boenoeh / mati bala ngaka

Halaman 6:

da doesoen noerang doenoengngan ... rati
maling manjamoen dyangkatkan noerang
managih maroesak roemah o-
rang maling roesoeh tjangkal b..toepa
banwakan, sanggaboemikan boenoeh
anaknja trenjata pandjing kedalam
saparoe lawan dipati jang doenoengnganja
didanda dwa tahil sapaha // poe-

Halaman 7:

narapi djaka orang mamagat pao-
tjap woerang dipiraknja olih orang
orang jang mamagat, didanda satahi
l paha //..// poenarapi barang mangoe-

bah soekattan gantang tjoepak ka-
tijan, koendre boengkal pihajoe
didanda satahi sa(pa)ha barang
manoenggoe orang tida tang amat

Halaman 8:

pda panghoeloenja orang jang ditoenggoe
mangadakan rannjah baribin di-
danda satahil sapaha jang
manjoeroeh pwan sama dan-da¹¹ kaowa, ba-
rang mamagang orangtandangbartah...mahoe-
loekan djoedi djadi saboeng maling, ba-
rang mamagang didanda satahil sa-

Halaman 9:

paha //..// barang orang najik ka
roemah orang tida ja barsarroek barkoe-
wat barsoeloeh, boenoeh sanggaboem-
mikan salah ta olih mamoe-
noehsanggaboemikan oleh dipa-
ti barampat soekoe, saboe soe-
k....xxxnoeh¹² saboesoek tida

Halaman 10

mamoenoeh //..//maling kambing ma-
ling babi danda sapoeloeh mas, ma-
ling andjing lima mas, andjing ba-
sadsja, maling andjing mawoe sapoeloeh
mas, andjing dipati pwan saky-
n // andjing radja satahil
sapaha // maing hajam sa-

Halaman 11:

haja orang bagi as poelang doewa //
hajam bannwa sikoer poelang tiga //
hajam koetra bagi sikoer poelang lima //
hajam dipati ajam anak
tjoetjoe dipati bagi sikoer poelang toedjoeh //
hajam radja bagi sa poelang dwa
kali toedjoeh // hajam banwa lima

Halaman 12:

koepang, hajam poelang manikal //
hajam poetra tangngah tiga mas //

¹¹ Sic! The hyphen must be a mistake. The spelling of the original is clearly *danda*.

¹² The first letters of this word are illegible. In the manuscript I read *mamunuh*.

hajam hanaktjoetjoe dipati ha-
jam dipati lima mas // haja-
m radja sapoeleh mas // barang ma-
ngiwat orang, da dandanja satahi-
l sapaha, orang poelang saroepanja //

Halaman 13:

djaka orang tandang badjalan basadja,
bawa minam makan laloekan // ba-
rang syapa orang mambawa atnja pa-
ndjalak pasoengoeppi hantar tati doe-
soen, pakamitkan olih orang poe-
nja doesoen // maling toewak di atas
di bawah didanda lima mas //

Halaman 14:

maling boeboe, boeboe ditimboenni pa-
di sipanoehnja, djaka tidak tarisi
limamas dandanja // barang mangoebah
panjtjawida, didanda lima tahlil
sapaha // barang bahilang orang mata
kardja jang poerwa, sakati lima danda-
nja // .. // barboe // barang syapa ba-

Halaman 15:

rboenji doesa sangkita, danda dwa ta-
hlil sapaha // maling tapboe dipi-
koel didjoedjoeng digalas, lima koe-
pang dandanja // djaka dimakan dipaha-
ninja tanamannya tanamkan, saba-
tang di kiri sabatang di kanan dikapi-
t, diganggam sabatang di kiri

Halaman 16:

sabatang di kanan .. dibawa poe-
lang tida doesanja makan taboe itoe
maling birah kaladi hoebi toeba
dipahamba dwa poeloeh dwa lapan hari,
tida handak dipahamba, lima mas
dandanja // maling boenga sirih pinang orang
atawa sasanginja, dwa poeloeh dwa lapan ha-

Halaman 17

ri d(i)pahamba, tida handak dipaha-
mba lima mas dandanja // maling padi sata-
hlil sapaha dandanja // maling hoebi

badjoedjoengngan lima koepang, jang tida badjoedjoeng-
ngan lima mas dandanja // maling talloe-
r hajam itik prapati ditoemboe-
ktoedjoe toemboek lima toemboek orang ma-

Halaman 18:

nangah-i, dwa toemboek toehannja moekanja
dihoesap dangan tahi hajam tida ta-
risi sakyang tengah tiga mas dandanja //
maling isi djarrat, andjing sikoer ja piso
rawoet sahalai dandanja // maling
poeloet isi poeloet langnga satapai-
jan dandanja, tida tarisi tengah tiga

Halaman 19:

mas dandanja // maling kajin, ba-
bat badjeo distar pari roepanja,
sapoeloeh mas dandanja // maling basi
babadjan lima mas dandanja // maling
koerisani lima mas // maling la-
badja toepang, sapoeloeh mas dandanja, ti-
da tarisi diboenoeh // orang maroe-

Halaman 20:

goel si dandanja // orang maragang dwa ta-
hil sapaha, tida tarisi sakyang
diboenoeh // maling hampangan
toewak saparah odang sadoelang bijoe-
koe sikoer, babi hoetan sikoer
tida tarisi sakyang sapoeloeh mas
dandanja // maling takalak panjali-

Halaman 21:

n hidjoek lima koepang // panjalin
mano roetan lima mas // panja-
lin hakar sapoeloeh mas // maling a-
ntilingngan lima mas // maling poeka-
t djala, tangkoel, pasap, tal.a-
j, gitrang, lima mas dandanja, mamba-
kar dangau, babinama dangoe paka-

Halaman 22:

rangan orang, babinasa talla le-
naj panalejjan noerang, ha-
tap dinding lantai rangau, lima mas danda-
nja // poenarapi djaka bahoetang mas

pirak riti rantjoeng kangca tambaga si-
lamanja batiga poehoen // singgan
sapaha hajik mas manikal //
djaka bahoetang barras padi, djawa, dja-

Halaman 23:

goeng handjalai, dwa tahoen katiga dja-
mba barroek, labih dwa tahoen katiga
hingganja manikal // poenarapi
djaka orang mambawa parahoerang, ti-
da disalangnja, hilang patjah binasa,
dwa mas dandanja // djaka ja disallang...
hilang ta ja patjah binasa saraga

Halaman 24:

nja bajir bali, djaka tida silihhi
saroepanja // tida ja
liwat dari djandjang, toewak sata.....
n hajam sikoer kapoelangannja //
bidoek pangajoeh galah, kadjang la-
ntai poelangan, itoe pwan sakya-
raknanja // poenarapi djaka orang

Halaman 25:

toedoeh manoedoeh, tida saksinja, ti-
da tjina tandanja, adoe saboeng, barang
tida handak saboeng djalahkan //
penarapi djaka orang maboek pan-
ning salah langkah salah kata salah ka(?)-
kakappan, mambajir sapat sitja-
ra poerwa // poenarapi djaka orang ba-

Halaman 26:

doesa sangkita hiram tallihnja,
balloem ta(ng?) soeda pda da(pa)ti, dapattan
ta olih djadjanang, kanna danda tamoe(?)-
wan dwa kali sapaha, sapaha
ka dalam, sapaha pda djadjanang
lawan dipati // dipagat olih ma-
ntri moeda di loewar hinggan tangngah tiga

Halaman 27:

mas tida djadjanang dipati baroelih
// djaka barallahhan lima mas samas pa-
roelihan dipati // hinggan sapoeloeh ma-
s ka datas batahillan, dwa ma-

s parolihan dipati // poenarapi pda
bannwa // pda sahaja sapoeloeh tang-
ngah tiga mas sipattanjnja sapoe-

Halaman 28:

loeh mas pria di(pa)ti tangngah tiga
mas pda orang peonja¹³ anak // ban-
a djaka ja bapoengoetkan hanak
nja, dipati dipanggil dahoeloe
bakardja pda dipati, djaka dipati koe-
dijan olih bakadjakan hana-
k didoesakan, sakyen ta boenji-

Halaman 29:

njatnja titah maharadja dra
mmasaraja // jatnja jatna sidang ma-
hatnja sa-isi boemi koerintji
si loendjoe koerintji // sasta li-
kitang koedja ali dipati di-
waseban di boemi palimbang di ha...
dappan padoeka ari maharadja dra-

Halaman 30:

mmasraja //& //..// barang salah
silitnja, soewasta olih sidang ma-
hatmja samapta //& //
pranamja diwang çri samaleswarang
aum // pranamja çri sadiwam, treloe-
kjadipati stoetim, nanadattroe (?)

Halaman 31:

dretang waki tnitri satrasamoeksaja
m//..// // pranamnija
nama, toendoek manjambah, sirsa na(ma) ka-
pala, diwa nama diwata, tre nama soe-
rga damya pratala, dipati nama la-
bih dreri pada sakallijan
nama nama banjak, dretang na-

Halaman 32:

ma jang dikatakan, satra na-
ma jang satra, samoeksajam nama
sarba sakallijan // & //.. //
ini saloeke dipati ///

¹³ Sic! Read: poenja (UK).

Toelisan rentjong doa halaman:

Halaman 33:

.....

.....

.....

dangan maboeka ki(wa?)ka lajang.....

mah..... maka kita batja doewa ...

m toedjoeh djoeh kali si(?)

jang toedjoeh kali malam batja da-

ngan satjilas diri danga-

Halaman 34:

n soekatjita tjoetji diri dan

soekatjitahan hastari

kita, sahaja kita sakalijan

sa... marabaja kita ...ranak

kita barang sijapa najapa.....

danja doe...wa hini,.....

goeri hanoe gara 'allah¹⁴ hoe-

wa hoewa nallah &//

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¹⁴ What is represented here as "a" is the letter /ha/ (that can also represent /a/) followed by the *tanda bunuh* (Skr. virama, Jav. paten), which indicates the omission of the inherent /a/ sound. This is a very unusual, and normally impossible combination, and the interpretation as *Allah* is possible, although not conclusive.

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