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PUBLISHERS:

St Catharine's College  
TRUMPINGTON STREET

CAMBRIDGE

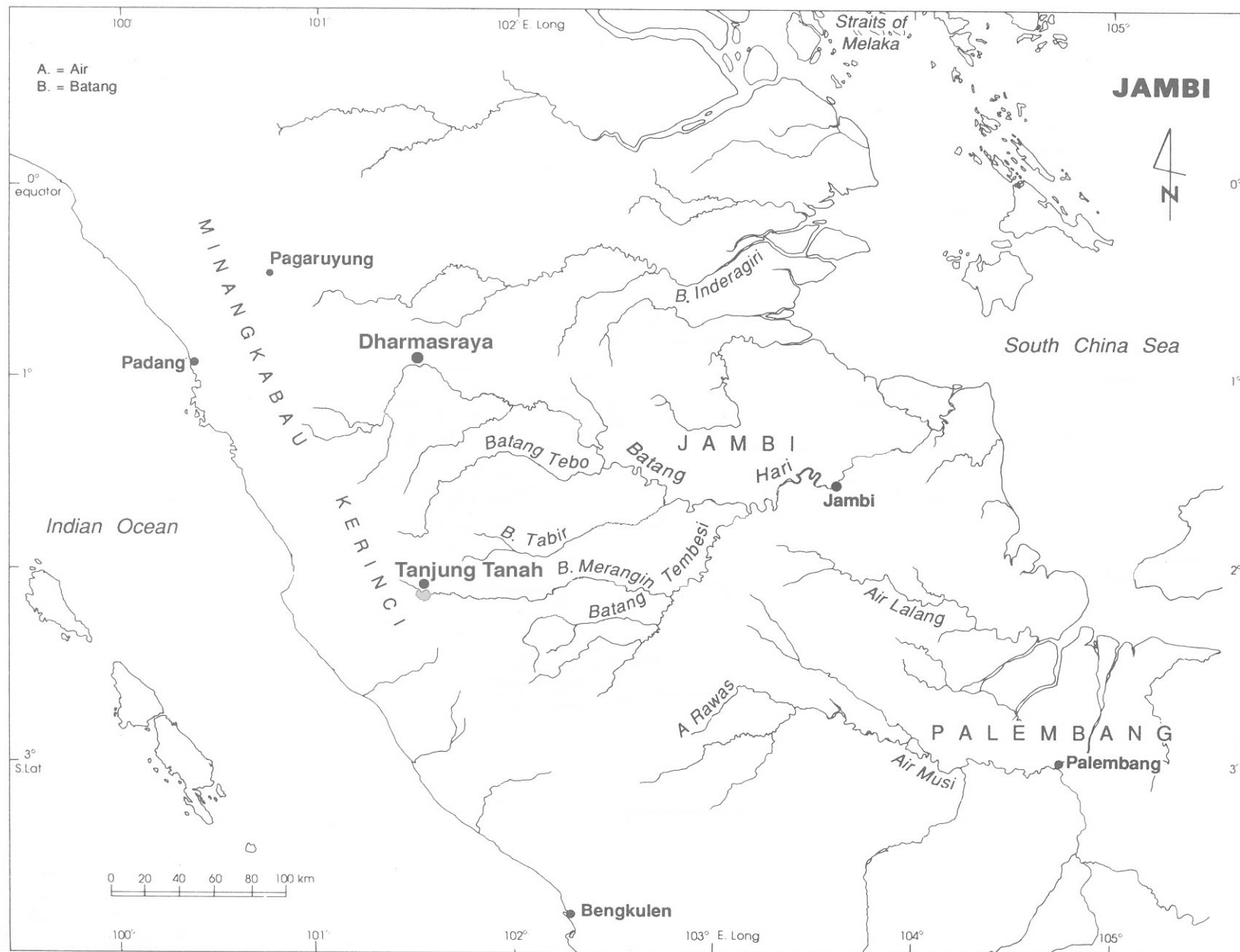
PRINTERS:

The Cambridge University Press  
SHAFTESBURY ROAD

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THE TANJUNG TANAH CODE OF LAW  
*THE OLDEST EXTANT MALAY MANUSCRIPT*





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*by*  
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CAMBRIDGE  
ST CATHERINE'S COLLEGE  
AND THE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
2004

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## Introduction

The Malay civilization is one of the oldest civilizations of Island Southeast Asia, and one of the first places where we have testimony of a society that employed the art of writing. The origin of the word Malay or “Malayu” can be traced back to the seventh century when it was first mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing, who, on his way to India in 671, visited a kingdom located on the Batang Hari river in Jambi that he called Malayu. On his way back to China he lived for ten years in the neighbouring Malay kingdom Sriwijaya to copy and translate Sanskrit texts into Chinese. Here he reports that apparently after 689 AD Malayu had lost its independence to Sriwijaya. Indeed, for centuries, all embassies sent to China were from Sriwijaya, and none from Malayu. Sriwijaya subsequently became the cradle of Malay civilization. Even after the fall of Sriwijaya in the fourteenth century, the Malay language continued to play an imminent role in the Malay archipelago, but now it was no longer written in a script derived from the Indian Pallava script, but in Arabic script.

The prominence of Malay in Island Southeast Asia probably reached its peak in the sixteenth century when it had become the language of commerce and diplomacy throughout the Indo-Malaysian archipelago. It is also during this time that the Malay manuscript tradition began to flourish after Islam had become the predominant religion of almost the entire Malay world. Islam brought the Malays a new script, the Arab-Malay jawi script, and paper as the new writing medium. Inspired by the great Islamic manuscript culture, the Malays developed their own distinct manuscript tradition, which continued for centuries before the chirographic tradition transitioned to the printing press. At the

beginning of the seventeenth century, the Malay culture was dominant in Southeast Asia, and the Malay language "pluricentric and diffuse, fervently Islamic with numerous *jawi* script manuscripts" (Collins 1998:33) became also associated with Christianity after Malay had been chosen as the language of the mission with the arrival of the Europeans in the archipelago. The Europeans used Malay as the language of communication and administration not only in the Malay homelands, Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, and Borneo, but also in Java, Bali, and in eastern Indonesia. This language, which has become the national language of Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, and is now spoken by approximately 250 million people, is also one of the oldest known languages in island Southeast Asia.

During the 7th-14th centuries, the Buddhist kingdom of Sriwijaya flourished on Sumatra. Its ancient stone inscriptions testify that an ancient form of Malay already existed by the seventh century, but little is known about the development of the Malay language in Sriwijayan times and thereafter due to the scarcity of later inscriptions, and the relatively late occurrence of Malay manuscripts. This had led some scholars to believe 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, of course, meaningful only if one accepts the premise that the Malay language manuscripts in the indigenous surat ulu scripts of southern Sumatra (Kerinci, Bengkulu, Pasemah, Ogan, Komering, Serawai, and Lampung) do not constitute Malay writing. Other scholars have challenged this theory because it is not plausible to assume that the Malays never developed a pre-Islamic manuscript tradition or lost it in the course of history. The maritime empires Sriwijaya and Malayu were strategically located on the strait of Melaka, enabling them to control the trade between India and China for many centuries. It is difficult to imagine that these coastal trading states did not possess

a manuscript tradition in Indic scripts prior to the arrival of Islam, but until recently there was no evidence to support the theory of a pre-Islamic manuscript tradition in the Malay world.



## The Discovery of the Tanjung Tanah Manuscript

When the Dutch scholar Petrus Voorhoeve visited the Sumatran regency of Kerinci in April, and again in July 1941, he encountered a manuscript in the village of Tanjung Tanah that was exceptional in that it was not, as most of the manuscripts found in Kerinci, written on buffalo horn or paper, but on a kind of paper manufactured from the bark of the paper mulberry tree (*Broussonetia papyrifera* Vent.), which under the name *dluwang* was a common writing media in Java. Voorhoeve's description of the manuscript, and the transliteration made by the philologist Poerbatjaraka were lost during the war, but later rediscovered by a British anthropologist in 1975 (Watson 1976). Thirty years after having seen the manuscript in Kerinci, Voorhoeve briefly described the manuscript, relying on memory and a few notes that survived the war, as a "small booklet, written on *deluwang*, sewn at the back with thread. Two pages of *rèntjong* 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" (Voorhoeve 1970:385). He calls the manuscript "clearly pre-Islamic" (*ibid*:389).

I had visited Kerinci several times since my first visit in 1999, and it was in 2002 when I visited Tanjung Tanah where I found the manuscript at the same location where Voorhoeve saw 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. Each page consists of seven lines of text, but not all of them are legible due to some damage by moisture that has especially effected the edges of the manuscript. The book is not bound, and does not even have a cover page. It is also not illustrated and simply consists of text written with black ink on the bark paper.

To prove whether Voorhoeve's assumption that the manuscript indeed predates the coming of Islam into this part of the Malay world, I decided to have it radiocarbon dated. The owners of the manuscript were so kind to grant me permission to take a small sample for accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS) radiocarbon dating at the Rafter Radiocarbon Laboratory in Wellington, New Zealand. AMS is a relatively new detection technique that was first introduced in 1977. It has major advantages compared to the standard radiometric method, such as highly reduced sample sizes and shortened measuring times.

The sample of the Tanjung Tanah manuscript, taken from one of the empty pages, yielded a radiocarbon age of  $553 \pm 40$  years before present (BP), which is the standard way to represent C-14 ages where, for the sake of convenience, the year 1950 is used as the "present."<sup>2</sup>

This conventional C-14 age of  $553 \pm 40$  does not, however, correspond to the actual calendar age because the currently accepted half life value of radiocarbon is 5730 years and not the original measured value of 5568 years, and also because the ratio of radiocarbon in the atmosphere has varied by a few percent naturally over time. The actual calendar age of the sample was determined by calibrating the conventional age using the calibration dataset INTCAL98 (Stuiver et al. 1998). The sample of the Tanjung Tanah manuscript lead to two different solutions for its calendar age: With a probability of 95.4% the Tanjung Tanah manuscript dates either between 1304 and 1370 AD (44.3% of

area), or 1380 and 1436 AD (51.7% of area). Percentiles in brackets indicate the probability distributions, i.e. the most likely age range of the sample within the overall age range. There is a slightly higher probability for the later end of the range although the percentiles of the probability distributions for the two ranges are so similar that they are virtually insignificant.

Lab Number	d13C (‰)	14C Age	Calibrated Age Range
R 28352 (18-Nov-03)	-24.5	553 ± 40 BP	1304 - 1370 (44.3%) 1380 - 1436 (51.7%)

The radiocarbon data hence indicate that the manuscript was most likely produced during the fourteenth century, but an early fifteenth century date is also possible. It predates the hitherto known oldest extant manuscripts, two letters in *jawi* script from Sultan Abu Hayat of Ternate to the King of Portugal bearing the dates 1521 and 1522, by more than one century.<sup>3</sup>

The Tanjung Tanah manuscript hence provides firm evidence that a written literary tradition in Malay existed before the profound impact of Islam in Southeast Asian maritime societies.



## Sacred Heirlooms

The aforementioned two letters from Ternate have survived almost five centuries because they were kept in the secure environment of the Lisbon archives, well protected against hazards such as fires, floods, or volcanic eruptions, and not exposed to the tropical environment, where heat and humidity cause organic materials to decay rapidly, and where insects and micro-organisms can destroy organic substances even faster. Human beings must also be counted as potential enemies as manuscripts can get stolen, or are damaged by improper treatment. The fact that there are only very few manuscripts predating the seventeenth century is usually explained with the tropical climate where manuscripts were "essentially disposable items to be preserved more by copying than by physical conservation" (Feinstein 1996).

How then is it possible that the Tanjung Tanah manuscript could survive for almost 700 years in a small village in the interior of Sumatra?

The people of the Sumatran regency Kerinci in the province of Jambi are renown for having fine collections of sacred heirlooms that are passed down from generation to generation. These heirlooms, known as *pusaka*, are kept in the loft of their houses and only seldom see the light of the sun. Not more than once or twice in a generation are these *pusaka* items publicly displayed during a ceremony known as *kenduri sko*. As heirlooms from their ancestors these items continue to play an important role in the lives of the people. They are inalienable objects of immense spiritual wealth and eagerly guarded because they are believed to protect the community. These items are not owned by an

individual, but are the possession of the whole lineage, and passed down in maternal line. The special treatment these objects are given as sacred heirloom can at least partly explain why the Tanjung Tanah manuscript has survived the centuries.

Kahlenberg gives a plausible explanation for the surprisingly long survival of textiles from Sulawesi: "The large equatorial island of Sulawesi may have the world's least suitable climate for the preservation of textiles, but due to their customary placement above a hearth, these cloths have been smoked, sometimes for centuries, and thus preserved from the ravages of insects, rodents and high humidity" (Kahlenberg 2003:86). She adds that these *pusaka* textiles – some of them were radiocarbon dated to the thirteenth century – were "displayed mainly at the funeral of clan leaders. They may have seen the light of day only a few times in a century" (ibid). The textiles from Sulawesi show that *pusaka* items can indeed survive for centuries as long as they are sufficiently protected. It is interesting to note that the *pusaka* of the Toraja and the Kerinci were stored under very similar conditions. Kerinci *pusaka* are typically wrapped in cloth and kept in large wooden chests. These chests are then stored in the attic of the house. The Tanjung Tanah manuscript was stored in a relatively small wooden box wrapped in cloth together with some other *pusaka* items, comprising an ancient poncho-like shirt, a long piece of cloth, and another relatively similar legal code written on paper in *jawi* script. This wooden box was then stored in an earthenware pot, and a similar earthenware bowl was used as the lid. The pot was kept in a cardboard box, and stored in the loft of the owner's house. The various layers protected the content of the pot effectively against the damaging effects of light, and also against abrupt changes in temperature while the loft with its relatively high temperature during day time ensured a relatively low level of humidity. Tanjung Tanah is located at an altitude of approximately 800 meters with relatively low temperatures at about 20C during the night and 27C during day time. Apart from these relative positive factors the

material of the book, *dluwang*, is also known as possessing relatively good conservational properties. When the bark paper has not been treated with rice starch, which is likely to attract insects, it can last for many hundred years (Dr. Tim Behrend, personal correspondence).

The range of *pusaka* items kept by the people of Kerinci is almost unlimited. Common are items that relate to power, include flags, daggers, lances, shields, while others, such as Chinese porcelain, pieces of cloth, and hand-written copies of the Al-Qur'an might display wealth and authority of the ancestral owner. In most collections of *pusaka* we will also find buffalo or goat horns inscribed with texts in the indigenous script of the Kerinci people, *surat incung*. These are legal contracts that determine territorial borders between two parties. Once agreement was reached the buffalo was ritually consumed and the agreement incised into the horns of which each party kept a copy. These manuscripts, all written in the Malay language, were clearly produced by the Kerinci people, but we also find a large number of letters composed in the Arab-Malay *Jawi* script, mostly written by royal officers from the court of the Sultan of Jambi whose suzerainty the people of Kerinci acknowledged. These were often royal charters (*piagam*) or legal codes (*undang-undang*) typically consisting of long lists of fines.

## The Tanjung Tanah Manuscript

The Tanjung Tanah manuscript differs from the usual legal codes in that it is not written in *jawi* script, but in a Pallavo-Nusantaric script similar to the Old Javanese script, and probably related to the Malayu script of the Adityawarman inscriptions in West Sumatra. The manuscript is also unique in that it is not written on Arabic or European paper as it is normally the case with Malay manuscripts, but on *dluwang* paper, which is a common writing material mainly in Java and Madura.

Whereas legal codes of the Islamic period usually follow the literary convention of praising God in the opening formula *Bismillahi 'rrahmani 'rrahim* (in the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful), the Tanjung Tanah manuscript clearly shows that it belongs to the pre-Islamic era. It begins with a number of opening sentences in Sanskrit, in which the manuscript is dated to the Waisyak months of an unfortunately illegible Saka year. The manuscript also concludes with a few sentences in Sanskrit where the ruler, Paduka Ari Maharaja Drammasraya, is mentioned alongside with the fact that the code of law is intended for the entire land of Kerinci (*saisi bumi Kurinci*).

Although the language of the document is Malay, it can only partly be understood by speakers of modern Malay. This is hardly surprising given that the text was composed more than 600 years ago, and that the Malay language has changed profoundly during this time span. Contemporary Malay has a considerable amount of loan words from South Asia (Sanskrit, Tamil), the Middle East (Arabic, Persian) and Europe (Portuguese, Dutch, English). It was not until the fifteenth century that loanwords from the latter two regions substantially impacted the Malay language, and apparently

do not appear in our text.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the text also contains Sanskrit loan words that are unknown not only in modern, but also in classical Malay, as for instance the word *punarapi* (furthermore) that occurs frequently in the Tanjung Tanah manuscript. It also contains archaism such as the conditional conjunction *jaka* which in modern Malay has become *jika*. The only other manuscript where I found the form *jaka* is the Hikayat Banjar dan Kota Waringin, whose text dates back to about 1663 (Ras 1968).<sup>5</sup> Another likely archaic feature is the deletion of the consonant /b/ in prenasalized forms, as *mamunuh* for *membunuh*, which is often found in manuscripts predating the seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup> The word *mangannakan*, which in modern Malay has become *mengadakan*, could also be an archaic form, although it seems to be more likely that this is a borrowing from Javanese. Another apparent archaism in the text is the word *dua lapan* (eight), which etymologically has its roots in *dua alapan* – literally: two taken away [from 10]. In modern Malay the number 8 is now always written either in its contracted form *delapan*, or in the short form *lapan*.

Although the manuscript has not yet been translated, many passages can be understood fairly easily. Generally the text consists of a list of fines an offender has to pay. The fine for the theft of a goat or a pig is 10 *mas*, and for a dog it is 5 *mas* in gold.<sup>7</sup> If, however, it is the dog of a raja then the fine is 1.25 *tahil*, the same fine one has to pay for inciting a brawl (*kalahi*), or for the falsification of weights (*mangubah sukatan gantang cupak khatian*). Another punishment is that someone can be sentenced to temporarily become a slave. The theft of agricultural produce such as taro or the tuba root (*Derris Elliptica*) carries a punishment of 28 days enslavement, which, however, can be substituted with 5 *mas* of gold. Capital punishment was rarely practiced in the pre-Islamic Malay world, and it is hence not surprising that our text does not include capital punishment. It is, however, stated that it is permitted to kill a person entering a house without permission and without carrying a torch.

## The Historical Context

The name Dharmasraya (spelled Drammasaraya and Drammasraya) is mentioned twice on pages 29-30 of the manuscript. The text cannot be fully understood, so that the following is not more than a tentative translation: "These are the words of the intentions of the Maharaja of Drammasaraya. Praised be the entire land of Kurinci [...] in the meeting place in the land of Palimbang, in the presence of the king Paduka Ari Maharaja of Drammasraya".

Palimbang is without doubt the present Palembang. The name probably derived from the word *limbang* 'to wash gold'. It has indeed been reported that until the nineteenth century people still searched for gold in the Musi river (Rijn van Alkemade 1883:66). Palembang has been the capital of Sriwijaya before the headquarter moved to Muara Jambi in the late eleventh century. The reference here to Bumi Palimbang is not entirely clear since in the thirteenth and fourteenth century inscriptions the polity, to which Minangkabau, Dharmasraya, and Jambi belong, is always named as Bumi Malayu. It is possible that Bumi Palembang, which at that time was still associated with its glorious past, here merely functions as an epithet.<sup>8</sup>

Very little is known about the history of Dharmasraya, which apparently played an important role during the time when the Malayu kingdom adapted to the changing geopolitical circumstances and became more focused in exploiting the resources of the interior. It is hence not surprising that Kerinci also became closer involved in the affairs of the Malayu kingdom, especially after the capital was established in the Minangkabau Highlands, about 250 km north of the Kerinci valley.

The period of 1270-1300 was a period of crisis, in which a number of important changes occurred in Southeast Asia in response to the attack by the forces of Kublai Khan to various places mainly in continental, but also insular, Southeast Asia. The rise and expansion of the Mongol empire in the thirteenth century had far reaching repercussions for the Malay world, and among the most prominent events towards the end of the century were the Thai conquest of the Malay Peninsula, and the Pamalayu expedition.

In regards to the Pamalayu expedition there are two main theories. Most scholars follow the theory of Krom postulated in his major work *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* (1931:335-336). Krom's main source is the fourteenth century Javanese epic *Nagarakrtagama* where in canto 41 Krtanagara (1269-1292), the ruler of Singhasari in East Java, gives "the order to move against the land of Malayu" in AD 1275 (Mpu Prapanca 1995:54), with the result that "the whole territory of Pahang [the Malay Peninsula] and of Malayu bowed humbly before him" (ibid:55). Krom supports his theory that Krtanagara's greatest aim was the conquest of Sumatra with a Malay language inscription in Old Javanese script that was found at the base of a Amoghapasa statue. The inscription reveals that in Saka 1208 (AD 1286) Krtanagara presented a statue of the Buddhist deity Amoghapasa to the Malay ruler. The statue was brought from Java to Sumatra to be placed in Dharmasraya (diantuk dari bhumi Jawa ka Swarnnabhumi dipratistha di Dharmmasraya), and "all the inhabitants of Bhumi Malayu [...], and especially the king Srimat Tribuanaraja Mauliwarmadewa, rejoiced at the presentation of the gifts" (Krom 1931:336).<sup>9</sup> This is the first mentioning of the polity Dharmasraya, which was located on the shore of the upper reaches of the Batang Hari river in the present district Pulau Punjung, Sawahlunto Sijunjung regency, in West Sumatra.<sup>10</sup> According to Krom the text clearly shows that by 1286 Malayu had become a tributary state of Java (1931:336). Coedès, who observes that "the ascendancy of Java over its neighbor to the west was contemporaneous with the conquest of

the Malay Peninsula by the Thai", even suggests that these were two combined actions "that stripped Srivijaya<sup>11</sup> at once from its island and continental possessions and snatched from it the mastery of the straits of Melaka and Sunda" (Coedès 1968:202).

An alternative theory has been developed by C.C. Berg, who interpreted the Pamalayu and other expeditions of the Javanese ruler as part of a far-reaching imperialistic and systematically planned program, which aimed at uniting Nusantara (i.e. Java and Sumatra) against a possible threat from China by establishing an anti-Mongol alliance (Berg 1950-1951). Berg's theory has recently been refined and reinforced by De Casparis, who argues convincingly that the gift of the Amoghapasa statue should rather be seen as a gesture of friendship to form an alliance with a double purpose, namely to assert Singhasari's supremacy over a weakened Sriwijaya, and to establish a confederacy of dependent Malay states under the Singhasari umbrella to face a potential attack of the forces of Kublai Khan (Casparis 1989, 1992). According to Berg, the Pamalayu military expedition took place not in 1275 as Krom assumed, but only in 1292, the same year when Krtanagara was murdered.

The Singhasari kingdom only lasted until 1292 and was soon after succeeded by the Majapahit empire (1293-1520) as the last Indic state in Indonesia before almost all of western Indonesia was Islamized, a process that already had begun in northern Sumatra by the thirteenth century. Canto 13 of the Nagarakrtagama, which was completed in 1365, lists 24 territories in the "Malay lands" as Sumatra is called,<sup>12</sup> as being "subject and obedient" to Majapahit. These territories span the entire length of Sumatra from Lampung in the south to Barus and Lamuri (Aceh) in the north. Not all of the territories can be positively identified, and among those listed that are of concern to our study (comprising roughly the area between the equator and 4° southern latitude) are Dharmasraya, Jambi, Minangkabau, Teba, and Palembang.



The first four territories most likely formed the core region of Malayu<sup>13</sup> while Palembang was apparently too weak to be able to oppose the emergence of a strong Malayu. Although the Nagarakrtagama suggests that Malayu was a tributary state of Majapahit, Casparis provides strong evidence that Malayu either remained independent, or regained sovereignty under the reign of Adityawarman who, as Casparis convincingly proves, saw himself as an independent ruler and not as a vassal of Majapahit (1989:919).

When the Pamalayu forces returned to Java in 1294 they brought with them two princesses from Malayu, Dara Petak and Dara Jingga. The latter became the mother of king Adityawarman, who ruled the Malayu kingdom from the Minangkabau Highlands between approximately AD 1347 and 1376, and whose influence extended over large parts of Sumatra. Adityawarman left behind more than 20 inscriptions, and the vast majority of these are found in the highlands of West Sumatra.<sup>14</sup> It can hence be assumed that during the reign of Adityawarman the Minangkabau area, with Suroaso as its capital, had become the heartland of the Malayu kingdom.

In the fertile valleys of the Bukit Barisan mountain range the Malayu kingdom appears to have relied more on its agricultural resources than on maritime trade, but Malayu's glory during the fourteenth century also relied heavily on the control of the rich gold mines, for which Minangkabau was famous. Casparis points out that it is very likely that by 1310 the capital had already shifted to the highlands. Where the capital was located immediately before this year is unknown. For centuries Malayu's capital must have been located on the coast, where the most likely candidate seems to be Muara Jambi, an extensive socio-economic-ritual complex located on the banks of the Batang Hari some 30 kilometres to the northeast of the present city of Jambi. Archaeological surveys in Muara Jambi have shown that the site was settled until Islamic

times, but we can assume that it must have lost much of its glory when Malayu lost its monopolist privileges in maritime trade and was no longer indispensable to Asian traders.

Suleiman points out that one of the temples in Muara Jambi, Candi Gumpung, show a close affinity to Candi Jawi in East Java, which was the memorial temple of Krtanagara: "Krtanagara seems to have made an effort to reinforce Jambi as a strategic point by sending his army and workers and also by reconstructing the Buddhist sanctuaries of Muara Jambi. This massive migration might have weakened Singhasari and was perhaps the cause for Krtanagara's fall" (Suleiman 1982). As we know, Krtanagara was not only involved in activities in Muara Jambi, but also in Dharmasraya, and it is possible that the gift of the Amoghapasa statue that Krtanagara ordered to be erected in Dharmasraya can be seen in the context of the inauguration of Dharmasraya as the new capital. The move of the capital into the interior of Jambi might have been motivated by the increasing threat of an imminent attack by the Khan's forces or other external threats. Once the capital had moved to Dharmasraya, Malayu, which had lost its monopoly in maritime trade in the straits to the Thai and Javanese, became increasingly concerned with exploring the potential of land-based resources. It was probably during this time that a move further inland was considered. Dharmasraya, located right at the border between Jambi and Minangkabau, would have been the ideal place for the redefinition of Malayu's new identity as a land-based state, enriched with new political concepts and institutions borrowed from East Java.

Casparis' assumption that under Adityawarman the Malayu kingdom grew to an empire that ruled over the entire island of Sumatra is based on canto 13 of the Nagarakrtagama, where 24 territories are said to be "under the territory of the Malay lands." What he does not mention is that the Nagarakrtagama describes these territories as being "subject and obedient" to Majapahit.

Besides this, it is fairly clear that the term "Malayu", as it is used in the Nagarakrtagama, refers to the island of Sumatra as a whole, and not to a specific polity. On the other hand, Casparis is certainly right when he rejects the notion of Malayu being a dependency of Majapahit. He sees the relationship between Majapahit and Malayu in the framework of the mandala theory where Malayu only notionally became Majapahit's obedient ally and vassal (Casparis 1989:933). Already Akarendrawarman, who around 1316 ruled Malayu as the predecessor of Adityawarman, used the highest title as maharajadhiraja, clearly indicating that he saw himself as an independent sovereign (ibid:923), which is also confirmed by Krom: "The king, whose later inscriptions do not show any indication of an acknowledgement of Javanese suzerainty, even calls himself [...] Kanakamedinindra, i.e. Lord of the Gold Land" (Krom 1931:413).<sup>15</sup> Adityawarman also used this highest of all titles in an inscription dated to AD 1347 that he added on the back side of the aforementioned Amoghapasa statue that was sent to Malayu by Krtanagara 61 years earlier. Apparently the Chinese also were convinced that Adityawarman was an independent ruler. The emperor T'ai-Tsu (1368-98) sent an envoy who stayed for almost one year (1370-71) in Sanfochi. After the envoy's return, the ruler of Malayu sent his own envoys with tribute, which was in the name of Ma-ha-la-cha-pa-la-pu (Maharaja Prabhu), and Wolters suggests that the Maharaja was nobody else than Adityawarman (1970:58).

The last inscription mentioning Adityawarman dates to 1375. Chinese sources mention that the Sumatran king Ta-ma-sha-na-a-chih died in 1376. The same king was already mentioned in 1374 under the name of Ta-ma-lai-sha-na-a-chih, where the element ma-lai may stand for Malayu, and again, we can assume that the deceased ruler was Adityawarman. On 13 September 1377 his successor Ma-na-chich-wu-li sent an embassy with gifts with the request for investiture as the new ruler. The Minangkabau king felt that the time had come for him to reassert his formal, as well as his actual, independence.

Although the king of Minangkabau-Malayu saw himself as an independent ruler, Majapahit still regarded Malayu as one of its dependencies. For the ruler of Majapahit "his vassal's acceptance of investiture from a new overlord was the most serious offence he could commit" (Wolters 1970:64). That the emperor treated the rulers of Malayu and Java as equals unleashed Majapahit's wrath, and a Javanese fleet was sent to capture the Chinese investiture-granting mission, and all the envoys were killed.

Chinese sources report that after this event Malayu became increasingly weak and sent no further tributary missions to China. Internal evidence, the absence of any inscriptions after 1375, also indicates that the Malayu kingdom had ceased to be an important player in Sumatran affairs, and we have virtually no information on Malayu's political constellation after 1377. Chinese sources are silent about the Malays for the next twenty years. It is only in 1397 when the emperor T'ai-Tsu again took notice of Sumatran affairs, but by that time Java had apparently already annexed Palembang, and San-fo-ch'i is described in the Ming-shih as a "ruined country. Great unrest existed there, and even Java could not completely control the whole of the country" (Wolters 1970:71). The Chinese source is strongly supported by archaeological evidence that suggest that a large number of Sumatran coastal sites including Pulau Kompei and Kota Cina in northern Sumatra, and Muara Jambi, Muara Kumpeh Hilir, and Koto Kandis on the banks of the lower Batang Hari, had been deserted or destroyed in the late fourteenth century, which, as McKinnon suggests, might be related to the expansion of Majapahit interests into the Strait of Melaka (1984:65).

## Suroaso, Dharmasraya, and Muara Jambi

Based on the historical data it seems to be very likely that the Tanjung Tanah manuscript with its radiocarbon date of between 1304 and 1436 AD was written before 1397, and presumably even before 1377. It is evident from the manuscript that the Maharaja of Dharmasraya was eager to establish a firm relationship with the Kerinci valley, and the passage, in which we read "whoever commits fraud in weights [...] <sup>16</sup> shall be fined one and a quarter *tahil* of gold", shows that the ruler of Dharmasraya regarded it as necessary to regulate trade with Kerinci, which apparently was a trading partner of some significance, and it was certainly gold that made Kerinci attractive to the ruler of the Malayu kingdom.

Throughout the whole of Sumatra, metallic minerals are limited to the Bukit Barisan mountain chain, and in particular to the area from the equator to 4° southern latitude covering the valleys of Lebong, Kerinci, and Minangkabau.<sup>17</sup> Kerinci has long been renown for its gold deposits and Valentijn mentions Kerinci in 1726 as the best source of gold on the island, although it must be cautioned that similar claims have been made for the other regions too. Little is known about mining activities in precolonial times, but a Dutch geologist found 42 mine shafts dug by traditional miners reaching a depth of sixty meters in the hills of the southeastern Batang Hari bordering southern Kerinci (Miksic 1985:452). Gold was also extensively mined in the Tanah Datar area of the Minangkabau Highlands, but the extensive gold deposits of the Rejang-Lebong region were apparently not extracted by mining in shafts as it was in Minangkabau and the Kerinci area, but by surface mining and panning the drift in the rivers (Prodolliet & Znoj 1992:58). The immense wealth of gold in Suvarnadvipa or

Suvarnabhumi (Gold Island or Land), as Sumatra was known, can be exemplified by the donation of 600,000 pieces of gold for a Taoist temple in Canton by the Maharaja of Palembang in 1079 (Wolters 1970:15). An Arabic source from the tenth century describes a daily ritual in which the Maharaja of Zabag<sup>18</sup> "throws a gold ingot into a pool of water. Only at low tide could one see the vast accumulation of gold ingots in the pool. At the death of the maharaja, the gold was recovered and distributed to the princess and the royal family [...]. What remained was given to the poor and unfortunate" (Andaya 2001:322). It appears that it was only in the sixteenth century that gold became an export commodity for the international trade, although it had always been important as a status symbol of the Sumatran rulers. Gold was also used by the upriver societies to purchase cloth, salt, iron, and luxury items from the lowlands, whereas the lowland rulers used it to purchase rice and salt from Java.

In historical times Kerinci was also known as a major producer of pepper, although it is not known for certain whether *piper nigrum*, native to the Malabar region of South-India, was already grown in Kerinci or elsewhere in Malayu in the fourteenth century. However, South Indian traders had intensive contacts with Sumatra, and even established settlements at various places. Although there is no firm evidence for Tamil settlements in the Malayu area, the bilingual Adityawarman inscription from Batu Bapahat (Sanskrit and Tamil) near Suroaso in the Minangkabau area (Casparis 1990), and a bronze *Dipalaksmi* image in late Cola style from the thirteenth of fourteenth century found at Koto Kandis on the lower Batang Hari (McKinnon 1984), suggest a very close association between Malayu and Tamilnadu, and increases the probability that pepper was already planted in the fourteenth century.<sup>19</sup> In this context it is also interesting to note that the name Kerinci, or Kurinci, itself is also of Tamil origin.

Pepper has been one of the main commodities of international trade. A Javanese mission to China in 1382 brought 75,000 catties (about 20 tons) of pepper, and the contents of the 1377 tribute sent from Malayu to China included spices such as cloves, cardamom, aromatics and camphor in addition to pepper. Many of these products were likely produced in the interior of Jambi, almost certainly including the Kerinci valley and its environs. Other commodities that were in high demand in China were bee's wax, honey, hornbill ivory, ivory, gaharu wood (*Aquilaria agallocha*), pine resin from *Pinus sumatrana*, and rhinoceros horn (McKinnon 1992:134-135). *Pinus sumatrana*, also known as *Pinus merkusii*, was only grown in northern Sumatra, but the other commodities mentioned may have originated from the Malayu area, including Kerinci.

Unfortunately we do not know much about the process on how Jambi became part of the Minangkabau kingdom, and even less about the role Dharmasraya played in this process. The Tanjung Tanah manuscript indicates that Dharmasraya was the place from where the land trade from the interior was regulated. Dharmasraya is conveniently located on the trading route leading from the Minangkabau Highlands to the old coastal capital of Jambi, and its ruler, who, according to the Tanjung Tanah manuscript, bore the title as a *Maharaja*, was certainly subordinate to the Minangkabau ruler with his more prestigious title of *Maharajadiraja*. It appears that by the end of the thirteenth century Dharmasraya had become an important administrative center even before the capital of Malayu moved from the coast to Suroaso in the early fourteenth century, and it should not be ruled out that Dharmasraya had even become the center of Malayu before the capital moved to the Minangkabau Highlands.

The move from the coast to the interior reflects an adaptation to the changing geopolitical and economic conditions, where Malayu transformed itself from a maritime power into a predominantly

land-based polity. However, judging from the frequent tributary trade missions to China in 1281, 1293, 1299, 1301, and the even more impressive sequence of 6 missions between 1371 and 1377 it is evident that Malayu never completely ceased to be actively involved in international trade. The maritime trade continued from the former capital Muara Jambi and other ports on the east coast such as the area around Muara Sabak (Koto Kandis and Siti Hawa) where traces of dense human settlement from the twelfth to fourteenth century have been found (Atmodjo 1997; McKinnon 1984).

The natural resources of the interior were brought to the coast via the main rivers such as the Batang Kuantan (also known as the Indragiri river), and the Batang Hari. Dobbin is convinced that most of the gold was traded not via the Batang Hari but via the Batang Kuantan and the Kampar Kiri (1983:61), although these trade routes are deducted from later evidence, and do not necessarily reflect the situation of the fourteenth century. Given that the main centers in the fourteenth century were Suroaso, Dharmasraya, and Muara Jambi, it is more than likely that the Batang Hari served as the major trading artery during this period. Today, the Batang Hari is navigable with barges (*tongkang*) up to Sungai Dareh (Thahar 2000), located about 10 kilometers upstream of Dharmasraya, and smaller boats can navigate even further upstream.

The capital of Malayu in the Minangkabau Highlands was located in an area that allowed the control of overland trade. Major traffic routes are now connecting the Minangkabau area with all modern major centers in Sumatra (Medan, Pekanbaru, Jambi, and Palembang), and a similar situation may have existed in Adityawarman's period. The conditions in the Minangkabau Highlands were ideal in that they provided a safe location for the capital in the case of anticipated attacks from the Yuan-Dynasty Mongols or the Thais. The fertile volcanic soils in the many valleys of the Minangkabau Highlands provided a stable economic



foundation, even in times when international trade was lackluster as was often the case in the fourteenth century. Two Adityawarman inscriptions were engraved into a rock above an irrigation channel near Suroaso where the Minangkabau-Malayu capital was located. From the inscriptions it is evident that an aqueduct was built during the reign of Akarendra, and completed during Adityawarman's reign to irrigate "the Nandana-wood of Sri Surawasa, always full of cereals (rice)" (Casparis 1990:42). Akarendra and his successor were clearly aware of the importance of agriculture, and certainly were equally concerned with the other resources available in the valleys and forests of the Bukit Barisan mountain chain.

We can hence conclude that the three locations that played major roles in the Malayu kingdom of Adityawarman were Suroaso, the capital in the Minangkabau highlands, Dharmasraya, the main reloading point where the natural resources from the surrounding areas were collected, and Muara Jambi and/or other ports in the Muara Sabak / Koto Kandis region along the Kuala Niur, the navigable branch of the lower Batang Hari, which formed the gateway to international trade.

## Transliteration

The following transliteration is based on Poerbatjaraka's transliteration made in 1942. Compared to the transliteration given in a previous publication (Kozok 2004) the reader may notice some differences in the transliteration given below. The former was based on a typed copy of the original Tambo Kerinci that circulates widely in Kerinci, which contains some minor typographic mistakes, and where the fourth line of page 3 was omitted. These mistakes have been corrected, and I have frequently checked the transliteration with the source text, especially in cases where I suspected that Poerbatjaraka either wrongly transliterated or mistyped a word. I have done this only in those cases where I was absolutely confident that my reading is correct, but I left the text the way Poerbatjaraka transliterated it, and placed my corrections in footnotes. I decided to basically rely on Poerbatjaraka's transliteration because at present I do not yet feel sufficiently confident in my mastery of the script as to attempt an entirely new transliteration. Apart from some minor slips, Poerbatjaraka's transliteration is highly reliable, but in the future we will certainly come to a different reading of a few words here and there in the text.

One of the main differences between the two transliterations is that in this publication I have converted the transliteration from the pre-1942 spelling convention to the current spelling system, which is used for the Indonesian and Malaysian language, and also for all Malay dialects. Poerbatjaraka had frequently, but not always, used the letter /y/ to render the *pasangan* /ya/, which is known as the *pengkal*. I have used a capital Y to render the *pengkal*, and to distinguish it from the character /ya/. I have done this only in

those cases where Poerbatjaraka marked the pengkal as such, and did not attempt to update the whole text for those passages where the pengkal occurs, but was not rendered as such by Poerbatjaraka. While Poerbatjaraka occasionally rendered the pengkal, he never rendered the pasangan /ra/ known as cakra, and again, I decided to stick to Poerbatjaraka's transliteration.

The first page is in such a bad condition that not a single letter can be deciphered.

Page 88:

.....  
...çri...ka...satita.....  
masa wesaka //  
.. ong //..// jYasta masa titi  
kresnapaksa //.. // diwasa ...  
pduka sri maharaja karta.....  
çri gandawangça mradanamaga...  
... saka..... kartabe.....

Page 89:

anugraha at..sang...kamtta  
nrang pda mandalika di bumi kurinci ...  
si lunjur kurinci maka ma...  
ha sanapati prapatih samaga  
t prabalang-balangngan disa pra...  
di s..idangnga desa hallat...  
hallat di desa pradesa ba-  
nwa sahaya, jangan.....

Page 90:

pda dipatinya yang surang-surang.....  
barang tida... da pda dipati, dwa ta

hil sapaha dandanya // sedang  
panghulunya bahawumman tYada  
ya manurunni, tYada ya manurunni  
pahawumman, mangada ...kah ka-  
lahi, didanda satahil sapa-

Page 91:

ha // jika balawannan kadwa sama  
kadanda kadwa // punarapi jika ma-  
ngannakan judi jahi, yang adu mra...  
danda satahil sapaha, yang ba-  
judi kadanda satahil sapaha su-  
rang-surang, gagah rabut dirampassi ma-  
lawan mangunus karris ..... tu-  
mbak bunuh / mati bala ..... ngaka

Page 92:

da dusun nurang dunungngan ... rati  
maling manyamun dYangkatkan nurang  
managih marusak rumah o-  
rang maling rusuh cangkal b..tupa  
banwakan, sanggabumikan bunuh  
anaknya trenyata panjing kedalam  
saparu lawan dipati yang dunungngannya  
didanda dwa tahl sapaha // pu-

Page 93:

narapi jika orang mamagat pao-  
cap wurang dipiraknya olih orang  
orang yang mamagat, didanda satahi-  
l paha //../ punarapi barang mangu-  
bah sukattan gantang cupak ka-  
tiyan, kundre bungkal pihayu  
didanda satahi sa(pa)ha barang  
manunggu orang tida tang amat

Page 94:

pda panghulunya orang yang ditunggu  
mangadakan rannyah baribin di-  
danda satahil sapaha yang  
manyuruh pwan sama dan-da<sup>20</sup> kaowa, ba-  
rang mamagang orang tandang bartah...mahu-  
lukan judi jadi sabung maling, ba-  
rang mamagang didanda satahil sa-

Page 95:

paha //../ barang orang nayik ka  
rumah orang tida ya barsarru barku-  
wat barsuluh, bunuh sanggabu-  
mikan salah ta olih mamu-  
nuh sanggabumikan oleh dipa-  
ti barampat suku, sabu su-  
k....xxxnuh<sup>21</sup> sabusuk tida

Page 96

mamunuh //../ maling kambing ma-  
ling babi danda sapuluh mas, ma-  
ling anjing lima mas, anjing ba-  
saja, maling anjing mawu sapuluh  
mas, anjing dipati pwan sakYa-  
n // anjing raja satahil  
sapaha // maing hayam sa-

Page 97:

haya orang bagi as pulang duwa //  
hayam bannwa sikur pulang tiga //  
hayam kutra bagi sikur pulang lima //  
hayam dipati ayam anak  
cucu dipati bagi sikur pulang tujuh //  
hayam raja bagi sa pulang dwa  
kali tujuh // hayam banwa lima

Page 98:

kupang, hayam pulang manikal //  
hayam putra tangngah tiga mas //  
hayam hanak cucu dipati ha-  
yam dipati lima mas // haya-  
m raja sepuluh mas // barang ma-  
ngiwat orang, da dandanya satahi-  
l sapaha, orang pulang sarupanya //

Page 99:

jaka orang tandang bajalan basaja,  
bawa minam makan lalukan // ba-  
rang sYapa orang mambawa atnya pa-  
njalak pasunguhhi hantar tati du-  
sun, pakamitkan olih orang pu-  
nya dusun // maling tuwak di datas  
di bawah didanda lima mas //

Page 100:

maling bubu, bubu ditimbunni pa-  
di sipanuhnya, jaka tidak tarisi  
lima mas dandanya // barang mangubah  
panycawida, didanda lima tahlil  
sapaha // barang bahilang orang mata  
karja yang purwa, sakati lima danda-  
nya // .. // barbu // barang sYapa ba-

Page 101 :

rbunyi dusa sangkita, danda dwa ta-  
hlil sapaha // maling tapbu dipi-  
kul dijujung digalas, lima ku-  
pang dandanya // jaka dimakan dipaha-  
nynya tanamannya tanamkan, saba-  
tang di kiri sabatang di kanan dikapi-  
t, diganggam sabatang di kiri

Page 102:

sabatang di kanan .. dibawa pulang tida dusanya makan tabu itu maling birah kaladi hubi tuba dipahamba dwa puluh dwa lapan hari, tida handak dipahamba, lima mas dandanya // maling bunga sirih pinang orang atawa sasanginya, dwa puluh dwa lapan ha-

Page 103

ri d(i)pahamba, tida handak dipahamba lima mas dandanya // maling padi satahil sapaha dandanya // maling hubi bajujujungan lima kupang, yang tida bajujujungan lima mas dandanya // maling tallur hayam itik prapati ditumbuk tujuh tumbuk lima tumbuk orang ma-

Page 104:

nangah-i, dwa tumbuk tuhannya mukanya dihusap dangan tahi hayam tida tarisi sakYan tengah tiga mas dandanya // maling isi jarrat, anjing sikur ya piso rawut sahalai dandanya // maling pulut isi pulut langnga satapaiyan dandanya, tida tarisi tengah tiga

Page 105:

mas dandanya // maling kayin, babat bajeo<sup>22</sup> distar pari rupanya, sapuluh mas dandanya // maling basi babajan lima mas dandanya // maling kuraisani lima mas // maling labaja tupang, sapuluh mas dandanya, tida tarisi dibunuh // orang maru-

Page 106:

gul si dandanya // orang maragang dwa ta-  
hil sapaha, tida tarisi sakYa-  
n dibunuh // maling hampangan  
tuwak saparah odang sadulang biyu-  
ku sikur, babi hutan sikur  
tida tarisi sakYan sepuluh mas  
dandanya // maling takalak panyali-

Page 107:

n hijuk lima kupang // panyalin  
mano rutan lima mas // panya-  
lin hakar sepuluh mas // maling a-  
ntilingngnan<sup>23</sup> lima mas // maling puka-  
t jala, tangkul, pasap, tal.a-  
y, gitrang, lima mas dandanya, mamba-  
kar dangau, babinama<sup>24</sup> dangu paka-

Page 108:

rangan orang, babinasa talla le-  
nay panaleyyan nurang, ha-  
tap dinding lantai rangau, lima mas danda-  
nya // punarapi jaka bahutang mas  
pirak riti rancung kangca<sup>25</sup> tambaga si-  
lamanya batiga puhun // singgan  
sapaha hayik mas manikal //  
jaka bahutang barras padi, jawa, ja-

Page 109:

gung hanjalai, dwa tahun katiga ja-  
mba barruk, labih dwa tahun katiga  
hingganya manikal // punarapi  
jaka orang mambawa parahurang, ti-  
da disalangny, hilang pacah binasa,  
dwa mas dandanya // jaka ya disallang...  
hilang ta ya pacah binasa saraga



Page 110:

nya bayir bali, jaka tida silihhi  
sarupanya // tida ya .....  
liwat dari janjang, tuwak sata.....  
n hayam sikur kapulangannya //  
biduk pangayuh galah, kajang la-  
ntai pulangan, itu pwan sakYa-  
raknanya // punarapi jaka orang

Page 111:

tuduh manuduh, tida saksinya, ti-  
da cina tandanya, adu sabung, barang  
tida handak sabung jalahkan //  
penarapi jaka orang mabuk pan-  
ning salah langkah salah kata salah ka(?)-  
kakappan, mambayir sapat sica-  
ra purwa // punarapi jaka orang ba-

Page 112:

dusa sangkita hiram tallihnya,  
ballum ta(ng?) suda pda da(pa)ti, dapattan  
ta olih jajanang, kanna danda tamu(?)-  
wan dwa kali sapaha, sapaha  
ka dalam, sapaha pda jajanang  
lawan dipati // dipagat olih ma-  
ntri muda di luwar hinggah tangngah tiga

Page 113:

mas tida jajanang dipati barulih  
// jaka baralahhan lima mas samas pa-  
rulihan dipati // hinggah sapuluh ma-  
s ka datas batahillan, dwa ma-  
s parolihan dipati // punarapi pda  
bannwa // pda sahaya sapuluh tang-  
ngah tiga mas sipattanynya sapu-

Page 114:

luh mas pda di(pa)ti tangngah tiga  
mas pda orang peonya<sup>26</sup> anak // ban-  
a jaka ya bapungutkan hanak  
nya, dipati dipanggil dahulu  
bakarja pda dipati, jaka dipati ku-  
diyan olah bakajakan hana-  
k didusakan, sakYan ta bunyi-

Page 115:

nyatnya titah maharaja dra  
mmasaraya // yatnya yatna sidang ma-  
hatnya sa-isi bumi kurinci  
si lunju kurinci // sasta li-  
kitang kuja ali dipati di-  
waseban di bumi palimbang di ha...  
dappan paduka ari maharaja dra-

Page 116:

mmasraya //&//..// barang salah  
silitnya, suwasta olah sidang ma-  
hatnya samapta //&//  
pranama diwang çri samaleswarang  
aum // pranama çri sadiwam, trelu-  
kyadipati stutim, nanadattru (?)

Page 117:

dretang waki tnitri satrasamuksaya  
m//..// // pranammya  
nama, tunduk manyambah, sirsa na(ma) ka-  
pala, diwa nama diwata, tre nama su-  
rga damYa pratata, dipati nama la-  
bih dreri pada sakalliyen  
nama nama banyak, dretang na-

Page 118:

ma yang dikatakan, satra na-  
ma yang satra, samuksayam nama  
sarba sakalliyā // & //. //  
ini saluka dipati ///

Page 119:

.....  
.....  
.....

dangan mabuka ki(wa?)ka layang.....  
mah..... maka kita baca duwa ...  
m tujuh ..... juh kali si(?)  
yang tujuh kali malam baca da-  
ngan sacilas diri danga-

Page 120:

n sukacita cuci diri dan  
sukacitahan hastari  
kita, sahaya kita sakaliyan  
sa... marabaya kita ...ranak  
kita barang siyapa nayapa.....  
danya du...wa hini,.....  
guri hanu gara 'allah<sup>27</sup> hu-  
wa huwa nallah &//

## Notes

1 I am indebted to Tim Behrend, Henri Chambert-Loir, Annabel Teh Gallop, Edmund Edwards McKinnon, and Ian Proudfoot, for their valuable suggestions and critical comments to an earlier draft of this paper.

2 1950 is the date that the calibration curves were established, and the year also predates atmospheric testing of the atom bomb, which significantly upset C-12/C-14 ratios in the following years.

3 In 1988 Al-Attas claimed to have encountered what he calls "the oldest extant Malay manuscript", which, however, only dates 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 the two letters from the Sultan of Ternate (Al-Attas 1988).

4 A few Arabic loan words penetrated the Malay language even before the process of Islamization, either through direct contact with Arab traders, but more often through Tamil as an intermediary language (K. Alexander Adelaar, personal communication, 1 July 2004).

5 The search was conducted using the Malay Concordance Project web site with its searchable data base of over 1.7 million words of Malay text occurring in 60 prose and verse texts (Proudfoot 2004).

6 According to a search in the Malay Concordance Project web site, the only manuscript that consistently uses the form *memunuh* is the Hikayat Aceh that dates into the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

7 Until about the fourteenth century, there were 20 *tahil* in 1 *kati*, 16 *masa* (= *mas*) in 1 *tahil*, 4 *kupang* in 1 *masa*, and 6 *saga* in 1 *kupang*. During that period, a *kati* weighed 768 grams, a *tahil* weighed 38.4 grams, a *masa* weighed 2.4 grams, a *kupang* weighed 0.6 gram and a *saga* weighed 0.1 gram (Jan Christie, personal correspondence, 24.5.04).

8 In manuscript TK 60 the Kerinci script is referred to as *surat incung Jawa Palimbang*. Here both Jawa (Java) as well as Palimbang are clearly used as epithets.

9 Over deze gave verheudgden zich eerbiedig alle onderdanen in het land Malayu, brahmanen, ksatriya's, waiçya's en çudra's, en in de eerste plaats Z.M. de koning çrimat Tribhuwanaraja Mauliwarmmadewa.

10 By Act No. 38 of the year 2003 the Kabupaten Sawahlunto Sijunjung was dissolved, and Pulau Punjung is now the capital of the new Kabupaten Dharmasraya!

11 Beginning from the late 11<sup>th</sup> century the Chinese references to San-fo-ch'i (Sriwijaya) generally refer to Malayu-Jambi.

12 In previous accounts the name Malayu has always been used for Jambi only, and never for the entire island of Sumatra.

13 Teba seems to be Muara Tebo, which is located on the banks of the Batang Hari, about half way between Jambi and Dharmasraya. Since it is virtually absent in other historical sources one can assume that it was of minor significance.

14 Only three of the inscriptions are dated to 1347, 1356, and 1374.

15 De koning, die in zijn latere inscripties niet het minst meer laat bemerken van eenige ondergeschiktheid aan de Javaansche oppergezag, noemt zich op zijn te Koeboer Radja staanden zoogenamden grafsteen, zelfs Kanakamedinindra, heer van Goudland.

16 The weights are here specified in descending order from cubic measures (*gantang* [4.5 liter], and *cupak* [=1/4 *gantang*], to gold measures (*kati* and *bungkal*).

17 Gold is also found elsewhere in Sumatra, including the Batak Highlands (Karo), the neighboring Alas district, and particularly extensively in parts of Aceh (Meulaboh).

18 According to Coedès (1968:109) Zabag corresponds to the San-f-ch'i (Srivijaya) of the Chinese. Atmodjo (1997:55) suggests that Zabag might be the same as Muara Sabak in the estuary of the Sabak river, a branch of the lower Batang Hari.

19 Dobbin's claim, however, that South Indians established their own separate commercial-cum-political centre in West-Sumatra with their own "political leader entitled Maharajadiraja" (Dobbin 1983:61) must be dismissed. Her claim is based on a faulty reading of her cited source (Krom 1931:414-415) where the said Maharajadiraja is Adityawarman, and not a South Indian leader.

20 The hyphen must be a mistake. The spelling of the original is clearly *danda*.

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

22 Read "baju".

23 Read: antilingngan

24 Read: babinasa

25 Read: kangça

26 Sic! Read: punya

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

அங்குலமாவது...  
...  
...  
...  
...  
...  
...



Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, inscribed on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines across the leaf. The script is dark and somewhat faded, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The leaf itself is aged, with a yellowish-brown hue and some physical damage, including a small hole at the top center and irregular edges.

பு ழிபநிளய் புதம் தம்  
தன் னிட னு மெ ழு பிபலி  
தி னு மப பக னு து னா  
பு ழு ழு ன க னா டு பு ழு ழு  
ய ழு ழு ழு ழு ழு ழு ழு  
ப ழு ழு ழு ழு ழு ழு ழு  
ப ழு ழு ழு ழு ழு ழு ழு



பா || உ ன ன வ ர க்ஷ ம ன ன ன ன ன ன ன  
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ந ன ன ன ன ன ன ன ன ன ன ன ன ன ன ன  
ந ன ன ன ன ன ன ன ன ன ன ன ன ன ன ன  
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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्चनम् ॥  
 दशरथस्य पुत्रस्य केशवस्य च ॥  
 नमः शिवाय नमः शिवाय नमः ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्चनम् ॥  
 दशरथस्य पुत्रस्य केशवस्य च ॥  
 नमः शिवाय नमः शिवाय नमः ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्चनम् ॥  
 दशरथस्य पुत्रस्य केशवस्य च ॥  
 नमः शिवाय नमः शिवाय नमः ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्चनम् ॥  
 दशरथस्य पुत्रस्य केशवस्य च ॥  
 नमः शिवाय नमः शिवाय नमः ॥



கதவிதலதென்வாவநாபதே  
மயுரத்திவிதநாநாதலி:தெ  
தெய்வாவநாவிதாதுபலவி  
லாபாபா||..||யுகதவிததவநா  
த:யுலலுதுநததபலாநா  
லியநாநதததததததததத  
விதாதுபலவிதாபலா||தத  
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ஃ பூயம் ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ  
பாடி காவலா நாயுடு கீ திசு கீ  
கீ துயர கலி ஸ்ரீ பாலா ஸ்ரீ  
பாஸுதா: பூயம் பூயம் கீ  
தா பாபா கீ தா கீ ஸ்ரீ: பாஸு  
பூயம் கீ தா பூயம் பாபா  
தா பாபா கீ தா பூயம் பாபா  
பாபா பாபா கீ தா பாபா



பலா || - || கதஃதஃகாவிநா  
தபஃதஃவிதயதததததத  
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பயகுத், ஸநிதாஷ்யவ்ஞர ॥.

எய்யுதகுத்துவிடுபெல்லிள

என உறுதி செய்து கொடுத்தான்.

பாப ஸ்ரீபதி, பாப ஸ்ரீகிருஷ்ண

சுந்தி பிபாவி கநிபி<sup>+</sup>ய, சுவ, து: ॥

பாப பூதா கருநீர்ப் பந்தி

பெரியது: ११ பா<sup>+</sup>று கருவியு

நுப், னாய் ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ॥  
னாய் ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ॥  
னாய் ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ॥  
ய ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ॥ னாய்  
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ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ॥ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ  
ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ॥ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ

ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ॥



பாநதெத்குநக்துநகலஜ்ஜபதா  
நரவிகழ்நகதுநாநுநநா||ந  
தம்பிபதெத்குநகதுநகலஜ்ஜபதா  
கூலநாபபுநு:லிபாநக்துநகலஜ்  
புது:பலவிநாநுநகல:தெத்கு  
நகபுது||பல:நகநாநகல  
புநக:நகநகலிநாநாபா||

அவினாசுரர் தந்த பிள்ளை  
கேவலசு: ஸாடகவகிதரகீர்த்த  
நிவாசபூக்து ஸா|| தத் தாழ்நல்  
பன்னிரகாதி கருவிவநாஸி  
மபலா|| தத் தலிவத் தாந  
நீய்வுதர் தாந விவிவகி  
தா||..|| தத்|| தத் தாபா

தத் தாபா



தெளிவாய்நிலைகூடிய  
விவரப்பலனா || அநிலையு  
கொடுக்கின்றவாய்நிலை  
பலனா || இவ்வாறு  
விவரப்பலனா || அநிலையு  
கொடுக்கின்றவாய்நிலை  
பலனா || இவ்வாறு  
விவரப்பலனா || அநிலையு  
கொடுக்கின்றவாய்நிலை  
பலனா || இவ்வாறு

மாநன் னி னா னா னு டு கி னு ரு  
வ்வி னா னா னா னா னா னா னா னா  
மா னி னி த : ன னா னி னு னி னா  
கி ப னா னு டு பு டு : டு னா ப. னு  
வி னா னு டு னி ப னா னு டு னா னா  
கி னா || மா னி னு டு னி தி : பி ன்  
கி னா னா னா னி னா னு டு பு டு : டு னா ப. னு.

கி னா னா னா னி னா னா னா









உய்யுத னா || உநி'னா யித்ரா  
காணாது, கிழ்ந்து பாதித் துபனா  
பய்யுத : உய்யுத னா || உநி'னா  
காணாது உநி'னா உய்யுத னா || உநி'  
நி'னா பாதி'னா உய்யுத னா || உநி'  
காணாது பய்யுத : உய்யுத னா  
காணாது கிழ்ந்து : || உநி'னா

௧) ஸ்ரீ கிருஷ்ணா || தேவதாஸ்தவ  
 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ பரமஹம்ஸி கவியீசர்  
 கிருஷ்ணா || அபிஷேகம்  
 சரஸ்வதிபாதா: தேவதாஸ்தவ  
 கிருஷ்ணா || அபிஷேகம்  
 கிருஷ்ணா || அபிஷேகம்  
 கிருஷ்ணா || அபிஷேகம்



காவித்தொடர்நிவரணம் || பன்னவது.  
மாநகரத்தாருநிவரணம் || பன்ன  
விநாயகபுரம் || மாநகர  
கீழ்நிவரணம் || மாநகர  
நாடாபதி || பன்னவது  
யாநகரம் || நிவரணம் || மாநகர  
நகரம் || மாநகரம் || மாநகரம்

[illegible]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय



[illegible]

三十五

† னாநயிசநிநாநகிநிநி  
பாதுபாநா||நிநிநிநிநிநி  
நிநிநிநிநிநிநிநிநிநிநி  
நிநிநிநிநிநிநிநிநிநிநி  
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நிநிநிநிநிநிநிநிநிநிநி



ॐ ह्रीं वक्रह्रीं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णार्चनम् ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 श्रीनारायणाय नमः ॥ श्रीविक्रमाय नमः ॥ श्रीसुभाय नमः ॥  
 श्रीसुखाय नमः ॥ श्रीसौम्याय नमः ॥ श्रीसौम्याय नमः ॥  
 श्रीसौम्याय नमः ॥ श्रीसौम्याय नमः ॥ श्रीसौम्याय नमः ॥

॥ புகழ் தாவி யெழுந்தும் மாநிலம்  
 சீவல: சீவல: சீவல: சீவல: சீவல:  
 ஸாஸ்திரம் புகழ் தாவி யெழுந்தும்  
 தயர் ॥ புகழ் தாவி யெழுந்தும்

[illegible]

மேலேயுள்ளவற்றைப்பற்றி உத்தரவு



သာယာဝိသုဒ္ဓါဒါနံ နိပါတိကတ္တုသိး  
// ဒဂကတလးဟန္တိသုသုသာယာပ  
တုလိးဟန္တိပါတိ // ဝိသုသာယာ  
သာယာဝိသုဒ္ဓါဒါနံ သုသာယာ  
သာယာဝိသုဒ္ဓါဒါနံ သုသာယာ  
သာယာဝိသုဒ္ဓါဒါနံ သုသာယာ  
သာယာဝိသုဒ္ဓါဒါနံ သုသာယာ  
သာယာဝိသုဒ္ဓါဒါနံ သုသာယာ

லு: பாயுதென்னை || வினா: வின  
பாயுதென்புணாது || வினா ||  
தூதானயகையுதென்னை ||  
தூதானயகையுதென்னை ||  
தூதானயகையுதென்னை ||  
தூதானயகையுதென்னை ||  
தூதானயகையுதென்னை ||  
தூதானயகையுதென்னை ||





ಪ್ರಭು ಬಸವ ೧೧೦೦೦ ಕೃತಿ ೧೦೦  
ವಿನಿರ್ಗುಣ ಭಕ್ತ ನಿಃಕಿಂಕರ  
ಆತ್ಮವಾದಿ ಬಸವ ೧೧೦೦  
ಪ್ರಭು ಬಸವ ೧೧೦೦೦ ಕೃತಿ ೧೦೦  
ಪ್ರಭು ಬಸವ ೧೧೦೦೦ ಕೃತಿ ೧೦೦  
ಪ್ರಭು ಬಸವ ೧೧೦೦೦ ಕೃತಿ ೧೦೦  
ಪ್ರಭು ಬಸವ ೧೧೦೦೦ ಕೃತಿ ೧೦೦



சுந்தரிநீதி நமசி நமசி நமசி

|| ०० || ॐ ||

|| புகழாய்

நா வா ரு கிருவா னா ப்ಪு : ॥ நிபகந

பாவா கீரக வகீர்த் ॥ து கா வம்

ந் வகீர்த் பாவா கீர்த் ॥ நா வந

தி : ॥ தீ பாவா கீர்த் ॥ நிபந

கநநா ப்பு ॥ ॐ ॥

သယံဇာတတရားသဘာဝ  
 သယံဇာတသဘာဝသဘာဝ  
 သယံဇာတသဘာဝသဘာဝ  
 သယံဇာတသဘာဝသဘာဝ



Handwritten text in a script, likely Indic, on a piece of aged, torn paper. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. The paper is heavily damaged, with significant tearing and missing sections, particularly along the top and right edges. The ink is dark and somewhat faded.

Handwritten text in a script, likely Devanagari, on aged, stained paper. The text is arranged in approximately 10 lines, though some are partially obscured or faded. The script appears to be a form of Sanskrit or a related language, possibly a liturgical or philosophical text. The paper is heavily discolored and shows signs of wear, including tears and stains.



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