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Never-Neverland Revisited: Malay Adventure Stories

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Marije Plomp

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Never-Neverland Revisited
Malay Adventure Stories

With an Annotated Edition and Translation of the Malay *Story of Bahram Syah*

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
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I boarded this boat years ago, without a course in mind. I had learned how to raise the sails and where to find the wind, and thus felt confident enough to head out to the open sea. The winds blew and I sailed. The winds changed direction, and so did my boat. After a while, I realized that there was more joy to be derived from sailing. So I set a course and tried to follow it, only to abandon it shortly after. The destination did not seem to make sense. Then came the long calms, and I had to lay down the mainsheet and halyards. Changing currents carried the ship along. When the wind picked up again, I was prepared: I had several courses to test. Now, I have found the destination that suits me best. Looking back, it was not the arrival that I enjoyed the most; it was the lightness I experienced when the boat was being semi-lifted from the water while I was keeping course.

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Contents

Acknowledgements	<i>v</i>
Abbreviations	<i>ix</i>
Malay Words	<i>xi</i>
Dutch Words	<i>xv</i>
List of Figures	<i>xvii</i>

I MALAY ADVENTURE STORIES AND SOCIETY 1

Introduction	3
1 The Coastal Trading Town of Barus, North Sumatra, 1851–1857	19
2 Malay Writing in Barus, 1851–1857	57
3 Malay Adventure Stories: ‘Poor Literature’	87
4 Man Versus World: Malay Adventure Stories and Malay Ontology	105
5 What (Wo)Men Want: Dream Theory in Malay Adventure Stories	135
6 Between Faith and Fate: Making Sense of the <i>Story of Bahram Syah</i>	167

II THE *STORY OF BAHRAM SYAH*: TEXT AND TRANSLATION 193

Introduction	195
1 <i>Hikayat Bahram Syah</i>	201
2 <i>The Story of Bahram Syah</i>	303

Bibliography	383
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APPENDICES

A Titles of Malay Writings Present in Barus, 1851–1857	403
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viii • Contents

B Titles of Malay Adventure Stories 409

Samenvatting 411

Curriculum vitae Marije Plomp 415

Abbreviations

<i>BKI</i>	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>
ÉFEO	École française d'Extrême-Orient
EHES	École des hautes études en sciences sociales
<i>ENI</i>	<i>Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië</i>
<i>JMBRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>KBBI</i>	<i>Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia</i> (1989 and 1991)
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
<i>Kl.</i>	<i>Nieuw Maleisch–Nederlandsch Woordenboek</i> , H. C. Klinkert (1930)
MAS	Malay adventure stories
<i>Ms.</i>	<i>Dictionnaire Minangkabau, Indonesian–Français</i> , Gérard Moussay (1995)
NBG	Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap (Dutch Bible Society)
<i>Pam.</i>	<i>Kamoes Bahasa Minangkabau–Bahasa Melajoe–Riau</i> , M. Thaib Sutan Pamoentjak (1935)
<i>SBB</i>	<i>Story of Banta Beuransah</i> (Hikayat Banta Beuransah)
<i>SBS</i>	<i>Story of Bahram Syah</i> (Hikayat Bahram Syah)
<i>SDM</i>	<i>Story of Dewa Mandu</i> (Hikayat Dewa Mandu)
<i>SIP</i>	<i>Story of Inderaputera</i> (Hikayat Inderaputera)
<i>SLB</i>	<i>Story of Langlang Buana</i> (Hikayat Langlang Buana)
<i>SMB</i>	<i>Story of Maharaja Bikramasakti</i> (Hikayat Maharaja Bikramasakti)
<i>PA</i>	<i>Story of Panglimo Awang</i> (Panglimo Awang)
<i>SSI</i>	<i>Story of Sahrul Indra</i> (Hikayat Sahrul Indra)

<i>T.</i>	<i>Indonesisch–Nederlands woordenboek</i> , A. Teeuw (1990)
<i>TBG</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde</i>
<i>VDT</i>	Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk
<i>VDTb.</i>	<i>Minangkabausch–Maleisch–Nederlandsch Woordenboek</i> , J. L. van der Toorn (1891)
<i>VDW.</i>	<i>Maleisch–Nederlandsch woordenboek</i> , H. von de Wall (1877–1884)
<i>VOC</i>	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie
<i>Wl.</i>	<i>A Malay–English dictionary</i> , R. J. Wilkinson (1959)

Malay Words

adat	customary law
air mawar	rosewater
akal	reason in human beings
alang-alang	a kind of long-leaved grass
anjung	outer and raised annex of a traditional Minangkabau house
bahara	a weight
bangsi	Malay musical instrument: flageolet
bawal	a kind of fish, pomfret (<i>Stromateus</i> spp.)
bengkunang	the larger mouse deer
bomor	traditional healer, shaman
buruk	a kind of bird; waterfowl
busuk	a weight
ceracap	musical instrument of the rattle or castanet type; bamboos beaten together
dadap	a kind of tree (<i>Erythrina</i> spp.)
dagang	foreigner, trader
dang	honorific title prefixed to the name of certain ladies at the court
danglak-dangli	generic name for trees belonging to the genera <i>Memecylon</i> and <i>Anisophyllea</i>
datuk	honorific title of a Malay chief
dukun	traditional healer

garuda	giant mythical bird
gulai	curry dish
gulambai	an old and dirty looking male ghost believed to cause fires
hadith	'tradition': body of literature about the sayings and doings of the Prophet Muhammad
haji	Muslim pilgrim
hajj	pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina
hantu	ghost or spirit
hantu pemburu	a (Minangkabau-)Malay hunter ghost
hikayat	genre in Malay writing: long prose narrative
hikmat	charm or object used to manipulate life force (<i>semangat</i>) or spirits
hilir	downstream
hulu/mudik	upstream
ilmu	esoteric knowledge
jawi	script derived from the Arabic script used for writing Malay
jin	Islamic ghost
jumpul	a kind of fish: grey mullet (<i>Mugil planiceps</i>)
kaba	narrative genre in Minangkabau storytelling
kafr	unbeliever, infidel (non-Muslim)
kampung	village
kapas-kapas	a kind of fish: silver bream (<i>Gerres</i> sp.)
kapur	camphor
kati	a weight
kecapi	four-stringed lute
ketapang	Indian almond tree (<i>Terminalia catappa</i>)
khatib	person who delivers the sermon in the mosque during the Friday and Eid prayers
kijang	barking deer
kitab	book
kitab kuning	'yellow books': generic name for Islamic textbooks in the Malay world
kitab (takbir) mimpi	Malay dream book
kongsi	(Chinese) trade association
kulak	a measure of capacity

kupang	a coin or currency value
madrasah	Islamic religious school
mahang	a kind of plant (<i>Macaranga</i> spp.)
marah	honorific title for the nobility in the area of Padang
masuk Melayu	to become Malay; to embrace Islam
maulana	Arabic term used for addressing learned doctors of the law
merantau	Minangkabau diaspora
momongan	shallow gong
nafiri	Malay trumpet
nafsu	passion, desire
naga	mythical sea snake
nama	one's name or status
napuh	the larger mouse deer
negara negeri	state kettle drum
negeri	state
nesba	element of an Arabic personal name, often indicating the place of origin of the individual
nyai	domestic servant- <i>cum</i> -concubine of male Dutch colonialists
pelanduk	mouse deer
penghulu	headman, superintendent
peranakan	Chinese of mixed descent
pesantren	Islamic religious school
pesisir	coastal region
pikul	a weight
pustaha	Batak zigzag books made of hammered tree bark that contain divinations
raja	title of a Malay chief
rapat	meeting, council
rebab	Malay violin
rusa	deer
sampan	small boat
sayyid	honorific title for individuals who trace their, often mixed, ancestry back to an Arab lineage
selamatan	commemorative meal

semangat	life force or 'soul' that imbues man, animal, plants, water and earth
serdam	musical instrument: a bamboo pipe with a clarinet mouthpiece
serunai	Malay clarinet
si	definite marker in Malay preceding a personal name
sijobang	a West Sumatran form of sung narrative
singiang-ngiang	In West Sumatra, the Singiang-ngiang is a female ghost who dwells in the jungle
sukat	a measure of capacity
suku	a weight
sura	chapter of the Quran
sutan	honorific title for aristocratic men in West Sumatra and Southern Tapanuli
syaiikh	honorific title for Islamic religious teachers
syair	genre in Malay writing: a long narrative poem
tafsir	interpretation (of dreams, for example)
tahil	a weight
takdir	divine preordination (Islam)
talibun	sung poem popular on Sumatra's West coast
tambo	genre in Minangkabau writing: historical writings relating to the founding of a state or dynasty
tarekat	'Path of the Mystic', Sufi brotherhood
telempong	percussion instrument
tenggiri	a kind of fish: narrow-barred Spanish mackerel
robat	Islamic practice of repentance
tolak bala	to avert danger or harm
tuanku	honorific title for a Malay ruler
wudhu	'small' ritual bath for Muslims

Dutch Words

controleur	colonial government official who assisted the <i>resident</i>
gouverneur	colonial government official who headed the residency of West Sumatra; until 1862 this post was held by a military governor
inlandsche raad	native council
kweekschool	<i>Kweekschool voor Inlandsche Onderwijzers</i> : Dutch teacher training college
landraad	local judicial body installed by the colonial government; its members were drawn from the local elite
posthouder	colonial government official lower than <i>controleur</i> , who represented the colonial government in remote areas
resident	colonial government official who headed a province

List of Figures

- 1 Maps: a. Sumatra and the Malay peninsula; b. The Barus region 17
- 2 Colophon of Cod. Or. 3338 72
- 3 First page of Cod. Or. 3317 168
- 4 Draft of a pawn letter by copyist *Haji* Abdul Wahid in Sorkam, page 1 191
- 5 Colophon of Cod. Or. 3317 containing the *Story of Bahram Syah* 194
- 6 Note with a message ascribed to *Haji* Abdul Wahid, presumably to Van der Tuuk 197

PART I

Malay Adventure Stories and Society

Introduction

“A rather absurd fairy tale.” That was how the nineteenth-century Bible translator and scholar of the Malay language H. C. Klinkert judged the *Story of Jayalengkara*, one of the Malay adventure stories in his collection. Regarding a similar story, he remarked that it was “[a] tasteless and absurd story. The whole is an absurd mix of Mohammedanism and Hinduism, so tasteless and trivial that it takes courage to read it to the end.”¹ Klinkert was not alone in his negative appraisal of these kinds of Malay narratives. Many of his Dutch and British contemporaries, who studied Malay texts, as well as a number of scholars in the subsequent century, did not think very highly of them. They bemoaned the tediousness of the stories’ (sub)plots, the repetitive nature of the language and the seemingly endless series of supernatural events they described. It is this attitude that has been, at least partly, responsible for the dearth of publications on these texts. Yet, the storehouse of Malay writing is, largely, filled with adventure stories.

This study presents a re-evaluation of Malay adventure stories (hereafter MAS) that form part of what used to be called Classical or Traditional Malay literature, but is nowadays designated as Malay writing.² By adopting a cross-disciplinary approach, I aim to show that these narratives are not the meaningless fairy tales, suspended in time and place, that collectors and scholars, from both East and West, have previously held them to be. Instead, it is argued that they are important stories that merit examination afresh, both as narratives and objects of cultural analysis.³ They are greatly connected, in various ways,

¹ Een vrij onzinnig sprookje (Van Ronkel 1921, 11). Een flauw, onzinnig verhaal [...]. Het geheel is een dwaas mengsel van mohammedanisme en hindoeïsme, zoo flauw en onbeduidend, dat er moed toe behoort om het geheel ten einde te lezen (Van Ronkel 1921, 12).

² The label ‘Malay adventure stories’ here refers to both written and oral narratives.

³ This study is not a genre study in the traditional sense. What is said about MAS pertains only to the

to the society they have sprung from. A case study of the nineteenth-century Malay *Story of Babram Syah* (Hikayat Bahram Syah; hereafter *SBS*), a story from the west coast of North Sumatra, serves to demonstrate this. An annotated text edition and translation of the *SBS* forms the second part of this study.

MAS were popular in a large area of Southeast Asia from at least the early seventeenth century until the turn of the twentieth century. There are Malay-language manuscripts from Sumatra, peninsular Malaya, southern Thailand, Brunei, coastal Sarawak, Kalimantan, the north coastal areas (Pasisir) of Java, Lombok, Makasar, Bima, Ambon and other areas of eastern Indonesia (Proudfoot and Hooker 1996, 49). Remarks on their currency by contemporary Western observers and the relatively high number of extant texts attest to this. This fact already challenges the conception of MAS as absurd or meaningless, for it is inconceivable that people would continue to compose, copy and read stories that are of no significance to them. However, the question about their meaning remains. What was it that the stories did for their audiences? What human and societal needs did they appeal to? To find an answer to these questions, this study views the stories as acts of communication and as having had an agency of their own. Malay adventure stories engaged in communication with contemporary local socio-economic issues as well as with other narratives that were known locally. Following this line of thinking, the meaning of MAS and of the *SBS* in particular, lies in their functional relationship with their socio-historical context and in the intertextual realm. This approach echoes the functionalism that dominated, in particular, British anthropology in the twentieth century. But it fits in especially with the more recent strand of literary theory referred to as New Historicism. The latter evolved in the 1980s and 90s, primarily through the work of the critic Stephen Greenblatt. It aims simultaneously to understand a text through its historical context and to understand cultural and intellectual history through texts (Greenblatt and Gallagher 2000).

One can try to reconstruct the social, political and economic circumstances at a given time and place through historical research, but it is far more complicated to reconstruct the unwritten rules of a vanished system that regulated the writing and interpretation of texts in the past. This raises a dilemma about whether or not we should even try to strive for historically and culturally valid interpretations of stories that are so far removed from us in time and space. On this issue I follow Stephen Owen, who discusses this dilemma in his book *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics: Omen of the World*. Like Owen, I feel that we should continue to read and interpret such stories for the following reasons:

because the poets were promised eternity and we honor old treaties, because they have something to

SBS and the six other, similar narratives that make up the research corpus for Chapters 4 and 5. It is for others to test the findings of this study on a different group of texts.

say that we will not hear elsewhere, because the historical barriers are an injustice we cannot tolerate (Owen 1985, 9–10).

As for the risk of subjectivism – of hearing only the voice of the modern-day reader in the reading – I share Owen’s conviction that “the real danger is silence, not ventriloquism” (Owen 1985, 10–11). My motivation for undertaking this foray into the Never-Neverland of Malay adventure stories has been the contrast between the popularity of MAS in the past and their image of tiresome stories of poor quality among scholars in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. But also, it was the very existence of the manuscripts that contain these stories in the here and now that prompted me to reread them. I simply could not bear them to be silent when so much effort and money has been spent on preserving them (in libraries) for future generations. Thus, I offer, here, my readings of these Malay stories and ask the reader to bear with the hypothetical nature of this study.

Adventure entails travel and that is exactly what the young men – and, occasionally, women – of royal descent do in MAS. The initial departure of the main protagonist is often preceded by a dream that reveals the existence of a magical object, a fair princess or a medicine in a faraway kingdom. The dream image instills a longing in the young prince that is so strong that he is compelled to leave hearth and home and set out on a quest. On his journey through unknown lands, he traverses vast plains and dense forests and crosses dangerous seas or several heavens. He encounters wondrous creatures, such as fairy princesses, magical birds, fishes, elephants and sea snakes, talking plants and animals, and all sorts of ghosts. Many of these possess supernatural forces, which they exert either to help or to thwart the hero. Before he is finally able to acquire the object of his desire, he must perform a series of seemingly impossible tasks. But magic comes to his aide and, in the end, the prince always gets what he longed for. After having successfully completed his mission and having gained worldly riches and heavenly wisdom, he settles down, founds a dynasty and leads his subjects to prosperity.

MAS exist in written and oral form. Although the two narrative practices share the Malay language, and are similar in narrative style and content, they are seldom studied together. They are seen as two separate, albeit connected, practices. Moreover, the oral stories have never been considered on a par with their written counterparts. Now that postcolonial and postmodern studies have revealed the historical embeddedness of the categories that were invoked in these evaluations – notably ‘literature’, ‘magic’ and ‘folklore’ – the way is cleared for the inclusion of oral and written MAS in one corpus. Chapters 4 and 5 are based on research on such a, seemingly, hybrid corpus of narratives.

MAS form part of a narrative heritage. That is why in this study, the past tense is used for discussing Malay adventure stories. Written MAS are preserved in Malay manuscripts that are kept in institutional and private collections worldwide; the major ones are found in Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, London and Leiden. These collections contain the vestiges

of once thriving writing practices in the Malay-speaking regions of Southeast Asia. Although some genres persisted until the first few decades of the twentieth century in lithograph editions, the societal changes prompted by the onset of modernity entailed the end of 'traditional' Malay writing. The new era demanded new forms to give expression to the thoughts and feelings evoked by life in a modern world. And there, in a print environment, lay the beginnings of modern Indonesian and Malaysian literature. Yet, a few publications on contemporary storytelling in the late twentieth century made it clear that one should not too hastily relegate these kind of stories to a distant past. For instance, the Malay oral story on Panglimo Awang was recorded in the 1980s (Derks 1994). Also, *sijobang*, a tradition of singing a poetic narrative about the legendary hero Anggun Nan Tungga, was a popular form of entertainment in the highlands of West Sumatra until at least the 1970s (Phillips 1981). Dated even later is the recitation of the popular *Story of Malim Deman* from manuscripts in the town of Payakumbuh, West Sumatra: the early 1990s (Suryadi 1996).

Beside stories in prose about the quests of young princes, the heritage of Malay writing comprises a vast array of other kinds of texts, both in verse and prose.⁴ The following list is not exhaustive, but serves to give an impression of the variety of Malay writings. There are works that deal with religious matters, such as the basic tenets of Islam, the life of Muslim prophets, and daily religious practices, such as praying and the ritual bath. Some take the form of textbooks, intended for the instruction of new converts, while others are riveting narratives aimed at entertainment and casual instruction. Court libraries kept, among other writings, regulations on local traditions pertaining to members of the ruling house, genealogies and historical works. Next, there are long, romantic poems that enthralled men and women alike. Similarly popular were so-called frame stories resembling the well-known tale *One Thousand and One Nights*. The strong interest in divination and dream interpretation in the Malay World is reflected in dream books and lists of omens and interpretations. The Malay letter is another well-known category of Malay writing. A relatively new genre is the autobiography; only from about the turn of the nineteenth century did autobiographical works start to appear.

This wide variety is linked to the different environments in which Malay writings were produced and consumed. There was the community of maritime traders and cap-

⁴ There are several works that offer an overview of Malay writing; I name only those that I consider the most useful as an introduction. Richard James Wilkinson and Richard Olof Winstedt jointly wrote a three-volume work on Malay literature (1907). In 1925, Hans Overbeck published an anthology of excerpts of Malay texts in German translation. Next, there is Christiaan Hooykaas' *Over Maleische literatuur* (1937). More recently, there is *Kesusastraan Klasik Melayu Sepanjang Abad* by Teuku Iskandar (1995) and the rich work by Braginsky, titled *The Heritage of Malay Traditional Literature: A Historical Survey of Genres, Writings and Literary Views* (2004). Since most Malay manuscripts date from the nineteenth century, the following publication is of special interest: *Malay Literature in the 19th Century* by Siti Hawa Haji Salleh (2010).

tains, for whom rules and regulations pertaining to the seas and seafaring were relevant. As faithful Muslims, they studied translations of Arabic religious treatises, while on long, lonely nights in foreign ports they turned to romantic verses narrating the predicament of the itinerant trader or *dagang* to soothe their homesickness. The court as a place where Malay writings were kept and composed was already mentioned. Then there were the numerous centres of Muslim religious learning, called *madrasah* or *pesantren*. Their collections consisted of writings in Arabic or Malay on religious matters, written by authors from either foreign or indigenous soil (see also Van Bruinessen 2012, 83–100, 225–240). In the nineteenth century, lending libraries operated in some of the larger cities on Java and Sumatra. They catered to the members of the urban middle class, who favoured mainly (symbolical) romantic narratives and adventure stories. One such a library was run by Muhammad Bakir, an author and copyist of Malay writings, in late nineteenth-century Batavia (Chambert-Loir 1984). Lastly, references to female composers and copyists as well as to specific kinds of texts that were read or recited in all-female circles bear witness to the existence of gendered writing practices in the Malay World (Den Hamer 1890; Hijjas 2011). Unfortunately, to date, not much research has been done on this topic.

Malay writings are written on European paper, in a more or less standardized form of Malay. The script that has been used is derived from the Arabic script; it is called *jawi*. Many Malay writings are anonymous; their colophons neither mention the name of the author or translator, nor that of the copyist. In addition, references to a date or place of production of the original text or the copy used by the copyist are scarce. It is very important to keep in mind that our knowledge and understanding of Malay writing is fragmentary and to a considerable degree hypothetical. The extant manuscripts offer us only a partial view of the actual nature and range of Malay writing practices in Southeast Asia. However, the picture that can be reconstructed on the basis of the available evidence in the manuscripts shows that Malay texts were written and copied at least from the late sixteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century. The area of their dispersion ranged from various places in what is now Indonesia, Malaysia, the southern part of Thailand and Sri Lanka. There has been a general consensus among scholars working on Malay writing that the beginnings of this particular manuscript tradition is to be found in the period when Islam took root in island Southeast Asia, i.e. in the thirteenth century. A recent (re)discovery of a fourteenth-century manuscript containing a Malay legal code feeds the speculation about the existence of pre-Islamic writing practices; the text is written in a pre-Islamic script on indigenous paper made of tree bark. It could well be that the Muslim-Malay manuscript tradition formed a continuation of older, indigenous writing practices. Or a continuation of an oral tradition, for that matter (Kozok 2006).

The history of Malay writing is entwined with that of patterns of human mobility. The Malay language and writing practices were able to spread over a vast area mainly through networks of (maritime) trade, Islamic missionary activities, traveling students

of religion and pilgrims. Refugees from regions plagued by armed conflicts and migrants who regularly visited their native *kampung* added to the already high mobility in the area. But these movements of people, manuscripts and ideas not only led to the spread of Malay writing, but also resulted in the remarkable continuity and consistency that Malay writing is renowned for. The language used in the manuscripts and the contours of several genres show a striking homogeneity across a vast geographical area and over a period of almost three hundred years. This extraordinary consistency is stressed in almost all introductions to Malay writing, explicitly or implicitly, through the assumption that there has hardly been a historical development in Malay writing. While I acknowledge the fact that stories travel and that they have no regard for boundaries that separate languages and cultures, I do feel that this focus on the assumed homogeneity of Malay writing has obscured another side of MAS that offers promising lines of investigation.

It is argued here that each Malay text, irrespective of its geographical origin, is subjected to two contradictory forces at the moment of its creation: a homogenizing pull and a heterogenizing one.⁵ The first is responsible for the marked consistency of Malay writing over time and space. This force keeps texts that are written in the different corners of the Malay World within the larger tradition of Malay writing. At the same time, each Malay text also belongs to a local textual network, and it is from this network that the other force emanates. This heterogenizing pull derives its power from local factors, such as indigenous and colonial politics, economy, religious trends and social dynamics. Each historical locality had its own societal needs that prompted certain texts and genres to ‘appear’, either through new compositions or copying texts that originated elsewhere. This latter force, however, has rarely been addressed in studies on Malay writing. Together, these contradictory forces shape the outlook of what I call ‘localized’ Malay writing: the total of all Malay writings at a certain time and place. Such a localized entity is very concrete and can be understood as an instantiation of the abstract idea of a greater Malay writing linking three hundred years and numerous regions. With this study and its main focus on the link between texts and ‘the local’ I hope to illuminate this hitherto neglected aspect of Malay texts.

The current study is structured along the lines of the two shaping forces mentioned above. The first two chapters illustrate the workings of the heterogenizing pull. Here, the *SBS* is featured in the context of localized Malay writing practices in Barus (and Sorkam).⁶ The research corpus for these chapters consists of 58 titles of Malay writings

⁵ I drew my inspiration for this approach from Ronit Ricci’s illuminating book titled *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (2011). Ricci uses the *Book of One Thousand Questions* – from its Arabic original to its adaptations into the Javanese, Malay and Tamil languages – as a means to consider connections that linked Muslims across divides of distance and culture.

⁶ The research corpus for Chapter 2 includes 5 texts that were collected in Sorkam. Sorkam is a small coastal village situated approximately 25 kilometres to the south of Barus. See Chapter 2.

and seven titles of Minangkabau-Malay writings that were present in Barus between 1851 and 1857. The objective is to show how Malay writing – including adventure stories – on the northwest coast of Sumatra in the mid-nineteenth century was shaped by its socio-historical context. This trajectory, then, leads to an explanation of where, when, how and why the Malay adventure story *SBS* was written. In Chapters 4 and 5, the local context is abandoned in favour of that of the larger Malay World. This is the operating space of the homogenizing force. The *SBS* is examined as part of a different, second corpus of texts. It comprises seven MAS, written and oral, that originate from different periods as well as from different regions of the Malay World. At first sight, the heterogeneous character of this research corpus might seem odd or even inappropriate, especially in a study that argues that even such seemingly fantastic writings as MAS are linked to a specific social reality. However, I contend that all MAS, written and oral, have commonalities that negate boundaries of time and space and, therefore, should be considered as members of the same family. This familial bond, it is stressed again, is the result of a leveling force that emanates from the ‘grand’ Malay writing.

On the basis of an investigation of this second group of texts, it is argued that one of the functions of MAS was the preservation and transmission of important cultural knowledge. Chapter 4 explains how the stories present an animist ontology that provided the readers with the basic categories they needed to be able to understand and act upon the world they inhabited. The stories taught them the means to safeguard their mental and physical health, the treatments for various illnesses and how they, as human beings, differed from animals, ghosts and natural phenomena. This is followed in Chapter 5 by the exposition of a Malay dream theory that is conveyed in MAS. The texts’ preoccupation with dreams, omens and their interpretation testifies to the apprehension about one’s individual fate in life (and in the Hereafter) that existed in the Malay World and the wish to influence the course of one’s fate.

Chapter 3 connects the two parts of this study. First, it points out the historical assumptions that underpinned negative judgments of MAS in the past. Then, it paves the way for the discussion of the Malay world view presented in the next chapter by posing a question about what the supernatural in MAS represents, if not magic in the Western sense of the word. Finally, all the threads of significance that have carefully been laid out come together in the final interpretation of the *SBS* in Chapter 6. The story of Bahram Syah’s quest for a multi-talented wonder bird called *Marah* Jalin turns out to combine two seemingly contradictory messages on the malleability of man’s fate in life. One propagates the mainstream Muslim opinion that everything will work out for the best if only one completely surrenders oneself to God. The other presents the world as a book with omens that can be read and interpreted to discover one’s fate, so that one can try to change the course of that fate.

The reason that there are so few studies on localized Malay writing is that the primary condition for such an investigation is difficult to meet; one needs a substantial number

of titles of Malay works that are known to have been written or consumed in a specific period and region. But since many manuscripts lack references to a date and/or place of production, and collectors generally did not document when and where they acquired their manuscripts, the circumstances for such an enterprise are not favourable. It has been the work of another Bible translator that presented me with the unique opportunity to construct a suitable corpus of texts for a study of Malay writing practices in a nineteenth-century North Sumatran port settlement. From 1851 until 1857, Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk lived and worked in the relatively small coastal trade community of Barus. He had been sent to North Sumatra by his employer, the Dutch Bible Society (*Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap*, hereafter NBG), with the assignment to translate the Bible into one of the Batak languages. But, as he was interested in the Malay language as well, he also collected Malay texts to further his knowledge of written Malay (Groeneboer 2000, 24; Groeneboer 2002, 93, 273–277). Both his Batak and Malay manuscripts are now kept at the Special Collections of Leiden University Library (see also Clara Brakel-Papenhuyzen 2007 and 2014).

With this study, I seek to offer a new perspective on Malay adventure stories. Of course, there have been others who have endeavoured to do the same. Two scholars in particular must be mentioned in this framework for their original contribution to the study of Malay adventure stories. In *Notes on the Structure of the Classical Malay Hikayat* (1979), Alessandro Bausani draws a parallel between the structure of the Malay adventure story and that of Indian Hindu myths. Central to his argument are the frequent transformations experienced by the protagonists of Malay adventure stories and the multiple levels of existence the stories present. The latter, Bausani argues, is a faint echo of the Hindu cosmos, which consists of different layers of ‘heaven’ that serve as the abodes of the gods. He links the transformations to the Hindu concept of the godly *avātar* or incarnation.

Braginsky connects the plot of Malay adventure stories to the Sufi path that leads the believer to unification with his godly Creator. Through meticulous analyses of the *Story of Syah Mardan* and the *Story of Indraputra* he interprets both texts as Sufi allegories (Braginsky 1990, 107–135; 2004, 727–742). Although I will not attempt to present a full scope analysis of the *SBS* in this manner here, the latter story does contain elements similar to Sufi allegoric imagery encountered in texts from the Archipelago and the wider Muslim world alike. Prime example is the precious stone that features in the *SBS* (see also Braginsky 2011 and De Bruin 2012). It can take on any colour and weight and serves as Bahram Syah’s token of betrothal to Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower. Its counterpart, and token of betrothal of the princess to Bahram Syah, is a multi-talented bird, another symbolic image known from the Sufi tradition.

My findings do not refute those of Bausani or Braginsky. Instead, they provide an additional angle to view these Malay writings from. It is no coincidence that the current study brings to the fore animist concepts that are present in MAS. For with their focus

an animism, Hinduism and Sufi Islam, respectively, the three studies form a triad that corresponds to the different world views that once were, and, in some cases, still are, valid in the Malay World.

The Story of Bahram Syah: A Summary

Chapters 4 and 5 of this study frequently refer to passages from the *Story of Bahram Syah* (*SBS*). Chapter 6 presents a detailed reading of this story. To guide the reader through these chapters, a summary of the story is given next.

I

King Maharaja the Great of the state of Southern Plains and his wife had three sons: Ghaisyah, Aisyah and Bahram Syah. They were handsome young men. The youngest, Bahram Syah, was the apple of their eye. One night, when the king was sleeping in his private chambers, he had an unusual dream. He dreamt that a messenger from God approached him. The holy man told the ruler about an extraordinary bird that was called *Marah Jalin*. The bird was a very special animal indeed. It could speak like a human being, and when it did, gold and silver were scattered from its beak. When it recited a story, its eyes sprinkled diamonds and all sorts of gems, and when it flapped its wings and wagged its tail, precious stones of various sorts flew out from its nose. The body of this *Marah Jalin* emitted exotic fragrances and his breast feathers were of a brilliant red, like the seeds of a dragon's blood plant. The messenger said to Maharaja the Great that people had swooned after having set eyes on this amazing creature. The animal was the pet of a princess named Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower; her abode was a kingdom called Gastu Gasta. Unfortunately, the dream came to an end before the king had the chance to ask the messenger for the exact location of this country.

The dream image of the wondrous bird had instilled a longing in the king. His desire to own it was so strong that he threatened to abandon his throne to go on a quest for the animal. As his absence would cause havoc in the kingdom, Bahram Syah offered to leave the kingdom with his two brothers to find the trophy pet for their father.

When all the necessary preparations had been made, the three brothers mounted their horses and rode through the gate, accompanied by their servant Selamat. After having traveled through the dense jungle for 12 days, they arrived at a summer pavilion. There, they found a letter in which they were told about a three-forked road that lay ahead of them. The path to the right, the letter informed them, would lead the traveler home safely; likewise the path in the middle. As for the path to the left, it had no end and was named Only God Knows. After a peaceful night of sleep, the young princes traveled on and reached the three-forked road. They decided to split up: Ghaisyah, the eldest, took

the path to the right, Aisyah took the middle one, and Bahram Syah put his faith in God and rode his horse along the path named Only God Knows.

II

After a journey of three and a half months, Ghaisyah arrived at a kingdom named Whirling Sand in the Bay of Dew. He asked the ruler for directions to Gastu Gasta, but neither the ruler, nor the sea captains and traders had ever heard of a kingdom by that name. Uncertain where to go next, Ghaisyah decided to stay. To pass his time, he started to play chess with the harbour master and local dignitaries, but within a short period of time, he had lost all of his possessions. In the end, he became a poor beggar and had to do menial jobs to get something to eat.

III

A similar fate was predestined for Aisyah, the middle brother, who had taken the middle road. After he had traveled for three months, he passed the border of a kingdom named Piles of Passion. King Fierce and Fiery was the head of state. Aisyah passed his time by gambling and interpreting portents. He lost everything he owned and became destitute. As a debtor to King Fierce and Fiery, he became enslaved by the king. For years to come, he would spend his days cutting grass for the king's horse.

IV

Bahram Syah's adventures, now, were very different from his brothers'. One day, after an arduous journey of three months, his eye caught a single orange tree near the side of the road. It bore only one orange. He took the fruit, peeled and ate it. He was amazed to discover that each of the pieces had a different taste: bitter, sour, sweet. The flavour of the last segment was surprisingly rich: a mix of various tastes, with a sweetness of sugar mixed with coconut cream. Bahram Syah wondered what this strange phenomenon could mean. Within a blink of the eye, he interpreted the remarkable event: the different flavours, he believed, referred to the stages of his quest: difficult at first, but with benefits abundant and sweet in the end.

Somewhat later, he came upon three wells. Two of them overflowed and filled the dry well in the middle. This scene too was aptly interpreted by Bahram Syah: the water of the overflowing wells was like alms to the poor. It signified that God would provide one with whatever one would need to stay alive. A series of other strange events followed: people digging into already steep ravines and piling up the soil on top of high mountains, water forming high waves in a mudhole and a large, lush plain full of skinny water buffaloes and a small, dry plain, with several thousand fat water buffaloes. Each time, Bahram

Syah explained the curious spectacles as symbolic messages that related to his quest. He believed that with these miracles, God had intended to show His disciple His power and greatness. Somewhat later, an encounter with the Angel of Death increased Bahram Syah's confidence. The Angel told him where to look for the state of Gastu Gasta – on the other side of the boiling Sea of Fire – and revealed that Bahram Syah still had a long life ahead of him.

After these puzzling scenes, Bahram Syah resumed his journey. Along the way, he rescued a princess named Goddess in Bondage, who had been held captive by a malevolent spirit. As a token of her gratitude, she gave Bahram Syah the Magical Stone Jewel of the Queen. It was an amazing gem; it could take on any colour and weight and the intensity of its light made people fall unconscious. This precious item, she told him, could be traded for the prize bird in Gastu Gasta. Before the princess bade Bahram Syah farewell, she gave him three magic hairs that could work wonders for him.

One day during his wanderings, Bahram Syah had a dream in which his father appeared to him. He warned his son of the troubles he would find on his way and told him to keep his wits about him at all times.

V

Seventeen years had passed since Bahram Syah had left his parents' palace. He felt weak and homesick and lay down beneath a giant tree for a nap. Suddenly, an immense noise that sounded like thunder woke him up. He jumped to his feet and saw how a giant sea snake was trying to devour a few young garudas in a huge nest above Bahram Syah's head. Bahram Syah killed the snake with his sword, cut it up and fed the pieces to the young giant birds. As a token of her gratitude, the mother garuda flew Bahram Syah across the raging Sea of Fire in the direction of Gastu Gasta.

After a gruelling trip, Bahram Syah finally arrived at the border of Gastu Gasta. There, he met an elderly woman named Grandmother Kebayan. She adopted Bahram Syah as her son and helped him to gain access to Gastu Gasta's court. Disguised as a servant of Grandmother Kebayan, he accompanied her to the court to offer flower bouquets for sale to Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower. It was there, in the audience hall of Gastu Gasta, that Bahram Syah saw the bird *Marah Jalin* for the first time. He began to talk to the bird in all the languages of the world, and to the amazement of the princess and her father, the bird instantly responded to Bahram Syah. The wondrous creature started to speak, while it danced gracefully on the golden tray it was perched on. Delicate perfumes pervaded the air and glittering gold, silver and diamonds flew around. Then, Bahram Syah asked the princess whether she wanted to trade *Marah Jalin* for the Magical Stone Jewel of the Queen. When he showed her the jewel, both she and her father swooned and collapsed. Such was the intensity of the multi-coloured light of the stone. Bahram Syah then sprinkled rosewater on their faces and, as a result, they regained consciousness.

In the end, it was agreed upon that Bahram Syah would marry Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower. The bird and the stone were exchanged as their tokens of betrothal to each other.

But Bahram Syah asked to postpone his wedding for seven years; he first wanted to pay his parents a visit in the state of Southern Plains. Now that he had finally acquired the bird of his father's dream, he wanted to offer the animal to his father, to soothe the king's debilitating longing for it. For the second time, the garuda mother flew Bahram Syah over the Sea of Fire.

VI

Bahram Syah first picked up Princess Goddess in Bondage, who he had rescued earlier. Together, they traveled to the kingdoms where his two foolish brothers had been living in anguish for so many years. The two were freed by their youngest brother, and the four of them continued their journey to Southern Plains, together with the bird.

Gaisyah and Aisyah felt humiliated by what had happened to them. And what was even worse was that it would be their youngest brother instead of them, who would earn all the credit for having found the desired bird for their father. Thus, they began scheming to get rid of Bahram Syah. One day, when they had stopped at a pavilion to rest, they invited Bahram Syah to bathe with them. They asked him to fetch them some water from a well and he obliged. But when he stood on the edge of the well, his treacherous brothers pushed him into the deep well. Without their little brother, Ghaisyah and Aisyah arrived at their fathers' court, with the bird. They told the king that Bahram Syah had suddenly disappeared. To convince their grieving father that the disappearance of his favourite son had been predestined, they lied that they had had dreams that had foretold the loss of Bahram Syah. Their gift of the bird to the king failed to relieve his anguish: the bird looked sick and refused to show his extraordinary skills.

VII

Contrary to his brothers' expectations, Bahram Syah miraculously survived his fall into the well. And, one day, he was found and saved by a king named King Middy, who had stopped at the well to fetch some water. As the king was already old and had no heir, he adopted Bahram Syah as his son. Sometime later, the king fell ill and passed away. As son of the old king, it was Bahram Syah's task to fund the commemorative meals and give away the prescribed alms to the poor. In honour of his adoptive father, he spent all his riches on food and alms. In the end, an all-white fighting rooster was all he had left. But when he had it slaughtered for another commemorative meal, he found a magic ring in the bird's cloaca. The ring turned out to host a powerful ghost, who was able to fulfil all Bahram Syah's wishes. Still longing to see his parents again, Bahram Syah asked the ghost

to change his appearance into that of a pilgrim who had just returned from Mecca. As soon as word got around that a *haji* had arrived in Southern Plains, Bahram Syah's father received the young man in his audience hall. There, having regained his own appearance, he let the bird perform all his special tricks. The whole court stood in awe.

Bahram Syah's task was now fulfilled and it was time for him to return to Gastu Gasta to marry his sweetheart princess. But when he arrived at the court, the vassal kings turned out to have had second thoughts about the marriage of their princess to a foreigner. They pressured the father of Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower to test Bahram Syah to find out his worth. And that was what happened. First, the vassal rulers challenged him to build a golden cargo ship all by himself and to enter in a sailing competition with them. Next, they asked him to build a golden rice barn. Third, he was asked to produce a cloth big enough to cover a whole mountain. And lastly, the kings wanted him to build a complete new capital. With the help of the ghost from his magic ring, Bahram Syah passed each test gloriously and was able to marry the princess. After the wedding, they settled in Bahram Syah's own capital that was named In Between Good Plains.

VIII

After a while, Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower became pregnant. Seven days into her pregnancy, she began to yearn for the meat of a male deer that was pregnant with a female young. Thus, Bahram Syah instructed the palace guards not to let anyone enter after his departure, then gathered his hunting dogs and left for a hunt. But despite his efforts, all he found were carrying female deer. Exhausted by his futile hunt in the jungle, he lay down to sleep. While he was sleeping, he dreamed that his father visited him. The king informed his son that he should hunt for female deer, as there is no such a thing as a pregnant male animal. He also told Bahram Syah that his wife had already given birth to a handsome boy, and that his magic ring had been stolen by one of his servants, Turani. And before he disappeared, the king advised his favourite son to give his love to animals instead of human beings in the future, however filthy the animals might be. Then, Bahram Syah woke up, killed a female deer with young and took the game home. To his surprise, his own palace guards did not recognize him and refused to let him in. In fact, he looked like the treacherous servant Turani, who had stolen Bahram Syah's magic ring. With the help of the ghost from the ring, Turani had switched appearances with his former master. With nowhere to go, but with God on his side, Bahram Syah decided to turn away from his capital and see what would happen.

He walked along the outstretched beach for a while and then turned inland. Near an abandoned cottage, he found a scrawny dog. He fed the dog and the skinny creature kept following him. Somewhat later, he saw an emaciated black cat. He gave it something to eat. The cat joined Bahram Syah and the dog, and the three of them continued their journey together. The last animal to join the party was a mouse. Its food was being stolen

by bigger mice and, as a result, it had become undernourished. This animal too was taken care of by Bahram Syah.

After having wandered about for a while, Bahram Syah arrived at a kingdom called Shaded River. Its ruler, His Majesty Encircling the World, adopted Bahram Syah as his son. Five years passed. Then the king decided to marry Bahram Syah to Princess Kesumba and Rosewater, who lived in a nearby fishing village. The young couple were often seen with their pet animals on the beach, watching the fishing boats return with their catch.

In the meantime, the three grateful animals had made a plan to retrieve their master's stolen ring. When darkness fell, the three gathered at the beach and started to swim. Their destination was the island that Turani had run to with Bahram Syah's ring. Fatigued, the animals reached the island's shore. Next, the black cat successfully tried to befriend Turani. The thief grew very fond of the cat and took it with him to his sleeping chambers every night. One night, when Turani was sound asleep, the mouse stuck its tail in Turani's nose to make him sneeze. With the sneeze, the ring – which Turani kept in his mouth during the night – flew out of his mouth. The cat then caught the ring, gave it to the dog and together they swam back to the mainland. But the strong winds and the tide wore the animals out and the dog had to let go of the ring. The ring kept sinking deeper and deeper into the sea until a big silver bream came along and swallowed it.

On one of the days that Bahram Syah and Princess Kesumba and Rosewater were on the beach, inspecting the day's catch, Bahram Syah noticed how one of the fish was much bigger than the rest. He asked his wife to roast the silver bream for him. When she started to gut it, she found her husband's stolen magic rings in the fish's intestines. Bahram Syah was overcome with joy. He used incense to summon the ghost in the ring and told the ghost to give him back his own appearance and destroy Turani's island. With Turani taken care of and having regained his own looks, Bahram Syah was finally able to return home to his wife Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower and his new-born son.

Sometime after his return, a second son was born. But even this joyous event could not alleviate Bahram Syah's longing to see his parents in Southern Plains again. In the end, it was decided that Bahram Syah and Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower, together with their youngest son and the cat, the dog and the mouse, would leave for Southern Plains. Their eldest son would stay in Gastu Gasta to succeed the old king.

When the royal couple arrived in Southern Plains, they were welcomed by Maharaja the Great. To celebrate the return of the youngest prince, festivities were held for days on end. The youngest grandson Nadir Syah proved to be a talented young man. After a number of years, he was installed as the new ruler of the Land of Twelve Streams and given the title Sultan Sikandar Alam.



a. Sumatra and the Malay peninsula



b. The Barus region

Figure 1. Maps (courtesy of Erik van Elven, 2014).

1 | The Coastal Trading Town of Barus, North Sumatra, 1851–1857

Introduction

Early in the year 1851, when monsoon rains were still swelling North Sumatra's rivers, the Dutch Bible translator Van der Tuuk embarked a rowing boat in the port of Sibolga (Groeneboer 2002, 109). His destination was Barus, a small coastal trade town on the west coast of North Sumatra, about 120 kilometres north of the larger port of Sibolga. The aim of his first foray to this village on the outer fringes of the Dutch colonial state was to investigate whether Barus was a suitable place for him to settle next. Sibolga had disappointed him. The Malay language had made an advance in this region at the cost of the Batak language; this situation had seriously hampered his study of the latter tongue. He even feared his task, which was to produce a translation of the complete Bible in the Batak language for the Dutch Bible Society (NBG), would end in failure. In Barus he hoped to find a village safe enough to settle in – although slave raids by Batak and forays by coastal Acehnese were still a reality in North Sumatra – and that would provide ample opportunities to converse in Batak (Groeneboer 2002, 183–184, 250, 254).¹ Word had

¹ Although I support the findings of recent studies on the history of the 'ethnicization of the Batak,' it is for practical reasons that I have decided to use the much debated term 'Batak' in this study. Since Van der Tuuk and contemporary visitors to the northwest coast of Sumatra did not distinguish the various ethno-cultural groups of North Sumatra in their reports, I had no choice but to follow them in their use of the term. Bearing Barus' geographic location and trade relations in mind, it was probably Karo, Toba, Mandailing and Dairi who lived in or visited Barus. 'Batak' is used here as a collective term to denote these four groups. They are generally considered as distinct, albeit related, ethno-cultural groups, each with its own language and customs. As the current chapter discusses Barus' Batak population in relation to 'Malayization' – a process involving a shift of ethnic identity – the works of, in particular, Leonard

it that, on market days, Barus was swamped by several thousand Batak from the interior; they came down to the sea port to trade their goods with local and visiting traders, mainly the benzoin and camphor that Barus had been renowned for since times immemorial. Van der Tuuk already envisioned himself engaging in conversations with these men from the mysterious uplands and collecting all the data needed.

This first chapter presents a detailed description of Barus at the time Van der Tuuk lived and worked there; that is, the years 1851–1857.² It deals with its geographical location, social and ethnic make-up, local and colonial politics, religion and economy. As Barus formed part of a larger entity generally referred to as the Malay World, this chapter also includes a concise introduction to this specific socio-cultural sphere. Together, the two representations provide the background for the discussion in the next chapter of Malay texts that were written or copied there or circulated there, among them the *Story of Bahram Syah*.

There are several reasons to start this study on Malay adventure stories with the figure of Van der Tuuk. First, without his intervention, we would not even know today that people composed, copied and consumed Malay texts in this Sumatran community. As an avid collector of Malay and Batak writings, he acquired a large number of manuscripts in Barus. Born in Malacca in 1824, Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk passed his years as a young boy in Surabaya, where his father was a member of the *Raad van Justitie*. Probably around the age of 12, Van der Tuuk was sent to Holland to continue his education. He studied law in Groningen, but gradually became interested in the study of Oriental languages through his friendship with Willem Doorenbos, a student of theology and Oriental languages at the same university. Instead of finishing his law courses, he started to take classes in Arabic and Persian with Th. W. J. Juynboll, professor of Semitic languages. When this scholar moved to Leiden in 1845, Van der Tuuk followed him. Beside his law classes, he continued his private lessons with Juynboll and started to study Sanskrit with A. Rutgers, professor of Hebrew. At that time, the only institution prepared to support research of Indonesian languages other than Javanese or Malay was the NBG. After finishing his courses in Leiden, the 23-year old Van der Tuuk applied for the position of delegate of the NBG for the so-called *Bataklanden* in North Sumatra. He was to study the Batak languages and make a start with translating parts of the Bible (Groeneboer 2002, 2–5, 350).

As mentioned in the Introduction, Van der Tuuk also gathered a large number of

Andaya (2002 and 2008), Daniel Perret (1995), Rita Smith Kipp (1995 and 1996) and Susan Rodgers (1993) are useful to mention here.

² Van der Tuuk was already active in Barus a year before he actually settled there in 1852. In 1851, he visited the villages to obtain permission from the local chiefs to settle and to explain to them the nature of his mission. It seems that, during this trip, he managed to contact a local scribe and commission a series of Malay texts to be copied for him. His move from Sibolga to Barus was postponed, because the building of his own house in Barus took many months (Groeneboer 2002, 109–355).

Malay manuscripts in Barus and environs. This paper legacy must be approached with care, though. Van der Tuuk's predilections and presuppositions in relation to Malay culture, Islam and the social networks he succeeded to participate in have influenced the make-up of his manuscript collection and hence, of my research corpus of texts for the second chapter of this study. The kinds of texts he was able to see, borrow or buy largely depended on the social and political status of the locals he managed to socialize with. A local Malay chief or *raja* possessed different writings than a renowned *syaikh* of Arab descent, a recently converted Batak Muslim, a Dutch administrator or a Minangkabau sea captain. His derogatory stance towards the dominant syncretic form of Islam in Barus and surroundings has left its mark on the collection as well. Whereas, for instance, there were scores of Malay narratives of the Islamic-fantastic kind circulating locally, Van der Tuuk's collection contains a relatively low number of these tales. It could well be that he favoured translations and adaptations of religious works by renowned Islamic scholars from the Middle East, the birthplace of Islam, over locally produced tales with a mystical tinge.

Second, Van der Tuuk needs to be discussed in his role as eyewitness. This chapter, as well as parts of Chapter 2, relies heavily on the correspondence between Van der Tuuk and the board of the NBG and the letters he wrote in Barus to individuals, such as his close friend Eliza Netscher and a few colonial officials.³ Van der Tuuk is notorious for his illegible handwriting. Fortunately, Kees Groeneboer published a meticulously annotated edition of these letters in 2002. Van der Tuuk's epistles present us with a picture of Barus as seen through his eyes. This lopsidedness has been countered by weighing his assertions against the observations and remarks of other contemporary eyewitnesses. In addition, some nineteenth-century ideas Van der Tuuk adhered to and which coloured his letters, have been taken into consideration. As a man of his time, he assumed some cultures to be more pure, stable and original than other cultures, and he attached higher value to the former. For instance, he abhorred the changes among the 'pure' Batak communities on the coast, which he assumed to have been induced by the Islamization of the region. Further, his stance towards Batak and Malay writings was frequently dismissive; he did not think them of any literary value. What he found in Barus was not literature in the European sense of the word, but rather genealogies, text books on Islam, autobiographies, fairytales or romances and writings on law, local customs, invulnerability, warfare and magical practices.

And yet, notwithstanding these drawbacks, Van der Tuuk's letters constitute an exceptionally rich and valuable source. Reading through them, one gets the impression of Van der Tuuk as a man of sharp observations, sound judgements and developed social

³ During the years 1848–1861, Eliza Netscher (1825–1880) worked at the Algemeene Secretarie in Batavia. His career took flight when, in 1861, he was installed as *resident* of Riouw and later, in 1870, as *gouverneur* of Sumatra's *Westkust* (Groeneboer 2002, 94).

skills. That he was not afraid to revisit earlier statements about what he saw and thought to better understand Barus' society, attests to this. Moreover, he was thoroughly aware of the precariousness of own status in Barus. As an employee of a non-governmental organization, one with missionary objectives to boot, his actions were scrutinized by the local colonial authorities. The government did not actively support missionary activities in the colony; it was feared that Christian proselytizing would fuel anti-colonial sentiments among the colony's Muslim population. The local Batak and Muslim-Malays were similarly apprehensive in their contacts with Van der Tuuk. Initially, they interpreted his inquisitive behaviour as a sign that he was a spy for the colonial government. But, by quickly gaining insight into local social hierarchies, Van der Tuuk succeeded in establishing relationships with men from all sections of the local population. His letters to the NBG are marked for their outspoken nature and poignant analyses of societal complexities. He was also an opinionated man. However, his sharp critique, directed at both his own employer and the colonial government, was always accompanied by proposals for improvement and hardly ever became personal. As he himself declared, it was the office and colonial policy he vilified, not the person in office (Groeneboer 2002, 308). Lastly, although a Christian in the service of a Christian proselytizing organization, Van der Tuuk is remarkably critical about missionary organizations and their ways of spreading the Word in the colony (Groeneboer 2002, 344–355). It is this and the general candidness that speaks from the letters, that sets this particular source apart from other contemporary eyewitness accounts.

The third and last reason for introducing Van der Tuuk here is that his person forms a suitable starting point to investigate the different social and political forces that were at work in the port community in this period. These forces, in turn, have shaped the contours of Malay writing in Barus. In short, it is on these grounds that the following story on Barus and the Malay writings that were found there addresses Van der Tuuk and his daily preoccupations in detail.

As for the other sources that were available for a reconstruction of nineteenth-century Barus, both primary and secondary sources proved to be scarce and scattered. The few times Western sources make mention of Barus around the mid-1800s it is usually in relation to maritime trade. In this, the sources reflect the nature of the Dutch colonial interest in this Sumatran port, which was to gain profit from trade. The main goal of the nineteenth-century re-colonization of Sumatra's west coast had been to secure the main trade ports, so that trade taxes could be levied to the benefit of the depleted Dutch treasury.⁴ Thus, reports and statistics are primarily dedicated to listing the port's main import and export commodities, the volume of trade that was conducted and the size

⁴ Ample evidence of this is found in the various proposals for the exploitation of Sumatra's west coast by the Dutch, which the colonial government received between 1819 and 1841 (Van der Kemp 1894).

and ownership of the indigenous fleet of trade vessels on Sumatra's west coast. Remarks on local politics, religion and cultural expressions only scratch the surface.

As a result, the following description of historical Barus is written in a vocabulary that fits in with a long tradition of discussing various matters Malay – including Malay writing – in terms of trade. Both older and more recent studies on the history of the Malays and the constituents of 'Malayness' highlight the importance of trade for the expansion and coherence of the Malay socio-cultural community over a vast geographical area. The scant evidence found in the colophons and notes in the margins of the manuscripts that were collected in Barus, as well as in Van der Tuuk's notes, seem to validate this discourse. Remarks on author- and ownership and patronage can be linked to maritime trade. For instance, Van der Tuuk borrowed a manuscript from a local, who hailed from Penang. This individual was in all probability a merchant. Intensified trade contacts between Barus and Penang in the first half of the nineteenth century had led to the migration of Penang merchants to Barus (Ritter 1839, 77, 83; Asnan 2007, 80, 184–185). Next, a copy of the Barus *hilir* chronicle *Sejarah Tuanku Batu Badan* was written in 1872 in Sorkam by the son of the former ruler of Barus *hilir*, while he was staying there to trade (Drakard 1990, 283). And lastly, the colophon of an 1851 copy of the *Poem of Silindang Delima* (Syair Silindang Delima; Cod. Or. 3334) reads that it was written by a merchant while he was in Barus for business purposes.

But the situation was more complex. Other patterns of mobility intersected with those of itinerant traders and seafarers, and the dissemination of Malay writing in South-east Asia followed other routes as well. Malay manuscripts from Barus, which contain references to Muslim *syayikh* and *haji* as patrons or copyists, point to an alternative pattern of mobility and textual transmission. They connect to the idea frequently stated in literature on Malay writing of a wide network of traveling Muslims – pilgrims, students, missionaries, religious teachers and scholars – spanning South, Southeast Asia and the Middle East. In her outstanding study on the wanderings through South and Southeast Asia of the Arabic *Book of Thousand Questions*, Ronit Ricci makes some enlightening remarks on the nature of this network. She successfully argues for the existence of a textual network that not only shared the prominence of the Arabic language and a set of texts, but also genres, themes, protagonists, authors and translators.⁵ Over time, these texts, genres and themes originating in the Middle East became vernacularized in South-east Asia and slowly spread to secular writings (Ricci 2011). Her main contribution to the scholarly discussion of the development of Malay writing lies in the attention she draws to the fact that not only texts moved from one place to the other within a network transcending local writing practices, but authors, translators and copyists as well.

But people traveled or moved for other reasons than seeking economic gain or a deepening of their religious experience. Before turning to the local sources on historical Barus

⁵ Islamic leather book bindings should be added to this list. See Plomp 1993, 571–592.

that have been consulted, a short detour serves to highlight other patterns of mobility that were involved in the spread of Malay writing. First, people left their homes to flee oppression or violence. Nineteenth-century North Sumatra saw a series of local armed conflicts that prompted people to take up their belongings and flee. Acehese traders used force to establish trade monopolies in the west coast ports, while from the interior Batak undertook slave raids. Also, the incursions in the first half of the century by militant Muslims from West and Central Sumatra called *Padris* led to a wave of migrations (Dobbin 1983). To these one can add the Dutch colonial military expeditions against ‘insurgents’ in West and North Sumatra. Next, both Western and local sources on nineteenth-century North and Central Sumatra make mention of people fleeing from their native grounds to escape (debt) slavery or statute labour in the service of local rulers.⁶

In West Sumatra, young, unmarried men of Minangkabau descent were expected to leave their native *kampung* in search of knowledge, experience and wealth. This custom – called *merantau* – prompted a large Minangkabau diaspora, along Sumatra’s west coast and beyond. The presence of a successful family member in one place attracted relatives from the Minangkabau heartland who solicited financial support and advice in business undertakings (Kato 1982). In the first half of the nineteenth century, Chinese were becoming increasingly important players in the west coast maritime trade. Whether they hailed directly from China or, what was more common in this period, from other Southeast Asian trade communities, Chinese investors and traders alike often got (distant) relatives involved in trade organizations or *kongsi*. Business ventures that followed from these cooperatives contributed to an important degree to the already high mobility in the area (Kuhn 2008, 170; Vleming 1926, 56–86). And lastly, there are yet other reasons for people to travel or wander: a failed love affair, the inability to repay debts, family conflicts, an escape from persecution or just having an adventurous mind.

Among the indigenous sources for this study are a number of Malay narrative writings that address the dynastic history of Barus’ two ruling families. It is commonly agreed upon nowadays that such texts cannot be read as straightforward descriptions of historic events. Various scholars have successfully demonstrated how the works are not histories in the Western sense of the word. Instead, it is argued, they are manipulated representations of past events intended to explain or justify a contemporary, often political, situation (this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2).⁷ Yet, with alertness to this particular shaping force, it remains possible to use court chronicles as sources for historical study. It is a fortunate coincidence that an illuminating example of this scholarly

⁶ In his letters to the NBG, Van der Tuuk specifically mentions Mandailing, who came to Barus to escape statute labour (Groeneboer 2002, 221). The subject of slavery and bondage on Sumatra’s northwest coast will be dealt with in more detail later in this chapter.

⁷ This should not sound as exotic to Western readers as it perhaps does. For ultimately, all histories are written to attest to the validity of a presupposed truth or reality.

exercise happens to address two Barus chronicles in their nineteenth-century form. In *A Malay Frontier: Unity and Duality in a Sumatran Kingdom* (1990) Jane Drakard investigates the *hilir* and *mudik* chronicles, the *Origins of the Raja Barus* (Asal Keturunan Raja Barus) and the *History of Tuanku Batu Badan* (Sejarah Tuanku Batu Badan). Her analysis shows how the establishment of Dutch colonial authority in Barus in 1839 had a profound impact on local politics. The current study argues that these changes in the political landscape, in turn, influenced local Malay writing practice. Text editions of the Barus' chronicles by Drakard offered easy access to two contemporary historical writings from a region on which not much data is available. They have been used to corroborate information from nineteenth-century Western reports on Barus' ethnic make-up and political organization.

Among the writings that were found in Barus between 1851 and 1857 are two Malay autobiographical writings. They were written in the first half of the nineteenth century by a Muslim teacher from Sunur in West Sumatra named *Syaikh* Daud. The narratives were not produced in Barus, but aptly illustrate the way Malay texts came into being, traveled and were consumed on Sumatra's northwest coast in the nineteenth century. An article by Tsuyoshi Kato (1980) on another autobiographical work from Sumatra's west coast also proved a rich source. The writer of this narrative, Muhammad Saleh, was a Muslim west coast trader of mixed Minangkabau and Acehese parentage. His story about how he and his father sailed up and down Sumatra's coast and visited its various ports gives a unique inside view of the west coast trade community. His remarks about the importance of literacy and, in particular, the way he was educated helped to form an idea about how Malays in this region entered the world of books and writing.

As for secondary sources, for about a century Barus received little attention from scholars, Western and Indonesian alike. The small town was mentioned mainly in relation to the life and works of the Sufi poet Hamzah Fansuri, who is thought to have been born or to have lived in Barus, and an eleventh-century inscription referring to a Tamil trade guild. The dearth of studies on Barus in the 1800s can be explained by the scarcity of sources and Barus' unremarkable political and economic status in this era.⁸ Around the turn of the twentieth century, there was some interest in the dynastic history of the town among colonial administrators. K. A. James, *controleur* in Barus from 1899 till 1901, recounted a fragment of the *hilir* chronicle in an article in TBG (James 1902, 134–143). It is likely that his source was the transliteration made in 1896 in Barus for James' predecessor, Lefebvre.⁹ Another transliteration of the *hilir* chronicle was made in 1900 on the

⁸ The dearth of sources on nineteenth-century Barus is related to the modest scale of the colonial enterprise in the port town. From a Dutch colonial perspective, Barus was a relatively isolated outpost of the colonial state. It was a small, subsidiary trading port.

⁹ This text titled *Hikajat Ketoeroenan Radja di Koeria Ilir* is kept at the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen in Amsterdam.

request of another government official, J. L. Plas (Drakard 2003, 54–55). Only after an interlude of almost a century did Barus' writings become the object of scholarly research; that is, in the works of Drakard. Her monograph on the two Barus chronicles mentioned earlier, together with the two text editions, remained the only works dedicated to Malay texts from Barus until 2009. In that year, Henri Chambert-Loir published a short article on a narrative poem written at the behest of one of Barus' rulers: *Poem on Sultan Fansuri*, 'Syair Sultan Fansuri' (Chambert-Loir 2009, 506–528).

Since the late 1980s, there has been a rise in scholarly attention for the early history of Barus. Besides the groundbreaking archeological excavations and studies by Indonesian and French archaeologists – Lukman Nurhakim, Claude Guillot and Daniel Perret in particular – the gravestones have been studied for the first time, and the Tamil inscription has been reviewed anew (Nurhakim 1989; Guillot 1998, 2003; Kalus 2003; Subbarayalu 1998). In addition, there is the controversy between Guillot and Kalus and Braginsky over the assumed date of Hamzah's death (Guillot and Kalus 2000; Guillot 2001; Braginsky 1999, 2001; Perret and Surachman 2009). On the topic of Malay writings from Barus though, no new articles have appeared of late.

Recently, Barus has been developed into a Muslim heritage site. It is advocated as the 'nation's gateway to Islam,' and has become a popular destination for day trips by Indonesians.¹⁰

Barus and the Malay World

Barus formed part of a greater cultural entity that is generally referred to as the Malay World. Therefore, a short introduction to the history of the Malays, the Malay World and Malay writings will precede the discussion of historical Barus in the 1850s.

The question what exactly makes someone, or something, 'Malay' has engaged scholars from both in and outside the Malay World during the last three decades. Post-colonial tendencies in Malay Studies and recent archaeological finds related to maritime trade in the area led scholars to deconstruct the ethnic map of Southeast Asia that has been drawn up in the past by the colonial governments. The Malay ethnic category turned out to be far less monolithic and stable than had been assumed. The list of contributors to the debate is a long one; only a few names can be mentioned here. A good introduction to the matter is an edited volume by Timothy P. Barnard, *Contesting Malayness: Malay Identity across Boundaries* (2004). The role colonial governments have played in the construction

¹⁰ Indonesian websites such as Suara Media (www.suaramedia.com) and Era Muslim (www.eraMuslim.com) contain articles, documentaries and postings on Barus in relation to its Islamic history. The television series *Gendang Islam Nusantara* by Media Nusantara Citra presented a special feature on Barus' Islamic legacy (websites accessed 8 May 2013).

of a Malay identity based on ethnicity has been brought to the fore by, among others, Anthony Milner in his comprehensive study titled *The Malays* (2008) and Anthony Reid in *Imperial Alchemy: Nationalism and Political Identity in Southeast Asia* (2010). Joel Kahn's influential work *Other Malays: Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in the Modern Malay World* (2006) highlights the continuation of colonial concepts of 'Malayness' in post-war Malaysian, nationalist politics. And lastly, there is Henk Maier's original study on Malay writing: *We are Playing Relatives: A Survey of Malay writing* (2004). His main argument centres upon the idea of association through affiliation – becoming Malay by considering oneself a member of the larger Malay 'family'.

For this study, I follow the generally accepted idea among scholars nowadays that the Malay (ethnic) identity is highly flexible and its 'content' historically determined. Especially in Sumatra,

A common cultural base, the absence of insurmountable ethnic and political boundaries, and a continuing desire by rulers for new subjects enabled neighbouring communities such as the Malayu, the Minangkabau, the Acehnese, and the Batak to move easily in and out of ethnic identities and to participate in activities that defined one or another group (Andaya 2008, 172).

Ethnicization is considered a social process. And in the Sumatran case in particular it "[...] rests fundamentally on calculations of optimal economic advantage to be gained from the rich international trade [...]" (Andaya 2008, 172).

Scholars of Malay writing generally agree on the view that the development that was previously called Classical or Traditional Malay literature is closely related to maritime trade and religious networks (Overbeck 1938; Proudfoot and Hooker 1996; Ricci 2011; Riddel 2001b). Historians speak of the existence of international sea trade routes that connected Southeast Asia with areas as far as the Middle East, India and China, since at least the first few centuries of the Christian era. Due to the Archipelago's location along the major trade route between the main trade centres in the Middle and Far East, and the presence of such sought after trade commodities as gold, camphor and other resins, the islands were frequented by traders and seafarers of various ethnic descent and with different cultural backgrounds.¹¹ As they depended on seasonal winds for their voyages over sea, they settled temporarily in the transient coastal settlements, awaiting favourable winds to continue their journey or to return home, in the meantime keeping their eyes open for business opportunities. This way, insular Southeast Asia became a crossroads

¹¹ The word camphor (*kapur* in Malay) is used to denote an aromatic oleoresin that can be extracted from different species of trees. The *kapur* Barus is found in *Dryobalanops aromatica* Gaertn, a large tree from the *Dipterocarpaceae* family. This type of camphor is solid and consists of a white, crystallized substance with mother-of-pearl lustre. It has been used in perfumes and for medical purposes. Among the Batak, camphor was used in large quantities to embalm the remains of deceased rulers (*ENI* II 1918, 262–263, 271; Stéphan 1998, 225–232; Marsden 1975, 149–152; De Vriese 1851, 45–47).

for cultural exchange. New religions, such as Hinduism and Islam, and cultural forms, amongst which scripts and texts, found fertile ground in the region and were adapted to local taste. It was through these international contacts, which lasted for centuries, albeit in changing constellations and importance, that religious and narrative texts from the Middle East and India reached the islands. There, these works inspired Malay-language writers to create translations and adaptations or to compose new texts borrowing only what they liked from the foreign sources.

A number of the foreign merchants, religious students and teachers of Chinese, Arab, Persian and Tamil origin never returned home. They settled in the port communities bordering the Strait of Malacca, the Java Sea and the South China Sea, together with seafaring Malays, and they married local women and learned to speak Malay. This was how the 'Malay' coastal port states on the shores of the different islands of the Archipelago came into being. They were populated by the offspring of these foreign merchants, locals and transient merchants, seafarers and men of various religious and ethnic origin. Over time, the label 'Malay' came to be used for all inhabitants of these communities, irrelevant of their ethnic roots.

From the eleventh till the thirteenth century, the trade communities came into contact with a new religion, Islam. From this time onwards, Arab and Persian religious texts, but also adventure stories and framed stories became known among the Malay and became part of Malay writing. Over time, adherence to the Islamic faith became a prime marker of the Malay lifestyle, to such an extent that the phrase *masuk melayu*, 'to become Malay,' became synonymous with conversion to Islam (Andaya 2008, 18–81; Reid 1988, 1993, 2010, 81–91; Milner 2008, 18–46).

In the traders' quarters of the communities, a form of Malay was spoken as *lingua franca*, while different, more or less standardized, forms of Malay were used for writing. There were narrative texts in prose and poetry, dynastic histories, religious treatises, texts on medicine and official letters to rulers of other Malay states and Western kingdoms.¹² The written forms of Malay overlaid various local Malay dialects and other first languages spoken by the inhabitants of the coastal states. The remarkable consistency of the written forms of Malay and Malay textual practices over a large geographical area and a long period of time has been pointed out by scholars on several occasions (Pijnappel 1870, 148; Sweeney 1980, 63–66; Milner 2008, 79–80). Note, for instance, the title of a chapter on Malay writing in *Illuminations: The Writing Traditions of Indonesia* (1996), 'Mediating Time and Space: The Malay Writing Tradition' (Proudfoot and Hooker 1996, 49–78). This uniformity was the result of the intensity and tenacity of interlinking regional trade and religious networks that spanned the straits and seas between the Archipelago's main

¹² For examples of Malay letters, see the beautifully illustrated publication *Golden Letters: Writing Traditions of Indonesia*, edited by Annabel Teh Gallop and Bernard Arps (1991) and Mu'jizah's *Illuminasi Dalam Surat-Surat Melayu Abad Ke-18 dan Ke-19* (2009).

islands. The movements of goods and people – traders, seafarers, pilgrims, advanced religious students and scholars – linked the different regions of this so-called Malay World (Proudfoot and Hooker 1996, 71–72). The prestige of the Malay language as a language of learning and its use as a mark of sophistication must have formed a considerable impetus to the spread of the language and Malay writing (see also Milner 2008, 80–84).

The courts of the port states of the Malay World were Malay in language and customs. Members of a Chinese delegation to one of these kingdoms in North Aceh in 1416 noticed how the language and customs were ‘that of Malacca,’ the renowned Malay kingdom on the west coast of the peninsula, which saw its political and economic power reach its zenith around that time (Durie 1996a, 80). Similar Malay customs pertaining to language, literature, dress, religion and law unified the Malays (Milner 2008, 78–80). The international and inter-insular contacts facilitated the interplay of two forces at work in the Malay World: on the one hand, these encounters enriched Malay culture in general and Malay writing in particular. On the other hand, local differences between the Malay port states were filtered out, creating the remarkable cultural homogeneity the Malay World is known for.

Thus, Malay writings were produced, copied and consumed by Malays of various and mixed ethnic descent. It was through these, often bi- or multilingual, Malay writers in coastal kingdoms that Malay textual production developed and remained vibrant. Oft cited examples of such Malay authors are the Gujerat-born Muslim scholar Nuruddin al-Raniri (died 1658) and Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi (1796–1854), who was of Arab and Indian descent (Hooykaas 1937, 5, 128; Riddell 2001b, 116–125; Sweeney 2005, 2006a, b).

Barus 1851–1857

Around the middle of the nineteenth century, greater Barus consisted of a number of small settlements spread out on a narrow coastal strip bordering the Indian Ocean. Barus’ two main settlements were situated on the banks of the Aek Batu Gerigis or Camphor River. Barus *bilir* or downstream Barus was situated near the estuary where the river ended in the Indian Ocean. Since 1834 it had been ruled by *Sultan* Perhimpunan, also known as *Tuanku Sutan* Ibrahim.¹³ Barus *mudik* or Barus *bulu* was found about an hour by foot, upstream from the *bilir* village; its ruler was called *Tuanku Raja* Barus or *Su-*

¹³ The way Van der Tuuk refers in his letters to *Tuanku* Ibrahim and *Tuanku* or *Raja* Sigambo-gambo suggests that the latter name was another title of *bilir* chief *Tuanku* Ibrahim. Sigambo-gambo was the name of a settlement near the coast. Based on Van der Tuuk’s list of the members of Barus’ native council (*inlandsche raad* in Dutch, *rapat* in Malay), it can be concluded that Sigambo-gambo was synonymous to the *bilir* settlement in this period.

tan Agama.¹⁴ Together, the *mudik* and *hilir* settlements counted no more than six to eight hundred inhabitants. The beach was home to fishermen and fortune-hunters from neighbouring ports who lived in simple shacks. The total population of greater Barus numbered around five thousand. The area was incorporated by the Netherlands Indies government in 1839 and a government official was posted in the modest town with a small administrative staff (Marsden 1975, 367; Ritter 1839, 9–20; Drakard 1990, 44–45; Groeneboer 2002, 285, 306; Epp 1852, 119).

The landscape surrounding Barus consisted of outstretched swamps that alternated with small clusters of simple dwellings and agricultural plots. Immediately behind the settlements rose the densely forested hills where the area's main commodities, camphor and benzoin, from which Barus derives its fame, were produced. The forest products were carried on foot or on horseback over narrow and steep footpaths that converged in the valleys behind Barus (Drakard 1990, 1–3). The inhabitants from the uplands came to Barus to trade their forest products for salt, textiles and small household utensils, while the merchants were attracted by the steady supply of high quality camphor. Knowing that today long stretches of asphalt link the towns in the district of central Tapanuli, it is hard to imagine that when Van der Tuuk settled in Barus in 1852, there was not a single road in the area. The other villages along the coast, such as Singkel to the north and Sorkam and Sibolga to the south, could be reached by boat or on foot over the sandy beach. The mountains, dense forests and swamps formed natural obstacles that made Barus completely dependent on the sea for the transport of its trade commodities (Couperus 1855, 222–231).

When Van der Tuuk was preparing his stay in North Sumatra as a delegate of the NBG, the question arose regarding where he would live and work. A location in the interior, near Lake Toba, was not an option. The area was densely forested and wide rivers, steep ravines and mountain ridges made travelling nearly impossible. Only part of the interior was under colonial rule; the remainder was the so-called independent *Bataklanden*, where small communities were governed by local chiefs. Only a few Westerners had set foot in these lands. In 1853, Van der Tuuk would be the first European to set eyes on Lake Toba on his trip inland. He would later remark that if he had not hurried back to Barus, he “would have been eaten by the Batak” (Groeneboer 2002, 179–185). Although there had been few recent accounts of actual cases of cannibalism in the *Bataklanden*, stories about the cannibalistic Batak still lingered at that time.¹⁵ Van der Tuuk believed the

¹⁴ In 1856, *Sutan* Agama was succeeded by *Sutan Marah* Tulang (Drakard 2003, 32). There is some uncertainty about this date though. In a letter written in 1853, Van der Tuuk speaks about *Sutan* Agama as if he was no longer the ruling *raja* at the time of writing (Groeneboer 2002, 168).

¹⁵ Cannibalism had never been rampant in the area. The eating of a fellow human being amongst the Batak had always occurred in the framework of traditional justice and only in cases of severe criminal behaviour (Weddik 1850, 92–93; Marsden 1975, 390–395). This ‘heathen’ custom instilled fear and loathing in nineteenth-century Europeans.

capital of the Dutch colonial residency Tapanuli, Sibolga, to be a proper alternative. The colonial presence guaranteed a degree of safety and the town was host to many Batak who could act as his informants. The reality, however, turned out differently. As previously explained, many of Sibolga's Batak inhabitants had already embraced Islam. Their conversion had entailed Malayization. As a result, the Batak language had lost considerable ground to the Malay language.

Barus *mudik* and *hilir* were two separate communities governed by two independent, yet related, Muslim chiefs.¹⁶ They were, respectively, of Batak-Malay and Minangkabau-Malay descent, respectively. Each derived support and recognition from different sections of the upland Batak population. Most of the time, they acknowledged each other's right to rule and supported each other in times of crisis, but there were also periods of outspoken animosity between the two families, (Marsden 1975, 367; Ritter 1839, 20–23; Drakard 1990, 44–45; Michiels 1846, 35; Joustra 1926, 32). The *raja mudik* did not own ships; therefore, there were times when Barus *mudik* depended on the traders and seafarers of Barus *hilir* for the transfer of its trade commodities, mainly forest products. The *hilir* ruler controlled the transport of trade goods to the coast, as the main path to the coast led through his compound. He could close it off whenever he wished to do so (Ritter 1839, 20–23). For local practices to be most effective it was very important that the two rulers got along well. This was apparently the case in the seventeenth century, because when the Dutch traders of the VOC became active in the area they immediately ended the institution of dual kingship in Barus. They deemed the economic success of Barus' two *raja* a threat to the economic interests of the VOC (Drakard 1990, 38–40, 42–45; Drakard 2003, 23; Ismail 1985, 10).

Whereas about a hundred wooden and bamboo houses on poles in the *mudik* settlement, protected by an earthen wall and dense bamboo hedges, looked quite simple, some of the merchants' wooden houses in the coastal compound attested to their owners' riches. The west coast trade offered ample opportunities to make large profits. Big merchants were known for their lavish lifestyle; this included drinking, opium-smoking and gambling. But piracy, fluctuating prices and the possibility of the loss of a vessel made it a risky business as well (Ritter 1839, 20–21; Kato 1980, 734, 749). The houses belonging to the local rulers were not very different from those of the commoners, except for some decorative woodcarving, a few small canons and an additional defensive wall (Ritter 1839, 20–21; Epp 1852, 120).

From a modern day perspective, unhygienic circumstances prevailed. Years after he

¹⁶ Dual kingship was not uncommon in riverine areas in the Malay World. Another Sumatran riverine state that was ruled by two chiefs for a while was Jambi, situated on Sumatra's east coast (Locher-Scholten 1993, 576–597, cited in Kukushin 2004, 59 n. 10) See Bennet Bronson 1977 and Kathirithamby-Wells 1993 for a description of the Sumatran type of Malay *negeri* or state involving an exchange network called *mudik-hilir* or *hulu-hilir*.

had left Barus in 1839, Franz Epp, a German military doctor in service of the Dutch colonial army, still remembered the smell of human faeces and animal droppings that pervaded the air in the *kampung* during his visits (Epp 1852, 119–120).¹⁷ This, plus the swamps in the vicinity made Barus quite an unhealthy place to live. Malaria was a common disease; Van der Tuuk suffered intermittently from it and other tropical ailments. A severe case of dysentery almost cost him his life; he reached the medical facilities in Sibolga just in time (Couperus 1855, 237; Groeneboer 2002, 113, 115, 223, 234). And from 1855 on, Van der Tuuk complained about a chronic disease of the liver (Groeneboer 2000, 18). The remark by Epp that both his predecessor as well as his successor – both medical officers – died in Barus forms another illustration of the unfavourable living conditions in the area. Epp himself fell ill after having worked at the primitive military post near the shore for only half a year; he was forced to return to Europe to recover (Epp 1852, 122–123).

Women formed a minority in Barus, in particular among the transient merchants and seafarers who awaited business opportunities or favourable winds in the port village. Both Petrus Theodorus Couperus, *resident* of Tapanuli from October 1851 till May 1853, and Van der Tuuk, were struck by the ‘loose morals’ they encountered in Barus and other west coast communities. The seafaring men lacked the company of their spouses and turned to prostitutes, a well-known practice in all ports around the world. For the same reason, homosexual relationships with boys were not uncommon (Groeneboer 2002, 309). This latter practice was found, in particular, among the Acehnese beach dwellers. Sexually transmitted diseases were common (Marsden 1975, 191). Also, addiction to opium was so prominent among the inhabitants of Sumatra’s coast settlements that Van der Tuuk once remarked that being a Muslim was synonymous with being an opium user. The habit was found among the ruling elites of Barus as well (Couperus 1855, 238–239; Groeneboer 2002, 312, 283; Ritter 1839, 21). Finally, betting and gambling were widespread among all classes and sections of Barus’ population. However, it seems that the Batak in particular were unable to pay their gambling debts and became enslaved to Malay and Chinese money lenders. How strong this compulsion was, and how devastating its consequences are is evident from the following:

The Batak, in contrast, is a passionate gambler; even when he has lost everything he owns, he continues his game to the point that he forfeits the freedom of his wife and children, his own freedom and that of the relatives over whom he has authority. And even as a debt slave, he continues this habit and becomes deprived of food and clothes (Weddik 1850, 95).¹⁸

¹⁷ In contrast, in 1825 commissioners H. J. J. L. De Stuers and B. C. Verploegh described the upstream settlement as a “particularly fine Malay kampong” (Van der Kemp 1894, 552).

¹⁸ Daarentegen is de Batta tot razernij aan speelzucht overgegeven; wanneer hij alles verloren heeft, gaat hij door, totdat hij de vrijheid van vrouw en kinderen, zijne eigenen vrijheid en die van al zijne bloedverwanten, welke onder zijne magt zijn of die hij er onder brengen kan, heeft verdubbeld. Ook tot de

But Barus had not always been the relatively tranquil subsidiary port it was in the mid-nineteenth century. The history of Barus as a trade centre, renowned for the export of camphor, goes back to at least the tenth century CE.¹⁹ Both Arab sources and recent archeological finds at Lobu Tua and Bukit Hasang, near modern-day Barus, point to the existence of trade contacts between Barus and such far away regions as the Middle East, Persia, China and India between the ninth and eleventh century CE (Guillot 1998, 2003; Kalus 2000; Stéphan 1998, 225–241; McKinnon 1996). Foreign traders visited Barus' harbour and settled in the area. An inscription found near present-day Barus dated 1088 CE, for instance, bears witness to the presence of a Tamil merchants' guild in this part of North Sumatra (Subbarayalu 1998, 25–33; Drakard 1989, 53–82). Barus probably flourished in the sixteenth century too, economically as well as culturally. It was in this century that the renowned mystic and poet Hamzah Fansuri wrote his religious poems, which became popular throughout the Malay World. Barus regularly features in his poems and camphor and the camphor tree form part of his imagery (Drewes and Brakel 1986; al-Attas 1967, 1970; Drakard 1990, 5).

Around 1850, trade was still the main source of income for Barus' inhabitants. In the initial plans for the Dutch exploitation of the west coast ports after the English had left the region, Barus was to be closed to all maritime trade. There were larger ports with better facilities nearby, and a concentration of the trade in a few ports made it easier for the Dutch to control the coastal trade. But in 1841, the Dutch issued a regulation that stated that the harbour at both Barus and Singkel would remain open to all trade. They probably realized that the destruction of local trade networks would ultimately work against them (Van der Kemp 1894, 581, 600, 602, 611–612, 614). Taxes were levied on certain trade transactions and a government official was posted Barus to collect them. The port of Barus formed part of the west coast trade network, with Padang as the largest and most important port and Penang's harbour as entrepôt and gateway to the Malay coasts along the Straits of Malacca and India. North Sumatra's commodities – camphor, benzoin, damar, pepper, rubber and horses – were exported to the other ports along Sumatra's west coast, to Penang and to India, in particular Malabar and Coromandel (Asnan 2007, 332; Weddik 1850, 100, 105; Couperus 1855, 253). Most business with the latter regions in India was conducted through Penang (Asnan 2007, 180, 184–185; Hussin 2007, 90, 329). Around 1850, the trade in camphor had already dwindled, due to a decreasing population in the original camphor producing region of Dairi and growing difficulties in reaching the Indian and Chinese markets (Van der Kemp 1894, 605; Groeneboer 2002,

slavenstand vervallen, kleeft hem die gewoonte nog aan, en hij verspeelt voedsel en kleeding (Weddik 1850, 95).

¹⁹ Chinese sources dating from the sixth to ninth century CE mention the toponym *P'o-lu-shih* for the source of camphor in the area of North Sumatra. However, it is not known whether this name refers to Barus or to the whole region, encompassing much of the north of Sumatra including the north, east and west coasts of the island (Wolters 1967 cited in Drakard 1990, 3).

161). Textiles, opium, earthenware, yarn, iron, glass, paper, tobacco, salt and household utensils arrived in Barus' port on mid-sized sailing boats, mainly from other west coast ports and Penang. This latter port was one of the major trade centres for Barus in the nineteenth century.²⁰ Especially after the formation of the British Straits Settlements in 1826, with Penang as the seat of the government, the port gained in importance and its traders were able to gain control over the maritime trade with North Sumatra and the various ports on Sumatra's west coast. In the 1850s, Chinese-owned junks from the latter British colony were still a common sight at Barus' roadsteads as well as ships from India. Among Barus' traders – visiting and settlers – were many from Penang (Van der Kemp 1894, 612; Couperus 1855, 252–253; Weddik 1850, 104; Groeneboer 2002, 160, 166; Asnan 2007, 203–253; Hussin 2007).

The trade along Sumatra's west coast mainly involved bulk commodities and was run on an elaborate credit system. Although some sea captains worked for a single employer who was the owner of the boat, many ran their own business. They worked with several financial backers for whom they traded. Business partners were found among family members who had migrated to other west coast ports – notably, among the Minangkabau and Chinese, and Arab diaspora, religious tutors and merchant friends. Thus, personal contacts were very important and to make a good profit one had to possess excellent social skills to build and maintain a network. But the financial system also required good bookkeeping skills. Young men, aspiring merchants, attended small private classes to learn to read, write and calculate (Kato 1980, 733, 735, 745, 748–749). The market place was where the actual trade took place. Barus' largest market area was situated near the coast, along the river, and was named after the Batu Gerigis river. The sailing ships – it would take another twenty years before steam engines would make their appearance – anchored some distance off shore. Their cargo was then loaded onto small boats and transported ashore.

The market place held a gathering of different people, mirroring the social and ethnic make-up of the town. First, there were the Batak men from the interior, who visited Barus on market days. They carried camphor and other forest products on foot or on horseback over narrow and steep footpaths that converged in the valleys behind Barus. They spoke little or no Malay and adhered to an indigenous religion revolving around the worship of forefathers. Their main contacts were with the traders (Groeneboer 2002, 174, 308). The latter were Muslim men of Batak, Malay, Acehnese, Minangkabau, Arab or Chinese ethnic origin. They were either visitors from other places along Sumatra's west coast or had settled down in the *hilir* traders' community. An influential group of merchants consisted of members of Barus' two ruling houses. Mandailing vendors, originally from southern Tapanuli, sold food and tobacco from little stalls near the market area

²⁰ Intensified slave trade was a concomitant of Padris conquests in the Batak regions; Batak slaves were exported to Penang (Dobbin 1983, 186).

(Groeneboer 2002, 310). Batak traders from neighbouring settlements had moved to Barus lured by the prospects of making a good profit. After having settled there, many converted to Islam and adopted a Malay lifestyle. They favoured the Malay language over their native tongue, read Malay writings, abstained from eating pork and donned Malay clothes. Whereas previously they had lived off the yield of their small plot of agricultural land and bartered if they needed salt, textiles or small household utensils, as Muslims they preferred to engage in commercial activities, like their fellow Muslims. These new converts referred to themselves as ‘Malays’ (Groeneboer 2002, 214).

A third category was the slaves and bonded workers.²¹ (Debt) slavery and debt bondage were still widespread phenomena in this part of Sumatra in the middle of the nineteenth century. If a person was unable to repay a loan or pay off gambling debts, local custom regulated that the defaulter became indentured. The Barus *hulu* chronicle *Origins of the Raja Barus (Asal Keturunan Raja Barus)* mentions two kinds of bondage: *andam berhutang* and *andam karam*. The former refers to a debtor, who works for the person to whom he owes money until he has paid off his debt; one month of labour equalled one *ringgit*. In the case of *andam karam*, the person in bondage remained a slave for the rest of his or her life. This was the punishment for having committed a severe crime, such as insubordination (Drakard 2003, 188; Marsden 1975, 38). The custom of pawning one’s dependents for money yielded a fair number of bonded labourers as well (Drakard 1990, 188; Marsden 1975, 382; Reid 1983). And lastly, slave raids by Batak from the interior were another cause of enslavement (Groeneboer 2002, 250, 251 n. 7, 254). Most of Barus’ debt slaves were Batak, but there were also slaves from the island of Nias.²² A major cause of debts and enslavement was betting and gambling. Van der Tuuk refers to these debt slaves several times in his letters to the NBG. He was appalled by the way some slaves were treated by their masters:

The contempt with which a Muslim treats a Batak is close to unbelievable, and the way the addicted gambler falls into slavery would make the hair stand up on the back of your neck (Groeneboer 2002, 183).²³

There are two causes that account for this attitude towards slaves and bonded labourers

²¹ A standard work on the topic of (debt) slavery and bondage in this part of the world is the edited volume *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia* (Reid 1983).

²² In the nineteenth century, Nias was a major source of slaves and indentured labourers. The indigenous custom of pawning or selling relatives yielded a large number of slaves. The Acehnese in particular engaged in the slave trade with Nias. Weddik gives the prices that were paid at the ‘slave market’: 20 to 30 guilders for a child, 40 to 50 for an adult and up to 250 guilders for an attractive woman. He adds that the slaves were resold in Padang for double the price (Weddik 1850, 111–112).

²³ De minachting waarmede de Islamiet den Batak behandelt, grenst aan het ongeloofelijke, en de wijze hoe hier de aan dobbelen verslaafde slaaf wordt, zoude u de haren te berge doen rijzen (Groeneboer 2002, 183).

among the 'slave owners' of Barus. First, they belonged to society's lowest social rank, and second – and perhaps more importantly – they were non-Muslims, whereas their owners were Muslims; notably, newly converted Muslims. Slave owners were either Muslim-Malays from overseas or local Batak who had recently converted to Islam. To the former, often more affluent, widely-travelled and sophisticated Muslims, a Batak was a primitive country bumpkin, an infidel with an appetite for pig meat and, according to oral tradition, human flesh to boot. As new converts, the latter group was even more eager to discriminate against former fellow Batak (Groeneboer 2002, 161, 163, 171, 284). But when *gouverneur* Johannes van Swieten prohibited the possession of Batak slaves by non-Batak in the residency of Tapanuli in February 1855, the Muslim masters manipulated Muslim priests and made the Batak believe that they would be enslaved anew in the Hereafter if they did not pay a large sum of money to their former owners (Groeneboer 2002, 286, 312).

Captains of ships frequented the market place to conduct private business, to make trade deals for their financial backers and to hire crew for their next sailing. These seafarers were an ethnically diverse party: Malays of various origin, Chinese, Minangkabau, Acehnese, Batak, Arabs, Europeans and Eurasians.²⁴ Their homes were the ports along Sumatra's west coast, the Batu islands – off Sumatra's west coast – and Penang. One of the captains cum merchants who regularly visited Barus was Charles Brodie from Padang. Of English origin, he had settled in Padang and had made enough profit from trading to buy himself two vessels of average size (*Almanak en Naamregister* 1857, 355, 454; 1858, 338). It is likely that he got acquainted with Van der Tuuk in Barus, perhaps when he was looking for a place to spend the night. As Barus did not have a lodge, Van der Tuuk regularly acted as host to Europeans and Batak alike. With the expansion of Brodie's business he needed an extra hand. When Van der Tuuk was preparing to leave Barus for Holland early 1857, his personal scribe called Timpo found a new employer in Brodie.²⁵

The eighteenth century saw a new wave of Chinese immigration to Southeast Asia and an increased importance of Chinese business networks (Hussin 2007, 341). In the following century, Chinese were prominent actors in Sumatra's west coast trade network. Their activities were not limited to a particular field of the maritime trade; one could find ship owners, sea captains, traders and financial backers of Chinese origin. Unfortunately, there are hardly any sources that tell us about the social or ethnic background of the Chinese that lived on Sumatra's west coast. Given the tendency among them to settle permanently and marry local women, many must have been *peranakan*, Chinese of mixed descent. And with the dominance of Islam in Southeast Asian maritime trade, it is not

²⁴ Inhabitants of the Archipelago who trace their often mixed ancestry back to an Arab lineage were referred to as *sayyid*. See also the recent publication *Sayyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies: The Living Links to the Prophet*, by Kazuo Morimoto (ed.), 2012.

²⁵ A copy of the agreement is found in the margins of Cod. Or. 3380.

unthinkable that a number of them had converted to Islam.²⁶ In Barus, they were among the wealthiest of the community and acted as money lenders, notably to Barus' Malay elite. It was especially in the salt and linen trade that they dominated the regional market. They were able to purchase linen in bulk for low prices because of their close contacts with Chinese traders from Penang. The large warehouses near Barus' beach were owned by local Chinese middlemen (Asnan 2007, 210–211; Groeneboer 2002, 160–161, 174, 183, 310). Within the constellation of the colonial administration, the Chinese occupied a privileged position. This was largely due to the large sums of money they paid to the Dutch as trade tax. As an important source of money, the Dutch seemed to practice leniency towards members of this group in cases of misdemeanours. In return, the Chinese assisted the Dutch when needed. Once, when *controleur* H. J. J. Gout asked some well-to-do Chinese traders in Barus to finance part of a large community meal intended to win the hearts of neighbouring village headmen, they courteously complied. Needless to say, this close relationship between the Chinese and the local colonial authorities, combined with their economic success, yielded strong feelings of dislike and hostility towards them among the rest of Barus' inhabitants (Groeneboer 2002, 213).

In the multi-ethnic make-up of Barus, the Minangkabau, Batak and Acehnese formed a marked presence, either in terms of their numbers or the degree of political, economic or cultural influence they exerted. Barus is located on the watershed of a Minangkabau, Batak and Acehnese political and cultural sphere of influence; this made the settlements into a crossroads of different traditions. It also explains the mixed roots of the local Muslim-Malay culture. Both Barus' ruling families claimed to have dual ethnic roots. Their chronicles speak of a Minangkabau-Malay prince from Tarusan as the founder of the *hilir* settlement near the beach, and a mixed (Toba) Batak-Malay ancestry for the *mudik* leader and his extended family. An oral tradition on the origin of local customs displays the same intermingling of Minangkabau and Batak elements. The myth tells of a young Minangkabau man – perhaps a merchant – who visited a trade port on the coast of Central Tapanuli. There he met with a Muslim girl of Batak descent and the two fell in love. After a while, the young couple decided to marry, but due to differences in wedding customs, the wedding almost did not happen. While the Batak girl sat waiting to be visited by the groom, the Minangkabau groom awaited his bride to collect him. In the end, and after long deliberations, a way out was offered by the representatives of both ethnic groups: they came to a compromise and an amalgamation of the two traditions

²⁶ Conversion to Islam among Chinese merchants on the west coast might have been economically motivated, at least partly. By becoming a Muslim, a trader enlarged his business network considerably; it smoothed his transactions with fellow (Muslim) traders. A Malay letter (dated 12 May 1869) on behest of the ruler of Aceh granting a Muslim Chinese permission to conduct trade in Aceh shows that there were indeed Muslims among the Chinese who were active in the maritime trade (Mu'jizah 2009, 36–38, letter number 5).

came about, consisting of a number of local customs called *adat sumando* (Drakard 1990; Meuraxa [1973], 417).

To the Minangkabau people, the west coast had always belonged to the greater Minangkabau World as the *rantau*, i.e. the areas outside the heartland in West Sumatra's interior. Overpopulation, conflicts and the search for economic opportunities had motivated people from the heartland to either found their own community or settle in existing multi-ethnic communities along the coast. Already at the time of Tome Pires, the Portuguese traveller and observer who visited Sumatra in the early sixteenth century, Barus formed part of the *rantau* (Andaya 2008, 89; Kato 1980, 750). Over time, and on account of the contacts of the coastal Minangkabau with so many other ethnic groups, including coastal Malays and Acehnese, two trends emerged. On the one hand, some of these multi-ethnic west coast communities developed a distinct Malay culture with an eclectic *adat* inspired by Islam. Among their inhabitants were many Minangkabau-‘Malay’; with the absence of the extended family, it was difficult for Minangkabau in the *rantau* to organize their life according to Minangkabau customs. On the other hand, the confrontation with different ethnic groups resulted in an ethnicization of the Minangkabau: to safeguard their interests against the coastal Melayu, the coastal Minangkabau created a larger and more competitive identity of ‘Minangkabau.’ (Andaya 2002, 89–94). The historic roots of the Minangkabau presence on the northwest coast are referred to in a traditional oral poem, *talibun*, a genre once popular in Barus. The reciter would sing of the illustrious ancestors of the coastal Malays inhabiting Sumatra's west coast. They had come from the mountainous Minangkabau heartland to Pariaman, on the coast. Their offspring had multiplied and had left Pariaman to search for new lands to settle along Sumatra's west coast. Thus, new states and port communities, such as Barus, were founded (Meuraxa [1973], 406).

Although the founding of Barus is not recorded in history, except for in this poem, the viability of the newly founded settlement must have depended on the presence of valuable forest products such as camphor. Batak gatherers from the interior descended to the lowlands to barter their commodities with traders and, over time, a number of them settled in the area. Family relations with the interior remained intact, even when the settlers converted to Islam (Drakard 1990; Groeneboer 2002, 153–154). To this day, the Muslim Batak of Barus and Sorkam travel all the way back to their ancestral grounds to participate in the ceremonies and feasts held by the Batak clan they belong to. They refer to themselves as ‘*Melayu pakai marga*’; that is, Malays with a Batak clan affiliation.²⁷

Acehnese traders had been prominent in Barus for a long period. Due to their number and marriage bonds with the *mudik* royal family, they had been quite influential and had, at times, posed a threat to the rulers' trade and political interests. The Barus *mudik* chief had been given his title by the ruler of Aceh. When VOC officials asked him to

²⁷ Several Malay inhabitants of Sorkam told me this during my visit to the town in 1997.

end his alliance with the Acehnese, he refused. The *mudik* dynasty harboured anti-Dutch sentiments for a long time (Ritter 1839, 20, 22; Weddik 1850, 106; Drakard 1990, 27, 30–31). But the *hilir* rulers also had close ties with the Acehnese. They had been able to influence local government through an advisory body to the ruler (Ismail 1985, 9). Around the middle of the nineteenth century though, the Dutch had put an end to their political and economic aspirations. When a large contingent of Acehnese fled to port settlements north of Barus, the government thought Barus safe enough and drastically lowered the number of soldiers in the fort (Epp 1852, 121; Groeneboer 2002, 183).

The Mental World of Barus

To be able to understand the character of Malay writing practices in Barus, which will be discussed in the next chapter, one first needs to gain insight into the minds of the people who wrote and read the Malay texts. What did their moral compass that steered them in life look like? What values and principles did they hold on to? And what were the issues that occupied their minds? It is through the person of Van der Tuuk and his relationships with members of the different layers of Barus' society that it is possible to find answers to these questions.

For Van der Tuuk, a good understanding with Barus' inhabitants was of prime importance; they were the ones he hoped would supply him with the data for his language study, through conversations or in the form of manuscripts. Moreover, the Batak formed the intended audience for his Bible translation. He was well aware of this and hence spent most of his time away from his writing desk meeting with local and visiting traders, *haji*, Muslim religious teachers, recently converted Batak, Batak (debt) slaves, slave owners, Mandailing vendors and members of the local Malay elite. He was very informal in his contacts with them. He invited them into his house, had long conversations with them or played a game of chess to break the ice. Batak who arrived in Barus with their merchandise could be found sleeping in his living room the night before market day. Van der Tuuk was well aware that his intimate relations with the locals made him stand out among the other Europeans in Barus. In one of his letters to the NBG he calls himself a "*rare bliksem*," ('an odd fellow') for offering Batak a chair in his house and smoking a cigar with them (Groeneboer 2002, 318, 322). His efforts paid off; he was quite successful in establishing and maintaining relationships with locals who represented Barus' various ethnic groups and all walks of life.

Unlike the German doctor Epp, who chose to live within the earthen walls of the military post, Van der Tuuk had not been afraid to live amongst the locals.²⁸ His first

²⁸ Nevertheless, he deemed the situation in Barus as far from safe. On 23 July 1853, Van der Tuuk writes to the NBG about the Acehnese threat. He finishes his letter saying "You should not be surprised if one

disappointment in Barus though, had been the rejection by the local chiefs of his plan to have his house built within the confines of one of the main settlements. On this Van der Tuuk wrote:

How distrustful this people is becomes clear from their plain refusal to let me settle among them, with the excuse that I would frighten the women and children, who are not used to Europeans (Groeneboer 2002, 152).²⁹

Initially, he found the Batak shy and unwilling to talk to him. From their side, the Batak did not know what to make of the white Bible translator and therefore distrusted him. They considered it suspicious that Van der Tuuk did favours without ever asking for a favour in return (Groeneboer 2002, 209, 304). Giving away printed books with Bible stories for free did not help his case (Groeneboer 2002, 165–166 nn. 8, 9, and 10, 198, 209). On this, he aptly remarked:

One cannot blame the native for distrusting altruism, for it is our self-interest he is constantly confronted with (Groeneboer 2002, 209).³⁰

Moreover, the Batak inhabitants of Barus could not grasp the idea of the kind of knowledge Van der Tuuk tried to pry from them. His request for Batak manuscripts fuelled their suspicion towards him even more, as to them the only useful knowledge found in books was magic. And magic could be used against your enemies, in times of both peace and warfare. They were literally from two different worlds; thus, Van der Tuuk was either regarded as a spy for the colonial government or a blatant idiot. Either way, for a long time, the locals kept their distance from him. The clash of world views he had to cope with became most apparent through his attempts to translate Bible stories. It turned out to be impossible to translate some abstract concepts central to Christianity in Batak (Groeneboer 2002, 193–203, 221, 239). It was not just that the Batak language lacked words to convey abstract concepts, but also that the Christian world view and the traditional Batak one proved incompatible. This situation prompted Van der Tuuk to make the following remark:

Whoever has a sincere interest in the study of language knows that one should dig for gold first,

day, you will hear that they have killed us here” (Verbaast u dus niet, zoo gij eens mogt hooren, dat men ons hier had vermoord) (Groeneboer 2002, 183–184).

²⁹ Hoe wantrouwig deze natie is, blijke uit het mij finaal weigeren van mij midden onder hen te vestigen, onder voorwendsel dat de vrouwen en kinderen een Europeaan ongewoon, voor mij bang zouden zijn (Groeneboer 2002, 152).

³⁰ Men kan het den inlander niet ten kwade duiden dat hem belangeloosheid wantrouwen inboezemt, want hij ziet van ons wel niet anders dan belangzucht (Groeneboer 2002, 209).

before one can give it away; and that an immense job needs to be done, before one can start to work on the actual translation (Groeneboer 2002, 294).³¹

The situation frustrated Van der Tuuk, as he was unable to carry out his language study and translation the way he had intended to. He needed informants to gather data and assistants or scribes to help him copy Batak texts and translations. Whereas Malays were willing to work for him, albeit for high monthly wages, the local Batak were initially not interested. In the end, he did succeed in hiring a few men to help him with his tasks. Unfortunately, he was not very pleased with them; in general, he found them working too slowly and not accurately enough (Groeneboer 2002, 200, 204, 252, 317).³² In one of his letters to the NBG, he wrote that his Batak assistants read with the “speed of snails” (Groeneboer 2002, 207). More positive was the reaction of Barus’ inhabitants to his plea for help in locating Batak manuscripts. The news that the white man was willing to pay money for Batak manuscripts had spread quickly. Almost every day, manuscripts – the majority consisting of short letters on bamboo strips – were offered to him, for sale or on loan. Their numbers were overwhelming to the extent that he lacked the funds to buy them and the space to store them.

To the Muslim-Malays, the Bible translator was an infidel, a *kafir*. As such, he was ‘impure’ and was therefore generally kept at bay. Purity or ritual cleanliness is one of the most central doctrines in Islam. Muslim tradition prescribes that a Muslim should be pure of heart, of clean outward appearance and that the objects he surrounds himself with should be pure as well (Kader 1968; Katz 2001; Kuşçular 2007). Van der Tuuk found it difficult to find owners who were prepared to part with their manuscripts for a few weeks to have him copy the text, even when he was willing to pay. It took Van der Tuuk sometime before he figured out the reason behind the owners’ reluctance to lend out or sell their Malay manuscripts to him (Groeneboer 2002, 287).³³ It was directly related to his *kafir* status and the revered status of Malay manuscripts among the Muslims. Malay manuscripts,

³¹ Die waarlijk belang stelt in taalstudie is er van overtuigd dat men eerst het goud moet zoeken voor men het in omloop brengt; dat men dus oneindig veel te doen heeft voor men eigenlijk met vertalen beginnen mag (Groeneboer 2002, 294).

³² Van der Tuuk was unaware of the fact that Batak were not used to writing down long texts (the partial literacy of the Batak will be discussed later in this Chapter). The ‘inaccuracies’ in the transcriptions can be explained by the fact an aural culture allows for a certain degree of freedom when texts are (re-)told or copied.

³³ Once Van der Tuuk had figured out why the Muslim-Malays were apprehensive about lending out their manuscripts to him, he changed tactics. He allowed them access to his private collection of Malay manuscripts and let them borrow the texts they wanted to read or copy. However, this did not work out the way he had hoped; Malays did come to his house to borrow texts, but without ever offering a text from their own collection in return. When Van der Tuuk stipulated the condition that a text could only be borrowed if he was offered a text in return, he finally was able to access the Malay texts he had been looking for (Groeneboer 2002, 287).

especially those with religious texts, were prized possessions. First, it cost a small fortune to purchase a manuscript or order a copy; and second, they were highly valued for their sanctity. This revered status was primarily connected to the Arabic language, which had deeply influenced religious writings in Malay and, at a later stage, secular writings as well. This prominent status of Arabic among Muslims worldwide and its consequences for the attitude towards what Ricci calls “Arabicized” texts should not be underestimated. Arabic was the language of God’s words, preserved in the *Quran*. In this regard, it was a unique language and, as God’s tongue, it was considered impossible to render its finesses in another language. Originating from a divine source, Arabic was potent and so was its script. The authority of Arabic meant that its script became infused with religious authority and sanctity.³⁴ Concurrently, any text written in the Arabic script – religious or secular, Malay or Tamil – was imbued with that same authority (Ricci 2011, 153–182). A telling illustration of this is found in Edgar Thurston’s 1909 work on the casts and tribes of southern India. His remarks on the sanctity of Tamil books printed in Arabic script are similarly valid for Malay texts written in Arabic script:

A book so printed [i.e. Tamil language printed in Arabic script] is called a *kitab*, [...] and is considered sacred. It commands almost the same respect as the Koran itself, in regard to which it has been commanded ‘touch not with unclean hands.’ A book of a religious nature, written or printed in Tamil characters, may be left on the ground, but a *kitab* of even secular character will always be placed on a *rihal* or seat, and, when it falls to the ground, it is kissed and raised to the forehead (Thurston 1909, 4, 206, cited in Ricci 2011, 175).

Another example of the assumed potency of the Arabic language and its scripts concerns Barus. One day, Van der Tuuk witnessed how a Muslim ‘doctor’ treated a Batak man suffering from an illness. The man was made to drink water that was infused with the healing power of a snippet of a *Quran* in the water. Needless to say, Van der Tuuk abhorred this scene; he felt that a “gullible” Batak was being “tricked” by a “deceitful” Muslim (Groeneboer 2002).

With a continuum in mind, the use of Arabic in the Malay World varied from texts that were written solely in Arabic, with or without interlinear translation or paraphrase in Malay, to Malay texts that included only sections in Arabic. Almost all Malay writings contained Arabic words that denoted untranslatable religious concepts or, at least, the name of God. Thus, the Muslim population of Barus held on to their Malay manuscripts as if they were life-saving amulets.³⁵ Van der Tuuk’s touch would destroy the text’s pure status and sanctity and would render the objects worthless in Muslim circles. This same

³⁴ Van der Tuuk noticed a similar attitude towards writings on religious topics in either Malay or Arabic among Muslims in West Java (Groeneboer 2002, 106).

³⁵ Van der Tuuk uses the word ‘amulet’ in a letter to H. C. Millies in a remark about the reluctance of Muslims in West Java to part with their religious texts (Groeneboer 2002, 88).

issue of purity was also at the root of the conviction among the local Batak that Van der Tuuk's abstinence from eating pork was related to the fact that he wanted to remain pure to be able to handle Malay manuscripts. Clearly, the Muslim-Malays did not share this conviction; to them, he remained a *kafir*. Lastly, Van der Tuuk suspected that local Muslims would prefer him gone, sooner rather than later, as he felt obliged to report any abuse of power by members of the local Muslim elite to the local representatives of the colonial government (Groeneboer 2002, 183).

Whether he wanted it or not, to the locals Van der Tuuk formed part of the colonial establishment. They had no eye for the boundary that existed between government officials and employees of a private organization such as the NBG. There was one person among Barus' inhabitants though, who appeared to set aside all these issues and was apparently happy to associate with the white Bible translator: the chief of Barus *hilir*, named *Tuanku Sutan Ibrahim*. Evidence from the manuscripts suggests that *Sutan Ibrahim* responded positively to Van der Tuuk's request for help in locating Malay manuscripts. He lent Van der Tuuk several of his Malay and Minangkabau texts, and it is likely that he is also the source of the Malay texts relating to court matters acquired by Van der Tuuk. Furthermore, he might have acted as a go-between for Van der Tuuk in the latter's laborious search for copyists. Perhaps, the Minangkabau scribe named *si Liek*, who copied two texts on court customs for Van der Tuuk in Barus, was regularly employed by the *hilir* family, just like the scribe *Haji Abdul Wahid* in nearby Sorkam, who worked for the local ruling elite. It seems that Van der Tuuk owed his contacts in the neighbouring coastal community of Sorkam to *Sutan Ibrahim* as well. The two Barus *raja* each commanded distinct lines of loyalty with different sections of the region's Batak population. The *hilir* family not only had a long relationship with the Batak population of Sorkam, but was also related to Sorkam's Muslim rulers (Drakard 1990, 39, 150–153; 2003, 268). These bonds had always been strong and were still important in 1851 when Van der Tuuk arrived in Barus. By invoking his traditional right to support, *Sutan Ibrahim* would have been able to act as a mediator between Van der Tuuk and Sorkam's elite and their scribe *Haji Abdul Wahid*. The latter copied four Malay texts for Van der Tuuk in the months of August and September 1853, among them the *Story of Bahram Syah* (Cod. Or. 3317).

Apart from the indigenous population, Barus was home to a number of Europeans as well. In 1852, 25 Dutch male citizens were listed as living in Barus.³⁶ They were mainly government employees and military. The military post near the beach was home to about 25 soldiers (Groeneboer 2002, 183). Probably only the higher ranks were Dutchmen, with 'natives,' such as Javanese, making up the group of common soldiers. Even if Van der Tuuk did not think very highly of soldiers in the Dutch East Indies, because of his assumptions about their 'loose morals' and abuse of alcohol, he nevertheless associated

³⁶ The total number of Europeans in Barus was higher than 25, as several Dutchmen who lived in Barus had a European wife and children.

with at least a few of them. Shortly after Van der Tuuk arrived in Barus in 1852, he befriended a young soldier from the fort. Van der Tuuk also became well acquainted with the fort's commander Frederik Hendrik Wilhelm Meijer (Groeneboer 2002, 115, 163).

The highest civil representative of the colonial government posted in Barus was *controleur* Carel Hendrik Palm (1814–1864) (Groeneboer 2002, 116 n. 7). Van der Tuuk met him regularly and Palm gave him some of his Malay manuscripts. In 1853, Palm was succeeded by H. J. J. Gout, with whom Van der Tuuk also got along quite well. He translated for Gout and, when an extra hand was needed, assisted him at official events (Groeneboer 2002, 155). For a while though, Van der Tuuk was *persona non grata* among the men in colonial service. This situation was rooted in a dispute between Gout and his superior, *resident* Netscher. In 1854, Netscher made several accusations against Gout – false ones, according to Van der Tuuk. One of them was based on the fact that Gout had asked Van der Tuuk to translate a complaint filed by a Batak. Netscher had judged this a highly inappropriate action by Gout; he deemed Van der Tuuk a potential spy who would pass on critical information on governmental affairs to the Batak (Groeneboer 2002, 219–220).

Growing Trade and Islamization

During the eighteenth century, Barus had been a small and insignificant port. From around 1840, the trade settlement and the surrounding area began to grow because of the increase in maritime trade that was conducted there (Couperus 1855, 256; Asnan 2007, 338; Van der Kemp 1894, 551–552). This economic upsurge followed a period of economic malaise. During the first half of the nineteenth century, social and political unrest in what is now Central Tapanuli had left houses empty, agricultural plots neglected and the market areas less crowded. Continuous attacks and lootings by Acehnese from rival trade communities who tried to take over economic control of several ports by force, made Barus' merchants pack up their belongings and move away. After the liquidation of the VOC and the signing of the Treaty of London in 1824, which regulated the takeover of three west coast ports from the British by the Dutch, the latter had initially been reluctant to re-establish their authority in this area. All their military power was concentrated on defeating the Padris, revivalist Muslims who spread their religious ideas by force of arms.³⁷ Originally from the Minangkabau heartland, they were quite successful and were able to invade areas in North Sumatra. Sorkam already saw Padris merchants in its market and Barus' commerce was under threat. The constant fear of armed raids and the oppression by Padris in conquered villages resulted in large numbers of locals

³⁷ Apart from the spread of their revivalist version of Islam, the establishment of trade monopolies was an important objective of the Padris (Dobbin 1983).

seeking refuge elsewhere (Dobbin 1983, 141–143; 175–187, 207; Weddik 1850, 89, 91). When it became clear that the Padris were on the losing side, the enduring attacks by Acehese armed troops on west coast settlements threatened Dutch trade interests, and Barus' leaders asked the Dutch for assistance in driving back the Acehese, the Dutch sent troops and ships (Epp 1852, 117–118; Groeneboer 2002, 183).

A side effect of the Dutch colonization of Barus was that it initiated a period of relative political stability. The Acehese no longer posed an immediate threat, while the Dutch military action against the Acehese had also ended a dispute between the two local rulers. Only a decade earlier, two hundred soldiers and a war vessel had been ready to fight off Acehese or other attackers; now, a mere 25 were deemed enough (Epp 1852, 117–118, 121; Groeneboer 2002, 183). By issuing new trade regulations and incorporating the two local leaders in the colonial administration as governmental employees, the Dutch curbed the economic and political authority of the Barus elite. It seems that previously, both foreign and Sumatran traders were inclined to take their business to nearby ports instead of Barus, because of the unpredictable ways of the *mudik* chief. But now that the *hilir* ruler had regained, at least, part of his authority after mediation by the Dutch, and actively promoted maritime trade, merchants began frequenting Barus again. As a result, Barus' trade thrived and its population increased (Van der Kemp 1894, 552–553).

Former government official Couperus makes an interesting remark on the growing affluence in the region in his description of Barus and surroundings. He claims that the social and economic development of the area in this particular period was related to the spread of Islam. He deemed the economic growth indirectly linked to the growing number of conversions among Barus' Batak inhabitants. In addition to adopting different manners pertaining to dress, food and language, these 'Malays' became active in trade. As a result, the level of welfare among these new converts increased (Couperus 1855, 235).

Around 1850, Islam was a strong presence in Barus *hilir*, where most merchants resided, and growing in importance in Barus *mudik*, where an increasing number of Batak converted to Islam. The successful march of Islam in the middle of the nineteenth century in an area with a predominantly Batak population that adhered to an indigenous religion was facilitated by a myriad of factors. To discuss Islamization in Sumatra, it is useful to turn to an article by Peter Riddell (2001a, 113–128) in which he analyzes the process of Islamization in a Southeast Asian context by following Ferré's 1985 method of studying global Islamization. Ferré's premise was that the spread of Islam followed specific migratory patterns; he distinguished six different migratory mechanisms. Here, it is argued that four of them were at work on Sumatra's west coast in the mid-1800s: the *hajj*, merchants in international or inter-insular trade, pilgrims of religious learning and preachers.

From early times, the northern ports of Sumatra were the points of departure for Muslim pilgrims to Mecca. The pious and adventurous gathered and temporarily settled

in the trade settlements waiting for a ship to leave, or awaiting opportunities to augment their travel budget. Some never made it onto the ship to Mecca and stayed; others went and returned with renewed religious zeal and new religious texts in Arabic (Weddik 1850, 88). For example, the renowned author of the *Poem on Mecca and Medina*, Syaikh Daud of Sunur, settled in Trumon, a port to the north of Barus, after he had left his native village in West Sumatra to embark on a journey to the Middle East; he had run out of money (Suryadi 2005, 92). In a predominantly Muslim world like the traders' community, the men who returned from the pilgrimage as *haji* were held in high esteem; as were *syaikh*, learned men of religion (Kato 1980, 749). Due to both the costs and risks involved in the long journey to Mecca and Medina, plus the restrictions by the colonial government on the number of pilgrims that were to embark each year, the number of pilgrims in the 1850s was still quite low. The total number for the whole colony did not exceed two thousand (Benda 1958, 207 n. 30). Yet, the impact these *haji* made on their environment after their return from the pilgrimage should not be underestimated. They had embraced the sources of Islam and, as a result, their religious convictions had deepened. As an outward expression of this inner development some *hajis* changed their appearance and started to wear the typical long white robe, a turban or grew a beard. And while some began to teach in religious schools, others became wandering preachers, either in their home villages or in the Sumatran ports they returned to.

Van der Tuuk noticed how especially Muslims from Kerinci participated in proselytizing activities among the Batak in the district of Barus. He must have been referring to Muslim preachers from the large community of Muslim-Malays of Kerinci descent that was three kilometres to the south of Barus. There, in the village of 'Kota Tinga' lived about a thousand descendants of pilgrims from Kerinci – an area to the South of the Minangkabau region – many of whom had become stranded on their way to Mecca (Groeneboer 2002, 312; Ritter 1839, 22–23; see also Weddik 1850, 88). The northern port town of Natal was another place from which 'Muslim preachers' were active in the region, trying to convert Batak inhabitants (Groeneboer 2002, 207). Natal seems to have been the seat of the Khalidiyya Order, a reformist sub-branch of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order.

The proselytizing words of these men from Kerinci and other preachers fell in fertile soil, as there happened to be two very pressing reasons for Barus' Batak inhabitants to join the Muslim brotherhood: to free themselves of the low status of the Batak ethnic identity, plus to share in the prosperity of the Muslim merchants. As mentioned earlier, Batak were regarded by Barus' Muslims as 'uncultured heathens.' The many Batak debt slaves contributed to this negative image of the Batak. Indeed, the term Batak was, in those days, a term close to abuse (Groeneboer 2002, 134, 212–214, 260, 284, 286, 308, 310). By adopting the Muslim religion and becoming Malay, Batak were able to cast off their shameful ethnic identity. As they saw trade booming and more and more men becoming

successful merchants, they too wanted to share in this new affluence. *Masuk Melayu* was not just about religion, it was also about participating in a larger market economy.

In *Leaves of the Same Tree: Trade and Ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka*, (2008), Andaya deals extensively with Malayization among Batak in the coastal areas of East Sumatra. There too, Batak switched their ethnic identity and became Muslim-Malays. But also further south, in southern Tapanuli, there were Mandailing (Batak) who dropped their clan names, became Muslim and blended in with the Muslim-Malays (Weddik 1850, 86; Andaya 2008; Rodgers 1993, 157; Milner 2008, 81–82). John Anderson's travel report *Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra in 1823* includes a drawing of a converted Batak: a recaptured Toba Batak slave (Anderson 1826, 127, 146). The following remark on the Batak motives for adopting a Malay identity apply to Barus and environs as well:

For the Batak, the flexibility to move between Malayu and a Batak ethnic identity was useful economically and ritually. [...] The ordinary people, perhaps more than the elite, would have made this move between ethnic worlds to seek greater economic advantage (Andaya 2008, 172).

The ethnic boundary between Batak and (Muslim-)Malays seems to have been especially pronounced in the coastal regions. When Van der Tuuk had to decide where in North Sumatra he would settle to study the Batak languages, he was advised to go to Fort Elout (Kota Nopan) in the interior, because there the differences between Batak and Malays were deemed less important (Groeneboer 2002, 89).

Thus, the paths of Muslim merchants, seafaring captains, pilgrims, wandering students of religion, roaming preachers, scholars, writers and translators crossed in the northern trade ports. Merchants hosted visiting religious scholars and sea captains took pilgrims as paying passengers to Aceh or Penang, from where they would continue their journey to Arabia. One of the financial backers of west-coast captain Muhammad Saleh was active in the growing pilgrimage trade. His clients, prospective pilgrims, were sent to him from the Minangkabau heartland by local Islamic leaders (Kato 1980, 737). But the two categories partly overlapped, as *haji* and *syaikh* were also found among the group of wealthy merchants.

Besides these four migratory patterns, there are other factors that facilitated the rapid Islamization of Sumatra's northwest coast in the early and mid-nineteenth century. The fact that all these different processes took place at the same time in the same region meant that they were able to reinforce each other. Together, they were responsible for the growth of Barus' Muslim population. Firstly, Islam was not a new religion to the Batak inhabitants of Barus' settlements and surrounding villages. From the sixteenth century onwards, they had been ruled by the Muslim *raja* of Barus. But it was also through their trade contacts with Muslim Acehnese, Minangkabau and Malays that they had become increasingly familiar with this foreign religion. In the Twenties and Thirties of the nineteenth century, the revivalist Padris invaded northern Tapanuli and their religious

propaganda and oppressive measures had contributed to the Islamization of the area as well. Next, there were debt slaves, who were encouraged by their Muslim masters to convert. In addition, mixed marriages of Batak men with already converted women led to further conversions (Groeneboer 2002, 213, 263). If we are to believe Van der Tuuk, the conversion to Islam did not entail drastic changes in the lifestyle of the Batak:

[...] he only has to adhere to some rules that have little to do with the actual faith and has to abstain from eating pork. [...] Also, his own religion shares some of its practices with Islam: circumcisions are performed among a large part of the Batak nation, and there is a prohibition on eating pork or dog meat for certain individuals who have received divine inspiration (Groeneboer 2002, 213).³⁸

Van der Tuuk witnessed the ongoing Islamization among the local Batak population with indignation. In his letters to the NBG, he time and again lashes out against Barus' Muslims and local Islamic practices.³⁹ It is important to keep in mind that his harsh critique is primarily based on his concern for the preservation of Batak culture and language, his main field of interest. He laments the large scale and speed of the Islamization that caused a continuous infiltration of Batak language and culture by Malay elements. It was primarily the Batak who, for reasons discussed earlier, were responsive to Muslim missionary activities and adopted a Malay lifestyle. Moreover, to Van der Tuuk, Islam on the west coast of North Sumatra was 'severely degenerated' (Groeneboer 2002, 214, 288–289). The Islamic beliefs and practices he encountered in Barus were very different from what he had learned from the Arabic texts he had studied at university in Groningen and Leiden. To him, Islam, as practiced in Barus, was a corrupted form of a pure religion found in the country of its origin. He felt that the converts-to-be were imbued with all kinds of "superstitious nonsense."

Islamic traditions along the west coast of Sumatra in the nineteenth century were suffused with syncretic elements. Customs such as the pilgrimage to the grave of saints, praying to deceased saints, placing objects on saints' graves to have them endowed with the saint's *berkat* (blessing), the use of charms and amulets to ward off evil, and the use of the Quran as a physical remedy for illnesses distinguished this syncretic variant from orthodox Islam (Riddell 2001b, 79). An example of these practices is found in a scene witnessed by Van der Tuuk and described by him in one of his letters to the NBG. A sick

³⁸ Eens schuldenaar zijnde wordt de Batak spoedig tot den Islam overgehaald, temeer daar hem zijn nieuwe geloof slechts het eten van varkensvleesch kost, en hij zich slechts aan met eigentlijke godsdienst weinig gemeens hebbende formaliteiten heeft te houden, daargelaten dat hij eens bekeerd zijnde een betere behandeling ondervindt, en zijne godsdienst reeds eene Muhammedaansche kleur draagt, zoals onder anderen de besnijdenis bij eene menigte individuen zijner natie in zwang en het niet-eten van spek of hondevleesch der door een godhead geïnspireerden (Groeneboer 2002, 213).

³⁹ See, for instance, his letters to the NBG dated 20 June 1854 and 10 July 1856 (Groeneboer 2002, 212, 298).

Batak man, who suffered from an ailment related to the lungs or airways once consulted a Muslim ‘priest’. The priest soaked the sick man’s feet in water, uttered a few Arabic phrases and ordered him to sprinkle himself with the water (which was purified and therefore potent, according to Muslim beliefs). This treatment would relieve the patient from his discomfort, it was believed. These same Muslim men of religion sold the locals amulets that guaranteed invulnerability; the amulet’s special power could be activated by refraining from eating pork (!) (Groeneboer 2002, 259, 310).

Some of the above practices were linked to Sufism. This mystical branch of Islam had flourished in Sumatra during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Several of South-east Asia’s most influential Sufi philosophers and authors hailed from Sumatra. Among them were Hamzah Fansuri and Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani. Their writings propagate a form of Sufism that claims that man and Creator consist of the same essence and, therefore, are One. Followers of this monist Sufism believe that a Sufi has to study under the guidance of a Sufi teacher to gain insight into this ‘truth’. In addition, meditative exercises prepare his mind for the recognition of this knowledge. Together, the study and exercises form the Path that will lead the Sufi through the five (or seven, depending on the Sufi order) Grades of Being. The last grade is referred to as the Essence of God. These Grades of Being can be viewed as different structures of consciousness (Riddell 2001b, 113). The Path, then, is a mental journey that leads to a final ‘awakening’; that is, the realization of the fact that God’s creation is an emanation of God Himself.

However, it was precisely this idea of the Sameness of man and Creator that formed the crux of an urgent conflict among Sumatran Sufis in this period. To some Sufi, it was heresy to believe that a mere human being consisted of the same substance as the exalted God. In particular, Sufi thinker and author Nur al-Din al-Raniri, who worked under the patronage of the Sultan of Aceh, refuted this idea (Riddell 2001b, 116–122). Throughout the following centuries, representatives of both sides continued the heated debate. In the nineteenth century, at the same time as the colonial powers (re)established their authority in the Archipelago, a large number of different Sufi orders penetrated the region and consolidated their presence. Prime among them were the Qadiriyya, Shattariyya and Naqshbandiyya. Around the middle of the century, the popularity of the Naqshbandiyya grew rapidly. Especially, a new reformist sub-branch of the Naqshbandiyya, called Khalidiyya (Braginsky 1993b, Riddell 2001b, 168–169; Van Bruinessen 2007, 225).⁴⁰ Evidence from the manuscripts that circulated in Barus between 1851 and 1857 points to the presence of Khalidiyya on the west coast of Sumatra. A draft letter found among Van der Tuuk’s notes mentions the name of a Khalidiyya *syaiikh* from the port town

⁴⁰ The Khalidiyya was named after its founder, the Kurd Khalid bin Ahmad al-Shahruzi (1779–1827), also known as Khalid al-Baghdadi. More about the history of Khalidiyya in Sumatra and Java, and the names of the main Khalidiyya *syaiikh* in the Archipelago can be found in the publications on Sufism and Naqshbandiyya by Martin van Bruinessen (1990, 1992, 1994, 2007).

of Natal, ‘Abd al-Fataḥ al-Khalidi.⁴¹ And in 1852, copies of the *Hikayat Bakhtiar* and *Hikayat Syahi Mardan* were made in Barus on the request of a (grand) son of another *syaiikh* of the same order, ‘Abdallāh al-Khālidi al-Nātari.⁴² An author who contributed to the spread of Khalidiyyah to the Malay World was *Syaikh* Ismail bin Abdullah al-Khalidi from West Sumatra.⁴³ A copy of his adaptation of *Syaikh* Daud’s *Syair Makah dan Madinah* was made in 1853 for Van der Tuuk in Sorkam by the copyist *Haji* Abdul Wahid.⁴⁴ A witness account of the practices of a Sufi *syaiikh* on Sumatra’s west coast is found in the memoirs of west-coast captain Muhammad Saleh. He tells that a famous Islamic leader of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order was once received as an honoured guest at the house of his tutor and merchant friend Muhammad Said in Sibolga. Every night, people visited this *Syaikh* Abu Bakal of Nalabuh to solicit his advice on matters such as whether it was proper for a Muslim to collect interest on a loan, and what the aim of commercial activities should be. He also handed out strips of paper with Arabic writing that were to be used as amulets (Kato 1980, 749).

But Islam, in all its possible forms, was the natural rival of Van der Tuuk; his work as a Bible translator was ultimately aimed at the spread of Christianity. With the wave of Islamization cum Malayization rolling over the area, Van der Tuuk felt himself rowing against the tide (Groeneboer 2002, 215). On 20 June 1854, Van der Tuuk sourly wrote to his employer in Holland that a complete translation of the Bible in the Batak language in his hand would be considered obsolete within fifty years. Within that period of time, he predicted, all Batak under colonial rule would have converted to Islam and the language would subsequently have undergone so many changes that his Bible translation would no longer be understood (Groeneboer 2002, 214–216, 303, 316, 351). What did not help either was that the local Batak were not interested at all in what Van der Tuuk had to offer them. They found the content of the biblical stories either not interesting – they declared there was nothing worthwhile found in them – or too strange or downright offensive (Groeneboer 2002, 198–202, 204, 206, 247, 249, 257, 292). Two of his best Batak assistant clerks and language teachers even resigned after Van der Tuuk had asked them to translate and copy passages from the Bible; they found the texts objectionable on the basis of their own beliefs (Groeneboer 2002, 303). To Van der Tuuk, it was extremely

⁴¹ Cod. Or. 3260f. The letter seems to have been written by the copyist *Haji* Abdul Wahid, who worked in Sorkam.

⁴² Cod. Or. 3197. The *nesba* al-Natari, refers to Natal, a port town on Sumatra’s west coast located in the southern part of North Sumatra.

⁴³ *Syaikh* Ismail bin Abdullah al-Khalidi al-Minangkabawi travelled throughout large parts of Sumatra to propagate the new Khalidiyya ideas. From Batusangkar, West Sumatra, he went to Riau, Langkat, Deli and Johor. Due to his endeavours, Khalidiyya ideas gained acceptance in Malay court circles (*Ensiklopedi Islam* IV, 1993, 9–10; see also Chapter 2).

⁴⁴ Cod. Or. 3338. Van der Tuuk borrowed the original in Barus or Sorkam from a certain *Haji Sayyid* Abdullah Natar.

disappointing to see how his translations not only proved to be wasted on the Batak, but were a big success with the Muslim-Malays. They were familiar with some of the stories through the Quran; the story of Yusuf (the biblical Joseph), for instance, is an all-time favourite among Christians and Muslims alike. In his darkest hours, Van der Tuuk was convinced his translations were used by Muslims to spread the faith; they had come to his door to ask for his books. Near the end of his stay in Barus, he tried to convince the NBG to release him from his task and give up its plan for the publication of a Bible translation in Batak. He was sure the work would yield an increase in the number of conversions, not to Christianity, but to Islam (Groeneboer 2002, 198, 264, 281, 290, 303).

However, there was yet another reason why Batak were not interested in reading Bible stories whereas Muslims were. This difference had to do with the nature of literacy among the two ethnic groups. Unlike Muslim-Malays, Batak did not have a tradition of reading long narrative texts. In an illuminating study of literacy among the Batak before the establishment of a local colonial administration in the mid-nineteenth century, Uli Kozok (2000) explains how Batak literacy in the Batak script was both an ‘uneducated’ and ‘partial’ literacy. In traditional Batak society, learning to write was not institutionalized; there were no schools where children learned to write. Reading and writing, so Kozok argues, was something you learned along the way, from family members at home or from friends while playing. Information from Van der Tuuk’s letters adjust this image somewhat; he asserted that Batak only learned to read by the time they start to carry weapons, for the purpose of consulting texts on issues related to warfare and invulnerability (Groeneboer 2002, 134, 151–155, 206–207). Thus, reading and writing was something that everybody learned sooner or later. Yet, while many Batak were literate, that did not mean they were fluent in reading and writing or that they were avid readers. Their writing was limited to functional purposes only: notes on magic and warfare, and short love- or threatening letters. The renowned *pustaba*, zigzag books made of hammered tree bark and containing divinations, were written in a different register by professional literates. Batak narratives were mostly oral (Groeneboer 2002, 115, 136–7, 194–195).⁴⁵ Although Van der Tuuk estimated the literacy among Barus’ Muslims to be lower than among the non-Muslim Batak, the former did have a tradition of reading narratives (Groeneboer 2002, 287). Their affiliation with a larger Muslim textual tradition had brought them into contact with the culture of the Book.⁴⁶ As mentioned earlier, with the Quran as the Book of Books and model, reading and writing formed an important part of Muslim culture. Van der Tuuk had witnessed this. When he had distributed printed books with his translations of Bible stories among the locals, they were very popular with the Muslims. His

⁴⁵ In *Dairi Stories and Pakpak Storytelling* (2014) Clara Brakel-Papenhuyzen presents a number of Batak narratives that were collected by Van der Tuuk in Barus and environs.

⁴⁶ See also Ricci (2011) on the spread of Islamic texts in Arabic from the Middle East to South and South-east Asia.

intended Batak audience, however, showed no interest at all (Groeneboer 2002, 198). Different from the Batak writing practices that were restricted to short notes and letters, Muslim-Malay writing comprised various types of narrative texts. Considering the mixed cultural background of Barus' Muslim inhabitants, the ways in which they mastered the *jawi* script must have differed as well. For most Muslims, it must have been a combination of informal teaching, such as described above for the Batak, and formal teaching in a Quranic school or with a private tutor. Merchants and sea captains especially needed to possess both writing and calculating skills, since the west coast trade was run on an elaborate credit system that required detailed bookkeeping. Merchants' sons were sent to school, so that they could follow in their fathers' steps. The father of the aspiring west-coast trader Muhammad Saleh taught his son that being able to write and calculate was not only necessary to be successful in business, but that without these skills 'life was not complete'. From his early teens, Muhammad Saleh had studied at night, in small groups of young traders. For his reading and writing lessons he had paid the teacher fifty cents and a bottle of lamp oil each month (Kato 1980, 733–735). An eighteenth-century autobiographical account of a Minangkabau-Malay pepper trader from South Sumatra also mentions writing lessons as part of the curriculum for young traders (Drewes 1961, 53). The low literacy in *jawi* script in Barus can be explained by the relatively high number of Batak converts, who had only come into contact with this variant form of Arabic script through their recent conversion to Islam.

Van der Tuuks negative stance towards the local, syncretic variant of Islam and the Muslim-Malays was also fed by his grievances against the nature of local power relations. The Muslim-Malay elite (those of Batak origin included) had the upper hand in the local political arena, as well as in part of the local trade, often at the cost of the 'heathen' Batak and Mandailing. The inclusion of Barus in the colonial administration in 1839 had substantially altered indigenous power relations. Although the two local Muslim chiefs had lost their sovereignty and the first right to buy, the privileged position of the chiefs and members of their families seems to have been reinforced by administrative changes imposed by the Dutch. The colonial government established a *landraad* as Barus' legal body that was responsible for the execution of local indigenous laws or *adat*. The *landraad* or *rapat* consisted of 12 locals and was headed by the local colonial official highest in rank, the Dutch *controleur*.⁴⁷ However, with all 12 members being Muslim and most of them closely related to the chiefs, who had a seat in the *rapat* as well, the non-Muslim population of Barus was not represented. In the traditional administrative constellation an advisory committee of four *penghulu*, who each represented different ethnic sections

⁴⁷ The members of the *landraad* were paid for their services by the colonial government. *Tuanku Raja* Barus and *Tuanku* Sigambo-gambo, the chiefs of the *mudik* and *bilir* settlements, received 75 guilders per month each; the remainder, officials of lower rank, were paid 15 guilders (Groeneboer 2002, 306–307).

of Barus' population, had counterbalanced the chiefs' political power. Now, under the Dutch, the corrective force of this institution was eliminated (Van der Kemp 1894, 588; Groeneboer 2002, 305–307).

Next, there was the criminal behaviour of some of the members of the local elite. The head of the market Batu Gerigis in Barus, for instance, had been caught for several offences. He was nevertheless allowed to keep his seat in the *landraad*, probably because his daughter had married one of Barus' chiefs. Perpetrators of extortion and fraud among this group were seldom charged; if convicted, they often got away with a light penalty. Offenders of a lower class however, received more severe punishments for relatively minor offences (Groeneboer 2002, 183, 306–308).

Also in the field of statute labour, where subjects provide free labour in the service of their ruler, the unequal division of power in Barus became apparent. The colonial government had not only allowed the local elite to hold on to this privilege, but had implemented forced labour in governmental service as well. Thus, Barus' locals were doubly taxed: first by the Malay chiefs, and second, by the Dutch. Moreover, the chiefs were whimsical in the division of statute labour and allowed rich citizens to buy off their part of the work, which resulted in a heavier burden for the commoners (Groeneboer 2002, 253, 308–309).

Most crimes committed by members of the Malay elite were cases of fraud and extortion. Their status as *raja* or a high dignitary prescribed a lifestyle that they could not actually afford. Then, there was their lavish consumption of opium that drained their financial means. With the Dutch colonization of Barus in 1839, the rulers' income from trade transactions and trade taxes had dwindled. The Dutch had made them abandon the forced culture of pepper and trade taxes were no longer flowing to the royal treasury, but to the colonial government instead. The chiefs' complaints were ignored by the colonial administration (Ritter 1839, 21; Weddik 1850, 105; Groeneboer 2002, 308–309). Even in trade, they were no longer able to make as large a profit as in older days; Chinese from Penang and Muslim traders from the coast of Coromandel, India, had been dominating the west coast trade for a while. In the end, these Malays had to turn to the Chinese for large loans; and, in order to repay them, they milked their subjects. With local government officials turning a blind eye, they were able to continue this mode of operation (Asnan 2007, 334–336; Groeneboer 2002, 174, 183, 306).

Van der Tuuk blamed the colonial administration for not trying to curb the speedy march of Islam on the northwest coast. He was even convinced that particular colonial policies had contributed to the spread of Islam in the area, such as the prohibition on keeping pigs (Groeneboer 2002, 208; 213–218, 161, 207–208).⁴⁸ In the new

⁴⁸ It was *resident* Netscher's seemingly benevolent stance towards the Muslim presence in his residency Tapanuli that made Van der Tuuk sarcastically pose the question whether Netscher had become Muslim himself (Groeneboer 2002, 229).

government-funded indigenous schools Batak children were taught the Malay language and the *jawi* script. Van der Tuuk vehemently opposed this, as he believed that access to the innumerable Muslim-Malay fantastic tales available in *jawi* would harm the minds of a whole generation of Batak. He also suggested that the Malays who headed these schools should be replaced by teachers of Batak origin. One of the government-funded schools in the residency even employed a *haji*, he wrote to the NBG. The advance of the colonial administration in the nineteenth century contributed to the spread of Malay and, to a lesser degree, Malay culture as well. Malay was the government's means of communication with the colony's indigenous peoples, irrespective of their mother tongue. Local Batak leaders received Malay textiles and clothes from colonial officials at the end of each year as a token of appreciation of their support (Groeneboer 2002, 161, 208, 218–219, 258–262).

Concluding Remarks

The colonization of Barus in 1839, preceded by successful military actions against the combatant Padris and coastal Acehnese, had formed a turning point in the nineteenth-century history of the port settlement. The incorporation of the ports on Sumatra's northwest coast into the colonial administration had contributed to changes in the social, political and economic landscape of the region. Prime among them was the increase in safety in the area. The establishment of colonial 'law and order' had made the port a safe place to trade. This, together with the fact that the two ruling families lost their privileged position in local trade, resulted in a favourable business climate for merchants. The growth of commerce went hand in hand with a rise in the population and an increase in affluence.

But the Dutch intervention in Barus is not the sole agent in these developments. The increase in maritime trade on Sumatra's west coast around the middle of the nineteenth century forms part of a wider pattern. From 1826 onwards, the British actively promoted Penang as a free trade harbour. This policy changed the map of maritime trade in this part of Southeast Asia. The favourable trading conditions of Penang attracted a steady stream of merchants. A considerable number of these mercantile entrepreneurs directed their attention to Sumatra's west coast; they were mainly Chinese and Muslims from India's Coromandel Coast. It was primarily their endeavours that stimulated trade along Sumatra's west coast between 1850 and the 1870s (Asnan 2007, 328–331, 339; Hussin 2007, 329).

Islamization stimulated trade and vice versa, but also welfare in a more indirect way. Conversion to Islam entailed the adoption of a new coastal, Malay lifestyle. The entrance of Batak into the Muslim-Malay brotherhood was accompanied by a change in dress, food, textual practices and livelihood. Formerly leading a largely agricultural way of life, the new converts tried their luck in trading. This field of enterprise held greater chances to

accumulate wealth than small-scale farming or, for instance, selling prepared food. With an increasing number of people traveling along the west coast and visiting trade ports to conduct their business, social and professional networks were expanding and inter-regional, inter-insular and inter-ethnic contacts intensified.

The process of Islamization, which took place on Sumatra's northwest coast in the period under discussion, was not a new phenomenon in the Archipelago. But the scale on which it occurred in Barus and surrounding areas was singular. A unique combination of factors was at play on the northwest coast of Sumatra; the most important factor was the social and ethnic make-up of Barus. The low status of the Batak ethnic identity in an environment where Muslims had the upper hand proved fertile ground for conversion to Islam.

With so many new Muslim-‘Malays,’ the demand for Malay writings in Barus increased. In particular, the demand for Malay writings on religious matters. The expansion of the market stimulated the production of Malay texts and the copying of existing ones. The following chapter presents the Malay writings that were present in Barus and Sorkam between 1851 and 1857 and links them to the socio-economic and political developments that have just been described. This exercise yields a unique picture of what Malay writing looked like at a certain time and place and provides a framework for the analysis of the Malay *Story of Bahram Syah* in Chapter 6.

The upsurge in interest for Malay writings in Barus, which had started in the first half of the nineteenth century, probably only lasted until the 1870s. In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, Barus' importance as a trade port waned. Traders sought their opportunities elsewhere. Political, economic and technological developments were at the root of this demise. In the second half of the century the production of camphor fell due to a decreasing population in the original camphor producing areas around the region of Dairi. Over time, the trade in camphor proved no longer profitable (Joustra 1926, 321; Groeneboer 2002, 161). Next, colonial policies changed as the result of the liberal victory in Holland. Private trade companies were now allowed to enter the market. They were mainly founded by Europeans and had their seat in Padang. The enterprises owned large, modern ships and benefitted from their close contacts with the colonial authorities. In the same period, Chinese entrepreneurs expanded their trade activities in the area. Through *kongsi* – cooperative organizations based on clan or race – and the trust they enjoyed with the Europeans – they were able to procure a significant share of the west coast trade. As a result of these two developments, (Minangkabau-)Malay merchants lost their prominence; they lacked the money, vessels and contacts to successfully compete with the other traders. Subsequent changes in trade regulations and governmental investments in infrastructure caused a significant shift in trade patterns in the Archipelago. Sumatra's east coast was actively promoted as a trade zone and Batavia as the main centre for inter-island and international shipping and commerce. Lastly, with the rise of the steam engine, vessels became larger and anchored in the bigger port of Padang. From

the turn of the twentieth century until today, trade along Sumatra's west coast has been negligible (Asnan 2007, 323–338; Joustra 1926, 81; Kato 1980, 747, 750).

2 | Malay Writing in Barus, 1851–1857

This chapter deals with Malay writings that were present in Barus in the period 1851–1857. It presents the different types of writings that were known there and lists and discusses the individual titles that were collected in the port town. It aims to show how the make-up of Malay writing in this region was closely tied to the specific socio-economic and political landscape of Barus in the mid-1800s. Since I believe that the very existence of cultural expressions is linked to their function in society, the relations between writings and society have the form of societal needs. An analysis of the texts against the background of historical Barus reveals the different kinds of human needs the Malay writings catered to, both on a group level and at the individual level. Men turned to writing in an attempt to justify the political status quo, to propagate religious views, to instruct, to define themselves vis-à-vis the Other, to fight out religious conflicts, to make sense of the world around them and to free themselves of existential anxiety. As Malay indigenous genres proved too broad for the current analysis, the texts have been grouped together according to Western textual categories. These categories loosely correspond to those that are encountered in older catalogues of Malay manuscripts (Juynboll 1899; Van Ronkel 1909, 1921).

An investigation into Barus' Malay writing practices makes clear that temporal and spatial specifics have shaped the nature of local Malay writing. In other words, it shows how the size and make-up of Malay writing – its genres, themes, narrative devices and plots, for instance – were closely linked to the place and time the texts were produced, copied and consumed. This challenges the idea that is expressed in many publications on Malay writing of a homogeneous textual practice throughout the Malay World and over several centuries. Alongside socio-economic and political factors, the outlook of Barus' Malay writing is connected to the nature of the local sources authors could tap into.

The presence of at least four different ethno-cultural groups in the area – Minangkabau, Malay, Batak and Acehnese – means that authors had access to a wealth of sources they could borrow from. These different groups will be addressed at the end of this chapter, after the textual map of Barus has been drawn.

The group of texts that were collected in Barus between 1851 and 1857 could only be reconstructed after thorough comparative codicological research and careful examination of Van der Tuuk's notes on Malay texts. It is known that Van der Tuuk collected Malay manuscripts in other places besides Barus, such as Batavia, Padang and Sibolga, but he did not keep records of the place where he acquired them. Fortunately, some of the manuscripts do contain a colophon that mentions Barus as the place of production. This made it possible to compare the codicological characteristics of these manuscripts with those of the manuscripts that lack references to their provenance. The following features were examined and compared: the watermarks of the European paper used in the manuscripts, notes found in the margins and on end or fly leaves, draft letters and notes in the manuscripts, the use of blind ruling, line fillers and catch words, the style of page numbering and illuminated characters, ink colour and the format of the colophon. Identification of manuscripts on the basis of handwriting alone is fraught with pitfalls, but in this particular case it has proved a valuable tool when it was combined with a comparison of the characteristics mentioned above. Appendix A lists the titles of Malay writings that were found in Barus (and Sorkam, see below) between 1851 and 1857.

Among Van der Tuuk's notes is a draft list with 35 titles of Malay writings that was assumedly compiled by him during his stay in Barus.¹ It probably concerns the titles that were in his possession at that time. Some of them still exist today; they are included in the research corpus. But the majority can no longer be found; these manuscripts must be considered lost.

Five of the Malay writings actually originate in Sorkam, a port settlement approximately 25 kilometres to the south of Barus. They were incorporated in the list of titles to be studied to create a substantial corpus of texts. Their inclusion is justified by the assumption that Barus and Sorkam formed a single Malay cultural unit in a region inhabited by other ethnic groups. With respect to its geographical, political and socio-economic character, Sorkam was very similar to Barus; however, its population was smaller and consisted of relatively more Batak. In precolonial and, for a while, colonial times, the two port communities were linked through family ties and alliances. For instance, Sorkam's rulers were related to Barus' *bilir* ruling house and part of Sorkam's Batak population maintained longstanding bonds of allegiance to the *bilir* ruler (Drakard 1990, 39, 150). Whenever 'Barus' is mentioned in this chapter in relation to Malay writing, it denotes the combined coastal settlements of Barus and Sorkam.

¹ Cod. Or. 3260 s.

The texts that were examined also include titles of Malay writings that Van der Tuuk claimed to have seen in Barus. These references are found in his notes and publications. In addition, the list mentions two chronicles that are connected to the two ruling families in Barus, but are not found among Van der Tuuk's manuscripts. Jane Drakard's study on these writings indicates that it is likely that either one or both were (re)written in Barus around the time that Van der Tuuk collected Malay writings in the area (Drakard 1990). This means that, although Van der Tuuk – for reasons unknown – did not add these texts to his collection, both works were, in all probability, present in Barus around the middle of the nineteenth century.

It is very likely that more Malay texts were circulating in Barus in this period than the 58 that have been traced here. This assumption is based on several arguments. First, after the comparison of the codicological characteristics of all Malay manuscripts in the former collection of Van der Tuuk, there remained a number of manuscripts of which the provenance could not be established. Some of them may well have been encountered in Barus. But even manuscripts that were produced elsewhere in the Malay World could have been acquired in Barus. For instance, an 1838 or 1839 copy of the *Sejarah Melayu* written in Riau and formerly in the possession of Van der Tuuk could have been bought by him in Barus (Wieringa 2007, 49–50). If this is indeed the case, the text should have been included in the research corpus. Unfortunately, manuscripts seldom contain references to their history of use. Besides, it turned out that Barus' Muslims were not eager to lend out their Malay manuscripts to the white Bible translator; to them he was a *kafir* or infidel. Similarly, Van der Tuuk's precarious financial situation, in combination with the sometimes considerable lending fees or prices, may also have limited the number of Malay texts that he managed to preserve (Groeneboer 2002, 182). The locals' initial distrust towards Van der Tuuk and their misunderstanding of his motivations for collecting manuscripts must have played a role as well.

In spite of these limitations, an examination of the 58 titles sheds light on a number of important issues related to Malay writing in Barus in the mid-nineteenth century. To begin with, a quick survey of the types of texts that were present reveals a developed Malay writing practice, with texts representing almost all known kinds of Malay writing.² This suggests that the works that were circulating in the port settlement were not occasional phenomena, but formed part of a larger network. The port settlement would have been too small for such a fully fledged Malay writing practice to have developed locally. Further, the texts offer glimpses of the mental world and preoccupations of Barus' citizens at a time that the world they inhabited had just undergone some significant changes.

² Wieringa's excellent catalogue of the manuscripts and papers in the former collection of Van der Tuuk has been of great help for this chapter (Wieringa 2007). The collection is kept at the Special Collections of the Leiden University Library.

Malay Writings in Barus: An Overview

The majority of the titles that circulated in Barus concern Islamic religious writings. They include textbooks for the instruction of new converts and narratives that present episodes from the life of the Prophet Muhammad and other Islamic prophets, and tales about the early history of Islam. A relatively large number of the manuscripts contain Sufi writings.

The textbooks intended for the study of Islam cover the religions' basic principles and its main practices, such as the unique character of God, Muslim prayer, Quran recitation, fasting, and the *hajj* or the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca. Many of these *kitab*, as these works are called in Malay, are Malay translations or adaptations of Arabic texts or Malay commentaries on works from the Arabic tradition. The titles that were found in Barus are those that were read throughout Southeast Asia. In imitation of the showy practice of the Arabic composers these works were often given titles in rhyming Arabic. An example is the *Mas'āl al-muhtadī li-ikhwān al-mubtadī* (Guided inquiring for students aspiring), a copy of which was encountered in Barus (Proudfoot and Hooker 1996, 60–61).³ Like several other *kitab* titles, this text is arranged as questions and answers to present the subject matter in easily digestible chunks for the prospective converts to learn by heart. Two other examples of religious textbooks that catered to the newly converted Muslims and circulated among the Muslim population of Barus are the *Bidāyat al-mubtadī bi faḍl Allāh al-mubdī* and *Syair Tajwid Quran* (Poem on the Rules for the Recitation of the Quran).⁴ The anonymous work titled *Tuhfat ar-rāghibīn fi bayān ḥaqīqat imān al-mu'minīn* focuses on a central doctrine in Islam: the unwavering belief that true Muslims must have in the existence of God. In three chapters it is explained exactly what a Muslim should believe in and what the possible dangers are that can destroy this belief. The text presents Islam as the one and only true religion and contrasts it with other, false religions and sects.⁵ Also belonging to this genre, but of a more general nature, is a text bearing the title *Khalā'iq al-yaqīn*. It deals with the numerous names and attributes of God and with the Muslim prophets (Juynboll 1899, 276).⁶ Most religious writings that were read in Barus were written or translated outside the region, except for one composition that seems to be the product of a local author. The above mentioned *Poem on the Rules for the*

³ Van der Tuuk claimed that he owned a copy of this work and that he had seen another copy in Barus (Cod. Or. 3260 l, 47). The first copy he referred to is probably Cod. Or. 3282 (see also Wieringa 2007, 168–70).

⁴ Cod. Or. 3281. No less than 15 copies of this work are kept in the collection of Museum Nasional in Jakarta (*Katalogus Koleksi Naskah Melayu* 1972, 270–272). Cod. Or. 3331 (Cod. Or. 3260 l, 63r; Wieringa 2007, 265–267).

⁵ Van der Tuuk's personal notes and papers include a list with all the titles of *kitab* known to him: Cod. Or. 3260 f. *Tuhfat ar-rāghibīn fi bayān ḥaqīqat imān al-mu'minīn* is mentioned as number 142. Van der Tuuk added the remark that he had seen a copy of this text in Barus (Cod. Or. 3260 f, inserted note).

⁶ Cod. Or. 3200 1.

Recitation of the Quran mentions a certain *Encik Barus*, ‘a man from Barus,’ as the person who rendered the text in verse.⁷

Popular pendants of Islamic text books were edifying narratives on the life of the Prophet Muhammad and other champions of Islam. These narratives instructed the readers in a casual manner in the moral values of Islam. Stories narrating, for example, Muhammad’s ascension and shaving (*Hikayat Miraj Nabi Muhammad* and *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur*) enthralled the audience during evening readings.⁸ They familiarized neophytes with the special nature of Islam’s most prominent prophet, while at the same time entertained them. The following citation from the *Story of the Prophet’s Shaving* gives an impression of the miraculous flavour of this type of Malay writing:

After the victory over Raja Lahad, Allah told His Messenger that he should be shaved. The one who shaved the Prophet was the Angel Jabrail himself. The Prophet was shaved in the presence of his Light. When the shaving was over, Muhammad’s head was covered with a shining leaf of the paradisaical Tuba-tree. None of his 126,666 hairs fell down to the ground, as the host of houris, who has ascended from Heaven to watch the Prophet being shaved, managed to catch one hair each and then bound it around their right hand as an amulet (Braginsky 2004, 606).

No less miraculous is the *Story of the Mystical Light of Muhammad* (*Hikayat Nur Muhammad*). It is known in different versions in Malay, but also in other languages of the Archipelago.⁹ It narrates the metaphysical birth of the Prophet and the creation by God of the Mystical Light in the form of a bird. The world is then created from the drops of water that fall from the bird’s body (Braginsky 2004, 602). Reading or listening to stories on Muhammad’s life was considered a highly pious and beneficial occupation (Braginsky 2004, 612). The colophon of Van der Tuuk’s copy of the *Story on the Prophet’s Shaving* from Barus states that any reader or listener who reads or listens to the complete text will receive God’s forgiveness for all his sins, like “an enormous tree dropping twigs”.¹⁰ The *Mawlid an-Nabi* also falls in the same category; it is a pious literary work on the life of the Prophet Muhammad that was meant to be recited during the yearly celebration of Muhammad’s birth.¹¹ The private collection of *Tuanku Sigambo-gambo* – the raja of Barus *hilir* – held a copy of the *Book of One Thousand Questions* (*Kitab Seribu Masalah*).¹² It is a Malay rendering of an Arabic story dating from the tenth century on

⁷ The text also mentions a certain Sidi ‘Ulma as its composer. It is possible that this name refers to the author of the prose text, and not of its adaptation in verse.

⁸ *Hikayat Miraj Nabi Muhammad*: Cod. Or. 3306 1; *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur*: Cod. Or. 3304 II 2. Van der Tuuk refers to the popularity of stories such as these on Sumatra’s northwest coast in his letters to the NBG (Groeneboer 2002, 258–259, 289).

⁹ Cod. Or. 3304 II 1.

¹⁰ Cod. Or. 3304 II 2.

¹¹ Cod. Or. 3289.

¹² Cod. Or. 3260 I, 31r.

conversion from Judaism to Islam and it is set in seventh-century Arabia. It depicts the Prophet Muhammad answering questions posed to him by a rabbi; the questions pertain to a wide range of topics spanning ritual, history, belief and mysticism. The story was adapted and translated into various languages and spread across a vast geographical area (Ricci 2009, 2011). A last hagiography that was read in Barus is the *Story on King Skull* (Hikayat Raja Jumjumah).¹³ It recites how Nabi Isa (Jesus) revives the skull of an unjust king, and the skull then gives an account of the sufferings of sinners in hell (Braginsky 2004, 358). Hagiographies also existed in verse; the *Poem of the Prophet Ayub*, the biblical Job, (Syair Nabi Ayub) for instance, was also found in Barus.¹⁴

An interesting find among the Islamic narrative texts that were known in Barus is the *Poem on Nasuha* (Syair Nasuha).¹⁵ Only a few copies of this text have been preserved and the title is seldom mentioned in studies on Malay writing.¹⁶ According to Van der Tuuk, the *syair* was written by a certain Abdul Karim from Penanjuan.¹⁷ The work was intended to instruct Muslims in the practice of repentance or *tobat*. *Tobat nasuha* is the most commendable form of repentance, hence the title of the text. It means that the sinner turns to God, admits to all his sins, expresses his sincere feelings of remorse and vows never to stray again from the path of the virtuous. To convey the benefits of this particular *tobat*, the author chose the format of an entertaining story instead of a treatise. After a life of stealing, a notorious thief named Nasuha decides to convert to Islam. He repents of his crimes and promises God to lead an honourable life. He is so dedicated to this cause that he actually becomes known for his honesty and is tested by the archangel Jibrail (Gabriel).

Among the favourite stories on the northwest coast were those that celebrate the Holy War against the infidels in the early history of Islam. The fact that all four stories that were found in Barus revolve around the illustrious son-in-law of Muhammad and Shiite champion 'Ali ibn Abi Talib and his offspring is remarkable.¹⁸ Especially so, when one considers the dominant orthodox Sunnite character of Islam as practiced in island Southeast Asia from the nineteenth century onwards. This marked presence and positive characterization of a Shia hero finds its equivalent in Malay-Muslim hagiographies in

¹³ Cod. Or. 3306 2.

¹⁴ Cod. Or. 3332.

¹⁵ Cod. Or. 3260 I, 52v. Van der Tuuk saw a copy of this poem in Barus.

¹⁶ A publication dedicated to this text exists: *Syair Nasuha: Sebuah Kajian Filologis*, by Muhammad Isman. Program Pascasarjana Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, 1999. Unfortunately, I have not been able to consult the work.

¹⁷ Spelled p-n-n-j-wau-alif-n. The name is not found on maps of Sumatra I had access to.

¹⁸ Van der Tuuk's list, which we can assume lists all titles of Malay text in his possession in Barus around 1853, mentions a fifth narrative writing on the early wars of Islam, *Story of King Labad* (Hikayat Raja Lahad). However, it has been impossible to establish whether Van der Tuuk acquired this text in Barus or in Padang or Sibolga, where he had spent some time before moving to Barus. For a synopsis of the text, see Iskandar 1995, 201–202.

general. According to Muslim tradition, ‘Ali took part in all the great wars against the infidels and stories about his feats abound in the Islamic world. In Barus, the stories of King Khaibar (*Hikayat Raja Khaibar*) and King Khandak (*Hikayat Raja Khandak*) were read.¹⁹ The first loosely refers to the war between Muslims and the Jewish tribe of Khaibar that took place in 628 CE, but centres around an infidel ruler named King Khaibar. He is described as a cruel tyrant, a worshipper of the Sun and murderer of innocent merchants. When he decides to stage a war against the Prophet, he is defeated and killed by Muhammad’s son-in-law, ‘Ali ibn Abu Talib. In the second story, King Khandak and his son king Badar are powerful kings, who hold sway over humans and Islamic ghosts with the help of magic. They are infidels who do everything in their power to eradicate Islam from their kingdoms. Like King Khaibar, both kings are defeated by ‘Ali (Braginsky 2004, 605–6). The *Story of Muhammad Hanafiyah* (*Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah*), an account of the exploits of one of ‘Ali’s sons, was read out aloud at evening gatherings during Ramadan (Groeneboer 2002, 258, 289). Closely related to this text is the *Story of the Commander of the Faithful ‘Umar* (*Hikayat Amir al-Mu’minin ‘Umar* or *Hikayat Baginda ‘Umar*) (Brakel 1975, 51–53).²⁰ Despite its title, it is not the second caliph ‘Umar who is allotted a central part in this story, but his adversary ‘Ali. His battle against the infidel king, Kisra, of the state Sair, which took only a few lines to describe in the story on Muhammad Hanafiyah, is spun out in this text (Wieringa 2007, 306–308).

In line with Muslim tradition, ‘Ali is portrayed in Malay texts as the greatest warrior of Islam and as the rescuer of the early Muslim community from its innumerable enemies. His wisdom is contrasted with the stupidity of ‘Umar, another of Muhammad’s companions and the first to thwart ‘Ali in his aspiration to take over the Prophet’s authority after the latter’s death (Braginsky 2004, 612; Wieringa 1996, 104–105). This contradiction is addressed by Wieringa (1996) in a study on Malay stories that narrates events from the lives of ‘Ali and his wife Fatimah. He explains the presence of Shiitic elements in Malay writings by referring to the influence of Persian narratives on Malay writing. Several popular Malay works such as *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah*, *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* and *Hikayat Bakhtiar* are translations or adaptations of Persian texts. It is generally assumed that this Persian influence was of Indian origin, as was the case with early Indonesian Islam. These works and other hagiographies were introduced in the Archipelago as popular reading material for new converts, presumably somewhere between the fourteenth and sixteenth century. At that time, Indonesian Islam still had a Shia tinge. Over time, a process of ‘deshiitization’ of Malay writings took place; stories

¹⁹ The *Story of King Khandak* is found in Cod. Or. 3307. The *Story of King Khaibar* is not found among Van der Tuuk’s manuscripts. It is, however, mentioned in one of his letters to the board of the NBG as an example of Islamic stories that were read by Batak who were educated in the Malay language and *jawi* script in government-sponsored schools (Groeneboer 2002, 258–259).

²⁰ Cod. Or. 3345 2.

in which ‘Ali or members of his family played a central role were gradually neutralized to such an extent that they would not offend the Sunnite Muslim reader. That said, it should be kept in mind that also in Sunni Islam, particularly in Sunnite Sufism, ‘Ali was held in high esteem (Braginsky 2004, 612).

Among the group of religious writings, Sufi works stand out, both for their numbers and the variety of Sufi doctrines they address. Most of the main Sufi philosophers, scholars and writers who have contributed to the development and dissemination of Sufi thought in the Malay World are represented.²¹ From the renowned Sumatran Hamzah Fansuri, who lived in the late sixteenth century, to Sirajuddin Ibn Jalaluddin, whose work *Durrat an-nazirah tanbihan li-durrat al-fakbirah* was finished in 1238 AH/1822 CE, only three decades before Van der Tuuk laid eyes on the text in Barus.²²

The earliest Malay works written in the spirit of the mystical branch of Islam that were read in Barus are those by Hamzah Fansuri. Hamzah was a Muslim ascetic and mystic, who was either born in Barus or spent part of his working life there – hence the *nesba* al-Fansuri.²³ He became a master in conveying highly abstract Sufi concepts such as Divine Love and God’s Essence in Malay verse using similes and symbols derived from Persian sources. He traveled extensively, to Bagdad, the centre of the Qadiriyya Sufi Order with which he became affiliated, and to Mecca and Medina (Braginsky 2004, 617–642). Hamzah’s favourite form for propagating his monist Sufi convictions was the *syair*, a long poem that consists of a string of four line quatrains with monorhyme of the type *aaaa*, *bbbb*, *cccc*. Van der Tuuk saw at least one copy of Hamzah’s *Asrār al-arifīn* (Secrets of the Gnostics) in Barus.²⁴ The text is a line by line auto-commentary of 15 quatrains and explains how a Sufi adept must first renounce the transient world and shed his ego before he can meet his Divine Creator (Braginsky 2004, 620–21). Next, Van der Tuuk copied a collection of Hamzah’s poems in Barus from a manuscript dated 1851. A colophon that follows one of the poems mentions the ‘deputy to the *raja* Barus’ as the copyist.²⁵

²¹ Several of these Sufi pioneers hailed from and/or worked part of their life in Sumatra, notably Aceh. Riddell 2001b offers an overview of the development of Sufi thought in the Archipelago from the sixteenth until the twentieth century. His work includes short biographies of Sufi thinkers and authors and discussions of their main works. Similarly, Braginsky 2004, Chapter 8.

²² Cod. Or. 3260 f, 58r, number 403.

²³ Fansur is an alternative name for Barus. Drakard has investigated the long and complex history of the use of these two names in depth. Fansur is probably derived from the Malay word *pancur*, ‘spring’ or ‘well’. It seems to be linked to an area called Lobo Tua, to the northwest of Barus. Recent archeological finds in the area indicate that, prior to the sixteenth century, the area’s centre of trade was situated near Lobo Tua (Drakard 1989, 1990, 4 n. 10).

²⁴ Cod. Or. 3260 f, 57r.

²⁵ ‘Pemangku Raja Barus’; Cod. Or. 3372. The title *Raja* Barus belonged to the *mudik* ruler. Since the *bilir* chief was viceroy, *pemangku Raja Barus* perhaps refers to the *raja bilir*, *Sutan* Ibrahim, or his predecessor, *Sultan* Main Alam. It was this *Sutan* Ibrahim who, in all probability, gave Van der Tuuk access to his private collection of Malay manuscripts.

A second collection of poems by Hamzah was also copied in Barus, in 1853.²⁶ From his informants, Van der Tuuk learned of the existence of two other titles by Hamzah: *Poem of the Pure Bird* (Syair Burung Pingai) and *Poem of the Assembly of Dervishes* (Syair Sidang Fakir). He failed to procure copies of these texts, though.

The *Poem of the Wanderer* (Syair Dagang) and the *Poem of the Boat* (Syair Perahu) were attributed to Hamzah by Van der Tuuk's local informants.²⁷ It is almost certain that both poems circulated in Barus.²⁸ The former narrates the trials and tribulations of a wandering trader. The poem cannot fail to have struck a chord with the west-coast seafarers and traders residing in Barus or visiting its port.²⁹ But the prudent reader in search of esoteric knowledge knew that the peregrinations of the merchant could also be read as an allegory on a Sufi adept's path to union with God (Braginsky 2007). The *Poem of the Boat* is written in a similar spirit. Here, the well-prepared traveller on the path to knowledge of God is compared to a fully-equipped sailing boat that successfully carries its passengers across the raging seas (Braginsky 2004, 688–691; 2007).

Nuruddin al-Raniri is the second Sufi author whose work was known in Barus. He is as acclaimed as Hamzah, but derives his fame primarily from his vehement attacks on the monist ideas expounded in the works by Hamzah and his follower Shamsuddin al-Sumatrani. Nuruddin was an influential Islamic scholar originating in Gujarat in India, who worked as *Syaikh* al-Islam under the patronage of the Acehese *Sultan* Iskandar Thani from 1637 until 1644. He considered it heresy that Hamzah Fansuri and his followers believed that man and God were essentially one (Riddell 2001b, 116–125). A copy of al-Raniri's *Explanation of Faiths* (Tibyān fī ma'rifat al-adyān) in the former collection of Van der Tuuk was probably found in Barus as well.³⁰ In two chapters, the text informs the reader about the various religions, from the Prophet Adam to the Prophet Isa and Muslim sects. The work contains a direct attack on Hamzah's views as presented in his *Muntabī*; the author supports his arguments by calling upon the authority of several renowned Arab theologians and commentators. The quotations taken from their works teach the orthodox Muslim doctrine about the relationship of God and the world (Drewes and

²⁶ Cod. Or. 3374 2–9.

²⁷ See the note in Cod. Or. 3260 f.

²⁸ *Syair Dagang*: Cod. Or. 3374 10; *Syair Perahu*: Cod. Or. 3374 11. There is no conclusive evidence that Van der Tuuk copied the *Poem of the Wanderer* and the *Poem of the Boat* in Barus. However, based on the fact that both autograph texts are found in a bundle with other texts that are linked to Barus, these two titles have been included in the research corpus.

²⁹ Nowadays, the attribution of the *Poem of the Wanderer* and the *Poem of the Boat* to Hamzah Fansuri is considered doubtful (see, for instance, Braginsky 2004; Drewes and Brakel 1986). For more on Sufi boat symbolism in Malay writing, see Braginsky 1998, 2004, 677–694, and 2007.

³⁰ Cod. Or. 3291 1. There is no conclusive evidence that this manuscript was collected in Barus. However, I follow Voorhoeve, who suggests that the manuscript may have been collected in Barus, as it betrays Acehese influence in the Malay language that is used (Voorhoeve 1955a, 24). The title has therefore been included in the research corpus.

Brakel 1986, 15–6; Voorhoeve 1951, 354–355, 1955b, 156; Wieringa 2007, 184). The same manuscript contains another text by al-Raniri, a short treatise about the world before creation in the form of a catechism (Voorhoeve 1955b, 158).³¹ A second writing from the pen of al-Raniri that was available in Barus is titled *Evident Victory Over All Those Who Do Not Believe That God Exists* (Faṭḥ al-mubīn ‘alā’l-mulḥidīn).³² According to Van der Tuuk, the work was written by al-Raniri on the request of the Sultan of Aceh to refute the assumptions of the ‘heretic’ branch of the Wujudiyya sect. Today, the work is considered lost (Voorhoeve 1951, 359 n. 17).

The seventeenth century saw yet another mystic teacher dominate religious life at the Acehnese sultanate for a while: Abdurrauf al-Singkili (c. 1615–1693). Born in the coastal town of Singkil, to the north of Barus, he was the first to write a Malay commentary on the *Quran*. This *Tarjuman al-mustafid* however, was not found in Barus (Riddell 2001b, 162–163).³³ Instead, another work by Abdurrauf, titled *Majmū ‘al-masā’il*, was known among Barus’ Muslims.³⁴ The text presents the Sufi doctrine according to Syattariyya, the Sufi order that became firmly established in the region due to author’s efforts. Abdurrauf’s orientation was orthodox; he propagated a reformed type of Sufism, such as had been promoted by al-Raniri. It emphasized the importance of adhering to the *syariah* (Muslim laws), while allowing room for following the mystic path (Riddell 2001b, 125–132).

In 1789, a Malay adaptation of al-Ghazali’s important work *Revival of the Religious Sciences* (Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm ad-dīn) saw the light. It took the author, Abdussamad al-Palimbani (c. 1704–1789) from Sumatra’s Palembang region, ten years to finish. He gave the work the Arabic title *Sayr as-sālikīn ila ‘ibadat Rabb al-‘alamin*. It became an important contribution to Islam in the Malay World and is still reprinted in parts of Malaysia and Indonesia today (Riddell 2001b, 184–185). Al-Ghazali played an important role in the incorporation of Sufi ideas in Islamic orthodox teachings by promulgating the view that there is an essential separation between Creator and Creature. Several of the main Malay Sufi thinkers hark back to his teachings (Riddell 2001b, 72). With the large Muslim population and mystical tinge of Islam on the west coast in mind, it is not surprising to find at least one part of Abdussamad’s voluminous work in Barus.³⁵ It informs the reader about the nature of sins according to Muslim doctrine, and how to recognize

³¹ Cod. Or. 3291 2. More on this text is found in Wieringa 2007, 184–185. Except for al-Raniri’s *Explanation of Faiths* and *Evident Victory Over All Those Who Do Not Believe That God Exists*, this manuscript contains two short treatises, one on the five senses (*pancaindera*) and one on good and bad *nafsu*, ‘lust’ or ‘desire.’

³² Cod. Or. 3260 f, number 396. Van der Tuuk claimed to have seen a copy in Barus.

³³ The *Tarjuman al-mustafid* was compiled around 1675. It is a Malay rendering of the renowned commentary in Arabic, *Tafsir al-Jalalayn* (Commentary on the Two Jalals), which was written the Middle East in the second half of the fifteenth century. For five centuries, this particular *tafsir* played a major role in the education of Muslims throughout the world, including Southeast Asia (Riddell 2001b, 48–49).

³⁴ Cod. Or. 3260 f, 57r, number 401.

³⁵ Cod. Or. 3260 f, 57v–58r.

and counteract them before they destroy the sinner. Like his predecessors, Abdussamad travelled to Arabia in search of esoteric knowledge. He was a pupil of the founder of the Sammaniyya Order and brought Sammaniyya Sufi teachings to Palembang and beyond. He too was a reformist Sufi, who criticized the speculative monist teachings of the earlier Wujudiyya (Riddell 2001b, 184–186; Wieringa 2007, 174).

The issue concerning the Essence of God continued to divide Sufi thinkers from the seventeenth century and beyond and it continued to generate new writings. In Barus, there was at least one copy of the early nineteenth-century Sufi title *Durrat al-nazirah tanbihan li-durrat al-fakhirah* (1822 CE) by *Syaikh* Sirajuddin ibn Jalaluddin.³⁶ The text is intended for people “who are in search of knowledge that results in the certainty of faith”.³⁷ It is a Malay adaptation of a commentary titled *Durrat al-fakhirah* on al-Sanusi’s (d. 1490) *Mother of all Proofs* (Umm al-barahin). As in many of the earlier Sufi treatises, it is the topic of the sublime being of God that prompts extensive commentary.

A contemporary of Sirajuddin and fellow traveller of the mystic path was Daud ibn Abdullah Patani or Daud al-Fatani. Born in the 1740s in Patani, on the east coast of modern day southern Thailand, he wrote his Sufi-inspired religious works in Mecca where he spent most of his life. He was a member of several Sufi orders, including the Syattariyya. A prolific writer, there are fifty titles that bear his name as author (Braginsky 2004, 655–657). Only his earliest work was known in Barus. This *Kitāb idāḥ al-bāb* is a treatise dealing with matrimonial law; it is based on various works by Shafi’i authors and was finished in 1809 (Riddell 2001b, 198–199).

This enumeration of religious writings ends with an anonymous work titled *Tadhkir al-yaqīn*.³⁸ It presents a commentary on a well-known collection of Sufi aphorisms by the Egyptian Sufi Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh (d. 1309) with the title *Kitāb al-Ḥikam* (Wieringa 2007, 182–183).

Barus was home to a substantial number of writings on other topics, beside religious matters. There were texts on court rituals and ceremonies, dynastic histories, biographic accounts, fantastic adventure stories and frame stories. These non-religious works can be divided into two groups: narrative and non-narrative texts. An important subgroup of the latter is writings composed and consumed at the two local courts. With the presence of two ruling *raja* and their extended family in Barus, it is not surprising to find texts that pertain to court customs, dynastic histories and genealogies.³⁹ There are different versions of the histories of both *mudik* and *hilir* houses. The *History of Tuanku Batu*

³⁶ Cod. Or. 3260 f, 58r, number 403. A *haji* named Ibrahim in Barus owned a copy of this text.

³⁷ [...] orang yang menuntut ma’rifat yang menghasilkan yakin.

³⁸ Cod. Or. 3290.

³⁹ These Malay court chronicles or dynastic genealogies are narratives. However, I have decided to discuss them under the heading of non-narrative writings in a court setting for practical reasons. This chapter shows that there are other Malay texts that resist categorization along the lines of Western textual categories. This issue will be discussed in depth in Chapter 3.

Badan (Sejarah Tuanku Batu Badan) centres upon the founder of the *bilir* settlement and his successors, while the upstream line of chiefs is described in *Origins of the Raja Barus* (Asal Keturunan Raja Barus) (Drakard 1990, 2003). The downstream *raja Tuanku Sigambo-gambo* or *Sutan Ibrahim* owned a copy of a *bilir* chronicle entitled the *Poem of Raja Tungtung* (Drakard 2003, 51; Wieringa 2007, 41).⁴⁰ Another text dedicated to the royal downstream lineage and the establishment and history of the settlement is the *Poem on the History of Sultan Fansuri*; a similar text in prose was also known.⁴¹ Barus' *mudik* chief kept an unnamed *tambo*, a chronicle or genealogy, perhaps a copy of the *mudik* chronicle *Origins of the Raja Barus*.⁴² Another work that belongs to this genre was acquired by Van der Tuuk from the local government administrator, *controleur* Palm.⁴³

An important part of Malay court life consisted of ceremonies. At significant moments in the life of the Malay ruler or a member of his family, the special status of the *raja* as the worldly and religious leader of the community was confirmed in a meticulously orchestrated display of authority. His power was reinvested every time anew, in front of his subjects, and by the use of symbolical objects and actions (Milner 1982, 94–111). It was essential that the ceremonies were performed according to custom, in particular in the case of Barus. Here, the members of the Malay elite had to present themselves as markedly different from the Batak, who formed the majority of their subjects. Therefore, the regulations for royal births, marriages and funerals, for example, were written down and the manuscripts were kept in the court library.⁴⁴ A compilation of laws and customs from Barus copied by Van der Tuuk probably derives from court circles as well.⁴⁵

Most of the non-religious writings that were encountered in Barus are narratives. They are written in either prose or verse. This category comprises adventure stories, frame stories, long romantic poems and autobiographies. The first to be discussed is the adventure story.

As was explained in the Introduction, Malay adventure stories are prose narratives that relate the adventures of a young prince on a quest. The object of his desire varies from the girl of his dreams or mystical knowledge to a magic animal or an extraordinary medicine. The initial departure of the prince is often preceded by a dream, in which the object of his desire is introduced to him. The subsequent nightly vision is found at the beginning of the *Story of Bahram Syah*, one of the four adventure stories that circulated on the northwest coast:⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Cod. Or. 3205 2.

⁴¹ Cod. Or. 3303 1 and 2.

⁴² Cod. Or. 3303 3.

⁴³ Cod. Or. 3343. Carel Hendrik Palm (1814–1864) was *controleur* and the highest civil representative of the colonial government in Barus at the time Van der Tuuk lived there (Groeneboer 2002, 116).

⁴⁴ Cod. Or. 3294 and 3295.

⁴⁵ Cod. Or. 3303 4. See also Wieringa 2007, 208.

⁴⁶ Cod. Or. 3317. The manuscript originates in Sorkam.

One night, when Sultan Maharaja the Great was sleeping in his palace, he had a dream. In his dream, an old man appeared to him and Sultan Maharaja the Great said, “Oh Lord, who are you?” He replied, “I am a messenger from God and I have come to you. I have witnessed you accomplish great wealth and splendour, but there still is something you do not possess, and that is an extremely beautiful bird named *Marab* Jalin. When it speaks, gold and silver are scattered from its beak, when it tells a story, diamonds and all sorts of small gems are sprinkled from its eyes, and when it flaps its wings and wags its tail, precious gems of all kinds fly from its nose. Its breast feathers are red like the resin from the dragon’s blood plant, and its neck feathers are ruffled. It is the pet of Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower, who is the child carried in the folds of Princess Apalu Apala’s sarong, and the offspring of His Royal Highness *Marab* Inda Sultan the Magnificent. She lives in the state of Gastu Gasta in the village called The Queen’s Field. The mountain is called Field of the Wild Camels, the valley, Slanting Board, on the island called Sinawilan. The estuary goes by the name of Narrow Passage, and the bay is called Smooth Curves” (*SBS* 2).

The detailed description of the beautiful and miraculous bird *Marab* Jalin evokes such a desire in the king that his sons cannot but promise their father to find the bird for him. Thus, the dream sets off the rest of the story. As for its fantastic flavour, the *SBS* is comparable to another adventure story that was known in Barus, the *Story of Syah Mardan* (Hikayat Syah Mardan).⁴⁷ The more than thirty surviving manuscripts that were found in different parts of the Malay World attest to its wide dissemination and popularity. In this story, the prince is separated from his family after he gets lost in the woods. His wanderings bring him to various kingdoms, where he has amorous adventures with princesses and meets with mystics who instruct him in religious matters. The story is marked for the many transformations the main protagonist experiences (Braginsky 1990, 107–135; 2004, 716–719).

The *Story of Ahmad and Muhammad* (Hikayat Ahmad Muhammad) was not only enjoyed in Barus, but also in other regions of the Malay World.⁴⁸ It relates the peregrinations of two princes named Ahmad and Muhammad. They had to leave their country to escape from execution by their stepfather. The narrative seems to be a Malay rendering of a Javanese story. Like the *SBS* and *the Story of Syah Mardan*, this text features a magic bird, alongside esoteric teachings, abducted princesses, fierce battles and miraculous cures for the sick and wounded (Wieringa 2007, 228–231; Juynboll 1899, 144–147; Van Ronkel 1909, 112–119).

Similar in content and narrative style to the three texts mentioned above is the *Story of King Slave*, also known as the *Story of the Merchant’s Daughter Who Became a Raja* (Hikayat Raja Budak or Hikayat Anak Saudagar Menjadi Raja).⁴⁹ The storyteller presents a wise and talented merchant’s daughter, who becomes the ruler of a kingdom after the despotic, old king has been chased away. With her beauty and status as ruler

⁴⁷ Cod. Or. 3197 2.

⁴⁸ Cod. Or. 3314.

⁴⁹ Cod. Or. 3318.

of a vast state she receives many noble suitors at her court. She decides to marry the one suitor who can solve a number of riddles. A sly king sends his speaking bird to the royal abode. The animal wins the girl's heart, and this way the king succeeds in marrying the merchant's daughter without having met any of her demands (Wieringa 2007, 241–243).

The Poem of Silindang Delima (Syair Silindang Delima, also known as Syair Sari Banihan) is an adventure story in verse. Two copies of northwest coast provenance have been preserved.⁵⁰ One was written in Sorkam for a local patron named *Raja Megat*.⁵¹ The storyline is reminiscent of that of the well-known fairytale of Cinderella. A princess named Silindang Delima is raised at the court of her uncle. He is unaware that she is the daughter of his own sister. Because Silindang Delima is extremely pretty, the king's wives fear the king might fall in love with her. Thus, they scheme to make sure the king will never notice her beauty. They smear her face with charcoal to make her ugly and force her to do domestic chores. When she succeeds in warning her uncle, the king, of an impending storm just before he is about to leave by boat, he discovers her true identity (Braginsky 2004, 528–538; Wieringa 2007, 262–265; Iskandar 1995, 490–92). The abundance of maritime motifs in this adventure story becomes significant in light of the maritime and trade environment of Barus. Braginsky remarks that in the story

[...] we encounter descriptions of the building of the boat, rituals related to its launching, its sailing across rough seas and arrival at ports, ceremonies of its meeting and, later, seeing off in richly decorated *sampan*-lighters 'with wings like those of a garuda bird' (*Syair Sari Banihan* cited in Braginsky 2004, 429).

Details like these formed an all too familiar picture for the readers who lived and worked in a maritime world.

The identification of the *SBS* and the *Story of Syah Mardan* as adventure stories is arguable. A second look at the texts makes clear that the stories offered the readers more than an entertaining adventure; the *SBS* and the *Story of Syah Mardan* also instructed their readers on religious matters. Both texts have a doctrinal component, next to a narrative one. This means that they should be considered not only as adventure stories, but as religious writings as well. As will be demonstrated in Chapter 6, the *SBS* contains multiple religious messages. For example, Bahram Syah's faith and confidence in God's Power during his quest for the magic bird illustrates the Islamic concept of *takdir* or Divine Preordination as contained in the sixth Article of Faith. Muslim doctrine is summarized in five – sometimes six – articles that state what a Muslim should believe in. The sixth article pertains to the belief that God has preordained everything that has happened in the past and that will happen in the future. This belief entails the concept of Divine Will and the acknowledgement of God's Power (Riddel 2001b, 24–29; Nigosian

⁵⁰ Cod. Or. 3333 and 3334.

⁵¹ Cod. Or. 3334.

2004, 93–105; Sodiq 2010, 98–108). Implicitly, the *SBS* urges the reader to completely surrender himself to God, so that he will reap the benefits in this life and the next, in the Hereafter. The display of the grandeur and omnipotence of God in the *SBS* is set in the larger framework of the text's call for conversion to Islam. Moreover, Bahram Syah functions as a model for pious and virtuous Muslims. In contrast to his two brothers, he fulfils his religious duties, such as giving out alms to the poor, and leads a virtuous life. Through the identification of Bahram Syah with the Qur'anic Yusuf, the text's religious messages are reinforced.⁵²

As for the *Story of Syah Mardan*, Braginsky has eloquently argued on several occasions that the work can be read as a Sufi allegory (Braginsky 1990, 107–135; 2004, 716–719). Different from Sufi treatises or poems that discuss the mystical teachings in a direct manner, Sufi allegories give symbolic expression to the Sufi doctrine, such as the concepts of the Seven Grades of Being, the four stages of the Sufi Path and the Perfect Man (see Chapter 1). The various transformations and new names of the main protagonist indicate the successful transition from one station along the mystic path to the next. Sufi allegories are commonly found in the larger Islamic world (Braginsky 1990, 107–135; 2004, 715–742).⁵³

Similarly popular in the Islamic world were frame narratives. The frame narrative consists of a primary narrative that acts as a frame for a number of smaller narratives. A renowned example is the *Book of One Thousand and One Nights*, a collection of Middle Eastern and South Asian stories and folktales compiled in Arabic in the Middle East during the Islamic golden age (c. 750–1250 CE). Sheherazade, new bride to a Persian king, narrates a set of tales to her husband over many nights in order to postpone her execution. Frame narratives were found throughout the Malay World. Two of the known Malay titles were found in Barus: *Story of the Wise Parrot* (Hikayat Bayan Budiman, also known as *Story of the Lucky Merchant* or Hikayat Khoja Maimun) and the *Story of Bakhtiar* (Hikayat Bakhtiar).⁵⁴ In the *Story of the Wise Parrot* a talking parrot narrates a series of stories to the wife of a traveling merchant, in order to prevent her from meeting the young prince who wishes to seduce her (Iskandar 1995, 173–186; Wieringa 2007, 22–24). It is not unusual to find the framed stories separately; at least one copy of story

⁵² Crucially, the analysis of the *SBS* that is presented in Chapter 6 rests on the similarities between the *SBS* and the Qur'anic story of Yusuf of the twelfth *sura* of the Quran.

⁵³ Although I do not intend to present here a full reading of the *SBS* as a Sufi allegory, it is interesting to note that the images in the *SBS* of the extraordinary bird and the precious stone resemble popular Sufi images from other parts of the Islamic world. See, for instance, De Bruijn's *The Ruby in the Dust: Poetry and History of the Indian Padmāvat by Sufy Poet Muḥammad Jāyāsī* (2012) on Sufi metaphors in the work of the sixteenth-century South Indian Sufi poet Muḥammad Jāyāsī. Or the poems by the twelfth-century Persian court poet Khāqāni Sirwāni that contain illustrative examples of Sufi bird imagery (Beelaert 2000).

⁵⁴ These texts are contained in, respectively, Cod. Or. 3208 and Cod. Or. 3197 1.

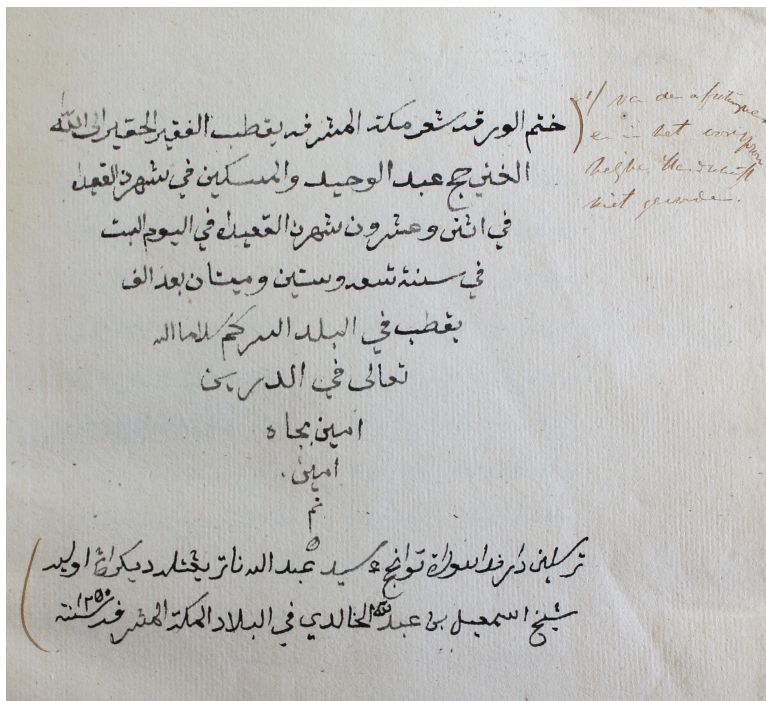


Figure 2. The colophon of Cod. Or. 3338 containing the *Poem on Mecca and Medina* (Syair Makah dan Madinah) by Syaikh Ismail bin Abdullah al-Khalidi al-Minangkabauwi or al-Barusi. In the second line the copyist mentions his name: *Haji Abdul Wahid*. Line five contains the name of the place where the copy was written: (al-)Sorkam. The last two lines read “Copied from a manuscript in possession of *Tuan Haji Sayyid Abdullah Natar*” (Natar = Natal). The original text is written by Syaikh Ismail bin Abdullah al-Khalidi in the year 1250 AH. The year corresponds to 1834–1835 CE. The original text is an adaption of a long poem by the same title by Syaikh Daud of Sunur. The note in the margin by Van der Tuuk explains that the colophon was not found in the original.

number 39 of the long version of the *Story of Bakthiar* was made for Van der Tuuk in Barus: the *Story of Siti Abasah* (Hikayat Siti Abasah) (Wieringa 2007, 330).⁵⁵

Long, narrative poems on animals, flowers or fruit were quite common in the nineteenth-century Malay World (Overbeck 1934, 108–148). Some can be read as allegories. In Barus we find the *Poem of the Carp* (Syair Ikan Tambera).⁵⁶ This work prompted scholars Hans Overbeck and, later, C. Hooykaas to interpret some of these narratives as allegorical poems relating the love affairs of travelling merchants (Overbeck 1934 and Hooykaas 1937 cited in Braginsky 2004, 579). Braginsky 2004 gives an allegorical interpretation of the *Poem of the Carp* in favour of this hypothesis. As it forms a telling illustration of the universal predicament of the seafaring trader – always at sea, away from his spouse and children, and having a sweetheart in every port – Braginsky’s interpretation of the poem is reproduced here. The text tells about a *kakap*-fish (the merchant), who lives on the high seas and falls in love with a she-carp living in the estuary (the local girl living in a port settlement near the estuary, like Barus or Sorkam). Only after the rains have fallen in the mountains (an allusion to the end of the rainy season, after which the traders’ ships began to arrive in the Malay ports), the two are able to meet. But the she-carp rejects a fish from the sea as her lover. Upon hearing this, the *kakap*-fish visits a spiritual teacher, who gives him a charm and its antidote. First, he uses the charm to cause the object of his love to fall ill, and then pays her a visit and cures her. But the treatment turns out not only to have cured the she-carp, but to have made her fall madly in love with the fish from the sea as well. The next evening they meet again and make love (Braginsky 2004, 579; Wieringa 2007, 216).

The last genre that was represented in Barus is the autobiography. Two titles were found: *Syair Makah dan Medina*, also known as *Syair Rukun Haj* (*Poem on Mecca and Medina*) and *Syair Sunur* (*Poem on the Village of Sunur*).⁵⁷ The texts were written by *Syaikh* Daud of Sunur. The first deals with the *syaikh*’s voyage to the Middle East and his pilgrimage. The second text contains the rather tragic life story of this Minangkabau religious teacher. He wrote the poem in Trumon, a port settlement north of Barus, only about a decade before Van der Tuuk commissioned a copy of the text in Sorkam.

Syaikh Daud was born in Sunur, a Minangkabau village on Sumatra’s west coast, somewhere between 1780 and 1795. During his religious education he came into contact with modernist ideas that called for the ‘reformation’ or reinterpretation of Islam. Islamic reformism was a modernist strand of Islam that was brought from Arabia at the beginning of the century by returning pilgrims and religious teachers (Suryadi 2005, 89–90; Riddell 2001b, 80). Reformist ideas opposed popular Islam and were aimed at restoring Islamic worship to its pure form. They were primarily spread by the combatant Padris, militant

⁵⁵ Cod. Or. 3374 1.

⁵⁶ Cod. Or. 3306 3.

⁵⁷ Cod. Or. 3338 and Cod. Or. 3336 2.

reformist Muslims from West Sumatra who, for a while, held sway over parts of northern Sumatra.⁵⁸ *Syaikh* Daud renounced the syncretic form of Islam that he was brought up with. This included the doctrine of emanation, popularly known as the Seven Grades of Being (Malay: *martabat tujuh*). Instead, he preached a more *syariah*-minded version of Islam. Upon returning home, however, he discovered that his modernist views did not find fertile soil.⁵⁹ Consequently, he decided to depart for Mecca to perform the *hajj*. This trip formed the basis for his autobiographical travel account titled *Poem on Mecca and Medina*, which was written around 1832. A second attempt by *Syaikh* Daud to resettle in his native village failed and, disappointed, he once again embarked for Mecca. This time he ran out of money in Trumon. There, he became a trusted teacher at the local court, but never failed to escape from his feelings of longing for Sunur. As a kind of open letter to his former friends and family, he composed the *Poem on the Village of Sunur*. It recounts his life story and expresses his longing for his native *kampung*. When the villagers of Sunur read the epistle, they sent out a small fleet of vessels to bring the old *syaikh* home. But it proved too late; the old man died on his way home, near Singkel, without having set eyes on his beloved village again (Suryadi 2005, 83–104; Wieringa 2002, 174–198).

Syaikh Daud's *Poem on Mecca and Medina* was reworked and elaborated in Mecca in 1250 AH/1834–1835 CE by the renowned Sufi *Syaikh* Ismail bin Abdullah al-Khalidi al-Minangkabawi or al-Barusi. *Syaikh* Ismail was a prominent Sufi and the earliest Khalidiyya teacher in the Malay World on record. He was initiated in the Khalidiyya Order in Mecca in the 1820s. In the 1850s, he returned to the East, but only for a short period. After having spent some time in Singapore, he travelled to Mecca, where he stayed for the rest of his life (Van Bruinessen 2007, 226).

The Texts in their Historical Context

An overview of the Malay titles yields a number of interesting observations. First, the large scale of Malay writing in Barus is striking, taking into consideration the fact that more texts must have been present in Barus than those that have been preserved. Barus was a small community; the combined population of the two main settlements did not

⁵⁸ Recently, Michael Laffan has questioned this commonly accepted theory in his book *The Makings of Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (2011). While he acknowledges the role of Wahhabi influence from Mecca to a certain degree, he argues that it is more helpful to understand the Padri movement as having developed from a local conflict among scholars of the Syattariyya Sufi Order than seeing it as a 'Wahhabi genesis' in West Sumatra (Laffan 2011, 41–44).

⁵⁹ In his article titled 'A Tale of Two Cities and Two Modes of Reading: A Transformation of the Intended Function of the Syair Makah dan Madinah,' Edwin Wieringa discusses *Syaikh* Daud's *Poem on Mecca and Medina* against the background of a religious conflict between two West Sumatran Sufi schools (Wieringa 2002, 174–198).

exceed eight hundred.⁶⁰ Of those eight hundred, a considerable number lacked the skills to read Malay texts in *jawi*-script.⁶¹ Second, the diversity of the types of Malay writing is remarkable. Almost all known Malay genres were represented. Next, works that deal with religious matters are conspicuous, both for their number and variety. Among them, treatises linked to the mystical branches of Islam are eminent. Works by almost all renowned Sufi authors who contributed to the spread and development of Sufi thought in the Malay World were found in Barus. Finally, several chronicles that are connected to two ruling houses were written or rewritten around the middle of the nineteenth century. These observations yield the contours of Malay writing in Barus. Together, they paint a picture of a localized Malay writing practice that distinguished itself from Malay writing practices in other parts of the Malay World. Local circumstances determined to a great extent what kinds of texts were composed, copied and consumed. Thus, the configuration of Malay writing varied with its geographical location albeit only to a certain degree. Because, antagonistic to this heterogenizing force, Malay writing – irrespective of its location – was susceptible to the homogenizing pull of the greater Malay writing tradition.

The marked presence of Malay textbooks on Islam on Sumatra's northwest coast can be explained by the rapid spread of Islam in the area around this time. Proselytizing endeavours and the religious education of new converts created a demand for texts that explained the basic Muslim doctrine and worship practices in a simple manner. The expanding market for Malay writings prompted the copying and adaptation of extant texts as well as the production of new ones. The west coast of North Sumatra, it is argued, was particular in its scale of Islamization. Whereas other trade ports welcomed visiting Muslim traders and religious teachers and students from nearby and far away, facilitating the march of Islam just as in Barus, these ports lacked the combination of factors that was specific to the settlement in Barus and its surroundings. Barus attracted devout Muslims from Sumatra's interior and west coast, who awaited a chance to embark on a ship that would bring them to the transit ports of Penang or Singapore. Upon their return from the Holy Land, some of these *haji* stayed in the port where they disembarked, to teach or to proselytize. Furthermore, Barus saw Muslim-Malays of Kerinci descent from nearby Kota Tinga fervently preaching Islam within its borders (Ritter 1839, 22–23). But, above all, it is argued, it was the specific ethnic and social make-up of Barus that facilitated the speedy march of Islam in the area. The dominant position of Muslim-Malays in the local society in combination with the low status of the Batak created a pull for Batak to convert and become Muslim-Malay.

Prose narratives portraying the exemplary behaviour of a devout Muslim protagonist were the popular pendants of religious textbooks. They wrapped the edifying message in an appealing story of exciting adventures and miraculous encounters in strange lands.

⁶⁰ Nearby Sorkam, where five of the titles were collected, was even smaller.

⁶¹ On literacy in Barus, see Chapter 1.

They were enjoyed in private or at public readings and were quite popular at the time. With the growing number of Muslims in the area, the demand for such texts increased. It was these circumstances that prompted texts such as the *Story of Bahram Syah* to be composed (see also Chapter 6). Translation and adaptation of existing narratives were common practices in the Malay World. In Barus, oral Batak stories, together with Malay, Minangkabau and Acehnese narratives, formed a wealth of material for aspiring authors to work with. The popular Acehnese *Story of Banta Beuransah* (Hikayat Banta Beuransah) was reworked into a Malay adventure story with an Islamic edifying component. The Malay version, the *Story of Bahram Syah*, reveals its place of production in the Malay, Minangkabau and, possibly, even Batak elements that were used to create the Malay story.

The Malay writings on the various strands of Sufism, together with *Syaikh* Daud's autobiographical texts, are evidence of the way Islam was experienced on Sumatra's north-west coast in the 1850s. The texts bear witness to competition between adherents of the traditional, mystical and syncretic form of Islam, and reformist-minded Muslims. The nineteenth century saw a renewed zeal among Sumatra's population for mystical Islamic teachings, especially along its west coast. This resulted in a proliferation of diverse Sufi brotherhoods. Most Sufi orders that were known from the previous two centuries were still attracting followers at the time, but newly developed sub-branches, such as the Naqsbandiyya-Khalidiyya, were introduced into the Malay World as well.⁶² The old conflict on the concept of *Wahdat al-Wujud* or Oneness of Being flared up. The conservative Sufi voice, propagating the Separation of Being, was heard in the teachings of the reformist Sufi. They favoured the writings by Nuruddin al-Raniri, Abdurrauf al-Singkili, Abdassamad al-Palimbani and Sirajuddin Jalaluddin over those by Hamzah Fansuri, who was an exponent of the extreme end of Wujudiyya.

Most of these Sufi works are treatises that meticulously discuss the doctrinal issues that distinguished the diverse orders. Such texts are highly theoretical and intended as study material for advanced Sufi adepts. This makes the two autobiographical accounts by *Syaikh* Daud of Sunur, which circulated in this coastal region, rather unique. His *Poem on the Village of Sunur* is of particular interest here, as it contains the life story of a reformist *syaikh* from the west coast. Daud's memoirs form an illustration of the way the religious conflict had an impact on the personal lives of those involved. After his unsuccessful attempt to convince his fellow villagers in Sunur to give up their syncretic practices and follow him in his more conservative teachings, he had to leave his family and friends and never saw his native *kampung* again. His writings did gain recognition from the Padris, though, who used them as propaganda (Suryadi 2005, 83–104; Wieringa 2002, 174–206). *Syaikh* Ismail's reworking of Daud's *Poem on Mecca and Medina* provides testimony of Khalidiyya presence on the west coast in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Barus' court circles were the scenes of an increased textual activity in the period under

⁶² See Chapter 1.

discussion. The local political history was treated in a series of works that were (re)written and copied around this time.⁶³ It is argued that the creation of new historical texts and adaptations of existing texts, by or on the behest of members of the two ruling houses, was motivated by recent changes in Barus' political climate.⁶⁴ Barus' historical writings were (re-)written between 1830 and the 1870s. The manuscript of a *bilir* chronicle titled *Story of Raja Tungtung* (Hikayat Raja Tungtung) was begun 31 December 1844, while a related historical narrative on the *bilir* dynasty *History of Tuanku Batu Badan* (Sejarah Tuanku Batu Badan) was composed between 1834 and 1872. The main part of the *hulu* chronicle *Origins of the Raja Barus* (Asal Keturunan Raja Barus) is assumed to have been finished in the year 1866 (Drakard 2003, 44–50, 103–105). A fourth historical writing, entitled *Hikayat Cerita Barus* (*Story of Barus*), dates from 1873 (Chambert-Loir 2009, 524).

In the seventeenth century, the VOC ended dual kingship in Barus because the successful cooperation between the two *raja* was not in the economic interest of the VOC. But, it was also the Dutch who backed the re-establishment of a second ruler in the Barus *bilir* around 1830. This happened after a family member of *raja* Barus *hulu*, named Sutan Main Alam, left the latter *kampung* and challenged the authority of the *raja mudik* by establishing himself as an independent ruler (Drakard 1990, 38–40; 42–45; Ismail 1985, 10). This act, the subsequent quarrels and fights, the reinstatement of dual kingship, plus the precarious relationship between the two *raja*, prompted the royal chronicles to be (re-)written. In particular, *Sutan* Main Alam, the newly re-established *bilir* chief, needed a reaffirmation of his status in the form of an adapted, authoritative court chronicle.

The composition of a Malay court chronicle was a proved means of fighting the anxieties of the ruling elite; by reinterpreting the course of historic events the author could steer its outcome: inscribing the future by writing the past.⁶⁵ A Malay chronicle legitimized the ruling dynasty by stressing its noble origins, and by offering a justification for specific historic events by implicitly referring to hidden powers that were present beneath the surface of a historic reality, for instance (Bradley 2009, 272; Houben 2009, 17–28; Ras 1968, 15–18; Kratz 2000; Kukushkin 2004). This functional aspect of historical Malay writings is illustrated by Drakard's reading of two court chronicles from Barus. She demonstrates that the two narratives present two versions of a shared past. They each aim, in their own way, to solve the 'problem' caused by the presence of two rulers in Barus. The *mudik* narrative portrays the port settlement as an undivided kingdom with

⁶³ It falls outside the scope of this study to delve deeper into the exact relationships between the various writings that are related to Barus' ruling houses. Drakard 1990, 54–55, makes a first attempt.

⁶⁴ See also Drakard 1990, 176. Drakard remarks that the two court writings she discusses in her study "clearly respond to a particular situation" (Drakard 1990, 176).

⁶⁵ This latter phrase is borrowed from the title of Nancy K. Florida's monograph on the Javanese chronicle *Babad Jaka Tingkir: Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future: History and Prophecy in Colonial Java* (1995).

the *mudik* ruler as sole ruler, thus negating the *hilir* claim for a share in Barus' political authority. In contrast, the *History of Tuanku Batu Badan* describes a long tradition of dual kingship, with a rightful place for a *hilir* chief alongside a ruler residing upstream. Drakard's thorough analysis demonstrates how Malay texts from the fringe of the Malay World are worthwhile reading, notwithstanding the fact that, at first glance, they seem stylistically modest and are written in a 'less sophisticated' form of Malay than that of the prose texts from the Strait of Malacca. Moreover, the dialogue between the two indigenous texts provides insight into the complex issue of dual kingship that cannot be gained from European sources. Through their organization and recurrence of particular themes, the texts give expression to two different ideas on authority. *Mudik* ideas on the right to rule are based on the original ownership of land; the *mudik* style of rule is characterized by the importance of rules and regulations, orders and boundaries. In contrast, the *hilir* text is imbued with more 'mainstream' ideas linked to the concept of the Malay kingdom. Here, political authority is presented as more ambiguous and complex, with stress on loyalty, consensus, oaths and court ceremonies. The two versions of Barus' dynastic history together produce an image of variation within a Malay World that is otherwise deemed uniquely homogenous (Drakard 1990).

There are similar texts from other Malay polities that support the thesis that this kind of historical texts were often (re)written in an era of political and social collapse. The *Story of Jambi* (Hikayat Negeri Jambi) from the riverine kingdom of Jambi in South Sumatra, for instance, was composed at a time when the relations between *hulu* and *hilir* settlements were severely strained. Its author was primarily concerned with the legitimacy of the *hilir* sultan's rule over the hinterland settlements. This became especially poignant in 1858 when the *hilir* sultan was overthrown by the Dutch and fled upstream where he governed the *hulu* settlements (Kukushin 2004, 56, 59 n. 10). A much older chronicle from Patani, now the most southern province of Thailand, was written as a way to re-establish a moral order after a period of political turmoil in the 1650s. The authors saw the collapse of the moral order exhibited by the disintegration of long-established rules and customs as the signs of the doom that had befallen their state (Bradley 2009, 267–293).

Apart from local feuds, the political consequences of the (re)colonization of Barus in 1839 demanded the attention of Barus' rulers. With the advance of the Dutch colonial administration in nineteenth-century Sumatra, local rulers had lost their political authority. They had been persuaded or forced by way of military sanctions to sign treaties with the Dutch, and had subsequently become mere district heads: paid officials in the service of the colonial government. In the constellation of the Malay kingdom, with its stress on the *raja* as sovereign, this submission to a foreign power entailed a considerable loss in status, or *nama*. The Dutch prohibition of the *raja* of Barus using their royal seals formed the final sign that their time as sovereign rulers had really ended (Joustra 1926, 31–33; Drakard 1990, 26, 45; Milner 1982, 94–111). In an attempt to counter

the effects of this disgrace, Barus' rulers commissioned a revision of their authoritative court narratives that either explained past events as inevitable or predestined, or stressed continuities instead of ruptures. One can even speculate that Barus' Malay elite turned to the field of Malay writing to restore some of their former sovereign aura; patronage of the arts was traditionally linked with the Malay court. It is in this context that the active role of the *bilir* ruler *Sutan* Ibrahim in Van der Tuuk's search for Malay texts and copyists gains significance. In 1851, it had only been two decades since *bilir* authority had been re-established through Dutch mediation, and the *mudik* side continued to undermine it. By presenting himself to Van der Tuuk as a patron of Malay writing, the *bilir* ruler would have been able to increase his prestige.⁶⁶

Multiple Narrative Practices

Local societal developments left their imprint on the shape of Malay writing on Sumatra's northwest coast. But so did the nature of the available narrative sources authors and creative copyists could turn to. Malay authors in Barus had access to different narratives from their colleagues in, for instance, Palembang in South Sumatra or Banjarmasin in South Kalimantan. The latter two areas experienced political and cultural influence from Java during certain periods of time and this is reflected in the Malay works that originate there. As for Barus, it formed the watershed of Acehnese, Malay, Minangkabau and Batak spheres of cultural influence: a crossroads where different textual traditions met and influenced each other. Writings in Malay, Arabic, Minangkabau and Acehnese circulated among the local population and temporary settlers. Oral stories, songs and poems in various Batak languages, Malay, Acehnese and Minangkabau added to the already rich stock of narrative material. Narrative elements, such as plots, protagonists, scenes, descriptive passages, textual dreams and other narrative devices, moved freely from one narrative practice to the other, crossing boundaries that divided languages and media. An example of this phenomenon in a Sumatran context is found in the *Story of Princess Balkis* and her meeting with the Prophet Sulaiman. Written prose versions of this story exist in Sumatra's three major languages: Acehnese, Malay and Minangkabau (Gerth van Wijk 1881; Alamsjah B. 1993). It is assumed that the origins of several Batak narratives can be traced to a Minangkabau-Malay original. A first phase of such a cultural crossover could have had the form of a Minangkabau-Malay story written in Mandailing script. Van der Tuuk saw such a text – the *Story of King Orang Muda* (Hikayat Tuanku Orang Muda) or – during his trip to Angkola and Mandailing in 1852 (Groeneboer 2002, 123).

⁶⁶ Mulaika Hijjas (2011) explains the revival of Malay writing in the Riau/Johore region in the nineteenth century in a similar way.

The itineraries of most derivations and adaptations seem impossible to trace, although further study may reveal cross-cultural relationships between texts.

Malay writing on the northwest coast of Sumatra was profoundly influenced by Minangkabau narrative practices and the Minangkabau language. The use of Minangkabau vocabulary, spelling characteristics, stock scenes and characters, and Minangkabau genre indicators such as *tambo* and *kaba* attest to this.⁶⁷ This picture fits in with what was said earlier; that is, that Sumatra's west coast, Barus included, had been host to a Minangkabau diaspora since at least the sixteenth century. Modern-day linguists even consider the local variant of spoken Malay to be Minangkabau (Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1996, map 68). With such a conspicuous Minangkabau presence in the coastal areas of North Sumatra, it is not surprising to find texts written in the Minangkabau language in Barus.⁶⁸ One of the copyists who assisted Van der Tuuk in Barus, *si* Liek, was probably of Minangkabau origin. He was the copyist of several Minangkabau stories for Van der Tuuk: *Story of Malim Deman* (Kaba Malim Deman), *Story of Ahmad* (*Hikayat Ahmad*), a moral warning against self-exaltation, *Si Sakapiang*, and a short story on the illicit relation between a princess and the son of a *penghulu*.⁶⁹ At least one copy of a Minangkabau law digest or *Undang-Undang Minangkabau* was available in Barus.⁷⁰ The *hilir* ruler, *Sutan Ibrahim*, who was of Minangkabau-Malay lineage, owned a copy of the Minangkabau *Story of Malin Deman* (Kaba Malim Deman).⁷¹ Two other Minangkabau stories, which we know were collected in Barus, are *Story of the Murai Batu Bird* (*Hikayat Si Kicau Murai Batu*) and *Story of the Monkey Who Climbed a Durian Tree* (Kaba Baruak Mamanjek Durian).⁷²

To give an idea of how the Minangkabau element in Barus' society coloured Malay texts that are rooted in northwest coast soil, I turn to the *Story of Babram Syah*. Although it is a Malay reworking of an Acehnese story, the *SBS* displays Minangkabau influence on the level of language, spelling and content. First, the text contains a considerable number of Minangkabau words. Some have an equivalent in Malay, while others are specific to Minangkabau. Examples of the first are: *kutiko* (Malay: *ketika*, 'when,' 'mo-

⁶⁷ The textual category of *tambo* comprises traditional Minangkabau historiographies, whereas *kaba* is used for long prose narratives that were often exemplary of the ideal conduct in life.

⁶⁸ The relative size of Minangkabau writing in Barus compared to local Malay writing is difficult to determine. Moreover, such an investigation goes beyond the aim of this study.

⁶⁹ Respectively Cod. Or. 3204, 3203 2, 3, 4 and 5. Cod. Or. 3204 is ascribed to *si* Liek on the basis of the handwriting; his hand is quite characteristic. *Si* Sakapiang tells the story of a child the size of a '*kapiang*' or coin. He is born as result of a hasty wish by his parents. A childless couple prayed to have a child, however small it would be. Their prayer was answered and *si* Sakapiang was born to them (Wieringa 2007, 34–47, 137–139).

⁷⁰ Cod. Or. 3260 I, 52v.

⁷¹ Cod. Or. 3203 1. See also Wieringa 2007, 34–37.

⁷² Cod. Or. 3205 1 and Cod. Or. 3295 3. The *Hikayat Si Kicau Murai Batu* recounts a dramatic romance; its title refers to the *murai batu* bird, which acts as a go-between and advisor to Princess Canda Dewi in the story (Wieringa 2007, 39–41, 191–192).

ment'), *tindawan* (Malay: *cendawan*, 'mushroom'), *mantahari* (Malay: *matahari*, 'sun'), and *pansan*, (Malay: *pingsan*, 'to swoon'). Representative for the second group are *nian* ('really'), *mangulisa* ('to move'), *mamupue* ('to pick'), *kucikak* ('a joke'), *salapan* ('eight'), and *kuhue* ('to cough'). Furthermore, the text's spelling is marked by spelling practices commonly referred to as *pemelayuan* or Malayization. *Pemelayuan* is the practice of writing Minangkabau words that have a Malay counterpart as Malay words. This convention came about in the nineteenth century, when the *jawi* script, originally adapted for writing in the Malay language, was used by the Dutch to write down the Minangkabau oral (Muhardi s.n., 7). The following examples taken from the *SBS* illustrate this spelling convention: the Minangkabau word for rice, *bareh*, is spelled *baras* (Malay: *beras*). The Minangkabau word for 'to fetch' or 'to collect' is *manjapui*; in *jawi* script it is spelled *menjaput* (Malay: *menjempuit*). *Manjamue* (Minangkabau, 'to dry') is spelled as *menjamur* (Malay: *menjemur*). And lastly, *tabieng* (Minangkabau, 'river bank') is spelled as *tabing* (Malay: *tebing*).

The society that is depicted in the *SBS* is easily recognizable as Sumatran *pesisir* Malay: a coastal Malay society marked by Minangkabau elements.⁷³ References to Minangkabau culture include the honorific title *Marah* for male members of the aristocracy and the golden *rangkiang* or rice barn that Bahram Syah is challenged to erect; the latter is a specifically Minangkabau architectural form (*SBS* 60a). Next, the character of *Rajo Ange*' Garang or King Fierce and Fiery in the *SBS* is known as a stock character in several West Sumatran narrative traditions. In these, he is presented as a cruel and wicked person, like his Malay counterpart in the *SBS* (*SBS* 10b–12a). When, in the *SBS*, Bahram Syah wishes to wed Princess Wandering Beach Hibiscus Flower, he is subjected to a series of tests. One of these involves the production of a huge piece of cloth to cover the mountain Soaring Cloud (*SBS* 61a–62b). The image of a miraculous cloth that can cover mountains and even cities, but fits in a single fist when folded, similarly derives from West Sumatra.⁷⁴ And finally, there is the intrusion of the Minangkabau language in the Malay text that reveals the Minangkabau-Malay background of the text's author (or copyist, for that matter). It concerns a curse uttered by Grandmother Kebayan, the old lady who adopts Bahram Syah as her son. When, in the *SBS*, Bahram Syah directly addresses the princess in Grandmother Kebayan's presence, his adoptive mother pretends to be furious with him, because of this inappropriate behaviour. She threatens to smack him and curses him loudly in her 'native' tongue, Minangkabau: "Hai anak Singiang-ngiang rimbo, anak Bincacak Kaling kuduang, anak Katumbi aleh sandi, anak pamalik batang buruak!" (*SBS* 34a). This translates as "Oh son of the ghost Singiang-ngiang, who lives in the woods!

⁷³ These correspondences will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

⁷⁴ This image refers to a well-known Minangkabau metaphoric saying: *Dibalun seujung kuku, dikembang saleba alam* or 'Rolled up as small as a nail, unfolded as wide as the world' (Moussay 1995, 640; personal communication with Suryadi, Leiden, 24 June 2014).

Son of Bincacak, child of Singiang-ngiang. You maimed Kling!⁷⁵ Son of the ghost named Ketumbi who lives under the cornerpole of the house! Son of the ghost who resides in dead tree trunks!”(*SBS* 34a).

Although less pronounced than the Minangkabau colouring, Batak influence can be pointed out in some of the Malay writings from Barus. Like other port villages on Sumatra’s west coast, Barus was a Malay enclave in a region inhabited by other ethno-cultural groups. The hinterland was home to Batak, whose forefathers had come down from their mountainous homeland to settle on the flat, coastal strip bordering the Indian Ocean. The Barus *mudik* dynasty traced its ancestry back to these Batak settlers. In the mid-nineteenth century, the prospect of a good profit from maritime trade was still attracting Batak to the coast; most of these newcomers settled in the *mudik* compound. They brought their languages, writings and narratives with them. The extensive collection of Batak texts that were gathered by Van der Tuuk in Barus and environs is evidence of the presence of once lively Batak textual practices in Barus and environs (Brakel-Papenhuyzen 2007, 2014; Voorhoeve 1977). Beside the impressive number of 152 *pustaka* and numerous inscribed bamboo strips, the collection contains 25 bound volumes with oral narratives that have been noted down by Van der Tuuk and his Batak assistants.⁷⁶

Specific Batak terms mark the *mudik* chronicle *Origins of the Raja Barus*. Of another Malay historical text connected with the *mudik* settlement, Chambert-Loir states that its linguistic particularities seem to suggest that the Malay text is a translation of a text in one of the regional languages (Drakard 1990, 61; Chambert-Loir 2009, 507–528). Considering the mixed Batak-Malay ancestry of the *mudik* ruler, this was probably a Batak language. While on a linguistic level, the *SBS* does not seem to contain Batak particularities, some of its passages find parallels in Batak stories. The journey of Bahram Syah and his brothers up until the point they part ways at the three-forked path is reminiscent of a Batak story about two brothers named *si Aji Panurat* and *si Aji Pamasas*. Furthermore, the motif of the three grateful animals is also found in the Batak Story of *si Parmiskin* (Voorhoeve 1927, 103; 155–156).⁷⁷ Bahram Syah’s futile hunt for a pregnant male deer that starts off the second plot of the *SBS* shows resemblances to a Dairi creation story

⁷⁵ ‘Kling’ or ‘Keling’ refers to South Indians. In Malay writing it is often used in a derogatory way.

⁷⁶ Batak narratives were almost without exception oral. The *pustaka* contained secret knowledge on topics such as divination and medicine. Short texts on bamboo or pieces of bone include love letters, threatening letters, laments and writing exercises. In some cases, the writing was considered potent and the piece of bamboo or bone was kept as a charm (Durie 1996b, 231–252). Voorhoeve’s PhD thesis (1927) and Clara Brakel-Papenhuyzen’s recent publication *Dairi Stories and Pakpak Storytelling* (2014) are rich sources of stories in the various Batak languages.

⁷⁷ On the motif of the lost ring and its retrieval by three animals in the different narrative tradition in the Archipelago, see De Vries, 1925, 382.

(*SBS* 67a–70b).⁷⁸ The latter tale relates how the pregnant wife of the divine Creator in heaven asks him for the meat of a pregnant male deer. Upon hearing this request, the Creator orders his assistant, with his seven ferocious hunting dogs, to go out on a hunt for the animal (Brakel-Papenhuyzen 2007, 16–18). It is illustrative of Barus' multi-cultural narrative field that correspondences are found in Malay narratives as well. The tale with the three grateful animals, which retrieve a stolen object for their master, is known from other Malay stories. And the Dairi creation myth is strikingly similar to a widely disseminated Malay oral story on a much feared male ghost called *hantu pemburu* or spectre huntsman.

Acehnese narrative and non-narrative texts were particularly known in the *hilir* community. Seafarers and traders from the harbours to the north of Barus brought the tales – in both oral and written form – to the other west coast ports. A copy of Nuruddin al-Raniri's *Tibyān* that was acquired by Van der Tuuk in Barus, for instance, can be linked to Aceh on the basis of its spelling characteristics (Voorhoeve 1955a, 24; 1955b, 156). But the Acehnese contribution to Malay writing from the northwest coast is epitomized by the *SBS*. The story was written on Sumatra's northwest coast based on a renowned Acehnese narrative that is linked to the region directly north of Barus.⁷⁹

To recapitulate, in the 1850s, the relatively small coastal community of Barus was the scene of a varied Malay writing practice comprising various types of Malay texts. Most of the works that circulated in Barus between 1851 and 1857 were produced outside the region. Among the few original writings are Barus' court chronicles and adaptations of texts that derived from other places, in Archipelago and beyond. Lastly, the analysis of the titles and textual categories that were encountered in Barus yields two findings. First, Malay writing occupied an important place in Barus' society and its significance was based on the multiple functions the writings fulfilled within that society. And second, the presence of a fully developed writing practice in a relatively small community with limited literacy can only be explained by the fact that Malay writing in Barus formed part of a larger textual network that stretched Sumatra's west coast.

The number of Malay writings that were circulating in the relatively small town of Barus must have been considerable. The 58 titles that have been traced so far only offer us a peek at the complete picture of Malay writing in Barus. The relative scale of Malay writing practices on the northwest coast becomes even more remarkable when one takes into account the fact that literacy in *jawi* script was quite low, as many 'Malays' were, in fact, recently converted Batak. But the reach of Malay writings was wider than one would expect it to be in a small, semi-literate society. Malay writings were not only read in

⁷⁸ The story is found in Van der Tuuk's collection of Batak texts: Cod. Or. 3420, 392: *Permungkaben Pertengahan Ena*.

⁷⁹ Chapter 6 addresses the relation between the Malay *SBS* and the Acehnese *SBB* in detail.

private, but also recited before an audience. This way, the illiterate part of the community was able to participate in local Malay narrative practices.

The Malay works from Barus offer a unique opportunity to investigate the relations between the writings and genres, and the time and place of their production and consumption. As has been argued, recent changes in local politics and the loss of the chiefs' sovereignty to the Dutch instigated the composition or adaptation of texts associated with the two ruling houses of Barus. At the same time, Islamization led to a growing demand for religious works and hence prompted the production of new writings, adaptations and translations. Moreover, the presence of religious works that advocate a more orthodox branch of Islam, in addition to writings that expound Sufi doctrine and practices, form a reflection of the religious competition that was going on in nineteenth-century North and Central Sumatra. In short, Malay writings educated, propagated and legitimated, while often, at the same time, they entertained the reader or audience.

These conclusions challenge the idea that is implicitly or explicitly conveyed by many publications on Malay writing; that is, that Malay writing is considered a homogeneous practice throughout the Malay World and over several centuries. If historical particularities have, at least partly, determined the nature of Barus' Malay writing practices, then this might also have been the case in other places where Malay writings were composed, copied and read. In this chapter, it has been argued that localized Malay writing practices, besides the elements they shared with Malay writings from other times and places, had their own distinctive character. Features such as the kinds of writings that were read, the relative numbers of the extant writings and the marked presence of specific themes or topics covered, together define the specifics of localized Malay writing. On the necessity to turn our attention to examples of these regional writing practices, Drakard remarks:

We still know little about the way in which language, style and the use of literary conventions vary between texts and between regions, and the study of local literature, [...], is one means of identifying the *presence of specific content and form* [emphasis mine] in the context of conventional literary features and genre expectations (Drakard 1990, 74).

Unfortunately, to date, not much research has been done in this field. As mentioned above, it proves difficult to create a suitable research corpus of texts on the basis of extant Malay manuscripts. Some collections are limited to one specific environment, such as the private collection of the sultan of Bima (Mulyadi 1990–1992). Others bear the stamp of the predilections of their nineteenth-century Western collectors. There are lists drawn up by European observers with titles of Malay works that were known at a particular place and time. For instance, Den Hamer listed all long narrative writings in prose and verse that circulated in Banjarmasin, Kalimantan, in the 1880s (Den Hamer 1890, 531–564). But such lists often only include titles that were of direct interest to the compiler. Writings that represent other genres were not included: historical writings, books on

medicine and divination, religious works, writings dealing with *adat*, and so on. To gain a complete view of a localized Malay literature, one needs to have access to a wide variety of texts, from diverse social groups. This is exactly what Van der Tuuk has made possible. With his developed social skills and strong dedication to his work he managed to gather texts from different social environments.

It is argued that Malay writing in Barus was sustained by its participation in a larger, west-coast complex of Malay writings. This network was defined by a notable Minangkabau colouring. In turn, it was linked through Barus' trade, religious and social contacts with Penang and Java to a yet larger web of Malay textual practices that covered the Malay World. The west coast yielded writings that Drakard has described as "frontier writings": with themes such as settlement, travel, relations between *mudik* and *hilir* and consensus between different groups of a society. These themes, I contend, not only occur in Malay historical writings where they are expected to feature, but also in Malay adventure stories, such as the *SBS*.⁸⁰ Besides their frontier character, there is another angle these works can be viewed from. Many Malay works that were written, copied, translated, adapted and consumed in Sumatra's coastal regions fit Overbeck's category of *dagang* or traders' writings. In Overbeck's review of Hooykaas' *Over Maleische literatuur* (1937) he pleads for the distinction between different categories of Malay writing based on the different environments in which the texts were produced and consumed: court literature, *dagang* literature and folk literature (Overbeck 1938). The world of *dagang* writings painted by Overbeck was inhabited by men like the Muslim *syaikh* and author Daud from Sunur, the west-coast trader Muhammad Saleh and *Haji* 'Abd al-Manāf al-Jududuh in Sorkam, grandson of an illustrious Khalidiyya Sufi *syaikh* and *si* Liek, the Minangkabau-Malay scribe. It is a world where writers, learned Muslim men, rulers cum merchants, traders and seafarers shared the same space. They travelled the same route along the coasts and shared lodgings, boats, books, stories and beliefs. Malay was their common language. Most of them lived itinerant lives and, thus, were true *dagang*.⁸¹

This chapter examined Malay writing in relation to the 'local.' But since all Malay texts are also tied to a larger network spanning the Malay World, they must also be studied in the framework of Malay writing in general. Therefore, Chapters 4 and 5 investigate the *SBS* as part of a second group of Malay texts, consisting of works from various places and ages. However, two issues have not yet been discussed here; that is, the problematic categorization of the writings from Barus, and the negative judgement of Malay adventure stories by collectors and scholars in the past. These will be dealt with first in the following chapter.

⁸⁰ Chapter 6 discusses in depth the relation between the world depicted in the *SBS* and the world outside the text.

⁸¹ In Malay, *dagang* ('trader') is also used to mean 'wanderer.' On *dagang* in the *SBS*, see Chapter 6.

3 | Malay Adventure Stories: 'Poor Literature'

The discussion in the previous chapter revealed that, in some cases, the Western textual genres do not comfortably fit Malay writings. The outspoken religious nature of some works that were categorized as adventure stories, for instance, prompts the question of whether a classification along Western lines does justice to the Malay writings. Should we read the *Story of Bahram Syah*, for example, as a romance, analogue to the medieval romance from the Middle Ages, or is Vladimir Propp's folktale perhaps a better guide for understanding the work (Propp 1958)? And, what should we do with the *Poem on Mecca and Medina*? Does it speak to us sufficiently as an autobiography, a travel journal or a religious pamphlet?

These are important questions to address. Because, it is argued here, the old ways of looking at Malay texts could not fail to present an unflattering image of the Malay textual heritage. And, because more than a hundred years of research has yielded few alternative approaches to Malay writings, especially in the case of Malay adventure stories. It is time to look afresh at these 'fantastic' tales and find new frames for reading that lead to new understandings about them.

This chapter argues that Malay adventure stories have received mainly negative commentaries in the past because of the Western, nineteenth-century vocabulary that has been used to discuss them. The stories on the wanderings of a young prince through foreign lands, his battles and his multiple marriages have been described as boring, whimsical, childish and fantastic. Post-modern and, in particular, post-colonial studies have shown how descriptions of non-Western textual practices have been shaped by nineteenth-century, Western discourses on literature, race, religion and colonialism. Two Western categories in particular, it is argued, were involved in the dismissal of Malay adventure stories as ridiculous and worthless: 'literature' and 'magic.' Through a com-

prehensive examination of their successive roots and histories, and an analysis of older commentaries on Malay adventure stories, this chapter aims to show how the two classifications, instead of generating useful knowledge about Malay writing, referred back to Western phenomena. A concise account of the intellectual climate in nineteenth-century Europe will serve as the background for these investigations. The main source for the following overview is the comprehensive reader *Colonialism & Modernity* by Paul Gillen and Devleena Ghosh (2007).

To gain an understanding of the mentality of nineteenth-century intellectuals, one has to go back to the eighteenth century. Developments and events that took place in this Age of Enlightenment set the stage for the formulation of new models for thinking about man and his relation to his natural and social surroundings that would determine human actions in the century to come. The Enlightenment project was a cultural movement of European thinkers aimed at societal changes, which were to be induced by questioning both worldly and religious powers. Central to this eighteenth-century turn of events was the epoch-making declaration of human reason as a new source of knowledge and moral compass, replacing divine law. It was propagated that man himself was capable of making sound judgements through empiric research or reasoning.¹ The result of this intellectual movement was that Christianity's grip on society was loosened. But there were another three developments that were at play in prompting this major paradigm shift. First, there is the belief in the existence of natural laws; that is, laws concerning the order of the natural world. Next, the individual was thought to have natural rights. And lastly, Enlightenment philosophy was imbued with a sense of life being in transit, from a primitive origin to a utopian end. Human societies were believed to possess the potential to improve and evolve. One of the many thinkers that were both influenced by and contributed to the new movement was the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831). In the publications by his hand that appeared in the early nineteenth century, he presented human life as a struggle for freedom. To attain this latter state, he asserted, enhanced understanding of the self, the other and the world was required. He posited the existence of four stages of this process, the last stage representing the ideal 'free' society, and categorized human civilizations on the basis of these stages. Ideas like Hegel's and those of other innovative thinkers prompted an inquisitive attitude among Europe's intellectuals and introduced the idea of evolutionary change (Gillen and Ghosh 2007, 31–33).

¹ Although many of the discoveries and new ideas of 1800s emerged in the wake of Enlightenment thinking, there is another important nineteenth-century model of representation that formed a counter-movement, and that is Romanticism. In reaction to Enlightenment's focus on rationality, Romantic thinkers made a plea for engaging emotion and intuition in the search for knowledge. The co-existence of these two models explains the sometimes paradoxical representation in this period of certain topics, such as 'magic' (see Meyer and Pels 2003, 7–8). For the sake of the current argument, Romanticism will be discussed in this chapter's paragraph on the history of the concept of 'magic.'

Around the same time, investigations by geologists following this new line of enquiry resulted in the important discovery of 'deep time': the idea that the world was unfathomably older than the mere six thousand years Christian dogma had it believed to be (Gillen and Ghosh 2007, 114–216). In combination with the idea that human societies were capable of transformation, this concept of deep time opened up new vistas, such as the possibility of evolutionary change. The latter hypothesis was scientifically grounded in 1859 by the ground-breaking publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. Darwin's main ideas, often summarized as 'the struggle for survival' and 'the survival of the fittest' (or 'natural selection') had a significant impact on contemporary science and society in general. For instance, in the second half of the nineteenth century, Social Darwinism exerted considerable influence in European societies, both in intellectual circles and in popular thinking.² Its main architect, Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) had noticed parallels between his own economic theories and Darwin's notion of the survival of the fittest, and linked the latter idea to human societies. Social Darwinism was based on Darwin's determinism, but had one critical additional assumption, and that was the belief that Darwin's ideas did not just extend to physical properties of humans, but also to all aspects of their culture, such as religion, ethics and political institutions. This cultural evolutionism entailed an evolutionary continuum with prehistoric man at its lowest point. Contemporary categories that were allotted the same position as prehistoric man were children, women, the lower social groups and tribal societies. This postulation of primitive man was of crucial importance to Spencer's line of thinking. He needed to portray the primitive as immoral, irrational and aggressive in order to create the temporal space for humans, and their culture, to evolve. As social Darwinism was not a social or political theory as it lacked an ideological component, it contained the possibility for transference to a whole spectrum of ideological positions. For instance, Spencer's evolutionist ideas reinforced already existing religious notions of the superiority of the white race and western civilization (Gillen and Ghosh 2007, 96–98).

Apart from developments in the field of ideas, the reverberations of Enlightenment's plea for investigation, the search for knowledge, combined with the spirit of progress prompted advances in the field of technology as well. The nineteenth century saw some ground-breaking novelties that profoundly changed daily life, especially in the field of communication and transportation. Telegraph and, later that century, the telephone shortened distances, while the steam engine – applied in the steamboat and locomotive – revolutionized the way man traveled. Electricity was a second 'motive' power that was discovered and practically applied in the 1800s; it would ignite the second Industrial Revolution later that century. And finally, in the light of the following discussion about

² A good introduction to the impact of Social Darwinism on European thought is Mike Hawkins' *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought 1860–1945: Nature as Model and Nature as Threat* (1997).

colonialist expansion, there are the various inventions that led to advances in the domain of firearms that need to be mentioned here (Gillen and Ghosh 2007, 45–47).

It is around this point that the European histories of nineteenth-century thinking, technological innovations and colonialism began to converge. Scholarship and colonial expansion stimulated each other in several ways and the technological advances made (re)colonization and fruitful exploitation of the colonized areas possible. After the liquidation of the VOC, the Dutch colonial government residing in Batavia had initially been reluctant to recolonize the areas that had been left to the indigenous rulers after the departure of the company's traders and administrators. Due to the deplorable state of the Dutch economy after the Napoleonic rule, Dutch military power in the East was limited and concentrated on Java. However, explorative forays into areas of the Archipelago that had not yet been incorporated in the colonial administration had revealed ample opportunities for profitable crop cultivation. Moreover, independent trade ports formed yet another potential source of income for the Dutch. Thus, in order to replenish the Dutch treasury, colonial expansion was needed to secure these profitable sources.

The scholarly publications on geology, flora, fauna and peoples of island Southeast Asia that appeared in the nineteenth century formed a useful guide for the Dutch in their colonial enterprise. With the rising importance and prestige of science, Western states began to fund explorative expeditions. Coastlines were charted and data were collected on a wide array of topics such as geology, biology and anthropology. The Dutch, like other colonial powers, were fascinated with the collection, codification, and naming of exotica: flora, fauna, inanimate objects or humans. It was due to, among others, Enlightenment thinker Carl Linneaus that the enormous amount of data generated by these new investigations could be categorized; he developed a flexible classification system that made it possible to establish relations between living things (Gillen and Ghosh 2007, 140–144).

There is, however, another way that Western discourse on the Archipelago is closely entwined with Dutch colonialism. Lately, a whole new body of scholarly literature has appeared that demonstrates how Western knowledge on the colonies, produced mainly in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, operated in the specific historical, intellectual and economic setting of Western imperialism and colonialism. These postcolonial subversive critiques, set off by Edward Said's influential work *Orientalism* (1978), argue that Western scholarship on the colonies produced a Western discourse that constructed a colony that was dependent on and reproduced the positional superiority and hegemony of the West. This system of representations was impregnated with European superiority, racism and imperialism (Gillen and Ghosh 2007, 155–158).

Although colonies were established by the use of physical and military power, it is argued that a crucial factor in the continued success of colonialism lay in what Nicholas Dirks calls "cultural technologies of rule": "subtle techniques of dominance manifest in the realm of language, taste, morality, scholarship and the production of cultural

memory," that profoundly altered the basic experience of the world and the self by the colonized (Gillen and Ghosh 2007, 133–135). Colonies ruled through the coding, delineation and reconstitution of various systems of knowledge, such as vernacular grammars, archeological displays and the formalization of religious texts. Examples include the Dutch and German nineteenth-century discourse on Sumatra's 'Batak,' and the British creation of 'the rural Malay' (Smith Kipp 1996; Andaya 2002, 2008; Perret 1995; Kahn 2006). From this follows that scholars such as Van der Tuuk and Klinkert, and missionaries alike, form part of the apparatus of colonialism.

Paradoxically, the Age of Reason yielded the proclamation of the Rights of Man and the anti-slavery movement, but also, through the evolutionist ideas of the following century, a reinforcement of racism. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the European colonizers' moral dilemmas stemming from colonization had been mainly abated by considerations of a religious nature. Colonialism, motivated by imperialist tendencies, the prospect of profitable trade and, perhaps, an inquisitive mind were primarily justified by the religious obligation to spread the gospel. With the Enlightenment project new justifications of colonialism became available. One of them was that the 'primitive' peoples inhabiting the colonies needed the European colonizers' guidance in order to advance. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, new models of thinking resulted in a new world view, but at the same time reinforced older assumptions, such as the superiority of the white race (Gillen and Gosh 2007, 92–98). The growing power of European states, the impulse to measure and categorize and the scientific interest in biological difference worked together to create of heightened sense of white racial pre-eminence. Social Darwinism made many Europeans assume that they were inherently superior to other peoples; the global dominance of Europeans seemed to prove it. The different peoples of the Archipelago, on the other hand, were seen as savages without written laws or history. Following evolutionary ideas, they were thought of as representing a low stage in human and cultural development. This line of thinking allotted a paternalistic role to the already advanced European nations; they were to take the primitives by the hand as children and guide them to development.

Such is the background against which Western knowledge on Malay writing and its evaluations by early collectors and scholars should be understood. The tendency of these men to categorize and impose hierarchical orders stems from the intellectual climate that formed them, likewise their preoccupation with 'origin' and 'purity' in relation to cultures. The accumulation of knowledge about the colony occurred within the framework of colonialism, and ultimately served colonial interest. The cultural embeddedness of European men who came to the Malay World to study the Malay language and literature inevitably led to their disappointment, when all that they managed to find were scores of texts on Muslim doctrine and religious practices, booklets on 'magic' and other 'superstitious beliefs', 'untrustworthy' histories and, lastly, 'poorly written', 'sentimental' poems and 'tedious' and 'fantastic' adventure stories. Instead of questioning their standards, they

labelled those texts that did not neatly fit the requirements of a specific literary or textual genre as ‘poor’ or ‘inferior’ ‘literature.’ Key in their evaluations were their own, Western, ideas of what a text should look like to be called ‘literary.’

Unfamiliar with such cultural phenomena as partial and oral literacy, the European collectors of Malay manuscripts looked for and expected to find in the Malay World a written literature roughly similar to their own.³ Central to the so-called high literature in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century were realist narratives, in particular the realist novel. Realism was a theory of writing in which the ordinary aspects of life are depicted in a straightforward manner to reflect life as it actually is. Realist writings often present detailed descriptions of everyday life and are primarily concerned with the lives and preoccupations of members of the middle and lower classes. Realism downplays plot in favour of character. The movement began around the middle of the nineteenth century in reaction to the highly subjective approach of Romanticism, the artistic and philosophical movement that held sway in cultural circles in the first half of that century. The realistic novel of the nineteenth century was characterized by a unified and plausible plot structure, sharply individualized and believable characters and a pervasive illusion of reality in fiction (Morris 2003; Schipper 1979, 34–52). Many Malay writings, in contrast, were not narratives, but rather enumerations of religious and customary laws, commentaries on renowned collections of Arab religious writings, texts on medicine, magic, dreams and divination and genealogies. Moreover, the narratives that were collected lacked the requirement of probability.

It is enlightening to take a look at pre-nineteenth-century comments on Malay writings; they show how the disdain for Malay writings that was prevalent among the later scholars was closely connected to their culturally informed perception of literature. Scholars and collectors such as George Hendrik Werndly (1694–1744) and François Valentijn (1666–1727) saw Malay as a language of learning, like Latin in Europe. They read the works to unravel the knowledge that was contained in them. The complaint so commonly found in nineteenth-century sources that Malay writings are overly repetitious and lack originality is conspicuously absent in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century commentaries. To the scholars of the latter period, ‘copiousness’ and ‘decorum’ were the marks of good literature. And borrowing material from earlier sources was a common practice in Europe among contemporary authors (Sweeney 1994, 330). Whereas Valentijn (1724) saw, for instance, the Malay ‘mirror for princes and kings’ *Taj us-salatin* as a “noble book” and “the best Malay book that I know”. Winstedt remarked on that same book two hundred years later that it was “poorly written,” “of small literary worth” and “atrocious in its language” (Valentijn 1724 and Winstedt [c. 1991] cited in Sweeney 1994, 330). Before Darwin’s and Spencer’s ideas came to influence Europeans’ view of the

³ Sweeney’s pioneering *A Full Hearing* (1987) is the best source for information on orality and literacy in the Malay World. Kozok 2000 presents a case study of partial literacy in North Sumatra.

world and its societies in the second half of the nineteenth century, the first half saw the peak of an intellectual and literary movement referred to as Romanticism. It originated in the late eighteenth century, partly as a reaction to the Industrial Revolution. At the same time, it was also a revolt against the aristocratic social and political norms of the Age of Enlightenment and a reaction to the scientific rationalization of nature. The European Romanticists found in Malay writing too much of the "old rhetorical commonplace" tradition they had just rejected. The infamous label 'Classical' for Malay writing originates from this period; with it, the Romanticists relegated Malay writing to the past (Sweeney 1994, 331).

A few recent studies on Malay texts have explicitly addressed and exposed the fallacy of the Eurocentric gaze for understanding Malay texts. It is mainly in research on the Malay dynastic histories that this trend has been most visible, though. The pioneering work on both Malay and Javanese historical writings by J. J. Ras (1968, 1994) laid the basis for later studies, such as those of Drakard (1990), Sergei Kukushkin (2004) and Francis R. Bradley (2009). Central to their work is the notion that Malay court histories are not histories in the Western sense of the word. Instead, they are writings that present a consciously manipulated picture of certain past events to legitimate current affairs and to facilitate a desired future. It was never the composer's intent to faithfully represent history as it happened. Thus, Malay histories are not 'untrustworthy histories,' as has been argued, but compositions written at the behest of the ruling *raja* to legitimate his right to the throne or to justify his actions, past or future (Ras 1969, 1994; Drakard 1990; Bradley 2009; Kukushkin 2004). A similar re-evaluation of Malay adventure stories has yet to be undertaken and is what this study aims to accomplish.

Efforts to further the study of the Malay language paralleled the advance of the Dutch colonial administration in the Archipelago. They were intensified in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was no coincidence. The Malay grammars, dictionaries and textbooks that appeared in the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century were cultural instruments of Dutch colonialism. Malay had been used for centuries in Southeast Asia as a *lingua franca*, mainly for inter-ethnic trade purposes, and the Dutch had become aware of its potential. They promoted Malay as the preferred means of communication with the different ethnic groups subjected to their rule.⁴ The need was felt for the standardization of the language and the publication of Malay reading material; this would not only facilitate the study of the language by prospective government officials, but also spread Malay among the different peoples living in the colony. Government-sponsored indigenous schools with Malay on the curriculum first started

⁴ Long before the colonial government had seriously taken up the promotion of the Malay language for worldly purposes, the church and missionary organizations had already recognized the reach of the Malay language and had used it to spread the word of God among the indigenous population of the Archipelago (Swellengrebel 1974, 173–203).

to appear in this period, and serious attempts were made – by the two colonial powers in the Malay region, the Dutch and English – to standardize the Malay language.

As narrative texts, Malay adventure stories were particularly suitable for linguistic study. Thus, they were collected in considerable numbers by linguists, Bible translators and governmental officials. With Malay adventure stories under the looking glass of learned men from the West, opinions about them started to appear in private letters, reports and publications. The picture painted in the reviews and commentaries was not a flattering one. Three assumed shortcomings kept reappearing in the critiques. The stories were judged long-winded and boring, nonsensical, and considered as mere adaptations of great works from foreign civilizations. Now all three points of critique converge in the nineteenth-century Western concept of ‘literature’. Thus, repetition in Malay adventure stories – the assumed main cause of the tediousness of the stories – was deemed a matter of inadequate literary style. Unrealistic, fantastic depictions violated the literary requirement of probability. The fact that many adventure stories were the reworking of other texts proved that they lacked perhaps the most important prerequisite of literary works according to Western ideas, that of originality. In short, Malay adventure stories were seen as writings of inferior literary quality. How, then, can we explain their former popularity in the Malay World? To their nineteenth-century audiences, these stories were neither monotonous, nor senseless. Public readings that lasted well into the night drew large gatherings and a continuous demand for these kinds of texts prompted the creation of new stories. A look at the nature of the repetition and the supernatural in the narratives, as well as at the ways new narratives come into being brings us closer to an answer.

With repetition on every level of the text and between different texts within the genre, it takes effort from a modern-day reader to finish a complete Malay adventure story. Firstly, adventure stories display a limited vocabulary. A concordance of the *SBS* shows that only seven words together make up almost 20 per cent of the text: *pun*, *maka*, *kepada*, *yang*, *dan*, *ia* and *itu*.⁵ The repetition continues on the level of the sentence. Similar to other adventure stories, many sentences in the *SBS* follow the same pattern: ‘He spoke, “[...]” and went.’⁶ These findings are corroborated by the concordances of Malay narrative texts of the online Malay Concordance Project that was set up by Ian Proudfoot.⁷ The use of stock phrases, paraphrases, and parallelism (to give two or more parts of the sentences a similar form in order to give the whole a definite pattern) also fall into the category

⁵ The high occurrence of punctuation words such as *maka*, *batta* and *syahdan* and the focus particle *pun* in Malay narrative writings is connected to the aural nature of Malay written texts. These words constitute the ‘audible punctuation’ during performances where the text is read aloud in front of an audience (Sweeney 1980, 21).

⁶ *Maka ia pun berkata*, “[...]” lalu berjalanlah. *Jalan* and *kata*, together with *ada* (‘to be’) and *ke* (‘to, towards’), are four more words with a high occurrence in the *SBS*.

⁷ A project of the Australian National University; <http://mcp.anu.edu.au/Q/mcp.html>, accessed 7 October 2013.

of repetition that marks this type of text. An example of a common form of parallelism occurs in the *SBS*:

Ghaisyah left and journeyed without stopping, from one resting place to another, from one plain to another plain, and from one patch of jungle to another (*SBS* 8b).

Another type of repetition consists of a series of synonyms that denote one and the same event. The following sentence from the same story describes how the king faints when he is struck by the radiant light emitted by the precious stone called Jewel of the Queen:

The king collapsed, fainted and became unconscious because he was struck by the rays of the magic stone Jewel of the Queen (*SBS* 35b).

Repetition is found on an intertextual level as well. Malay adventure stories continuously echo passages from other stories, oral and written ones. Stories wander without regard for ethno-cultural and linguistic boundaries. The origin of certain motifs, personal names or narrative devices that are encountered in Malay adventure stories does not contribute to the meaning of these stories. The adventures of Bahram Syah in the Malay *SBS*, for instance, have nothing to do with the Persian stories on the life and career of the Persian ruler Bahram Syah or Bahram V that were widely disseminated in the Islamic world. Even a quick scan of the *SBS* yields a number of parallels with other Malay narratives. Bahram Syah's unfortunate fate as an exiled deer hunter in the second part of the *SBS* is reminiscent of the Malay oral story on the ghost hunter (*SBS* 70a).⁸ Next, his adventures with the three loyal animal friends, and the story of his magic ring that was lost in the sea and swallowed by a fish, finds an oral counterpart in a story from Perak, Malaysia, titled the *Story of Kherudin* (*SBS* 71a–81a; Laidlaw 1906, 27–57). And lastly, there are conspicuous analogies between the *SBS* and the Quranic story on *Yusuf*. Part of the plot of the Malay text, some of the textual dreams that it features and its religious message overlap with the story of *Yusuf*.⁹

Marked by these repetitions, Malay adventure stories did not suit the literary palate of the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Western reader. In the second edition of his 1845 textbook and grammar of Malay, J. J. de Hollander shares his opinion about this type of Malay text with his readers:

Most of the time, the authors of these stories appear to have had no other goal than to entertain the reader. With respect to the Malay reader, they serve this goal very well, but they cannot please the

⁸ For more on this particular ghost, see Chapter 6.

⁹ The analogies between the *SBS* and the *Sura Yusuf* are discussed in Chapter 6.

European reader, as most of these works are marked by a plain scenario, a dreary way of representation, monotony and uniformity (De Hollander 1856, 312).¹⁰

A second recurring point of critique concerns the fantastic or magical characters that inhabit the textual world of the stories. To the Western reader, Malay adventure stories depicted a fairytale world with an exuberance of magic and inhabited by supernatural beings. Speaking animals and flowers, magic potions, genies in bottles, journeys through multiple heavens on mythical steeds and miraculously revived protagonists: adventure stories stage them in abundance. The nineteenth-century critics used the label ‘fantastic’ or ‘supernatural’ in reference to events in the story that could never happen in reality and not be explained rationally. With no connection to the real world, these narratives were seen as meaningless. ‘Superstition’ was another word they used for speaking about the fantastic in adventure stories. But I argue that these stories are meaningful precisely because of the presence of the fantastic. That is why this type of narrative is examined in more detail next.

First, a few passages from the *SBS* serve to give an impression of the nature of the fantastic in Malay adventure stories. It is told how Bahram Syah wants to fight a powerful spirit named Thunder and Lightning. The spirit is engaged in a battle elsewhere, but his soul is kept in a glass bottle that hangs above Bahram Syah’s head.

Bahram Syah said, “Oh Princess, do not be afraid and release the soul!” The princess removed the flask’s stopper at once and the soul appeared, like lightning, hotter than fire. It looked white and behaved like a cat jumping into the light [from a dark, secluded spot]. Bahram Syah jumped to the right and then moved to the left. The spirit’s soul was cut through completely and broke into two pieces; its head darted off to the far end of the house and its body shot away to the other side of the house. In an instant Thunder and Lightning fell down from the sky in the middle of the palace yard like a thunderbolt that cleaves the earth. Both Bahram Syah and the princess were shocked; the princess immediately opened the door of the palace and saw Thunder and Lightning’s corpse, which was as big as a mountain. The capital and the yard were completely blocked because of its huge size. Then, the corpse became smaller until it had the size of a human being (*SBS* 18b).

One of the most gripping passages of the *SBS* describes the hero’s perils during his voyage flying over the raging and boiling Sea of Fire, while he sits on the back of a giant garuda. It contains several references to the use of magic:

A few moments later, dawn broke. Bahram Syah tied the elephants up at the back of the adult garuda,

¹⁰ Veelal schijnen de schrijvers dier verhalen geen ander oogmerk gehad te hebben, dan den lezer te vermaken; waar toe zij den Maleijer zeer goed kunnen dienen, maar welk doel zij bij den Europeaan gewoonlijk geheel missen, zoo door de hoogst eenvoudige conceptie, als door de vervelende wijze van voorstelling en de eentoonigheid en gelijkvormigheid hebben, die in de meeste werk van deze soort heerscht (De Hollander 1856, 312).

using the beam that was holding them together. When Bahram Syah had finished, the garuda went up to her nest and spoke, "Oh my son Bahram Syah, get on my back and hold me tight! Do not forget to take good care of yourself!" Bahram Syah jumped on the back of the garuda and said, "Oh my brother and sister, stay here! I will go!" The garuda's nest, which could contain three *kulak* of tree buttresses, was completely covered when the adult garuda spread her wings. She flew off and soared around her nest three times.

Flying upwards, high in the sky, she went as fast as lightning. Bahram Syah's mouth, nose and ears droned and up they went, flying without a rest. It was as if the mountains and the trees were spinning. [...]. The garuda flew on, but she kept on going down to the surface of the Sea of Fire as she was feeling weak. After they had flown like this for another while, going down all the time, they almost fell into the Sea of Fire. The tip of both the left and the right wing of the garuda were scorched as if burned, and the breast feathers were singed, and she said, "Oh my son, I tell you that we both are going to die now, so please drop that elephant!" Bahram Syah took the white hair of the spirit king and the garuda spoke, "Oh my son Bahram Syah, I tell you, I cannot hold it any longer now. It seems as if we will both come to our end here, falling into the flaming Sea of Fire. Please give me just a little bit of food!" Bahram Syah immediately sliced off the flesh of the calf of one of his legs with his dagger and said, "Oh my mother, open your mouth, here is a bit of food that was left!" The garuda ate it and swallowed the flesh of Bahram's calf.

Next, Bahram Syah said a charm over the white hair of the spirit named Thunder and Lightning and, at that same moment, the whole world became light again. Then rain began to pour down on the garuda and she regained her strength. She felt joyous and flew playfully through the air, gracefully bending her wings like a dancer and like an eagle defying the wind, her eyes glittering as she looked down (*SBS* 26a, 28a).

Adventure stories abound with scenes in which magic plays an important role. Charms, amulets, magic stones, feathers, hairs or boxes, rosewater or magically endowed water are the attributes of magical acts. In the following quotation, Bahram Syah works magic with three very special hairs:

The princess took three hairs from the fontanelle of the spirit's head. There were three different kinds of hair. She said, "Use these during your travels. You must know that if you want to produce water, or if you desire light, use this white hair together with a spell. And if you want to make fire, then use this red hair together with a spell to cause a fierce fire. And if you desire an intense darkness, then use the black hair with a spell and it will become dark without a fail. Your enemies will see nothing but pitch darkness" (*SBS* 20a).

Another scene depicts a royal couple that is under the influence of the powers of an extraordinary stone:

His Majesty began unwrapping the magic stone. He first removed the black wrapping and the stone's light was black; second, he removed the red wrapping and it was red; third, he removed the yellow wrapping and the stone's light was yellow; fourth, he removed the blue wrapping and the light was blue; fifth, he removed the green wrapping and the radiance became green; sixth, he removed the purple wrapping and the radiance became purple; seventh, he removed the white wrapping and then a white light appeared. Now, the magic stone Jewel of the Queen was completely visible. The stone

dispersed its light and it struck His Majesty's face brightly like the rays of the sun. The king collapsed, fainted and became unconscious because he was struck by the rays of the magic stone Jewel of the Queen. Bahram Syah sprinkled some rosewater on the faces of His Majesty and the princess. His Majesty regained consciousness (*SBS* 35b).

As I will explain in the following chapters, scenes like these were not disturbing to a nineteenth-century Malay audience. In the Malay World view, these seemingly bizarre events were possible under certain circumstances. But to early Western commentators, these scenes did not make sense at all. Moreover, the resemblance of adventure stories to European fairytales meant that these Malay narratives were considered mere fairy- or folktales in Europe. An early nineteenth-century commentary that is illustrative of this attitude is found in the work of John Crawfurd (1783–1868), a Scottish physician and colonial administrator in English service.

Malayan romances, whatever be their origin, are singularly destitute of spirit. To point a moral is never attempted; and the gratification of puerile and credulous fancy seems the sole object. All prose composition is remarkably monotonous (Crawfurd 1820, 56).

The derogatory remarks on two adventure stories by Klinkert presented at the beginning of this study are rooted in this same attitude. This negative stance was not confined to nineteenth-century scholarship; it persisted well into the following century. For instance, C. Hooykaas' presentation of adventure stories in his overview of Malay writing, published in 1937, evokes a nineteenth-century spirit in the vocabulary that is used to discuss these narratives. They are 'fantastic' stories, set in a 'magical realm,' with 'fairytales kings' and 'wonder birds,' and nowhere is the use of this vocabulary questioned.

The Malay reworking of texts from foreign textual traditions, such as Indian, Arab or Persian, led nineteenth-century scholars to believe that the authors of Malay works lacked imagination and creativity. The texts violated the literary prerequisite of originality and were subsequently considered as less significant.¹¹ In the words of Overbeck (1938, 308):

There is often more joy over a single, corrupted Sanskrit text, the original of which has since long been known, translated and commented upon, than over 99 'unpretentious' stories from which one can learn about a people's soul.

The assumed scarcity of original material has been addressed by many; examples are found in, for example, Crawfurd, De Hollander, J. Pijnappel, and Bausani (Crawfurd 1820, 50; De Hollander 1856, 295, 303, 311; Pijnappel 1870, 144–148; Bausani 1979). The

¹¹ Er is dikwijls meer vreugde over één verbasterden Sanskriettekst, waarvan het origineel lang bekend, vertaald en gecommenteerd is, dan over 99 'pretentie-looze' verhalen, waaruit men de ziel van het volk kan leeren kennen (Overbeck 1938, 308).

same paradigm underlies the organization of early histories of Malay writing; the texts are categorized based on the provenance of their assumed sources or the era in which the borrowing is assumed to have taken place. Reflecting his view that Malay writing was but an amalgam of plots, characters and themes borrowed first from Hindu, and later, Muslim India, Richard Winstedt presented the Malay 'romances' in a chronological scheme in *A History of Malay Literature* (1939). He saw them as products of the period of transition from Hinduism to Islam, broadly the fourteenth until seventeenth century (Winstedt [c. 1991], 50–58). But such an approach does not attest to the reality of Malay narrative practices. As the case of the *SBS* demonstrates, Malay adventure stories were not just written in the early period of Malay writing, but in later centuries as well. Even as late as 1962, Bausani betrays a similar attitude when he makes the distinction between 'foreign' and 'indigenous' elements in adventure stories and stresses the little 'original' material they contain. He concludes, with Hooykaas, "[...] that Malay classical literature, which consists to a large degree of *bikayat* 'is neither Malay, nor even literature'" (Hooykaas 1937 cited in Bausani 1979, 17).

A look at these unenthusiastic reviews of Malay adventure stories uncovers the nineteenth-century assumptions that underpin them. The repetitive nature of Malay adventure stories has been explained by Amin Sweeney, who linked it to the aural nature of the Malay narratives. Besides being read in private, the stories were also read out aloud in front of an audience. In this aspect, they resembled the oral adventure stories that were recited by professional storytellers in the Malay World. The repetition, parataxis and the use of a restricted vocabulary that characterize the narratives stories functioned as memory aids that made it easier for the audience to keep up with the story line. The presumed oral origin of the written Malay adventures story and a continuous exchange between oral and written narrative practices further reinforced those aspects of the texts that are usually associated with oral narrative practices.

But in nineteenth-century Europe, the concept of oral or aural narrative practices had no connection with contemporary ideas about literariness. Print culture and the recent realist turn in Europe's great literatures had programmed the inquisitive European scholar to look in the Eastern colonies for realist narratives akin to their own. With such a mindset, they were unable to recognize the repetitive nature of Malay writings as fundamentally linked to the pre-print nature of Malay society. Instead, they attributed it to poor literary taste and skills among both readers and writers of Malay adventure stories.

The roots of the charges that Malay writings lack originality can also be traced back to the European nineteenth-century mentality. Beside a general interest in 'origin' and 'sources' generated by the evolutionist debate, ideas related to Romantic primitivism propagated the model of the Noble Savage: the primitive man who lives a simple life according to nature's law and is morally uncorrupted by society. The expectations of the European collectors and scholars of Malay writing were, at least partly, influenced by

these notions of the uncorrupted and pure state of the ‘primitives’ they encountered in the Archipelago. As culture was seen by some as genetic to race, they expected to find a ‘pure’ culture, with cultural expressions that were free from foreign ‘contamination.’

A second factor that fueled this particular critique is the occidental conviction that oriental cultures were monolithic. The British, for example, ‘created’ the category Hinduism in an attempt to create order in the pagan chaos they encountered in India (Mishra 2002 cited in Gillen and Ghosh 2007, 41–143).¹² Examples of similar Western constructs that veiled complex ethnic and cultural expressions in a Southeast Asian contexts are the ‘ethnicization’ of Sumatra’s Batak and the invention of ‘the rural Malay’ (Smith Kipp 1996; Andaya 2002, 2008; Perret 1995; Kahn 2006).

Van der Tuuk’s dislike of Malay stories of a fantastic-Islamic nature proves a suitable case for an exercise in discerning the historical paradigms that gave rise to a negative image of the Malay adventure story. The assumed homogeneity and concomitant higher value of the Arabic Islamic culture led Van der Tuuk to view the Islamic-Malay narrative writings as poor derivatives of much greater, ‘original,’ religious and textual traditions from the Middle East. He deemed adventure stories with an Islamic twist in particular responsible for imbuing Barus’ society with all kinds of ‘nonsense’ linked to a form of Islam that was ‘perverted’ by superstitious beliefs. Next, influence of the Romantic idea of the Noble Savage can be discerned in Van der Tuuk’s rigid conception of the Batak as uncorrupted primitives with a ‘pure’ and monolithic culture, and of Islamization as a potential threat to their unspoiled state. Malays, on the other hand, he described as a mixed lot. Of various or mixed ethnic background, from different corners of the Archipelago and often adhering to a syncretic form of Islam to boot, they formed a stark contrast to the ‘noble’ Batak of the interior, in his eyes. And although Van der Tuuk from time to time opposed colonial policies in Sumatra, he formed part of the Dutch colonial establishment; colonial interests were his interests as well. This affected his judgement of stories on the Muslims’ early wars against *kafir* kings and tribes. In Barus and its surroundings, it was commonly believed that the infidels that fought the Muslims in the stories were the Europeans. Therefore, the Dutch government considered such stories as potentially capable of strengthening an anti-colonial attitude among the local Muslims. It was for this same reason that the government later prohibited public readings of the *Story of Hasan and Husain* (Hikayat Hasan Husin) in Aceh in the first half of the twentieth century (Meuraxa [1973], 387).

There remains one last point of critique to be addressed; that is, the condemnation of fantastic or magical elements in Malay adventure stories. It is asserted that the nineteenth-century view of magic and its role in the Malay narratives has been determined by three contemporary Western paradigms. First, the hegemonous literary model that prescribed

¹² Pankaj Misra, “The Invention of the Hindu.” www.newstatesman.com/node/143655, published 26 August 2002, accessed 28 July 2004.

that literature should depict a probable reality; second, the stress on rationality; and third, the monotheism of Christianity. The concept of 'magic' is a thoroughly Western concept with a history stretching back to early Judaic-Christian times. Its roots lie in the concept of 'true' versus 'false' religion, with magic seen as part of paganism. Later on, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this negative view of magic as 'wrong' was reinforced by the Protestant demarcation between religion and magic. It was this Protestant legacy that was adopted by influential Victorian theorists like by Edward Burnett Tylor and James George Frazer. Contemporary discussions about magic became entangled in evolutionist and Social Darwinist discourse and the assumption took root that the concept of magic formed a universal analytical category that could be used to compare different cultures (Tambiah 1990).¹³ The 'fallacy of magic' was the main point of the scholars' arguments, and the concept was used to negatively distinguish savage or primitive logic from a modern, Western one. Magic was deemed "a monstrous farrago" by Tylor and "a spurious science" hiding behind "a bastard art" by Frazer (Tylor 1873 I, 133 and Frazer 1911, 53, cited in Meyer and Pels 2003, 9).

But there was a paradox in the representation of magic and the supernatural in this era that might have contributed to the increased interest in Malay adventure stories in the nineteenth century. The denunciation of magic happened at a time when people in Europe were fascinated with 'modern re-enchantments.' Folklore studies – "[...] the refuge for Puritans fascinated with the rites and spells that their own religion abjured [...]" thrived and there was a general interest in the occult (Meyer and Pels 2003, 9). This came to expression in literature as well, where the gothic and mystery novels announced the persistent replacement of reason by magic and the irrational. The period saw scores of publications on shamans that judged magical practices as false and deceptive, yet truthful.¹⁴ This ambiguity found its way into European Enlightenment discourse through Romantic interest in shamans. In reaction to Enlightenment's focus on rationality, Romantic thinkers, such as Herder and Diderot, made a plea for engaging emotion and intuition in the search for knowledge. Shamans and the like were ascribed an innate divine quality: an ability to attain a state of ecstasy that allows them to apprehend the divine and to intuit a patient's imagination (Meyer and Pels 2003, 6–12).

¹³ Twentieth-century scholars, such as Bronislaw Malinowski, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Keith Thomas and Hildred Geertz have successfully contested this (Tambiah 1990, 42–83).

¹⁴ The idea that magic, although basically 'deceptive,' could actually be progressive and functional was later taken up by, among others, Malinowski (Meyer and Pels 2003, 8).

If Not Magic, What Then?

Now that the historical roots of the negative view of Malay adventure stories have been uncovered, the following question arises: if the fantastic in Malay adventure stories does not denote practices of ‘a spurious science’ or ‘paganism,’ what then does it represent?

The works by the American psychologist Jerome Bruner (1915–) provide concepts and a theory that can be used as tools in the search for an answer to this question. Based on his theory, it can be argued that the fantastic passages in Malay adventure stories are expressions of a coherence system or world view that is culturally specific to the Malay World. An educational psychologist by profession, Bruner is renowned for having contributed to the development of psychology as a ‘science of mind’ and what is called the ‘cognitive revolution’ in psychology.¹⁵ Bruner addresses the question of how human beings gain knowledge about the world and come to a sort of coherent image; an understanding of the world upon which they, in turn, act. His theory revolves around the idea that reality is a narrative construct. He argues that the mind employs two modes of thought to produce a coherent image of the world: a narrative mode and a paradigmatic one. Narrative thinking is sequential, action-oriented and detail-driven. It is instrumental in a narrative construction of reality. In the paradigmatic mode, the mind transcends particularities and makes use of categorization as a fast and economical way to get a grip on the world outside the thinking subject. Man perceives the world not ‘as it is,’ but as it is ‘moulded’ by the cognitive categories used by the mind. For Bruner, like for other (neo-)pragmatists, such as Charles Peirce, John Dewey and Richard Rorty, there is no such thing as a single, fixed world or a truth or reality to know. The world is what our mind makes it to be and thus a construct. ‘Reality’ is presented in the act of knowing. Thus, for Bruner, there are ‘actual minds,’ but ‘possible worlds’ (analogous to the title of one of his books).

Of particular importance to the main argument of the following two chapters is Bruner’s idea that the mental categories and narrative constructs – that together form coherence systems or world views – are culturally defined, and vary between cultures.¹⁶ They come into being and are shared in a continuous social interaction with other hu-

¹⁵ He promoted the mind and its workings as the true subject of psychology, as opposed to the mechanical biochemical processes that were studied in tests by men in white coats in laboratories. A prolific writer, not eschewing multidisciplinary approaches for which he turned to such diverse fields as literary criticism, linguistics and anthropology, his writings offer an account of the development of his thinking on the human mind: *On Knowing: Essays for the Left hand* (1962), *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (1986), *Acts of Meaning* (1990), “The Narrative Construction of Reality” (1991), *The Culture of Education* (1996), *Minding the Law* (2000) and *Making Stories: Law, Literature, Life* (2003).

¹⁶ A second work that has inspired the current research on ‘magic’ in Malay adventure stories for this study clearly shares its main premises with Bruner’s work on reality as a culturally informed construct: *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality* (1990) by Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah. The following chapter

man beings, mainly in the format of narrative. His assumption that cultural products such as memories, songs, stories and literary genres, as symbolic systems, give expression to the way the mind constructs reality in a narrative mode proves valid for the Malay adventure story.¹⁷ This approach yields the indigenous categories that make it possible to understand the stories and the supernatural, magic and fantastic depicted in them on their own terms.

Chapter 4 investigates and explains this Malay way of viewing the world and describes in detail the paradigm it is based upon: the concept of a divisible human body consisting of a physical body and a detachable 'vital force' referred to as *semangat*.

Afterword¹⁸

The historicity of the categories and ideas that were involved in the apprehension of Malay adventure stories in the past can only be discerned in retrospect. The present provides us with the distance that is indispensable for the broad view that reveals relationships the actors who lived the experience at the time were not able to see. Post-modern studies in general and, where the non-Western world is concerned, post-colonial studies in particular, have brought forth the realization that the dominant scholarly discourse on non-Western literatures in general has been thoroughly Eurocentric. One would assume that in the wake of this awareness, significant progress has been made in the field of the study of non-Western writings, such as the Malay. And the call for taking, for instance, the East on board was taken up and resulted in works on such concepts as 'Asian modernisms.'¹⁹ But, instead of introducing a new frame for viewing Asian cultural expressions, they merely – to quote Eric Hayot's words in his innovative work *On Literary Worlds* – "[...] moved around the furniture, while the house remained the same"

reverberates with his thoughts on multiple orderings of reality and the translation of cultures as found in the Chapters 5 and 6 of his work.

¹⁷ Bruner has taken his argument even further and stated that not only the mind forms reality, but that reality forms the mind as well. Take, for instance, what he has said on the topic of literary genres in "The Narrative Construction of Reality" (1991). He sees literary genres as conventional ways of representing human plights, and thus as representations of a social reality. At the same time, he considers them as "ways of telling that predisposes us to use our minds [...] in particular ways," as invitations to a particular style of attributing meaning (Bruner 1991, 15).

¹⁸ These thoughts developed after this chapter was finished; they were prompted by the ideas in the latest book of the literary critic Eric Hayot, titled *On Literary Worlds* (2012).

¹⁹ On the modern in visual arts, see for instance, *Asian Modernism: Diverse Development in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand* (Furuichi and Nakamoto, eds., 1995) and 'The Southeast Asian Modern: Three Artists' (Clark, 2012). An example of the discussion of the modern in relation to Malay or Indonesian literature is found in GoGwilt's work (2011) on Pramoedya's 'pre-Indonesian' Indonesian language, and the disappearance of the genre of *nyai* literature.

(Hayot 2012, 2–5, 9). Precisely by naming these new fields of study they were placed on a different plane than their Western counterpart. In addition, as mentioned in the previous chapters, the assumed universality of Western discourse on literature and Western literary history means that works from other horizons than the Western one were described in terms of difference and deviation, thereby negating any claim that they have an intrinsic value of their own.

A second and more promising development that set off in the wake of post-colonial studies, and was presumably propelled by the rise of the popular notion of the globalization of our planet, is the theoretical debate on World Literature in the field of Comparative Literature. The debate started about a decade ago and concerns the creation of a more inclusive World Literature.²⁰ What is at stake here is a systematic mode of analysis that makes it possible to describe and compare texts of various times and places. The result of such a mode would be that ‘world’ in ‘World Literature’ covers as many regions of the world as possible, instead of just the Western ones. But scholars such as David Damrosch, Franco Moretti and Hayot are aware that

To risk ‘world’ in its most expansive form requires [...] risking also the meaning of the term ‘literature’. There is no guarantee that this latter term is not the universalizing vision of a European concept inappropriate to the analysis of texts and stories operating under radically different conceptions of the meaning of writing and storytelling [...] (Hayot 2012, 35).

Both categories will have to be expanded for the concept of a true (truer) World Literature to be conceived. Then, ‘literature’ would be a large-scale term that includes “all of its possible avatars” and to be understood as having “any number of specific articulations, some of them, even belonging to the literature of the modern world-system” (Hayot 2012, 35). Such a concept of literature would include Malay texts from Southeast Asia: modern or contemporary ones, as well as older ones, such as the stories that were read on Sumatra’s northwest coast one hundred and sixty years ago.

²⁰ The issue is addressed in monographs and edited volumes – David Damrosch, chair of the Department of Comparative Literature at Harvard University is notable in this field – and in journals, such as the *New Left Review* and *Literature Compass* (see Hayot 2012).

4 | Man Versus World: Malay Adventure Stories and Malay Ontology

In his 1962 publication on *hikayat* or Malay prose works, Bausani remarked that the Malay adventure story, apart from being an amalgam of narrative material drawn from Indian and Arab traditions, showed its originality in a kind of minute realism that paid much attention to emotional and psychological detail (Bausani 1979, 17, 77 n. 21, 46, 48). Without realizing it, he struck a rich vein: the detailed and frequent descriptions in these stories of the protagonists' emotional imbalance, psychological states and fainting were what piqued my curiosity in the first place. The seemingly feeble constitution of the kings and queens and their offspring who are featured in these narratives forms the starting point for an explorative journey through the world of Malay adventure stories.

This chapter examines passages in Malay adventure stories that describe the pervasive presence of another dimension or another world, in its relation to altered states of consciousness. Apart from the phenomenal world perceived by the stories' characters through their senses, there are flashes of another realm that seems to exist simultaneously with the primary world of the texts; this world cannot be experienced by the characters in an ordinary way. Short embedded stories tell of encounters with ghosts and spirits, religious messengers, deceased relatives and future kings in this otherworldly sphere. Events occur that defy the laws of nature, giving the stories their supernatural colouring. The make-up of this dimension appears to be very complex, as it seems to comprise past and present as well as the future.

For the purpose of this investigation a corpus of seven Malay narratives was created. It includes the *Story of Babram Syah*. A complete list of titles and bibliographic information can be found in the Appendices. The group of stories comprises six written narratives that are known from the manuscript tradition and the transcription of an oral narrative, in two versions. Group markers are the use of the Malay language, contents and narrative

structure. All stories centre on an adventurous journey; hence, they are referred to as Malay adventure stories. They do differ, though, in terms of medium, provenance and date. This is justified by the perspective used to view Malay writing here. Whereas the previous chapters focused on a localized writing practice, this chapter presents a Malay animist world view that is shared by Malay adventure stories from different periods and regions, oral and written. Analogous to Henk Maier's view of Malayness as 'playing relatives' (Maier 2004), these seven Malay texts are considered here as relatives with a familial bond that transcends their mutual differences.

An analysis of the seven Malay adventures stories generates an ontology that provided the readers of these stories with the basic ontological categories they needed to understand and act upon the world they inhabited. This particular way of viewing the world centres upon the difference between human beings and non-human entities, and how to safeguard the boundaries between the two. Malay adventure stories depict a dangerous world that abounds with strange and puzzling encounters and events that are capable of triggering an emotional imbalance in human beings; a world in which even the slightest emotional upset can cause a human being to lose consciousness, fall ill, become insane and, ultimately, die. It is asserted that Malay adventure stories form an important medium for the transmission of ontological knowledge, because they give expression to concepts that are not found elsewhere. But public readings of adventure stories were more than just a means for a one way communication; they offered the audience a forum where matters relating to the supernatural and otherworldly entities could be questioned and debated.

This chapter examines texts in their relation to society.¹ It assumes that the human subject cannot escape the mental categories it uses to make sense of the world, not even in its wildest dreams. From this follows that texts, as cultural representations, are imbued with these mental categories. Together, these classifications form culturally informed coherence systems, or ways of knowing, or world views (Bruner 1986, 1990, 1991). As intangible, symbolic constructs, they are "[...] not vague conceptualizations with little or no reference to reality, but instead are critical parts of the formation of that everyday reality. [...] they contextualize reality and affirm its meanings; they also serve to facilitate encounter with new realities, new ideas, syntheses of old and new" (Yengoyan 1979, 325). Cassirer speaks of mental categories as 'organs of reality':

[...] it is solely by their agency that anything real becomes an object for intellectual comprehension and, as such, is made visible to us. For the mind, only that can be visible which has some definite form; but every form of existence has its source in some peculiar way of seeing, some intellectual formulation and intuition of meaning (Cassirer 1953, 8, cited in McKean 1979, 293).

One can assume that people only write, read and listen to what they consider to be

¹ In this chapter, 'text(s)' refers to both written and oral narrative(s).

noteworthy. Thus, when certain themes recur in stories, especially over a long span of time, in different kinds of texts and/or over a large geographical area, this is significant. The frequent occurrence in the Malay adventure stories of fainting, dreaming, illness, healing rituals, 'magic' and the depiction of the 'supernatural,' marks them as prominent preoccupations of both authors and audiences. Their presence warrants an examination of the stories: an attempt to gain insight into other orderings of reality than the one that is rooted in the West and is hegemonic in a large part of globe.

Considering their fairytale-like nature, Malay adventure stories might not seem the obvious choice for learning about the real world that exists outside the texts. But they bear the mark of the society that brought them forth. In particular, Darnton's work on European fairytales (1984) has demonstrated how seemingly whimsical narratives as folktales and legends contain information on a particular society that cannot be found elsewhere. In his book *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (1984), Robert Darnton challenges the commonly held view that tales are atypical, suspended in time and impossible to connect to one particular area or ethnic group. In the chapter titled "Peasants Tell Tales: The Meaning of Mother Goose," he successfully demonstrates that the French tales offered a view of other social realities than the well-documented one that existed within the confines of the French royal court during the Enlightenment. The fairytales speak of themes that portray the harsh reality of life for the common people in seventeenth-century France: hunger and starvation, wandering vagabonds, the importance of using one's wits to stay alive and child abandonment. Following Darnton's line of argument, this chapter aims to show that Malay adventure stories contain important Malay cultural knowledge: a coherence system that offers man tools to understand and act upon his surroundings.

In the field of Indonesian studies, anthropologists Bill Watson and Vinson H. Sutlive have turned to texts to glean information on the mental horizon of a specific community. Watson read modern Indonesian novels to reconstruct a mindset that supported the use of 'witchcraft' and 'sorcery.' In his article "Perceptions from Within: Malign Magic in Indonesian Literature" (1993), he offers a useful model of

[...] how fictional material should be read by anthropologists who are alert enough to recognize the problems inherent in trying to read off the fiction as straightforward ethnographic data yet nonetheless feel that inscribed within literature are social understandings of sorcery and witchcraft (Watson 1993, 191).

One of these problems Watson refers to is the existence of underlying forces that shape fictional representations. He mentions in particular the political context that can colour texts. Another one, as will be shown in the current chapter, is the narrative format of a text.

Similar contemplations occupy Sutlive in his study on oral narratives of the Iban (an

indigenous people of Borneo) and the role they play in the socialization of Iban children. Although he feels that the Iban way of viewing the world cannot be understood solely on the basis of the stories the Iban tell each other, he questions whether it can be understood without taking them into account. He states that

The literature is both reflective and refractive [...]. Some reflections are true, others distorted and difficult if not impossible to recognize. Nevertheless, the images and their structural relations must be examined for the insights they provide into the perceptions and projections of the Iban (Sutlive 1979, 105).

Like Watson and Sutlive, I believe that texts contain information on a society's core values and ontological categories, but are not one-to-one reflections of a social reality.

The examination of Malay adventure stories in this chapter clearly bears the mark of structuralist theory. Structuralism is the theoretical paradigm that emphasizes that elements of a culture must be understood in terms of their relationship to a larger, overarching system or structure. Philosopher Simon Blackburn summarized it as

[...] the belief that phenomena of human life are not intelligible except through their interrelations. These relations constitute a structure, and behind local variations in the surface phenomena there are constant laws of abstract culture (Blackburn 2005, 353).

If the current examination of Malay stories resembles Clifford Geertz' 'thick description,' it is because the latter's premises were taken up by New Historicism.² 'Thick description' explains human behaviour in its own, cultural context, in such a way that the behaviour becomes meaningful to an outsider (Geertz 1973, 3–33). At the same time, my line of argument echoes the work of Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth on, what he called, the 'anthropology of knowledge'. The questions he is fascinated with, such as what factors determine the validity of knowledge, and how and to what degree knowledge is standardized and shared in a society, and why some forms of knowledge are more portable or catching than others, are relevant to the current issue as well (Barth 2002, 1–18).

After the relationship between different human states of consciousness has been explained by highlighting their common base, these findings are compared with what anthropologists say about the matter. Both discourses are then carefully read against each other to discover how they illuminate each other. Lastly, the focus shifts to the Malay adventure story as a repository of cultural knowledge and a highly effective means of transmission of this knowledge.

² This study especially fits in with the strand of literary theory referred to as New Historicism. See the Introduction.

The Paradigm of Vital Force (*Semangat*)

A close reading of seven Malay adventure stories learns that the different human states of consciousness that are described in them are closely related. The foundation for this familial relationship is found in their common cause: the loss and sustained absence of a part of a human being, called *semangat*.³ As a prolonged absence of *semangat* ultimately leads to the death of the person it belongs to, I translate *semangat* as 'vital force'. Beside death, the loss of a person's *semangat* can cause a person to remain asleep, to faint, to fall ill or become mad. The texts do not describe what exactly *semangat* consists of or looks like, but are explicit on its properties. Embedded stories that tell of the journeys undertaken by the *semangat* of people that are asleep, unconscious or dead suggest that this entity resembles the person it usually is attached to. A *semangat* can do anything an ordinary human being can and it behaves and acts in conformity with the social rank of its 'owner'. It is therefore compelling to think of *semangat* as having a human appearance. Closer scrutiny though, makes it clear that a *semangat* has extra abilities that set them apart from an ordinary human being. The stories relate how *semangat* travel through time and space and are able to cross the boundary between the ordinary world and another, intangible realm. But, before it can roam this other world, it needs to escape from its physical confines. The Malay stories refer to a person's fontanelle, mouth and big toe as points of entry and exit of *semangat*. *Semangat* act in a dimension that exists parallel to the world that can be perceived by the protagonists through their senses. In short, *semangat* is like the reflection of a person in a mirror: exactly the same and different at the same time, and existing in a different dimension.

The investigation starts with the conspicuous 'strangeness' that characterizes the world that is portrayed in the stories. Malay adventure stories allow the modern-day reader to explore strange and wondrous worlds of fiction. The text leads her from one miracle to another and she cannot but be amazed by the multitude of speaking animals, magic objects and clever characters she learns about. This process of reading mirrors the journey(s) described in the text: the traveling protagonists turn out to be at least as bewildered by the things they encounter as the reader. The textual world of Malay adventure stories is as strange to the stories' characters as it is to us now. As soon as the princes and princesses have left their father's state, they see, hear and even smell new things. They learn about things that have never been heard of "[...] from the time of their ancestors up till the present day".⁴ And thus Malay adventure stories abound with passages that relate how kings, princes and princesses become flabbergasted after they have witnessed something extraordinary. The following words are used to denote this state of bewilderment:

³ Some of the stories incidentally refer to this entity as *arwah* or *roh* (Wilkinson 1959, 47, 978).

⁴ [...] dari pada nenek moyang kami sampai sekarang (SBS 5b). This formulaic phrase is used in Malay adventure stories to indicate that something is unfamiliar to the characters.

heran, *tercengang-cengang* and *termangu-mangu*. They can be translated with ‘amazed,’ ‘surprised,’ ‘flabbergasted’ and ‘dazed’ or ‘confused’ (Wilkinson 1959, 210, 405). The frequent use of the word *terkejut*, ‘surprised’ or ‘frightened,’ indicates that the encounters with the unexpected not only arouse amazement and surprise but are also accompanied by feelings of fright and fear.

The ‘strange’ in Malay adventure stories is connected to one of the stories’ most intriguing features; that is, the number of characters that collapse and faint. It is not just the main protagonists who frequently swoon, but others, such as the female servants at the palace, faint as well. They fall to the ground and lie flat on their back or stomach or collapse and sit down leaning against their horse, for instance. This is described by words such as *rebah*, ‘to fall to the ground,’ *terhantar*, ‘astretch,’ ‘to lie on the ground’ and *tersandar*, ‘at rest against’ (Wilkinson 1959, 395, 955, 1014). When a character loses consciousness, the scene becomes one of anxiety. Bystanders encourage the fainted person to wake up, ‘*bangun*’, and frequently express that if their loved one does not regain consciousness, they have no reason to live on. In their attempts to make the fainted person come to, he or she is yelled at, blown at, caressed, or sprinkled with tears, magically treated oil and vinegar or, more commonly, with rosewater. One of these remedies usually results in a quick recovery, which is sometimes followed by a crying fit.

Moreover, the way the language is used in these passages underscores the prominence of fainting in the stories. As explained in the previous chapter, Malay adventure stories have a formulaic composition with repetitions on different levels of the text. Words, phrases, sentences, metaphors, motifs, personal names, names of places and magical devices, all recur within a single text and within the whole corpus of Malay narrative texts. This feature has been linked to the aural nature of the stories, which were frequently read out aloud at public gatherings. While the vocabulary of Malay adventure stories is rather limited, the words and phrases that are used in the stories to refer to fainting display a remarkable variety. *Lupa akan diri*, *tiada kabar akan diri*, *tiada sadar akan diri*, *tiada tahu akan diri*, *pingsan*, *merca*, *bius*, *arwahnya pun hilang*, *rohnya pun hilang*, *semangatnya pun hilang*, and *terbang semangat* are all used to convey that a particular character faints. Of this series, *arwahnya pun hilang*, *rohnya pun hilang*, *semangatnya pun hilang* and *terbang semangat* can be translated as ‘to lose one’s vital force.’ This unusual lexical variety stands out even more if one takes into account that these phrases are often found combined:

Hatta maka kelihatanlah kemala Ratna Suri memancar-mancar cahayanya itu, maka cemerlanglah tiba kepada muka baginda itu seperti sinar matahari, maka raja itu pun *rebah*, *merca*, *lalu pingsan*, *tiadalah kabar akan dirinya* [emphasis mine] sebab kena sinar cahaya kemala Ratna Suri itu (SBS 35b).

Fainting now turns out to be linked to traveling. Having regained their consciousness, some of the fainted characters tell of places they have been and about the things they

have seen there. In the *SLB*, for example, Prince Indera Bumaya faints when he sees a portrait of the young and beautiful princess Kusuma Dewi in a dream. After he has come to, his father asks him why he slept and stayed unconscious for such a long time. His son answers that he saw a beautiful scene and that this captivating sight kept him from ‘waking up’ (*SLB* 5).

The fact that in this same passage from the *SLB*, *tidur*, ‘to be asleep’ and *pingsan*, ‘to be unconscious’, are used next to each other to denote one and the same state suggests a relationship between the two. Adventure stories feature scenes that point to the relationship between *tidur*, ‘to be asleep’ and *lupa akan dirinya*, ‘to faint’, or one of its synonyms.⁵ In the stories, not only unconscious people travel, but sleeping people wander during their sleep as well. Their experiences are often similar: after they have ‘woken up,’ they tell that they were received as a guest in another state, either godly or unknown, where they were present at an audience in the king’s audience hall and received different kinds of gifts afterwards.

Fainting is not only related to sleep, but to death and dying as well. Death is a recurrent motif in Malay adventure stories, but for the present argument it is in particular those instances where deceased characters are revived that call for closer examination. Only those who have returned from the dead are able to report about the other realm. After-death experiences resemble the adventures of people who are dreaming or who are unconscious. Like sleeping and unconscious travelers, deceased characters usually travel to a foreign state where they wait upon the local ruler. In the *SIP*, for example, the main hero uses his magic power to kill many of the boating princes at the lake called Sea of Passions. Later, he revives the same young men by sprinkling magically treated rosewater on their corpses. After their return from the dead, the princes tell how they sailed to a certain state after they had died, and how they went to wait upon this state’s ruler (*SIP* 139).

It seems that the distinction between sleep, unconsciousness and death that is made in the modern Western world is absent in Malay adventure stories. The same worries and anxieties that accompany the death of a loved one are found in passages that describe a prolonged period of sleep or unconsciousness.⁶ The affinity of death with sleep and unconsciousness is evident from the following quotation taken from the *SMB*: a royal mother addresses her two dead sons:

“Oh, my sons, come to, my life, come to, light of my eyes, come to, my everything! I am crushed, destroyed. What forest are you traversing, what mountain are you passing, what plain are you crossing that you do not even care to respond to your mother’s cries?” (*SMB* 59)⁷

⁵ See for instance *SDM* 121.

⁶ See for instance *SDM* 277–278.

⁷ “Wah Anakanda tuan, sadarlah nyawa badan Bunda, sadarlah cahaya mata Bunda, sadarlah batok kepala Bunda serta hilanglah remuklah Bunda serta lenyap. Hutan yang mana tuan jalani dan gunung yang mana

What is striking about this fragment is that the mother does not seem to accept the fact that her sons have passed away. Instead, she assumes they are somewhere else. When she asks her dead sons about their whereabouts she is not addressing their bodily remains that lie in front of her, but calls out to that part of her sons that has left its mortal remains behind. In Malay adventure stories, dead people can leave their body behind and travel to other places, as can people who sleep and who have fainted. For an answer to the question why sleep, unconsciousness and death are similar, we must look at the basis for a possible relationship.

All the fragments that depict one of the different states of consciousness share a description of the division of a human being into two separate parts. One of these consists of the seemingly lifeless body of one of the characters lying on the ground, while the other part, of which few details are given, has left the scene. This missing part is spoken to, yelled at or called back, as in the last example from the *SMB*. The stories provide the reader with various names for it: *semangat*, *arwah* and *roh*. The phrases *arwahnya pun hilang*, *rohnya pun hilang*, *semangatnya pun hilang* and *terbang semangat* prove interchangeable and are used to denote sleep, fainting, illness, madness and death. The words *terbang* and *hilang*, ‘fly’ and ‘to lose’ or ‘lost’, in combination with *arwah*, *roh* and *semangat* make clear that these conditions, whether sleep, unconsciousness or death, are caused by the loss of *semangat* or vital force.

Causes of *Semangat* Loss

The question remains as to why people in Malay adventure stories lose their *semangat* so often. A closer look into the circumstances in which people swoon, fall sleep or die reveals the triggers that make the *semangat* flee. Surprise prompted by an encounter with the strange or unexpected has already been mentioned. The following section will address yet other causes: strong emotions, such as grief, sadness and anxiety; the confrontation with beauty, magic and lovesickness.

Malay adventure stories abound with scenes of sudden disappearances, kidnapping and death that lead to an emotional upset of bystanders and, subsequently, their loss of consciousness. The strong emotions of sadness, grief and anxiety, which accompany the realization that a loved one is gone, make the body an improper home for the *semangat* to reside. As a result, it flies off, leaving the physical body behind asleep or unconscious. In the *SIP*, a young prince is seized by a golden peacock. As soon as his father learns of his son’s sudden disappearance, he faints. After he has regained consciousness, he starts to cry and faints again (*SIP* 51–52). Another case of fainting that is caused by grief or sadness

tuan edari dan padang yang mana tuan lalui maka tuan lalai tiada khabarkan bunda memanggil akan tuan ini?”(*SMB* 59).

is found in the *SMB*. Prince Bikrama Indera discovers that the handsome young captain he has just met is, in fact, a beautiful princess. Her parrot tells him that it is impossible for him to stay friends with her; firstly, because she is a woman and secondly, because her brother works for him as a servant. When he hears this, Bikrama Indera is devastated. He faints. His mother yells at him while he is lying on the ground. She is upset and sad, but also scolds him for not leaving her a message telling her where he went (*SMB* 59).

Fright is another strong emotion endured by the stories' protagonists. It is often concomitant to the feeling of surprise that is aroused by an unexpected encounter. The new lands that are traveled by the young princes are inhabited by strange animals and unfamiliar people. As such, they present countless opportunities for confrontations that incite fear or fright. In the *SDM*, Dewa Mandu witnesses how an elephant miraculously transforms into a beautiful princess. This is obviously too much for the hero, as he faints (*SDM* 109). In another story, Prince Indera Bumaya enters the Garden of Multiple Passions to catch sight of a princess taking a bath. When he discovers she is not in the garden, he is shocked and swoons (*SLB* 51). Luckily for the victims, the loss of consciousness is temporary. Usually, they react positively to the treatments they are given to rid them of their affliction.

The *SBS* suggests that pain and agony are also potential causes of *semangat* loss. One of the most dramatic passages in the *SBS* relates how Bahram Syah crosses the Sea of Fire, while seated on the back of a giant garuda or mythical bird. Before their departure, the garuda warns Bahram Syah of the pain and torments he will suffer during the hazardous journey:

The garuda said, "Oh my son, listen to me! I have flown to the state of Gastu Gasta before. It is situated in the west, on the other side of the Sea of Fire. To the left of the Sea of Fire, there is the Sea of the Tree with the Double Coconut and to the right are various maelstroms. The Sea of Fire stretches down into the earth. If I ascend and fly high up in the air, it takes seven days. If I fly level, it takes me three days, and if I descend and fly low, we can definitely make it within a single day. However, the sufferings will be immense; it will feel as if you are losing consciousness as the Sea of Fire's flames are extremely hot. Three times already my breast feathers have been scorched and my skin singed. Such are the torments, oh my son!" (*SBS* 24b).

The subject of 'the beautiful' and its perceptions in Malay writing has been extensively addressed by the Russian scholar Vladimir Braginsky (1993a, 237–239, 243–253, 264–266, 289–290). Apart from the use of the word *elok*, the beautiful in Malay texts is primarily conveyed by the word *indah*. In his effort to reconstruct the Malay concept of beauty, Braginsky turns to Malay poems, tracts and prose stories of a notably Islamic Sufi character and their Arab and Persian sources. He claims that the Malay ideas about the essence of beauty are basically Islamic and are similar to how beauty is perceived in other regions of the Islamic world. In Islamic thought, the beauty of an object is a reflection of the creative power of God and is thus intrinsic to Creation. It represents diversity,

but at the same time harmony and order. The more different manifestations the objects displays, the more perfect its beauty. This, Braginsky argues, accounts for the lengthy descriptions of pretty princesses, handsome kings, lush gardens and impressive battles in Malay narratives. As homage to Creation and its Creator, the authors depict as many different qualities of a palace, a garden or a royal dais; for it is in multitude that perfect beauty is to be found.

Two images in the *SBS* in particular illustrate this concept of beauty: the multi-talented bird *Marab* Jalin and the magic stone Jewel of the Queen. The following passage makes clear that the bird's beauty is not only perceived by the senses of sight and hearing, but of smell as well. When Bahram Syah finally managed to find the bird, the animal

[...] immediately put up its beak, spread its wings, wagged its tail and, while clicking its nails, moved like a dancer on top of the golden tray. Then it started to talk. At that same moment, gold and silver were scattered from its beak. After this, it started to tell stories and diamonds and various kinds of small gems were sprinkled from its eyes. It began to recite poetry and verse and all sorts of precious stones flew from its nose. After this, it recited *pantun* and short poems and from the follicles of its feathers, different kinds of perfumes emerged; they pervaded the air and filled the whole palace. The entire court was awestruck and the guards who watched the gates were flabbergasted; they had a hard time and shook their heads as they had never seen this bird speaking as it did that day, with the sound of its voice so heavenly (*SBS* 34b–35a).

The bird and the multi-faceted stone Jewel of the Queen are the tokens of betrothal for Bahram Syah and Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower. The stone is the ultimate symbol of the Malay concept of beauty. Its description appeals to multiple senses as well: the stone equals any weight and emits every possible colour of light.

In the Malay stories, beauty is experienced through exquisite sights, sounds and odours. In the *SLB*, for instance, a prince dreams that an old woman takes him to a breathtakingly beautiful palace. Having arrived there, he sees a portrait of a lady of ravishing beauty and – still asleep – subsequently faints. For seven days and seven nights he remains unconscious. When he finally awakes, he tells his father that he was unable to wake up, because he was under the sway of beauty. And although he succeeds in breaking free from its spell and comes to, he is not completely free from the ecstasy induced by the beautiful. Passionately longing for the lady depicted in the portrait of his dream, he is unable to eat or sleep (*SLB* 5).

A typical scene in adventure stories depicts a wandering young man of noble descent, who comes upon either a simple hut or a fine palace, but both with a magnificent flower garden. When the prince enters garden, he is surprised to hear enchanting music. From an example in the story of *Panglimo Awang* it becomes clear how sound is able to influence a character's psychological state. When lady-in-waiting Kombang hears the beautiful voice of the servant Lamat, she is startled and afraid and nearly collapses. The text is explicit about the cause of her unusual behaviour: it is Lamat's extraordinary voice that "[...]

stealthily penetrates the heart,” “[...] cuts through the bones like a bamboo splinter” and “[...] creeps, sneaks into the marrow,” that makes the girl *Kombang* act the way she does (*PA* 331).⁸ But not all sounds in the Malay stories are enjoyable. Overwhelming noise can make people fall unconscious en masse. In the *SSI*, the rampaging ruler *Raja Balildanta* attacks a city-state. He spits fire and his screams are so loud that they resemble thunderbolts that split the earth in two. As a result of the ear-splitting noise, the city’s inhabitants all faint (*SSI* 141).

Whereas the prince in the *SLB* was unable to wake up because of something he saw, the forty kings portrayed in the *SIP* are affected by a fragrant odour. When the story’s main hero wishes to marry Princess *Tulela Ratna*, King *Gohar Hinis* orders that the treasury be opened. When they enter the building, they stumble upon the forty kings that had been missing for some time. The young men are there, lying unconscious between the gold, silver and precious stones. Once they are sprinkled with magically treated oil and vinegar, they regain their consciousness. They tell the king that the sweet-smelling odour of musk and spikenard in their dreams prevented them from waking up (*SIP* 138–139). A second example is found in the *Story of Dewa Mandu*. It is told that Prince *Dewa Mandu* and *Angkaran Dewa* are relaxing in a pavilion called *Different Kinds of Flowers*. A gentle breeze is blowing and the sweet scent of flowers that surrounds them pervades the air. The captivating odour penetrates the young men’s noses and they doze off (*SDM* 190).

But there lurks a serious danger in the confrontation with beauty: multiple sensory stimulation can lead to a loss of self. When the sensory circuit overloads, the body is no longer a comfortable home for the sensitive *semangat*. It exits the body, with fainting, illness, madness, lovesickness or a deep sleep as the result.⁹ Cases of *semangat* loss demand acute treatment; if this vital force is not quickly reunited with its ‘owner,’ the victim will ultimately die. In some cases, beauty entails a fatal attraction. It is able to instil longing, and longing, in turn, prompts the *semangat* to take off. This vital force longs to be united with the fair maiden, the delicate piece of jewellery or the lush garden desired by the owner of the *semangat*. In short, most sights, sounds and odours of Malay adventure stories are exquisite and pleasing, but some are potentially detrimental to an individual’s health.

The narratives speak of one trigger that involves intentional actions by human beings; that is to say, ‘magic.’ The application of magic in the stories is often found in the context of lovesickness. The Western roots of ‘magic’ have been revealed in the previous chapter.

⁸ The *PA* contains more passages that portray a protagonist suffering from the effect of hearing a beautiful sound; see for instance pp. 137, 282–287. An interesting article on the effects of sound on the human psyche in a Malay context is Braginsky’s “Meaning of the Sound: Magic and Sufi Mysticism in the Phonic Structure of the Malay Charm and Chant.” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 34, 100 (2006), 281–314.

⁹ See for instance *SIP* 123–124.

'Magic' as is depicted in Malay adventure stories actually concerns the manipulation of *semangat*, the ethereal substance that sustains life in a human being. What scholars of Malay writing in the past referred to as magical practices, are actions aimed at affecting a person's physical or mental health through the manipulation of vital force.

The application of magic occupies a prominent place in the Malay stories. Unfortunately, the texts are seldom explicit about what exactly constitutes magic. The obscure nature of magic in Malay adventure stories is epitomized by the Malay word *hikmat*. Although the word frequently occurs in the stories in the context of magic, it is difficult to provide an apt translation for it. Sometimes it refers to a concrete object, such as a stone with extraordinary qualities. Usually, however, *hikmat* denotes an object that is not further specified and that is either inherently magical or can be empowered by a religious formula or the breath of a specialist practitioner. In yet other instances, *hikmat* refers to a potent formula or charm. The list of attributes that are used for the manipulation of *semangat* is a long one. It includes all kinds of stones, immersed in a liquid or not, rose-water, human hairs, feathers, incense, cloth, burning candles, limes, breath that transfers life force, Islamic prayers and, lastly, charms.

A recurrent phenomenon in the stories is love magic. It is used to enhance a person's physical beauty to attract love, or to induce love in other ways. This particular kind of magic is not as harmless as it seems. It aims to induce a serious longing in another person, with *semangat* loss and subsequent suffering as a possible consequence. The *Story of Dewa Mandu* contains an illustrative example of love magic. Assisted by her ladies-in-waiting, a princess makes the necessary preparations to win Dewa Mandu's love. First, she applies an undescribed kind of magic to make Dewa Mandu turn away from his spouse. Then, she recites Islamic prayers and drinks a potion to make her voice sound extraordinarily sweet. With this voice, she intends to make Dewa Mandu fall madly in love with her (*SDM* 259). 'Mad' or *gila* is often found in the stories in relation to lovesickness or *berahi*.¹⁰ Those suffering from the pangs of love are overcome by desire and are no longer capable of normal and social behaviour. The stories are explicit on the final outcome of this horrible affliction; if no treatment is found to make the *semangat* return, the lovelorn victim will ultimately die.

Cures

Considering the fatal end that awaits the sleeping, fainted or longing character, it is understandable that her family members and servants become concerned. They are anxious to try every possible means to restore the health of their loved one. As fainting, sleep,

¹⁰ Wilkinson 1959, 123, 367–368 describes *berahi* as a "particular kind of emotional imbalance" that results in madness (*gila*).

madness, lovesickness and death are the result of *semangat* loss, the treatments for the different afflictions are interchangeable. They all aim to lure the life force back to the body it escaped from.

The group of remedies is large and diverse, but a few general remarks can be made. Liquids of various sorts, such as *air mawar*, ‘rosewater,’ are the most popular cures for ailments that are connected with *semangat* loss. The liquid is either sprinkled on the face or poured over the body. This action brings about a quick recovery, although the victim may experience after-effects, such as physical weakness and a pale complexion. A liquid can be made potent by immersing a magical stone or object in it. In the *SIP*, a non-described *hikmat* is used to imbue vinegar and oil with magical power to create a medicine for unconsciousness (*SIP* 139, 165). Tears can function as an antidote as well, as the following quotation from the *Story of Dewa Mandu* illustrates:

As she watched Dewa Mandu lying unconscious as if he was sound asleep, the princess felt pity for him. Without realizing it, her tears fell on Dewa Mandu’s chest. To Dewa Mandu they felt cool; it felt as if he was being sprinkled with rosewater, and he regained consciousness [...] (*SDM* 258).¹¹

Besides rosewater, lime juice plays an important role in the treatment of *semangat* loss. In the *PA*, for example, Panglimo Awang bathes his younger brother with lime juice, “so as to make his spirit return” (*PA* 517). In the same story, the lovesick Princess Mai Bonsu is cured after she is bathed with lime juice. The restlessness and excessive perspiration that was caused by her desire for Panglimo Awang is gone.¹² The bath has made her heart happy and her mind cool, the texts reads (*PA* 286–293).

The ultimate cure for lovesickness is for the afflicted character to be united with the object of their desire. But when, for the sake of the continuation of the story, a blissful reunion of the lovers has to be postponed, there are other measures that can restore the health of a lovelorn person. Even the prospect of an encounter with the loved one in the near future can bring a love stricken youth back to his or her feet. The acquisition of one of the personal possessions of the loved one has a similar effect. In de *SDM*, Bambaran Raja Keinderaan asks a princess for one of her personal items to soothe Dewa Mandu’s longing for her:

Burning fresh coconut in the kitchen
Storing its ashes in a small cup
“I request a betel quid

¹¹ Terlalu belas hati tuan puteri memandang laku Dewa Mandu itu seperti laku orang tidur yang amat nyedarlah rupanya, maka air matanya tuan puteri pun titik tiada berasa lagi jatuhnya kepada dada Dewa Mandu maka dirasainya oleh Dewa Mandu terlalu amat sejuk rasanya seperti disiram orang dengan air mawar kepada rasanya baginda, maka ia pun ingatlah akan dirinya dari pada bius itu [...] (*SDM* 258).

¹² It was Panglimo Awang’s sweet-sounding music that instilled strong feelings of love and longing in Princess Mai Bonsu (*PA* 287–293).

As a medicine for an anxious heart.”

The ladies-in-waiting reply:

Dang Madini grows a betel vine
 The betel leaves are not harvested yet
 “We do not have betel here
 As the betel is still on the vine.”

But Bambaran Raja Keinderaan does not intend to leave empty-handed:

The hornbill and many of his friends
 Drink sherbet and eat sponge cake for dessert
 “I request a withered flower bud
 As a medicine for a headache.”

His plea, however, remains without effect. The princess and her ladies-in-waiting refuse to hand over the requested item with the excuse that they are not physicians:

A drifting bamboo raft
 Gets stuck in a narrow stream
 “We do not have a flower bud
 As we are not physicians” (*SDM* 260–261).¹³

The head plays an important role in the treatment of *semangat* loss. Fainted characters regain their consciousness after someone blows over their head. In the *SDM*, Dewa Mandu meets a rather strange looking elephant. The animal can speak and cry like a human being. It informs Dewa Mandu that it is actually a princess, who is cursed by an evil king. Her name is Charming Precious Gem. She offers Dewa Mandu her body and soul in exchange for his help to free her from this terrible curse. The prince obliges. He recites an Islamic formula and then blows three times over the elephant’s head. This creates a cool sensation in the animals’ legs and, shortly after, the animal transforms into a beautiful young lady. Witnessing this spectacular transformation, Dewa Mandu collapses and faints. The princess, in turn, blows over Dewa Mandu’s head. Quickly he comes to his senses and praises the Lord (*SDM* 109).

¹³ Membakar nyiur di dalam dapur / Habunya taruh di dalam cawan / “Memohonkan sirih barang sekapur / Akan obat hati yang rawan.” *Dang Madini* bertanam sirih / Sirih ada di rumpunnya / “Di sini tidak menaruh sirih / Sirih ada pada pohonnya.” Burung enggang banyak sekawan / Minum serbat bertambul baulu / “Abang memohonkan layun tuan / Akan obat kepala ngilu.” Hanyut rakit buluh betung / Hanyut tersangkut di sungai sempit / “Kami tidak menaruh kuntum / Bukannya kami menjadi tabib” (*SDM* 260–261).

The *PA* contains a description of a ritual that aims to ‘call back’ the *semangat*; it is called *upab-upab*. At one point in the story, Badul Komis feels sick. His hands and feet are cold; he suffers from headache and feels dizzy. In his anguish, he starts to scream. To cure him, the bystanders must perform a ritual that will make his *semangat* return; it consists of a bath with lime juice and the recitation of formulas. The juice is poured on his fontanelle and big toes. These actions ensure that Badul Komis recovers quickly (*PA* 514–517). The fontanelle functions as a gate through which the *semangat* leaves and enters the physical body. The trembling of the skin that covers the fontanelle is an indication that the *semangat* is passing through this gate (*PA* 176–177).

Life Comes with a Sneeze

Another common sign that the *semangat* is leaving or entering the body is sneezing. Characters sneeze when they regain consciousness, wake up from a dream or are revived. The following quotation from the *PA* presents a ritual for reviving four young men who lost their life in a fierce battle. The girl Kombang Cino refuses to accept their deaths and starts preparations to have them revived. At the end of the treatment, all four sneeze:

She burns white incense
 Its smoke reaches the distant sky
 Lord Sheikh Panjang Ganyuik comes down
 He makes two with Princess Toruih Mato
 They make three with Siposan Putih
 Having arrived, he opens the window of the *anyong*
 Panglimo Komih is dozing off in the inner room
 When he arrives at the *anyong*, Kombang Cino is startled:
 “Bring all these corpses back to life again, my Lord”
 They are distributed by Sheikh Panjang Ganyuik:
 “Bring back to life Selamat, Siposan Putih
 Bring back to life Gadih Kainam, Princess Toruih Mato
 I bring back to life these two corpses”
 Rosewater is sprinkled, a drop for each one
 The big toe is sprinkled on, the heart beats
 The heart is pressed, the fontanelles beat
 The fontanelles are pressed and sprinkled on
 Then, all four sneeze
 After that, all are alive again
 But it remains quiet; they don’t talk loudly (*PA* 174–177).

It is peculiar that the deceased have a heartbeat. But only after they have sneezed are they considered alive. Life comes with a sneeze; that is what the text says. In the textual world of Malay adventure stories, death need not be the end of a person’s life. There is death and

there is another, much more frightening kind of death. In the first case, the deceased has a heartbeat and the situation can still be reversed. Malay adventure stories tell of ways to bring a dead person back to life. In contrast, the second type of death is irreversible. It is irreversible death that is feared by the men and women who inhabit the world of the Malay adventure stories. For if the victim's friends or relatives fail to make the *semangat* return to body of the deceased, he or she will pass away for good.

A clue to the grounds for the correspondences between vital force, the nose and sneezing is found in a Malay oral tradition on the origins of man. The story narrates how the archangel Jibrail gives the first human being, Adam, the Breath of Life. He does this by blowing into Adam's nostrils. Upon this, Adam starts to sneeze vehemently. But, as he is made of clay, his sneezing causes his image to break into a million pieces (Laderman 1991, 6; see also Skeat 1972, 19-20). An example of a character who sneezes right after regaining consciousness is found in a short Malay oral tale that was noted down by G. M. Laidlaw at the turn of the twentieth century. In one scene, the main protagonist called Kherudin is lying unconscious in his palace. He has fainted after he heard that his magic ring had been stolen by a Chinese goldsmith. A scrawny, mangy dog and cat, whose lives Kherudin once saved, retrieve the ring for him. They put it on their master's chest and, immediately, Kherudin sneezes and comes to (Laidlaw 1906, 27-57).

From these stories we learn that life is given through the nose. And it causes the recipient to sneeze; just like the protagonists of Malay adventure stories do at the moment life comes back to them.

What Do Anthropologists Say?

The above findings on *semangat* and its phenomenology largely correspond with anthropological studies on this topic. The following remarks by Van der Toorn (1890) on the belief in an erring spirit called *hantu haru-haru* in West Sumatra are illustrative for the parallels between the two discourses. The story reveals ontological assumptions similar to those found in the Malay adventure stories: the existence of a supernatural realm and the dual make-up of a human body. In the flowery style characteristic of his time, Van der Toorn describes the experiences of *semangat* in the other world:

He is taken far, far away by the erring spirit, the *hantoe haroe-haroe*, until he arrives at beautiful village with magnificent houses, playgrounds and bathing places. Beautiful women and cheerful youths welcome him. Horsemen on nimble horses are galloping and he too is given a fiery horse as a steed. Lively maidens play the most beautiful music and invite him to join in. Male and female dancers are dancing around to the rhythm of the loveliest music, showing their graceful movements.

Generous hosts provide him with dishes and drinks, the smell and taste of which he is unfamiliar with (Van der Toorn 1890, 54–55).¹⁴

In the following section, the concept of *semangat* and related ideas that are expressed in the Malay stories are compared with anthropological discourse on the same subject. These sources vary in date of publication and research area. Their commonality lies in the fact that they are based on research conducted in various regions of the Malay World. The majority discusses Malay- or Malay-dialect-speaking groups. The remainder concerns indigenous non-Malay-speaking groups that inhabit regions directly bordering the Malay cultural space. They have borrowed elements from Malay ideas on health and the manipulation of vital force. Reading through these detailed descriptions of beliefs and rituals, a picture emerges of a Malay coherence system, dealt with in detail next.

Where Malay adventure stories tell of animals and plants that can think and talk like human beings, anthropological works speak of a fundamental uniformity of being based on a vital force that imbues all entities on earth, human and non-human (Benjamin 1979; Endicott 1991; Gimlette 1971; Kimball 1979; Laderman 1991; Skeat 1972; Van der Toorn 1890; Winstedt 1982). The more recent sources distinguish between this undifferentiated vital force, commonly called *semangat*, and a more defined form of a vital principle, confusingly also called *semangat*. The first one groups man together with animals, plants, water and mountains, for instance; the latter is differentiated and bound to a human body (Endicott 1991). In the same way as the sixteenth-century Malay Sufi poet Hamzah Fansuri used the simile of the ocean and the wave to express the fundamental sameness of God and servant, this same image can be employed to illustrate the sameness of the two forms of *semangat*: both are the same and yet different.

The origins of the concept of an unbound, free-floating vital force, the *semangat* of the Malay stories, are likely to be found in man's dreaming experiences. It is the experience of having two bodies, one in the waking world and one in the dream world, which give rise to different cultural explanations of this phenomenon. This matter is aptly addressed by the Swiss psychoanalytic psychiatrist Medard Boss in the following quotation:

While waking observers see him fast asleep in bed in Zurich, the dreamer may feel that he is skiing, with consummate physical grace and pleasure, down an Alpine slope. The question now is which

¹⁴ Verre, verre wordt hij door den dwaalgeest, hantoe haroe-haroe, weggevoerd, totdat hij aankomt in een fraaie kampoeng, met prachtige huizen, speel- en badplaatsen. Schoone vrouwen en levenslustige jongelingen verwelkomen hem. Ruiters, op weelderige paarden gezeten, galopperen er in de sierlijkste wendingen, en ook hij ontvangt een vurig ros, om het te berijden. Frissche maagden maken er de welluidendste muziek en noodigen hem tot meedoen uit; dansers en danseressen bewegen er zich, op de maat der heerlijkste tonen, met lichte en losse bewegingen in 't rond. Door gulhartige gastheeren wordt hij onthaald op spijzen en dranken, wier geur en smaak hem geheel onbekend zijn (Van der Toorn 1890, 54–55).

body is the 'real' one, the body that others see lying in bed, though the dreamer is unaware of it, or the body that the dreamer himself feels so intensely but that no waking observer can perceive? We are at a loss for an answer, probably because the question is inadequately formulated. We may discover that both bodies, the recumbent and the active one, belong equally to the bodyhood of the sleeper's existence. In any case, however, physicality has shown itself to be no criterion for distinguishing between the human waking and dreaming states (Boss 1977 cited in States 1993, 14).

This 'two body problem' has resulted in cultural explanations that display a fundamental similarity in different regions of the world (States 1993, 14). While there is a large body of scholarly work dedicated to this universal category and the varied ways it is expressed by different peoples around the globe, here this category is examined in a Malay context.

The *semangat* leaves the body during dreams as well as during trance, spirit possession, unconsciousness and several forms of illnesses, including mental illness (Benjamin 1979; Endicott 1991; Laderman 1991; Skeat 1972; Van der Toorn 1890). Neighbouring ethnic groups in peninsular Malaysia like the Chewong and the Temiar have a similar notion of a human body with (a) detachable 'soul(s)'. The *ruwai* or life force of the Chewong and the Temiar head soul are similar to the Malay *semangat* with respect to their ability to leave the body during dreams and trance, for instance, and their relationship with the etiology of illness (Howell 1984; Roseman 1991). On the actual appearance of *semangat*, Skeat says that it is "[...] a thin, unsubstantial human image, [...] which is about the same size as a thumb and [...] corresponds exactly in shape, proportion, and even in complexion, to its embodiment or casing (*sarong*) [...]" (Skeat 1972, 47). A *semangat* is endowed with quasi-human feelings and possesses the personal consciousness and volition of the person the *semangat* belongs to (Skeat 1972, 47–48; see also Kimball 1979, 266). Skeat is not unique in mentioning the manikin aspect of *semangat*; Van der Toorn also refers to it, while Roseman remarks that the detachable head soul of the Temiar, which is similar to the Malay *semangat*, is a two or three inch replica of its owner (see also Howell 1984, 136; Roseman 1991, 25; Van der Toorn 1890, 57).

Apart from the view of the *semangat* as a small human-like reproduction of the body it is usually attached to, there is also a notion of the *semangat* as a bird, or even a fly (Cuisinier 1951, 204, cited in Laderman 1991, 42 n. 3; Van der Toorn 1890, 57, 70; Winstedt 1982, 18). Wilkinson states that it resembles a bird in that it can fly and is easily scared off (Wilkinson 1959, 1053). The use of the exclamation *kur*, commonly used to call chickens, and the scattering of rice in rituals performed to call the *semangat*, attest to this conception of the *semangat* as a bird (Skeat 1972, 47 n. 2, 49, 76; Wilken 1884, 943; Laderman 1991, 42; Winstedt 1982, 18). In 1900, Skeat partially dealt with this inconsistent image of the *semangat* as both a manikin and a bird by successfully arguing for the metaphoric value of the bird-image. It was not until seventy years later, in the publication of Endicott's *An Analysis of Malay Magic* (1970), that another hypothesis was offered. Endicott claimed that the differentiated vital force of a human being called

semangat has three different aspects. Besides the differentiated vital force, which is also called *semangat*, a person's *semangat* consists of *nyawa*, the Breath of Life, and *roh*, the Spirit of Life, the possession of which sets man apart from the rest of creation. The different conceptions of *semangat*, i.e. as a manikin, a bird and breath, are connected to its three different aspects. Thus, the *semangat* narrowly defined is seen as a manikin, the *roh* that can leave the body as a bird and *nyawa* as breath (Endicott 1991, 79–80).

All sources agree that *semangat* is a highly sensitive entity that is easily startled, after which it will leave the body and fly away. Common causes of *semangat* loss are fright, fear, a loud or sudden noise, abduction by a hostile spirit and music (Laderman 1991, 41–43; Roseman 1991, 26; Skeat 27, 197; Van der Toorn 1890, 50, 54–55, 57; Kimball 1979, 266). The flight and absence of a person's *semangat* is always fraught with danger, although not every case of *semangat* loss is viewed in a negative way. In some instances, the *semangat* leaves the body because it is 'invited' to do so, for example when a trance is induced or during childbirth (Laderman 1991, 42, 102–103; Van der Toorn 1890, 53). Moreover, a person's *semangat* can be abducted. Notorious cases of abduction involve love magic; a rejected lover, often with the help of a specialist in Malay magic, can cause the *semangat* of his or her object of infatuation to flee (see also Endicott 1991, 173; Kimball 1979, 193–194; Skeat 1972, 468–469, 574–576, 760–770; Van der Toorn 1890, 50–51, 55; Winstedt 1982, 83–84, 102).

The greatest danger involved in a prolonged absence of a person's *semangat* is the possibility of falling prey to attacks by malicious spirits.¹⁵ Besides facilitating the departure of *semangat*, the permeable boundaries of the corporeal body make a human being susceptible to attacks by spirits, *hantu* or *jin*, who take possession of the body.¹⁶ Endicott offers the hypothesis that spirits, themselves consisting of unbound differentiated vital force, attack an individual with the purpose of feeding on the remainder of that person's vital force (Endicott 1991, 53–54).¹⁷ A mild form of spirit attack, when only the spirit's 'heat' affects the victim will result in various kinds of symptoms or illnesses, but the ultimate result of possession by a spirit is invariably death (Laderman 1991). There is a myriad of Malay oral traditions on malevolent spirits that attests to the ever-present fear of these kinds of assaults. The danger comes from many different spirits, each with their own preferred type of victim (Gimlette 1971, 74; Kimball 1979, 45; Laderman 1991, 43–44; Skeat 1972, 101–106; Van der Toorn 1890, 102–103; Winstedt 1982, 21–60).

The relationship between the body and the *semangat* is characterized by mutual dependency. Changes in the well-being of either one of them will be reflected in the other.

¹⁵ For two case studies on spirit attacks, see Peletz 1996, 168–185.

¹⁶ Kimball 1979, 78, and especially Peletz 1996 mention the commonly held belief that women are more susceptible to spirit attacks and spirit possession as a result of their 'weak' *semangat*.

¹⁷ In addition to unbound evil spirits there are familiar spirits bound to a corporeal body, such as the *polong* and the *pelesit*. They can be sent off by their owners to cause mischief (see also Gimlette 1971, 271; Endicott 1970, 57–60; Gimlette 1971, 47–48, 103–104; Skeat 1972, 101 nn. 2 and 5).

A depletion of *semangat* affects both a person's physical and mental health. The victim faints, falls asleep or becomes ill or mad. Conversely, when a person fails to take proper care of his or her body, vital force will cross the weakened corporeal boundaries. Fright, illness, overwork and fear are all capable of decreasing the amount of vital force in a person, thereby making the body susceptible to spirit attacks (Benjamin 1979, 10–11, 16–17; Endicott 1991, 50; Laderman 1991, 42–4; Skeat 1972, 48; Van der Toorn 1890, 49–50).

Not all illnesses are caused by the evil influence of spirits, but those that are require specific healing methods (Laderman 1991, 40). When a person's *semangat* flees, it has to be 'called back.' Skeat (1970) and Van der Toorn (1890), for example, give detailed descriptions of rituals that are performed in order to make a *semangat* return. A weak *semangat* or a low amount of *semangat* in the body causes symptoms such as dizziness and weakness. This calls for another kind of cure, which is called the 'fixing' of *semangat* or *menetapkan semangat* (Skeat 1972, 274). It is aimed at strengthening the physical boundaries of the body to prevent the loss of more *semangat*. This treatment entails the transference of *semangat* of any object that is considered as having a 'strong' *semangat*, '*keras semangat*', to the ailing body (Benjamin 1979, 17). Examples are iron nails and knife blades, candle nuts (*buah keras*), stones, and cockleshells (Kimball 1979, 92–93; Skeat 1972, 274; Winstedt 1982, 3, 53–54, 101–511).

The above account shows striking parallels with what Malay adventure stories reveal about *semangat*. But also on a linguistic level similarities between the two discourses can be pointed out. They revolve around the use of the oppositional pair of words consisting of *lupa*, 'to forget' and *ingat*, 'to remember'. In the Malay narratives they are used to convey that a person experiences an altered state of consciousness. Here, the words occur in the phrases *lupa akan dirinya* and *ingat akan dirinya*, 'to forget oneself' and 'to remember oneself'. They are used interchangeably to denote unconsciousness, sleep or death and the victim's restoration to his or her former state. In the ethnographic descriptions though, the word pair figures mainly in the framework of a shamanic complex. There, it refers to an altered state of consciousness not yet mentioned here in the context of Malay adventure stories; namely, trance. Shamans are able to induce trance in themselves with the help music, songs, smoke or fumes, and cross the boundary to the spirit world. There, they communicate with spirits with the aim of negotiating specific knowledge that the shaman needs to be able to cure a patient or restore the social harmony in a community.

Gimlette (1971), discussing a Malay shamanistic healing performance called *main peteri*, mentions that the assistant of the *bomor* – the 'shaman' – has to 'forget' to be able to call up the spirit helper. This person is also called *orang lupa*, 'the one who forgets.' The same *orang lupa* figures in a different type of performance, *main berbagih*, often staged to cure the sick or to locate a lost or stolen object; here, the *orang lupa* brings himself into a trance by inhaling incense fumes and repeatedly shaking his head. The same concept but with the focus on the counterpart of *lupa*, i.e. *ingat*, 'to remember', is found in

Laderman 1991. Here, *tak ingat*, ‘not remembering,’ is used to describe a *bomor*’s patient while in trance. Laderman explains that the latter phrase is used for the patient while in trance, whereas *lupa*, which refers to a deliberate act of forgetting, applies to the *bomor*. A successful treatment by a *bomor* can only be attained “[...] when ‘remembering’ and ‘forgetting’ are in harmonic balance” (Laderman 1991, 88). In the Temiar ceremonies, the politics of remembering and forgetting are played out to the fullest of their potential. The Temiar, Roseman argues, have to ‘remember’ to be able to ‘forget,’ as the forgetfulness of trance is achieved by remembering a particular song given to a potential healer by a familiar in a dream (Roseman 1991, 151–60).

The importance of the head in actions that are aimed at manipulating *semangat* has been observed by anthropologists as well. Peletz makes mention of a Malay healer or *dukun*, who blew over the head of a victim of spirit possession to lure the *semangat* back (Peletz 1993, 156–157). Skeat explicitly refers to the fontanelle as an exit for the *semangat* (Skeat 1972, 206–207).

However, the anthropological sources lack a conceptual theory that draws these observations together. Malay adventure stories offer such an overarching theory. With their representations of the other world traveled by *semangat*, the different states of consciousness that are the result of *semangat* loss and efficient countermeasures, these narratives express a Malay ontology that consists of a cosmology and a theory of consciousness. Its premises are the existence of *semangat* or vital force, the dual make-up of a human being and a spirit dimension that exists parallel to the ordinary world. This second dimension is the abode of spirits (unbound differentiated *semangat*, in Benjamin’s terms). Humans can visit this realm through their detached *semangat*, during sleep (in dreams, see the following chapter), trance and unconsciousness. However, a prolonged absence of *semangat* is detrimental to a person’s health; it makes the body prone to spirit attacks. This particular way of seeing the world presents the world as a dangerous place to live. Spirits can attack and feed on a person’s *semangat* or lure the *semangat* away to the other world. Pain and strong emotions, such as fright, fear and desire, provoked by encounters with beauty or the strange and unexpected can lead to a loss of *semangat* and, subsequently, illness or death.

This coherence system is, basically, animist. In an animist world view, everything in the cosmos shares the same vital principle; there are no inanimate entities. Water, trees, soil, rocks and animals are considered as living entities, for they are all endowed with *semangat*. In this respect, they resemble man. Such a world view is fundamentally dialectic and dynamic. Benjamin (1979) gives an apt description of its dynamics. He states that this way of thinking (and, subsequently, a way of seeing),

[...] posits division of cosmos into two dialectically conjoined planes of existence, the plane of things, matter, categories; and the plane of essence, spirit, soul. For each entity on the plane of matter there is an equivalent entity on the plane of essence, and vice versa, in a one-to-one relationship.

Any disturbance of this relationship, whereby essence escapes the bounds of matter, will introduce a dynamic imbalance into the system which may come to be regarded as the source of such things as power, danger, pollution [...] (Benjamin 1979, 10).

This 'essence' or vital force, Benjamin adds, tends to break through the categorical boundaries to coalesce and form free 'essence'. Free vital force, whether in the form of *semangat* that was formerly attached to a human being, or a spirit, implies danger and illness. In contrast, bound vital force stands for neutrality and health.

The Malay adventure stories express a 'man versus world' attitude towards life and posit a society and a natural world that is inherently hazardous. The stories portray the world as a dangerous place and inform the reader about how to safeguard their health. The only way to confront these dangers without losing one's life is to recognize them and be prepared for them. Possession of specific knowledge and being alert and keeping your wits about you are quintessential for survival. Time and again, protagonists are warned of dangers awaiting them or admonished for having been careless. To convey this message, the word *lalai* is used. It can be translated as 'careless' or 'negligent.' Similar warnings are *jangan lupa* or *ingat*, meaning 'do not lose your *semangat*!' Thus, in the *SBS* we find Bahram Syah's parents warning their three sons to be careful and to pay attention to whatever they are doing or are confronted with during their quest for the miraculous bird:

When everything was ready, they kneeled before their parents' feet, and bowed their head to the ground. Their parents wept, embraced, and kissed their sons. They said, "Yes our sons, we will render you to God, may He be praised and be exalted, who will take care of you. But whatever you do, do not be careless and forgetful!" (*SBS* 7a).

In his study of a cultural matrix that he labelled Malayan animism, Benjamin similarly observes the man versus world axis that is specific to Malay cosmology. He states that the Malay cosmos is structured upon an in-out (or man-world) axis. The human individual is seen as set apart from, and acted upon by, the world and as sharply differentiated from the rest of creation. Differentiation of ontological categories is in the nature of a continuum on this in-out axis. Thus, the world is seen from the perspective of man looking outwards. The farther away a category is from man and the closer to 'nature,' the more it is associated with danger. At one end of this continuum stands man with his 'bound' differentiated *semangat*, representing neutrality and health. At the other end we find the 'unbound' free-floating undifferentiated vital force that permeates the natural world and is associated with danger. Free *semangat* in the form of spirits or ghosts that consist of unbound differentiated vital force are found somewhere in the middle. Closer to the 'man' end of the axis, one finds the category of animals whose *semangat* can be relatively easily set free, but who are not so remote from man as to be dangerously uncontrollable.

Benjamin connects this Malay world view, which sees man as a potential victim of forces outside his control, to the traditional Malay mode of sociopolitical organization. In his study, he argues that the centralized and hierarchical nature of the traditional Malay state was the variable that gave Malay animism its specific outlook. Power for Malays was traditionally extrinsic, deriving from a locus outside of the villagers' control. This implied that one always had to be careful, just like the protagonists of the Malay adventure stories (Benjamin 1979, 20).

The perception of power as extrinsic is also encountered among an indigenous Malay dialect-speaking people called Sakai. They inhabit the upstream Mandau area of Riau, East Sumatra and are originally non-Muslim. Anthropologist Nathan Porath did extensive fieldwork among the Sakai in the late 1990s. His explanation of how Sakai perceive themselves and their environment matches closely with the world view expressed in the Malay adventure stories. Based on these similarities, the following hypothesis can be made: the many references to *semangat* loss and the spirit dimension in the Malay stories are retentions of an older, pre-Islamic Malay way of making sense of the world. First, Porath's concise characterization of the Sakai view of the cosmos and man's place in it in his Introduction already gives expression to the close affinity of both discourses:

For the upstream Mandau people the concept of a boundary is a central concept for both individual and group protection in relation to threatening others in a fluid world [...]. The boundary of an individual is the physical body. It embodies [...] consciousness, which is easily penetrable through a detachable aspect of it called *semangat*. [...] The maintenance and re-creation of boundaries is necessary in a fluid world where individual and social identities can fly like a bird through different terrains and climes and transform with the experiential process (Porath 2003, 7).

And

Shamans [...] manage consciousness through a metaphorically articulated theory of consciousness that has been developed through, and premised on the human universal experience of altered states of consciousness (Porath 2003, 7).

Second, Sakai cultural practices are generally considered as pre-Islamic Malay. The originally forest-dwelling Sakai people formed part of the lowest social group in the Malay kingdom of Siak. In the nineteenth century, their livelihoods depended on the trade of forest products with Chinese and Malay traders who lived downstream along the river Siak. Today, there is a growing economic differentiation among the Sakai and many follow a rural Indonesian life. Moreover, since the 1960s, many Sakai have converted to Islam. Notwithstanding their entrance in the greater worlds of modern Indonesia and Islam, their shamanic healing tradition called *dikei* is still practiced. Porath convincingly argues how the Sakai shamanic complex functions as a technique to manage personal and social disintegration under changing conditions; for example, the increased pull of hege-

monic Malay culture. But what makes the Sakai case especially relevant for my argument is that the Sakai are, in a sense, Malays and their way of viewing the world is essentially Malay.

The inhabitants of the upper Mandau region are generally considered as ‘proto or older Malays,’ who did not convert to Islam and refrained from growing rice as a staple crop. In a pan-Malay perspective, they have come to represent the Malay World as it was before the Malays became Muslim (Porath 2003, 1–31). Retention of older, pre-Islamic conceptual ideas, such as the concept of *semangat* in the Muslim environments of both contemporary Sakai society and Malay adventure stories is facilitated by the syncretic nature of Islam in the Archipelago.

Aside from the similarities between the two discourses, they contain differences as well. These prove significant in light of the stories’ encyclopaedic function in society and, therefore, will be addressed next. Adventure stories present a complete theory of consciousness, minus trance, whereas anthropologists have focused mainly on shamanism. Another marked difference is that malevolent spirits, so poignantly present in anthropological studies, do not play an important role in the Malay narratives. Only occasionally do the stories hint at the fear of a spirit attack. Next, only adventure stories speak of people who have been revived. It comes as no surprise that reversible death does not exist in the world outside the text. As a sign that vital force has re-entered the human body, sneezing is linked to the restoration of life. Several authors, amongst them Laderman and Kimball, make incidental reference to sneezing, but refrain from linking it to the loss of *semangat*. Only Skeat mentions, in passing, sneezing and the danger it entails (Skeat 1972, 533 n. 1). The Malay stories speak of sneezing as beneficial rather than dangerous; the sneezes invariably occur at the moment a character is reunited with his *semangat*. Finally, the anthropologists remain silent on what happens to the *semangat* in the spirit dimension after it has left its physical confines behind.¹⁸ The Malay stories, in contrast, abound with embedded stories that offer a window on this other realm.

Nowhere in the Malay adventure stories is an explanation given for the anxiety that is experienced by the bystanders when they witness a person faint. Here, the work of anthropologists informs the fictional world; the studies mention the belief in the existence of hostile spirits that can attack human beings who suffer from a weak or depleted vital force. Thus, it may be that the seemingly unfounded concern over the fate of a sleeping or an unconscious person in the narratives is caused by the fear that a malevolent spirit will invade the body.

Endicott’s (1991) useful distinction between undifferentiated and differentiated *semangat* explains the minor afflictions suffered by the lovesick as well as the after-effects experienced by protagonists who have just been woken up or revived. A small loss of vital force results in minor symptoms; dizziness or a lack of appetite are the most common

¹⁸ Except for Van der Toorn (1890), who was cited at the beginning of this chapter.

consequences of a mild attack. The situation becomes more dangerous when a large amount of undifferentiated *semangat* disappears or when the differentiated *semangat* escapes.

How can these differences in the representation of this specific ontology in the two discourses be accounted for? Two factors are involved, it is argued: first, the nature of the knowledge that is transmitted; and second, the narrative constraints of the Malay adventure story as medium for the transmission of that knowledge. In one of the propositions that accompany Porath's PhD dissertation (2003) on shamanic therapy among the Sakai, he asserts that

Sakai knowledge is not knowledge that can be articulated in a narrative. It is embodied knowledge pertaining to the social-body as it is lived in the world. To understand Sakai knowledge we have to understand the way this knowledge is performed (Porath 2003, proposition 9).

This statement refers to the Sakai shamanic-complex, which consists of a theory of consciousness and shamanic healing sessions. In his Acknowledgement, however, he thanks a fellow scholar for introducing him to “the importance of understanding Malays and Malay-speaking peoples from their oral literature” (Porath 2003, ix). Here, Porath unconsciously makes a division between two different fields of cultural knowledge. The one, on shamanism and trance, depends for its transmission on performance and constitutes embodied or ‘lived’ knowledge. That explains the relatively limited subject matter of the anthropological sources. Anthropologists study man's behaviour, especially ‘exotic’ behaviour such as shamanistic rituals or healing rituals performed by traditional healers. Until very recently, the ‘stories’ of a particular society remained outside the scope of anthropological studies.

The other pertains to knowledge on a larger ontology that shamanism and trance form part of. This particular knowledge is preserved and transmitted through storytelling. It includes information on other altered states of consciousness, such as fainting and sleep, the causes of *semangat* loss – notably strong emotions – and countermeasures. This argument can be taken even further. Perhaps the Malay adventure story is the ultimate, or even only, medium for the transmission of this important cultural knowledge. Form and function of the Malay adventure story coincide: the central theme of a journey through an unfamiliar region of the world facilitates the expression of the concept of *semangat*, in particular the dangers of the arousal of intense emotions in a human being. This unknown land named *negeri Anta-Beranta* or *Entah-Berentah*, ‘Land of Multiplicity’ or ‘Never-Neverland,’ offers all the strange, unexpected and beautiful sights and sounds that are needed to lead the sensitive *semangat* – and likewise, the reader – to the spirit dimension. Only a few publications on Malay magic allude to a relationship between sickness, sleep, madness, unconsciousness, trance and death. However, they do not provide the basis for this relationship. Malay adventure stories do: they implicitly

present a comprehensive ontology and a theory of consciousness. On a higher level, the Malay stories attest to the supposed universal affinity between sleep, dreams and death that Carol Schreier Rupprecht and Kelly Bulkley refer to when they ask whether or not there is a “[...] core of truth to mythological representations of sleep, dreams, and death as members of the same family” (Schreier Rupprecht and Bulkley 1993, 8).

With the above in mind, it is not surprising that Tony Day and Will Derks (1991) call the journey a ‘master trope’ that covers many different manifestations of the encyclopaedic impulse in Malay and other texts from the Archipelago. In their article “Narrating Knowledge,” Day and Derks employ the Western notion of encyclopaedia as a device to demonstrate that narratives from this part of the world have the basic characteristics of encyclopaedia. This encyclopaedic impulse can be discerned in Malay adventure stories as well. The adventure story, like the Western encyclopaedia, presents “[...] information about the phenomenal world organized and selected according to certain conceptual principles [...]” Those principles may vary according to time, place and culture (Day and Derks 1991, 309). The story of *Panglimo Awang* – included in the research corpus of the current chapter – is mentioned by Day and Derks as an example of an ‘encyclopaedic’ narrative. It is said that the story is “[...] full of knowledge about the Malay World [...]” in particular about “rules of conduct in social situations” (Day and Derks 1991, 311–312). Stories ‘narrate knowledge’ and the authors and storytellers are often explicit about this didactic function of their stories. *Pak* Taslim, one of the storytellers who performed the story of *Panglimo Awang*, expressed the hope that the tale he was about to tell would be ‘useful’ (Derks 1994, 193). The message that is found at the beginning of the *Story of Bahram Syah* is written in a similar vein; it states that the story is composed by a wise person as a ‘reminder’ (*ingat-ingatan*) to future generations (SBS 1).

The way the concept of *semangat* is presented in the stories is, to a certain extent, determined by the constraints of the narrative format. This accounts for some of the discrepancies between what anthropologists say on the subject and what is found in the narratives. For instance, the prominence of the ‘personified’ form of *semangat*, as opposed to free-floating *semangat*, in Malay adventure stories can be linked to the fact that narrative requires protagonists: wandering human-like entities that are able to think and act. Furthermore, the conspicuous presence of the beautiful and the strange as causes of *semangat* loss is related to the unique nature of the stories’ Never-Neverland or *Negeri Antah-Berantah*. This wonderland is often called *Negeri Anta-Beranta*: Land of Multiplicity. And ‘multiplicity,’ as was discussed above, stands for the highest degree of beauty according to Malay aesthetics. Objects of perfect beauty appeal to multiple senses at the same time: touch, sight, hearing and smell. Thus, most of the cases of fainting that are depicted in the stories are the result of an encounter with something extraordinarily beautiful or strange. Lastly, none of the anthropologists observe the possibility of reversible death. The revival of deceased characters in Malay adventure stories is a narrative device. The story that leads to the death of a protagonist makes for an engrossing adventure, and

his or her return from the death secures the continuation of the story and postponement of an ending.

Concluding Remarks

In an overview of studies on Malay magic pertaining to the Malay Peninsula published in 1983, Robert L. Winzeler addresses the disagreement among scholars on what the notion of magic should mean. He doubted that the, then widely held, view that magic is understood as the beliefs and activities involving the manipulation of the material world through supernatural means was useful “[...] as a means of categorizing and analysing an entire or major segment of Malay culture [...]” (Winzeler 1983, 438). He did not believe that the use of charms, divination, ‘lore’ – with which he probably meant the various beliefs in spirits and related rituals – and medicine was interconnected to “[...] form an integrated system underlying a major segment of their culture, organized around a central notion *corresponding to our notion of magic* [emphasis mine]” (Winzeler 1983, 438).

What Winzeler thought impossible, the analysis of the Malay adventure stories has proved to be the case. Seemingly unrelated human conditions that are presented in Malay narratives, among them fainting, dreaming and madness, form an integrated system organized around the central notion of *semangat*. And, if Winzeler saw ‘our notion of magic’ as the manipulation of the material world through supernatural means, then my findings support that view of Malay magic. For it is *semangat* and unbound vital force in the form of spirits that is manipulated to influence the realities of illnesses, failed crops or the death of livestock, and so on.¹⁹ But social relations too can be shaped by manipulating *semangat* and spirits. Love magic, the measures taken to induce desire in a man or a woman, forms one example, the domestication and use of a malevolent spirit by a spiteful individual is another. Even at the very beginning of human life, at child birth, a *semangat* calling ritual is performed to ensure the child’s smooth delivery.

This chapter has explained how exactly those passages in the stories that made earlier critics repudiate these Malay narratives, prove to be significant. Adventure stories provided the readers with an indispensable map of the different categories that constituted the world they lived in. The stories taught them what defined them as human beings and how to avoid the loss of *semangat*. This knowledge pertains to matters of life and death. The estranging world of the adventure story suits its function aptly; with a proliferation

¹⁹ The Appendices of Skeat’s monumental work *Malay Magic* (1900) contains a wide array of Malay charms and invocations related to different aspects of man’s life in relation to his surroundings. There are charms that are used to appease the spirits of all kinds of animals, including game, and plants, trees, mines, soil, and malicious spirits and ghosts.

of the beautiful and the strange, the texts offer endless opportunities for the author to make *semangat* escape its physical confines.

A comparison with data from anthropological studies pointed to a division in knowledge, reflected in the means for the transmission of that knowledge. Conceptual ideas on vital force and its manipulation by shamans are ‘embodied’ in shamanic healing practices, while knowledge on the danger of fright, desire and strong emotions for the mental and physical well-being of a human being and the cosmos is contained in adventure stories. Transmission of this ontological knowledge depended on the skills of the original author, or the storyteller, who performed at public gatherings. It was his task to maximize the imaginative force of narrative using narrative and performative devices. In the words of Fredrik Barth, the storyteller – or the original author, for that matter – forms the third ‘face’ of knowledge, next to the message itself and the means of communication. Knowledge, according to Barth, is only validated and transmittable in an institutionalized setting (Barth 2002, 1–18). In a Malay context, this setting is the storyteller and his public readings. The validation is established by the professional status of the storyteller, and often by the legitimacy of the way he mastered the art of storytelling (hereditary or through an apprenticeship with an acclaimed storyteller). Moreover, the performer and his art are surrounded by a certain mystique that sets him apart from the common men (Sweeney 1973, 8–15).

The transmission of these conceptual ideas is partly prescriptive and partly descriptive. The stories give form to the lived experience of the supernatural; in a way, they make them ‘real’. But knowledge is also propositional. Malay adventure stories invite their audience to discuss the matters presented, in particular those related to *semangat*, spirits and the other dimension. They provide a forum to actively engage in producing knowledge through consensus. This was aptly demonstrated at a public reading of the Sumatran Malay story *Panglimo Awang* witnessed by Will Derks in the 1980s. He noticed how the story, after the performance had ended, sparked a lengthy discussion among members of the public on matters relating to spirits, their realm and other *barang yang ghaib*, ‘invisible things’.

Malay adventure stories may well be the sole medium for the transmission of a certain kind of knowledge, but that does not mean that they can be reduced to this one function. Texts are multi-vocal and the rich tapestry of Malay adventure stories holds so much more. The *SBS* is profoundly coloured by its preoccupation with the effects of *semangat* loss, but at the same time it conveys multiple messages of an Islamic nature (see Chapters 2 and 6). The co-presence in an adventure story of conceptual ideas originating in two seemingly contrasting belief systems as monotheist Islam and Malay animism is accommodated by the adaptive nature of Islam in Southeast Asia.

A last issue that must be raised at the end of this chapter is the relevancy of the ontological categories and cosmology for the readers of the stories at a given moment in time. To what degree was this world view valid or functional in the society in which

the stories were consumed? The possibility that some of the scenes on fainting or ‘magic,’ for instance, have fossilized into topoi comes to mind, especially taking into consideration the formulaic character of Malay adventure stories. Perhaps these passages had a totally different meaning to some or all of the readers of an adventure story at a certain time and place. Just like most people in Indonesia are no longer aware of the original function of the exclamation *Pis kucing!* or ‘Shoo cat’ uttered to this day by some people after sneezing, common scenes in adventure stories could, over time, have petrified into plain style figures.²⁰ Unfortunately, with so little information available on the reception of adventure stories, it remains impossible to say something definitive about this. As far as the *SBS* is concerned, the known proliferation of ‘superstitious practices’ – mostly aimed at the manipulation of *semangat* – in the Muslim environment of Barus and surroundings around the middle of the nineteenth century seems to indicate that animist concepts still played an important role in society. Porath’s research on Sakai knowledge in the late 1990s has shown that so-called ‘traditional’ world views, such as the Malay animist one, can be ‘modern,’ functioning in the setting of the modern-day state of Indonesia.

Finally, one should not forget that, above all, Malay adventure stories were works to be enjoyed. It seems rather unlikely that, for instance, a food vendor, trader or sea captain would walk from the market area to a friends’ house after a day of hard work anticipating a long evening of instruction on serious matters. What he came for was entertainment in the company of his friends. Throughout the ages man has been attracted to stories. Following the heroes on their quests in the ordinary or spirit world, we identify with the heroes and share in the cathartic effect of their adventures. For the duration of the story, boundaries of time and place are dissolved, and man is offered an escape from the daily grind.

²⁰ This exclamation was originally intended to shoo away cats. With the image of the sensitive *semangat* as a small bird and the loss of *semangat* through the nose or mouth during sneezing, cats were potentially dangerous to man’s health. If the *semangat*/bird was caught, the victim would fall ill and could even lose his life.

5 | What (Wo)Men Want: Dream Theory in Malay Adventure Stories

Introduction

It is difficult to imagine a human experience more private, yet at the same time more social than an individual's dream. For dreams are personal symbols that carry meaning at the cultural and psychological level simultaneously (Hollan 2003, 169). This explains why dream reports are collected and dissected by psychologists and anthropologists alike. Moreover, dream reports from different peoples across the globe attest to the universal nature of dreaming. Postwar dream research up until the 1970s almost exclusively focused on discovering cross-cultural similarities between the dreams of people living on different continents. But the following decades bear the mark of a significant shift in focus, notably evident in anthropological studies on dreams.¹ Subject of investigation now became the dream in its cultural context, and investigations were aimed at revealing mankind's cultural variety instead of a psychological universal. The premise of this shift is that dreams, dream sharing and dream interpretation are culturally informed. Dreams are collective representations, the format, meaning and function of which is shaped by cultural conventions. Among scholars who work on dreams there is a general consensus that dreams and dream typologies "[...] may illustrate or reveal a number of important cultural themes or processes" (Hollan 2003, 169). They speak of a society's key values, belief system, world view and main cultural dynamics that dreams could give access to

¹ This idea of a relation between dreams and cultural contexts was already formulated in 1952, when Dorothy Eggan contended that dreams reflect their cultural context (see also Lohmann 2003, 3). Only in the late Seventies and early Eighties of the twentieth century was this notion applied on a larger scale in dream research.

(Killborne 1974, 1981a and b, 1992, 174, 190–191; Lohmann 2003, 9; Siegel 1977; Sutlive 1979, 105–106; Duff-Cooper 1987).

With this promising hypothesis as a starting point, the current chapter examines the fictional dreams that are featured in seven Malay adventure stories.² The stories are linked to a world outside the texts and scrutinized for the ways they are related to that world. In line with the argument of the previous chapter, it is claimed that these narratives not only convey a theory of consciousness and an ontology, but also a theory on dreams.

Although dreaming is a universal phenomenon that crosses ethno-cultural boundaries, some societies attach more meaning to dreams than others. The former often supports an elaborate classification system of dreams that indicates the importance that is accorded to dreams (Killborne 1992, 171–173). In the Malay World people also paid attention to dreams, and still do. But not to all dreams. In contrast to dreams that were viewed as either an expression of the deep, private emotions of the dreamer or the residue of the dreamer's mental activities during the day, there were nightly visions that were believed to contain significant information. They were stereotyped dreams that were similar in format, content, mode of interpretation and meaning. They can be found in so-called Malay dream books, or *kitab takbir* (*mimpi*): lists of symbolic dream images and matching interpretations. The fictional dreams in the Malay adventure stories correspond, to a large degree, to the dreams listed in the dream books. It is this particular type of dream that this chapter addresses. It will be referred to as a 'type dream.' The term is borrowed from Charles Gabriel Seligman (1924). But, whereas Seligman used this category as a tool for his search for cross-cultural, universal human traits; it is used here to investigate the cultural specifics of Malay dreams (Seligman 1923 a and b, 1924).

Beside these similarities, the dreams and related assumptions the dream books speak of also differ in several of their aspects from those that are encountered in the Malay stories. These discrepancies, as will be shown, are related to the narrative function of the dreams in the stories. One striking difference, though, resists an explanation in these terms. It concerns the gendered nature of the dream typology that is presented in the narratives. Fictional dreams are categorized along the line of gender; they form part of a textual world characterized by a strict division of space along this same line.

Although 'real' dreams and fictional dreams are obviously two different categories, it is argued that the assumptions about a link between dreams and society can be extended to fictional dreams. Like narratives, fictional dreams are cultural representations that are, by their representational nature, bound to their 'ground': a world outside the text. To put it differently, fictional dreams in stories have to display a minimum of characteristics of a real dream to be recognizable to the readers as a dream. This basic structure is then embellished by the author in various ways, depending on the effect he intends to achieve.

² Their titles and bibliographic details can be found in the Appendices.

The assumed link between dreams and narrative will be addressed first. After that, the scholarly publications on dreaming and dream interpretation – fictional dreams included – relating to Southeast Asia will be discussed to create a comparative framework. Dreams and narrative are two sides of the same coin. Without narrative a dream would be no more than a sequence of images that appear to lack any internal relation, and thus an illogical and incomprehensible event. It is only after awakening that these images are linked together in narrative format. Analogous to the construction of narrative, the human mind establishes links between the images comprising the sensory dream experience by connecting them both logically and chronologically, producing a history. This history can be either narrated to oneself or to other people to make the dream known: the dream report. It is narrative that “tells the dream into existence” (Doniger O’Flaherty 1984, 127).

Many cultures stress the choice a dreamer has between sharing a dream with others and keeping it to herself. Amongst the Toraja of Sulawesi, for example, it is advised never to tell a dream that is believed to bring luck to its dreamer. The reason for this is that as soon as the dream is told, it exists and is liable to be taken away from the dreamer (Hollan 1989, 172). An early Indian text on dreams warns people who have dreamt a bad dream, not to relate their dream to somebody else and to pass three nights in the temple to honour the ghosts. This exercise will safeguard the dreamer against any negative effects of the dream. By not informing others of the dream, the dream is not brought into existence (Doniger O’Flaherty 1984, 23).

The Malay story *Panglimo Awang* contains several fictional dreams, but it is foremost the lifestory of its storyteller that illustrates the close connection between dreaming and storytelling. One of the storytellers who regularly performed the *PA* started off his career after having had a dream. He was only seventeen years old when a beautiful woman appeared to him in a dream; she urged the young man to learn the *PA* by heart to save it from extinction (Derks 1994, 10). A similar example is referred to by Amin Sweeney in *Professional Malay Story-telling*. A Malay storyteller from Perlis, Malaysia, claimed to have had a dream in which an old man, clothed all in white, appeared to him and granted him the power to perform (Sweeney 1973, 12). In the *PA*, the words *riwayat* and *curito*, both meaning ‘tale’ or ‘story,’ refer to one of Panglimo Nayan’s dreams: “Father came down from heaven. To tell me a story.” A dream as a story, a story as a dream. And finally, there is the mysterious last part of *Pak Taslim*’s version of the *PA* that gives evidence to the relationship between dreams and stories. It discloses the origin of the story on Panglimo Awang, the dreams of a woman named Mai Bonsu:

If we want to tell the story Panglimu
 From the beginning until the end
 We study first with Awang Lobieh
 O Bang Sulong Awang Panglimu Awang

We want to study; there is no teacher to ask
 We want to ask, there is no capable one
 Except Mai Bonsu when she dreams (*PA* 578–581).

Before embarking on an exploration of non-Western ideas on dreaming, we must first examine the historical basis of our own Western assumptions on dreaming. Contemporary notions on dreams are influenced by the mainstream Christian doctrine that claims that only waking experience is truthful and therefore all dreams are deceitful. This view stands in sharp contrast to Islamic tradition, where, for Muhammad, dreams were a vehicle for the revelation essential for his role as prophet and visionary (Kilborne 1992, 184–185). Additionally, the dominance in the West of the notion of dreams as expressions of man's unconscious anxieties, wishes and desires does not have a long history; it owes everything to Sigmund Freud's seminal work *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900).³ In Western popular culture the dream is seen as a series of images that originates in the subconscious of the human mind. Culturally sanctioned emotions and desires, or painful emotions that the waking and conscious mind represses, (re)surface in man's dreams. Dreams offer us a glimpse of that part of us that would otherwise remain unknown. As dream images are believed to spring from the subconscious' imagination, the world we see in our dreams is just that, a dream world. It is not considered 'real,' like the world that surrounds us in our waking life.

Freud's claim that certain elements of dreams typically correspond with certain latent meanings of the dream piqued the interest of anthropologists. British anthropologists Charles Gabriel Seligman, for example, wondered whether Freud's dream symbolism was applicable across races and cultures. If this was indeed the case, it would not only suggest that the unconscious of different races was 'qualitatively alike,' but also that man's unconscious constituted a "[...] proved common store on which fantasy may draw" (Seligman 1924, 41). As an example of what he called a 'type dream,' he presented the dream in which the dreamer sees himself losing a tooth. This dream image or symbol is found in dreams of different peoples living on different continents and is either interpreted as predicting the death of the dreamer or one of his relatives, or general misfortune (Seligman 1923a and b, 376–377; 1924, 41).⁴ A decade later, another anthropologist, Jackson Stewart Lincoln, gathered and scrutinized dream reports collected among five different Native American peoples for the presence of recurring dream images. His *The Dream in Primitive Cultures* pioneered the study of dreams in relation to society. Although he failed to take into account indigenous dream theories and typologies, his contribution

³ However, Nabulsi's (1641–1731) Islamic dream categorization that precedes Freud by several centuries also includes a category of dreams that are rooted in individual wishes, ambition or sexual desires (Kilborne 1992, 192).

⁴ This type dream is commonly found in Malay dream books as well, with a similar interpretation. These compendia will be dealt with in more detail later in this chapter.

to the study of dreams and dream interpretation lies in his observation that some societies distinguish between different categories of dreams, and that societies vary in the degree to which they ascribe importance or meaning to different kinds of dreams. He introduced the division between ‘individual dreams’ and ‘culture pattern dreams’ that yielded a significant advance in anthropological dream research. Especially relevant to the discussion of fictional dreams in the current chapter is his claim that these culture pattern dreams are constructed with images taken from a “[...] culturally defined field of imagery” (Lincoln 1935, 105). Just like Lincoln’s culture pattern dreams, both Malay fictional dreams and dreams listed in Malay dream books turn out to be stereotyped in manifest and latent content.

The quest for cross-cultural similarities that took place in the field of comparative dream research lasted until the late Seventies. From then on, scholarly discourse in cultural studies became dominated by the primary importance of contextualization for the understanding of cultural representations. In the wake of this contextual shift, works appeared that revolved around the notion of dreaming as a communicative act, a corollary of the attention for the relation between text and context. Benjamin Kilborne’s work on dreams in particular is exemplary for this novel anthropological perspective on dreams.⁵ Kilborne contends that dream classificatory principles are bound up with cultural belief systems, and say something about cultural values. The analysis of fictional dreams in this chapter follows his line of thinking. As an example of his approach to dreams, a case study from his article ‘On Classifying Dreams’ (1992) is presented next.

In this article, Kilborne claims that dream theory is indicative of how a society views the world. To substantiate his claim he presents three case studies. For the third one, on Islamic dream theory, he used data from his fieldwork in 1970s’ Morocco and from older Islamic sources. His findings show how the different Islamic dream categorizations express a preoccupation with truth and falsehood. Contrary to what one would expect – that is, that Moroccans value the God-sent ‘truthful’ dreams more than those considered deceitful and sent by Satan or revengeful *jinn* or Islamic spirits – both types of dreams are seen as equally important. Deceitful dreams are treated with care, as they could be sent to harm the dreamer. Such a dream frequently demands the advice of a person skilled in the art of dream interpretation to figure out which part of the dream is not to be trusted. Kilborne explains the importance of these dreams in society by arguing that deceitful dreams are more salient to the people as they “[...] express real, experienced and basic mistrust” in Moroccan society. Also, he contends that dreams sent by Islamic spirits or

⁵ A versatile scholar and prolific writer, Kilborne has published articles and monographs on a wide range of subjects, such as anthropology, history, philosophy, and literature. He states that in his writings he has always “[...] sought to integrate literature, anthropology, and psychoanalysis with theories of human tragedy.” www.benjaminkilborne.com/Ben_Kilborne/Home.html, accessed 9 March 2013. Having studied with Roland Barthes in Paris, Kilborne’s work clearly betrays the influence of Barthes’ ideas on semiotics and structuralism.

jin, similar to the widespread beliefs in *jin*, function as ‘defensive projective mechanisms,’ ways of projecting unwanted hostile feelings onto spirits and a manner of dealing with an inner world of suspicion and jealousy. In short, Moroccan dreams do appear to confirm a view that holds that the world is not to be trusted and not to be taken at face value. This chapter intends to look at the fictional dreams of the Malay stories in a similar way to discover more about the key values and main preoccupations of the peoples that inhabited the Malay World.

A search for scholarly publications on fictional dreams in the Malay World and adjacent regions does not yield much. This means that almost all sources that will be subsequently mentioned refer to real dreams. Until the contextual shift of the late Seventies, references to dreams and dreaming in connection to peoples living on the Malay Peninsula or the Archipelago were found only, and sporadically, in ethnographic descriptions. Dreams were mentioned in passing, in an anecdotal way and mostly in connection to ‘magic’ or ‘superstitious beliefs.’ Dreams never became an object for study themselves, let alone dream theories. The British were most prolific in this ethnographic field.⁶ Skeat’s *Malay Magic* (1900) contains several examples of Malay dreams (Skeat 1900, 142–144, 666–669). Similarly, Hugh Clifford’s *In Court and Kampong* (Clifford 1897, 189). Notes on Malay superstition that contain scattered references to dreams are found in journals such as the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Journal of the Federated States Museum* and the *Malayan Police Magazine*. The Malay *Haji* Abdul Mahid, for example, shared his knowledge on the interpretation of dreams and omens in the natural world with the readers of these journals on several occasions. His sources were oral traditions on dreaming and perhaps one or more Malay dream books. To give an impression of the kinds of dreams and interpretations that were known in the Malay World, a few examples of dreams and interpretations are given next. Several of the dreams that are mentioned by Abdul Mahid relate to pregnancy. If a pregnant woman dreams of receiving a creese she will have a boy; if the gift is a ring or an earring, she will give birth to a girl. Love and marriage is another theme commonly encountered in these compendia. If a girl dreams she is being seized by an animal, she will soon marry. If one sees oneself catching a bird, it means that the dreamer has transferred his or her love to another person. The image of a big fish stands for the wife the dreamer will soon marry. But a man’s dream of marrying a woman is considered a highly inauspicious vision; it means that trouble is coming his way. And finally, there are dreams that pertain to the dreamer’s social standing or good name, and wealth. Smelling ‘evil smelling things’ in a dream indicates that people have been talking evil of the dreamer, while eating a lemon in a dream forewarns the dreamer that he or she will receive silver or gold (Mahid 1928, 41–45; Skeat 1900, 666–669).

⁶ An overview of publications on Malay magic is found in Robert L. Winzeler’s article “The Study of Malay Magic.” *BKI* 139 (1983) 4, 435–458.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the idea took root among European scholars that folktales in particular held the key to the 'essence' of an ethnic group. This led to a heightened interest in Malay folktales around the turn of the twentieth century. Some of the oral narratives that were collected by the British on the Malay Peninsula express ideas related to dreams. The following story stresses the significance of dreams, as well as their 'truthfulness'. A poor man one night dreamt that a supernatural visitor came to him and told him that his only way to better his miserable condition was to kill his wife. The man was greatly disturbed by this message, but believed that the proper course was to obey. When his wife went to bathe herself with lime in the river in preparation for her death, she accidentally hurt her finger cutting the limes. Her blood fell in the water, where each drop miraculously transformed into a jar filled with gold. She took the jars to her husband and the two lived the rest of their life in comfort. In contrast, the story of a greedy fisherman who ignored the signs disclosed to him in his dream illustrates what can happen if one does not exactly do what one is told to in the dream. The fisherman drew up a long golden chain from the bottom of a pool, but lost it all after he refused to cut the chain with his betel scissors as he was told to do so by a little bird (Skeat 1900, 563–566).

Besides these ethnographic compendia compiled mainly by British scholars and administrators in the first half of the twentieth century, there was no scholarly interest in dreams in a Southeast Asian context until the 1970s and 80s.⁷ The latter period saw anthropologists such as James Siegel, Andrew Duff-Cooper, Jane Cathleen Wellenkamp and, in particular, Douglas Hollan who began analyzing dreams and dream interpretations from the Archipelago in a systematic way.⁸ All four explain dreams in relation to

⁷ Considering this fact, the following story about the unexpected and large impact on American culture in the 1960s and 70s of Kilton Stewart's writings on Senoi dream theory is exceptional (Stewart 1951, 1953–4, 1954, 1962). In the 1930s, American anthropologist Stewart studied the Senoi, an indigenous people living on the Malay Peninsula. His publications appeared only in the 1950s; they describe the Senoi as a non-violent and easygoing people, with a near-perfect mental health. It was assumed that this utopian society was achieved by the way the Senoi shaped, controlled, and interpreted their dreams. The idea of taking control over your own life through dreams resonated with the 1960s human potential movement in the United States. Stewart's work was reread and became popular (Domhoff 1985, 1–34). This is how a dream theory of a relatively unknown and isolated people living close to the Malay on the Peninsula was exported to the United States, where it was transformed into the creative dream work movement.

⁸ Studies on the social use of dreams and dream theory in Papua New Guinea have not been included in the discussion for the following two reasons. First, the area does not immediately border the regions making up the Malay World and second, its indigenous peoples/pre-colonial population belongs to the Melanesian ethno-cultural family and is markedly distinct from the other ethno-cultural groups inhabiting the Western part of the Archipelago. For more on dreams in Papua New Guinea, see the volume edited by Lohmann, *Dream Travellers: Sleep Experiences and Culture in the Western Pacific* (2003), and Mimica 2006.

their function in society. In 1977, Siegel wrote a paper on the social function of dreams in Pidir, Aceh: “Curing Rites, Dreams and Domestic Politics in a Sumatran Society.” He interprets dreams as the source from which women in Pidir derive authority in domestic politics. Whereas men acquire authority from their prayers to God, women dream dreams sent to them by Islamic spirits. This means that they can have their say in society, for they ‘speak with the voice of *jin*’. For the same reason, they play a role in curing rites and the interpretations of dreams. Dreaming and dream interpretation turn out to be closely connected to the female social realm. Pidir dream theory discerns three different types of dreams, two of which are said to be brought by djinn and one that is sent by God. Dreams sent by God contain a message and are self-explanatory; they can be dreamt by both men and women. Although men do recognize the three types of dreams, they differ from the women in their cultivation of dreaming. Whereas Pidir women turn out to be prolific dreamers, Pidir men say they rarely dream. Furthermore, Siegel establishes a link between dreaming and illness; not through the concept of the wandering *semangat*, as was done in the previous chapter, but by taking into account the special nature of spirits. Spirits have no body and thus no voice; by invading a human body – causing illness – and by visiting sleeping women in their dreams, *jin* speak through the voices of Pidir women.

Whereas in Pidir spirits bring dreams to a sleeping individual, among a Balinese community in western Lombok dreams are seen as the experiences of the dreamer’s ‘soul’ or life force that has detached itself from the confines of the human body. Dreams are divided into auspicious dreams and inauspicious ones, but they all contain messages from the gods. Using data on dreams and dream interpretation collected during his fieldwork on Lombok in the period 1979–1981, Duff-Cooper illustrates how the dreams, dream reports and dream interpretations of Balinese individuals are shaped by social constraints: “[...] what some might consider purely private (or personal) representations rely heavily on public, social facts for their sense” (Duff-Cooper 1987, 63). From the plethora of details of a dream, only salient points are picked out by the dreamer or dream interpreter to be abstracted into a familiar motif, thus limiting the number of possible interpretations. Moreover, these motifs “[...] depend upon them being significant in daily social life” and the significances “are limited by the dreamers’ ideological frame” (Duff-Cooper 1987, 73). Thus, a motif such as fire is linked to anger and used to refer to a father’s disapproval of the misbehaviour of his son towards the researcher. The image of a bookshelf on fire while the researcher was in the house was interpreted as a sign that someone disliked the researcher or was jealous of his closeness to the villagers. Aside from this category of symbolic dreams, there is another element of Balinese ideas on dreaming that is present in other dream theories found in the Archipelago. Having received a message through dreaming that a certain spirit is dissatisfied with the dreamer, the latter can remedy this by making an offering to this particular spirit (Duff-Cooper 1987, 70–72). Placating spirits or God(s) is a common instrument for averting the course of an individual’s fate as alluded to in a dream.

Both Wellenkamp and Hollan have examined dreaming among the Toraja, a people inhabiting the highlands of South Sulawesi. Wellenkamp's PhD dissertation *A Psycho-cultural Study of Loss and Death among the Toraja* (University of San Diego, California) of 1984 discusses dreaming as a way to cope with the death of a loved one. She noticed how, among the Toraja, people often dream of the deceased. Although she does not state it explicitly, it seems that Toraja dreams of the dead reflect their anxiety over the influence of the dead on the lives of the living. Different than the Malay or the Javanese, for instance, Toraja "[...] are more interested in what after death the souls are going to do to the living than in questions of what their private fate will be" (Nooy-Palm 1979, 124, cited in Wellenkamp 1984, 41–42). Toraja consider dreaming as a way of communicating with the souls of relatives who have died. Some dreamers tell that they visited the afterworld in their dreams; life in Puya, as this world is called, mirrors the present life. But more often deceased relatives come down to visit the dreamer in his or her village. These contacts often involve a gift to the dreamer, clothes, a letter or knowledge. Those are considered good dreams, which bring luck or prosperity to the dreamer. On the contrary, when the dreamer is asked for something, a chicken, pig or buffalo, this is viewed as a bad omen; either the dreamer or his or her child will die. Villagers also report dreams in which knowledge or advice is given (Wellenkamp 1984, 441–42, 233–235).

The central theme in the publications on Toraja dreams by Hollan (1989, 1995, 2003, with Wellenkamp, 1994 and 1996) is the creative and personal use by individuals of widely shared beliefs about dreaming and dream interpretations. Hollan's work demonstrates how the use of stock dream formats, latent content and interpretations is not automatic or effortless, but requires inventiveness on the part of each individual dreamer. Dreams in South Sulawesi are thought of as communications of the soul of the dreamer with wandering souls of other sleepers, spirits, or the souls of the deceased. Not all dreams are marked in Toraja society; special significance is ascribed only to one type of dream, called *tindo* in the local language. If the format and content is similar to that found in dream books and perhaps oral traditions on dreaming, the dream can be interpreted. *Tindo* are predictive of future events. When a particularly ominous interpretation is given to a dream, the dream's meaning can be neutralized or reversed by a reinterpretation of a dream. For this, one can consult a ritual specialist. Sometimes offerings are made to the soul of an ancestor who has appeared in a dream; this is done to coax the ancestor into following through with his promise made in the dream, to ensure the dream will come true.

Two findings of Hollan are especially interesting in light of the current chapter; they concern two characteristics that turn out also to be valid for the Malay dreams. The first is the ambiguity that surrounds Toraja dream interpretation. Dream explication leaves room for uncertainty, as it is never clear whether a dream should be taken literally or metaphorically. Next, Hollan demonstrates how dreams give expression to salient emotions that have their roots in society. He links the most common theme found in Toraja

dreams; that is, the feeling of being preyed upon by others, to the anxiety that is caused by the social code that steers Toraja life, namely reciprocity. Toraja social life is characterized by 'give and take' and the dreams express a salient emotion that stems from this social reality (Hollan 1989, 174–177, 182; Hollan and Wellenkamp 1996, 197–200).

A Dream Theory

Malay adventure stories articulate interconnected assumptions on dreaming that form an explanatory framework for certain behaviour by the stories' protagonists. This dream theory includes a dream classification, rules for the interpretation of dreams, ideas about what exactly a dream is, and whether it is appropriate or not to share a dream with others. These findings have many elements in common with the 'real' dreams described in the Malay dream books. Malay adventure stories, like the dream books, taught people what to dream and how to attach meaning to these dreams. They provided them with both the symbolic images of their dreams and the vocabulary to discuss them with. Type dreams are, in a sense, 'acquired' dreams; people dream these dreams because they were taught to do so from a very young age. But the Malay narratives are unique in that they provide the reader with knowledge on dreaming that is not found in other Malay texts.

The Malay stories give an explanation for the dream experience that is lacking in the Malay dream books. They convey the idea of a dream as the wanderings of an individual's *semangat* or vital force at another plane of existence. This view fits in with the ontology discussed in Chapter 4 and displays similarities with Toraja and Balinese ideas on dreams. It is not the dreamer herself who meets with her lover in her dream, but that part of her being that is able to leave the corporeal confines of her body, her *semangat*. And when a woman in her dream sees herself sitting on the horns of a water buffalo, it is actually her own, detached *semangat* she is looking at. As explained earlier, a person's *semangat* is an exact copy of that person, with all his or her characteristic traits. This means that *semangat* can act as human beings and interact with other *semangat* in dreams. What distinguishes them from real people, though, is the substance they are made of – pure and immaterial vital force – and the world they act in. During sleep, *semangat* are capable of crossing the boundary between the 'real' world and another world or dimension accessible only to them, ghosts and *semangat* of the deceased.

In the world depicted in the Malay narratives, dreams are considered as marked events in an individual's life. They convey important knowledge of immediate relevancy to the life of the dreamer, which cannot be accessed otherwise. Dreams are meaningful and therefore are to be given due thought. Some dreams disclose the information in a straightforward manner; a dream messenger appears who delivers a message for the dreamer. Other cases of dreaming require interpretation. Those are the dreams that puzzle the dreamer; instead of imparting knowledge, they cause the dreamer to become anxious

and upset. In her dream – it is always a woman who has this kind of troubling dreams – she is confronted with an incomprehensible image that needs to be translated in order to obtain meaning.

Next, dream sharing and dream interpretation are governed by rules. In the Malay stories only women share their dreams with others. And they share them with women only. In contrast, men keep their nightly visions to themselves. The dreams of women always need to be interpreted, by themselves or one of their women friends or servants. In case a straightforward interpretation of the dream image proves too difficult, the advice of a specialist is required. Considering the female context of dreaming, dream sharing and dream interpretation, it is remarkable that the specialists that are consulted by the women are, without exception, men – wise and learned men, ascetics or astrologers. Male dreamers, on the other hand, are advised to refrain from searching for a hidden meaning behind the messages conveyed to them during their sleep. They are never to doubt what is said to them by the male messengers that figure in their dreams, for the message is imbued with the religious or patriarchal authority of the dream messenger.

Malay adventure stories abound with scenes that are set in the other dimension. As for its outlook, it mirrors the real world in that it has seas, islands, harbours, forests, capitals with palaces and villages. It seems to comprise past, present and future and is experienced as being as real as the ‘real’ world of waking life. In these aspects the Malay ideas resemble the Toraja concept of the other world. In Indian tradition there exists the idea of an abstract ‘reality-scale,’ where some experiences are placed more towards the ‘real’ end of the scale, while others are placed more towards the other, ‘unreal’ end of the scale. In such a context, two or more experiences can be considered as real, while, at the same time, it is possible to distinguish between those that are more real and those that are less real (Doniger O’Flaherty 1984). Malay adventure stories do not contain references to such a gradual reality. With this in mind, it is not difficult to understand why, in the *Story of Bahram Syah*, Bahram Syah is devastated when he fails to find his father, after having seeing him in his dream just a moment ago. Dreams are considered as being as real as it gets.

The current argument that Malay adventure stories – including their fictional dreams – are important means for the transmission of cultural knowledge finds an equivalent in the findings of Vinson H. Sutlive in a study on shared beliefs and concepts among the Iban of Kalimantan (Sutlive 1979, 105–123). In his research on Iban oral narratives and dream reports, he seems to question the assumed distinction between the two categories. His approach shows how he considers the oral stories and dream reports – of real dreams – as belonging to the same family, and having an identical function in society, the dissemination of cultural knowledge. What makes his findings especially salient is the role he ascribes to dreams in the socialization process. He contends that “Iban oral literature has developed as a body of knowledge and dreams, in which are combined ethno science, traditions, and beliefs about the world, man and society” (Sutlive 1979,

105–106). Here again, as in the previous chapter, narrative and world view come together in a communicative act, but now dreams are assigned a similar role.

An important element of the dream theory imparted by the stories is a dream classification. It distinguishes two types of meaningful dreams, one that needs to be interpreted, and one that conveys knowledge in a direct manner. This distinction forms the base of the dream typology that will be presented next.

Feminine Desire and Symbols of the Absent Lover

The dreams that feature in Malay adventure stories fall into two categories: the symbolic dream and the message dream.⁹ The categories are delineated by a binary set of opposing and mutually exclusive characteristics, long versus short, auditory versus visual, and self-explanatory versus in need of interpretation. But the main feature that distinguishes the symbolic dream from the message dream is the gender of character who has the dream. In Malay adventure stories, men dream of fathers or religious messengers who visit the dreamer to convey a message, warning, order or knowledge. Women never have such dreams. In contrast, women are confronted in their dreams with images or events that, at first sight, seem incomprehensible. Instead of providing knowledge, these symbolic dreams make the dreamer aware of their lack of knowledge. They demand immediate interpretation, as the uncertainty over its meaning causes feelings of anxiety. For it is the dreamer's equilibrium with the world around her, as she understands it, that is disrupted.

This division along gender lines repeats itself on the level of dream content. Although in the dreams of both men and women desire plays a central role, it is the object of their desire that distinguishes male message dreams from female symbolic dreams. The women of Malay adventure stories desire strong, passionate lovers and loyal husbands. The men want much more. As Malay princes and kings, they not only dream about women, but also about fame, fortune, family (the fathering of a son in particular) and founding a state. Below, the two types will be addressed in more detail; some examples of dreams taken from the Malay stories serve as illustration. The symbolic dream will be dealt with first.

As was stated earlier in this chapter, symbolical dreams are dreamt by women only. Malay adventure stories are set in a courtly environment, and thus the dreams are dreamt

⁹ Classical Arabic texts on dreaming and dream interpretation contain references to a similar dream categorization. In the Introduction to her critical edition of Ibn Abī al-Dunyā's (823–894 CE) work on dreams *Kitāb al-Manām*, Leah Kinberg speaks of the categories symbolic dreams and literal dreams. The latter coincide with the message dreams of this chapter. Of Malay dream books it is known that they trace their roots, at least partly, to Arabic works on Muslim oneirocriticism. These, in turn, are based on the Greek treatise on dreams *Oneirocritica* (The Interpretation of Dreams) by Artemidorus in the second century CE (Kinberg 1994, 43–46).

by princesses and their female attendants. The pictures of the surroundings where these ladies have their dreams show an exclusively female realm. A common scene in the Malay stories is set in the women's quarters of the palace, or in a lush garden with fragrant flowers, birds and a cool breeze, with the princess sitting or lying, surrounded by her ladies-in-waiting and talking parrots or parakeets. It can be either day or night when the princess entertains herself there with her women friends. *Pantun* – four line Malay poems – are exchanged, often accompanied by much laughter as they are full of puns. The ladies make jokes and play tricks on each other and tell each other their dreams.

The one exception to the rule that symbolic dreams are dreamt by women actually reinforces the exclusive female character of symbolic dreams. The dream in case features in the *Story of Bahram Syah*. To convince Bahram Syah's father that the disappearance of his youngest son was preordained, Bahram Syah's two jealous older brothers lie to their father and tell him that they both had a (symbolic) dream that alluded to Bahram Syah's sad fate. One brother supposedly saw three hearth stones of which one disappeared; the other lied that he saw the sun, the moon and the stars, and that the stars suddenly disappeared. What happens here is that men try to appropriate women's symbolic dreams. But, because of their gender, the two brothers are not able to dream real symbolic dreams and thus have to resort to imitation.

As for manifest dream content, symbolical dreams present the dreamer with an image, a symbol that has to be 'translated' in order to reveal the meaning of the dream. The images are of various sorts. To give an impression of symbolic manifest dream content and the environment in which these dreams occur four examples are presented. In the *Story of Dewa Mandu* it is told that, one day, a princess passes her time in a lush garden together with her female attendants. A gentle breeze blows the fragrant odours of many flowers to the princess' face. The fragrance instantly reminds her of her absent lover, while the soft voices of the humming bees hovering above the flowers are reminiscent of her lover's sweet voice when caressing her in the bedroom. Full with memories, the princess starts to weep and tears roll over her face like pearls falling from their string. Overwhelmed by sadness, she is lulled to sleep by her female servants. At this point in the story, the princess has a dream:

The Princess dreamed that she met with her lover Dewa Mandu. She was startled and awoke while moaning. She asked, "What could this dream of mine possibly mean?" Her lady-in-waiting Dang Ratna Baidur paid homage and replied, What dream are you talking about? When the Princess heard her lady-in-waiting ask this, she smiled. Then, the parrot folded his wings together and paid his respects, just like a human being would do, and spoke, "Order to ask the priests for an interpretation of your dream!" Hearing this, the Princess smiled and, still smiling, she spoke, "I dreamed that I met with Dewa Mandu and that he took me around the garden and into the Puspa Kemuning pavilion. At that point I awoke. Now, what could this dream mean? Does it mean that he is dead or that he is still alive? Does it say something about where he went?" The parakeet listened to the Princess and respectfully folded his wing together. He then said, "Your dream is a good dream

because you have dreamed it during the day, at the time of day called [...]. Such a dream is called a dream of compassion.¹⁰ As far as I can read your stars, I see that Dewa Mandu is not far away from here and that you will see each other in the near future.” The parrot said, “You are right! It is as is said in this *pantun*,

*Kusangka pungguk kami di rimpi*¹¹
Dried flower petals in Dang Jeliah’s room
“I think that dreams speak the truth
So go back to sleep and see where he is!”

The princess smiled when she heard the parrot’s *pantun* and all the ladies-in-waiting were laughing as well. In answer to the parrot’s *pantun*, the parakeet in turn started to recite a *pantun*,

“Dang Judah is weaving on the river bank
The pattern Clouds-Meet-Flowers
If you have seen it in your dream
You will meet each other soon.”

Next, the lady-in-waiting Dang Ratna answered in rhyme,

“A wild ginger flower is eaten by a squirrel
Ginger stalk between the rice
You have really seen him in your dream
And yet your heart is not satisfied” (*SDM* 224–225).

In the *Panglimo Awang*, as told by Pak Ganti, Princess Gadih Kainam dreams that she is drinking water from a gourd, when suddenly the gourd breaks. Immediately after she wakes up, she orders that a ship be prepared. The reason for her instant longing to leave her country is that she thinks that her husband, who was overseas at the moment of her dream, has died. She interprets the dream in a symbolic way; the breaking of the gourd refers to the sudden death of her husband Panglimo Awang. Dressed in men’s clothes, she then boards the ship and sets sail to hostile grounds in search for her husband’s body.

A common dream image in the dreams dreamt by princesses and governesses is the *naga* (giant mythical sea snake). In the *Story of Indraputra*, Princess Kemala Ratnasari dreams that she is bitten by a snake, who subsequently steals her magic jewel. The nymphs that attend to her explain the dream: the princess will soon marry *Raja Dewa Lela Mengerna*. Early the next morning, Kemala Ratnasari and her nymphs fly to the lake for

¹⁰ Another *topos* of Malay narrative: the talking parakeet as the “bearer of love-messages to closely guarded maidens” (Wilkinson 1959, 94).

¹¹ The meaning of this line is obscure. The reference to the night owl or *burung pungguk* though, fits in with the context of a lovelorn maiden who dreams of her lover. In Malay narrative tradition, the stock image of the night owl watching the moon carries the meaning of longing for a loved one.

their morning bath. Indraputra hides himself on the lakeshore. He takes the women's clothes and enters the water without being seen. While underwater, he suddenly pinches the princess, who jolts out of the water. She thinks that she has been bitten by a snake (*SIP* 69–67).

The last two examples are taken from the *Story of Sabrul Indra* (*SSI*). One day, Princess Kumkumah Johari tells her governess that she dreamt that the sun rose and then fell into her lap. She adds that she has not been feeling well since she had the dream. The governess interprets the dream as an auspicious one: the princess will soon marry a great king. The glittering sun symbolizes the great, shining, king who will 'fall into her lap.' The stereotype image of celestial bodies as symbols of people of noble descent is commonly found in Malay narratives; the made-up dream by one of Bahram Syah's older brothers mentioned earlier, involving the sun, the moon and the stars, forms an example. Then, after the governess has explained the dream to the princess, she starts to tell the princess one of her own dreams from the time she was still a virgin. One night, while sleeping, she dreamt that she was sitting on the horns of a white water buffalo. According to the governess, this image symbolized her future husband, whose skin turned out to be covered with white spots as the result of a skin disease (*SSI* 85–86).

Symbolic dreams pose a question, a riddle. If an interpretation is not provided for quickly the dreamer's health is affected. Physical weakness and mental instability are the results of both 'not knowing' and unfulfilled desire. In literary traditions from other cultures than the Malay, for example the Near Eastern (Sumeric) or Greek, the ambiguity of the dream is often made into the central organizing principle of a text.¹² Dreams present a question, or need an explanation, and sometimes much attention is paid to the importance of interpreting the dream correctly. In these texts, misinterpretation plays a crucial role in the development of the rest of the story as it is an effective fictional device to create tragedy. By giving the reader access to a character's dream, the text at the same time gives the readers the opportunity to interpret the dream. Great tragedy arises when the readers have 'read' the dream correctly and witness how the character continues in a line of action based on his or her misinterpretation of a dream, like in the Sumeric epic *Gilgamesh* (Bulkley 1993, 163–164).

In contrast, misinterpretation does not play a role at all in the Malay adventure stories. In the world of the Malay stories wrong interpretations do not exist. Malay fictional dreams come true, as their interpretations are true. The dreamer herself, one of her female attendants, a talking bird, learned men, ascetics or men of religion provide the necessary translation of the dream image. Moreover, the stories attest to a close link between dream interpretation and the reading of the stars. First, all symbolic dreams refer to the future.

¹² For more on the literary dream as a narrative device in Classical Greek literature, see William Stuart Messer's *The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy* (1918).

But astrologers, who are usually consulted for knowledge about events in the future, can read dreams as well.

Summarizing, the symbolic dream of Malay adventure stories has the following characteristics: it is gendered feminine, in that the dreamer is without exception a woman, it presents the dreamer with a riddle that needs to be solved, and the latent content is invariably connected with the future and masculinity. The dreams of the women in these Malay stories are all about the opposite sex. Lastly, although the content of the symbolic dream varies, its images are those well-known from oral and written Malay narrative practices. But there are more features that distinguish the symbolic dream from the message dream.

First, the symbolic dream consists of a visual experience. In contrast, message dreams dreamt by men have an important auditory element; they convey information solely through the spoken word. The female dreamer of a symbolic dream is often not more than an observer; the dream image is often static. The shortest dream report is undoubtedly the dream of Princess Kumkumah Johari's governess found in the *Story of Sabrul Indra* cited earlier. She tells how she dreamed that she was *di tanduk kerbau bule*, which translates as 'on the horns of a white water buffalo.' Another example is the dream about a sky-sheltered moon surrounded by stars found in the *SBS* and *SLB* (*SLB* 24). The dream is expressed with only five words, *langit berpayung bulan dipagar bintang*. The compactness of these dream reports is enhanced by the use of conventional Malay similes, such as *bulan dipagar bintang*, or 'star-encircled moon,' for a glorious sight of a royal character (the moon), shielded from the sun's rays by the royal umbrella (the sky), and surrounded by loyal servants (the stars). Similes like this one have acquired their compact format through the ages and are used to render in a few words a scene that would normally require many words to describe. Lastly, the reader only learns about the symbolic dreams dreamt by the stories female characters, because he 'overhears' the ladies of the court exchanging and interpreting dreams. Message dreams, on the other hand, position the reader as an observer, on the same narratological level as the male dreamer, as if he is looking over the latter's shoulder.

The Male Quest for Fame, Fortune and Family

The second category of fictional dreams is the message dream. In this type of dream a male messenger visits the dreamer in his sleep to reveal important information or to convey a warning or order. Message dreams display a number of shared features that stand in direct opposition to those that define symbolic dreams that belong to the female realm. The message dream is gendered male and is self-explanatory. It is depicted as an auditory experience; it occupies a relatively large space in the text, and usually refers to

fame, fortune, knowledge, and offspring. A typical example of a message dream is found in the *Story of Langlang Buana*:

On a certain night, the king was sleeping when an elderly man appeared to him in a dream. This man spoke as follows, "Oh King of Kings Puspa Indera Koci! Wake up! Tomorrow you must go on a hunt. When you find a jasmine plant, take it with you, as it will turn into an incredibly brave son. This son of yours will become the ruler of all four worlds." When the king woke up, he went to his wife, the Queen, and told her of his dream (*SLB 2*).¹³

Message dreams are the exclusive domain of men, notably young male aristocrats. This is because these dreams are invariably linked to the aspirations of young adults of noble descent: the quest for a suitable marriage partner, fathering a male heir, acquiring possessions, gaining knowledge and establishing an independent state to rule. The dream cited above, of a young king who has to find a jasmine plant that will transform into a son, is illustrative of the desires of these princes. Similarly, both Panglimo Awang and his brother Panglimo Nayan from the *PA* dream about a future partner. In the *SMB*, the prince leaves his country to look for Princess Komala Ratna, his future wife. During his wanderings he has a dream in which an elderly messenger tells him to visit a learned man, who will teach him the tricks he needs to win the final battle with his adversaries. For it is only after this battle, that the prince will be able to marry his sweetheart (*SMB* 80–81).

The messenger who appears to the dreamer is, without exception, a man; usually, an old man. He may be a representative of God, as in the initial dream of the *SBS*, or a deceased relative. The message dream of the Malay adventure story presents a picture of a patriarchal realm where fathers or father figures play an important role in providing their biological or adopted sons with information that is vital for their survival, and, as will be shown later, for the continuation of the story. In some cases, the father-messenger is known to be alive and well, peacefully living his life while his son is away, having his adventures. But other cases suggest that the father-messenger has already died. In this respect, fictional message dreams resemble Toraja dreams; Toraja dreamers often dream of the dead, notably their parents, who visit them in their dreams to convey a message. Overwhelmed by worries about his unmarried status at 24 years of age, the main protagonist in the *PA* dozes off. Then,

His father comes down from heaven
 He is called Lord Sheikh Panjang Ganyuik
 His beard reaches beyond his lap
 His long dress hangs down to his heels

¹³ Maka ada suatu malam, baginda tidur lalu bermimpi datang seorang tua. Demikan katanya, "Hai Maharaja Puspa Indera Koci! Bangunlah engkau. Esok hari pergi engkau berburu. Jikalau bertemu dengan serumpun bunga melur maka ambil oleh engkau. Itulah kelak akan menjaid anak laki-laki terlalu gagah beraninya dan anak engkau inilah kelak akan menjadi raja keempat alam ini" (*SLB 2*).

His turban soars up into the air (*PA* 34–35).

The outspoken Islamic character of this messenger – the title of *syaiikh*, the long beard, the dress, and the turban, all marks of a pious Muslim – is found in other message dreams as well. Some dream messengers introduce themselves as a ‘representative of God.’ With the widespread Islamic notion in mind that only dreams sent by God are truthful, these references to God and pious Muslims seem to be aimed at convincing both dreamer and reader that the message delivered in the dream is truthful and should therefore be acted upon (Kilborne 1992, 171–191).¹⁴

Besides truthfulness, another distinctive aspect of the message dream is its ‘reality.’ The events in message dreams, with their connotation of Islamic authority, are time and again depicted as really happening in the here and now of the story. Several narrative techniques are employed to heighten this sense of reality. The dreamer is always directly addressed by the dream messenger, for instance. And in the *PA* by Pak Ganti, it is told that Panglimo Awang heard the voice of the dream messenger “near his head” (*PA* 66–67). This passage serves to prove that the father had been standing right next to his son, while the latter was asleep. And as if this should leave any doubt about the reality of the dream, the storyteller subsequently adds that he does not make this up, and that the story about the dream is true, “It felt like it really happened before his [Panglimo Awang’s] eyes.”

Displaying proof or evidence of an actual meeting between the dreamer and the person appearing in the dream is, evidently, the most effective way to convince dreamers and readers alike that the events that took place during a dream have really happened. The most famous example of this is found in the Greek tradition: Bellerophon receives a bridle to subdue the horse Pegasus from Pallas who appears to him in a dream (Caillois 1966, 36). In Indian texts, the description of a girl’s body marked by nails provides the proof of a dream encounter and sexual intercourse between two lovers. These marks, together with semen and blood, are presented as the physical signs of intercourse. The ultimate proof of a dream encounter between a man and a woman is, of course, the statement that the girl is pregnant (Doniger O’Flaherty 1984, 64–66).

Remarkably, the authors of Malay adventure stories never resort to this technique. Besides tangible objects that serve as proof of the reality of the dream, such an intangible thing as an odour can have the same function. In the Chinese tale of the young Liu of P’eng-ch’eng, for example, it is told that the young man dreams several times that he visits a brothel. But the women’s perfumes that stay with him even after he has woken up, make him doubt whether the experiences were real or not (Caillois 1966, 36–37). A comparable dream is found in one of the Malay stories, but it is a symbolical dream dreamt by a woman, instead of a message dream dreamt by a man. In the *SLB*, a princess shares one

¹⁴ In this framework, see also Siegel 1977. Acehese Islamic dream theory contains the notion that only men can receive true knowledge from God through dreams.

of her dreams with her ladies-in-waiting and governesses in the women's quarters of the court. She tells them that she dreamt that she was wrapped up in garlands of fragrant flowers. When she woke up the garlands were gone, but their sweet-scented odour was still clinging to her body. With this scent as proof of the existence of the flowers, the princess passionately yearns for them. Here again, dream reality and external reality seem to be one and the same (*SLB* 24).

A final confirmation that in Malay adventure stories the dreams are perceived as both real and truthful is provided by the *SBS*. Indeed, the whole story of Bahram Syah's adventures, from beginning to end, exists only by the mercy of the protagonists' belief in the truthfulness of dreams. When, at the beginning of the story, the king receives information in a dream about the existence of an extraordinary bird, this triggers a whole chain of events. The dream stirs a desire for the bird so strong in the king that he is prepared to abandon his throne and let his kingdom fall into chaos. Consequently, his three sons offer to leave home to look for the object of their father's desire. Their adventures make up the narrative.

Contrary to symbolic dreams that need to be interpreted to reveal their meaning, message dreams are self-explanatory. Where symbolic dreams may cause the dreamer to wake up feeling distressed, the information received in a message dream is taken at face value and swing the dreamer into action. Thus, in the *Story of Langlang Buana*, Maharaja Puspa Indera Koci leaves his court in order to hunt in the woods, as he was told to do in a dream. And both Panglimo Nayan and his brother Panglimo Awang set sail and court the princess described by their father in a dream in the *PA* (*SLB* 2). Similarly, when Bahram Syah learns that the rooster he told his stepbrother to sell on the market contains a magic ring he does his utmost to get the animal back. And when Bahram Syah is told in yet another dream to dedicate all his love towards 'filthy' animals rather than human beings, he saves three 'bags of bones,' a dog, a cat and a mouse, from starvation without even wondering why his father would give him such an unusual piece of advice (*SBS* 49b, 69a–b).

There is an interesting passage in the *SBS* that seems to stress the self-explanatory nature of the message dream. At one point in the story, it is told that Bahram Syah receives a message from his father through a dream. But instead of taking his father's words literally he tries to discover their hidden meaning. Shortly afterwards however, he realizes he is acting "[...] crazy and is torturing himself" doing this (*SBS* 20b). The point is clear: message dreams provide information, instead of riddles that need to be solved. Dream interpretation is the domain of women, not men.

Malay Dream Books

Malay dream books are enumerations of stereotyped symbolic dreams and their interpretations. But they also convey information on the different categories of dreams and on attitudes towards dreaming and dream interpretation. Among the latter are the need to take dreams seriously, and the idea that man gains benefits by interpreting his dreams. This paragraph discusses both the similarities and the differences in the way dreams and dreaming are presented in the Malay stories and the dream books. The following overview on the character of the Malay dream book should be considered as tentative, for there are very few sources available on this topic.

A survey of the catalogues of the various manuscript collections that hold Malay manuscripts reveals that there are actually very few extant Malay dream books. In the combined collections of Great Britain for instance, only two texts on dream interpretation are found. Indonesia's National Museum holds not more than five (*Katalogus Koleksi* 1972, 306–307; Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977, 144, 162). Several factors can be highlighted that account for this scarcity. First, the nineteenth-century European collectors were interested in Malay writings mainly to further their knowledge of the Malay language. Narrative prose texts, *hikayat*, suited their aim better than lists of dreams and interpretations written in stereotyped phrases. Furthermore, owners of Malay texts on divination and the manipulation of 'supernatural' powers were often reluctant to sell or lend out their manuscripts. This was also the case in Barus, where Van der Tuuk gathered his manuscripts. First, the owners wanted to safeguard this kind of esoteric knowledge from outsiders; this was *ilmu* that could be used against them. Second, manuscript owners in general were not always keen to share their texts, as exclusivity increased the value of their manuscripts. For instance, one of the manuscripts bought by Klinkert in Riau contained the admonition not to let anybody copy the texts (Klinkert 1880, 512). In addition to handwritten dream books, there are lithographed editions; they were published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Singapore (see Proudfoot's catalogue of early Malay printed books, 1993).

The Malay dream book has never been the subject of thorough investigation. A quick glance at the contents of extant dream books, though, corroborates Skeat's observation that the Malay texts represent different systems of dream interpretation. According to one method, the meaning of a dream is based on the initial letter of the object or event witnessed in the dream. But it is more common to find interpretations that explain the dream image in a symbolic way.¹⁵ The dream books usually present the dream images

¹⁵ Nineteenth-century Malay dream books originating in Java present a more elaborate system of dream interpretation. Here, it is not just the first letter of the dream image that is significant, but its combination with the week day or year the dreamer had the dream (see for instance, KITLV Or. 113 and Wieringa 1998, 192, 37–38).

arranged thematically. The lists start with visions of the Islamic prophets and angels, which are followed by phenomena related to weather, celestial bodies, water, food, fruit, birds, snakes and lizards, four-legged animals, involuntary movements of the limbs and other parts of the body. A few examples serve to give an idea of the nature of these dream images. Seeing a fly or a mosquito in your dream means that an enemy will come to your village. Taking a bath in your dream or experiencing a heavy rain shower informs the dreamer that he or she will be safeguarded from danger or misfortune in the near future. If the dreamer sees himself shaving the hair in his armpit, he will be freed from all his debts. And lastly, if the moon and the sun fall into your lap in a dream, it is a sign that the dreamer will attain greatness and live in comfort, peace and wealth for the rest of his life (Skeat 1900, 667–668; Overbeck 1929, 341, 352; Iskandar 1995, 588–589; *Katalogus Koleksi* 1972, 306–307).

While the manifest content of dreams consists of a large variety of dream images, their latent content – their meaning – is more limited. In general, the dream interpretations refer to the dreamer's well-being in this world and the Hereafter. Dreams inform the dreamer what the future has in store for him, and offer advice on important issues in both his private and professional life. They tell him whether he will fall ill or will be cured, whether he should marry or distrust his partner, and whether he will acquire money and goods or will lose his wealth. Dreams warn of enemies and give advice on whom to trust. Still other dreams disclose who will receive God's mercy in this life and the next. But interpreting a dream is not as straightforward as it seems. The interpretation of dreams is always fraught with ambiguity.¹⁶ Because, with different systems of interpretation, a dreamer must make a choice regarding which one to turn to. But even within a single system or a single dream book there are contradictions that the dreamer has to deal with. For example, a dream book reads in one line that smelling amber in a dream is a sign that an illness will befall the dreamer, while in the next line the same symbol is explained as an indication that the dreamer will acquire possessions (Daris Kedah 1936, 21).

Dream books and the interpretation of dreams turn out to be part of wider divinatory practices. That is why Malay texts on dream interpretation are often found in combination with texts on other means of divination, including astrology, the meaning of lunar and solar eclipses, earthquakes, the involuntary movement of limbs and other parts of the body, the colours of cats and holes gnawed in sarong and other clothing by mice (see also Wieringa 1998, 192, 37–38; *Katalogus Koleksi* 1972, 306–307; Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977, 144, 162).

But there is more to learn from these compendia. Their prologues and epilogues speak of different categories of dreams and the urgency to interpret certain kinds of dreams. Again, the dream books do not always agree with each other, but it is worthwhile to

¹⁶ The uncertainty about the right interpretation of a dream is markedly present in Toraja dream theory as well, similarly in Pidir, Aceh (Hollan 1989; Siegel 1977).

discuss a few examples. There seems to be consent about the fact that there are different kinds of dreams, and that some are meaningful and should be interpreted, while others do not carry meaning. A lithographed dream book published in Singapore in 1887 distinguishes between dreams that are dreamt during the day and those that are dreamt during night-time only. The former give expression to the dreamer's personal desires; the latter are meaningful and require interpretation. Also, the author warns not to seek meaning in the dreams of non-Muslims and sinners (*Syair Ta'bir* 1887).¹⁷ The latter admonition is related to the statement encountered in another dream book that only the dreams of Muslims who are in a pure state carry meaning. Dreamers whose body is not clean, for instance after sexual intercourse, can fall prey to the works of the Devil. Those dreams should not be trusted. To dream meaningful dreams, the text reads, one has to perform the *mandi junub*, or the 'larger' Islamic ritual bath to attain the required state of ritual purity (Daris Kedah 1936). Dream books in prose were often put into verse to make its content easier to digest for the public. That was what Muhammad Cassim did in 1896 in Riau. In the prologue of his *Poem on Dream Interpretation* (*Syair Ta'bir Mimpi*) he stresses that his verse, in contrast to many other romantic *syair* that were circulating at the time, deals with a serious topic and not with such a frivolous thing as romantic love. Then he continues to discuss the uncertainty that comes with dreaming, the fear that the dream is the work of the Devil or ghosts, and the status of dreams dreamt by unbelievers and sinners:

The eyes become heavy; you are carried away by sleep
Lying on your mattress, the mosquito net around you
You dream when you are asleep and snoring
When you wake up you are amazed and cannot stop pondering

Remembering your dream leaves you stupefied
You wonder what it could mean
Your heart is troubled
As you fear being tricked by the Devil or ghosts

When you dream about something strange
Do not feel troubled
Instead search for its correct meaning
So that you will not suffer

If you dream about something unusual
It is good to interpret the dream
Except if you are a sinner or unbeliever
For their dreams make no sense

¹⁷ A similar distinction is made in the dream book by Abu Bakar Daris Kedah 1936.

Dreams are subtle events
 For they may carry many different meanings, good and bad
 Except for those of sinners and unbelievers; they remain ignorant
 Do not let the riddle of the dream drive you crazy (Iskandar 1995, 588–589).¹⁸

Lastly, the dream books mention the benefits of dream interpretation: it keeps the dreamer from harm and from committing sins in the future, and takes away the anxiety caused by the dream.

A Narrative Device

The format of the fictional symbolic dream, its manifest and latent content, and the discourse on dreams that is presented in the Malay adventure stories show a striking resemblance to the information presented in the dream books. The images of snakes and other animals, flowers, celestial bodies, and the smell of fragrant odours in the fictional dreams bear a close resemblance to the dreams explicated in the dream books. Also, in both discourses dreams are assigned predictive qualities. In this respect, the stories participate in the transmission of cultural knowledge on dreams, just like the non-fictional writings on dreams.

But the narrative format of the adventure stories facilitates the transmission of specific knowledge on dreams that is not found in the Malay compendia. Apparently, some matters are easier to explain in the form of a story. Take, for instance, the conception of a dream as the adventures of the wandering *semangat* of a sleeping person. Only Malay adventure stories offer this explanation of the so-called two body problem that arises after a person wakes up from his dream. Next, there are the descriptions in the stories of this other dimension; they turn out to be the only representations in the Malay World of this space. And lastly, the dangers of sleep to an individual's mental and physical well-being, and the urgency to interpret certain kinds of dreams are aptly expressed through narrative as well.

Message dreams, so conspicuously present in adventure stories, are absent in dream books. This is peculiar, since this type of dream must have been familiar to the people

¹⁸ Mata mengantuk dibawa' tidur / Di dalam kelambu di atas kasur / Bermimpi di dalam tidur berdengkur / Bila tersedar hairan terpekur. Teringatkan mimpi hairan termutu / Apa gerangan ta'birnya itu / Merasalah hati tidak bertentu / Takut disulab syaitan dan hantu. Kalau bermimpi perkara yang hairan / Tidaklah tentu rasa pikiran / Cari ta'birnya dengan kebenaran / Jangan sampai menjadi kesukaran. Jika bermimpi perkara yang pelik / Mena'birkan itu hendaklah baik / Tetapi jangan orang yang pasik / Karena mimpinya setengah merapik. Perkara mimpi terlalu halus / Alamatnya banyak jahat dan bagus / Orang yang pasik tiada lulus / Gila dan mabuk tiada harus (Iskandar 1995, 588–589).

inhabiting the Malay World. Besides their presence in adventure stories, the message dream was known among other ethno-cultural groups in the Archipelago as well.

On the other hand, several ideas from dream books that are central to the dream theory explicated in these works are lacking in the adventure stories. It concerns the ambiguity that surrounds the interpretation of dreams, and the possibility to ward off impending misfortune or avert the predicted course of events. Their absence in the stories, it is asserted, is related to the narrative function of the fictional dream in Malay adventure stories. For while they resemble the culturally informed type dreams real people dreamt, Malay fictional dreams turn out to be partly shaped by the constraints of their function in the narratives. The fictional dream in Malay adventure stories is used as a device to construct narrative with.¹⁹ Dreams can fulfil different kind of functions in narratives, such as creating drama or suspense, providing the protagonists with psychological depth, and giving readers insight into the protagonists' motives. But the dreams in Malay stories are employed solely to get the narrative under way and to keep it going until the story ends. The fact that dreams are never misinterpreted and that misleading dreams never occur points to this. A close look at the exact moments in the stories when characters have their dreams demonstrates the constructive power of dreams.

The first dream of a Malay adventure story is invariably a message dream, as opposed to a symbolic dream. It brings about a disruption of a stable situation that requests a whole story to happen before balance is restored. It does so by arousing an intense feeling of desire in the main protagonist. And desire, as has been explained in the previous chapter, can make the *semangat* – or part of it – leave the body and concurrently cause mental and physical afflictions. The dream of Bahram Syah's father about the wonder bird *Marah Jalin* makes him threaten to give up his throne to go in search for the animal. To prevent this from happening his sons leave the court to find the bird for him. A similar seemingly irrational threat caused by longing is found in the *Story of Maharaja Bikramasakti*. After having dreamt about her missing brother, a princess threatens to kill herself with a knife if she is not allowed to leave her country to look for him.

But a king or prince is not always eager to leave the safe walls of the palace compound and risk his life for a princess, knowledge, medicine or a magic object or animal. The dream messenger has to entice the dreamer to go and search for the object. In the *SBS*, the king receives very detailed information about the bird *Marah Jalin*. Its many amazing properties are carefully listed. Also, the messenger reveals the name of the owner of the bird, and of the state where the animal lives. Unfortunately for this king, though, the dream messenger 'forgets' to disclose the exact location of the state of Gastu Gasta. But the news about the wondrous bird has already succeeded in instilling a longing for the

¹⁹ Narrative devices that serve a similar purpose in MAS are the fictional letter, speaking animals and supernatural beings that endow the hero with information indispensable for the continuation of his journey and with it, the story.

bird in the king serious enough to make his sons embark on a quest for the animal. The remaining question of the bird's abode guarantees an adventurous journey with ample opportunity for the three princes to have many a surprising encounter. In contrast, the father of Panglimo Awang in the *PA* tells his son exactly where he can find his bride-to-be. But to encourage the young man to actually leave his father's court to propose to her, he informs his son of the slightly eccentric wedding gifts his future spouse desires:

“Ho there, you, Awang Panglimo Awang
 Why are you upset, beloved?
 Why are you restless, beloved?
 If you wish, go out and court someone
 Visit Princess Anggun Cik Suri
 The child of Lord Pumangku Bumi
 The niece of Lord Batin Sumerong
 Ongku Raja Sulong's tethered chicken
 These people have made an agreement of three months
 Although the agreement is valid for three months
 As long as the hornbill broods
 As long as one papaya season
 When the fruit of the sago palm is ripe
 When the rice pounder and mortar sprout
 Only then will the appointment be carried out
 Only then will the wedding night be determined
 Yet, the Princess' desire is not fulfilled by this
 She wants a cloth of beautiful silk
 She wants a knife with a haft of palm blossom
 She wants a large openwork cooking pot
 She wants a parrot that can speak or chant
 A macaque that can play the harp
 If all this is not found, she does not want to be courted
 Just let her body decay in the soil” (*PA* 66–69).

Message dreams also occur at turning points in the story that are both moments of personal and narrative crisis. The hero lacks information on the whereabouts of the object of his quest, or is ignorant of the dangers that lie ahead of him. He does not possess the skill to defeat his adversaries, or lacks the gold, silver or diamonds to buy the desired object with. As a result, his adventures have come to a standstill, and so has the story. The following passage from the *SBS* relates how a father comes to the aid of his son by giving him advice through a dream. It is told that Bahram Syah is out in the woods on a hunt for a male deer with young. He finds himself in a hopeless situation. First, he cannot return home to his pregnant wife, as he has been denied access to his own palace by the guards without having any idea as to why. And second, he has been hunting for a long time without success. He is convinced that his wife asked him to hunt for a male deer

with young, but he has failed to find one.²⁰ The story seems to be on hold here; there is nothing the hero can do and, consequently, there is nothing that can be told. Exactly at this point in the story, Bahram Syah dreams of his father who has several messages for him:

“Oh, my son Bahram Syah! Why do I see you sleeping soundly? You must know that amongst all mouse deer, barking deer, and ordinary deer, you will never find a male animal with young. There are only female deer with young, so search for a female animal. If you find one, cut open its belly and take the young home with you, oh my son! What is more, your son has already been born. Compared to all other little boys, he is the most handsome one. His behaviour is very sweet indeed and amazing too. Oh, my son Bahram Syah, your ring of state has been taken by your servant Turani, who took it with him to the island Siranjang Petinggangan in the middle of the sea. With the help of your ring, he has founded his own kingdom there. Now, son, when you are on your way home, do not give your love to human beings, but give it to filthy and unclean animals only. In this way, you will gain profit in the future, God, may He be exalted, willing! Oh my son Bahram Syah, get up now. The day has already begun! (SBS 69a).

Through a dream, the father is able to untie the knot of the story. He tells his son that male deer with young do not exist, and that he should kill a female deer instead. Bahram Syah does not question the truthfulness of his father's words, but complies with his orders. Moreover, by giving Bahram Syah the seemingly odd advice to care for 'filthy' animals, the king/author simultaneously secures the continuation of the story at a later point and an appropriate ending. For the three grateful animals he will save from starvation will retrieve Bahram Syah's stolen ring for him.

Now that the status of the fictional dream as a narrative device has been established, the absence of certain elements of Malay dream theory in the stories becomes understandable. Whereas in the world outside the stories, dream interpretation is fraught with ambiguity, in the textual world the characters never doubt whether their dreams have been interpreted correctly or not. Also, Malay adventure stories never contain directions to avert the bad luck or the calamities that have been foretold in the dreams, like dream books do. And it explains the limited array of latent content or interpretations of the fictional dreams. First, however, more on the ambiguity.

Since dreams in Malay adventure stories provide the protagonists with either a reason to go on an adventurous journey or knowledge to be able to continue his journey, there is no room for ambiguity. The author uses straightforward dream messages and comprehensible interpretations of dreams to set the story into motion. A protagonist needs to be certain about the meaning of his or her dream, so that he or she knows what to

²⁰ The craving of pregnant woman is a recurring motif in Malay adventure stories. In this particular case, the princess has a very unusual kind of craving on the seventh day of her pregnancy. She yearns for the meat of a male deer, but only an animal that carries a female young. Without hesitation, the ignorant Bahram Syah sets out on a hunt that is bound to fail.

do next and the author can continue his story. A dreamer with a 'troubled heart' would cause narrative chaos. And while female dreamers in particular do experience restlessness and anxiety as long as their dream has not been explained to them, once the dream is interpreted this ceases completely.

The contents of dream books point to a society whose members have a profound interest in discovering what their life has in store for them. They believe that it is possible to acquire knowledge about their individual fate through 'reading' the signs their surroundings and dreams provide them with. In such a society, every trivial event in daily life can – if read correctly, that is – lift a tip of the veil that covers an individual's fate. These practices are concomitant to the belief that it is possible for an individual to change the course of his or her fate. In case harm is coming one's way, there is the possibility to change the course of fate to such an extent that the imminent danger is averted (Skeat 1900, 566). It is not difficult to understand why this *tolak bala*, 'to avert danger or harm,' is an important element of dream books. Means to manipulate the future include (Islamic) praying, reciting Quran verses or Islamic charms, purifying oneself by taking a ceremonial bath with limes or performing the Islamic *wudhu* (the so-called 'small' ritual bath), and giving alms – money, but also (golden) *kain* – to the poor.²¹ With the narrative function of the fictional dreams in mind, it is not difficult to understand why *tolak bala* does not play a role in the stories. For the sake of the story, all fictional dreams have to come true, even the inauspicious ones.

The predictions that real dreams in the Malay World communicate pertain to all important issues in the life of an individual, his health, name and fame, possessions, love affairs, and his life in the Hereafter. In contrast, the dreams that are narrated in the adventures stories show a more restricted interpretative discourse. This is because Malay adventure stories are set in a courtly environment and are, in a way, coming-of-age stories. The male protagonists are young men of noble descent; their dreams reflect what is of direct concern to them in their daily lives: finding a suitable spouse, fathering a son and founding their own state. Queens, princesses and their female attendants dream symbolic dreams that allude to a loyal husband or a romantic lover.

For a last illustration of the narrative force of desire invoked by dreams, we return

²¹ Also among the Toraja and Balinese, there exists the possibility to ward off the evil or danger predicted in a dream, or to secure the auspicious prediction conveyed in the dream. In South Sulawesi a dreamer can make an offering to the ancestor who appeared in a dream in order to make the dream come true. The meaning of ominous dreams can be neutralized by reinterpreting them (Hollan 1989, 172). To the Balinese on Lombok, a dissatisfied spirit is potentially dangerous. A dream about a dog or a cat informs them that they have offended or neglected a spirit. They have to make an offering of palm wine to this spirit to appease it (Duff-Cooper 1987, 71–71). The Islamic alms of the Malay dream books are the equivalent of the Toraja and Balinese offerings. Examples of *tolak bala* are found in, among other sources, Overbeck 1929, 351, 361–362, Daris Kedah 1936, 3–4, and the poem *Discover the Good and the Bad by Interpreting Your Dreams* (Syair Ta'bir Mimpi Melihat Jahat dan Baik) (1887).

once more to the dream of Bahram Syah's father. Having woken up, the king realizes that he has forgotten to ask the dream messenger for the whereabouts of the wondrous bird. In an attempt to summon the messenger, the king goes back to sleep. He stays asleep for seven days and seven nights, but the dream messenger does not reappear. It is in this last example, of a king who cannot generate his own dreams, that the author's omnipotence is most evident.

Male and Female Spheres of Action

The gendered nature of the Malay fictional dream is closely linked to the existence of two separate social spheres of action in the world depicted in the Malay stories, a male and a female one. The perimeter of each is defined by strict rules that govern the behaviour of the male and female protagonists. The rigidity of the boundary between this male and female social space is vividly depicted in an episode from the *Story of Maharaja Bikramasakti* referred to earlier, about a princess who wants to go on a quest for her missing brother. The clash between a woman's wish and the social constraints of her milieu is expressed by the warning she receives from the state's Prime Minister:

“Do not go and look for your brother yourself! Let me, your uncle, give somebody else the order to look for him, as it is not fitting for a girl to be on a boat. You will bring shame to your parents, and people will talk about it over and over again. Have you perhaps forgotten what your parents told you to do before they died?” When the princess heard what the Prime Minister said, she started to cry and threw herself on the ground. She then fetched a knife to kill herself and spoke, “Let me die instead of living with this endless longing!” (*SMB* 15).

The princess is not allowed to leave the court because of her gender. Luckily for her, though, there seems to be a solution, and that is cross-dressing. By donning men's clothes she will temporarily change gender and will be able to have the adventures male protagonists have become renowned for. Thus, the Prime Minister, seeing the young woman's desperate behaviour, in the end gives his permission, but on the condition that she and all her ladies-in-waiting dress themselves in men's clothes before they board the ship.

The twofold division of fictional dreams in Malay adventure stories reflects a genderization of space (Leed 1991, 221). In the world of the Malay stories, men are the ones that travel, while women stay at home. In such a context, travel is gendered and becomes a gendering activity. Men travel to find a bride, to establish their name, to gain knowledge or to acquire new riches. Women stay home, passing their time fantasizing about passionate lovers and loyal husbands, or, when they are married, taking care of the children and household affairs. To be able to perform their reproductive tasks, the women of the Malay courts need safety and stability and this is what their fathers, brothers, and

husbands offer. As their male relatives dedicate themselves to typical male tasks such as administration, jurisdiction, hunting, and military affairs, their female relatives, who are excluded from these male activities, pass their time as pleasantly as possible in the palace.

In the stories, travelling is not considered proper female conduct. Men travel, women stay at home. Women play in the garden, weave *kain*, sing songs, make jokes, play with parrots or other birds, exchange *pantun* or tell each other their dreams, but they do all this within the confines of the palace walls. Their place is at home. They are not allowed to leave the court and travel on their own. If travelling cannot be avoided, a male family member has to accompany them. If they do leave the court on their own and thereby transgress the gender-related behavioural codes they are forced to transform gender. The way this transformation of gender is effected is by wearing men's clothes. This, together with the male behaviour they display and, in some cases, the new male name they adopt, result in a complete transformation of gender; they are no longer recognized as a woman.

The confusion such a transformation can cause is skilfully used by the author of *SMB* to create a comical tale. After the princess and her servants have changed their clothes for men's clothes, they board the ship and leave the harbour. The princess decides to adopt a new name, the Young Captain. One day, during her travels, a young prince falls in love with her; he is convinced the Young Captain – who looks like a man – is not a man, but a woman. To expose her as such, he decides to test her. First, he invites the Young Captain for dinner. If she chooses her food herself, she proves to be a woman; if she leaves it to the prince to choose the food, she is a man. But with the help of her spying and talking parrot the princess passes this and other tests. They include betting, cock fighting, dancing, horseriding and picking out jewellery, and all serve to determine the Young Captain's gender. For yet another test, the Young Captain is invited to climb into a tree and pick some flowers. Before she leaves her room, she puts on an artificial penis made from wax. This way, she will be able to urinate in a man's fashion down the tree. Using this same ingenious device, she later is able to beat her challenger by jetting the trickle of urine further into the river than him. She is more of a man than the prince, these passages seem to say. When the prince invites her to his bed to spend the night with him, she is able to put off this test by telling him a story that lasts until the breaking of dawn, like a Sherazade. The last test the Young Captain is subjected to is to have a bath together with the love-smitten young man. However, she leaves the bathing place just before the prince arrives. She returns to her ship, where she takes on her own gender by changing her clothes for women's clothes.²²

The theme of the disguised heroine is quite common in Malay narrative texts, but it was especially prominent in long poems written by and for women at the court of the

²² This same story attests to the disastrous consequences cross-dressing can have for the heroine. Later on in the story, the Young Captain engages in a battle and is stabbed to death, as her adversary is unaware of her true identity. The latter would never have fought her if he knew that she was a woman.

Penyengat, Riau, around the middle of the nineteenth century. Mulaika Hijjas (2011) convincingly links this prominence to the restrictions in the social arena that were experienced by the women authors of Penyengat in their daily lives. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, Islamic modernist winds from Arabia had blown eastwards and had touched Southeast Asian hearts and minds. Adherents of this strand of Islam preached a more or less radical (re)interpretation of Islamic authoritative sources, which resulted, in Penyengat as elsewhere in the Islamic world, in a diminished role of women in public life and a restriction of their freedom. By turning upside down the conventional idea of a male hero and by relating the story of a woman who acts independently of men and fights her own battles, the women of the court presented a voice that ran counter to the dominant male discourse on the proper behaviour of women. Moreover, through the process of catharsis the stories about heroines who transgressed gender boundaries made it possible for Penyengat's women to temporarily enjoy the same freedom as men.

Considering this gendered division of space the textual world of the Malay stories, it makes sense that only male characters have message dreams. No female character has the freedom to leave her home, to travel to faraway lands; in short, to have adventures. Nor do they have the skills and experience to build boats, kill dragons, fight with swords, or to make new alliances with foreign rulers. A female protagonist that received a message in her dream about a faraway magic object or an interesting hunt would become utterly frustrated. In such a context, it is more appropriate for girls to dream about a lover or a future husband. That is what they can pin their hopes and dreams on, that is the field in which they can function, be happy or excel, as all the other fields of activity are the exclusive domain of men. And that is why they dream their symbolic dreams about love, passion, and marriage; whereas men dream message dreams that swing them into action.

Dreams propel the story forwards by arousing desire in the characters. Message dreams swing the male dreamers into immediate action, but dreams by women seemingly play no role at all in building the story. The rules of proper female conduct tie the lady-dreamers firmly to the palace grounds. They do not kill ghosts or giants; they do not travel the woods, marshes and plains, or marry three or four times. But the constructive power of female dreams has to be sought elsewhere. It is not as easy to discern as the driving force of male dreams, but female dreams do push the story forward too, albeit in a different manner. This is illustrated by the dream about the rising sun that fell into the lap of a princess that was mentioned earlier. The dream is interpreted by one of the princess' ladies-in-waiting; she claims that the falling sun stands for the great king who will one day marry the princess. Although, at first sight, nothing seems to happen (the princess does not leave her palace in search of her future husband) a whole lot happens; indeed, a complete story 'happens.' The princess can do nothing but wait for what will happen in the future. She cannot pack up her belongings and have adventures herself, but by dreaming her foretelling dream, she enforces the story to be told, at least till the point that her dream has become true.

In a chapter bearing the telling title “The Spermatic Journey”, Eric J. Leed goes into the male fate more deeply. He argues that traveling, and subsequently suffering, by men is a substitute for the female reproductive path. Women are partly identified by their ability to bring forth new life and, in this way, their ability to overcome death. Women live on in their children. Men throughout history, on the other hand, have been willing to suffer and endure the threat of losing their lives for the sake of overcoming death. Their heroic deeds and death provide them with the only kind of life after death, namely fame. Men live on in stories; in stories about their lives, their peregrinations, their wars, their conquests, the cities they founded and their women. Leed’s explanation of these male journeys is men’s natural alienation from the process of reproduction. Apart from one short instant, men play no role in the reproductive process. While women carry the babies in their wombs, give birth, breastfeed and shape the personality of the younger children, men are engaged in pursuing their own male business. Their version of the reproductive experience is travel, during which they produce civilization instead of human life (Leed 1991, 221–224).

The inability of men to give birth is exemplified in the *SBS* by Bahram Syah’s fruitless hunt for a male deer with young. Bahram Syah’s alienation from the reproductive process stands out even more clearly when one considers the reason why Bahram Syah left his safe abode and went into the dark woods: it was his pregnant wife who craved for the meat of male deer with young. During the pregnancy of his wife and birth of his son, Bahram Syah is absent; he is only able to return home with his game and join his family after his father has told him he should hunt for a female deer instead.

Concluding Remarks

Like texts in general, Malay adventure stories are imbued with the categories, values and fixations of the society the stories sprang from. Their narrative format facilitates the transmission of knowledge on dreams that cannot be found elsewhere. But the representations are not crystal clear reflections of a society’s mental world. This chapter showed how Malay adventure stories offer us a view on Malay dream theory, but also explained that it is a distorted view. Yet, it is argued that with an eye for the shaping forces that are responsible for such distortions, the stories people tell each other are valid sources for scholarly research.

Besides imparting knowledge on sickness, health and dreams, the Malay narratives also prove a suitable vehicle for the transmission of norms for ideal behaviour. This is how the gendered space of the Malay adventures stories should be understood. Not as a description of the way the male and female readers of these stories acted in their daily lives, but instead as a portrayal of idealized behaviour of men and women. This division of space based on gender the stories so distinctly portray is connected to a courtly environment. But the dispersion of this type of story was not contained within the walls of Malay

courts; they were found in possession of sailors, travelling merchants, and globetrotting Muslim scholars alike. Malay courts derived an important part of their status from upholding socio-cultural standards; ordinary men and women were to emulate these ideals. But without the social institutions at the court that secured the limitation of the freedom of women, the (young) men and women who inhabited the coastal communities along Sumatra's west coast probably had more space to manoeuvre.²³

It is striking that the stories do not explain the link between women and symbolical dreams along the lines of the Islamic notion that men are governed by reason or *akal* and women by passion or *nafsu*. In Aceh, for instance, the assumed innate dominance of passion and emotions in women is believed to make them susceptible to the influence of Muslim spirits or *jin*. The latter are the source of the puzzling dreams dreamt by Acehnese women (Siegel 1977, 2–3, 19–20). But while the idea that women lack the rationality men are endowed with is widely known in the Malay World, nowhere do the Malay adventure stories hint at a similar explanation (Peletz 1996; Hijjas 2011, 48–60).

One can pose the question whether the male-female opposition expressed in both Acehnese and Malay dream theory traces back its roots to another, older and non-Islamic world view specific to the Southeast Asian Archipelago. In this region, relatively isolated societies where the cultural influence of Hinduism and Buddhism and later Islam and Christianity seem to have had limited impact, traditionally supported a dualistic world view that was based on the distinction between male and female. Examples are found in Kalimantan (Ngaju Dayak and Meratus), Nias, Sulawesi, and on Sumba, Flores, and Timor (Schärer 1963; Suzuki 1959; Hoskins 2013, 23–24). This dualistic world view, based on gender, might have presented an ideal niche for the adoption of Islamic notions on the attributes of gender in the Archipelago; among them the categories of *akal* and *nafsu*. Similarly, the presence of non-Islamic stereotyped culture pattern dreams might have facilitated the adoption of Islamic culture pattern dreams and notions on dreams and dream interpretations from the Middle East. In such a hypothesis, Malay adventure stories have retained the basic structure of an indigenous dream theory.

²³ The women at Malay courts lived in the women's quarters and were never alone. This part of the court compound was occupied by the ruler's wives, his daughters and infant sons, and his female relatives together with their female attendants. Their behaviour was strictly monitored by the ruler, his male relatives and the male court guards. See also Hijjas 2011.

6 | Between Faith and Fate: Making Sense of the *Story of Bahram Syah*

After the three brothers had decided to split up, Bahram Syah continued his quest for the miraculous bird along the path named Only God Knows. An hour into his journey, he spotted an orange tree near the roadside. It bore one ripe orange. As he felt hungry and thirsty, he picked it and peeled the fruit with his dagger. But when he put a piece of the orange in his mouth, he was unpleasantly surprised. It tasted very bitter. The second fragment was not much better; it tasted too sour. The third piece was too sweet for his liking. But it was the fourth that amazed Bahram Syah the most. It was rich in flavour and tasted exquisite, like sugar mixed with coconut cream. He wondered what the meaning behind this curious incident might be. After having pondered upon it for a while, he felt that the different flavours referred to the different stages of his quest. His undertaking would be very bitter and sour at the beginning, but the benefits will be abundant and sweet in the end.

This episode of the *SBS* is just one thread of the tightly woven web of the story's preoccupation with interpretation and divination. This chapter strives to assign meaning to the *SBS*. The way this will be accomplished mirrors the twofold approach of this study. The first line of investigation approaches the *SBS* as a text that was written to meet the local demand for enthralling adventure stories with a not too overtly edifying, religious content. It places the story in the expanding Muslim-Malay scene on the west coast of North Sumatra, in the first half of the nineteenth century. This argument revolves around the religious message of the *SBS*: a call for both conversion to Islam and the belief in Divine Preordination. The religious character of the Malay story becomes even more manifest when it is compared with its Acehnese source text.

A second point of departure for reading the *SBS* is the supernatural elements and the protagonists' psychological and emotional frailty. The *SBS* shares these features with

القصه مکه انبیا که حکایت بهرم بنه بیخ اینه ۲ فرکائی ناله شهسور له
ورثی کفدان کوی بچس ۲ مکه دیکر کج اولبه اور غیغ عربی اکی جادی ایث ۲ تی کند
کیت بیخ بیخ کج دبلانج ای مکه دهر تران اولبه اور اخیج امفوت چر ترانی مکه اداله
سور کج رایج دالم نکری فدای سیلانن غاث توانکو سلطان مهرج بسر ترالو
امه بسر کجائی بکند اینه دان براف نکری بیخ تعاوه کفدان کجی اداله دو بلس
بوه نکری بیخ بسر ۲ بیخ تعاوه کفدان ممبری افی تیغ ۲ تاهون دان براف منوری
هبلج راعیه بغیا داتر منای با بقی دباوه ثنکار جهان بکند اینه مکه اداله
ساعه ادیانی دار خدا حوم مغو حکمی کند ممبر راعیه تیا داتر کیتو بصاحب
کج دایج دان سنتری ترالو امه مقلی هی کفدان بیخ دان بیخ تر نیای مکه شهسور
له ورثی کفدان نکری بیخ اسیخ ۲ کوهی دایج نکری بر همبکن دبرین حتی براف
لمان مکه اداله فدای بکند اینه سیک اور رایج ترالو امه باید که روغی دان ثنک سور رایج
غانشه دان بیخ تغه بر غاعاشه دان بیخ بغسو بر نام بهرم بنه اینه لری تتر
لا بیه ایغی روغی کیمیلج چمبات تیا داله تران دالم نکری اینه مکه ایچندک
ترالو امه کلیمه دان خر اکی انقساند بکند اینه تیا داله بولید بر حرای بر ای کجری
دامینله کلیمه زکی انقی اینه مکه دسر اعلکنه مغاچی کفدان فدی ت تله دافز مغاچی
لالود یا جرت ماین کوردان بر مایمی سنجتادان خدا پدا میکنله کلا کون انق
راجیت کلکلی ایغون بسر له میکن بر تمبه ۲ کلیمه جوکن ایچندک کفدان بهرم بنه

Figure 3. First page of Cod. Or. 3317 containing the *Story of Bahram Syah*

adventure stories from other places and periods. Analogous to the previous chapter on dreams, the current inquiry concerns man's apprehension about his future. It lays bare the existential anxiety articulated in the Malay adventure stories that was discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. An attempt to reconcile these two seemingly conflicting ideas – that of a Divine Preordination on the one hand, and the possibility for man to gain knowledge about and manipulate his own fate, on the other – ties the two strands together. But first, it will be examined how the *SBS* came into being.

The Genesis of the *SBS*

In contrast to Kreemer's claim that the renowned Acehnese *Story of Banta Beuransah* is an adaptation of the Malay *Story of Bahram Syah*, the opposite is argued here; that the *SBS* is a reworking of the Acehnese narrative (Kreemer 1923, 685). The origin of the Malay story must be sought in Barus or Sorkam or one of the neighbouring port communities on the northwest coast of Sumatra in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Malay story was created in response to the growing demand for suitable reading material among the increasing number of newly converted Muslims in this region. A riveting adventure story with an Islamic twist made an ideal vehicle for casual instruction in the basic tenets of Islam.

There are seven manuscripts that contain the *SBS*. They are all kept at the Special Collections of Leiden University Library. Only three of them are unique copies: Cod. Or. 3317, 6058 and 6071. They were collected in Sumatra in the second half of the nineteenth century. The other four manuscripts are copies of the three Sumatran manuscripts: Cod. Or. 6081, Cod. Or. 5968, Cod. Or. 5977a and Cod. Or. 5977b. They are study-copies produced in Leiden in 1912 by Charles Adriaan van Ophuijsen, professor of Malay language at Leiden University, in preparation for a lithograph edition of the *SBS*. With relatively few texts to work with, the following remarks about the inception of the *SBS* remain hypothetical to a certain degree. Two of the three Sumatran manuscripts are dated; both were produced in 1853. They can be pinned down to the same region. Cod. Or. 3317 was copied for Van der Tuuk in Sorkam, while Batak characters and the name of the town of Sibolga on the original cover of Cod. Or. 6058 similarly point to a North Sumatran, coastal origin. The third text is written by or for Van Ophuijsen. Although the text does not refer to its date and place of production, it probably came into his possession during his years as head of the *kweekschool* (teacher training institute) in Padangsidempuan in the 1880s. This town is situated in the southern part of North Sumatra, a mere 70 kilometres from the coastal town of Sibolga. As head of the school, he ordered students and teachers to look for manuscripts and to write down oral stories.

The texts were intended to be published as teaching material (*ENI* 3, 1919, 154–155; Snouck Hurgronje 1927; Rodgers 2005, 17).¹

An indication that Cod. Or. 6071 does indeed originate in this educational environment is found in its vocabulary. Compared to the other two copies of the *SBS* from Sumatra, Van Ophuijsen's copy stands apart. It displays a pattern of lexical variation that suggests a deliberate adaptation of certain words and phrases. Most variant readings have the form of synonyms. One finds, for instance, '*hendak*' in the Van Ophuijsen manuscript, where the other two manuscripts have '*mau*.' The former reads '*parasnya*,' where Cod. Or. 3317 and Cod. Or. 6058 have '*rupanya*.' Likewise, '*tersintaklah*' occurs in Cod. Or. 6071, while Cod. Or. 3317 and 6058 have '*terbangun*,' and so on.² It seems that an overzealous student or teacher, or perhaps Van Ophuijsen himself, consequently exchanged certain words with those from a register that was considered to be more appropriate for stories set in a court environment.

The fact that there are only three manuscripts, which are tied to a relatively small geographical region and short period of time, suggests that the Malay *SBS* knows a relatively short history. In contrast, a wide dispersion and a relatively high number of copies of a text point to a longer history. The *Story of Indraputra* forms an example of such a text (Mulyadi 1986). Moreover, there is little lexical and plot-based variation between the three copies of the *SBS*. This means that the passage of time has not been long enough for scribal errors and adaptations by artistically inclined copyists to occur in the manuscript tradition. This uniformity supports the hypothesis that the *SBS* was created not too long before 1853, the year in which both Cod. Or. 3317 and 6058 were produced.

Earlier in this study, the west coast of North Sumatra was described as a cultural crossroad. Being the watershed between Acehnese, Batak and (Minangkabau-)Malay cultural spheres, and a trading port to boot, Barus in particular facilitated intercultural contacts. This meant that stories wandered from one textual tradition to another. Popular narratives were translated and adapted or became the source for numerous borrowings that were used creatively by writers to create new stories. This explains the existence of the same story in different versions in Acehnese, Minangkabau, Malay or one of the Batak languages. In most cases, it is impossible to ascertain which route the story traveled; whether it was translated from Malay into Acehnese or the other way around, for example. For a long time, the Acehnese in particular were a force to be reckoned with on Sumatra's west coast. The strong Acehnese presence in Barus and neighbouring port com-

¹ For more on this *kweekschool* and the careers of some of its graduates as journalists and writers, see Susan Rodgers' *Print, Poetics and Politics: A Sumatran Epic in the Colonial Indies and New Order Indonesia* 2005, 16–17, 46.

² *Hendak* and *mau* mean 'to want'; *parasnya* and *rupanya* mean 'his or her face'; *tersintaklah* and *terbangun* mean 'woken up'.

munities lasted until the Dutch colonization of the region around 1840 and facilitated cultural exchange between Acehnese and Malays.

It was in these surroundings that a popular Acehnese narrative inspired someone with a good command of both the Acehnese and Malay languages to translate the *Story of Banta Beuransah* into Malay and adapt it to his own taste. The Acehnese *SBB* was well-known in nineteenth-century Aceh.³ The text was composed in the Acehnese *sanjak* verse form with internal rhyme and was transmitted in written form (Joesoef, Oesin and Verheul [1927]).⁴ But the legendary hero Banta Beuransah also featured in Acehnese oral traditions. If one compares this to the limited dispersion of the Malay story on Bahram Syah, and considers the fact that there are no reports of oral traditions on Bahram Syah, it becomes clear that the Malay text must be an adaptation of the Acehnese *SBB*, instead of the other way around. For the comparative study of the *SBB* and the *SBS* in this chapter, the 1927 edition of the *SBB* by Moehammad Joesoef, Nja' Oesin and A. Verheul has been used.⁵ It is based on an early twentieth-century manuscript. The first parts of the stories loosely correspond. But the second part of the *SBS*, narrating Bahram Syah's futile hunt for carrying male deer, the theft of his magic ring and his friendship with the three grateful animals, is not found in the Acehnese story. Instead, the latter reads that Banta Beuransah's peaceful life after his marriage is disturbed by a war with a king from China, who threatens to abduct Banta Beuransah's newlywed consort.⁶

Considering the northwest coastal provenance of the *SBS*, it is interesting to note that the Acehnese character of Banta Beuransah has strong links with North Sumatra's west coast. The region directly borders the coastal strip of Tapanuli – with Barus, Sorkam and Sibolga – and was believed to be the area where the exploits of Banta Beuransah have taken place in a distant past (Snouck Hurgronje, 1894, 129–130, 142). The *SBB* teaches us that it is, in particular, the area immediately behind Barus' neighbouring coastal

³ The relative high number of extant manuscripts that date from the nineteenth century attests to the popularity of the *Hikayat Banta Beuransah*. See Voorhoeve 1994 for references to manuscripts containing this Acehnese story.

⁴ For more on the Acehnese *hikayat* narratives, see Snouck Hurgronje 1894, 75–77 and Hanafiah et al. 1981–1982.

⁵ I am much obliged to Deni Wiliadi from the Indonesian School in Wassenaar for his assistance with translating the *SBB*.

⁶ After the research for this chapter was finished, an interesting eighteenth-century copy of the Acehnese *Story of Banta Beuransah* came to my attention. It belongs to the collection of Musium Pusat (Central Museum) in Jakarta. It contains a second plot similar to that of the Malay *SBS*. Instead of the voyage over sea by a king from China to Banta Beuransah's court, the storyteller describes how Banta Beuransah leaves his newlywed wife behind to go hunting in the woods. During his absence, one of his servants steals his magic amulet; the servant uses it to have Banta Beuransah thrown into the sea. There, he is swallowed by a giant fish and saved by a fisherman, who takes Banta Beuransah into his home as a playmate for his pets. The animals, a dog, a cat and a mouse, retrieve the magic amulet for their friend. With the help of the amulet, Bahram Syah is able to return home (Hanafiah et al. 1981–82, 29–39, 158).

town of Singkil that is associated with this Acehnese hero. Passing through the Strait of Malacca, the royal ship of the Chinese king visits every port along Aceh's east and north coast, and then continues its journey southwards along the west coast. However, at the port of Singkil, just before the port town of Barus, the king disembarks and continues his journey upstream along the river to the capital where Banta Beuransah resides (Joesoef, Oesin and Verheul [1927], 78–79).

The Power of Faith

A quick scan of the storyline of the Malay *SBS* and the Acehnese *SBB* already reveals their mutual kinship. But the Malay story is not a faithful translation of its Acehnese source. Instead, it is argued that the *SBS* is a skilful reworking of the *SBB*. What is more, the character of the adaptations says something about the reason why someone took the time and put in the effort to create the Malay text in the first place.

The first similarity concerns the main plot. Like the *SBS*, the *SBB* narrates the adventures of a prince, here named Banta Beuransah. He and his two brothers set out on a search for the multitalented bird of their father's dream. The three young men split up along the way, but it is Banta Beuransah who finds the animal. The story of two jealous brothers, who steal the bird from their younger brother and push the latter into a deep well, is told in the *SBB* too. Next, the series of puzzling encounters of the hero features in both the Malay and the Acehnese narrative. A last correspondence is the friendship between the hero and a gigantic garuda. There is also some overlap in the names of the protagonists. Bahram Syah is the Malay equivalent of Banta Beuransah; the Malay Princess Apalu Apala is recognizable in the Acehnese Princess Apeulah; and the name of the bird in the *SBS*, *Marab* Jalin, resonates the Acehnese Mala'ön Dirin.

Thus, on first sight, the two texts appear to be nearly identical. A closer look, however, yields a considerable number of minor variations between the two. It is asserted that the variations in the Malay text are the result of an Islamic colouring and Malayization of the Acehnese source text. Procedures that have been followed in the process of adaptation are, among others, transposition, elaboration and transformation. The narrative function of certain elements has been retained, while their outlook has been changed. The series of strange events Bahram Syah witnesses in the *SBS* illustrates this aptly. The format of each event is the same, yet their content varies from those found in the *SBB*. The long, detailed and repetitive descriptions of the extraordinary bird *Marab* Jalin in the Malay story are the result of elaboration. Similarly, the four tasks Bahram Syah is asked to perform in order to prove his suitability as a marriage partner of Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower.

The more outspoken Islamic character of the *SBS* can be linked to the surge in the number of new converts to Islam on the northwest coast in the period the text is assumed

to have been written. While the market for Malay narratives such as the *SBS* was expanding, new works hardly appeared. It took one aspiring writer with a proselytizing drive and a popular adventure story that was not yet translated into Malay to create a ‘new’ Malay text. For the new story to have a chance of acceptance in a Malay environment it not only had to be imbued with the values and beliefs of the intended readers, it had to appeal to them as well, through the skilful use of the Malay language. The ways in which the author of the *SBS* has attempted to tailor his work for the needs of a Malay audience will be discussed next.

The *SBS* conveys the Islamic message of *takdir* or Divine Preordination as contained in the sixth Article of Faith. As explained in Chapter 2, Muslim doctrine is often summarized in six – sometimes shortened to five – articles of faith that state what one must believe in to be a Muslim. The sixth article pertains to the belief that God has preordained everything that has happened in the past and that will happen in the future. This belief entails the concept of Divine Will and the acknowledgement of God’s Power (Nigosian 2004, 93–105; Sodiq 2010, 98–108). In the *SBS*, this idea is symbolized by the three different paths travelled by Bahram Syah and his brothers. Bahram Syah chooses the road named Only God Knows, and thereby surrenders himself to God’s will. His fate is a happy one, as it is he who ultimately succeeds in acquiring the bird for his father. His brothers, in contrast, make a wrong turn. As a result, they lose all their possessions and become enslaved by a foreign king.

The *SBS* expresses the idea of *takdir* in two ways. First, by the frequent depiction of seemingly impossible events or unnatural phenomena, which are explained by Bahram Syah as signs of God’s omnipotence. And second, by Bahram Syah’s exemplary behaviour and attitude towards life. His choices and actions display an unwavering trust in God and a belief in Divine Preordination. This religious appeal for faith in God’s power and complete surrender to Him is unique to the *SBS*; it does not have a counterpart in the Acehnese source text.

Bahram Syah interprets some of the uncanny incidents witnessed by him as the work of God. By making the impossible happen, he argues, God shows man the force of His divine power. The sky-high waves that rise from a mudhole mentioned earlier were explained by Bahram Syah in this manner (*SBS* 14a–15b). A similarly baffling occurrence involves three wells that are situated next to each other. Bahram Syah is surprised when he sees how the excess water from two wells flows into the third, dry, one:

Bahram Syah pondered upon it in amazement, saying to himself, “As for the meaning of this left and right well, they are like the rich people; and the middle well, it is like the poor and destitute people. When the hearts of the people who give alms are opened by God, the poor people receive the means to stay alive. This relates to all undertakings: when one’s intention is good, one will receive that which one desires, God willing.” After this, Bahram Syah walked on without resting (*SBS* 13b–14a).

And when even the Angel of Death apparently lacks sufficient faith in God's power to trust that Bahram Syah can indeed fly over the raging Sea of Fire, Bahram Syah admonishes him as follows:

“Why are you speaking like that? With the consent of God, may He be exalted, the Lord, the Master of all worlds, I can do things even more impossible than this, God, may He be exalted, willing! If our Lord bestows a favour on me, I will fly!” (*SBS* 17a).

Crossing strange lands on his own and thwarted by jealous brothers and ghosts alike, Bahram Syah finds many obstacles on his way to the abode of the bird *Marah* Jalin. It is telling that he shows no fear or trepidation. Time and again, he claims to put his trust in God and whatever He has predestined for him. Convinced of the virtue of his enterprise, he believes that fate is on his side, “[...] when one's intention is good, one will receive that which one desires, God willing” (*SBS* 13b–14a).

The display of God's grandeur in the *SBS* is set in the larger framework of the text's call for conversion.⁷ One of the story's scenes succinctly articulates this call to embrace Islam. At a certain point in the story Bahram Syah meets a princess, who is held hostage by a spirit. The spirit's *semangat* or life force is contained in a glass flask, while its body is elsewhere. When Bahram Syah suggests to the princess that she should open the flask, she answers:

“How can we possibly have a look at it; we will both die! If opened only slightly, his body comes to us in a flash.” Bahram Syah said, “Oh Princess, choose what seems right to you: to adhere to this spirit's religion or to the Islamic faith? Now, if you adhere to this spirit's religion, you will inevitably end up in hell. If you adhere to the Islamic faith, you will surely enter Heaven” (*SBS* 18a).

The message is clear: those who convert will be saved in the Hereafter; those who continue to put their faith in spirits and ghosts will suffer. An apt lesson in a region such as the northwest coast of Sumatra, where syncretic religious practices involving the belief in spirits were rampant in the mid-nineteenth century.

In general, the idea behind the call for conversion in the *SBS* is a positive one. Life is hard and living dangerous, but there is an almighty God to assist man on his journey in this world. Faith in God brings confidence and security, here and in the Hereafter, that is what the text reads. In contrast, the Acehnese *SBB* paints a far more negative picture of man in society, while it does not present faith in God as a remedy for the social ailments it describes. The interpretations of Banta Beuransah's extraordinary encounters teach the audience that man is, above all, selfish and that one should not expect any consideration

⁷ The strong association of the *SBS* with the Quranic story of the Prophet Yusuf, which will be addressed later in this chapter, supports the current argument. The *Sura Yusuf* can be read as a pamphlet calling upon the reader to embrace Islam.

from others. This difference between the two texts can be seen, for example, in the passage on the three wells mentioned above. The Acehnese story depicts three wells, two of which overflow, with the water spilled, while a third remains dry. The image serves to show the utter selfishness of the rich. In the Malay reworking of the story the water of the overflowing wells is received by the dry well, like the alms of the rich are received by the poor. This part of the *SBS* not just urges the Islamic readers to give alms, one of the five obligations of a Muslim, but also tells of God's mercy. For it is He who causes the rich to give alms. Likewise, the Malay narration of the hero's confrontation with an extraordinary orange tree carries a far more positive meaning than the Acehnese. In the latter version, the tree bears many ripe oranges, but each one of them is boasting that it is the most delicious of all and therefore deserves to be picked. A learned man explains the image to Banta Beuransah as a metaphor for man's narcissism. The author of the Malay story reduced the number of oranges to one. Here, it is the multi-flavoured nature of the orange that makes Bahram Syah wonder about the hidden meaning of this peculiar experience. Unlike Banta Beuransah, Bahram Syah provides the answer to this question himself; he sees the different flavours – ranging from bitter to sweet – as representing the different stages of his quest (*SBS* 13a–14a).

In short, the Acehnese narrative tells its readers that the world is ruled by self-indulgence, self-glorification, religious sins, disrespect, animosity and greed. Secrets are best kept secret as no one can be trusted, save for oneself. While the *SBS* gives man agency and teaches him to improve himself and put his trust in God, the Acehnese *SBB* portrays him as a potential victim of his fellow human beings, and implicitly advises the readers to keep their wits about them.

Due to the efforts of a devout Muslim author who was well-versed in both Malay and Acehnese, the Acehnese narrative was turned into a tool for the informal instruction in the basic tenets of the Islamic faith. 'Islamization' of existing narratives was a common procedure in Central and North Sumatra. Older, Hindu-flavoured tales with multiple gods and heavens and a hero who underwent numerous magical transformations were deemed inappropriate for a Muslim audience. The author of the Minangkabau *Story of Puti Balukih*, for instance, claims to have written the text to replace the *Story of Malin Deman*, a tale rich in magical scenes. He wanted to provide his fellow Muslims with a story that was known from the *hadith* (Islamic tradition) instead, and that was suitable to recite on the long evenings during the Ramadan. D. Gerth van Wijk suggests that the *Story of Puti Balukih* came into being during the years of the Padri movement, which is the same period that it is assumed the *Story of Bahram Syah* was composed (Gerth van Wijk 1881, i–ii).

But for the message of the *SBS* to be digested, it needed to be wrapped in a story that would appeal to its Malay readers. There are two ways the author of the *SBS* operated to achieve this. For one, the author adapted the story according to the Malay world view. He did this by creatively reworking certain passages of the Acehnese story. The Acehnese

text, for example, relates how the two treacherous brothers of Banta Beuransah ran off to live in the jungle after their failed attempt to murder their younger brother had been brought to light. Ashamed and fearful for their brother's revenge, they remained in the wilderness for years. Their bodies started to grow hairs and, in the end, they looked more like animals than human beings. In the Malay story, the two brothers try to hide within the walls of the state's capital. After being found, they are reprimanded by Bahram Syah, but suffer no further consequences of their heinous behaviour towards him. The author of the *SBS* used this idea of humans who 'dehumanize' after a long stay in uncultivated regions to adapt the story for Malay readers. An echo of the image of the young men living in the woods is found in the *SBS* in the story of Bahram Syah's hunt for a pregnant male deer. When the young prince returns to the capital to present the meat his pregnant wife craved, he is not allowed to enter the gate. His appearance has been switched with that of the deceitful servant Turani. The men guarding the capital's gates address him as follows:

“You must be the spectre Huntsman! You came from the woods, so go back into the woods! You really look like a Gulambai. Oh cursed wretch, get away from here!” (*SBS* 70a–b).

Like his villain brothers in the *SBS*, Bahram Syah is no longer recognized as a human. Having been hunting and slaughtering deer in the woods for months on end, Bahram Syah makes a horrifying spectacle. Dirty, emaciated, with his hunting clothes worn and torn, and hair unkempt he resembles the ghost hunter, as well as another ghostly creature called *gulambai*. The former entity is a ghost hunter with a frightening appearance, who roams the woods with his ferocious hunting dogs. An oral story from Perak, peninsular Malaysia, relates how the *hantu pemburu* was formerly a human being from Ketapang, situated on the most southern tip of Sumatra. One day, he went on a hunt to indulge his pregnant wife who craved for the meat of a female deer pregnant with a male young. He took off, together with his hunting dogs. Unfortunately, he had misunderstood his wife's request; instead of a female deer pregnant with a male young, he tried to find a pregnant male deer. Of course, he failed to find one. But he swore never to return to his wife without a pregnant male deer. In the end, he sent his dogs into the sky to look for the deer. As he watched his dogs fly off into the sky, his head grew into his back. Then, one day a leaf fell on his throat and a tree started to grow from his body, right in front of his face. It was with this horrifying appearance that he continued to roam the woods (Maxwell 1881, 11–29). An encounter with the *hantu pemburu* can be fatal. When addressed by the ghost, a person may develop a high fever, but can recover. If one actually crosses the path of a *hantu pemburu*, symptoms such as excessive vomiting and voiding result in a quick death (Skeat, 1900, 117 n. 1). *Gulambai* belongs to a specific Minangkabau-Malay

pantheon and is an old and dirty looking male ghost believed to cause fires (Van der Toorn 1890, 54, 100).⁸

Similarly, the next citation from the *SBS* contains the name of another ghost that is associated with a Minangkabau-Malay world view instead of an Acehese one. When Bahram Syah has finally arrived in the state of Gastu Gasta, he tries to approach the princess who owns the bird *Marah* Jalin. Disguised as a minor servant of Grandmother Kebayan, who regularly visits the court to sell flower bouquets, Bahram Syah urges her to ask the princess what price she is willing to sell her pet bird for. As part of the performance put on by the two, Grandmother Kebayan reviles Bahram Syah for his improper behaviour:

Grandmother Kebayan rose, wanting to give Bahram Syah a blow. Furiously she said, “Oh son of the ghost Singiang-ngiang, who lives in the woods! Son of Bincacak, child of Singiang-ngiang. You maimed Kling! Son of the ghost named Ketumbi who lives under the cornerpole of the house! Son of the ghost who resides in dead tree trunks!” (*SBS* 34a).

Bincacak is considered to be the son of a female ghost named *Singiang-ngiang rimbo*, whose husband and father of her children is unknown. The phrase *anak Singiang-ngiang anak Bincacak* is used in the Minangkabau language in a derogatory way to denote a child of whom the father is unknown (*Ms.* 181, 1073). Such references to non-Islamic ghosts and spirits are unique to the Malay version of the story. Their presence in the Malay text might seem to conflict with the Islamic message of the story. But, to many Muslims living in the coastal area between Barus and Sibolga in the mid-nineteenth century, the co-presence of non-Islamic and Islamic ghosts and saints would not have been problematic.

Malayization is further visible in the names of protagonists, objects, and geographical places that occur in the *SBS*. These names are not randomly chosen. It is argued that they are not mere fantasy names devoid of any meaning, but well-chosen toponyms and anthroponyms that participate in the creation of the textual world of the *SBS*. Also, it is foremost in these Malay names that the author shows his artistic skills as a writer. Composed with concern for both sound and meaning, they contribute to the charm of the *SBS*.

Some of the names in the *SBS* display rhyme and alliteration, much more than in its Acehese source text. It makes them sound pleasant to the ear. Examples are Princess Apalu Apala, Princess Ambaru Ambara, the state of Gastu Gasta, and King Hangat Garang. The same poetic function perhaps explains the otherwise strange choice of the name Aisyah for one of the two brothers of Bahram Syah (the second brother is called Ghaisyah). In the Islamic world, Aisyah is commonly known as a woman's name. One

⁸ As discussed in Chapter 2, Malay writings that originate in the coastal region of northwest Sumatra betray Minangkabau influence.

of the wives of the Prophet Muhammad was named Aisyah (Shaver Hughes and Hughes 1995, 156–161). Translation of such poetic and therefore seemingly meaningless names reveals some interesting meanings.⁹ Princess Kesumba Air Mawar can be translated as Princess Kesumba and Rosewater, King Hangat Garang as King Fierce and Fiery, Tunggang Papan valley as the Slanting Board valley.¹⁰ The name of Bahram Syah's consort and owner of the bird *Marah* Jalin translates as Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower (Princess Ambaru Ambara). The name evokes the image of a coastal tree of medium height, commonly found in the tropics, whose large and attractive flowers last for one day only and drop into the water at dusk (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*). The pretty yellow flowers with a black-purple heart stay afloat and are taken to faraway places by a river's stream or the currents of the ocean. An apt image for a fair princess who is taken away from her native ground on a long journey over sea by a prince.

But the original use of names in the *SBS* is also aimed at the vivid depiction of the world traveled by the protagonists. Take, for instance, the next passage that describes the owner and the whereabouts of the bird *Marah* Jalin:

“It is the pet of Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower, who is the child carried in the folds of Princess Apalu Apala's sarong, and the offspring of His Royal Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent. She lives in the state of Gastu Gasta in the village called The Queen's Field. The mountain is called Field of the Wild Camels, the valley, Slanting Board, on the island called Sinawilan. The estuary goes by the name of Narrow Passage, and the bay is called Smooth Curves” (*SBS* 2).

The language of this passage is evocative and paints the landscape of the state of Gastu Gasta in words. The mountain resembles the humps of a camel; the sides of its valley are as smooth as slanting boards. The bay forms a perfect smooth curve and its estuary is narrow and difficult to pass by boat. Similarly, the newly founded state of Bahram Syah, which is situated right between Flower Village and the state of Gastu Gasta, is called In Between Good Plains. The name of his palace, Work of the Intoxicated Gods, highlights

⁹ The name of the story's main protagonist, Bahram Syah, is a notable exception to this rule. The name Bahram Syah can be traced to the Persian historical figure of Bahrām V, a Sasanian ruler who ruled from 420 to 438 CE. He was a shrewd politician and a fearless commander of his army. Legends about his life were circulating in oral form and were elaborated into literary form by the Persian authors Firdawsī (d. 1020) and Nizāmī (d. 1207). Stories about Bahrām's childhood and youth, his struggle for the throne, the war against the king of China and emperor of Rūm, and his adventures in India are found both in Persian and Arabic literature (Scott Meisami and Starkey, 1998, 128). In Malay writing, only his name has survived. The adventures narrated in the *SBS* are not related to the life and career of the renowned ruler.

¹⁰ *T.* 339: *kesumba*, “kind of plant (*Bixa orellana*) that can be used to produce a red dye.” The annatto coloring is extracted from the seeds of the achiote tree. *Bixa orellana* is also known as the lipstick tree, as some indigenous groups from Central and South America use the dye as lipstick and body paint.

its extraordinary elegance, while the name of the moat, Dragon-Snake Encircling the Whole World, stresses the defensive qualities of the moat.

To sketch the state where Bahram Syah's older brother Aisyah will meet his demise, the author opted for much grimmer names. Upon Aisyah's question what the name of the state was he had arrived in, a herald replied:

“Oh my Lord, this is the state called Piles of Passion, in the valley of the hill named Pillar Peak. The capital is called Silulidan, the port Silulinang, the bay Water Conduits, and the promontory Cleaver Worn Behind the Ear. The island is called Simangkirang, and the name of our king is King Fierce and Fiery” (*SBS* 11a).

The references to lust or passion, a weapon and a hot-tempered ruler indicate that *nafsu*, ‘lust’ or ‘passion’ rules this land. They foreshadow Aisyah's unhappy fate.

Lastly, the ingenious use of the Malay language in the *SBS* is primarily illustrated by the names given to the flower arrangements Bahram Syah presents to the princess. The bouquets bear highly imaginative names, such as Lantern Spinning to the Left and to the Right Encircled by Burning Candles, Cloud Barely Visible in the Rays of the Moon and the Light of the Scattered Stars and, lastly, Cloud Spinning Blown by the Wind and a Gentle Breeze (*SBS* 31b).¹¹ One only need visualize the names to grasp the graphic power of these words.

The World as a Book: On Reading One's Fate

The primary narrative of the *SBS* relates the adventures of the son of a king, who leaves his native state in pursuit of a magic bird for his father. But a single text may contain more than one narrative. On a second level, the *SBS* presents a narrative about the search for meaning. ‘Meaning’ here refers to the meanings that are hidden behind unusual events; they disclose facts about a person's future or attest to God's greatness and power. The text's fixation with the production of meaning can be substantiated by the following elements. To start with, the story's main character, Bahram Syah, can be seen as a champion of interpretation. His status as such, moreover, is emphasized by the fact that he is linked in the text to the Quranic champion of interpretation, the Prophet Yusuf. Third, the repeated occurrence of dreams in the *SBS* accentuates the text's preoccupation with the future. What is more, as a *mise-en-abyme*, the series of strange encounters and their interpretations by Bahram Syah, contains the story's meta-narrative in a nutshell. They

¹¹ Tanglung Berjentera Kiri Kanan Dian Terpasang Berkeliling dan kedua karangan bunga itu Awan Tersinggit di Sinar Bulan Bintang Temabur m-m-ya-k-ya-r-ya dan ketiga karangan bunga itu Mega Berpusing Ditiup Angin Mengiring Bayu Lemah Lembut (*SBS* 31b).

are short stories on the search for meaning connected to man's fate that are set in a larger narrative on the quest for meaning.

The son of Sultan Maharaja the Great of the state of Southern Plains is no ordinary young man. Like all the heroes of Malay adventure stories, he is unimaginably handsome. But more than, for instance, his Acehnese antagonist Banta Beuransah in the *SBB*, Bahram Syah stands out for his perceptiveness and his proficiency in assigning meaning. He 'sees' meaning in the world that surrounds him, and 'reads' strange events or encounters as a code that needs to be deciphered. The preconditions for his engagement with interpretation are established at an early point in the story. Bahram Syah's decision to follow the path named Only God Knows demands that he actively and creatively engages in interpretation, since he will cross uncharted lands.

Bahram Syah holds the assumption that behind certain phenomena in the world important knowledge is to be found. He also proves capable of interpreting these phenomena himself, without the help of others. In the following citation, Bahram Syah assigns meaning to one of his puzzling encounters:

After walking for about four hours or so, Bahram Syah came across a small plain. It was short and narrow. There he found lots of water buffaloes, they were in their hundreds. Bahram Syah chased them several times, but they did not pay any attention to him. They took their eating very seriously; they did not even raise their heads. The bodies of these water buffaloes were fat and fleshy. Bahram Syah was extremely fascinated to see that these water buffaloes were really fat and fleshy while their food was scarce and hard to find. "What could this signify?" He said to himself, "The reason that these water buffaloes are fat and fleshy is that they see that the plain is just small and they think, 'If I do not take eating grass seriously on the plain, the grass will be finished by the other animals.' That is why these water buffaloes are fleshy and fat: because they are mindful and responsible. In the afternoon, they stop eating, and their owner comes to take them home. On the way, they drink water. Hence, whatever the undertaking, it must not be taken lightly. God, may He be exalted, will then grant whatever you wish!" (*SBS* 15a).

This extraordinary scene and the riddle it constitutes for Bahram Syah forms part of a series of odd encounters he has during his expedition to the state of Gastu Gasta. The peculiar orange tree with its multi-flavoured orange and the scene with the three wells, both mentioned earlier, are two more examples of these bewildering experiences.

His talent for ascribing meaning stands out even more when Bahram Syah is compared to his antagonist in the Acehnese source text of the *SBS*. In the *SBB*, Banta Beuransah has similarly odd encounters. But he, in contrast, is not capable of making sense of these events. He does not even consider them as potential signs. Without the assistance of a learned man, who informs him of the meaning of the puzzling scenes, Banta Beuransah would have remained ignorant of the lessons that can be learned from them. Bahram Syah's inclination to seek meaning everywhere is so strong that he runs the risk of over-

interpretation.¹² And he himself is aware of this. Brooding over the meaning of the words his father conveyed to him in a dream, he suddenly realizes that it is not wise to scrutinize his father's words for a deeper meaning. To do so would be the act of a 'crazy' person and torturous, he remarks (*SBS* 20b).¹³

The most renowned interpreter in the Malay World is the Prophet Yusuf. His exploits are narrated in the twelfth chapter of the *Quran*, the *Sura Yusuf*. With the central status of the *Quran* in Islamic doctrine and practice in mind, it is not difficult to understand how this story became widely known in the Islamic world. With its fascinating plot and detailed narration, this *sura* in particular appealed to the masses. Along with the written word of God traveled oral traditions on the various prophets. From the early period of Islamization onwards, these two traditions inspired authors in various regions of the Islamic world to write new compositions. A *Qisah Yusuf*, (Story of Yusuf) is found in one of the earliest extant Malay manuscripts; it is dated 1604 CE (Salleh 2010, 205; Wilkinson 1907, 16). Various collections worldwide hold copies of Malay texts relating to Yusuf deriving from different parts of the Malay World.¹⁴

Parts of the *SBS* echo the story of the Prophet Yusuf. Similarities occur on the level of plot, protagonists and main theme. It is argued that these correspondences play an important role in the creation of the metadiegetic meaning of the *SBS*. Pivotal in this process is the analogy between the Prophet Yusuf and Bahram Syah. Part of the plot of the *SBS* is loosely based on the story of Yusuf. Like Yusuf, Bahram Syah is envied by his brothers. In both cases, it is the fatherly love for their brother that causes the jealousy. The brothers conspire to get rid of their father's favourite son. As the idea of a cold-blooded murder does not appeal to all of them they decide in the end to push Bahram Syah/Yusuf into a deep well. The *Quran* reads:

“Surely Joseph and his brother are dearer to our father than we, though we are a band. Surely our father is in manifest error. Kill Joseph, or cast him forth into some land, that your father's face may be free for you, and thereafter you may be a righteous people.” One of them said, “No, kill not Joseph,

¹² Whereas, among other literary critics-cum-philosophers, Julia Kristeva states that it is only interpretation that can save a human being from madness, it is madness that lurks in the act of interpretation. During his research for his thesis on paranoia, Jacques Lacan discovered that paranoia is not so much a human condition that leaves reason and logic behind, “[...], but is, rather, based on a surfeit of reason and interpretation [...]” (Lacan 1932 cited in Lechte 1996, 6). When faced with a constant call for interpretation, one can either produce a ‘relevant’ interpretation and stay sane, or succumb to the temptation of over-interpretation and become mad.

¹³ For more on dreams, see Chapter 5.

¹⁴ They usually bear titles such as *Story on God's Prophet Yusuf* (Hikayat Nabi Allah Yusuf) or *Story on Yusuf* (Hikayat Yusuf). The complete manuscript of an 1836 copy of the *Story on God's Prophet Yusuf* that is kept in the Houghton Library of the Harvard University in Cambridge can be accessed online: <http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/10652763?n=1&imagesize=1200&jp2Res=.25&printThumbnails=no> (website accessed 2 November 2013).

but cast him in to the bottom of the pit and some traveler will pick him out, [...]" (Arberry 1964, 226–227).

The Malay rendering of these concise verses is more elaborate:

"Oh younger brother Aisyah, how do you feel about our situation?" Aisyah replied, "Oh older brother, whatever you think, I agree with it." Ghaisyah continued, "Oh younger brother, listen! We are three brothers and, in my opinion, we are the ones who should receive more respect than Bahram Syah, for we are older than him. But as it stands now, it will definitely be Bahram Syah who receives the most respect when we arrive at our parents' home, and thus we will be humiliated. Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower will be his wife, as he is the one who found the bird *Marah Jalin*. He will reign as a king and have the princess as his consort." Aisyah said, "In that case, it will be better if we kill Bahram Syah with our creeses; he will be dead for sure!" Ghaisyah replied, "That won't work, as the princess will commit suicide if we kill him, and then we will both be lost too! I think we better play a trick on him and take him to the well to bathe. When we arrive at the well, we will take it in turns to bathe while we make him draw water from the well. As soon as his attention slips for a moment, we will push him into the deep well. In this way, Bahram Syah will definitely die and we will reach our goal. And if you, younger brother, become king, I will marry the princess!" Aisyah replied, "Oh older brother, that is the best plan I have ever heard; it is perfect!" (SBS 43a–43b).

After their fall into the well, both Bahram Syah and Yusuf are hauled up from the depths; Yusuf by passing traders who sell him as a slave, Bahram Syah by King Middyay who adopts him as his son (Arberry 1964, 227; SBS 43a–44b). At this point, the narratives start to diverge.

But there are more parallels. The *SBS* shares one of its themes with the story of Yusuf; that is, the search for meaning and interpretation. Bahram Syah resembles Yusuf in his qualities as interpreter of dreams. On several occasions, the *Sura Yusuf* states that Yusuf was instructed in the art of the interpretation of "narratives, visions, and dreams" by God. His fame for being a skilled interpreter of dreams spread quickly; even the king of Egypt solicited his advice on two of his enigmatic dreams (Arberry 1964, 226–238). It is interesting to note that this particular skill of Yusuf is presented in the *Quran* as a sign of God's power, intended to convince unbelievers to convert. In fact, the whole *Sura Yusuf* can be read as a pamphlet calling on unbelievers to embrace Islam. Yusuf's ability to see the hidden meanings behind signs such as dreams and events is contrasted to the ignorance and inability of unbelievers to see the signs of God's greatness.

As a competent interpreter, Bahram Syah does see the signs that attest to the power of God. One day, on his journey to the state of Gastu Gasta, he comes across a mudhole in the middle of a plain:

Its length was about two spans of outstretched arms, its width about two and a half. Bahram Syah saw that the water in the mudhole formed waves. It was as if the waves reached up into the sky,

and when they grew bigger and broke, it sounded like thunder and hurricanes. Bahram Syah was highly amazed seeing this mudhole transforming itself and he thought to himself, “What could it mean that this mudhole has waves just like the sea?” He said to himself, “This mudhole has waves because it is something which has never been seen by a human being, and now, when God, may He be exalted, wants to show His power which has never been witnessed before, it may be seen. I hope that it also reveals something about my fate: I am looking for this bird *Marah* Jalin and if God, may He be exalted, wants to show His power, I will acquire it.” After this, Bahram Syah continued (*SBS* 14a–14b).

This passage not only renders Bahram Syah as an expert interpreter, but as a Muslim as well. But not an ordinary one. His likeness with Yusuf transfers onto Bahram Syah Yusuf’s special status as God’s ‘chosen one’ as well.

Next, some of the dreams that occur in the story of Yusuf have left their imprint on the *SBS*. Yusuf’s first dream that indicated that one day he would be a great and powerful ruler resembles one of the ‘false’ dreams of Bahram Syah’s envious brothers. Yusuf saw eleven stars and the sun and the moon prostrating themselves before him (Arberry 1964, 226). In the *SBS* the two brothers made up a dream to make their father believe his youngest son had died during the quest. There had been an image of the sun, the moon and the stars in this dream, but the stars had suddenly vanished (*SBS* 44b).

One of the most renowned scenes in the *Sura Yusuf* is the one where Yusuf interprets a rather troubling dream dreamt by the king of Egypt. While asleep, the king witnessed how seven lean cows devoured seven fat ones. There also was an image of seven green ears of corn and seven ears that had withered (Arberry 1964, 230–231). Yusuf interpreted the dreams as references to the seven good years that were to come, with rich harvests, followed by seven years during which people would suffer shortages. The king was advised to stock up during the good years, so that his people would be able to survive the seven difficult years (Arberry 1964, 231). The image of the fat and lean cattle reappears in the *SBS* as one of Bahram Syah’s cryptic encounters, together with its message of prudence. In one of the fields he crosses during his wanderings, Bahram Syah sees a large gathering of buffaloes in the middle of a green, lush field. What he finds strange is that the buffaloes are extremely lean, “[...] as if they would float away when blown by the wind.” Their food, however, is plentiful. He then walks on for another while until he arrives at the border of a small field, where there is hardly any grass. Yet, the water buffaloes that are grazing there look fat and fleshy. Pondering upon this scene, Bahram Syah concludes that the lean buffaloes are negligent; they only start to eat late in the afternoon, and thus return to their enclosure near the village with an empty stomach. The fat buffaloes realize that they need to graze the whole day to fill up their stomach. The lean cows take the abundance of food for granted, and this is exactly what Yusuf warns the king and people of Egypt for in the *Sura Yusuf*.

A second intertextual link indirectly supports the equation of Bahram Syah with Yusuf. It concerns the relation between the *SBS* and the Malay oral story on the ghost

hunter (see above) (*SBS* 69b–70a). One of the *mantra* or charms (formula) that were used by the traditional healers to ward off or cure the effects of a confrontation with this *hantu pemburu* contains a reference to the Prophet Yusuf:

“I know your origin, O man of penance,
Whose dwelling was upon the hill of Mount Ophir;
[You sprang] from a son of the Prophet Joseph who was wroth with his mother,
Because she would eat the hearts of the birds of Paradise” (Skeat 1900, 119).

These words suggest that, in the Malay World, the *hantu pemburu* was associated with (a descendant of) Yusuf. Even though the charm does not attest to the identification of the *hantu pemburu* with Yusuf, the marked connections between Bahram Syah, Yusuf and the *hantu pemburu* yield an interesting equation: Bahram Syah = Yusuf, Bahram Syah = *hantu pemburu*, and *hantu pemburu* = Yusuf.¹⁵

These textual traces are like breadcrumbs left behind by the author. In the intertextual realm of the Islamic-Malay World, they lead the reader from the *SBS* to another story, that of Yusuf. Notwithstanding the ‘distance’ between the two narratives – one is the actual story one reads or listens to, the other involves remembrance – the story of Yusuf is capable of leaving its imprint on the *SBS* through its analogies with the latter. It is conspicuous that the story of Yusuf happens to convey a similar, double message as the *SBS*. The first part relates to faith, Islamic faith: Surrender yourself to God, under all circumstances, good and bad, for he is great and powerful. The second part has to do with fate and interpretation. Although the fate of a human being is in the hands of God, man can gain insight into his fate through the interpretation of dreams and visions.

The Malay story seems to take this last point further than the Quranic tale. To Bahram Syah, everything he perceives during his wanderings potentially carries meaning, not just dreams. He acts in a world of full of signs. The knowledge he gains from his surroundings steers his actions during his search for the bird, and reassures him of its positive outcome. Some of his interpretations of dreams and unfamiliar events present them as signs of God’s omnipotence; others are related to the future. This heightened attentiveness for meaning hidden behind the visible world corresponds to what was said earlier about the world conjured by texts on Malay divination, including dream books and Malay adventure stories (see Chapter 5).

To recapitulate, Bahram Syah’s quest for the wonder bird is paralleled on a higher level by his quest for meaning and knowledge about future events. Next to his interpretative skills and the Yusuf analogies, the story’s main theme is expressed through the fictional dreams that are featured in the *SBS*. Whereas the Acehnese text contains one dream only – which, significantly, both dreamer and dream interpreters fail to interpret – dreams are

¹⁵ Unfortunately, there are no other sources that affirm this claim. Neither can I think of the foundation of this association between the two figures.

a marked presence in the Malay *SBS*. Bahram Syah has several dreams, while his father's dream about the precious bird *Marah Jalin* is recounted in detail several times throughout the story. The latter dream sets the story in motion; the other dreams keep the story going until the end.¹⁶

The two fake dreams, reported by Bahram Syah's brothers to cover up their crime against Bahram Syah and their father's acceptance of these reports as an explanation for his son's disappearance, express the belief in dreams as portents. Having arrived at their father's court without Bahram Syah, Ghaisyah informs his father about the assumed death of Bahram Syah:

"It has been twenty years since we saw him. We believe he is dead, because of the different dreams we had. I dreamt that we were traveling together with Bahram Syah and that we saw the sun, the moon and all the stars. Shortly after that, all the stars were vanished, gone, without a reason; only the sun and the moon were still visible. [...] When Ghaisyah had told about his dream, Aisyah too paid homage to his father and spoke, "Oh my father, listen to what I have dreamt! One day we were traveling and were feeling very hungry, so Bahram Syah cooked some rice. When the rice was ready, the three of us had a meal. When we had finished eating and drinking, we wanted to cook some more rice and then we saw that only two of the three hearthstones were left" (*SBS* 44b).

After having listened to Ghaisyah and Aisyah, the king cannot be angry with them for losing track of their younger brother. For he believed it had been predestined; nothing that the young men could have tried would have prevented Bahram Syah from vanishing. It had been written in the stars.

A final element that contributes to the text's invitation to read the world as a book about one's fate in life is the series of odd encounters Bahram Syah has. While he traverses uncharted lands in search for the bird *Marah Jalin*, he witnesses several unusual scenes. Most have already been mentioned.¹⁷ Two more can be added: people who keep digging into an already steep valley and pile up the soil on top of a huge mountain, and an unborn dog and goat that bark and bleat in their mother's womb (*SBS* 14a, 15b). Bahram Syah assumes that these spectacles have significance relating to his own life, and he interprets them symbolically. Each of the scenes functions within the narrative as a special type of frame story called *mise-en-abyme*.¹⁸ As embedded stories on interpretation in a story on the search for meaning, the scenes mirror the work as a whole.

The idea of divination and interpretation implicitly articulated in *SBS* is congruent with what other Malay adventure stories and Malay dream books tell us: that man is capable of finding out what the future will bring him and, more importantly, he is capable

¹⁶ See also Chapter 5.

¹⁷ The mudhole with waves that reach the sky, two overflowing wells that fill a third, dry well, the miraculous orange, and the lean and fat cows.

¹⁸ A classic study on this literary device is Lucien Dällenbach's *The Mirror in the Text* (1989).

of acting upon this knowledge to change his fate for the better. In the Malay World, such seemingly trivial events as a dog that enters one's house or mice that ruin one's *sarong* can reveal knowledge that is not available to man elsewhere. The same holds for dreaming about one of the above events. The information acquired through recognizing and interpreting omens and portents pertain to an individual's future, his health, wealth, social standing (slander or a having a good name) or his status as a faithful Muslim. At the roots of this preoccupation with the future lies the assumption that fate can be manipulated. But now the question rises of how this idea of the manipulation of fate can be reconciled with the religious appeal in the *SBS* to belief in divine preordination?

The *SBS* plays with the idea that there is indeed room for man to influence his own fate. The concept of predestination is not undisputed in the Islamic world. Throughout Islamic history the issue of predestination versus free will has divided Muslims and sparked heated debates. However, most Muslims assume a middle course, which was represented as early as the tenth century by the reforming thinker al-Ash'ari. He claimed that God had provided man with

[...] a measure to choose between options determined by God, with God knowing what options would be chosen before the event. Mankind was seen as being equipped to make the proper choices by the provision of guidance from God in the form of scripture [...] (Riddell 2001b, 27).

Muslims in nineteenth-century Sumatra were familiar with this middle course. It was propagated, for example, by the renowned author Raja Ali Haji of Riau, Sumatra (1808–1870). He acknowledged the fact that God's will shapes the "outline of history and the framework of society," but believed that the individual is responsible for his own choices within that framework (Riddell 2001b, 191). Thus, man is responsible not so much for his destiny, as for the actions that lead to a certain destiny. In Malay-Islamic thought the future holds several destinies in the form of predestined paths. It is up to man to make the right decisions and take the right actions to ensure the best of all possible destinies.

The Malay adventure stories, dream books, and divinatory practices in the Malay World are evidence of a second, alternative, idea of the future and man's fate in this world and the next. A short detour to divination among the ancient Greek might help to define this view. Analogous to the world portrayed in the *SBS* and the other Malay adventure stories, to the Greeks, the world they inhabited was full of signs that awaited interpretation. Once 'translated,' these signs would reveal important knowledge on an individual's future. The Greeks believed that with this information they were able to anticipate their future in such a way that it could be changed for the better. They saw the future as open, but not empty. Kim Beerden (2013) explains this view by coining the term 'optional futures.' If one looks at the Malay perception of fate and future the Malay adventure stories and dream books give testimony of, this idea that there is no predestined fate proves valid as well in the Malay case. Instead, there is a future that holds various

options. It is to the individual to try to learn about the options through the interpretation of dreams and other signs. But only an attentive person is able to reap these benefits. In the Malay stories, the characters are repeatedly warned not be *lalai* or careless, but to pay attention to their environment. From the explicit Islamic notion of one future that holds several possible destinies, to the idea of an open, but not empty future does not seem too big a step. The prominence of a syncretic form of Islam in the coastal regions of North Sumatra in the nineteenth century left room for the acceptance of such heterodox ideas. Thus, next to the Holy Book, there was a second ‘book’ that was consulted by the majority of the Muslim-Malays: the world that surrounded them. Natural phenomena and certain events – witnessed either in a waking state or in dreams – revealed information that could be used to influence one’s destiny, if interpreted correctly.

Summarizing, the *SBS* and other Malay adventure stories testify to man’s existential anxiety about living in the here and now, and about his future, in both this world and the Hereafter. They provide their readers with remedies for these universal human concerns. First, faith in God, and second the possibility to learn about one’s future and to act upon this knowledge in order to change it for the better. Interestingly, this same pair features in a description of the nineteenth-century world of Sumatran west coast merchants and seafarers by Tsuyoshi Kato. Here, faith in God and the interpretation of omens are mentioned in relation to the hazardous and speculative nature of their profession. The west coast community

“[...] accommodated peoples of many lands and customs so that the *adat* was eclectic; above all, its possibilities were open-ended. Even those born in poor families could succeed. [...] Good family background was not exactly a disadvantage, but what counted more were education, daring, keen business instinct, good interpersonal connections, and good luck. Even after everything else failed, *given faith in God and auspicious mystical signs* [emphasis mine], one could always hope for a better break in the future” (Kato 1980, 750).

A 2002 MA thesis on the *Story of Bahram Syah* by Malaysian Zahariah Binti Zainuddin attests to the timelessness of the religious message communicated by *SBS*. Her reading demonstrates that she herself has taken up the text’s call to have faith in God’s Onnipotence. She attempts to prove that the miraculous events depicted in the story are true, as in ‘have really happened.’ In other words, she contends that birds can speak, ghosts can fight with human beings, and water in a puddle can form waves that reach the sky. As evidence she presents the statements of a contemporary Muslim philosopher and activist and Quranic verses that relate of the wonders God can work. Unfortunately, her approach makes the main argument of her thesis resonate one of the messages of the *SBS*, and nothing more.¹⁹

¹⁹ This study by Zahariah Binti Zainuddin fits in with a contemporary trend within the scholarly approach of Malay writings in Malaysia and Indonesia that has been visible since the 1980s. The texts were

Never-Neverland Revisited

Within research on European folktales there is a strand that concerns itself with ‘breaking the magic spell’ that is assumed to have been cast on these narratives in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁰ The main tenet of the publications is that the profusion of ‘magic’ in the stories has made scholars refrain from finding new perspectives on them for a long time. A socio-historical approach was taken in order to negate the estranging effect of the ‘magic’ on modern day readers. Robert Darnton’s work on French fairytales has already been mentioned as an exponent of this school. Another example is Nancy L. Canepa’s study on folktales from Italy. In *From Court to Forest* (1999), she shows how Giambattista Basile’s *Lo cunto de li cunti* (The Tale of Tales, 1634–1636) reflects a contemporary social reality by recreating seventeenth century everyday life in Naples (Haase 2008, 887–889). This is exactly what this study aimed to do for Malay adventure stories: to demystify stories that once appealed to large audiences by recreating the historical context they derive their meaning from. But it works the other way around as well. Malay adventures stories contribute to our understanding of a historical reality, as they allow us a glimpse of a mental world of another place and period.

The unknown regions traversed by the wandering heroes of the Malay adventure stories have been described here as strange and uncommon. The young adventurers exchange the protection of their fathers’ courts and states for the perils that come with a journey through uncharted land. It has been argued that the unfamiliar surroundings presented in the narratives facilitated the transmission of knowledge on the concept of *semangat* loss and the ensuing mental and physical afflictions. For an adventurous voyage provides ample opportunity for arousing those emotions – fright and fear, surprise, pain, love, and longing – that makes life force flee the human body it forms part of.

But this image needs to be somewhat modified. It is true that the stories’ main protagonists experience these foreign lands as unfamiliar. They see and hear extraordinary things that are not found in their homeland. But a closer look at the stories suggest that these textual worlds are not as estranging as they seem or have been labelled by earlier scholars. The landscape and the societies depicted in them turn out to be rather detailed

strategically mined for precious ‘traditional’ Malay wisdoms and values that were to serve contemporary (Muslim-)Malays as a moral compass. This approach became popular after Malaysia’s leading political party United Malays National Organization (UMNO) actively articulated the Malay ethnic identity as congruent with a Muslim identity. Some recent examples are *Konsep Nilai Dalam Kesusastraan Melayu* (Values in Malay Literature), Siti Aisah Murad (1996), *Nilai Melayu Dalam Pantun* (Malay Values in *pantun*), Mohammad Rashid Muhammad Idris (2011) and *Syair Saudagar Miskin: Analisis Struktur Dan Nilai Budaya Serta Suntingan Teks* (Syair Saudagar Miskin: Structural Analysis and Cultural Values), Siti Zahra Yundiafi (2010).

²⁰ After the title of one of Jack Zipes’ influential publications on folktales: *Breaking the Magic Spell: Radical Theories on Folktales and Fairy Tales* (1979).

representations of the environment in which the stories were produced, copied, and consumed. The realist element in Malay adventure stories has been noticed by Winstedt as early as 1907. In an era when other scholars were bemoaning the poor literary quality of adventure stories, Winstedt sang their praise; he called them “the cream of Malay literature” (Winstedt 1907, 28). He was especially appreciative of the imaginative, impressionist oral adventure stories that were marked by, what he called, a “naive realism”: “Local colour takes the place of conventional description.” In the poetic register of his time, Winstedt describes how the stories acquired their distinctive realist traits: “All these romances must have had an Odyssey of adventure up and down the Malay Archipelago, and the prose parts have picked up much flotsam and jetsam in the wanderings of reciters: local pantuns, local words, local custom” (Winstedt 1907, 37).

It is not difficult, for instance, to recognize a nineteenth-century Malay trade port on Sumatra’s northwest coast in the world portrayed in the *SBS*. The narrative may feature events that are unusual and unfamiliar to protagonist and reader alike, but it unfolds against a background that is highly recognizable, at least to the nineteenth-century reader.²¹ The world traveled by Bahram Syah consists of seas, beaches and bays, large rivers and broad estuaries, mountains and valleys, and uncultivated areas with dense forests that alternate with patches of cultivated land. The sea plays a prominent role; maritime trade connects the state with the wider world. Rulers and their families live in the main settlements, while the ordinary men and women live with their children spread out in small clusters of simple huts. One of the main settlements is situated upriver, while a large community of merchants lives near the estuary. This spatial orientation corresponds to the *hulu–hilir* polity model (upstream–downstream) that characterized several Sumatran Malay states for a period of time, among them Barus and Jambi (see also Watson Andaya 1993, 111–114). The beach hosts a community of fishermen. The busy trading port is visited by all kinds of vessels from foreign ports, including Chinese junks. Textiles are one of the main trade commodities. Business is conducted at the market place. The latter is painted especially vividly by the author; each market day of the week caters to a specific clientele. Debt bondage is a common phenomenon, as is the trade in slaves. In case money is needed in the short term, younger family members can be pawned to merchants. A second popular form of entertainment besides gambling is the interpretation of portents or omens. As for the political organization, the political power is in the hands of the ruler, but his rule is based on consensus with his vassal rulers:

“Oh all officials in the Land of Twelve Streams, you should know that from now on, you should not fight! If you try to settle a conflict by fighting, all the gold will be wasted and the inhabitants of the state will flee.” [...] “Strength lies neither in stone and iron, nor in a broad moat and weapons, but it is in consensus that strength is to be found!” (*SBS* 55b).

²¹ See the description of mid-nineteenth-century Barus in Chapter 1.

Then, there is the merchant class. The *SBS* depicts merchants as wealthy citizens with a certain degree of authority. It is significant that in the story, it is a merchant instead of the king who resolves a heated conflict among the vassal rulers. In Barus, Sorkam and other Sumatran trade ports rich merchants enjoyed a high social status; likewise, their counterparts in the *SBS*.

A pawn letter by the copyist *Haji* Abdul Wahid, who also copied the *SBS* for Van der Tuuk in Sorkam, provides another opportunity to address the realist elements in this story.²² The letter reads that a certain *si* Gantiyati pawns some of his possessions to members of the Sorkam elite to raise money for a commemorative meal (*selamatan*). The letter lists all the valuable items that are pawned; among them are different kinds of cloths, some with gold thread, golden earrings, and a wooden chest. The religious duty to organize such meals held for all Muslims, not only the well-to-do, and people had to sell or pawn valuable possessions to raise the necessary funds. Van der Tuuk witnessed the financial stress this caused among Barus inhabitants. For a regular *selamatan* one easily spent ten guilders, more than most people in the region earned in a month (Groeneboer 2002, 312). In the *SBS*, Bahram Syah is forced to sell all his possessions after the death of his royal stepfather in order to gather enough money to perform the customary commemorative meal. The pawn letter from Sorkam suggests that Bahram Syah's predicament must have met with sympathy from the story's readers; for they themselves regularly had to find ways to meet with the demands their religion put on them.

Lastly, the state capital that is founded by Bahram Syah has the features of a merchants' *hilir* community. Himself being a *dagang* or 'foreign wanderer', Bahram Syah expresses his feelings of affinity with people who live far away from their loved ones at home, such as traders and seafarers:²³

"As for the captains, merchants and dignitaries, let them live here with me in the capital called In Between Good Plains. I wil reign the state together with my mother. As I am a foreign wanderer here, I will join the other wanderers and captains and merchants who once lived elsewhere, but now have come to foreign ports and are also called wanderers. It is there that I will decide on matters concerning the state!" (*SBS* 65a-65b).

This study aimed to rid Malay adventure stories of their supernatural aura by examining

²² The pawn letter is inserted in Cod. Or. 3 234. Cod. Or. 33 17 is the manuscript that is used for the edition in Part II.

²³ *Dagang* has the double meaning of merchant and (foreign) wanderer. Moreover, a *dagang* topos is found in Malay writing. It is customary that authors or copyists present themselves in the colophon to the reader as a *dagang*. They describe themselves as lonely wanderers, who are far from their loved ones in their native *kampung*. Often, poverty is their only companion. In addition, they portray themselves as ignorant, and beg their readers to forgive them for any mistakes the text might contain. See also Gijs Koster, "Auteurschap als noodzakelijke kwaad: De verteller als vreemdeling in het Maleise syair-gedicht" (1990).

فدا هجرت سرب د و رايحه نوحه فوله فدا هجري بولوا د ربيع الاول ل هجري جمعه

فدا تکر انبوله کام مپیلین سواله ای ای فرایغانی برات ۲ اور غنوه یغیر نام سیکلی ای
یغندر سووده دیکا دیکه اولیه سجھانی ای بلنجا خند وری کفندت جهله نکر کدی
ایما فوله ریل باتق سوخته دان ایله نما برات ۲ ایت یغندر کدی اولیه سجھانی

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------------|---------|--------------------------|
| لبر ۲ | مول ۲ کای بیغ امس | راوان ۲ | سویغ امس کدنج داغما پخیر |
| / | کای بی بتلفعه | / | تونیغ نابو |
| / | کای بوغا امباچ | / | خفوه جمارا |
| / | کای قونیغ بوغاملور | / | فلت لویغ |
| / | کای کونیغ | / | سوراهی |
| کیغ / | کای امبالو | ۲ | شوقن کدنج |
| / | دلوق | / | فیتی کایو |

اینولر نما سکر برایغ دیکا دیکه اولیه سجھانی ای بلنجا خند وری ای
مکر کدنج ناله دیکلندی اولیه دانو کره یغندر ۲ رفته مند غر میلان سیغایغ هند
برایغ ایله انوسیمنه هند و کفند برایت میلان دینا بوغی دان ایله پمحق برایغ
ایله انوسیمنه بیغ منابوس میلان سجھانی له بیغ پمحق برایت دیکلده
فریوانی دانو راج امده کره یغندر ۲ دالم نکره سورکم دان ادا له دانو کره داغی یغندر
مناره تند ناغی دیاغ سواله ای سیجا جاعر اووم لکن دیلا کج لر بی ادان

اینلر تند ناغی دانو راج امده سورکم
اینلر تند ناغی دانو ییغ بئو
اینلر تند ناغی بکند مکله

Figure 4. Draft of a pawn letter by copyist *Haji Abdul Wahid* in Sorkam, page 1 (inserted in Cod. Or. 3234). The letter is dated 8 Rabiulawal 1270 AH (9 December, 1853). Among the goods that are pawned by a certain *si* Gantiyati are various kinds of textiles, golden earstuds, large porcelain plates, and a wooden chest. The last three lines give the names of the moneylenders, who had to sign the document: *Datuk Raja Amat* of Sorkam, *Datuk Limbang Batua*, and *Baginda Megat*. *Datuk Raja Amat* was the ruler of Sorkam, *Datuk Amat II*; he was also known as *Raja Parang Tua Tanjung*.

the stories in the context of society. It has been shown how they are firmly rooted in the environment they were conceived and/or consumed in. The narratives turn out to be far more realist than has been assumed. They have relations with various worlds outside the text: the social, religious and natural world. Their basic fairytale plot may be found in different regions of the worlds in different cloaks, but that does limit their meaning to this one element of the stories. A case study of the *SBS* and an analysis of an additional six adventure stories revealed the interconnections between these texts and the west coast society. For instance, texts were created in answer to societal changes, such as the rapid march of Islam or the changed political constellation after the (re)colonization of the area. Next, Malay adventure stories played a significant role as a means of communication of important cultural knowledge. They taught the readers what made them human beings opposite other forms of life, and how to maintain their health and to cure illness. Second, they conveyed concepts on dreaming, such as a dream classification and methods of dream interpretation. And, set in a courtly environment, they provided ideal examples of male and female behaviour. But this is not all. Malay adventure stories offered ways to cope with the universal human feeling of uncertainty that is the result of a life that is always in flux. A reading of the *SBS* explained how these narratives propagated trust in the power of God and Divine Preordination, while at the same time they stressed the possibility of discovering one's fate through the interpretation of dreams and omens.

The knowledge that was transmitted through Malay storytelling pertained to many facets of man's life. Adventure stories were an important vehicle for the transmission of Malay cultural concepts, values and attitudes. They were popular, and that meant that they travelled easily. In this feature may even lie the key to unravelling the enigma of the Malay World: the question what force was responsible for the expansion of the Malay World and its continuation through time and space. Perhaps it was narrative.

PART II

The *Story of Bahram Syah*: Text and Translation

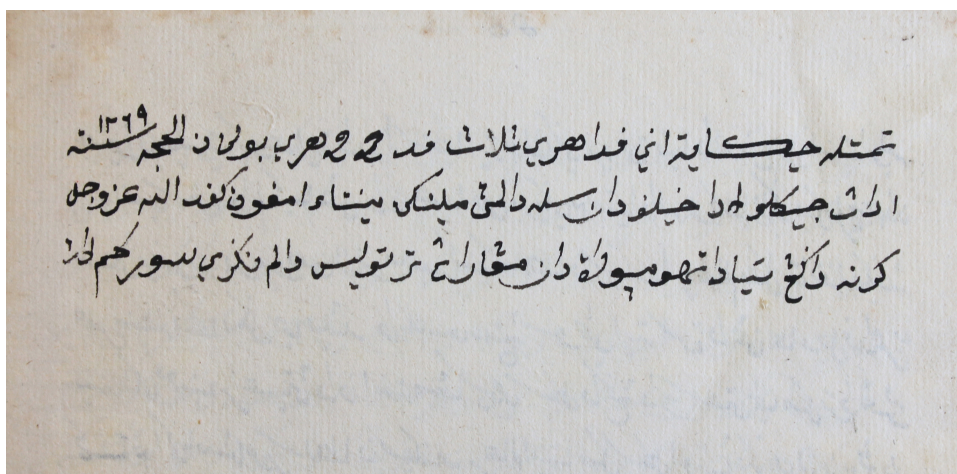


Figure 5. Colophon of Cod. Or. 3317 containing the *Story of Bahram Syah*. The text reads “Tamatlah hikayat ini pada hari Selasa pada 22 hari bulan Dulhijah sanat 1269 adanya. Jikalau ada khilaf dan salah dalamnya melainkan minta ampun kepada God azza wa jalla karena dagang tiada tahu menyurat dan mengarang. Tertulis dalam negeri Sorkam adanya.” (This story is finished on Tuesday, the twenty second day of the month Dulhijah in the year 1269. If it contains errors or mistakes, I beg God, to Whom glory and majesty belongs, for forgiveness, as I am just a wandering stranger who does not know how to write or compose.) 22 Dulhijah 1256 AH corresponds to Monday (!) 26 September 1853 CE.

Introduction

The extant manuscripts that contain the *SBS* yield a picture not of a nineteenth-century Malay manuscript tradition, but of a Western, early twentieth-century philological practice. The story is preserved in seven manuscripts that are kept in the Special Collections of Leiden University Library in the Netherlands: Cod. Or. 3317, 6058, 6071, 6081, 5968, 5977a and 5977b. The first three originate in North Sumatra; two of these are dated 1853, while we can assume that the third was produced in the 1880s. The other four are copies of the Sumatran manuscripts and were written in Leiden around 1912 by Charles Adriaan van Ophuijsen, professor of Malay language and literature at Leiden University from 1904 until his death in 1917 (for more on the manuscripts, see Chapter 6).

Van Ophuijsen brought two copies of the *SBS* with him from Sumatra: Cod. Or. 6058 and 6071. Of the two, only the first can safely be assumed to have an indigenous history of use. Stains on the pages – perhaps soot from an oil lamp or *sirih* spittle – and fingerprints bear witness to the many times readers have turned the pages of this book. In Leiden, Van Ophuijsen had access to a third copy: Van der Tuuk's copy in the University Library, Cod. Or. 3317 (Figures 3 and 5). This manuscript was written in Sorkam in 1853 by an indigenous copyist called *Haji* Abdul Wahid. It is the manuscript that is used for the current edition. From the time of its creation, it was condemned to a life on a dusty bookshelf; first in Van der Tuuk's house in Barus and later in the University Library in Leiden. The manuscript fits in with a larger group of manuscripts containing various sorts of Malay texts that were acquired by or copied for Van der Tuuk in Barus and Sorkam in the period 1851–1857, the years he was active in that region (see Part I, Chapter 1 and Appendix A).

In the Preface to his *Maleisch leesboek* (1912), Van Ophuijsen mentions that he is preparing a text edition of the *SBS*. With only three extant manuscripts to work with, a

search for an archetypal text was impossible. Thus, he aimed for a text free of corrupted readings, scribal errors and unclear passages instead. To this end, he meticulously compared the three Sumatran manuscripts with each other. He wrote a complete transliteration of one of his own copies, resulting in Cod. Or. 6081. Next, he transliterated one third of the text as found in Van der Tuuk's copy (Cod. Or. 3317); this resulted in Cod. Or. 5968. He also tried his hand at writing *jawi*; two thin exercise books contain the initial part of the story in *jawi*-script (Cod. Or. 5977a and b). The four study copies are marked by countless cross references to the three source manuscripts from Sumatra. Page numbers in the margins and underlining in different colours, brackets and variant readings all bear witness to many hours of philological labour. With this in mind, it is unfortunate that Van Ophuijsen did not manage to finalize his project. A lithograph edition of the *SBS* by his hand is not found in any of the libraries and archives.

The Copyist *Haji* Abdul Wahid and Cod. Or. 3317

In his reports to his employer, Van der Tuuk creates the impression that he failed to find able Malay copyists in his temporary home town (Groeneboer 2002, 287, 292, 317, 334, 336); but evidence from the manuscripts proves different. At least three different persons copied Malay texts for Van der Tuuk in Barus and Sorkam around the middle of the nineteenth century: a certain *si* Liek (perhaps short for Malik?), alias *Marah* Nujum, who worked in Barus, *Haji* Abdul Wahid in Sorkam, and one or two anonymous copyists residing in Pasar Batu Gerigis, the market area of Barus.¹

The colophon of Cod. Or. 3317 does not mention the name of its copyist. However, a comparison of the formal features of Cod. Or. 3317 with those of Cod. Or. 3289 and 3338 makes it possible to ascribe Cod. Or. 3317 to a certain *Haji* Abdul Wahid. This name is found in both Cod. Or. 3289 and 3338 as the copyist. Who was this man and how did Van der Tuuk become acquainted with him?² Firstly, his title of *haji* indicates that he was a Muslim, and a pious one to boot. He had made the hazardous journey overseas as a pilgrim to Arabia before the introduction of the steam engine, and at a time when the number of pilgrims from the Archipelago was still low. His status as *haji* earned him respect and some religious authority back in the Malay World. Perhaps, he also distin-

¹ The identification of several Malay copyists who were active in a single area is rather unique. Only a relative large number of manuscripts stemming from the same area, with manuscripts that mention the copyist's name, make a comparative study of the manuscripts' formal features possible. Among these are size, watermark, handwriting, blind lining, the format of the colophon, the type of book binding, the use of line fillers, and so on. Then, patterns can be discerned and manuscripts can be attributed to certain copyists.

² Considering the male dominated nature of Sumatra's west coast merchants' community and the Islamic (supra) community, the copyists are assumed to have been men.

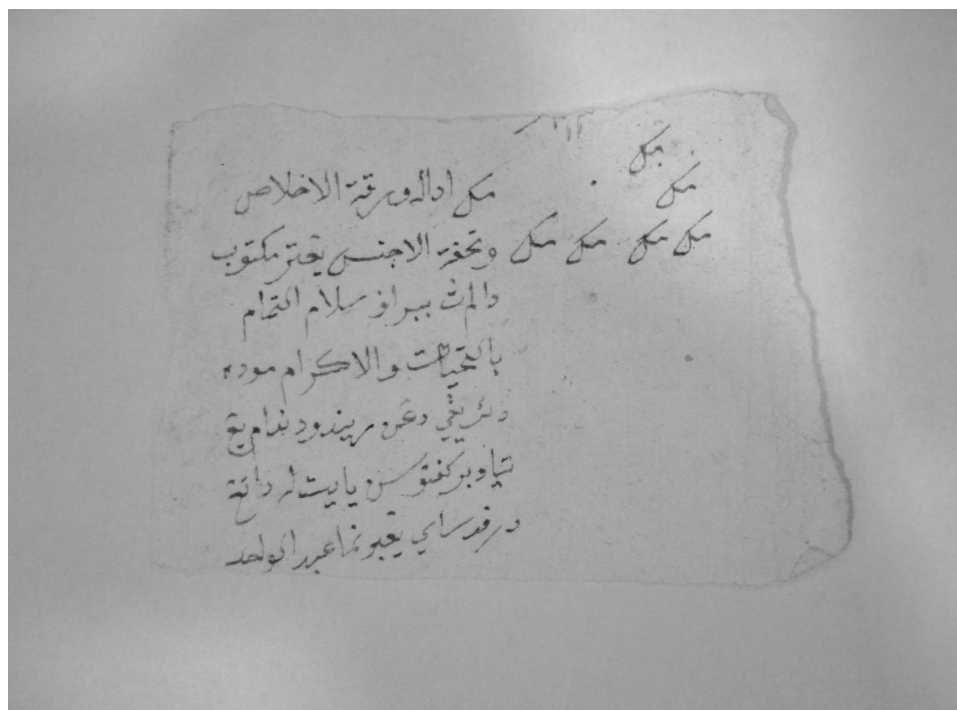


Figure 6. Note ascribed to copyist *Haji* Abdul Wahid, presumably to Van der Tuuk. In the message the copyist conveys his greetings and warm feelings of friendship for Van der Tuuk (inserted in Cod. Or. 3286). The Malay words are interspersed with flowery Arabic expressions. The text reads “Maka adalah waraqat al-ikhḷās wa tuḥfat l-ajnās yang termaktub di dalamnya beberapa salām al-tamām bi-’l-taḥīyyāt wa-’l-ikrām mawaddah diiringi dengan rindu dendam yang tiada berkeputusan yaitulah datang daripada saya yang bernama Abdul Wahid.”

guished himself from his fellow Muslims as a *haji* by sporting a beard and wearing a long white robe and white turban, like many returned pilgrims.

Haji Abdul Wahid did not live and work in Barus, like his patron Van der Tuuk, but in nearby Sorkam. He worked there as a clerk for members of the local elite. Among them was the ruler of Sorkam, *Raja* Parang Tua Tanjung.³ But passing traders or other visitors to Sorkam made use of his services as well. A *khatib* from Sibolga, for instance, asked him to write a letter on financial matters to a Khalidiyya *syaikh* in Natal. An indication that perhaps even the local colonial government was one of his patrons is the wove paper he used for the letter that was requested by the *khatib*.⁴ The same type of paper, with the same crowned letters BATH imprinted in the upper left corner, was used by the colonial government in Barus for a letter to Van der Tuuk.⁵

In the months of August and September of the year 1853, *Haji* Abdul Wahid copied a series of four Malay texts in Sorkam for Van der Tuuk. The first text was the *Poem on Mecca and Medina* (Syair Makah dan Medinah) (Cod. Or. 3338). The second was *Mawlid an-Nabi*; it was finished on 2 September 1853 (Cod. Or. 3289). Just over two weeks later he wrote the last words of the *Story of Ahmad and Muhammad* (Hikayat Ahmad Muhammad) (Cod. Or. 3314); within another ten days, on 26 September, he had copied the complete text of the *Story of Bahram Syah* (Cod. Or. 3317). It is unfortunate that Van der Tuuk has not written about his contacts with Malay copyists in Barus and Sorkam. But, a snippet of paper found in between the pages of one of Van der Tuuk's Malay manuscripts attests to the existence of these contacts.⁶ In a few lines, *Haji* Abdul Wahid conveys his greetings and warmest feelings of friendship to, presumably, Van der Tuuk (see Figure 6). It is not difficult to imagine the note having been placed by Abdul Wahid in between the pages of a newly written copy that was to be delivered to Van der Tuuk's house in Barus.

Cod. Or. 3317 is a bound manuscript that consists of eighty-four folios of European laid paper. It measures 12.5 cm by 17.0 cm by 1.5 cm. Page numbers 33 and 66 are skipped. The last page number is 86. The paper has a Pro Patria or Maid-of-Holland watermark, with a countermark that consists of three letters that could not be deciphered. The manuscript has no indigenous leather binding. Such bindings were expensive, and the nearest bookbinder lived as far away as Padang (Groeneboer 2002, 343). Instead, it has a simple binding that consists of thin paperboard boards that are covered with brown paper. On the first flyleaf "No 52" is written in brown ink. The manuscript is dated in the

³ *Raja* Parang Tua Tanjung used the title *Datuk* Amat II. The ruler of Sorkam was one of the three lenders mentioned in a pawn letter that can be attributed to *Haji* Abdul Wahid. The letter is inserted in Cod. Or. 3234.

⁴ Inserted letter in Cod. Or. 3260 f.

⁵ This letter, written in Dutch, conveyed the request to translate a letter on the extradition of the convicted murderer *si* Timbul into Batak (Cod. Or. 3344, 26; see Wieringa 2007, 304).

⁶ Cod. Or. 3286.

colophon “hari Selasa pada 22 hari bulan Dulhijah sanat 1269”: Monday 26 September 1853 CE.⁷ The manuscript contains the complete text of the *SBS*; the text is written in *jawi* in black ink. Latin numerals written in pencil in the left- and right-hand margins of pages 2 till 26 correspond with page numbers of Cod. Or. 5968. Catalogue entries for Cod. Or. 3317 are Juynboll 1899, 176–178 under CLI; Wan Mamat 1985, 36; Iskandar 1995, 160 and Wieringa 2007, 236–241.

The Malay language used in Cod. Or. 3317 is similar to the language in *hikayat* that originate in other regions of the Malay World. It does, however, betray Minangkabau influence. This feature reflects the text’s west coast origin; the Minangkabau language spread along Sumatra’s west coast with the Minangkabau diaspora. There, in the trade ports where traders and seafarers of different ethnic background met, the language came into contact with the Malay language that was used as a lingua franca in commerce. The result was a variant of Malay with distinct Minangkabau features.

Writing is a poor substitute for the spoken language, and this holds even more for a text like the *SBS* that was written more than 160 years ago. It is impossible to ascertain how the words were actually pronounced. First, the *jawi* script does not systematically represent vowels. In addition, the text is marked by spelling practices that are commonly referred to as ‘Malayization’ or *pemelayuan*. *Pemelayuan* is the practice of writing Minangkabau words that have a Malay counterpart as Malay words.⁸ It is impossible to ascertain which word is represented by, for instance, the spelling b-r-*alif*-s. The word means ‘uncooked rice’ and can be found several times in the *SBS*. But, the spelling represents three different pronunciations: the ‘standard’ Malay *beras*, an assumed local Malay variant *baras* and the Minangkabau *barèh*. These two spelling characteristics of Cod. Or. 3317, together with the inconsistent spelling that this manuscript has in common with other Malay manuscripts, have determined the choices that relate to the principles of the text edition.

The text edition aims to give a broader public, unfamiliar with the *jawi* script, access to the *SBS*. For the sake of readability, a choice has been made for a uniform spelling: the standard spelling of modern Indonesian, as found in *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (1989 and 1991). Punctuation and capitalization is in accordance with the rules set out in the standard grammar of modern Indonesian (*Tata Bahasa Baku Bahasa Indonesia*, 1988) Minangkabau words follow the spelling that is used by Gérard Moussay for his Minangkabau, Indonesian–French dictionary (1995).

The text has been edited according to the following principles:

⁷ The copyist erroneously noted down Tuesday as the day he finished copying the *SBS*; 22 Dulhijah was, in fact, a Monday.

⁸ These spelling practices are discussed in Chapter 2, together with the Minangkabau influence on the Malay language that is used in the *SBS*.

1. Older Malay words that are not listed in the *KBBI* have been replaced with their Indonesian equivalents as found in the *KBBI*. The original forms have been retained in footnotes that also contain references to the dictionaries that list these forms.
2. Minangkabau words, or words of which the spelling is influenced by Minangkabau, have been replaced by their Indonesian equivalents as listed in the *KBBI*. The original forms have been retained in footnotes; references to the dictionaries that list these words have been added.
3. Minangkabau words that have no equivalent in modern Indonesian have been retained in the text. Footnotes have been added to refer to the Minangkabau dictionaries that list these words.
4. In cases of spelling inconsistencies the preferred *KBBI* form has been chosen.

1 | Hikayat Bahram Syah

1 Alkisah maka inilah hikayat Bahram Syah yang amat indah-indah perkataannya, telah masyhurlah wartanya kepada negeri yang besar-besar. Maka dikarang oleh orang yang arif akan jadi ingat-ingatan kepada kita yang tinggal di belakang ini. Maka diceriterakan oleh orang yang empunya ceritera ini, maka adalah seorang raja dalam negeri Padang Silalatan,¹ namanya Tuanku Sultan Maharaja Besar. Terlalu amat besar kerajaannya baginda itu dan beberapa negeri yang takluk kepadanya. Adalah dua belas buah negeri yang besar-besar yang takluk kepadanya, memberi upeti tiap-tiap tahun, dan beberapa menteri, hulubalang, rakyat yang tiada tepermanai banyaknya di bawah takhta kerajaan baginda itu. Maka adalah sangat adilnya daripada hukum-menghukumkan kepada hamba rakyatnya, tiada tersentuh² hati segala dagang dan santri, terlalu amat mengasihi kepada yang miskin dan yang teraniaya. Maka masyhurlah wartanya kepada negeri yang asing-asing, semuanya³ datang ke negeri berhambakan dirinya.

Hatta berapa lamanya, maka adalah putra baginda itu tiga orang, terlalu amat baik rupanya dan namanya seorang Ghaisyah dan yang tengah bernama Aisyah dan yang bungsu bernama Bahram Syah. Itulah yang terlebih⁴ elok rupanya, gilang-gemilang cahayanya, tiadalah taranya dalam negeri itu. Maka ayah bundanya terlalu amat kasih dan gemar

¹ p-d-alif-ng s-ya-l-alif-l-t-n. *Silalatan* is possibly a local or literary variant of *selatan*, 'south.'

² t-r-s-ya-n-t-wau-h. Klinkert lists *sintub* as the Minangkabau equivalent of the Malay *sentub*, 'to touch' (*Kl.* 605). *VDTo.* 221: *tasintuah*, 'accidentally touched'. *Pam.* 223: *sintueh*, 'sentub'.

³ s-m-wau-h-ny. Both *semuha* and *semua* are found in Wilkinson's dictionary (*Wl.* 1063).

⁴ t-r-l-alif-b-ya-h. *Pam.* 126: *talabieh*, 'terlebih'. *VDTo.* 347: *labieh*, 'more'.

akan anakanda baginda itu, tiadalah boleh bercerai barang sehari, demikianlah⁵ kasihnya akan anaknya itu. Maka diserahkan kepada mengaji kepada pendeta. Telah dapat mengaji lalu diajarnya main kuda dan bermain senjata dan pedang. Demikianlah kelakuan anak raja itu. Kelakian ia pun besarlah makin⁶ bertambah-tambah kasih juga⁷ ayah bundanya kepada Bahram Syah 2 itu.

Syahdan⁸ maka adalah kepada suatu malam maka Sultan Maharaja Besar itu tidur dalam astananya maka ia pun bermimpi. Dalam mimpinya datang seorang-orang tua⁹ kepadanya maka katanya, “Hai tuan, siapakah tuan ini?” Maka sahutnya, “Hambalah yang bernama wali Allah datang kepadamu. Bahwasanya aku lihat sampailah kebesaranmu dan kekayaanmu, tetapi adalah lagi yang tiada kepadamu, bahwasanya burung terlalu amat elok rupanya bernama burung *Marah* Jalin.¹⁰ Jikalau ia berkata-kata, berhamburan emas dan perak daripada mulutnya, jikalau ia bercerita, bersemburan intan dan pudi daripada matanya, jikalau ia mengirai-ngiraikan sayapnya dan mengipaskan ekornya, beterbanganlah¹¹ ratna mutu manikam¹² dari dalam hidungnya, bulu dada jernang-berjernang,¹³ bulu leher kerancu-bancu.¹⁴ Ialah permainan¹⁵ Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara,¹⁶ ambinan Tuan Putri Apalu Apala,¹⁷ anak Tuanku *Marah* Inda¹⁸ Sultan Jalil. Diamnya dalam negeri Gastu Gasta,¹⁹ kampung bernama Medan Suri, gunung bernama

⁵ d-alif-m-k-ya-n-l-h. Van der Toorn claims that *damikian* is used in written language only (VDTō. 160).
⁶ m-ya-ng-k-ya-n. Van der Toorn lists *mingkin* as a variant form of *mikin*, ‘more’, ‘the more’ (VDTō. 377, 380).
⁷ j-wau-alif-g.
⁸ sy-h-ya-d-alif-n. Pam. 206: *sabidan*, ‘*syahdan*’. Pamoentjak adds that the word is used primarily in the formulaic language of the Minangkabau *pidato*, a speech delivered at ceremonies and on festive occasions. Ms. 990: *sabidan*, ‘*syahdan*’.
⁹ t-wau-alif-h.
¹⁰ m-r-alif-h j-l-ya-n. *Marah* is used as a title for the nobility in the area of Padang; one inherits the title from one’s father (Pam. 151; VDTō. 373; Ms. 773). The name *Marah* Jalin occurs in the text also as Marjilin and *Marah* Jilin. On the title *Marah*, see also Ms. 163.
¹¹ b-r-t-r-b-alif-ng-n-l-h. KBBI sv: *beterbangan*, ‘to fly about’.
¹² r-ya-q-n-alif m-t-m’-n-ya-k-m. WL. 952: *rakna* is a variant form of *ratna*. KBBI sv: *ratna mutu manikam*, ‘all kinds of gems’.
¹³ j-n-ng b-r-j-alif-n-ng. According to Van der Toorn, *janang* is the Minangkabau equivalent of the Malay *jernang*. Both forms are found in West Sumatra: j-alif-n-ng and j-r-n-ng (VDTō. 119, 121). WL. 408: *jernang*, ‘dragon’s blood: a red resin found on a certain rattan, *Daemonorhops dracocellus*, and used in dyeing; also used medically’. See also KBBI sv.
¹⁴ k-r-n-c-wau b-n-c-wau. T. 558: *rancu*, ‘tangled’, ‘dishevelled’. WL. 77: *bancur*, ‘to mix’, ‘to shake up’, ‘to shuffle’.
¹⁵ p-r-m-ya-ya-n-n.
¹⁶ alif-m-b-r-wau alif-m-b-alif-r-alif. WL. 299: *embara*, ‘to wander’, ‘to rove’. WL. 299: *embaru*, ‘a kind of plant, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*’.
¹⁷ alif-p-l-wau alif-p-l-alif
¹⁸ alif-ya-n-d-alif. *Inda* is an honorific (WL. 424). Ms. 462: *indo*, ‘*Indra*’.
¹⁹ g-s-t g-s-t-alif.

Medan Unta Jalang, lurah bernama Tunggang Papan,²⁰ pulau bernama Sinawilan,²¹ kuala bernama Jurung Lalu, teluk bernama Tinggam Larik.” Itulah dalam mimpinya.

Maka ia pun terbangun lalu ia pikir dalam hatinya, “Di manakah burung itu?” Maka ia pun tidur pula, disangkanya datang juga orang yang dalam mimpinya supaya ia bertanya jauh hampirnya. Maka ia pun tidurlah sampai hari siang, tidak dianya bangkit. Maka permaisuri itu pun datang membangunkan, maka dianya tiada²² mau makan dan minum maka susahlah hati segala isi astana dan anakanda ketiganya pun membangunkan ayahandanya, tiada juga ia mau bangun. Maka segala raja-raja dan menteri, hulubalang pun datang- *3a* lah ke balai-balairung perhukuman maka dinantinya duli tuanku, tiada keluar. Maka segala raja-raja itu pun bertanya kepada Ghaisyah, “Ya tuan hamba Ghaisyah, mengapakah duli yang dipertuan tiada keluar ke penghadapan²³ karena kami ini hendak minta²⁴ hukum.” Maka sahut Ghaisyah, “Hai segala raja-raja, menteri sekaliannya, bahwa ayahanda tidur juga tiada mau bangun dan makan pun tiada itu pun, sekarang tuan-tuan nantilah dahulu supaya hamba persembahkan kepada ayahanda.”

Maka Ghaisyah pun pergilah ke dalam astana lalu ia menghadap bundanya, kata bundanya, “Apakah pekerjaan Anakku ini?” Maka sembahnya, “Ya Bundaku, adapun sekarang segala raja-raja, menteri, hulubalang ternanti-nanti di balai-balairung menantikan duli ayahanda hendak minta hukum.” Maka kata bundanya, “Hai Anakku, pergilah Anakanda bangunkan, barangkali ia mau bangun!” Maka Ghaisyah pun pergilah, maka sembahnya, “Ya tuanku, adapun segala raja-raja, menteri sekarang telah ternanti-nanti di penghadapan menantikan duli tuanku hendak minta hukum karena menjadi susahlah pekerjaan negeri ini. Jikalau tiada tuanku menghabiskan dia, bukan nama tuanku juga yang jadi yang sia-sia kepada negeri yang lain-lain?” Maka baginda pun tiada mau bangun dan berkata pun tiada mau, sekedar diam juga berkelubung. Maka berapa kali ditanyai anakanda, tiada juga mau berkata. Maka Ghaisyah pun turunlah, lalu ke balairung maka diteguri oleh raja-raja dan menteri, katanya, “Di manakah duli tuanku?” Maka kata Ghaisyah, “Ya tuan hamba menteri dan raja-raja sekaliannya, ayahanda tiada mau keluar hingga berdiam dirinya juga, dan sudah hamba katakan *3b* sembah tuan-tuan sekalian itu pun, tiada ia mau berkata.” Maka segala raja-raja, menteri, hulubalang pun masygullah hatinya, besar, kecil, dalam negeri Padang Silalatan, maka segala raja-raja, menteri pun pulang-pulang masing-masing ke tempatnya.

Setelah keesokan²⁵ harinya maka raja-raja, menteri pun datang pula ke balairung tempat perhukuman itu, masing-masing duduk pada kedudukannya. Maka dilihatnya baginda tiada juga keluar ke penghadapan maka susahlah hati segala menteri sekaliannya,

²⁰ *t-wau-ng-k-ng p-alif-p-n.*

²¹ *s-ya-n-alif-wau-ya-l-n.*

²² *t-i-alif.* *Tia*, a short form of *tiada*, is found several times in the text.

²³ *p-ng-d-alif-p-n.*

²⁴ *m-ya-n-t-alif*. Both *minta* and *mintak* are listed in Wilkinson (*WL*. 775).

²⁵ *k-alif-alif-ya-s-wau'-k-n.*

maka ia pun berkata kepada Aisyah, “Ya tuan hamba Aisyah, bagaimanalah bicara tuan hamba akan pekerjaan kami ini karena yang dipertuan tiada juga mau keluar, siapa kami minta hukum?” Maka Aisyah pun berkata, “Sekarang tuan nantilah dahulu, hamba coba pula membangunkan.” Maka ia pun pergilah ke dalam astana, lalu ke peraduan ayahanda. Maka ia pun menyembah, demikian sembahnya, “Mengapa juga tuanku beradu dan tiada makan dan minum karena segala penghulu, menteri, raja-raja telah hadir sekarang hendak menghadap seri paduka Ayahanda sebab karena pekerjaan dalam negeri sangatlah susah. Akhirnya Ayahanda juga yang beroleh kehinaan.” Maka kata ayahnya, “Tiadalah bicara kepadaku lain daripada itu!” Tiada ia mau berkata lagi, beribu-ribu kali tanya anakanda maka ia pun berdiam dirinya. Maka Aisyah pun turun dari atas astana, lalu ke balai-balairung kepada segala menteri, hulubalang, maka katanya, “Hai segala tuantuan, demikianlah titah seri paduka ayahanda, esok²⁶ harilah tuan-tuan sekalian datang bolehlah putus hukum ini.” Sekaliannya telah didengar²⁷ oleh segala menteri, hulubalang kata Aisyah demikian itu maka ia pun pulanglah semuanya *4a* masing-masing pada tempatnya.

Setelah sampailah tujuh hari baginda demikian juga, maka segala menteri, hulubalang pun berjalanlah, lalu ke balairung. Maka dilihatnya seperti dahulu juga, semuanya dukacita dalam kota itu. Maka kata segala menteri, hulubalang, “Apakah gerangan²⁸ yang dimasygulkan oleh duli yang dipertuan ini? Jikalau demikian, akhirnya tiadalah beroleh kebajikan atas negeri ini.” Maka datanglah segala menteri itu kepada Bahram Syah, maka katanya, “Ya tuan hamba Bahram Syah, bagaimana sekarang bicara yang dipertuan akan memutuskan hukum ini? Terlalu susah nian dalam hati kami sekalian ini akan pekerjaan duli²⁹ tuanku itu.” Maka sahut Bahram Syah, “Ya tuan hamba menteri dan segala raja-raja, sekarang baiklah hamba coba pula menjagakan, dan pada hati hamba pun demikian juga karena sudahlah sampai tujuh hari tujuh malam tiada juga ia bangun dan makan dan minum hingga berkelubung juga.” Maka ia pun turun daripada balairung itu, lalu ia ke astana menghadap ayahanda baginda, maka sembahnya, “Ya tuanku, apa yang tuanku masygulkan karena segala menteri rapat sekarang hendak menghadap seri paduka Ayahanda meminta hukum soal bantahan. Segala hulubalang dan segala penghulu sembahnya seri paduka Ayahanda juga. Seboleh-bolehnya hendaklah seri paduka Ayahanda memutuskan jua sekarang hukum sekalian mereka itu supaya makmur dan sempurna kebajikan nama duli seri paduka Ayahanda dunia akhirat kiranya. Jikalau ada maksud Ayahanda yang Ayahanda percintakan ini, *4b* bukanlah ada kami bertiga bersaudara karena sudah payahlah Ayahanda memelihara kami siang dan malam dari kecil-kecil sampailah besar, sekarang apatah gunanya kami ini bukanlah menolong yang kesusahan pada Ayahanda

²⁶ *alif-ya-s-wau*’.

²⁷ *d-ya-d-alif-ng-r*. *VDTo*. 153: *d-alif-ng-r, danga*, ‘to hear’.

²⁸ *g-alif-r-alif-ng-n*.

²⁹ *d-wau-wau-l-ya*.

dan mencari yang tiada kepada Ayahanda dan tiada terbalaskan oleh kami kasih Ayah Bunda itu, melainkan Allah subhanahu wa taala juga kiranya membalasi?”³⁰

Syahdan setelah baginda mendengar kata anaknya itu maka baginda itu pun segera lah bangun daripada tidurnya, maka katanya, “Apakah yang engkau katakan ini?” Maka sembah Bahram Syah, “Hai Ayahanda, bahwasanya segala menteri dan penghulu yang dalam negeri ini hendak minta hukum kepada duli tuanku. Dan lagi pula, apalah yang kiranya Ayahanda susahkan maka Ayahanda sentiasa beradu jua seperti orang yang lupa kepada Allah subhanahu wa taala?” Maka katanya, “Hai Anakku dan buah hatiku, jikalau aku katakan kehendakku itu, barangkali tiada dapat olehmu karena terlalu sangat besar percintaanmu.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Ya Ayahanda, mengapa Ayahanda berkata demikian? Apatah gunanya kami yang bertiga bersaudara ini melainkan hidup mati pekerjaan Ayahanda itu? Melainkan kami yang menanggung.”

Maka ayahnya pun segera³¹ memeluk mencium anaknya seraya katanya, “Hai Anakku, bahwa yang hamba masygulkan ini, pada suatu malam hamba bermimpi, katanya wali Allah itu, ‘Hai Sultan Maharaja Besar, sekarang aku lihat kepadamu sampailah kebesaranmu dan kekayaanmu, tetapi ada lagi yang tiada kepadamu burung bernama *Marah* Jalin. Sayap semburan air emas, bulu leher jernang-berjernang, bulu dada kerancu-bancu, jikalau ia berkata, berhamburan emas dan *sa* perak daripada mulutnya, jikalau ia bercetera, berhamburan intan dan pudi daripada matanya, jikalau ia mengipas-ngipaskan ekornya dan mengirai-ngirai kan sayapnya, maka berteburanlah ratna mutu manikam dari dalam hidungnya. Ialah permainan Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara, ambinan Tuan Putri Apalu Apala, anak Tuanku *Marah* Inda Sultan Jalil, negerinya Gastu Gasta, kotanya bernama Medan Suri, gunungnya bernama Unta Jalang, lurah bernama Tunggang Papan, pulau bernama Sinawilan, kuala bernama Embun Jati, ujung bernama Jurung Lalu, teluk bernama Tinggam Larik.’ Itulah mimpiku, hai Anakku, tetapi jauh hampirnya tiadalah di kabarkannya³² kepadaku dan aku pun tiada bertanya akan dia. Sebab itulah, maka aku terlalu lama dalam tidurku pada kira-kiraku jikalau kembali pula dalam mimpiku itu jika ada mudah-mudahan³³ jikalau wali Allah itu datang, boleh aku tanyakan jauh hampirnya itu, atau di masyrik atau di magrib atau di daksina³⁴ atau di paksina.³⁵ Itulah mimpiku, hai Anakanda Bahram Syah.”

³⁰ m-m-l-*alif-s-ya*. In Van der Toorn’s description of the Minangkabau language, he claims that the initial b- of the root is retained when it is preceded by the prefix *ma(m)-* (Van der Toorn 1899, 61). Contrary to his findings, the *SBS* features many instances where the initial b- is lost after prefixation with *me(m)-* or *ma(m)-*.

³¹ s-g-*ya-r-alif*. According to Pamoentjak, *sugiro* and *sagiro* are Minangkabau equivalents of the Malay *segera* (*Pam.* 226).

³² d-kh-b-r-k-n-ny.

³³ m-d *angka dua* h-m-d-*alif-h-n*.

³⁴ t-q-s-n-*alif*. *Wl.* 249: *daksina*, ‘south’.

³⁵ p-q-s-n-*alif*. *Wl.* 832: *paksina*, ‘north’.

“Sekarang pun bagaimana bicara Anakku yang tiga bersaudara akan pekerjaan itu? Jikalau bagaimana akal budi Anakku, asal dapat yang seperti dalam mimpiku itu. Bermula jikalau ada kiranya burung itu dijual orang, tantangan daripada harganya janganlah Anakanda susahkan. Atau hendak emas dan perak atau hendak intan dan pudi atau hendak mempunyai kerajaan dalam negeri Padang Silalatan ini pun jadi asallah dapat burung itu!” *sb* Maka sembah anaknya, “Ya Ayahanda, barang titah Ayahanda itu, anakanda junjung di atas batu kepala anakanda, tetapi berangkatlah duli tuanku ke balairung supaya senang³⁶ hati segala menteri, hulubalang itu.”

Maka baginda itu pun memakai pakaian kerajaanlah, lalu turun serta diiringkan Bahram Syah ke balai-balairung. Setelah sampai ke balai itu, maka segala menteri, hulubalang, raja-raja sekalian pun berlari-lari menyembah kaki baginda, lalu duduk pada kedudukannya masing-masing. Maka segala menteri, hulubalang pun bertanya halnya baginda itu, maka itu pun dikatakannya segala yang dimimpinya. Maka segala raja-raja itu pun heran tercengung-cengung seraya katanya, “Tiada pernah patik melihat dan mendengar pun tiada daripada nenek moyang kami sampai sekarang!” Maka baginda pun bertitah, “Hai menteriku, pergilah engkau panggil anakku Ghaisyah dan Aisyah!” Maka ia pun datanglah, lalu naik ke atas balai perhukuman itu, lalu menyembah demikian sembahnya, “Ya Ayahanda, apakah gerangan titah paduka Ayahanda kepada kami yang daif ini?” Maka titah baginda serta dengan air matanya maka diceterakannyalah mimpinya itu daripada awalnya hingga kepada kesudahannya dikatakannya kepada anaknya itu. “Jikalau tiada kuperoleh seperti mimpiku ini, niscaya tiadalah aku akan kekal dalam takhta kerajaanku, baiklah aku membuang³⁷ diriku mencari burung itu ke sana-sini. Jikalau ada juga lagi hayatku dalam dunia ini, tiadalah akan hilang dalam hatiku, melainkan lepaslah aku mati. Jikalau aku sudah mati, tiadalah terkenal lagi olehku.”

Setelah sudah didengarnya kata ayahandanya itu oleh anaknya keduanya itu, *ba* maka ia pun menangis. Setelah dilihat baginda anaknya menangis menengadahkan³⁸ air matanya, maka ia pun berkata, “Hai Anakku dan buah hatiku, mengapa maka Anakku menangis? Kasihkah³⁹ engkau akan daku?” Maka seorang pun anaknya tiada menjawab kata ayahnya itu, maka titah baginda, “Hai Anakku, mengapa engkau berdiam dirimu ketiganya?” Maka setelah dilihat oleh Bahram Syah saudaranya diam juga, maka ia pun berkata serta menyembah, “Ya Ayahanda, mengapakah Ayahanda berkata demikian? Jikalau anakanda tiada sebab kasih kepada Ayahanda, mengapa kami ini beperhambakan diri kami kepada duli seri paduka Ayahanda?” Maka kata ayahnya, “Jikalau begitu katamu, hai Anakku, pergi carikan olehmu seperti kehendakku itu supaya aku tetap dalam negeri

³⁶ *s-alif-n-ng. Pam. 212: sanang, 'senang'.*

³⁷ *m-m-wau-alif-ng-k-n.* The initial *b-* of the root is lost after prefixation with *me(m)-* or *ma(m)-*.

³⁸ *m-n-ya-ng-alif-d-alif-h-k-n. VDTb. 83: maningadab. Pam. 249: maningadab, 'menengadab'.*

³⁹ *k-s-ya-h-k-alif.* Several times *-ka* instead of *-kab* is found in the text. This form is not listed in any of the dictionaries or grammars.

ini!” Maka sembah anaknya, “Ya tuanku syah alam, jikalau kiranya dengan tolong Allah subhanahu wa taala dan berkat pangkat martabat duli di atas takhta kerajaan seri paduka ayahanda, sengaja kami junjung⁴⁰ di atas batu kepala patik. Jikalau kiranya Allah taala menolong hamba-Nya dan berkat doa seri paduka Ayahanda, melainkan kamilah akan mengusahakan⁴¹ daripada mencari burung itu seboleh-bolehnya, dan pertetaplah hati tuanku di dalam iman dan amal. Jikalau kiranya hayat kami yang tiga ini, janganlah seri paduka Ayahanda bersusah hati. Jikalau ada kiranya Allah taala kiranya ada memberi,⁴² tiada boleh segala makhluk melintangi. Jikalau Allah taala menahani, tiada boleh supaya dapat yang hendakku.”

Setelah didengar baginda itu kata anaknya demikian, maka **6b** ia pun berkata, “Hai Anakku, jikalau kiranya Allah taala menolong hamba-Nya dapatlah burung itu olehku, niscaya kujadikanlah Anakku raja dalam negeri Padang Silalatan ini dan memegang⁴³ wilayah⁴⁴ dalam negeri yang dua belas batang sungai itu.” Maka kata anaknya yang bernama Bahram⁴⁵ Syah, “Ya seri paduka Ayahanda, baiklah Ayahanda putuskan segala hukum yang diturut segala menteri itu. Akan perkerjaan Ayahanda itu, kamilah mengaku dia.” Hatta maka baginda pun memberi hukum yang adil atas yang berhukum itu. Jikalau hukum syarak, dihukum dengan⁴⁶ hukum kitab Allah. Jikalau kiranya hukum adat, dihukum baginda dengan hukum yang kawi dalam negeri itu. Setelah sudah baginda daripada menghukum⁴⁷ itu, adalah yang alah, ada yang menang,⁴⁸ maka sekalian mereka itu pun terlalu sukacita sebab khusumatnya⁴⁹ sudahlah habis. Maka ia pun bermohon, lalu pulang kepada tempatnya masing[-masing].

Hatta maka dengan takdir Allah taala adalah tiga hari antaranya maka baginda pun minta kepada anakanda yang tiga orang itu, “Hai Anakanda, bagaimana janji Anakku itu, melainkan hendaklah segerakan akan pekerjaan itu supaya senang hati ayahanda. Jikalau ada kiranya Tuhan menolong dipertemukannya seperti kehendak kita itu, seorang Anakku kujadikan khalifah akan raja dalam negeri ini, seorang kuberikan perempuan⁵⁰ itu istrinya dan hartaku semuanya, dan yang seorang kuberikan negeri yang dua belas batang sungai dalam hukumnya.” Maka sembah anaknya yang bernama Bahram⁵¹ Syah,

⁴⁰ j-wau-j-ng. *Ms.* 512: *jujuang*, ‘junjung’.

⁴¹ m-ng-wau-alif-s-k-n. Although the text reads *menguasakan*, the context, especially the combination with *seboleh-bolehnya*, points to a possibly erroneous transcription by the copyist of another word, probably *mengusahakan*.

⁴² m-m-b-alif-r-ya. *VDT0*. 44: m-m-b-alif-r-ya, *membari*, ‘to give’.

⁴³ m-m-ya-k-ng.

⁴⁴ w-alif-l-alif-ya-t.

⁴⁵ b-h-r.

⁴⁶ d-alif-ng-n. *Pam.* 49: *dangan*, ‘dengan’.

⁴⁷ m-h-wau-k-m.

⁴⁸ m-alif-n-ng. *Pam.* 149: *manang*, ‘menang’.

⁴⁹ kh-s-wau-m-t-ny. *Kl.* 434: *khusumat*, ‘quarrel’, ‘dispute’.

⁵⁰ p-r-alif-m-p-wau-alif-n. *Pam.* 178: *parampuan*, ‘perempuan’.

⁵¹ b-h-r.

“Ya Ayahanda, akan kata Ayahanda itu kami junjunglah *7a* seperti titah yang mahamu-lia itu.” Maka baginda itu segera menyurat buka⁵² khizanatnya baitulmal, maka ia pun menyerahkan⁵³ kepada anaknya emas dan intan dan pakaian dengan selengkapnyanya. Maka dianugerahkan baginda kuda seekor seorang dengan pakaiannya akan kenderaan anak-an-da itu.

Setelah sudah mustaid⁵⁴ semuanya, maka ia pun sujud pada kaki ayah bundanya, ma-ka ayah bundanya pun menangis serta memeluk mencium anaknya katanya, “Ya Anakku, bahwa aku serahkanlah Anakku kepada Allah subhanahu wa taala yang memelihara-kan Anakku, tetapi barang suatu pekerjaan, jangan Anakku lupa dan lalai!” Maka ia pun naik ketiganya atas kenderaannya, lalu ia bermohon kepada segala menteri, hulubalang. Maka sekaliannya dukacitalah, orang dalam negeri itu menangis sebab bercintakan Bahram Syah. Maka ia pun memacu⁵⁵ kudanya ketiganya, berjalan masuk hutan rimba belantara dan Selamat pun mengiring di belakang.

Hatta berapa lamanya adalah dua belas hari lamanya maka ia pun berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti. Adalah dua jam lamanya berjalan itu, maka ia pun sampailah pada suatu rimba belantara hening. Maka adalah tengah⁵⁶ jam lamanya, dengan takdir Allah taa-la maka ia pun bertemu dengan sebuah rumah seolah-olah balai-balairung peranginan, terlalu amat besar, panjang, adalah seratus dua puluh depa⁵⁷ panjangnya dan salapan⁵⁸ puluh⁵⁹ depa lebarnya. Bermula di kanan balai itu ada pula simpangan jalan sebuah, maka di ujung jalan itu di sanalah perigi terlalu amat dalam, adalah seratus dua puluh depa panjang tali timbanya. Adapun yang berbetulan di halaman balai itu maka adalah *7b* tempat jalan raya terlalu baik dan amat licin, terlalu panjang dengan lurusnyanya. Rupanya tiada berkeputusan dan tiada berkesudahan jauhnya. Maka anak raja itu pun berhentilah di sana ketiganya kepada balairung itu, maka Selamat pun segeralah ia mengambil air, lalu masak nasi dan kudanya diikatkannya kepada kayu dan serta memberi makan kudanya.

Syahdan maka Ghaisyah dan Aisyah itu pun bermain-mainlah pada halamannya ba-lairung itu. Bermula akan Bahram Syah itu ia naik ke atas balairung itu, lalu ia berbaring-

⁵² b-wau-k'. Klinkert lists *bukaq* and *buka'* as variant forms of *buka* (*Kl.* 208). *Wl.* 160: *buka'*.

⁵³ m-n-alif-s-r-alif-h-k-n. Although insertion of an -a- in words like *saperti* and *kursi*, forming respectively *saparati* and *karusi*, is commonly found in Minangkabau texts, the verb *manaserahkan*, found here instead of the expected *manyerahkan*, is not found amongst the examples given by Van der Toorn in the preface of his dictionary (*VDTö.* ix; Van der Toorn 1899, 61).

⁵⁴ m-s-t'-b.

⁵⁵ m-m-wau-c-wau. *Memucu* or *mamucu* occurs several times in this text. It cannot be found, however, in any of the dictionaries. Moussay gives *mamacu*, which, like its Malay equivalent, has the meaning of 'to spur a horse' (*Ms.* 834).

⁵⁶ t-alif-ng-h. *Pam.* 239: *tangab*, 'tengah'.

⁵⁷ d-alif-p. *Pam.* 51: *dapo*, 'depa'. *Wl.* 273: *depa*, 'measure of length represented by the span of outstretched arms'.

⁵⁸ s-l-alif-p-n. *VDTö.* 211: s-l-alif-p-n, *salapan*, 'eight'.

⁵⁹ p-wau-l.

baring serta ia memandang kepada atap⁶⁰ balai itu. Maka dengan takdir Allah taala ia pun kelihatanlah surat yang bergulung kepada atap itu. Maka segera diambilnya surat itu oleh Bahram Syah, lalu dibacanya, demikian bunyinya dalam surat itu, “Hai Bahram Syah, ketahui olehmu adapun jalan ini engkau turut sepuas-puas berjalan, maka bertemu jalan tiga bersimpang. Adapun jalan yang sebelah ke kanan itu, jikalau ditempuh, selamat pergi, selamat pulang. Adapun jalan yang di tengah pun, selamat pergi, selamat pulang juga. Adapun jalan yang di kiri itu bernama jalan Wallahu alam, tiada berketahuan dan tiada berkesudahan akan jauhnya.” Maka setelah sudah ia membaca surat itu, lalu naik ke atas balairung itu, maka lalu dibacanya pula surat itu oleh Ghaisyah dan Aisyah. Setelah sudah dibacanya surat itu, maka hari pun mamlah.

Syahdan maka keesokan harinya pagi-pagi, maka ia pun memacu kudanya, lalu berjalan. Bermula akan Selamat pun mengiring di belakang *8a* daripada membawa⁶¹ segala alat pakaianya. Ia berjalan itu tiada berhenti-henti, daripada suatu perhentian datang kepada suatu perhentian, daripada suatu anak air datang kepada suatu anak air. Berapa lamanya ia berjalan itu adalah kira-kira enam jam lamanya, maka bertemulah dengan jalan yang tiga bersimpang itu. Syahdan maka ia pun berhentilah ketiganya pada simpangan jalan itu, lalu turun dari atas kudanya. Maka Bahram Syah berkata, “Ya Kakanda keduanya ini, inilah jalan yang tiga bersimpang itu yang dalam surat itu, tiadalah bersalahan lagi. Sekarang pun bagaimanalah kiranya akan perjalanan kita ini, atau kita berjalan bersamasamakah atau kita berjalan masing-masinglah?” Maka kata Ghaisyah “Hai Adinda Bahram Syah, jikalau demikian, baiklah kita berjalan bersama-sama jua supaya jangan kita bercerai-cerai.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Sungguhlah kata Kakanda ini, akan tetapi terlalu susah sekali pada pikiran hamba. Baik jua kita berjalan masing-masing karena jalan itu tiga bersimpang. Jikalau kita turut ketiganya, salah satu akan bertemu jua insya Allah.”

Setelah sudah didengar Ghaisyah dan Aisyah akan kata Bahram Syah, maka ia pun berkata “Hai Adinda, siapakah yang mau menempuh jalan Wallahu alam itu?” Maka kata Bahram Syah “Hai Kakanda, jikalau Kakanda mau bermasing-masing berjalan, adalah yang mau menempuh jalan Wallahu alam itu, sekarang pilihlah oleh Kakanda jalan yang mana.” Maka sahut Ghaisyah, “Jikalau demikian, baiklah hamba menempuh jalan sebelah ke kanan karena jalan itu selamat pergi, selamat pulang.” Maka kata Bahram [Syah], “Hai Kakanda yang tengah, yang mana pula kepada *8b* Kakanda?” Maka kata Aisyah, “Aku pun demikian menurutkan pada jalan yang sama tengah karena jalan itu selamat pergi, selamat pulang.” Syahdan setelah didengar oleh Bahram Syah kata segala saudaranya itu, maka ia pun berkata, “Hai Abangku yang tua dan yang tengah, biarlah aku menurutkan jalan yang bernama Wallahu alam ini. Sudahlah dengan untungku. Jikalau kiranya Allah wa taala menolong hamba-Nya dan berkat doa segala nenek moyang kita, jikalau yang

⁶⁰ h-*alif-t-p*. *Hatap* is listed by Klinkert as a variant of *atap* (Kl. 1020). *KBBI* sv: *atap*.

⁶¹ m-m-b-*alif-wau-alif*?. Wilkinson lists both *bawa'* and *bawa* (Wl. 93).

panjang itu sekali-kali ia tiada mau pandak⁶² dan yang lebar itu sekali-kali tiada mau carik.”⁶³

Setelah sudah ia musyawarat⁶⁴ ketiganya Ghaisyah dan Aisyah dan Bahram Syah akan berjalan masing-masing, bertangis-tangisan⁶⁵ karena perjalanannya akan bercerai-ceraai.

II

Hatta dengan takdir Allah ceritera yang pertama. Maka Ghaisyah pun berjalanlah, ia memacu kudanya menurutkan jalan yang ke kanan. Bermula Selamat tinggal bersama-sama dengan Bahram Syah karena ia akan berjalan menempuh jalan Wallahu alam. Maka Ghaisyah itu pun berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti, daripada suatu perhentian datang kepada suatu perhentian, daripada suatu padang datang kepada suatu padang, daripada suatu rimba datang kepada suatu rimba.

Maka adalah kira-kira tengah tiga bulan lamanya berjalan itu maka sampailah ia kepada suatu padang yang mahalawas⁶⁶ dan kelihatanlah kerbau dan lembu dan kambing banyak pada tengah padang itu mencari makan. Maka Ghaisyah pun pikir dalam hatinya, “Negeri oranglah ini rupanya.” Maka ia pun berjalanlah seketika lagi, adalah satu jam lamanya berjalan itu maka ia pun bertemu *ga* pula dengan satu sungai yang mahaluas.⁶⁷ Maka Ghaisyah pun segera ke hulu sungai itu. Maka ia pun berjalan juga, sampailah ke dalam negeri. Maka ia pun bertanya kepada orang banyak itu, “Hai tuan-tuan, apakah nama negeri ini dan siapakah khalifah yang memegang wilayah perhukuman dalam negeri ini?” Maka kata orang itu, “Hai tuan hamba, adapun negeri inilah yang bernama Ulak Pasir Teluk Embun dan raja kami yaitu Tuanku Baginda Raja, itulah khalifah dalam negeri ini.” Maka kata Ghaisyah, “Hai tuan hamba, jikalau demikian, baiklah hamba persembahkan hendak menghadap duli yang dipertuan.” Maka kata orang itu, “Apalah akan⁶⁸ salahnya, sama-sama dengan hamba pergi menghadap ke dalam astana.”

Maka ia pun berjalanlah masuk ke dalam kota, lalu ke halaman astana itu. Maka perdana menteri pun bepersembahkan, katanya, “Ya tuanku, adalah seorang-orang hendak menghadap duli tuanku.” Maka titah raja itu, “Baiklah.” Maka Ghaisyah pun masuk, lalu menyembah maka segera disambutnya, lalu disuruhnya duduk pada kanannya. Bermula akan kudanya pun diikatkan oranglah di tengah halaman itu.

⁶² p-n-d-alif-q. *KBBI* sv: *pandak*, ‘pendek’. *Pandak* is also found in older dictionaries (*Wl.* 875; *Kl.* 715).

⁶³ c-r-ya-q.

⁶⁴ m-s-wau-r-alif-t. *Pam.* 155: *musawarat*, ‘*musyawarat*’.

⁶⁵ b-r-t-ng-ya-s - t-ng-ya-s-s-n.

⁶⁶ m-h-l-alif-wau-alif-s.

⁶⁷ m-h-l-wau-alif-s.

⁶⁸ k-n.

Syahdan maka kata raja itu kepada Ghaisyah, “Hai Saudaraku, tuan hamba ini datang dari mana? Tiadalah hamba lihat seperti istiadat orang yang berjalan seorang diri saja seperti orang yang berjalan, bersebab pada kira-kira hamba tak dapat tiada tuan hamba orang yang berbangsa juga. Dan mana negeri tuan hamba dan siapa namanya orang tua kita? Maka tuan hamba demikian rupanya dan lakunya karena sudah hamba lihat alamat yang mahamulia.” Maka kata Ghaisyah, “Ya tuanku, bahwasanya *gb* sungguh seperti titah tuanku itu. Adapun sebabnya patik ini datang ke mari ialah disuruh paduka ayahanda dari negeri Padang Silalatan namanya. Bermula kami tiga orang berjalan bersaudara maka ketiganya kami berjalan masing-masing, jalan yang kami turut ialah mencari burung yang bernama *Marab* Jalin namanya. Jikalau ia berkata-kata, berhamburan emas dan perak daripada mulutnya, jikalau ia bercerita, bertaburan intan dengan pudi daripada matanya, jika ia mengirai-ngiraikan sayapnya dan mengipas-ngipaskan ekornya, beterbangan ratna mutu manikam daripada hidungnya, bulu dada jernang-berjernang, bulu lehernya kerancu-bancu. Ialah permainan Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara, ambinan Tuan Putri Apalu Apala, anak Tuanku *Marab* Inda Sultan Jalil dalam negeri Gastu Gasta, kampungnya bernama Medan Suri, gunung bernama Unta Jalang, lurah bernama Tunggang Papan, pulau bernama Sinawilan, kuala bernama Jurung Lalu, teluk bernama Tinggam Larik.” Maka habiskanlah dikabarkannya oleh Ghaisyah kepada raja itu dan ayahnya bermimpi itu, semuanya dikabarkannya kepada raja itu, dan peri ia berjalan bertiga bersaudara dan bertemu dengan balairung panjang dan mendapat sepucuk surat dan bertemu jalan tiga bersimpang dan tatkala berjalan ia bercerai-cerai, semuanya habis diceriterakannya oleh Ghaisyah kepada raja itu.

Maka baginda pun berpikir dalam hatinya seraya katanya, “Ya tuan hamba Ghaisyah, tiadalah sekalian kami mendengar kabarnya itu burung daripada nenek moyang kami sampai sekarang, dan kabarnya negeri Gastu Gasta itu pun da[n] tuan putri *ioa* itu pun tiada pernah kami dengar, sungguh pun demikian kataku. Baik kusuruh panggil segala kapitan dan nakhoda besar-besar, barangkali ada ia tahu dan mendengar wartanya negeri itu.” Maka bentara pun segera memanggil nakhoda kapal, jung dan pelang. Maka ia pun datanglah, lalu menyembah kepada baginda itu. Maka segera baginda itu bertitah katanya, “Hai segala tuan nakhoda kapal dan pelang, jung, adapun tuan-tuan yang biasa berlayar adakah tuan-taun sampai ke negeri Gastu Gasta?” Maka berdatang sembah segala nakhoda itu masing-masing, “Ya tuanku syah alam, jangankan kami pergi ke negeri itu, mendengar pun baru⁶⁹ sekarang inilah daripada tuanku, dan daripada nenek moyang kami pun tiada berwasiat yang dalam kami yang banyak ini, tuanku.” Maka baginda kepada Ghaisyah, “Hai tuan hamba, bagaimana bicara kita sekarang pun? Sudahlah tuan hamba dengar segala kata nakhoda itu, melainkan baiklah tuan di sini dahulu sama-sama dengan hamba, menantikan kapal yang jauh-jauh datang, boleh kita bertanya kepadanya negeri Gastu Gasta itu.” Katanya, “Baiklah, tuanku.” Maka ia pun tinggallah di sana.

⁶⁹ b-h-r-wau. KBBi sv: baru.

Berapa lamanya ia dalam negeri itu bermain-main siang dan malam, sentiasa ia bercatur dengan orang kaya-kaya dan syahbandar,⁷⁰ maka Ghaisyah pun banyaklah kalah, maka habislah emas dan perak dan alat pakaianya dan terjuallah dengan kudanya. Syahdan dengan takdir Allah taala maka miskinlah ia Ghaisyah itu, sangat kepapaan daripada segala hamba Allah yang lain. Bermula makanan pun seolah-olah tiadalah akan dapat kepadanya lagi, maka ia pun berjalan ke sana-sini, *rob* ia mencari barang siapa mau mengupah barang sesuatu pekerjaan, jikalau barang siapa yang (yang) suka.

Syahdan maka Ghaisyah pun disuruh saudagar dalam negeri itu gembala⁷¹ kerbau dan lembu, berapa lamanya maka disuruh orang pula gembala kambing dan biri-biri, berapa lamanya maka disuruh orang gembala itik dan angsa. Demikian jugalah selamalamanya dengan siksa yang tiada tepermanai, dari sebulan kepada sebulan, dari setahun kepada setahun. Demikianlah adanya.

III

Alkisah maka diceriterakan oleh orang yang empunya ceritera ini bahwa Aisyah itu pun berjalan memacu kudanya tiada berhenti-henti, datang kepada suatu hutan dan rimba belantara kepada suatu hutan dan rimba belantara yang lain, naik gunung turun gunung.

Berapa lama antaranya ia berjalan itu, adalah tiga bulan lamanya berjalan itu, maka ia pun sampailah pada suatu padang, lalu terdengarlah kukuk ayam.⁷² Maka ia pun pikir dalam hatinya, “Negeri orang gerangan ini.” Maka ia pun berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti. Adalah tengah jam lamanya berjalan itu maka Aisyah sampailah ke tepi pasir pinggir laut itu. Maka hatinya pun terlalu suka, lalu ia berhenti dan memberi⁷³ makan kudanya, lalu ia berbaring-baring maka ia pun tertidur. Sampailah kepada malam hari tiada ia bangun, berkisar-kisar pun tiada karena daifnya.

Maka hari siang ia pun terbangun, maka ia pun duduk seketika, lalu ia berjalan memacu kudanya pada pinggir pasir itu. Berapa lamanya, adalah kira-kira dua jam lamanya berjalan itu, maka kelihatanlah rumah orang memutih seperti gelombang ditiup angin. Maka ia pun sampai ke sana, lalu berjalan jua. Maka dengan seketika lagi bertemu dengan sebuah kebun bunga *lila* berapa banyaknya. Maka Aisyah pun terlalu heran melihat daripada yang indah-indah, berbagai-bagai, terlalu ajaib rupanya dan perbuatannya. Berberapa pula sungai yang kecil-kecil dari pada sela-sela kebun itu, berbagai-bagai jenisnya

⁷⁰ s-h-b-n-d-r. *Pam.* 206: *sahibanda(r)*, ‘syahbandar’. *Ms.* 990: *sahbanda*, ‘syahbandar’.

⁷¹ g-wau-b-l-alif. *Gubala* is the Minangkabau equivalent of the Malay *gembala*, ‘keeper of animals’, ‘herdsman’ (*Wl.* 346, 347; *Pam.* 81; *VDTö.* 329; *Ms.* 427).

⁷² h-alif-ya-m. *Hayam* is found in the older dictionaries as a variant form of *ayam* (*Kl.* 1024; *Wl.* 403).

⁷³ m-m-r-ya.

tanaman,⁷⁴ kurma dan anggur,⁷⁵ delima⁷⁶ dan segala tanaman daripada tiap-tiap pagar celah-celahnya⁷⁷ kebun⁷⁸ itu.

Dan seketika lagi ia berjalan itu maka ia pun bertemu dengan bentara. Maka bentara itu seraya berkata, “Ya tuan, dari manakah tuan hamba ini datang ke mari?” Maka kata Aisyah, “Hambalah bertanya dahulu kepada tuan hamba, negeri apakah namanya ini?” Maka kata bentara itu, “Hai tuan hamba, inilah kiranya negeri yang bernama Timbun Gairah, di lembah bukit Gunung Lingga, kota bernama Silulidan, bandar bernama Silulinang, teluk bernama Talang-Talang, ujung bernama Sunting Parang, pulau bernama Simangkirang, dan nama raja kami Rajo Ange’⁷⁹ Garang, itulah raja kebilangan, ia sultan khalifah raja.”

Setelah didengarnya kata bentara itu, maka ia pun berkata, “Jikalau demikian, bawalah aku pergi menghadap baginda itu.” Maka ia pun pergilah menghadap baginda itu maka sampailah ke halaman astana itu. Maka kudanya diikatkan oranglah maka bentara pun berpersembahkan, katanya, “Ya tuanku, adalah seorang-orang baru datang hendak menghadap duli tuanku.” Maka kata raja itu, “Baiklah, suruh ia masuk.” Maka Aisyah itu pun masuk, lalu menyembah kepada baginda itu, lalu segera disambutnya, lalu disuruhnya duduk di kirinya. Maka titah raja itu, “Hai tuan hamba, dari negeri manakah tuan hamba datang ini dan hendak ke mana tuan hamba ini?”

Syahdan *ixb* maka Aisyah pun menceriterakan dari pada hal ihwalnya peri mengatakan tatkala ayahnya bermimpi tidur tiada jaga-jaga, dan peri mengatakan mencari burung *Marah* Jalin namanya ke negeri Gastu Gasta, dan peri mengatakan ia berjalan ke dalam rimba belantara dan bertemu dengan sebuah balairung yang panjang dan perigi yang dalam dan mendapat sepucuk surat dalam balairung itu, dan peri mengatakan tatkala ia berjalan bertemu dengan jalan tiga bersimpang dan tatkala ia berjalan bercerai-cerai tiga bersaudara. Maka sekaliannya habis dipersembahkannya oleh Aisyah itu kepada Tuanku Rajo Ange’ Garang, tiada bersalahan sedikit pun tiada.

Setelah raja itu mendengar kata Aisyah itu, maka dengan seketika itu juga raja itu menyuruh memanggil segala nakhoda kapal dan pelang yang besar-besar dan saudagar yang kaya-kaya. Maka sekalian itu pun berhimpun ke dalam kota, lalu ke⁸⁰ astana. Maka ia pun menyembah seraya katanya, “Ampun, tuanku.” Maka titah raja itu, “Hai segala tuan nakhoda yang besar-besar, adapun tuan-tuan sekalian terlalu lanjut perjalanan dan

⁷⁴ t-ya-n-alif-m-n. Pamoentjak gives *tinaman* as a variant form of *tanaman* (*Pam.* 248). *Ms.* 1180: *tinaman*.

⁷⁵ alif-n-k-wau-r.

⁷⁶ d-alif-l-ya-m-alif. *Pam.* 48: *dalimo*, ‘delima’. See also *Ms.* 292.

⁷⁷ c-l-alif angka dua ny. The context suggests that this spelling represents *celah*, ‘crack’ or ‘crevice’, rather than *cela*, ‘defamation’ or ‘lack’ (*T.* 123).

⁷⁸ k-alif-b-wau-n. *Kabun* is the Minangkabau equivalent of the Malay *kebun*, ‘garden’ (*Pam.* 91; *VDT0.* 271; *Ms.* 522).

⁷⁹ h-alif-ng-t.

⁸⁰ k-alif. *Pam.* 90: *ka*, ‘ke’.

telah banyak penglihatan⁸¹ sebab pergi ke sana-sini, adakah tuan hamba mendengar kabar beritanya burung yang bernama *Marab* Jalin? Jikalau ia berkata-kata, berhamburan emas dan perak daripada mulutnya, jikalau ia berceritera, bersemburan intan dan pudi daripada matanya, jikalau ia mengirai-ngiraikan sayapnya mengipas-ngipaskan ekornya, maka terseraklah ratna mutu manikam daripada hidungnya, sayap semburan air emas, bulu leher kerancu-bancu, bulu dada jernang-berjernang. Itulah permainan Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara, *12a* ambinan Tuan Putri Apalu Apala, anak Tuanku *Marab* Inda Sultan Jalil dalam negeri Gastu Gasta. Sebab itulah saudara ini datang ke mari mencari burung itu.” Maka sembah segala nakhoda dan orang yang tua-tua dalam negeri itu, semuanya berdatang sembah, “Ya tuanku syah alam, daripada patik sekalian sungguhpun lanjut perjalanan pergi ke sana-sini daripada sebab mencari kehidupan, demi⁸² Allah, tiada sekali-kali sekalian yang diperhamba mendengar kabar dan beritanya negeri yang bernama Gastu Gasta itu, ya tuanku, usahkan kami lihat, mendengar daripada nenek moyang kami pun tiada.”

Setelah sudah itu maka kata baginda, “Hai Saudaraku Aisyah, apalah bicara kita akan pekerjaan Saudara itu? Sekarang pun baiklah Saudaraku di sini dahulu sama-sama dengan hamba sementara menanti-nanti kapal dan pelang datang dari negeri yang jauh-jauh ke mari, dan hampirlah musimnya⁸³ sekarang ini, boleh kita bertanya pula kepadanya.” Maka kata Aisyah, “Jikalau demikian, baiklah hamba dahulu di sini sama-sama dengan tuanku.” Maka ia pun tinggallah di sana.

Berapa lamanya ia di sana, sehari-hari tiada yang lain pekerjaannya daripada berbuat pekerjaan yang melalaikan dan berpasang-pasang main alamat bertaruh-taruh maka habislah segala emas dan perak dan pakaian yang indah-indah sampai dengan kudanya pun habis terjual. Maka jadilah Aisyah itu diperhamba oleh raja dalam negeri itu maka disuruhnya mencari rumput yang muda-muda akan makanan kudanya. Demikianlah pekerjaan Aisyah itu diperhamba raja adanya, Wallahu alam bissawab.

IV

12b Alkisah maka tersebutlah perkataan Bahram Syah maka ia pun menempuh jalan yang bernama Wallahu alam namanya. Maka ia pun memacu kudanya, lalu berjalan. Maka Selamat pun mengiringlah di belakang Bahram Syah. Maka adalah kira-kira satu jam lamanya berjalan maka ia pun pikir dalam hatinya, “Apalah gunanya Selamat ini kubawa? Maka baiklah ia kusuruhkan kembali pulang memberi tahu ayah bunda supaya dianya segera tahu karena kami tatkala disuruhnya bersama-sama sekarang pun sudahlah

⁸¹ p-r-l-ya-h-alif-t-n. *KBBI* sv: *penglihatan*, ‘that which is seen’.

⁸² d-alif-m. *Pam.* 48: *dami*, ‘demi’.

⁸³ m-wau-s-ya-n-ny. *Pam.* 155; *Ms.* 802: *musin*, ‘musim’.

bercerai-cerai.” Maka ia pun lalu turun dari atas kudanya, katanya, “Hai Selamat, sekarang pun hendaklah engkau kembali pulang kepada ayah dan bunda, kabarkan seperti yang engkau lihat ini kepadanya karena kami tiga bersaudara tiada lagi bersama-sama, bahwa abangku yang tua ialah menurutkan jalan sambil ke kanan, tetapi selamat pergi selamat pulang, dan abangku yang tengah demikian lagi menurutkan jalan yang te[ng]ah, tetapi selamat pergi selamat pulang juga, dan akan aku menurutkan jalan Wallahu alam. Akan kudaku ini pun bawalah olehmu akan kendaraanmu. Kabarkanlah kepada ayah bunda suruh minta-mintakan aku doa kepada Allah subhanahu wa taala supaya sempurna dunia akhirat.”

Telah didengar oleh Selamat kata Bahram Syah itu maka katanya, “Ya tuanku, beta-palah kiranya rasa hati hamba menceraikan Mamanda.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Anakku, tiadalah mengapa, serahkanlah aku kepada Allah subhanahu wa taala. Jikalau tiada dalam dunia, dalam akhirat kita bertemu juga asal jangan engkau lupa.” Maka Selamat itu pun menyembah kepada Bahram Syah serta dengan tangisnya. Bermula Bahram Syah pun menangis 13a dan bertangis-tangisanlah keduanya. Setelah itu maka Selamat pun kembali pulang memacu kudanya dan Bahram Syah berjalan seorang dirinya tolak belaknglah orang itu.

Bermula Bahram Syah berjalan itu tiada berhenti-henti, berjalan dalam hutan belantara itu dan beberapa melalui bukit dan lurah dan gunung yang tinggi-tinggi dan rawang yang dalam dan beberapa melalui binatang yang buas-buas, itu pun tiada ia peduli,⁸⁴ melainkan ia menyerahkan dirinya kepada Allah subhanahu wa taala dan kepada ayah bundanya. Maka ia pun berjalan siang dan malam, tiada berhenti-henti, adalah kira-kira tiga bulan lamanya di jalan maka ia pun sampailah di tepi⁸⁵ padang tiada berhingga luasnya, dan padang itu terlalu licin. Maka Bahram Syah pun terlalu heran daripada melihat luas padang itu. Maka ia pun berjalan, lalu ke tengah padang itu.

Adalah satu jam lamanya, maka ia pun terlalu sekali lapar dahaga.⁸⁶ Maka ia pun memandang ke kiri dan ke kanan maka kelihatanlah seponon limau manis. Maka Bahram Syah pun memandang ke atas, dengan takdir Allah taala kelihatanlah buahnya sebuah terlalu masaknyanya dan yang lain buahnya pun tiada, bunganya pun tiada. Maka Bahram Syah memandang ke belakangnya maka kelihatanlah kayu sekerat, adalah sehasta panjangnya seperti dikerat orang rupanya. Maka diambilnya kayu itu oleh Bahram Syah, lalu dilantingnya maka jatuhlah limau itu ke hadapannya. Maka lalu diambilnya maka ia pun duduk seketika makan limau itu. Maka dikupasnya dengan rencongnya. 13b Maka yang pertama dimakannya limau itu terlalu pahit sekali-kali, maka kedua kali dimakannya terlalu masam sekali-kali dan ketiga kali dimakannya terlalu manis sekali-kali dan ke-

⁸⁴ p-r-d-wau-l-ya. KBBI sv: *peduli*.

⁸⁵ t-alif-p-ya. VDT0. 75: t-alif-p-ya, *tapi*, ‘bank’. See also *Pam.* 242.

⁸⁶ d-wau-h-g. According to Pamoentjak, *duago* is a variant form of *dahago*, ‘dahaga’ (*Pam.* 47).

empat kali dimakannya terlalu lemak sekali-kali. Maka rasanya itu berlain-lainan⁸⁷ dan manisnya seperti sakar dan santan. Maka Bahram Syah pun pikir dalam hatinya, “Adapun limau manis itu hanya empat lundang dan rasanya berbagai-bagai, apakah gerangan artinya?”⁸⁸ Maka Bahram Syah berkata sendirinya, “Adapun artinya⁸⁹ tiada lain adapun mula-mula pekerjaan ini terlalu sekali pahit dan masamnya, tetapi kemudian beroleh jua sempurna kebajikan dengan lemak manis, insya Allah taala.” Maka Bahram Syah (itu) itu pun berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti.

Maka adalah dua jam lamanya maka ia pun bertemu dengan perigi tiga sebanjar, terlalu baik. Bermula perigi yang di kanan itu terlalu amat banyak airnya dengan jernih dan perigi yang di kiri pun demikian, lagi pula banyak airnya. Bermula perigi yang di tengah-tengah sedikit pun tiada berair, hanya abu⁹⁰ jua yang ada dalamnya, dan apabila sumur yang di kanan itu melimpahkan dirinya, beroleh airlah ia dan apabila sumur yang di kiri itu melimpahkan dirinya, beroleh airlah ia. Maka Bahram Syah itu pun pikir dan heran dalam hatinya, maka ia pun berbicara sendirinya, “Adapun artinya sumur yang di kiri kanan itu adalah maknanya seperti orang kaya dan artinya sumur yang di tengah-tengah itu adalah seperti orang fakir miskin dan apabila dibukakan Allah hati orang yang bersedekah maka beroleh rezekilah ia. Demikianlah lagi segala pekerjaan, jikalau ada maksud yang baik, *14a* beroleh juga seperti kehendaknya, insya Allah.” Maka Bahram Syah pun berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti.

Berapa lama antaranya, adalah kira-kira dua jam lamanya berjalan, maka ia pun sampailah kepada bukit yang mahatinggi dan tinggal seperti sebuah pulau dan lurahnya terlalu amat dalam. Dan beberapa ratus pula banyak orang yang menggali-gali⁹¹ lurah itu ditimbunkannya jua ke atas bukit tanah⁹² penimbun kurang tinggi jua. Maka Bahram Syah pun pikir dalam hatinya maka ia pun bertanya kepada orang itu, “Hai tuan hamba sekalianya, mengapa sebab laku tuan-tuan seperti ini, adapun yang tinggi dipertinggi jua, yang rendah⁹³ digali jua?” Maka sahut orang itu, “Hai tuan hamba, adapun sudahlah dengan titah Allah taala yang demikian itu ke atas kami sebab durhaka kepada ibu bapak. Itulah kerja kami sampai hari kiamat.” Syahdan maka Bahram Syah pun berjalan jua tiada ia (ia) berhenti-henti.

Berapa lama antaranya maka Bahram Syah pun bertemu⁹⁴ dengan suatu kubangan di tengah padang. Adapun panjangnya kubangan itu adalah kira-kira dua depa, lebarnya

⁸⁷ b-r-l-*alif-ya*-n angka dua n-n.

⁸⁸ h-r-t-*ya*-nya. Both *herti* and *harti* are listed by Wilkinson as variant forms of *erti* (*WL* 399, 405).

⁸⁹ *alif-r-t-ya*-ny.

⁹⁰ h-b-*wau*. *WL* 385: *babu*, ‘*abu*’.

⁹¹ m-ng-l-*ya* angka dua. Here, the prefixation with *me(ng)*- or *ma(ng)*- causes omission of the initial *g*- of the root.

⁹² n-*alif-t*-h.

⁹³ r-*alif-n-d-alif*-h. *Pam.* 194; *Ms.* 938: *randah*, ‘*rendah*’.

⁹⁴ b-r-t-*alif-m-wau*. *Pam.* 236; *Ms.* 1135: *tamu*, *batamu*, ‘*bertemu*’.

pun adalah tengah dua depa. Maka dilihatnya oleh Bahram Syah kubangan itu berombak-ombak. Apabila (apabila) ia berombak itu seolah sampai ke udara dan apabila ombak itu mekar⁹⁵ dan memecah, maka adalah seperti tagar dan topan bunyinya. Maka Bahram Syah pun terlalu amat heran melihat kubangan itu berbagai-bagai lakunya, maka ia pun pikir dalam hatinya, “Apalah gerangan artinya maka kubangan ini berombak seperti laut?” Maka kata Bahram Syah dalam hatinya, “Adapun maka kubangan ini berombak karena tiada pernah sekali-kali dilihat manusia. Sekarang *14b* pun jikalau Allah taala hendak diperlihatkan kekayaannya yang tidak pernah dilihat itu, boleh dilihat mudah-mudahan.⁹⁶ Boleh pula dilihat seperti untung hamba ini jikalau kiranya hamba hendak mencari burung *Marah* Jalin, jikalau Allah taala akan memberi diperlihatkan kekayaannya, dapat jua oleh hamba.” Maka ia pun berjalan juga, tiada berhenti-henti.

Berapa lama antaranya maka ia pun bertemu dengan sebuah padang yang mahaluas, terlalu panjang dan rumputnya terlalu banyak lagi muda-muda. Dan kerbau pun terlalu banyak, di tengah padang itu beribu-ribu banyaknya dan kerbau itu terlalu kurus-kurus seperti kerbau lapar dan dahaga seolah-olah terbang ditiup oleh angin. Maka Bahram Syah pun terlalu heran daripada melihat kerbau itu, makanannya terlalu banyak dan kerbau terlalu kurus. “Apalah gerangan akan artinya dan alamatnya?” Maka Bahram Syah pun pikir dalam hatinya, “Bermula kerbau itu terlalu kurus bukan karena penyakit sebab karena lalainya karena kerbau itu di dalam kandangnya, mula-mula dilepaskan tuannya dari dalam kandang menjelang tengah hari, sampai ia kerbau itu ke tengah padang maka dilihatnya makanannya terlalu banyak, dalam hatinya kerbau itu, ‘Biarlah aku dahulu bermain-main, kemudianlah aku makan karena makanan terlalu amat banyak. Apalah yang disusahkan dan panas pun terlebih garangnya.’ Maka ia pun berhentilah kerbau itu pada tempatnya bernaung sediakala. Hatta maka hari pun petanglah maka tuannya pun datanglah daripada menghalaukannya⁹⁷ ke dalam kandang maka kerbau itu pun tiada lagi sempat kenyang⁹⁸ daripada makanannya sebab karena lalainya. *15a* Sekarang pun barang suatu pekerjaan, melainkan jangan dilalaikan!” Syahdan maka Bahram Syah itu pun berjalan, tiada berhenti-henti.

Berapa lamanya berjalan itu maka adalah kira-kira empat jam lamanya berjalan itu, maka Bahram Syah pun bertemu dengan suatu padang sedikit saja, tiada lebar dan pandak pula. Kemudian maka ia pun bertemu dengan kerbau terlalu banyak, beratus-ratus banyaknya. Berapa kali diburunya oleh Bahram Syah, tiada juga ia peduli. Maka disungguhinya juga ia makan di tengah padang itu, mengangkatkan kepalanya ia pun tiada mau dan tubuhnya kerbau itu terlalu gemuk dengan tambunnya. Maka Bahram Syah pun terlalu heran daripada melihat kerbau itu terlalu gemuk dengan tambunnya dan makanannya

⁹⁵ m-ng-k-r. *KBBI* Sv: *mengkar*, ‘mekar’.

⁹⁶ m-wau-d *angka dua* h-n.

⁹⁷ m-h-l-wau-k-n-ny.

⁹⁸ k-n-ny-ng.

terlalu sukar dan mahal. “Apalah gerangan artinya?” Maka ia pun berkata sendirinya, “Adapun sebabnya maka kerbau itu gemuk dengan tambunnya karena dilihatnya hanya padangnya sedikit jua, dalam hatinya, ‘Jikalau dipermain-mainkan memakan rumput pada padang itu, tentulah habis oleh binatang yang lain.’ Sebab itulah kerbau itu tambun dan gemuk karena tiada ia lupa dan lalai. Sampai pada petang hari maka ia pun berhenti. Kemudian tuannya pun datang membawa pulang, sambil pulang maka ia minum air. Demikianlah barang sesuatu pekerjaan niscaya janganlah dilalaikan, disampaikan Allah taala jua kiranya barang yang dimaksudnya.” Maka Bahram Syah berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti.

Berapa lama antaranya adalah kira-kira lima jam lamanya, maka Bahram Syah pun memandang ke hadapannya maka kelihatan seorang perempuan 15b datang kepadanya dan Bahram Syah pun datang pula. Di belakangnya anjing dan kambing seekor betina. Maka dalam hati Bahram Syah, “Baru sekaranglah aku bertemu dengan manusia, baiklah aku segera bertanya kepadanya.” Syahdan maka berapa lamanya perempuan itu pun sampailah kepadanya, lalu ia enyah⁹⁹ kepada kiri jalan, maka Bahram Syah pun enyah pada kanan jalan. Bahram Syah pun tiada mau menyapa dan putri pun tiada mau menyapa karena perempuan itu terlalu sekali baik rupanya dan terlalu indah, cahayanya gilang-gemilang, tiadalah dapat ditentang nyata. Bermula Bahram Syah pun demikian lagi, tiada boleh dipandangnya oleh putri itu. Maka ia pun sama malulah keduanya. Maka Bahram Syah pun berjalan dan putri pun berjalan.

Syahdan maka anjing dan kambing itu pun bersuara dan menyalak dalam tiannya. Maka Bahram Syah pun terlalu heran dalam hatinya, “Bagaimana aku tiada mau menyapa putri itu dan putri itu pun tiada mau menyapa, akan tetapi adalah anjing kambing itu menyalak anak dalam tiannya, apalah artinya?” Maka kata Bahram Syah itu sendirinya, “Bermula sebab putri itu tiada mau menyapa sebab malu kepada aku dan aku pun demikian lagi, akan tetapi dalam hati seorang-orang ada niat hendak menyapa, sebab itulah anjing dan kambing itu menyalak dalam tiannya. Sebagai lagi, tiada patut perempuan itu menyapa laki-laki dahulu, melainkan hanya laki-laki jua menyapa perempuan dahulu.” Maka Bahram Syah itu pun berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti.

Berapa lamanya adalah kira-kira enam jam lamanya, maka kelihatanlah dari jauh se-pohon kayu terlalu besarnya maka lalu diturutnya oleh Bahram Syah pohon kayu itu. 16a Maka adalah seketika maka sampailah kepada pohon kayu itu. Maka dilihatnya seorang-orang dalam banir kayu itu, lalu memandang jua ke atas kepada sidratalmuntaha.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ ny-ya-alif-h. *VDT*. 389: *nyiah, manyiah*, ‘to go away’, ‘to take to one’s heels’. *KBBI* sv: *enyah*.

¹⁰⁰ s-j-r-t-alif-l-m-n-t-h-alif-ya. Wilkinson’s description of the *sidratalmuntaha* is based on information from the *Bustan as-Salatin* and the *Hikayat Bahram Syah*. It contains a quotation from the *SBS* taken from Van der Tuuk’s *Kawi–Balinese–Dutch dictionary* (1901). This particular passage derives from Van der Tuuk’s own copy of the *SBS*: Cod. Or. 3317, the manuscript that is used for the current text edition (Van der Tuuk 1901, 302, 303). The *sidratalmuntaha* is the Lote-tree of Finality, “i.e. the Rhamnus-tree (in the Seventh Heaven) that shades the Waters of Paradise and beyond which neither angel nor prophet

Maka Bahram Syah pun heran melihat orang itu, ia pun heran dalam hatinya, “Bukankah ini hamba Allah rupanya, maka lakunya lain sekali daripada yang banyak.” Maka Bahram Syah terlalu *Marah*¹⁰¹ daripada melihat kelakuan orang itu, maka lalu dihunusnya pedangnya oleh Bahram Syah seraya katanya, “Hai orang yang gila dan mabuk, sekali-kali engkau tiada seperti kelakuan orang yang dalam dunia. Barangkali engkau iblis dan syaitan atau dewa mambang! Jika sungguh engkau laki-laki, marilah engkau, barang apa nafsumu datangkanlah kepada aku!” Maka Bahram Syah pun bermain-mainkan pedangnya lalu diturut dihampirnya seraya katanya, “Apalah yang engkau pandang ini juga ke atas, tiada engkau peduli disapa oleh manusia.” Maka kata orang itu, “Hai Bahram Syah, mengapa maka engkau berkata demikian? Bukanlah aku iblis dan syaitan dan jin dan dewa mambang. Ketahui olehmu akulah yang bernama malakulmaut, akulah yang terlebih mengetahui sekalian nyawa hamba Allah dan segala isi ketujuh lapis langit dan tujuh lapis bumi, aku ketahui semuanya dengan titah Allah taala.”

Syahkan maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai malakulmaut, tahukah engkau akan daku?” Maka kata malakulmaut itu, “Sahaja aku tahu kepadamu, negerimu Padang Silalatan, ayahmu Sultan Maharaja Besar, saudaramu Ghaisyah dan Aisyah, engkaulah yang bernama Bahram Syah.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai malakulmaut, apalah yang engkau pandang juga ke atas, kita berkata-kata ini engkau *rob* memandang juga ke atas.” Maka kata malakulmaut, “Hai Bahram Syah, ketahui olehmu maka apabila sampai ajal mereka itu anak Adam, maka daun kayu yang bernama sidratalmuntaha ia pun jatuhlah maka ia pun matilah.” Sungguhpun Bahram Syah berkata-kata dengan malakulmaut itu, pekerjaannya tiada lain melainkan memandang kepada sidratalmuntaha.

Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai malakulmaut, cobalah lihat umurku, berapa lagi ada tinggal?” Maka sahut malakulmaut, “Hai Bahram Syah, umur engkau terlalu panjang lagi aku lihat pada daun kayu itu, janganlah engkau susah, pertetaplah¹⁰² hatimu!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai malakulmaut, tahukah¹⁰³ engkau akan negeri Gastu Gasta itu?” Maka kata malakulmaut, “Hai Bahram Syah, ketahui olehmu, hai Bahram Syah, sanya¹⁰⁴ akulah yang terlebih tahu dalam ketujuh pangkat langit dan bumi, dari masyrik datang ke magrib, semata-mata sekalian, seperti orang memilik satu dirham¹⁰⁵ di atas tapak tangannya, demikianlah aku memilik-milik bumi dan langit ini maka dengan titah Allah taala.”

Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai tuan hamba malakulmaut, ceriterakanlah akan daku

can pass [...]. The tree is identified with the tree whose leaves represent the lives of men [...]. It is believed that on the night of the 14th Shaaban (malam baraat) this tree is shaken and the leaves that fall represent the lives of all who are doomed to die within a year” (*WJ*. 1104).

¹⁰¹ *alif-m-r-alif-h*.

¹⁰² *p-r-t-alif-t-p-l-h*. *VDTö*. 69: *t-alif-t-p*.

¹⁰³ *t-alif-h-wau-k-alif*.

¹⁰⁴ *s-ny*. *T*. 602: *sanya*, *bahwasanya*, ‘indeed’, ‘actually’.

¹⁰⁵ *d-alif-r-h-m*. *Pam*. 51: *daraham*, ‘dirham’.

sebelah mana negeri Gastu Gasta itu, atau di masyrik atau di magrib?” Maka kata malakul-maut itu, “Hai Bahram Syah, ketahui olehmu adapun negeri yang bernama Gastu Gasta terlalu sukar sekali-kali kepada engkau pergi ke sana dan terlalu jauh, dan jikalau engkau berjalan dengan kakimu kira-kiraku sampai kepada anak cucumu pun tiada juga akan sampai ke sana dan jikalau dengan perahu sekalipun demikian juga. Tetapi jikalau engkau terbang seperti burung yang mahatangkas maka sampailah engkau tujuh hari, akan tetapi terbang itu melambung tinggi *17a* adalah antara awang dan gemawang sebab menempuh rantau bahr laut api. Sebagai lagi, jikalau engkau terbang sama rata maka teruslah tiga hari dan negeri Gastu Gasta itu sebelah matahari mati itu jua. Di manalah engkau sampai ke sana?” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Maka mengapa tuan hamba berkata demikian? Jikalau dengan izin Allah taala Tuhan Rabulalamin, yang terlebih daripada itu dapat jua insya Allah taala. Jikalau dianugerahkan Tuhan kita, niscaya tahulah aku terbang. Melainkan barang dilanjutkan Allah subhanahu wa taala nyawaku dalam dunia ini, bahwasanya aku cari jua burung *Marah* Jalin itu.” Maka Bahram Syah pun bermohon, lalu berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti lagi.

Maka berapa lama antaranya adalah kira-kira tujuh jam lamanya berjalan itu, maka seketika lagi kelihatanlah oleh Bahram Syah satu kota terlalu indah sekali. Maka ia pun masuk ke dalam kota, lalu sampai ke halaman astana. Maka Bahram Syah pun heran melihat perbuatan astana itu terlalu amat indah rupanya maka ia pun menghampiri¹⁰⁶ astana itu. Maka dilihatnya pula halaman astana itu adalah seperti kaca warnanya hijau dengan lebarnya dengan licin dan pintunya astana itu pun habis terbuka, maka seorang manusia pun tiada kelihatan. Maka Bahram Syah pikir dalam hatinya, “Baiklah aku berseru-seru, barangkali ada manusia dalam rumah ini.” Maka ia pun berkata serta berseru-seru demikian serunya, “Hai manusia adakah dalam rumah ini atau jin dan syaitan, jikalau ada, marilah engkau turun supaya aku bunuh!”

Syاهدan setelah didengarnya oleh tuan putri itu, maka lalu ia berdiri dekat¹⁰⁷ pintu astana itu, lalu ia menyembah kepada Bahram Syah, “Ya tuanku, tiadalah *17b* hamba syaitan dan iblis dan hambalah manusia.” Maka segeralah tuan hamba naik ke atas astana, lalu duduk atas permadani yang keemasan dihadap tuan putri itu. Maka ia pun bertanya, “Ya tuan hamba, dari manakah kiranya tuan hamba ini maka tuan sampai ke mari dan beberapa tahunlah hamba di sini, seorang manusia pun tiada sampai ke mari, melainkan tuanlah yang ada sampai ke mari.” Maka Bahram Syah berceterakanlah tatkala ia berjalan mencari burung *Marah* Jalin dan peri mengatakan tatkala ayahnya bermimpi, semuanya habis diceterakannya oleh Bahram Syah kepada tuan putri itu.

Maka Bahram Syah pun bertanya pula kepada tuan putri itu, “Hai tuan putri, apalah kiranya nama negeri ini dan siapakah temanmu di sini?” Maka kata tuan putri itu, “Hai tuan hamba, bukanlah ini negeri hamba, tetapi negeri ini ialah tempat peranginan jin

¹⁰⁶ m-h-m-p-ya-r-ya.

¹⁰⁷ d-alif-k-t. *VDTö*. 158: d-alif-k-t.

Islam yang empunya dia, Degar Kilat namanya, itulah suami hamba.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Mengapa engkau bersuami jin itu dan di mana ia sekarang?” Maka kata tuan putri, “Ya tuan hamba, ketahui olehmu maka sebabnya aku jadi bersuami jin itu sebab karena gagahnya dan kuasanya, karena hamba ini ditawannya. Adapun negeri hamba ialah antara awang dengan gemawang dan nama bapak hamba Maharaja Mambang di Langit dan nama bunda hamba ialah Tuan Putri Mengindra Seri Bulan dan nama hamba ialah Putri Andam Dewi dan bangsa kami dewa simandam.¹⁰⁸ Maka berperanglah dengan Degar Kilat dan ayahanda pun alahlah olehnya, jadilah ditawannya hamba dibawanya ke mari. Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai tuan putri, bagaimanakah gagahnya dan kuasanya jin itu?” Maka kata tuan putri, “Terlalu sekali gagah dan kuasa. Sekarang dianda hendak mengalahkan segala raja-raja *ṛṣa* dewa dan mambang dan peri di udara ini karena nyawanya tinggal di sini. Ditaruhkannya di dalam satu buli-buli kaca maka disimpennya baik-baik, lagi dibungkusnya dengan perca yang kuning bercampur dengan biru. Itulah digantungkannya ke atas tulang bubungan.”

Setelah itu maka Bahram Syah pun segera memandang ke atas, maka kelihatanlah buli-buli kaca-kaca itu. Maka katanya “Hai tuan putri, betapalah gerangan karena aku hendak melihat nyawa jin Islam itu.” Maka kata tuan putri itu, “Bagaimanalah kita boleh melihat dia, niscaya habislah kita mati keduanya. Jikalau sedikit saja pun terbuka nyawanya itu, dengan sekejap mata saja ia badannya itu datang kepada kita.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai tuan putri, pilihlah olehmu mana yang baik, engkau daripada mengikut agama jin itu dan mau engkau mengikut agama Islam? Sekarang pun jikalau engkau mengikut agama jin itu, maka tak dapat tiada engkau masuk neraka dan jikalau engkau mengikut agama Islam, maka tak dapat tiada engkau masuk surga.”

Setelah didengar oleh putri itu kata Bahram Syah demikian itu maka ia pun pikir dalam hatinya, “Jikalau demikian, baiklah aku mengikut agama Islam itu!”, serta katanya, “Ya tuan hamba, sekarang pun samalah hamba dengan tuan hamba, tetapi tak dapat tiada kita dibunuhnya oleh jin itu yang bernama Degar Kilat itu.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai tuan putri, jangan engkau takut dan gentar karena aku hendak melihat yang tiada pernah dilihat karena umurku terlalu panjang. Sudahlah aku bertemu dengan malakulmaut di mana engkau tahu kekayaan Allah taala. Ambil olehmu nyawa jin itu, nanti sesaat!”

Maka ia pun mengasah pedangnya terlalu amat tajam, maka putri itu segera menutup pintu rumahnya semuanya dan angin pun tiada boleh masuk. *ṛṣb* Maka Bahram Syah pun menghunus¹⁰⁹ pedangnya dan bersigap¹¹⁰ dirinya maka lalu dipandangnya jua buli-buli itu, tiadalah pandangnya kepada yang lain. Maka putr[i] itu pun mengambil buli-buli itu serta dengan gementar tulang sendinya, maka dibawanya buli-buli itu turun ke bawah. Maka dibukanyalah perca yang kuning itu serta katanya, “Hai tuan hamba, ingat-

¹⁰⁸ *s-ya-m-n-d-alif-m. KBBI sv: surga.*

¹⁰⁹ *m-ng-wau-n-s.*

¹¹⁰ *b-r-s-ya-g-b d-ya-r-ya-ny. Wl. 1104: bersigap diri, 'to get ready for a fight'.*

ingat kiranya tuan hamba, pada hari inilah sampai gerangan ajal kita kedua.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai putri, janganlah engkau takut, lepaskanlah olehmu!” Maka putri itu pun segera membuka tutupnya buli-buli itu maka keluarlah nyawa jin itu, seperti kilat terlebih hangat daripada api, rupanya putih seperti seekor kucing hendak keluar mencari tempat yang terang. Maka Bahram Syah pun melompat ke kanan maka diperangnya sambil ke kiri maka nyawa jin itu pun penggal dua, lalu putus. Bermula kepalanya terpelanting¹¹¹ ke ujung rumah dan badannya terpelanting ke pangkal rumah. Maka dengan seketika itu jua Degar Kilat terjatuh dari udara seperti halilintar yang membelah¹¹² bunyinya di tengah halaman astana itu. Maka Bahram Syah dan putri itu pun terkejut keduanya maka ia pun segeralah membuka pintu astana itu maka dilihatnya bangkai Degar Kilat itu sebenarnya seperti timbunan bukit. Maka tertutuplah kota dan halaman itu oleh besarnya, maka bangkai itu pun bertambah kecil, tinggal seperti seorang manusia, demikianlah besarnya bangkai itu. Maka Bahram Syah terlalu heran daripada melihat bangkai jin itu.

Syahdan berapa lamanya Bahram Syah bersama-sama dengan putri itu adalah tujuh hari dengan sepatah kata yang jahat dan salah pun tiada, melainkan dengan kata yang sempurna kebajikan jua adanya. Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai tuan putri, sekarang *19a* pun berilah aku izin karena aku hendak segera berjalan daripada mencari burung itu, melainkan tinggallah tuan putri dahulu.” Maka kata putri itu, “Bagaimanalah hamba tinggal karena hamba hendak mengikut tuan hamba, jikalau hidup dan mati sekalipun hamba hendak bersama-sama dengan tuanku!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Bagaimanalah engkau bersama-sama dengan aku karena hamba berjalan ini tiada berketahuan, menempuh jalan Wallahu alam namanya.”

Berapa lamanya Bahram Syah berbantah dengan tuan putri itu, dianya tiada mau tinggal dan Bahram Syah tiada mau membawa, maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai tuan putri, lepaskanlah aku insya Allah taala! Berjanjilah aku barang dua tahun sampai aku ke sini, aku bawalah engkau sama-sama dengan aku asal umurku dipanjangkan Allah taala. Jikalau tiada demikian, mungkirilah aku kepada Allah!”

Setelah didengar putri itu kata Bahram Syah maka hatinya pun sukacitalah, maka katanya, “Ya tuan hamba, jikalau tuan hamba bertemu dengan burung itu, dengan apakah kiranya tuan hamba beli? Jikalau Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara hendak berjual, bundanya tiada mau, jikalau bundanya mau berjual, bapanya tiada mau. Jikalau tuan beli dengan emas dan perak, intan dan pudi sekalipun tiada dijualnya karena emas dan perak, intan dan pudi terlalu banyak kepadanya. Akan tetapi, ada yang tiada kepadanya. Pada kira-kira hati hamba, jikalau ada itu, barangkali maulah ia menjual burung itu.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Apalah kiranya akan pembelinya?” Maka kata putri itu, “Ya tuan hamba, ketahu

¹¹¹ t-r-p-wau-l-n-t-ya-ng. *KBBI sv: terpelanting. VDT0. 256: tapilantiang*. The spelling with the *wau* in the first syllable of the root is not found in any of the dictionaries.

¹¹² m-m-l-h.

olehmu adapun pembelinya itu ialah yang bernama kemala Ratna Suri yang memancar-mancar cahayanya itu.” Maka katanya, “Jikalau ada kiranya tuan putri *rgb* menaruh kemala Ratna Suri itu?” Maka katanya putri itu, “Jikalau kiranya ada tuan suka, apalah akan salahnya?” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Apalah kiranya beribu-ribu kali kiranya hendak hati hamba.”

Maka putri itu segera mengambil kemala Ratna Suri yang memancar-mancar cahayanya itu ke dalam peti yang besar, maka dibawanya ke hadapan Bahram Syah. Berbungkus dengan perca tujuh lapis, pertama dibungkus dengan yang hitam, hitamlah cahayanya, kedua dibungkus dengan yang hijau, hijauhlah cahayanya, ketiga dibungkus dengan yang merah, merahlah cahayanya, keempat dibungkus dengan biru, birulah cahayanya, maka dibukanya yang kuning, kuninglah cahayanya, keenam dibukanya bungkus yang ungu, unguhlah cahayanya, ketujuh dibukanya bungkus yang putih, maka putihlah cahayanya. Syahdan maka habislah ketujuhnya pembungkusnya¹¹³ itu, maka kelihatanlah rupanya kemala Ratna Suri itu yang sangat memancar-mancar cahayanya itu. Maka Bahram Syah pun mercalah ia dan pingsan,¹¹⁴ tiada kabar akan dirinya daripada sangat cahaya kemala itu.

Setelah itu maka disiram oleh tuan putri itu dengan air mawar maka Bahram Syah pun ingatlah akan dirinya, maka kata tuan putri itu, “Hai tuan hamba, terlalu sekali banyak kelebihan kemala ini. Ketahui oleh tuan jikalau seribu sekalipun jenis pembungkusnya maka seribu jenis pula rupanya dan cahayanya dan demikian pula beratnya kemala ini, jikalau kiranya ditimbang dengan batu *h-n-d-alif-h* dan paun¹¹⁵ dengan kuate¹¹⁶ dan kati sampai kepada pikul dengan bahara, sama jua beratnya. Demikian lagi, jikalau ditimbang pula dengan bungkal dalam dunia ini sekira-kira sampai kepada semiang, sama jua beratnya. Maka itulah kebesarannya kemala ini.” Maka *zoa* diambilnya oleh Bahram Syah kemala itu, lalu ditaruhkannya baik. Maka ia pun berjalanlah keluar kota.

Maka putri itu pun segera berlari-lari mengikut Bahram Syah serta katanya, “Ya tuan hamba, adalah hamba taksir dan lupa, kembalilah tuan hamba dahulu!” Maka Bahram Syah pun kembali kepada halaman astana itu. Maka diambilnya oleh tuan putri itu rambut di ubun-ubun jin itu tiga helai, maka tiga pula jenisnya rambut itu. Maka katanya, “Inilah pakai oleh tuan hamba akan bekal-bekal hidup. Ketahui oleh tuan hamba dan apabila hendak menerbitkan air atau hendak terang, maka cermukkanlah¹¹⁷ bulu yang putih ini dan apabila hendak mengeluarkan api, maka cermukkanlah bulu yang merah ini menjadi api bernyala-nyala dan apabila tuan hamba berkehendak kepada kelam yang sa-

¹¹³ p-m-wau-ng-k-s-ny.

¹¹⁴ p-n-s-n. *VDTo*. 261: *pansan*, ‘unconscious’. *Ms*. 866: *pansan*, ‘pingsan’. *KBBI* sv: *pingsan*.

¹¹⁵ p-alif-wau-n. From the English word ‘pound’.

¹¹⁶ k-wau-alif-t-r. From the English word ‘quarter’.

¹¹⁷ c-r-m-wau-’-k-n-l-h. *Cermuk* or *ceremuk* is not listed in any of the dictionaries. Both Von de Wall and Wilkinson list *cermak*, ‘to put a spell on a person’ (*VDW*, II, 15; *Wl*. 219). Klinkert gives *ceremek* with a similar meaning (*Kl*. 391).

ngat, maka cermukkanlah bulu yang hitam itu, niscaya hitamlah menjadi kelam gelap¹¹⁸ gulita dilihatnya oleh musuh kita. Maka tiadalah tuan hamba terhambat dan terlintang berjalan siang dan malam.” Maka segera disambut oleh Bahram Syah lalu ditaruhkannya baik-baik. Maka ia pun berjalanlah ke luar kota, lalu ia memandang ke belakang. Maka dicermukkannya bulu jin yang merah itu maka jadilah api bernyala-nyala berkeliling kota itu, maka jadilah kota dan astana itu berpagar api yang bernyala-nyala. Syahdan maka Bahram Syah pun berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti.

Berapa lama antaranya adalah kira-kira delapan¹¹⁹ jam lamanya berjalan itu, dengan seketika lagi maka kedengaranlah garangan dan ombak seperti ombak yang memecah¹²⁰ di tepi pasir dan memecah di atas karang. Maka berjalan jua ia, tiada berhenti-henti. Berapa lamanya maka Bahram Syah pun sampailah *zob* ke tepi laut, telah sampailah tiga hari tiga malam perjalanan maka Bahram Syah berhentilah di tepi pasir itu.

Berapa lamanya lalu ia berhenti di bawah pohon kayu, berbaring-baring lalu ia tertidur di tepi pasir itu, lalu ia bermimpi. Maka dalam mimpinya telah datanglah ayahnya Sultan Maharaja Besar kepadanya, demikian katanya, “Hai Anakku dan cahaya mataku Bahram Syah, mengapa maka engkau aku lihat sentosa dalam tidurmu jua? Ketahui olehmu ingat-ingat engkau berjalan kemudian harinya akan beroleh mara bahaya yang amat besar dan kesakitan menerbitkan darah dengan tiada sebenarnya, akan tetapi tiada sebab yang lain karena perbuatanmu jua sebab karena kesukaran tiadalah mengapa. Janganlah engkau lalai daripada memeliharakan dirimu! Bermula barang yang engkau maksud disampaikan Allah taala jua. Maka segeralah engkau bangun daripada tidurmu karena hari sudahlah siang!” Maka Bahram Syah pun bangunlah daripada tidurnya maka kedengaranlah kuau berbunyi berbalas-balasan maka hari pun sianglah. Maka ia pun memandang ke kiri dan ke kanan, satu pun tiada kelihatan. Syahdan maka Bahram Syah pun menangis cucur air matanya sebab bertemu dengan ayahnya dalam mimpinya sekejap mata saja.

Kemudian maka ia pun pikir dalam hatinya membicara akan mimpinya itu, “Bagaimana kata ayahanda demikian? Siapalah yang gila menganiaya dirinya?” Maka Bahram Syah pun duduk seketika, lalu ia berjalan di tepi laut itu pun, tiada berhenti-henti sambil memandang ke tengah laut itu. Sebuah pulau pun tiada melintang,¹²¹ melainkan angin dan awan¹²² jua yang mencengkam¹²³ berkeliling, hanya mega jua berbuah-buah. Maka

¹¹⁸ g-l-b. *KBBI* sv: *gelap*.

¹¹⁹ d-wau-alif-l-p-n.

¹²⁰ m-m-alif-c-h. Wilkinson lists *pacab* as the Minangkabau equivalent of the Malay *pecab* (*WL*. 858). See also *Ms*. 833.

¹²¹ m-h-l-ya-n-t-ng. *Halintang* is listed by Wilkinson as the Minangkabau equivalent of the Malay *lintang* (*WL*. 390). See also *VDTö*. 385.

¹²² h-alif-wau-alif-n.

¹²³ m-n-c-alif-k-m. *Pam*. 251: *cakam*, ‘*cengkam*’. *Cakam* is given as the Minangkabau equivalent of the Malay *cekam*; *cengkam* is a variant form (*WL*. 196).

Bahram Syah pun berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti. Maka *21a* kelihatanlah dari jauh ujung tanjung, ialah menganjur ke tepi laut. Bermula ujung tanjung itu (itu) adalah sepon kayu terlalu amat besar daripada segala kayu yang lain. Maka Bahram Syah itu pun berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti, mendapatkan pohon kayu itu.

Maka adalah satu jam lamanya berjalan itu maka Bahram Syah pun sampailah kepada pohon kayu itu, lalu ia berhenti di sana. Seketika lagi ia pun memandang ke laut itu, kelihatanlah pasir memanjang berjela-jela tiada berkeputusan dan tiada berkesudahan, satu pun tiada melintang, melainkan Wallahu alam. Maka Bahram Syah pun duduklah di bawah pohon kayu itu serta ia berpikir dalam hatinya daripada memikirkan lamanya meninggalkan negerinya dan menceraikan ayah bundanya, sampai pada zaman sekarang maka adalah kiranya tujuh belas tahun.

Maka Bahram Syah pun sangat lapar dan dahaga. Maka ia pun melihat kepada pohon kayu itu, maka dilihatnya terbit mata air menghilir¹²⁴ dari bawah pohon kayu itu, terlalu amat jernih dan mahalezat cita rasanya. Maka ia pun minum air itu. Setelah sudah ia minum, maka ia pun duduk pula kembali. Maka adalah kira-kira tengah jam lamanya duduk itu maka ia pun terlalailah seketika sebab ditiup oleh angin yang lemah lembut. Syahdan maka adalah Bahram Syah itu antara ia berbaring-baring adanya.

V

Alkisah maka tersebutlah perkataan naga yang amat besar dari dalam laut, ialah melingkar tasik Pauh Janggi. Bermula di atas pohon kayu besar itu ialah tempat garuda bersarang di sana. Maka adalah anak garuda itu dua ekor, ialah seekor jantan dan betina lagi kecil-kecil. Maka adalah besarnya anaknya itu seperti gajah yang tunggal dan bulunya belum lagi kembang, sekedar bulat-bulat jua. Maka naga yang besar itu pun dari dalam laut, *21b* ia mengangakan mulutnya, ia pun segera melancar ke atas pohon kayu itu karena ia hendak memakan anak garuda itu. Bermula kepalanya hampir kepada sarang garuda itu, pusatnya berbetulan dengan dahan tuanya dan ekornya naga itu di dalam laut jua. Maka ia pun hendak menelan anak garuda. garuda itu pun hendak lari, tiada boleh, lalu terkejut dan ketakutan. Maka hiru-birulah bunyi suaranya seperti guruh bunyinya dan pohon kayu itu pun bergoncang-goncang.

Maka Bahram Syah pun terkejut daripada tidurnya, maka lalu dihunusnya pedangnya, lalu ia melompat. Maka lalu diperangnya naga besar itu pun, putus lalu penggal dua. Maka naga itu pun matilah. Sebermula pasir itu pun berlobang-lobang dan air pada tepi laut itu pun bercampur dengan kersik sebab naga itu memutuskan jiwanya. Maka Bahram Syah pun memandang kepada atas pohon kayu, maka katanya, “Hai jin, syaitan, iblis yang atas

¹²⁴ m-ng-ya-l-ya-r. The initial h- of the root is lost after prefixation with *meng-* or *mang-*.

pohon kayu. Siapakah engkau, marilah turun, aku hendak mati bunuhlah aku. Jikalau tiada boleh, aku naik membunuh engkau!”

Maka dengan takdir Allah taala maka garuda pun tahu berkata-kata, demikianlah katanya, “Ya tuan hamba sidang manusia, bukanlah kami jin dan syaitan dan iblis, bahwasanya kami ini binatang, anak garuda.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai garuda, maukah engkau makan naga ini? Sudahlah ia mati, aku bunuh.” Maka kata anak garuda itu, “Hai tuan hamba, tiadalah kami boleh kuasa terbang karena bulu sayap kami lagi bulat-bulat jua, belum lagi kembang. Bagaimanalah kata kami turun memakan naga itu? Sekarang pun kami terlalu sangat lapar dan dahaga, bunda kami belum jua lagi¹²⁵ datang daripada mencari makanan kami.” *22a* Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Sauduraku, jikalau suka Saudaraku memakan naga ini, bukakanlah mulut-mulut!” Maka anak garuda itu pun membukakan¹²⁶ mulutnya. Maka Bahram Syah pun memenggal-menggal naga itu kecil-kecil, lalu dilontarkannya¹²⁷ dengan ujung pedangnya. Maka lalu disambut anak garuda itu dengan mulutnya, lalu dimakannya. Maka sekali lagi dipenggalnya pula naga itu, lalu dilontarkannya pula ke dalam mulut anak garuda itu, lalu dimakannya. Maka kenyanglah anak garuda itu keduanya. Maka ia pun tidurlah keduanya berdekat-dekat sebab kenyang. Maka Bahram Syah kembalilah ia ke tempatnya duduk itu.

Maka berapa lama antaranya anak garuda itu tidur, lalu ia bangun keduanya, lalu ia memandang ke bawah pohon kayu itu. Maka dilihatnya Bahram Syah itu bercahaya-cahaya gilang-gemilang rupanya, maka kata anak garuda itu sama sendirinya, katanya, “Sekarang apalah gerangan akan pembalasnya¹²⁸ guna manusia ini akan kita? Melainkan baiklah dianya kita puji-puji akan dia supaya boleh dianya suka kepada kita!” Maka anak garuda yang jantan itu pun memuji-puji Bahram Syah, demikian bunyinya “Hai tuan hamba yang gagah periksa lagi bijaksana, tiadalah berlawanan pada masa ini.”

Setelah sudah ia memuji Bahram Syah maka anak garuda betina pun memuji-puji pula, demikian bunyinya, “Ya tuan hamba manusia, barang dilanjutkan Allah taala kiranya umur tuan hamba selamat dalam dunia dan akhirat! Demikian (la) lagi, bertambah-tambah iman dan keridaan dan barang disampaikan Allah jua segala yang tuan hamba maksud dan rezeki pun mudah!” Setelah sudah anak garuda itu memuji-muji Bahram Syah, maka adalah waktu asar.

Syahdan maka garuda yang besar itu pun datanglah daripada mencari makanannya, lalu ia hinggap pada tempatnya di atas pucuk kayu itu. Maka pohon *22b* kayu yang besar-besar itu pun bergoncang-goncang dan segala dahannya dan daunnya seperti ditiup oleh ribut. Maka ia pun berkata, “Hai Anakku dan buah hatiku dan cahaya mataku keduanya,

¹²⁵ *l-alif-ya*. The Minangkabau word *lai*, ‘lagi’, occurs several times in the text (*WL* 638).

¹²⁶ *m-m-wau-k-k-n*. The initial *b-* of the root *buka* is lost after prefixation with *me(m)-* or *ma(m)-*.

¹²⁷ *d-ya-l-wau-t-r-k-n-ny*. Wilkinson gives *lotar* as a variant form of *lontar* (*WL* 706).

¹²⁸ *p-m-l-s-ny*. *KBBI sv: pembalas*. The initial *b-* of the root *balas* is lost after prefixation with *pe(m)-* or *pa(m)-*.

bukakanlah mulutmu, inilah makananmu aku bawa!” Maka anaknya keduanya pun tiada berbunyi sebab karena tidurnya sudah memakan naga itu. Maka garuda yang besar itu pun sangatlah susah, pada sangkanya sudahlah mati pula anaknya itu maka ia pun melompat dan bunyi suaranya seperti guruh dan halilintar bunyinya, maka katanya, “Hai Anakku dan buah hatiku dan cahaya mataku, sudahkah gerangan Anakku mati dimakan naga yang besar dari dalam laut itu?” Maka pohon kayu itu pun bergoncang-goncang seperti bergiligan¹²⁹ dan uratnya pun putus-putus maka anaknya pun terkejut lalu ia bangun.

Setelah dilihat oleh ibunya anaknya ada lagi maka ia pun turun mendapatkan sarangnya itu, maka katanya, “Hai Anakku dan buah hatiku keduanya, mengapakah Anakku tiada menyahut aku sampai dua tiga kali?” Maka kata anaknya itu keduanya serta dengan tangisnya, “Hai Bundaku, hampir kita tiada bertemu sebab karena naga yang besar itu dari dalam laut. Maka ia melancar ke atas tempat kita ini dan sarang kami pun hendak ditelannya dan mulutnya pun ternganga. Hendak menelan kami, seolah-olah dengan kayu ini rasakan ditelannya¹³⁰ sebab karena besarnya. Bermula ekornya lagi dalam laut jua.

Maka ada kiranya umur kami akan dipanjangkan Allah maka datanglah seorang manusia, maka lalu dipenggal-penggalnya naga besar itu, lalu mati. Kemudian dipenggalnya kecil-kecil naga itu, diberikannya kepada kami. Maka kami makanlah naga itu sepenggal seorang, itulah sebabnya maka kami terlalu tidur sebab sudah penuh perut kami. Bermula naga sepenggal 23a itu betul tinggal di tepi pasir berpulun-pulun dengan gelombang.”

Setelah itu maka ibunya pun berdebar-debar rasa hatinya sebab mendengar kata anaknya itu, maka katanya, “Hai Anakku keduanya, ketahui olehmu adapun ayahmu mati sebab dimakan oleh naga itu jua dan tujuh kalilah aku berbuat sarang dan Anakku sekalian habis dimakannya oleh naga itu dan berapa telorku dan saudaramu telah habis dimakannya.” Maka kata anaknya, “Hai Bundaku, mengapa kiranya Bunda sia-sia mengapa Bunda mengangkut sarang ke mari karena pekerjaan itu tiada pernah beroleh kebajikan sekali-kali, melainkan Bunda jua yang tiada berkira-kira dan tiada kepada buatan yang selamat sampailah kita ini binatang.” Maka kata ibunya, “Hai Anakku kedua, dengarkan olehmu dan aku ketahui baik dan jahat karena aku ini bundamu, melainkan terlebih tahuku daripadamu dan sebabnya aku ke mari bersarang karena sudah aku lihat semuanya kayu dalam dunia ini, tiadalah yang terlebih besar daripada kayu tempat kita ini. Jikalau kayu yang lain, tiadalah menderita¹³¹ dan tertahan tempatku bersarang, melainkan janganlah aku disalahi.”

Setelah itu maka ia pun diamlah garuda itu berapa lamanya maka kata anaknya kedua itu “Hai Bundaku, mengapa kiranya Bunda berdiam saja? Sungguhlah seperti kata

¹²⁹ b-g-ya-l-ya-ng-n.

¹³⁰ d-ya-t-alif-l-n-ny. Pam. 234: *talan*, ‘*telan*’.

¹³¹ m-n-d-wau-r-ya-t. Wilkinson gives *durita* as a variant form of *derita* (WL. 292).

manusia, 'Ialah pekerjaan seperti pahat: jikalau tiada ditukul, tiadalah makan.' Jikalau tua Bunda seperti tua cendawan,¹³² jikalau tiada diambil orang akan gulai niscaya sama lapuk dengan batang lalu terbuang. Demikianlah perkerjaan Bunda selamanya."

Setelah sudah kata anaknya demikian maka ia pun berkata, "Hai Anakku, apalah kiranya kata ini?" Maka kata anaknya, "Hai Bundaku, karena orang berbuat baik kepada kita, 23b dengan sepatah kata yang baik tiada Bunda balas. Itulah orang berbuat baik kepada kami, berbaring-barang di bawah pohon kayu itu. Baiklah jualah Bunda bertanya kepadanya jikalau ia dibuang oleh ibu bapanya atau orang sesat berburu, di manakah negerinya. Tetapi pada pikiran kami bukanlah orang itu barang-barang orang, melainkan anak raja besar juga. Alamatnya sempurna kebajikan, lagi pun gagah dan periksa yang tiada berlawan. Maka baiklah Bunda ambil bawa kepada tempat kita ini. Apalah gerangan yang dicarinya dan maksudnya datang ke mari?"

Bermula Bahram Syah itu tatkala garuda itu berkata-kata dengan anaknya sekalianya habis didengarnya oleh Bahram Syah itu. Maka segeralah bunda jemput¹³³ orang itu, maka ibunya terbanglah ke bawah lalu ia berkata "Hai Anakku dan buah hatiku orang yang setiawan dan lagi bijaksana yang sempurna akal dan beroleh kebajikan jua selamanya, maukah Anakku beribu kepada binatang yang hina ini?" Maka kata Bahram Syah, "Apalah akan salahnya, sekali Bunda hendak beranak kepada hamba, beribu kali kiranya hamba suka. Demikian lagi kiranya seperti untung hamba ini." Maka kata garuda itu, "Jikalau sungguh kiranya Anakku mau beribu kepada binatang ini, marilah kita sama-sama pergi bertemu dengan saudaramu. Maka berpeganglah Anakku kepada buluku ini!"

Maka garuda itu pun terbanglah ke atas kayu itu sama-sama dengan Bahram Syah, maka hinggaplah ke atas sarangnya. Maka Bahram Syah terlalu gentar mendengar bunyi sayap garuda itu maka Bahram Syah pun pikir dalam hatinya, terlalu sekali heran melihat besar sarang garuda itu dan beribu-ribu segala pohon kayu dan segala urat diangkatnya dan berapa pula manau dan ramban¹³⁴ 24a dan rambun¹³⁵ diperbuatnya akan sarangnya. Maka kira-kira hati Bahram Syah diukurnya dan dijangkanya adalah lebarnya sarangnya itu tiga kulak padi, maka ia pun diamlah. Maka kata garuda yang kecil itu, "Hai Bundaku, apalah kiranya kita berikan kepada saudara kami ini? Akhirnya matilah ia sebab karena tiada makan."

Maka ibunya pun terbanglah ia menyisi laut daripada mencari perahu orang. Maka dengan takdir Allah taala bertemulah dengan sebuah perahu, lalu disambarnya dan orangnya dimakannya oleh garuda itu. Maka dibawanyalah segala perahu itu dengan isinya ke atas sarangnya itu, maka katanya, "Hai Anakku, maka bertetaplah Anakku dan

¹³² t-n-d-wau-alif-n. According to Wilkinson, *tindawan* is the Minangkabau equivalent of the Malay *cendawan*, 'toadstool' (*Wl.* 1224). *Pam.* 248: *tindawan*, 'cendawan'. See also *Ms.* 1180.

¹³³ j-p-wau-t.

¹³⁴ r-m-n. Probably *ramban*. The Minangkabau *ramban-ramban* and its variant *ramban-rambun*, 'felled undergrowth', are listed by Wilkinson (*Wl.* 940). See also *VDTö.* 180, *Ms.* 933, and *Pam.* 194.

¹³⁵ r-alif-m-b-wau-n.

makanlah engkau!” Maka Bahram Syah pun makanlah dan minum. Maka garuda itu diamlah ia berapa lamanya, maka kata anaknya itu, “Hai Bundaku, mengapa Bunda tiada bertanya kepadanya apalah gerangan kehendaknya, apalah gerangan yang dicari, maka sampai ia ke mari?” Maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku, apalah kiranya Anakku cari, maka Anakku datang ke mari? Katakanlah kepadaku dan kepada saudaramu!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku dan Saudaraku keduanya!”, serta dengan air matanya. Maka dikabarkannyalah semuanya daripada ayahnya bermimpi sampai ia bercerai-cerai dengan saudaranya, habislah diceriterakannya kepada garuda itu.

Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku, adakah tahu Bundaku akan negeri Gastu Gasta itu?” Maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku, bahwasanya tahu aku akan negeri yang bernama Gastu Gasta itu, akan tetapi terlalu sukar pergi ke sana karena tiada boleh berjalan dengan kaki dan tiada boleh berjalan dengan perahu, sebagai lagi terlalu amat jauhnya. *24b* Jikalau tiada tahu terbang seperti burung, tiadalah boleh sampai ke negeri (ke negeri) Gastu Gasta.” Maka katanya, “Hai Bundaku, jikalau serta Bundalah terbang pergi ke sana, berapa lamanya maka sampai ke sana?” Maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku, dengar olehmu bahwa yang telah sudah kukerjakan terbang ke sana ke negeri Gastu Gasta itu ialah di seberang laut api, sebelah matahari¹³⁶ mati dan sebelah kiri laut api ialah tasik Pauh Janggi, dari sebelah kanan laut api itu ialah arus¹³⁷ sempoyong,¹³⁸ laut api rantau tuah tunggang ke bawah petala bumi. Jikalau kiranya hamba terbang melambung tinggi, teruslah tujuh hari, jikalau hamba terbang mendarat, teruslah tiga hari, jikalau hamba terbang merendah-rendah¹³⁹ niscaya sampai sehari, akan tetapi terlalu sangat kesakitan seolah-olah lupa akan diri sebab karena terlebih hangatnya lidah laut api itu. Tiga kali bulu dada hamba hangus dan kulit hamba pun layur, demikianlah siksanya, hai Anakku.”

Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku, jikalau ada kiranya mudah-mudahan Bunda terbangkanlah hamba ke seberang laut api itu.” Maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku, dengarkan oleh Anakku, bukan laut api itu yang bersakit jikalau terbang melambung dan terbang mendarat itu pun, demikian pula susahnya jikalau bertemu dengan pesakitan bulan dengan bintang samanya bintang, maka di sanalah hambangan sabung-menysabung. Bermula topan, halimbubu di sanalah selap-menyelap,¹⁴⁰ tiada berketahuan demikian lagi kilat, halilintar terlalu jadi. Maka bertambah pula azmat kelam kabut, tiada berketahuan dan sekalian anggota pun rasa bercerai daripada tubuh, demikianlah rasanya, hai Anakku!”

Syahdan berapa lamanya Bahram Syah itu di sarang garuda itu, adalah tiga hari maka Bahram Syah menyuruh *25a* menerbangkannya juga. Maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anak-

¹³⁶ m-n-t-h-alif-r-ya. *Mantari* is found in the Minangkabau language next to *matoari*. Pamoentjak also gives the expression ‘*sabalah mantari mati*’, meaning ‘west’ (*Pam.* 150). *Ms.* 770: *mantari*, ‘*matahari*’.

¹³⁷ h-r-wau-s. *KBBI* sv: *arus*. *Harus* is a variant form of *arus* (*Wl.* 400).

¹³⁸ s-alif-m-p-wau-ya-ng. *KBBI* sv: *sempoyongan*. *Wl.* 1063: *sempoyongan*, ‘giddy’, ‘stagging’.

¹³⁹ m-r-alif-n-d-alif-h angka dua. *Pam.* 194: *randah*, ‘*rendah*’. See also *Ms.* 938.

¹⁴⁰ s-l-b - m-ny-l-b.

ku, adalah pada bicaraku, lepaskanlah aku ke negeri Gastu Gasta itu, biarlah aku sambar¹⁴¹ Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara dengan burung *Marah* Jalin itu dengan astananya, kubawa ke mari asal Anakku jangan sama-sama dengan hamba niscaya tiadalah akan selamat karena bahaya terlalu banyak.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku, jikalau demikian, tiadalah Bundaku sampai beranak kepada hamba ini! Mengapa Bundaku hendak menyambar burung *Marah* Jalin dengan Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara itu? Karena titahnya seri paduka ayahanda sekali-kali tiada ia menyuruhkan daripada menganiaya, hanya pergi mencari burung itu. Sekarang pun tak dapat tiada terbangkan jualan hamba ke negeri Gastu Gasta, jikalau tiada sampai hidup, bangkai hamba pun sampaikan jua ke negeri itu!”

Maka kata anak garuda itu keduanya, “Hai Bundaku, baiklah Bunda turutkan seperti kata saudara kami itu, janganlah Bunda takutkan badannya akan mati itu, jikalau pinta jahat barang di mana pun tiada beroleh kebajikan. Maka sekaranglah gunanya itu kita balas, akan tetapi jikalau ia mati Bunda terbangkan atau jatuh ke dalam laut api itu pu[n], Bunda janganlah lagi hidup dan kami pun, Wallahu alam, tiadalah pula tentu sebab karena tiada dapat makanan karena belum tahu terbang. Jikalau hidup sekalipun, apalah gunanya? Maka hati kami pun senanglah sebab sama-sama mati kita keempatnya.”

Setelah itu maka kata ibunya itu, “Hai Anakku, jikalau demikian kata saudaramu, sekarang pun berilah bertanggung barang tujuh hari supaya boleh aku mencari makanan saudaramu akan kita tinggalkan.” Setelah itu maka ia pun terbanglah mencari gajah, maka lalu disambarnya gajah itu 256 tujuh ekor. Syahdan maka dibawanyalah kembali kepada sarangnya, maka kata anaknya, “Hai Bunda, belum lagi itu sampai bekal kami tinggal.” Maka ia pun terbang pula maka bertemulah dengan gajah tujuh ekor lagi, lalu disambarnya dan badak empat ekor dan rusa tiga ekor maka pulanglah ia kepada sarangnya, maka katanya “Hai Anakku, ambil olehmu bekalmu tinggal!” Maka kata anaknya, “Pada kira-kiraku sampailah ini.” Maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku Bahram Syah, berhasillah engkau, pagi-pagi hari kita berjalan. Jikalau kiranya ada untung baik, maka bertemulah kita dengan yang lemah lembut.”

Setelah itu maka hari pun malamlah maka Bahram Syah berhasillah daripada meng-hiasi¹⁴² belakang garuda itu akan tempat bermuatkan segala gajah yang tujuh ekor itu dan mencari kayu akan penampalkan gajah itu dan mengasah pedangnya dan keris dan rencongnya. Maka Bahram Syah pun berbuat akan bekalnya. Maka anak garuda itu pun menangihi Bahram Syah sebab ia akan bercerai itu, pada sangka anak garuda itu Bahram Syah itu mati juga. Maka dilihatnya anak garuda itu terlalu kasihnya akan dia, maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Saudaraku, janganlah kiranya disusahkan kita akan bercerai itu, melainkan adalah lamanya hingga setahun juga lamanya kita bercerai-cerai insya Allah taala, kembali aku ke mari mendapatkan Saudaraku keduanya, akan tetapi bunda da-

¹⁴¹ s-ya-m-b-r. *KBBI* sv: *sembar*, ‘sambar’. *Pam.* 218: ‘*semba(r)*’, ‘*sambar*’.

¹⁴² m-ng-ya-alif-s-ya.

tang menjemput¹⁴³ hamba, hai Saudaraku keduanya, pertetaplah hatimu karena umurku terlalu panjang karena sudah aku bertemu dengan malakulmaut di tengah padang yang mahalua.” Syahdan setelah sudah didengar anak garuda itu kata Bahram Syah demikian maka hatinya pun senanglah ketiganya.

Berapa lamanya maka hari pun *26a* sianglah. Bermula akan Bahram Syah itu pun menampalkan gajah itu ke atas belakang garuda itu serta kayu penampalkannya. Setelah sudah Bahram Syah itu berbuat maka garuda itu pun naiklah ke atas sarangnya, maka ia pun berkata, “Hai Anakku Bahram Syah, segeralah engkau naik ke atas belakangku, pertetaplah dirimu baik-baik, janganlah engkau lalai daripada memelihara dirimu!” Syahdan maka Bahram Syah pun melompat ke atas belakang garuda itu serta katanya, “Hai Saudaraku, tinggallah, hamba berjalan.” Maka garuda itu pun mengembangkan kedua sayapnya maka tertutuplah sarangnya yang lawas tiga kulak banir itu. Maka lalu ia terbang melayang berkeliling sarangnya tiga kali.

Setelah itu maka ia pun melambung tinggi, terlalu sekali tangkasnya, seperti kilat. Bermula mulut dan hidung dan telinga Bahram Syah sekalian bersuara berdengung-dengung, terbang itu tiada berhenti-henti, ke atas jua. Bermula gunung dan segala kayu-kayuan berbegarlah rupanya.

Seketika lagi terbang itu maka bertemu dengan angin siru-miru maka Bahram Syah pun berdiam dirinya, maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku, tampilkan olehmu gajah itu, aku hendak makan.” Maka gajah itu pun ditampilkannya, lalu dimakannya dan terbang itu makin tinggi juga. Maka Bahram Syah memandang ke bawah maka dilihatnya dunia ini adalah seperti talam besarnya. Maka hari pun malam dan terbang garuda itu tiada berhenti-henti.

Berapa lamanya dan hari pun sianglah terbang jua melambung tinggi. Maka bertemulah dengan angin puting beliung maka terbang garuda pun berputar-putar, edar kiri, edar kanan, sungsang-menyungsang¹⁴⁴ mata angin. Bermula terbang itu sampailah kepada antara awang dan gemawang, maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku, tampilkan olehmu *26b* gajah itu, aku hendak makan!” Maka Bahram Syah pun menampilkan gajah itu, lalu dimakannya dan terbangnya itu melambung tinggi jua. Maka Bahram Syah memandang ke bawah maka dilihatnya dunia ini seperti batil jua besarnya. Maka terbang jua ke atas maka bertemulah topan yang amat besar. Adapun bunyi sayap garuda itu terlalu keras seperti suara halilintar membelah dunia bunyinya. Maka Bahram Syah seolah-olah tiada kabar akan dirinya dan terbang ke atas jua.

Seketika lagi maka sampailah di sisi langit yang warnanya hijau, maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku Bahram Syah, tampilkan olehmu gajah itu, aku hendak makan!” Maka Bahram Syah pun menampilkan gajah itu, lalu dimakannya. Maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku Bahram Syah, sampailah kita tiga hari melambung tinggi, ingat-ingat engkau di

¹⁴³ m-n-j-alif-p-wau-t. *VDTö*. 116: *manjapui*. *KBBI* sv: *menjemput*.

¹⁴⁴ s-ng-s-ng - m-ny-n-s-ng.

atas belakangku, peliharakan dirimu, kita hendak terbang mendarat.” Maka garuda itu pun terbang mendarat dan mengembangkan sayapnya seperti topan bunyinya. Maka terbangnya itu tiada berhenti-henti maka bertemulah dengan angin yang bernama pancaroba. Bermula angin itu terlalu kerasnya, jikalau ia turun ke dunia, habis segala tanam-tanaman dan segala isi dunia diterbangkannya.

Maka garuda itu pun berkata, “Hai Anakku, tampilkan olehmu gajah, aku hendak makan!” Maka ia pun menampilkan gajah itu, lalu dimakannya. Maka garuda itu pun terbang jua, tiada berhenti-henti. Berapa lamanya antaranya terbang itu maka bertemu pula dengan angin yang bernama ambangan yang amat besar, ganda-berganda pula kerasnya daripada angin yang dahulu itu. Maka Bahram Syah seolah-olah pingsan, tiada kabar akan dirinya. Maka kata garuda itu “Hai Anakku, tampilkan olehmu gajah itu, aku hendak makan!” Maka ia pun menampilkan gajah itu, lalu di- 27a makannya. Maka garuda itu terbang jua, mengipas-ngipaskan sayapnya. Berapa lamanya antaranya terbang itu, sedikit tiada memandang ke kiri kanan, melainkan terbang mendarat jua.

Seketika lagi bertemu dengan angin Danglak-Dangli Suci Mati Kota¹⁴⁵ namanya. Maka Bahram Syah pun pikir dalam hatinya, “Selama hidup hamba dalam dunia, tiadalah pernah ditanggung yang demikian.” Maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku, tampilkan olehmu gajah itu, aku hendak makan!” Maka ia pun menampilkan gajah itu, lalu dimakannya. Maka ia pun terbang jua, tiada berhenti-henti. Seketika lagi maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku, sampailah kita tiga hari dan tiga malam terbang mendarat, sekarang pun ingat-ingat engkau, memeliharakan dirimu dan pertetap segala anggotamu dan betulkan marifatmu,¹⁴⁶ dan makan segala bekalmu karena kita sekarang hendak terbang merendah menempuh laut api yang besar dan seolah-olah tiada bertanggung karena aku terbang sekali ini adalah berlainan daripada yang dahulu, dan tiadalah kabar akan dirimu, dan kepada Anakku tiada hamba teringat!” Maka garuda itu pun terbanglah, tiada berhenti-henti.

Berapa lamanya terbang itu maka datanglah angin tiada berketahuan, berpusing-pusing dan hari pun kelam kabut. Terbang garuda itu tiada berketahuan, edar kiri, edar kanan. Maka jadi terbang garuda itu makin rendah jua maka sampailah kepada rantau bahr laut api itu maka bertambah-tambahlah hangatnya. Maka garuda pun terlalu lapar dan dahaganya maka katanya, “Hai Anakku Bahram Syah, tampilkan olehmu gajah itu, aku hendak makan!” Maka Bahram Syah pun menghunus pedangnya, lalu dipenggalnya dua gajah itu, lalu ditampilkannya. Maka dimakannya oleh garuda itu serta katanya, “Hai Anakku, bagaimana sedikit saja, tiadalah aku kenyang!” Kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bunda-ku, karena bangsa gajah itu 27b berbagai-bagai, ada yang kecil, ada yang besar.” Maka ia pun terbang jua, tiada berhenti-henti.

¹⁴⁵ d-alif-ng-l-q - d-ng-l-ya s-c-m-alif-t-ya k-wau-t. *Danglak-Dangli* is probably a local variant of *si Delak-Deli*, a name used for two different trees. *Wl.* 267: ‘name for *Memecylon* spp. and *Anisophyllea* spp.’

¹⁴⁶ m-‘-r-p-t-m. *Wl.* 743: *marifat*, ‘skill or wisdom generally’.

Bermula akan laut api itu makin bertambah-tambah jua hangatnya, jikalau sampai ke dunia ini niscaya mati kayu-kayuan dan seketika lagi, kedengaranlah suaranya mendidih laut api itu seperti topan dan halilintar dan seperti ombak yang dalam Laut Kalzum bunyinya. Dengan seketika lagi terbangnya itu maka kelihatanlah asapnya berpapun-palun dan bergubal-gubal, mendidih dan berbuih. Maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku, tampilkan olehmu gajah itu, aku hendak makan!” Maka ia pun menampilkan gajah itu, lalu dimakannya. Maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku, mengapa sedikit saja, sudahkah gerangan habis segala bekal kita?” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Ada jua tinggal.” Maka garuda itu pun terbang jua dengan habis-habis kuasanya.

Maka bertemulah dengan hambangan sabung-menyabung dan topan yang amat besar serta halimbubu, selap-menyelap sekalian angin. Bermula laut api itu pun lagi ketika¹⁴⁷ mendidih karena pada hari itu pertemuan bulan dengan bintang dan ombaknya pun mengalun seolah-olah sampai ke udara. Seketika lagi maka gelap dan gulita, satu pun tiada kelihatan. Maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku, jatuhkan olehmu gajah itu karena aku sangat lapar dan dahaga, tiada lagi menderita!”¹⁴⁸ Maka Bahram Syah pun terlalu sangat susahnyanya, katanya “Hai Bundaku, nanti sesaat lagi!” Maka garuda itu pun bersungguh-sungguhlah, terbangnya rendah jua. Maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku, bagaimana akal bicaramu sekarang? Tiada lagi aku berkodrat.” Bermula laut api itu pun bertambah-tambah hangat jua, maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku, jatuhkan olehmu gajah itu, aku hendak makan dan keringlah kerongkonganku¹⁴⁹ terlebih daripada yang dahulu!”

Syahdan kata Bahram Syah, *28a* “Hai Bundaku, nantilah sesaat¹⁵⁰ lagi!” Maka garuda itu pun terbang jua, akan tetapi bertambah rendah jua ke laut api itu sebab karena daifnya. Berapa lama antaranya terbang itu makin rendah jua maka hampirlah jatuh ke dalam laut api itu. Bermula ujung sayapnya sebelah kiri dan kanan pun layurlah hangus seperti ditunu dan bulu dadanya pun hanguslah, maka katanya, “Hai Anakku, ketahui olehmu sekarang pun matilah kita keduanya, jatuhkan olehmu gajah itu!” Maka Bahram Syah pun mengambil bulu raja jin yang putih itu, maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku Bahram Syah, ketahui olehmu sekarang tiada lagi aku berdaya! Pada hari inilah kiranya sampai ajal kita keduanya, terjatuh ke dalam laut api yang bernyala-nyala. Berilah aku makanan barang sedikit saja!” Maka Bahram Syah pun segeralah menyayat daging betisnya¹⁵¹ dengan rencongnya habis sebelah, maka katanya, “Hai Bundaku, bukannya mulutmu, inilah kiranya daging sedikit lagi tinggal!” Maka garuda itu pun memakan maka ditelannyalah daging betis Bahram Syah itu.

Bermula maka bulu jin yang bernama Degar Kilat yang putih itu, lalu dicermukkan oleh Bahram Syah maka seketika itu jua jadilah terang dan benderang sekalian alam ini.

¹⁴⁷ *k-wau-t-ya-k. Pam. 124: kutiko, 'ketika'. KBBi sv: ketika.*

¹⁴⁸ *m-n-d-wau-r-ya-t. Wilkinson gives both derita and durita (Wl. 292).*

¹⁴⁹ *r-alif-ng-k-wau-ng-n-k-wau. KBBi sv: kerongkongan.*

¹⁵⁰ *s-s-alif-ng-t.*

¹⁵¹ *b-alif-t-ya-s-ny. KBBi sv: betis. VDT0. 42: batih.*

Kemudian maka turun pula hujan akan garuda itu bertambahlah kuatnya terbang, dengan suka hatinya bermain-main di udara dan melemah-lemahkan sayapnya seperti orang menari dan seperti elang¹⁵² berbegar menyungsang¹⁵³ angin dan matanya pun teperling-perling, lalu memandang ke bawah.

Syahdan kelihatanlah negeri yang bernama Gastu Gasta itu adalah hampirnya mengirap-ngirap pasir. Maka garuda itu pun mengempitkan sayapnya keduanya, lalu terbang ke bawah. Dengan seketika lagi maka garuda itu pun sampailah ke tepi pasir, lalu hinggap. Bermula pasir tempatnya berdiri itu pun berserak segala karang *28b* dan sarap¹⁵⁴ pun habis beterbangan dan kersik pun seperti disapu, maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku Bahram Syah, segeralah engkau turun, sudahlah kita sampai ke negeri Gastu Gasta!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku, nantilah sesaat!” Maka garuda itu pun diamlah maka berapa lamanya garuda itu menantikan, tiada jua Bahram Syah mau turun dari atas belakangnya, maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku Bahram Syah, mengapa engkau tiada mau turun dari atas belakangku? Apalah pekerjaanmu lagi sekarang lapar dan dahaga anakku atau peningkah Anakku?” Maka kata Bahram Syah “Hai Bundaku, ketahui olehmu, adapun tatkala kita terbang daripada menempuh laut api itu maka di sanalah habis segala gajah perbekalan kita. Pada masa itu Bunda pun tiada lagi berkodrat, terlalu daifnya sebab karena menanggung siksa daripada hangat laut api itu. Maka pikirlah dalam hati hamba, ‘jikalau bunda mati, hilanglah kita keduanya dan jikalau hamba mati, boleh bunda mengambil membawa mayat hamba ke tanah daratan.’ Maka hamba sayatlah daging betis hamba yang sebelah kiri, habislah ialah hamba berikan kepada Bunda. Maka lalu Bunda telan dan sekarang pun bagaimanalah lagi hamba turun, sudahlah lumpuh.”

Setelah didengar garuda itu kata Bahram Syah maka ia pun melenggangkan dirinya maka Bahram Syah pun jatuhlah dari atas belakangnya, lalu terduduk, tiada dapat berdiri lagi. Maka garuda itu pun menangis, lalu dimuntahkannya daging betis Bahram Syah itu. Maka dengan izin Allah taala, maka daging itu pun keluarlah dari dalam perutnya bercampur dengan bangkai segala gajah itu. Maka garuda itu pun memilih daging betis Bahram Syah dalam bangkai gajah itu *29a* maka daging itu pun dapatlah, lalu dicucinya baik-baik. Kemudian maka dikembalikannya dagingnya itu kepada betisnya maka dengan kodrat Allah taala maka bertemu seperti yang dahulu kala, satu pun tiada celanya.

Maka ia pun segera berdiri maka disapunyalah Bahram Syah itu dengan sayapnya, lalu ia berkata, “Ya Anakku Bahram Syah, aku hendak kembali karena saudaramu sudah lama tinggal, tetapi apabila engkau hendak ke negeri Gastu Gasta, maka turutkanlah jalan ini, tiadalah bersimpang-simpang, inilah jalan besar sentiasa orang lalu, tiada berputus. Maka adalah kira-kira tengah jam di jalan sampailah Anakku kepada yang bernama Tinggam

¹⁵² h-l-ng. *VDTo.* 10: *alang* IV, ‘elang’. *Pam.* 36: *alang babega*, ‘name of a kind of dance where the dancer circles like a circling eagle’.

¹⁵³ m-ny-wau-n-s-n. *KBB1* sv: *menyungsang*.

¹⁵⁴ s-r-alif**b**.

Larik. Di tepi pasir kelihatanlah kuala Embun Jati, jikalau Anakku memandang ke laut, maka kelihatanlah pulau Sinawilan. Apabila Anakku berjalan, lalu menempuh rumah orang dan pasar, tiada lagi lama maka bertemu jalan dua bersimpang, ke kanan jalan ke dalam kota Gastu Gasta, di kiri ke Kebun Bunga Nenek Kebayan. Tetapi baik juga Anakku ke rumah Nenek Kebayan dahulu karena orang tua itu anaknya baru mati seperti Anakkulah besarnya dan terlebih kasihnya kepadamu. Sekarang pun ambil olehmu bulu ubun-ubunku barang sehelai dan taruhkan baik-baik dan apabila barang suatu pekerjaan yang tiada terbicarakan atau baik dan jahat, maka ambil olehmu panggang sedikit dan apabila berasaplah sedikit, maka segeralah aku tahu. Maka diambil olehmu, Bahram Syah, bulu garuda itu, lalu disimpannya baik-baik!” Maka garuda itu pun terbanglah seraya katanya, “Tinggallah Anakku dahulu, aku hendak terbang!” Bermula Bahram Syah pun tolak belaknglah dengan garuda itu, maka Bahram Syah itu pun berjalanlah, tiada berhenti-henti, daripada *zgb* suatu rimba, datang kepada suatu rimba, daripada suatu padang, datang kepada suatu padang.

Berapa lamanya berjalan itu maka adalah tengah jam lamanya maka sampailah ia ke pinggir pasir itu, maka Bahram Syah itu pun berhenti seketika sambil berangin-angin. Maka ia pun memandang kepada pasir panjang itu maka kelihatanlah terbambang kuala Embun Jati.

Maka ia pun berjalan jua, berapa lamanya maka dekatlah kepada kuala itu. Maka kelihatanlah kapal yang besar-besar, beratus-ratus, dan perahu yang kecil-kecil. Jangan dikata lagi sebab karena bandar terlalu ramai dan saudagar yang besar-besar terlalu amat banyak daripada jual beli sehari-hari dari banyaknya bangsa hamba Allah datang ke sana. Maka Bahram Syah pun berjalan, seorang pun tiada menyapa Bahram Syah itu, maka ia pun pikir dalam hatinya, “Tiadalah lagi negeri yang terlebih besar daripada negeri Gastu Gasta ini!” Maka ia pun berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti. Maka sampailah ia kepada jalan dua bersimpang maka diturutkannya adalah jalan yang sambil ke kiri pada kampung Nenek Kebayan di Kebun Bunga. Maka dilihat oleh Bahram Syah indahnya kebun itu, terlalu indah-indah sekali-kali, perbuatannya beribu-ribu jenisnya, bunga berbagai-bagai rupanya dalam kebun itu dan pagarnya tujuh lapis daripada puding berlain-lainan rupanya dan sama tinggi saja dan beberapa buah-buahan daripada kurma dan anggur dan zabib, delima, berbagai-bagai rupanya.

Maka Bahram Syah pun berjalan jua, dengan seketika lagi maka ia pun sampailah pada halaman Nenek Kebayan. Maka Bahram Syah pun berhentilah di halaman itu, berdiri. Seketika lagi maka segala bunyi-bunyian pun berbunyiilah sendirinya, segala rebab¹⁵⁵ dan

¹⁵⁵ h-r-b-b. Wilkinson gives both *harbab* and *rebab* (*WL*. 397).

kecapi,¹⁵⁶ serunai dan bangsi dan sangkadu,¹⁵⁷ *30a* terlalu ramai bunyinya dan segala burung merak¹⁵⁸ dan bayan dan nuri semuanya mengigal-igal serta dengan kesukaannya.

Syahdan maka terkejutlah sekalian orang yang dalam rumah itu. Bermula Nenek Kebayan pun berdirilah, lalu memandang ke halaman. Maka dilihatnya orang-seorang berhenti pada halamannya, terlalu indah-indah rupanya, gilang-gemilang cahayanya dan rupanya adalah seperti anaknya yang bernama Medan Khayali. Maka ia pun menangis maka Nenek Kebayan segera turun ke bawah mendapatkan Bahram Syah, lalu diribanya dan dicuminya serta dengan tangisnya yang amat sangat, katanya “Hai Anakku dan buah hatiku dan cahaya mataku, maka sudahlah kiranya hidup Anakku!” Maka ia pun berkata, “Segala dayang-dayang yang dalam astana itu, sekarang hiasilah astana kita ini dengan selengkapnya!”

Bermula anjung perak dan anjung suasa keduanya pun dihiasi. Maka segala bedak dan langir dihasilkan semuanya serta dengan selengkapnya maka diperbuat ke dalam mundam emas maka dibawa oranglah ke dalam kolam Bahram Syah itu, lalu mandi serta berlangir dan berkasai, diiringkan oleh segala dayang-dayang.

Setelah selesailah mandi itu maka Bahram Syah pun pulang ke astana, lalu naik sekali, lalu didudukkan di atas permadani yang keemasan itu, dihadap segala orang yang dalam astana. Maka segala orang yang menghadap itu pun semuanya sukacita dan bersuka-sukaan, makan dan minum. Bermula akan Nenek Kebayan itu pun bertambah-tambah kasihnya kepada Bahram Syah.

Syahdan berapa lamanya Bahram Syah itu dalam kesukaan jua, siang dan malam dalam rumah Nenek Kebayan. Maka adalah kira-kira adalah tujuh hari bermain bersuka-sukaan siang dan malam dalam rumah itu, memungut bunga, dengan *30b* demikianlah perbuatannya di sana.

Berapa lamanya maka hari pun malamlah, maka Bahram Syah pun berkata, “Hai Bundaku, adapun hamba di sini adalah tujuh hari lamanya bersama-sama dengan Bunda dalam astana ini dan di mana segala bunyi-bunyian sehari-hari berbunyi juga tiada berhenti-henti?” Maka kata bundanya, “Hai Anakku, itulah kota yang bernama Gastu Gasta.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku, siapalah namanya raja dalam negeri itu dan berapa banyak di bawah perintahnya segala negeri?” Maka kata Nenek Kebayan, “Hai Anakku, itulah raja yang amat besar lagi adil dengan murahnyanya dan namanya Tuan Anku *Marah* Inda Sultan Jalil dan nama istrinya Tuan Putri Apalu Apala dan anaknya seorang perempuan bernama Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara. Terlalu amat elok rupanya, gemilang cahayanya dan ialah mempunyai burung *Marah* Jalin, sayap semburan air emas, bulu dada kerancu-bancu, bulu leher jernang-berjernang, jikalau ia berkata-kata, berham-

¹⁵⁶ k-wau-c-p-ya. Pam. 110,124: *kucapi, kacapi, 'kecapi'*.

¹⁵⁷ s-ng-k-d-wau. *Sangkadu*, 'flute'; Wilkinson remarks that the word is of Minangkabau origin (*WL* 1017). *Ms.* 1024: *sangkadu, singkadu*, 'a kind of flute'.

¹⁵⁸ m-alif-r-alif-q. Pam. 151: *mara*, 'merak'. *KBBI sv: merak*.

buran emas dan perak daripada mulutnya, jikalau ia berceritera, bertaburan intan dan pudi daripada matanya, jikalau bersyair¹⁵⁹ dan bermadah, maka beterbanganlah ratna mutu manikam dari dalam hidungnya. Bermula segala negeri yang di bawah perintahnya tujuh puluh tujuh buah negeri, lengkap dengan menteri hulubalangnya dan rakyatnya. Maka apabila hari Jumat, maka berhimpunlah segala alim dan pendeta, imam dan khatib dan segala mukim, fakih dan fukaha. Setelah sudah sembahyang Jumat maka semuanya berhimpun menghadap baginda, lalu dianugerahi oleh baginda dengan selangkapnya. Kemudian sekalian mereka itu pun pulang masing-masing dengan kesukaannya. Demikianlah lakunya selama-lamanya, hai Anakku!”

Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku, hamba hendak pergi berjalan-jalan, hendak melihat takhta kerajaan baginda itu dan hamba pun seboleh-bolehnya *31a* hendak melihat burung itu dan mendengar ia berkata-kata.” Maka kata Nenek Kebayan, “Hai Anakku, bagaimanalah Anakku hendak melihat burung itu karena burung itu sekali-kali tiada boleh dilihat manusia dan angin pun tiada boleh lalu ke dalam astananya itu karena pintunya kota itu tujuh lapis lengkap dengan orang yang berkawal. Demikianlah selama-lamanya, hai Anakku!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku, jikalau tiada hamba jadi pergi ke sana, biarlah hamba pergi melihat orang beramai-ramaian dalam pekan itu, sambil melihat adat dan rasam orang di sini.”

Maka kata Nenek Kebayan, “Hai Anakku dan buah hatiku, itulah yang terlebih susahnyanya karena banyak orang berselisih dalam pekan itu sebab orang banyak berbagai-bagai lakunya. Adapun¹⁶⁰ pekan dalam negeri ini, ialah tujuh buah. Bermula pada hari Sabtu, pekan segala anak raja-raja bermain-main kuda dan pekan Ahad, segala anak orang yang mulia mengambung¹⁶¹ sepak raga dan pada hari Senin, pekan segala orang yang pendekar bermain pedang dan tombak dan pekan hari Selasa, orang yang kaya-kaya duduk berniaga dan hari Rabu, pekan segala anak saudagar berjual beli barang, pada hari Kamis berhimpun segala hamba rakyat menghadap duli yang dipertuan. Demikianlah selama-lamanya, hai Anakku. Beberapa hamba mendengar selama ini orang berbunuh-bunuhan, setengah gaib, tiada berketahuan. Sebab itulah, bagaimana rasa hatiku melainkan Anakku pergi ke sana?”

Setelah itu maka hari pun malamlah. Setelah sudah minum dan makan, maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku, tak dapat tiada Bunda bawa jualah ke dalam kota. Jikalau hamba (hamba) sampai ke sana, Bunda lihatlah tiada hamba banyak bicara dan tiada hamba memandang ke sana sini, hamba berdiam diri saja dan tiada hamba berkata-kata atau buruk dan baik. Jikalau tiada Bunda *31b* mau membawa, biarlah hamba berjalan sendiri!”

¹⁵⁹ b-r-s'-ya-r. *KBBI* sv: *bersyair*.

¹⁶⁰ alif-p-wau-n.

¹⁶¹ b-r-h-m-b-wau-ng. According tot Moussay, the form *barambuang* is found in the Minangkabau language with the meaning 'to toss' (*Ms.* 40). In Malay and Indonesian, only *mengambung* is found (*KBBI* sv: *T.* 22).

Maka kata Nenek Kebayan, “Hai Anakku, biarlah aku pikir dahulu. Hari sianglah kita berjalan. Maka Bahram Syah pada malam itu menyuruh memupue¹⁶² bunga ke dalam kebun itu, lalu dibawanya. Maka dikarangnyalah bunga itu oleh Bahram Syah, terlalu indah-indah sekali perbuatannya dan rupanya berkilatan dan berlain-lainan warnanya, warnanya seratus dua belas ragam. Adapun nama karangan itu Tanglung¹⁶³ Berjentera Kiri Kanan Dian Terpasang Berkeliling¹⁶⁴ dan kedua karangan bunga itu Awan Tersingit di Sinar Bulan Bintang Temabur m-m-*ya-k-ya-r-ya* dan ketiga karangan bunga itu Mega Berpusing Ditiup Angin Mengiring Bayu Lemah Lembut.

Setelah sudah Bahram Syah mengarang bunga, maka ia pun berkata, “Hai Bundaku, inilah kiranya karangan bunga hamba hendak jual ke sana ke dalam kota itu.” Maka kata rubiah itu, “Hai Anakku, jikalau demikian, hari sianglah kita ke sana, akan tetapi Anakku kuhinakanlah dahulu dan bangsamu pun terlebih aib dan rupamu pun kita ubah dan namamu pun sekarang jangan lagi Bahram Syah, ialah Keling Kecateri banu Arablah namamu dan segala pakaianmu pun seperti pakaian sahaya oranglah dahulu supaya aku bawa ke sana.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku, tiadalah mengapa, barang yang baik kepada Bunda tiadalah hamba salah karena Bunda tiada berlarang keluar dan masuk ke dalam astana itu.”

Syahdan maka keesokan harinya setelah sudah minum dan makan, maka Nenek Kebayan pun mengambil dakwat maka dirajahinyalah pipi Bahram Syah itu dan segala tubuhnya pun habis berlumar-lumar dan berbelang-belang, terlalu sekali jahat rupanya Bahram Syah itu dan pakaiannya pun terlalu buruk sekali. Maka Nenek Kebayan pun berjalan dan Bahram Syah pun mengiringlah ia di belakang Nenek Kebayan *32a* serta membawa kampil sirih dan karangan bunga itu dikarangnya dipegangnya dengan kirinya dan kain basahan diperundung-undungnya oleh Bahram Syah itu di atas kepalanya.

Maka berapa lama berjalan itu daripada menempuh pasar yang terlalu ramai, maka dengan seketika lagi maka sampailah rubiah itu dengan Bahram Syah kepada pintu kota itu. Syahdan maka sekalian orang berkawal itu pun segeralah membukakan pintu kota itu. Setelah itu, Nenek Kebayan pun datanglah, lalu naik ke astana, maka lalu menyembah kepada Tuan Putri Apalu Apala. Maka berapa dayang-dayang sedang menghadap Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara, masing-masing dengan jabatannya. Ada yang memegang kipas, ada yang memangku puan,¹⁶⁵ berbagai-bagai lakunya menghadap tuan putri itu. Bermula akan Keling Kecateri banu Arab b-r-d-*alif-n* kucikak¹⁶⁶ k-t-*wau-l-ya-k-n* itu pun, tinggallah dianya pada tengah halaman astana itu, maka datanglah segala dayang-dayang hendak melihat karangan bunga itu. Maka dilalu, dikelilingnya oranglah ia, setengah

¹⁶² m-m-p-*wau-r*. Pam. 188: *pupue(r)* II, ‘finished’, ‘gone’. *Pupue bungonya*, ‘habis luruh bunganya’.

¹⁶³ t-*ya-l-ng*. *VDTö*. 112: *telong*, ‘Chinese paper lantern’. *KBBI sv: tanglung*.

¹⁶⁴ b-r-k-*wau-l-ya-l-ya-ng*. Ms. 644–645: *kuliliang*, ‘keliling’.

¹⁶⁵ p-*wau-h-n*.

¹⁶⁶ k-c-*ya-k-q*. Ms. 635: *kucekak*, *kucikak*, ‘senda’.

hendak merampas, setengah hendak meminta. Maka Bahram Syah pun tiada berbunyi dan serupa-rupa orang akan menangis.

Setelah dilihat oleh segala dayang-dayang lakunya demikian itu, maka ia pun tertawa-tawa. Maka kedengaranlah ke atas astana, maka kata Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara, “Siapakah teman Bunda datang ke mari tadi?” Maka kata Nenek Kebayan, “Hai tuan putri, adalah seorang anak, Keling Kecateri banu Arab b-r-d-*alif*-n kucikakan k-t-*wau*-l-*ya*-k-n namanya, ialah hamba beli tengah empat dirham, sekarang pun ia hamba tinggalkan di bawah.” Maka kata putri itu, “Baiklah ia Bunda panggil ke mari, bagaimana besarnya sekarang boleh hamba lihat.” Maka kata Nenek Kebayan, “Hai tuan putri, apalah gunanya ia dipanggil ke mari karena rupanya terlalu jahat.”

Maka dalam antara itu datanglah seorang dayang-dayang 32b berlari-lari naik ke atas anjung, lalu ia berkata, “Ya tuan putri, bermula teman Nenek Kebayan itu, itu adalah membawa karangan bunga terlalu indah, ajaib sekalian perbuatannya dan rupanya pun adalah seratus dua belas ragamnya, tiadalah sekali-kali pernah patik lihat karangan bunga yang demikian, dan kami tanya kepadanya, tiada ia mau berbunyi dan sepatah kata pun tiada ia mau berbunyi.”

Syahdan maka kata putri itu, “Hai Bundaku, panggil ke mari Keling Kecateri itu!” Setelah didengarnya oleh Tuanku *Marah* Inda Sultan Jalil akan segala dayang-dayang itu hiru-biru saja, maka ia pun *Marah*, “Hai segala dayang-dayang semuanya, mengapa sekaliannya kamu hiru-biru saja kepada orang itu, tiada lagi tilik-menilik kepada[nya]! Bagaimana sekarang kulihat rupanya terlalu hina lagi miskin, tambahan pula hamba orang, tetapi kamu tiada ingat entah bagaimana bangsanya orang itu sebab engkau lihat daripada pakaiannya buruk entah bagaimana pula bahagianya orang itu, entah lebih daripada kamu sekalian, tahukah engkau akan kebesaran Allah taala!”

Setelah didengar oleh Tuan Putri Apalu Apala mendengar titah baginda maka tuan putri pun *Marah* kepada segala dayang-dayang itu. Maka disuruhnya panggil Bahram Syah itu. Ia pun naik serta sujud menyembah dengan takutnya seperti orang akan menangis, lalu duduk di belakang Nenek Kebayan. Maka karangan bunga itu pun diambilnya oleh Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara daripada tangan Bahram Syah maka ia pun serupa orang terkejut, serupa akan menangis, maka ia pun berdiam dirinya. Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku, tanyakanlah burung itu hendak kulawan berkata-kata!” Maka Nenek Kebayan itu pun *Marah*, katanya, “Hai anak Keling Kecateri banu¹⁶⁷ Arab b-r-d-*alif*-n kucikak k-t-*wau*-l-*ya*-k-n, hendak matikah engkau?” Maka ia pun berdiam 34a dirinya dan menundukkan kepalanya.

Bermula akan burung *Marah* Jalin itu, adalah ia mengirai-ngiraikan sayapnya dan mengipas-ngipaskan ekornya dan menjentik-jentikkan kukunya dan mendakus-dakuskan¹⁶⁸ paruhnya. Terlalu indah sekali paruhnya dan sangkarnya pun berpusing-pusing

¹⁶⁷ b-n-*wau*-*ya*.

¹⁶⁸ m-n-d-k-*wau*-s *angka dua* k-n. VDTō. 155: d-*alif*-k-*wau*-*ya*-, *dakui*’, ‘to click the teeth’, ‘sound made using

seperti gasing. Maka tuan putri itu pun tersenyumlah ia, maka katanya, “Hai Bundaku, apa yang dikatakan kakak itu tadi?” Maka kata Nenek Kebayan, “Ya tuan putri, janganlah didengarkan katanya itu!”, maka ia pun tersenyum.

Syahdan dengan seketika lagi maka kata Bahram Syah itu dengan perlahan-lahan, “Hai Bundaku, tanyakanlah aku hendak melawan ia berkata-kata!” Maka Nenek Kebayan mengalih, lalu hendak dipalunya Bahram Syah katanya, “Hai anak celaka Keling Kecateri banu Arab b-r-d-*alif*-n kucikak k-t-*wau*-l-*ya*-k-n, hendak bercerai-kan badanmu dengan nyawamu?” Bermula burung itu pun makin bertambah-tambah jua sukanya. Maka kata tuan putri, “Hai Bundaku, apa jua yang Bunda a*Marah*kan kepada kakak itu?” Maka kata Nenek Kebayan, “Mengapa anak Keling itu tuan putri panggil kakak karena dianya itu ternak,¹⁶⁹ hamba beli di pekan tengah empat dirham, bukanlah aib bangsa tuan putri!” Maka Bahram Syah pun berdiam dirinya pula pada belakang rubiah itu seperti orang akan menangis.

Maka dengan seketika lagi maka kata Bahram Syah dengan perlahan-lahan, “Hai Bundaku, tanyakanlah burung itu biar hamba beli. Jikalau barang apa patut harganya, boleh hamba timbang sekarang.” Maka Nenek Kebayan itu pun berdiri seraya hendak menghantam¹⁷⁰ akan Bahram Syah serta dengan *Marah*nya, “Hai anak Singiang-ngiang rimbo,¹⁷¹ anak Bincacak¹⁷² Keling¹⁷³ kuduang, anak Ketumbi aleh sandi,¹⁷⁴ anak Pemalik batang¹⁷⁵ buruak!”, maka lalu dipegangkannya kepala Bahram Syah itu hendak ditamparnya. **34b** Maka segera dipegangkan oleh Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara tangan Nenek Kebayan itu, lalu ia berkata, “Hai Bundaku, apalah perbuatan kakak itu yang salah, katakanlah kepada aku!” Maka kata Nenek Kebayan, “Hai Anakku tuan putri, betapalah kiranya hamba tiada *Marah* kepada bedebah celaka ini karena tiada sekali patut perkataannya dan burung *Marah* Jalin Anakku itu hendak dibelinya dan hendak dilawannya pula berkata-kata!” Maka kata Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara itu, “Hai Bundaku, tiadalah kakak

the mouth to spurr a horse’. *Kl.* 442: *mendakus*, ‘the chattering of teeth’. Klinkert states that the word is of Minangkabau origin.

¹⁶⁹ t-n-q. *KBBI* sv: *ternak*.

¹⁷⁰ m-h-t-m. *KBBI* sv: *menghantam*.

¹⁷¹ In West Sumatra, the *Singiang-ngiang rimbo* is a female ghost who dwells in the jungle; she has two children, a son called *Bincacak*, and a daughter called *Bincacau*. Her husband and father of her children is unknown (*Ms.* 181, 1073).

¹⁷² *Bincacak* is the son of the female ghost *Singiang-ngiang rimbo*. In the Minangkabau language, the phrase *anak Singiang-ngiang anak Bincacak* is used in a derogatory way to denote a child of whom the father is unknown (*Ms.* 181, 1073).

¹⁷³ The word *Keling* in Malay writing usually refers to people from Southern India. Here it is used as a term of abuse (*WL.* 542).

¹⁷⁴ *Ketumbi aleh sandi* is a ghost who lives under a cornerstone or cornerpole of a house (personal communication with Suryadi, Leiden, 24 June 2014).

¹⁷⁵ *Pemalik batang buruak* refers to a ghost who lives in dead tree trunks (personal communication with Suryadi, Leiden, 24 June 2014).

itu patut disalahkan karena jikalau kiranya dijual, dibelinya dan jikalau tidak dijual ia pun diam dan jikalau kiranya kakak itu hendak melihat, apalah gerangan akan salahnya?”

Maka tuan putri menyuruh mengambil talam emas kepada dayang-dayang, maka lalu diletakkannya sangkar burung itu di atas suatu talam emas. Bermula sangkar burung itu terlalu indah-indah, berbagai-bagai. Adapun tempat sangkarnya itu daripada emas yang berterawang dan segala bilah-bilahnya itu berangka-rangka dengan suasa yang bersemi dengan emas. Bermula penjalannya itu daripada emas bertarik berpilin tiga dan tempat makanannya bertatahkan intan dan pudi. Bermula tempat minumannya permata akik yang merah bercampur hijau, adapun tenggerannya burung itu zamrut dan permata nilam pusparagam, bertatah pula pada kiri kanan sangkarnya daripada ratna mutu manikam, berumbai-rumbai mutiara dan sahapnya¹⁷⁶ sangkar itu daripada saklat ainulbanat.¹⁷⁷

Setelah itu maka Bahram Syah pun melawan burung itu berkata-kata dengan segala perkara bahasa dalam dunia ini, semuanya diceterakan oleh Bahram Syah kepada burung *Marah* Jalin itu. Syahdan maka burung itu pun segera tongkatkan paruhnya dan menghampar-hamparkan¹⁷⁸ *35a* sayapnya dan mengipas-ngipaskan ekornya dan menjentik-jentikkan kukunya seperti laku orang akan menari, di atas talam emas itu. Kemudian ia pun berkata-kata. Dengan seketika itu, maka berhamburanlah emas dan perak daripada mulutnya.

Setelah itu, maka ia pun bercerita pula, maka bersemburanlah intan dan pudi daripada matanya. Setelah itu, maka ia pun bermadah dan bersyair, maka terseraklah ratna mutu manikam dari dalam hidungnya. Setelah itu, maka ia pun berpantun dan berseloka, maka terbitlah segala bau-bauan¹⁷⁹ daripada tiap-tiap pangkal bulunya, penuhlah oleh bauannya segala astana itu, semerbak. Maka orang dalam astana itu pun heran dan segala yang berkawal pada tiap-tiap pintu itu pun susah dan heran, menggerakkan kepalanya karena tiada pernah burung itu demikian bercetera, terlalu baik bunyinya, dan segala bau-bauan pun tiada pernah keluar dari dalam tubuhnya yang harum seperti ambar dan kesturi.

Maka kata Nenek Kebayan itu, “Hai Keling Kecateri, belilah olehmu burung itu, dengan apakah engkau beli, timbanglah sekarang!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Baiklah boleh hamba timbang sekarang ini.” Maka kata Nenek Kebayan, “Hai bedebah celaka yang terlalu dusta, jikalau ibu bapamu dan sampai kepada nenek moyang-moyang, tiadalah terbeli olehmu! Sampai habis segala isi negerimu, tiada akan terbeli olehmu!”

Hatta maka kedengaranlah kepada Tuanku *Marah* Inda Sultan Jalil suara Nenek Kebayan itu daripada balairung, maka ia pun naik serta katanya, “Hai orang muda bijaksana,

¹⁷⁶ s-h-b-ny.

¹⁷⁷ *ainulbanat*, ‘Arabic name of a rich cloth of romance’ (*WL* 11).

¹⁷⁸ m-h-p-r *angka dua* k-n. *KBBI* sv: *menghamparkan*, ‘to unfold’.

¹⁷⁹ b-*alif-wau-n angka dua* n-n. *Ms.* 166: *baun*, ‘bau’.

jikalau dapat kiranya harganya kujualkan burung itu dengan yang berkenan kepada aku.” Maka Bahram Syah pun pergi mendapatkan baginda serta burung itu dibawanya, lalu ia menyembah, *35b* menundukkan kepalanya kepada kaki baginda di atas permadani yang keemasan itu. Maka titah tuanku itu, “Hai orang muda yang bijaksana, bagaimana katamu tadi? Sungguhkah engkau hendak membeli¹⁸⁰ burung permainan tuan putri itu?” Maka katanya, “Sungguh tuanku.” Maka kata baginda, “Baiklah, tetapi yang lain daripada emas dan perak dan yang lain daripada intan dan pudi, yang tiada ada kepadaku, ambillah olehmu!” Maka Bahram Syah pun menyembah, lalu membuka¹⁸¹ ikat pinggangnya itu yang bernama ratna mutu manikam dan berpaltu dengan kain yang buruk. Maka ia pun memberikan kemala Ratna Suri itu yang memancar-mancar cahayanya kepada tuanku itu, maka titah baginda, “Hai orang muda, bukalah olehmu, aku lihat!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Baiklah, duli yang dipertuan membuka sendiri!” Maka lalu dibuka oleh baginda kemala itu. Syahdan maka yang pertama dibukanya bungkus yang hitam, maka hitamlah cahayanya, kedua dibukanya pula bungkus yang merah, merah cahayanya, ketiga dibukakan pula bungkus yang kuning, kuning cahayanya, keempat dibukakan bungkus yang biru, birulah cahayanya, kelima dibukakan pula bungkus yang hijau, hijau cahayanya, keenam dibukakan bungkus yang ungu, ungu cahayanya, ketujuh dibukakan bungkus yang putih, putihlah cahayanya. Hatta maka kelihatanlah kemala Ratna Suri itu yang memancar-mancar cahayanya itu, maka cemerlanglah tiba kepada muka baginda itu seperti sinar matahari, maka raja itu pun rebah merca, lalu pingsan, tiadalah kabar akan dirinya sebab kena sinar cahaya kemala Ratna Suri itu.

Maka Bahram Syah itu pun menyiramkan air mawar kepada muka baginda dengan tuan putri itu. Maka baginda itu pun ingatlah akan dirinya, lalu ia berkata kepada Nenek *36a* Kebayan, “Bagaimana aku dipersenda-sendakan?¹⁸² Mengapa maka engkau katakan kepada aku, orang muda bangsawan engkau namakan Keling Kecateri banu Arab *b-r-d-alif-n* kucikak *k-t-wau-l-ya-k-n* karena dahulu aku sudah tahu, sebab itulah, maka aku terlebih gusar dipersenda-sendakan segala dayang-dayang dalam astana ini. Sekarang pun janganlah diperpanjang bicara ini, dengarkan olehmu, adapun anakmu laki-laki dan anakku perempuan, maka alangkah¹⁸³ rezeki pertemuan, maut tiada bercerai. Maka baiklah kita kawinkan akan dia! Bermula akan seperti kemala Ratna Suri, itulah tanda anakmu kepada anakku, bermula burung *Marah* Jalin, itu pun demikian lagi tanda anakku kepada anakmu. Demikianlah, maka bertimbang tandalah namanya. Jikalau sampai tiga hari ini, maka kita lahirkan kepada orang banyak yang dalam negeri ini supaya ia tahu sekalian mereka itu pada orang yang bertunangan pada kedua belah pihaknya!”

Maka kemala Ratna Suri itu pun diberikan oleh baginda kepada Tuan Putri Ambaru

¹⁸⁰ m-m-l-ya.

¹⁸¹ m-m-wau-k’.

¹⁸² d-ya-p-r-s-n-d-wau angka dua k-n. Pam. 213; *dipasando-sandokan*, ‘make a fool of someone’.

¹⁸³ l-ng-k-h.

Ambara, lalu disambutnya dan disimpannya ke dalam peti yang teguh itu. Bermula akan burung *Marah* Jalin itu pun diberikannya kepada Bahram Syah, disuruhnya pelihara baik-baik. Setelah sudah baginda berjanji¹⁸⁴ dengan Nenek Kebayan dan berteguh-teguhan kedua belah pihaknya, maka Nenek Kebayan pun menyembah, lalu ia berjalan pulang kepada kampungnya Kebun Bunga serta membawa burung *Marah* Jalin itu ke rumahnya.

Hatta berapa lamanya adalah selang tiga hari, maka kata Bahram Syah kepada bundanya, “Hai Bundaku, sekarang baiklah Bunda pergi kepada duli syah alam mengatakan seperti tanda kita kepadanya. Jikalau burung ini sudah hamba beli kiranya, tanda kita kepadanya, suruh timbang kemala Ratna Suri itu berapa beratnya, itulah tanda kita kepadanya dan lagi, 36b Bunda minta janji kepadanya barang tujuh tahun sebab hamba hendak kembali dahulu menghadap ayah bunda. Barangkali ada juga lagi hidup sekarang ini dan bepersembahkan burung ini sebab tatkala dahulu, hamba disuruhnya mencari burung ini.” Lalu dikatakannya hal ihwalnya kepada nenek itu, “Dan lagi pula, hamba minta izin kepadanya. Itulah Bunda sembahkan kepada duli tuanku itu!” Setelah itu, maka Nenek Kebayan pun berjalanlah, diiringkan oleh orang banyak.

Setelah itu berapa lamanya di jalan, maka sampailah ke dalam kampung Gastu Gasta, lalu naik ka astana lalu duduk¹⁸⁵ menyembah. Maka kata Tuanku *Marah* Inda, “Hai Nenek Kebayan, sekarang apa bicara?” Maka kata Nenek Kebayan, “Ampun tuanku, adapun patik ini disuruhkan oleh anakanda Bahram Syah menyembahkan kepada duli tuanku akan tandanya, timbang oleh tuanku kemala Ratna Suri berapa beratnya, itulah tandanya, dan ia pun minta janji kepada tuanku tujuh tahun sebab ia menghadap ayah bundanya dahulu. Kemudian ia datang akan berkawin dengan tuan putri.” Maka setelah didengar oleh baginda, maka ia pun menyuruh mengambil kemala Ratna Suri itu dan menyuruh memanggil segala saudagar¹⁸⁶ dan orang kaya dalam negeri dan raja-raja, menteri, hulubalang, rakyat. Sekalian itu pun datanglah menyembah, lalu duduk pada tempatnya masing-masing. Maka dibukanya oleh baginda kemala Ratna Suri itu, maka memancar-mancar cahayanya seperti dahulu juga, maka Tuan Putri Apalu Apala serta dengan dayang-dayangnya pun rebah pingsan, tiadalah kabar akan dirinya. Setelah itu, disiram oleh anaknya dengan air mawar, maka Tuan Putri Apalu Apala dengan dayang-dayangnya 37a pun tahulah akan dirinya.

Maka dalam antara itu, datanglah segala saudagar itu membawa bungkal dengan neraca. Maka lalu diletakkan oleh baginda kepada sebelah neraca itu kemala Ratna Suri itu, maka ditimbang dengan bungkal berat sebusuk-sebusuk¹⁸⁷ jua beratnya, maka ditimbang

¹⁸⁴ b-r-j-n-j-a-n.

¹⁸⁵ d-q. *Duduk* is here occasionally spelled d-q or d-wau-q.

¹⁸⁶ s-wau-d-alif-r-g-r.

¹⁸⁷ *WL*. 171: *busuk* II, ‘a gold-measure or weight’. It is impossible to ascertain the exact weight of the weights that are mentioned in the *SBS*. Weights varied with the geographic area and the product that was weighed (*VDW*. I, 288; *WL*. 65; *KBBI* sv).

pula dengan bungkal berat sesuku-sesuku¹⁸⁸ pula beratnya, maka lalu ditimbang dengan tahlil¹⁸⁹ sampai dengan kati¹⁹⁰, lalu kepada pikul¹⁹¹ dan bahara,¹⁹² sama jua beratnya. Maka baginda pun terlalu suka dalam hatinya dan heran melihat kebesaran kemala itu, maka titah baginda, “Sekarang pun hamba terimalah beratnya kemala Ratna Suri itu akan tanda Bahram Syah itu.” Maka Nenek Kebayan pun lalu menyembah, lalu pulang pada kampungnya serta yang rapat semuanya.

Maka adalah antara tiga hari lamanya, syahdan maka Bahram Syah itu pun datang menyembah kepada Nenek Kebayan, maka Nenek Kebayan itu pun terkejut, “Apakah pekerjaan Anakku ini?” Serta dengan takutnya lagi dengan air matanya, “Apalah gerangan salahku, maka Anakku ini demikianlah lakunya?” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku, ketahui olehmu adapun sebabnya demikian dalam hati hamba karena tatkala hamba berjalan hamba tinggalkan oleh Bunda hamba, sekarang pun di sini Bunda saja yang ada bapa tiada. Akan sekarang pun, janganlah Bunda putuskan kasih sayang hamba ini, anak dagang yang garib, Bunda hamba hendak persuamikan dengan perdana menteri dalam negeri ini karena ia yang terlebih besar daripada segala penghulu raja-raja, kasih kepadanya dan seolah-olah sama dengan duli baginda, melainkan patutlah ia akan bapa hamba.” Maka Nenek Kebayan pun tiada berbunyi dan tiada mau, maka Bahram Syah 37b itu pun berdakwai dengan Nenek Kebayan, adalah barang tujuh kali sorong, tiada juga ia mau bersuami. Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku, tiadalah mengapa, jikalau tiada boleh seperti pinta hamba itu, melainkan putuskanlah kasih sayang Bunda pada hari ini dan janganlah Bundaku beranak kepada aku lagi!” Setelah didengar Nenek Kebayan kata Bahram Syah itu, maka katanya, “Hai Anakku, barang suatu perkerjaan pulanglah maklum kepada Anakku, kabullah hamba kepada bicara itu.”

Setelah itu, maka Bahram Syah pun segeralah memberi tahu raja dan menteri dalam negeri itu. Maka adalah selang tiga hari lamanya, pada ketika hari yang baik, maka perdana menteri pun dikawinkan dengan Nenek Kebayan di kampung Kebun Bunga. Syahdan maka ia pun bersuka-sukaanlah Bahram Syah dengan perdana menteri dan Nenek Kebayan dalam astana itu, maka Bahram Syah pun berkata, “Hai Bundaku, biarlah hamba dahulu pulang kembali, lepaskan hamba dengan doa supaya hamba selamat pulang pergi, akan tetapi pergilah Ayah Bunda dahulu kepada menjelang duli yang dipertuan karena hamba minta kerbau barang empat lima ekor, dan suruh masak seragam saja, jangan bercampur lada dan garam! Setelah itu, maka Bunda suruh tanak pula nasi barang seratus kulak. Demikianlah, jikalau sudah masak, maka timbunkan barang tiga timbunan sama-sama banyak, maka campurkan dengan gulai itu, dan nasi taruh di atas tikar!” Demikianlah adanya.

¹⁸⁸ *suku*, ‘a quarter’ (T. 661; WL. 1129; VDW. II, 304–305; KL. 621).

¹⁸⁹ *t-ya-l. Pam.* 233: *taie(l)*, ‘tahlil’. A *tahlil* is a measure of weight (KBBi sv; WL. 1149; VDW. I, 338).

¹⁹⁰ *k-t-ya. WL.* 516: *kati*, ‘a measure of weight’.

¹⁹¹ KBBi sv; KL. 753: *pikul*, ‘a measure of weight’.

¹⁹² KBBi sv: *bahara*, ‘a measure of weight’.

Maka perdana menteri pun berjalanlah ke dalam kota, lalu bepersembahkan kata Bahram Syah kepada baginda itu. Maka baginda itu pun tertawa-tawa, katanya, “Apalah gunanya oleh anakku itu?” Maka ia pun berkata, “Baiklah!”, lalu *38a* menyuruh hasilkan seperti kata Bahram Syah itu. Maka penghulu pun bersedialah kepada tengah padang di ujung negeri itu. Maka setengah orang banyak berkata sama sendirinya, katanya, “Inilah perbuatan yang jadi sia-sia saja, jikalau jadilah kawin dengan tuan putri itu, niscaya terbanglah Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara.” Maka setelah sudah masak nasi dan gulai itu, lalu diperbuat tiga tempat sama-sama banyak.

Kemudian disuruh oleh Bahram Syah hulubalang memalu mongmongan¹⁹³ dalam negeri itu, lalu kepada dusun, demikian bunyinya, “Jikalau barang apa-apa yang bertukar daripada selama ini, maka janganlah sekaliannya takut dan gentar dan jangan disapa-sapa!” Setelah sudah mongmongan itu dipalu orang, syahdan maka Bahram Syah pun pergilah ke tengah padang itu, lalu dibakarnya bulu garuda itu sedikit. Setelah berasaplah api itu, adalah sebentar antaranya, maka garuda itu pun datanglah daripada udara seperti kilat yang mahatangkas datangnya, terlindunglah olehnya matahari itu. Maka ia pun datanglah bersusun tiga berganti-ganti dahulu. Bermula bunyi sayapnya seperti tagar di langit, gegap gempita, maka sekalian orang pun habis menyampul telinganya dengan kapas dan setengah orang itu bersembunyi dan berlarian.

Maka garuda itu pun sampailah berbetulan padang itu, maka ia pun berseru-seru, “Hai Anakku Bahram Syah, di mana engkau sekarang?” Maka Bahram Syah pun menyahut, “Hai Bundaku, inilah kiranya aku!” Maka ia pun bersenungganglah¹⁹⁴ ke bawah seperti pinang yang dijatuhkan, maka ia pun merahaplah¹⁹⁵ ke bumi kepada tempat timbunan nasi dan gulai itu. Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku dan Saudaraku, makanlah olehmu sedikit makanan itu *38b* dan yang lain, di manalah kiranya dapat olehku tiadalah terbalas guna Bunda itu oleh hamba, melainkan sebab karena Bunda hamba sampai ke mari.” Maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku, aku pun demikian lagi, guna Anakanda tiadalah terbalas daripada berbuat nama yang kebajikan kepada kami bangsa binatang ini. Mudah-mudahan, jikalau tiada sebab karena Anakku, tiadalah akan selamat saudaramu!” Setelah sudah ia berkata-kata, maka garuda itu pun makanlah satu timbunan seorang.

Setelah sudah ia makan, maka Bahram Syah pun berkata, “Hai Bundaku, adapun sebabnya Bunda hamba panggil ini karena hamba hendak kembali pagi-pagi hari siang.” Maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Anakku, baiklah.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Tetapi Bunda dengan saudaraku di sinilah dahulu semalam ini.”

¹⁹³ m-m-wau-ng-n. According to Wilkinson, *momongan* is the Minangkabau variant of the Malay *mongmongan*, ‘a specific kind of gong’ (WL 780).

¹⁹⁴ b-r-s-ya-t-wau-ng-k-ng-l-h. The Minangkabau *basitunggang* is the equivalent of the Malay *bersenunggang*, ‘upside down’, ‘head-first’ (WL 1074, 1250). Pam. 267: *basitunggang*, ‘kepala ke tanah dan kaki ke atas’.

¹⁹⁵ m-r-alif-h-b-l-h. T. 554: *merahap*, ‘to alight’.

Maka ia pun pergilah menghadap raja. Setelah sampai, lalu ia menyembah serta katanya, “Ya tuanku, patik ini hendak kembali pulang dahulu esok pagi-pagi insya Allah taala, tujuh tahun patik berjanji dengan tuanku dan jikalau ada suka duli yang mahamulia, patik pohonkan kerbau barang tiga ekor lagi akan makanan garuda itu.” Maka baginda pun berkata, “Apa akan salahnya, tetapi lekas juga anakanda datang kembali!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Jika ada hayat patik, lekas juga patik kembali mendapatkan tuanku.” Setelah sudah Bahram Syah berkata-kata dengan baginda, maka ia pun bermohon kembali pulang ke Kebun Bunga.

Maka hari pun mamlah, maka Nenek Kebayan pun menangis sebab akan bercerai dengan Bahram Syah, maka Bahram Syah pun berkata, “Hai Ayah Bundaku, janganlah Ayah Bunda menangis jua, jikalau ada kiranya dilanjutkan Allah taala umur hamba, maka segera juga hamba datang ke mari bertemu dengan Ayah Bunda. *39a* Maka hendaklah kiranya pertetap hati Ayah Bunda dan minta-minta doa Bunda siang dan malam, petang dan pagi.” Setelah sudah Bahram Syah berkata-kata dengan perdana menteri, maka hari pun sianglah. Setelah sudah minum dan makan, maka Bahram Syah bermohonlah, lalu ke tengah padang dihantarkan Nenek Kebayan dengan perdana menteri dengan segala orang banyak. Bermula Tuanku *Marah* Inda itu pun serta istrinya pun datanglah diiringkan raja-raja, menteri, rakyat sekalian, dan kerbau itu pun dimuatkanlah ke atas belakang garuda itu. Setelah itu, maka ia pun menyembah kepada (dan) tuan putri dan semuanya, lalu ia melompat ke atas belakang garuda yang jantan itu, dan sangkar burung pun dipegangnya jua.

Syahdan maka garuda jantan itu pun berkata, “Sekaranglah aku balas guna tuan hamba.” Setelah itu, maka garuda itu pun terbanglah ketiganya bersusun-susun melambung tinggi, lalu ke udara. Bermula garuda yang besar itu terbangnya sambil ke bawah dan anaknya yang betina terbang sambil ke atas dan garuda yang jantan itu di tengah-tengah daripada memeliharakan Bahram Syah supaya terpelihara daripada hangat laut api itu. Maka terbangnya terlalu tangkas seperti kilat dan sayapnya pun seperti bunyi sangkakala, lalu ke atas adalah kira-kira satu jam lamanya terbang itu, maka bertemulah dengan angin yang berbagai-bagai seperti dahulu juga, maka Bahram Syah seolah-olah tiada kabar akan dirinya.

Maka berapa lamanya terbang itu, lalu menempuh laut api. Maka berapa lamanya edar kiri, edar kanan, maka kelihatanlah pohon kayu yang besar itu, tempatnya bersarang. Maka dengan seketika lagi, adalah waktu asar, maka ia pun hinggaplah kepada sarangnya. *39b* Maka Bahram Syah pun tiada kabar akan dirinya, maka ia pun masuklah ke dalam sarangnya, lalu ia memuji-muji Bahram Syah, Bahram Syah pun memuji-muji garuda itu, maka katanya, “Hai Bundaku dan Saudara, sudahlah sampai aku tiga hari di sini, maka lepaskanlah hamba berjalan esok hari.” Maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Kakanda, baiklah ke mari hantarkan sama-sama.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Janganlah hamba dihantarkan karena terlalu banyak lagi hamba cari, bertanya-tanyakan Saudara hamba pada tiap-tiap negeri, melainkan sehingga pohon kayu ini sajalah hamba hantarkan.” Maka kata garuda

yang jantan, “Hai Kakanda, baiklah.” Maka ia pun melompat ke belakang garuda itu dan sangkar burung itu pun dibawanya juga.

Seketika, Bahram Syah sampai ke bawah pohon kayu, maka garuda itu merahaplah. Maka Bahram Syah pun turunlah ke tanah adanya, Wallahu alam.

VI

Alkisah maka diceriterakan oleh orang yang empunya ceritera ini, maka Bahram Syah pun berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti, lalu ke dalam hutan jalan yang dahulu juga. Maka ia pun berjalan, tiada berhenti-henti. Sampailah tujuh hari, maka ia pun sampailah ke tengah padang, lalu kelihatanlah pagar api yang bernyala-nyala itu. Dengan sebentar lagi, maka ia pun sampailah di luar kota itu, maka dicermukannya bulu jin yang putih itu, maka menjadilah air, maka api itu pun padamlah. Maka Bahram Syah itu pun masuklah, lalu ke halaman.

Syahdan maka putri itu pun memandanglah ke halaman, kelihatanlah Bahram Syah itu datang, maka ia pun berkata, “Sudahlah kiranya tuan hamba datang. Maka naiklah tuan hamba!” Maka ia pun naik ke astana itu, lalu duduk, maka kata tuan putri itu, “Hai tuan hamba, inilah burung *Marah* Jalin itu!” Maka Bahram Syah pun menceterakan segala hal *40a* ihwalnya dalam negeri Gastu Gasta, habis dikatakannya kepada Putri Andam Dewi itu.

Maka berapa lamanya Bahram Syah itu (itu) di sana, maka ia pun berkata, “Hai tuan putri, sekarang bagaimana pikiran tuan putri, tinggalkah engkau di sini atau bersama-sama dengan aku?” Maka kata putri itu, “Apalah kiranya kerja hamba tinggal di sini dalam kampung yang lengang¹⁹⁶ sunyi ini?” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Berhasillah engkau, kita berjalan pagi-pagi hari!” Maka putri itu pun berlengkaplah mengambil permata dan intan dan pudu yang terbawa olehnya, maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai tuan putri, ambil olehmu keris itu barang dua buah biarlah aku membawa, yang lainnya biarlah tinggal!” Setelah sudah ia berkata-kata demikian, maka keesokan harinya, maka ia pun berjalanlah keduanya, tiada berhenti-henti.

Maka adalah sejam lamanya, maka Bahram Syah berkata kepada putri itu, “Adapun jalan yang dahulu kita lalui, terlalu amat jauh sekali, baiklah kita menempuh jalan rimba! Jika mudah-mudahan, segera jua kita bertemu dengan negeri orang.” Maka kata tuan putri itu, “Mana tuan sukalah.” Maka ia pun berjalan ke dalam hutan rimba belantara, terlalu sekali samar¹⁹⁷ dengan kelamnya, maka Bahram Syah mencermukkan bulu Degar Kilat yang putih itu, maka terang benderanglah dalam hutan itu, siang dan malam sama

¹⁹⁶ l-alif-ng-ng, Ms. 688: *langang* I, ‘*lengang*’.

¹⁹⁷ s-m-alif’. VDTö. 202: s-alif-m-r, ‘*sama*’. KBBI sv: *samar*.

jua rupanya. Maka Bahram Syah dengan tuan putri itu pun berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti.

Berapa lamanya berjalan itu, adalah kira-kira tiga malam lamanya, maka ia pun lepaslah daripada rimba. Maka bertemu pula dengan suatu padang dan lurah, maka kelihatanlah negeri yang bernama Timbun Gairah. Maka ia pun berjalan, maka temulah dengan sawah. Maka seketika lagi, maka Bahram Syah pun memandang ke kiri, maka kelihatan seorang-orang menyabit benta¹⁹⁸ *4ob* dan rumput yang muda-muda akan makanan kuda. Maka dilihatnya serupa dengan saudaranya Aisyah, maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai tuan hamba, apakah pekerjaan tuan hamba di sini?” Maka ia pun menyahut, “Siapakah engkau ini? Tiadakah engkau bermata? Engkau lihatkan perbuatanku di sini menyabit-nyabit rumput akan makanan kuda, sekarang engkau persenda-sendakan aku karena sekalian tubuhku berlumur-lumur dengan segala lumpur, sebab engkau melihat kainku carik-carik. Diamlah, jangan engkau lagi berkata-kata, kalau jadi perbantahan!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai tuan hamba, janganlah perkataan dilanjutkan dan keluarlah dahulu supaya kita berbincang-bincang.”

Setelah itu, maka Aisyah pun segeralah keluar daripada menyabit itu mendapatkan Bahram Syah, maka ia pun melihat Bahram Syah, maka ia pun segera-segera berlari-lari, memeluk mendekap¹⁹⁹ Bahram Syah seraya katanya, “Sudahlah, Adinda!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Sudahlah, Kakanda, dan kakanda yang tua, di mana ia sekarang?” Maka kata Aisyah, “Wallahu alam, tiadalah kami sama-sama.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Bagaimana rupanya demikian pekerjaan kakanda seperti perbuatan orang yang risau, hilang akal budi bicara?” Setelah itu, maka Aisyah pun berceterakanlah tatkala ia bermain-main, semuanya habis diceterakannya kepada Bahram Syah, maka ia pun bertangis-tangisan keduanya.

Setelah itu, maka kata Bahram Syah, “Sekarang pun marilah dahulu kita pulang kepada rumah tuan kita itu.” Maka ia pun berjalanlah segera masuk ke dalam kota Timbun Gairah, lalu ke atas balairung, lalu menyembah baginda, maka kata baginda, “Hai Saudaraku Aisyah, siapa gerangan orang yang sama-sama dengan tuan hamba ini?” Maka katanya, “Hai tuanku, inilah kiranya saudaraku yang kecil yang bernama Bahram Syah dan itulah burung *Marah* Jalin dan Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara.” Maka kata raja itu, *41a* “Duduklah tuan hamba!” Maka ketiganya duduklah, berkata-kata dengan raja itu.

Syahdan maka hari itu pun malamlah, maka Bahram Syah pun berdatang sembah kepada raja itu, “Ya tuanku, sekarang pun patik memohonkan ampun, jikalau ada kasih dan karunia hadirat yang mahamulia kepada patik anak dagang hina ini, dengan seboleholehnya hendaklah tuanku anugerahkan saudaraku ini, hendak patik bawa bersama-sama dahulu pulang. Jikalau barang berapa hutangnya, melainkan hendaklah tuanku titahkan kepada patik ini berat dan ringannya supaya boleh patik junjung.” Maka kata

¹⁹⁸ b-n-t. *KBBI* sv: *benta*, ‘a specific kind of grass cut as food for horses; *Leersia hexandra*’.

¹⁹⁹ m-n-d-*alif*-k-p. *KBBI* sv: *mendekap*. Wilkinson lists both *dekap* and *dakap* (*WJ*. 249, 266).

raja itu, “Hai tuan hamba Bahram Syah, dengarkan olehmu, adapun saudara kita yang bernama Aisyah ini, sungguhpun ada hutangnya kepada hamba sekarang umpama tiada karena perbuatannya sekali-kali tiada yang salah kepada hamba, melainkan tuan hamba bawa ia!”

Setelah sudah bicara itu, maka hari pun sianglah, maka Bahram Syah memberikan emas tengah kati kepada raja itu, katanya, “Ya tuan hamba, inilah persembahan patik emas sedikit, barang apa-apa akan gunanya.” Maka raja itu pun terlalu sekali malunya kepada Bahram Syah seraya katanya, “Mengapa tuan hamba seperti dengan orang yang lain? Jikalau demikian, hendaklah Saudaraku di sini dahulu barang semalam ini.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Baiklah, ya tuanku.” Maka raja itu pun berhasillah akan menjamu Bahram Syah.

Maka keesokan harinya, maka Bahram Syah pun diperjamu raja itu dengan seperti adatnya, pelbagai segala nikmat minuman dan makanan, dan hendak dibawanya Bahram Syah itu bersama-sama memegang negeri Timbun Gairah, didengar segala raja-raja dan menteri semuanya. Maka keesokan harinya, Bahram Syah pun bermohon, lalu berjalan dengan saudaranya Aisyah dan tuan putri dan diberinya *41b* keris sebuah kepada saudaranya Aisyah itu. Adapun akan burung *Marah* Jalin itu pun, disuruhnya bawa kepada Aisyah.

Maka ia pun berjalanlah, tiada berhenti-henti, maka kata Aisyah, “Hai Adinda Bahram Syah, jikalau jalan ini kita turutkan, terlalu jauh, inilah pangkalnya jalan yang tiga bersimpang.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Jikalau demikian, baik kita berjalan kepada hutan ini, jikalau mudah-mudahan bertemu kita dengan saudara kita yang tua itu.” Maka ia pun berjalanlah menempuh hutan rimba belantara. Syahdan maka dicermukannya bulu Degar Kilat yang putih itu, maka terang benderanglah segala hutan itu dengan seketika lagi.

Maka berapa lamanya tiada berhenti-henti, maka sampailah ia kepada suatu padang yang mahalawas dan berapa banyaknya segala kerbau dan lembu habis makan. Maka seketika lagi ia berjalan, maka kelihatanlah negeri yang bernama Ulak Pasir Teluk Embun. Maka ia pun berjalan jua, maka sampailah kepada sungai yang kecil. Bermula ada seorang-orang ialah kerjanya bermainkan galah terlalu panjang, hilir mudik berlari-lari, tiada berhenti-henti dan pada tebing²⁰⁰ sungai itu adalah hiru-biru bunyinya daripada menyumpah-nyumpah akan dirinya. Maka dihampirinya oleh Bahram Syah kepada tebing sungai itu, maka dilihatnya segala itik dan angsa terlalu banyak sekali dalam sungai itu dan apabila dihalaukannya itik dan angsa itu ke hulu, maka ia pun ke hilir dan apabila dihalaukan ke hilir, maka ia pun ke hulu. Maka Bahram Syah itu pun hampirlah kepada orang itu. Maka dilihat Bahram Syah lakunya orang itu, sekalian tubuhnya sudah berlumpur, matanya pun tiada *42a* kelihatan, adalah terpejam-pejam sedikit, daripada segala anggotanya habis berlumpur. Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Siapakah ini dan apa perbuata-

²⁰⁰ t-*alif*-b-*ya*-ng.*Pam.* 231: *tabieng*, ‘tebing’. *VDTö.* 67: t-*alif*-b-*ng*, ‘*tabieng*’.

nmu di sini?” Maka kata Ghaisyah itu, “Mengapa engkau menghambat-hambat²⁰¹ aku dan tiadakah engkau melihat itik dan angsa itu terlalu liar? Sedikit pun kamu tiada tahu (d) bahasa!” Maka dipegangnya galahnya itu hendak dipalukannya kepada kepala Bahram Syah. Setelah itu, maka dilihatnyalah rupa Bahram Syah dan Bahram Syah melihat rupa Ghaisyah, maka galah yang dipegangnya itu lalu dibuangkannya, lalu ia bertangis-tangisan tiga bersaudara. Maka kata Ghaisyah, “Hai Adinda Bahram Syah, inilah Putri Ambaru Ambara dan burung *Marah* Jalin namanya?” Maka Bahram Syah berkata, “Inilah burung yang dimimpi seri paduka ayahanda. Bermula Kakanda, apalah akan kerja Kakanda di sini?” Maka Ghaisyah pun berkabarlah kepada Aisyah dan Bahram Syah daripada hal ihwalnya ia bermain-main itu, semuanya habis diceterakannya kepada adinda kedua. Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Kakanda, marilah kita dahulu kembali kepada tuan Kakanda!”

Maka ia pun berjalan keempatnya berapa lamanya, dengan seketika lagi, maka ia pun sampailah kepada halaman astana, lalu naik Ghaisyah, maka kata baginda raja tuah,²⁰² “Hai tuan hamba Ghaisyah, siapa orang yang bersama-sama dengan tuan hamba itu?” Maka kata Ghaisyah, “Ya tuanku, inilah saudaraku keduanya.” Maka titah baginda, “Bawalah ia naik ke atas astana ini!” Maka ia pun naik, lalu menyembah baginda itu serta disambutnya, maka sembahnya Bahram Syah kepada baginda, “Ya tuanku, adapun patik ini dagang yang garib hendak memohonkan dan karunia ke bawah duli hadirat yang mahamulia karena minta saudaraku ini dahulu sama-sama dengan patik karena saudaraku sudah lama bercerai-cerai. Sekarang *42b* pun, jikalau barang berapa kiranya hutangnya, mudah-mudahan serta maklum tuanku, melainkan hendaklah tuanku titahkan supaya patik junjung di atas kepala patik.” Maka kata baginda itu, “Hai Bahram Syah, mengapa tuan hamba berkata demikian? Selama ini pun tiadalah katanya yang salah kepadaku dan aku pun demikian lagi kepadanya tiadalah suatu jua pun kejahatan kepadanya, dan sekarang pun lebih sukanya dengan tuan hamba dan pada hamba pun terlebih baik, sekali-kali tiadalah mengapa.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Patik junjunglah seperti titah yang mahamulia itu.”

Setelah itu, keesokan harinya, maka Bahram Syah bepersembahkan emas sepuluh tahlil kepada raja itu, “Inilah kiranya persembahan patik emas ada semiang, barang apa-apa akan gunanya.” Maka kata raja itu, “Hai tuan hamba, sekarang pun dengan seboleholehnya nantilah tuan hamba dahulu di sini barang tiga hari!” Setelah itu, maka Bahram Syah itu pun berhentilah. Syahdan maka raja itu pun berhasillah, hendak menjamu Bahram Syah, dengan segala yang rapat bersuka-sukaan daripada orang yang tiga bersaudara itu. Setelah sudah minum dan makan, maka titah raja itu kepada segala menteri sekalian, “Ketahui olehmu akan Bahram Syah ini, aku ambil akan saudara, melainkan samalah

²⁰¹ m-h-m-b-t angka dua.KBBI sv: menghambat.

²⁰² t-wau-h.

kami memegang perintah dalam negeri Ulak Pasir Teluk Embun ini.” Maka kata segala menteri sekaliannya, “Baiklah sekali-kali seperti titah yang mahamulia itu.”

Maka keesokan harinya, keempatnya mereka itu menyembah kepada baginda, lalu ia berjalan daripada menurutkan jalan Ghaisyah itu. Berapa lamanya, adalah kira-kira dua belas hari, dua belas malam, maka ia pun sampailah kepada jalan yang tiga bersimpang itu. Maka ia pun berhenti sesaat, minum dan makan segala bekalnya. Setelah sudah, maka ia pun berjalan jua.

Adalah kira-kira dua jam lamanya, *43a* maka ia pun sampailah kepada balairung itu, maka dilihatnya balairung itu, begitu jua, tiada berubah. Maka ia pun suka tertawa-tawa ketiganya, maka kata Ghaisyah, “Hai Adinda kedua, baiklah kita berhenti dahulu kepada balairung ini.” Maka Bahram Syah pun naik ke atas balairung itu, lalu berbaring-barang serta ditiup angin yang lemah lembut. Maka tuan putri segera mengambil air kepada perigi, lalu ia bermasak nasi. Maka Ghaisyah pun pergilah berjalan ke sana-sini sambil bermain-main, maka ia pun berkata, “Hai Adinda Aisyah, bagaimanalah pikiranmu sekarang akan kita ini?” Maka kata Aisyah, “Hai Kakanda, bagaimana jua yang terlebih kepada Kakanda, sekali-kali tiada hamba salah.” Maka kata Ghaisyah, “Hai Adinda, dengarkan olehmu, hai Adinda, adapun kita ini ialah tiga orang bersaudara, adapu[n] pikiran hamba terlebih mulia kita daripada Bahram Syah karena kita saudara yang tua. Sekarang pun, jikalau kita sampai pulang kepada ayahanda dan bunda kita, tak dapat tiada Bahram Syah itu terlebih mulia dan kita bertambah hina. Adapun Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara, tentulah jadi istrinya karena ia mendapat burung *Marah* Jalin itu, dan menjadi kerajaan pun ia juga dan beristri tuan putri pun ia juga.” Maka kata Aisyah, “Jikalau demikian, baiklah Bahram Syah itu kita bunuh dengan keris kita ini, niscaya matilah ia.” Maka kata Ghaisyah, “Jikalau demikian, membunuhnya tiadalah menjadi karena tuan putri pun membunuh dirinya pula di sana, hilanglah kita keduanya, tetapi pada pikiran hamba, baik kita tipu ia kita bawa mandi kepada perigi itu. Setelah tiba, maka kita mandi berganti-ganti, maka kita suruhkan ia menimba air itu. Jikalau ia terlalai ia di sanalah, *43b* kita tolakkan ke dalam perigi yang dalam itu bersama-sama, niscaya matilah ia Bahram Syah itu dan seperti janji kita pun sampailah. Jikalau Adinda menjadi raja, akulah beristri putri itu.” Maka kata Aisyah, “Hai Kakanda, itulah yang sebaik-baik bicara, tiada lagi bersalahan bicara kita.”

Syahdan setelah sudah musyawarat keduanya, maka ia pun pergilah kepada Bahram Syah, lalu ia berkata, “Hai Adinda Bahram Syah, mengapa Adikku berbaring-barang jua? Marilah kita pergi mandi bersama-sama kepada perigi itu supaya terbuanglah segala peluh dan daki kita masing-masing.” Maka kata Bahram Syah itu, “Mana yang baik pada Kakanda keduanya.” Maka ia pun berjalanlah ketiganya mendapatkan perigi itu. Setelah sampailah ke sana, maka kata Aisyah, “Hai Adinda Bahram Syah, akan sekarang baiklah dahulu saudara kita yang tua kita timbakan, ambil olehmu timba itu!” Setelah diambilnya

timba itu oleh Bahram Syah, maka lalu diulurkannya.²⁰³ Maka Ghaisyah itu pun datang keduanya serta ditolakkannya ke dalam perigi itu, maka lalu terjatuhlah ia Bahram Syah. Setelah itu, maka ditutupnya pula dari atas dengan batu berapa banyaknya.

Sudahlah dengan (dengan) untungya dengan takdir Allah taala satu pun tiada maranya tiada menaruh cacat dan cela, dengan kehendak Allah subhanahu wa taala tiadalah Bahram Syah itu beroleh kesakitan dan teranglah²⁰⁴ dipandanginya dalam perigi itu. Maka dengan seketika itu jua, terbitlah cahaya yang amat gilang-gemilang, bersinar-sinar rupanya, maka Ghaisyah dan Aisyah pun terlalu suka dan tertawa-tawa, pada sangkanya, “Sudahlah mati Bahram Syah itu dan sekarang pun sempurnalah pekerjaan kita dan tiada sekali-kali terhambat dan terlintang. Maka tak dapat tiada akulah menjadi raja dan Putri Ambaru Ambara itu pun *44a* ambil olehmu, hai Aisyah. Bermula akan burung *Marah* Jalin itu, ialah kita persembahkan kepada seri paduka ayahanda kita.” Setelah sudah ia berkata-kata demikian, maka ia pun kembalilah kepada balairung panjang itu, maka dilihatnya putri itu adalah bermasamkan mukanya dan tiada ia mau berkata-kata lagi, dan burung *Marah* Jalin pun tiada lagi seperti yang dahulu, ia pun meromok²⁰⁵ dan bulunya pun kusut. Maka kata Ghaisyah, “Hai Adinda tuan putri, marilah kita segera berjalan karena Bahram Syah sudahlah ia dahulu memberi tahu tiadalah jauh negeri kita dari sini.” Maka burung itu pun dibawanya, ia pun berjalanlah ketiganya, tiada berhenti-henti.

Maka sampailah kepada suatu padang, datang kepada suatu padang, maka berapa lamanya berjalan itu, maka ia pun sampailah kepada suatu banjar orang. Maka sekalian orang dalam banjar itu pun heran tercengang melihat Ghaisyah dan Aisyah telah datang, maka ia pun pergi bersama-sama mengiringkan Ghaisyah dan Aisyah. Maka ia pun berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti, adalah tengah jam lamanya maka ia pun bertemu dengan satu dusun. Maka penghulu kebun itu pun datang menyembah Ghaisyah dan Aisyah, lalu diiringkan pula sama-sama.

Maka diwartakan oranglah kepada duli yang dipertuan bahwasanya Ghaisyah sudahlah ia datang mencari burung *Marah* Jalin, sudahlah dapat dengan Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara pun sudah terbawa sama-sama. Syahdan maka baginda pun terkejut serta dengan sukanya mendengar anaknya sudah datang. Maka ia pun menitahkan kepada segala raja-raja, menteri dan rakyat sekalian mengelu-elukan anaknya dan astana pun dihiasi oranglah dengan selengkapnya.

Maka Ghaisyah dan Aisyah pun sampailah dengan tuan putri, lalu berlari-lari menyembah kaki ayah bundanya. *44b* Maka baginda pun segera memeluk mencium anaknya keduanya, maka kata Sultan Maharaja Besar kepada anaknya keduanya itu, “Hai Anakku, di mana Bahram Syah?” Setelah didengar Ghaisyah dan Aisyah kata bapanya, maka ia

²⁰³ d-h-wau-l-wau-r-k-n-ny. *KBBI* sv: *mengulurkan*.

²⁰⁴ t-alif-r-alif-ng-l-h. *Pam*. 243: *tarang*, *terang*.

²⁰⁵ m-r-alif-m-wau-. *KBBI* sv: *meromok*, ‘sitting crouched, like a sick chicken’. On page 45a, the same word occurs with the spelling m-r-wau-m-wau-.

pun berceteralah kepada bapanya tatkala ia berjalan-jalan bercerai-cerai bertemu jalan yang tiga simpang dan menempuh jalan Wallahu alam Bahram Syah itu. “Sudahlah dua puluh tahun sekarang tiada kami bertemu sampai pada zaman sekarang, akan tetapi pada kira-kira kami, Bahram Syah itu sudah mati apa sebab karena mimpi keduanya adalah berbagai-bagai saja. Pertama mimpi patik, maka adalah kami bersama-sama berjalan dengan Bahram Syah, sudah itu, maka kami lihat matahari dan bulan dan segala bintang dan kemudiannya pula sudahlah hilang dan gaib segala bintang itu, tiada apa sebabnya, melainkan matahari dan bulan saja yang ada kelihatan. Maka waktunya hamba bermimpi itu, fajar pun terbit, hamba pun bangun, pada kira-kira patik ialah akan alamatnya kepada Bahram Syah jua, mimpi patik itu.”

Setelah sudah Ghaisyah mengatakan mimpinya, maka Aisyah menyembah pula kepada bapanya, katanya, “Ya Ayahanda, ketahui olehmu adapun mimpi patik, adalah (adalah) pada suatu hari kami berjalan-jalan, maka kami pun terlalu lapar, maka Bahram Syah pun masak nasi. Setelah masak nasi, maka makanlah kami ketiganya. Setelah sudah minum dan makan, maka hendak masak nasi pula sekali lagi, maka kami lihat tungku tiga tinggal dua buah saja dan waktu patik bermimpi itu, fajar pun terbit, patik terbangun dan kira-kira patik, ‘Itulah alamatnya kepada Bahram Syah jua.’ Itulah mimpi hamba, Ayahanda.”

Setelah sudah didengarnya oleh baginda itu daripada mimpi anaknya keduanya itu, maka baginda pun menangis terkenang akan Bahram Syah itu, maka sembah Ghaisyah dan Aisyah, katanya, *45a* “Ya tuanku, adapun yang seperti kehendak tuanku itu, sudahlah dapat burung *Marah* Jalin itu dan Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara inilah, ia ambinan Tuan Putri Apalu Apala, anak Tuanku *Marah* Inda Sultan Jalil dalam negeri Gastu Gasta. Adapun burung itu, jikalau ia berkata-kata, maka berhamburanlah emas dan perak daripada mulutnya, jikalau ia bercerita, maka bersemburanlah intan dan pudi daripada matanya. Inilah yang kami bawa, ini tiadalah bersalahan, seperti dalam mimpi Ayahanda itu. Sekarang pun, mana bicara paduka Ayahanda?” Maka kata baginda, “Hai Anakku keduanya, cobalah bawa ia berkata-kata supaya aku dengar. Jikalau ada mudah-mudahan supaya hilang Bahram Syah daripada hatiku.”

Setelah sudah didengarnya kata ayahnya, maka ia pun segera membawa burung itu berkata-kata, katanya, “Hai burung *Marah* Jalin, berkata-katalah engkau dan ceterainya-lah aku seperti kita berkata-kata dahulu dalam negeri Gastu Gasta!” Maka tiadalah mau burung itu berbunyi sekali-kali dan tuan putri pun menjadi bisulah ia dan burung itu meromok dan menjinjing-jinjing kakinya sebelah dan merudukan sayapnya dan mengapitkan kepalanya dengan sayapnya. Maka Ghaisyah dan Aisyah adalah beroleh kemaluan, bertambah-tambahlah malunya. Maka baginda pun terlalu gusar akan anaknya itu, katanya, “Bagaimana burung ini berdiam dirinya?”

Maka keesokan harinya, maka baginda menyuruh memanggil segala raja-raja dan menteri, maka itu pun datang seraya menyembah katanya, “Apa yang tuanku panggilkan akan patik sekalian ini?” Maka baginda pun bertitah, “Hai segala raja-raja dan menteri, jikalau barang siapa ada kamu tahu daripada melawan burung itu berkata-kata dan

bercetera, maka ambil olehmu emas tujuh helai permadani itu semuanya!” *45b* Setelah itu, maka segala raja-raja, menteri, hulubalang membawa burung itu berkata-kata dan berganti-ganti, tiada jua burung itu mau berkata-kata, maka mereka itu pun diamlah. Maka baginda pun menyuruh memanggil orang semuanya dalam negeri itu, semuanya melawan berkata-kata, tiada juga ia mau berkata-kata, dan putri itu pun tiada mau berkata dan bermasamkan mukanya jua selama-lamanya.

Maka berapa lama antaranya, maka Sultan Maharaja Besar itu pun memanggil ahlul-nujum, maka ahlulnujum pun datanglah, lalu menyembah baginda. Maka titah raja itu, “Hai ahlulnujum, cobalah lihat dalam nujum jikalau barang siapa yang ada tahu daripada melawan burung itu berkata-kata!” Setelah itu, maka rahib pun menyembah, lalu melihat nujumnya sampai dua tiga kali seraya menggerakkan kepalanya. Maka kata baginda, “Hai rahib, mengapa engkau menggerakkan kepalamu?” Maka sembah rahib, “Ya tuanku syah alam, karena patik memohonkan ampun, beribu-ribu kali ampun, adapun patik lihat dalam nujum patik adalah seorang-orang Arab datang ke mari yang bangsawan dan lagi jauh hari dan sempurna bijaksana dan rupanya terlalu indah sekali-kali. Ialah banyak segala bangsa dibawanya daripada pangkat martabat alim dan pangkat martabat raja dan penghulu pun dibawanya, pangkat martabat hulubalang dan saudagar pun dibawanya. Kemudian, kelak akan datang. Maka itulah yang tahu dan pandai melawan burung *Marah Jalin* berkata-kata. Bermula akan tuan putri itu pun demikian lagi.” Maka baginda pun memberi anugeraha ahlulnujum itu daripada pakaian yang indah-indah yang keemasan adanya.

VII

Alkisah maka diceterakan orang yang empunya ceritera ini, maka tersebutlah perkataan Bahram Syah tatkala dibuangkan saudaranya ke dalam perigi itu. Dan berapa lamanya, maka adalah seorang raja dalam Pauh Kembal²⁰⁶ namanya *46a* negerinya, nama khali-fahnya Raja Kerajaan Tengah Hari, terlalu besar kerajaanya. Maka terdengarlah olehnya raja itu bahwasanya Sultan Maharaja Besar dalam negeri Padang Silalatan beroleh burung *Marah Jalin* namanya. Jikalau ia berkata-kata, maka berhamburanlah emas dan perak daripada mulutnya, jikalau ia bercerita, maka bersemburanlah intan dan pudi daripada matanya, jikalau ia bercerita, maka tersemburlah intan dan pudi, jikalau ia bersyair, maka terseraklah ratna mutu manikam dari dalam hidungnya. Maka baginda itu pun meng-himpunkan²⁰⁷ segala menteri dan hulubalang dan raja-raja, rakyat yang tiada tepermanai banyaknya, membawa ayam²⁰⁸ seekor seorang dan mendukung emas akan taruh segala

²⁰⁶ p-wau-alif-h k-m-b-l.

²⁰⁷ m-h-ya-m-p-n-k-n.

²⁰⁸ h-alif-ya-m.

ayam itu. Setelah sudah mereka itu berhimpun, maka baginda pun berjalanlah diiringkan oleh rakyat, seperti kawan lebah²⁰⁹ rupanya. Maka berjalan, tiada berhenti-henti, daripada suatu padang kepada suatu padang, daripada suatu rimba kepada suatu rimba, ia berjalan tiada berhenti-henti.

Dengan seketika lagi, sampailah ia kepada balairung itu, lalu berhentilah segala orang banyak itu ke atas balairung itu seketika. Maka Raja Kerajaan Tengah Hari itu pun bertitah kepada bujang Selamat, “Maka segeralah engkau pergi mengambil air, sekarang aku hendak makan!” Maka bujang Selamat pun pergilah ia berjalan mendapatkan perigi itu. Setelah dilihatnya dari jauh adalah bercahaya-cahaya dari dalam perigi itu, maka bujang Selamat itu menghampiri perigi itu, maka dilihatnya makin bercahaya-cahaya jua keluar dari dalam perigi itu, adalah seperti sinar matahari rupanya. Maka ia pun terlalu takut dan gentar, lalu ia kembali lari mendapatkan balairung itu. Maka sekalian orang banyak itu pun semuanya habis terkejut karena melihat bujang Selamat datangnya berlari-lari, maka kata baginda, “Mengapa engkau berlari-lari ini?” Maka sembahnya, *46b* “Ya tuanku syah alam, tiadalah pernah patik melihat yang serupa itu, tuanku, keluar suatu cahaya dari dalam perigi, terlalu indah-indah memancar-mancar cahayanya.” Maka titah raja itu “Hai segala menteriku, pergilah lihat olehmu jika sungguh seperti katanya itu dan jika tiada, boleh ia dihukum dengan suatu hukum yang amat besar!” Maka segala menteri pun pergilah berlari-lari berganti-ganti dahulu mendapatkan perigi itu, maka dilihatnya perigi itu bercahaya-cahaya jua, maka ia pun kembali memberi tahu rajanya, maka sembahnya, “Ya tuanku, sungguhlah seperti kata Selamat itu, tiadalah bersalahan, ya tuanku.”

Setelah raja itu mendengar kata segala menteri hulubalang itu, maka ia pun berdiri, lalu berjalan serta dengan rakyat semuanya mengiring, tiada yang tinggal lagi pada balairung itu. Maka semuanya pergi mendapatkan perigi itu, setelah sampai sekaliannya pada perigi itu, maka dilihatnya pula keluar cahaya terlalu amat gilang dari dalam perigi itu. Maka raja itu pun heran melihat kebesaran Allah taala, maka baginda pun bertitah, “Hai segala tuan-tuan semuanya, sekarang barang siapa ada yang cakup melihat ke dalam perigi itu atau jin atau syaitan, barang bagainya, asal tetap[i] kepada aku. Jikalau kiranya dapat, aku jadikan kerajaan akan gantiku di atas takhta dalam negeri Pauh Kembal dan aku pun jadi orang tua²¹⁰ hendak mengerjakan sembahyang lima waktu.”

Setelah itu, maka seorang pun tiada bercakap dan menyahut kata baginda, melainkan tunduk berdiam diri saja. Setelah dilihat oleh baginda segala yang banyak seorang pun tiada bercakap, semuanya takut dan gentar juga, maka titah raja itu kepada bujang Selamat, “Hai Anakku, sekarang maukah engkau kusuruh mati? Kusuruh ke dalam perigi itu melihat atau jin dan syaitan dalam perigi itu ini. Sekarang pun lihatlah *47a* olehmu, jikalau engkau mati, kukerjakan seperti adatnya dan jikalau engkau kembali hidup, kujadikanlah maharajalela dalam negeri Pauh Kembal, tiadalah sekali-kali langkahmu terlintang.” Ma-

²⁰⁹ l-alifb-h. *Pam.* 126: *labah*, ‘lebah’.

²¹⁰ t-wau-h-alif. Wilkinson gives both *tua* and *tuba* (*WL.* 1237, 1241).

ka Selamat itu pun menyembah menundukkan kepalanya ke tanah, “Ya tuanku, adapun patik ini, sungguhpun dihidupkan Allah taala sebab karena pelihara tuanku jua, demikian lagi, tiadalah rasanya terbalas daripada kebajikan tuanku, melainkan Allah taala jua yang terlebih tahu akan pembalasnya²¹¹ kebajikan tuanku. Sekarang pun tuanku titahkanlah, sekarang juga aku kerjakan sebagai lagi jikalau ada kiranya seperti nyawa-nyawa ikan²¹² yang dalam tubuh patik, jikalau patik hidup, melainkan janganlah tuanku lepaskan orang yang lain daripada sekaliannya menyebutkan²¹³ nama patik bujang Selamat supaya janganlah sia-sia pekerjaan tuanku.”

Setelah sudah itu, maka baginda pun menyuruh orang mencari rotan yang terlebih panjangnya ke dalam hutan. Maka ia pun bolehlah terlalu banyaknya, maka disambung-sambungkan. Adalah seratus dua puluh depa panjangnya tali timba, kemudian dihubungkan pula dengan rotan itu seratus dua puluh lagi supaya boleh segala orang banyak berpegang daripada mengulurkan tali dan menarik Selamat itu.

Syahdan setelah sudahlah itu, maka titah baginda kepada segala menteri, hulubalang, rakyat sekalian, “Adapun sekarang tentangan seperti Selamat, sekarang pun tidak lagi itu namanya, melainkan gelarnya maharajalela, maka kita maharajalelakanlah akan dia!” Maka sekaliannya pun menyembah serta menerima syukur,²¹⁴ maka baginda pun segera mengeluarkan pakaian yang keemasan itu, maka lalu diberikan kepada maharajalela itu serta katanya, “Hai Anakku, maka pakailah olehmu pakaianku ini akan kafanmu!” Maka maharajalela itu pun menyembah, “Ya tuanku, patik ini memohonkan ampun kepada hadirat yang mahamulia, jikalau ada kiranya 47b anugeraha tuanku akan patik hendaklah kiranya kain tuanku pakai itu, jikalau patik mati, sekalipun sama-sama dengan kain tuanku.” Maka baginda pun segeralah menanggali pakaiannya daripada tubuhnya serta dengan tangisnya, katanya, “Hai Anakku, inilah pakaianku.” Maka maharajalela pun segeralah memakai dengan tangisnya. Semula pedang baginda pun dihunusnya dan keris pun dipakainya. Setelah sudah itu, lalu ia menyembah kepada baginda dan kepada segala raja-raja, menteri semuanya seraya katanya, “Hai segala tuan-tuan, jikalau sampai hamba ke bawah dan apabila hamba tarik tali ini, maka segeralah helakan oleh tuan-tuan, maka janganlah berhenti-henti lagi.”

Setelah sudah ia berkata demikian, maka maharajalela pun duduk di atas palang itu, lalu diulurkan oranglah bersama-sama. Maka raja-raja dengan segala rakyat sekaliannya habis menangis daripada maharajalela itu diulurkan ke dalam perigi yang dalam itu karena dalam pikiran orang yang banyak itu niscaya mati jua ia. Maka diulurkan jua perlahan-lahan, adalah kira-kira setengah jam lamanya, maka tali itu pun habislah, melainkan adalah sepuluh depa jua tinggal. Maka dilihatnya makin ke bawah makin terang ben-

²¹¹ p-m-l-s-ny. *KBBI* sv: *pembalas*, ‘that which is used as compensation’.

²¹² *KBBI* sv: *nyawa ikan*, ‘still alive’. T. 476: *ada nyawa-nyawa ikan lagi*, ‘there is still some life left’.

²¹³ m-ny-alif-b-wau-t-k-n. *Sabut* is the Minangkabau equivalent of the Malay *sebut* (*WL*. 1032). *Ms.* 983–984: *sabuik* 1, ‘sebut’.

²¹⁴ m-n-alif-r-ya-m-alif s-wau-k. *Pam.* 243: *manarimo sukue*, ‘menerima syukur’.

derang,²¹⁵ seketika lagi, maka kelihatanlah seorang-orang duduk di atas sebuah kursi yang keemasan, gilang-gemilang cahayanya. Maka kata maharajalela, “Hai syaitan dan jin, siapakah engkau?” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai orang yang datang, bukannya aku jin dan syaitan, akulah manusia Islam dan saudaraku Ghaisyah dan Aisyah dan namaku Bahram Syah, anak raja negeri Padang Silalatan.” Maka kata maharajalela, “Hai Saudaraku Bahram Syah, segeralah tuan hamba berangkat ke atas kayu ini, maka duduklah tuan hamba baik-baik sama-sama dengan hamba.” Maka Bahram Syah pun segeralah naik ke atas *48a* kayu itu sama-sama dengan maharajalela, maka ia pun menggerakkan tali itu, maka bergeraklah tali itu sampai ke atas, maka orang banyak pun segeralah menarik tali itu serta dengan sukanya, lagi dengan tempik soraknya seperti tagar bunyinya.

Maka seketika lagi, sampailah maharajalela itu dengan Bahram Syah ke atas, maka Raja Kerajaan Tengah Hari itu dengan segala raja-raja menteri pun heranlah tercengang-cengang sebab melihat rupa Bahram Syah terlalu indah bercahaya-cahaya. Maka Bahram Syah pun menyembah, maka baginda pun segera memeluk mencium Bahram Syah seraya katanya, “Hai Anakku, mengapa begini untungmu dan siapakah kiranya yang melakukan perbuatan yang dengki khianat kepada Anakku? Katakan kepadaku, niscaya aku mengambil balas akan mereka itu!” Maka sekalian orang banyak pun berhimpun melihat rupa Bahram Syah itu, maka titah baginda, “Marilah kita ke atas balairung panjang itu, di sanalah kita musyawarat dan bicara!” Maka sekalian mereka itu pun pergi berhimpun kepada balairung itu, maka kata baginda, “Hai segala tuan-tuan sekalian, adapun hamba sekarang tiadalah jadi pergi ke negeri Padang Silalatan bertemu dengan Sultan Maharaja Besar, jikalau ada umurku dilanjutkan Allah taala, kemudianlah aku bertemu dengan baginda itu, hendak hamba membawa anakanda Bahram Syah kembali pulang ke negeri kita. Adapun hamba pun tiada beranak, sekarang pun ialah Bahram Syah inilah anak hamba dunia akhirat supaya sekalian tuan-tuan tahu, jikalau ada disampaikan Allah, maka ialah akan gantiku kerajaan dalam negeri Pauh Kembal, aku²¹⁶ pun sudah tua.” Maka sembah segala menteri, hulubalang, “Ampun tuanku, mana titah tuanku, patik junjung sekaliannya.”

Setelah sudah ia musyawarat, maka sekalian mereka itu pun kembali membawa Bahram Syah kepada tempatnya, maka berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti. Maka berapa lamanya berjalan itu, adalah kiranya tujuh hari perjalanan, maka sampailah mereka itu *48b* ke negeri Pauh Kembal itu. Syahdan dalam pada antara itu, maka adalah tiga hari selangnya, maka ia pun berhasillah hendak menjadikan raja Bahram Syah itu kerajaan akan gantinya memegang negeri Pauh Kembal itu serta menyatakan kepada segala hamba rakyat dan bujang Selamat menjadi maharajalela. Maka jadilah ia bersaudara dengan Bahram Syah. Setelah berhimpunlah segala menteri dan hulubalang dalam negeri itu daripada menjadikan Bahram Syah itu kerajaan serta membuat gelarnya ialah tuanku raja muda, maka ia pun tetaplah di atas takhta kerajaan serta dengan adilnya memberi

²¹⁵ t-r-alif-ng b-n-d-alif-r-alif-ng.

²¹⁶ alif-k-n.

hukum dengan sempurnanya kebajikan. Demikian lagi, jika bersalahan dengan hukum syarak, maka dihukum dengan hukum kitab Allah, jika bersalahan dengan adat, maka dihukum dengan adat yang kawi dalam negeri itu, maka sangatlah adilnya. Demikianlah Bahram Syah itu di atas takhta kerajaan dalam negeri Pauh Kembal. Maka segala menteri semuanya memuji-muji Bahram Syah itu, terlalu adil dengan murahnya.

Syahdan berapa lama antaranya, maka Tuanku Kerajaan Tengah Hari itu pun sakitlah terlalu sangat, adalah tujuh hari lamanya sakit, lalu berpulanglah ke rahmatullah taala. Maka tuanku raja muda dan saudaranya maharajalela itu pun menangislah keduanya anaknya itu dan berapa lamanya, beberapa banyak harta disedekahkannya, tiadalah terkira-kira lagi, sentiasa, tiada berkeputusan, petang dan pagi, malam dan siang. Maka sekalian fakir miskin pun tiada berhenti daripada mengaji *Quran*. Demikianlah dikerjakan oleh tuanku raja muda dengan saudaranya maharajalela. Maka kata orang yang banyak dalam negeri itu, “Bagaimana gerangan pekerjaan tuanku daripada mengeluarkan sedekah ini, tiadalah berkira-kira, sedikit jua pun. Jikalau demikian rupanya, niscaya habislah harta yang ditinggalkan Tuanku Kerajaan Tengah Hari!” *49a* Maka kata tuanku raja muda, “Hai segala tuan-tuan, ketahui olehmu tiadalah mengapa karena yang kami sedekahkan itu, tiadalah harta yang kami cari, melainkan hanya harta ayah dan bunda jua sekaliannya. Sekarang pun biarlah habis sama-sama dibawanya dengan jalan yang sempurna kebajikan.” Bermula akan maharajalela itu, “Jikalau barang apa-apa perbuatan Bahram Syah, baik dan jahat, maka sekali-kali tiada disalahinya.”

Hatta dengan takdir Allah taala maka adalah selang tujuh hari lamanya, maka bundanya itu pun mati berpulang ke rahmatullah taala. Maka tuanku raja muda dengan maharajalela pun lalu menangis keduanya itu dan serta mengerjakan segala kelengkapan ayahnya pula. Maka sampailah kepada waktu kenduri,²¹⁷ maka ganda-berganda pula daripada harta disedekahkannya kepada segala fakir miskin, tiadalah berhenti memberi sedekah. Maka habislah emas dan perak disedekahkannya, maka dijualnya pula segala kerbau dan kambing disedekahkannya pula. Kemudian daripada itu, maka dimerdekakan²¹⁸ pula segala hambanya laki-laki dan perempuan beberapa banyaknya, segala yang jahat perangai dijualnya, disedekahkannya pula, tiadalah tinggal lagi sekaliannya habis, melainkan yang ada tinggal dalam astana itu ialah tuanku raja muda dengan saudaranya maharajalela serta dengan ayamnya seekor putih kinantan cuaca, tiadalah ia berhenti berkokok. Maka adalah raja muda dengan maharajalela itu seperti orang yang hina tambahan pula miskin dan piatu dan segala hamba rakyat pun kuranglah kasih kepadanya, akan tetapi jikalau barang apa hukum, melainkan raja muda jua yang memutuskan. Maka ia pun terlalu miskinnya dan makanannya²¹⁹ pun seolah-olah tiada akan dapat olehnya, daripada sehari kepada sehari, daripada sebulan kepada sebulan, *49b* makin bertambah-tambah jua kesukarannya.

²¹⁷ kh-n-d-wau-r-ya. *Kl.* 435: *kbanduri*. *KBBI* sv: *kenduri*, ‘commemorative meal’.

²¹⁸ d-m-r-d-h-k-k-n. *Kl.* 975–976: *merdahaka*. *Wl.* 768: *merdebekakan*.

²¹⁹ m-k-n-ny.

Syahdan berapa lamanya, maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Adinda maharajalela, pergilah berjalan-jalan dahulu ke pekan yang ramai itu, bawa olehmu ayam kinantan itu, jualkan barang berapa orang mau membeli,²²⁰ tetapi harganya itu belikan kepada beras²²¹ dan setengah belikan kepada ikan dan asam²²² garam dan kepada sirih pinang, semuanya lengkap supaya boleh kita kenduri.” Maka maharajalela segera membawa ayam kinantan itu kepada pekan yang ram[ai].

Maka sampailah kepada pekan itu, maka ia pun bertemu dengan seorang-orang ialah Turani²²³ namanya sedang berjual barang-barang rempah,²²⁴ maka kata maharajalela, “Hai Turani, maukah engkau membeli ayam ini dua kupang?” Maka kata Turani itu, “Sekarang tiadalah uang padaku, tetapi jikalau mau engkau bertukar-tukar dengan rempah-rempah ini, biarlah aku murahkan sedikit, biar pulang pangkalku tiadalah mengapa.” Maka kata maharajalela itu, “Hai Turani, baiklah, jikalau mau engkau.” Maka ayam itu pun dijualkan maharajalela kepada Turani itu dan harganya dibawanya pulang.

Bermula Bahram Syah tatkala maharajalela ke pekan menjualkan ayam itu, maka ia pun berbaring-barang, lalu tidur jadi bermimpi, maka datanglah ayahnya Raja Kerajaan Tengah Hari katanya, “Hai Anakku Bahram Syah, mengapa ayam kinantan itu engkau jualkan, hendak celaka engkau? Ketahui olehmu adapun dalam kalang²²⁵ ayam itu ialah cincin kesaktian raja jin Islam dan kebesarannya dan warnanya berbagai-bagai dan berbelang-belang. Adapun besarnya seperti cincin ini juga, tiada lebih, tiada kurang. Jika-lau barang berapa apa-apa kehendak hati, ambillah cincin itu, asap²²⁶ dengan kemenyan, maka cintalah barang segala yang kita minta, maka dengan seketika itu jua boleh dapat.”

Mimpinya sampai, ia pun terbangun daripada tidurnya, maka ia pun *soa* memandang lalu ke halaman. Maka kelihatanlah maharajalela itu sudah datang dari pekan, ialah mendukung segala barang-barang itu, maka katanya, “Hai Adinda, sudahkah engkau jual ayam kita itu?” Maka kata maharaja[lala] itu, “Sudah hamba jualkan.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Minta olehmu kembali ayam itu, meski bangkainya pun bawa jua ke sini!”

Maka maharajalela pun kembali ke pekan, berlari-lari. Maka didapatinya ayam itu sudahlah tersembelih Turani dan ia pun sedang mencabut-cabut bulu ayam itu jua, maka kata maharajalela, “Hai Turani, kembalikan ayamku itu!” Maka kata Turani itu, “Bagaimana begitu, apa sebab maka aku kembalikan ayam ini, hendak kumakan karena kita sudahlah sah jual beli, tiadalah aku mau lagi.” Maka berbantah-bantah dan berdakwa

²²⁰ m-m-l-ya.

²²¹ b-alif-r-alif-s. Wilkinson gives *baras* as the Minangkabau equivalent of the Malay *beras*, ‘husked rice’ (*Wl.* 86). *Ms.* 152: *bareh*.

²²² h-alif-s-m.

²²³ t-wau-r-alif-n-ya.

²²⁴ r-alif-m-p-h. *Pam.* 194: *rampah*, ‘rempah’. *KBBI* sv: *rempah*.

²²⁵ k-l-ng. *Ms.* 539: *kalang* 2.

²²⁶ h-alif-s-p.

antara keduanya, lalu berkelahi. Maka dalam antara itu, maka lalu direbutnya²²⁷ ayam itu oleh maharajalela daripada tangan Turani dan barang-barang itu pun dihamburkannya pula daripada dukungannya, lalu ke hadapan Turani, “Ambil hartamu ini, hai Turani, bedebah celaka!” Maka maharajalela itu pun kembalilah ia pulang membawa ayam itu.

Maka ia pun sampailah, lalu naik ke rumahnya, maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Adinda, persianglah ayam itu, lalu gulai supaya kita segera kenduri sekarang.” Maka maharajalela itu pun mengambil sekin, maka lalu dipersianglah ayam itu. Setelah sudah dibasuhnya daging ayam itu, maka diambilnya pula kalangnya, lalu dibelahnya maka berderik-deriklah²²⁸ mata sekin itu seperti batu yang sani. Maka maharajalela itu pun pikir dalam hatinya, “Batukah a[da] dalam ayam ini?” Maka lalu dilihatnya kalang ayam itu, maka bertemu dengan sebuah cincin berbelang-belang rupanya, maka dibalik-baliknya di atas tapak tangannya, maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Adinda, apalah itu?” Maka kata maharajalela *sob* itu, “Tiada aku tahu!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Mari aku lihat!” Maka ia pun menunjukkan cincin itu kepada Bahram Syah, maka segeralah diambilnya cincin itu seraya katanya, “Hai Adinda, inilah kiranya tahi ayam yang keras!” Maka cincin itu pun rupa-rupa hendak dicampakkannya, “Apalah gunanya najis itu?” Kemudianya, maka simpannya baik-baik dalam ikat pinggangnya.

Hatta berapa lamanya, maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Adinda, sekarang pun bahwasanya ayah bunda kita sudahlah mati, adapun segala harta bendanya yang berharga²²⁹ lagi, harga semiang pun kita sedekahkan jua. Adapun kita, jikalau berkehendak kepada harta, kita cari.” Setelah sudahlah masak gulai itu, maka dipanggilnya mualim seorang, lalu ia kenduri. Maka berapa lama antaranya, kemudian daripada itu maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Adinda, adapun sekarang hamba hendak berjalan dahulu, melainkan Adindalah menjadi raja akan gantiku, adil-adil, menghukum dengan sebenarnya dan adapun adat akan dipakai sepeninggalku ini, jikalau akur salah dengan emas, lepaskan dengan nasi, jikalau salah dengan nasi, lepaskan dengan sirih, jikalau salah dengan sirih, lepaskan dengan kata, supaya makmur dalam takhta kerajaan.” Maka kata maharajalela itu, “Hai tuanku, tiadalah kita jadi berganti hidup.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Adikku, adapun hamba jadi kerajaan, ialah jadikan ayahanda akan gantinya tatkala hidupnya jua, sekarang pun itulah yang kita ikut, daripada perintahnya jua. Sekarang pun Adinda jua menjadi kerajaan akan gantiku. Maka berjalanlah Adinda pagi-pagi hari panggil segala menteri, hulubalang, rakyat semuanya!”

Maka esok harinya, maka maharajalela itu pun memanggil segala penghulu dan *51A* menteri, hulubalang dan rakyat dalam negeri Pauh Kembal itu, maka sekalian mereka itu pun berhimpunlah daripada menjadikan maharajalela akan ganti tuanku raja muda itu kerajaan. Setelah sudah bicara itu, maka sekalian mereka itu pun kembalilah pada

²²⁷ d-ya-r-alifb-wau-t. *VDTa*. 166: r-alifb-t, *rabui*, ‘to take away’, ‘snatch’.

²²⁸ b-r-d-alif-r-ya-q angka dua l-h. *Pam*. 51: *darie*, ‘derik’.

²²⁹ b-h-r-g-alif.

tempatnyanya masing-masing. Maka keesokan harinya, maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Adinda maharajalela, janganlah susah bercerai dengan aku dan jangan dihilangkan daripada nama bangsa ayah bunda kita dan jangan tinggalkan astana ini dan jikalau apa-apa datang yang kelihatan, jangan Adikku sapa-sapa!”

Syahdan maka hari itu pun malam, maka maharajalela pun tidurlah terlalu nyedar. Maka Bahram Syah mengambil puntung api, maka lalu diasapnya cincin raja jin itu, dengan seketika itu jua, ia pun datang menyembah katanya, “Hai tuan kami Bahram Syah, apalah kehendak tuan kami, kami terlalu takut dan gentar.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Saudaraku, adapun kehendakku, kembalikan seperti yang dahulu segala harta benda ayahku dalam astana ini, sedikit janganlah kurang, melainkan lebihkan jua!” Maka dengan seketika itu kembalilah semuanya, terlebih daripada yang dahulu itu. Setelah keesokan harinya, maka dilihat oleh maharajalela segala harta telah banyak terlebih daripada tatkala dahulu, maka ia pun terlalu sukacitanya dan bertambah-tambah takut dan kasihnya kepada Bahram Syah itu. Syahdan maka Bahram Syah pun bermohon, lalu berjalan, tiada berhenti-henti.

Berapa lamanya, adalah tiga hari perjalanan, maka ia pun sampailah kepada balairung yang panjang itu, maka Bahram Syah pun berhentilah sesaat. Kemudian maka ia pun berjalan jua. Berapa lamanya, maka ia pun sampailah kepada banjar itu terlalu ramai, lalu ia berhenti seketika, lalu ia memetik besi apinya,²³⁰ diasaplah cincin *51b* raja jin itu. Maka dengan seketika lagi, maka raja jin itu pun datang, maka katanya, “Hai tuanku, apalah kehendak tuan kami, kami takut dan gentar.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Saudaraku, sekarang alihlah rupaku seperti orang Arab yang haji!” Maka dengan sekejap²³¹ itu pun, bertukarlah rupanya seperti rupa orang Arab yang baru pulang dari Mekah, jubahnya putih, serbannya²³² putih, terlalu majelis, indah sekali rupanya.

Maka ia pun berjalan menempuh banjar ladang orang, maka sekalian mereka itu pun memberi sedekah akan dia. Bermula segala orang yang dalam banjar pela[dangan]²³³ itu pun memberi sedekah dan mengiringkan tuanku haji itu, dalam hatinya, “Orang itu inilah yang tahu melawan burung *Marah* Jalin itu berkata-kata.” Maka berjalanlah orang sekaliannya, lalu ke dalam kota, maka segala penghulu pun menyembah, lalu berkata-kata, “Adakah tuanku tahu membawa burung *Marah* Jalin itu berkata-kata?” Maka kata

²³⁰ A *besi api* or *basi catuiah* was used in olden times to light a fire. It consisted of two metal parts that were rubbed against each other to produce a spark. Dried fine fibres, *rabuak*, from the the trunk of a sugar-palm, *anau*, were used as tinder. In West Sumatra the inflammable nature of *rabuak* is used as a simile for the mutual attraction between the sexes: *bak api jo rabuak*, ‘like fire and tinder’, or *jan dicampukaan durian jo antimun, jan dipadakekan api jo rabuak*, ‘do not mix *durian* with cucumber, keep away fire from tinder’ (*Ms.* 924) The Bunda Kandung Museum in Bukittinggi has several *besi api* in its collection.

²³¹ s-k-j-b.

²³² s-r-wau-b-n-ny. *Pam.* 2.17: *saroban*, ‘serban’, ‘kopiab haji’.

²³³ p-l-alif. The combination *banjar pala* is probably the result of a scribal error. The context suggests that the original might have read *banjar peladangan* (see also page 52a).

tuanku haji itu, “Baiklah kita coba-coba!” Maka segala penghulu itu membawa kepada balai penghadapan itu, maka ia pun lalu berjalan kepada halaman mesjid itu, maka segala alim dan pendeta pun lalu berjabat salam, katanya, “Ya Maulana, adakah tuanku tahu daripada membawa burung *Marah Jalin* itu berkata-kata?” Maka kata tuanku haji Arab itu, “Jadi kita coba-coba, apa akan salahnya? Di mana burung itu sekarang?”

Syahdan maka Sultan Maharaja Besar pun mendengarlah tuanku haji Arab itu datang, maka sekalian orang yang banyak itu pun bersoraklah terlalu suka. Maka dengan seketika, maka hampirlah tuanku haji Arab itu kepada halaman balai-balairung penghadapan itu. Bermula Sultan Maharaja Besar lagi sedang dihadap oleh segala menteri, hulubalang sekaliannya. Bermula burung *Marah Jalin 52a* itu serta melihat tuanku haji Arab itu, maka ia pun memanjang-manjang lehernya dan mengirai-ngiraikan bulunya dan (dan) mengipas-ngipas ekornya. Demikian lagi, Tuan Putri Andam Dewi pun mengusai-usaikan²³⁴ rambutnya dan melentur-lentur jarinya, lalu memandang ke kiri dan ke kanan, ke hadapan dan ke belakang seperti orang berhendak berkata-kata. Sebermula akan Ghaisyah dan Aisyah keduanya sama berdiri atas balai itu, dihadap oleh segala raja-raja, menteri, hulubalang sekaliannya.

Maka hari pun petanglah, maka kata tuanku haji Arab itu, “Ya tuanku, adapun sekarang belum lagi kita boleh bicara, hari sianglah kita lihat burung itu, sekarang aku hendak pergi sembahyang.” Maka ia pun berjalan kembali ke banjar peladangan itu, maka sekalian orang banyak itu pun hiru-biru masing-masing sebab melihat tuanku haji Arab itu berjalan. Maka hari itu pun malamlah, berapa lamanya maka keesokan harinya, maka Bahram Syah pun memetik besi apinya, lalu diasapnya cincin raja jin itu dengan kemenyan. Maka dengan sekejap mata itu, maka datanglah raja jin itu, “Ya tuanku, apa kehendak tuanku kepada kami?” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Saudaraku, adapun kehendakku, kembalikanlah rupaku seperti dahulu!” Maka ia pun pulanglah rupanya seperti dahu[lu] kala, maka ia pun berjalanlah menempuh jalan banjar itu. Setelah dilihat oleh orang banyak Bahram Syah itu sudah datang, maka sekalian mereka itu pun menyembah, menundukkan kepalanya lalu ke tanah, lalu mengiringkan Bahram Syah seperti lebah banyaknya.

Dengan seketika lagi, maka terdengarlah kepada Sultan Maharaja Besar akan Bahram Syah sudahlah datang sekarang, diiringkan segala orang banyak. Maka baginda itu pun segeralah terbangkit serta dengan permaisuri pergi mengeluelukan anaknya itu, diiringkan oleh segala menteri *52b* dan hulubalang semuanya, berlari-lari berdahulu-dahulu. Maka dengan seketika lagi, maka Bahram Syah pun sampailah, maka lalu menyembah kaki ayah bundanya dan dipeluk, diciumnya oleh baginda. Adapun akan Ghaisyah dan Aisyah sedang berdiri di atas balai, maka kelihatanlah Bahram Syah, maka terkejut, lari keduanya ke hulu dan ke sana-sini. Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Tangkap olehmu bedebah celaka itu, bukan ia gerangan manusia!” Maka Ghaisyah itu lari keduanya bersembunyi ke rumah menteri, melindungi dirinya ke atas pagu yang tinggi.

²³⁴ m-b-r-wau-s-ya angka dua k-n. KBBI sv: *mengusaikan*, *'menguraikan'*.

Bermula akan Sultan Maharaja Besar pun sama-samalah duduk dengan anaknya Bahram Syah, maka baginda memberi titah kepada menteri menyuruh memanggil segala raja-raja yang dua belas sungai itu barang siapa hendak mendengarkan burung *Marah* Jalin berkata-kata karena anakanda Bahram Syah sudah kembali daripada negeri Gastu Gasta.

Maka keesokan harinya, segala raja-raja itu pun datanglah serta dengan rakyatnya masing-masing, semuanya menghadap baginda, maka titah baginda, “Hai Anakku Bahram Syah, bawa burung itu berkata-kata!” Syahdan maka Bahram Syah pun menyuruhkan burung itu berkata-kata, “Hai burungku yang arif jauhari budiman bijaksana, berkata-kata dan berceritalah engkau seperti kita berkata-kata di hadapan Tuanku *Marah* Inda Sultan Jalil dan Tuan Putri Apalu Apala dan Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara dalam negeri Gastu Gasta!” Maka burung *Marah* Jalin itu pun berkata-kata dengan bahasa Jawi, maka dengan seketika itu jua, maka berhamburanlah emas dan perak daripada mulutnya, maka berebut tangan segala istri raja-raja berebutkan emas dan perak. Setelah itu maka ia pun bercerita dengan *53a* bahasa Arab, maka bertaburanlah intan dan pudi daripada matanya dan segala permata yang indah-indah, maka berebutlah tangan segala perempuan yang berjabatan. Setelah itu maka ia pun bermadah dan bersyair, maka terseraklah ratna mutu manikam dari dalam hidungnya, maka berebutlah tangan segala saudagar mengambil ratna mutu manikam itu. Setelah sudah maka ia pun berpantun berseloka dengan sekalian bahasa, maka keluarlah segala bau-bauan dari pada segala tiap-tiap pangkal bulunya daripada ambar dan kesturi dan kumkuma²³⁵ sama narwastu,²³⁶ maka berebutlah tangan segala dayang-dayang, pinginang memakai bau-bauan itu.

Syahdan dengan seketika itu jua, maka Tuan Putri Andam Dewi pun segera turun dari dalam astana, lalu ia menyembah kepada kaki Bahram Syah seraya katanya, “Inilah kiranya tuan hamba sudah datang.” Hatta maka Bahram Syah pun ceterakan kepada Tuanku Sultan Maharaja Besar peri mengatakan tatkala ia berjalan bercerai-cerai dan ia menebus²³⁷ Ghaisyah dan Aisyah dan tatkala ia ditolakkan oleh saudaranya Ghaisyah dan Aisyah ke dalam perigi, habis semuanya diceterakannya kepada ayahnya dan kepada segala raja-raja sekaliannya. Maka segala raja-raja pun heranlah. Maka adalah konon sebulan lamanya raja-raja itu menghadap dalam balai-balai itu, mendengarkan Bahram Syah itu bercerita, ada yang senang ada yang sakit, dan segala orang yang mendengar itu ada yang menangis ada yang tertawa-tawa.

Maka adalah selang tujuh hari lamanya dalam kesukaan, maka titah baginda kepada segala menteri, “Hai segala menteri, bagaimanalah bicara kita akan Ghaisyah dan Aisyah ini? Hendaklah tuan-tuan sekalian bicara akan supaya jangan ia mati dibunuh Bahram Syah. Pada kira-kira hamba, jikalau *53b* rapat semuanya memeliharakan dia, niscaya selamat.” Maka sembah segala raja-raja, “Baiklah, mana perintah tuanku, patik

²³⁵ k-m-alif. According to Wilkinson, *kumkuma*, ‘saffron’, is often pronounced as *kuma-kuma* (*Wl.* 624).

²³⁶ n-ya-r-wau-s-t. *KBBI* sv: *narwastu*.

²³⁷ m-n-alif-b-wau-s. *KBBI* sv: *menebus*.

sekalian junjung.” Maka segala raja-raja pun pergilah mendapatkan Bahram Syah kepada suatu taman bermain-main, maka segala raja-raja menteri itu pun menyembah kepada Bahram Syah seraya katanya, “Ya tuanku yang bungsu, adapun kami ini datang melainkan sama-sama dengan titah ayahanda hendak meminta Ghaisyah dan Aisyah. Sekarang pun hendaklah kami segala yang rapat ini meminta, jikalau ada boleh dianya kembali pulang ke mari.” Setelah sudah didengar Bahram Syah kata segala menteri itu, maka katanya, “Hai segala menteri yang tua-tua, sekarang pun tiadalah mengapa dan jikalau hamba turutkan daripada hati hamba ini kepada saudaraku itu, dengan sekejap²³⁸ mata pun kami tiada boleh berpandangan karena sebab perbuatannya sekali-kali tiada patut. Sekarang pun pulanglah, maklum kepada ayah bunda dan kepada segala tuan-tuan, di mana boleh hamba salah kehendak tuan-tuan sekaliannya. Syahdan hamba pun berkehendak pula kepada ayah bunda serta dengan segala menteri dan raja-raja. Bermula segala raja-raja yang di bawah perintah seri paduka ayahanda dua belas batang sungai, maka hendaklah membawa kerbau barang dua ekor satu raja dan ayah bunda pun berhasillah dengan beras barang berapa sedangnya.” Maka kata segala raja-raja dan menteri itu, “Ya tuanku, terlalu baik sekali-kali.” Maka ia pun kembali kepada negerinya masing-masing.

Kemudian daripada itu, selang tujuh hari lamanya, maka ia pun berhimpunlah menghadap Tuanku Sultan Maharaja Besar. Setelah hasillah dengan selengkapnya, maka sembah segala raja-raja dan menteri kepada Bahram Syah, “Ya tuanku, sekarang pun dengan seperti *54a* yang tuanku titahkan kepada kami, melainkan sudahlah hasil dengan selengkapnya, bagaimana bicara tuanku sekarang?” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Jikalau demikian, segeralah cari saudaraku itu keduanya, jikalau ia sampai ke mari, di sinilah kita putuskan segala bicara.” Maka perdana menteripun berjalanlah pergi mencari Ghaisyah dan Aisyah. Maka ia pun sampailah, maka tanda itu pun diunjukkannya kepada Ghaisyah dan Aisyah daripada menjemputnya²³⁹ kembali pulang karena tuanku dengan segala penghulu telah hadir menanti sekarang. Maka Ghaisyah dan Aisyah pun bermasamkan mukanya, lalu berdiam dirinya, maka kata perdana menteri itu, “Hai tuan hamba kedua, janganlah tuan hamba takut dan gentar keduanya kepada tuan yang bungsu itu karena bicara kami sudahlah dalam akuan kami serta dengan duli tuanku dan segala raja-raja tiada lagi mengapa, janganlah lagi tuan hamba gagahi supaya tuan hamba selamat, melainkan baiklah kita sama-sama, kami iringkan.” Maka kata Ghaisyah dan Aisyah, “Jikalau demikian, pergilah kami keduanya menghadap seri paduka ayahanda dengan adinda Bahram Syah, tetapi janganlah kami tuan-tuan ceraikan jikalau buruk dengan baiknya, melainkan hendaklah kiranya di hadapan tuan hamba.” Maka kata perdana menteri, “Hai tuan hamba keduanya, sekarang pun haraplah²⁴⁰ kiranya tuan hamba kepada Allah subhanahu wa

²³⁸ *s-ya-k-j-b. KBBBI sv: sekejap.*

²³⁹ *m-n-j-p-wau-t-ny. KBBBI sv: menjemput. Wilkinson lists jeput as a variant of jemput (Wl. 464). Ms. 495: japuik.*

²⁴⁰ *h-r-b-l-h. KBBBI sv: harap.*

taala, jikalau tuan bungsu itu hendak membunuh²⁴¹ tuan keduanya, maka dibunuhnya dahulu kami dengan tuanku dengan segala menteri.” Maka ia pun berjalanlah keduanya, diiringkan perdana menteri.

Berapa lamanya maka ia pun sampailah, lalu menyembah kepada kaki ayahnya. Setelah itu, maka berdirilah bundanya, maka diambilnya tangan anaknya yang tiga orang itu, Ghaisyah dan Aisyah dan Bahram Syah, *54b* maka jadilah berjabat tangan ketiganya, duduk bersuka-sukaan. Bermula akan Ghaisyah dan Aisyah adalah menundukkan kepalanya, tiadalah dapat memandang muka Bahram Syah dan tiada berkata-kata, melainkan Bahram Syah jua berkata-kata dengan ayahnya dengan menteri. Maka berdatang sembah segala menteri itu, “Hai tuanku kami yang bungsu, seperti yang disuruh cari kepada kami sudahlah hasil dengan selengkapnya.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Ayahanda serta segala menteri, akan sekarang ini kita hendak memulai pekerjaan berjaga-jaga barang dua kali tujuh hari siang dan malam, jangan berhenti-henti. Adapun kehendak hamba daripada saudaraku yang tengah ini, hendaklah kita semuanya menjadikan raja ialah akan ganti seri paduka Ayahanda karena dianya sudahlah tua, melainkan baiklah ia mengerjakan sembahyang lima waktu, diam dalam mesjid dan sebagai lagi pula, kita kawinkan pula saudaraku yang tengah ini dengan Tuan Putri Andam Dewi, itulah namanya putr[i] ini supaya boleh didengarnya oleh segala yang rapat dalam balai ini. Adapun pada sangkanya saudaraku yang tua itu putri Ambaru Ambara. A[da]pun putri Ambaru Ambara itu ialah yang ratna kemala dalam negeri Gastu Gasta, dalam bandar tujuh puluh tujuh buah, itulah dalam hukumannya dan tandaku pun sudah dalam tangannya. Ialah kami berjanji tujuh tahun, sekarang sudah sampai enam tahun, tinggal setahun lagi. Adapun sebabnya hamba terlebih hendak mengawinkan abangku yang tengah ini dengan Tuan Putri Andam Dewi karena hatinya kulihat sangatlah birahinya kepada tuan putri itu dan tatkala kami sama-sama berjalan, hamba lihat terlalu sekali sangat birahinya, sebab itulah hamba beroleh siksa yang amat sangat. Apa boleh buat, sudahlah dengan izin Allah taala. *55a* Dan kakanda yang tua kita kawinkan pula dengan Putri Sikandar Bayang-Bayang, anak raja Teluk Embun karena hamba lihat itulah putri yang sangat bangsawan. Panggil sekarang, kami boleh kita kawinkan dalam astana ayah bunda ini jua, tiada lagi susah!”

Adapun akan tuanku sultan itu, kurang ia suka daripada mengawinkan Aisyah itu dengan Tuan Putri Andam Dewi sebab didengarnya perangnya terlalu jahat. Maka Bahram Syah itu pun tahu akan alamatnya yang dalam hati ayahnya itu, maka Bahram Syah menyembah, “Ya Ayahanda, adapun seperti abangku yang tengah ini, jikalau Ayahanda kawinkan dengan putri yang lain, tiadalah akan kekal, melainkan ialah Putri Andam Dewi jua karena sudahlah gerangan pertemuannya.” Setelah sudah bicara itu, maka memulai pekerjaan berjaga-jaga empat belas hari, empat belas malam, tiadalah berhenti-henti. Syahdan Tuan Putri Andam Dewi pun dikawinkan oranglah dengan Aisyah dan Tuan Putri Sikandar Bayang-Bayang pun dikawinkan oranglah dengan Ghaisyah.

²⁴¹ m-m-wau-n-h.

Setelah sudah pekerjaan itu, adalah selang tiga hari lamanya, maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Kakanda keduanya, adapun sehingga ini ke atas, jikalau barang apa-apa pekerjaan, jikalau tiada berkuda yang baik *k-r-t-ya-h-ny* serta dengan alat pakaiannya, sekali-kali janganlah Abangku berjalan, sebagai lagi, jikalau tiada kasur yang keemasan, jikalau bagaimana mengantuk,²⁴² sekali-kali jangan Abangku keduanya tidur dan berbaring-baring, sebagai lagi, jikalau tiada makanan yang baik serta dengan selengkapnya, meski bagaimana lapar, janganlah Abangku makan! Adapun sekarang bicara ini, di mana Abangku keduanya tahu karena segala yang rapat ini adalah dianya melihat-lihat dan mendengar-dengarkan *55b* segala fiil dan kelakuan Kakanda daripada segala adil dan zalimnya dalam pikiran hatinya. Selang hamba lagi Kakanda aniaya lagi kita bersaudara betul tiada berlain ibu dan bapa, istimewa pula orang lain, itulah sebab ingat-ingat Kakanda kedua!” Setelah sudah Bahram Syah musyawarat²⁴³ dengan saudaranya itu, maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai segala menteri yang dua belas batang sungai ini, ketahui olehmu, adapun sehingga ini ke atas janganlah kiranya bersilang berselisih! Adapun silang selisih itu, jika dikerjakan, tak dapat tiada menghabiskan²⁴⁴ emas dan melengangkan²⁴⁵ negeri. Kemudian harinya, jikalau tambah perkataan abangku tua dan tengah dengan segala menteri, minta hukum yang sempurna kebajikan kepada seri paduka ayahanda. Itulah lawan bersama-sama barang siapa tiada tuan-tuan mau menurutkan hukum seri paduka ayahanda, itulah lawan bersama-sama barang siapa kiranya tiada mau menurut adat nanti di belakang. Kemudian harinya aku datang, lihatlah olehmu kuasa Allah taala, negeri ini boleh kukanji menjadi air, dengan segala isinya boleh kuhabiskan. Adapun yang teguh itu bukannya batu dan besi dan parit yang tebal serta dengan alat senjatanya, melainkan dengan mufakat yang bersama-samaan jua, itulah yang terlebih teguhnya!” Setelah didengar mereka itu kata Bahram Syah itu, maka ia pun terlalu takut serta dengan gentarnya, maka sekalian mereka itu pun menurutkan hukum Bahram Syah.

Maka berapa lamanya, maka kata Bahram Syah kepada ayah bundanya dan kepada segala penghulu-penghulu, “Sekarang pun hendaklah segala menteri carikan beras barang tiga ratus sukat, demikian lagi pada Ayah dan Bunda, maka hendaklah carikan pula hamba kerbau barang tiga ekor. Maka hasillah dalam tujuh hari ini suruh permasak bersama-sama kerbau dengan nasi itu, maka timbunkan di tengah padang itu tiga timbunan sama-sama banyaknya *56a* karena hamba hendak berjalan dalam tujuh hari ini, kembali ke negeri Gastu Gasta. Maka berhasillah Ayah dan Bunda serta dengan segala menteri itu ke tengah padang itu membawa beras dengan kerbau itu!”

Setelah itu, maka Bahram Syah pun segeralah menyuruh perdana menteri itu menyuruh memalu mongmongan ke dalam kota dan ke luar kota, demikian bunyinya, “Hai

²⁴² *m-ng-n-t-wau*’.

²⁴³ *m-s-wau-alif-t-alif-t. Pam. 155: musawarat, ‘musyawarat’.*

²⁴⁴ *m-h-b-s-k-n.*

²⁴⁵ *m-l-alif-ng-ng-k-n. Pam. 132: langang, ‘lengang’.*

segala tuan-tuan yang rapat semuanya, adapun titahnya tuan bungsu kepada sekalian kita yang isi negeri ini, jikalau apa-apa kiranya yang kelihatan pada hari siang esok, melainkan janganlah takut dan gentar dan janganlah disapa-sapa, hendaklah berdiam diri saja, daripada laki-laki dan perempuan dan segala anak yang kecil-kecil janganlah dilepaskan daripada dukungannya!” Maka keesokan harinya, maka nasi dan kerbau itu pun dimasakkan oranglah.

Bermula Sultan Maharaja Besar itu pun berangkatlah diiringkan oleh menteri, hulubalang dan anaknya, habis bertangis-tangisan. Maka dengan seketika lagi, maka Bahram Syah itu pun membakar bulu garuda itu, maka berasaplah apinya maka dengan seketika itu juga garuda itu pun datang terbang melayang mencari anaknya dan anaknya pun terbang pula mencari ibunya. Berapa lamanya daripada mencari itu, maka ia pun bertemulah ketiganya itu, maka kata bundanya, “Ya Anakku keduanya, maka sekarang ini saudaramu telah memanggil dan memberi tahu kita, apalah gerangan kesukarannya?” Maka kata anaknya kedua itu, “Dan kami keduanya pun sudahlah tahu.” Setelah itu, maka ia pun terbang ketiganya seperti kilat yang mahatangkas dan sayapnya pun seperti halilintar bunyinya.

Maka dengan seketika lagi ia terbang itu, adalah berbetulan ke tengah padang itu. Bermula segala awan dan mega terlindunglah dan matahari pun tertutuplah, tiada lagi bercahaya sebab terlindung oleh sayap garuda. Maka sekalian orang banyak pun hirubirulah sebab *šb* disangkanya sudah malam hari itu. Maka dengan seketika lagi, maka garuda itu pun terbanglah bersenunggang mengapitkan sayapnya, maka segala orang banyak habislah terahap dan menyempal telinganya daripada mendengar bunyi sayap garuda itu, berdengung bunyinya seperti sangkakala dan segala kayu-kayuan pun habis melet[ak]²⁴⁶ ke bumi. Maka garuda itu pun berseru, “Hai Anakku Bahram Syah, di mana engkau sekarang?” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku, inilah aku!” Maka ia pun hinggaplah ketiganya pada segala timbunan nasi dan gulai, maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku dengan Adikku keduanya, inilah negeri ayah bunda kita, supaya Bunda dan Adinda tahu hendaklah Bunda peliharakan sehingga ini, lalu ke atas.” Adapun pada ketika itu, berapa banyaknya segala kanak-kanak habis terkejut sebab melihat rupa garuda itu dengan mendengar bunyi sayapnya. Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bundaku, adapun sebab hamba memberi tahu adikku keduanya, putarkanlah aku ke negeri Gastu Gasta! Sekarang pun minum dan makanlah Bundaku dan Adikku sedikit seorang.” Maka ia pun makanlah setimban seorang. “Sebab karena janji sudahlah sampai dengan Tuanku *Marah* Inda Sultan Jalil, sekarang tinggal setahun lagi, sekarang pun hantarkanlah aku ke sana!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Pertetaplah badanmu, aku hendak naik ke belakang kamu!” Maka garuda yang jantan itu pun merendahkan dirinya, maka Bahram Syah pun melompat ke atas belakangnya. Setelah itu, maka ia pun terbanglah ketiganya.

²⁴⁶ m-l-alif-t.

Bermula tanah dan padang itu pun adalah berderik-derik dan berlelgang-lelgang²⁴⁷ dan segala orang yang banyak pun bertambah-tambah takutnya. Maka garuda itu pun melambung tinggi berapa lamanya, maka ia pun terbang pula mendarat berapa lamanya, maka ia pun terbang pula merendah berapa lamanya, maka dengan seketika lagi, maka ia pun *57a* sampailah kepada pohon kayu yang besar kepada tempat sarangnya itu. Maka ia pun hinggaplah ketiganya, maka kayu itu pun bergoncang serta meliuk-liuk. Maka Bahram Syah pun turunlah kepada sarang garuda itu, maka kata garuda itu, “Tinggalah Anakku dahulu di sini, kami hendak mencari makanan.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Baiklah, tetapi di mana dapat makanan itu, di sana jua makan.” Maka kata garuda itu, “Baiklah Anakku, melainkan sampai tiga hari ini kami hantarkanlah Anakku.” Maka ia pun terbanglah mencari makanannya. Setelah sudah garuda itu makan, maka ia pun pulang kepada sarangnya.

Setelah sampailah tiga hari, maka kata garuda yang jantan itu, “Hai Kakanda, segeralah naik ke atas belakangku ini!” Maka Bahram Syah pun melompat ke atas belakang garuda itu, maka ia pun terbanglah ketiganya melambung tinggi. Maka tatkala itu angin pun terlalu lemah lembut. Berapa lamanya, maka sampailah menempuh laut api. Maka adalah pada ketika itu laut api itu adalah sedang diam dirinya, berasap pun tiada, mendidih pun tiada dan hangatnya pun adalah berkurang-kurang. Maka dengan seketika lagi, maka lepaslah daripada rantau bahr laut api itu maka ia pun bermain-main sesaat dan seketika lagi, maka ia pun melihat ke bawah mencari padang yang lebar tatkala diperjamu Bahram Syah dahulu. Adapun sediakala, maka adalah sesaat terbang itu, maka kelihatanlah padang itu, maka ia pun bersenungganglah ke bawah ketiganya, lalu merahap ke tengah padang itu di luar negeri Gastu Gasta. Maka Bahram Syah pun segeralah turun ke bumi. Maka berapa lamanya ia berkata-kata itu dengan garuda itu, maka ia pun terbanglah ketiganya garuda itu dan Bahram Syah pun berhentilah di sana.

Berapa lamanya ia pun berjalan menurutkan jalan kepada kampung Gastu Gasta. Berapa lamanya ia berjalan, maka sampailah ia kepada Kebun (bun) Bunga, *57b* lalu mandi. Setelah sudah, lalu ia berjalan. Maka adalah dayang-dayang disuruhkan Nenek Kebayan memupue²⁴⁸ bunga hendak dikarang seperti karangan Bahram Syah dahulu itu. Adapun pada hari itu perdana menteri dengan Nenek Kebayan sangatlah rindu dan tercinta serta disebut-sebutnya dengan air matanya kedua laki istri, katanya, “Betapakah gerangan anak kita itu sudah lama tiada juga kembali?” Maka kata perdana menteri, “Perbuat olehmu karangan bunga ini akan peragu-peragu²⁴⁹ hati saja.” Maka kata rubiah itu, “Itulah, aku

²⁴⁷ b-r-l-ya-ng-g-ng angka dua. *Linggang* is a variant form of *lelgang*, ‘swaying from side to side’ (*WL* 679, 695).

²⁴⁸ m-m-wau-p-wau-r. *VDTo*. 263: p-wau-p-r, *pupue* III, ‘gone’, ‘finished’, ‘bare’ (of a tree). It is used here with the meaning ‘to pick’.

²⁴⁹ *WL* 933: *ragu*, ‘not knowing what is happening’; *T* 554: *ragu hati*, ‘confused’. *Peragu* is here used in the sense of a means to take someone’s mind off something, to distract.

hendak mengarang bunga seperti karangan bunga anakku yang diambil oleh Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara.”

Syahdan maka dayang-dayang pun sampailah ke dalam air hendak mandi, maka dilihatnya orang dalam air sama dengan tuan kita dahulu itu, sedikit tiada bersalahan. Setelah sudah Bahram Syah itu mandi, maka ia pun berseru, “Siapa hendak mandi, mandilah!” Maka setelah dilihat oleh dayang-dayang itu rupa Bahram Syah, maka ia pun sujud ketiganya, menyembah kaki Bahram Syah serta dengan tangisnya, “Sudahlah tuanku datang!” Maka kembalilah seorang dayang-dayang mengatarakan kepada Nenek Kebayan. Setelah dilihatnya dayang-dayang datang berlari-lari, maka katanya, “Apalah kelakuanmu ini, seperti binatang yang empat kaki berjalan berlari-lari?” Maka sembah dayang-dayang itu, katanya, “Tuan kami sudah ia datang daripada seberang laut.” Maka kata Nenek Kebayan, “Hai bedebah celaka, tuanmu yang mana di seberang laut?” Maka kata dayang-dayang, “Tuan kami, tunangan Putri Ambaru Ambara.” Setelah didengar Nenek Kebayan dengan perdana menteri tua Bahram Syah itu sudahlah datang, maka ia pun berlari-lari keduanya laki istri, lalu kepada tepian. Maka ia pun bertemu dengan Bahram Syah dengan suka hatinya, dibawanya pulang ke rumah dan sekalian orang dalam rumah itu pun sekalian sukacita dan memuji-muji Bahram Syah, siang dan malam bersuka-sukaan, *58a* makan dan minum, pelbagai segala nikmat yang baik.

Maka adalah tiga hari lamanya Bahram Syah itu dalam Kebun Bunga, maka perdana menteri dengan istrinya pergilah ke dalam kota menjelang Tuanku *Marah* Inda Sultan Jalil. Setelah sampai, lalu menyembah seraya sembahnya, “Ya tuanku, sudahlah datang anak kita Bahram Syah. Sekarang pun jikalau bagaimana pikiran tuanku, melainkan hendaklah tuanku memberi titah kepada patik daripada hal mengawinkan anakanda Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara dengan Bahram Syah.” Maka baginda pun berkata, “Hai perdana menteri kedua laki istri, adapun yang kita nanti selama ini ialah Bahram Syah, sekarang sudah ia datang, maka berhasillah tuan-tuan memberi tahu segala rakyat dan menghimpunkan segala menteri-menteri dan raja-raja!” Maka perdana menteri segera menyembah, lalu berjalan pulang. Bermula baginda pun menyuruhkan memalu gong²⁵⁰ dan segala bunyi-bunyian dan segala mongmongan ke hilir ke hulu dan menyuruhkan berhimpun pagi-pagi ke dalam kota.

Maka keesokan harinya pagi-pagi, maka berhimpunlah segala menteri yang dua belas batang sungai itu dan segala rakyat, lalu berjalan seperti kawan lebah, seperti semut banyaknya, tiada tepermanai banyaknya dan beriring-iring tiada berkeputusan dan tiada berkesudahan, sekaliannya pergi menghadap Sultan Jalil itu. Setelah sampai segala menteri ke dalam kota itu, maka datang pula segala raja-raja yang enam puluh lima itu serta²⁵¹ dengan alat senjatanya, maka lalu ia berdatang sembah, “Ya tuanku syah alam, bagaimana sekarang bicara tuanku karena raja-raja yang tujuh puluh tujuh orang itu pun sudahlah

²⁵⁰ *alif-g-wau-ng, Wl. 10: agong, 'gong'.*

²⁵¹ *alif-s-r-t.*

rapat, melainkan tuanku titahkanlah sekarang kepada kami.” Maka kata baginda, “Hai segala raja-raja dan menteri, adapun bicara ini karena kita hendak bekerja dan berjaga-jaga empat belas hari dan *58b* empat belas malam karena hendak mengawinkan anakku Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara dengan anak perdana menteri, demikianlah hamba pulangkanlah kepada tuan-tuan segala raja-raja dan segala penghulu dalam negeri ini buruk dan baiknya, jikalau apa-apa yang kurang, melainkan atas hambalah sekaliannya.” Maka sembah segala raja-raja dan segala menteri yang di bawah baginda itu, “Jikalau demikian kiranya daripada titah tuanku, melainkan kamilah daripada mengerjakan dia!” Maka segala raja-raja dan segala menteri itu musyawaratlah ia.

Syahdan, maka adalah raja seorang dalam anak raja yang banyak itu, maka itulah yang terlebih daripada ahlulbicara, maka katanya, “Adapun pekerjaan ini sekarang sudahlah dipulangkan tuanku kepada kita sekaliannya kita yang rapat, jikalau begitu janganlah hendaknya segala raja-raja dan penghulu bertukar-tukar bicara sekali-kali, melainkan hendaklah sama-sama takut sekaliannya karena pekerjaan ini semuanya sudahlah dipulangkan tuanku kepada kita, tiadalah mengapa, kita kerjakan bersama-sama. Sekarang pun hendaklah kita minta kepada tuan Bahram Syah kita suruh perbuat sebuah pelang emas dan kita perbuat pula bersama-sama sebuah. Setelah sudah itu, maka kita berlayar kepada pulau Sinawilan dan jika kiranya yang dahulu sampai, itulah akan suami Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara.”

Setelah sudah raja-raja penghulu itu musyawarat, maka ia pun berdatang sembah kepada duli tuanku, demikian bunyinya, “Ya tuanku, karena segala raja dan menteri bertanya kepada duli yang dipertuan orang mana kiranya akan menantu²⁵² tuanku itu, darimana gerangan asalnya dan apalah nama sukunya dan apa nama negerinya dan siapa nama nenek moyangnya?” Maka kata Tuanku Sultan Jalil, “Akan menantuku, ialah anak Nenek Kebayan dengan perdana menteri di kampung Kebun Bunga *59a* dan namanya ialah Bahram Syah.” Maka kata segala raja-raja dan menteri, “Ya tuanku, adapun yang tahu kami selama ini, anak Nenek Kebayan itu Medan Khayali itu pun, sudah ia mati. Bermula akan perdana menteri baru kawin dengan Nenek Kebayan. Adapun Bahram Syah itu, ialah orang yang papa, lagi dagang yang garib, tiadalah [a]kan lebih bangsanya daripada kami sekalian ini. Jikalau demikian, berjalan seoranglah tuanku, di luarlah kami sekaliannya, jikalau tuanku kerjakan jua perbuatan ini, ingat-ingatlah tuanku akan perintah tuanku, zalim dan adilnya. Sungguhpun demikian menyuruhlah tuanku kepada perdana menteri dengan Nenek Kebayan. Maka suruhkanlah Bahram Syah itu berbuat suatu pelang emas, maka berlayarlah kepada pulau Sinawilan itu. Jikalau barang siapa yang dahulu sampai, maka itulah suami tuan putri!” Maka baginda pun terlalu susah hatinya dengan dukacitanya.

Hatta maka dipanggilnya perdana menteri dengan Nenek Kebayan, setelah datang, lalu ia menyembah, maka titah baginda, “Hai perdana menteri, bagaimana bicara kita

²⁵² m-ya-n-n-t-wau. Pam. 38, 153: *minantu, binantu, 'menantu'*.

sekarang karena kehendak raja-raja dan menteri menyuruhkan anakanda Bahram Syah daripada berbuat lancang emas sebuah seorangnya dan segala raja-raja dan menteri diperbuatnya pula pelang emas sebuah bersama-sama, sudah itu berlayar ke pulau Sinawilan itu, jikalau barang siapa yang sampai dahulu, itulah suami tuan putri.” Maka perdana menteri dengan Nenek Kebayan terlalu susah, lalu menangis mendapatkan Bahram Syah, “Hai Anakku, bagaimanalah sekarang bicara kita?” Maka dikabarkannya daripada kehendak segala raja-raja dan segala penghulu mengatakan menyuruh membuat lancang sebuah seorang, lancang emas dan berbagai-bagai kehendaknya. “Tiadalah menjadikan oleh Anakku!” Maka ia pun tersenyum, lalu *59b* berkata, “Ya Ayah Bunda, sudahlah lain bicara ini, bagaimana gerangan maka segala raja-raja dan penghulu hendak memberi hamba malu di tengah medan ini? Di manalah [a]kan boleh emas begitu banyaknya sebuah pelang besar, kata-kata apa ini? Bukan jadi, gila saja segala raja-raja dan menteri itu! Jikalau tiada kiranya menjadi kawin, kita diamlah dahulu, tiadalah akan mengapa, akan tetapi pada bicara hamba tiadalah tahu segala raja-raja dan menteri itu akan kekayaan Allah taala. Sekarang pun diamlah tuanku serta dengan Ayahanda.”

Adapun segala raja-raja dan menteri segera ia memanggil tukang pelang itu beratus-ratus mengerjakan pelang itu, beribu-ribu bahara emas dipadunya, beratus-ratus lingga²⁵³ terdiri, berpuluh-puluh anak kemenakannya habis tergadai segala raja-raja dan menteri itu kepada segala saudagar. Berapa lamanya segala tukang itu mengerjakan daripada pelang emas itu, setelah genaplah tiga hari dan tiga malam, maka pelang emas itu pun hasillah dengan selengkapnya, ialah pagi-pagi berjanji akan berlayar ke pulau Sinawilan. Bermula akan Bahram Syah itu sedikit pun tiada ia peduli.²⁵⁴ Maka hari itu pun malam, maka sekalian orang pun tidurlah, maka Bahram Syah itu pun mengambil api, maka lalu diasaplah cincin raja jin dengan kemenyan. Maka dengan seketika itu jua, maka datanglah raja jin itu, “Ya Tuanku Bahram Syah, apa kehendak tuan kami, kami takut dan (dan) gentar.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Saudaraku, perbuatkanlah aku pelang emas sebuah dengan selengkapnya, hendak terlebih baiknya daripada pelang segala raja-raja dan segala menteri!” Maka terdirilah sebuah pelang emas, ialah ganda-berganda baiknya, pada tepian di Kampung Bunga.

Telah terbitlah fajar hari akan siang, maka segala raja-raja *60a* dan segala menteri itu pun berlayarlah serta dengan sukanya dan Bahram Syah lagi beradu jua. Dengan seketika lagi, maka ia pun terbangun, lalu turun. Maka Tuanku *Marah* Inda dengan perdana menteri pun pergi melihat bersama-sama, maka ia pun terlalu heran melihat pelang emas. Maka Bahram Syah itu segeralah naik, lalu berlayar kepada pulau Sinawilan itu. Maka dengan seketika lagi, maka Bahram Syah itu pun sampailah, maka surat tanda pun diletakkannya kepada pinggir pasir itu. Maka ia pun berlayar pula kembali. Maka segala raja-raja menteri

²⁵³ l-ya-ng-g-r. *VDT0*. 359: l-ng-g-r, *lingga* ‘a kind of bellows’. Wilkinson lists *linggab* with the remark that the word is of Sumatran origin: *linggab*, ‘a double-cylinder bellows’ (*Wl.* 695).

²⁵⁴ *KBBI* sv: *peduli*. *Kl.* 682 and *Wl.* 886: *perduli*.

pun baru sampailah, maka ia pun terlalu heran semuanya sebab mendapat surat Bahram Syah di pulau itu. Maka sekalian bermasamkan mukanya sebab beroleh kemaluan. Maka ia pun kembali pulang, maka didapatinyalah Bahram Syah lagi bersuka-sukaan. Maka segala raja-raja pun pulanglah dengan dukacitanya.

Maka keesokan harinya, maka Tuanku *Marah* Inda Sultan Jalil pun bertitah, “Hai segala raja-raja dan menteri, sekarang bagaimana bicara kamu karena sekalian kamu sudahlah alah dan Bahram Syah sudahlah menang.” Maka kata segala raja-raja dan menteri, “Ya tuanku, belum lagi hati kami senang sekaliannya, sekarang pun tuanku suruhkan pula Bahram Syah itu berbuat suatu rangkiang emas seorangnya sebuah, terdiri di tengah halaman dalam Kampung Bunga, penuh²⁵⁵ berisi padi dan kami pun berbuat pula rangkiang emas sebuah bersama-sama, kami dirikan pula pada tengah halaman bunda kami. Jikalau barang siapa rangkiangnya yang sudah dahulu, itulah suami tuan putri.” Maka baginda pun terlalu dukacita dan terlebih susahnya, maka ia pun pergilah kepada Nenek Kebayan, katanya, “Bagaimana bicara sekarang karena segala raja-raja dan menteri menyuruhkan anakanda Bahram Syah berbuat suatu rangkiang emas sebuah seorangnya di halaman kebun ini dan segala *ṣob* raja-raja dan menteri berbuat pula sebuah rangkiang emas bersama-sama, jikalau barang siapa yang dahulu sudah, itulah [a]kan suami tuan putri itu.” Setelah didengar Bahram Syah kata itu, maka ia pun tersenyum, “Hai Bundaku, pikir nianlah²⁵⁶ hatiku melihat bicara segala raja-raja dan menteri itu, di manalah kita cari emas sebuah rangkiang itu, selang pelang emas lagi tiada terperbuat, terlebih susah Bunda dengan tuanku, meminjam ke sana-sini sampai terjual anak keme[n]akannya, tiada jua sampai seperti adatnya dan rangkiang itu di manalah [a]kan dapat? Jikalau tiada jadi kawin, berhentilah dahulu. Sekarang diamlah tuanku dengan Bunda.”

Sebermula akan segala raja-raja dan menteri pun mencari emas dan setengah berjual akan sahayanya dan menggadaikan anak kemenakannya ke hilir kepada segala saudagar yang kaya-kaya dan menyuruh tukang emas beratus-ratus banyaknya dan bekerja akan rangkiang itu dan setengah mencari padi akan isinya. Bermula akan Bahram Syah tiada peduli, sentiasa bermain-main catur di atas sebuah balai. Maka hari pun malamlah, maka sekalian orang pun tidurlah, maka Bahram Syah pun mengambil api, maka diasapnyalah cincin raja jin itu dengan kemenyan. Maka dengan seketika itu jua, raja jin itu datang, “Hai Tuanku Bahram Syah, apa kehendak tuan kami Bahram Syah, kami takut dan gentar.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Saudaraku, perbuatlah akan suatu rangkiang emas sebuah, di tengah halaman ini dengan selengkapnya, ganda-berganda eloknya daripada rangkiang raja-raja dan menteri, ialah dengan padi isinya dan rangkiang itu pun penuhilah olehmu dengan berbagai-bagai intan dengan pudi dan kemala ratna mutu manikam!” Maka dengan sekejap mata itu, maka terdirilah rangkiang *ḡīa* emas dengan selengkapnya

²⁵⁵ p-*alif*-n-h. *VDT*o. 250: p-*alif*-n-h. Ms. 867: *panuah*.

²⁵⁶ n-*ya*-n. *VDT*o. 382: n-*ya*-n, *nian*.

serta dengan isinya yang ajaib sekali, perbuatannya seperti yang dikehendaki Bahram Syah itu pun, tiada lagi bersalahan dan janji pun sampailah tiga hari.

Maka keesokan harinya pagi-pagi, maka yang dipertuan serta dengan perdana menteri pun bangun daripada tidurnya, maka kelihatanlah rangkiang emas terdiri pada halamannya terlalu baik dengan sikapnya. Maka ia pun terlalu sukacita, lalu berjalan berlari-lari mendapatkan sega[la] raja-raja dan menteri, katanya, “Adapun rangkiangmu segala tuan-tuan belum lagi sudah dan rangkiang Bahram Syah sudahlah hasil semuanya!” Maka segala raja-raja dan menteri berlari-larian hendak melihat rangkiang Bahram Syah itu, maka kelihatan dari jauh memancar-mancar cahayanya rangkiang Bahram Syah itu, maka segala raja-raja dan menteri bermasamkan mukanya masing-masing dengan kemaluannya, lalu menundukkan kepalanya ke tanah, lalu kembali pulang sekaliannya.

Dalam antara itu, maka berdatang sembah pula segala raja-raja dan menteri kepada baginda pun, “Seperti berbuat pelang emas dan rangkiang emas itu sekaliannya sudahlah hasil yang dikerjakan Bahram Syah, akan sekarang pinta kami adapun gunung Awan Berjulung itu minta ditutupnya oleh Bahram Syah dengan kain dan kami pun menyahap gunung yang bernama Embun Berkabut pula dengan kain. Jikalau barang siapa kiranya menghilangkan²⁵⁷ gunung itu dengan kainnya, maka itulah suami tuan putri.” Setelah sudah didengar oleh baginda kata itu, maka ia pun susah nian serta mengatakan kepada perdana menteri, “Bagaimana bicara kita sekarang karena segala raja-raja dan menteri berkehendak kepada anakanda Bahram Syah menyuruh menyelimuti gunung Awan Berjulung seorangnya dan segala raja-raja menyelimuti *61b* gunung Embun Berkabut bersama-sama. Jikalau barang siapa kiranya menghilangkan gunung itu dengan segala kainnya, maka itulah suami tuan putri.” Setelah sudah dengar²⁵⁸ Bahram Syah kata itu, maka ia pun tersenyum-senyum, “Hai Bundaku, bagaimana bicara segala raja-raja dan menteri itu, sekarang seperti kata-kata orang tua, jikalau aku takut dan malu kepada tuanku serta dengan ayahanda dan Bunda, tiadalah patut segala raja-raja dan menteri yang tujuh puluh tujuh itu.”

Dan demikian lagi segala (dan demikian lagi segala) menteri yang tujuh puluh tujuh itu pun sekaliannya daripada siang dan malam daripada memohonkan daripada kain seorang-orang, tokok-menokok, tambah-menambah dan setengah segala raja-raja itu berjalan ke hilir mendapatkan segala saudagar yang kaya-kaya, pergi meminjam segala kain pakaian yang baik-baik dan setengah segala menteri itu berjalan pergi menjelang segala saudagar yang kaya-kaya daripada membawa segala hamba sahayanya, lalu menggadaikan anak kemenakannya beratus-ratus menentangi kain akan menyelimuti daripada gunung Embun Berkabut itu. Bermula akan Bahram Syah itu duduk bermain-main juga dan berjalan-jalan ke dalam kebun dan memungut-mungut segala bunga-bunga dan

²⁵⁷ m-h-y-a-l-ng-k-n.

²⁵⁸ d-*alif*-ng-n.

anggur, delima, zabib.²⁵⁹ Berapa lamanya maka hari pun malamlah, maka sekalian orang pun tidurlah, maka Bahram Syah pun mengambil api maka diasapnyalah cincin raja jin itu dengan kemenyan. Maka dengan sekejap mata, maka raja jin itu pun datang katanya, “Hai tuanku, apa kehendak tuanku, kami takut dan gentar.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Saudaraku, adapun aku hendak menyelimuti gunung Awan Berjulung esok hari pagi-pagi.” Maka raja jin itu pun segera memberikan sehelai kain adalah segenggam herat²⁶⁰ besarnya, maka kata *62a* raja jin itu, “Inilah kain penyelimuti gunung Awan Berjulung esok hari pagi-pagi.” (Maka raja jin itu pun segera memberikan sehelai kain adalah segenggam herat, “Inilah kain penyelimuti gunung Awan Berjulung itu.”) “Sebermula dan apabila segala raja-raja dan segala menteri sudahlah berhimpun, lalu ke atas gunung Embun Berkabut itu, maka segeralah tuan kami naik ke atas puncak gunung Awan Berjulung itu, maka sambatkanlah ujung kain itu sebelah kedua puncanya kepada pinggang tuanku. Kemudian maka kirapkanlah²⁶¹ kain itu seperti orang yang mengayunkan²⁶² jala, maka kain itu pun tahulah mengembangkan dirinya serta ditiupnya oleh angin. Jikalau kain ini bergobar dan berlipat-lipat, maka bertolonglah dengan angin yang mengembangkan dia.”

Maka keesokan harinya, maka Bahram Syah pun lalu naik ke atas gunung Awan Berjulung itu. Bermula segala orang yang banyak dan segala saudagar yang kaya-kaya pun datang karena hendak melihat tamasya²⁶³ segala raja-raja dan segala penghulu-penghulu dengan Bahram Syah hendak menyahap gunung sebuah seorang dengan segala kain-kain yang banyak-banyak. Maka sekalian orang besar-besar pun berjalanlah dan beratus-ratus payung terkembang serta dengan bunyi-bunyian, seperti akan hilang gunung itu oleh banyaknya segala orang yang menyelimuti gunung itu. Maka orang banyak itu pun sampailah daripada mengelilingi²⁶⁴ bersama-sama.

Maka Bahram Syah pun sampailah kepada puncak gunung itu, maka Bahram Syah pun berdiri, bermula Tuanku *Marah* Inda Sultan Jalil berdiri di kanan Bahram Syah dengan perdana menteri dari belakang Bahram Syah. Dan syahdan maka Bahram Syah pun menambatkan punca kain itu kepada pinggangnya kain itu seperti orang yang hendak mengayunkan jala, *62b* maka terkiraplah daripada gulungnya, lalu naik ke udara seperti ular mayang rupanya. Kemudian (kemudian) maka bertiuplah angin bernama bayu lagi lemah lembut, maka kain itu pun bercerai-cerailah daripada segala lipatnya. Kemudian daripada itu, maka berpusinglah angin halimbubu kiri, kanan, ke hadapan, ke belakang, maka kain itu pun kembanglah semuanya. Kemudian daripada itu, maka bertambah

²⁵⁹ z-b-ya-t.

²⁶⁰ h-r-t. Both *herat* and *rat* are listed by Wilkinson with the meaning ‘constriction’, ‘pressure from every side’. *Segenggam rat*, ‘a tight handful’ (*Wl.* 951).

²⁶¹ k-ya-r-alif-b-k-n-l-h.

²⁶² m-h-alif-ya-wau-ya-k-n. *KBBI* sv: *mengayunkan*.

²⁶³ t-r-m-s-alif. *KBBI* sv: *tamasya*. *T.* 679, 710: *termasa*, *tamasa*, *tamasya*, ‘spectacle’. *Wl.* 1212: *termasa*.

²⁶⁴ m-ng-wau-l-ya-l-ng-ya. *Ms.* 644–645: *kuliliang*.

keraslah angin itu dari atas gunung Unta Jalang, maka kain itu pun menyelimuti dan menyahap gunung Awan Berjulung itu keduanya dengan gunung Embun Berkabut dan orang banyak pun tiada kelihatan lagi, sekalian tertutup, sampai ke dalam kota Gastu Gasta dengan Kebun Bunga pun tertutup. Maka kain itu pun hendak menutup negeri itu, maka tiadalah dilepaskan oleh Bahram Syah daripada pinggangnya dan ada lagi separo²⁶⁵ tinggalnya, belum lagi habis kembangnya.

Maka segala raja-raja dan menteri hulubalang semuanya heran daripada menggerakkan kepalanya, maka kata segala raja-raja dan menteri itu, “Jikalau demikian rupanya, haramlah kita peroleh beristri Tuan Putri Ambara Ambara itu!” Maka jadi hiru-birulah segala raja-raja dan menteri, maka berkata seorang raja-raja itu, “Sekarang hamba satu kepeng tiada mau rugi dan berutang, lagi habis harta benda hamba, lalu terjual pula segala hamba dan sahaya hamba oleh karena tahu dan pandainya menteri itu dan segala harta benda hamba kepadanya hamba minta karena dianya itulah yang terlebih hendak beristri Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara!” Maka kata menteri itu “Hai raja yang lalim, mengapa maka engkau hendak memberi malu kami di tengah medan ini dan tatkala dahulu sekalian kita mufakat, engkaulah 63a yang terlebih sungguh hendak beristri tuan putri itu!”

Syahdan maka jadilah segala raja-raja dan segala menteri itu berdakwai, berbantah-bantah, jadi menjadi selisih yang amat besar, serta saudagar yang kaya-kaya, maka ia pun berkata, “Hai segala raja-raja dan menteri, sabarlah tuan hamba dahulu kedua pihaknya, jikalau ada boleh sekalian kami hendak mencari pada bicara yang sempurna kebajikan, apalah gunanya segala perkataan tuan hamba panjang dan pendek tentangan kepada hutang tuan-tuan itu, janganlah disusahkan, carikan jua, perlahan-lahan tiadalah mengapa! Bermula segala menteri sebanyak ini tiada berakal seorang jua pun, jikalau barang bagaimana pun bicara raja-raja dan menteri pun hendak beristri Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara, jikalau tiada pada lahir, pada batin ada juga, itulah pikir kami yang rapat semuanya, selang kami pun lagi takut dan gentar kepada Bahram Syah itu. Kemudian harinya hendaklah segala raja-raja dan menteri minta pula kepadanya barang apa-apa yang dikehendaki!” Setelah sudah didengar oleh segala penghulu itu kata segala orang kaya-kaya, maka ia pun diamlah. Pada ketika itu, maka segala raja-raja dan menteri menyesal-nyesal dirinya.

Berapa lamanya, maka kain Bahram Syah itu pun bergulungkan dirinya, maka Bahram Syah pun kembali pulang kepada Kampung Bunga dengan Nenek Kebayan serta dengan sukacitanya. Dan bermula (la) Tuanku *Marah* Inda Sultan Jalil pun bersoraklah, lalu tertawa-tawa, “Hai segala raja-raja dan menteri, sekarang pun sempurnalah pekerjaanku, apa lagi kehendak sekalian tuan-tuan kepada anakku Bahram Syah itu?” Maka seorang pun tiada mereka itu menyahuti daripada titah baginda itu, maka 63b ia pun pulanglah masing-masing dengan kemaluannya.

²⁶⁵ s-p-alif-r-alif. Poer. 921: *separo, separuh, 'setengah'*. Poerwadarminta notes that the word is of Javanese origin. *Wl.* 1020: *saparo*.

Maka adalah selang tiga hari lamanya, maka baginda pun menyuruh memanggil segala raja-raja dan menteri itu. Maka ia pun datanglah menghadap raja itu, maka kata baginda itu, “Hai segala menteri, bagaimana sekarang bicara yang rapat akan mengawinkan anakku dengan Bahram Syah itu? Adapun seperti kehendak sekalian tuan-tuan semuanya, boleh diberinya oleh Bahram Syah itu adapun seperti kehendak sekalian tuan-tuan semuanya dan pada hari ini manakah kita kerjakan?” Maka kata segala raja-raja dan menteri, “Ya tuanku, ada juga lagi kehendaknya segala raja-raja dan menteri, hendaklah suruhkan pula Bahram Syah itu berbuat sebuah kota pada antara Gastu Gasta dengan Kampung Bunga dengan selengkapnya serta dengan paritnya tujuh lapis dengan batu. Setelah sudah itu, maka suruh dirikan pula dengan suatu astana yang amat besar seperti adatnya. Kemudian daripada itu, maka suruhkan pula menggali air sungai kecil pada sama tengah kota dan halaman astana itu dan kualanya sungai itu suruh lalukan kepada kuala Embun Jati. Jikalau tiada boleh seperti yang kami minta itu, tiadalah jadi Bahram Syah itu kawin dengan Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara!”

Telah baginda mendengar kata segala raja-raja dan menteri itu, maka ia pun terlalu *Marah*, “Hai segala tuan-taun semuanya, bagaimana maka bicara sekalian tuan-tuan melawan aku seperti melawan kanak-kanak, berkat beribu-ribu jenis-jenis kehendak segala kamu sekaliannya boleh diberi Bahram Syah semuanya. Akan sekarang pun, jikalau boleh seperti kehendakmu itu diberi Bahram Syah, maukah kamu sekaliannya daripada menu-rutkan katanya?” Maka segala raja-raja itu pun menyembah, “Kami ikutlah tuanku, *64a* barang katanya, asal boleh itu!” Maka titah baginda, “Bersumpahlah kamu semuanya! Maukah kamu dibinasakan Allah taala dan terbanglah kerajaanmu semuanya?” Maka segala raja-raja dan menteri pun bersumpahlah sekaliannya. Setelah itu, maka baginda pun bertitah kepada perdana menteri dengan Bahram Syah dan mengatakan segala kehendak raja-raja dan menteri itu habis dikatakannya kepada Bahram Syah. Maka ia pun tersenyum, lalu berkata, “Ya tuanku, bagaimana maka demikian kelakuannya raja-raja dan menteri kepada kita? Barangkali patik diberi malu! Bermula berbuat pelang emas dan kedua berbuat rangkiang dan ketiga menyelimuti gunung itu dan segala raja-raja dan penghulu, orang yang kaya-kaya dalam negerinya, demikian lagi tuanku serta dengan ayah bunda, sudahlah dikerjakan berjalan ke sana-sini mencari emas dan perak dan menyewa²⁶⁶ segala kain yang keemasan, lalu ke pasar menjelang segala saudagar yang kaya-kaya menggadaikan segala anak kemenakannya dan jikalau tiada segera ditebusnya, niscaya lalu terjual. Sekarang pun disuruhnya pula berbuat kampung dengan astana selengkapnya. Adakah perbuatan orang seperti itu, melainkan baiklah patik berjalan meninggalkan negeri ini supaya jangan menjunjung malu sepanjang hari ini!” Maka baginda pun diamlah dengan susahnyanya, lalu ia beradu.

Hatta maka hari itu pun malam, maka sekalian orang pun tidurlah dan perdana menteri. Maka Bahram Syah pun mengambil api, maka diasapnyalah cincin raja jin

²⁶⁶ m-ny-ya-wau-alif-h.

itu dengan kemenyan. Maka dengan seketika lagi, maka jin itu pun datanglah, sembahnya, “Ya tuanku, apakah kehendak tuanku kepada kami, kami takut dan gentar.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Saudaraku, perbuatkanlah aku sebuah kota yang terlebih *64b* baik dengan astana yang amat indah, yang tiada pernah dilihat orang dalam dunia ini serta dengan hamba sahayanya dan segala orang yang berkawal seperti adatnya, dengan sempurnanya. Paritnya batu tujuh lapis, berturap dengan sedelinggam, berjenang dengan air emas, bersela dengan air perak. Bermula daripada astana itu, itu perbuatkan daripada emas bertatah dengan ratna mutu manikam dan dindingnya cermin bertatah daripada nilam dan pualam dan keliling astana itu perbuatkan rumah empat puluh empat buah dengan selengkapnya. Kemudian daripada itu, perbuat pula rumah yang kecil-kecil tempat segala dayang-dayang dan penguinang (dan) pada cela[h] pagarnya itu, tujuh puluh tujuh buah.”

Maka keesokan harinya pagi-pagi, maka Tuanku *Marah* Inda Sulan Jalil pun terbangun, lalu terkejutlah sebab melihat negeri serta dengan kotanya sudah terdiri saja, terlalu indah rupanya. Antara kota Gastu Gasta dengan Kampung Bunga sama jauhnya dan sama hampirnya. Bermula Nenek Kebayan serta dengan perdana menteri pun terlalu heran daripada melihat kota dan astana itu terlalu indah. Sebab karena diminta Bahram Syah pada malam ini, ialah dengan seketika itu jua terdiri kota dan astana dan segala rumah seperti diminta Bahram Syah, semuanya boleh, tiada lagi bersalahan, dengan selengkapnya. Syahdan maka baginda itu pun pergilah melihat dengan perdana menteri pun pergilah melihat dia. Kemudian daripada itu pula, maka mendengarlah segala raja-raja dan menteri yang tujuh puluh tujuh itu pun, berjalanlah sekalian hendak melihat negeri yang baru itu, maka ia pun terlalu heran semuanya. Kemudian daripada itu, *65a* maka terdengarlah kabar kepada segala saudagar dan orang kaya-kaya, semuanya datang, lalu tercengang sebab malu daripada melihat indahnya. Kemudian daripada itu, maka semuanya orang besar kecil pergi melihat kota itu, semuanya heran tercengang sebab terlebih indahnya dengan kesaktian Bahram Syah itu.

Setelah itu, maka dinamakan oleh Bahram Syah kotanya itu Antara Medan Baik dan nama astananya itu Perusahaan Dewa Simandam dan sungai menengah kota itu dinamakan Andur yang Kering Mandi dan nama paritnya itu Naga Berlingkar Sealamnya. Maka sekalian orang pun takutlah kepada Bahram Syah. Dengan seketika lagi, maka kata baginda, “Hai segala raja-raja dan menteri sekaliannya, daripada kira-kira hamba, sekarang pun bagaimana bicara segala tuan-tuan pekerjaan daripada mengawinkan anakku dengan Bahram Syah? Jikalau apa-apa yang kamu minta kepadanya, maka mintalah sekarang, bersama-sama di hadapannya!” Maka sembah sekaliannya raja-raja itu, “Daulat tuanku, tiadalah kami berkehendak, melainkan sepenuh-penuhnyalah hawa nafsu kami sekaliannya. Sekarang pun, mana perintah duli tuanku, di sanalah patik semuanya!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai segala raja-raja yang tujuh puluh tujuh yang di bawah perintah duli tuanku, kerjakanlah seperti perbuatannya, demikian la[gi] segala menteri-menteri yang di bawah perintah segala raja-raja. Maka perbuatlah segala pekerjaannya dalam kota

Gastu Gasta itu dengan sepeertinya, melainkan selamatkan kerjanya itu baik-baik! Bermula segala nakhoda dan saudagar dan orang kaya-kaya, biarlah sama-sama dengan hamba di sini dalam kota Antara Medan Baik, memerintahkan segala pekerjaan itu dengan bunda karena hamba dagang yang garib, pulang hamba kepada dagang hamba dan kepada nakhoda dan saudagar, diam *65b* dalam negeri orang dan masuk ke bandar, orang daganglah namanya, di sanalah putus bicara itu!”

Maka dimulailah pekerjaan berjaga-jaga itu empat belas hari, empat belas malam daripada mengawinkan Bahram Syah dengan Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara. Maka masing-masing, berbagai-bagai permainan dengan segala bunyi-bunyian berbagai-bagai kedua pihaknya daripada rebab dan kecapi, serunai, bangsi dan serdam dan demikian lagi mong-mongan, telempong, ceracap dan nafiri, negara-negeri, sekalian terlalu ramai bunyinya. Hatta maka terkembanglah payung kemala bulu merak dan tunggul, panji-panji halipan²⁶⁷ dan merawal Quran²⁶⁸ takhta kebesaran, maka terkembanglah payung hijau dan kuning dan payung merah, berbagai-bagai rupanya dan bangsanya. Maka segala kerbau dan lembu tiada terbilang disembelih oleh orang, sampai beratus-ratus dalam sehari-sehari, berjamuan dengan bersuka-sukaan siang-siang malam, tiada berhenti-henti, tidur pun tiada segala biduan yang muda-muda. Bermula dalam kota Gastu Gasta itu seorang pun tiada berselisih dalam kerjanya, demikian lagi dalam kota Antara Medan Baik sekalipun tiada orang yang banyak itu bersilang selisih, melainkan berkasih-kasihannya.

Syahan maka genaplah empat belas hari, empat belas malam, maka ketika hari yang baik, maka dikawinkanlah Putri Ambaru Ambara dengan Bahram Syah. Setelah sudah pekerjaan itu, berapa lama antaranya, maka sekaliannya orang isi negeri itu pun diukumnya oleh Bahram Syah serta dengan periksanya dan hukum yang sempurna kebajikan, dengan adilnya, dengan murahnyanya. Maka terlalu suka hati segala menteri, hulubalang dan dagang dan santri, pergi mari ke dalam negeri itu, maka bertambah-tambah ramainya adanya Wallahu alam bissawab.

VIII

67a Alkisah maka diceriterakan oleh orang yang empunya ceritera ini, setelah berapa lamanya Bahram Syah itu berkasih-kasihannya dengan Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara, maka

²⁶⁷ h-l-ya-l-ya-p-n. Wilkinson lists *lilipan* as the Minangkabau equivalent of the Malay *halipan*, ‘centipede’. He adds that ‘centipedes figure in literature as insect-parasites tormenting ogres, evil spirits and the souls of the wicked’ (*WL* 390). A centipede as a symbol on a royal banner seems appropriate as the figure inspires fear and awe.

²⁶⁸ gh-wau-r-alif-n. The collection of royal banners and flags at Malay courts often included one or more with Islamic sayings or Quranic verses.

tuan putri pun hamillah. Maka adalah tujuh hari ia hamil itu, maka ia pun bernafsu hendak makan pelanduk dan demikian(la) lagi kijang dan bengkungang dan segala rusa dan napuh jantan biue²⁶⁹ gadis. Maka segala hulubalang pergilah berburu dengan anjing perburuan masuk hutan rimba belantara.

Maka berapa lamanya, maka bertemulah dengan segala rusa yang jantan, dibelah-belahnya, tiada jua bertemu dengan anaknya di dalam perutnya dan beratus-ratus boleh pelanduk. Maka segala hulubalang itu pun heran, katanya, “Bagaimana kita maka tiada juga bertemu seperti kehendak tuan putri itu?” Kemudian maka berjalan pula segala hulubalang dalam kota itu serta dengan selengkapnya berburu bersama-sama, mencari rusa yang jantan biue gadis. Beberapa lamanya berburu itu, tiada jua beroleh yang jantan itu beranak dalam perutnya. Maka berapa lamanya, sekalian orang yang berburu itu kembali pulang, setengah lalu mati, setengah lalu lenyap, tiada berketahuan. Bermula tuan putri itu pun bertambah-tambah nafsunya hendak memakan rusa itu, maka adalah lamanya orang yang berburu itu adalah gerangan tujuh bulan, tiada jua beroleh daripada rusa yang jantan biue gadis.

Hatta dengan takdir Allah taala maka Bahram Syah pun memanggil segala hulubalangnya karena ia berjalan hendak pergi berburu. Maka adalah seorang hulubalangnya, namanya Turani, sentiasa ialah disuruh Bahram Syah berbangsi dan berserunai pada tiap-tiap malam dan siang menyapu bawah rumahnya, itulah kerjanya Turani itu. Maka kata Bahram Syah, 67b “Hai tandil penghulu kawal, segala orang berjaga-jaga pada tiap-tiap pintu ini karena aku hendak berjalan ke dalam hutan hendak mencari buruan yang jantan biue gadis. Adapun sepeninggalku ini, jikalau barang siapa hendak masuk ke dalam kota ini, janganlah kamu bukakan pintu ini, meski tuanku atau ayahanda sekalipun, janganlah dibuka pintu ini karena kulihat di dalam taurit²⁷⁰ nujumku ada juga suatu bencana akan datang kepada kita kemudian, terlalu susah sekali-kali!” Maka Bahram Syah pun berjalanlah diiringkan segala hulubalang, rakyat semuanya daripada masuk hutan, keluar hutan, (keluar hutan) dan berpuluh-puluh segala binatang habis dapat, tiada jua bertemu dengan yang jantan beranakkan dalam, melainkan betina jua beranakkan dalam, demikianlah selama-lamanya.

Sebermula adalah tiga bulan konon lamanya segala orang yang banyak mengiringkan baginda itu, kemudian habis kembali orang itu pulang. Maka Bahram Syah pun berburu jua, daripada sehari kepada sehari, daripada sebulan kepada sebulan, demikianlah dikerjakan oleh Bahram Syah sentiasa dalam hutan itu.

Bermula akan Turani itu sepeninggal Bahram Syah sentiasa ia menyapu-nyapu bawah

²⁶⁹ b-ya-wau-l. Pam. 39: *biue*(r), ‘*bunting tentang binatang*’. VDW. I, 318: b-ya-wau, *biyu*, ‘with young’. Von de Wall remarks that the word is of Minangkabau origin. Klinkert gives a quotation from the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* where *biur* occurs also in combination with *gadis*: ‘*kambing biur gadis*’ (Kl. 233). Ms. 187: *biua*.

²⁷⁰ t-wau-r-ya-d. KBBJ sv: *Taurat, Tauret, Taurit*.

rumah itu, tiadalah berhenti-henti. Adapun asalnya Turani itu jin Islam dan neneknya mambang dan bundanya dewa dan bapaknya manusia dan banyaklah hikmat diketahuinya dan tempatnya di balik gunung Unta Jalang, dalam benca[h] mahang, pada sepohon kayu besar dan sakat rambaian dan rumahnya pada tanah yang lekang dan kolamnya pada air yang berputar-putar.

Setelah itu, maka hari pun malamlah, maka Turani pun berbangsilah dengan tiada dipetikanya serta dibuangkannya sumbatnya. Maka ditiupnya daripada ekornya tiadalah baik bunyinya lagi, maka kata tuan putri, *68a* “Hai Turani, mengapa bangsimu tiada baik bunyinya?” Maka kata Turani itu, “Ya tuanku, adapun sebabnya maka tiada serunai patik ini nyaring bunyinya karena simpainya adalah ditaruhkan duli yang dipertuan di dalam ikat pinggangnya. Jikalau kiranya tuanku hendak mendengar bunyi serunai patik ini, melainkan hendaklah tuan lihat sekarang simpainya, ialah berbelang dan besarnya pun seperti cincin yang banyak ini. Maka tuanku ambillah dalam ikat pinggang duli yang dipertuan!” Maka Turani pun segeralah menyalakan apinya itu empat penjuru pada kiri, kanannya, maka kata Turani itu, “Ya tuanku, ambillah simpainya itu dan api patik pun sudahlah menyala!” Maka tuan putri pun membuka simpainya, maka diambilnya cincin raja jin itu dalam ikat pinggang Bahram Syah itu, katanya, “Hai Turani, inilah kiranya simpai bangsimu itu!” Maka kata Turani itu, “Nanti sesaat, patik kembangkan dahulu kain patik supaya jangan simpai itu hilang! Setelah sudah kainnya terkembang, maka tuanku jatuhkanlah simpai itu!” Maka Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara menjatuhkan cincin itu kepada kain Turani. Setelah sudah cincin itu dapat, maka Turani pun memadamkan apinya, lalu ia berjalan keluar daripada sela-sela pagar.

Dengan seketika itu jua, cincin raja jin itu diasapnya, maka datanglah raja jin itu, “Hai tuan kami, kami takut dan gentar.” Maka kata Turani itu, “Hai Saudaraku, perbuatlah akan aku sebuah negeri di tengah laut itu dengan kota astananya dengan selengkapnya dengan hamba rakyat semuanya serta dengan alat senjatanya, tujuh lapis pagarnya dan segala batu yang besar-besar karena aku hendak menjadi raja besar, bawalah aku sekarang ke sana!” Maka dengan seketika itu jua, bolehlah *68b* sekaliannya seperti yang dikehendaki Turani itu, tiada lagi bersalahan. Maka ia pun kerajaanlah di pulau itu dengan beberapa banyaknya orang menghadap Turani itu beribu-ribu seperti kawan lebah dan terlalu besar kerajaan, maka tetaplah Turani itu dalam kerajaan. Maka namanya itulah negerinya itu pulau Siranjang Petinggangan²⁷¹ dan tiada lagi terlebih daripada Turani itu di dalam kerajaan yang amat besar dan negerinya pun terlalu ramai dan beberapa banyaknya segala kapal datang berniaga jual beli di sana karena bandar baru terbuka, rajanya Turani terlalu amat kaya. Bermula segala orang yang menghadap Turani itu pada siang dan malam, pada petang dan pagi, tiada berkeputusan dan sentiasa dalam kesukaan jua.

Bermula segala orang berjaga-jaga dalam kota Bahram Syah itu semuanya habis hiru-

²⁷¹ *s-ya-r-alif-n-j-ng p-t-ya-ng-g-alif-ng-n.*

biru karena Turani sudah lari dan beberapa banyaknya hulubalang mencari, tiadalah Turani itu dapat, maka sekalian orang pun diamlah.

Hatta maka dengan takdir Allah taala, maka tersebutlah perkataan Bahram Syah tatkala pergi berburu mencari kijang biue yang jantan dan pelanduk, yang dapat tiadalah beranak dalam, melainkan yang betina juga yang dapat anak dalam perutnya. Berapa lamanya Bahram Syah itu di dalam hutan belantara, kemudian maka Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara itu pun beranaklah seorang laki-laki, terlalu baik sekali rupanya kanak-kanak itu, tiadalah boleh ditentang nyata, mukanya gilang-gemilang cahayanya. Maka nobat itu pun berbunyiilah, kedengaran pada Tuanku Sultan Jalil dan kepada Nenek Kebayan dan perdana menteri dan kepada segala raja-raja dan penghulu serta orang yang banyak sekaliannya. Maka segala tuan-tuan itu pun datang hendak menjunjung anak Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara. *69a* Setelah sampai sekalian mereka itu di luar kota, maka ia pun hendak masuk ke dalam kota, tiadalah diberi oleh hulubalang yang berkawal itu, maka sekalian mereka pun diamlah semuanya dan lalu bertanya kanak-kanak itu kepada orang yang berkawal di pintu itu laki-laki atau perempuan. Maka orang yang berkawal itu pun semuanya dikatakannya kelakuan dan perangai kanak-kanak itu. Maka sekalian orang pun sukalah daripada mendengar kabarnya itu.

Syahdan, tersebutlah perkataan Bahram Syah itu berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti dalam hutan itu, maka kelihatanlah seponoh kayu yang amat besar, maka lalu diturutnya oleh Bahram Syah pohon kayu itu. Setelah sampai, hari pun malam maka masuklah ia ke dalam banir kayu itu, lalu tidur. Dengan takdir Allah taala, maka ia pun bermimpi, datanglah rasanya ayahnya Sultan Maharaja Besar, katanya “Hai Anakku Bahram Syah, mengapa engkau aku lihat sentiasa dalam tidurmu jua, ketahui olehmu bahwa segala jenis binatang pelanduk dan kijang dan rusa tiada sekali-kali engkau peroleh yang jantan beranak dalam, melainkan yang betina jua yang ada menaruh anak dalam perutnya, carilah olehmu yang betina biue gadis. Jikalau dapat, belah olehmu perutnya dan anaknya bawa pulang, hai Anakku, sebagai lagi akan anakmu itu laki-laki sudahlah lahir, adalah terlebih baik daripada segala anak yang lain-lain, rupanya dan kelakuannya amat indah dan amat ajaib, hai Anakku Bahram Syah, dan cincin kebesaranmu sudahlah diambil oleh Turani. Sekarang pun sudahlah dibawanya ke tengah laut kepada pulau Siranjang Petinggangan namanya, kerajaanlah ia di sana sebab karena cincin kebesaranmu itu dan jikalau Anakku sampai pulang, janganlah kasih segala manusia, melainkan *69b* kasih olehmu segala binatang yang najis-najis, barang yang maklum menurut katamu. Kemudian hari, insya Allah taala, beroleh juga kebajikan. Hai Anakku Bahram Syah, bangunlah engkau, hari sudah siang!” Maka Bahram Syah pun bangunlah pada tidurnya, fajar pun sudah terbit. Maka Bahram Syah pun memandang ke kiri dan ke kanan, suatu pun tiada kelihatan, melainkan ialah anjing seekor, yang lain semuanya sudahlah mati.

Berapa lamanya, maka ia pun berjalanlah berburu, seketika lagi, maka Bahram Syah pun bertemu seekor kijang betina biue gadis. Setelah itu, diperolehnya anak yang dalam perutnya itu. Setelah itu, maka ia pun berjalan pulang membawa anak kijang itu, daripada

suatu hutan, datang kepada suatu hutan, daripada suatu padang, datang kepada suatu padang. Maka ia pun sampai kepada padang tempat kerbaunya makan, maka ia pun berjalan pulang. Berapa lamanya ia berjalan itu, maka ia pun sampai di luar kotanya kepada tempat perhentian sentiasa. Maka dilihatnya orang terlalu banyak berpuluh-puluh dan beratus-ratus berkeliling kota itu daripada menjaga pintu kota itu supaya jangan orang masuk dan keluar. Maka ia pun berseru-seru katanya, “Hai penunggu pintu, bukakan aku pintu itu, aku segera hendak masuk ke dalam kota ini karena aku sudahlah kembali daripada berburu, membawa seekor kijang yang kecil dalam perut ibunya akan kubawa kepada istriku Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara sebab ia ingin dan birahi hendak makan dia!” Maka sahut sekalian orang berkawal di pintu itu, “Bagaimana maka engkau hendak masuk, tiadalah boleh, tuan kami Bahram Syah belum lagi pulang. Jadilah berdakwai-dakwai kedua pihaknya sebab orang yang berkawal itu sudahlah *70a* ia lupa kepada Bahram Syah sebab sudah berubah-ubah rupanya dengan perkataannya karena sudah diubah oleh Turani, melainkan Turanilah yang seperti rupa Bahram Syah. Maka katanya, “Akulah Bahram Syah, tiadakah kamu kenal menantu Tuanku *Marah* Inda Sultan Jalil dan bundaku Nenek Kebayan dan bapakku perdana menteri, tiadakah kamu kenal pekerjaanku dalam negeri ini berbagai-bagai! Buka olehmu pintu ini, aku hendak masuk!” Maka kata segala yang berkawal, “Nanti sesaat!” Maka ia pun berkata kepada tuan putri, katanya, “Ya tuanku, bagaimana bicara, ada seorang laki-laki hendak masuk ke dalam kota ini.” Maka kata tuan putri itu, “Tiada jadi masuk ke mari laki-laki dan perempuan sebelum datang tuan kita daripada berburu, tolak olehmu bersama-sama! Tiadakah kamu ingat selang Turani lagi tiada setiawan, istimewa pula orang yang lain!”

Setelah itu, maka ia pun turun ke bawah, lalu berkata ia, “Hai tuan yang di luar kota, tiadalah jadi masuk sebelum datang tuan kami Bahram Syah daripada berburu, demiki-anlah titah tuan putri dari astana!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Aku inilah yang bernama Bahram Syah dan Putri Ambaru Ambara itulah istriku, inilah buruan bawa kepadanya dan pintu kota itu pun hendak dibantunnya!” Maka kata orang berkawal, “Hai pencuri, menyah engkau dari sini dan selang seperti Tuanku *Marah* Indah Sultan Jalil dengan Nenek Kebayan dan perdana menteri serta segala raja-raja dan menteri hendak melihat cucunya baru jadi, lagi tiada boleh istimewa engkau datang daripada berburu. Sungguhlah engkau hantu pemburu,²⁷² datang engkau pun daripada hutan, kembali engkau ke dalam hutan, rupa engkau pun *70b* seperti rupa si gulambai.²⁷³ Hai bedebah celaka, menyah engkau daripada tempat ini!” Maka sekalian orang pun bersigap keduanya, semuanya hendak membunuh, setengah hendak memalu, setengah hendak menokok.

²⁷² h-n-t-wau p-b-wau-wau. *Wl.* 170: *Hantu pemburu*, ‘name of a much-dreaded forest spirit whose dogs are the bee-eaters (*beberék*) and who afflicts all who see him with some deadly disease’ (see also Maxwell 1881, 11-29).

²⁷³ A *gulambai* or *kelembai* is an old and dirty looking male ghost believed to cause fires (Van der Toorn 1890, 101-102).

Maka setelah dilihat oleh Bahram Syah rupa yang demikian itu, maka Bahram Syah pun menengadahkan²⁷⁴ air matanya ke langit, lalu ia berjalan ke pinggir pasir. Setelah ia sampai, lalu ia berhenti seketika dan berpikir sendirinya, “Bagaimana bicaraku, jikalau aku panggil garudaku, nanti habis sekaliannya orang yang berkawal itu semuanya dengan astana, lalu kepada kota, niscaya ia habis disambarnya dan dimakannya. Apabila anakku dan istriku hilanglah itu semuanya, sebagai lagi tiadalah orang itu yang salah, melainkan aku jua yang salah karena ia berpegang kepada kata yang dahulu. Sekarang pun sabarlah aku dahulu, Allah taala menolong hamba kemudian harinya, jikalau ada beroleh kebajikan.” Maka Bahram Syah pun berjalan menurutkan tepi pasir itu.

Adalah kira-kira dua jam lamanya berjalan, maka kelihatanlah jalan orang yang dahulu-dahulunya sambil ke darat, maka diturutkan Bahram Syahlah jalan ke darat, maka ia pun berjalan jua. Seketika lagi ia berjalan, maka ia pun sampailah kepada ladang orang yang tinggal setahun, maka bertemu sebuah barung-barung yang kecil dalam ladang itu. Maka Bahram Syah pun berhenti, ke atas barung-barung itu sambil berbaring-baring. Maka ia pun duduk, lalu memandangi ke halaman barung-barung itu. Maka kelihatanlah pisang sebatang dipalut akar berbulu. Maka ada buah pisang itu setandan terlalu masak, tinggal tiga saja, yang lain sudahlah habis dimakan binatang. Maka Bahram Syah itu pun turun, maka diambilnya pisang itu, maka ia pun duduk kembali kepada *71a* sebuah anak jenjang barung-barung itu, maka pisang itu pun lalu dimakannya oleh Bahram Syah. Setelah sudah ia memakan pisang itu, maka terdengarlah *t-r-k-r-n-t-wau-ng angka dua*²⁷⁵ di bawah kapuk yang buruk. Maka Bahram Syah pun melihat, kelihatanlah seekor anjing yang kurus seperti akan terbang ditiup angin, maka dipanggil Bahram Syah anjing yang kurus, “Hai anjing, mari ke sini, aku hendak bertanya kepadamu apakah pekerjaanmu di sini?” Maka sahut anjing yang kurus itu, “Ya tuanku, adapun sebabnya aku di sini karena sekalian teman-teman hamba sama-sama anjing semuanya sudahlah benci pada hamba, daripada melihat rupa hamba pun tiada boleh dilihatnya. Apabila hamba keluar pergi berjalan hendak mencari makanan, maka dilihatnya oleh kawan hamba, maka datanglah semuanya mereka itu menggigit tubuh hamba dan kaki hamba dan telinga hamba pun habis luka olehnya, itulah sebabnya maka hamba jadi kurus, tiada dapat makanan hamba.” Bermula rupa anjing itu merah-merah alang seperti bunga dadab dan mulutnya hitam seperti dakwat. Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai anjing yang kurus, maukah engkau sama-sama dengan hamba barang ke mana, tiada berketahuan?” Maka kata anjing yang kurus, “Seribu kali baiknya kepada hamba daripada hamba di sini tinggal!” Maka Bahram Syah pun segeralah membawa anjing kurus itu, sama-sama berjalan mengikut jalan, lalu ke tepi pasir.

Adalah sejam lamanya berjalan itu, maka ia pun sampailah ke tepi pasir, maka ia pun

²⁷⁴ m-n-ya-ng-d-alif-h-k-n. Ms. 1181: *maningadab*, ‘*manengadab*’. KBBBI sv: *menengadahkan*.

²⁷⁵ Probably an onomatopoeia denoting rustling or scuffling.

melihat air pasang terlalu kering dan karang pun menjemur.²⁷⁶ Setelah [itu], Bahram Syah pun lalu ke atas karang mencari barang apa-apa yang dapat isi karang itu akan makanan anjing yang kurus itu, maka tiadalah berapa diperolehnya. Maka Bahram Syah pun kembali 71b ke tepi pasir itu daripada mengurik-urik pasir mencari ambai-ambai dan ketam. Setelah sudah diperolehnya ambai-ambai dan ketam, maka lalu diberikan oleh Bahram Syah kepada anjing yang kurus itu, maka dimakan oleh anjing itu. Maka adalah kira-kira dua bulan lamanya Bahram Syah memeliharakan anjing itu, itu pun gemuklah.

Maka Bahram Syah pun berjalan tiada berhenti-henti daripada suatu ujung kepada suatu ujung, daripada suatu teluk kepada suatu teluk. Adalah dua jam lamanya berjalan itu, maka bertemu jalan sambil ke darat, maka ia pun menurutkan jalan itu, maka berjalan jua tiada berhenti-henti. Adalah tiga jam lamanya berjalan itu, maka ia pun sampai kepada kampung orang tinggal, maka bertemu pula dengan rumah sebuah tinggal. Maka ia pun berhentilah pada halaman (a) rumah itu, dengan seketika itu, anjing itu pun menyalak, maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai anjing, apa engkau salak?” Maka Bahram Syah pun melihat satu lapik buruk bergulung di tengah halaman, maka ia pun segera membuka lapik itu, maka dapatlah kucing yang kurus seekor dalam lapik itu, maka Bahram Syah pun lalu bertanya, “Hai kucing yang kurus, apa pekerjaanmu di sini?” Maka sahut kucing yang kurus itu, “Ya taunku, adapun sebabnya hamba bersembunyi dalam tikar yang buruk ini karena ketika hari malam, maka hamba pun keluar hendak mencari makanan ke atas rumah yang tinggal itu, maka hamba pun menangkap mancit²⁷⁷ yang besar sedikit, maka kedengaranlah oleh kucing yang banyak suara tikus itu mencicit bunyinya sebab hamba tangkap itu, maka sekalian kucing yang banyak itu pun datang naik ke rumah ini, maka lalu dikerubunginya hamba, setengah ia mengelakan tikus, setengah ia memperhelahelakan hamba. Maka hamba pun jadi payah sebab diperhela-helakan 72a -nya. Apabila ketika dapat tikus olehnya, ia pun memakan tikus itu bersama-sama. Hamba pun dilepaskannya ketika sedang lengah memakan tikus itu, hamba pun turun bersembunyi ke dalam tikar buruk ini. Itulah sebabnya hamba jadi kurus, ya tuan hamba.” Setelah Bahram Syah mendengar kata kucing itu, maka Bahram Syah pun berkata, “Hai kucing yang kurus, maukah engkau pergi dengan aku barang ke mana-mana, tiadalah tentu?” Maka jawab kucing yang kurus itu, “Jikalau tuan suka, seribu kali hamba sukakan!” Maka Bahram Syah pun berjalanlah ketiganya dengan anjing dan kucing, tiada berhenti-henti dan pada sepanjang jalan itu Bahram Syah menangkap belalang²⁷⁸ dan sipatung akan makanan kucingnya itu.

Maka berapa lamanya berjalan itu, maka bertemulah dengan bencha-benchalang, maka Bahram Syah segeralah berhenti seketika daripada mencari seburuk.²⁷⁹ Setelah

²⁷⁶ m-n-j-alif-m-wau-r. Ms. 489: *manjamua*, ‘menjemur’.

²⁷⁷ m-n-c-ya’.

²⁷⁸ b-ya-l-alif-l-ng. Pam. 38: *bilalang*, ‘belalang’. Ms. 178-179: *bilalang*. KBB1 sv: *belalang*.

²⁷⁹ s-b-wau-r-wau-r-q. VDW. II, 222: *buruk*, ‘a specific kind of lizard’.

sudah, maka diberikannya kepada kucing itu, maka kucing itu pun tambunlah. Terlalu pantas berjalan, tiada berhenti-henti, daripada suatu hutan kepada suatu hutan. Seketika berjalan, maka Bahram Syah pun bertemu dengan padi bertaburanlah, rupanya orang yang membawa padi itu dari ladang hendak ke kampung. Maka dibutirnyalah padi itu oleh Bahram Syah, lalu disimpannya dalam sapu tangannya, dalam hatinya, “Apabila aku lapar, boleh aku kobak aku maham-maham.”²⁸⁰ Maka ia pun berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti.

Adalah tiga jam lamanya berjalan itu, maka ia pun sampailah kepada sebuah rumah yang tinggal di dalam sesap.²⁸¹ Maka ia pun berhenti pada halaman rumah tinggal itu, dengan seketika lagi, maka ia pun melihat kelakuan kucing itu menghadap kepada bawak buruk itu yang sudah terbuang seperti rupa hendak menangkap dan perutnya sama rata dengan tanah dan matanya sedikit tiada terperling²⁸² 72b dan tiada terpejam. Maka kata Bahram Syah “Hai kucingku, apakah itu? Jangan kautangkap!” Maka Bahram Syah pun melihat kepada bawah bawak itu, maka kelihatanlah tikus putih terlalu kurus seekor dan ujung hidungnya saja kelihatan dan matanya pun terkejam-kejam sedikit kepada kucing yang hitam itu. Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai tikus yang kurus, apa kerjamu di sini dan tubuhmu pun terlalu daifnya, aku lihat melainkan tulang dan jangatmu yang ada tinggal dan dagingmu sudahlah habis sekaliannya. Apalah sebabnya demikian?” Maka kata tikus yang kurus itu, “Ya tuanku, tiadalah apa-apa sebabnya yang lain melainkan hanya sebab bangsa kami tikus sama tikus jua dan sebabnya hamba diam dalam bawak ini daripada melihat segala tikus yang banyak. Lalu jikalau tiada kelihatan, keluarlah hamba daripada bawak ini mencari makanan, jikalau ada barang yang dapat. Maka adalah antara tiga hari lamanya, maka dapatlah jagung tinggal dalam sesap ini dapat oleh hamba itu pun, tiada berapa banyaknya, lagi adalah sekudung itu pun belum lagi jadi hamba makan. Maka datanglah Merumus²⁸³ namanya, terlalu besarnya daripada segala kami yang lain. Maka disuruhkannya segala tikus yang banyak merabut jagung itu, bersama-sama itu pun dapat dan hamba pun ditangkapnya, lalu dihempas-hempaskan Merumus itu dan hidung hamba pun dicocoknya dengan ekornya, maka jadilah sesak napas hamba keluar, maka hamba pun tebersin-bersin.²⁸⁴ Tiadalah tentu perasaian hamba, sebab itulah badan hamba terlebih kurus dan daging hamba pun habis, melainkan yang ada tinggal tulang dan jangat selorang²⁸⁵ jua yang ada tinggal, ya tuan hamba.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai tikus, maukah engkau pergi berjalan dengan aku sama-sama, 73a tiadalah tentu?” Maka sahut tikus yang kurus itu, “Jikalau tuan hamba suka membawa hamba, seribu kali

²⁸⁰ m-h-m *angka dua*. Pam. 146: maham, ‘babam’. VDTō. 376: m-alif-h-m, maham, memaham. Ms. 750: maham, ‘to eat with the mouth closed’.

²⁸¹ s-s-b.

²⁸² t-r-p-r-l-ya-ng. KBBI sv: *teperling*.

²⁸³ m-r-wau-m-wau-s.

²⁸⁴ t-r-b-r-s-ya-n *angka dua*. Wl. 152: *tebersin*.

²⁸⁵ s-l-ya-r-alif-ng. VDTō. 212: s-l-ya-r-ng, *salerang*, ‘skin’. Ms. 1001: *salerang* 1, ‘skin’. KBBI sv: *selerang*.

hamba suka. Jikalau hamba di sini jua, jika sekali lagi Merumus dan tikus yang banyak itu datang berperhela-helakan hamba, niscaya matilah hamba!” Maka Bahram Syah mengulurkan sepotong kayu, “Hai tikus, bergantunglah engkau kepada kayu ini supaya boleh aku pikul-pikul!” Maka tikus itu pun berpeganglah kepada ujung kayu itu. Maka Bahram Syah memberikan padi yang di sapu tangannya, “Inilah padi, makan olehmu supaya kuat engkau *t-alif-m*!” Maka ia pun berjalanlah daripada suatu hutan kepada suatu hutan, daripada suatu anak air kepada suatu anak air.

Berapa lama antaranya, maka ia pun sampailah (a) kepada sungai yang kecil. Maka dilihatnya orang di tepi sungai itu sedang membasuh-basuh satu kerang²⁸⁶ berisi daging. Sudahlah dibasuhnya, maka Bahram Syah pun bertanya, “Hai tuan hamba, apalah pekerjaan tuan hamba di sini?” Maka kata orang itu, “Karena penghulu kami hendak bekerja kenduri kepada yang mati. Baiklah tuan hamba singgah dahulu, bersama-sama kita pulang ke kampung!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Jikalau demikian kata tuan hamba, baiklah kita berjalan sama-sama!” Maka ia pun berjalanlah pulang. Setelah sampai, Bahram Syah pun naik ke rumah itu, maka hari pun malam. Bermula anjing dan kucing dan tikus pun pergilah mencari makanannya masing-masing, bermula akan anjing segeralah ia memakan tulang. Maka sekalian alim pun lalu mengaji Quran pada malam itu, maka orang yang kenduri itu pun memberi sedekah.

Setelah sudah pekerjaan itu, maka keesokan harinya, maka Bahram Syah itu pun berjalan keempatnya dengan anjing dan kucing dan tikus. Maka segala mereka itu sudahlah tambun dan *ʒ3b* gemuk, terlalu sekali kuatnya dan pantas berjalan seperti angin, berjalan tiada berhenti-henti, daripada suatu padang kepada suatu padang. Maka Bahram Syah itu pun sampailah kepada sebuah kampung terlalu indah. Bermula segala orang yang dalam kampung itu laki-laki dan perempuan semuanya memakai-makai yang keemasan, maka Bahram Syah pun segeralah bertanya, “Hai segala tuan-tuan dalam kampung ini, apalah pekerjaan tuan hamba pada sekarang ini?” Maka kata orang yang dalam kampung itu, “Hai tuan hamba, adapun pekerjaan penghulu kami hendak mengawinkan anaknya pada hari ini. Sekarang pun naiklah tuan hamba dahulu ke atas rumah supaya kita bersama-sama daripada mengerjakan segala pekerjaan penghulu kita ini!” Maka Bahram Syah pun naiklah ke rumah itu, maka ia pun menjadi tua segala yang muda-muda sebab terlalu amat tahunya akan pekerjaan yang muda-muda. Maka berapa lamanya pekerjaan itu pun selamatlah, maka Bahram Syah pun dipuji-puji segala yang rapat semuanya.

Maka keesokan harinya, maka ia pun berjalan. Maka anjing dan kucing dan tikus itu pun berjalanlah mengiringkan Bahram Syah, daripada suatu padang kepada suatu padang. Maka tikus itu pun tiada lagi kuasa berjalan, maka kata anjing itu, “Hai Saudaraku tikus, jikalau daif kiranya Saudaraku berjalan itu, maka mintalah ikat pinggang tuan kita, itu perbuatkan buaian di bawah perutku itu!” Maka Bahram Syah pun segeralah membuatkan ikat pinggangnya seperti buaian di bawah perut anjing itu. Setelah sudah,

²⁸⁶ *k-ya-r-ng. VDTō. 316: k-ya-r-ng, kerang*, ‘a kind of basket used to store fish’. See also *Pam. 113*.

maka tikus itu pun masuk ke dalam kain di bawah perut anjing itu, maka ia pun berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti.

Syahdan berapa lamanya di jalan, dengan seketika lagi, maka Bahram Syah *74a* itu pun sampailah kepada suatu pohon kayu beringin di tengah padang yang luas, terlalu licin. Maka dilihat Bahram Syah sekalian orang banyak itu semuanya habis memakai dan segala anak menteri dan segala yang berjabatan dan segala anak orang kaya-kaya sedang bermainkan layang-layang dan bertikamkan pedang dan pendekar samanya pendekar, terlalu banyak orang yang bersuka-sukaan di tengah medan itu. Maka Bahram Syah pun sampailah ke sana, maka ia pun bertanya, “Hai segala tuan-tuan, apalah kiranya nama negeri ini dan siapalah khalifah raja dalam kota ini?” Maka orang itu pun berkata, “Hai tuan hamba, dengar olehmu, adapun nama negeri ini, ialah Sungai Rindang namanya, bermula akan khalifah raja, ialah Tuanku Melingkar Alam namanya. Adapun akan raja itu terlalu kasih dan sayang kepada segala anak dagang yang garib dan terlalu sekali adilnya serta dengan murahnyanya.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai tuan hamba, jikalau kiranya mudah-mudahan tuan samalah hamba menghadap sila tuanku itu.” Maka kata orang itu, “Terlalu baiknyanya!” Maka Bahram Syah pun dibawanya.

Setelah sampai kepada halaman astana itu, maka lalu naik, menyembah kepada baginda. Maka baginda pun segera menyambut dengan kedua belah tangannya, maka ia pun bersuka-sukaan. Setelah hari pun malamlah, setelah sudah minum dan makan, maka kata raja itu kepada Bahram Syah, “Jikalau kiranya ada tuan hamba suka, janganlah lagi berjalan ke sana-sini, baiklah sama-sama tinggal di sini, jika barang sesuatu pekerjaan dalam negeri ini.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Ya tuanku, beribu-ribu sekali patik terima titah tuanku itu jikalau dibukakan²⁸⁷ Allah hati tuanku daripada mengasihi orang yang dagang seperti untung patik ini.” Maka Bahram Syah itu pun diambilnya oleh *74b* raja itu akan anaknya dalam negeri yang bernama Sungai Rindang itu dan memerintahkan segala orang yang muda-muda dan segala anak dagang yang datang dari sana-sini dan mengetahui pekerjaan dan alat perkakas dalam astana itu. Maka Tuanku Melingkar Alam pun bertambah-tambah kasihnya kepada Bahram Syah karena perintahnya seperti perintah syahbandar dalam negeri itu dan bertambah-tambah jua sempurna dan kebajikan ke atas raja itu.

Maka berapa lamanya Bahram Syah itu sama-sama dengan raja itu, adalah barang lima tahun, maka pikirnya raja itu, “Dengan apa kiranya kubalas gunanya Anakku Bahram Syah ini? Jikalau demikian, baiklah ia kucarikan istri yang bangsawan dan setiawan. Ada kulihat seorang anak raja pukut di kuala, di tepi pasir, ialah Putri Kesumba²⁸⁸ Air Mawar namanya.” Maka keesokan harinya, maka kata raja itu kepada Bahram Syah, “Hai Anakku Bahram Syah, karena aku sekarang hendak mengatakan suatu kata yang kebajikan kepadamu, melainkan Anakku sukakan jikalau Anakku mengatakan bapa kepada hamba ini

²⁸⁷ d-ya-b-wau-k-q-k-n.

²⁸⁸ k-s-m-b-alif. T. 339: *kesumba*, ‘kind of plant (*Bixa orellana*) that can be used to produce a red dye’.

karena Anakku kucarikan istri. Adalah seorang perempuan anak raja pukat Tuan Putri Kesumba Air Mawar namanya, itulah yang berkenan pada hatiku. Hari siang aku suruh panggil raja pukat itu ke mari serta dengan perempuannya.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Mana titah tuanku, di mana boleh hamba salah di daripada bicara yang kebajikan!”

Maka keesokan harinya, maka raja pukat pun datanglah ke mudik serta dengan perempuannya dengan anak pukatnya, empat lima orang membawa ikan yang baik-baik akan santapan Tuanku Melingkar Alam. Maka raja pukat pun sampailah serta dengan perempuannya ke rumah raja itu, sama-sama duduk bersuka-sukaan, minum, makan. Setelah sudah minum, makan, 75a maka kata raja itu, “Hai raja pukat, ketahui olehmu dan seperti perempuanmu kata ini tiadalah panjang. Adapun anakku Bahram Syah dengan anakmu tuan putri yang bernama Kesumba Air Mawar hendaklah kita kawinkan sementara kita ada hidup, jikalau kita sudah mati, apalagi boleh buat?” Maka sembah raja pukat dengan istrinya, “Ya tuanku, dan seribu kalilah baiknya kepada patik, mana yang perintah tuanku, di sanalah patik karena tiadalah orang yang lain berlawanan melainkan anak tuanku dengan anak patik.” Setelah sudah bicara itu, maka berjanjilah daripada mengawinkan Bahram Syah dengan Tuan Putri Kesumba Air Mawar. Maka raja pukat pulanglah ke hilir daripada menghasilkan barang yang kurang. Maka adalah sebulan lamanya, maka Bahram Syah dengan Putri Kesumba Air Mawar itu pun dikawinkan oranglah.

Berapa lamanya ia duduk bersama-sama, maka Tuan Putri Kesumba Air Mawar pun sangat kasihnya kepada suaminya dan raja pukat pun bertambah-tambah pula kasihnya kepada menantunya itu. Adapun Tuan Putri Kesumba Air Mawar sentiasa bermain-main ke tepi laut, melihat orang memukat beberapa jongkong dan lancang pukat turun. Maka Bahram Syah dan putri itu pun lalailah daripada sehari-hari melihat sekalian orang memukat dan beberapa ikan bawal²⁸⁹ dan tenggiri,²⁹⁰ kapas-kapas²⁹¹ dan jumpul,²⁹² semuanya jenis bangsa ikan yang baik-baik dipersembahkan orang kepada Bahram Syah dengan Tuan Putri Kesumba Air Mawar. Setengah ada yang membawa dengan jeratnya,²⁹³ setengah ada yang membawa dengan kerangnya. Demikianlah kerjanya sehari-hari.

Berapa lamanya dalam kesukaan jua, maka pada suatu hari, setelah sudah Bahram Syah minum dan makan, maka ia pun berjalan-jalan membawa tungkus nasi tiga tungkus akan diberikannya kepada anjing 75b dan kucing dan tikus. Maka ia pun mengikut jalan ke tepi pasir. Adalah sebentar ia berjalan, maka Bahram Syah pun sampai ke bawah pohon ketapang²⁹⁴ yang amat besar, maka ia pun duduk bersandar di bawah pohon kayu

²⁸⁹ *Wl.* 93: *ikan bawal*, ‘pomfret’, ‘*Stromateus* spp.’. See *Ms.* 166 for a drawing of this species.

²⁹⁰ *Wl.* 1201: *ikan tenggiri*, ‘Spanish mackerel’, ‘*Scomberomorus (Cybium)* spp.’. See *Ms.* 1142 for a drawing of this species.

²⁹¹ *Wl.* 509: *ikan kapas-kapas*, ‘silver-bream’, ‘*Gerres* spp.’.

²⁹² *Wl.* 484: *ikan jumpul*, *ikan belanak*, ‘a grey mullet’, ‘*Mugil planiceps*’.

²⁹³ *j-ya-t-ya-t-ny. Pam.* 62: *jiré*, ‘*jirat*’. *KBBI* sv: *jirat*.

²⁹⁴ *k-t-p-ya-ng. VDTö.* 285: *ketapieng*, ‘name of a tree with edible fruit’. *KBBI* sv: *ketapang*, ‘*Terminalia catapa*’. *Wl.* 585: *ketapang*, ‘Indian almond tree’, ‘*Terminalia catapa*’.

itu. Maka Bahram Syah memberikan tungkus nasi yang tiga buah itu kepada anjing dan tikus dan kucing, katanya, “Makanlah olehmu setungkus seorang!” Maka Bahram Syah berbaring-baring di bawah pohon kayu itu, lalu ia berkata seorang dirinya dan teringat kepada peruntungannya dan persakitan yang ditahannya tatkala ia beroleh kesukaran²⁹⁵ dalam Kuala Embun Jati serta katanya, “Jikalau ada jua cincinku yang kudapat daripada raja jin, tiadalah seperti ini peruntunganku dan kesakitanku. Sekarang sudah diambilnya oleh Turani, dibawahnya kepada satu pulau tempatnya diam. Jikalau baik-baik hari, tampaklah meganya daripada tempat ini.” Setelah itu, maka Bahram Syah melihat kepada anjing dan kucing dan tikus sudahlah makan, maka Bahram Syah pun berdiri, lalu ia berjalan pulang ke rumahnya.

Dengan seketika lagi, maka pada malam itu jua, maka kata anjing, “Hai Saudaraku kucing dan tikus, adakah kiranya Saudaraku mendengar seperti yang dikata tuan kita pada siang hari tadi?” Maka kata kucing, “Jikalau demikian, maukah Saudaraku kita pergi mati, jangan lagi sayang kepada dunia ini, apa sebabnya (apa sebanya) karena guna tuan kita itu tiadalah terbalas oleh kita, melainkan ialah dengan nyawa kita itulah akan pembalasnya karena cincin itu ada sekarang, tetapi tiada di sini, pada mega yang kelihatan, itulah tempatnya Turani itu. Bagaimana bicara kita? Baiklah kita coba-coba *76a* berenang, jikalau ada sampai, jikalau tiada, kembali kita, tetapi janganlah diketahuinya oleh tuan kita, jikalau dianya tahu sekali-kali kita tiada kita akan dilepasnya. Pada malam hari kita berenang, janganlah pada hari siang.” Setelah sudah ia musyawarat anjing dan kucing dan tikus itu, maka ketiganya mencari makanannya dahulu masing-masing.

Maka hari itu petanglah, maka ia pun berhimpunlah ketiganya pada tempatnya, berhenti, menantikan hari sudah malam. Maka hari itu pun malamlah, maka berjalanlah ia ke tepi laut, lalu ia berenang ketiganya. Adapun yang dahulu ialah anjing, di belakang anjing kucing, di belakang kucing ialah tikus, itulah yang kemudian. Maka adalah kira-kira dua jam lamanya berenang itu, maka kata anjing, “Hai Saudaraku keduanya, karena aku sudahlah daifnya, menelentang²⁹⁶ pula kita berenang!” Maka menelentangleh ketiganya, lalu berenang jua tiada berhenti-henti. Dengan seketika berenang, maka ia pun berenang pula seperti yang dahulu, daripada suatu apung kepada suatu apung. Maka adalah berenang itu bertolong pula dengan angin timur pula menundukkan beberapalah banyaknya segala sama²⁹⁷ yang hinggap kepada kepala anjing dan kucing, ditangkapnya lalu dimakannya, diberikannya pula kepada tikus, lalu dimakannya pula maka bertambah-tambahlah kuatnya karena sudah boleh makanan.

²⁹⁵ k-s-wau-k-alif'-n. Although the spelling suggests the reading *kesukaan*, *kesukaran* seems to fit the context better. The variant spelling may be influenced by the pronunciation of the Minangkabau *s-wau-k-r*, *suka* (*VDTō*. 228).

²⁹⁶ m-n-ya-l-n-t-ng. *Pam*. 247: *manilantang*, 'menelentang'. *Wl*. 1188: *telentang*, 'astretch on one's back', 'also of a swimmer floating motionless on his back in the water'.

²⁹⁷ s-m-r. *VDTō*. 202: *s-alif-m-r*, *sama* II, 'name of a small water-fowl'.

Berapa lamanya berenang itu, maka ia pun sampailah kepada pulau yang bernama Si-ranjang Petinggangan, tempat Turani itu menjadi raja. Maka hari itu pun sianglah, maka anjing dan kucing dan tikus itu pun bersembunyi ketiganya kepada segala yang semak sedikit di tepi pasir itu, tiadalah diketahui orang. Maka ia pun musyawaratlah ketiganya, maka kata anjing, “Siapalah kita pergi melihati ke dalam kota itu? Maka kata tikus, “Hai 76b Saudara hamba, pada hatiku tiada yang lain dalam kita yang tiga melainkan ialah kucing karena langkahnya tiada terlintang, ke bawah jadi, ke rumah pun jadi, ke tepi jadi, ke tengah pun jadi. Akan Saudaraku anjing pun demikian lagi, tetapi hendaklah dahulukan dengan suatu alamat tanda kebajikan supaya sekalian orang yang banyak kasih dan ingin akan Saudaraku, dilihat segala orang banyak. Maka hendaklah Saudaraku dapatkan jua dengan perlahan-lahan. Bermula ekor saudara hamba hendaklah digerak-gerakkan²⁹⁸ dan lidah Saudaraku hendaklah diulur-ulurkan dan kepala Saudaraku hendak ditunduk-tundukkan, maka seolah sama rata dengan tanah, sebagai lagi jikalau kiranya disapu orang kepala Saudaraku dengan tapak kakinya, maka segeralah berbaring tidur, lalu nelentang. Demikianlah hendaknya yang dikerjakan. Kemudian, tak dapat tiada orang semuanya kasih. Bermula seperti untung hamba ini, di manalah boleh karena sekaliannya orang habis benci karena sudahlah pinta dahulu daripada segala nenek moyang karena sebab paratian²⁹⁹ jua terlalu sulit nian, meskipun tiada berdosa dibunuh orang juga dan bangkainya diberikannya kepada kucing. Baiklah jua hamba bersembunyi.”

Setelah sudah ia musyawarat, maka kucing itu pun berjalanlah daripada mendapatkan rumah Turani itu. Maka sekalian orang berkawal itu pun tiada peduli, akan tetapi adalah mereka itu senyum-senyum sebab melihat rupanya kucing itu terlalu sekali tambunnya. Maka kucing itu pun lalu ia naik ke atas astana Turani itu. Setelah dilihat oleh segala dayang-dayang kucing itu, lalu ditangkapnya serta dipangkunya. Maka pada ketika itu, adalah segala dayang-dayang banyak itu berabut-rabutkan kucing itu, maka kedengarannya oleh Turani daripada 77a suara segala dayang-dayang itu hiru-biru saja dengan kesukaannya, maka kata Turani, “Hai segala dayang-dayang, apa juga yang kamu sukakan sepanjang hari ini?” Maka kata segala dayang-dayang itu, “Ya tuanku, inilah datang seekor kucing kumbang, terlalu hitam seperti baja, sedikit pun tiada bercampur dengan yang putih, tiada lagi kucing yang baik daripada ini!” Maka kata Turani itu, “Bawa ke mari, aku lihat!” Maka kucing itu pun dibawanya oleh dayang-dayang itu, setelah dilihat Turani kucing itu, lalu diambilnya dan dipangkunya, katanya, “Sungguhlah seperti kata kamu sekalian, tiadalah segala kucing yang lain yang baik daripada ini! Warna bulunya berkilat-kilat seperti akan titik.” Maka kata Turani, “Hai segala dayang-dayang, peliharakanlah olehmu kucing ini baik-baik karena aku terlebih kasih dan sayang kepadanya!” Maka diberikannya oleh dayang-dayang nasi ayapan Turani itu, maka kucing itu pun tiada peduli, dilihatnya pun tiada, maka kata Turani itu, “Bagaimana maka kucing ini tiada mau

²⁹⁸ d-ya-k-r-ya-q angka dua k-n. Pam. 77: gari' II, 'gerak'.

²⁹⁹ p-r-alif-t-ya-n. VDTö. 253: paratian, 'feelings'.

makan?” Maka diambil Turani pula nasi itu daripada tempatnya makan, diletakkannya kepada tikar, maka kucing itu pun makan dan tikar itu pun dijilatnya. Maka kucing itu pun tiada jadi jauh daripada tempat Turani itu, tidur sentiasa, digosok-gosoknya dengan segala dayang-dayang banyak itu.

Syahdan berapa lamanya, maka hari itu pun malamlah. Setelah lepas daripada pukul selapan dan sekaliannya orang dalam astana itu pun sudahlah minum dan makan, maka tikus yang putih itu pun datanglah kepada astana Turani itu. Maka ia pun mangulisa-ngulisa³⁰⁰ dan mendekus-dekus, melompat ke atas peran dan kepada tiap-tiap salaian labu. Setelah didengar oleh kucing itu tikus berlari-lari dan mangulisa dan mendekus, 77b maka kucing itu pun terlalu hebat hendak menangkap tikus itu. Maka Turani itu pun tertawa-tawa daripada melihat kucing itu terlalu hebat mengintai tikus itu.

Berapa lamanya, maka Turani hendak tidur, maka kucing itu pun datanglah kepada Turani, lalu dipangkunya, maka katanya, “Hai kucingku, di sinilah! Jangan jauh-jauh daripadaku!” Setelah itu, diambilnyalah cincin raja jin itu dari dalam ikat pinggangnya, maka lalulah dikulumnya ke dalam mulutnya, maka ia pun tidurlah. Maka sekaliannya laku dan perangai Turani habislah dilihatnya oleh kucing itu. Maka sentiasa demikianlah Turani itu daripada memeliharakan cincin raja jin itu selama-lamanya. Bermula Turani itu tidur pada malam tiada kabar akan dirinya, terlalu nyedar tidurnya. Maka berapa lamanya tidur maka hari pun sianglah, maka Turani itu pun bangun daripada tidurnya, maka cincin yang dikulumnya itu pun dikeluarkannya pula daripada mulutnya, ditaruhnya dalam ikat pinggangnya. Demikian jugalah selama-lamanya, dilihatkannya jua oleh kucing kumbang itu kelakuan Turani semuanya.

Seketika lagi, maka anjing itu pun datanglah ke dalam kota dan seperti pengajar tikus itu pun semuanya dikerjakannya oleh anjing itu. Maka sekalian orang dalam kota itu pun kasih kepada anjing itu. Maka anjing itu pun pergilah berjalan-jalan berkeliling dalam kota itu, maka ia pun lalu pula ke bawah astana Turani itu daripada mencari-cari tulang yang dibuangkan oleh dayang-dayang dari astana, beberapa tulang itik dan ayam dan tulang angsa dan merpati³⁰¹ beberapa ayapan yang lebih daripada Turani memakan. Demikian jua petang 78a dan pagi, tiadalah khali, maka anjing itu pun lalailah daripada memakan segala tulang-tulang itu dan manguih-nguih³⁰² dan mencapak-capak kekenyangan. Maka kucing kumbang itu pun mendengar bunyi anjing, maka ia pun turunlah lalu ke bawah astana, maka kelihatanlah anjing itu. Maka kucing itu pun datang mendapatkan anjing

³⁰⁰ m-ng-k-l-ya-s-r angka dua. *VDTo.* 298: k-l-ya-s-r, *kulisa*, *bakulisa*, ‘to move around on the same spot or to walk to and fro’. *Ms.* 646: *kulisa*, ‘bergerak’.

³⁰¹ m-r-alif-p-alif-t-ya.

³⁰² m-ng-wau-wau-ya-s angka dua. The Malay word *menguis* means ‘shoving aside (with the foot)’ and is also used for fowl scratching up soil in search of food (*Wl.* 620; *KBBI sv*). But the spelling m-ng-wau-wau-ya-s can also refer to the Minangkabau word *manguih*, ‘to bite’ or ‘to tear off something with the teeth’ (*Ms.* 640).

itu, maka kedua mereka itu pun sama-samalah memakan tulang itu di bawah astana Turani itu.

Bermula akan kucing dan anjing itu pun berbicara pada ketika sedang makan itu, maka kata kucing “Hai Saudaraku anjing, sekarang pun berjalanlah dahulu, kemudian aku datang di belakang.” Setelah itu, maka anjing itu pun berjalanlah ke tepi pasir. Adalah sebentar antaranya, maka kucing itu pun datanglah dengan segeranya berjalan di belakang anjing itu. Berapa lamanya, maka ia pun sampailah kepada tempatnya bersembunyi yang dahulu itu. Adapun akan tikus adalah di sana jua menanti, maka ia pun musyawaratlah ketiganya, maka kata kucing “Hai Saudaraku keduanya, bagaimana jua sekarang, apakah akal bicara kita akan cincin tuan kita itu? Hanya sesungguhnya cincin itu kepada Turani, tetapi terlalu sukar nian mendapatnya karena cincin itu disimpannya dalam mulutnya, jikalau ketika malam dalam mulutnya ditaruhnya, jikalau kepada hari siang kepada ikat pinggangnya pula ditaruhnya dan lima malmah hamba tiada bercerai dengan Turani itu. Sekarang pulanglah akal bicara kepada Saudaraku yang berdua.” Setelah sudah didegarnya kata kucing itu, maka kata tikus “Hai Saudaraku, adapun bicara hamba tiadalah panjang, melainkan untung alang dialang jua, jikalau untung selamat 78*b* selamat jua, karena dahulu sudahlah hamba tanggungan tatkala hidung hamba dicocok Merumus dengan ekornya, di sanalah hamba baru menanggung azab daripada perasaian hamba dan bersin dan kuhue,³⁰³ berbagai-bagailah yang keluar daripada hidung dan mulut hamba itu pun. Demikianlah boleh dapat bicara hamba mencocok hidungnya Turani itu dengan ekor hamba supaya keluar cincin tuan kita itu daripada hidung Turani itu, tetapi apakah jadi keluar saja, siapalah menangkapnya? Tak dapat tiada akulah yang mengeluarkan cincin itu.” Setelah didengar kucing kata tikus itu, “Hai Saudaraku, jikalau keluar cincin tuan kita dari dalam mulut Turani itu, maka tak dapat tiada hambalah yang menangkap dia, tetapi jikalau tertangkap, apakah jadi siapalah yang membawa hamba lari karena berlari itu tiada hamba kuasa, dapat jua oleh segala orang yang berkawal.” Setelah didengar oleh anjing kata kucing itu, maka katanya, “Hai Saudaraku, adapun yang melarikan Saudaraku akulah, jangan disusahkan! Jikalau ada kiranya diperoleh yang demikian, Saudaraku lihatnyalah kemudian harinya.”

Setelah sudahlah musyawarat ketiganya, maka kata tikus, “Jikalau demikian, sempurnalah bicara ini, akan tetapi baik jua kita cobakan daripada pendapat seorang-seorang!” Maka kata anjing itu, “Hai tikus, cobakanlah dahulu ekormu itu kepada lobang ambai-ambai ini, jikalau keluar ambai-ambai itu daripada lobangnya, dapatlah cincin tuan kita itu.” Maka kata tikus, “Baiklah! Maka bersigaplah tuan-tuan keduanya supaya boleh hamba cobakan!” Maka kucing dan anjing itu 79*a* pun bersigaplah, maka tikus pun mencocokkan ekornya itu kepada lobang ambai-ambai serta ia melompat, maka ambai-ambai itu pun keluarlah, maka ditangkapnya oleh kucing, maka anjing itu pun menangkap kucing itu, lalu dilarikannya terlalu amat tangkas, seperti angin. Maka kucing itu pun seolah-

³⁰³ *k-wau-h-wau-r. Pam. 118: kuhue(r), 'batuk'. VDTō. 313: k-wau-h-r, 'to cough'. Ms. 639: kuhua, 'batuk'.*

olah tiada kabar akan dirinya dilarikan oleh anjing itu. Maka tikus pun terlalu sukacita hatinya melihat sigap anjing dan kucing itu seraya katanya, “Hai Saudaraku, sekarang pun senanglah hati hamba supaya boleh kita pergi ke dalam astana Turani itu!” Maka kucing itu pun berkata, “Baiklah kita pergi!” Maka ia pun pergi dengan anjing, adapun tikus itu kemudian.

Maka kucing dan anjing itu pun sampailah, maka kucing itu pun naiklah ke atas astana dan anjing pun di bawah astana memakan tulang. Setelah dilihat oleh Turani itu kucing itu pun telah datang, maka dipangkunya dan disapu-sapunya. Setelah hari pun malamlah, maka orang dalam astana itu pun makanlah dan kucing itu pun makan pula sama-sama. Setelah sudah, maka Turani pun diambilnyalah cincin itu dari ikat pinggangnya, lalu ditaruhnya ke dalam mulutnya, maka kucing pun diribanya, lalu ia tidur.

Hatta maka tikus pun datanglah, lalu ke dalam astana, maka didengarnya oleh kucing itu, maka ia pun datanglah mendapatkan (kucing itu) tikus itu, lalu berkata, “Sudah sekarang tidur Turani itu.” Maka anjing pun bersigap di bawah astana, maka tikus itu pun menyapu-nyapukan ekornya kepada batu tempat orang memipis-mipis lada, maka ia pun pergilah kepada tempat ketiduran Turani. Maka kucing itu pun duduklah di sisinya dan bersigap dirinya. Maka tikus itu pun menghampir, maka dilihatnya Turani itu terlalu nyedar tidurnya, *79b* maka tikus itu pun mencocokkan ekornya kepada liang hidung Turani. Maka Turani itu pun terbersin-bersin³⁰⁴ dan kuhue-kuhue, maka cincin itu pun keluarlah dari dalam mulutnya. Maka lalu ditangkap oleh kucing itu dilarikannya, lalu ia melompat ke bawah, maka disambutnya pula oleh anjing, kucing itu dilarikannya seperti kilat yang amat tangkas.

Hatta maka Turani itu pun merasai azablah terbersin-bersin jua, beberapa yang keluar daripada mulutnya dan hidungnya serta dengan air matanya. Maka gemparlah semuanya dayang-dayang itu. Maka Turani pun berkata, “Tangkap olehmu kucing hitam itu!” Maka lalu dicari oleh dayang-dayang, tiada lagi kelihatan, maka dicari cincin itu, tiadalah dapat, maka kata Turani itu, “Tiadalah yang lain mengambil cincin itu melainkan kucing itulah.” Maka hari pun sianglah, maka ia pun menitahkan kepada segala menteri, hulubalang menyuruh mencari kucing itu, katanya, “Jikalau bertemu, bawa kepada aku!” Maka segala hulubalang itu pun pergilah mencari kucing itu, adapun Turani pun bertambahlah dukacitanya dan menyesal-nyesal dirinya sebab mengasihi kucing hitam itu. Hatta maka tikus itu pun bersembunyilah, tiada boleh turun sebab orang berkawal itu berkeliling. Maka hari pun malamlah, maka ia pun turun perlahan-lahan, lalu daripada sela-sela pagar itu berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti.

Hatta maka tersebutlah perkataan anjing dan kucing itu. Setelah ia sampai kepada tempatnya bersembunyi itu, maka dinantinya tikus, tiada jua datang, sampai pula malam hari, maka kata anjing kepada (ku) kucing, “Bagaimana akal kita kepada saudara kita tikus itu, barangkali entah matilah ia oleh orang yang berkawal itu!” Maka keduanya pun

³⁰⁴ t-r-b-*alif-s-ya-n*. Pam. 35: *basin*, ‘bersin’. KBBi sv: *bersin*.

susahlah hatinya, maka seketika lagi, tikus itu pun datanglah ke sana, maka ketiganya *soa* pun bersuka-sukaanlah, lalu berkata-kata, “Manakala³⁰⁵ kita pergi pulang?” Maka kata tikus, “Sekarang jualah, sementara hari malam, sebab hulubalang Turani banyak mencari kita.” Maka dikatakannya segala hal ihwal Turani itu. Maka ketiganya mencari makanannya, setelah sudah itu, lalu ia ke tepi laut, lalu berenanglah ketiganya maka berenang jua tiadalah berhenti. Berapa lamanya berenang itu, maka kata tikus, “Ya Saudaraku kucing, ambillah hamba, tiada lagi boleh hamba berenang sebab terlalu letih!” Maka ia pun bergantunglah kepada kucing, maka berenang jua. Maka kucing itu pun payahlah, rasakan hendak tenggelam rasanya, maka ia pun berkata kepada anjing, “Hai Saudaraku, hamba terlalu jerih nian!” Maka kata anjing, “Marilah hamba renangkan!” Maka ia pun berenanglah, maka cincin raja jin itu ditaruhnya dalam mulut anjing itu.

Maka hampirlah sampai ke darat, maka angin pun kencanglah dan ombak pun bersarlah, maka anjing itu pun tiada boleh berenang lagi sebab jerihnya dan angin pun dari muka, maka ia pun berkata kepada kucing, “Ya Saudaraku, sekarang matilah kita ini!” Maka kata kucing, “Hamba pun demikian, terlalu jerih hamba.” Maka anjing itu pun dibenam-benam³⁰⁶ oleh ombak itu, beberapa air masuk daripada hidungnya, maka ia pun lemaslah, lalu ternganga mulutnya, ombak pun datang maka jatuhlah cincin itu ke dalam laut. Setelah dilihat oleh ikan kapas-kapas cincin itu bercahaya-cahaya, maka lalu disambarnya oleh ikan itu, lalu ditelannya³⁰⁷. Maka anjing itu pun berkata kepada kucing, “Ya Saudaraku, lepaskanlah tangan tuan hamba, adapun cincin telah jatuh!” Maka kucing pun melepaskan tangannya seraya dengan dukacitanya serta, “Apalah lagi akal kita?” Maka berapa lamanya, maka ia pun sampailah ke tepi pasir, lalu naik ke darat ketiganya, lalu bertangis-tangisan serta kata tikus, “Apa lagi bicara kita, *sob* lagi tiadalah sampai jasa kita kepada tuan kita, sudahlah kita tujuh hari lamanya!” Maka kata anjing, “Ya Saudaraku, hamba pun tiada mau lagi kembali pulang, biarlah hamba membuang diri ke dalam hutan supaya mati!” Maka kata kucing, “Pikiran hamba tiada begitu, apa boleh buat, tiada untung kita, melainkan kita baik pulang jua, kita persembahkan kepada baginda.” Maka kata tikus, “Apalah yang kita persembahkan karena sudah terjatuh ke dalam laut. Bagaimana bicara kita mengambil dia?” Maka ia pun bertangis-tangislah ketiganya di tepi³⁰⁸ laut seraya duduk berhadap-hadapan dengan letihnya lagi dengan lapar dahaganya.

Syahdan, maka tersebutlah perkataan Bahram Syah. Maka ia pun menanti-nanti anjing dan kucing itu, tiadalah datang, sudah malam hari, maka ia pun mencari-cari segenap jorong³⁰⁹ dan kampung itu, lalu ke tengah padang, tiada juga bertemu. Maka ia pun pikir dalam hatinya, “Ke manakah gerangan ia, atau mati ditangkap harimaukah anjing dan

³⁰⁵ m-n-ng-k-l-alif. Ms. 762; VDTö. ix: *manangkalo*. KBBi sv: *manakala*.

³⁰⁶ d-b-alif-n-m angka dua.

³⁰⁷ d-ya-t-alif-l-n-ny.

³⁰⁸ t-alif-p-ya.

³⁰⁹ j-ya-r-wau-ng. Wl. 479: *jorong*, ‘corner’ or ‘section’.

kucing dan tikus ini karena sudahlah sampai tujuh hari ia tiada pulang.” Maka Bahram Syah pun terlalu dukacitanya, lalu ia berjalan ke tepi pasir. Berapa lamanya, maka ia pun sampailah kepada tempat anjing dan kucing dan tikus itu, maka dilihatnyalah nyata-nyata sungguhlah ia dilihatnya terlalu daif-daif dan kurusnya, tidur berhadap-hadapan ketiganya. Maka Bahram Syah pun berkata, “Hai Saudaraku, dari manalah Saudaraku selama ini dan sudah kurus-kurus pula hamba lihat serta dengan daif Saudaraku.” Maka ketiganya pun terkejut, lalu menyembah serta dengan tangisnya, maka dikabarkannya segala perbuatannya tatkala mengambil cincin itu, lalu kepada berenang, lalu terjatuh cincin itu, habis diceterakannya oleh anjing dan kucing dan tikus itu. Maka Bahram Syah pun makin bertambah-tambah dukacitanya, lalu ia berkata, “Ya Saudaraku, sudahlah *81a* dengan takdir Allah taala kepada kita, sekarang marilah Saudaraku pulang, janganlah lagi itu disusahkan jua, jika dengan takdir Allah taala boleh juga itu pulang kepada kita.” Maka ia pun berjalanlah keempatnya. Setelah sampai, lalu ia memberi makan anjing dan kucing itu dan tikus.

Setelah berapa lamanya, maka orang memukat pun memukatlah, terlalu banyaknya dapat, maka dibelahnya³¹⁰ ikan yang baik-baik, lalu dipersembhkannya kepada Putri Kesumba Air Mawar. Maka dilihatnya oleh Bahram Syah ikan terlalu baik-baiknya, maka ada pula seekor kapas-kapas terlalu besarnya daripada yang lain, maka ia pun berkata kepada istrinya, “Ya tuan putri, inilah panggangan kepada hamba!” Maka Putri Kesumba Air Mawar pun mengambil ikan itu, lalu dipersiangnya,³¹¹ lalu dibuangkannya perutnya. Maka dilihatnya dalam perutnya ikan itu keras seperti batu besarnya, seperti cincin berbelang-belang, maka katanya, “Ya Kakanda, apakah ini dalam perut ikan seperti batu kerasnya?” Maka Bahram Syah pun segeralah datang, lalu diambilnya dan dilihatnya cincin itu, maka terlalu suka hatinya seraya katanya, “Ya tuan putri, inilah batu di pasir rupanya, ditelan oleh ikan ini.” Maka pura-pura dilantingkannya ke bawah, tetapi telah disimpangnya ke dalam ikat pinggangnya, maka ia pun pergi kepada tempat ketidurannya.

Telah berapa lamanya, maka ia pun bermohon kepada istrinya dan mertuanya³¹² raja pukut dan meyembah kepada Tuanku Melingkar Alam, lalu ia berjalan serta mengiring kucing dan anjing dan tikus itu. Maka ia pun pergi kepada tempat yang sunyi,³¹³ lalu mengambil api, lalu dikeluarkannya cincin itu, lalu diasapnya dengan kemenyan. Maka seketika lagi raja jin pun datang meyembah, katanya, “Ya tuanku, apalah kehendak tuanku kepada kami, kami takut dan gentar.” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Ya Saudaraku, hilangkanlah pulau itu serta dengan Turani dan *81b* kebesarannya sekaliannya dan rupa hamba pun pulangkan seperti dahulu kala!” Maka dengan seketika lagi, maka pulau

³¹⁰ d-ya-p-b-l-h-ny.

³¹¹ d-ya-p-s-ya-ng-ny.

³¹² m-ya-n-t-wau-alif-ny. Pam. 153: *mintuo*, ‘mentua’. Ms. 788–789: *mintuo*. The *KBBI* gives both *mentua* and *mertua*; the latter form is the preferred spelling.

³¹³ s-wau-n-ya. Ms. 1102: *sunyi*, ‘sunyi’, ‘quiet’ or ‘desolate’.

itu pun hilanglah serta isinya sekaliannya, maka Bahram Syah pun berjalan jua, tiada berhenti-henti.

Berapa lamanya berjalan itu, adalah kira-kira sebulan lamanya, maka ia pun hampirlah ke negerinya. Maka ia pun berjalan jua, adalah tiga jam perjalanan maka ia pun sampailah ke luar kota, lalu ia menyuruh membuka pintu, katanya, “Hai orang berkawal, bukakan aku pintu!” Maka didengar oleh orang berkawal itu suara Bahram Syah, maka ia pun segera membuka pintu, lalu ia menyembah. Maka diwartakan oranglah ke dalam astana, maka tuan putri pun terlalu sukacita hatinya dan anaknya itu pun demikianlah lagi. Maka Bahram Syah pun masuklah, lalu ke dalam astana, maka Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara pun menyembah dan anaknya pun demikian lagi, lalu dipeluk, dicium oleh Bahram Syah, katanya, “Aduh, Anakku sudah besar kiranya, Anakanda belum lagi ditinggalkan ayahanda.” Maka ia pun berceterakanlah segala hal ihwalnya kepada Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara, maka tuan putri pun heran seraya katanya, “Tiadalah dikenal oleh orang rupa Kakanda dahulu datang itu, hamba tanyakan, seperti rupa si gulumbai kata orang, sebab itulah tiada diberi orang masuk!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Sungguhlah itu sebab sudah diubahnya oleh Turani itu sebab cincin raja jin itu.” Maka tuan putri pun heranlah. Setelah sudah minum dan makan, maka hari pun malamlah, lalu ia tidur.

Setelah hari pun sianglah, maka terdengarlah kabar kepada Tuanku Sultan Jalil dan kepada Nenek Kebayan dan perdana menteri dan segala raja-raja mengatakan Bahram Syah telah datang. Maka baginda pun berangkat ke sana serta (di) *82a* diiringkan perdana menteri dan raja-raja, hulubalang dan Nenek Kebayan. Setelah sampai, maka diwartakan oranglah kepada Bahram Syah, maka Bahram Syah pun keluar mengelu-elukan ayahanda baginda serta bertemu, maka ia pun menyembah kepada kaki baginda. Maka oleh baginda serta dipeluk, diciumnya dan perdana menteri demikian lagi dan Nenek Kebayan, “Aduh Anakku, dari mana Anakku selama ini dan Anakanda telah besarlah, tiada boleh kami lihat sebab Anakku belum datang.” Maka lalu dipeluk, dicium oleh Nenek Kebayan Bahram Syah itu, maka lalu berjabat tangan dengan segala raja-raja dan menteri, lalu naik ke atas astana, masing-masing duduk pada kedudukannya. Maka diceriterakan oleh Bahram Syah hal ihwalnya berburu itu, lalu kepada Turani yang khianat kepadanya, habis diceriterakannya dari mulanya sampai kepada kesudahannya. Maka segala orang mendengar pun heran hatinya, setengah menangis sebab bagai-bagai perasaan Bahram Syah itu. Maka hidangan pun diangkat oranglah ke hadapan majelis, setelah sudah makan, lalu makan sirih serta memakai bau-bauan, lalu bermohon kembali masing-masing, maka baginda pun terlalu kasih akan cucunda itu, demikian lagi Nenek Kebayan dengan perdana menteri pun demikian lagi dan ayahandanya Bahram Syah pun terlebih kasihnya kepada anakanda itu.

Setelah makin besarlah, lalu diserahkanlah mengaji. Setelah dapat mengaji Quran, lalu mengaji kitab pula semuanya telah dapat, lalu diserahkan bermain senjata dan kuda dan segala ilmu telah diketahuinya lebih pula daripada ayahnya Bahram Syah itu serta dengan sikapnya dengan periksanya dan cantik, manis, terlalu indah rupanya, tiadalah

siapa taranya dalam negeri itu. Demikianlah diceriterakan *82b* oleh orang yang empunya ceritera ini.

Maka tuan putri pun hamil pula berapa lamanya, maka setelah sampai kepada bukannya, maka ia pun berputra pula seorang laki-laki terlalu amat indah rupanya. Maka ia pun terlalu sukacita hatinya dan Tuanku *Marah* Inda Sultan Jalil pun datanglah serta perdana menteri dengan Nenek Kebayan pun habis datang semuanya raja-raja sekalian menjunjung anakanda Bahram Syah itu serta bersuka-sukaan, beberapa bunyi-bunyian dipalu orang, berbagai-bagai bunyian dan ragamnya seperti bagaimana adat raja-raja besar yang beranak. Demikianlah, maka lalu dibawa mandi dan diarak di atas pancapersada tujuh pangkat daripada emas sepuluh mata, berumbai-umbaikan mutiara berbagai-bagai rupanya dan warnanya. Setelah sudah, lalu [d]iarak oranglah keliling negeri Gastu Gasta, setelah sudahlah, masing-masing pun habis pulanglah ke tempatnya. Hatta berapa lamanya, maka dinamainyalah anaknya itu Nadir Syah. Maka Nadir Syah pun bertambah-tambahlah besarnya dan akal budinya demikian lagi, maka lalu diserahkanlah mengaji Quran dan mengaji kitab dan tafsir serta bermain senjata, semuanya telah diketahuinya oleh anaknya itu, maka terlalu kasih sayang ayah bundanya kepada anakandanya itu.

Setelah berapa lamanya, maka Bahram Syah pun teringatlah kepada ayah bundanya di negeri Padang Silalatan, maka cucurlah air matanya, maka kata Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara, “Hai Kakanda, apakah yang akan Kakanda tangiskan itu?” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Ya Adinda, adapun sebabnya kakanda menangis ini tercinta akan ayah bunda kakanda karena sudahlah sampai lima belas tahun tiadalah pernah bertemu, sebab itulah maka hamba menangis ini.” Maka kata Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara, “Jikalau *83a* demikian, bagaimana sekarang pikiran Kakanda?” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Adapun pikiran kakanda sekarang hendak pergi ke sana serta dengan tuan putri dengan anakanda sekali, jikalau Adinda suka melihat negeri kakanda itu.” Maka sahut tuan putri, “Ya Kakanda, janganlah lagi mendapatkan ayah bunda kita, Kakanda bawa hamba ini, jikalau Kakanda bawa pergi mati, sekalipun ridalah adinda ini!” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Jikalau demikian, baiklah kita pergi menghadap ayah bunda kita!” Maka keduanya pun turunlah serta diiringkan dayang-dayangnya, lalu sampai ke dalam kota Gastu Gasta itu, maka ia pun masuk ke dalam kota, lalu ke atas astana. Maka Tuanku *Marah* Inda Sultan Jalil pun serta melihat anakanda datang, lalu ditegurinya, “Ke manakah tuan ini keduanya, seperti orang dukacita rupanya Anakanda ini!” Maka Bahram Syah pun menyembah kepada baginda dan tuan putri pun demikian lagi, maka segera disambut oleh baginda dengan kedua belah tangannya seraya sembahnya, “Ya tuanku, adapun patik ini datang bepersembahkan, adapun patik ini, jikalau boleh dengan seboleh-bolehnya pinta patik kepada tuanku patik ini hendak pulang ke negeri Padang Silalatan serta dengan anakanda tuan putri hendak bawa sama-sama.”

Maka baginda, setelah mendengar sembah menantunya demikian itu, maka ia pun berdiam dirinya, pikirnya, “Hendak ditahan, tiada tertahan sebab yang lurus pula pekerjaannya itu dan lagi pun ia anak raja besar.” Maka baginda pun berkata, “Ya Anakanda,

adapun seperti kata Anakanda itu sungguhlah, akan tetapi dalam hati ayahanda tiadalah yang lain melainkan Anakandalah akan ganti ayahanda *83b* memerintahkan negeri yang tujuh puluh tujuh ini kare[n]a ayahanda sudahlah tua.” Maka Bahram Syah pun menyembah pula serta katanya, “Benarlah kata tuanku itu, tetapi patik ini sudah lama nian meninggalkan ayah bunda patik sebab itulah patik bermohon kepada tuanku ini.” Maka kata baginda, “Hai Anakanda, jikalau demikian, cucuku yang tua itu janganlah Anakanda bawa bersama-sama, tinggalkan sama-sama dengan ayahanda supaya kita angkat ia menjadi kerajaan dalam negeri ini.” Maka sembah Bahram Syah, “Jikalau demikian titah tuanku, di mana boleh patik salah lagi dan patik ini pun sahaja³¹⁴ hamba ke bawah duli tuanku.” Maka Sultan Jalil pun terlalu suka hatinya mendengar sembah Bahram Syah itu, maka ia pun memberi titah kepada bentara menyuruh memberi tahu raja-raja yang tujuh puluh tujuh itu dan segala menteri, hulubalang, rakyat sekalian.

Hatta berapa lamanya, maka raja-raja dan menteri, hulubalang, rakyat sekalian pun datanglah, lalu ke atas balairung, lalu sujud kepada baginda serta dengan Bahram Syah. Maka oleh baginda serta disambutinya katanya, “Hai segala raja-raja dan menteri, adapun sebab hamba panggil tuan-tuan ini semuanya sebab hamba pun sudah tua, adapun kerajaan hamba ini hamba serahkanlah kepada cucunda dan namanya pun sekarang Sultan Mengindra Alam, jikalau tuan-tuan suka sekaliannya.” Maka sembah segala raja menteri, “Ya tuanku syah alam, sebenarnya kata tuanku itu adapun tuanku pun sudah tua itu pun, sekarang patik sekalian ini pun sukalah menerima titah duli tuanku itu.”

Setelah sudah habis bicara pada hari yang baik, maka beberapa kerbau dan lembu disembelih orang akan makanan orang bersuka-sukaan dan beberapa *84a* bunyi-bunyian pun dipalu oranglah. Maka Sultan Mengindra Alam pun dihiasi oranglah dengan pakaian selengkapnya dan mahkota³¹⁵ kebesaran pun dibubuhkan oranglah kepada kepalanya, lalu diarak di atas usung-usungan diarak berkeliling negeri Gastu Gasta serta dengan bunyi-bunyian pun dipalu oranglah dan nobat pun dipalu oranglah seperti bagaimana adat menaikkan raja-raja besar. Demikianlah diperbuat oleh orang, beberapa segala raja-raja dan menteri bersembahkan kerbau dan lembu akan baginda itu. Setelah sudahlah sampai tujuh hari, tujuh [malam] keliling diarak orang, maka lalu ke atas balairung, duduk di atas singgasana kiani (ni) dihadap oleh segala raja-raja, menteri, hulubalang. Maka masing-masing mengatakan daulat tuanku syah alam. Setelah sudah itu, maka hidangan pun diangkat oranglah ke hadapan majelis. Setelah sudah makan dan minum, lalu makan sirih serta memakai bau-bauan. Maka masing-masing pun menyembah, lalu bermohon kepada Sultan Mengindra Alam, lalu pulang masing-masing ke tempatnya.

Setelah berapa lamanya Sultan Mengindra Alam di atas kerajaan serta dengan adil dan murahnya kepada segala dagang dan santri dan segala menteri, hulubalangnya, hatta maka Bahram Syah pun menyuratlah hendak pulang itu, lalu ia bermohon kepada mertuanya

³¹⁴ s-ng-h-j-alif.

³¹⁵ m-ng-k-wau-t-alif. Ms. 767; Pam. 149: *mangkuto*, ‘makota’. KBBI sv: *mahkota*.

dan anaknya Sultan Mengindra Alam pun datang menyembah kaki ayah bundanya serta dengan air matanya, lalu dipeluk, dicium oleh ayah bunda baginda serta dengan tangisnya sebab akan bercerai dengan anakanda itu. Demikian lagi adinda Nadir Syah pun menyembah kepada nenekanda dan kepada kakanda berpeluk, berpangku dan bertanggung-tangisan seperti mayat 84b akan turun. Demikianlah adanya. Maka perdana menteri dan Nenek Kebayan terlalu sangat menangis sebab bercerai dengan Bahram Syah dan Tuan Putri Apalu Apala pun demikian lagi. Setelah sudah berlekap semuanya pada malam itu, maka nasi dan gulai akan makanan garuda pun telah sedialah semuanya, maka Bahram Syah pun mengambil api, lalu dibakarnya sedikit bulu garuda itu. Dengan seketika lagi, garuda itu pun datanglah seperti kilat yang amat tangkas dan bunyi sayapnya pun seperti sangkakala. Maka terlindunglah matahari itu oleh sayapnya garuda itu. Maka ia pun berserulah, “Ya Anakku Bahram Syah, di mana Anakku?” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Inilah hamba, ya Bundaku!” Maka garuda itu pun hinggaplah ke tengah padang itu, maka kata Bahram Syah, “Hai Bunda dan Saudaraku, makanlah sedikit!” Maka garuda itu pun makanlah, setelah sudah makan, maka garuda itu pun merendahkan dirinya, maka Bahram Syah pun berkata, “Tinggallah tuan-tuan dan Anakku sekalian baik-baik memerintah negeri!” lalu ia naik ke belakang garuda itu dan Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara dan anakanda Nadir Syah dan anjing dan kucing dan tikus itu pun dibawanya sama-sama, lalu naik ke belakang garuda yang jantan itu, lalu terbanglah ke udara seperti kilat yang amat tangkas. Maka terbang jua, tiada berhenti-henti.

Berapa lamanya, maka sampailah menempuh rantau bahr laut api, maka garuda yang besar itu pun terbang sebelah ke bawah dan garuda yang jantan itu di tengah-tengah dan garuda yang betina itu sebelah ke atas sebab memeliharakan Bahram Syah dengan tuan putri itu. Maka tuan putri pun seolah-olah pingsanlah rasanya, lalu dipegangkan Bahram [Syah] dengan anaknya Nadir Syah 85a tangannya. Maka pada tatkala itu, laut api pun sedang siuman, tiadalah mendidih dan kurang pula hangatnya. Maka berapa lamanya terbang itu, maka adalah waktu asar, maka kelihatanlah kayu besar tempat garuda bersarang itu, maka ia pun hinggap kepada sarangnya. Maka Bahram Syah dengan Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara pun turunlah dari atas belakang garuda dengan anaknya Nadir Syah pun turunlah sama dan anjing dan kucing dan tikus sekaliannya masuk ke dalam sarang garuda. Maka garuda pun bermohon hendak mencari makanannya,³¹⁶ lalu ia terbanglah mencari segala gajah dan rusa, disambarnya.

Hatta adalah gerangan tiga hari lamanya dalam sarang garuda itu, maka ia pun berlekaplah, lalu naik ke belakang garuda yang jantan itu, lalu diterbangkannya tiada berhenti-henti. Maka berapa lamanya terbang itu, maka dengan takdir Allah taala telah petanglah hari, maka sampailah kepada padang negeri Padang Silalatan, lalu ia hinggap di tengah padang itu, maka kata garuda itu, “Hai Saudaraku Bahram Syah, turunlah Saudaraku!” Maka Bahram Syah dengan tuan putri semuanya pun turunlah, maka Bahram Syah

³¹⁶ m-k-n-ny.

mengambil api, lalu diasapnya cincin raja jin itu. Seketika, maka datanglah raja jin itu, katanya, “Ya Tuanku Bahram Syah, apakah kehendak(ku) tuanku?” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Ya Saudaraku, hamba minta perbuatkan usung-usungan serta dengan singgasana serta dengan selengkapnyanya daripada emas sepuluh mata dan yang tiada pernah dilihat oleh orang dan serta kerbau dan nasi akan makanan garuda!” Maka dengan seketika itu, maka telah hadir semuanya, maka garuda pun makanlah. Setelah sudah makan, lalu ia bermohon kepada Bahram Syah, lalu terbang. Hatta maka tuan putri pun naik ke atas usung-usungan itu, maka Bahram Syah pun menyuruh memberi tahu ayahanda dan kanda.

Setelah didengar *85b* oleh baginda anakanda telah datang dengan istrinya dan cucunda, maka baginda pun datanglah serta dengan permaisuri, diiringkan segala raja-raja dan menteri, hulubalang, rakyat sekalian serta dengan bunyi-bunyian. Setelah sampai ke luar kota, lalu bertemu, maka Bahram Syah menyembah kaki ayah bundanya dan Tuan Putri Ambaru Ambara pun demikian lagi, maka baginda pun memeluk, mencium anakanda baginda serta berjabat dengan saudaranya keduanya dan raja-raja sekalian pun heranlah akan kebesaran dan kesaktian Bahram Syah itu. Maka diarak oranglah ke dalam kota, lalu ke atas astana serta dengan bunyi-bunyian terlalu amat ramainya. Setelah sampai ke astana, lalu disambut oleh Tuan Putri Andam Dewi di[du]dukkan di atas peterana³¹⁷ dihadap oleh segala dayang-dayang dan pangingang. Adapun Bahram Syah berceterakanlah akan perasaiannya tatkala pergi berburu dan khianat Turani, habislah diceterakannya pada ayahanda baginda. Maka semuanya pun heran, setengah menangis mendengar kabarnya Bahram Syah itu, berbagai-bagai yang ditanggungnya, sakit dan senang. Setelah sudah itu, maka dimulai oranglah pekerjaan berjaga-jaga empat belas hari, empat belas malam, makan dan minum sebab besar hatinya melihat menantunya dan cucunya itu datang. Maka beratus-ratus segala kerbau dan kambing disembelih³¹⁸ oleh orang akan makanan orang berjaga-jaga itu.

Setelah selesailah daripada mengerjakan pekerjaan bersuka-sukaan itu, maka baginda pun terlalu kasih akan cucunda Nadir Syah itu. Berapa lamanya ia pun besarlah, maka titah Sultan Maharaja Besar, “Sekarang Nadir Syah inilah kita perbuat akan kerajaan *86a* memerintahkan negeri yang dua belas batang sungai ini!” Maka kata segala raja-raja itu, “Mana perintah tuanku, melainkan terjunjunglah atas jemala patik sekalian ini.” Setelah sudah menyurat, maka orang pun berhimpunlah akan mengerjakan Nadir Syah itu naik kerajaan. Maka Bahram Syah pun mengambil api, lalu diasapnya cincin raja jin itu, maka raja jin itu pun datanglah, lalu menyembah, katanya, “Ya Tuanku Bahram Syah, apakah kehendak tuanku kepada kami?” Maka kata Bahram Syah, “Ya Saudaraku, hamba minta perbuat sebuah negeri dengan kotanya dekat negeri ini juga dengan selengkapnyanya dan terlebih pula baiknya daripada negeri yang dahulu Saudara perbuat itu karena anak hamba

³¹⁷ p-alif-t-h-r-ya-q-n-alif. KBBI sv: *peterana*.

³¹⁸ d-s-wau-m-b-l-ya-h. Ms. 1098: *sumbaliah*, ‘sembelih’.

Nadir Syah hendak kerajaan.” Setelah sudah itu, maka dengan seketika itu jua, terdirilah seperti kehendak Bahram Syah itu, tiada boleh dicela lagi, lengkap dengan jambangannya sekalian berikatkan emas. Maka Bahram Syah pun berdatang sembah kepada ayahnya, “Ya Ayahanda, adapun seperti anakanda Nadir Syah di sanalah diangkat kerajaan, ada negeri baru patik perbuat.” Maka kata baginda, “Baiklah.” Maka diarak oranglah Nadir Syah itu ke dalam kota Anta Berahi³¹⁹ serta diiringkan raja-raja, menteri, hulubalang, rakyat sekalian dengan bunyi-bunyian pelbagai³²⁰ bunyinya. Maka terdirilah *j-wau-alif-ng-n* alamat kerajaan yang amat indah-indah.

Setelah sampailah ke dalam kota itu, lalu ke atas balairung pirus, maka naiklah ke sana serta di[du]dukkkan di atas singgasana kiani serta diberi gelar Sultan Sikandar Alam namanya. Maka segala raja-raja pun menyembah serta berkat daulat tuanku syah alam. Maka segala raja-raja itu pun *86b* heran melihat kota itu dan astana itu pelbagai rupanya, tiadalah pernah dilihat oleh manusia, seperti dalam kayangan dan jambangan berbagai-bagai, tiadalah terkata lagi. Maka raja-raja dan menteri pun bermohon, lalu menyembah kepada Sultan Sikandar Alam. Maka tetaplah baginda memerintahkan negeri yang dua belas batang sungai itu serta dengan adil pada memerintahkan hamba rakyatnya dan amat mengasihi segala dagang dan santri. Maka terdengarlah ke mana-mana akan masyhur Sultan Sikandar Alam itu, maka segala orang negeri lain-lain pun datanglah ke sana serta dengan anak bininya masing-masing, maka tambah-tambahlah ramainya negeri Padang Silalatan itu berganda-ganda daripada yang dahulu kala sebab kebesaran Bahram Syah dengan anakanda Sultan Sikandar Alam pun tetaplah di atas kerajaannya hingga sampai kepada anak cucunya.

Maka tiadalah kami panjangkan perkataan ini, sekedar akan ingat-ingatan kepada kita yang tinggal di belakang harinya supaya boleh akan disebut-sebut orang akan hikayat ini dan mengerti akan ceritanya yang tersebut dalamnya baik dan buruk adanya. Wallahu alam bissawab. Tamat.

87a Tamatlah hikayat ini pada hari Selasa, pada 22 hari bulan Dulhijah, sanat 1269 adanya. Jikalau ada khilaf dan salah dalamnya, melainkan minta ampun kepada Allah azza wa jalla karena dagang tiada tahu menyurat dan mengarang. Tertulis dalam negeri Sorkam³²¹ adanya.

³¹⁹ *alif-n-t b-ya-r-alif-h-ya.*

³²⁰ *p-l-alif-b-g-ya.*

³²¹ *s-wau-r-k-m.*

2 | *The Story of Bahram Syah*

1

The story is as follows:

This is the story of Prince Bahram Syah, a beautiful story renowned throughout the great states, composed by a wise person for future generations to read.

It is told by the storyteller that there was once a king in the state of Southern Plains named His Royal Highness Sultan Maharaja the Great. His Majesty's kingdom was vast, encompassing twelve great states, each paying tribute annually. Innumerable officials, officers and commoners were within his sovereignty. His reputation for being a just ruler, sparing the feelings of wandering traders and religious students, plus caring for the poor and the oppressed, spread to foreign states, and everybody came to his state to offer their services.

Over the years, the king fathered three very handsome sons. The eldest was called Ghaisyah, the middle one, Aisyah, and the youngest son was called Bahram Syah. He was the most handsome of all; he had a radiant appearance, unequalled in the state. Both his parents were fond of him and loved him very much. They did not allow him to be separated from them, not even for a single day, so was their love for this son. They consigned him to the care of a wise man of religion to learn to recite the Quran and after he had mastered this skill, he was instructed in horseback riding and fighting with all sorts of weapons and swords. Those were the occupations of the young prince. As he grew older his parents loved him more and more.

2 One night, when Sultan Maharaja the Great was sleeping in his palace, he had a dream. In his dream, an old man appeared to him and Sultan Maharaja the Great said, "Oh Lord, who are you?" He replied, "I am a messenger from God and I have come to you.

I have witnessed you accomplish great wealth and splendour, but there still is something you do not possess, and that is an extremely beautiful bird named *Marab* Jalin. When it speaks, gold and silver are scattered from its beak, when it tells a story, diamonds and all sorts of small gems are sprinkled from its eyes, and when it flaps its wings and wags its tail, precious gems of all kinds fly from its nose. Its breast feathers are red like the resin from the dragon's blood plant, and its neck feathers are ruffled. It is the pet of Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower, who is the child carried in the folds of Princess Apalu Apala's sarong, and the offspring of His Royal Highness *Marab* Inda Sultan the Magnificent. She lives in the state of Gastu Gasta in the village called The Queen's Field. The mountain is called Field of the Wild Camels, the valley, Slanting Board, on the island called Sinawilan. The estuary goes by the name of Narrow Passage, and the bay is called Smooth Curves." This was what he dreamt.

The king woke up and thought, "Where is this bird?" He then went to sleep again thinking that the man from his dream would appear again, so that he could ask the whereabouts of the bird, and whether he could find it nearby or far away. He slept till dawn and did not get up. The queen came to wake him, but he did not wish to eat or drink and the entire royal household became distressed. His three sons also tried to wake their father, but he still did not want to rise. All the vassal kings, officials and officers came *3a* to the court and waited in the hall for His Majesty, but he did not appear. The vassal kings asked Ghaisyah, "Yes our Lord Ghaisyah, why does His Majesty not come to the audience hall? We wish to request a decree." Ghaisyah answered, "Oh vassal kings and officials, my father is sleeping; he does not even want to eat! Now wait here, so that I may inform my father."

Ghaisyah went into the palace and visited his mother. "What is it that you want?" his mother asked. Paying obeisance, he replied, "Yes my mother, all the vassal kings, officials and officers are anxiously waiting in the audience hall. They are waiting for His Majesty, my father, in order to ask for a decree." His mother replied, "Oh my son, go and wake him, perhaps he wishes to get up now!" Ghaisyah went [to his father] and said respectfully, "Yes my Lord, all vassal kings and officers are anxiously waiting in the audience hall right this moment. They are waiting for His Majesty in order to ask for a decree, since this state's affairs have become complicated. If my Lord will not deal with them, is it then not my Lord's name that will become meaningless to all the other states?" But His Majesty still refused to get up. He did not even wish to speak. He remained silent, swaddled in the bedcovers. His son addressed him several times, but the king did not reply. Ghaisyah left for the audience hall. There, he was greeted by the vassal kings and officials. They asked him, "Where is His Majesty?" Ghaisyah said, "Yes, my Lords, officials and vassal kings, father did not wish to come outside and he did not speak a single word. I conveyed *3b* your message, but he did not react." The vassal kings, officials and officers of the state of Southern Plains, young and old, each retired to their own residence, feeling sad.

The following day, the vassal kings and the officials again came to the court and sat

down in the hall, each according to their rank. When they saw that His Majesty did not appear, the officials became anxious and spoke to Aisyah, “Yes our Lord Aisyah, what does our Lord think about this issue of ours? As His Majesty does not wish to come outside, who can we ask for a decree?” Aisyah replied, “Wait, and I will try to wake [him] right now.” He went into the palace and entered his father’s royal bedroom. He paid his respects and spoke, “Why is it that my Lord sleeps and does not eat and drink? All the headmen, officials and vassal kings are present and awaiting Your Majesty, my father. The state’s affairs have become quite urgent. In the end, you will be the one who will be humiliated.” Then, his father said to him, “Do not speak any more to me!” He would not speak again. The son questioned his father a thousand times, but the king kept silent. Aisyah left the palace and went to the audience hall, where he spoke to the officials and officers, “Oh Lords, the words of His Majesty, my father, are as follows, ‘Come tomorrow and a decree will be issued!’” After the officials and officers had heard Aisyah’s words, they departed and returned *4a* to their own place.

When, on the seventh day, His Majesty’s condition had not changed, the officials and officers went to the audience hall. They saw how everything was the same as before and everyone in the capital grieved. Then they said, “What could it possibly be that His Majesty is concerned about? This state will eventually cease to prosper because of his condition!” The officials paid Bahram Syah a visit and said to him, “Yes our Lord Bahram Syah, what does His Majesty think now about issuing a decree? We are all extremely worried about His Majesty’s affairs.” Bahram Syah answered, “Yes my Lords the officials and vassal kings, now let me try to wake [him]. I share your feelings because it has been seven days and seven nights now that he has lain without eating and drinking, wrapped in covers.” He left the hall and went to the palace to wait upon his father, His Majesty. While paying him homage, he said, “Yes my Lord, what is it that you are concerned about? All the officials are gathered at this moment to wait upon Your Majesty, my father, in order to ask for a decree to settle a disagreement. All officers and headmen are also paying tribute to Your Royal Highness, my father. Please give Your Royal Highness’ judgement on them to the best of your abilities so that the name of Your Royal Highness will prosper, here and in the Hereafter! Is there perhaps something you yearn for? *4b* We, three brothers, are here, are we not? You have gone to great pains to take care of us, night and day, from the time of our youth until now. What else is our purpose, but to help you with your troubles and to seek out that which you lack? However, your parental love cannot be compensated for by us. It is only God, may He be praised and be exalted, who will reward you for it!”

When His Majesty heard his son’s words, he immediately got up and spoke, “What are you saying?” Bahram Syah replied respectfully, “Oh father, the officials and headmen of this state want to ask Your Majesty for a decree. Furthermore, what can it possibly be that you are so concerned about, always sleeping as you do like a person who is no longer mindful of God, may He be praised and be exalted?” He said, “Oh my son and loved one, if I express my desire, you may not be able to fulfil it and my longing is very great indeed.”

Bahram Syah replied, “Yes father, why are you talking like this? What is the use of us, three brothers, if not to die for your sake? Let it be us who take responsibility!”

The king immediately embraced and kissed his son, saying, “Oh my son, the reason I am anxious is that one night, as I dreamt, a messenger from God appeared to me. He said, ‘Oh Sultan Maharaja the Great, I have seen you achieve great grandeur and wealth, but there is still something that you do not possess, a bird named *Marah* Jalin. Its wings sprinkle gold water, its neck feathers are red as dragon’s blood and its breast feathers are ruffled. When it speaks, gold and *sa* silver are scattered from its beak, when it tells a story, diamonds and small gems are sprinkled from its eyes. When it flaps its tail and wings, precious gems, of all kinds, fly from its nose. It is the pet of Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower, who is the child carried in the folds of Princess Apalu Apala’s sarong and the offspring of His Royal Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent. Her state is called Gastu Gasta, her village is The Queen’s Field. Her mountain is called Wild Camel, the valley is called Slanting Board, and the island is called Sinawilan. The estuary is called Dew on the Teak, the promontory is called Narrow Passage, and the bay, Smooth Curves.’ That was my dream, oh my son, but this man did not tell me whether this place was nearby or far away and I did not ask him. This is the reason why I have been sleeping for such a long time. I thought that if I went back into that dream of mine the messenger would appear again, and I could perhaps ask him whether this bird could be found nearby or far away and whether its residence was in the East, the West, the South or in the North. That was my dream, oh my son Bahram Syah!”

“Now what do you, three brothers, think of this affair? I do not care which way you act as long as you obtain this bird of my dream. If, by any chance, someone wishes to sell this bird, do not let its price be a concern to you. Should it involve gold and silver, or diamonds and other precious gems, or even the throne of the state of Southern Plains, I will grant it all to [that person], as long as you get that bird!” *sb* While paying obeisance, his son replied, “Yes father, I will humbly accept whatever you say, but please leave for the audience hall now so that the officials and officers will be pleased!”

His Majesty put on his state robes and left for the audience hall, accompanied by Bahram Syah. Once they had arrived at the hall, the officials, officers and vassal kings came running [towards them] to pay obeisance to His Majesty. After this, they sat down, each according to their rank. The officials and officers asked His Majesty about what had happened and he told everything he had dreamt of. The vassal kings were amazed and astonished and said, “From the times of our ancestors until now, we have never seen or even heard [such a thing]!” His Majesty then spoke, “Oh my official, go and summon my sons Ghaisyah and Aisyah!” They arrived and entered the court hall. They paid obeisance and said, “Yes father, what could Your Majesty’s royal word to us, humble ones, be?” His Majesty then spoke with tears in his eyes, and he told his dream from beginning to end to his sons. “If I do not obtain that which I have dreamt about, I will not stay here as king! I will go into exile to look for that bird in all corners of the world. For as long as I live, my

heart will not be freed [from this longing]. Only after I have died [will I be freed from it]. In death, these feelings will no longer be with me.”

After his sons heard their father’s words, *6a* they wept. When His Majesty saw his sons crying and looking up at him in tears, he said, “Oh my sons and my beloveds, why are you crying? Do you love me?” Not one of the sons responded to his words. His Majesty spoke, “Oh my sons, why do you remain silent?” When Bahram Syah saw that his brothers did not say a word, he spoke respectfully, “Yes father, why are you saying something like that? If not out of love for you, why else would we become servants to Your Majesty, father?” His father replied, “If that is how you feel, oh my son, go and look for the object of my desire. Then I will stay here!” His son paid homage and said, “Yes my Lord, Ruler of the world, with the help of God, may He be praised and be exalted, and the royal dignity and prestige of Your Majesty’s throne, we will humbly accept [your word]. With the help of God, may He be praised and be exalted, and with Your Royal Highness’ prayers, we will do what we can to find this bird. Stay firm in your faith, my Lord, and continue to do good! If, by chance, our three lives become jeopardized, do not be worried. If God, may He be exalted, decides to grant something, no creature can obstruct Him. But if God, may He be exalted, refuses, I will never get what I want.”

6b After His Majesty had listened to his son’s words, he spoke, “Oh, my sons, if God, may He be exalted, helps His servant, and one of you will find the bird, I will make him king in this state of Southern Plains. He will reign in the Land of Twelve Streams!” Bahram Syah replied, “Yes Your Royal Highness, please decide on the officials’ issue now, so that they can act accordingly. In the meantime, we commit ourselves to your task.” His Majesty gave a fair judgement concerning those who were seeking justice. When it involved Islamic law, His Majesty made a judgement on the basis of the law of the Book of God. When it involved customary law, he made a judgement on the basis of the state’s traditional law. After His Majesty had judged the cases and after some had lost and some had won, everybody felt joyous, because the disputes had been settled. They took their leave and went home, each to their own place.

Three days later, by the decree of God, may He be exalted, His Majesty asked his three sons, “Oh sons, whatever it is that you intend to do, please act quickly, so that I will be happy. If the Lord helps you and makes it possible for you to find what I long for, I will make one of you heir to this state’s throne. One of you will be given a princess to wed and all my possessions, and one of you will be given the Land of Twelve Streams to rule.” His son Bahram Syah paid homage and said, “Yes father, we will humbly accept *7a* whatever Your Highness commands us to do.” His Majesty immediately ordered the House of Treasures to be opened, and bestowed gold, diamonds, and sets of clothes on each of his children. His Majesty also gave his sons a horse each, complete with tack.

When everything was ready, they kneeled before their parents’ feet, and bowed their head to the ground. Their parents wept, embraced, and kissed their sons. They said, “Yes our sons, we will render you to God, may He be praised and be exalted, who will take

care of you. But whatever you do, do not be careless and forgetful!” Then, the three got on their mounts and took leave of all officials and officers. Everybody felt sad. The state’s inhabitants cried and sorrowed for Bahram Syah. The brothers spurred their horses, and rode through dense jungle. Selamat followed behind them.

For twelve days now, they traveled without rest. After another two hours, they arrived at a clear spot in the lush jungle. Half an hour later, by the decree of God, may He be exalted, they came upon a building. It looked like a summer pavilion. It was very large; its length was a hundred and twenty spans of outstretched arms, its width eighty. Now, to the right of this pavilion, the path branched off. And at the end of this path was a deep well. The rope of the bucket was a hundred and twenty spans of outstretched arms long. Right in the middle of the yard lay the *7b* main path. It was a very nice path; it ran straight and its surface was smooth. It was so long that it seemed without end. The three princes stopped at the pavilion. Selamat fetched some water and cooked the rice. He then tied the horses to a tree-trunk and fed them.

Ghaisyah and Aisyah stayed in the yard and amused themselves in the pavilion. As for Bahram Syah, he entered the pavilion, lay down, and looked up to the roof. There, by the decree of God, may He be exalted, Bahram Syah saw a rolled-up letter. He immediately fetched the letter and read it. It read as follows: “Oh Bahram Syah, follow this path as long as you can and you will come upon a three-forked road. If you take the road to the right, you will travel safely and reach home, likewise the middle road. But nothing is known about the road to the left, named Only God Knows, except for that it has no end.” When he was finished reading, he went to the pavilion to let Ghaisyah and Aisyah read the letter. After they had done so, darkness fell.

The next morning, they spurred their horses and took off. Selamat followed behind them *8a* carrying all their equipment. They traveled on, from one resting place to another and from one stream to another. After they had traveled for about six hours, they found the three-forked road. The three young men stopped at the junction and dismounted. Bahram Syah said, “Yes two older brothers, this must be the three-forked road that was mentioned in the letter! Now, are we going to travel together or do we split up here?” Ghaisyah said, “Oh little brother Bahram Syah, if this is indeed the three-forked road, then let us follow it together.” Bahram Syah said, “What you say is true indeed, but I think it will be quite difficult. As there are three roads, I feel we should split up. This way one of us will succeed for sure, God willing.”

When Ghaisyah and Aisyah heard Bahram Syah’s words, they replied, “Oh little brother, who will take the road called Only God Knows?” Bahram Syah said, “Oh older brothers, one of us has to take this road Only God Knows. Now tell me which road you want to travel!” Ghaisyah spoke, “In that case, I will take the one to the right. It will lead me home safely.” Then Bahram Syah said, “Oh middle brother, which one will you take?” *8b* Aisyah replied, “I will follow the middle road, also because it will take me home safely.” After Bahram Syah had heard the words of both his brothers, he said, “Oh older

and middle brother of mine, let me then follow the road called Only God Knows. It is my fate. If, by chance, God, may He be exalted, helps His servant, and with the prayers of all our forefathers, then what is long will not become short and what is wide will not become narrow.”

After Ghaisyah, Aisyah and Bahram Syah had decided to split up, they cried, because they would part company.

II

And now, by the decree of God, follows the first story.

Spurring his horse, Ghaisyah set off to follow the road to the right. Selamat stayed with Bahram Syah to accompany him on the road Only God Knows. Ghaisyah journeyed without stopping, from one resting place to another, from one plain to another plain, and from one patch of jungle to another.

When he had traveled for about three and a half months, he came upon avast plain. At its centre, he could see many water buffaloes, cows and goats grazing. Ghaisyah thought, “There must be people living here.” He went on for another while, and after he had traveled for an hour, he arrived at the bank of *ga* a wide river. Ghaisyah followed its upper course. He traveled on and reached an inhabited region. He asked the people, “Oh people, what is the name of this state and its ruling caliph?” They answered, “Oh our Lord, this state is called Whirling Sand in the Bay of Dew and our king is His Majesty the King. He is our caliph.” Ghaisyah replied, “Oh my Lords, then take me to him so that I can pay him my respects. They said, “Very well. Please, follow us to the palace!”

They entered the capital and arrived at the palace yard. The prime minister paid homage to his king and spoke, “Yes Your Majesty, there is a man who wants to pay his respects to Your Majesty.” The king spoke, “Of course.” Ghaisyah entered and paid homage. He was immediately welcomed by the king and invited to sit at the king’s right side. His horse was tethered in the centre of the yard.

Then the king said to Ghaisyah, “Oh my brother, where does my Lord come from? I can see that you are a nobleman, but you are traveling alone. Why are you not traveling in the customary way? What is the name of my Lord’s state? And what are the names of your parents? Your looks and behaviour are such that I recognize them as signs of superiority.” Ghaisyah said, “Yes Your Majesty, it is *gb* indeed as Your Majesty says. I came here because I was told to do so by my father, His Royal Highness, from the state of Southern Plains. To begin with, we traveled with three brothers, but later we split up. We are on a quest for the bird *Marab* Jalin. When it speaks, gold and silver are scattered from its beak. When it tells a story, diamonds and small gems are sprinkled from its eyes. And when it flaps its wings and tail, precious gems of all kinds fly from its nose. Its breast feathers are red like the resin from the dragon’s blood plant, and its neck feathers are ruffled. It is the pet of

Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower, who is the child carried in the folds of Princess Apalu Apala's sarong, and the offspring of His Royal Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent in the state of Gastu Gasta. Her village is called The Queen's Field, and there is a mountain called Wild Camel, and a valley called Slanting Board, on the island called Sinawilan. The estuary is named Narrow Passage, and the bay is called Smooth Curves." Ghaisyah told the king extensively about his father's dream. He told him about the things that had happened when he and his brothers traveled together: about how they came upon a large pavilion where they had found a letter, and about how they had encountered the junction where they had split up. Ghaisyah told the king everything.

The king expressed his thoughts, "Yes my Lord Ghaisyah, we here have never heard about this bird, from [the time of] our ancestors till now, and we have never heard anything about the state of Gastu Gasta and the Princess. *10a* I tell you this in all honesty. Let me summon all shipmasters and great captains, perhaps there is [one of them] who has heard about that country." The herald immediately summoned all the captains of the large ships, Chinese junks and cargo boats. They came and paid homage to His Majesty. His Majesty spoke, "Oh all captains of the ships, cargo boats and Chinese boats, are there any of you, who are accustomed to traveling by sea, who have been to the state of Gastu Gasta?" They each spoke with respect, "Yes Your Royal Highness, Ruler of the World, we are only now hearing [about it] from Your Royal Highness, how could we have been to that state! And even amongst us here, who are in such great numbers, there is not a person who has heard about it by word of our ancestors, Your Royal Highness." His Majesty [said] to Ghaisyah, "Oh my Lord, what are we going to do now? My Lord has already heard all the words of the captains; you better stay here with me and wait for ships from far away places, so we can ask the crews about the state of Gasta Gastu." He said, "I agree, Your Royal Highness," and he stayed.

For a while, he amused himself night and day in that state. He continually played chess with the dignitaries and the harbour master, losing many times. The gold and the silver and his equipment were all lost and his horse sold. Then, by the decree of God, may He be exalted, Ghaisyah became destitute; his poverty was tremendous in comparison with all other humble servants of God. He could not get food, so he went here and there *10b* looking for someone who was willing to pay him to do some work.

Meanwhile, Ghaisyah was ordered to herd water buffaloes and cows by the merchants and, somewhat later, he was also ordered to herd goats and sheep. As time passed he was ordered to herd ducks and geese. That is how it was, always, with countless tribulations, from month to month, from year to year. Thus was the situation.

III

The story is as follows:

It is told by the storyteller that Aisyah was on his way, spurring his horse, without taking a break. He went from one forest and jungle [to another forest and jungle]. He climbed mountains and descended mountains.

When he had traveled for three months, he came across a plane. A cock crowed and Aisyah thought to himself, "Could there be people living here?" After that, he went on, without a rest. After he had traveled for another half an hour, he came upon a beach. He liked the place and stopped and fed his horse. He lay down and fell asleep. He did not wake up until evening; he lay motionless, as he was weak.

He awoke in the morning, sat for a while and made his way along the beach, spurring his horse. After he had traveled for about two hours, a house was visible; it was white like waves swept up by the wind. He reached the house and rode a bit further. A moment later, he came across a garden abundant with flowers. *11a* Aisyah was surprised to see all these beautiful and diverse things; it was really miraculous how these things were. There were also some narrow streams flowing through the garden's clearings. There were many different kinds of plants, such as dates, grapes and pomegranates and they grew through the gaps of the garden's fences.

After he had ridden for another while, he met a herald. The herald spoke, "Yes my Lord, from where have you traveled to this place?" Aisyah replied, "First let me ask my Lord what the name is of this state." The herald said, "Oh my Lord, this is the state called Piles of Passion, in the valley of the hill named Pillar Peak. The capital is called Silulidan, the port Silulinang, the bay Water Conduits, and the promontory Cleaver Worn Behind the Ear. The island is called Simangkirang, and the name of our king is King Fierce and Fiery. He is a prominent king; he is the ruler and the religious head of state.

After he had heard the words of the herald, Aisyah said, "If that is the case, then take me with you so that I may pay my respects to His Majesty." So they went to see His Majesty and arrived at the courtyard of the palace. His horse was tethered and the herald spoke, while paying homage, "Yes my Lord, there is someone who has just arrived to pay his respects to your Lordship." The king spoke, "Very well, let him come in!" Aisyah entered and paid homage to His Majesty. He was immediately welcomed and was told to sit at His Majesty's left side. Then the king spoke, "Oh my Lord, which state does my Lord come from and where do you want to go to?"

Then Aisyah told [him] *11b* the whole story, about his father who had a dream while sleeping and did not get up, about the search for the bird named *Marah* Jalin and the state of Gastu Gasta, about how they had traveled through the jungle and had come across a large pavilion and a deep well and how they had found a letter in that pavilion, and about the three-forked road they had encountered and how the three brothers were now traveling separately. Aisyah told His Highness King Fierce and Fiery everything, not even the smallest detail was omitted.

When the king heard Aisyah's words, he immediately summoned the captains of the large ships and cargo boats together with the rich merchants. They assembled in the

capital and went to the palace. They paid homage and said, “Have mercy on us, Your Highness.” The king spoke, “Oh great captains, you travel very far, going here and there, and you have seen many things. Have you ever heard something about a bird named *Marah Jalin*? When it speaks, gold and silver are scattered from its beak, when it tells a story, diamonds and small precious stones are sprinkled from its eyes, when it flaps its wings and wags its tail, precious gems are fly from its nose. The wings spray drops of liquid gold, the neck feathers are ruffled, and the breast feathers are as red as dragon’s blood. It is the pet of Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower, *12a* who is the child carried in the folds of Princess Apalu Apala’s sarong, the offspring of His Royal Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent of the state of Gastu Gasta. That is the reason why this man came to this place, to look for this bird.” Then the captains and the elders of the state paid their respects and said, “Yes Your Highness, Ruler of the World, though our travels were very long indeed, going here and there to make a living, by God, never have we, your servants, heard anything about a state named Gastu Gasta, my Lord, let alone seen it! Neither have we heard of it by way of our ancestors.”

After that, His Majesty spoke, “Oh my brother Aisyah, what can we say about this problem of yours? It is better that you stay here with me now, and wait for the ships and cargo boats to arrive from faraway states. The season with the favourable winds is due to begin. We can ask the captains about it.” Aisyah answered, “In that case, let me stay here with His Highness.” So he stayed there.

After he had been there for a while, passing his time with idle activities like gambling, interpreting portents, and placing bets, all his gold, silver and splendid clothes, and eventually even his horse, were sold. So Aisyah became enslaved by this king; he was ordered to collect young grass to feed the king’s horse. And this was how Aisyah became enslaved by the king. God knows the Truth.

IV

12b The story is as follows:

In the story of Prince Bahram Syah it is told how he took the road named Only God Knows. He spurred his horse and took off. Selamat followed him. After they had been traveling for about an hour, Bahram Syah thought to himself, “What is the use of taking Selamat with me? Let me tell him to go back home and inform my parents so they will know that we, who were told to travel together, now travel separately.” He got off his horse and said, “Oh Selamat, now please go back home to my parents and tell them what you have seen: that we three are no longer together and that my older brother took the road to the right, which brings him home safely. And tell them that the middle one follows the middle road; he too will reach home safely. And lastly, let them know that I took the road Only God Knows. Take my horse with you as your mount. Ask my parents to

say prayers for me to God, may He be praised and be exalted, so that both this world and the one Hereafter will be perfect!”

After Selamat heard Bahram Syah’s words, he said, “Yes my Lord, but how do you think I feel separating from you, my uncle?” Bahram Syah answered, “Oh my son, there is nothing to worry about, just entrust me to God, may He be praised and be exalted. If not in this world, it is in the Hereafter that we will meet again, that is, if you are mindful [of God]!” Then, crying, Selamat paid his respects to Bahram Syah. Bahram Syah also cried *13a* and they shed tears together. After this, Selamat went home, spurring his horse, and Bahram Syah took off on his own; they went their separate ways.

Bahram Syah walked on without rest. He traveled through patches of jungle and went across hills, ravines, high mountains and deep swamps. He encountered several wild animals, but did not worry, he just handed himself over to God, may He be praised and be exalted, and his parents. He traveled night and day without resting, he just walked. After he had walked for about three months, he came upon the border of a plain of unlimited vastness. This plain was very flat. Bahram Syah was greatly surprised by the immensity of the plain. He walked on and went to the centre of the plain.

One hour later, he became very hungry and thirsty. He looked to his left and right and saw an orange tree. He looked up and by the decree of God, may He be exalted, he saw one single and very ripe orange. There were no other fruit or any blossom. He looked behind him and saw a piece of wood. It was one *hasta* long, as if it had been cut by someone. Bahram Syah took the stick and threw it up; the orange fell before him on the ground. He took the orange and sat down for a while to eat it. He peeled it with his dagger. He ate the first piece of the orange and it tasted very bitter. The second piece tasted very sour. *13b* The third piece tasted very sweet. The fourth piece of the orange was extremely rich. It had many different flavours and it tasted sweet like sugar and coconut cream. Bahram Syah thought to himself, “What could it mean that this orange consists of four parts each with different flavours?” He continued, “This must be the interpretation: first, this undertaking of mine will be very bitter and sour, but, after that, I will benefit from it; the benefits will be abundant and sweet, God, may He be exalted, willing!” After that, Bahram Syah went on without stopping.

Two hours later, he came upon three wells situated alongside each other. They looked very nice. The well to the right contained a lot of clear water. The well to the left also contained much water, but the well in the middle was completely dry. It did not contain even a drop of water, only dust. When the well to the right overflowed, the well in the middle got some water. Bahram Syah pondered upon it in amazement, saying to himself, “As for the meaning of this left and right well, they are like the rich people; and the middle well, it is like the poor and destitute people. When the hearts of the people who give alms are opened by God, the poor people receive the means to stay alive. This relates to all undertakings: when one’s intention is good, *14a* one will receive that which one desires, God willing.” Then Bahram Syah walked on without resting.

Some time later, after he had walked for about two hours, he came across an extremely high hill, which stood isolated like an island [in the middle of the sea]. Its ravines were immensely deep. There were several hundreds of people digging in the ravines; they piled the earth on top of the hill while the pile of earth being dug became lower and lower. Bahram Syah pondered this and asked the people, "Oh my Lords, why are you behaving like this, making higher that which is already high and digging into that which is already low?" They answered, "Oh my Lord, It is by order of God, may He be exalted, that we do this, because we have been disobedient towards our parents. This is our work till the Day of Judgement!" Following this, Bahram Syah sped off without stopping.

A while had passed before Bahram Syah came upon a mudhole in the middle of the plain. Its length was about two spans of outstretched arms, its width about two and a half. Bahram Syah saw that the water in the mudhole formed waves. It was as if the waves reached up into the sky, and when they grew bigger and broke, it sounded like thunder and hurricanes. Bahram Syah was highly amazed seeing this mudhole transforming itself and he thought to himself, "What could it mean that this mudhole has waves just like the sea?" He said to himself, "This mudhole has waves because it is something which has never been seen by a human being, and now, *14b* when God, may He be exalted, wants to show His power, which has never been witnessed before, it may be seen. I hope that it also reveals something about my fate: I am looking for this bird *Marah* Jalin and if God, may He be exalted, wants to show His power, I will acquire it." After this, Bahram Syah went on without stopping.

Sometime later, he came across a wide plain. It was extremely vast and its grass was lush and young. The water buffaloes were large in number; there were thousands of them in the middle of the plain, but they were extremely thin as if they were hungry and thirsty; they had the appearance that they would float away when blown by the wind. Bahram Syah was bewildered seeing the water buffaloes so thin while their food was plentiful. "What could it mean, what could it signify?" Bahram Syah thought to himself, "These water buffaloes are extremely thin, not because of a disease, but because of their own negligence. They are in their corral and are released by their owner around midday and when they arrive in the middle of the plain they see that there are enormous amounts of food, and they then think to themselves, 'Let me just amuse myself a while before eating, since there is plenty of food. What is there to worry about and anyway, the heat is too intense.' So the water buffaloes stay there, in the shade as usual. In the afternoon, their owner comes to drive them back into the corral, leaving them no chance to fill their stomachs with food, and all because of their irresponsibility. *15a* Now, whatever you do, do not be irresponsible!" After that, Bahram Syah walked on without stopping.

After walking for about four hours or so, Bahram Syah came across a small plain. It was short and narrow. There he found lots of water buffaloes, they were in their hundreds. Bahram Syah chased them several times, but they did not pay any attention to him. They took their eating very seriously; they did not even raise their heads. The bodies of these

water buffaloes were fat and fleshy. Bahram Syah was extremely fascinated to see that these water buffaloes were really fat and fleshy while their food was scarce and hard to find. “What could this signify?” He said to himself, “The reason that these water buffaloes are fat and fleshy is that they see that the plain is just small and they think, ‘If I do not take eating grass seriously on the plain, the grass will be finished by the other animals.’ That is why these water buffaloes are fleshy and fat: because they are mindful and responsible. In the afternoon, they stop eating, and their owner comes to take them home. On the way, they drink water. Hence, whatever the undertaking, it must not be taken lightly. God, may He be exalted, will then grant whatever you wish!” Then, Bahram Syah went on without having a rest.

Some five hours later, Bahram Syah saw a woman *15b* coming towards him. He walked towards her. Behind the woman were a dog and a nanny goat. He thought, “This is the first human being I have met, let me speak with her immediately.” Eventually, the woman was beside him; she quickly went to the right-hand side of the road, and Bahram Syah went likewise to the left-hand side. He did not want to address the woman, as she looked so pretty and extremely refined, and the woman did not want to address him. Her radiant glow was dazzling, so much so that one dare not to take a good look at her. Similarly, the woman was unable to look upon Bahram Syah. They were both equally bashful, and so Bahram Syah walked on as did the woman.

Suddenly, noises and barking could be heard coming from the wombs of the dog and the goat. Bahram Syah was bemused and thought, “What could this mean? I did not want to speak to that woman and the woman did not want to speak to me, but rather it was the dog’s and the goat’s young, still in the wombs, who spoke.” Then he said to himself, “The reason that the woman did not want to speak to me was because she was bashful towards me, as I was towards her. We had intended speaking to each other, and that is the reason the dog and the goat spoke by way of their young in their wombs. Moreover, it is not decent for a woman to address a man first; it can only be a man who addresses a woman first.” After this, Bahram Syah traveled on without taking a break.

About six hours later, he discerned a huge tree in the distance, so he walked towards it. *16a* A moment later, he arrived there. He saw somebody standing in between the tree’s buttresses, looking up to the Lote tree of Finality. Bahram Syah felt bewildered seeing this, and in amazement he thought, “This does not look like one of God’s servants, as his behaviour is very different from that of the majority of people.” Bahram Syah became very angry on seeing how this person behaved, so he drew his sword while saying, “Oh you crazy and intoxicated person, your behaviour is not at all like that of people living here on earth. Perhaps you are the Devil or Satan or some kind of spirit! If you are really a man, then come over here. Whatever your desires, come to me!” Bahram Syah swayed his sword and came forward in pursuit of the man while he spoke, “Why do you keep on looking upwards and do not respond when a human being is speaking to you?” The man said, “Oh Bahram Syah, why are you speaking like that? I am not the Devil or Satan and I

am not a ghost or some kind of spirit. You must know that I am the one named Angel of Death and that I am the one that knows the most about God's servants and about all that exists in the seven layers of heaven and earth. I know everything by the decree of God, may He be exalted!"

Bahram Syah said, "Oh Angel of Death, do you know about me?" The Angel of Death replied, "I do know about you. Your state is the state of Southern Plains, your father is Sultan Maharaja the Great, your brothers are Ghaisyah and Aisyah, and you are the one that is named Bahram Syah." Bahram Syah said, "Oh Angel of Death, why you are looking upwards; even right this moment, while we are talking, you *166* keep on looking upwards!" The Angel of Death spoke, "Oh Bahram Syah, you must know that when the end of the Children of Adam is near, a leaf from the Lote tree of Finality falls down and they will die." Although Bahram Syah stayed and talked for a while to the Angel of Death, he did not change his behaviour, he kept looking up at the Lote tree of Finality.

Bahram Syah said, "Oh Angel of Death, have a look at how long I will live; how much time have I left?" The Angel of Death answered, "Oh Bahram Syah, I see from the tree that your life is still very long, so do not worry and take heart!" Bahram Syah said, "Oh Angel of Death, do you know the state of Gastu Gasta?" The Angel of Death answered, "Oh Bahram Syah, you must know that in all seven layers of heaven and earth and from east to west and in all quarters of the world, I am the one that knows the most. Like a man who holds a coin in the palm of his hand, so I hold heaven and earth by the decree of God, may He be exalted."

Bahram Syah said, "Oh my Lord Angel of Death, tell me where the state of Gastu Gasta is, in the east or in the west?" The Angel of Death answered, "Oh Bahram Syah, you must know that it is very difficult for you to go to this state called Gastu Gasta. It is very far from here; if you go on foot and walk till the time you have children and grandchildren, you will not even get there. The same if you go by boat. But if you fly like a very swift bird, you can reach it within seven days; that is, if you fly high up in the sky, *17a* as you must cross the Sea of Fire. If you fly level you can make it within three days. The state of Gastu Gasta is situated in the west. How are you planning to get there?" Bahram Syah answered, "Why are you speaking like that? With the consent of God, may He be exalted, the Lord, the Master of all worlds, I can do things even more impossible than this, God, may He be exalted, willing! If our Lord bestows a favour on me, I will fly! I will search for that bird *Marah* Jalin, if God, may He be praised and be exalted, grants me a long life here in this world!" After this, Bahram Syah took his leave and went on without stopping.

Having walked for about seven hours or so, Bahram Syah saw a capital of incredible beauty. He entered the capital and arrived at the courtyard in front of the palace. Bahram Syah was amazed by the exquisite construction of the palace, and drew near. He saw that the courtyard in front of the palace looked like green glass; it was wide and smooth. The door of the palace stood wide open, but nobody was there. Bahram Syah thought to himself, "Let me call out a few times, there may be someone in the house!" So Bahram

Syah shouted a few times, saying, “Oh, is there a human being in the house, or a ghost or Satan? If there is, come out, so I can kill you!”

After the princess heard all this, she approached the door of the palace and spoke to Bahram Syah in a respectful way, “Yes my Lord, I am neither *17b* Satan, nor the Devil; I am a human being. Please, enter the palace immediately and seat yourself on the golden carpet in front of me!” She asked, “Yes my Lord, where are you from and why did you come here? For several years I have been living here and not a single person has ever arrived here, but for you!” Bahram Syah told her about how he had traveled in search of the bird *Marah* Jalin and about his father and his father’s dream; he told the princess everything.

Bahram Syah asked the princess, “Oh Princess, what is the name of this state and who is the one that keeps you company here?” The princess answered, “Oh my Lord, this state is not mine. It is the summer resort of an Islamic spirit named Thunder and Lightning; he is my husband.” Bahram Syah asked, “Why do you have a spirit for a husband and where is he now?” The princess replied, “Yes my Lord, his strength and his power are the reasons I ended up with a spirit for a husband, as I am his captive. My own state is situated in the sky and the name of my father is King of Kings of the Spirits in the Sky and the name of my mother is Princess Royal Moonlight and my name is Princess Goddess in Bondage and our race is that of the Simandam spirits. We were at war with Thunder and Lightning and my father was beaten by him, so I became captive and was brought here.” Bahram Syah said, “Oh Princess, how strong and powerful is this spirit?” The princess answered, “He is really very strong and powerful. He is not here now, as he is defeating the kings of *18a* the spirits, ghosts and fairies, but his soul is here. He has stored it very carefully, in a glass flask, and has wrapped the bottle up in pieces of yellow and blue cloth. He has hung it on some flower stalks.”

Bahram Syah immediately looked up and saw the glass flask. He said, “Oh Princess, what if I want to have a look at the soul of this Islamic spirit?” She answered, “How can we possibly have a look at it; we will both die! If opened only slightly, his body comes to us in a flash.” Bahram Syah said, “Oh Princess, choose what seems right to you: to adhere to this spirit’s religion or to the Islamic faith? Now, if you adhere to this spirit’s religion, you will inevitably end up in hell. If you adhere to the Islamic faith, you will surely enter Heaven.”

When the princess heard these words of Bahram Syah, she thought to herself, “If that is the case, I had better adhere to the Islamic faith,” and she spoke, “Yes my Lord, I will follow you, but we will be killed by this spirit named Thunder and Lightning!” Bahram Syah replied, “Oh Princess, do not tremble with fear because I want to see what no human has seen. And I know that I still have a long life ahead of me, as I have already met the Angel of Death. From him one learns about the power of God, may He be exalted. Now, wait a moment before you take the spirit’s soul!”

He whetted his sword until it was extremely sharp and the princess closed all the

doors of the house; even the wind could not enter. *18b* Bahram Syah drew his sword and prepared himself for the fight. He fixed his gaze on the flask and looked at nothing else. The princess took down the flask with her knees knocking together. She removed the yellow piece of cloth while saying, “Oh my Lord, be careful, or we may come to our end today!” Bahram Syah said, “Oh Princess, do not be afraid and release the soul!” The princess removed the flask’s stopper at once and the soul appeared, like lightning, hotter than fire. It looked white and behaved like a cat jumping into the light [from a dark, secluded spot]. Bahram Syah jumped to the right and then moved to the left. The spirit’s soul was cut through completely and broke into two pieces; its head darted off to the far end of the house and its body shot away to the other side of the house. In an instant Thunder and Lightning fell down from the sky in the middle of the palace yard like a thunderbolt that cleaves the earth. Both Bahram Syah and the princess were shocked; the princess immediately opened the door of the palace and saw Thunder and Lightning’s corpse, which was as big as a mountain. The capital and the yard were completely blocked because of its huge size. Then, the corpse became smaller until it had the size of a human being. Such was the size of the corpse. Bahram Syah was amazed when he saw the spirit’s corpse.

For a while, Bahram Syah stayed with the princess. They had been together for seven days now, but not a single angry word had been exchanged; they spoke words of perfect virtue only. At a certain moment, Bahram Syah said, “Oh Princess, *19a* give me permission to leave as I want to go now to search for the bird; I will leave you behind here for the time being.” The princess answered, “How can I stay behind, for I want to follow you! In life and even in death, I want to be together with you, my friend!” Bahram Syah replied, “How can you stay with me? I do not know where I go to, as I follow the road Only God Knows.”

Bahram Syah quarreled with the princess for a while; she did not want to stay behind and Bahram Syah did not want to take her along, so Bahram Syah said, “Oh Princess, just let me go, God, may He be exalted, willing! Give me about two years to come back here, and I will take you with me, provided that God, may He be exalted, grants me a long life. If I do not do as I have promised, I will renounce God!

When the princess heard Bahram Syah’s words, she felt joyous and said, “Yes my Lord, if you find this bird what will you buy it with?” If Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower wants to sell it, her mother does not want to, and if her mother wants to sell it, her father does not want to. Whether you want to buy it with gold and silver, or even with diamonds and precious gems, they will not sell it, because they already own a lot of gold and silver, and diamonds and precious gems. However, there is something that they do not possess. In my opinion, if you have that, they may want to sell the bird.” Bahram Syah spoke, “What is it that I can use to buy the bird with?” The princess answered, “Yes my Lord, you must know that the object you can buy the bird with is that which is called Magical Stone Jewel of the Queen, which radiates an enormous quantity of light.” He said, “What

if I *rgb* keep this Magical Stone Jewel of the Queen?” The princess answered, “If you really want it, you can.” Bahram Syah spoke, “My heart’s desire to have it is thousandfold.”

Immediately, the princess took the sparkling Magical Stone Jewel of the Queen, put it in a big box, and brought it before Bahram Syah. It was wrapped up in seven pieces of cloth. The first was a piece of black cloth and the light was black. The second was a piece of green cloth and the light was green. The third was a piece of red cloth and the light was red. The fourth was a piece of blue cloth and the light was blue. Then she removed the piece of yellow cloth and the light was yellow. She then removed the sixth piece of cloth of a purple colour and the light was purple. She removed the seventh piece of cloth, a white one, and the light was white. Now all seven wrappings were removed and one could see the shape of the Magical Stone Jewel of the Queen, while it radiated its light. Bahram Syah swooned, fainted and lost consciousness because of the intensity of the Magical Stone’s light.

After this, the princess sprinkled him with rosewater and he regained consciousness. The princess said, “Oh my Lord, the special qualities of this Magical Stone are manifold. You must know that even if it has a thousand different kinds of wrappings, its shape and radiance are thousandfold too, and the same holds for the weight of this Magical Stone. Whether you weigh with a weight of a *batu handah* or a pound or a quarter or *kati*, or even a *pikul* or *bahara*, the stone’s weight will match any weight. Whatever worldly weight is used, even a very light one, the stone’s weight will equal it. That is the Magical Stone’s power.” *20a* Bahram Syah took the Magical Stone and put it in a safe place. Following this, he went off and left the capital.

The princess instantly started to run, following Bahram Syah, while saying, “Yes my Lord, I overlooked something, I forgot something, come back!” Bahram Syah went back to the palace yard. The princess took three hairs from the fontanelle of the spirit’s head. There were three different kinds of hair. She said, “Use these during your travels. You must know that if you want to produce water, or if you desire light, use this white hair together with a spell. And if you want to make fire, then use this red hair together with a spell to cause a fierce fire. And if you desire an intense darkness, then use the black hair with a spell and it will become dark without a fail. Your enemies will see nothing but pitch darkness. Thus, you will not be hampered or hindered when traveling in daytime or in the nighttime.” Bahram Syah took the hairs immediately and put them away in a safe place. He took off and left the capital. He looked behind him and worked magic using the red hair of the spirit and a fierce fire surrounding the capital appeared. The capital and the palace became surrounded by a wall of blazing fire. After this, Bahram Syah went on without resting.

After he had traveled for about eight hours, he could hear the wild noise of waves; it sounded like waves breaking on the reef and the shore. After this, he walked on without stopping. A few moments later, Bahram Syah reached *20b* the seashore. As he had traveled for three days and three nights, he wanted to take a rest there.

He halted under a tree, lay down, fell asleep and dreamt. In his dream, his father Sultan Maharaja the Great appeared to him and spoke as follows: “Oh my son and light of my eyes Bahram Syah, why do I see you sleeping soundly? Know that you must be on your guard during your travels in the future, for you will encounter immense dangers of all kinds and unprecedented troubles. However, they are caused by nothing else but your own behaviour, for troubles do not come out of the blue. Do not be negligent in taking care of yourself! God, may He be exalted, will give you that which you want, so wake up immediately as the day has already started!” Bahram Syah woke up and heard the argus pheasants call, one after the other, and dawn broke. He looked to the left and to the right, but he saw nothing. Bahram Syah shed tears because the encounter with his father in his dream had lasted just as long as it takes to wink an eye.

After this, he thought about this dream and said to himself, “How can father talk like this? Who now is crazy to torture himself?” He sat for a moment and walked on continuously along the shoreline while looking to the sea. Not a single island obstructed his view; there was only the wind and a chain of clouds circling around. Bahram Syah traveled on without taking a break. *21a* Far off he could see a cape that protruded into the sea. On top of it stood a tree that was much bigger than all the other trees. Without a rest, Bahram Syah walked on to have a look at the tree.

After he had walked for one hour, he reached the tree and halted. The next moment, he looked to the sea and saw the beach stretching endlessly in a winding fashion; there was nothing that interrupted it, Only God Knows. Bahram Syah sat down under the tree and thought about how long ago he had left his homeland and how long he had been separated from his parents; till this day, it had been seventeen years.

Bahram Syah was very thirsty and hungry. He looked at the tree and saw a spring rising from underneath the tree; as its water was very clear and tasted extremely nice, he drank it. After he had drunk, he sat down again. After he had sat for about half an hour, he became drowsy as a gentle breeze blew in his face and he laid himself down. And so it was.

V

The story is as follows:

Now the story is told of the incredibly big dragon-snake from the sea. This dragon-snake encircled the Sea of the Double Coconut. On top of the tree there was a garuda's nest. There were two young garudas, a male and a female one, both still small. They were as big as a rogue elephant and were naked as they had not grown feathers yet. Then the dragon-snake emerged out of the sea. *21b* It opened its jaws wide and quickly rushed up the tree, because it wanted to eat the young garudas. Its head almost reached the garudas nest; its navel was at the level of the lowest branch of the tree, while the dragon-snake's

tail was still in the sea. It wanted to devour the young garudas. The birds wanted to flee but could not: they were frightened and overtaken by fear. They used their voices to cause a commotion. Their voices sounded like thunder, while the tree swayed to and fro.

Bahram Syah was startled and awoke. He drew his sword, jumped to his feet, attacked the big dragon-snake and cut it in two. The dragon-snake was dying. Holes appeared in the sand and the water on the shoreline mixed with the shale as the dragon-snake expired. Bahram Syah looked up the tree and said, "Oh spirit, devil, Satan in the tree, who are you? Come down, I will kill you! If you do not come down, I will come up to kill you!"

By the decree of God, may He be exalted, the garudas could speak and they said, "Yes my Lord, member of the human race, we are neither spirits, nor Satan, nor the devil; in fact, we are animals, we are young garudas." Bahram Syah spoke, "Oh garudas, do you want to eat this dragon-snake? It is dead; I killed it." The young garudas spoke, "Oh my Lord, we are not able to fly because the feathers of our wings are not yet fully developed. So how can you say that we have to come down to eat the dragon-snake? We are really hungry and thirsty; our mother has not returned yet from her search for our food." *22a* Bahram Syah said, "Oh my siblings, if you want to eat the dragon-snake, then open your beaks!" And so the young garudas opened their beaks. Bahram Syah cut the dragon-snake up into small pieces and threw them upwards with the tip of his sword. The young garudas caught the pieces with their beak and ate them. Bahram Syah again cut some pieces from the dragon-snake and threw them into the beaks of the young garudas, who ate them. Both young garudas were now satisfied. Lying close together with their stomachs full, they dozed off. Bahram Syah went back to the place where he had sat down.

After the young garudas had slept for some time, they woke up and looked down the tree. They saw Bahram Syah with his bright and shining appearance and said to themselves, "How can we repay this human being for what he did for us? Let us just praise him so that he will like us!" Thus, the young male garuda praised Bahram Syah as follows: "Oh my Lord who is brave and wise, you have no equal in this era!"

After he had praised Bahram Syah, the young female garuda also praised him with the words, "Yes my human Lord, may God, may He be exalted, grant you a long and prosperous life, here and in the Hereafter! So strengthen your faith and increase your benevolence and God will give you whatever you want! Earning a living will be easy!" By the time the young garudas had praised Bahram Syah, it was already late in the afternoon.

The adult garuda returned from her search for food and perched on her branch. The big tree *22b* swayed to and fro and it was as if all the branches and leaves were being blown by a strong wind. She spoke, "Oh my children, sweethearts, light of my eyes, please open your beaks, here is the food I brought you!" Both her children did not make a sound because they had fallen asleep after eating the dragon-snake. The adult garuda was very worried as she thought that they were dead. She began to jump and the sound of her voice was like thunder and lightning and she said, "Oh my children, sweethearts, light of my eyes, are you perhaps dead, eaten by the big dragon-snake from the sea?" The tree moved

violently, as if it was spinning and its roots were severed, so her children were startled and woke up.

When the mother saw that her children were alive, she came down to the nest, saying, “Oh my children and my sweethearts, why did you not answer me for two or three times?” Crying, her two children replied, “Oh our mother, we almost would not have seen each other again because of that big dragon-snake from the sea. It rushed upwards to our place and even wanted to devour our nest; its jaws were wide open, as it wanted to swallow us. Because it is so big, it was as if it wanted to devour us together with the tree, while its tail was still in the sea. But apparently God let us live a little bit longer as a human being appeared. He cut the dragon-snake up and it died subsequently. After that, he cut the dragon-snake into little pieces and gave them to us. So we ate that dragon-snake, a piece each, and we slept soundly because our stomachs were filled. Another piece *23a* of the dragon-snake is still lying on the beach, being hit by the waves.”

The mother’s heart was throbbing after she had heard her children speak and she said, “Oh my two children, you must know that your father died because he was eaten by that dragon-snake. Seven times I have built a nest and the dragon-snake ate all my children. It devoured several eggs and all your siblings!” Her children spoke, “Oh my mother, why do you continue to build nests here? It never yielded anything good! You just do not think straight. You have never succeeded in building a safe construction, even till this day!” Their mother spoke, “Oh my two children, listen! I know right from wrong because I am your mother and I know more than you. The reason I build the nest here is that I have already looked at all the other trees in this world, but there is no tree bigger than ours here. The other trees would not be able to carry and support this nest of mine, so do not say I am wrong!”

Thereupon the adult garuda kept silent for a while and her two children spoke, “Oh our mother, why are you silent? It is true what humans say: ‘If a man’s work is to carve, then when he does not use the chisel, he does not eat.’ And if you grow as old as a mushroom that is not used to prepare a curry with, then you will certainly rot like the mushroom’s stem and be thrown away. That is what you are constantly pursuing!”

After her children had spoken like this, she said, “Oh my children, what are you trying to tell me?” Her children said, “Oh our mother, there is a human who did us a favour and *23b* you have not said a single nice word to repay him! The person who did us a favour is lying under this tree. Please ask him if he is abandoned by his parents or if he lost his way while hunting and ask him which state he is from. We think that he is not just an ordinary man, but a son of a great king, as he shows the signs of all the good qualities. Moreover, his courage and wisdom are unmatched. Please bring him with you to our nest. What could it be that he wants and looks for here?”

As the adult garuda was speaking with her children, Bahram Syah overheard everything. “Invite that man immediately!” So their mother flew to the ground and said, “Oh my son, sweetheart, man who is loyal, wise and of perfect intelligence, and who always

obtains the right virtues, do you want to accept this humble animal as your mother?” Bahram Syah said, “There is nothing wrong with that; if you want to adopt me as your child, then I want it a thousand times more. Besides, it must be my fate!” The garuda spoke, “If you truly want this animal as your mother, then let us go to meet your siblings. Just cling to my feathers!”

Thus, the garuda flew up the tree together with Bahram Syah and perched on her nest. Bahram Syah trembled with fear when he heard the sound of the garuda’s wings, and he pondered upon it. He was astonished to see the size of the garuda’s nest. She had used thousands of uprooted trees, a kind of rattan, brushwood *24a* and undergrowth to make the nest. Bahram Syah measured and determined the nest’s volume and estimated that it must be three *kulak* of rice, and he became silent. The young garudas spoke, “Oh our mother, what can we give our brother? He will die eventually, as he has not eaten a thing!” So their mother flew along the seashore in search of manned boats. By the decree of God, may He be exalted, she found a boat; the garuda seized it, carried it off and devoured its owner. Then she took the complete boat, together with its load, up to her nest and said, “Oh my son, come on and eat!” So Bahram Syah ate and drank. The garuda was quiet for a while and her children said, “Oh our mother, why do you not ask him the reason why he came here and what it is he is looking for?” The garuda spoke, “Oh my son, what can it possibly be that you are looking for, that you came here for? Tell me and your siblings!” With tears in his eyes, Bahram Syah exclaimed, “Oh my mother, brother and sister!” And then he told everything, beginning with his father’s dream and ending with the separation from his brothers. He told the garudas everything.

Bahram Syah said, “Oh my mother, have you ever heard of the state of Gastu Gasta?” The garuda answered, “Oh my son, I have indeed heard of the state of Gastu Gasta, but it is really difficult to get there. You cannot get there on foot or by boat and, moreover, it is situated incredibly far from here. *24b* Unless you fly like a bird, you cannot get to the state of Gastu Gasta.” Bahram Syah said, “Oh my mother, if I go there together with you flying, how long does it take to get there?” The garuda said, ‘Oh my son, listen to me! I have flown to the state of Gastu Gasta before. It is situated in the west, on the other side of the Sea of Fire. To the left of the Sea of Fire, there is the Sea of the Tree with the Double Coconut and to the right are various maelstroms. The Sea of Fire stretches down into the earth. If I ascend and fly high up in the air, it takes seven days. If I fly level, it takes me three days, and if I descend and fly low, we can definitely make it within a single day. However, the sufferings will be immense; it will feel as if you are losing consciousness as the Sea of Fire’s flames are extremely hot. Three times already my breast feathers have been scorched and my skin singed. Such are the torments, oh my son!”

Bahram Syah spoke, “Oh my mother, would you please fly me to the other side of the Sea of Fire?” The garuda replied, “Oh my son, listen to me! Even if I fly level or high in the sky, it is not just the Sea of Fire that causes suffering; the moon and the stars will cause you pain too. There is a lot of turbulence up there and hurricanes and whirlwinds clash

in a way unknown to man, accompanied by flashes of lightning. Besides, it is extremely and unimaginably gloomy.”

After Bahram Syah had been in the garuda’s nest for three days, he told *25a* her to fly him [to the state of Gastu Gasta]. She said, “Oh my son, I think it is better that you let me go alone to the state of Gastu Gasta and let me seize Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower and the bird *Marah* Jalin together with the palace and bring them here. Do not go with me, as you will certainly not make it because there are too many dangers involved!” Bahram Syah spoke, “Oh my mother, if that is how you want it, then I am no longer your son! Why do you want to seize the bird *Marah* Jalin and Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower? My father, His Royal Highness, did not order me to torment them, he only ordered me to search for the bird! Now, you must fly me to this state of Gastu Gasta! If not alive, then my corpse!”

The two young garudas spoke, “Oh our mother, you had better do as our brother says. Do not be afraid that he will die. When a request is evil, no one will gain profit from it! Now, we can do something for our brother in return, but when he dies while you fly him or when he falls into the Sea of Fire, make sure that you die with him. In that case, we, Only God Knows, will die too, because we will not get food as we are not able to fly yet. And even if we survive, what is the point of staying alive? We will feel happy about it, as all four of us will be dead at the same time.”

After this, their mother spoke, “Oh my son, if that is how your siblings think about it, give me seven days so I can look for some food for them, as we will leave them behind.” She flew away to look for elephants and she managed to seize *25b* seven animals. She brought them back to her nest and her children said, “Oh mother, this food will not suffice for the time we will be alone!” So she flew again and found another seven elephants. She seized them, together with four rhinoceroses and three deer. She went back to her nest and said, “Oh my children, take these as your provisions!” Her children replied, “This will do, we think.” The adult garuda said, “Oh my son Bahram Syah, prepare yourself as we are leaving tomorrow morning! If we are lucky, the conditions will be favourable.”

Night fell and Bahram Syah started to make preparations for the journey. On the back of the adult garuda he made a construction to secure the seven elephants. He looked for a beam to tie the elephants together, whetted his sword, his creese and his dagger, and gathered his provisions. The two young garudas started to cry over Bahram Syah, as they were going to be separated from him; they were convinced that he would die. When Bahram Syah saw how the two young garudas pitied him, he said, “Oh my brother and sister, do not worry about the fact that our ways will part, because, God willing, we will be separated for only one year. I will be back to look for you, my brother and sister, as mother will come and get me. Oh my two siblings, cheer up! I know that my life will be long, because I have spoken with the Angel of Death in the centre of an extremely vast plain!” After the young garudas had heard Bahram Syah’s words, they all three felt happy.

A few moments later, *26a* dawn broke. Bahram Syah tied the elephants up at the back

of the adult garuda, using the beam that was holding them together. When Bahram Syah had finished, the garuda went up to her nest and spoke, “Oh my son Bahram Syah, get on my back and hold me tight! Do not forget to take good care of yourself!” Bahram Syah jumped on the back of the garuda and said, “Oh my brother and sister, stay here! I will go!” The garuda’s nest, which could contain three *kulak* of tree buttresses, was completely covered when the adult garuda spread her wings. She flew off and soared around her nest three times.

Flying upwards, high in the sky, she went as fast as lightning. Bahram Syah’s mouth, nose and ears droned and up they went, flying without a rest. It was as if the mountains and the trees were spinning.

A few moments later, they came across a whirlwind. Bahram Syah kept silent and the adult garuda said, “Oh my son, fetch me an elephant, I want to eat!” He fetched an elephant, the garuda devoured it, and they went up again. Bahram Syah looked down and saw the world as big as a tray. Night fell and the garuda flew on without a break.

Dawn broke and they were going higher and higher. They met with a cyclone and the garuda began to rotate now. She flew to the left, to the right and in all other possible directions. Flying, they entered the higher part of the sky and the garuda said, “Oh my son, fetch an *26b* elephant, I want to eat!” Bahram Syah fetched an elephant, which was devoured by the garuda, and they went up again. Bahram Syah looked down and saw the world as big as a bowl. They flew upwards again and encountered a fierce hurricane. The noise produced by the garuda’s wings was extremely loud, like the sound of a lightning strike splitting the earth in two. It was as if Bahram Syah lost consciousness while they kept going higher and higher.

A moment later, they arrived in the green layer of the sky, and the garuda spoke, “Oh my son Bahram Syah, fetch an elephant, I want to eat!” So Bahram Syah fetched an elephant, and the garuda devoured it. She said, “Oh my son Bahram Syah, if we fly high up in the sky, it takes three days to get there. Stay alert there on my back and take good care of yourself. We will fly level now!” The garuda started to fly level and the noise of her wings unfolding resembled that of a hurricane. She kept on flying and they came across a wind named the Changeable Wind. This wind was extremely fierce; should it touch the earth, it would carry off all plants and everything else on the surface of the earth into the sky.

The garuda said, “Oh my son, fetch an elephant, I want to eat!” Bahram Syah fetched an elephant, which was devoured by the garuda. After this, she flew on without a rest. When they had flown for a while, they flew into an air hole and experienced some heavy turbulence. These winds were many times fiercer than the former ones and it was as if Bahram Syah fainted and lost consciousness. The garuda spoke, “Oh my son, fetch an elephant, I want to eat!” Bahram Syah fetched the elephant, which was *27a* devoured by the garuda. Following this, she flapped her wings and took off. They flew on for a while and did not look to the left or to the right; they just flew on level.

The next moment, they met with the wind called *Danglak-Dangli* Purity in Death. Bahram Syah thought to himself, "As long as I have lived on this earth, I have never had to endure something like this." The garuda said, "Oh my son, fetch an elephant, I want to eat!" So Bahram Syah fetched another elephant and the garuda devoured it. They then flew on, without stopping. Somewhat later, the garuda spoke, "Oh my son, it will take three days to get there if we fly level. Stay alert now, and take good care of yourself! Secure all your limbs, stay alert and finish your provisions as we are now going to fly low, across the vast Sea of Fire. It will be almost unbearable, because this flight will be different from the last one; you will lose consciousness and I will not be able to think about you, my son!" Without stopping, the garuda flew on.

After they had flown for some time, the wind became variable. It started to spin round and round and a dense fog appeared. The flying garuda was blown in all directions; first she flew to the left and, after that, to the right. She flew lower and lower and approached the shoreline of the Sea of Fire. The heat was increasing now. The garuda felt very hungry and thirsty and said, "Oh my son Bahram Syah, fetch an elephant, I want to eat!" Bahram Syah drew his sword, cut one elephant in half and grabbed one half of it. The garuda devoured the piece and spoke, "Oh my son, why so little, I am not full yet!" Bahram Syah replied, "Oh my mother, there are *27b* different kinds of elephants; there are small ones and big ones." The garuda kept on flying.

The heat of the Sea of Fire was becoming ever more intense; should it ever reach the earth's crust, it would definitely destroy all the trees. A moment later, there was the sound of the cooking Sea of Fire; it sounded like hurricanes and bolts of lightning and like the waves of the Red Sea. After they had flown for another moment, thick clouds of smoke appeared and *b-r-g-wau-b-l angka dua* cooking and *b-r-b-wau-l-h*. The garuda said, "Oh my son, fetch an elephant, I want to eat!" Bahram Syah fetched the other half of the elephant and the garuda devoured it. She said, "Oh my son, why so little? Have we perhaps run out of provisions?" Bahram Syah answered, "There is still some left." The garuda flew on, having almost no strength left.

They encountered air holes, immense fierce hurricanes and whirlwinds; all kinds of storms were raging. At that particular moment, the moon was in conjunction with the stars that day and thus the Sea of Fire was cooking. The waves heaved as if they reached into the sky. A moment later, it became pitch-dark and nothing was visible any more. The garuda said, "Oh my child, drop an elephant, because I am really very hungry and thirsty, I cannot stand it any longer!" Bahram Syah was very worried and spoke, "Oh my mother, wait a moment!" The garuda did her utmost, but she went down. She said, "Oh my son, what will you do now? I have no strength left!" The Sea of Fire became ever hotter and the garuda spoke, "Oh my son, drop an elephant, because I want to eat and my throat is even drier than before!"

Bahram Syah replied, *28a* "Oh my mother, wait for another moment please!" The garuda flew on, but she kept on going down to the surface of the Sea of Fire as she was

feeling weak. After they had flown like this for another while, going down all the time, they almost fell into the Sea of Fire. The tip of both the left and the right wing of the garuda were scorched as if burned, and the breast feathers were singed, and she said, "Oh my son, I tell you that we both are going to die now, so please drop that elephant!" Bahram Syah took the white hair of the spirit king and the garuda spoke, "Oh my son Bahram Syah, I tell you, I cannot hold it any longer now. It seems as if we will both come to our end here, falling into the flaming Sea of Fire. Please give me just a little bit of food!" Bahram Syah immediately sliced off the flesh of the calf of one of his legs with his dagger and said, "Oh my mother, open your mouth, here is a bit of food that was left!" The garuda ate it and swallowed the flesh of Bahram's calf.

Next, Bahram Syah said a charm over the white hair of the spirit named Thunder and Lightning and, at that same moment, the whole world became light again. Then rain began to pour down on the garuda and she regained her strength. She felt joyous and flew playfully through the air, gracefully bending her wings like a dancer and like an eagle defying the wind, her eyes glittering as she looked down.

There was the state of Gastu Gasta; the tips of the garuda's wings nearly hit the beach. She pressed her wings against her body and flew down. One moment later, she reached the beach and landed. At the spot where the garuda hit the ground, rocks *28b* were scattered, dry grass, leaves and twigs were flying about, and grit was being swept away. The garuda said, "Oh my son Bahram Syah, get off my back immediately, we have arrived in the state of Gastu Gasta!" Bahram Syah replied, "Oh my mother, wait a minute please!" The garuda said nothing and waited a while, but Bahram Syah did not get off her back, and she asked, "Oh my son Bahram Syah, why are you not getting off my back? Are you hungry or thirsty or are you feeling dizzy, my son?" Bahram Syah answered, "Oh my mother, you must know that when we crossed the Sea of Fire, we ran out of elephants. At that moment, you had no strength left and you were very weak, as you had to endure the pain caused by the heat of the Sea of Fire. I thought, 'If mother dies, we will both die, and if I die, mother will bring my corpse down.' I sliced off the flesh of my left leg's calf and gave it all to you and you swallowed it. How can I get off your back now, as I cannot use my leg."

When the garuda heard Bahram Syah's words, she started to sway and Bahram Syah fell from her back and landed on his buttock, as he was not able to stand. The garuda cried and threw up Bahram Syah's calf. With the permission of God, may He be exalted, the flesh of Bahram Syah's calf came out of her stomach, mixed with the corpses of the elephants. The garuda looked for the flesh of Bahram Syah's calf in between the elephant corpses, *29a* found it, and washed it thoroughly. After that, she put the flesh back on the leg and with the power of God, may He be exalted, it stuck to the leg. There was no sign at all that pointed to what had happened to the leg.

Bahram Syah got up immediately, and the garuda wiped him with her wings and said, "Oh my son Bahram Syah, I want to go home, as your brother and sister have been left

alone for a long time already. If you want to go to the state of Gastu Gasta, follow this road. This is the main road that the people usually take; it does not branch off and it has no end. When you have walked for about half an hour, you will arrive at [the bay called] Smooth Curves. From the beach, you can see the estuary called Dew on the Teak, and if you look towards the sea, you can see the island of Sinawilan. Walking, you will pass some houses and the market. Not long after that, you will come across a two-forked road; the road to the right leads to the state of Gastu Gasta, and the road to the left leads to the Flower Garden of Grandmother Kebayan. But you better first go to the house of Grandmother Kebayan, because the son of this old lady recently died, and you are exactly his height; she will really love you a lot. Now, please take one feather from the top of my head and put it somewhere safe. Whenever you plan to do something and you do not know whether it is good or bad, burn the feather. When it smokes a bit, I will know of your plans immediately. So, take the garuda feather, Bahram Syah, and keep it somewhere safe!" Then, she flew up while saying, "Stay behind, my son, I will depart now!" Bahram Syah and the garuda went their separate ways and Bahram Syah went on, without stopping, from *29b* one patch of jungle to another patch of jungle and from one plain to another plain.

After he had walked for half an hour, he arrived at a beach. Bahram Syah took a break and got a breath of fresh air. He looked along the outstretched beach and he saw the wide estuary called Dew on the Teak. Bahram Syah walked on and, after a while, he arrived at the river mouth. He saw hundreds of big and small boats. The boats were numerous, as it was an extremely busy port. Every day, there were many great merchants buying and selling, and all the different kinds of God's servants came there. Bahram Syah went on, while nobody spoke to him, and he thought to himself, "There is no state bigger than this state of Gastu Gasta!" Without taking a break, he walked on.

He came upon the two-forked road and followed the road to the left, which brought him to the village of Grandmother Kebayan, in the Flower Garden. He admired the beauty of it, as it was really very pretty; the garden contained thousands of different flower bouquets with various kinds of flowers. The demarcation of the garden consisted of seven rows of different crotons, all of the same height, and there were several kinds of fruit, like dates, grapes, raisins and pomegranates. There was nothing the same in this garden.

Bahram Syah walked on and a moment later he arrived in front of Grandmother Kebayan's house. He halted and, after having stood there for a while, he heard different sounds. The *rebab*, *kecap*, *serunai*, *bangsi* and *sangkadu 30a* sounded very loud, while the parakeets and parrots strutted playfully, displaying their feathers.

Everybody who was in the house was startled. Grandmother Kebayan stood up and looked into her yard. She saw somebody standing in front of her house; he was extremely handsome and had a radiant appearance. He looked exactly like her son Plain of Intoxication. She cried and went outside immediately to see Bahram Syah. Crying bitterly, she

took him on her lap, kissed him and said, “Oh my son, sweetheart, and light of my eyes, you must be alive then!” She continued, “All ladies-in-waiting who are in this palace, decorate the whole place!”

They adorned both the silver and the golden *anjung* of the palace and prepared all kinds of cosmetic powder and cleanser; these were put in a golden washbowl and brought to Bahram Syah’s bathing pool. He bathed using the cleanser and washed his hair, while all the ladies-in-waiting accompanied him. After Bahram Syah had finished bathing, he returned to the palace and went inside immediately. He was seated on a golden carpet and waited on by the entire court. All members of the court who waited on him were pleased and enjoyed themselves while eating and drinking. Grandmother Kebayan grew to love Bahram Syah more and more.

For some time, Bahram Syah amused himself night and day at Grandmother Kebayan’s place. For about seven nights and seven days, he was having a good time there, picking flowers. *30b* That was what he did there. After some time, night fell and Bahram Syah said, “Oh my mother, I have been here with you in this palace for seven days now, but where do these sounds come from that can be heard every day?” His mother answered, “Oh my son, they come from the capital of the state of Gastu Gasta.” Bahram Syah asked, “Oh my mother, what is the name of this state’s king and how many are his vassal states?” Grandmother Kebayan answered, “Oh my son, it is a great king who is fair and generous as well. He is called His Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent and the name of his wife is Princess Apalu Apala; they have a daughter named Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower. She is very pretty and has a glowing appearance; she is the one who owns the bird *Marah* Jalin. Its wings sprinkle fluid gold, its breast feathers are ruffled, and the feathers on its neck are red as resin from the dragon’s blood plant. When it speaks, gold and silver are scattered from its beak, and when it tells a story, diamonds and other small gems are sprinkled from its eyes. When it recites poetry or verse, precious gems of all kinds fly from its nose. His vassal states are seventy-seven in number, all complete with officials, officers and subjects. Every Friday, all religious scholars and other learned men of religion, the Islamic head of state and the preacher, all believers of every parish and experts in the Islamic law come together. After they have finished the Friday prayer, they gather and wait on His Majesty and he hands out gifts. After that, they each go home feeling happy. This is the way he always acts, oh my son!”

Bahram Syah spoke, “Oh my mother, I want to take a stroll as I want to see this Majesty’s throne, and I want to try *31a* to see the bird and hear him talking.” Grandmother Kebayan replied, “Oh my son, how can you see the bird? It is not allowed to be seen by a human being; even the wind is not allowed to enter the palace. The capital’s gate has a door that consists of seven layers and it is guarded by watchmen. That is how it always has been and always will be, oh my son!” Bahram Syah said, “If I cannot go there, then let me go to see the people at the market, so I can learn about the customs and habits of the local people.” Grandmother Kebayan replied, “Oh my son and sweetheart, that will

be difficult because there are a lot of fights going on at the market as birds of different feathers gather over there. There are seven market days in this state: on Saturday, there is the market where the princes ride their horses to entertain themselves; at the Sunday market, the children of the noblemen play kickball; on Monday, there is the market where outstanding fighters fight with swords and spears; at the Tuesday market, the children of the highest dignitaries engage in trade; on Wednesday, there is the market where the children of the merchants buy and sell their merchandise; and on Thursday, all subjects gather to wait on His Majesty. That is how it always has been and always will be, oh my son! I have heard several things about these markets; for instance, that people had killed each other or that half of the visitors just disappeared. Therefore, imagine how I feel if you are to go there!”

Night fell and after they had finished eating and drinking, Bahram Syah spoke, “Oh my mother, you must take me to the capital. When I am there, you will see that I do not talk much and that I have my eyes fixed on the floor. I will keep silent and will not say a word, good or bad! If you *31b* do not take me there, I will go by myself!” Grandmother Kebayan replied, “Oh my son, let me think first. We will go in the morning.”

That night, Bahram Syah ordered flowers to be picked in the garden and to be brought to him. He arranged the flowers and the bouquets were very beautiful; there were one hundred and twelve different colours of flowers and they were sparkling. As for the names of the flower arrangements, the first one was called Lantern Spinning to the Left and to the Right Encircled by Burning Candles; the second Cloud Barely Visible in the Rays of the Moon and the Light of the Scattered Stars [...] and the third Cloud Spinning Blown by the Wind and a Gentle Breeze. After Bahram Syah had arranged the flowers, he said, “Oh my mother, here are the bouquets; I want to sell them in the capital.” The pious woman spoke, “Oh my son, in that case we will go there tomorrow, but first let me make you look more like a person of lower descent, like somebody who descends from a very shameful lineage. To attain that, we have to change your appearance. Your name is now no longer Bahram Syah, but Keling Kecateri, and you are of Arab descent. Before I take you there, your clothes must be like those of someone’s servant!” Bahram Syah replied, “That is all right, my mother! Whatever seems good to you, I will not dispute, as you are the one who is allowed to walk in and out the palace.”

The next day, after they had finished eating and drinking, Grandmother Kebayan took some ink and stained Bahram Syah’s cheeks. His whole body was dirty now and covered with stains; he looked really disgusting, and so did his clothes. Grandmother Kebayan took off, carrying her bag with betel and Bahram Syah followed her. *32a* In his left hand he carried the bouquets he had made, and around his head he had folded his worn-out sarong to protect him from the sun and the rain.

After they had walked for some time and had crossed the busy market, the pious woman and Bahram Syah arrived at the capital’s gate. The guards immediately opened the gate; Grandmother Kebayan entered the capital and went inside the palace where

she paid her respects to Princess Apalu Apala. Several ladies-in-waiting were waiting on Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower, each according to their task. There was a lady-in-waiting who carried the fan and another one who held the bowl with betel on her lap; the princess was waited upon in many different ways. Keling Kecateri Banu Arab Bardan Kucikak Katulikan stayed in the courtyard and all ladies-in-waiting came to see his bouquets. He was surrounded and chased after by them; half of them wanted to seize his flowers and half of them wanted to ask him for his flowers. He kept silent and looked as if he could burst into tears any moment. Seeing this, the ladies-in-waiting started laughing. The laughing was heard in the palace and Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower spoke, "Who is the person who came here with you?" Grandmother Kebayan answered, "Oh Princess, it is a young boy, called Keling Kecateri Banu Arab Bardan Kucikakan Katulikan; I bought him for four and a half *dirham*. I left him outside." The princess said, "Please, tell him to come here so I can see how big he is." Grandmother Kebayan replied, "Oh Princess, why should I tell him to come here; he looks really disgusting."

Meanwhile, a lady-in-waiting **32b** ran into the *anjung* and said, "O Princess, the companion of Grandmother Kebayan has brought some exquisite flower bouquets with him. The flowers have been arranged in an astonishing fashion and there are one hundred and twelve different kinds of them. I have never seen bouquets like these! We have asked him about the flowers, but he stays silent. He does not speak a single word!" The princess spoke, "Oh My Lady, get this Keling Kecateri here!" When His Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent heard the ladies-in-waiting causing commotion, he became angry and spoke, "Ladies-in-waiting, why are you harassing this boy? Do not cast another look at him again! Although I can see that he looks as if he is poor and of low descent; indeed, he looks like a servant, but how can one know his descent? You draw conclusions based on his ugly clothes, but how can one tell his fortune? Perhaps he has even more good fortune than we have! The ways of God, may He be exalted, are unfathomable!"

After Princess Apalu Apalau heard His Majesty's words, she became angry with all the ladies-in-waiting. She summoned Bahram Syah. He entered, anxiously prostrated himself and paid his respects; he looked as if he could cry at any moment. He sat down behind Grandmother Kebayan. Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower took the bouquets out of Bahram Syah's hands and he was shocked; he really looked as if he could burst into tears any moment now, but he kept silent. Bahram Syah said, "Oh my mother, ask for the bird; I want to talk with it!" Grandmother Kebayan became furious and said, "Oh Keling Kecateri Banu Arab Bardan Kucikak Katulikan, do you want to die?" He said nothing **34a** and bowed his head.

The bird *Marah* Jalin flapped its wings, wagged its tail, clicked its nails, and chattered its beak. The bird's beak looked heavenly indeed and its cage was spinning like a top. The princess smiled and said, "Oh my Lady, what did he just say?" Grandmother Kebayan answered, "Oh Princess, don't take any notice of what he says!," and smiled.

A moment later, Bahram Syah slowly spoke, "Oh my mother, ask for the bird! I want

to talk with it.” Grandmother Kebayan turned round, wanting to hit Bahram Syah, and said, “Oh you wicked Keling Kecateri Banu Arab Bardan Kucikan Katulikan, do you want your body to be separated from your soul?” The bird grew ever more pleased and the princess spoke, “Oh my Lady, why are you so angry with this older brother?” Grandmother Kebayan replied, “Why do you call him ‘older brother’? He is just livestock; I bought him at the market for four and a half *dirham*. Please, do not defile your noble family!” Bahram Syah kept silent behind the pious woman, looking as if he would burst into tears.

The next instant Bahram Syah slowly spoke, “Oh my mother, ask for the bird, so I can buy it. Whatever its price may be, I will pay it immediately!” Grandmother Kebayan rose, wanting to give Bahram Syah a blow. Furiously she said, “Oh son of the ghost Singiang-ngiang, who lives in the woods! Son of Bincacak, child of Singiang-ngiang. You maimed Kling! Son of the ghost named Ketumbi who lives under the cornerpole of the house! Son of the ghost who resides in dead tree trunks!” Next she grabbed hold of Bahram Syah’s head and wanted to smack him, but *34b* Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower immediately took hold of Grandmother Kebayan’s hand and said, “Oh my Lady, what did he do wrong, tell me!” Grandmother Kebayan answered, “Oh my child the Princess, how can I not be angry with this cursed wretch! What he says is not decent at all. This boy of mine wants to buy the bird *Marah* Jalin and wants to have a talk with it.” Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower spoke, “It is not proper for you to scorn him like this; if the bird is for sale, he can buy it, and if it is not for sale, he will speak no more. And if my older brother wants to see the bird, what is wrong with that?”

The princess ordered her ladies-in-waiting to fetch a golden tray and place the birdcage on it. The cage was exquisite and lavishly adorned. The frame of the birdcage consisted of openwork gold and its bars were made of pinchbeck; they were mounted in gold. The bars were interwoven with thick gold wire that consisted of three thinner intertwined wires; the food bowl was encrusted with diamonds and all kinds of small precious stones. The water bowl was made of red and green agate and emerald and various sorts of sapphire were used for the bird’s perch. Both the left and right side of the cage were encrusted with gems of all kinds and they were fringed with pearls; the cage’s cover was made of cloth named Maidens’ Eyes.

After this, Bahram Syah talked with the bird using all the world’s languages; he told the bird everything. The bird immediately put up its beak, spread *35a* its wings, wagged its tail and, while clicking its nails, moved like a dancer on top of the golden tray. Then it started to talk. At that same moment, gold and silver were scattered from its beak. After this, it started to tell stories and diamonds and various kinds of small gems were sprinkled from its eyes. It began to recite poetry and verse and all sorts of precious stones flew from its nose. After this, it recited *pantun* and short poems and from the follicles of its feathers, different kinds of perfumes emerged; they pervaded the air and filled the whole palace. The entire court was awestruck and the guards who watched the gates were flabbergasted;

they had a hard time and shook their heads as they had never seen this bird speaking as it did that day, with the sound of its voice so heavenly. Never before had perfumes, fragrant like ambergris and musk, come out of the bird's body.

Grandmother Kebayan spoke, "Oh Keling Kecateri, what will you buy this bird with? Just try to make a bid!" Bahram Syah replied, "I will make a bid right now!" Grandmother Kebayan said, "Oh you lying cursed wretch, even with the help of your father and mother or from other relatives including your forefathers you can never buy it! Even if you pay for it with all the riches from your state, you will never be able to buy it!"

His Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent heard Grandmother Kebayan's voice coming from the audience hall and entered the hall, speaking, "Oh wise young man, if you can afford the bird, I will sell it to you for something that pleases me." Bahram Syah went to His Majesty, taking the bird with him. He paid his respects by *35b* bowing his head to the feet of His Majesty who sat on a golden carpet. His Highness spoke, "Oh wise young man, what did you just say? Is it true that you want to buy the princess' pet bird?" He answered, "Yes, Your Highness." His Majesty spoke, "That is fine with me, but you must pay me with something other than gold or silver or diamonds or gems; it must be something I do not yet possess and you have to get it now!" Bahram Syah paid homage and folded back the waistbelt containing the jewel; it was wrapped up in worn-out cloths. Next, he presented the magic stone Jewel of the Queen, which radiated its light, to His Highness and His Highness spoke, "Oh young man, remove the wrappings, I want to see the stone!" Bahram Syah replied, "Yes, Your Majesty. Please remove the cloth yourself!" His Majesty began unwrapping the magic stone. He first removed the black wrapping and the stone's light was black; second, he removed the red wrapping and it was red; third, he removed the yellow wrapping and the stone's light was yellow; fourth, he removed the blue wrapping and the light was blue; fifth, he removed the green wrapping and the radiance became green; sixth, he removed the purple wrapping and the radiance became purple; seventh, he removed the white wrapping and then a white light appeared. Now, the magic stone Jewel of the Queen was completely visible. The stone dispersed its light and it struck His Majesty's face brightly like the rays of the sun. The king collapsed, fainted and became unconscious because he was struck by the rays of the magic stone Jewel of the Queen.

Bahram Syah sprinkled some rosewater on the faces of His Majesty and the princess. His Majesty regained consciousness and spoke to Grandmother *36a* Kebayan, "Why have you been making a fool of me? Why did you tell me this noble young man was called Keling Kecateri Banu Arab Bardan Kucikak Katulikan? The truth is, that all this time, I knew what was going on and that is why I am really angry with all the ladies-in-waiting of this court, as they have been making a fool of me! But now, listen to me. How fortunate this meeting of your son and my daughter has been! Death will not tear them apart. Let us marry them! The magic stone Jewel of the Queen will be your son's token of betrothal to my daughter and the bird *Marah* Jalin will be my daughter's token of betrothal to

your son. This is what we call the exchange of tokens of betrothal. In three days' time, we will make it public to the inhabitants of this state, so that everyone will know about the betrothal of the two parties."

His Majesty handed the magic stone Jewel of the Queen over to Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower; she took it and kept it in a solid box. The bird *Marah Jalin* was given to Bahram Syah together with the order to take good care of it. After His Majesty had come to an agreement with Grandmother Kebayan and after both parties had mutually affirmed it, Grandmother Kebayan paid her respects and went off to her village called Flower Garden; she took the bird *Marah Jalin* home with her.

Three days later, Bahram Syah said to his mother, "Oh my mother, please go now to His Majesty, the Ruler of the World, and tell him about our token of betrothal. We have bought this bird with our token of betrothal, now tell him to weigh the stone Jewel of the Queen; the value of this stone will be our token of betrothal to them. Next, *36b* ask him if he will postpone the marriage for seven years, as I want to go home and visit my parents first. Perhaps they are still alive so that I can present the bird to them. They were the ones who ordered me to go and search for it." He told Grandmother everything, saying, "Moreover, I want ask his permission to marry. That is what you have to tell His Majesty!" Grandmother Kebayan took off, accompanied by a train of people.

When she had walked for some time, she arrived at the capital of Gastu Gasta. She entered the palace and paid her respects. His Highness *Marah Inda* spoke, "Oh Grandmother Kebayan, what do you want?" She replied, "Have mercy, Your Highness, I have been ordered by my son Bahram Syah to tell you something about our token of betrothal. Please weigh the magic stone Jewel of the Queen and see what its weight is like; that will be our token of betrothal. He also asked if you could postpone the wedding for seven years, because he wants to pay a visit to his parents first. After this visit, he will come back to marry the princess." After His Majesty heard this, he ordered that the stone Jewel of the Queen be fetched and he summoned all merchants and high officials of the state, together with the vassal kings, officials, officers and all other subjects. They came to the palace, paid homage and sat down, each in their own place. His Majesty unwrapped the stone Jewel of the Queen; it was still shining as before. Then Princess Apalu Apala and all the ladies-in-waiting collapsed, fainted and lost consciousness. After this had happened, her daughter sprinkled her with rosewater and Princess Apalu Apala regained consciousness, as did all the ladies-in-waiting. *37a*

Meanwhile, the merchants came in, bringing with them a pair of scales and weights. His Majesty placed the stone Jewel of the Queen on one of the scales and weighed it with the weight of a *busuk* and a *suku*. He then tried to weigh the stone by placing a *tahil* on the scale; he continued with heavier weights up to a *kati*. Finally, he even used a *pikul* and a *bahara*, but the stone matched all the weights. His Majesty was pleased and amazed at the same time when he saw the stone's exceptional qualities, and spoke, "I will accept the stone Jewel of the Queen as Bahram Syah's token of betrothal!" Grandmother Kebayan

took her leave and went back to her village together with all the others who were gathered there.

Three days later, Bahram Syah came to see Grandmother Kebayan and paid his respects; she was startled and said, "What is it that you want?" Afraid and with tears in her eyes she continued, "Have I done something wrong, that you are behaving like this?" Bahram Syah replied, "Oh my mother, I will tell you the reason why I feel this way. When I went on this journey, I left my father and my mother behind. You are alone. You don't have a husband. Now, please do not stop loving this foreign wanderer; I want to marry you to this state's prime minister. He is the greatest of all headmen and vassal kings. Love him! He and His Royal Highness are of the same calibre; it is only fitting, therefore, that he should be my father!" Grandmother Kebayan refused to marry the prime minister and kept silent. Bahram Syah *37b* and Grandmother Kebayan started to quarrel; about seven times he urged her to marry the prime minister, but she did not want to be married to him. Bahram Syah said, "Oh my mother, it does not matter, if you do not comply with my request, then stop loving and caring for me now! I will no longer be your son!" When Grandmother Kebayan heard Bahram Syah talking like this, she said, "Oh my son, whatever it is that you want, you must know that I will take care of it."

Next, Bahram Syah informed the king and the state's officials, and three days later, on a propitious day, the prime minister was married to Grandmother Kebayan in the village of Flower Garden. Bahram Syah, the prime minister and Grandmother Kebayan had a party at the palace and Bahram Syah said, "Oh my mother, please let me go home now; let me go accompanied by your prayers, so I will travel safely to my country and back! Now, my parents, go and wait upon His Majesty, as I want to ask him for four or five water buffaloes; tell him to have them prepared all in the same manner; that is, without pepper and salt! After that mother, order one hundred *kulak* of white rice to be boiled. When it is ready, make three piles of it, each consisting of the same quantity of rice. Mix it with the *gulai* and place it on a mat!" That is how it happened.

The prime minister took off and entered the capital. He conveyed Bahram Syah's message in a respectful way to His Majesty. His Majesty started to laugh and said, "What is he going to use it for?" He continued, "Very well then." *38a* He gave orders to do what Bahram Syah had requested. And thus, the headmen went to the middle of the plain at the state's border, to offer their services. However, half of the state's inhabitants said to themselves, "This will lead to nothing at all; if he is indeed going to marry Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower, she will definitely be lost!" When the white rice and the *gulai* were ready, it was formed into three piles of the same height.

Next, Bahram Syah gave orders to the officers to convey a message to the inhabitants of the capital and, after that, to those in the villages, using a small gong; the message was as follows: "If something strange happens in the near future, do not be afraid, do not fear and do not ask any questions!" After the message had been spread, Bahram Syah went to the middle of the plain and burnt the tip of the garuda's feather. Shortly there after, the

tip of the feather started to smoke and the garudas appeared; they came down from the sky as fast as a flash of lightning and their bodies covered the sun. They arrived flying in one line, just like they used to do. The sound of their wings was like rolling thunder in the sky; it was an earsplitting noise and the people tried to protect their ears by putting cotton wool in them. Half the population ran away and tried to hide themselves.

The garuda arrived above the plain and cried, “Oh my son Bahram Syah, here I am!” Then she fell down from the sky headfirst, like a ripe areca nut, and alighted on the ground right at the spot where the piles of rice and *gulai* were placed. Bahram Syah spoke, “Oh my mother and my brother and sister, please eat something of the piles of rice and of 38b the other dishes! How can I ever pay you back for coming here!” The adult garuda replied, “Oh my son, that is exactly how I feel too! We cannot pay you back for what you did for us; the only thing we can do is spread your fame amongst our race, the animals. If not for you, your brother and sister would no longer be alive!” After she had spoken, the garudas began eating; each of them finished one pile. After they had eaten, Bahram Syah said, “Oh my mother, the reason I summoned you is that I want to go back tomorrow, early in the morning.” The garuda replied, “That is fine with me, my son!” Bahram Syah continued, “But first, you and my brother and sister must stay here tonight.”

He went to wait upon the king. Having arrived there, he paid homage and said, “Yes Your Highness, your humble servant will go home, early tomorrow morning, God, may He be exalted, willing. I have an agreement with Your Highness that I will be back within seven years, and if it is all right with Your Highness, I want to ask you for another three water buffaloes as food for the garudas.” His Majesty replied, “There is nothing wrong in that, but please, return quickly, my son!” Bahram Syah said, “Should this humble servant be spared, I will come back quickly to see you, Your Highness.” After Bahram Syah had talked to His Majesty, he took his leave and went back to the village called Flower Garden.

Night fell and Grandmother Kebayan cried as she was going to be separated from Bahram Syah. Bahram Syah said, “Oh my mother, don’t you and father cry; if God keeps me alive, I will come back to see you. 39a Take heart, my parents, and I beg you, mother, pray for me night and day, morning and evening!” By the time Bahram Syah finished speaking with the prime minister, dawn had broken. After eating and drinking, he took his leave and went to the middle of the plain together with Grandmother Kebayan, the prime minister and all the people. His Highness *Marah* Inda and his royal consort also arrived, escorted by all the vassal kings, officials and commoners. When the water buffaloes were mounted on the garuda’s back, Bahram Syah paid his respects to the princess and all the others and jumped on the back of the young male garuda, while holding the birdcage in his hand.

The young male garuda said, “Now I pay my Lord back for what you did for us!” The next moment, the three garuda’s took off, flying three in a row, and went up into the sky. To protect Bahram Syah against the heat of the Sea of Fire, the adult garuda flew at the bottom of the row, her daughter flew at the top, and the male garuda flew in between.

They flew as fast as lightning and their wings made noise like the sound of the trumpet blown on Judgement Day. They went higher and after about an hour, they encountered the same kinds of winds as they had encountered before, and Bahram Syah felt as though he lost consciousness.

Flying for another while, they passed the Sea of Fire. They turned right and left and then the large tree upon which the nest was build became visible. A moment later, already in the afternoon, they landed on their nest, *39b* while Bahram Syah was still unconscious. They entered the nest and the garudas praised Bahram Syah. In his turn, Bahram Syah praised the garudas, saying, "Oh my mother, brother and sister, I have been here for three days now; let me leave tomorrow!" One of the young garudas spoke, "Oh my brother, let us three accompany you." Bahram Syah replied, "Please, do not go with me, as I have still much to search for. Ask around in every state, but you are not going with me any further than this tree!" The young male garuda said, "Oh my brother, very well then!" Bahram Syah jumped on the garuda's back and took the birdcage with him.

A moment later, Bahram Syah arrived at the bottom of the tree and the garuda alighted. He climbed down to the ground. And that is how it was, Only God Knows.

VI

The story is as follows:

It is told by the storyteller how Bahram Syah went on, without stopping, and how he entered the same forest as he had crossed earlier. He traveled on continuously. On the seventh day, he arrived at the middle of the plain and he could see the ring of blazing fire. After another moment, he reached the outskirts of the capital and whispered a charm over the evil ghost's white hair. Upon this, water fell down and the fire was extinguished. Bahram Syah entered the capital and went to the palace yard.

The princess looked into the yard and saw Bahram Syah approaching and spoke, "I see that you have arrived already, please come in My Lord!" He entered the palace and sat down. The princess spoke, "Oh My Lord, I see that you have the bird *Marah* Jalin with you!" Bahram Syah told her all *40a* that had happened in the state of Gastu Gasta; he told Princess Goddess in Bondage everything.

After Bahram Syah had been there for a while, he said, "Oh Princess, what do you want, to stay here or to come with me?" The princess answered, "What is there to do for me in this lonely and desolate place?" Bahram Syah said, "Prepare yourself, we will leave tomorrow early in the morning!" And thus the Princess started to make preparations for the journey; she fetched some jewels, diamonds and small gems to take with her. Bahram Syah spoke, "Oh Princess, fetch two creeses for me to take with me! Leave everything else behind!" After he had spoken like this, they both departed the next day and traveled without having a rest.

One hour later, Bahram Syah said to the princess, “If we take the road we have traveled before, it will take too much of our time. Let us travel through the forest! Hopefully we will come across an inhabited area soon.” The princess replied, “Whatever My Lord wishes!” They went into the jungle where it was dark and murky. Bahram Syah whispered a charm over the white hair of the ghost called Thunder and Lightning and the next moment it was broad daylight, during the day as well as during the night. Bahram Syah and the princess traveled on without stopping.

When they had traveled for about three nights, they had left the jungle behind them and came across a plain and, somewhat later, a valley. They could now see the outskirts of the state called Pile of Passions. They went on and arrived at a paddy field. The next moment, Bahram Syah looked to his left and saw somebody cutting grass *4ob* and young weeds for horse food. Bahram Syah saw that he looked exactly like his brother Aisyah and said, “Oh my Lord, what are you doing?” The man answered, “Who are you? Don’t you have eyes? You can see I am cutting weeds for horse food and now you are making fun of me just because my body is covered with mud and because you see my tattered piece of cloth. Shut your mouth and speak no more or else we will have a fight!” Bahram Syah said, “Oh my Lord, say no more and come here so we can have a talk.”

Aisyah came to see Bahram Syah immediately. Seeing him, Aisyah started running at once and hugged and embraced him, saying, “You are really here, my younger brother!” Bahram Syah replied, “I am here, older brother, but where is our oldest brother?” Aisyah answered, “Heaven knows, but he is not here with me.” Bahram Syah said, “Why do you behave and look like a tramp and like somebody who has lost his mind?” Aisyah told Bahram Syah everything about his betting and gambling and they both burst into tears.

Next, Bahram Syah spoke, “Let us now go to your Lord’s place.” They took off and entered the capital of the state called Pile of Passions. They went into the hall and paid homage to His Majesty who spoke, “Oh my brother Aisyah, who is that with you?” Aisyah replied, “Oh my Lord, this is my younger brother named Bahram Syah and that is Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower with the bird *Marah* Jalin.” The king spoke *41a*, “Please sit down!” They all three sat down and had a talk with the king.

Night fell and Bahram Syah spoke to the king while paying his respects, “Oh my Lord, have mercy on me. If Your Royal Highness is benevolent and favourably disposed towards this humble servant, then please grant me this brother of mine, so that I can take him back home with me. Whatever he owes you, please tell me what it is so that I can take care of it!” The king replied, “Oh my Lord Bahram Syah, listen! This brother of yours who is named Aisyah owes me indeed, but as he has done nothing wrong to me personally, you can take him with you!”

By the time they had finished their conversation, dawn had already broken. Bahram Syah presented half a *kati* of gold to the king and spoke, “Oh my Lord, here you have some gold as a gift; you can use it for whatever you like.” The king felt extremely embarrassed towards Bahram Syah and he spoke, “Why are you behaving as if you were a stranger to

me? Please, stay here for the night.” Bahram Syah replied, “Very well, Oh Your Majesty.” Then the king ordered that the necessary arrangements be made to entertain Bahram Syah.

The next day, Bahram Syah was entertained by the king according to tradition; there were various delicacies, foods as well as drinks and, in the presence of all the vassal kings and officials, the king asked Bahram Syah to rule the state of Pile of Passions together with him. One day later, Bahram Syah asked permission to depart and took off together with his brother Aisyah and the Princess. Bahram Syah gave his brother Aisyah *41b* one of the creeses and told him to take the bird *Marah Jalin*.

After they had departed, they traveled on continuously. Aisyah said, “Oh my little brother Bahram Syah, if we travel this road, it takes too much time; this is the beginning of the road that leads to the three-forked road.” Bahram Syah replied, “If that is the case, then let us travel through the forest; hopefully we will find our older brother.” And thus they traveled through the jungle. Bahram Syah whispered a charm over Thunder and Lightning’s white hair and the next moment there was light in the forest.

After having traveled without a rest for a while, they arrived at the border of an incredibly vast plain; a number of water buffaloes and cows were busy eating. When they had traveled for another while, they could see the outskirts of the state called Sand Flowing Down Into The Bay of Dew. They went on and came across a narrow stream. A man was running up and down the narrow stream, while holding an immensely long pole. He kept running without a pause at the riverbank, and made a lot of noise cursing himself. Bahram Syah approached the riverbank and saw that there were many ducks and geese in the river. He looked at how the man ran downstream after he had driven the ducks and geese upstream and how he ran upstream after he had driven them downstream. Bahram Syah went a bit closer to the man and observed him: his whole body was covered with mud and even his eyes, which were half-closed, were no longer *42a* visible. All his limbs were totally smeared with mud. Bahram Syah said, “Who are you and what are you doing here?” Ghaisyah replied, “Why are you harassing me; don’t you see the ducks and geese are sprawling? You really don’t have any manners at all!” He grabbed hold of his pole, ready to hit Bahram Syah’s head. But then, he saw Bahram Syah’s face and Bahram Syah saw Ghaisyah’s face and Ghaisyah threw aside the pole he was holding and the three brothers started to weep. Ghaisyah said, “Oh my little brother Bahram Syah, is this Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower and the bird *Marah Jalin*?” Bahram Syah answered, “This is the bird our royal father dreamed about. But what are you doing here?” Ghaisyah informed Aisyah and Bahram Syah about his gambling; he told his two younger brothers everything that had happened. Bahram Syah said, “Oh older brother, let us first go to wait upon your Lord!”

The four of them walked on for a while and the next moment they arrived at the yard in front of the palace. Gaisyah entered the palace and His Majesty the King spoke, “Oh my Lord Ghaisyah, who are those people with you?” Ghaisyah answered, “Oh Your

Highness, these are my two brothers.” His Majesty ordered, “Bring them into the palace!” They went into the palace, paid homage to His Majesty and were welcomed by him. Bahram Syah started to speak in a respectful way to His Majesty, “Oh Your Highness, this humble foreigner begs His Majesty for a favour; I want to ask you to reunite me with this brother of mine for we have been separated a long time. Now, *42b* in case he owes you, please make it known to this humble servant and let me take care of it!” His Majesty replied, “Oh Bahram Syah, why are you talking like this? Until this day, I have never heard him say an improper word towards me and I, in my turn, have never treated him wrongly. Now, because I like you and because you have been good to me, there really is no problem at all!” Bahram Syah said, “This humble servant does Your Highness’ bidding!”

The next day Bahram Syah presented ten *tabil* of gold to the king, and he spoke, “Here is a small gift; please, use it for whatever you like.” The king spoke, “Oh my Lord, please stay here a day or three, if you can!” So, Bahram Syah stayed there. The king ordered preparations to be made for entertaining Bahram Syah and the three brothers feasted together with all the people who were gathered there. After they had finished eating and drinking, the king spoke to the officials, “You all must know about this man Bahram Syah, that I make him my brother and that I will reign the state called Sand Flowing Down Into The Bay of Dew together with him.” The officials replied, “Your Highness’ words are completely right!”

The next day, they all four paid their respects to His Majesty and took off, following the road Ghaisyah had taken before. About twelve nights and days later, they arrived at the three-forked road. They halted for a while and ate and drank, finishing all their provisions. After that, they went on.

About two hours later, *43a* they found the pavilion. They looked at it; it was still the same, it had not changed a bit. The three of them laughed and Ghaisyah said, “Oh my two younger brothers, let us first pause here at the pavilion.” Bahram Syah went up to the pavilion and lay down; he was blown by a gentle breeze. At that same moment, the princess fetched water from the well and cooked some rice. Ghaisyah walked around amusing himself. He said, “Oh younger brother Aisyah, how do you feel about our situation?” Aisyah replied, “Oh older brother, whatever you think, I agree with it.” Ghaisyah continued, “Oh younger brother, listen! We are three brothers and, in my opinion, we are the ones who should receive more respect than Bahram Syah, for we are older than him. But as it stands now, it will definitely be Bahram Syah who receives the most respect when we arrive at our parents’ home, and thus we will be humiliated. Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower will be his wife, as he is the one who found the bird *Marah* Jalin. He will reign as a king and have the princess as his consort.” Aisyah said, “In that case, it will be better if we kill Bahram Syah with our creeses; he will be dead for sure!” Ghaisyah replied, “That won’t work, as the princess will commit suicide if we kill him, and then we will both be lost too! I think we better play a trick on him and take him to the well to bathe. When we arrive at the well, we will take it in turns to bathe while we make him

draw water from the well. As soon as his attention slips for a moment, *43b* we will push him into the deep well. In this way, Bahram Syah will definitely die and we will reach our goal. And if you, younger brother, become a king, I will marry the princess!" Aisyah replied, "Oh older brother, that is the best plan I have ever heard; it is perfect!"

After their discussion, they went to Bahram Syah and said, "Oh little brother Bahram Syah, why are you just lying here? Let us go to the well together to have a bath, so that we can wash away the sweat and dust." Bahram Syah replied, "Whatever seems good to you, my two older brothers!" The three of them went off to the well. Having arrived there, Aisyah spoke, "Oh my little brother Bahram Syah, let us draw water from the well for our older brother first; please, take the bucket!" After Bahram Syah had taken the bucket, he let out its rope. Ghaisyah joined his brother and together they pushed Bahram Syah who fell. They closed off the well with several rocks.

It was his fate that, by the decree of God, may He be exalted, he experienced neither danger, nor harm. By the will of God, may He be praised and be exalted, Bahram Syah did not suffer at all and was able to see clearly at the bottom of the well. At that moment, an immensely bright light radiated from the well, and Ghaisyah and Aisyah felt exalted and laughed as they were thinking, "Bahram has already died! We have reached our goal and there is absolutely nothing that stands in our way or that can hamper us!" Ghaisyah said, "I will be king and you will *44a* take Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower, oh Aisyah. As for this bird *Marah* Jalin, let us present it to our royal father now." After they had finished talking, they went back to the big pavilion and saw the princess' sullen face; she refused to speak any longer. The bird *Marah* Jalin's appearance had changed too. Now, the bird sat crouched as if it was ill, its feathers tousled. Ghaisyah spoke, "Oh Princess, let us depart immediately. Bahram Syah earlier said that our state is not far from here." The princess took the bird and the three of them traveled on without a rest.

They came across a plain and after traveling for another while, they found some simple farmers' huts. The farmers and their relatives were amazed and stupefied seeing Ghaisyah and Aisyah arriving there. They decided to accompany Ghaisyah and Aisyah and together they traveled on. After half an hour, they reached a small village. The village chief went to pay his respects to Ghaisyah and Aisyah and, after that, joined the train.

His Majesty was told that Ghaisyah had returned from the search for the bird *Marah* Jalin, that he had won Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower, and that he had brought them both with him. His Majesty felt shocked and happy at the same time when he heard his son had come home. He ordered the vassal kings, the officers and all the commoners to welcome his son. The whole palace was decorated.

Ghaisyah and Aisyah arrived together with the princess and they ran to pay homage to their parents. *44b* His Majesty immediately embraced and kissed his two sons and Sultan Maharaja The Great spoke to them, "Oh my sons, where is Bahram Syah?" When Ghaisyah and Aisyah heard their father's words, they told him about the time when they had become separated from each other after they had come across the three-forked road,

and that Bahram Syah had taken the road named Only God Knows. “It has been twenty years since we saw him. We believe he is dead, because of the different dreams we had. I dreamt that we were traveling together with Bahram Syah and that we saw the sun, the moon and all the stars. Shortly after that, all the stars were vanished, gone, without a reason; only the sun and the moon were still visible. At the time of this dream of mine, dawn broke and I woke up; I thought, ‘This dream of mine can refer only to Bahram Syah.’”

When Ghaisyah had told about his dream, Aisyah too paid homage to his father and spoke, “Oh my father, listen to what I have dreamt! One day we were traveling and were feeling very hungry, so Bahram Syah cooked some rice. When the rice was ready, the three of us had a meal. When we had finished eating and drinking, we wanted to cook some more rice and then we saw that only two of the three hearthstones were left. At the time of my dream, day broke and I woke up and thought, ‘This dream can only refer to Bahram Syah.’ This was my dream, my father.”

When His Majesty heard about his sons’ dreams he started to cry, as he thought of Bahram Syah. Respectfully Ghaisyah and Aisyah spoke, *45a* “Oh My Lord, as far as your wish is concerned, we have obtained the bird *Marah* Jalin. This is Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower, the child carried in the folds of Princess Apalu Apala’s sarong. She is the daughter of His Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent of the state Gastu Gasta. When this bird speaks, gold and silver are scattered from its beak, and when it tells a story, its eyes sprinkle diamonds and small gems. This is what we have brought you; it is exactly like in your dream, it cannot miss. Now, how do you feel about it, our royal father?” His Majesty replied, “Oh my two sons, try to make him speak so I can hear it! Maybe then my heart will be freed from my grief for Bahram Syah.”

After they heard what their father said, they immediately tried to persuade the bird to talk, “Oh bird called *Marah* Jalin, please talk and tell me a story, just like you did earlier, in the state of Gastu Gasta!” But the bird did not make a single sound, and the princess did not say a single word. The bird was sitting crouched with one leg pulled up, with its wings hanging down and its head between its wings. Ghaisyah and Aisyah felt increasingly embarrassed. His Majesty became extremely angry with his two sons and spoke, “What is the matter that the bird won’t speak?”

The next day His Majesty summoned the vassal kings together with the officials. They arrived and spoke, while paying their respects, “What is the reason Your Highness has summoned us all?” His Majesty spoke, “Oh vassal kings and officials, if there is anyone amongst you who knows how to make the bird talk and tell stories, let him take all seven golden carpets!” *45b* After the king had said that, all the vassal kings, officials and officers took their turn in trying to make the bird talk, but the bird did not feel like talking and everybody kept silent. His Majesty summoned all his other subjects and they also tried to persuade the bird to talk, but again, it did not want to talk. The princess did not want to speak either and during the whole time, her face looked sullen.

After some time, Sultan Maharaja the Great sent for an astrologer who came and paid homage to His Majesty. The king spoke, "Oh astrologer, try to see if it is written in the stars whether there is someone who knows how to make that bird speak!" The monk paid his respects and looked at the stars two or three times, while nodding his head. His Majesty said, "Oh monk, why are you nodding?" The monk paid homage and replied, "Oh Your Highness, Ruler of the World, have mercy on me, a thousand times, but I have seen that is in written in the stars that a noble and learned Arab, who, moreover, is of perfect intellect and has a very handsome appearance, is coming this way. He is bringing with him many people of different ranks, from religious scholars and vassal kings to village chiefs; even officers and merchants accompany him! He will arrive in the near future. He is the one who knows and who is able to make the bird *Marah* Jalin talk, and he can also make the princess speak again." His Majesty bestowed a set of beautiful golden clothes on the astrologer.

VII

The story is as follows:

Now the story of Bahram Syah, after he was pushed by his brothers into the well, is told by the storyteller. There was a king in a state called Twin Mangoes. *46a* Its ruler was named Royal King Midday, and his empire was extremely vast. This king happened to hear that Sultan Maharaja the Great of the state Southern Plains possessed a bird named *Marah* Jalin. When it spoke, gold and silver were scattered from its beak and when it told a story, diamonds and all sorts of small gems were sprinkled from its eyes. When it recited a poem, different kinds of gems were scattered from its nose. His Majesty gathered all his officials, officers, vassal kings and numerous other subjects and ordered them to each bring a chicken and golden trays to present the chickens on. When they were all assembled, His Majesty departed, accompanied by his subjects; the train looked like a swarm of bees. They traveled on without a rest; from one plain to another and from one forest to another, they went on without stopping.

Suddenly, they arrived at a pavilion. All the people stopped there to take a short rest. Royal King Midday told his servant Selamat, "Get some water immediately, I want to eat!" Selamat went to the well. When he saw a shining light coming out of the well, he went nearer and saw how the light became more and more intense. It looked exactly like the rays of the sun. He became scared and started to tremble, so he ran back to the pavilion. As they saw Selamat running in their direction, the people became frightened and His Majesty spoke, "Why are you running like this?" Respectfully, Selamat replied *46b*, "Oh Your Highness, Ruler of the World, I have never seen something like this before, Your Highness; there was a light coming out of the well, a beautiful radiating light!" The king spoke, "Oh all my officials, go and look whether it is as he says and if that is not

the case, then let him be punished severely!” The officials took off to the well, trying to outrun each other, and when they saw the well and its shining light, they went back to inform their king, and spoke, while paying homage, “Oh Your Highness, it is indeed as Selamat says, exactly as he says, Oh Your Highness!”

When the king heard what the officials and the officers said, he got up and took off together with all his subjects. Nobody stayed behind. They went to the well together and saw how an intense light emerged from it. The king was stupefied witnessing the power of God, may He be exalted, and spoke, “Oh all you Lords, whoever it is amongst you who is able to go down into that well and ascertain whether there is a ghost or a devil, or whatever it is down there, tell me what it is! The person who manages to do so, will be made royal heir to the throne of the state of Twin Mangoes by me, as I already have turned into an old man who just wishes to perform his obligatory prayers five times a day.”

After His Majesty had spoken, nobody said anything or responded to his words; they just stood silent with their heads bowed. When His Majesty saw that not even one of his subjects reacted and that they were shaking with fear, he spoke to the servant Selamat, “Oh my son, are you prepared to die for my sake? If so, I order you to go down the well to see if there is a ghost or a devil in it! Now, go and have a look! *47a* If you die, I will perform my duties towards you according to custom and if you come back alive, I will make you Maharaja Lela of the state of Twin Mangoes and nobody will thwart you in any way!” Bowing his head towards the ground, Selamat replied, “Oh Your Highness, this humble servant lives only by the grace of God, may He be exalted, and by Your Highness’ care. Your Highness’ benevolence cannot be compensated for; only God, may He be exalted, knows best how to reward you! Now, Your Highness, tell me what to do and I will carry out your orders as long as there is still some life left in this humble servant’s body! If I live, let all the people spread the name of this servant Selamat, so that your deeds will not be in vain!”

Next, His Majesty gave orders to look for the longest pieces of rattan in the forest. The people found lots of it and the pieces were tied together. The rope of the bucket, a hundred and twenty spans of outstretched arms long, was tied to the long piece of rattan, which was another one hundred and twenty spans, so that the people could hold the rope to let Selamat down and to bring him up again.

After this, His Majesty spoke to all the officials, officers and other subjects, “From now on, Selamat will be no longer called thus, but he will have the title of Maharaja Lela. Let us treat him as a Maharaja Lela!” Everyone paid homage and expressed their gratitude towards His Majesty. The king then took a set of golden clothes and gave it to the Maharaja Lela, saying, “Oh my son, wear these clothes as your shroud!” Paying his respects, the Maharaja Lela replied, “Oh Your Highness, I ask Your Excellency’s pardon; if Your Highness wants to *47b* bestow a gift on this humble servant, I want to beg you for your own sarong. If I die, then it will be in Your Highness’ sarong.” His Majesty

immediately took off his clothes and spoke, with tears in his eyes, “Oh my son, here are my clothes!” The Maharaja Lela put the clothes on at once and he burst into tears too. His Majesty’s sword was drawn and he also wore His Majesty’s creese. He paid his respects to His Majesty and to all the vassal kings and officials, saying, “Oh you Lords, when I have arrived at the bottom of the well and I pull the rope, you must pull me up immediately without hesitating!”

After he had said this, the Maharaja Lela sat down on the beam and he was let down. The vassal kings and all other subjects cried as the Maharaja Lela was let down into the deep well, because they thought that he would die for sure. The rope was let out slowly and about half an hour later, there was only twenty spans of rope left. The lower he went, the more light there was and one moment later, he could see a person sitting on a golden throne, brilliantly shining. The Maharaja Lela asked, “Oh devil or ghost, who are you?” Bahram Syah answered, “Oh you who came here, I am neither ghost, nor devil; I am a human being adhering to the Islamic faith. My brothers are Ghaisyah and Aisyah and my name is Bahram Syah; I am a son of the king of Southern Plains.” The Maharaja Lela replied, “Oh my brother Bahram Syah, come and sit here on this piece of wood immediately; sit down with me and brace yourself!” Bahram Syah sat down on the *48a* beam next to the Maharaja Lela. The Maharaja Lela gave the rope a swing so that the upper end of the rope started to move. At this sign, the people began pulling the rope joyfully, accompanied by shouts and cries that sounded like thunder.

The next moment, the Maharaja Lela together with Bahram Syah appeared from the well and Royal King Midday and the vassal kings and officials were amazed and stupefied as they looked at the brightly shining face of Bahram Syah. Bahram Syah paid his respects and His Majesty immediately welcomed and kissed Bahram Syah, while he spoke, “Oh my son, what has happened to you? Who could it be that behaved this treacherous towards my son? Tell me and I will make them pay for sure!” All the people gathered to look at Bahram Syah’s appearance and His Majesty spoke, “Let us all go to the big audience hall; there we will discuss it and make a decision!” So everybody came together at the audience hall and His Majesty spoke, “Oh my Lords, I will not go now to the state Soutern Plains to meet with Sultan Maharaja the Great! If God, may He be exalted, lets me live long enough, I will meet with His Majesty at a later date, as I want to take my son Bahram Syah home with me first! I have no offspring of my own and thus it is Bahram Syah who will be my son in this world and in the Hereafter! Know, all you Lords, that he is the one who will be heir to the throne of the state of Twin Mangoes, God willing, as I am already aged!” The offials and officers paid homage, saying, “Have mercy, Your Highness, whatever Your Highness says, we will submit to it!”

After the deliberations, they escorted Bahram Syah as he went back to his place. They then took off and traveled on without a rest. When they had traveled for a while, about seven days or so, they arrived at *48b* the state of Twin Mangoes. Three days later, preparations were made to install King Bahram Syah as the heir to the throne of the state of

Twin Mangoes, to introduce him as such to his subjects, and to install the servant Selamat as the Maharaja Lela. Selamat thus became a brother to Bahram Syah. After the state's officials and officers had gathered to install the crown prince and to confer the title of His Highness Raja Muda on him, his reign was steady, fair and beneficial to the highest degree. When there was a violation of the religious law of Islam, the case was judged in accordance with the laws of the Book of God, and when there was a violation of the customary law, the case was judged in accordance with the local laws of former times. It was all extremely fair. This was how Bahram Syah reigned in the state of Twin Mangoes. The officials praised Bahram Syah, as he was fair and generous.

Some time later, Royal King Middyay fell seriously ill and after he had been ill for seven days, he returned to the Mercy of God, may He be exalted. Both his sons, His Highness the viceroy and his brother the Maharaja Lela, cried and, after a while, they started their religious meals over several days. The meals were innumerable and went on without a pause, during the early morning and the late afternoon, and during the evening and the biggest part of the day, while the poor and the needy continuously recited the *Qur'an*. This is what His Highness Raja Muda and his brother the Maharaja Lela did. The state's inhabitants said, "How is it possible that His Highness Raja Muda organizes all these meals; they are beyond any description! If he continues like this, he will definitely finish all the possessions that have been left behind by Royal King Middyay!" *49a* His Highness Raja Muda spoke, "Oh my Lords, you must know that it is nothing, as the valuable goods that we have used to hold these meals are not the goods that we have acquired ourselves, but the goods of our father and mother! Now let us together finish these goods in a way that is as beneficial as possible!" Now the Maharaja Lela spoke, "Whatever Bahram Syah does, good or bad, it will not be disputed!"

Seven days later, by the decree of God, their mother passed away and returned to the Mercy of God, may He be exalted. Both His Highness Raja Muda and the Maharaja Lela cried and arranged for the same facilities as they had done for their father. By the time the special commemoration meal had begun, the number of goods that was given to the poor and needy as alms had multiplied. They gave away all the gold and the silver and sold all the water buffaloes and goats; the money they got for the water buffaloes and the goats they gave away as alms. After this, they set free all their male and female slaves. The slaves with an evil disposition were sold and this money was given away too. There was nothing left, everything was gone; the only thing left in the palace was His Highness Raja Muda, his brother the Maharaja Lela and a magic all-white fighting rooster that crowed for hours on end. The Raja Muda and the Maharaja Lela were now like the people from the lowest classes: they were poor, had lost both parents and, in the end, were less and less loved by their subjects. But still, if there was an affair that concerned the state's policy, it was the Raja Muda who had the last word. They became destitute and were no longer able to obtain food. Day after day, month after month, *49b* their troubles grew worse.

After a while, Bahram Syah said, "Oh my younger brother the Maharaja Lela, go to

the market where all the people gather and take the white fighting rooster with you! Sell it for whatever they offer to pay for it and use one half of the money to buy rice and the other half to buy fish, tamarind, salt, betel leaves and areca nuts. Make sure that you don't forget to buy something, so we can have another meal in commemoration of our deceased parents." The Maharaja Lela immediately took the white fighting rooster with him to the busy market.

Having arrived at the market, he met a man named Turani who sold all kinds of spices and the Maharaja Lela asked, "Oh Turani, would you like to buy this rooster for two *kupang*?" Turani replied, "I don't have any money on me this moment, but if you want to trade it for these spices, then I will cut the price somewhat; as long as I get my investments back, it is all right." The Maharaja Lela answered, "Oh Turani, if that's what you want, then it is all right with me!" So the rooster was sold by the Maharaja Lela to Turani who took the money home.

While the Maharaja Lela was away at the market to sell the rooster, Bahram Syah lay down and fell asleep. In his dream his father Royal King Middy appeared to him and spoke, "Oh my son Bahram Syah, why did you sell the white fighting rooster, do you want to bring disaster upon yourself? You have to know that in the cloaca of the rooster, a ring is hidden. The ring is the abode of the king of the Islamic ghosts and possesses great supernatural power; its powers are multifarious and so are the colours it displays. As for its size, it has the same size as an ordinary ring, no bigger, no smaller. Whenever you desire something, whatever it is, just take the ring and some incense, and concentrate your thoughts on that which you desire and you will receive it immediately."

When Bahram Syah's dream was finished, he woke up and *soa* looked into the yard. He saw the Maharaja Lela returning from the market, carrying all the groceries, and said to him, "Oh younger brother, have you already sold our rooster?" The Maharaja Lela answered, "Yes, I have already sold it." Bahram Syah then spoke, "Ask for it back! And if it is dead, then bring its carcass here!"

And so the Maharaja Lela went running back to the market. There he found the rooster already killed by Turani, who was now busy plucking it. The Maharaja Lela said, "Oh Turani, give me back my rooster!" Turani replied, "Why should I do that? I want to eat the rooster that you want me to give back. We traded it legally, and now I don't want to give it back anymore!" They started to quarrel and accused each other and, in the end, began to fight. During the struggle, the rooster was snatched from Turani's hands by the Maharaja Lela, who then threw the groceries he had carried on his back in front of Turani and spoke, "Here, take your belongings, oh Turani, you damned wretch!" After this, he went home taking the rooster with him.

When he arrived and entered the house, Bahram Syah spoke, "Oh younger brother, prepare the rooster and make some *gulai*, so that we can have a meal in commemoration of our deceased parents right now!" The Maharaja Lela took his knife and took out the rooster's intestines. When he had washed the meat, he took the cloaca and started to cut

it in two. The knife's blade produced a crunching sound as if it was scratching a gemstone. The Maharaja Lela thought to himself, "Could there be a stone in this rooster?" He inspected the rooster's cloaca and found a multicoloured ring. He turned it over several times on the palm of his hand and then Bahram Syah said, "Oh younger brother, what is that?" The Maharaja Lela *sob* replied, "I don't know." Bahram Syah said, "Let me have a look at it!" The Maharaja Lela showed the ring to Bahram Syah, who immediately grabbed it while he spoke, "Oh younger brother, this is probably just a hard piece of chicken poop." He pretended to throw it away, while he said, "What is the use of this piece of filth?" After this, he put the ring away safely in his waistcloth.

After a while, Bahram Syah spoke, "Oh younger brother, now that our parents have passed away, let us give away everything that still is of any value. Even those things that are nearly worthless, we have to give out as alms to the poor. If we need something, we will have to earn the money for it ourselves!" When the *gulai* was ready, Bahram Syah invited a religious teacher and organized another commemorative meal.

Some time after this, Bahram Syah spoke, "Oh younger brother, I want to leave; you will succeed me as king. Be fair and reign properly. As for the laws that should be applied after my departure, when somebody commits a crime that should be compensated for with gold, let him go after he has paid with rice, when somebody commits a crime that should be compensated for with rice, let him go after he has paid with betel, and when somebody commits a crime that should be compensated for with betel, then let him go after he has paid with words. In this way, your reign will be prosperous!" The Maharaja Lela replied, "Oh Your Highness, but you haven't changed this life for the life in the Hereafter yet!" Bahram Syah replied, "Oh my younger brother, when I became king, I was installed by my father during his life too, so now we do as he did, and we act according to his orders! You will succeed me as king! Tomorrow morning, go and summon all the officials, officers and other subjects!"

The next day, the Maharaja Lela summoned all the headman, *SIJA* officials, officers and other subjects of the state of Twin Mangoes and they gathered to install the Maharaja Lela as the successor of the heir-apparent. After this, they returned to their own places. The following day, Bahram Syah spoke, "Oh my younger brother the Maharaja Lela, don't feel sad about separating from me! Take care of the good reputation of our parents' family, do not leave the palace, and when you see something coming to this place, do not speak a single word to it!"

Night fell and the Maharaja Lela slept soundly. Bahram Syah took a burning piece of wood and incensed the ring of the Islamic ghosts' king. The next instant, the ghostly king appeared and spoke, while paying homage, "Oh my Lord Bahram Syah, what is it that you want? I am trembling with fear!" Bahram Syah replied, "Oh my brother, what I want is that you bring all my father's former possessions back into this palace; make sure that not a single object is lacking; or, better still, bring even more objects than there were before!" That same moment, everything was returned and there were indeed more things

than before in the palace. When, the next day, the Maharaja Lela saw that the possessions were even more in number than before, he felt extremely happy and loved and feared Bahram Syah even more. Bahram Syah took his leave and went off; he traveled on without stopping.

When he had traveled for three days, he arrived at the big pavilion and halted for a moment. After this, he moved on. Some time later, he arrived at the temporary settlement of the farmers; it was rather crowded at that time. He paused for a moment, made a fire and burned incense over the ring *51b* of the Islamic ghosts' king. Instantly, the ghostly king appeared and spoke, "Oh Your Highness, what is it that my Lord wants? I am trembling with fear!" Bahram Syah replied, "Oh my brother, I want you to change my appearance to that of an Arab who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca!" In a wink, his appearance had changed into that of an Arab who just had returned from Mecca; he wore a white cloak and a white turban. He was incredibly handsome and looked very attractive.

He passed the simple huts and every farmer gave him some alms. All the people who gave him alms and who accompanied the *haji* thought to themselves, "This must be the man who knows how to make the bird *Marah Jalin* talk!" They walked on together and entered the capital. The headmen paid their respects and spoke, "Can our Lord make the bird *Marah Jalin* talk?" The *haji* answered, "Just let me give it a try." The headmen accompanied the *haji* to the audience hall and from there the *haji* went to the mosque's yard. The religious men and scholars greeted him and asked, "Oh *Maulana*, can our Lord make the bird *Marah Jalin* talk?" The Arab *haji* replied, "Just let me try it; what can be wrong with that! Where is the bird at this moment?"

Sultan Maharaja the Great heard that the Arab *haji* had arrived, as everybody was yelling and shouting with joy. That moment, the Arab *haji* approached the yard of the audience hall, where Sultan Maharaja the Great was being waited upon by the officials and officers. *52a* Seeing the Arab *haji*, the bird *Marah Jalin* craned its neck, shook out its feathers and wagged its tail. At the same moment, Princess Goddess in Bondage loosened her hair, stretched her fingers and looked to her left and to her right and, after that, straight ahead of her and behind her, as if she wanted to say something.¹ As for Ghaisyah and Aisyah, they were both standing in the audience hall, being waited upon by the vassal kings, officials and officers.

It was late in the afternoon when the Arab *haji* said, "Oh Your Highness, we cannot have this conversation yet; we will have a look at the bird tomorrow, as I want to pray right now!" He went back to the farmers' settlement. All the inhabitants of the capital started to make a commotion as they saw the Arab *haji* depart. Night fell and after a while, when day had broken, Bahram Syah made a fire and burned incense over the ring of the ghosts' king. At that same moment, the ghostly king appeared, "Oh Your Highness, what is it that

¹ The author or copyist erroneously mentions Princess Goddess in Bondage here. The name of the princess who owned the wonder bird is Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower.

Your Highness wants?” Bahram Syah replied, “Oh my brother, what I want is that you give me back my own appearance!” After he had regained his own appearance, he walked along the settlement road. When the inhabitants saw that Bahram Syah had arrived, they flocked to pay homage and bent their heads towards the ground. They all accompanied Bahram Syah to the capital, and the whole train looked like a swarm of bees.

The next moment Sultan Maharaja the Great heard that Bahram Syah had arrived, escorted by a great number of people. He got up and left at once, together with the queen, to welcome their child. They were escorted by all the officials *52b* and officers who were trying to outrun each other. Next, Bahram Syah arrived and kneeled in front of his parents to pay them his respects. His Majesty kissed and embraced him. Ghaisyah and Aisyah were standing in the audience hall when they saw Bahram Syah; they were unpleasantly surprised and fled inland and in different directions. Bahram Syah said, “Catch those damned wretches! They may not be human after all!” Ghaisyah and his brother hid at the house of one of the officials; they kept themselves hidden in the attic, which was built in a high place in the house.

Sultan Maharaja the Great sat down together with his son Bahram Syah and he ordered the officials to send a letter to the vassal kings of the Land of Twelve Streams inviting them to come and listen to the speaking bird *Marah* Jalin, as Bahram Syah had returned from the state of Gastu-Gasta.

The following day, the vassal kings arrived, bringing with them their subjects. They paid homage to His Majesty and His Majesty spoke, “Oh my son Bahram Syah, make the bird talk!” Then Bahram Syah told the bird to speak, “Oh my clever, expert, prudent and wise bird, speak and tell stories just like you did in the presence of His Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent, Princess Apalu Apala and Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower in the state of Gastu Gasta!” The bird *Marah* Jalin started to talk in Malay and at that same moment, gold and silver were scattered from its beak, and the wives of the vassal kings struggled with each other for the gold and the silver. Then the bird began to tell stories in the *53a* Arabic language and the bird’s eyes sprinkled diamonds, small gems, and all sorts of precious stones. The female courtiers fought over the riches. Then the bird recited eulogies and poems and all sorts of small gems were scattered from its nose, and the merchants struggled with each other to get hold of them. After this, it recited short four-line poems and verses in every imaginable language and all kinds of different aromatic substances emerged from the follicles of its feathers, ranging from amber and musk to saffron and spikenard. The ladies-in-waiting and governesses struggled with each other over these aromatic substances.

The next moment, Princess Goddess in Bondage appeared from the palace and kneeled in front of Bahram Syah to pay her respects. She spoke, “My Lord has arrived!” Bahram Syah told His Highness Sultan Maharaja the Great about the how he had become separated from his brothers and how he had ransomed them, and how, later on, he was pushed into the the well by his brothers Ghaisyah and Aisyah. He told his father and the

vassal kings everything. The vassal kings were flabbergasted. It is told that they were in the royal presence in the audience hall for a month, listening to the storytelling of Bahram Syah; there were people who felt happy about it and there were others who felt sad about it and all those who listened either laughed or cried.

After seven days of feasting, His Majesty spoke to the officials, “Oh officials, what is our verdict in regard to Ghaisyah and Aisyah? Please make the decision that they are not to be killed by Bahram Syah! I am convinced that *53b* they will be safe if you all look after them!” Paying their respects, the vassal kings replied, “You are right. Whatever Your Highness tells us to do, we will obey!” The vassal kings went to see Bahram Syah at the pleasure grounds and they, together with the officials, paid homage to him and spoke, “Oh our youngest Lord, we are here together by order of your father to ask you for a favour concerning Ghaisyah and Aisyah. This congregation begs you to let them come back here!” After Bahram Syah had heard what the officials had said, he spoke, “Oh you older officials, don’t you worry! If I follow the dictates of my heart in regard to those brothers of mine, I will not deign to look at them, as their behaviour has been improper indeed! Now please go back and say to my parents and the other Lords, ‘How can I oppose the wishes of all you Lords!’ Apart from this, I have a request to my parents and the officials and vassal kings. As for the kings who are vassals of His Royal Highness, my father, in the Land of Twelve Streams, let each of them bring two water buffaloes and let my parents provide sufficient amounts of rice!” The kings and the officials replied, “Oh Your Highness, we will take care of it!” Next, they went back, each to their state.

Seven days later, they gathered to wait upon His Highness Sultan Maharaja the Great. When everything was ready, the vassal kings and officials paid homage to Bahram Syah and said, “Oh Your Highness, we have done *54a* as Your Highness ordered, everything is ready. What does Your Highness wants us to do next?” Bahram Syah replied, “If that is the case, go and look for my two brothers now! When they have arrived here, I will give a verdict.”

The prime minister departed and went to look for Ghaisyah and Aisyah. He arrived at their hiding place and showed them the the royal order stating that he came to invite them to come home, as His Highness and the headmen were waiting for them there. Ghaisyah and Aisyah looked sullen and kept silent and the prime minister said, “Oh my Lords, do not be afraid of your youngest brother, as we, together with His Lordship and the vassal kings, have already decided to forgive you. We have in fact promised to do so. Now please do not offer any resistance and come with me, so that you will stay unharmed.” Ghaisyah and Aisyah replied, “In that case, we will both join you to wait upon His Royal Highness, our father, and our youngest brother Bahram Syah, but do not move from our sides, whether in good or in bad times. You have to stay with us in the presence of Our Lord.” The prime minister spoke, “Oh my Lords, now put your faith in God, may He be praised and be exalted! Before the youngest Lord can kill you two, he will be killed by the officials!” After this they took off, accompanied by the prime minister.

Some time later, they arrived at their father's place and paid their respects to him. Their mother rose, took the hands of her three sons Ghaisyah, Aisyah, and Bahram Syah, *54b* shook hands with them and amused herself with them while feasting. Ghaisyah and Aisyah bowed their head; they were not able to look Bahram Syah straight in the eye. They did not say a single word; it was only Bahram Syah who spoke with his father and the officials. The officials paid homage and spoke, "Oh our youngest Lord, that which you ordered us to get, is ready." Bahram Syah replied, "Oh my father and officials, let us now start feasting for two times seven days, twenty-four hours a day! As for my plans for my youngest brother, let us install him as heir to the throne of His Royal Highness, our father. His Royal Highness is already of age and should perform his obligatory prayers five times a day and live in the mosque. Let us also marry my youngest brother to Princess Goddess in Bondage! That is the name of the princess, so that all you who are gathered here in the audience hall know it! For my oldest brother, I have in mind Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower. She is the jewel of the state of Gastu Gasta and the seventy-seven villages that are reigned by her; my token of betrothal is already in her hand. We have an agreement that I will marry her in seven years' time. Now six years have passed and there is just one year left. The reason that I really want to marry my youngest brother to Princess Goddess in Bondage is that I have seen how his heart longed for her. When we traveled together, I had to witness his passionate love for her and I suffered severely because of it. What can I do, it has the approval of God, may He be exalted! *55a* I marry my oldest brother to Princess Shadow of Iskandar, daughter of the king of Bay of Dew, since I have noticed that she is fairly noble. Summon them now and let us marry them here in my parent's palace without any further delay!"

However, His Highness the Sultan was not very keen on marrying Aisyah to Princess Goddess in Bondage, since he had heard that she was of a very bad disposition. Bahram Syah knew what was on his father's mind and spoke, "Oh my father, if you marry my youngest brother to another princess, the marriage will not last. His future consort must be Princess Goddess in Bondage, for it is their paths that have crossed!" After this statement was made, they began the festivities, which lasted for fourteen days and fourteen nights. Princess Goddess in Bondage was married to Aisyah and Princess Shadow of Iskandar was married to Ghaisyah.

Three days after the festivities had ended, Bahram Syah spoke, "Oh my two older brothers, from now on, whatever customary activity it is that you conduct, if you do not have a proper horse and tack, do not depart! Furthermore, if there is no golden mattress, do not sleep or lie down, my older brothers, however drowsy you might be! And if there are no proper dishes together with everything that should accompany them, then do not eat, however hungry you might be! You should be mindful of these rules of conduct wherever you are, because all the people who are gathered here will see and hear of *55b* everything you do. They will remember the fair as well as the cruel! And although we are full brothers with the same father and mother, I will torture you as if you were a

stranger to me; this is the reason you two should take care!” When Bahram Syah had finished his speech, he spoke, “Oh all officials in the Land of Twelve Streams, you should know that from now on, you should not fight! If you try to settle a conflict by fighting, all the gold will be wasted and the inhabitants of the state will flee. If you, my oldest and my youngest brother, have an argument with the officials in the future, then ask His Royal Highness, our father, for a decree of perfect benefit. Take action together against whoever it is amongst you that does not want to accept the decree of His Royal Highness, our father, and against any person who will not adhere to the customary law. One day I will come back and you will witness the power of God, may He be exalted! I swear that I will change this state into water and destroy it together with everything that belongs to it! Strength lies neither in stone and iron, nor in a broad moat and weapons, but it is in consensus that strength is to be found!” When they heard Bahram Syah’s words, they trembled with fear and started to live according to his rules.

Some time later, Bahram Syah said to his parents and the headmen, “Please, let the officials fetch about three hundred *sukat* of husked rice and let my father and mother find me three water buffaloes. Get it ready within seven days and give orders to prepare the rice and the water buffaloes. Pile the food up into three piles of equal height and place them in the middle of the plain *ṣṭa*, because within seven days I want to go back to the state of Gastu Gasta. Thus, my father, mother and officials, get ready and go to the middle of the plain, and take the rice and the water buffaloes with you!”

After this, Bahram Syah immediately ordered the prime minister to have the following message made public, in the capital as well as outside the capital, “Oh my Lords who have gathered, the order of our youngest Lord reads as follows: ‘Whatever it is that you may see tomorrow, do not tremble with fear and do not talk, just keep silent, men as well as women! Do not let the young children leave their mothers’ sling!’” The next day, the rice and the water buffaloes were ready.

Sultan Maharaja the Great took off escorted by the officials, officers and his sons; they were all crying. One moment later, Bahram Syah set the tip of the garuda’s feather on fire and the small flame started to smoke. That same moment, the adult garuda flew off, looking for her two children, while her two children also flew up in search of their mother. After they had searched for a while, the three of them met and the mother said, “Oh my two children, what could be wrong with your brother? He has summoned me.” Her two children replied, “He summoned us too.” They flew off together as fast as lightning; the noise produced by their wings sounded like thunder.

After they had flown for a while, they arrived above the centre of the plain. The clouds were no longer visible and there was no sunshine, because the wings of the three garudas screened the sun. There was general turmoil, as the people *ṣṭb* believed night had fallen. The next moment, the adult garuda flew downwards headfirst, with its wings pressed against its body, and all the people fell to the ground, face down, covering their ears to protect them from the noise of the garuda’s wings. The wings produced a droning sound,

as if a triton shell was being blown, and the trees snapped and fell down to the ground. The adult garuda cried, “Oh my son Bahram Syah, where are you?” Bahram Syah answered, “Oh my mother, I am here!” The three garudas alighted near the piles of cooked rice and *gulai* and Bahram Syah spoke, “Oh my mother, brother and sister, you must know that now you are in the state of my parents. Protect it, mother, now and in the future!” At that moment, many young children were caught with fear as they saw the garudas’ appearances and heard the noise of their wings. Bahram Syah spoke, “Oh my mother, the reason I contacted my younger siblings, is that I want you to bring me back to the state of Gastu Gasta! But drink and eat something first, all of you!” The garudas each finished one pile of food. “I have made an agreement with His Highness Mara Inda Sultan the Magnificent, and I have only one year left, so please bring me over to his state!” He continued, “Brace yourself! I want to get on your back.” The young male garuda crouched down and Bahram Syah jumped on his back. Next, the three of them flew off. The earth started to tremble and crack and the people became more and more frightened. The garudas flew upwards for a while and then level. After a while, they flew downwards and one moment later, they *57a* reached the big tree that carried their nest. They perched on the tree and the tree began to shake and twist. Bahram Syah dismounted and stepped into the garudas’ nest, and the adult garuda spoke, “Stay here, my children, I will go and look for something to eat!” Bahram Syah replied, “That is fine with me, but please, eat something yourself too when you find something to eat!” The garuda replied, “All right, in three days we will see you off!” She then flew off in search for her food. When she had finished eating, she returned to her nest.

Three days later, the young male garuda said, “Oh my older brother, please get on my back immediately!” Bahram Syah jumped on the garuda’s back and the three garudas took off, flying upwards through the sky. At that moment, there were some light winds and, after a while, they arrived above the Sea of Fire. The Sea of Fire was calm this time; it did not even smoke or boil and its heat had decreased. The next instant, they had already passed the Sea of Fire and, for a moment, they flew around playfully. Then they looked down and searched for the vast plain where Bahram Syah had welcomed them before. And just like before, they could see the plain after they had flown for another while and then they went down headfirst, and alighted in the middle of the plain, outside the capital of Gastu Gasta. Bahram Syah immediately got down. When he had talked with the garudas, the three of them flew off while Bahram Syah stayed behind.

He followed the road leading to one of Gastu Gasta’s villages and after he had walked for a while, he arrived at the village called Flower Garden *57b* where he took a bath. After he had finished bathing, he traveled on.

Grandmother Kebayan had just ordered some female servants to pick flowers. She wanted to make them into bouquets, just like Bahram Syah had done. That day, the prime minister and Grandmother Kebayan missed him dearly; man and wife longed for him and talked over and over again about him, with tears in their eyes. Grandmother Kebayan

said, “How is it possible that our son has not returned yet?” The prime minister replied, “Try to make some bouquets to distract yourself!” The pious woman said, “That’s it! I will make the flowers into bouquets like those my son made for Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower.”

The servants had arrived at the water and wanted to bathe, but then they saw a man in the water who resembled their former master; he looked exactly like him. When Bahram Syah had finished bathing, he yelled, “Whoever wants to bathe, please go ahead now!” When the three female servants saw Bahram Syah’s appearance, they kneeled and bowed their heads to the ground to show reverence for him, and spoke, while shedding tears, “Our Lord is back!” One of the servants went back to tell Grandmother Kebayan. When Grandmother Kebayan saw her running along, she said, “Why are you behaving like this, running like a four-legged animal?” The girl paid her respects and replied, “Our Lord has already returned from the other side of the sea!” Grandmother Kebayan said, “Oh you miserable wretch, what Lord overseas are you talking about?” The girl answered, “Our Lord, the fiancé of Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower!” When Grandmother Kebayan and the old prime minister heard that Bahram Syah had returned, both man and wife ran off to the bank. There they found Bahram Syah. They were overwhelmed with joy and took him back to the house. The whole household was delighted and everybody praised him. They feasted twenty-four hours a day, *58a* with food and drinks and all kinds of fine delicacies.

When Bahram Syah had been in the village Flower Garden for three days, the prime minister and his wife went to see His Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent. After they had arrived, they paid homage and spoke, “Oh Your Highness, our son Bahram Syah has returned. Now, please tell us what we have to do for the marriage of your daughter Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower and our son Bahram Syah!” His Majesty spoke, “Oh prime minister and wife, the one we were waiting for was Bahram Syah. He has arrived now, so make preparations to have it made known to all the state’s inhabitants, and gather all officials and vassal kings!” The prime minister paid his respects and went home. His Majesty commanded that the big gong be struck, that all the instruments be played and that the crier’s gong be sounded, upstream as well as downstream, to tell everyone to assemble in the capital, early the next morning.

The following day, early in the morning, the inhabitants and officials of the Land of Twelve Streams gathered and took off, like a swarm of bees. They were myriad, like ants, and there was neither end, nor limit to the long train of people. They went to wait upon Sultan the Magnificent. After the officials had arrived in the capital, the sixty-five kings, together with their armies, arrived too; the kings paid their respects and spoke, “Oh Your Highness, Ruler of the World, what do you want us to do now, as the seventy-seven kings are here. Please, give us your order!” His Majesty replied, “Oh vassal kings and officials, I want to have festivities for fourteen days and *58b* fourteen nights, because I want to marry my daughter Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower to the prime minister’s son.

I hereby entrust the vassal kings and the headmen with everything that concerns this marriage, good and bad. But if something goes wrong, I will still take full responsibility!" The kings and officials who were under His Majesty's sovereignty, replied, "If that is what Your Highness wants us to do, let us do it!" After this, the vassal kings and officials began to make plans.

There was one vassal king amongst them, who was the smartest and he said, "Our Highness has entrusted us, who are gathered here, with this task. Now let us not argue with each other, but let us be full of awe, as His Highness has entrusted us with this task. It is all right; we will carry out the order! Now let us tell Bahram Syah to make a golden cargo ship. We together will build a second one. Then we will sail to the island of Sinawilan and whoever arrives first will become the husband of Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower."

After the vassal kings had finished their deliberations, they went to wait upon His Majesty and, while paying homage, they said, "Oh Your Highness, the vassal kings and the officials want to ask His Majesty what kind of man His Majesty's son-in-law actually is? What are his roots, what is the name of his family, what is the name of his country, and who are his forefathers?" His Highness Sultan the Magnificent spoke, "My son-in-law is the son of Grandmother Kebayan and the prime minister who live in the village called Flower Garden. *59a* My son-in-law's name is Bahram Syah." The kings and officials replied, "Oh Your Highness, as far as we know, the son of Grandmother Kebayan is called Plain of Intoxication, and has already died. The prime minister has married Grandmother Kebayan only recently. As for this Bahram Syah, he is a poor man. Moreover, he is wandering stranger; he does not belong to a higher class than any of us here. If you go through with your plans, you will stand alone; we will stay out of it. But if Your Highness does go ahead with the marriage, then please think about the justice or injustice of your orders. In spite of this, will you now please give your orders to the prime minister and Grandmother Kebayan. Tell Bahram Syah to make a golden cargo ship and to sail to the island of Sinawilan. Whoever arrives first will become the husband of the princess!" His Majesty was worried and felt sad.

He summoned the prime minister and Grandmother Kebayan and when they had arrived and had paid their respects, His Majesty spoke, "Oh prime minister, what shall we do now? The vassal kings and officials want to order your son Bahram Syah to make a golden cargo ship all by himself, while the kings and officials make another one together. When the ships are ready, they want to sail to the island called Sinawilan and whoever arrives first will be the princess' husband." The prime minister and Grandmother Kebayan became worried and went to see Bahram Syah. With tears in his eyes, the prime minister spoke, "Oh my son, what should we do now?" He told him about the plan of the kings and the headmen and that they wanted to order him to make a ship all by himself, a golden ship, and about their other plans. "You will never make it, my son!" Bahram Syah smiled and *59b* said, "Oh father and mother, so now they have changed their minds; why

on earth do all the kings and headmen want to bring humiliation upon me in the middle of the plain? From where do I get gold enough to build a big ship? Just what kind of plan is this? I will never make it. The kings and officials have all completely lost their minds! If it turns out that I cannot marry, then please stay quiet; it does not matter. But in my opinion, these kings and officials are not aware of the power of God, may He be exalted! Now please, let His Highness and father stay quiet!”

The kings and officials immediately summoned hundreds of shipbuilders to work on the ship. They melted thousands of *bahara* of gold and erected hundreds of bellows. They pawned tens of nephews and nieces to the merchants. After the shipbuilders had worked on the golden ship for exactly three day and three nights, the golden ship in full gear was finished. They agreed to sail to the island of Sinawilan early the next morning. Meanwhile, Bahram Syah did not worry at all. Night fell and everybody was sleeping. Bahram Syah took a piece of burning wood and used it to burn incense over the ring of the ghostly king. That same moment, the king appeared, speaking, “Oh my Lord Bahram Syah, what is it that you want? I am trembling with fear!” Bahram Syah replied, “Oh my brother, make me a golden ship in full gear, and make it a better ship than that of the kings and officials!” So, a golden ship was built on the bank of Flower village; it was many times more beautiful than the ship that was built by the kings and their assistants.

At sunrise, the kings *60a* and officials set sail joyfully, while Bahram Syah was still sleeping. One moment later, Bahram Syah woke up and went outside. His Highness *Marah* Inda and the prime minister went to see how things were working out. When they saw the golden ship, they were totally flabbergasted. Bahram Syah entered the ship and set sail to the island of Sinawilan. A moment later, he arrived at the island and left a letter on its shore. After this, he sailed back. The kings and officials had just arrived and were puzzled when they found Bahram Syah’s letter on the island. They looked sullen, as they felt humiliated. They went back and found Bahram Syah having a good time. The kings went home sadly.

The following day, His Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent spoke, “Oh kings and officials, what do you think now, as you have lost and Bahram Syah has won.” The vassal kings and officials answered, “Oh Your Highness, we are not satisfied yet! Please tell Bahram Syah this time to build a golden rice barn, all by himself. Let him build it right in the middle of the yard of Flower village, and let him fill it with rice. We will build another golden rice barn together, and we will erect it in the middle of our village. Whoever finishes his rice barn first will become the princess’ husband!” His Majesty felt extremely sad and was worried. He went to Grandmother Kebayan and said, “What shall we do now, as the kings and officials order your son Bahram Syah to build a golden rice barn, all by himself, here in the village Flower Garden. *60b* The kings and officials will build another golden rice barn together, and whoever finishes his rice barn first will become the princess’ husband.” When Bahram Syah heard this, he smiled and said, “Oh my mother, I rack my brains, knowing the kings’ and officials’ decision, but where can we

find gold enough for a golden rice barn, when we were not even able to gather enough gold to build a ship with? You, mother, and His Highness have gone to great pains to help me, borrowing here and there, and even selling your nieces and nephews, which is completely against our custom. Where can I get this rice barn from? If I cannot marry, we will just wait a while. Now, please let His Highness and mother stay quiet!”

The kings and officials were busy searching for gold; half of them sold their slaves and pawned their nieces and nephews to rich merchants downstream. They summoned hundreds of goldsmiths. Half of them worked on the rice barn, while the other half searched for rice to fill the barn with. In the meantime, Bahram Syah did not worry at all; instead, he kept playing chess in one of the pavilions. Night fell and everybody was sleeping. Bahram Syah took a piece of burning wood and burned incense over the ring of the ghostly king. The king appeared at once and spoke, “Oh my Lord Bahram Syah, what is it that my Lord Bahram Syah wants? I am trembling with fear!” Bahram Syah replied, “Oh my brother, build a golden rice barn complete with accessories, here, in the middle of this yard, and make it many times more beautiful than the rice barn of the kings and officials, which is filled with rice! Fill my rice barn with all sorts of diamonds, small gems and with several kinds of precious stones!” In a twinkling of the eye, a golden rice barn *bra* was provided, together with its accessories and its highly unusual content. It was built exactly the way Bahram Syah had in mind. The period of three days that was agreed upon had now passed.

The next day, early in the morning, His Majesty and the prime minister woke up and saw the golden rice barn standing in the yard; it looked splendid. They were delighted and took off running to see the vassal kings and officials. They spoke, “Your rice barn is not even finished yet, while Bahram Syah has everything ready!” The kings and officials tried to outrun each other to see Bahram Syah’s rice barn. From afar, they could see its light shining and their faces looked sullen as they felt embarrassed. They bowed their heads towards the ground and went back home.

After a while, the kings and officials came to wait upon His Majesty and spoke, “Bahram Syah has indeed succeeded in building a golden ship and a golden rice barn, but now we want to ask Bahram Syah to cover with cloth the mountain that is called Soaring Cloud. We, in our turn, will cover up the mountain called Hazy Dew with cloth. Whoever manages to cover the whole mountain will become the princess’ husband.” When His Majesty heard this, he felt worried and said to the prime minister, “What are we to do now? The kings and officials want to order your son Bahram Syah to cover the mountain Soaring Cloud all by himself, while they together will cover *rb* the mountain Hazy Dew. Whoever it is that manages to veil the mountain with cloth, he will marry the princess.” When Bahram Syah heard this, he smiled. “Oh my mother, what kind of decision is this? These kings and officials are talking like old men now! It is you, Your Highness and my father and mother, who I fear and respect, but these seventy-seven kings and their officials are just being unfair!”

Night and day, the seventy-seven officials visited people to ask for their cloth and, in the end, they managed to multiply their stock. Half the kings went downstream to see the rich merchants to borrow all their good clothes, while half the officials went to visit the rich merchants, bringing their slaves along. They pawned hundreds of their nephews and nieces for cloth to cover the mountain Hazy Dew with. As for Bahram Syah, he sat around and strolled through the gardens, picking all kinds of flowers and grapes, pomegranates and raisins. After a while, night fell and everybody slept. Bahram Syah took piece of smouldering wood and burned incense over the ring of the ghostly king. In a wink, the king appeared and spoke, "Oh my Lord, what is it that you want? I am trembling with fear." Bahram Syah replied, "Oh my brother, I want to cover the mountain called Soaring Cloud with cloth, early tomorrow morning." Then, the ghostly king gave Bahram Syah a piece of cloth that fitted into a single fist, and *62a* said, "Here you have a cloth to cover the mountain called Soaring Cloud with tomorrow, early in the morning!" When the kings and officials have gathered and start to climb the mountain called Hazy Dew, you must immediately start to climb to the top of the mountain that is called Soaring Cloud and tie two ends of the cloth to your waist. After this, cast out the cloth, just like somebody who casts out his net. The cloth will unfold all by itself and will be blown by the wind. If the cloth hangs down or does not unfold completely, then let the wind unfurl it!"

The following day, Bahram Syah climbed to the top of the mountain Soaring Cloud. All the people, including the rich merchants, arrived; they wanted to witness the spectacle of the kings, the headmen and Bahram Syah each covering up a mountain with all these pieces of cloth. The dignitaries departed and there were hundreds of unfurled umbrellas and different kinds of musical instruments. It looked as if the mountain had disappeared beneath the masses. There were so many people that together they surrounded both mountains.

Bahram Syah arrived at the mountain top and halted. His Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent stood at Bahram Syah's right side, while the prime minister stood behind him. Bahram Syah tied the ends of the cloth to his waist like a man who is going to throw out his net. *62b* The cloth unrolled and went up in the air, looking like a palm blossom snake. A gentle breeze started to blow, and the cloth's folds began to disappear. After this, a whirlwind began to rage; it blew to the left, to the right and forwards and backwards, and made the cloth unfold completely. Then the winds increased, coming from the top of the mountain called Wild Camel, and the cloth veiled and covered both the mountain called Soaring Cloud and the mountain called Hazy Dew. The people were no longer visible. They were all covered, as was the capital of Gasta Gastu and even the village called Flower Garden. The cloth could cover the whole state, but Bahram Syah did not untie it from his waist. Thus, half the cloth was still left, not yet unfurled.

The vassal kings, officials and officers shook their heads in amazement and said, "If this is the case, then God does not want us to have Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus

Flower as a spouse!” The kings and officials started an uproar and one of the kings spoke, “I do not want to suffer a single loss, and I do not want to have debts, but all my possessions are gone and all my servants and slaves are sold, only because of the smartness and shrewdness of these officials! I want them to reimburse all my possessions as they were desperate to marry Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower!” The officials replied, “Oh you despotic king, why do you want to humiliate us here in the middle of this plain? We had come to an agreement earlier. And you 63a were the one who was desperate to marry Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower!”

The vassal kings and the officials started to accuse each other and began to quarrel; they ended up in a big fight. Then the rich merchants said, “Oh kings and officials, calm down first, both parties! If we want to come to a profitable agreement, what then is the use of all these long and short stories about people’s debts. Do not worry, just try to make money again! Even if it seems to go slowly, there will be no problem! Amongst these many officials, there is not a single one that uses his brains! Whatever you say, both you kings and officials cherished the wish to marry Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower, if not outwardly, then in your hearts. That is how we, who are gathered here, think about it, while we are trembling with fear for Bahram Syah. And in the future, kings and officials, ask him for whatever goods you want!” After the headmen had heard the words of the rich merchants, they kept silent. In that moment, the kings and officials reproached themselves.

After a while, Bahram Syah’s cloth rolled up by itself and together with Grandmother Kebayan he joyfully went back home to Flower Village. His Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent cheered and spoke while laughing, “Oh kings and officials, I have done as you asked; what do you Lords want now from Bahram Syah?” There was not a single person amongst them that replied to His Majesty’s words, and 63b they each went home feeling ashamed.

Three days later, His Majesty summoned all the kings and officials. They came to wait upon the king, and His Majesty spoke, “Oh officials, what do you, who are gathered here, think of marrying my daughter to this Bahram Syah now? He has given you everything you requested, so what shall we do now?” The kings and officials answered, “Oh Your Highness, we still have one request. Let Bahram Syah build a capital in between Gastu Gasta and Flower Village, with a moat protected by a seven-layered stone wall and with everything else that goes with it. After this, let him construct a huge palace in accordance with local custom. And finally, order him to dig a narrow canal that runs through the middle of the capital and the palace yard, and make him connect the canal with the estuary called Dew on the Teak. If our request is not fulfilled, Bahram Syah will not marry Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower!”

When His Majesty heard what the kings and officials said, he became furious and said, “Oh you Lords, how is it possible that you are treating me as if I am a child! Bahram Syah has already fulfilled thousands of different requests from all of you! Now, if Bahram

Syah manages to fulfill your wish, are you prepared to obey him?” The kings replied respectfully, “We will obey, Your Highness, *64a* whatever he says, as long as we get what we want!” His Majesty spoke, “Swear it, all of you! Or do you want to be destroyed by God, may He be exalted, and all your works to be wasted?” So the kings and officials swore it. After this, His Majesty spoke with the prime minister and Bahram Syah and told them about the requests of the kings and officials; he told Bahram Syah everything. Bahram Syah smiled and said, “Oh Your Highness, how can these kings and officials treat us this way? I will suffer humiliation! First I build a golden boat, second, a rice barn, and third, I covered the mountain together with all the kings, headmen and the state’s rich merchants. Moreover, Your Highness and both my parents have been everywhere to look for gold and silver, have borrowed all the golden clothes, and have been to the market to visit the rich merchants to pawn all the nieces and nephews. If they are not redeemed immediately, they will definitely be sold. And now, I am told to build a village and a palace. What kind of human behaviour is this; I better walk away from here and leave this state, so that I will not have to suffer humiliation all day long!” His Majesty said nothing and felt worried. He then went to sleep.

Night fell and everybody, the prime minister included, was asleep. Bahram Syah took a burning piece of wood and burned incense over the ring of the ghostly king. The next moment, the ghost appeared and spoke respectfully, “Oh Your Highness, what is it that you want from me? I am trembling with fear!” Bahram Syah replied, “Oh my brother, make me the most *64b* beautiful capital, together with the most beautiful palace that has ever been seen by a human being from this world! Let there be servants and guards in accordance with local custom, and take great care to make it all perfect! Make a moat together with a seven-layered stone wall, which is plastered with red lead and has alternating gilded and silver-plated pillars. With regard to the palace, make it from gold studded with all kinds of small gems and make its walls from mirrors studded with sapphires and marble. Build forty-four equipped houses around the palace, and after that, also build seventy-seven small houses for the female servants and the governesses against the palace’s fence.

The next day, His Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent woke up and was startled as he saw that a state complete with a capital was already built; it offered a very attractive sight. It was as far and as near to the capital of Gastu Gasta as it was to Flower Village; the new capital was situated right in between them. Grandmother Kebayan and the prime minister were completely flabbergasted when they saw the incredible beauty of the capital and its palace. It was because of Bahram Syah’s request that night that the capital, the palace and all the houses were immediately built in accordance with his wishes. Everything was ready and nothing lacked; it was complete. His Majesty went to see it together with the prime minister. After this, the seventy-seven vassal kings and their officials also heard about it and took off together to see this new state. They were all astounded. Next, *65a* the news reached the merchants and the dignitaries. They arrived

and when they saw the capital's beauty, they were shocked and felt humiliated. Then, all the other people, the important ones and the commoners, came to see the capital. They too were amazed and flabbergasted as they witnessed the capital's beauty and, at the same time, Bahram Syah's supernatural powers.

After this, Bahram Syah named the capital In Between Good Plains and its palace Work Of The Intoxicated Gods. The canal that ran through the capital was named Washed and Dried Water Buffalo Sleigh and he gave the walled moat the name Water Dragon Encircling The Whole World. Everybody felt great respect for Bahram Syah. The next moment, His Majesty spoke, "Oh vassal kings and officials, what do you Lords think about marrying my daughter off to Bahram Syah now? If there is anything that you want to ask him for, do it now! Let us go together to see him!" The kings replied respectfully, "Hail to thee, Your Highness, there is nothing that we want; our desires have been satisfied completely. Whatever your Lordship orders, these humble slaves will obey!" Bahram Syah spoke, "Oh seventy-seven kings who are under his Lordship's rule, do as you say, and likewise all the officials who are under your rule! Make the necessary preparations in the state of Gastu Gasta and bring them to a good end! As for the captains, merchants and dignitaries, let them live here with me in the capital called In Between Good Plains. I will reign the state together with my mother. As I am a foreign wanderer here, I will join the other wanderers and captains and merchants who once lived *65b* elsewhere, but now have come to foreign ports and are also called wanderers. It is there that I will decide on matters concerning the state!"

They started the festivities for the marriage of Bahram Syah and Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower; they lasted fourteen days and fourteen nights. Every single form of entertainment was represented and, from both sides, different musical instruments sounded loudly, from *rebab*, *kecapi*, *serunai*, *bangsi*, and *serdam* to *momongan*, *telempong*, *ceracap*, *nafiri*, and the *negara negiri*. The umbrellas with the peacock feathers were unfurled, together with the standards, the flags with the sign of the centipede, and the royal banner. Then, green, yellow and red umbrellas of all kinds and forms were unfolded. Numerous water buffaloes and cows were slaughtered, up to several hundred each day. Day and night, there were festive forms of entertainment which went on and on; the young singers did not even sleep! There was not a single person in the capital of Gastu Gasta and in the capital In Between Good Plains that quarrelled. Everybody just loved one another.

On a propitious day, after exactly fourteen days and fourteen nights, Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower was married to Bahram Syah. Some time after the ceremonies, the inhabitants of the state were ruled by Bahram Syah; his investigations and decisions were of perfect benefit and he was fair and generous. The officials, officers, merchants and religious students were very pleased and went to Bahram Syah's state. The land became more and more densely populated. Thus was the situation. Gods knows what is best and what is true.

VIII

67a The story is as follows:

It is told by the storyteller that, after Bahram Syah and Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower had been courting each other for a while, she became pregnant. When she was seven days pregnant, she yearned to eat the meat of a male *pelanduk*, and also of a male *kijang* and *bengkunang*, and a male *rusa* and *napuh* that were carrying a female young. The officers went into the jungle to hunt together with their hunting dogs.

After a while, they found several male *rusa*; they cut them open but they did not find any young inside their bellies. They caught probably hundreds of *pelanduk*. The officers were amazed and said, "How it is possible that we are not able to find what the princess craves?" Then, all the capital's officers continued their hunt, looking for a male *rusa* that was carrying a female young. After they had hunted for some time, they still had not found a male carrying a young in its belly, and thus all the hunters went back home; half of them had perished and half of them had vanished, who knows where to. In the meantime, the princess' craving for *rusa* increased. The people had been hunting for about seven months, and they still had not found a male *rusa* that was carrying a female young.

By the decree of God, may He be exalted, Bahram Syah summoned his officers, as he wanted to depart for a hunt. There was one of his officers, called Turani, who was ordered every night by Bahram Syah to play the *bangsi* and the *serunai*; he was also ordered to sweep the ground under Bahram Syah's house during the day. These were Turani's tasks. Bahram Syah spoke, 67b "Oh head of the guards, let the guards watch every single gate, as I want to go into the jungle to look for a male deer that is carrying a female young. Whoever it is that wants to enter this capital after my departure, do not open the gate! Even if it is His Highness or my father, do not open the gate, because I have seen in the stars that a disaster will strike us in the future. There are difficult times ahead of us!" After this, Bahram Syah took off, accompanied by both officers and commoners. They entered a patch of jungle and left a patch of jungle. They found tens of animals, but they did not come across a carrying male; they only found carrying females. And this happened the whole time. After the people had accompanied His Majesty for about three months, they went home. Bahram Syah kept on hunting, day by day, month by month, and this was the only thing that Bahram Syah pursued while he was in the jungle.

As for Turani now, he kept on sweeping the ground under the house, without a rest. He descended from Islamic ghosts; his grandmother was a kind of spirit, his mother a goddess, and his father a human being. He knew a lot about magic and lived behind the mountain called Wild Camel, in the swamp with the *mahang* trees, at the foot of a big tree with hanging epiphytes. He lived in the cracks in the dry clay and used a whirlpool as his pond.

Night fell and Turani began to play the flute; he did not use his fingers though, and he removed the plug. He blew on the flute's end, so it did not sound very good, and the

princess said, *68a* “Oh Turani, why does the flute sound this awful?” Turani replied, “Oh my Lady, this flute sounds false, because His Majesty keeps its band in his waistband.² If you want to listen to the sound of my flute, then please go inside and look where it is. The band is spotted and as big as an ordinary ring. Now please go and take it out of His Majesty’s waistband!” Turani immediately lit some fires around him and spoke, “O my Lady, get the band, as the fires are already burning!” The princess unfolded Bahram Syah’s waistband and took out the ring of the ghostly king. She spoke, “Oh Turani, this must be your flute’s band!” Turani replied, “Wait a moment, I will unfold my sarong, so that I can catch it! When I have unfolded my sarong, please drop the band!” Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower dropped the ring on Turani’s sarong. When Turani got the ring, he put out the fires and ran off through a hole in the fence.

The next moment, he burned incense over the ring of the ghostly king and the king appeared, saying, “Oh my Lord, I am trembling with fear!” Turani spoke, “Oh my brother, make me a state in the middle of the sea, complete with a capital, a palace, slaves, subjects and weapons. Build a seven-layered wall with big rocks, because I want to be a mighty king! Bring me there right now!” That same moment, *68b* Turani got everything he had wished for; nothing lacked. And so he reigned as a king on the island and there were quite a few people who came to wait upon him; in fact, there were thousands of them and they looked like a swarm of bees. His kingdom was vast and his reign steady. The name of this island state was Siranjang Petinggangan and there was nobody who was greater than Turani, with his vast kingdom and many subjects. Many ships arrived there to trade, because the harbour had just opened. King Turani became an incredibly rich man. There came no end to the people that came to wait upon Turani night and day, early in the morning and late in the afternoon, and they were always having fun.

Now, the guards of Bahram Syah’s capital were in uproar as Turani had taken to his heels. Several officers searched for him, but they could not find him. Everybody kept silent.

By the decree of God, may He be exalted, the story will now be told of Bahram Syah, of when he went on a hunt to search for a carrying male *kijang* or *pelanduk*. The ones he found were not carrying, and he only found female ones that carried a young in their belly. After Bahram Syah had been in the jungle for some time, Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower gave birth to a son. He was extremely handsome and could not be looked upon directly, as his face radiated brilliantly. The royal drum sounded and was heard by Sultan the Magnificent, Grandmother Kebayan and the prime minister, and by all the vassal kings, the headmen and all the other subjects. The lords wanted to pay their respects to the son of Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower. *69a* When they had arrived in the capital they wanted to enter, but they were not given permission to do so by the officers

² Certain types of flutes from West Sumatra have a rotan ring or band. The form of the band with its knot resembles that of a ring set with a gem.

who were on guard. They were dumbfounded. They then asked the men who watched the gates about the little child, saying, "Is it a boy or a girl?" The guards told them everything about the boy's behaviour and character and they were glad to hear the news.

Now it is told that Bahram Syah kept on walking; he never rested while he was in the jungle. Then he saw a huge tree and walked in towards it. By the time he arrived at the tree, night had already fallen. He took cover in between the tree's buttresses and fell asleep. By the decree of God, may He be exalted, he had a dream. In his dream, Sultan Maharaja the Great appeared and spoke, "Oh my son Bahram Syah, why do I see you sleeping all the time? You must know that you will never find a carrying male *pelanduk*, *kijang*, or *rusa*, because only female animals carry young in their bellies! So look for a female carrying a female young! When you have found it, cut open its belly and take the young home with you, oh my son! By the way, your son is already born; he is more handsome than all the other babies. He is incredibly handsome and his behaviour is truly astonishing, oh my son! Your ring of state has been stolen by Turani. He has taken it with him to the middle of the sea, to his island state named Siranjang Petinggangan. He is there thanks to your ring of state. When you are on your way home, do not give your love to human beings, but *ogb* give it to filthy animals, and whatever you tell them to do, they will obey! Later, God, may He be exalted, willing, you will benefit from this! Oh my son Bahram Syah, now get up, day has already broken!" Bahram Syah woke up when the sun was already shining. He looked to his right and to this left, but he saw nothing except for a lone dog. Apparently, the other hunting dogs had already died.

For a while, he continued his hunt. At one particular moment, he came across a female *kijang* carrying a female young. After he got the young out of its belly, he went home, taking the young *kijang* with him. He went from one forest to another forest and from one plain to another plain. He arrived at the plain where the water buffaloes were eating and from there he went straight home. When he had walked for some time, he arrived at the outskirts of the capital, at a resting place. He saw how tens or hundreds of people walked around the capital, watching the gates, so that nobody could get in or out. Bahram Syah yelled out, "Oh guards, open the gate! I want to enter the capital. I have returned from the hunt. I have brought a young *kijang* from the mother's womb with me and I want to take it to my wife Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower, because she really yearns to eat it!" The guards answered, "How can you want to enter the capital? It is forbidden to enter the capital, as our Lord Bahram Syah has not yet returned!" Both sides started to argue as the guards did not *70a* recognize Bahram Syah, because both his appearance and voice had been changed by Turani. It was now Turani who looked like Bahram Syah. Bahram Syah said, "I am Bahram Syah, do you not recognize the son-in-law of His Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent? My mother is Grandmother Kebayan and my father is the prime minister. Do you not know of all I have done for this state? Open the gate! I want to get in!" The guards replied, "Wait a moment!" They informed the princess, saying, "Oh our Lady, what do you want to do? There is a man

who wants to enter the capital.” The princess spoke, “No man or woman is getting in as long as our Lord has not returned from his hunt! Chase him away! Do you not remember Turani; even he has been unfaithful, let alone strangers!”

After that, the guards went outside and spoke, “Oh Lord who is outside the capital, you will not enter before our Lord Bahram Syah has returned from his hunt; this is what the princess tells you from the palace!” Bahram Syah replied, “I am Bahram Syah and Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower is my wife! This is the game I brought with me! I will knock down the door of the capital!” The guards spoke, “Oh thief, get away from here! If people like His Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent and Grandmother Kebayan with the prime minister and the vassal kings, who wanted to see their youngest grandson a while ago, were not allowed to enter, you who have just returned from a hunt will certainly not be allowed to! You must be the spectre Huntsman! You came from the woods, so go back into the woods! You really look *7ob* like a Gulambai. Oh cursed wretch, get away from here!” Both parties were at the point of wanting to kill each other. One half of the guards wanted to hit him, while the other half wanted to punch him.

When Bahram Syah saw this, he turned his face towards to the sky, cried, and walked towards the beach. When he had arrived there, he stopped for a moment and thought to himself, “What will I do? If I summon the garuda, the whole capital, including the palace and its guards, will be finished, as the garuda will seize and eat everything! My son and my wife will be gone too, while nobody has done any wrong. I am the one who is to blame; they are just carrying out their promise. I must be patient, because God, may He be exalted, will definitely help His subject in the future. And in that case, everything will work out for the best.” Bahram Syah walked on along the shore.

After he had walked for about two hours, he saw the path that went inland and followed it for a while. A moment later, he came across a field where people were living temporarily. There, he found a small cottage. Bahram Syah stopped, entered the cottage and lay down. He then sat up and looked into the yard of the cottage. He saw a banana tree; its trunk was wrapped in fine fibers. There was one hand of ripe bananas, but only three of them were left, the others had been eaten by animals. Bahram Syah went outside and took a banana. He went back, sat down on *71a* one of the cottage’s steps and started to eat the banana. After he had finished it, he heard a rustle coming from underneath an old cotton tree. He looked and saw a dog that was so scrawny that it seemed as if he would be blown away by the wind. Bahram Syah called the skinny dog, “Oh dog, come here! I want to ask you what you are doing here?” The skinny dog replied, “Oh my Lord, the reason I am here is because my fellow dogs hate me. They refuse to even look at me! When I go out in search of food, the other dogs watch me and attack me. They bite me and wound my feet and my ears. That is the reason I am skinny, I do not get any food!” The dog was a red colour, like the flowers of a *dadap* tree, and its muzzle was black as ink. Bahram Syah spoke, “Oh skinny dog, do you want to come along with me, even if I do not know where I am going to?” The skinny dog answered, “That seems a thousand times

better to me than staying here!” Bahram Syah immediately took the dog with him and they both followed the road leading to the beach.

After they had walked for one hour, they reached the shore. They saw that the tide was out; the beach was broad and the coral was exposed to the sunlight. Bahram Syah walked onto the reef to look for something to eat for the skinny dog, but he could not find a thing. He went back *71b* to the beach and started to dig in the sand, looking for crabs. After he had found some, he gave them to the skinny dog who ate them. By now, Bahram Syah had taken care of the dog for about two months and the dog had grown fat.

Bahram Syah traveled on without a rest, from one cliff to another and from one bay to another. When he had walked for two hours, he came across a path that led inland. He followed the path and walked on. After having walked for another three hours, he arrived at an inhabited area. He came upon a house and halted in its yard. That moment, the dog started to bark and Bahram Syah said, “Oh dog, why are you barking?” Then Bahram Syah saw an old, rolled up mat lying the middle of the yard. He immediately unrolled the mat and found a skinny cat. Bahram Syah asked, “Oh skinny cat, what are you doing here?” The skinny cat answered, “Oh my Lord, the reason I am hiding in this old mat is that when I come out at night to look for food in the house and catch a big mouse, the cats hear the mouse squeak. Upon hearing this, they all enter the house and mob me; half of them pull at the mouse, while the other half pull at me. So I have a hard time because they keep pulling at me, *72a* and when they have seized the mouse, they devour it together. They let me go when they are busy eating the mouse; I go outside and hide myself in this old mat. This is the reason I am skinny, oh my Lord.” When Bahram Syah heard what the cat had said, he spoke, “Oh skinny cat, do you want to come along with me, even if I do not know where I am going to?” The skinny cat replied, “If it pleases you, it pleases me a thousand times more!” The three of them, Bahram Syah together with the dog and the cat, walked on without a rest and throughout the journey Bahram Syah tried to catch grasshoppers and dragonflies as food for the cat.

After traveling for a while, they came across a swamp with *alang-alang* grass. Bahram Syah stopped for a moment to look for a *buruk* bird. After he had captured one, he gave it to the cat and so the cat became fat. They walked on very quickly, without stopping, from one forest to another forest. A moment later, Bahram Syah found some ears of rice that had probably been lost by someone who had wanted to take rice from the field to the village. He took the rice grains from the ear and kept them in his handkerchief. He thought, “If I am hungry, I can husk the rice and eat it.” Then, he walked on without stopping.

When they had walked for three hours, they came upon a house standing near an abandoned field. They halted in the yard. The next instant, Bahram Syah saw how the cat approached an old water buffalo hide, as if it wanted to catch something; its belly was lying flat on the ground and its eyes were wide open, *72b* fixed on the hide. Bahram Syah said, “Oh cat, what do you see? Whatever it is, please do not catch it!” He looked

under the hide and saw a very skinny white mouse; only the tip of its nose was visible. The mouse blinked its eyes a few times when it saw the black cat. Bahram Syah said, “Oh skinny mouse, what are you doing here, and why is your body so feeble? I see only skin and bones; your flesh is gone. What is the reason for this condition of yours?” The skinny mouse answered, “Oh my Lord, it is caused by my own kind, my fellow mice. I live here in this hide and watch the other mice. When they are gone, I leave the hide to look whether there is anything to eat. Three days later, I find a single cob of corn on this abandoned field, which is not very much. Before I can eat even a little bit of corn, the Big Mouse appears; it is many times bigger than the rest of us. It tells my fellow mice to snatch away the cob of corn and together they manage to get it. The Big Mouse captures me and beats me over and over again. After this, it sticks its tail into my nose, so I have difficulty breathing and I start to sneeze. My sufferings are endless and this is the reason my body is thin and my flesh is gone; the only things that are left are skin and bones!” Bahram Syah said, “Oh mouse, do you want to come along with me, *73a* even if I do not know where I am going to?” The skinny mouse answered, “If you want to take me along, I would like that a thousand times more! If I stay here and the Big Mouse and my fellow mice come again on more time to beat me up, I am dead for sure!” Bahram Syah reached out a piece of wood to the mouse and said, “Oh mouse, hang onto this piece of wood so I can carry you!” The mouse took hold of one end of the piece of wood. Bahram Syah offered him some of the rice that was in his handkerchief, saying, “Here, have some rice. Eat it so that you will gain strength!” After this, they traveled on, from one patch of jungle to another patch of jungle and from one river to another river.

After a while, they came across a narrow river. On the bank of the river they saw a man washing meat in a basket. When he was finished, Bahram Syah asked, “Oh my Lord, what are you doing here?” The man answered, “Our village chief wants to organize a commemorative meal for the deceased. Please, come over here so we can go to the village together!” Bahram Syah replied, “Well, if you say so, then let us go!” They went to the village. When they arrived, Bahram Syah entered the house and night fell. The dog, the cat and the mouse each went out to look for food. The dog quickly found some bones and ate them. That night, the learned men of religion recited the *Quran* and the participants of the commemorative meal gave alms.

The next day, after the ceremonial gathering, the four of them, that is Bahram Syah together with the dog, the cat and the mouse, continued their journey. At that time, the three animals were fleshy and *73b* and fat. They were very strong and walked as fast as the wind, without stopping, from one plain to another plain. Then Bahram Syah arrived at a beautiful village. The men and women of this village were wearing clothes made of gold thread. Immediately Bahram Syah asked, “Oh Lords of this village, what are you doing?” The inhabitants of the village answered, “Oh our Lord, today our village chief wants to marry his daughter. Please, come! We can prepare the village chief’s feast together!” Bahram Syah entered the chief’s house; he turned out to be the oldest of all the

youngsters there, and thus knew the most about the youngsters' affairs. After a while, the preparations were finished and Bahram Syah was praised by all those gathered there.

The next day, he walked on again, accompanied by the dog, the cat and the mouse. They went from one plain to another. The mouse no longer had the strength to walk on and the dog said, "Oh my brother the mouse, if you are too weak to walk, ask our master to use his waistband to make a hammock underneath my belly!" Bahram Syah instantly made his waistband into a kind of hammock hanging under the dog's belly. After the hammock was ready, the mouse climbed into the piece of cloth hanging under the dog's belly and they traveled on, without stopping.

When they had traveled for a while, Bahram Syah *74a* came across a banyan tree that was standing in the middle of a vast, flat plain. He saw many people dressed in their official clothes. The officials' children, the children of those who were otherwise employed at the court, together with the children of the highest dignitaries were flying kites and testing their swordsmanship against each other; fighters against fighters. There were numerous people on the plain and they were all amusing themselves. When Bahram Syah arrived there, he asked, "Oh Lords, what is the name of this state and who is the ruler of this capital?" One of them replied, "Oh my Lord, listen! The name of this state is Shaded River and its ruler is His Majesty Encircling the World. This king is loving and affectionate towards wandering strangers and he is exceptionally just and generous." Bahram Syah spoke, "Oh my Lord, I hope that it is possible for you to wait upon His Majesty together with me." The man replied, "That is a very good idea!" Thus Bahram Syah was escorted by the man.

After they had arrived at the palace yard, they went into the palace and paid their respects to His Majesty. His Majesty instantly welcomed Bahram Syah with both hands and festivities were started. When night had fallen and they had drunk and eaten, the king spoke to Bahram Syah, "Please, do not keep traveling; stay here with me, if you like, just in case there might be some affairs of state that need to be handled!" Bahram Syah replied, "Yes Your Highness, as God has made Your Highness' heart capable of loving a stranger like me, I humbly accept Your Highness' offer thousands of times!" Thus the king *74b* of this state called Shaded River adopted Bahram Syah. Bahram Syah took care of the youngsters and children of strangers who came from all four corners of the world, and he became well acquainted with the palace ceremonies and the royal attributes. His Majesty Encircling the World grew to love Bahram Syah more and more, because his administration was like that of the state's harbour master, and the king's excellence and welfare kept increasing.

When Bahram Syah had been with this king for about five years, the king thought to himself, "How can I repay Bahram Syah for his support? Let me find him a noble and faithful wife! I know of a daughter of the head of a fishing village at the estuary, near the beach; her name is Princess Kesumba and Rosewater." The following day, the king spoke to Bahram Syah, "Oh my son Bahram Syah, I have something good to tell you! As I am

looking for a wife for you, would you like to call me ‘father’? The girl I really like is the daughter of the head of a fishing village; her name is Princess Kesumba and Rosewater. Later today I will summon the head of the fishing village and his wife!” Bahram Syah said, “As you wish! How can I thwart such an outstanding order?”

The next day, the head of the fishing village traveled upcountry together with his wife and daughter. Four or five people carried fresh fish for His Majesty Encircling the World to eat. The head and his wife arrived at the king’s palace; they all sat down together and ate, drank and feasted. After they had finished eating and drinking, 75a the king spoke, “Oh head of the fishing village, you and your wife must know that I will be brief. We should marry my son Bahram Syah to your daughter named Princess Kesumba and Rosewater now, while we are still alive! What can we do when we are dead?” The head of the fishing village and his wife replied respectfully, “Oh Your Highness, that seems thousandfold right to us! Whatever Your Highness says, we will obey, as there is no one who equals Your Highness’ son as a husband for our daughter!” After they had spoken, they agreed to marry Bahram Syah to Princess Kesumba and Rosewater. The head of the fishing village went downstream, to his home, to provide for the goods that were needed for the marriage. One month later, Bahram Syah and Princess Kesumba and Rosewater were married.

When they had lived together for a while, Princess Kesumba and Rosewater loved her husband very much and the head of the fishing village grew to love his son-in-law more and more too. To distract herself, Princess Kesumba and Rosewater went to the beach to see the fishing boats return home. So, every day, Bahram Syah and the princess passed their time looking at the fishermen. The fishermen offered several kinds of edible fish to Bahram Syah and Princess Kesumba and Rosewater, like *bawal*, *tenggiri*, *kapas-kapas* and *jumpul*. Half of the fishermen brought them in bundles, while the other half brought them in baskets. These were their daily occupations.

One day, after they had enjoyed themselves and had finished eating and drinking, Bahram Syah left home taking with him three packages of rice to give to the dog, 75b the cat and the mouse. He walked along the road leading to the beach. When he had walked for some time, he came across at a huge *ketapang* tree. He sat down beneath the tree and leaned against its trunk. He gave the three packages of rice to the dog, the cat and the mouse, and said, “Eat one package each!” Then he lay down for a while under the tree and started to talk to himself. He was reminded of his fate and the hardship he had had to endure when he had been in trouble in the estuary Dew on the Teak and said, “If only I possessed this ring that I got from the ghostly king, my fate and my hardship would not be like this! Now, Turani has taken it with him to the island where he lives. On a clear day, one can see the clouds above his island.” After this, Bahram Syah saw that the dog, the cat and the mouse had finished eating and he got up and walked home.

Somewhat later that night, the cat said, “Oh my brother cat and brother mouse, did you by any chance hear what our master said earlier this day?” The cat replied, “In that

case, are you willing to sacrifice your life? Do not stay attached to this world; we cannot repay our master's help in an other way than by giving up our lives! The ring does exist, but is not here. It is there, where you can see the clouds. That is Turani's place. What do you think? Let us try to *76a* swim. If it turns out that, after arriving there, the ring is not there, we will just turn back. Do not let our master know of our plan; if he knows, he will not let us go. We will swim during the night, not during the day." After the dog, the cat and the mouse had discussed it, they each went to look for something to eat.

At the end of the day, the three of them assembled and waited for the darkness to come. After night had fallen, they walked to the beach and started swimming. First in line was the dog, behind the dog swam the cat, and behind the cat, the mouse. When they had swum for about two hours, the dog said, "Oh my two brothers, let us swim on our backs, as I am already exhausted!" So they swam backstroke and swam on without stopping. A moment later, they were still swimming, from one piece of driftwood to the other. While swimming, they were assisted by the east wind, which made several small waterfowl land on the cat's and the dog's head. They caught and ate them and gave some to the mouse too. The mouse devoured the waterfowl. As they had some food now, their strength increased.

After swimming for a while, they reached the island named Siranjang Petinggangan, where Turani reigned as a king. Dawn broke and the dog, the cat and the mouse hid themselves in the few bushes that grew along the edge of the beach. Nobody knew of their presence. They deliberated and the dog spoke, "Who of us will go to have a look in the capital?" The mouse replied, "Oh *76b* my brother, in my opinion, of the three of us, it must be the cat, because there is nothing that will stop him; he can go beneath a house, he can enter a house, he can go to the outer chambers of a house, and he is even allowed to enter the inner chambers of a house. The same is true for my brother the dog, but you must first show the people something that proves your virtuousness, so they will be fond of you and like you. Approach them slowly while you wag your tail. Let your tongue hang out of your muzzle and lower your head till it touches the ground. And if somebody strokes you on the head with his foot, lie down immediately as if you are sleeping and roll over on your back. This is how you should behave, then everybody will love you! As for me, where can I go? Everybody hates mice, that has been our lot since the time of my forefathers. We really have a hard time. We are killed without being guilty of something and then they feed our corpses to the cats. Therefore it is better that I hide."

After this discussion, the cat took off to visit Turani's place. The guards did not bother about the animal; they just smiled when they saw the extremely fat cat. The cat entered Turani's palace and when the ladies-in-waiting spotted him, they caught it and put it on their laps. That moment, the ladies-in-waiting were trying to wrestle the cat from one another and *77a* their ecstatic and chaotic cries were heard by Turani, who spoke, "Oh all you ladies-in-waiting, what is it that you are so excited about all day long?" The ladies-in-waiting replied, "Oh Your Highness, there is a black cat that has arrived here; it is black

as steel and without a single white hair. There is no cat as fine as this one!” Turani said, “Bring the cat here, I want to see it!” The ladies-in-waiting brought the cat in and when Turani saw the cat he took it and put it on his lap, saying, “It is true what you said, there is no other cat as fine as this one!” The black colour of the cat’s pelt shone like liquid. Turani said, “Oh ladies-in-waiting, take good care of this cat, because I am very fond of him!” The ladies-in-waiting fed the cat some cooked rice from Turani’s dish, but it refused to eat it; it did not even look at it. Turani said, “Why does this cat not want to eat?” Then Turani took some cooked rice from his own plate and put it on a mat. The cat started to eat and even licked the mat. The cat was never far from Turani’s palace. It slept all day long and kept nuzzling up against the ladies-in-waiting.

After a while, night fell. When it was past eight o’clock in the evening, and everybody in the palace had finished eating and drinking, the white mouse went to Turani’s palace. It walked to and fro and hissed; it then jumped up into the loft and up onto the racks carrying the pumpkins. When the cat heard the mouse tripping and running to and fro and hissing, *77b* it prepared itself to catch the mouse. Turani laughed when he saw the cat completely engrossed in watching the mouse.

A few moments later, Turani wanted to sleep. The cat went to Turani, who took it on his lap. Turani said, “Oh my cat, stay near me!” He then took the ring of the ghostly king from his waistband, put it in his mouth and went to sleep. The cat saw everything Turani did, and this was how Turani usually kept the ring of the ghostly king. That night, Turani slept soundly. After he had slept for a while, dawn broke and he woke up. He took the ring out of his mouth and placed it in his waistband where he kept it. This was what he always did and the black cat observed all Turani’s actions.

The next moment, the dog entered the capital and it behaved exactly as it had been told to by the mouse. Everyone in the capital become fond of the dog and it was allowed to roam through the capital. It went underneath Turani’s palace to look for bones thrown away by the ladies-in-waiting: the bones of ducks, chickens geese or pigeons that Turani did not want to pick clean. The dog did this during the mornings as well as during *78a* the afternoons; he was always busy looking for bones. The dog was completely absorbed in eating and did not pay attention to anything else. It tore off the meat from the bones and smacked its lips. The black cat heard the noise; it went beneath the palace and saw the dog. The cat went to see the dog and they ate bones together beneath Turani’s palace.

While the dog and the cat were eating, the cat said, “Oh my brother the dog, go now! I will follow you later!” After this, the dog walked to the beach. A few moments later, the cat followed the dog. After a while, they arrived at the spot where they had hidden themselves earlier. The mouse was waiting for them and the three began to deliberate. The cat spoke, “Oh my two brothers, what can we do about our master’s ring? It is true that Turani possesses the ring, but it is very difficult to get hold of it as he keeps the ring in his mouth. During the night he keeps it in his mouth, while during the day he keeps it in his waistband; and I have been with him for five nights! Now, my two brothers, try to think

of a ruse!” After the mouse had heard what the cat had said, it spoke, “Oh my brother, I will be brief. If it is our fate that we fail, we fail, and if it is our fate that we succeed, *78b* we succeed. In the past, I have lived through the moments when the Big Mouse stuck its tail into my nose. I suffered immensely because of it. I sneezed and coughed and all kinds of things flew out of my mouth and nose. Now I suggest that I stick my tail into Turani’s nose to make our master’s ring fly out of Turani’s nose. If I make the ring come out, who will catch the ring when it is launched from his nose?” When the cat heard what the mouse had said, it spoke, “Oh my brother, I will catch the ring after it is launched from Turani’s mouth, but who will run off with me after I have caught the ring, as I do not have the strength to run. I will be caught by the guards!” When the dog heard what cat had said, it said, “Oh my brother, I will be the one that runs off with you, do not worry! In case you get the ring, just wait and see, my brother!”

After the three of them had finished the discussion, the mouse spoke, “If this is our plan, it is perfect, but let us first try out everyone’s part!” The dog replied, “Oh mouse, stick your tail in this crab-hole first, as a test. If the crab comes out of its hole, you will get our master’s ring too!” The mouse said, “Very well! Now, get ready you two, so I can try it!” The cat and the dog *79a* got ready and the mouse stuck its tail into the hole of the crab and jumped up. The crab came out and was caught by the cat and the cat, in turn, was caught by the dog who ran off with the cat as fast as the wind. It was as if the cat lost consciousness as it was carried along by the running dog. The mouse felt exhilarated seeing the keenness of the cat and the dog and it said, “Oh my brothers, I am pleased. We can go to Turani’s palace now!” The cat spoke, “Let us go!” It then took off together with the dog; the mouse followed some time later.

The cat and the dog arrived at Turani’s palace. The cat entered, while the dog stayed beneath the palace, picking clean bones. When Turani saw that the cat had entered, he took it on his lap and stroked it. When night had fallen, the courtiers had their meals and the cat ate with them. Then Turani took the ring out of his waistband and put it in his mouth. He took the cat on his lap and fell asleep.

Now the mouse arrived and entered the palace. The cat heard the mouse coming and went to see the mouse. The cat spoke, “Turani is already asleep now.” The dog was waiting beneath the palace. The mouse brushed its tail a few times over a stone that was used for grinding pepper and went to Turani’s bed. The cat was at Turani’s side and stood ready. The mouse drew near and saw that Turani was sleeping soundly. *79b* It then stuck its tail into Turani’s nostrils. Turani started to sneeze and cough and the ring flew out of his mouth. The ring was caught by the cat who ran off with it. The cat jumped down and was waited for by the dog who then ran off with the cat; it ran as fast as lightning.

Turani sneezed continuously; all kinds of things flew out of his mouth and nose and tears welled up in his eyes. The ladies-in-waiting were in uproar and as they could not see the ring, they went searching for it. When they could not find it, Turani spoke, “It is this cat, and nobody else, that has taken the ring!” Dawn broke and he ordered all the officials

and officers to look for the cat. He said, "If you find it, bring it here!" The officers went looking for the cat, while Turani became more and more sad and regretful about having loved this black cat. The mouse hid itself; it could not leave the palace as the guards were doing their rounds. Night fell and the mouse slowly left the palace. It slipped through a crack in the fence and walked on without stopping.

Next is told about the dog and the cat. After having arrived at their hiding place, they waited for the mouse. When, by nighttime, the mouse had still not come, the dog spoke to the cat, "What can we do for our brother the mouse? Who knows, he may have been killed by the guards!" They were worried, but the next moment, the mouse arrived and the three of them *soa* were happy. Next, they said, "When will we go home?" The mouse spoke, "Let us go now, while it is dark, because many of Turani's officers are looking for us!" The mouse told the others everything about Turani. The three of them looked for food and, after that, walked to the sea and started. They swam on without taking a rest. After they had swum for a while, the mouse said, "Oh my brother the cat, grab hold of me! I cannot swim any longer as I am exhausted!" Thus the mouse clung to the cat and they swam on. Now the cat became tired and felt as if it would drown, and it said to the dog, "Oh my brother, I am extremely tired!" The dog replied, "Let me drag you along!" They swam on, while dog held the ring of the ghostly king in its muzzle.

When they were near the coast, the wind rose and the waves became bigger and bigger. The dog was no longer able to swim as he was exhausted from swimming against a headwind. The dog spoke to the cat, "Oh my brother, I think I will die now!" The cat replied, "I will die too! I am exhausted!" The dog disappeared into the waves a few times and water entered its nose. As the dog could no longer breathe, it opened its muzzle wide. A wave washed over the dog and the ring fell into the sea. When a silver bream saw the shining ring, it caught it and swallowed it. The dog said to the cat, "Oh my brother, let go of me; the ring has fallen!" The cat sadly obeyed and said, "What will we do now?" After a while, the three of them reached the coast and they walked up the beach. Together they cried and the mouse spoke, "What more can we do now, *sob* as we have already been trying for seven days and we still have not been able to render our master a service!" The dog replied, "Oh my brother, I do not want to go back home! Just let me run off into the jungle so that I will die!" The cat spoke, "I do not agree with you. What can we do about it? It simply was not our fate to succeed! Let us go back home and offer something to His Majesty!" The mouse said, "What is it that we can offer? What we could have offered was dropped into the sea! How can we get it back?" Sitting on the beach facing each other and feeling exhausted, hungry and thirsty, they cried together.

Next is told of Bahram Syah. He kept waiting for the dog and the cat, but they did not come. At nighttime, he searched every path and every settlement, and went to the middle of the plain, but he did not find them. He thought to himself, "Where could they have gone to? Or maybe the dog, the cat and the mouse are already dead, taken by a tiger, as they have not come home now for seven days!" Bahram Syah was extremely

sad and walked to the beach. After a while, he arrived at the spot where the dog, the cat and the mouse were. Bahram Syah saw them; he saw that they were very feeble and skinny. They were lying asleep with their heads turned to each other. Bahram Syah spoke, "Oh my brothers, where have you been all this time! I see that you are emaciated and weak." The three of them were startled and paid their respects while they cried. They told him everything that they had done when they had tried to recover the ring: about the swimming and about the ring that was dropped. The dog, the cat and the mouse told everything. Bahram Syah's love and compassion for these animals grew stronger and he spoke, "Oh my brothers, *ṣṭa* this is what God has predestined for us, now let us go home. Do not worry about it any longer; if God has predestined that this ring comes back to us, it will come back!" The four of them walked off. When they arrived home, he gave the dog, the cat and the mouse something to eat.

Some time later, the fishermen were fishing. They caught a lot of fish. They cut some of the finest fishes in half and offered them to Princess Kesumba and Rosewater. Bahram Syah looked at them and saw a silver bream that was much bigger than the others. He said to his wife, "Oh Princess, roast this one for me!" Princess Kesumba and Rosewater took the fish, gutted it and threw away the intestines. Then, she discovered something in the intestines that was as hard and big as a pebble; it looked like a ring on which a multicoloured stone was mounted. She said, "Oh my brother, what is this thing in the fish's intestines that is as hard as stone?" Bahram Syah approached immediately, took the ring and looked at it. He felt great joy and said, "Oh Princess, this looks like a pebble from the beach that has been swallowed by the fish." He pretended to throw it outside, but in fact he had already put it in his waistband. He then went to bed.

Some time later, he took leave of his wife and his father-in-law, the head of the fishing village, paid his respects to His Highness Encircling The World and took off accompanied by the cat, the dog and the mouse. He went to a quiet spot and lit a fire. He took out the ring and burned incense over it. The next moment, the ghostly king appeared and paid his respects. He said, "Oh Your Highness, what do you want from me? I am trembling with fear!" Bahram Syah replied, "Oh my brother, wipe out this island together with Turani and *ṣṭb* all his pomp! And give me back my old looks!" The next instant, the island together with everything on it was gone. Bahram Syah traveled on without stopping.

When he had walked for about a month, he reached the outskirts of his state. After he had walked another three hours, he arrived at the capital's gate and ordered it to be opened. He said, "Oh guards, open the gate for me!" The guards recognized Bahram Syah's voice and opened the gate immediately. Thereupon, they paid homage to him. The news was brought to the palace and the princess felt very happy, and so did her son. Bahram Syah entered the capital and went into the palace. Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower paid her respects, as did her son, and Bahram Syah hugged and kissed them. He spoke, "Alas, my son has already grown big! I will never leave you again!" He told Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower about his adventures and she was amazed

and said, “Nobody recognized you when you came here earlier. I asked about you and they said you looked like a Gulambai. That is why they did not let you in!” Bahram Syah said, “That is true. Turani changed my appearance with the help of the ring of the ghostly king.” The princess was astonished. After they finished eating and drinking, night fell and they went to bed.

The next day, His Highness Sultan the Magnificent, Grandmother Kebayan and the prime minister and all the vassal kings received the news that Bahram Syah had returned. His Majesty departed and *82a* the prime minister, the vassal kings, the officers and Grandmother Kebayan accompanied him. When they arrived, Bahram Syah was informed and he went outside to welcome his father, the king. They met and Bahram Syah paid obeisance by bowing towards His Majesty’s feet. His Majesty hugged and kissed him, and so did the prime minister and Grandmother Kebayan. He said, “Oh my son, where have you been all this time? You have grown up already and we were not able to witness it as you did not come home!” Grandmother Kebayan hugged and kissed him again and he shook hands with the vassal kings and the officials. They went into the palace together and sat down each according to his rank. Bahram Syah then told them about when he went hunting, and about Turani and his treason against him. Bahram Syah told them everything, from the beginning to the end. Everybody who was listening was amazed, while half of the audience cried because of Bahram Syah’s manifold ordeals. After this, people served dishes to the council. After they had finished their meal, they chewed betel and rubbed different kinds of aromatic substances onto their skin. They then took their leave and left, each to their own home. His Majesty was very fond his grandson, as was Grandmother Kebayan and the prime minister. But it was his father, Bahram Syah, who loved him the most.

When he grew older, he was entrusted to a specialist to learn how to recite the Quran. After he had mastered the complete Quran, he learned how to recite the other religious works, and when he was finished with this, he was entrusted to another specialist to learn how to fight with weapons and how to ride a horse. The vastness of his knowledge surpassed that of his father’s and with his bearing and inquisitive nature, his good looks and his extreme beauty, he had no equal in that state, as is told *82b* by the storyteller.

When the princess had been pregnant for some time, she delivered a very handsome son in the ninth month of her pregnancy. She felt extremely happy and His Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent and the prime minister together with Grandmother Kebayan and all the vassal kings came to pay their respects to Bahram Syah’s son. They feasted while musical instruments were played; the different kinds of instruments and melodies were those prescribed by the customary law in case of a great king becoming a father. In accordance with the customary law, the child was ceremonially bathed and carried around in a procession on a seven-tiered bathing pavilion made from pure gold. Pearls of all colours and forms hung down from the pavilion. They carried the pavilion in procession around the state of Gastu Gasta. When the circumambulation was finished,

everybody went to their own home. Some time later, the boy was given the name Nadir Syah. Nadir Syah grew bigger and bigger and he became increasingly intelligent. He was entrusted to specialists to learn how to recite the Quran, the other religious books and the commentaries and to learn how to fight with weapons. He had already mastered everything and his father and mother were extremely fond of their son.

After a while, Bahram Syah was reminded of his parents in the state of Southern Plains and shed tears. Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower spoke, "Oh older brother, what is it that you are crying for?" Bahram Syah replied, "Oh younger sister, the reason I am crying is because I long for my parents. I have not seen them in fifteen years! That is why I am crying!" Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower said, "If *83a* that is the case, what are you thinking of now?" Bahram Syah said, "I think of going there together with you and my sons, that is, if you like to see my state." The princess answered, "Oh older brother, you do not even have to ask my parents' permission, just take me with you! Even if it means that I will die, I am still happy to accompany you!" Bahram Syah spoke, "In that case, it is better that we do pay your parents a visit." Together they went outside; the ladies-in-waiting went with them. When they arrived at the capital of Gastu Gasta, they entered the city and went into the palace. His Highness *Marah* Inda Sultan the Magnificent saw his children enter and said to them, "Where are the two of you going to? You two look sad!" Bahram Syah paid homage to His Majesty and so did the princess. His Majesty immediately welcomed them by touching their fingers with both his hands and Bahram Syah spoke, "Oh Your Highness, the reason I came here is to ask for your permission to go back to the state of Southern Plains and to take your daughter with me."

When His Majesty heard his son-in-law's request, he kept silent and thought, "Although I want to stop him, I cannot, because his request is sincere; besides, he is the son of a great king." His Majesty spoke, "Oh my son, your request is understandable, but in my heart I want nobody else but my son to replace me as the reigning king *83b* of the seventy-seven vassal states, as I am already old." While paying his respects, Bahram Syah replied, "What you say is true, Your Highness, but it has been a very long time since I left my parents and that is why I ask your permission to leave." His Majesty spoke, "Oh my son, in that case, do not take your oldest son with you, but leave him here with me so that we can install him as king of this state!" Respectfully, Bahram Syah replied, "If that is your order, how can I defy it? I am just a humble servant to Your Highness." Sultan the Magnificent felt joyous when he heard Bahram Syah's words. He told the herald to give orders to inform the seventy-seven vassal kings and all the officials, officers and commoners.

After some time, the vassal kings, officials, officers and all the commoners arrived; they entered the audience hall and paid obeisance to His Majesty and Bahram Syah by kneeling and bowing their heads towards the ground. In response to this His Majesty spoke, "Oh vassal kings and officials, the reason that I have summoned you is that I am already old and want to hand over the reign of this state to my grandson. From now on, his name is Sultan Mengindra Alam, that is, if you all agree." The vassal kings and officials

replied while paying homage, “Oh Your Highness Ruler of the World, what Your Highness says is true, Your Highness is old indeed, and we all happily accept Your Highness’ order.”

On a propitious day, after the deliberations had ended, several water buffaloes and cows were slaughtered as food for the feasting people, and various kinds of *84a* musical instruments were played. Sultan Mengindra Alam was clothed in full ceremonial dress and they placed the ceremonial crown on top of his head. After this, they carried him around the state of Gastu Gasta in a litter. In accordance with the prescriptions of the customary law regarding the installation of great kings, different kinds of musical instruments were played and the royal drum was beaten. Such were the acts of the people. The vassal kings and officials presented His Majesty with water buffaloes and cows. After His Majesty had been carried around in the procession for seven days and seven nights, he entered the audience hall and sat down on the royal throne. All the vassal kings, officials and officers paid their respects and each of them said, “Long live His Highness Ruler of the World!” After this, people served dishes to the council. When they had finished eating and drinking, they chewed betel and rubbed perfumes onto their bodies. Each of them paid homage and asked Sultan Mengindra Alam to be excused. They then went home, each to their own place.

When Sultan Mengindra Alam had been on the throne for some time, ruling with justice and with generosity towards wandering strangers, religious students and officials and officers, Bahram Syah wrote a letter that he wanted to go home. He asked his parents-in-law for permission to leave. His son Sultan He Who Rules The World came to pay his respects to his parents. He cried and his royal parents embraced and kissed him. They were crying too, as they would be separated from their son. Likewise, his younger brother Nadir Syah paid his respects to his grandmother and he embraced his older brother and took him on his lap, crying as if a corpse *84b* was ready to be buried. That was what happened.

The prime minister and Grandmother Kebayan cried loudly, as they would be parted from Bahram Syah, and so did Princess Apalu Apala. That night, when all the preparations were finished and the rice and the *gulai* that would serve as food for the garudas were ready, Bahram Syah took a piece of burning wood and burnt a small part of the garuda feather. The next instant, the garudas arrived; they had flown as fast as lightning. The noise of their wings sounded like the sound of the Trumpet blown on the Last Day. Their wings completely covered the sun. The adult garuda cried, “Oh my son Bahram Syah, where are you, my son?” Bahram Syah replied, “Oh my mother, I am here!” The garuda alighted in the middle of the plain and Bahram Syah said, “Oh my mother, brother and sister, eat something!” The garudas started to eat, and after they had finished eating the male garuda lowered its body. Bahram Syah said, “My son and all the Lords, stay and rule this state properly!” He then jumped onto the back of the young male garuda together with Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower, his son Nadir Syah, the dog, the cat and

the mouse. They flew through the air fast as lightning. They flew on and on and did not stop.

After a while, they arrived above the Sea of Fire which they had to cross. The male garuda flew in the middle, with the adult garuda underneath him and the young female garuda above him in order to protect Bahram Syah and the princess. The princess felt as if she lost consciousness and both Bahram Syah and her son Nadir Syah *85a* grabbed her hand. At that time, the Sea of Fire had calmed down; it was not boiling and its heat had reduced too. Late in the afternoon, after they had flown for a while, they could see the big tree where the garuda had nested. The garudas alighted on their nest. Bahram Syah and Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower climbed down from the back of the male garuda; their son Nadir Syah descended together with the dog, the cat and the mouse. Together they set foot on the garudas' nest. The adult garuda asked to be excused as she wanted to search for food. She flew off, searched for elephants and deer, swooped down and seized them.

After they had been in the garudas' nest for perhaps three days, Bahram Syah started to make preparations for the journey. After this, he jumped onto the back of the young male garuda who flew off with him, without stopping. By the decree of God, may He be exalted, it was already in the afternoon when they had flown for a while and arrived at the plain of the state called Southern Plains. The garuda alighted in the middle of the plain and said, "Oh my brother Bahram Syah, please dismount!" Bahram Syah, the princess and the others came down. Bahram Syah lit a fire and burned incense over the ring of the ghostly king. The next moment, the ghostly king appeared and said, "Yes my Lord Bahram Syah, what is it that you want?" Bahram Syah replied, "Oh my brother, I ask you to make me a litter and a throne of pure gold, together with all the necessary accessories, like no human being has ever set eyes on before! And get water buffaloes and rice for the garuda to eat!" Within an instant, everything was taken care of and the garuda began to eat. When he was finished, he asked Bahram Syah permission to leave and flew off. Next, the princess got on the litter and Bahram Syah ordered that his father and his brothers be informed.

When His Majesty heard *85b* his son had already arrived together with his daughter-in-law and his grandson, he and the queen went to see them, accompanied by the vassal kings, officials, officers, commoners and all kinds of musical instruments. When they arrived outside the capital, they met each other and Bahram Syah paid his respects to his father and mother, followed by Princess Drifting Beach Hibiscus Flower. His Majesty embraced and kissed his son and Bahram Syah shook hands with both his older brothers. The kings were amazed at Bahram Syah's grandeur and supernatural power. The people accompanied him in a procession when he entered the capital and after this, he went into the palace. When he entered the palace, many instruments were played loudly. Princess Goddess In Bondage invited him to sit on the royal dais, and all the ladies-in-waiting and governesses offered him their services. Bahram Syah told of the miseries during his hunt

and of Turani's treason; he told his royal father everything. Everybody was astounded and half of the audience was crying having heard about Bahram Syah's adventures, about the various good and bad things he had experienced. After this, festivities were started that lasted for fourteen days and fourteen nights. His Majesty enjoyed wining and dining, because he was happy that his daughter-in-law and his grandson had come home. Hundreds of water buffaloes and goats were slaughtered to serve as food for the feasting people.

After the festivities had ended, His Majesty grew very fond of his grandson Nadir Syah. After some time, Nadir Syah was old enough and Sultan Maharaja the Great spoke, "Let us install Nadir Syah as the ruling king *86a* of the State of the Twelve Streams!" The vassal kings said, "Whatever Your Highness says, we will obey!" After this order, the people gathered to install Nadir Syah. Bahram Syah took a piece of smouldering wood, burned incense over the ring of the ghostly king and immediately the ghostly king appeared and asked respectfully, "Oh my Lord Bahram Syah, what is it that Your Highness want from me?" Bahram Syah spoke, "Oh my brother, I ask you to build a state complete with a capital and everything else that comes with it! Build it near this state and take care that this state is even more magnificent than the one you built before, as my son Nadir Syah needs a kingdom!" Within a moment, everything was provided for, exactly according to Bahram Syah's wishes. Nothing lacked; there were even gilded vases. Bahram Syah paid homage to his father and spoke, "Oh my father, let us install my son Nadir Syah as king of the new kingdom I created!" His Majesty replied, "Very well!" The vassal kings, officials, officers and commoners, escorted Nadir Syah in a procession to the capital called Multiple Passions, while people played different kinds of musical instruments. After this, people erected the banner of state; it was very beautiful indeed.

When Nadir Syah arrived in the capital, he entered the turquiose audience hall and was seated on the royal throne; he was given the title Sultan Sikandar Alam. The vassal kings paid homage and said, "Long live His Highness Ruler of the World!" When they saw the capital and the palace they were amazed at the variety in its shape and form. No human being had ever seen such things; they looked like things from the world of Gods. There were many different kinds of vases. It was all beyond description. The vassal kings and officials asked permission to leave and paid their respects to Sultan Sikandar Alam. His Majesty's reign over the State of the Twelve Streams was a steady one. He ruled his subjects with justice and was favourably disposed towards traveling strangers and religious students. Sultan Sikandar Alam's fame spread and people from other states came, together with their wives and children. The state of Southern Plains became more and more densely populated, much more so than before, because of the greatness of Bahram Syah and his son Sultan Sikandar Alam. Their dynasty would continue to rule.

Let us not stretch the story any further. It is just a reminder for future generations, so that this story will continue to be used and the good and the bad described in it will be known. That is how it is. God knows the truth!

The end.

87a This story is finished on Tuesday, the twenty second day of the month Zulkhijah in the year 1269.

If it contains errors or mistakes, I beg God, to Whom belongs glory and majesty, for forgiveness, as I am just a wandering stranger who does not know how to write or compose.

Written in Sorkam

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A | Titles of Malay Writings Present in Barus, 1851-1857¹

Islamic textbooks and treatises

1. *Majmū‘ al-masā’il* by ‘Abd al-Ra‘uf al-Singkili
Seen in Barus (Cod. Or. 3260 f, 57r)
2. *Fath al-mubīn ‘ala’l-mulḥidīn* by Nuruddin al-Raniri²
Seen in Barus (Cod. Or. 3260 f, 55v–r)
3. *Tuḥfat ar-rāghibīn fi bayān ḥaqīqat imān al mu’minīn*
Seen in Barus (Cod. Or. 3260 f, inserted paper, no. 142)
4. *Durrat al-nazīrah tanbihan Li-durrat al-fakḥīrah* by Siraj al-Din ibn Jalaluddin
Seen in Barus (Cod. Or. 3260 f, 58r)
5. *Khalā’iq al-yakīn*
Cod. Or. 3200 (1)
6. *Syair Tajwid Qur’ān*
Cod. Or. 3331
7. *Asrār al-‘Arifīn* by Hamzah Fansuri
Seen in Barus (Cod. Or. 3260 f, 57r)
8. *Sayr as-Sālikīn* by ‘Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani³
Seen in Barus (Cod. Or. 3260 f, 57v–58r)
9. *Bidāyat al-mubtadī bi faḍl Allāh al- muḥdī*
Cod. Or. 3281

¹ Five texts originate in nearby Sorkam. See Part I, Introduction.

² This work by Nuruddin al-Raniri has been lost (Voorhoeve 1951, 359 n. 17).

³ Van der Tuuk borrowed a manuscript in Barus that contained the third part of the *Sayr as-Sālikīn*. He copied its table of contents (see Cod. Or. 3374 (12)).

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|---|--|
| 10. <i>Mawlid an-Nabi</i> | Cod. Or. 3289. Sorkam; copyist <i>Haji</i> Abdul Wahid |
| 11. <i>Tadkīr al-yaqīn (Tadākir al-yaqīn)</i> | Cod. Or. 3290. Ascribed to Barus |
| 12. <i>Tibyān fī ma'rīfat al-adyān</i> by Nuruddin al-Raniri | Cod. Or. 3291 (1). Ascribed to Barus |
| 13. <i>Masā'il al-Muhtadī li -Ikhwān al-Muhtadī</i> | Seen in Barus (Cod. Or. 3260 l, 47) ⁴ |
| 14. Poems by Hamzah Fansuri | Cod. Or. 3372 and 3374 (2) ⁵ |
| 15. Treatise about the world before creation by Nuruddin al-Raniri ⁶ | Cod. Or. 3291 (2); ascribed to Barus |
| 16. A short treatise about the five senses | Cod. Or. 3291 (3); ascribed to Barus |
| 17. A short treatise about the good and bad <i>nafsu</i> | Cod. Or. 3291 (4); ascribed to Barus |
| 18. A brief enumeration of the forty punishments for those, who neglect their prayers | Cod. Or. 3345 (3) |
| 19. A brief enumeration of the ten conditions in hell | Cod. Or. 3345 (4) |
| 20. <i>Hikayat Seribu Masalah</i> | Seen in Barus (Cod. Or. 3260 l, 31r) ⁷ |
| 21. <i>Syair Dagang</i> | Cod. Or. 3374 (10) |
| 22. <i>Syair Perahu</i> | Cod. Or. 3374 (11) |

⁴ Van der Tuuk did own a copy of this text: Cod. Or. 3282. This manuscript is not included in the list, as it cannot be ascribed a Barus provenance with certainty. The reason the title is mentioned here is that Van der Tuuk claims to have seen a copy of this anonymous popular Malay catechism in Barus (Cod. Or. 3260 l, 47).

⁵ For an enumeration of the poems, with references to the text editions by Doorenbos (1933) and Drewes and Brakel (1986), see Wieringa 2007, 323–325 and 330–332.

⁶ The name of Nuruddin al-Raniri is mentioned on f. 66r. See Wieringa 2007, 184–185, for more on this text.

⁷ According to Van der Tuuk, the *Tuanku* Sigambo-gambo owned a copy of 156 pages (Van der Tuuk 1866, 450; Cod. Or. 3260 l, 31r).

Islamic narrative writings⁸

- | | |
|---|--|
| 23. <i>Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah</i> | Assumedly present in Barus ⁹ |
| 24. <i>Hikayat Raja Khandak (dan Raja Badar)</i> | Cod. Or. 3307 |
| 25. <i>Hikayat Raja Khaibar</i> | Ascribed to Barus ¹⁰ |
| 26. <i>Hikayat Amir al-Mu'minin 'Umar'</i> | Cod. Or. 3345 (2) |
| 27. <i>Hikayat Nur Muhammad</i> | Cod. Or. 3304 II (1) |
| 28. <i>Hikayat Nabi Bercukur</i> | Cod. Or. 3304 II (2) |
| 29. <i>Hikayat Mi'raj Nabi Muhammad</i> | Cod. Or. 3306 (1) |
| 30. <i>Syair Nabi Allah Ayub</i> | Cod. Or. 3332 |
| 31. <i>Hikayat Raja Jumjumah</i> | Cod. Or. 3306 (2) |
| 32. <i>Syair Nasuha</i> , by Abdul Karim from Penanjung
or Penanjawan (?) | Seen in Barus (Cod. Or.
3260 I, 52v) |
| 33. <i>Syair Makah dan Madinah</i> , by <i>Syaikh</i> Daud from
Sunur | Cod. Or. 3336 (1) |
| 34. <i>Syair Makah dan Madinah</i> , by <i>Syaikh</i> Ismail bin
Abdullah al-Khalidi | Cod. Or. 3338. Sorkam;
copyist <i>Haji</i> Abdul Wahid. |
| 35. <i>Syair Sunur</i> by <i>Syaikh</i> Daud from Sunur | Cod. Or. 3336 (2) |

Writings on Islamic law

- | | |
|--|--|
| 36. <i>Kitāb fikh</i> | VDT saw a short text on <i>fikh</i>
in Barus (Cod. Or. 3260 I,
47) |
| 37. <i>Kitāb Iḍāḥ al-Bāb</i> by <i>Syaikh</i> Daud b. Abdullah b.
Idris al-Fatani | Cod. Or. 3200 (2) |

⁸ Listed under this heading are narratives that centre upon the life and deeds of an Islamic prophet, an episode from the early history of Islam or a specific Islamic practice.

⁹ In the letters sent by Van der Tuuk to the board of the NBG, he mentioned this text twice. He noted how the *Story of Muhammad Hanafiyah* was read aloud in the evenings during the Fast. He also claimed that the general public believed that the enemies described in the story referred to the Europeans in the Archipelago (Groeneboer 2002, 258–259, 288–289).

¹⁰ Van der Tuuk's collection of Malay manuscript does not contain a copy of this text. However, it is likely that this story about the war between the Prophet Muhammad and the Khaibar Jews was indeed known in Barus and Sorkam. In one of his letters to the board of the NBG he wrote in Barus, Van der Tuuk mentions the *Story of King Khaibar* as one of the stories Batak were getting access to through government-sponsored education in the Malay language and *jawi* script (Groeneboer 2002, 258–259).

Court writings

38. *Syair Raja Tungtung* Cod. Or. 3205¹¹
 39. *Syair Sejarah Sultan Fansuri* Cod. Or. 3303 (1)
 40. *Sejarah Sultan Fansuri* Cod. Or. 3303 (2)
 41. *Tambo* Cod. Or. 3303 (3)¹²
 42. A tradition from Barus on the *hilir* and *hulu raja* Cod. Or. 3343 A (2)
 43. *Sejarah Tuanku Batu Badan* (*hilir* chronicle) Presumably present in Barus
 44. *Asal Keturunan Raja Barus* (*mudik* chronicle) Presumably present in Barus¹³
 45. A text on Barus customs (*adat*) pertaining to royal engagements Cod. Or. 3294; copyist *si* Liek¹⁴
 46. A text on customs (*adat*) in Barus pertaining to the ceremonies surrounding the death of a ruler Cod. Or. 3295 (1); ascribed to the copyist *si* Liek
 47. A short text on customs (*adat*) in Barus pertaining to marriage Cod. Or. 3295 (2); ascribed to the copyist *si* Liek
 48. Laws (*hukum*) and customs (*adat*) in Barus Cod. Or. 3303 (4)

Other narrative writings

49. *Hikayat Bakhtiar* Cod. Or. 3197 (1)
 50. *Hikayat Siti Abasah* Cod. Or. 3374 (1)
 51. *Hikayat Syahi Mardan* Cod. Or. 3197 (2)
 52. *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* Cod. Or. 3208. Ascribed to Barus
 53. *Hikayat Raja Budak* Cod. Or. 3318
 54. *Hikayat Ahmad dan Muhammad* Cod. Or. 3314. Ascribed to *Haji* Abdul Wahid

¹¹ Another copy of this text was borrowed by Van der Tuuk from *Tuanku Sigambo-gambo*; that is, the ruler of Barus *hilir* (Groeneboer 2002, 306; Wieringa 2007, 39–41).

¹² This is an autograph of Van der Tuuk; it is a copy of a manuscript that belonged to *Raja Barus* (See also Wieringa 2007, 208).

¹³ Jane Drakard's study on these two chronicles indicates that it is likely that either one or both texts were (re)written in Barus around the time that Van der Tuuk collected Malay writings in the area (Drakard 1990).

¹⁴ He was also known by the name of *Marab* Nujum. In the colophon of Cod. Or. 3294, the copyist reveals that he lives in Barus and that he has two brothers: an older one named *si* Amir, and a young one called *si* Samparono (Wieringa 2007, 189).

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 55. <i>Hikayat Bahram Syah</i> | Cod. Or. 3317. Sorkam;
ascribed to <i>Haji</i> Abdul
Wahid |
| 56. <i>Syair Ikan Tambera</i> | Cod. Or. 3306 (2) |
| 57. <i>Syair Silindang Delima</i> | Cod. Or. 3333. Sorkam |
| 58. <i>Syair Silindang Delima</i> | Cod. Or. 3334 |

Minangkabau-Malay writings present in Barus

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Kaba Malin Deman</i> | Cod. Or. 3203 (1); Cod. Or.
3204. Ascribed to the
copyist <i>si</i> Liek |
| 2. <i>Si Sakapiang</i> | Cod. Or. 3203 (4), copyist <i>si</i>
Liek |
| 3. A short story about the illicit relations between a
princess and the son of a son of a <i>penghulu</i> | Cod. Or. 3203 (5), copyist <i>si</i>
Liek |
| 4. <i>Hikayat Si Kicau Murai Batu</i> | Cod. Or. 3205 (1) |
| 5. <i>Kaba Baruak Mamanjek Durian</i> | Cod. Or. 3295 (3) |
| 6. A moral, warning against self-exaltation | Cod. Or. 3203 (3), copyist <i>si</i>
Liek |
| 7. <i>Undang-Undang Minangkabau</i> | VDT claimed to own a copy
from Barus (Cod. Or. 3260 l,
52v) |

B | Titles of Malay Adventure Stories

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Samenvatting

Terug naar Sprookjesland: Maleise avonturenverhalen

Met een geannoteerde teksteditie en Engelse vertaling van het Maleise *Verhaal van Bahram Syah*

Dit proefschrift gaat over de relatie tussen Maleise avonturenverhalen en hun sociaal-historische context. Maleise avonturenverhalen zijn fantastische vertellingen in het Maleis over de zoektocht van een jonge prins naar, bijvoorbeeld, een huwbare prinses, een bijzonder medicijn, mystieke kennis of een exotisch kleinood. Ze bevatten veel beschrijvingen van bovennatuurlijke wezens en gebeurtenissen. De, veelal, anonieme verhalen circuleerden tot het eerste kwart van de twintigste eeuw gedurende minstens drie eeuwen in een groot deel van Zuidoost-Azië. Deze studie heeft als doel een herwaardering van dit soort verhalen. Lange tijd zijn de teksten door westerse verzamelaars en wetenschappers weggezet als tijdloze sprookjes met verhaallijnen die overal ter wereld te vinden zijn. Een multidisciplinaire benadering van de Maleise verhalen in hun historische context laat echter zien dat ze nauw verbonden zijn met de samenleving die ze voortbracht. Daarbij blijken ze in verschillende opzichten veel realistischer te zijn dan algemeen werd aangenomen. De betekenis van Maleise avonturenverhalen, zo wordt hier beweerd, is verankerd in hun functie in de samenleving. Hierbij staat de vraag centraal in welke menselijke behoeften de verhalen voorzagen, zowel op het niveau van de groep, als op dat van het individu. Aan de hand van een studie van het negentiende-eeuwse Maleise *Verhaal van Bahram Syah* (Hikayat Bahram Syah) uit Noordwest-Sumatra wordt duidelijk gemaakt dat avonturenverhalen een rol speelden in de overdracht van belangrijke culturele kennis. Vorm en functie van de verhalen vallen hierbij samen: het relaas van een lange tocht door onbereisde gebieden biedt de mogelijkheid om een specifiek Maleis wereldbeeld te presenteren. Dit animistische wereldbeeld is gebaseerd op het principe van *semangat* of levenskracht: het deel van de mens dat hem tot een levend wezen maakt. Maar *semangat* kan het lichaam ook verlaten, met allerlei lichamelijke en geestelijke klachten als gevolg. Het idee dat elk levend wezen bestaat uit twee delen – een lichaam en levenskracht –

vormt de basis van een ‘zijnsleer’ waarmee de lezers van kleins af aan via verhalen bekend werden gemaakt. De vertellingen verschaften hen de categorieën die ze nodig hadden om de wereld om hen heen te kunnen waarnemen en begrijpen en om zinvol te kunnen handelen in die wereld.

Het proefschrift bestaat uit twee delen. Het tweede deel van het proefschrift omvat een geannoteerde teksteditie en Engelse vertaling van het Maleise avonturenverhaal over Bahram Syah (*Hikayat Bahram Syah*). Het eerste deel is bovengenoemde studie, die op haar beurt eveneens in twee delen uiteenvalt. Deze structuur loopt parallel aan de aan elkaar tegengestelde, vormende krachten waar iedere Maleise tekst op het moment van ontstaan aan onderhevig is. Ten eerste is dat de homogeniserende invloed die uitgaat van de grote Maleise tekstuele traditie. Deze kracht bepaalt de algemene formele eigenschappen waaraan een Maleise tekst moet voldoen om als zodanig herkend te worden. Hieraan tegengesteld is de werking die uitgaat van lokale factoren, zoals sociale, economische en politieke ontwikkelingen en de aard van plaatselijke narratieve tradities waar de auteurs van Maleise verhalen uit konden putten. Zij geeft plaatselijke tekstuele tradities hun lokale kleur. Omdat het *Verhaal van Bahram Syah* deel uitmaakt van een lokale traditie én een die hele Maleise Wereld omspant, wordt het verhaal bestudeerd als onderdeel van twee verschillende groepen teksten. Ten eerste, alle Maleise werken die tussen 1851 en 1857 in Barus aanwezig waren (Hoofdstuk 1 en 2). Ten tweede, een collectie van in totaal zeven Maleise avonturenverhalen uit verschillende perioden en delen van de Maleise Wereld (Hoofdstuk 4 en 5).

Hoofdstuk 1 schetst een gedetailleerd beeld van de Noord-Sumatraanse kustplaats Barus in de jaren 1851–1857. De kolonisatie van Barus en omgeving door de Nederlanders een decennium eerder had niet alleen de plaatselijke politieke verhoudingen veranderd, maar had ook geleid tot meer veiligheid in de regio. De handel overzee bloeide op. Daarnaast maakte de Islam flinke opmars; langs de westkust van Sumatra won met name de mystieke tak van de Islam aan populariteit. Met de Islam groeide het aantal ‘Maleiers’ in de kustgebieden: bekeerde Karo, Toba Batak en Mandailing adopteerden een Maleise leefstijl. Deze aanwas leidde tot een groeiende vraag naar Maleise teksten.

Hoofdstuk 2 behandelt achteventig Maleise teksten die door linguïst en bijbelvertaler Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk in Barus (en de naastgelegen kustplaats Sorkam) zijn verzameld in de periode 1851–1857. Getoond wordt hoe de *make-up* van deze groep teksten – genres, getalsgewijze verhouding van de genres, en inhoud, – nauw verbonden is met de specifieke omstandigheden in Barus rond het midden van de negentiende eeuw. Zo hangt het grote aandeel Islamitische teksten, bijvoorbeeld, samen met de groeiende rol van deze godsdienst in de regio. Leerboeken met de beginselen van de Islamitische geloofsleer bedienden aspirant-bekeerlingen. Hun populaire tegenhangers waren de Maleise avonturenverhalen met een Islamitische draai. Het Maleise *Verhaal van Bahram Syah* is zo een vertelling. Het is, in alle waarschijnlijkheid, geschreven in de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw in Barus of een van de naburige kustplaatsen. De groeiende

markt voor verhalende teksten met Islamitische helden moet een vrome schrijver hebben aangezet om een populair Acehs relaas over een held met de naam Banta Beuransah te bewerken voor een Maleis publiek.

In het derde hoofdstuk worden de negatieve commentaren van westerse wetenschappers op Maleise avonturenverhalen opnieuw tegen het licht gehouden. Door te kijken naar de ontstaans- en gebruiksgeschiedenis van de begrippen 'magie' en 'literatuur' die de commentatoren als standaarden gebruikten, worden de westerse wortels van beide begrippen blootgelegd. Beide categorieën zeggen niets over Maleise verhalen, zo blijkt, maar verwijzen bovenal naar hun eigen, westerse, geschiedenis. Maar als het bovennatuurlijke in de verhalen geen magie in de westerse zin van het woord is, waar staat het dan wel voor?

Hoofdstuk 4 en 5 proberen antwoord te geven op deze vraag. Zeven Maleise avonturenverhalen worden hier met elkaar vergeleken. Vertrekpunt is de schijnbaar zwakke mentale gesteldheid van de karakters in de verhalen. De personages schrikken gemakkelijk en vallen bij het minste of geringste flauw. Een analyse van deze passages laat zien dat in wereld van de teksten een nauwe band bestaat tussen bewusteloosheid, slaap, ziekte, waanzin en dood. Deze relatie rust op hun gedeelde oorzaak: een verlies van *semangat* of levenskracht. Sommige 'magische' passages in de avonturenverhalen beschrijven de behandeling van karakters die hun *semangat* kwijt zijn en daar last van hebben. Hier is magie niets anders dan het doen terugkeren van de levenskracht om de getroffen persoon te genezen. Antropologische studies bevestigen dit beeld. Sommige aspecten van dit concept zijn echter uitsluitend te vinden in de verhalen. Hierin ligt de communicatieve waarde van avonturenverhalen in de Maleise Wereld: bepaalde culturele informatie kan alleen in verhaalvorm worden overgebracht.

Het vijfde hoofdstuk handelt over fictieve dromen in avonturenverhalen. Het borduurt voort op het voorgaande hoofdstuk: dromen zijn de ervaringen van de ronddolende *semangat* tijdens de slaap. De verhalen geven uitdrukking aan opvattingen over dromen en droominterpretatie. In de wereld van de teksten worden nachtelijke visioenen serieus genomen, omdat ze belangrijke kennis bevatten die nergens anders te vinden is. Het gaat hierbij om praktische adviezen en waarschuwingen die van direct belang zijn voor de dromer. Daarnaast is er sprake van een gendergerelateerde droomtypologie: vrouwelijke karakters hebben symbolische dromen over hartstochtelijke minnaars en liefdevolle echtgenoten, mannelijke dromers ontvangen informatie in hun dromen die te maken heeft met rijkdom, status, bekoorlijke maagden en nageslacht. Een vergelijking van deze gegevens uit de teksten met Maleise droomboeken levert veel overeenkomsten op, maar opnieuw zijn het de verhalen die unieke gegevens bevatten.

Het laatste hoofdstuk bevat een interpretatie van het *Verhaal van Babram Syah*. Hierin komen alle lijnen van betekenisgeving uit de vorige hoofdstukken bij elkaar. De lezing volgt de twee sporen van de studie als geheel: de religieuze boodschap van de tekst (oproep tot bekering en het geloof in Goddelijke Predestinatie) plaatst de tekst in de

snel groeiende Islamitisch-Maleise gemeenschap van het negentiende-eeuwse Barus en omstreken. De tweede tendens in het verhaal sluit aan bij de onzekerheid van het menselijk bestaan en de zoektocht naar betekenis zoals die in de zeven avonturenverhalen tot uitdrukking kwamen (Hoofdstuk 4 en 5). De teksten geven de lezer een alternatieve kijk op het idee dat het lot van ieder mens vastligt. Door dromen en bepaalde verschijnselen in de natuur of iemands dagelijkse omgeving te interpreteren kan men ontdekken wat de toekomst voor het individu in petto heeft. Met deze kennis kan men de juiste acties nemen om het lot naar eigen hand te zetten. Deze schijnbare tegenstelling – Goddelijke voorbestemming tegenover het maakbare lot – vormde voor het overgrote deel van de Islamitische bevolking van Sumatra's westkust geen probleem. Zij hing immers een vorm van de godsdienst aan die vermengd was geraakt met elementen uit andere tradities, waaronder de mystieke.

Tot slot, de kennis die via avonturenverhalen werd overgebracht had betrekking op verschillende facetten van het menselijk bestaan. Het ging om normen, waarden, concepten en praktische kennis. Door hun populariteit verspreidden de verhalen zich gemakkelijk. Hierin ligt mogelijk het antwoord op de vraag welke kracht verantwoordelijk was voor de uitbreiding en het voortbestaan van de Maleise Wereld over een grote tijdspanne en geografisch gebied. Misschien waren het verhalen.

Curriculum vitae Marije Plomp

Marije Plomp was born in Amsterdam (the Netherlands) on 6 August 1967. She acquired her VWO diploma in 1987 at Gouwe College in Alphen aan den Rijn. In 1993 she graduated *cum laude* from Leiden University with an MA degree in the Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania. After working for two years as an assistant teacher at Leiden University under the supervision of Prof. dr. Willem van der Molen, she participated in a project to describe part of the collection of Nusantara Museum in Delft. Around this time, she started her PhD research at Leiden University with a scholarship from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research. During these years, she took several courses in literary criticism and Persian language and literature. In 1998 she moved to Victoria, Canada. There, she taught Indonesian and Southeast Asian culture at the department of Pacific and Asian Studies of the University of Victoria. After her return to the Netherlands in 2001, she took a position at the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies. During the nine years that followed, Marije contributed to several research projects related to the history of the Second World War. For the four-year programme Indonesia Across Orders, she wrote her 2008 collection of life stories and essays on literature about or from the period 1930-1960, *De gentlemanbandiet: Verhalen uit het leven en de literatuur, Nederlands-Indië/Indonesië, 1930-1960*. With NIOD senior researcher Dr. Madelon de Keizer she co-edited a volume on the history of the Dutch remembrance of the Second World War: *Een open zenuw: Hoe wij ons de Tweede Wereldoorlog herinneren* (2010). In 2009, she participated in a project focusing on Indonesian cultural history of the 1950-1960 period set up by Jennifer Lindsay, Maya Sutedja-Liem and Henk Schulte Nordholt. For this project, she examined 1950s popular literature from Medan, Sumatra, in light of the nation's main cultural discourse emanating from Jakarta. In 2011, Marije resumed her PhD research.