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William Marsden and his Malayo-Polynesian Legacy

by

Diana June Carroll

Appendix Volume

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Savages and Barbarians: The British Enlightenment and William Marsden's contribution to a Malayo-Polynesian Discourse

Diana Carroll (The Australian National University)

While eighteenth-century European popular discourse on savages and barbarians sprang from a long heritage of travellers' tales about the monstrous and the marvellous, the philosopher-historians, from Rousseau onwards, located their debate within the larger context of a search for the "origin of mankind". Their discourse was marked by classical and religious allusion and, although owing much to traditional concerns, also accommodated the new "sciences", including comparative philology. This chapter focuses on the emergence in the eighteenth century of a discourse about the region known today as Southeast Asia. It explores the ways ideas concerning "savages" were absorbed and transmuted into forms which eventually permeated the thinking of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century British political and intellectual elites. I argue that William Marsden (1754-1836) engendered a scholarly discourse on the East and more particularly on the peoples of the Malay lands that had a significant role in shaping nineteenth-century British policies for the governance of its "subject" peoples.

My aim is to trace the eighteenth-century intellectual lineage of ideas, scientific, philosophical and historic, which were to contribute to the racial stereotypes found in British-held Malay lands at the high noon of Empire. Through the work of the scholar, William Marsden, the science of comparative linguistics placed the Malays at the centre of a region stretching from Madagascar to Easter Island. I will explore ways in which Marsden's History of Sumatra interacted with the norms of eighteenth-century discourse. There is a duality in his writing that can be explained by his commercial interest in the East India Company. Thus already in the eighteenth century, there were in Marsden's writing intimations of a phenomenon which, plucked out of its original context, resurfaced in the nineteenth century. In the hands of his successors Marsden's ideas on the "indolent Malay" became the "lazy native" stereotype and fused with the "national character" attributed to all "brown" races living in the torrid zone. Surviving through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this stereotype still persists today.

For the British, Marsden may be seen as a pathfinder for Malay Studies. He was the first British scholar to write comprehensively on the Malay world. Many of Marsden's ideas lived on in later scholarship and carried with them into the nineteenth
century and beyond the indelible, though seemingly often invisible, imprint of eighteenth-century philosophies. Although British contact with the Malay Archipelago dated from 1579, and the first English trading fleet had arrived at Acheen in northern Sumatra in 1602, British scholars had largely neglected the region and its inhabitants, as Marsden himself pointed out. Drawing on the discourse of the day, he intended his work as a contribution to research on the origin and history of mankind because “The study of their own species is doubtless the most interesting and important that can claim the attention of mankind.” Marsden was directly influenced by the work of enlightenment scholars active around the 1770s, including Abbé Raynal (1713—1796), William Robertson (1721—1793), John Richardson (1741—1811), and Pierre le Poivre (1719—1796).

During the enlightenment, interest in the phenomenon of “the savage” revived, and with the advent of Robertson’s theories on the “naked savage” took a different direction. Within a few decades in the late 1700s the British ideas of “the savage” swung dramatically from “noble” to “ignoble”. The ideas of the “ignoble” savage had largely been founded on the European experience of Africa and India. The articulation of a primitivist (or “noble” savage) approach to tribal peoples had resurfaced before the discoveries of the Pacific voyagers. Following the eighteenth-century European encounters with the peoples of Polynesia, these ideas received a new lease of life. In scholarly circles, renewed interest in the New World brought fresh views into circulation among the reading public. However, not all eighteenth-century philosophers were persuaded by the “noble” savage argument. Among the critics was William Robertson, a British philosopher-historian and author of History of America. There is evidence that this book had a considerable influence on Marsden. In it Robertson framed a third, more enduring and perhaps more invidious, variant of the “savage”: the “naked savage”. The characteristics of the “naked savage” notion which made it attractive to nineteenth-century imperial policy makers will be explored in the course of this paper.

In Britain, as the century came to its close, there was a significant transformation of imperial policy. The transition from Classical ways of ordering knowledge to the nineteenth-century division into disciplines and (political) discourse fostered the emergence of the western doctrine of white supremacy. A preoccupation with the “origin of mankind” had brought the concept of race into an entirely new prominence in late eighteenth-century scholarly discourse. A new discourse of the “naked savage as victim of his own shortcomings” fuelled the rising humanitarian movement which had now become prominent in the public arena and which directed considerable energy to the question of promoting...
overseas missionary activity. After initial euphoria over the Pacific discoveries, the “unnatural” habits of the peoples uncovered by the new breed of scientific explorers seemed only to confirm Britain’s long held belief in its natural and rightful pre-eminence and in the virtues conferred on those living in the temperate zone. Such a revolution in public opinion may appear dramatic, yet precursors of such change may be detected in Marsden’s History of Sumatra.

Some areas of the general “philosophical and historical” discourses of the enlightenment were appropriated by writers on the East. It should be noted that this new discourse was, in the main, shaped by men who had never moved beyond the shores of Europe. However, the collision between knowledge brought from the New World and the Pacific with the traditions of the Old World gave rise to exciting philosophical debates. The framework within which the “new” knowledge was being organised was a system of thought derived from Linnaeus and transmitted through the philosophers including David Hume and Immanuel Kant to Montesquieu and Rousseau. These latter two wrote in a very accessible way. They were widely read and interpreted according to different needs.

Eze refers to this scholarly ferment as a kind of eighteenth-century “intertextuality”: a universe of discourse with its own vocabulary. *All* the writers identified by Marsden as significant in contributing to his methodology and analysis participated actively in this web of discourse, as did Marsden himself. Among the tenets of eighteenth-century philosophical thinking marking this discourse were “national character”, “progress”, “decline” and “ranking” of nations and the “law of climate”. These ideas eventually became well-worn tropes and topoi in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and contributed to the wide and continuing acceptance, even today, of the discourse underpinning many imperial doctrines.

**Encounters with the Exotic**

It is almost impossible to overestimate the liberating effect that the new knowledge of “the globe” had on European scholars. An intellectual appreciation of the implications of changes which the new advances in technological aids to navigation had made possible gave a sense of power and control over their destiny probably only to be rivalled by the dawning of the space age. Marsden, for example, noting the importance of the invention of the chronometer which now enabled navigators to “[determine] with certainty and precision the relative situation of the various countries of the earth” cited it as evidence of “the moderns” outstripping Classical achievements in the arts and sciences. 

15 Marsden was a true man of his times. He relished the opportunity of breaking new
ground. Locating his History of Sumatra within existing European scholarly discourse on the “origin of mankind”, he was concerned to communicate an accurate idea of the East to his European audience, and to correct the misconceptions spread by the errors of earlier travellers. In his writing he used all the leading “scientific” ideas of his age.

When Marsden returned to London from Sumatra, he was still a young man and without large resources. He could not bring home an extensive natural history collection nor did he, like Cook and Bougainville, bring any human specimens. Yet in writing his History of Sumatra he tried to do the next best thing. Marsden, in his History, was attempting something not previously done by scholarly accounts of the region. For he was going beyond dispassionate observation and reporting: he was undertaking to explain the native point of view or rationale behind the differing manners and customs of the principal Sumatran nations. However a close reading of Marsden’s History of Sumatra reveals that this project was not without its difficulties. There are evident tensions between Marsden as scholar and Marsden as administrator, and again between Marsden as surrogate Sumatran and Marsden as an enlightened English Christian gentleman. We will first briefly discuss some preconceptions of the period that were at the heart of intellectual and actual encounters with the East.

The Noble and Ignoble Savage

The “noble-ignoble savage” dichotomy was most memorably expressed in the English language by the poet Dryden. In his “Conquest of Granada”, published in 1670, Dryden wrote:

I am as free as nature first made man
Ere the base laws of servitude began
When wild in the woods the noble savage ran.

Even though the idea of perfect freedom of unspoiled mankind is celebrated, the reference to “servitude” or slavery reminds us of the reality which the “ignoble” savage concept represented. Thus while theoretical notions of pramaeval simplicity had long formed part of British and European discourse, the re-discovery of the Americas by the philosopher-scientists including Buffon, Cornelius de Pauw, and Rousseau two centuries after Columbus gave a particular impetus to this “noble savage” line of thinking.

Although today Jean-Jacques Rousseau is the name commonly associated with the emergence in the 1750s of the concept of the “noble savage”, the idea is of considerable antiquity. Paired with notions of the “ignoble savage”, this noble-ignoble opposition was an inherent part of the Judaeco-Christian heritage of
Europe. Old Testament ideas of original sin co-existed alongside New Testament doctrines of the innocence and perfectibility of all people. Rousseau brought renewed scholarly interest to the enquiry into the “origin of mankind” with the publication of his *Discours sur l’origine et fondements de l’inégalité parmi les hommes* (Amsterdam: Rey, 1755). Furthermore, he was among the first to demand that explorers conduct their voyages “scientifically”, meaning that they should go beyond their cartographic work on the new lands and engage with the task of “mapping” the peoples. 20 Marsden’s enterprise did exactly this.

However, even before the publication of his *History*, Marsden had made a major contribution to scholarship. William Marsden was sixteen when he arrived in Bencoolen near Fort Marlborough on the west coast of Sumatra in 1771. He returned to London in 1779. By March 5, 1780, Marsden had written a paper comparing the languages of the Malayo-Polynesian region accompanied by copious samples of the languages. 21 Marsden noted in the article that:

> My chief design in these collections was to trace, if possible, a common origin. My secondary object, to determine whether the various independent and unconnected nations who inhabit the internal parts of Sumatra, speak languages radically and essentially different. ... It may possibly then be found that Tartary, that great *officina gentium*, has supplied the southern archipelago with its inhabitants.

He then advanced his most important contribution to this debate, and one that the *History* was intended to reinforce, namely that:

> from Madagascar eastward to the Marquesas, or nearly from the east coast of Africa to the west coast of America, there is a manifest connection ... 22

among the languages spoken by the “brown” peoples of the region. This was the first time that such a region had been united into a single scholarly project. This project was to have significant influence on imperial thinking. Marsden’s work established both the Malay language and hence the Malay peoples as pre-eminent in the region in terms of their level of civilisation.

Although Marsden called his *History of Sumatra* a “natural history”, 23 this did not mean it was a naturalist’s (or botanist’s) history. As Basil Willey has pointed out, in the eighteenth century the many “manifestations of the Idea of
Nature,” were studied in the form of a history. When looking at the “origin of man,” Rousseau and his followers were concerned with “nature” in so far as it reflected an “original” state, as it had been at the time of creation, and uncorrupted by change. Marsden intended his work first and foremost as a contribution to research on the history of mankind. Therefore his aim was:

To add a small portion in my power, to the general knowledge of the age; ... especially to furnish those philosophers, whose labors have been directed to the investigations of the history of man, with facts to serve as data in their reasonings.

The orientalist John Richardson was another scholar whose work influenced Marsden. A Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, in 1777, Richardson published his Dictionary of Persian, Arabic, and English, the first volume of which was a dissertation on the languages, literature, and manners of eastern nations in which he wrote that:

the mere science of words, is, after all, but the outline of languages; whilst the colouring and expression are only to be found in the virtues and genius, in the follies and vices of a people.

Marsden aimed to go beyond the “mere science of words.” He intended his History of Sumatra to complement and extend his theories on comparative philology which were, he believed, an inextricable part of the history of mankind. Since, as Richardson had pointed out, knowledge of the “manners and customs” of the people provided the only path to a real understanding of language, he wrote it according to eighteenth-century ideas of the “law of climate.” Thus he included details concerning climate, physical geography and biology, including the physical characteristics of the inhabitants, all of which formed, not just a background, but a necessary part of that history of mankind.

The Ignoble-Savage and the Law of Climate

The “noble-ignoble” savage dichotomy can be seen to epitomise the “unknown other” of the early enlightenment period, reflecting excitement on the one hand and apprehension on the other. At the threshold of the age of scientific exploration, these notions can be seen as the first attempts to grapple with alternative interpretations of a new reality. Until the discovery of the Americas it was believed that an indigenous inhabitant of the torrid zone must always be black. Although the Spanish church and state authorities had long been addressing these questions, it took almost two
centuries before philosophers began to look at the “manners and customs” of the American tribes and seriously assess the implications of their findings.29

Despite serious challenges from new knowledge brought to Europe by its seafarer-explorers, many of the traditional tenets of the “law of climate”30 central to eighteenth-century discourse continued to be widely accepted. The “law of climate” had Classical origins which Robertson briefly sketched in his History of America.31 While giving the “ancients” credit for the notional division of the world into climatic zones (frigid, temperate and torrid), he pointed out that their ignorance of the “true state of the globe” had led them into the error of thinking that human kind would only be found in the temperate zone.

Yet this privileging of the temperate zone was a key tenet of the “law of climate” which lived on as an important aspect of the theory Montesquieu developed in his De l’Esprit des lois (1748). The cultural message remained essentially unaltered through the centuries even though the men of Classical times had been proved wrong in detail. As Robertson himself wrote:

In every part of the earth where man exists, the power of climate operates, with decisive influence, upon his condition and character. ... we shall find that he has uniformly attained the greatest perfection, of which his nature is capable, in the temperate zone.32

It had been scientifically demonstrated that the fibres and organs of the human body respond to differences in temperature. Furthermore, since there was ample evidence that human beings adapted “their modes of life”33 to their particular physical environments it was believed that the “law of climate” operated decisively not only to shape the human body but the mind and morals as well. As Raynal pointed out, the operation of cold upon the body would “brace the nerves, and raise a spirit of resolution and activity”. However, he argued, climate was not simply a matter of heat or its lack. While the less fertile soils of the temperate zone made gaining a livelihood harder, they were thought to be advantageous because “more labour and exercise, ... [led to] a more varied kind of life”. On the other hand, in the torrid zone the inhabitants were credited with a lascivious life style:

A more free and more lavish use of the means conducive to population, more indulgence in effeminate pleasures, and a sedentary course of life, while they increase the number of births, occasion a speedier dissolution.34 (my emphases)
The references to licentiousness in the above quotation reflects widely held views concerning the sexuality of "black" peoples, some of which were based on Montesquieu's comments on the people of the Indian sub-continent.35

Climate, Robertson argued, was of major importance in explaining differences in the character and behaviour of the American tribes. According to eighteenth-century philosophies, the peoples of the torrid zone were said to be weak and "timorous."36 For example, Raynal, who held that fighting for one's liberty was one of the foremost obligations of citizenship, explained that Indostan had been unable to regain its liberty because of the climate:

The *indolence* it inspires is an invincible obstacle to great revolutions and vigorous oppositions. The body and the mind have only the virtues of slavery.37 (my emphasis)

It was believed that only the nations of the temperate zone would have the necessary zest and energy to be successful in defending their liberty, and only they could, through "great revolutions and vigorous oppositions", regain it if lost. In common with other eighteenth-century philosophers Robertson also believed that only the inhabitants of the temperate zone had strength and vigour and hence bravery:

In surveying the rude nations of America, this natural distinction between the inhabitants of the temperate and torrid zones is so remarkable. ... The natives of the temperate zone are the only people in the New World who are indebted for their freedom to their own valour.38

However, Robertson noted that, despite the fruitfulness of the torrid zone and the fact that it was the source of the world's luxuries, the climates of both the frigid and the torrid zones were harder for savage than "refined" nations to bear. Although Robertson is referring to the task of making physical "condition[s] more comfortable" there is an underlying implication that in extremes of temperature savage peoples react according to whim and not reason whereas "improved" nations, which have some form of government, could direct their actions with more purpose. The more advanced societies, he said, could mitigate the [adverse] effect of climate:39 presumably by building more effective shelters and covering their bodies with clothing rather than simply paint.40 These ideas, derived from Montesquieu, were widely accepted.

When philosopher-historians began to consider the peoples of the New World, they perceived that the "law of climate" needed to be modified in two ways to accommodate evidence concerning the inhabitants of the torrid zone. First, in regard to colour and second, in regard to theories of behaviour (or
The origin of colour was the object of heated debates. One of the chief puzzles was that in the New World, from north to south, there was no significant variation in the physical appearance and colour of the American tribes. Thus while we continue to find scholars like Buffon (1707–1788) maintaining that “The heat of the climate is the main cause of blackness among the human species,” the philosopher-historians were in general agreement that dark skin colour was not caused by tropical heat.42

That the character of mankind differed according to the zone inhabited was very generally accepted, even while research into the nature and causes of pigmentation continued. The consensus remained that, regardless of colour, the adverse effect of heat on the moral and mental welfare of mankind continued to operate. Raynal concluded a discussion of the biological aspects of pigmentation in “black” Africans in the following terms:

Their skin is always hotter, and their pulse quicker. The passions therefore, of fear and love, are carried to excess among these peoples; and this is the reason why they are more effeminate, more indolent, more weak, and unhappily more fit for slavery.43 (my emphasis)

This quotation includes a number of important features of the “ignoble” savage debate. The first is the reference to “indolence”, the second to “effeminacy” or “weakness”; both are themes which will be taken up later. The third is the European belief in the “natural” fitness of “black” races for slavery. This is a striking feature of Marsden’s account of a “body of Caffres or negro slaves belonging to the India Company” at Bencoolen. Although deploring slavery, Marsden noted that with benevolent masters, their way of life appeared to suit them:

They are seen perpetually laughing or singing, and since the period they were first carried thither, from different parts of Africa and Madagascar, to the present hour, not so much as rumor of disturbance, or discontent has ever been known to proceed from them.44

The dark peoples of Africa (who practiced cannibalism) and the Hindoos of India (who had the custom of self-immolation) were regarded by Europeans as occupying the lowest rung of the ladder of progress, a place they were physically “predestined” to occupy by virtue of their colour and their moral and physical weakness.
Although the validity of the causal link between dark colour and the torrid zone had been discredited, the morally enervating effect of the tropics was a widely accepted and continuing idea. Robertson's work on the "rude nations" of the Americas and the new discoveries in the Pacific focused interest on "brown" peoples living in the torrid zone. Marsden wrote in his *History* under the marginal note "Color not ascribed to climate" that

The fairness of the Sumatrans, comparatively with other Indians, situated as they are, under a perpendicular sun, where no season of the year affords the alternative of cold, is, I think, an irrefragable proof, that the difference of color in the various inhabitants of the earth, is not the immediate effect of climate.  

He went on to make the suggestion (usually found in eighteenth-century discussions of pigmentation from Buffon onwards) that the cause of "the general disparity of complexions in different nations" might be due to differences in bile secretions.

**The Resurgence of the Noble Savage**

The navigators returning from the Pacific brought "scientific" evidence, sometimes in the shape of human specimens, which appeared to provide "living proof" that "noble savages" existed outside the world of theory. It should be noted here that most Pacific explorers were quite familiar with the cult of primitivism. Both Joseph Banks, a prominent member of London's social and intellectual elite, later to be President of the Royal Society, and Captain Cook, the Pacific explorer, were known to have read some of the British (pre-Rousseau) travel accounts which employed the "noble savage" discourse to describe the American tribes. What could have been more natural than to assume the fulfilment of their expectations that the inhabitants of a tropical paradise (encountered during the most favourable season) would be equally idyllic?

European high society was excited by the apparent realisation of the "noble savage" concept. Artists, writers, and even musicians of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries responded with enthusiasm, ingenuity and imagination. The British interpretation of the "noble savage" is best captured in the representations of Omai, the Polynesian man brought back to London by Cook on his second voyage. Omai was painted by the foremost portrait painters of the time, including Reynolds and Parry. These images were widely circulated.
through lithographic reproductions. The scientific signifi-
cance of his stay in London was encapsulated in the painting
“Omai, Solander and Banks” by Parry where Omai is displayed
beside his scientific mentors. In this obviously sanitised
version of a “savage”, the “noble savage” notion is enhanced by
the considerable likeness between Banks and Omai.

Banks was Omai’s chief sponsor in England. His patronage
gave great respectability to what might almost be described as
a cult. Despite the Omai phenomenon, the popularity of the
“noble savage” was relatively short-lived in Britain. It had
already faded by the time Cook set out on his third voyage in
1776. Many had been repelled by stories of a lascivious society
practicing infanticide and human sacrifice which had been
circulated from 1771 as well as by fashionable society’s
reception of Omai.48 By now it was well known in Europe that
the native inhabitants of New South Wales were dark-skinned
nomadic “savages”, as were the inhabitants of New Guinea.
However, as Bernard Smith has shown, this preoccupation
with the “noble savage” persisted longer in France,49 where it
continued to be associated with the name of Cook.50

Meanwhile the notion of the feeble, ignorant “naked savage”52
had been developed by Robertson in his book entitled History
of America published the year after Omai left London.
Robertson’s History, an important influence on Marsden and
men of his station and time, was widely acclaimed by his
contemporaries when it appeared in 1777. Robertson had an
established reputation, and his earlier writing had been
admired for its historical insight. His analysis of the aboriginal
races of the Americas presented in the History of America is
said to have captivated the literary world.53

Reducing Barbarian to Savage

One of the principal reasons for the ready acceptance of
Robertson’s views was their contribution to reducing the fear
and awe engendered by notional encounters with “wild men”,
who, in Britain, were now regarded as barbarians and savages.
By referring to the peoples of the new world as American
tribes his discourse connected with that of Montesquieu, who
had defined savage nations as “clans” incapable of being
united.54 For the purposes of discussion, Robertson reduced
all the “rude nations” of America to the very lowest common
denominator for humanity on the grounds that: “The qualities
belonging to the people of all the different tribes have such a
near resemblance, that they may be painted with the same
features." He then proceeded to "domesticate" the savages by explaining their observed characteristics in terms of received enlightenment doctrines.

That living in the torrid zone for extended periods had an adverse effect on the courage, physical strength and moral character of its inhabitants, whether black or white, was a persistent and strongly held view. Robertson's work on a general theory of the "naked savage" drew heavily on assumptions of this kind. His theories challenged the "black ignoble-brown noble savage" nexus and helped to resolve the conflict between traditional and new knowledge on colour as a cause of difference among peoples while at the same time giving even greater emphasis to the "law of climate." "Black" savages were to be credited with some qualities denied to savages in general. These qualities were concerned with "passion", which again was connected with the effects of the sun and heat on darker skin.

The "naked savage" thesis, as advanced by Robertson, served as a counterpoise to ideas of both the "noble" and the "ignoble" savage. His phrase "naked savage" emphasised the weak, feeble and childlike nature that Robertson ascribed to the American tribes, and although he admitted the Mexicans and Peruvians had made some advances, even these empires he placed well below the European and Asiatic nations. Robertson confirmed the dawning realisation (discussed above) that savages should not be discussed in terms of nobility or its reverse. Furthermore, he identified differences between the American tribes of the tropics and "black" savages elsewhere in the torrid zone in terms that enabled his theory to be generalised to all "brown" peoples. The theory could be applied to a wide range of "native races" who at first glance would not previously have been considered as "savages".

Although Robertson appreciated that the discovery of the New World and its "rude" and "primitive" people invited questions concerning whence they had come and to whom they owed their origin, he described such speculation as "wild and chimerical." Rather than waste their efforts on discovering from which European or Asiatic nation the American tribes sprang, Robertson suggested that scholars should base their studies on recent data. Because regions of conjecture and controversy belong not to the historian. His is a more limited province, confined to what is established by certain or highly probable evidence.

He directed his scholarly attention to the multiplicity of contradictory theories then in circulation about the peoples of
the New World. At one extreme these theories condemned
the depravity of the people of the New World and at the other
insisted on perceiving in their “rude simplicity” the ingredi­
ents of a utopian dream. Scholars, he felt, should take
advantage of the advances in understanding which were now
available, for: “In proportion as science extends, ... nature is
examined with a more discerning eye.” He was just as
scathing of the work of more recent philosophers as of trav­
ellers’ tales. Thus the range of theories espoused by Buffon,
Cornelius de Pauw, Rousseau and their ilk were summarily
dismissed.

Robertson’s reluctance to accept the work of earlier and
contemporary scholars may well have been inspired by his
Christian principles. Brought up in the Presbyterian faith, he—
like all Dissenters — believed in the brotherhood of men.
Robertson was a creationist; he accepted the biblical version of
the creation of humankind. With one stroke he cut through
arguments about the origin and nature of the American tribes
that had allowed one scientist to question whether the natives
of America belonged to the human species, by stating:

We know, with infallible certainty, that all the human
race spring from the same source, and that the descen­
dants of one man, under the protection as well as in

obedience to the command of heaven, multiplied and
replenished the earth.

He was particularly critical of scholars who believed that the
people of America were not “offspring of the same common
parent”, or conversely that they were an “antediluvian remnant”. Given that he assumed this stance, it might be
expected that some aspects of racial differences would become
irrelevant. However, this was by no means the case. Caught as
he was in the labyrinth of eighteenth-century discourse, its
powerful tropes frequently overwhelmed his argument.

Robertson maintained that his primary concern was to
unravel the history of the human species and that the larger
view offered by the New World should be used to advance
research on the history of the human mind. While he believed
that “a state of primaeval simplicity, which was known in our
continent only by the fanciful description of poets, really
existed” in the Americas, he attributed this state to an
immaturity of savage society, rather than to any innate
nobleness of spirit. Furthermore, he described the day-to-day
existence of the tribes as precarious and their expectation of
life as short.
The “Savage” as Infant

Drawing on the authority of an admittedly imperfect Greco-Roman tradition Robertson treated the human species as a continuum, privileging climate and location and making little overt reference to racial difference. The discovery of the New World offered an opportunity “to survey man in his rudest and most early state” which should, he maintained, enable an important contribution towards filling gaps in the history of the human species. “We must follow him [i.e. human kind] in his progress through the different stages of society, as he gradually advances from the infant state of civil life towards maturity and decline.” Although racial difference as such might hold little interest for Robertson, what he called distinction was of immense significance. Robertson advanced the idea that the peoples of the Americas were treading the same developmental path that the more polished nations of Europe and Asia had already traversed. For him, the distinction among nations arose from the different levels of social organisation each nation had attained. These differences he attributed to the operation of the “law of climate” in a very broad [environmental] sense. His notion of an organic development of the species is closely related to “ranking” of nations which is discussed below. Robertson viewed the inhabitants of the Americas as scientific specimens – sharing characteristics typical of all humankind at that stage of their intellectual development:

[W]e behold communities just beginning to unite, and may examine sentiments and actions of human beings in the infancy of social life, while they feel but imperfectly the force of its ties.

The “naked savages” were in effect the predecessors of every more “refined” society that then populated Europe and Asia. Metaphorically speaking the tribes were regarded as infants with a long way to climb to achieve the refinements of “polished” society.

Robertson argued that savage tribes were on the threshold of their development and like children were weak and ill-developed. He thus placed the American tribes at the beginning of the life cycle of their nation, contrasting their “feebleness” with the “vigour” of an advanced society:

As the individual advances from the ignorance and imbecility of the infant state, to vigour and maturity of understanding, something similar to this may be observed in the progress of the species. With respect to it, too, there is a period of infancy, during which the
several powers of the mind are not unfolded, and all are 
feeble and defective in their operation. 67

He held that this description was appropriate, because “in America, man appears under the rudest form in which we can conceive of him to subsist.” 68 “Man” in this sense is an abstraction standing for “man” both individually and collectively. He traced the organic development of humankind from “child” to “polished society.” 69 Throughout the discussion of the “naked savages” in the History of America there are few references to them as a social group other than as tribes. Furthermore, he argued that the “state of society [of the tribes] was ... so extremely rude, that the denomination Savage may be applied to them all.” 70 Robertson was, if possible, even more determined than Montesquieu to regard hunter-gatherers as lacking any recognisable form of social organisation that justified the use of the term “society”. Such a doctrine was to help justify nineteenth-century governments considering all nomadic peoples, whether hunter-gatherers or not, as being without a recognisable form of government.

Thus these men Robertson now termed “naked savages”, neither noble or ignoble, were human beings who happened to be at the bottom of the developmental scale. Robertson linked the feebleness of the “naked savage” to his “child-like” state. He maintained that the mind of the child and the intellectual development of a savage people were similar. Both were in an “infant” state and would share a similar developmental path. Of the human mind in both cases Robertson claimed that the intellectual powers [of the “naked savage”] are extremely limited; ... [his] emotions and efforts are few and languid. Both these distinctions are conspicuous among the rudest and most unimproved of the American tribes. 71

Here “languid” is an important indicator. Although, on the face of it, he was concerned with the mental aspect of childhood, nevertheless his argument about the “infant” society was enhanced by the mention of mental immaturity and physical weakness. These qualities inevitably suggested a childlike vulnerability and the consequent need for protection and guidance by responsible mentors.

The Feeble, Indolent Savage

For Robertson the persona of the “naked savage” was summed up in the multiplicity of meanings embraced in the word “feeble.” Although “feebleness” in its primary sense of physical weakness was epitomised in the image of the stick-like limbs of the “naked savage”, it also applied to perceptions of their mental state. “Feebleness” became associated with the belief
that the “naked savage” lacked sensibility and that the active efforts of the savage mind are “few and languid” thus linking the idea of “feebleness” with the idea of “indolence.” The notion of “feebleness” was to be of considerable significance and was said to be among the chief characteristics of the “naked savage.” According to Robertson the “naked savage” was not only “averse to toil,” but, as he went on to explain, incapable of it; and when roused by force from their native indolence, and compelled to work, they sunk under tasks which people of other continents would have performed with ease. This feebleness of constitution was universal among the inhabitants of those regions [excepting Mexico and Peru] in America which we are surveying, and may be considered characteristic of the species there.72 (my emphases)

He reported that the “naked savages” of America had been described as resembling “birds of prey, rather than animals formed for labour,”73 and that where living was exceptionally easy, they were incapable of physical effort because where the demands of men are so few and so moderate, that they may be gratified without effort, ... the powers of the body are not called forth, nor can they attain their proper strength.74

Those who were hunters were credited with having “acquired greater [physical and mental] firmness” than those who did not, while those who neither hunted nor cultivated crops were said to be “feeble and languid.”75 Combining “languid” with “feeble” had a force that went far beyond the idea of physical weakness into the realms of mental activity. We have already noted the link between “vigour” and “progress”. Thus, according to Robertson, acquiring physical strength and vigour was a prerequisite to the mental development required for “progress.”

Moreover, the “naked savage” was labelled improvident, and concerned only with the immediate moment and the material world,76 and without a sense of “futurity”77 in either this world or the next. While mankind in a more advanced state of society was said to be motivated by acquired wants and appetites ... the desires of simple nature are few where a favourable climate yields almost spontaneously what suffices them, they scarcely stir the soul or excite violent emotion.78
For the eighteenth-century reader, the use of the word "spontaneously" instantly located the "rudest and the most unimproved" of the "naked savages" in the torrid zone; with the implication that those who were more "improved" inhabit the temperate zone. A more serious charge was that even in the torrid zone the "naked savage" was languid in his response to sexual passion or the power of love. Here the "black" peoples of the world are compared to their advantage with the "naked savage":

The negro glows with all the warmth of desire natural to his climate; and the most uncivilised Asiatics discover that sensibility, which from their situation, we should expect them to have felt. But the Americans are, to an amazing degree, strangers to the force of this first instinct of nature.79

However, he noted that "the passions implanted in the human frame by the hand of nature acquire additional force" when the "naked savages" of the Americas could secure a regular supply of nourishment with little labour.80 Marsden's comments on Montesquieu's statements on polygamy in tropical countries support Robertson's contentions concerning the comparative lack of sexual passion amongst "brown" peoples. Marsden wrote with reference to Sumatra:

It must further be considered, that the genial warmth which expands the desires of the men, and prompts a more unlimited exertion of their faculties, does not inspire their constitutions with proportionate vigor, that on the contrary, renders them, in this respect, inferior to the inhabitants of the temperate zone.81 (my emphases).

Thus Marsden, too, explains the observed behaviour in terms of feebleness. If we are to understand the import of these words and the disdain felt in the eighteenth century for a people whom supposedly nothing roused out of their lethargy and indolence we have only to consider eighteenth-century attitudes to war. We have already noted the emphasis Raynal placed on defending one's liberty. Robertson held that at such a time such passions [are] aroused, as exhibit mankind to view in a situation no less striking than interesting. It is one of the noblest functions of history, to observe and delineate men at a juncture when their minds are most violently agitated, and all their powers and passions called forth.82

In the eighteenth century war amongst equals was said by scholars and theoreticians to represent the highest pinnacle of
achievement. Such a war tuned humankind to their highest pitch and called up their greatest talents. Conversely Robertson commented that

The alienation and enmity, prevalent among barbarians, [prevents] them from uniting in any common scheme of defence.85

War, he implied, properly belongs to the advanced nations who can arrange treaties and manage other matters of foreign diplomacy.

Therefore, by treating the human species as a continuum, Robertson could consider mankind with little apparent reference to race for “in every part of the earth the progress of man has been nearly the same.”84 This allowed him to portray the American tribes as “children”. He could then explain the “naked savage” in terms of well accepted so-called “universal” or “natural laws” (thus obscuring the circularity of his argument). Therefore, although his stated aim was to study the unfolding and development of human understanding, he ended up by distinguishing between (and creating stereotypes for) “brown” savages, who were feeble and phlegmatic, and “black” savages who were morally decadent, “effeminate” and passionate. In effect Robertson had taken the behavioural characteristics which Linnaeus had listed for Asiatics (“severe, haughty, covetous”) and those of Africans (“crafty, indolent, negligent”)85 and merged them in the “naked savage.” Thinking engendered by the “law of climate” facilitated such an outcome. These ideas on the nature of “savages” were to have powerful political implications. Combined with contemporary interpretations of the “might is right” doctrine masquerading as a policy on landownership, these ideas were a licence to treat all “brown” subject peoples in terms of their potential as a labour force and justified controlling almost every aspect of their lives.

Land and Cultivation

In the last third of the eighteenth century signs of the coming industrial revolution were negligible which means that agriculture and a rural-based elite were still of paramount importance. Despite the attention given by scholars in later centuries to Adam Smith’s four stages of social progress these ideas made little headway until the early decades of the nineteenth century.86 In the final book of Raynal’s History, for example, considerable space is given to a discussion of the virtues of agriculture, and we find statements like “a wise government cannot refuse to pay its principal attention to agriculture, without endangering its very existence.”87 Thus agriculture
retained its traditional position in society, maintained in part by its classical associations, and in part by the environmental and social values of the times. Raynal wrote:

Everything, indeed depends upon, and arises from the cultivation of the land. ... a country well cultivated occasions an increase of population, and riches are a natural consequence of that increase. ... It is the milk of Juno, which peoples the heavens with innumerable multitude of stars.88

That progress in agriculture was a recognised eighteenth-century measure of civilisation will be further discussed below.

The then fashionable notions of mankind's responsibility towards his environment depended upon notions of cultivation. The implications for agricultural activity or their lack were dealt with in some detail by Robertson. He deplored "native indolence." Absence of cultivation was said to be a sign of neglect and signalled that the land was not only uncared for but unoccupied - a wasteland in which the forests were choked and the less vegetated areas "desolate and horrid." "Wild unassisted nature," he said, was regarded as unwholesome. "To meliorate the condition of that part of the earth allotted to them for their habitation"89 was counted not only a civilising activity, but also a moral and even a sacred responsibility for mankind because "the labour and operations of man not only improve and embellish the earth, but render it more wholesome, and friendly to life."90

Robertson argued that only the European settlers in the Americas had done anything to improve the country. The original inhabitants had achieved nothing for the country and its uncleared forests were held up as a reproach. The "hand of industry" had not been lifted to drain the land, clear the waterways or to "embellish the earth." This was contrasted with Europe whose pleasing, healthy, and productive landscape was the result of hundreds of years of mankind's activity and "no small part of that fertility and beauty we ascribe to the hand of nature, is the work of man."91 In the Americas, not only was the state of the country interpreted as a reproach, but it was an indicator of the state of the people. Although Robertson held that the laziness of the "naked savage" was natural because he had no incentive to behave otherwise he also maintained that if put to regular work his feeble physique would improve. He concluded that "the body accustomed to labour becomes robust and patient of fatigue" and the bodily strength gained through "culture of the earth"92 would promote "improvement" of the mind.
On the basis of the above discussion we can summarise the main points of Robertson's argument as follows. He claimed that throughout the continent there was little to distinguish the American tribes by way of colour, and the same was the case for their stage of civilisation, excepting the peoples of Mexico and Peru. However, his research showed that there was a considerable difference between the “brown” peoples of the torrid zone in America, and the “black” peoples of the torrid zone elsewhere. Robertson believed that all tribes or nations at the dawn of their development had the character of children and like them lacked “passion”. But the most notable features of the “brown” nations were their feebleness, their slight physique, and their languid or insensate indolence. All these qualities were supposed to spring from their looking no further than “bounteous nature” to fulfil their needs. However, under tutelage and with regular exercise, they could overcome their lack of physical strength and their poor appetite.93 At the same time he suggested that an uncultivated land was the equivalent of an uninhabited land. However, he significantly focused attention on the potential for “improving” the “naked savages”, rather than, as had often occurred (and was to continue) in settler colonies, focusing on the land and setting the interests of the original inhabitants aside.

Although these ideas appear through their strict definition of proprietorship to deal with the question of land ownership and land title, the real focus is on the obligations of the “savage” inhabitants to cultivate their own land. The existence of “savage” inhabitants offered the possibility of a new and legitimate pool of labour at a time when serious questioning of the slave trade was beginning. Colonialists and administrators of the Southeast Asia and Pacific regions, who were endeavouring to implement agricultural regimes, were to take up these ideas on “man management”. They were to be of especial relevance in countries such as Borneo and the Malaya peninsula where the administrators were dealing with aboriginal peoples who might be described as “black” as well as “brown” races. Disseminated through Marsden, the first of a long line of British colonial scholar administrators, Robertson’s ideas were to play a major role in shaping British colonial policy of the nineteenth century.

**Progress and Civilisation**

The idea of a “ranking” or a scale against which a nation’s or civilisation’s achievements could be evaluated was well established in European discourse at this time. The enlightenment device of a scale or ladder on which to rank nations is not to be confused with the theory of evolutionary change proposed in later times. This latter idea, founded on the biological concept of the physical modification of a species, fostered notions of
racial difference that were, as noted above, rejected by Robertson and men of like persuasion.

Other eighteenth-century scholars and writers used “ranking”, as did Marsden, to allocate the nations to their places on a ladder which marked progress from an uncivilised state of nature towards the “refinement” of civil society. Marsden’s scheme included past and present civilisations. He called the divisions “classes”, which clearly refers to the Linnaean classification. “Ranking” included the notion that a near approach to the zenith of refinement held the ever present threat of decline and fall. As previously noted, it was an axiom of eighteenth-century European political thought that society developed organically. Because contemporary European society was perceived to have attained unprecedented heights, whether and how soon their society would succumb to an inevitable decay was a pertinent issue. Decline was regarded as irreversible for “when once a nation has begun to decline it seldom recovers itself.” Nowhere was this preoccupation better exemplified for the eighteenth century than in Gibbon’s History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (1776–1788).

Marsden described the Malay people of “Menangcabow” as a nation in decline largely on the basis of the stories he had been told and the evidence he had gathered from native informants of a vast “Menangcabow” empire, which in past ages had held sway over the entire island. Even though still recognised by the other Sumatran nations as pre- eminent, the nation no longer claimed such power. Marsden wrote of the Malay people that they have an appearance of degeneracy, and this renders their character totally different from that which we conceive as savage, however justly their ferocious spirit of plunder on the eastern coast may have drawn upon them that name.

Nevertheless he pointed out that Malays should be distinguished from savages, because their society had risen up the scale of civilisation. However, since peoples in decline were said to be in a state of “inaction and barbarism,” over the years this subtlety was lost. The theories of the “naked savage” and of “decline” were subsumed in the overarching notion of the “indolence” of “brown” peoples. Hence the Malays’ shortcomings could be blamed on their (moral) weakness.

Marsden’s History was principally devoted to a description of the four major tribes or nations of Sumatra. Following Montesquieu, Marsden described the environmental factors, even down to the level of diet, which affected their manners and governance and which would modify to varying degrees
the operation of the “law of climate.” Since Marsden was observing eighteenth-century parameters where notions of hierarchy were endemic, he “ranked” these peoples. While his chapters dealt with each group in a geographical order progressing north, in his second chapter on the “Distinction of Inhabitants” he listed them in order of “rank” as follows: “the empire of the Menangcabow and the Malays; in the next place the Achenese; then the Battas; the Rejangs; and next to them, the Lampoons.” However, when in the History of Sumatra Marsden came to consider the “Comparative state of Sumatrans in civil society” in his eleventh chapter he was more circumspect. Although Marsden placed the Sumatrans in the third and fourth ranks (out of five) he did not specify to which “rank” each Sumatran nation belonged. It is also significant to find that Marsden assigned to the fourth class the Mexican and Peruvian empires, in line with Robertson’s assessment, whereas other writers usually placed these empires higher on the scale. Robertson’s measurements of civilisation were quite faithfully reflected in the summary given in the History of Sumatra which reads:

There are three scales, pointed out by different writers (le Poivre, Robertson, and Richardson) by which to measure and ascertain the state of civilization any people have arrived at: one is the degree of perfection of their agriculture; another their progress in the art of numeration; and the third the number of abstract terms in their language. Forming a judgment by these tests, the reader will be able to determine with what share of propriety I have assigned the above ranks to the Sumatrans. In combination these measures provided a “scientific” means of assessing a nation’s state of civilisation. Marsden, however, appears to have used his own discretion tempered by his considerable knowledge of the Sumatrans in interpreting these measures. While the second and third measures were spelled out quite succinctly as follows, the first was not. Regarding numeracy Robertson wrote:

among savages, who have no property to estimate, no hoarded treasures to count, no variety of objects or multiplicity of ideas to enumerate, arithmetic is a superfluous and useless art. Accordingly among some tribes in America it seems to be quite unknown.

And about language:
The mind of man while he is in the savage state ... is unacquainted with all ideas which have been denominated universal, or abstract, or of reflection. ... This is remarkably the case with the ruder nations of America, that their languages ... have not a word to express anything but what is material or corporeal.  

What Robertson wrote on land and cultivation has already been discussed. The most succinct statement of agriculture as a measure of civilisation is to be found in Pierre le Poivre's *Voyages d'un philosophe, ou, Observations sur les moeurs et les arts des peuples de l'Afrique, de l'Asie et de l'Amerique*, (1779). Le Poivre was a former French envoy to Cochin China, whose "Travels" comprised an appreciation of the people, trade, and agriculture of the major countries of the region. He wrote the following comments on the benefit of agriculture:

[It] never fails to prosper among wise nations who know how to honor and encourage it; - it supports itself but feebly amongst a people half polished, ... it languishes, and its influence is scarcely to be observed amongst barbarians, who despise it.  

Marsden described the Sumatrans as depending on husbandry for their subsistence, and he gave a detailed account of their principal crops which were rice and pepper. He concluded his treatment of rice production (a purely domestic, native activity) with a report that: "in the country of Manna, a progress in the art of cultivation is discovered", where returns on grain raised by irrigation ("sawoor") ranged from 100:1 up to 120:1. These figures far outstripped European figures. The difference in return he attributed to the Sumatran methods of planting. However, in connection with the cultivation of pepper (all of which was grown for export by the East India Company), despite admitting that some native techniques had proved superior to European, he remarked that Sumatran agriculture was "in its infancy".

This is hardly surprising, since supervising the pepper plantations was the justification for the presence of the factory at Bencoolen. Doubtless the Residents, the East India Company officials, who were responsible for supervising the work were troubled because neatness and order would not have come naturally to the Sumatrans. Marsden shared in the eighteenth century's intellectual commitment to upholding the virtues of agriculture. Although overtly about "taste" the following passage should be read more as an appreciation of the agrarian scene:

The pepper gardens are planted in even rows, running parallel [sic] and at right angles with each other. Their
appearance is very beautiful, and rendered more striking by the contrast they exhibit to the wild scenes of nature which surround them. (my emphasis)

This vividly recalls Robertson’s reference to “wild unassisted nature.” More usually Marsden would have written pepper plantations, but “gardens,” by domesticating the scene, emphasised the contrast. In continuing the above passage, Marsden suggested that these sights of the pepper plantations always gave him pleasure because:

Perhaps the simple view of human industry, so scantily presented in that island, might contribute to that pleasure, by awakening these social feelings that nature has inspired us with, and which makes our breasts glow on the perception of whatever indicates the happiness of our fellow creatures.107 (my emphases)

The contemporary stereotype of the indolent “naked savage” inherited from Robertson through Marsden both complemented and reinforced eighteenth-century notions of agrarian obligations. It became acceptable European colonial practice to force the inhabitants of tropical countries to give up their peripatetic maritime or to slash and burn agricultural livelihoods. Arguments grounded in notions of the dignity of manual labour and the cultivation of the land as a sacred trust were to give future proconsuls immense moral authority in implementing employment and “people management” policies.

Marsden found that allocating specific ranks to the Sumatran nations was problematic. Clearly they could not be labelled “savages”, yet according to European wisdom,

Nature being more powerful under the torrid than the temperate zone, does not permit the influence of manners to exert itself strongly.108

This suggests that for the peoples of the torrid zone evidence regarding degrees of civilisation could not be a reliable guide because the natural instincts of the savage were always likely to be more powerful than custom. Nevertheless, Marsden argued that the Sumatrans had ascended a considerable way up the ladder of civilisation since all the Sumatran nations had a sense of private property, were literate, and had basic numeracy skills.109 However, he judged the Rejangs and Lampoons to be inferior because they were not credited with a “sense of futurity” or religion, and the Battas were cannibals. On these grounds it would appear that Marsden would have
ranked the Malays and the Achenese above the other Sumatrans. All the Sumatrans subscribed to a system of recognised customary law (or “addat”) and governance, in some cases described as feudal, in others patriarchal.

Marsden’s language studies suggested that where the nations were Muslim, the admixture of Arabic words in the language ensured the presence of abstract words, which would also be present in the language of any nation with a concept of “futurity”. However, over and above Marsden’s undoubted appreciation of the often more rational and humane basis of Sumatran laws and customs was his high valuation of the (technical) arts practised by the native peoples. Remembering that war in the eighteenth century was still regarded as a noble activity, Marsden’s appreciation of the Malays, the Battas and the Achenese mastery of the art of making guns and gunpowder, which he maintained had predated European contact, becomes significant. Sumatrans also produced the special steel used in daggers, parangs (swords or scimitars) and the Malay “creeses,” but the Malay mastery of filigree work, which outdid European artefacts, excited his greatest admiration.

Marsden, the former administrator, obviously hoped that the Company would return to Bencoolen at the close of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780—1784) which was being waged even as he wrote. Moreover, he may have had a financial interest in the outcome since Marsden and his brother were probably already planning the East India Company agency business they were to set up in 1785. Marsden portrayed the Sumatran peoples as having a stable tradition of laws and customs which would suggest that commercial and other treaties would be honoured. He pointed out that the local chiefs had invited the (British) East India Company to establish their factory and organise the pepper trade. He also indicated a number of ways in which the factory of Bencoolen (which had been operating at a loss) could be run more effectively.

Indolence as an aspect of National Character

The concept of “national character” held the promise of stereotypes that were to become an entrenched feature of Orientalist discourse. The widely held enlightenment view that the character of a nation was shaped by environment had a long history. For example Raynal quoted Polybius as saying that “climate forms the character, complexion, and manners of nations.” Here climate is being referred to in its broadest sense of environment. Thus Raynal described the national character of the Japanese as “fiery as his climate, and restless as the ocean that surrounds him” and ascribed Britain’s
maritime success to England’s geographical location—“an island which nature has made sovereign of the sea.”

Marsden used a related technique to describe the national character of Malays. Although as he had earlier explained, the buffalo was an animal which represented (and still does) the pride of the “Menangcabow” nation in ingenuity and cleverness he wrote:

The Malay may be compared to the buffaloe and tiger. In his domestic state, he is indolent, stubborn, and voluptuous as the former, and in his adventurous life, he is insidious, blood-thirsty and rapacious as the latter. (my emphasis)

The tiger-like Malays were those from the Sunda Straits and the China Seas; the domestic Malays those under British influence. Significantly Marsden’s demeaning description of national character of the “domestic” Malays included the notion of “indolence”. Such brutal and derogatory comments were not, however, unusual. When Raynal ascribed the French preoccupation with conquest and the British with commerce to their national characters, he was not being complimentary either.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, “indolence” had already been used as a signifier to describe the “ignoble” or “black” nations of the torrid regions controlled by the East India Company. For example Thomas Stamford Raffles wrote in 1818 of native “indolence and vice” as matters of longstanding contention at Bencoolen. In 1965 John Bastin used this quintessentially eighteenth-century word (possibly as a quotation) in summarising correspondence from Bencoolen to the Directors in London in 1765 and 1766 written to explain the smaller than expected pepper harvest. “Indolence” was a failing thought to afflict all peoples born in the tropics. Concerning the Creole Portuguese whom Raynal described as “so indolent, so corrupt and so passionately addicted to pleasure” he suggested:

Perhaps the only way to rouze this degenerate race, would be to set before their eyes some laborious men, to whom suitable parcels of land might be allotted.

Raynal’s comments on the indolence of the enslaved people of Indostan have already been noted. There Raynal was discussing not physical laziness, but a moral quality. He also makes this connection between loss of liberty and “indolence” with respect to the Arabic speaking people of the island of Joanna [Anjouan] near Madagascar:
the habit they have contracted of living upon milk and vegetables has given them an unconquerable aversion to labour. ... These people, born to be indolent, have lost that liberty which they, doubtless came hither to enjoy from a neighbouring continent, of which they were the original inhabitants. (my emphases)

As already discussed, the striving for liberty was ranked (for Europeans) as an almost sacred national imperative, and shirking it was a serious neglect of civic duty. However, in "naked savages" reluctance or inability to defend one's liberty was to become another sign of "infancy". With no sense of civic duty and no recognisable social organisation they were therefore in need of (European) guidance.

Because of its inclusion in Robertson's "native savage" discourse, the word "indolence" had acquired special significance for scholars writing on the Southeast Asian and Pacific regions. Marsden's conception of "indolence" embraced much of Robertson's discourse on "feebleness" including its concern with mental and moral as well as physical qualities. The word "indolence" was now rich with contextual allusion and resonated with contemporary discourse (the quoted passages include examples). Marsden describes Malay "indolence" in almost every possible situation, but there is always the sense that it is a moral rather than a physical failing, and that it is another symptom of "decline". Thus Marsden wrote that the Malays were

a rude, incurious, and unambitious people. Their senses, not their reason, should be acted on, to rouze them from their lethargy: their imaginations must be warmed: a spirit of enthusiasm must pervade and animate them, before they will exchange the pleasures of indolence for those of industry. (my emphases)

The word "curious" also had significant implications in the eighteenth century and referred to a thirst for knowledge and a spirit of enquiry. "Indolence" was therefore the very antithesis of the "enlightenment" spirit. This explains why Marsden could at the same time criticise the Malays for "indolence" and yet recount examples of their performing "tedious" physical tasks as a significant part of their regular routine, such as weaving or salt production.

Furthermore, Marsden used a quotation from a manuscript about natives of the Philippines which he described as being of modern date. It reads as follows:

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The excessive **indolence and supineness** of this people, is evident from their having no written account of their religion, government, or history. All their knowledge therein was founded on tradition.\(^{124}\)

The coupling of “indolence” with “supineness” in a sentence dealing with intellectual activities indicated that these words (which he is using as if they were synonyms) were being used to describe moral and mental inactivity. This elevates the discussion of “indolence” and makes the charge of much more significance than it might seem at first glance. At the same time it positions Marsden’s argument in the wider context of debate on the “savage”. The full implications of the word “indolence” in the eighteenth century are highlighted by its presence in a variety of discourses including discussion of the deleterious effect of the torrid zone on the character of its native and foreign inhabitants. It also features in discussion of slavery. Thus by the 1770s philosophers had extended its use from their consideration of the more primitive natives to all “brown” races in general. They had in effect, as previously noted, merged the behavioural characteristics of the Linnaean categories of Asiatic and African species of *homo sapiens*.

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**Towards An Imperial Doctrine**

The War of American Independence and the subsequent loss of the American colonies were traumatic events for the British. Although in the 1770s opportunities for settlement in the New World may have appeared to be contracting there were new lands opening up elsewhere. The Southeast Asia and Pacific regions became the subject of renewed importance and interest for British scholars and administrators alike. Robertson’s philosophy offered a great deal to would-be imperialists who looked to plantation agriculture in the tropics, and mining, to provide the raw materials, manufactures and luxury goods for a European market. His study of the American tribes brought together in a coherent (and apparently consistent) way many of the cardinal principles of the age, and since the *History* was so widely read it is not surprising that the philosophies developed by Robertson were widely influential.

We have found in the writings of Raynal and Robertson a pervasive and didactic message concerning the moral, physical and social degradation of the “black” and “brown” peoples of the world. This was coupled with the implication that intervention would be necessary to effect improvement and set their “savage” feet on the path of progress. For example a (proven) cure for “indolence” would be achieved:
If another direction were given to the active powers of man in the New World, and his force augmented by exercise, he might acquire a degree of vigour which he does not in his present state possess. This truth is confirmed by experience.

This is redolent of positivist assumptions of perfectibility of all human kind and therefore of universal brotherhood. These theories fell like ripe seeds on fertile ground as did suggestions that the torrid zone was the natural place for Europeans to establish their dominion without opposition. It also explained why, as witnessed by the American experience, the peoples of the temperate zone could well be successful in resisting the Europeans.127

The notion of the “childlike naked savage” was not only one of the principal points in Robertson’s philosophy but an intensely evocative image that resonated on a number of levels: individual and social, moral and intellectual. On the one hand, it appealed to one of the enlightenment’s chief intellectual preoccupations, namely an abhorrence of despotism, which was seen as an ever-present feature of eastern societies. On the other hand, hints of cannibalism and infanticide and self-immolation alerted the churches to the challenge of saving souls from moral danger. Missionaries and merchants alike were eager for Britain to assume the role of guardian, guide and protector for “childlike” natives. Robertson’s theories which had found wide acceptance with the reading public, provided a ready-made agenda for an awakening “age of reform.”

The rising tide of humanitarianism brought a new dimension to public debate which helped promote a redirection of British government policy. The loss of the American colonies hung like a shadow over Britain for at least 100 years. Therefore, if the territorial ambitions of East India Company officials and their successors were to be realised they needed to win over the governing elite in Britain to their way of thinking. From the time of Montesquieu, philosopher-historians had been a notable force in the public sphere, and effective catalysts for change. The locus of overseas power moved from the East India Company to Whitehall at the time when the imperial dogma was born. The old “laissez-faire” economic policies were reversed and territorial occupation became a (Christian) duty. Robertson had advanced the idea that in a state of unimproved nature, moral and physical improvement would only occur

Wherever the state of society is such as to create many wants and desires which cannot be satisfied without regular exertions of industry.
and the American Colonial experience had proved that

Whenever Americans have been gradually accustomed to hard labour their constitutions have become robust, and they have been found capable of performing tasks ... to equal any effort of the natives, either of Africa or of Europe. (my emphasis)

Thus the notion of the “naked savage as infant” provided both a new direction and a ready-made policy rationale for government. Therefore it was with a clear conscience that the “white” man could take up his burden of moral responsibility abroad, assured of popular support at home.

Robertson and Marsden left a potent legacy for the merchants, administrators and planters who needed to organise or recruit “brown” labour for plantations in order to develop an export trade in tropical agricultural products. Not only were nations (or races) at the lower end of the human ladder of progress languid or lazy, needing protection and guidance because, in the torrid zones especially, they could not defend themselves, but they had failed in their agrarian duties (unless directed by Europeans). Moreover, according to Robertson, the urge to improve could be mobilised because the capability was there even if latent:

Man cannot continue long in this state of feeble and uninformed infancy. He was made for industry and action, and the powers of his nature, as well as the necessity of his condition, urge him to fulfil his destiny.

Robertson noticed that in the first stages of improvement, men did not embrace the idea of agricultural labour. It was “deemed ignominious and degrading” and therefore in native society for the most part this activity was left to the women. However, under regimes run by settlers, he pointed out that the physical constitution of native peoples could be improved by being employed in manual work and thereby gradually “accustomed to hard labour.”

Conclusion

While this paper has addressed issues raised by the ongoing debate on Orientalism, it principally concerns an exploration of questions which follow in the wake of that raised by Foucault. In the final chapter of his Archaeology of Knowledge, Foucault asked “What is that fear which makes you seek, beyond all boundaries, ruptures, shifts, and divisions, the great historico-transcendental destiny of the Occident?” The terms in which the question is framed
highlight the persistence of a European conceptualisation of a relationship with the East that has its roots in the eighteenth century. Foucault's suggestion that the answer would be political inevitably brings with it overtones of power and domination such as can be traced in the "naked savage" debate.

Thus Robertson's History presented a coherent and readily assimilable set of ideas which not only resonated with eighteenth-century discourse but were to make a substantial contribution to the philosophical underpinnings of British imperialism. He portrayed the "naked savage" as a child: weak and helpless, needing protection and guidance while their minds are "feeble and defective." Because Robertson argued that only the savages in the temperate zone could defend themselves, he also, whether intentionally or not, pointed to the countries located in the torrid zone as areas highly suitable for European exploitation and eventual colonisation. By treating the "naked savage" as an abstraction his discussion acquired the authority of a scientific analysis. Once he had incorporated the "naked savage" in a developmental history of mankind as a kind of universal forebear his theory readily lent itself to being generalised and applied beyond the Americas.

As the nineteenth century progressed, determining to whom the land belonged and establishing appropriate and productive relationships with the "owners" were to become issues of increasing importance in the Southeast Asia and Pacific regions. Hence, after slavery was outlawed in British possessions, Robertson's doctrine was ideally suited to non-settler colonisation projects where the "proper" redirection and re-education of the inhabitants were central to the enterprise. His arguments on the role of agriculture in society, on mankind's obligations to cultivate the land and his narrow definition of land ownership contributed to an international discourse on the nature of sovereignty and the role of empires.

At the practical level, with an increasing body of evidence on cannibalism, ideas of "noble" savages had not found much credence with British administrators and district officers of the East India Company whereas they could respond to ideas on native peoples developed by Robertson. Ideas on the status of agriculture and of "indolence" (and suggestions for remediation) coalesced with the "naked savage" theory to form a new imperial doctrine which came into its own in the course of the nineteenth century. Marsden not only embraced the discourse of the "naked savage" but embellished it with his cogent realisation of the "measures of civilisation" and extension of the meaning of the word "indolence." Although many of the refinements of his work might be lost over time the central thrust of his message persisted and was easily transferred to Malays of the Peninsula.
Marsden's reputation, established by the publication of the *History of Sumatra*, continued to grow with each new addition to his scholarly oeuvre. He became an important conduit through which eighteenth-century discourse on the "origin of mankind" was transmitted to later scholars of British Malaya and the wider region. Thus ideas extracted from Marsden's work on the "indolent" native were fused with the "naked savage" and, confirmed in the hands of his successors, became for all "brown" peoples living in the torrid zone the "lazy native" stereotype.
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1. Marsden's term was Polynesia. Malayo-Polynesia is the term currently used in Malaysia for the area known in European scholarship as Austronesia.


4. "Brown" is used in this paper for all non-"black" (or negro) peoples included in discussion of the "savage" as a racial category.

5. Marsden's spelling and form of names in his 1783 and 1784 editions of *History of Sumatra* have been used throughout.


7. Ibid., Preface p.iv. Marsden notes that the only prior publication of a scholarly nature was a 1778 article on the Batta people by Charles Miller in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

8. Ibid., p.viii: "The study of their own species is doubtless the most important and most interesting that can claim the attention of mankind".


10. *History of America*, 2 vols (London: Strahan, 1777). Robertson was cited by Marsden as one of his authorities, and his *History* was listed in Marsden's *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana* (London: Cox, 1827), p.107.

11. *A Dictionary of Persian, Arabic and English ... to which is prefixed a dissertation on the languages, literatures and manners of Eastern Nations*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1777). Richardson was cited by Marsden as one of his authorities and the *Dictionary* was listed as owned by Marsden in his *Catalogue of the Dictionaries, Vocabularies and Grammars of all Languages* (University of London, University of London, ...
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12 Voyage d'un philosophe, ou, Observation sur les moeurs et les arts des peuples de l'Afrique, de l'Asie et de l'Amerique (Maestricht: Dufour, 1779). Marsden cited the French edition of 1779. The English translation was entitled Travels of a Philosopher or Observations of the manners and arts of various nations in Asia and Africa (Baltimore: N. G. Maxwell, 1818).

13 Especially after “Pious Act”, 1813 (re East India Company Charter) and the establishment of Haileybury College whose educational program was to inculcate the duty of encouraging the Christianisation of India.


15 Marsden, History of Sumatra, p.i.

16 Ibid., Preface, p.viii: “misconceptions, or wilful impositions of travellers.”

17 Marsden has often been described as an “Irishman”. Although born in Ireland, he was of English descent, but might have admitted to being Anglo-Irish. He went to considerable pains in his memoirs to indicate his English ancestry, and was rather patronising in his references to Irish, Scots and Welsh customs, whereas the Anglo-Saxon always received favourable mention.


20 Rousseau urged “Lovers of Glory [who would sponsor or undertake] a serious Voyage round the World, as would recommend their Names to present and future generations; not to confine themselves to Plants and Stones, but for once study Men and Manners ...” (my emphasis) Quoted in E. H. McCormick, Omai; Pacific Envoy (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1977), p.8.
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23 Marsden, History of Sumatra, p.373: “I was encouraged by persons of the first consideration in the world of science ... to prepare for publication whatever materials I had for a Natural history of the country.”


25 Marsden, History of Sumatra, pp.vii—viii.

26 Ibid., History of Sumatra, p.170 as one of his sources for Marsden’s three measures of civilisation which are discussed below.

27 Richardson, A Dictionary, Persian, Arabic and English ... to which is prefixed a dissertation of the languages, literature and manners of Eastern Nations, p.i.

28 For example in the dispute between Bartolomé de Las Casas v Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, heard in Valladolid, 1550 and 1551 which is discussed in Lewis Hanke, The Spanish struggle for justice in the conquest of America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1949), pp.109—132. Robertson was aware of the subject of the controversy; see for example: History of America, vol.1, p.312—13.

29 Ibid., vol.1, p.286.

30 Ibid., vol.1, p. 418: “Even the law of climate, more universal, perhaps in its operation than any other that affects the human species, cannot be applied ... without many exceptions.”


32 Ibid., vol.1, p.414.
33 Raynal, *Philosophical and Political History of the Establishment of European Commerce*, vol.1, p.56: “Man ... is endued [i.e. endowed] with a power of accommodating himself to the various modes of life that prevail in every different climate.”

34 Raynal discussed the different effects of hot and temperate climates in a passage which begins as follows: “... the differences between the inhabitants of the north and south, is of too uniform a cast to be attributed entirely to the particular kind of nourishment; the cold of the north, the elasticity of the air; less fertility and more labour and exercise; with a more varied kind of life; all these circumstances whet the appetite, brace the nerves, raise a spirit of resolution and activity, and give a firmer tone to the organs ...” See *Philosophical and Political History of the Establishment of European Commerce*, vol.1, p.56


36 Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*, book XIV, chapter 2, vol.1, p.243: “The inhabitants of warm countries, are like old men, timorous; the people in cold countries are, like young men, brave.”


39 Ibid., vol.1, p.415: “This powerful operation of climate is felt most sensibly by rude nations, and produces greater effects than in societies more highly polished. The talents of civilised men are continually exerted in rendering their condition more comfortable.”

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42 Robertson, History of America, vol.1, p.299: “the agency of heat is checked and abated by various causes, ... The colour of the natives of the torrid zone can hardly be said to be of a deeper hue than the natives in the more temperate part of the continent.” See also Raynal, Philosophical and Political History, vol.3, p.375: “The colour of negroes is, therefore, falsely supposed to be owing to the climate.”


44 Marsden, History of Sumatra, p.216.


46 Blainey, The Great Seesaw, p.22: “Professor Glyndwr Williams ... [has] pointed out that in the [ship] Endeavour was a copy of George Shelvocke's book of 1726, A Voyage Around the World.”


48 Bernard Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985), p.143: “In England, from the time of Cook's first return from the Pacific, there were those who were appalled by the stories they read of sexual promiscuity, human sacrifices, and infanticide. The way in which the fashionable sections of English society had treated Omai, first making a social lion of him and then sending him back to Huahine laden with presents but still a pagan, outraged evangelical opinion.”

49 Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific, p.149: “In France ... Savages were endowed with the virtues that good republicans aspired to.”

50 For example the pictorial work, “Les sauvages de la mer pacifique” (1805) by Joseph Dufour (National Gallery of Australia) said to represent Cook's Voyage appears to be based on reports resulting from Bougainville's 1768 expedition which described the inhabitants of Tahiti as: “white, handsome, and six to six-and-a-half feet tall; the women were swathed from head to foot in a white veil.
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51 Blainey, The Great Seesaw, p.17.


54 Montesquieu defined the difference between savages and barbarous nations in The Spirit of Laws, book 18, chapter XI, p.302: “the [savage nations] are dispersed clans, which for some particular reason cannot be joined in a body; and the latter are commonly small nations, capable of being united. The savages are generally hunters; the barbarians are herdsman and shepherds.” This gradation is reflected in one of the senses of the present day meaning of barbarian, as illustrated by a quotation in O.E.D., p.664: “I believe with you that savages could never civilise themselves, but barbarians I think might.”


56 Ibid., vol.1, p.270: “Even the most cultivated nations of America were strangers to many inventions, which were almost coeval with society in other parts of the world”, and History of America, vol.1, pp.368—9: “The empires of Peru and Mexico, ... their progress in civilisation, when measured by the European or Asiatic standards, was inconsiderable.”

57 Ibid., vol.1, p.266.

58 Ibid., vol.1, pp.266—67.

59 Ibid., vol.1, p.287.

60 Ibid., vol.1, p.300.

61 Ibid., vol.1, p.265.

62 Ibid., vol.1, p.266—267
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<th>Page</th>
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<td>63</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, p. 282.</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, p. 282: “The philosophers and historians of ancient Greece and Rome, our guides in this as well as every other disquisition, had only a limited view of the subject.”</td>
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<td>65</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 281–82.</td>
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<td>66</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, p. 282.</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, p. 308.</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, p. 282.</td>
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<td>69</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, p. 268: “In every part of the earth the progress of a man has been nearly the same, and we can trace him in his career from the rude simplicity of savage life, until he attains the industry, the arts, and the elegance of polished society.”</td>
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<td>70</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, p. 283.</td>
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<td>71</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 308–09.</td>
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<td>72</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, p. 290.</td>
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<td>73</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, p. 290.</td>
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<td>74</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, p. 294.</td>
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<td>75</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, p. 290.</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, p. 310: “The thoughts and attention of a savage are confined within a small circle of objects, <em>immediately</em> conducive to his preservation or enjoyment. Every thing beyond that, escapes his observation, or is perfectly indifferent to him.” (my emphasis)</td>
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<td>77</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, p. 265: “[T]he unlettered inhabitants of America, who have no solicitude about futurity, and little curiosity concerning what is past.” (my emphasis)</td>
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<td>78</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, p. 314.</td>
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<td>79</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, p. 292.</td>
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<td>80</td>
<td>Ibid., vol. 1, p. 296.</td>
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82 Robertson, *History of America*, vol.1, p.179.

83 Ibid., vol.1, p.369.

84 Ibid., vol.1, p.268.


86 P. J. Marshall, *Problems of Empire: Britain and India 1757—1813* (London: George Allen, 1968), p.95: “[Adam] Smith’s views were to have more effect in the early 19th century than at the time they were published.” It was at this time that Raynal’s influence began to wane; see D. D. Irvine, “The Abbé Raynal and British Humanitarianism,” *Journal of Modern History*, vol.3 (1931), pp.564—77.

87 Raynal, *Philosophical and Political History*, vol.5, p.489

88 Ibid., vol.5, p.485.

89 Robertson, *History of America*, vol.1, p.257.

90 Ibid., vol.1, p.258.

91 Ibid., vol.1, pp.256—58.

92 Ibid., vol.1, p.293—94: “Wherever the state of society is such as to create many wants and desires, which cannot be satisfied without regular exertions of industry, the body accustomed to labour becomes robust and patient of fatigue. In a more simple state, where the demands of men are so few and so moderate, ... they may be gratified without effort.”

93 Ibid., vol.1, p.295.

94 Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, pp.169—170: The 1st class included the ancient Greeks, the Romans, France, England, and other unspecified European nations “and perhaps China”; 2nd class Persian, Mogul, Turkish empires “with some European kingdoms”; 3rd class the Sumatrans, Xoalans [sic] other states of the Eastern Archipelago, northern African and some Arab nations; 4th class “less civilised Sumatrans, some peoples of the South Seas, and Mexican and Peruvian empires, the Tartar hordes and any other nation having a sense of
property”; 5th class the Carribs, New Hollanders, Hottentots and Laplanders.

95 Raynal, Philosopbal and Political History, vol. 4, p.508: “To raise a country from a state of barbarism, to maintain it at the height of its glory and to check the rapidity of its decline, are three objects very difficult to accomplish; but the last is certainly the most arduous of them all; “and Robertson, History of America, vol.1, p.282: “society ... advances from the infant state of civil life towards its maturity and decline.” (my emphases)

96 Ibid., vol.3, p.74.

97 Marsden, History of Sumatra, p.172.


99 In the eighteenth century it was believed, for example, that meat eaters were braver and more intrepid, and vegetarians, mild and less warlike.

100 Marsden, History of Sumatra, pp.34—35.

101 Ibid., p.170.

102 Robertson, History of America, vol.1, p.310.

103 Ibid., p.311.

104 Pierre le Poivre, Travels of a Philosopher, p.6.

105 Marsden, History of Sumatra, p.66—67.

106 Ibid., p.49—50: “The doosoons [villages] being surrounded with abundance of fruit trees; some of considerable height, as the doorean, coco and betel-nut; and the neighbouring country, for a little space about, being in some degree cleared of wood, for the rice and pepper plantations; they strike the eye at a distance as clumps merely, exhibiting no appearance of a town or any place of habitation.”

107 Ibid., pp.112—3.

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XIX, chapter 4, p.322: “Nature and climate rule almost alone over the savages.”

109 Marsden, History of Sumatra: In addition to a formal section on arithmetic skill and measures of quantity etc., (pp.156—57) the section on Cock fighting (p.237) includes a note on the relatively complex system used to calculate dividends for multiple bettors.


111 Marsden, History of Sumatra: This included the farming out of sugar production to Chinese settlers (footnote, p.152) and various discussions of the potential of various natural resources. There is also a hint that he had not been in full agreement with Company policy at Bencoolen, p.117: “How far, in a commercial light, this produce answers the Company’s views in supporting the settlements, is foreign from my purpose to discuss, though it is a subject on which not a little might be said.”


113 Ibid., vol.1, p.184.

114 Ibid., vol.4, p.310.

115 Marsden, History of Sumatra, p.173.


119 Ibid., vol.1, pp.429—430.

120 The dictionary meanings of “indolence” given in the O.E.D. (Oxford: 1933) viz.

“1. Insensibility or indifference to pain; want of feeling. 2. Freedom from pain; a state of rest or ease in which neither pain nor pleasure is felt. 3. The disposition to

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avoid trouble; love of ease; laziness, slothfulness, sluggishness; cf. "insensibility ... to pain [and] want of feeling" with Samuel Johnson's definition given in his *Dictionary of the English Language*, 4th rev. ed. (London: Strahan, 1773): "1. Freedom from pain, 2. Laziness; inattention; listlessness."

*Marsden, History of Sumatra*, p.171: Compare the quotation from Marsden with Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*, Book XIV, chapter 2, vol.1, p.245: "The heat of the climate may be so excessive as to deprive the body of all vigour and strength. Then faintness is communicated to the mind; there is no curiosity, no noble enterprize, no generous sentiment; the inclinations are all passive; indolence constitutes the utmost happiness." (my emphasis).

121 Ibid., p.148.

122 Ibid., p.153.

123 Ibid., footnote, p.258: The footnote gives examples of Philippine beliefs (myths of origin) that were founded on, or were closely related to, Sumatran beliefs. Quoted from a ms item (of "modern" date) in Dalrymple's library. Possibly Marsden's own translation.


125 Willey, *The Eighteenth Century Background*, p.206: Willey wrote that in the eighteenth century "Nature" could be treated "as dross to be moulded in our own likeness; we must alter rather than explain, and make the future instead of letting be, writing justice, and brotherhood."

126 Ibid., p.416: "[The savages of the temperate zone] have defended their liberty with persevering fortitude against the Europeans, who subdued other rude nations of America with the greatest of ease."


128 For example, Marsden discussed cannibalism in *History of Sumatra*, p.301 ff., and Robertson discussed infanticide in *History of America*, vol.1, p.298 ff.

129 The economic and humanitarian arguments put forward by historians were effective in shaping public opinion. For example William Cowper, the poet, wrote in 1784,
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"Know then that I have learnt long since, of Abbé Raynal, to hate all monopolies, as injurious, howsoever managed, to the interests of commerce at large, consequently the (East India Company) charter in question would not be any favourite of mine". Quoted in Marshall, Problems of Empire, p.150.

130 Robertson, History of America, vol.1, p.294.

131 Ibid., vol.1, p.294.

132 Ibid., vol.1, pp.315—16.


134 This article is based on a paper given at “The Exotic during the Long 18th Century: 1660—1830,” Conference held in Canberra, Australia, in March, 2001.

I wish to record my warmest thanks for giving so generously of their advice and expertise to Dr Robert Barnes, and especially to Professor Virginia Matheson Hooker and Professor Campbell Macknight who also commented on early drafts of this paper.
Appendix II

Chronological Summary of Public Offices held by William Marsden and his Membership of Learned Societies

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<th>Year</th>
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<td>1771</td>
<td>14 June, appointed Writer in the Fort Marlborough Department of the Secretary to Council.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1773</td>
<td>November, appointed Sub-Secretary</td>
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<td>1774</td>
<td>January, appointed acting Secretary</td>
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<td>1776</td>
<td>October, appointed Secretary</td>
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<td>1779</td>
<td>April, resigned effective 14 June.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1783</td>
<td>23 January, elected Fellow of the Royal Society and admitted 6 February²</td>
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<tr>
<td>1783</td>
<td>April, <em>History of Sumatra</em> published.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1784</td>
<td>Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Marsden, 1838, p. 59 footnote)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1785</td>
<td>May, Founding member Royal Irish Academy of Sciences, Polite Literature, and Antiquities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Marsden, 1838, p. 66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1785</td>
<td>8 December, Fellow Society of Antiquaries, London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Marsden, 1838, p. 66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1786</td>
<td>28 June, created D.C.L. (Doctor of Civil Law) i.e. Honorary Doctor of Laws, University of Oxford.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Marsden, 1838, p. 66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>2 August, became a member of the Royal Society Club.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Marsden, 1838, p. 68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1788</td>
<td>became Treasurer of Royal Society Club, as which he continued until 1803.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Marsden, 1838, p. 68)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ This list has been compiled from Marsden's *Brief memoir*. His listing of memberships appears to have been restricted to those he helped to found, or where membership was a token of the (intellectual) respect of his peers. He, for example, did not list his membership of the Society for the exploring the interior of Africa whose funds were derived from their annual subscription (of Five Guineas). Horneman, 1802, p. 193.

² Marsden, 1838, p. 5
1795 3 March, appointed Second Secretary to the Admiralty.  
(Marsden, 1838, p. 86)

1799 chosen as a member of The Literary Club.³

1799 Marsden contributed to the founding of the Royal Institution.⁴

1802 November, Elected Treasurer of the Royal Society.  
(Marsden, 1838 p. 104)

1804 15th January, appointed Secretary of the Admiralty.  
(Marsden, 1838, pp. 105-108)

1805 purchased the nucleus of his numismatic collection.  
(Marsden, 1838, pp.114-115)

1807 Resigned from the Admiralty as of 24 June, with a pension of one thousand five hundred pounds per annum.⁵

1807 22 August, married Elizabeth Wilkins, daughter of Charles Wilkins at the parish church of Mary-le-bone, London.  
(Marsden, 1838, pp.133-138)

1810 30 November, having the preceding April moved from London to Edge Grove, Aldenham, Hertfordshire, he resigned from the offices of Treasurer and Vice-President of the Royal Society.⁶

1813 Honorary member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Batavia, Java.  
(Marsden, 1838, p.145)

1820 Honorary member of the American Philosophical Society.  
(Marsden, 1838, p.154)

1820 Member of Horticultural Society of London.  
(Marsden, 1838, p.154)

³ Marsden, 1838, footnote p. 92 and p. 93. “My election is a mark of respect to Lord Spencer, who proposed me”.

⁴ Marsden, 1838, p. 96. Marsden “assisted materially with its foundation”.

⁵ Marsden, 1838, pp 130-133, 164. He was then earning 4 thousand pounds per annum (the wartime salary). It was arranged that his pension would be half the peacetime salary of three thousand pounds.

⁶ Marsden, 1838, p. 141. Marsden held the property by lease. Edge Grove was situated a few miles north east of Aldenham.
1823 Founding member of (Royal) Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. (Marsden, 1838, p.155)

1823 Founding Trustee of the Malayan College, a department of the Singapore Institution as set up by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles.7

1823 January, elected *Associé de la Société Asiatique de Paris.* (Marsden, 1838, p.155)

1824 Joined in the establishment of the Athenaeum. (Marsden, 1838, p.157)

1825 Honorary Associate of the Royal Academy of Stockholm. (Marsden, 1838, p.157)

1826 April, Member of Zoological Society. (Marsden, 1838, p.160)

1827 Founding member of The Raleigh, a second travellers club. (Marsden, 1838, p.161)

1830 Assisted in establishment of the Royal Geographical Society. (Marsden, 1838, p.162)

1831 30 June, Marsden’s decision to relinquish his pension was announced in Parliament. (Marsden, 1838, p.163).

1834 Donated his Numismatic Collection to the British Museum. (Marsden, 1838, p. 169)

1835 30 January, his offer to donate his Library accepted by Kings College and it was moved there some months later. (Marsden, 1838, p. 173)

1836 Died, 6 October, and was buried at Kensal Green Cemetery, (north west) London.

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7 Raffles, 1839, Appendix, p. 79.
Appendix III

Publications of William Marsden

1781

“Account of a Phenomenon observed upon the Island of Sumatra. By William Marsden, Esq.; communicated by Sir Joseph Banks, P.R.S. Read May 24, 1781.”, Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, V. 71, pp. 383-385. (Marsden, 1838, p. 50)

1782

“Remarks on the Sumatran languages by Mr Marsden. In a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. President of the Royal Society”. Read February 22, 1781; Archaeologia, or Miscellaneous tracts relating to antiquity published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, V. vi, 1782, pp. 154-158.

Marsden later gave the title as: “Remarks on the Sumatran (and other cognate) languages, in a letter to Sir Joseph Banks”.

1783

April: The History of Sumatra Containing An Account of the Government, Laws, Customs, and Manners of the Island, with a description of Native productions, and a relation of the ancient political state of that island, by William Marsden FRS, Late Secretary to the President and Council Of Fort Marlborough, London, Printed for the Author, and sold by Thomas Payne and Son, Mew’s Gate; Benjamin White, Fleet-street; James Robson, New Bond-street Covent Garden; and J Sewell, Cornhill. MDCCLXXXIII. 4to

1784

March: History of Sumatra, 2nd edition

1785

Natürliche und bürgerliche Beschreibung der Insel Sumatra in Ostindien Ausdem Englischen übersetzt, Leipzig, 8vo.

1785


1787

Illustration of Styrax Benzoin.

Published as Table II in “Botanical Description of the Benjamin Tree of Sumatra. By Jonas Dryander, M.A. Libr. R.S. and Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm; communicated by Sir

8 Marsden, 1838, p. 151.
9 Marsden, 1838, p. 53
10 Marsden, 1838, p. 53, footnote. This item has not been sighted. Description taken from Marsden, 1827, p. 79.

1788


1788


(Marsden, 1838 footnote p. 53)

1790


1792


1794

“A Letter published at Jena, in the Intelligenenzblatt der Allgemeinen Literature-zeitung of 29th November 1794. No. 134. Translated from the German by William Marsden, Esqr.”, Oriental Repertory V. ii, no. iii, 1793-1797, pp. 469-476. This may have been of interest because of its account of “raining fish”.

1796

“A Catalogue of Dictionaries, Vocabularies, Grammars, and Alphabets. In two parts, Pt I. Alphabetic Catalogue of Authors, Pt II. Chronological Catalogue of Works in each class of Language, London, for the Author. 4to

1796


11 Marsden, 1838, pp. 16-17.

1802 “Observation on the Language of Siwah”, in Frederick Konrad Hornemann, The Journal of F. Horneman’s (sic) Travels. From Cairo to Mourzouk (sic), the capital of Fezzan in Africa, in the years 1797-9, London G. & W. Nicol. 4to


1811 January: 3rd edition History of Sumatra (printed July 1810, but published the following January). (1838, p.139)\textsuperscript{13}

1812 A Dictionary of the Malayan language, in two parts, Malayan and English and English and Malayan, London, Printed for the Author by Cox and Baylis. 4to (Marsden,1838, pp.143-4)

1812 A Grammar of the Malayan Language, with an introduction and praxis. London, Printed for the Author by Cox and Baylis. 4to (Marsden,1838 pp. 143-4)

1818 April: The Travels of Marco Polo, a Venetian, in the thirteenth century, being a description by that early traveller, of Remarkable Places and Things, in the Eastern parts of the world, Translated from the Italian, with notes by William Marsden, London, Printed for the Author, by Cox and Bayliss. 4to (Translation with notes, or what is termed a perpetual commentary. Marsden,1838, pp. 148-150)

1823 March: Numismata Orientalia Illustrata. The Oriental coins, ancient and modern, of his Collection, described and historically illustrated by William Marsden. With numerous Plates, from Drawings made under his inspection, London. Part I. 4to.( Marsden,1838, p. 156)

1824 Maleische spraakkunst door den Hr. W. Marsden; verstaald door C.P.J. Elout, Grammaire de la langue Malaise, par Mr. W. Marsden; publiée à Londres en 1812, et traduite de l’Anglais (en Hollandais et Français), par C.P.J. Elout, Haarlem, Johannes Enschede. 4to.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{12} Marsden, 1827, p. 80.

\textsuperscript{13} Although planned as a two volume work, it was apparently issued in two states. Some extant copies have the plates inserted in the text, Baskin, 1966, p.x and footnote p. x.

\textsuperscript{14} Marsden, 1827, p. 80. The translations of the Dictionary was not listed.
1825 October: *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata* Part 2.\(^{15}\) 4to (1835, p. 158)

1825 *Maleisch, Nederduitsch en Fransch woordenboek door C.P.J.Elout; naar het Maleisch woordenboek van der Hr. W. Marsden.* Haarlem, Johannes Enschede.\(^{16}\) 4to

1826 *Nederduitsch en Maleisch woordenboek, gevolgd van een Fransch en Maleisch woordenboek, door C.P.J. Elout ... van der Hr. W. Marsden,* Haarlem, Johannes Enschede. 4to


1830 *Memoirs of a Malayan Family,* translated [from the Malay] by William Marsden, London (Oriental Translation Fund) J. Murray.\(^{17}\)


1834 *Miscellaneous Works of William Marsden, FRS, &c, &c,* London, printed by J. L. Cox, 75, Great Queen Street; Published for the Author by Parbury, Allen, and Co., Leadenhall Street. *Miscellaneous works* was the cover title for the following three (separately paginated) monographs (Marsden, 1838, p. 169)

- *On the Polynesian, or East-insular Languages*
- *On a Conventional Roman Alphabet, applicable to Oriental Languages*
- *Thoughts on the Composition of a National English Dictionary*

1838 *Brief Memoir of the Life and Writings of William Marsden ... written by himself,* [edited by Elizabeth W[ray] Marsden], London, Printed (for Private Circulation Only), J.L. Cox and Sons. This work was issued in two states. Some volumes included his play, listed below:

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\(^{15}\) Marsden, 1838, footnote p. 158. Reviewed in *Journal des Savans,* May 1827, by the Baron de Sacy.

\(^{16}\) See also Marsden, 1838, p. 144.

\(^{17}\) The ms was a private record, possibly commissioned by a European. Marsden received the original in 1791 and estimated that it had been completed around 1788.
1838  *Moan and Moria*, a tragedy.
[A play by Marsden, written 1777 and (possibly) performed in Bengkulu,\(^8\) added to selected volumes of *Brief Memoir* as a separately paginated monograph. Such volumes were paginated, vii, 1-177, 1-100]


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\(^8\) Marsden, 1838, pp. 20-21.
Appendix IV

Anak Sungai Code of Laws – Schedule of fines and compensation

This manuscript was an important source for Chapter 13 in the History of Sumatra which illustrates and supports Marsden’s account of his research methods and his rapport with the Malays of Sumatra. The schedule may be the only exemplar of this kind of record for the period and place. The ms represents customary law from the pre-Hastings era of legal administration in Sumatra. Nevertheless, many of the practices could still be found in the Peninsula a hundred years later (see Maxwell). Since the text was written into Marsden’s note book which appears to be a foolscap account book, probably standard East India Company issue, this was presumably done for him during one of his private enquiry excursions (as noted in the Introduction). It lists the crime followed by legal remedies including fines, compensation and expulsion. It could have been done as an aide-memoire for Marsden to record the details of the customary law being explained to him by a raja or chief and probably records information concerning adat generally transmitted orally. Thus it does not belong to the recognised manuscript tradition.

The manuscript comprises thirty paragraphs and is nine pages in length. Copies of the Jawi original and my transliteration are attached. The Jawi is a photocopy of the (wear damaged) microfilm held by the National Library of Australia.

Epistolography

As noted in Chapter IV, the Raja of Anak Sungai was a Muslim who called himself “Malay” and may even have been the scribe. The hand is that of a literate person who is familiar with both the vocabulary and format of legal documents. The hand in itself is remarkably consistent, given that the writer was presumably using paper, and possibly pen and ink, that was unfamiliar. While the selection of letter
groupings seems fairly inconsistent (though almost invariably characteristic and recognisable jawi combinations) this may be a characteristic common to all ms of the period.

Orthography
The orthography exhibits the features noted by the editor of Dewan Bahasa Hikayat Hang Tuah. There are a few more vowels than usual, but these have been inserted to assist Marsden. Marsden's dictionary records some of the variants used by this scribe. However, although several phrases used in the ms can be found in the Dictionary, Marsden is unlikely to have used this ms as a source for the Dictionary unless verified elsewhere. For the dictionary he used material verified from the formal manuscript tradition.

Vocabulary
The legal terms are words of Arabic derivation as well as Sanskrit (or Hindustani, as noted in Marsden's Dictionary) and Portuguese, such as "rial" for the coin, but "Malayo-Polynesian" seems to predominate. A number of the words are now obsolete, and for others the meanings given by Marsden differ from those given in modern dictionaries.

Style
The paragraphs are introduced by the traditional (Arabic) phrases. Including Fasal yang ..., daripada hal, sah and hukum and conclude with various forms of the statement to the effect that this is the law of Anak Sungai. However, the sentences read more like notes than an attempt at narrative prose.

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19 *dengan* is given *dangon* in the ms and in Marsden, and "a" occurs frequently elsewhere where "e" is used today.
20 Se-paha = 1/4 tahil = 1/3 oz. (of gold) (Winstedt) Half rupia (Besar p. 714) = sesuku = 1/4 tahil
Note: in the margin notes referring to "seeking asylum" at para 6 (see below) both scripts appear to be in Marsden’s hand.
Compensation for death by wounding appropriately attested

1. Fasal yang pertama dari bangun-membangun\(^{21}\) jikalau di bunuh melainkan di bangun chinchang itu di pampas\(^{22}\) tetapi bunuh itu maka dibangun yaitu terang dangan ketarangan-nya\(^{23}\) adapun. Maka-nya jadi tarang jikalau ada orang mati dia bunuh orang atau siang atau malam ada orang melihat anak kemanakan\(^{24}\) datuk yang lain-lah dari pada kampung orang yang kematian itu. barang dua tiga orang. Makanya sah\(^{25}\) terang-nya jikalau dapat yang demikian itu di-bayar bangun dua ratus rial jikalau perempuan melihat atau hamba raja tiada jadi karena tiada patek orang itu menjadi saksi atau peram?\(^{26}\) orang yang mati itupun tiada jua patut-nya menjadi saksi itu hilah adat di-dalam negri anak Sungai dari hal bangun itu sebagai kepada orang yang kematian sebagai kepada raja nasakh [n-sh-a-k]\(^{27}\) dangan mentri itu-lah adalah dalam negri Anak Sungai.

Compensation for manslaughter

13. Fasal yang kedua dari hal bangun jual jikalau ada mati pula di-bunuh orang sama sa kampong-nya itu pun ber-lurus lurusan kedua pihak yang\(^{28}\) imbau-Jah dangan yang ter-bunuh tiada jadi gawe singketa\(^{29}\) melainkan di bayar saja bangun-nya sanak patut tetapi tiada boleh mentri yang lain melainkan kepada emas saja kepada Raja. jikalau patut bangun-nya jikalau se-per-dua bangun-nya sepuluh rial kepada emas-nya jikalau se-per-empat bangun-nya lima rial kepada emas-nya.

Delivery of sentence for payment of compensation for death or injury

20. Fasal yang ketiga dari hal bangun-bangun yang juga meski-lah dapat ke-terang-

21. ang-an-nya jikalau jadi gawe singketa\(^{30}\) melainkan ber-kasam-an\(^{31}\) tahl emas

22. Dua puluh sebelah mengambil-lah itupun jatoh hukum-nya jadi sah terang-nya

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\(^{21}\) Compensation. See note bangun.
\(^{22}\) See notes for chinchang and pampas
\(^{23}\) Marsden, 1812a, p. 63 tarang prong, fork, claw, sharp point of instrument.
\(^{24}\) Marsden, 1812a, p. 268 kemanakan a nephew, especially a sister’s son. Family, dependants, vassals,
\(^{25}\) according to law, see note for sah.
\(^{26}\) Stevens to isolate; to confine to house for marriagable girl
\(^{27}\) Kamus Besar nasakh menghapuskan; menghentikan (ie to repeal, cancel of laws)
\(^{28}\) Marsden, 1812a, p. 480 to go to law gawam; gawe; ber-singketa See note singketa to fend and prove.
\(^{29}\) See note for singketa to fend and prove.
\(^{30}\) Stevens, Min. grudge, spite
23. Maka di bangun sebelah kepada orang-yang ke-mati-an sebelah kepada raja
dangan mentri
24. dan kasam-an demikian jua sebelah kepada raja sebelah kepada mentri itulah
adat dalam negri Anak Sungai.
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Compensation of murdered exile goes to Raja not family.
1. Fasal yang ke-empat dari hal bangun orang yang di-buang dangan surat jikalau mati di-bunuh
dapat tindakan orang-nya melainkan di-bunuh orang yang membunuh orang itu jikalau tiada
di kasih sanak\(^{31}\) saudara-nya melainkan membayar bangun seratus rial bangun-nya
sebelah kepada raja sebelah kepada mentri.

Unsolved Murder - where body found between dusuns both are responsible.
5. Fasal yang ke-lima dari hal orang mati di-bunuh antara di dusun se-buah dangan
dusun se-buah tetapi tiada-lah dapat ke-terangan-nya melainkan mati saja
orang itu sungguh pun demikian di-chari jua jalan ke-terangan-nya oleh
Raja dangan Mentri dangan Wakil Kompani jikalau ada dapat ke-terang-nya barang-
9. kali penuh bangun-nya barangkali kedua kampong membangun-nya barangkali sebelah
10. kampung mem-bangun-nya di-mana patut dangan adat-nya dalam negri Anak
11. Sungai itulah hal-nya.

Seeking asylum: how to make it legal.
12. Fasal yang ke-enam dari hal andam\(^{32}\) jikalau tiada dia-nya mencari rasa-an dan mu-
fakat kepada saudara-nya dia dapat lalu\(^{33}\) saja andam ke rumah Raja melainkan
lepas\(^{34}\) dia-nya dari pada membayar bangun melainkan tebus? \(^{35}\) andam saja
dua puluh rial itulah hal-nya itupun pihak dari pada andam jua melainkan
di-chari rasaan dan mufakat\(^{36}\) dangan saudara-nya. Maka lalu andam tentangan
17. andam itu di-tabus-nya orang yang mati di bayar juga bangun-nya karena
18. andam itu barankali akal saja andam ke rumah raja jikalau patut pa-

Approved procedure for Settling disputes.
20. Fasal yang ketuju dari pada hal pekerjaan hukum-behukum jikalau timbul

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\(^{31}\) Marsden, 1812a, p. 18 anak sanak nephew by the sister.
\(^{32}\) Marsden, 1812a, p. 205 Andam ka-rumah raja to seek an asylum (from prosecution) in the
palace.
\(^{33}\) See note on lalu.
\(^{34}\) See note on lepas.
\(^{35}\) Marsden, 1812a, p. 60 Menabas gadei to redeem a pledge Stevens (tebus to redeem,purchase,
redemption)
\(^{36}\) Marsden, 1812a, p. 340 mufakat to agree, unite Vide mawafajkat.
PAGE TWO:

para 7 continued
21. ber-selisih paham negri Anak Sungai meski bechar dan bechar kecuali melainkan
22. kalau tiada putus kepada mentri di-bawa-bawa kepada raja dangan siapa Wakil
   Jawi page 3

37 See note on bechar.
PAGE THREE:

para7 cont.
1. jenis putus-nya maka sampai di-bahwa ara\textsuperscript{38} sekali-pun kalau tambah demikian
2. itu tiada-lah putus kepada proateen melainkan di bawa kepada mentri dangan
3. Raja Maka Raja dangan mentri pun membawa ke mukim kepada Wakil Kompani yang duduk
4. di Moko-Moko itulah adat dalam negri Anak Sungai.

para 8
Procedure for resolving skirmishes
5. Fasal yang ke-delapan jika-lau tumbuh\textsuperscript{39} kedua-lah dalam negri Anak Sungai itu pun
6. mufakat Raja dangan mentri dan Wakil Kompani yang duduk di Moko-Moko dan menyuroh
7. menjaput\textsuperscript{40} kepada tanah\textsuperscript{41} proateen melainkan tiada boleh bertahan ber?bagitu jikalau
8. siang sampai siang ber-jalan jikalau malam sampai malam ber-malan[sic] jua itulah halnya.

para 9
Compensation for false pretenses resulting in misappropriation of property
9. Fasal yang sembilan akan hal perkerjaan adat yang tiada boleh berjalan yang bertangan tiada boleh menjaput, menjaput kepada tanah proateen melainkan tiada boleh bertahan ber?bagitu jikalau
10. atau bichara kecil atau bichara besar? atau kepada raja sekalipun jikalau bertemu
11. yang demikian itu melainkan di-hukum\textsuperscript{42} se-tahil se-paha..

para 10
Compensation for defamation or enticement of a woman?
14. Fasal yang se-puluh jika-lau ada anak kemenakan seorang sambahan\textsuperscript{43} menyatakan
15. anak kemenakan orang salah\textsuperscript{44} batang\textsuperscript{45} baris kepada raja itupun datang orang

\textsuperscript{38} Marsden, 1812a, p. 5, ara hope expectation
\textsuperscript{39} Marsden, 1812a, p. 82, tumbuh ... uprisings in the country
\textsuperscript{40} Marsden, 1812a, p. 103, jepput, japat to fetch, bring Pergi men-jeppit anak-mu go and fetch your child.
\textsuperscript{41} Marsden, 1812a, p. 207, firtanah and pirtanah slander (corruptions of fitnah)
\textsuperscript{42} Stevens men-jangkau to grasp men-jangkan to forbid and See note for arti.
\textsuperscript{43} Stevens abuk to misappropriate a share of property by falsely claiming ownership
\textsuperscript{44} Winstedt and Stevens false pretenses
\textsuperscript{45} Marsden, 1812a, p. 520 punishment ... hukum.
\textsuperscript{46} Marsden, 1812a, p. 181, sambahan a complimentary gift, an offering
\textsuperscript{47} Marsden, 1812a, p 124, salah an offence
para10 continued:
16. raja melihat perempuan itu tiada suatu apa hal-nya melainkan
17. yang mengatakan itu di hukum se-tahil se-paha karena orang itu membuat jela\[46\]
18. kepada orang.

\[46\] batang (archaic) Kamus Besar bangkai, mayat (corpse)

\[49\] Stevens jela to cast a net (i.e. trap)
para 11 continued

_Fines for raising old grievances._

1. Fasal yang ke-se-belas mem-bangkitkan k-w-r-y-k? bilang orang yang dahulu
dahulu
2. melainkan orang itu di-hukim se-tahil sepaha itulah adat dalam negri Moka-
Moka.

para 12

_Woman of the lower orders falsely accused_

3. Fasal yang dua belas kalau ada orang yang menjadi perempuan orang raya’at
4. tiada salahnya di katakan salah kepada ketik itu kepada orang baik50 melainkan
5. orang itu di hukum se tahil sepaha karena tiada dangan terang nya sebab
6. orang itu membuat gaduhlah saja

para 13

_Land “owners’” rights_

7. Fasal yang ketiga betas pada hal ladang berladang di padang kerbau maka di
pagar
8. nen51 sangat patut men-a-t-r hingga teguh-nya di-k-u-n-ch-ng panjang tiga depa
9. tiada bergarap itupun di-masukan kerabu jua jadi kalau bunuh
10. kerbau itu tiada mem-bayar harga-nya jikalau tiada demikian teguhnya
11. pagar-nya jika di-bunuh melainkannya membayar pagar kerbau itu se-paha patut.

para 14

_Fines for poisoning the upstream water (to catch fish) if the banks not owned_

12. Fasal yang ke-empat belas pada hal orang tuba menuba52 atau air
13. kecil atau air besar di mudik tepinya orang tiada mem-bayar tahu orang
14. yang punya tepian itu melainkannya orang itu di hukum se-tahil se-paha.

para 15

_Fines for cutting or burning down another’s fruit trees_

15. Fasal pada yang kelima belas pada hal tumbuh tatam53 jikalau di tabeng54 atau
16. di-panggang55 kalau tiada memberitahu kepada orang yang punya larang durian
17. atau manggis atau langsai56 melainkannya membayar harga-nya dua-puluh rial sh-

---

50 Marsden, 1812a, p. 34 baik can also means whether.
51 Marsden, 1812a, p. 350 nen, that or those which Vid lang
52 Marsden, 1812a, p 88 tuba poisonous root memba ayer to poison water to catch fish see also H
of S
53 in rows
54 Stevens tabeng, tebeng to chop down trees and grub out roots.
55 Marsden, 1812a, p. 224, panggang ladang to burn the woods for a rice plantation. Winstedt
pangan Sum. Tract of forest.
para 15 continued

18. Kalau kita beritahu kepada orang yang punya ladang itu kira-nya\textsuperscript{57} mati
19. juga dalam ladang itu tiada kita membayar harga-nya itu-lah halnya.

\textsuperscript{56} Marsden, 1783, p. 83. Lychee
\textsuperscript{57} See Note on \textit{kira}. 
Fines for recognition of run-away marriages.
para 16
1. Fasal yang ke-enam belas perakara pada hal orang yang lari kawin\(^58\) dari pada
2. Kampung situ? itupun di-kawinkan-nya se-jatia\(^59\) di-memberitahu kepada
3. Datok-nya melainkan orang itu di-hukum jikalau ada selang belok-nya orang yang
4. lari-itu meliankan orang yang mengawinkan itu di-hukum apalah jenis
5. Selang\(^60\) belok-nya\(^61\) meski tiada selang belok-nya di-hukum jua lima rial orang
   yang
6. Mengawinkan-lah itu orang itu kembali kepada datuk-nya (guardian).

para 17
Law suits above ten Rial heard before the Raja and the Minister for Islamic matters
7. Fasal yang ke-tujuh belas jikalau ada bichara hingga se-puluh rial ke-atas
8. Tiadajadi di-hukum di-luar melainkan di Moko-Moko Raja petor\(^62\) sharak\(^63\)
   mentri
9. Sama-lah itu-lah hal-nya.

para 18
The process of declaring someone an exile
10. Fasal yang ke selapan belas pada hal orang yang di buang orang dangan
11. Jikalau kepada tanah yang empunya belas dangan lima kota dihantar-kan kepada
   Raja.
12. Kalau kepada tanah proatteen melainkan kumpul saja proateen\(^64\) yang lain-lain di
   Moko-Moko
13. petor\(^65\) tepi-tepi kuala itu-pun sah-lah buang-ng-nya itupun tiada jadi di simpan
14. sanak saudara-nya dalam kampung-nya jikalau dia-nya ber-utang pasti
   membayar
15. jua sanak saudara-nya jikalau di-simpan itu atau kepada proatteen atau kepada
   Raja
16. itu-lah tempat-nya tinggal.

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\(^{58}\) See Note on lari, Marsden, 1812a, p. 296, to make a runaway match
\(^{59}\) Marsden, 1812a, p. 164, seja since, sajati general universal, sajahtra peace prosperity. Stevens jatian identity.
\(^{60}\) See note for selang
\(^{61}\) Marsden, 1812a, p. 33, balik (balk) to turn, to turn the other side; to return; to pervert. Behind beyond, on the other side, p. 530, Return balik, kembali Reverse balik
\(^{62}\) See note for petor.
\(^{63}\) Marsden, 1812a, p. 167, sarap reasonable Stevens syarar- condition, proviso term
\(^{64}\) Marsden, 1812a, p. 221, also Marsden, 1783, History of Sumatra, chapter 11
\(^{65}\) See note for petor.
para 19 continued

Punishment of theft

17. Fasal yang ke-sembilan belas pada hal orang churi menchuri jikalau
18. dapat tanda 66 keterangan-nya anak kemenakan yang lain2 datuk barang dua tiga
19. orang melainkan harta orang-itu di-ganti tentang orang menchuri itu
20. ada emas hidup jikalau tiada emas tebus kepada raja dua puloh rial

66 Marsden p. 440, evidence (testimony) (token tanda)
para 19 continued
1. tebus leher? kepada-nya itu nama-nya itu-lah adat dalam negri ini Anak Sungai.

para 20
Repayment of Debts by Installments
2. Fasal yang ke dua puluh pada hal yang piutang barang sharatan rial kira-nya men-jadi
3. gawe singketa ber-kesaman dua puluh rial sebelah menyebelah kedua pihak ituupun di
4. chari oleh raja dan mentri di-muka-lah dangan Wakil Kompani yang duduk
5. demikianlah itupun dapat tanda terangan-nya hutang itu di-bayar sanak
6. per?kataan orang yang empunya piutang itu orang yang berutang di-hukum dua
7. tahl sepaha kesaman angusuran perhukuman itu sebelah kepada mentri sebelah
8. kepada raja kesaman itu di bagi tiga sa-bagi kepada raja dan mentri dua bagi
9. kepada orang yang punya piutang itu-elah hal-nya.

para 21
Working off debts through the life of the pledge (ie lapses if debtor or proxy dies)
10. Fasal yang kedua puluh satu pada hal perkerjaan halnya semenda-menyenda
11. adapun satu perkara sendu agung kedua sindu aku adapun sindu agung
12. itu lepas daripada pokok chinchang dangan bangun belas tetapi maka sindu agung
13. itu bertokok gawe bertahil emas kalau mati orang sindu agung orang yang
14. memegang sindu belum bangun-nya jikalau membunuh orang sindu agung orang yang
15. memegang membayar bangun-nya kalau akan di-tebus-pun sindu agung
16. jikalau ada orang kita lalu membayar pampas apabila dia-nya ter-sindu itu melainkan
17. timbul? kita itu jikalau akan orang dibuang sindu agung dikembali-kan jua
18. kita kepada orang yang menyinda-kan di-ahual kalau di-tabusnya meski ber-tiga gawe sekali
19. sah lalu-nya kalau tidak di-tebus-nya itulah adat sindu agung tegoh orang yang

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67 Marsden, 1812a, p. 8, *angsuran* payment by installments
68 See note for *sendu*.
69 Marsden, 1812a, p. 238, *pokok* or *poko*, principal, original sum; prime cost.
70 Stevens, *mencencang*, to kill brutally, *cencang* air—unbreakable family ties
71 Marsden, 1812a, p. 227, *sindu* can be used to mean control/govern
72 See note for *pampas*.
73 See note for *buang*.
74 Winstedt, *ahual*, *ahwal*, Ar affairs, events (plural of *hal*) Marsden p 123 *hal ahwal*
75 Marsden, 1812a, p. 60, *Menabas gadei* to redeem a pledge
76 according to law. See note for *sah*
PAGE SIX

para 21 continued
20. menyenda kalau mati orang-yang bertegoh itu dapat sindu itu meski
21. sekali ber-tegoh-tegoh\(^7\) gawe-nya

\(^7\) Marsden, 1812a, p. 78-79, *Tagoh or tuggoh ... Bertagoh diri-nia dan bertap arii-nia* to confirm himself and set his mind at ease. *Surat ka-tagoh-an* a deed a bond in writing.

\(^7\) Marsden, 1812a, p. 79, *Bertagoh-tagohan ber-sumpah-sumpah* bound each other firmly by reciprocal oaths.
PAGE SEVEN:

para 22
Debtors must replace proxy debt-slaves who have died or absconded.
1. Fasal dari pada sindu aku indal\textsuperscript{79} rial kita tiada hilang hidup mati orang yang di-
sindu itu
2. rial kita kembali juga jikalau dia-nya memachah\textsuperscript{80} m[eng]-hilang\textsuperscript{81} ganti\textsuperscript{82} jikalau
dia-nya lari ber-hutang
3. hari-nya ter/[pem-]bayar\textsuperscript{83} orang yang mengaku\textsuperscript{84} itu tetapi kalau dia-nya lari\textsuperscript{85} 
   kasih[i.e. beri] tahu orang yang mengaku
4. itulah adat aku indal adanya

para 23
Marriage by ambel anak can redeem a debtor (with his life)
5. Fasal yang kedua puluh tiga dari orang sindu agung kita ambel akan perempuan
6. Dalam liat? dapat salah andam\textsuperscript{86} kepada raja melainkan utang perempuan itu
dapat lepas dan laki-laki
7. lawan-nya\textsuperscript{87} salah liat\textsuperscript{88} melipatkan\textsuperscript{89} rial kita itu tentang membayar tabus-nya 
   andam
8. itu kita menabus-nya laki-laki liat dia-nya sendiri menabus badan-nya.

para 24
Fine imposed for making an unmarried woman pregnant not waived by his death
9. Fasal yang kedua puluh empat dari sindu aku\textsuperscript{90} indal\textsuperscript{91} kira-nya dalam itu
dapat
10. salah bunting dan jikalau dapat orang yang mem-bunting-nya itu melainkan 
karena dia-nya
11. dangan laki-laki itu dan jikalau dapat oleh orang raja melainkan andam orang 
yang bunting
12. itu yang menabus-nya orang yang menyindu-itu lalu nya rial orang yang 
memegang sindu

\textsuperscript{79} See Notes for aku and sendu
\textsuperscript{80} Marsden, 1812a, p. 216, from pachah — ..... to break off, discontinue
\textsuperscript{81} Stevens obsolete to eliminate
\textsuperscript{82} Marsden, 1812a, p. 280, successor
\textsuperscript{83} Marsden, 1812a, p. 35, pem-bayar payment, method of payment, Stevens terbayar paid
\textsuperscript{84} See Note for aku. Marsden, 1812a, p. 377, affiance (betroth) meng-aku, (and tunang)
\textsuperscript{85} See note for lari Marsden, 1812a, p. 297, Lari — to run, run away, flee, abscond.
\textsuperscript{86} Winstedt Min. confine a girl; settled of a marriage. Stevens, Min. I to hide, confine II grave
(sensitive)
\textsuperscript{87} Marsden, 1812a, p. 299, lawan... A match, fellow, counter-part; adversary, foe.
\textsuperscript{88} Stevens, liat 4. trying to get out of [paying back debts] Marsden, p. 311, liat soft; pliant, flexible.
\textsuperscript{89} Marsden, 18112a, p. 312, to fold, to double ... Kembali-kan dangan lipat-nia return it double or
two-fold.
\textsuperscript{90} See note for aku.
\textsuperscript{91} or andal [reliable trustworthy]
para 24 continued
13. itu kembali kepada kita orang yang empunya rial itu-lah adat yang di-pakai dalam negri

para 25
*Fine for seducing an unmarried woman by force*
15. Fasal yang ke-dua puluh lima dari hal semenda menyembenda jikalau keras-kan-lah hendak
16. sharak⁹⁹ timbang⁹⁴ adat-nya dua puluh-lah⁶⁵ selapan rial jikalau keras-⁹⁶nya perempuan itu
17. hendak sharak hilang adat-nya jikalau sama-keras-nya hendak sharak timbul⁹⁷
18. adat-nya harta di-bagi dua hutang piutang di bagi dua tetapi jikalau
19. tahu tempat-nya semenda. Maka-nya kenei⁹⁸ perempuan itu jikalau tiada tahu tempat
20. semenda itu tiada dia-nya kenei itulah halnya

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⁹² Marsden, 1812a, p. 577, *pakai use* (make use of)
⁹⁳ Kamus Besar syarak, Islamic law
⁹⁴ Winstedt *timbang*, *bertimbang* consultation. Stevens, to consider (in notarial instruments)
⁹⁵ Stevens : *waju* = *pajak*, taxes
⁹⁶ Marsden, 1812a, p. 256, *mengaras-i* to force, compel, coerce, ravish
⁹⁷ Stevens, to be in debt. Marsden, 1812a, p. 81, *tambul* provisions, meat, *timbul* to rise up
⁹⁸ Marsden, 1812a, p. 268, *kene* ... and *kenei* or *kunnei* to touch, strike, hit, affect.
לא ניתן לקרוא התוכן המוצג בתמונה.
Para 26

Adat payment by husband for unproven accusation of infidelity

1. Fasal yang kedua puluh enam dari hal semenda menyenda anak kemanakan seorang kepada se-orang kira-nya
2. menchari akal budi mengatakan bini-nya salah tetapi tiada dapat keterangan-nya melainkan
3. orang itu di-hukum se-tahil se-paha tentang adat perempuan itu timbang dua
4. puluh selapan (delapan) rial itulah hukum-nya orang yang seperti itu.

Para 27

If an exile who has been accepted as a husband accidentally kills someone the exile must pay the debt, but his wife is not liable.

5. Fasal yang kedua puluh tujuh dari hat orang yang dibuang orang dangan surat kembendendenda
6. di-tarima orang semenda dan kira-nya dapat chelaka dia-nya mem-bunuh orang itu
7. mem-buat salah yang lain melainkan tempat-nya semenda-itu membayar utung tetapi jikalau
8. tahu adat-nya semenda maka-nya kenai perempuan itu

Para 28

If an exile who has since married commits a crime he is punished in kind

9. Fasal yang kedua puluh selapan daripada hal menarima orang yang semenda tiada
10. keruan tempat negri-nya dan kira-nya dapat chelaka atau membunuh orang atau dapat
11. memaling maka badan-nya itu jalan-nya jikalau hukum di-bunuh dia-nya juad
12. di-bunuh jikalau hukum-nya di-pukul dia-nya juad di-pukul jikalau di-buang dia-nya
13. juad di-buang tetapi se-tahu Kompani membuang-nya maka-nya jadi.

Para 29

Terminating marriage by jujur

14. Fasal yang kedua puluh sembilan dari pada adat jujur men-jujur dari Anak
15. Sungai lalu di-y-ka tahu-an jikalau patut tengah dua ratus rial dia [buat?] tahan

59 alternative reading m-u-[k] rang Marsden, 1812a, p. 339, murong, muram melancholy or fornication
101 Marsden, 1812a, p 80 timbang to weigh; to ponder; to exchange; to pay.
103 Marsden, 1812a, p 257 karuwan or karawan thought, ideas, conception,... tiada karuwan no idea, at random
104 Stevens and Winstedt – melen/meleng to take no notice of, careless, indifferent
105 See Note on jujur.
para 29 continued

16. janji tengah tiga puluh rial se-bulan atua dua bulan membayar rial yang lima puluh

17. itu kira-nya tiada dapat tahun janji itu melainkan rial yang lima puloh itu

18. dapat oleh kita anak kemanakan kita kembali104 kepada kita dan kira-nya dapat tahun

19. janji itu dan sa-lebih-nya ada kala-nya barangkali sampai kepada anak

20. chuchong105 maka-nya lapas jujur-nya.

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104 Marsden, 1812a, p 266 restore included in meanings.
105 Marsden, 1812a, p 119 grandchild, descendant,
Recompense to fiance for abduction of affianced bride and Recompense for a breach of promise

1. Fasal yang ketiga puluh perkara dari hal orang tunang ber-tunang-nya dan kira-nya tiada
2. memberitah[u] orang baik? tetapi suruh bertanda-lah dalam itupun di-lari-kan orang
3. tunangan-nya orang itu. Maka melainkan orang yang melarikan itu di hukum se-tahil
4. se-paha dan belanja orang itu di-ganti-nya dan tanda-nya itu di-liput oleh perempuan itu kepada tunangan-nya yang dahulu jikalau yang sebelah laki-laki
5. mungkir begitu jua hukum-nya tanda itu dapat saja oleh perempuan
6. itulah adat dalam negri Anak Sungai-nya adanya.

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106 Marsden, 1812a, p. 86: "[t-n-d] tanda token, sign, memorial; circumstantial proof."
107 (woman betrothed)
108 Marsden, 1812a, p 312 liput (Jawi lypt) to overflow, extend over; to fill. Winstedt one meaning of liput is to overcome (by flattery).
109 (to repudiate, break a promise)
Notes

Note for *aku*
Marsden, 1812a, p. 11, *aku* { *alif* kof wau} or *haku* to confess; avow; acknowledge; to recognise; to engage; to warrant, to become surety for (a person or debt) eg *Meng-aku emas* to warrant (the quality) of the gold.
Marsden, 1812a, p. 377, affiance (betroth) *meng-aku*, (and *tunang*)
(*aku* = I, we, me, etc., is *alif* kof see p. 11)

Note for *ambel anak*
Marsden, 1812a, p. 14, *Ambel* to take or accept....
*Ambel anak* a mode of marriage (in Sumatra) by which a father matches his daughter to a man of inferior condition, in order to keep her at home.

Note for *arti*
Marsden, 1812a, p. 5, [a-r-t or a-r-t-i] *arti* Hind. Meaning signification, purport. (In some places it is pronounced *rerti*, as *arta* is pronounced *retta*, and as *arga*, *regga.*)
*Balim amba dapat arti-nia* I have not yet discovered the meaning of it.

Note for *bangun*
Marsden, 1812a, p. 32, [b-a-ng-n or b-a-ng-w-n] *bangun* to awake, arise, get up. A sum of money paid to the relations of a person killed, as a compensation for his loss.
*...Hukum-nia mem-bayer bangun perempuan itu lima puluh real*: his sentence was to pay fifty dollars as the compensation (for the murder of) the woman.

Note for *bechar*
Marsden, 1812a, p. 37, *bechara* Hind, discourse, conference, consultation; advice, counsel; suit, cause; opinion; scheme, plan, device.

*Mem-chara-kan* to consult or deliberate upon; to counsel, advise upon.
*Pe-bechara-an* a place of consultation, council-room.
Marsden, 1812a, p. 480, Law suit *bechara*
Marsden p. 417, Council chamber *rumah bechara*, Counsel (to advise) *tolong dangan bechara*

Note for *buang*
Marsden, 1812a, p. 53-54, [b-w-ng or b-w-a-ng] *buang* to throw or cast out, throw away, expel, banish, expose, repudiate.

*...Mem-buang dangan surai* to outlaw, to expel from a family with a written document.
*Mem-buang perampuan-nia* to repudiate his wife.

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In the notes the references to Marsden are quotations from his Dictionary, (1812) 1984. Those to Stevens are to his Dictionary, 2004.
Note for **chinchang**
Marsden, 1812a, pp. 117-118, *chinchang* to chop, hak, cut to pieces; to wound to maim. *Chinchang tudak ragas tidak* he neither wounded (his wife detected in adultery) nor cut off her hair. *Chinchang de pampus* maiming is punished by fine.

Note for **gawe**
Marsden, 1812a, p. 283, *gawam* and *gawe* to sue, plead, contend at law.
Marsden, 1812a, p. 480, to go to law *gawam*; *gawe*; *her-singketa*. *Begawan dangan singketa* to plead and implead, to fend and prove. *Tiada jadi gawe singketa meleinkan de bayer saja*; no pleadings or shifts will be admitted, but the money must be paid down.

Note for **hukum**
Marsden, 1812a, p. 124, *hukum* Ar. Sentence, judgement, decree, punishment; rule regulation... *Kita pinta de hukum-kan dangan hukum islam* I request they may be judged and sentenced according to the Mahometan law. p. 520, punishment.

Note for **jujor**
Marsden, 1812a, p. 107, *jujor* Rejang, a term in the marriage laws of the Sumatrans: the sum paid to the parent of the bride.

Note for **kira**
Marsden, 1812a, p. 278, includes compute, calculate in meanings.
Marsden, 1812a, p. 279, *kira* to think, consider, take thought; to suppose, conjecture, compute. *Kira-nya* prithee, nay, but; it appeareth or seemeth; supposing; about. ...

... *Barang sa-ratus real kira-nia* about an hundred dollars.

*Per-kira-an* an account calculation. *Supaya bulih selessei-kan per-kira-an mudal itu* in order that an adjustment may take place of the accounts of that trading stock.
Marsden, 1812a, p. 423, Deem *kira* Marsden, 1812a, p. 439, Estimate (consider) *kira*.

Note for **lalu**
Marsden, 1812a, p. 297, *lalu* to pass...; to become forfeited; to withdraw, stand out of the way; to trespass, infringe *lalui* to infringe (law and order). *Gadei itu sudah lalu* that pledge is become forfeit.

Note for **lari**
Marsden, 1812a, p. 297, *lari* to run, run away, flee, abscond *Lari kawin* to make a run-away match. *Saya pe-lari* a run-away slave.
Note on lepas
Marsden, 1812a, p. 303, lepas to let go, liberate, release, free, discharge, defray, exempt, quit, acquit; to cease, to discontinue. ... Lepas utang to free or discharge from debt. Lepas mardika to give freedom to a slave.

Note for pampas
Marsden, 1812a, p. 229, pampas fine or compensation for wounding. To impose such a fine Chinchang itu de pampas that act of wounding was punished by fine. Also Marsden, 1812a, p. 446.

Note for petor
Marsden, 1812a, p. 208, petor Port. (feitor) a factor, superintendent of trade; the chief European at a subordinate settlement. Petor besar iang memegang permiaga-an the chief factor who manages the trade.

Note for sah
Marsden, 1812a, p. 200, sah or seh Ar. Proved, approved, authentic, established, confirmed; effective, valid; competent, admissable; an expression used at the game of chess, when check is given. Sah sitanjur men-jual-kan anak kamanakan-nia it is proved that si-Tanjur sold his dependant relations. Belum-lah sah hukum itu that sentence or decision is not yet approved.

... Tiada-lah sah puaso-nia his fasting is of no avail;
Saksi-nia tiada sah his evidence is not admissable, or, does not establish the point.

Note for semenda-menyesenda
Marsden, History of Sumatra, 1783, p. 193: “The obvious ill consequences of the two former [types of marriage: ambel anak and jujor], from the debt or slavery they entailed upon the man that married, and the endless lawsuits they gave rise to, have at length induced the chiefs, to concur to their being, as far as possible, laid aside; adopting in lieu of them, the semundo malayo, or maredeeko; which they now strongly recommend to their dependants, as free from the incumbrances of the other modes, and tending, by facilitating marriage, and the consequent increase of population, to promote the welfare of their country”.

Stevens, semenda relationship by marriage
semenda-menyesenda intermarriage between two families

Note for selang
Marsden, 1812a, p. 473, selang Interval ... ka-selang-an p. 197, silang Vid selang p.177, interchanged, intermixed, placed at intervals, variegated, chequered, diversified, mottled. Whilst, in the interim. An interval, interstice.
Stevens Minag. (selang) menyelang to borrow from. (Other forms all concern borrowing money)
Note for sendu
Marsden, 1812a, p. 187, Sendu or sendo a legal term implying the state of a person who, on failing to pay a debt contracted, is delivered over to, and obliged to work for the benefit of the creditor. This person may be either the original creditor or a child or other relation substituted for him.

When the security of the debt depends upon the life of the person so placed, it is termed sendu agung, and when the debtor is still responsible although the substitute should die, sendu indal (Vide iring). Anak samang saya sendu-kan[sic] s’orang. “I shall place one of my dependants (with you) as a debtor.”
However, Stevens, senda obsolete form of sahanada your servant.

Note for singketa
Marsden, 1812a, p. 171, singketa a law-suit. Ber-singketa to go to law, commence a suit. Tiada jadi gawe singketa meleinkan de bayer saja: no pleadings (or subterfuges) will be admitted, but the money must be paid down.
Appendix V

Chapter List for 1783 edition

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The History of Sumatra/Containing/An Account of the Government, Laws, Customs, and Manners of the Island/by William Marsden FRS/Late Secretary to the President and Council/Of Fort Marlborough/London/Printed for the Author, and sold by Thomas Payne and Son, Mew’s Gate; Benjamin White, Fleet-street; James Robson, New Bond-street Covent Garden; and J Sewell, Cornhill./MDCLXXXIII.
viii, 375.

Map facing title page (in the 1st and 2nd edns differs from 3rd edn Map, see Appendix XVI).

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Appendix VI

William Marsden: History of Sumatra, 1783, Conclusion

page 373

Having thus brought to a close, the digest of such materials for an Account of the island of Sumatra, as I had been induced, from curiosity and love of science, to collect together during my residence there, and have had opportunity of acquiring since my return; and have endeavoured to render my labors as fitting as my talents would allow, to meet the eye of the public, I now submit them cheerfully, but not confidently to their inspection. I am sensible of the awfulness of the tribunal before which I am going to appear; but I also know the indulgence it is ever ready to shew, in a particular manner, to those whose writings tend to establish facts, rather than systems, and humbly to describe things as they exist, rather than to display the powers of creative imagination.

To those, who may object that my description of the Island is in some respects incomplete, and in many points, unscientific, I am ready to avow it's (sic) manifest deficiencies, which I feel the strongest conviction of. I can only state in justification, that I was encouraged by persons of the first consideration in the world of science, and in some measure against my own feelings, to prepare for publication whatever materials I did possess for a Natural history of the country; as laying thereby a foundation stone, in a new building, upon which others hereafter might raise a more perfect superstructure. Many will doubtless observe, that the detail of manners and customs of an uncivilized people, descends often to circumstances so trivial, as neither to interest nor to amuse a reader who has been accustomed to peruse volumes that treat of more important topics. To these I reply, that every man is inclined to suppose his own favorite object of pursuit, to be the most generally interesting; but candour should induce them to reflect, that what to them appear insignificant minutae, by others may be regarded as worthy matter of philosophical curiosity. Such details, in fact often prove the most acceptable parts of the work, from their greater chance of originality. All the races of man

[Page 374]

kind bear to each other so strong a resemblance, in the general outline and complexion of their sentiments and actions, and more especially of those which are usually termed important, than to exhibit such alone would mark no distinction. The most prominent features in the delineation of any subject, are not found the most characteristic. The spirit of ambition in men who aim at sovereign power, or of political jealousy in those who already possess it, are observed to have produced the same effects, in all countries, and in all ages; and consequently afford no criterion of the genius and manners of a particular people. This must be sought for rather in the less obvious occurrences of private and domestic life; and will better appear in the social customs of an obscure village, than in the splendid ceremonies and arbitrary institutions of a powerful court. The former are the settled results of long prevalent ideas and habitual prejudices; the latter have their origin and temporary existence, in
the caprice of individuals, who, if ignorant, headstrong and flagitious, make the most respected customs of people, the sport of a momentary passion; or if wise and benevolently inclined, borrow their maxims of government and civil regulations, from the most enlightened among other nations, and thus, whilst they improve the condition of their subjects, destroy the peculiarity and genuineness of their character.

I would by no means be understood to contend that the history of such transactions is without its propriety and use. Man must be exhibited in every point of view; and in every light we behold it, the subject will be interesting. But I would suggest, that when he is found in his least sophisticated state, even though that should be in the rudest scene of uncultivated nature, the picture of his manners does not there claim an inferior degree of attention.

I have vainly wished that my performance could be rendered acceptable to all descriptions of readers, but as that is chimerical, I shall esteem myself happy if I meet the approbation, or even the indulgence of the liberal, whom I would persuade myself are not the few. Genuineness, and a rigid adherence to truth, so far as it has been possible for

[page 375]
a short-sighted mortal to distinguish between that and error, are what I presume chiefly to arrogate to myself, and on these I rest my claim to public favor. If any more experienced and better informed traveller, will point out to me where I have been deceived, in those matters to which I had an opportunity of being an eye witness, or misled, where I was obliged to depend upon the testimony of others, I shall be more forward to correct my mistakes, than I am now, unintentionally, to obtrude them on the world.
Appendix VII

Chapter List for 1811 edition.


Map facing Title page (see Appendix XVI)

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Distinction of Inhabitants – Rejangs chosen for General Description. – Persons and Complexions. – Clothing and Ornaments.
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Chapter 17
Account of the Inland Country of Korinchi – Expedition to the Serampei and Sungeitenang Countries.
pp. 304-324.

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Chapter 19
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pp. 396-405.

Chapter 22
History of the Kingdom of Achin, from the period of its being visited by Europeans.
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Chapter 23
Brief Account of the Islands lying off the Western Coast of Sumatra.
pp. 464-479.

Index 8 unnumbered pages..

Plates
The following were engraved from drawings executed by
Elizabeth Wilkins Marsden:

1. The Pepper Plant, Piper Nigrum.
2. Marsdeniana Tinctoria, or broad-leafed Indigo.
The following drawings were executed by Elizabeth's sisters.

L. Wilkins:

- The Rambutan, Nephelium Lappaceum.
- The Lanseh Fruit, Lansium Domesticum
- The Kamiling or Buah Kras, Juglans Camirium

Maria Wilkins:

- The Rambeh Fruit, a Species of Lanseh.

It is possible that Marsden provided the following illustration:

- The Mangustin Fruit, Garcinia Mangistana.
Appendix VIII

West Indian Woman's Apostrophe


The state of servitude in which women are kept in this part of the world, is undoubtedly the principal cause of the want of population in this part of the globe. ... Mothers [in Oronooko] have contracted the custom of destroying the daughters they bring forth ... Christianity itself has not even been able to put a stop to this abominable practice. The Jesuit Gumilla confirms this fact; who being informed that one of his converts had been guilty of such a murder, went to her in order to reproach her of her crime in the strongest terms. The woman listened to the missionary without shewing the least signs of emotion. When he had finished his remonstrance, she desired leave to answer him; which she did in the following manner:

"Would to God, O Father! Would to God that, at the instant of my birth, my mother had shewed love and compassion enough for her child, to spare me all the evils I have endured and those I shall still suffer to the end of my life! If my mother had destroyed me at birth, I should have been dead, but I should not have been sensible of my death; and should have escaped the most miserable of conditions. How many afflictions have I already experienced! and who knows what I have still to endure!

Represent to yourself, O Father, the troubles that are reserved for an Indian woman among these Indians. They accompany us into the fields with their bow and arrows; while we go there laden with an infant which we carry in a basket, and another which we carry at our breast. They go to kill birds, or to catch fish; while we
are employed in digging the ground, and, after having gone through all the labours of culture, are obliged also to bear those of the harvest. They return in the evening without any burden, and we bring them roots for their food, and maize for their drink. As soon as they come home, they go and amuse themselves with their friends; while we are fetching wood and water to prepare their supper. When they have eaten they fall asleep; and we pass almost the whole night in grinding the maize and in preparing the chicha for them. And what reward have we for these labours? They drink; and when they are intoxicated, they drag us by the hair, and trample us under foot.

O Father, would to God that my mother had destroyed me at the instant of my birth! Thou knowest thyself that our complaints are just. Thou hast daily instances before thine eyes of the truth of what I say. But the greatest misfortune we labour under it is impossible thou should know. It is a melancholy circumstance for a poor Indian woman to serve her husband as a slave in the fields, wearied out with fatigue, and at home deprived of tranquility: but it is a dreadful thing, when twenty years are elapsed, to see him take another woman, whose judgement is not formed. He attaches himself to her. She beats us, and our children; she commands us, and treats us as her servants; and, if the least murmur escapes us, a stick is raised—Oh! Father, how is it possible that we should bear this condition! What can an Indian woman do better than to prevent her child from living in a state of slavery, infinitely worse than death! Would to God, O Father, I repeat it, that my mother had conceived affection enough for me to bury me when I was born! my heart would not have been thus afflicted; nor would my eyes have been accustomed to tears". 
Appendix IX

Occurrence of the words “race” and “nation” in William Marsden’s 1783 edition of History of Sumatra.

Marsden used the word “race” a total of 17 times, whereas “nation” was used a total of 60 times. The uses of “race” can be divided into a number of senses.

Race
a) “Race” in the sense of pedigree or breeding and bloodlines: in other words closely related to “family”.
. in Marsden’s translation of a Sultan’s letter “horse of the race sorimborahnee” (p. 273)
. “feathered race” (p. 97)

aa) as an extension of this use - for (Linnaeus’s) aberrant human forms\[111\]
. pigmies (footnote p. 35)
. Hill peoples (orang goonoong) (p. 42)
. “barbarous and savage race of people living in the mountains” (footnote p. 254)
. negritos (footnote p. 260)
. “diminutive race of men” (p. 282)

b) family
. concerning action taken when a family name was in danger of dying out
. “if the race of a man is extinct” (p. 220)
. “every one has regard for his own race” (p. 227)

bb) subset of a (Malay) nation
. “Leeman and Batang Assy gold traders” (p. 43)
. “whose race is mixed with colonists from Rejang” (p. 182)

c) “Race” meaning humankind
. “Few nations of the human race” (p. 97)
. “a race of people who seem totally insensible to its beauties” [i.e. of Sumatran ‘forests’] (p. 70)

[111] Other words in these contexts are stock, breed, half breed used especially for the “darker skinned” people. I have discussed relevance of the noble and ignoble savage concepts in “Savages and Barbarians”.

98
re importance of cultural differences
“distinguish one race of people from another” (p. 205)
re philosophers error in rejecting cannibalism per se
“no such race of people” (p. 300)
“races of mankind” (p. 300)
“all races of men” (p. 373)

Nation
The term “nation” in the 1783 History of Sumatra distinguished groups or communities having social and political cohesion from those without. It is significant that the Batak and Rejang and no others are described as having “tribes” as noted below. The use of “other nations” especially referring to differences between Sumatran and “other” European nations contributed to alleviating the idea that the Sumatrans’ habits were “uncivilized” (e.g. concerning chewing betel, p. 240).

a) Eastern nations
“The Portuguese … more eager to conquer nations, than to explore their manner” (p. iv)
“whether such a nation is divided into greater or lesser numbers of tribes” (p. vi)
“of petty sovereignties and nations into which this island is divided” (p. 34)
“Nation of the Rejangs adopted as the standard” (p. 37)
“the Rejangs, though a nation of but small account in the political scale of the island” (p. 37)
“the general disparity of complexions in different nations” (p. 41)
“the high antiquity of universally allowed to Asiatic nations” (p. 49)
“The Sumatran nations are acquainted with no purple dye-stuff, nor apparently are any of the Indian nations” (p. 80)
a “spirit of plunder and extortion, which prevails among the poorer nations, whose districts they are obliged to pass” (p. 136)
“and other Mahometan nations” (p. 158)
“poverty amongst nations habituated to peace, where the two great engines of interest and military force are wanting” (p. 175)
“rude nations rising from imperceptible beginnings” (p. 176)
“independent nations to the northward, are in the Company’s jurisdiction” (p. 179)
“variety of people of different nations, who inhabit the place or resort there” (p. 223)
“a countryman, with a total ignorance of religion, his nation labored under” (p. 252)
“Raddeen … conversant with the religious opinion of most nations” (p. 253)
b) European nations:

“Polished nations” and “northern nations” usually means European, however, in ranking civilizations Marsden uses “polished states of Europe” (p. 169) and “nations on the northern coast of Africa” (p. 169).

In chapter 20, The History of Aceh “nation” is used 14 times in the text and twice in the footnotes. In all cases (but one on p. 361, listed under Nations in General) the term is used with reference to European Nations (European, English, Portuguese or Dutch).

“It has by them [Portuguese] and the voyagers of other nations, been successfully spelt Samoterra” (p. 4)
“Navigators of different nations” (p. 5)
“Whilst more polished nations …” (p. 158)
“nations on the northern coast of Africa” (p. 169)
“rude institutions of our Saxon ancestors, and other northern nations” (p. 211)
“which might justify their retorting on many polished nations of the world of antiquity, the epithet of barbarian” (p. 228)
“their thirst of revenge so much more violent, than among northern nations” (p. 233)
“as that of intoxicating liquors among other nations, is a species of luxury” (p. 240)
“as the people of another nation are said to take a dram” (p. 242)
“claims of the two European nations” (p. 294)
“western nations” (p. 277)

c) Nations in general

“improvement of other nations” (p. 48)
“different nations have adopted various methods of separating the grain from the ear” (referring to animal behaviour)
“but few nations of the human race, have attained to such a degree of discipline” (p. 97)
Superstitious notions “whimsical and childish should yet be common to nations, the most remote in situation, climate and language”. (p. 204)
“most nations have been addicted to the practice of enjoying by mastication” (p. 244)
“and from hence are descended the different nations of the world” (footnote p. 259)
Called “by some nations calin” (p. 288)
“law of Nations” (p. 361)

Tribe

“whether such a nation is divided into greater or lesser numbers of tribes (p. vi)
“Patagonian tribes” (footnote p. 40)
“feathered tribes” (re birds) (p. 98)
“[bay tree] tribe” (p. 125)
“savage tribes of Africa and America” (p. 169)
“uncivilized tribes of Europe and India” (p. 205)

Rejangs

“was he [the head of the dusun] arbitrarily to name a person of a different tribe, or from another place, he would not be obeyed” (p. 176)
“proateens of the same tribe that live adjacent” (p. 178)
“Tribes” (used as a heading) (p. 178)
“The Rejangs are distinguished into tribes ... four principal tribes” (p.178)
“There are also several inferior tribes” (p. 179)
“If more tribes than one are settled on the same river” (p. 179)
“the Calippah. Each of these preside over various tribes” (p. 183)
“Raddeen Seeban was head of the tribe in the district of Manna” (p. 212)

Batak

“The inhabitants of these districts are subdivided again into tribes” (p. 293)
“These are tried by the people of the tribe where the fact was committed” (p. 301)
“particularly those of the same tribe for mutual defence” (p. 303)
“a sovereign raja over all the tribe” (p. 303)
“female chief or Ootee, whose jurisdiction comprehended many tribes” (p. 304)
Appendix X

*Hikayat Hang Tuah (HHT)*: Quotations cited in Chapter IV

This appendix contains the text of references to the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* made in Chapter IV: Two eighteenth-century views of Malay and some other related materials.

The edition of *HHT* used for this appendix as elsewhere in the thesis is: *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, (1964)1973, edited and introduced by Kassim Ahmad, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. *(See further details in note 1 to Chapter IV.)*

Except for the Proverbs and Classical Courts, the references have been arranged in *HHT*’s page order under the following headings:

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</table>
1. Tanah Melayu

In *Hikayat Hang Tuah* the phrase “*tanah Melayu*” was in use before the establishment and naming of Melaka which occurs HHT, p. 55.

*Tanah* re people; *negeri* re place, direction

a) means Malay Lands,\(^{112}\)

b) tends to be more abstract and less precise a term than negeri. In the *Hikayat negeri* refers to the city including its “suburbs” (*kota* refers to the fort which is generally included in the negeri)

c) can refer to all Malay Lands where the Muslim rulers are of SeGuntang descent and not just to Melaka (see *HHT*, p. 421)

d) Besides Melaka, Malay lands identified in *Hikayat Hang Tuah* include: Bentan, Minangkabau, Palembang, Keling, Inderapura and Singapura.

p. 25
Maka Hang Tuah pun berkata pada Hang Kasturi dan segala sahabat-nya:


Sa-telah sudah, maka kata Sang Aria Putera,


p. 29
Maka segala orang banyak itu semua-nya hairan, melihat akan laku Hang Tuah membunoh orang mengamok itu dengan kapak. Maka kata orang banyak itu,

> “*Kita lihat pun hairan, budak sa-puloh tahun umornya dapat mengembar orang mengamok dengan kapak juga*.”

Kata sa-orang lagi,

> “*Sunggoh-nya budak ini-lah akan menjadi hulubulang besar pada tanah Melayu ini.*”

pp. 46-47

\(^{112}\) Marsden, 1812a, p.67: “*tanah* land, country earth, soil ground. ... *Tanah Melayu* the country of the Malays".

(Thus *Tanah* seems to cover the whole range of the English word “*Land*” from “*land of my Fathers*” to “he landed on the ground”).

103
Sa-telah berapa lama-nya, maka kata Raden Inu, "Paman, dua hari lagi kita hendak berjalan ka-Bentan."
Maka sembah Sang Adipati,
"Daulat tuanku, patek pun semaja mengiringkan tuanku ka-Bentan, kerana patek hendak persembahkan ka-bawah Duli Yang Di-Pertuan akan musoh Siantan dan Jemaja itu sangat merompak ka-Palembang ini."


Maka titah baginda,
"Ya mamak Bendahara, pada bichara kita, jangan di-ma'zulkan daripada raja muda, jikalau di-buangkan pun kita redha-lah; tetapi jangan kita meninggalkan nama yang jahat. Ada pun nama kita kembali ka-Bukit Seguntang itu sa-kali2 kita tiada mahu; biar-lah kita menjadi fakir pada tanah Melaka ini."

Sa-kali persetua saudagar yang bernama Parmadewan itu melihat di-dalam nujum-nya itu; maka di-lihat-nya dalam nujum-nya di Tanah Melayu itu sekarang sudah diturunkan Allah Subhanahu wa Ta'ala wa Ta’ala sa-orang raja dari keinderaan.

Sa-telah di-lihat-nya dalam nujum-nya maka Permadewan pun fikir dalam hati-nya:
"Ada pun benua Keling ini tiada beraja; ...
Jika demikian biak aku pergi ka-Tanah Melayu itu sambil berniaga2, supaya ku-pinta anak raja itu sa-orang ku-jadikan raja benua Keling ini, supaya mashhor nama-ku di-sebut orang; datang kapada akhir zaman nama anak chuchu-ku di-sebut orang, jadi kaya; hidup-lah nama-ku."

Although negeri tends to be used for definite destination, this is not always consistent. see below

"Hai nakhoda, sekarang ini aku sendiri hendak pergi belayar ka-Tanah Melayu itu; hendak-lah kamu sekalian bermuat dengan segala dagangan kamu yang mana patut di-bawa ka-Tanah Melayu itu."

Maka kata saudagar itu,

"Jangan tuanku bersembunyi kapada patek, kerana patek lihat dalam nujum patek bahawa tuanku ini anak raja; raja di-negeri Melaka itu pun saudara tuanku, kerana dalam nujum patek ini sakalian habis patek ketahui, tiada dapat tuanku sembunyi kapada patek".
Maka kata Sang Jaya Nantaka,
“Baik-lah ... maka di-suruh oleh bonda hamba lihat dalam nujum-nya, bahawah patek ini akan menjadi raja di-Tanah Melayu dan di-kata hamba ini akan menjadi raja di-benua Keling; saudara hamba yang sa-orang lagi itu akan jadi raja pada tanah Jawa dan sa-orang lagi yang bongsu akan jadi raja pada tanah Minangkabau.”

p. 76
cf see pp. 79, 302, below for tanah Melaka ini

Maka Bentara Tun Tuah menjunjong titah,
“Orang kaya saudagar, ini kurnia Duli Yang Di-Pertuan Paduka Seri Sultan kapada orang kaya saudagar mamanda itu. Maka hendak-lah di-pakai oleh orang kaya saudagar tatkala orang saudagar akan berjalan; kerana adat Melayu demikian-lah: jika orang besar2 dan orang mulia2 di-Tanah Melayu ini, terlalu mulia pada Tanah Melayu ini pada segala raja2 dan menteri dan jikalau pada suatu hal-nya dapat orang itu akan ganti jadi raja pada Tanah Melayu ini ....”

p. 79

Maka kata Sang Jaya Nantaka,
“Ayoh mamak Bendahara dan Bentara, pada bichara kita, jangankan hendak di-rajakan di-benua Keling, jikalau hendak di-huangkan ka-laut api sa-kali pun kita suka-lah, lamun lepas juga daripada tanah Melaka ini”.

Maka sembah Bentara Tun Tuah,
“Daulat Tuanku ... Ada pun pada bichara patek, jika ada saperti saudara Duli Yang Di-Pertuan atau daripada keluarga Duli Yang Di-Pertuan jadi raja di-benua Keling itu neschaya segala negeri yang di-atas angin dan di-bawah angin ini sopan akan Melaka ini; shahadan nama Duli Yang Di-Pertuan pun mashhor pada segala negeri”.

pp. 83- 84

Maka titah baginda,
“Ya mamak saudagar, ......”
Maka sembah saudagar itu,
“Daulat Tuanku Shah Alam, ...
karena patek lihat di-dalam nujum patek bahawa anak raja di-Bukit Seguntang itu akan jadi raja di-benua Keling; itu-lah sebab maka patek datang ini sendiri patek ka-Tanah Melayu”.

pp. 86-87

Sa-telah segala orang besar2 dan segala saudagar itu pun datang, maka lalu berpelok berchium dengan Parmadewan; Parmadewan pun berkata-lah dengan segala orang besar2 akan perentah baginda itu:
“Raja besar; jikalau lain daripada hamba pergi menyambut anak raja ini tiada akan datang, kerana pada Tanah Melayu pun baginda taja besar juga. Akan sekarang baik-lah orang besar dan orang kaya2 menjunjong Duli Baginda Sultan.”

p. 99
Hang Tuah sent by “Raja Melaka dari Tanah Melayu”

p. 103
Maka kata Tun Tuah:
“... Pada bichara hamba, jikalau tahu segala penjurit di-tanah Majapahit ini pun tiada-lah lebeh daripada hamba yang hina ini.”

p. 177
Maka sembah Laksamana,
“Daulat tuanku; insha’ Allah Ta-ala, barang ka-mana di-langkahkan-nya ka-sana-lah patek, lamun pada Tanah Melayu.”

p. 237
pada tanah Melayu itu
dalam negeri Majapahit ini
Maka sembah Laksamana,
“... Jikalau negeri Majapahit ini saperti negeri Melayu, sudak patekalah kerana tuanku raja besar pada tanah Melayu itu, dapat di-pindah2kan”.

p. 290
Sa-telah sudah Hang Jebat, Hang Kasturi kembali itu, maka Laksamana pun berkata, “Wah, sayang-nya negeri Melaka!”

p. 302
Maka Hang Jebat pun tertawa, seraya berkata:
“Hai Temenggong dan Tun Utama dan Tun Bija Sura, sayang engkau hulubulang tua di-tanah Melaka ini ...”

p. 307
Maka kata Tun Kasturi,
“Assalamu’alaikum, hai saudara-ku Laksamana yang amat mashhor pada tanah Jawa dan Melayu!”

p. 338
negeri Melaka

p. 354
Maka sembah Nala Sang Guna,
“Ya tuanku shah alam, ada pun patek ini Laksamana hendak bermohon pergi kuil tempat berhala melihat sifat negeri ini supaya ia membawa khabar ka-tanah Melayu akan peri kebesaran Kisna Rayan”.

p. 382
pada negeri asing

p. 386

p. 414
Se-telah lepas alangan maka Laksamana pun belayar-lah menuju tanah Melayu.

p 421
di tanah Majapahit dan segala tanah Melayu

p 428
Contemporary endorsement of Melaka as trading port

p. 468:
At the court of Rom

"Kerana adat Melayu di-bawah angin sana’


p. 486
negeri re sailing directions

p. 489
Maka negeri Melaka itu pun.

... tiada juga di-endahkan orang Feringgi itu. Maka oleh orang Wolanda pergi minta bantu pada orang Johor pula, lalu berjanji-lah orang Johor dengan orang Wolanda, apabila alah Ferenggi itu, ...

p. 490
Maka negeri Melaka pun alah-lah.
4. Origins of Melaka

p. 5

Maka titah baginda pada isteri-nya,
"Ya adinda, akan sekarang anakanda kita pun sudah-lah besar, patut ia menjadi raja. Ada pun pada zaman kakanda, maka anak kita ini-lah akan jadi raja dalam dunia, akan menentukan asal raja, bahawa di-turunkan Allah Ta’ala menjadi raja datang kapada akhir zaman".  

p. 6

Maka Sang Supurba pun di-rajakan oleh baginda di-Bukit Seguntang Mahabiru itu saperti adat raja besar2.

Maka Sang Sapurba pun kerajaan-lah terlalu adil dan pereksa-nya113 akan segala ra’ayat-nya.

Dengan demikian terdengar-lah pada segala negeri bahawa di-Bukit Seguntang sekarang ada raja di-turunkan Allah Subhanahu was Ta’ala dari keinderaan, terlalu baik budi-nya dan tegor sapa-nya, sangat ia mengasehi segala dagang santeri.

p. 42

Maka kata Pateh Kerma Wijaya,
"Ada pun kakanda ini ada sudah mendengar khabar raja di-tanah Melayu itu terlalu adil dengan pereksa-nya dan artawan-nya dan murah-nya dan tegor sapa-nya akan segala dagang santeri; ka-sana-lah kakanda sakalian hendak berhambakan diri."

Maka sahu Pateh Kerma Wijaya,
"Ada pun yang kaseh adinda itu sa-penoh-nya-lah, tetapi kakanda mohon-lah dudok di-tanah Jawa, kerana kakanda hendak melihat temasha di-tanah Melayu dan kakanda hendak menjadi hamba pada raja Melayu itu. " Dan kakanda hendak menjadi hamba pada raja Melayu itu".

Sa-kira2 tengah bulan Pateh Kerma Wijaya dudok di-Jayakatra itu di-perjamu makan minum bersuka2an dengan segala bunyi2an, maka Pateh Kerma Wijaya pun bermohon-lah pada Adipati Jayakatra lalu naik ka-jong belayar menuju tanah Melayu.

p. 45

Maka Raden Wira Nantaja pun berkata pada Persanta,

Maka kata Raden Wira Nantaja,

113 Periksa. Marsden, 1812a, p. 219, [p-r-k-s] preksa Hind. To examine closely, search, investigate, inquire into.
"Jika aku memberitahu ayahanda bonda, nescaya tiada-lah di-lepaskan oleh ayahanda bonda. Sebab pun aku hendak pergi ka-tanah Melayu itu, kerana sudah di-lihat oleh segala biku berahman (buddhist monk) juga, ini barang sudah bertemu; main ka-tanah Melayu itu maka aku bertemu dengan kakak Galoh".

Maka kata Raden Wira Nantaja,

Maka kata Adipati Tuban,
"Tuanku, Pateh kerma Wijaya, menteri Ratu Lasem pun baharu juga ia pergi dari Tuban ini. Kasad-nya hendak ka-tanah Melayu hendak menjadi hamba raja Melayu anak beranak-nya dengan ra’ayat sakalian itu tujoh ribu, lain daripada perempuan."

... maka Raden Wira Nantaja pun bermohon-lah pada Adipati Tuban lalu belayar menuju negeri Melayu.

p. 55-57: establishing the negeri
These passages concern the building of an istana and the naming and establishment of a Malay state, including appointment of the raja muda. Recruiting ra’ayat needed for the negeri is noted in the next section. The institution of its customs, such as ceremonial meals included presentation of suits of clothes (persalin) as mark of royal favour:

p. 55
... maka titah baginda,
"Mari mamak Bendahara dan bentara Tun Tuah; apa khabar negeri kita yang mamak Bendahara buat itu?"

pp. 55-56
Sa-telah baginda mendengar sembah Bendahara dan Tun Tuah itu maka titah baginda,
"Jika demikian, baik-lah negeri itu kita namakan negeri Melaka".

Maka sembah Bendahara,
"Daulat tuanku shah alam, sa-patut-nya nama-nya tempat pohon kayu itu, datang kapada anak chuchu tuanku Yang Di-Pertuan di-sebut orang ’Melaka’".

Sa-telah sudah maka Bendahara dan Tun Tuah pun di-anugerahi persalin sa-lengkapnya dan di-beri anugerah akan segala tuan2 dan pegawai yang berkerja sama dengan Bendahara itu, sa-orang pun tiada di-lindong.

p. 56
Maka sembah Bendahara,
"Daulat tuanku, sa-harus-nya-lah duli tuanku pohonkan paduka adinda akan menjadi raja muda di-negeri Melaka ini, kerana duli tuanku tiada berkapit".

Maka titah baginda itu,
"Kita pun hendak menyurohkan mengadap duli paduka ayahanda itu hendak kita pohonkan Sang Jaya Nantaka, kita hendak jadikan raja muda".
Maka Pateh Daha dan Barit Ketika pun di-anugerahi persalin chara Melayu”.

... Maka berjalan-lah masok ka-dalam kota; segala orang isi negeri pun berlari2an daripada laki2 dan perempuan, kata-nya:
“Sayong sa-kali anak raja ini pulang ka-negeri-nya. Jika ia kembali sunyi-lah negeri ini”.

Maka raja Melayu dan Ratu Melayu pun santap-lah.

Maka kata Bendahara,
“Apa maksud orang kaya saudagar datang ka-Melaka ini, kerana tanah Keling dan tanah Keling dan tanah Melayu ini terlalu jauh perlayaran?”
Maka sembah saudagar itu,
“Orang kaya Bendahara, pada bichara hati hamba, ...Pada sa-genap negeri hamba pergi melihat temasha; sa-bermula maka lahu-lah hamba kapada Tanah Melayu ini. Tambahan hamba mendengar khabar pada Tanah Melayu ini sekarang sudah konon di-turunkan raja yang berasal, raja di-keinderaan di-turunkan Allah Ta’ala. Hamba datang ini pun hendak melihat, kerana raja itu akan Allah Ta’ala di-dalam dunia ini; barang siapa melihat raja saperti melihat Allah Ta’ala. ...”.

The yellow umbrella of state
Maka payong kunigan kerajaan pun di-kembangkan orang-lah dan chogan alamat pun terdiri-lah dan raja pun di-suroh-nya dudok di dalam gelmat.

Maka mashhor-lah nama raja dan nama Bendahara Mangkubumi itu merajakan raja di-Tanah Melayu, anak raja di Bukit Seguntang, asal raja keinderaan.

For: The question of class:
The search for a suitable Raja’s prinicipal wife: see under Use of Melayu, below.
3. Role of ra’ayat  

p. 14  
“Ya anak-ku buah hati-ku, ada pun engkau di-atas kerajaan itu. baik2 memeliharaan segala ra’ayat-mu dan sangat2 perekst-mu akan segala tentera-mu; jangan engkau takbor dan ngerun, kerana dunia tiada akan kekal melainkan nama yang baik itu juja yang kekal sa-sudah mati, supaya nama nenek moyang dan nama-ku pun di-sebut orang pada segala negeri yang lain.”  

p. 16  
... Maka baginda pun memberi anugerah pula akan segala orang kaya2 dan petuanan. Kemudian di-anugerahkan segala ra’ayat pula masing2 pada kadar-nya.  

p. 59  
Maka baginda pun bertitah,  
“Mamak Bendahara, kita pun tujoh hari lagi pindah ka-Melaka. Akan berlengkap-lah segala ra’ayat kita isi negeri ini”.  

p. 60  
Maka raja pun belayer ka-Melaka.  
Berapa lama-nya maka sampai-lah ka-Melaka....  

p. 61  
Sa-telah sudah baginda dudok-lah di-hadap oleh Bendahara dan Temenggong dan Tun Tuah. Maka segala pegawai dan petuanan, ra’ayat sakalian hadhir mengadap.  

pp. 62-3  

p. 63  
The newly named Raja of Melaka gathered followers as he proceeded en route/ towards Melaka.  
Maka baginda pun menitah-lah segala pegawai dan petuanan dan Hang Tuah, Hang Jebat, Hang Kasturi membawa gajah kenaikan menyambut paduka adinda dengan segala ra’ayat mengiringkan. ... Maka Bendahara pun naik gajah berjalan dahulu; Temenggong naik kuda berjalan di belakang; segala pegawai oleh petuanan sakalian mengiringkan;  

....  
Maka baginda pun berjalan-lah sambil bertanyak kampong siapa2. Maka sembah Tun Tuah,  
“Ini kampong saudagar”  
Maka sakalian mereka itu membawa persembah.  

p. 64  
Maka baginda pun masok ka-dalam kota. Maka segala orang dalam negeri itu laki2 dan perempuan sakalian dudok menyembah sambil mengatakan,  
“Daulat Tuanku!”.  
Sa-panjang jalan itu segala saudagar dan orang kaya2 bawa persembah.  

p. 115  
Maka raja pun bertitah kapada Bendahara dan Temenggong,
"Ayo mamak Bendahara dan Temenggong, ada pun negeri kita kita serahkan-lah kapada mamak Bendahara dan Temenggong; dan segala pegawai dan petuanan muda2 juga pergi dengan kita. Peliharakan segala ra’ayat kita; jangan alpa. Barang suatu2 pekerjaan itu hendak-lah mafakat; ...”
p. 262
Maka titah raja,
Ayu mamak Bendahara dan Temenggong, baik2 peliharakan segala ra’ayat yang tinggal itu. Ada pun anak isteri kita empat itu kita serahkan pada Bendahara dan Temenggong. Jika satu2 hal kita di-Majapahit, anak kita Raden Bahar-lah akan ganti kita naik raja di-Melaka ini”.
Maka sembah Bendahara dan Temmenggong,
“Daulat Tuanku, minta Allah Ta’ala juga duli shah a lam dan di-jauhkan Allah Ta’ala kira-nya daripada seteru shah a/am”.
p. 279
Maka Marga Paksi pun bermohon-lah kapada Seri Betara itu lalu berjalan ka-Tuban menyamar dengan ra’ayat Raja Melaka.
p. 395
Maka negeri Melaka pun karar-lah, kerana Laksamana dan Bendahara memelihara akan negeri itu dengan sempurna-nya.
p. 414
Maka negeri Melaka pun sentosa-lah sebab Bendahara dan Laksamana memeliharakan. Maka bertambah2 kurnia baginda akan Laksamana.
p. 415
Sa-telah baginda menengar sembah Bendahara demikian itu, maka titah baginda,
“Jikalau demikian, baik-lah kita pagarkan memsia supaya mashhor nama kita, lagi pun kita raja besar, banyak ra’ayat”.
p. 436
Maka negeri Melaka pun sentosa-lah dengan adil-nya dan murah-nya sebab Bendahara dan Laksamana memeliharakan segala ra’ayat itu, sangat percks-nya pada segala yang terniaya.
p. 477
Maka titah baginda,
“Hai mamak Bendahara dan Temenggong, segera-lah kerahkan segala ra’ayat kita suroh angkut bedil dan segala perkakas dan sambut surat dan bingkis itu”.
p. 482
Maka titah baginda pada Puteri Gunong Ledang,
“Hai anak-ku ... Ayahanda pun sudah tua-lah ... Tinggal-lah tuan baik2, peliharakan segala menteri pegawi dan ra’ayat-mu itu”.
p. 486
4. Use of Melayu and Melaka

Compare *Melayu* at Non-Muslim Courts with *Melaka* at Muslim courts (HHT: p. 164: at Majapahit court note use of Javanese personal pronouns)

p. 70. Ada pun pekerjaan baginda itu mengail ka-laut sama2 dengan orang banyak di-Melaka itu; demikian-lah menchari kehidupan.

At Inderapura court

p. 91
berapa lama-nya belayar itu maka sampai-lah ka-Inderapura. Maka di-persembahkan orang-lah kapada raja Inderapura,

“Ya tuanku, utusan raja Melaka dua buah dendang datang. ...”

p. 92
Maka Tun Teja ... seraya berkata,

“... Ada-kah anak raja di-Bukit Seguntang beristerikan anak Bendahara Seri Buana ini? Tiada adat-nya demikian. ...
Ada pun akan raja Melaka itu asal-nya raja keinderaan, anak raja di-Bukit Seguntang, raja yang amat besar dan berasal. Ada pun kapada bichara sahaya yang raja itu sama raja juga, yang orang keluaran itu sama-nya orang keluaran juga, yang menteri itu sama-lah menteri juga dan saudagar itu sama saudagar juga; maka pattut. Yang ulun itu mohon-lah bersuami akan raja Melaka itu”.

... Maka sahut raja lelaki,

“... Pada bichara hamba, baik juga dayang bersuami raja Melaka itu, kerana ia pun bukan orang lain dengan kita. Akan dayang pun keluarga juga pada permaisuri, masakan memberi kejahatan”.

p. 93
Maka sembah Tun Teja ..., 

“Daulat tuanku ... Bukan patut bersuamikan raja Melaka itu, kerana baginda raja besar dari keinderaan; kerana pateh hamba ka-bawah Duli Yang Di-Pertuan, menjadi bersalahan nama-nya. Ada pun yang pipit itu sama pipit juga ... tuanku”.

At Majapahit court: Assassination attempts

Compare *Melayu (qualified)* with *Melau*; also use of Feringgi pp. 486ff.

In the battle with the Majapahit, the Majapahit refer to Hung Tuah and his Melakans as *Melayu*, but their raja as Raja Melaka, and the Majapahit’s daughter becomes Ratu Melaka.

p. 97
Kalau2 raja juga dating meminang, kerana ada pateh dengar perkataan ahli`l-nujum p. 98
dan segala kata2 ajar dan ubun2 yang pertapa, ada pun negeri Majapahit ini anak raja besar akan datang meminag paduka anakanda, dari tanah Melayu datang-nya.

... Maka sahut Pateh Kerma Wijaya dan Tun Tuah,
"Apa pun manira datang ini di-titahkan oleh Sultan Melaka: perkerjaan meminang".

Maka sembah Patch Gajah Mada,
"Ya tuanku paduka Betara, patek mohonkan ampuh dan kurnia, salah-kah seperti sembah patek? Ada pun yang datang itu penyuroh daripada raja Melaka dari Tanah Melayu akan pekerjaan meminang paduka anakanda Raden Emas Ayu".

Maka sembah Patch Gajah Mada,
"Pada bichara patek yang tua ini, baik juga kita sambut dengan perentah, kerana raja Melaka itu pada zaman ini anak raja besar dan anak chuchu raja keinderaan; dan tambahan ia mengutus ini hendak pekerjaan kebajikan".

Maka titah Seri Betara pada Patch Gajah Mada,
"Pada bichara-ku, mari kita chuba utusan Melayu ini, berani-kah atau penakut-kah ia ini, kerana aku dengar hulubulang yang enam orang datang ini akan ganti mata telinga raja-nya dan penaka tuboh raja-lah ... "

Maka kata Patch Gajah Mada,
"Bukan engkau sakalian aku hendak menyuroh mengalahkan negeri. Engkau hendak ku-surohkan menchuba hulubulang Melayu yang datang itu ... ".

Maka Bentara Tun Tuah pun memakai keris tempa Melaka itu dan memakai keris pendua-nya dan Pateh Kerma Wijaya pun berkeris pendua. Sa-telah sudah maka segala Melayu tujoh puloh itu pun sakalian-nya memakai keris pendua tempa Melaka dan memakai pakaian yang indah2.

Maka sahut Bentara Tun Tuah,
"Sahaja menteri tiada mau naik, kerana 'adat hamba raja Melayu itu tiada demikian. ... "

"segala Melayu" x 2; cf “segala orang Majapahit” pp. 101, 109114

Maka segala Melayu pun menyelak pendua-nya dan memegang ulu keris panjang-nya beringkat.

Maka sa-ketika lagi orang mengamok enam puloh itu pun mengamok segala orang Majapahit, mana yang terlintang itu di-bunoh-nya. ... Maka segala Melayu itu pun berjalan juga.

Maka titah Seri Betara pada Barit Ketika,
“Segera-lah bawa masok utusan Melayu itu”.

p. 102
The reception of Hang Tuah and a man from Lasem in Java at the Majapahit court. Melayu as a noun.

Maka titah Seri Betara,
“Suruhkan Melayu itu dudok dekat Pateh Gajah Mada”.

... Maka di-lihat oleh Seri Betara akan Pateh Kerma Wijaya dan Tun Tuah itu; maka titah Seri Betara,
“Engkau Melayu, bagaimana laku-mu saperti Jawa ini? Dan siapa engkau?”
Maka sembah Pateh Kerma Wijaya,
“Pekulun, patek aji orang Lasem; nama patek Pateh kerma Wijaya, pekulun”.
Maka titah Seri Betara pada Tun Tuah,
“Enkau ini Melayu mana?”
Maka sembah Tun Tuah,
“Daulat tuanku adika Betara, patek aji anak Melayu hamba ka-bawah paduka anakanda Sultan Melaka; akan sekarang jadi hamba ka-bawah duli paduka Betara”.

... Maka sembah Tun Tuah,
“... takala patek di-Melaka, hamba ka-bawah duli paduka anakanda Sultan Melaka,“

p. 103
Maka kata Pateh Gajah Mada,

p. 104
Saatelah di-lihat oleh Seri Betara Pateh Gaja Mada dengan segala utusan itu maka titah Seri Betara,
“Mari-lah kiai Tun Tuah, aku hendak mendengar cheritera pada Tanah Melayu itu”.

... Maka sembah Tun Tuah,
“Daulat tuanku paduka Betara, ada pun paduka anakanda Sultan Melaka itu empat bersaudara; shadahon keempat-nya laki2. Ada pun paduka anakanda yang tua sakali menjadi raja di-Bentan dan sa-orang menjadi raja di-benua Keling dan yang tua itu lagi ada, tuanku, kapada ayahanda bonda-nya baginda di-Bukit Seguntang, belum kerajaan lagi; khabar-nya hendak di-sambut ka-Minangkabau hendak di-rajak dan yang bongsu itu hendak di-sambut-nya ka-Palembang”.

115
Maka titah Betara Majapahit,
“Aku pun tahu akan anak raja di-Bukit Seguntan itu, kerana pada sangka-ku yang tua juga jadi raja benua
p. 105
Keliling itu, sebab itu-lah maka aku mengutus ka-benua Keling, dan tiada aku tahu akan anak-ku jadi ratu Melaka. Jikalau aku tahu, dari sa-lama-nya sudah aku mengutus kapada ratu Melaka itu”.
Maka sembah Tun Tuah,
“Sunggoh, tuanku, tetapi yang negeri Melaka itu baharu juga. Apabil paduka anakanda hendak beristeri, …”

Maka titah Seri Betara,
“Hia kiai Tuah ... tetapi-nya nanti-lah dahulu Raden Aria dan rangga datang dari benua Keling supaya Pateh Kerma Wijaya dan kiai Tuah persembahkan kapada anak kita ratu Melaka”.
p. 106

Sa-telah Seri Betara mendengar bunyi dalam surat itu, maka baginda pun berpaling seraya bertitah pada Tuan Tuah,
“Hai, kiai Tuah, anak kita ratu Melaka itu apa kapada ratu Keling itu? Siapa tua siapa muda?”
p. 109
Akan kata sa-orang,
“Kami sa-belah utusan Melayu itu”; maka kata sa-orang pula,
“Kami sa-belah utusan Keling itu”.

Maka segala orang Majapahit itu pun hairan melihat kuda itu berkubang saperti hairan.

At the Melaka court
p. 113

At Palembang
p. 119
Dalam berkata2 itu maka orang Majapahit pun datang sa-buah perahu kechil melihat raja.
At the Majapahit court

In assassination attempts by the Majapahit there is a cluster of uses of *Melayu itu* or *ini* where “the Malay” was used as a derogatory term by the Majapahit for their enemy and intended victim, Hang Tuah.

p. 125

In a non Muslim court the Raja of Melaka also refers to his dancing girls as “Malays”, not Melakans:

*Maka sembah Raja Melaka, “Ada tuanku, patek bawa empat orang hiduan Melayu tahu menari dan bernyanyi”.*

p.126

*Maka penjurit yang hendak menikam Tun Tuah ... maka ia fikir dalam hati-nya, ‘Jikalau saperti Melayu ini, sukar- lah menikam dia. ...’*

p. 127

*Maka sembah Pateh Gajah Mada, “Ya, tuanku ... Indah apa- tahu membunoh kiai Tuah itu dan segala Melayu lima orang itu ... main kita jangan ketara, kerana Melayu ini bijaksana”.*

p. 130

*Maka penjurit yang hendak menikam Tun Tuah ... maka ia fikir dalam hati-nya, ‘Jikalau saperti Melayu ini, sukar- lah menikam dia. ...’ Apabila datang sa-orang Melayu Tun Tuah nama-nya, demikian sifatnya, maka ia berhadapan dengan engkau, bunoh oleh-mu beri mati?*

*Maka kata penjurit itu, “Baik- lah; jangankan sa-orang Melayu itu, jikalau sa-ratus atau dua ratus sa-kali pun tiadakan dapat lepas daripada tangan-ku”.*

... Maka penjurit itu pun di-pesan oleh Pateh Gajah Mada, kata-nya,

“... ‘Mana-tah hulubulang Melayu yang tahu bermain tombak dan senjata dan keris panjang ...’ Apabila datang sa-orang Melayu Tun Tuah nama-nya, demikian sifatnya, maka ia berhadapan dengan engkau, bunoh oleh-mu beri mati?”


p. 131

Contrast


... keris panjang-nya tempa Melaka ...

... Maka sahut Tun Tuah,

“Hai ... Aku-lah yang bernama Tun Tuah hulubulang Raja Melaka

p. 140

With

*Maka kata segala ajar2 itu, “Hai saudara-ku orang muda2, hendak ka-mana tuan-hamba ini, kerana tiada pernah orang Melayu sampai ka-mari?”*
Maka kata segala ajar2 itu,
"... Tuan-hamba ini Melayu, betapa tuan-hamba hendak berguru pada baginda itu?
... Akan tuan-hamba ini Melayu, di manakan di-ajar-nya"

p. 146

... maka Bima Sina pun tertawa2, seraya berkata, kata-nya,
"... jangankan Laksamana sa-orang, jikalau sa-puloh orang pun manira dapat tikam dan kerat leher-nya di-hadapan orang banyak itu".

p. 149

Maka sembah Laksamana,
"Daulat Tuanku ... Takutkan apa tikam anak Majapahit dengan tikam anak Melaka itu?"

... Maka sembah Pateh Gaja Mada,
"Ada suatu bichara patek. Mari kita pileh segala penjurit, barang empat puloh orang yang kepetaangkan atau tujo puloh orang, maka kita suruh penjurit tujo puloh itu mengamok ..."

... Demikian titah Paduka Betara,
"Hai, anak-ku, apa-tah jadi segala ra‘ayat habis binasa di-amok-nya? Segera-lah anak-ku suruhkan Laksamana pergi mengembari dia"

... Melayu unqualified as term of abuse compared with qualified use
Tatkala itu patek berpesan pada penjurit itu,
‘Apabila kau lihat datang sa-orang Melayu berlari2 hendak mengembari engkau, demikian sifat-nya Melayu itu. ... Turut bunoh Melayu itu; barang ka-mana perguninya. Bunoh oleh-mu beri mati.

p. 150

Jikalau Melayu itu mati, besar-lah ganjaran-mu di-anugerah Seri Betara .... Ada pun sa-kali ini mati-lah Laksamana itu.”

... Melayu qualified and use of Javanese terms
Maka kita Pateh Gajah Mada,
"... Apabila datang sa-orang Melayu, demikian sifat-nya, jangan kamu tiada bunoh ...
...” Maka penjurit itu pun berchakap-lah;
“Baik-lah tuanku, jangankan sa-orang saperti Laksamana itu tiada dapat kula bunoh, jikalau sa-ribu dua ribu sa-kali pun saperti Laksamana itu dapat kula bunoh”.

... Melayu qualified in prose, unqualified in dialogue.

p. 151

Maka sembah Pateh Gajah Mada,
“Orang mengamok, tuanku, di-tengah pesara; banyak orang mati dan luka, tiada terkembari lagi”.

...
Sa-telah datang ka-tengah pasar itu, di-lihat oleh Laksamana banyak orang mengamok itu.

... Hatta maka di-lihat oleh penjurit tujoh puloh itu sa-orang Melayu berlari2 dengan keris panjang di-pegang; maka kata penjurit itu, "Ini-lah Melayu yang di-katakan oleh Pateh Gajah Mada itu."

... Dengan takdir Allah Ta’ala, maka Laksamana pun bertemu dengan suatu lorong; pagar-nya lorong itu batu kiri kanan; luas-nya telus sa-orang juga. Hatta maka Laksamana pun segera menghapus keris panjang-nya lalu melompat ka-dalam lorong itu bertahan.

p. 153

Maka sahut Sang Winara, "Apa dosa-nya Melayu itu pada Seri Betara?"

p. 154
Maka Sang Winara pun berkata pada penjurit empat orang itu, "Nyaris manira di-tangkap-nya oleh Laksamana itu, kerana Laksamana itu penjurit besar ...".

Maka murid-nya empat orang itu pun tertawa gelak2, kata-nya, "Itu-lah; ingat2 tuan-hamba akan melawan Melayu itu..."

p. 161
Maka sembah penunggu pintu taman itu, "Ya Tuanku Paduka Betara, taman larangan Paduka Betara yang patek tunggu itu habis-lah di-binasakan oleh orang Melayu muda2 lima orang itu. Patek larang tiada terlarang; patek hendak di-buat pula".

Maka Seri Betara pun terlalu amarah saperti ular berbelit2, serta bertitah, "Hai Barit Ketika, segera-lah pergi melihat Melayu yang berani dudok pada balai larangan kita".

p. 162:
Sa-telah sudah lengkap, maka titah Seri Betara, "Hai pengawitan yang sa-ribu, pergi engkau bunoh Melayu yang dudok di-dalam taman itu. Kepong oleh-mu, beri mati2".

At Inderapura (Hang Tuah’s exile)

p. 170
The Inderapura Sultan does not believe Hang Tuah to be a commoner

Maka kata Bendahara, "Hai dagang, dari mana tuan-hamba datang ini? ..."

Maka Laksamana pun menyembah, seraya kata-nya,
“Ada pun sahaya ini datang dari negeri Melaka; ka-mari menjadi hamba pada dato’ Bendahara di-sini’.

Maka kata Bendahara,
“Siapa anak-ku ini?”

Maka kata Laksamana,
“Akan nama sahaya dato’ Hang Tuah”

p. 171

... Maka kata Bendahara Seri Buana
“Jika demikian, baik-lah kita persembahkan ka-bawah Duli Yang Di-Pertuan. Dudok-lah di-Inderapura sini, kerana Yang Di-Pertuan Melaka pun sama juga dengan Yang Di-Pertuan sini; bukan orang lain”.

... Maka kata segala dayang2 itu:
“Ayo, dato’ inang, sunggoh-kah mak inang beroleh anak angkat orang Melaka terlalu baik budi-nya? ...”

p. 172

Maka hidangan pun di-angkat orang-lah; seraya berkata Dang Rani:
“Santap-lah tuan, nasi orang Inderapura ini, tiada bergaram. Jangan di-kenangkan nasi Melaka”.

Maka Laksamana pun tersenyum seraya berkata:

p. 173

... maka Laksamana pun segera melompat, serta memekis, kata-nya,
“Chih, mengapa bagitu? Anak Melaka sa-orang ini tiada pernah memberi malu”

p. 174

Maka sahut Laksamana,
“Hamba orang Melaka; nama hamba Tun Tuah. ...”

... Maka Tun Jenal pun berkata,
“Jika demikian, baik-lah enche’ dudok di-Inderapura ini, kerana Duli Yang Di-Pertuan pun bukan orang lain, keluarga pada Yang Di-Pertuan sini juga”

Maka sahut Laksamana,
“Apa-tah salah-nya Duli Yang Di-Pertuan Inderapura ini hendak berhambakan sahaya? Tetapi Si-Tuah tiada mau bertuan du tiga lain daripada anak chuchu raja di-Bukit Seguntang”.

... kata Bendahara pada Laksamana,
“Akan sekarang baik juga Tun Tuah dudok di-Inderapura ini, kerana Yang Di-Pertuan Melaka dan Yang Di-Pertuan Inderapura itu pun sama juga; bukan orang lain”.

(and their respective Sultans were of equal rank).

Maka kata Laksamana,
“Biak-lah tuanku; apa-tah salah-nya?”

...
Maka kata Laksamana pada Tun Jenal,

“Mana-tah biduan Inderapura ini? Mari-lah jamu orang Melaka ini, kerana sahaya ingin hendak mendengar nyanyi orang Inderapura ini”.

p. 175
(cf. HHT, p 149)

Maka kata panakawan itu,

“Adinda berjamu orang Melaka, anak angkat inangda itu, tuanku”

Maka kata Tun Teja,

“Siapa nama-nya orang Melaka itu?”

Maka kata biduan itu,

“Biak-lah tuanku; Ragam apa di-perhamba palu ini, kerana ragam orang Inderapura bukan Melayu? Sunggoh beta Melayu, kachokan juga: bukan saperti Melayu Melaka sunggoh”.

Maka Laksamana pun tersenyum, seraya berkata

“Orang Melaka gerangan Melayu kachokan, berchampor dengan Jawa Majapahit! Dayang pun satu, sa-bagai hendak mengajok beta pulu”.

(The Malay of Malaccans is probably confused, through mixing with with Javanese and Majapahit people. Since you wish to tease me.)

... After being accused in his turn of teasing he later again refers to his confusion:

Maka kata Laksamana,

“Jangan sahaya di-ajok, kerana orang Melaka ini tuan-nya berchampor Jawa Majapahit; tiada tahu menari”.

(Makes was another joke).

Maka sahut Tun Jenal,

“Kata apa tuan katakan itu? Kita bermain adek-beradek; hendak-lah jangan menaroh shak di-hati”.

... tiada pernah orang Inderapura melihat tari saperti tari Laksamana itu. (He then danced superlatively.)

p. 176

Maka raja pun tiada lepas mata-nya daripada memandang Laksamana juga, dalam hati-nya:

‘Anak siapa gerangan Laksamana ini? Bukan ia anak orang keluaran dan anak pegawai besar2 juga rupa-nya, kerana terlalu sa-kali baik rupa-nya dan sikap-nya dan kelakuan dan patut ia menjadi hulubulang besar dudok di-atas segala hulubulang”.

115 Marsden, 1812a, p. 246:Kachuk, kachu to shake, agitate; to jumble together, mix, mingle. Latu de kachu-nia ayer itu dangan ikur-nia, he then agitated the water with his tail.

Maka naga itu-pun mengachuk diri-nia, the dragon then shook himself.

Bhasa kachuk-an a mixed, corrupt dialect.

Orang kachuk kachuk-an a mixture of people from different countries.

Tali dan layer sudah kita bili sana situ ka-pada orang kachuk, the cordage and sails we brought here and there from a variety of people.

Suruh bili-kan dogang-an iang kachuk-kachuk, gave orders for purchasing a mixed variety of goods.)
Compare with

_Bahasa menunjukkan bangsa._ Manners betray rank. Longer version is:

_Uusu menunjukkan asal, bahasa menunjukkan bangsa._

Manners maketh man, manners betray rank.¹¹⁶

p. 177

Maka sembah Laksamana,

_“Daulat tuanku, ... Tetapi Si-Tuah tiada mau ber-tuan lain daripada anak chuchu
raja di-Bukit Seguntang”._

... Maka Laksamana pun ... seraya memekis kata-nya,

_“Cheh! Siapa dapat menangkap Si-Tuah? Mana mata-nya saperti orang Inderapura
ini?”_

p. 183

Maka tuan puteri pun tersenyum; titah tuan puteri:

_‘... Beruntong mak inang beroleh anak angkat orang Melaka’._

p. 184

maka kata Tun Teja,

_“... kita lihat negeri Melaka itu terlalu ramai; maka kita lihat raja Melaka itu
datang ka-Inderapura ini dengan segala ra’ayat-nya menyambui kita, maka tiada
mau pergi rasa-nya; maka datang se-ekor ular, maka di-belit-nya pinggang kita.
Maka kita pun terkejut takut akan ular itu lalu kita jaga. ...”_

p. 215

Maka di-pileh oleh Laksamana empat puloh orang baik2, maka di-beri-nya memakai
keris pandak dua bilah pada sa-orang.

_Megat Terengganu at Inderapura court_

pp. 216

Maka sahut Megat Kembar Ali,

_“Jangan Tun Megat berkata demikian, kerana pada zaman ini Laksamana itu
hulubulang besar pada tanah Melayu dan tanah Majapahit, mashhor nama-nya; ...”_

p. 217

Pada hati hamba kedua, akan guna2 di-perhamba kedua di-titahkan oleh Duli Yang
Di-Pertuan mengiringkan orangkaya panglima itu mau-lah beroleh nama yang baik’.

p. 218

kerana orang Laksamana yang _empat puloh_ itu orang yang pilehan

p 220

Maka segala hulubulang itu pun semua-nya memekis, kata-nya,

_“Cheh! Laksamana Melaka. Mati engkau oleh-ku!...”_

Maka segala orang _Inderapura_ yang melihat Megat Terengganu itu pun masing2
berlarian2: ada yang naik kota, ada yang naik balai gendang. Maka Hang Jebat, Hang
Kasturi dan _orang empat puloh itu pun_ segera turun dari atas balai gendang itu
menyamar masok sama2 dengan _orang banyak_ masok itu.


122
At Majapahit
p. 237
Maka di-persembahkan orang-lah pada Betara Majapahit,
"Ya tuanku, utusan daripada anakanda ratu Melaka datang bersama2 dengan
rangga dan Barit Ketika, Laksamana panglima-nya".

...Maka sembah Patch,
"Ya tuanku, ada pun patek dengar khabar-nya Laksamana itu terlalu sa-kali berani-
nya, tiada berlawan pada tanah Melayu itu ...").

...Maka kata Laksamana,
p. 238
"Hai rangga, ada pun akan segala hulubulang Melayu itu apabila nama turun-nya
di-bawa ka-sabuah negeri hendak-lah itu sangat2 hormat dan takut akan nama
tuan-nya itu.... Negeri Majapahit ini negeri besar".
p. 239
Maka rangga dan Barit Ketika pun hairan melihat berani Laksamana dan segala
Melayu itu.

...Sa-ketika lagi datang pula penjurit itu ka-hadapan Laksamana pula, barang yang
terlintang di-bunoh-nya dengan tempek so rak-nya, k a ta-nya,
"Bunoh-lah segala Melayu ini! ".

...Maka sahut Laksamana,
"...Jikalau luka barang sa-orang juga Melayu ini, negeri Majapahit pun habis ku-
binasakan; shahadan Pateh Gaja Mada pun ku-bunoh ".
p. 241
Maka titah Seri Betara,
"Mari Laksamana kita hendak mendengar khabar Melaka".
p. 242
Maka sembah Laksamana,
"Daulat tuanku ... kalau2 tiada baik jadi-nya, kerana hulubulang Melayu itu tiada
dapat berguraukan keris di-hadapan majlis. ..."
p. 245
Maka titah Seri Betara,
"Mari Laksamana, kita hendak melihat anak Melayu menari".
Maka sembah Laksamana:
"Daulat tuanku".

...Maka titah Seri Betara:
"Hai Laksamana, kita hendak melihat segera raja dan cheteria, hulubulang menari
chara Melayu. Beranggap2an-lah tuan2 sakalian".

...Maka titah Seri Betara:
“Hai kiai Pateh, anggapkan kapada Laksamana, kerana kita hendak melihat Laksamana menari, kerana kita dengar Laksamana pandai menari chara Melayu”.

... Maka di-lihat oleh Seri Betara kelakuan Laksamana menari dan segala Melayu itu terlalu ingat, masing2 menyelak p. 246 pendua-nya.

... Maka sembah penjurit itu:
“Kiai, kula mohonkan ampun; jangankan Laksamana sa-orang, jikalau negeri Melaka sa-kali pun dapat kula alahkan”.


p. 248 Maka kata Pateh, “Hai segala penjurit, apa penglihatan-mu, kerana ia sa-orang, engkau empat puloh lawan, tiada terbunoh oleh-mu?”

p. 248 Maka sembah Pateh:
“Ya, tuanku, mohonkan ampun dan kurnia, yang penjurit empat puloh ini patek surohkan membunoh Laksamana itu”.

... Maka kata Pateh: “... hendak ku-suroh menchuri keris Laksmana utusan Melayu itu”


p. 252 Maka segala penggawa di-pintu itu pun me rebahkan tombak, di-halakan-nya pada Laksamana, seraya kata-nya “Bunoh-lah Laksamana dan segala Melayu ini”;


... Maka titah Seri Betara “Segera-lah pileh penjurit empat puloh itu”.

...
Maka penjurit empat puloh itu pun berchakap-lah membunoh Laksamana itu.
p. 270
Hatta maka terdengar-lah kapada raja Melaka bahawa Laksamana bertikam dengan penjurit empat puloh itu ...

... Maka orang dalam negeri itu semua-nya takut melihat Laksamana dengan segala Melayu itu, kerana main Pateh habis di-ketahui-nya oleh Laksamana itu.

... Maka Seri Betara dan Pateh Gaja Mada pun takut melihat Laksamana dan segala Melayu itu, kerana main-nya habis di-ketahui-nya oleh segala Melayu itu.

... Raja Melaka pun bermohon-lah kembali ka-istana-nya.

... Maka kata Pateh Gajah Mada, "Hamba memanggil tuan-hamba ini dengan titah Andika Betara hendak menyurohkan membuang sa-orang hulubalang Melayu. Laksamana nama-nya. Jika ia mati, besar kebaktian-mu kepada Seri Betara".
p. 273
Maka sembah Laksamana,
"... Jikalau negeri Majapahit ini saperti negeri Melayu, sudak patek alahkan, kerana tuanku raja besar pada tanah Melayu itu, dapat di-pindah2kan".
p. 274
Maka Petala Bumi pun terlalu amarah, kata-nya,
"Cheh, mengapa pula aku engkau tertawa2kan? Akan sekarang juga Melayu itu kubunoh!"

Majapahit assassin, Marga Paksi
Maka Marga Paksi pun bermohon-lah kapada Seri Betara itu lalu berjalan ka-Tuban menyamar dengan ra’ayat Raja Melaka.
p. 282
Maka Marga Paksi,
"Hai penjurit Melayu yang amat berani ..."
Maka kata Laksamana, ...
p. 284
Maka pada hari itu raja pun menitahkan segala pegawi dan petuanan dan segala ra’ayat pergi menchari Laksamana.

... Maka Laksamana pun berjalan-lah dengan segala orang banyak.

... Ada pun sekarang baik-lah duli tuanku menitahkan Bentara Tun Jebat mengadap segala ra’ayat berangkat harta di-Bukit China itu.
Sudah itu maka segala harta orang banyak itu pun di-angkut; tujo hari lama-nya berangkat itu.

*Derhaka at Melaka Court*

p. 298

Maka kata Pateh Kerma Wijaya,

"Ada pun segala pegawai yang pergi dengan hamba dua puluh orang itu kita bahagi empat ketombakan dan ra’ayat-nya sa-ribu, supaya hati Si-Jebat bimbang".

... Maka segala pegawai dan petuanan pun berjalan-lah masok ka-dalam kota dengan segala hulubulang dan orang yang sa-ribu itu. 

p. 299 "... melainkan segala hulubulang dan ra’ayat juga yang binasa, kerana Si-Jebat itu bukan barang2 orang penjurit; ..."

p. 300

Sa-telah Hang Kasturi sampai ka-dalam kota, maka Hang Kasturi pun berdiri di-halaman [of the istana]; maka segala ra’ayat pun berbaris-lah.

p. 302

Maka segala orang dalam negeri itu pun pergi-lah mengikut Temenggong. Sa-telah sampai ka-halaman istana itu, maka segala orang banyak pun bersorak-lah saperti tagar bunyi-nya.

... Maka di-lihat-nya Temenggong dan Tun Utama dan Tun Bija Sura yang datang itu. 

Sa-telah di-lihat oleh orang banyak, orang banyak pun berkata, 

"Hai Si-Jebat derhaka, jika engkau berani, mari-lah tuan supaya ku-penggal leher-mu!"

Maka Hang Jebat pun tertawa, seraya berkata, 

"Hai Temenggong dan Tun Utama dan Tun Bija Sura, sayang engkau hulubulang tua di-tanah Melaka ini; ..."

... Maka kata Hang Jebat,

"Baik-lah tahan-lah bekas tangan-ku baik2. Sa-pala2 nama derhaka, jangan kepalang!"

serta di-hunus keris-nya turun melompat serta di-usir-nya akan orang yang banyak itu, barang yang terlintang di-tikam-nya. Maka segala orang banyak itu pun habis cherai-berai melihat Hang Jebat itu saperti harimau yang gelak tiada membilang akan p. 303

lawan-nya, shahadan maka keris-nya bernyala2 saperti gunong api hendak membakar. Orang yang banyak itu hanya yang tinggal Temenggong dan Tun Utama dan Tun Bija Sura juga, terdiri di-tengah halaman istana itu. 

p. 307

Maka kata Tun Kasturi,

"Assalamu'alaikum, hai saudara-ku Laksamana yang amat mashhor pada tanah Jawa dan Melayu!"

p. 309

Sa-telah di-lihat oleh orang dalam negeri Melaka Laksamana datang itu maka segala orang negeri itu pun terlalu sukachita dan berlari2 datang menyembah Laksamana ...
Maka titah raja,
"Benar-lah saperti kata Laksamana itu; segera-lah Bendahara kerahkan segala pegawai dan petuanan dan segala ra’ayat suroh kotai kampong Bendahara ini tujoh lapis".

Maka di-lihat segala ra’ayat di-dalam negeri Melaka itu Laksamana di-titahkan raja membunoh Si-Jebat itu, maka kata orang banyak itu ...

Maka Laksamana pun taju-lah akan Si-Jebat tidor itu. Maka Laksamana pun melihat ketika dan edaran. Sa-telah sudah sampal ketika-nya, maka Laksamana pun turun dari balai gendang itu lalu berjalan masok ka-dalam pagar lalu berdiri di-tengah halaman istana itu. Maka segala orang-nya empat puloh itu pun berdiri di-belakang Laksamana. Maka segala orang banyak pun berdiri dari jauh melihat temasha: ada yang naik pohon kayu ada yang naik bumbongan ...

Maka gempar-lah segala perempuan isi istana itu menengar bunyi lembing perisai dan tempek sorak orang banyak mengepong istana itu.

Sa-telah Hang Jebat menengar kata Laksamana demikian, maka ia pun hairan, seraya berkata,
"Hai orangkaya Laksamana, kerana-mu-lah maka aku berbuat perkerjaan ini...."

Maka sahut Laksamana,
"... Ada pun perkerjaan-mu derhaka pada tuan-mu itu berapa2 dosa-nya kapada Allah, tiada tertanggong oleh-mu di-dalam akhirat jemah. Akan sekaran engkau hendak membunuh orang yang tiada berdosa pula berpuloh2 ribu itu; benar-lah bichara-mu itu?".

Maka kata Hang Jebat,
"Apa-tah daya-ku? Sakalian itu dengan kehendak-nya juga; tiada dengan kuasa-ku perbuat itu, supaya nama-ku mashhord pada segala negeri".

Maka kata Hang Jebat,
"Ada pun aku tiada mau turun dari istana ini berlawan dengan engkau, kerana engkau hulubulang besar lagi ternama; ..."

Sa-telah di-dengar oleh orang banyak itu kata Laksamana itu, maka ia pun keluar-lah dari bawa istana itu dan Hang Jebat pun turun. ...

Maka kata Hang Jebat,
"... Sebab pun ku-perbuat demikian ini, sa-pala2 nama jahat jangan kapalang, sapierti pantun Melayu, rosak bawang di-timpak jambak-nya; maka sempurna-lah nama derhaka dan nama jahat:"

Maka kata Laksamana,
"Sunggoh sapierti kata-mu itu, tetapi akan kita di-perhamba raja ini hendak-lah pada barang sa-suatu perkerjaan itu bicharakem sangat2, sapierti kata orang tua2:"

127
Baik mati dengan nama yang baik, jangan hidup dengan nama yang jahat, supaya masok shurga jemah”.
Maka kata Hang Jebat,
p. 320
pun akan sekarang ada sa-orang perempuan, dayang2 dado Bendahara, Dang Baharu nama-nya, perempuan itu bermukah dengan di-perhamba. Sekarang ia bunting tufo bulan. ... Ini-lah pesan di-perhamba pada orangkaya”.

Maka Hang Jebat pun fikir dalam hati-nya:
‘... jika aku mati sa-orang pun tiada berbela dan nama-ku pun tiada mashor. Jika demikian, baik-lah aku turun mengamok supaya banyak bela-ku’.
p. 321
Maka orang banyak itu pun sa-bagai naik ka-ata s birai istana itu dari kisi2 istana itu. p. 324 ...
Maka Si-Jebat pun berseru2 kata-nya,
“Hai segala orang Melaka, tahan-lah baik2 tikam Si-Jebat derhaka ini, kerana aku lagi membarut luka-ku.”
Maka kata segala orang banyak itu,
“Hai Si-Jebat derhaka, mari-lah engkau supaya ku-tindas leher-mu”.

The Majahpahit assassin Kertala Sari in Melaka,
p. 330
... maka ibu-nya pun menangis, seraya berkata,
“Hai, anak-ku, yang bapa-mu itu sudah mati di-bunoh oleh sa-orang Melayu bernama, Laksamana hulubulang Raja Melaka”.
p. 332

Maka Kertala Sari pun pandang pada Laksamana; maka ia pun fakir dalam hati-nya,
‘Dia-la gerangan hulubulang Ratu Melaka yang bernama Laksamana itu...
p. 335
Maka Kertala Sari pun hairan, berfikir dalam hati-nya,
‘Ada pun hikmat ini bukan hikmat Melayu, hikmat penjurit Jawa yang tahu2 juga’.
p. 336
Kertala Sari pun... dalam hati-nya,
‘Pada malam ini aku masok membakar dan mengamok, kerana harta orang Melaka itu pun habis aku churi’.
p. 337
Maka Bentara pun menyembah lalu pergi dengan ra’ayat mengangkut segala harta itu di-Bukit China.

Mission to Keling
Laksamana when challenged over his identity by the Keling ruler (apparently because of his facility with languages)

p. 343
“Kami sakalian ini utusan daripada Melaka datang hendak mengutus mengadap paduka sultan benua Keling itu”.

... Maka shabandar pun kaseh rasa-nya akan Laksamana itu, kerana ia berkata itu terlalu merendahkan diri-nya dan barang yang keluar daripada mulut-nya itu terlalu manis.

p. 345
Maka kata Laksamana,
“Ada pun di-perhamba datang di-titahkan sultan Melaka dan Kisma Rayan, kerana sultan Melaka terlalu hasrat hendak menengar khabar adinda baginda. Sama-nya baginda hendak mengutus kera baginda di-dalam ke-sukaran ...”
Maka Nala Sang Guna pun kaseh mesra akan Laksamana, kerana melihat laku Laksamana berkata itu manis mulut-nya dan dengan faseh dan lidah-nya dan merdu suara-nya dan sangat merendahkan diri-nya. Maka kata Nala Sang Guna,
“Baik juga shabandar suroh segala kelengkapan orangkaya itu berlaboh pada tempat perahu Feringgi, kerana sultan Melaka ini saudara bawah dari Mala Kisma Rayan”

p. 346
Sa-terah di-lihat oleh utusan Feringgi utusan Melaka itu....
Maka kata segala soldadu yang di-perahu itu,
“Jangan kamu sakalian berlaboh pada tempat kami ini: kami sakalian tiada suka”.
Maka kata orang Melaka,
“Mengapa maka kamu sakalian larang kami? Kami pun dagang ...”

Maka kata segala orang Melaka,
“Tiada baik kita berkelahi di-dalam negeri orang. ...”

At court of “negeri Bijaya Nagaram” (in Benua Keling)
After the altercation with the Feringgi, at the court the only references to Melaka are to the raja Melaka as such.

Sa-terah keesokan hari-nya Laksamana pun datang ka-rumah Nala Sang Guna. Maka Nala Sang Guna pun bertanya kapada Laksamana akan perihal segala raja2 Melayu itu.

p. 347
Maka sembah Nala Sang Guna,
“... Pateh hendak persembahkan ka-bawah duli, utusan daripada paduka kakanda dari Melaka datang mengadap Duli Yang Maha Mulia”
Maka beribu2 rumah berhala di-dalam negeri itu, terlalu indah2 perbuatan-nya dan sa-ribu masjid di-dalam negeri itu tempat anji wantar sembahyang dan beribu2 khemah khatifah terbentang akan tempat segala saudagar berniaga dan berkedi. Maka segala orang negeri itu pun terlalu ramai melihat surat dari Melaka itu, kerana sangat di-permulia-nya oleh segala orang benua Keling itu.

"Apa sebab-nya juga maka surat dari Melaka ini sangat di-permulia-nya?"

Maka kata sa-orang lagi,

"Bagaimana tiada di-permulia, kerana raja kita ini asal-nya raja Melayu juga?"

Maka sahut sa-orang pula,

"Ada kami dengar yang raja pada negeri Melaka itu saudara-nya tua kapada raja kita; sebab itu-lah".

Maka titah Kisna Rayan,

"Bawa ka-mari utusan itu, hai Nala Sang Guna; kita hendak menengar khabar saudara kita di-Melaka itu".

Maka titah baginda dengan bahasa Bijaya Nagaram,

"Siapa nama-nya utusan Melayu ini?"

Maka Kisna Rayan dan Bendahara [M]angkubumi dan segala raja2 dan menteri yang mengadap itu pun hairan terchenge2, kerana melihat Laksamana tahu bahasa Nagaram itu, kerana segala raja2 dan menteri yang banyak itu berpileh yang tahu akan bahasa Nagaram itu. Maka Kisna Rayan pun gemar melihat laku Laksamana berkata2 itu dengan bahasa Keling itu dengan faseh lidah-nya dan manis muka-

"Hai Laksamana, engkau ini peranakan apa?"

Maka sembah Laksamana,

"Ya, Tuanku shah alam, patek ini peranakan Melayu, tetapi patek dari kechil2 pergi ka-Mahajapahit; maka patek belajar mengaiji bahasa Keling pada sa-orang lebai; sebab itu-lah maka patek mergeri sadikit akan bahasa Keling ini, tuanku"

Maka titah Kisna Rayan,

"Hai Laksamana, apa kabar ayahanda di-Bukit SeGuntang dan paduka kakanda di-Melaka?"

Maka titah Kisna Rayan,

"Hai Nala Sang Guna, beri tempat singgah akan Laksamana dan Maharaja Setia ini; peliharakan baik2; dan segala Melayu ini beri musara-nya".

117 Marsden, 1812a, p. 221: "[p-r-n-a-k-n] per-anak-an or pernak-an the womb; issue, offspring, breed, race, children. Per-anak-an tanah itu the race of that country."
Maka Laksamana dan Maharaja Setia dan segala Melayu yang banyak itu pun naik kuda.
P. 364
The Portuguese attack in China
Maka kata Feringgi itu,
"Hai Melayu dan Keling, jangan engkau berlaboh di-sini dekat ghali kapitan ini.
Sekarang ia datang di-bedil-nya segala perahu itu."
Maka segala Melayu itu pun tertawa. Maka kelengkapan itu pun berlaboh-lah pada tempat ghali Feringgi itu.
Maka soldadu itu pun amarah, kata-nya,
"Orang Melayu dan orang Keling ini tiada berbudi. Sahaja hendak berkelahi rupa-nyanya dengan kita ini, kerana ia melihat diri-nya banyak itu."
Maka sahut segala Melayu,
"Mengapa engkau berkata demikian? Kami ini dagang, di-mana shahbandar suroh,
kami dudok. Tetapi engkau hendak sama banyak pun baik atau sama sa-orang pun baik, kerana Feringgi dan Melayu ini seterus."
P. 370
Maka Laksamana dan Maharaja Setia pun pakai persalin itu dan segala orang Melaka dan Keling pun semua-nya di-persalin.

Maka Laksamana pun di-anugerahi oleh menteri empat itu, pada sa-orang2 menteri itu sa-puloh perangguan, dan segala orang Keling dan orang Melaka yang banyak itu semua-nya di-beri persalin.

At the Japanese court
P. 390
Maka titah Phra Chau,
"Hai pendekar, engkau aku titahkan bermain pedang dengan utusan Melayu itu."
Maka kata Jepun itu,
"Berapa puloh orang Melayu itu? Jika sa-orang dua, bukan lawan patek."
P. 391
"Hai Melayu, turun-lah engkau! Jika tiada turun supaya ku-naiki balairong kuetendas kepala-mu."
P. 450
segala Melayu yang tuioh puloh yang baik-baik itu pun di-persalin-nya.

At the court of the Sultan of Rom at Istanbul: The embassy led by Bendahara Mangkubumi and Hang Tuah
P. 455
Maka kata Ibrahim Kakan,
"... Ada pun negeri Rom yang bernama Setambul itu kota-nya tuioh lapis dan parit-nya demikian juga dan pintu gerbang-nya besar enam butik..."
P. 465
Maka titah baginda [sultan of Rom]
“... Aku pun tiada pernah mendengar riwayat daripada orang tua2, utusan di-
negeri Melaka itu ka-benua Rom ini datang, kerana negeri Melaka itu sangat jauh-
nya. Apa gerangan kehendak-nya?”

Maka Laksamana dan segala orang Melaka sakalian-nya pun di-beri-nya kuda sa-
orang sa-ekor lalu berjalan dengan segala bunyi-2an terlalu gegak gempita bunyi-
nya.

... Maka kata sa-orang pula,
“Apa sebab-nya surat utusan Melayu ini maka di-sambut raja kita dengan
perihiasan-nya ini?”

Maka kata Laksamana,
“Ya, tuanku, ada pun di-perhamba ini sudah enam bulan lama-nya dudok dalam
negeri ini, jangankan boleh mengadap baginda, menerima ayapan-nya pun belum
lagi, sa-kadar tuanku empat bersaudara ini juga memeliharakan di-perhamba
sakalian itu. Kerana adat Melayu di-bawah angin sana, barang ka-mana di-utuskan
Duli Yang Di-Pertuan, sa-genap negeri pun hamba boleh mengadap raja-nya dan
menerima ayapan dan kurnia, supaya boleh-lah hamba khabarkan takhta kebesaran
raja anu raja anu itu”.

(For continuation of quotation see in Section Tanah Melayu above).

Maka di-lihat oleh baginda sikap Laksamana berjalan itu terlalu manis, pantas
barang laku-nya, gemar melihat rupa Laksamana itu.

Maka fakir-nya baginda,
‘Ini-lah gerangan rupa-nya utusan Raja Melaka yang bersama2 Mangkubumi itu’.

Maka sembah Mangkubumi itu,
“Daulat tuanku, mana tiatah duli yang di-permuliakan Allah Subhanahu wa Ta’ala
patek sakalian junjong”.

Kemudian berdatang pula sembah Mangkubumi,
“Daulat tuanku, patek mohonkan ampun dan kurnia di-atas jemala patek hamba
yang aha’if, bawah utusan Raja Melaka itu pun, jikalau ada derma kurnia Duli Shah
Alam ...”

Maka sembah Laksamana dengan bahasa Rumi, erti-nya bahasa dalam,
“Daulat Tuanku Shah Alam yang di-permuliakan Allah Subhanahu wa Ta’ala
terjunjong di-atas batu kepala patek hamba yang hina bertambah2 bebal, takakala
patek di-negeri Melaka, hamba patek itu Sultan Melaka: akan sekarang patek di-
benua Rom ini hamba-lah ka-bawah Duli Shah Alam. Barang perkerjaan Duli Shah
Alam patek kerjakan, sa-hingga mati sudah-lah”.

Sa-telah baginda mendengar sembah Laksamana itu dengan bahasa Rumi itu, maka
baginda pun tersenyum, gemar melihat Laksamana berkata2 dengan bahasa Rumi itu,
terlalu manis mulut-nya dan fasih lidah-nya dengan merdu suara-nya dan sangat ia
merendahkan diri-nya dan raja-itu.
Maka Laksamana dan Maharaja Setia sakalian orang Melaka pun makan-lah masing2 dengan hidangan-nya.

Lain daripada itu, sakalian orang Melaka yang sa-ribu enam ratus itu semua-nya di-anugerah sa-semester pada sa-orang.
5. Territory of allegiance

The following is a precis of *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, (K L Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, (1964)1973) pp. 295-328.

While Hang Jebat was within the istana but before he was wounded, he had violated every area and act sacred to the person of the raja. (pp 298, 301, 316) After Hang Tuah inflicted the two fatal stab wounds on Hang Jebat the common people crowded onto the ridgepole to see the result of the contest (display of valour, feat of arms)\(^{118}\) as though it were an entertainment. They openly speculated on the likelihood of an amok. From within the istana Hang Jebat addressed the first of two challenges to the elite or nobility of Melaka,\(^ {119}\) he came down into the area behind the palisade to give the second so the crowd of onlookers\(^ {120}\) all ran away. Hang Jebat then came into the market immediately outside the istana from there he proceeded to kill and wound hundreds of Melakans. [Here a panoramic sentence is followed by paratactic sentences.] The Malacca (or Malay) quarter\(^ {121}\) was thrown into utter confusion as Hang Jebat behaving like a madman had raced around from house *kampung*\(^ {122}\) (enclosure of buildings or compound) to house and from lorong lane to lane... killing everyone he met (although he avoided the Bendahara’s residence).

Towards nightfall he went out of the [Melaka] quarter and began killing the people outside. These are described as the subjects inhabiting the city\(^ {123}\) or or the ordinary inhabitants, that is people who do not share the lineage of the ruler. Their quarter was also reduced to utter confusion. When the ruler (*Baginda*)\(^ {124}\) received news of the devastation in this quarter he was extremely upset. Eventually the Raja addressed his subjects (the onlookers who had run away) as\(^ {125}\) [Previously they had been called *segala orang banyak* but now are described as *ra’ayat yang lari itu*].

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118 *temasha*, p. 323; see Marsden, 1812a, p. 72: “[i-r-m-a-s] *termasa*, Pers. Rejoicing exultation, demonstration of joy, festivity, sport, public sports, exhibition, display of valour, feats of arms, tournament. Joyous elation.”

119 *Orang Melaka*, p. 324; follows Marsden, 1812a, p. 22: “[a-w-r-ng] orang man, person, people. ... orang Malayo a Malay”.

120 *Segala orang banyak*, p. 324, i.e. everyone

121 Marsden, 1812a, p. 350, “[n-g-r-i] *negeri*, Hind. A city, town; a country, province, district.” Thus *negeri Melak*, city of Melaka. *negeri, isi negeri*, inhabitants of the city

122 *kampung* see Marsden, 1812a, p. 267, “[k-m-p-ng] *kampung* an enclosure, a place surrounded with a paling; a fenced or fortified village; a quarter, district, or suburb of a city; a collection of buildings”.

123 *ra’ayat isi negeri itu* Marsden, 1812a, p. 176, described: “*segala rayat* [as] every subject”.

124 Marsden, 1812a, p. 43: [b-g-n-d] *baginda* one of royal birth (male or female); the king, the prince, his majesty, his highness*. (*Baginda* the word introduced here to describe the ruler is said (by Swettenham) to be properly confined to a ruler who has come to power by conquest, or who is ruling over foreigners, but by Marsden to apply to royal descent.)

125 “Maka titah Raja pada segala ra’ayat yang lari itu: “*Hai segala kamu, ....*”, p. 324.


The following is Marsden’s description of the personnel who formed the Aceh court Marsden, 1783, p. 318.

“The grand council of the nation consists of, the King or Sultan, four Oolooballangs [maharaja, laksamana, paduka tuan, and bandhara], and eight of a lower degree [ulubulangs], who sit on his right hand; and sixteen cajoorangs, who sit on his left. At the king’s feet sits a woman, to whom he makes known his pleasure; by her it is communicated to an Eunuch, who sits next to her, and by him to an officer named Cajooran Gondong, who them proclaims aloud to the assembly. There are also present two other officers, one of whom has the government of the Bazar or market, and the other, the superintending and carrying into execution the punishment of criminals. All matters relative to commerce and the custom of the port come under the jurisdiction of the Shahbandar”.

[Emendations from Marsden’s 1811 History, p. 402 given in square brackets].
7. Proverbs

Although Matheson found no sayings with Melayu reference, there are a number with reference to concepts concerned with the nature of sovereignty and there are several versions of a peribahasa that affirm the attitudes found in HHT:

Raja adil, raja di sembah; raja ta' adil, raja di-sangkak.
(Pay a just king homage due; Unjust kings we should subdue, To obey the law is right; Against injustice we should fight)126
or:
(A just prince is a prince to be revered; an unjust prince is a prince to be resisted)127

Raja adil, raja disembah, raja lalim [benkis, cruel] raja disanggah.
Raja yang adil diturut dan disayangi, tetapi raja yang tak adil ditentang.
(A just prince is a prince to be revered; an unjust prince is prince to be resisted)128

Usul menunjukkan asal, bahasa menunjukkan bangsa.
(Manners maketh man, manners betray rank).129

## Appendix XI

**Endeavour Voyage (Comparative Vocabulary) Tables**

### Banks Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Madagascar</th>
<th>Otaheite</th>
<th>Cocos Isle</th>
<th>New Guinea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Issa</td>
<td>Tahie</td>
<td>Taci</td>
<td>Tika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Rove</td>
<td>Rua</td>
<td>Loua</td>
<td>Roas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Tello</td>
<td>Torou</td>
<td>Tolou</td>
<td>Tola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Effat</td>
<td>Hea</td>
<td>Fa</td>
<td>Fatta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Enning</td>
<td>Whene</td>
<td>Houno</td>
<td>Wamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Fruto</td>
<td>Hetu</td>
<td>Fitou</td>
<td>Fita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Wedo</td>
<td>Whearu</td>
<td>Walou</td>
<td>Walla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Sidai</td>
<td>Heva</td>
<td>Ywou</td>
<td>Siwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Seula</td>
<td>Ahourou</td>
<td>Ongeoula</td>
<td>Sangafoula</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table drawn up by Banks based on vocabularies in *A Collection of Voyages undertaken by the Dutch East-India Company, for the improvement of trade and navigation*, London, 1703, and Banks’ Tahiti Vocabularies.  
Banks Table II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRINCES ISLAND</th>
<th>JAVA</th>
<th>MALAY</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jalma</td>
<td>Oong Lanang</td>
<td>Oran Lacki Lacki</td>
<td>a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Becang</td>
<td>Oong Wadang</td>
<td>Parampuan</td>
<td>a woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oroculatacke</td>
<td>Lari</td>
<td>Anack</td>
<td>a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holo</td>
<td>Undass</td>
<td>Capalla</td>
<td>the head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erung</td>
<td>Erung</td>
<td>Edung</td>
<td>the Nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mata</td>
<td>Moto</td>
<td>Mata</td>
<td>the Eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chole</td>
<td>Cuping</td>
<td>Cuping</td>
<td>the Ears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutock</td>
<td>Untu</td>
<td>Ghigi</td>
<td>the teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beatung</td>
<td>Wuttong</td>
<td>Prot</td>
<td>the belly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serit</td>
<td>Celit</td>
<td>Pantat</td>
<td>the Backside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pimping</td>
<td>Poopoo</td>
<td>Paha</td>
<td>the thigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hullootoor</td>
<td>Duncul</td>
<td>Lontour</td>
<td>the Knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metis</td>
<td>Sickil</td>
<td>Kauki</td>
<td>the Leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cucu</td>
<td>Cucu</td>
<td>Cucu</td>
<td>a Nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langan</td>
<td>Tangan</td>
<td>Tangan</td>
<td>a hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramo Langan</td>
<td>Jari</td>
<td>Jaring</td>
<td>a finger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Specimen of Languages, including Malay, compiled by Joseph Banks.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOUTH SEA</th>
<th>MALAY</th>
<th>JAVA</th>
<th>PRINCES ISLAND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mata</td>
<td>Majia</td>
<td>Moto</td>
<td>Mata an Eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Maa</td>
<td>Macan</td>
<td>Mangan to eat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Einu</td>
<td>Menum</td>
<td>Gnumbe to drink</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Matte</td>
<td>Matte</td>
<td>Matte to kill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Outou</td>
<td>Coutou a louse</td>
<td>Udian</td>
<td>Rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Ewua</td>
<td>Udian</td>
<td></td>
<td>Awe Bambu cane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ouhe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Eu</td>
<td>Sousou</td>
<td>Sousou a Breast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Mannu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mannu a bird</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Eyea</td>
<td>Ioan</td>
<td>Iwa a fish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Uta</td>
<td>Ulan inland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Topoa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Topaan the foot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Toowa</td>
<td>Udag</td>
<td>Urang a lobster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Esuwe</td>
<td>Ubi</td>
<td>Uwe Yams</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Elamou</td>
<td>Tannam</td>
<td>Tandour to bury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Enamou</td>
<td>Gnamack a Muscheto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Hearu</td>
<td>Garru</td>
<td>Garu to scratch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Taro</td>
<td>Tallas</td>
<td>Talas cocos roots</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Outou</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sungoot the mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Eto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tao sugar cane</td>
</tr>
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**SPECIMENS OF LANGUAGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. SEA</th>
<th>MALAY</th>
<th>JAVA</th>
<th>PRINCES ISLE</th>
<th>MADAGASCAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tahie</td>
<td>Satou</td>
<td>Sigi</td>
<td>Hegie</td>
<td>Ifse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Rua</td>
<td>Dua</td>
<td>Lorou</td>
<td>Dua</td>
<td>Rua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Torou</td>
<td>Tiga</td>
<td>Tullu</td>
<td>Tollu</td>
<td>Tellou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Haa</td>
<td>Ampat</td>
<td>Pappat</td>
<td>Opat</td>
<td>Effats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Rima</td>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>Limo</td>
<td>Limah</td>
<td>Limi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Heto</td>
<td>Tiedju</td>
<td>Petu</td>
<td>Tsiej</td>
<td>Fitou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Waru</td>
<td>Delapan</td>
<td>Wolo</td>
<td>Delapan</td>
<td>Walou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Iva</td>
<td>Sembilan</td>
<td>Songo</td>
<td>Salapan</td>
<td>Sivi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Amouru</td>
<td>Sapoulo</td>
<td>Sapoulo</td>
<td>Sapoulo</td>
<td>Fourou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Mahakie</td>
<td>Sabilas</td>
<td>Suralas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Morua</td>
<td>Dubilas</td>
<td>Rosalas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Tahie Taou</td>
<td>Duapoulou</td>
<td>Rompoulou</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100. Rima Taou</td>
<td>Saratus</td>
<td>Satus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200. Mannu</td>
<td>dua ratus</td>
<td>Rongatus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000. Lima mannu</td>
<td>Sorebou</td>
<td>Seaceo</td>
<td>Seawo</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* N.B. in the Island of Ulitea 6 is called ona.
Hawkesworth, 1773, Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>S Sea Islands</th>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>Javanese</th>
<th>Prince's Island</th>
<th>Madagascar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One,</td>
<td>Tahie,</td>
<td>Satou</td>
<td>Sigi,</td>
<td>Hegie,</td>
<td>Isse,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two,</td>
<td>Rua,</td>
<td>Dua,</td>
<td>Lorou,</td>
<td>Dua,</td>
<td>Rua,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three,</td>
<td>Torou,</td>
<td>Tiga,</td>
<td>Tullu,</td>
<td>Tollu,</td>
<td>Tellou,</td>
</tr>
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* in Hawkesworth, 1773, V. iii, pp. 474-475, “five” is given as “Rema”

Although there were a number of comparative vocabularies included in Hawkesworth’s edition of Cook’s first voyage, Banks’ table of terms for numbers, given above, is the most frequently cited as evidence of the language affinities, and generally given credit for its primacy in establishing an affinity between the languages of the archipelago and the languages of the Pacific. It was only after Marsden’s paper had provided the theoretical and linguistic data to support his claim that Banks contribution was properly acknowledged.

**Comparative Table of Numbers**, drawn up by Hawkesworth from Banks’ Tables.

Hawkesworth, John, editor, 1773, *An account of voyages undertaken by the order of His present Majesty, for making discoveries in the southern hemisphere, … drawn up from the journals which were kept by the several commanders and from the papers of Joseph Banks, Esq., London*, W. Strahan and T. Cadell. V. iii, p. 777
### List of words of universal use as spoken in twelve different countries or districts.

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Table I: List of words of universal use as spoken in twelve different countries or districts. William Marsden, “Remarks on the Sumatran languages”, Archaeologia, V. vi, 1782, to face p. 154.
Table II: Examples of words in the Sumatran and Neighbouring Languages corresponding in sound and signification with others in places remote from thence. William Marsden, “Remarks on the Sumatran languages”, Archaeologia, V. vi, 1782, to face p. 154.
Appendix XIII

*History of Sumatra*, Specimens of Alphabets

1783 Plate: [Specimens of Alphabets] headed: Rejang Alphabet,
SUMATRAN ALPHABETS.

Rejang:

The terminating sounds of these letters are varied by the following Signs:

which have the form of the Arrows, serve to cut off or denote the vocal utterance, or the term accentual. Of these Signs more than one may be applied to the same character, as in kan, in hau, in hau, and in hau. See note r, page 136, marks the commencement of the writing, which proceeds horizontally, from left hand to right, the order of lines descending, most usually, from the top of the page, but not infrequently in the bottom line of the first written, and the others in recognition towards the top. This practice (common to other tribes) appears to have given rise to the idea (noticed at p. 381) that the Letters are accustomed to write upwardly and in the last line the top of the line.

Batta.

The Signs which govern the terminating sounds of these letters are — e, a, o, o. The sound e or o is given by K, or K, or K, or K, and B, or B, or B. The sound a is taken the sound of a, 43. With the exception of the first two letters, it does not appear that any determinate order is observed in the arrangement of the Alphabet, which is found to vary more or less in every specimen.

Lamong:

To these letters the Signs are applied in the following manner: 1. in, 2. in, 3. in, in, 4. in, 5. in, 6. in, in, 7. in, in, 8. in. The following are the Signs as Y, Y, and Y, tangkat.
### Specimens of Languages spoken on Sumatra

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<th>MALAY</th>
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<th>BATTAA</th>
<th>REJANG</th>
<th>LAMPOON</th>
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<tr>
<td>One</td>
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<td>Duoo</td>
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### Specimens of Languages Spoken in Sumatra

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**Note:** Comparative

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### Appendix XV

#### 1784 Comparative Table from Cook's Journal, Appendix II

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This table is a comparative Table of Numerals, exhibiting the Affinity and Extent of Language, which is found to prevail in all the lands of the Eastern Sea, and derived from that spoken on the Continent of Asia, in the Country of the Malay. Cook, James, 1784, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean ... for making discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere*, edited by J. Douglas, London, 1784, V. iii, Appendix No. II to face page 530.
Appendix XVI
Marsden's Maps

1783 Map: A Map of the Island of Sumatra in the East Indies
William Marsden, History of Sumatra, London, 1783, folded map facing the title page.
1811 Map: A Map of the Island of Sumatra in the East Indies,
William Marsden, History of Sumatra, London, 1811, folded map following the title page.
Map of Polynesia. From the National Library of Australia's copy of William Marsden's "On the Polynesian or East-Insular Languages", 1834.

1834 Map: On the Polynesian or East-Insular Languages.
William Marsden, On the Polynesian or East-Insular Languages, London, 1834, folded map facing the title page.
Appendix XVII  "Wild Tribe" Images

Botany Bay Sketch, No. 1
Sketch of an Australian Aboriginal man in a pose similar to that used by contemporary artists to portray orang-utangs.
State Library of NSW, Banks Papers on microfilm, reel 5 (c181).
Bay Sketch No. 2
Sketch of [Australian Aboriginal] Women Fishing
State Library of NSW, Banks Papers on microfilm, reel 5 (c181).
Appendix XVIII  Migration Routes:

Map 1: From Tartary to the “great ultra-gangetic peninsulas”
Map 2: Malayo-Polynesian Settlement of Sumatra
Map 3. Migrations of the "Malays"
Map 4: Alternative migration route from Taiwan