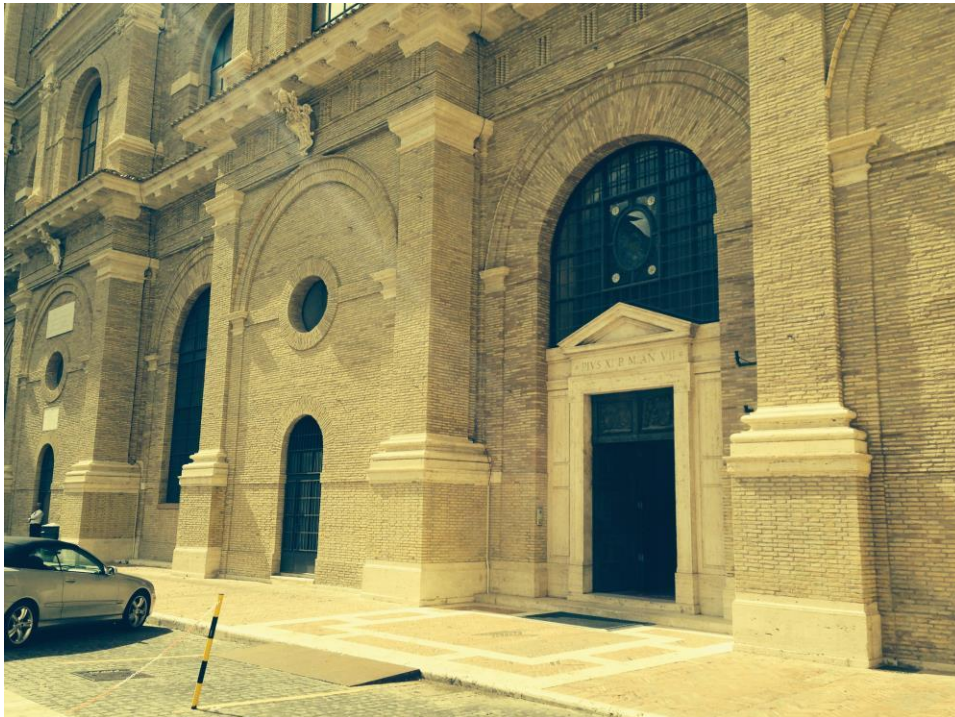


Indonesian manuscripts in the Vatican Library

Anthony Reid, Australian National University

The Vatican Library (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana) reopened in 2010 as in many respects a professional 21st Century Library of a high order, after having closed for three years during Benedict XVI's academically-inclined papacy when it was modernised and air-conditioned. All can enter who can show that they are serious scholars with a letter from their university, after negotiating the web site. On arrival they will be issued with a smart card, through which they can access the Vatican, the Library, their locker (changing every day) and the manuscripts and books they order electronically. The catalogue of books, manuscripts and graphic materials is also electronic, and available to all in Italian and English on the web site:

http://opac.vatlib.it/iguana/www.main.cls?p=*&v=*&locProfile=&theme=vatican2.



The entrance to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. © Photograph by Anthony Reid.

Never fear, however, that the arcane inheritance of one of the world's oldest libraries has gone. In many respects it is as colourful, intimidating, elegant and frustrating as might be expected. The Swiss guards are there to intimidate on your first visit and salute you through on your later ones if you're lucky. The architecture resembles a massive fortress externally, and an elegant renaissance palace in the reading rooms. Most of the staff, though helpful and courteous, decline to speak anything but Italian. One must find one's own way to manuscripts through the lists and bibliographic aids that have accumulated over the centuries, since they are rarely mentioned in the electronic catalogue.

The Vatican Library has one of the oldest collections anywhere of Malay and Javanese manuscript material, though you would not know this from any easily available

catalogues. The basic collection came to the Vatican Library in 1763, according to the initial Latin catalogue by the then Cardinal-curator of the Library.¹ This formed the foundation of the Vatican collection now catalogued as *Vaticani Indiani* (abbreviated *Vat.Ind.*), a label eventually justified as covering languages in Indian and Indian-derived scripts. *Vat.Ind.* 1-22 were listed as present at the time of Maio's 1831 Catalogue. The first 11 of these were Indonesian material derived from the collection of pioneer Dutch orientalist Adrian Reland (1676-1718), and apparently acquired in 1763 or before. Subsequently, in 1948 and probably later, further documents originating with Reland's collection were identified in the Persian collection (*Vat.Pers.* 33) and transferred to become *Vat. Ind.* 23 and 75.



The Vatican City courtyard giving on to the Library (St Peter's Dome in centre).
© Photograph by Anthony Reid.

The source of the key documents, Adrian Reland, was the son of a Protestant clergyman, already studying Latin, Hebrew, Chaldean and Arabic at the University of Utrecht in his teens. He was appointed professor of Oriental languages at the same university in 1701, at the ripe age of 25. He soon became fascinated by comparative linguistics, and requested Malay and Javanese material from contacts in Java. Dates in the documents suggest all were sent to him between 1705 and 1710, at a time when he was particularly interested in the language and mythology of eastern Asia. He was among the first to draw attention to the common elements in Malay and Polynesian languages, published in the third volume of his *Dissertationum miscellanearum* in 1708.² Subsequently his interests moved on, and his heirs evidently disposed of the collection after his death. How it came to the Vatican in 1763 remains a mystery.

¹ Angelo Maio, ed. *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio E Vaticanis Codicibus*, (Roma,: Typus Vaticanus, 1831), V, *Catalogus Codicum Bibliothecae Vaticanae*. Romae: Typus Vaticanus, 1831. Part 2, p. 112.

² Hadriani Relandi *Dissertationum miscellanearum* 3 volumes (Gulielmus Broedelet, 1706-8).

The internal evidence suggests that the most active provider of material from Java was Cornelis Mutter, who was born in Overschie, the Netherlands, in 1659 and went to Asia in the service of the VOC in 1674, initially in South India. He arrived in Batavia in 1690, where he worked chiefly in the general secretariat. From 1696 he was appointed a Company translator, and was reported working with the pioneer Bible translator Leijdecker on a manuscript collection. In 1698 he was appointed with Leijdecker and P. van der Vorm to a church commission supervising the Bible translation.¹ Since Leijdecker himself died in 1701, Mutter was the most logical specialist informant in Java for Reeland. His name appears in connection with three of the documents in the core collection, and a fourth subsequently found in the Vatican's Persian collection (Vat.Ind. 75). The ambitious Malay-Dutch dictionary of some 13,000 entries (Vat.Ind. 6) is acknowledged in a note on the outside to have been the work of Mutter, while the Vat.Ind. 5 manuscript was at least sent by Mutter. Mutter's pioneering role as author of the most extensive dictionary of its day therefore merits being rescued from obscurity and given a prominent place in the history of European scholarship on Malay.

Another figure who emerges from the Vatican Malay manuscripts as an unacknowledged key player in the early Dutch translations of Christian material into Malay is the man whose name was read by Cense as Safa ibn Ayüba Burumay az-Z . . dawî (or an-N . . rdawî). He is identified here as the author of the Malay translation of the psalms (Vat.Ind. 2), as well as the one who sent the Malay translation of the book of Exodus. Cense suggested that the name Burumay may be a rendering in Malay of Borromeo, and that he may therefore have been a Catholic convert.² St Charles Borromeo (Carlo Borromeo, 1538–1584) was Cardinal-Archbishop of Milan from 1564 until his death, and one of the greatest reformers of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Safa ibn Ayuba might well have been descended from one of the sixteenth century converts of Francis Xavier and the Jesuits, many of whom became Protestants as a necessary step to living in the Dutch settlements. Since he also knew Arabic and showed familiarity with Muslim idioms, it is pleasant to think of him as another link between Catholic, Protestant and Muslim, of which these documents show many.

The Vatican collection also contains the first systematic European dictionary of Javanese (Vat.Ind. 9), with some 7,500 entries. This was begun, though not completed, more than a century before the published dictionary of Roorda van Eysinga, and must remain of great interest for studies in the evolution of language. Unfortunately the manuscript itself tells us nothing about its authorship, save that it was written in 1706.

Despite their value as very early documents, collected more than a century before the age of Southeast Asian manuscript collection, the documents were virtually unknown to Malay and Javanese scholars until the Leiden Sulawesi specialist A. A. Cense (1901-77) was able to make brief visits to the library in 1951 and again in 1964.³ He managed

¹ This data was culled from VOC material by A.A. Cense, and published in J. L. Swellengrebel, 'Verkorte weergave van Prof. Dr. A. A. Cense's ontwerp-beschrijving van zes maleise handschriften in de Bibliotheca Vaticana,' *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 135 (1979), no: 2/3, pp. 366-7.

² Swellengrebel, 'Prof. Dr. A. A. Cense's ontwerp-beschrijving', p.366, note 4.

³ J. Noorduyn, 'In Memoriam A.A. Cense' *BKI* 134:4 (1978), p. 409.

to publish nothing about the matter before his unexpected death in 1977, but J.L. Swellengrebel rescued from his papers systematic notes on six of the documents, which he edited and published in 1979.¹ The Library remained difficult to access until recently, however. Liaw Yock Fang wrote his valuable edition of the *Undang Undang Melaka*² at Leiden apparently unaware that the oldest and most reliable copy of the text was in Rome. He was able to make good that omission in the recent Malaysian edition.³ These documents are now perfectly accessible, and should join the canon of early Malay and Javanese manuscripts.

The Manuscripts

(incorporating Cense's readings of Vat.Ind. 1-4, 6 and 23)

Vat.Ind. 1 Liber Exodi Malaici -

'The Book of Exodus in Malay'. 99 folios in Jawi.

This Latin title is hand-written, presumably by Reland, on the title page, above the words *Hic Liber ad mei missus est ex Batavia Indiae Orientalis* – 'This book was sent to me from Batavia in the East Indies'.

On the reverse of that title page is written in *jawi*, with a signature difficult to read: *Kiriman daripada Safa ibn Ayub az-Z .. dawī pada Hijra 1121* – 'Sent by Safa ibn Ayub in the Muslim year 1121' [beginning March 1709]

The *jawi* text is written only on the right half of each page, evidently leaving room for a Romanized transcription on the left. Only the first page of text (f.2) has, however, the title and first verse romanized, as follows:

Kitab Jang kadua derrij pada Saurat Mousja. - [The Second Book of the writings of Moses]

Bahouwa inilah namma sagalla anak Israil jang sarta dengan Jacob souda massoc tannah masuar. Sakallian ini souda massoc sasaorang laki laki dengan issij roumahnja.

Otherwise the left side is blank except for added clarifications in Dutch.

¹ Swellengrebel, 'A. A. Cense's ontwerp-beschrijving van zes maleise handschriften,' (1979), pp.359-67.

² Liaw Yock Fang, *Undang-undang Melaka; The Laws of Melaka* (The Hague : M. Nijhoff, 1976).

³ Liaw Yock Fang 2003 *Undang-undang Melaka dan Undang-undang laut*. Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Karyawan, 2003 includes a complete facsimile of the Vatican MS. See also Liaw Yock Fang *Naskah Undang-Undang Melaka: Suatu Tinjauan (Manuscript of Undang-Undang Melaka: an overview)* (Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia Press, 2007). I am grateful to Annabel Teh Gallop for these references.

Vat.Ind. 2. Psalmi Davidis, lingua et rithmo Malaico –

‘The Psalms of David, in Malay language and metre’. 175 folios in *jawi*.

The book in fact contains a Malay version of the first 106 of the 150 canonical psalms, breaking off in the middle of Psalm 106, in rhyming verse, written clearly on both sides of the page, followed by Malay translations of the Ten Commandments and the Magnificat.

In the top right corner of the covering page is a dedication in Arabic, with a Malay translation which Cense rendered as:

Dengan nama Allah yang esa, inilah kitab segala pantun menurut bunyi zabur Daud raja dan nabi itu – “In the name of the one God, this is a book of verses following the psalms of David, the king and prophet”. —

On the back (*verso*) of this cover is an explanation in Arabic in the top right, which Cense translated into Dutch with the meaning, “*Safa ibn Ayüba Burumay az-Z . . dawî (or an-N . . rdawî) did this in the year of Our Lord Isa al-Masih May 1708*”. Arabic and Malay translations follow on one verse of the letter of St Paul to the Colossians, 3:16 [“*Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, as in all wisdom you teach and admonish one another, singing psalms, hymns and spiritual songs with gratitude in your hearts to God*”]. Cense romanized the Malay translation as

Bahwa biar duduk dalam kamu perkataan Masih itu ramai2 dengan segala budi s-m-n-d (= semenda ?) mengajar dirimu dan mengingatkan itu dengan pantun2an dan puji2an dan nyanyi2an ruhani serta bernyanyi bagi Allah dengan kegemaran hati2mu. ¹

The Ten Commandments are rendered into rhyming Malay verse, the first Commandment [“*I am the Lord thy God..*”] reading (in Cense’s romanization):

Jangan kauambil barang tuhan, melainkan aku saja

Aku yang dengan kepenuhan, oleh sendiriku raja. ²

The final Malay translation, also in rhyming verse, is of the Magnificat sung by Mary (Luke 1: 46-55). In the margin is clearly written in Dutch: “*The canticle of Mary*”. The first couplet of it reads (in Cense’s Romanization):

*Memuji jiwaku/ dan rawan nyawaku/ akan Allah Tuhanku/
yang tilik sekarang/ hamba pada barang/ susah kerendahanku. ³*

[my soul praises/ and my spirit is stirred by/ God my lord/ who now looks upon/ me despite/ my lowly state]

¹ Swellengrebel, ‘Cense’s ontwerp-beschrijving,’ pp. 360-1.

² Ibid. p. 362.

³ Ibid. p. 362.

Vat.Ind. 3. Evangelium Matthaei, ex versione Mallaeâ D. Melch. Leidekkeri.

Leijdecker's Malay translation of the Gospel of Matthew. 60 folios in *jawi*, written on both sides, with each verse numbered in *jawi* only up to Chapter 2, verse 20.

Swellengrebel¹ identified this as the only surviving manuscript of a complete book of the draft Bible translation Leijdecker was working on from 1691 until his death in 1701. The only other extant manuscript of Leijdecker's draft Malay translations contains only fragments of four different books of the Bible, in a Leiden University manuscript (LOr1961). Leijdecker's translation is otherwise only known through the printed version of the New Testament in 1733, which had undergone substantial revision in 1723-5, long after Leijdecker's death. Earlier, less admired, Malay translations of the gospels had however been printed as early as 1629.

Vat.Ind 4. Jus Maritimum secundum constitutiones Regis Malacorum Sultan Mahmoud

'The Maritime Law according to the constitution of the King of Melaka Sultan Mahmud.' 80 folios of *jawi*, written only on one side, in the European page order. Bound in white vellum.

The first 28 folios as numbered in later-added European numerals, constitute the *Undang-undang Laut*. The *Undang-undang Melaka* begins f.29 and ends f.80.

The numbering of articles of the code is spelled out in *jawi*, though European numbering of them has been added in the right-hand margin, starting with article 20 on f.53. Looks to be the same ink.

The introduction explains that the text was written in 4 Jumad al-awal 1066 (1 March 1656 CE), but promulgated during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah in Melaka (1488-1511).² This well-written 1656 text is then the earliest extant version of the *Undang-undang Melaka*.

Vat. Ind. 5. Historia Regis Siamensis Razja Bisfa Wirazia & conjugis eius Reginae Poutri Comala Kisna. Conscripta sermone Malaico.

'A History of the Siamese king Raja Bispadiraja and of his wife Putri Kemala Kisna.' 64 folios of neat *jawi* text, written on one side only.

The title page has a similar title to the Latin in Malay (*jawi*) and in Dutch, the latter adding that it was sent by C. Mutter. A small single-page letter from Cornelis Mutter has been pasted to the second folio. Though difficult to read, it appears to be addressing Reland deferentially, and raising the question of payment at the end.

¹ Ibid. p. 366, note 7.

² Ibid. p. 363.

Vat.Ind. 6. Lexicon Mala'icoBelgicum, confectum in India a C. Müttero. 'Malay Dutch Dictionary, prepared in the Indies by C. Mutter. 419 folios, bound.

The Dictionary lists the Malay word in *jawi* spelling in the left column, Romanized Malay in the centre and a brief Dutch translation on the right. Cense, who studied this dictionary more carefully than I, estimated it has a total of around 13,000 words, of which 8,000 are root words and the remainder compounds with various affixes. He judged that "*the translation of the Malay words is in general on target and succinct.*" Overall therefore it was "*for its time an achievement...It is also of importance for the history of lexicography and perhaps also for an understanding of 17th century Malay.*"¹

The alphabetical order of initial letters is that of Arabic, though within each initial letter grouping the listing is often arbitrary. Some borrowings from Persian, Javanese or Arabic are noted by abbreviations. The selection suggests that the author was well versed both in Malay court ritual and Islamic religious writing.

Vat.Ind. 7. Malaicum Lexicon, 2e Grammatica.

Malay Dictionary and grammar. 119 folios, written on both sides.

Folios 1-57 are a Dictionary between Malay in *jawi* script (on left), Romanized Malay (centre) and Dutch (right). A different hand has added Latin equivalents for the first folios only. The list is alphabetized according to Arabic convention, as with Vat.Ind. 6. Folios 59-119 constitute a grammar in Dutch, with numerous Malay (*jawi*) examples. This begins with '*the first conjugation*'.

In between the two is a single page in Dutch entitled '*de Moluccis, Marloekoe*', covering the large island of Gilolo, then Batjaan, Ternate, Makjan.

Vat.Ind.9. Lexicon Javanum, in quo voces sermonis Javani Belgice redduntar'. [1706].

'A Javanese Dictionary; in which Javanese speech is explained in Dutch'.

77 folios, written both sides in romanized Javanese, ordered in the European alphabetical manner. There are Dutch explanations for only about half the entries, progressively fewer as we progress through the volume.

Only the first page has Malay equivalents in *jawi*.

With about 50 entries on each side of the folio, this must contain about 7,500 entries. The entries are numbered up to 2255 on folio 20v, but the numbering then begins again at the letter letter h, and again about every 300 entries.

The explanations are more wordy than in Vat.Ind.6, and some contain significant contextual information, especially in the earlier part of the volume. On folio 1v, for example, it is explained under the entry Aji Saka that he was an ancestor of the

¹ Ibid. p.364.

Javanese who created the Javanese letters, and lived 1633 years before the time of writing, 1706, “and thus 63 [sic] years after the birth of Christ”.¹ A passage of Romanized Javanese is then included, which George Quinn kindly rendered for me as of Aji Saka passage in this Lexicon.

Original text	Modern spelling	English translation
hadji saka wong kang ata tapa mangka dadi djogi	Ajisaka wong kang atetapa, mangka dadi yogi	Ajisaka was a man who undertook meditation, thus he became a holy man (yogi).
maka maboer anga djawa mangka anna wong kekelan djantoeng kalaijan keelor	maka mabur angajawa mangka ana wong kekelan jantung kaliyan kelor	He flew to Java. There was a person who was cooking heart with <i>kelor</i> leaves.
mangka ikoe kamboe deening hadji saka mangka hadji saka tiba ing djawa ing desja madjapait	mangka iku kambu dening Ajisaka mangka Ajisaka tiba ing Jawa ing desa Majapait	Ajisaka smelled this and he fell to earth in Java in the village of Majapait.
mangka andjaloek mangan mangka mangandjangan kang mau ika	mangka njaluk mangan mangka mangan jangan kang mau ika	He asked for something to eat, and he ate the vegetables previously mentioned.
mangka Sa oerwisinga mangan jangan ikuarep maboer kaija dingin ora kena	Mangka sawisnya mangan jangan iku arep mabur kaya dhangin ora kena	After he had eaten the vegetables he wanted to fly again as he had done before, but he couldn't.
mangka amoemoek basa djawamangka mati, mangka aksarane ilang	mangka amuruk Basa Jawa, Mangka mati, mangka aksarane ilang.	So he (stayed and) taught the Javanese language. He then died and his alphabet was lost.

Vat.Ind.10. *Calendarium Javanicum*

Javanese Calendar, marked on back as ‘Do Adriano Relando’.

This contains both a one-page ‘*Calendarium Arabicum*’ in Malay with *jawi* script, and a ‘*Calendarium Javanum*’ in Javanese script. Each is an 8 by 12 grid of boxes.

Vat.Ind. 11. *Elementa Linguae Javanae ex insula Java, ad me mitta* (Elements of the Javanese language, sent to me from the Island of Java), Hadriani Relando.

8 large folios. This contains primarily a Javanese syllabary, listing the syllables in the order: ka, na, tja, ra, ha, da, ta, sa, wa, etc.

¹ There is a mistake here in the author’s arithmetic or the copyist’s writing. 73 years after the birth of Christ appears to be meant, although the Saka Era in fact began in 78CE.

There is also a word-list of only one and a half folios, giving Dutch, Javanese and Latin forms.

There are a few other Indonesian items of uncertain provenance in the catalogue.

Vat.Ind 23. Various

[not seen by me, and may overlap with Vat.Ind. 75, below]

Cense examined and reported on this file,¹ noting that in 1948 six Malay manuscripts were added to this file, originally containing a book of spells, when E. Rossi recognized when working on Vat.Pers. 33 that six of the “Persian” letters were in fact Malay. They all appear to date also from the years around 1700 when Reland was collecting. They notably include:

c) a letter from the King of Goa (South Sulawesi) to the Governor-General, dated 13 September 1697, complaining over some infractions of the Treaty of Bongaya (1667) which governed Dutch-Makassar relations, and asking for the remains of the celebrated Sufi scholar Syeikh Yusuf to be returned to Makassar.

e) a copy of a Malay letter from the Governor-General to the King of Siam, complaining about the behavior of Constance Phaulcon (the Greek-born Chancellor) and of the French, and discussing a monetary transaction about the building of ships in Siam on behalf of the Dutch factors there.

Vat.Ind. 48. Javanese-Dutch Vocabulary.

The catalogue shows as “not available”.

Vat.Ind. 71. A Batak bark book.

About 2 x 3 inches, containing 19 leaves written on one side.

Vat.Ind. 75. DOCUMENTI MALESI, estratti dal Cod. Vat. Pers. 33

(cf. Maj, SS. VV., t.IV, p.644; t. V. p. 112).

This information on Malay documents transferred from Vat.Pers. 33 is so similar to Cense’s description of Vat.Ind. 23 above that either his six documents were subsequently transferred to this larger file, or more likely further subsequent checking of Vat.Pers.33 revealed these additional documents. This is a folder containing 10 separate letters, documents and learning aids in Malay, in different formats and writing, unbound. The documents are unnumbered, but I here number them 1-10 starting from the front:

¹ Swellengrebel, ‘Cense’s ontwerp-beschrijving,’ pp. 364-5.

1. Explanations in Dutch of the structure and grammar of Malay, with some *jawi* phrases as examples. Written on smaller quarto on pages numbered 46-54. A cataloguer's hand has written '*Grammatica Arabica*' vertically on stem. An end page is signed with a flourish, beneath words again identifying Mutter as the source of the manuscript.
2. Three folios numbered 44-46, containing Malay (*jawi*) translations of sections of the 103rd Psalm (11 verses); 29th Psalm (5 verses), and the 26th Psalm (4 verses). On the first page (or last in the Arabic order of the Malay manuscripts) is written that Governor General Willem van Wijngaarden [in office 1701-6] sent this to Ayutthaya (Siam). Something is added in Chinese with various amounts of money, perhaps reflecting instructions for the junk captain carrying the material.
3. Six numbered foolscap folios, three of which are a neatly-written letter in Malay (*jawi*), with no seal except the stamp of the Vatican Library. In the margins are a series of Dutch explanations of the text, mostly clarifying particular difficult words, as though it has been used as a learning text and meanings of particular words noted, with little symbols or numbers in text itself to mark which words meant. The last two pages are in a different hand and appear to be a different letter.
4. One single large page folded, apparently a short letter, with an elegant monogram at top, and plenty of space to allow for written explanations or responses diagonally between the lines.
5. One page of floral-motif large paper, folded, apparently a letter, with an address on the outside-folded side. There are some interlinear explanations or responses.
6. Folded and bound quarto paper with folios numbered 30-41 in Arabic order, the inside of which is a *jawi* text. An outside folio has been added with Dutch explanations of words.
7. One quarto folio, with a letter running over both sides.
8. Smaller paper, numbered 55 to 69 in Arabic order, containing a text in neat hand.
9. One larger page, folded, and a *jawi* letter within a lined box.
10. Folios numbered 10-29, with *jawi* text written both sides, and Dutch notes on difficult words in margin.

The Vatican Library also holds many manuscripts in Burmese, Thai (the earliest catechetical material from 1772),¹ and romanized Vietnamese (*quốc ngữ* from 1755), but none are as early as these Malay and Javanese texts.

¹ These were listed in a 33 page catalogue available in the Vatican Library reading room: Jacqueline Filliozat, *Les Manuscrits en écriture indiennes et dérivées à la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, Rome: EFEO, 1986.