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William Marsden and his Malayo-Polynesian Legacy

by

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Appendix Volume

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Savages and Barbarians: The British Enlightenment and William Marsden's contribution to a Malayo-Polynesian Discourse ¹

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*² 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"³ stereotype and fused with the "national character" attributed to all "brown" races living in the torrid zone.⁴ 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 Acheen⁵ in northern Sumatra in 1602,⁶ British scholars had largely neglected the region and its inhabitants, as Marsden himself pointed out.⁷ 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."⁸ Marsden was directly influenced by the work of enlightenment scholars active around the 1770s, including Abbé Raynal (1713—1796),⁹ William Robertson (1721—1793),¹⁰ John Richardson (1741—1811),¹¹ and Pierre le Poivre (1719—1796).¹²

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.¹³ 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.¹⁴ All the writers identified by Marsden as signifi-

cant 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.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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 1670,¹⁸ 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 *primaeval* 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.¹⁹

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 Judaeo-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 differ-

ent. ... 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

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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.²⁴ 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.²⁵

The orientalist John Richardson was another scholar whose work influenced Marsden.²⁶ 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.²⁷

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,²⁸ 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

“character”). 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,”⁴¹ 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*.⁴⁵ (my emphasis)

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.⁴⁶ 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?⁴⁷

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 significance 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 Rousseau, for example, is reported never to have accepted the veracity of evidence that "the noble savages" indulged in cannibalistic practices.⁵¹

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.”⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ 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.”⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸

He directed his scholarly attention to the multiplicity of contradictory theories then in circulation about the peoples of

the New World.⁵⁹ 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 ingredients 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."⁶⁰ He was just as scathing of the work of more recent philosophers as of travellers' 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 descendants of one man, under the protection as well as in

obedience to the command of heaven, multiplied and replenished the earth.⁶¹

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".⁶² 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"⁶³ 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,⁶⁴ 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."⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶

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: 14

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 *rouzed* 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 “futuraity”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.⁸³

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. ... [I]t 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.⁹⁴ 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.⁹⁵ 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."⁹⁶ 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.⁹⁷

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,"⁹⁸ 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,⁹⁹ 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."¹⁰⁰ 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.¹⁰¹

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.¹⁰²

And about language:

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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 any thing but what is material or corporeal.¹⁰³

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 mœurs 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.¹⁰⁴

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.¹⁰⁵ 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.¹⁰⁶ 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 parrallel [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 liveli-

hoods. 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.¹¹⁰ 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.¹¹¹

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."¹¹² 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"¹¹³ and ascribed Britain's

maritime success to England's geographical location – “an island which nature has made sovereign of the sea.”¹¹⁴

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.¹¹⁵ (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.¹¹⁶

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,¹¹⁷ 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.¹¹⁸

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:

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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.¹¹⁹ (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”¹²⁰ 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.¹²¹ (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 weaving¹²² or salt production.¹²³

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:

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*.

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.¹²⁵

This is redolent of positivist assumptions of perfectibility of all human kind and therefore of universal brotherhood.¹²⁶ 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 infanticide¹²⁸ 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.¹²⁹ 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.¹³⁰

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.¹³¹ (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.¹³²

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*,¹³³ 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.

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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.¹³⁴

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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.
- 2 William Marsden, *History of Sumatra* (London: The Author, 1783).
- 3 So called by Syed Hussein Alatas in his pioneer study, *The Myth of the Lazy Native* (London: Cass, 1977).
- 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.
- 6 Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p.355.
- 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".
- 9 *Philosophical and Political History of the Establishment of European Commerce in the East and West Indies*, 3rd ed., 5 vols (London: Cadell, 1777). 1st French edition, 1770, 1st English edition 1773. The 3rd edition was listed in Marsden's *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana* (London: Cox, 1827), p.102.
- 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,

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- School of Oriental and African Studies Archive, MS 57002), pp.209, 411.
- 12 *Voyage d'un philosophe, ou, Observation sur les mœurs 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.
- 14 E. C. Eze (ed.), *Race and the Enlightenment: a Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), pp.6—7.
- 15 Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p.1.
- 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.
- 18 Quoted in Geoffrey Blainey, *The Great Seesaw, a new view of the western world 1750—2000* (South Melbourne: Macmillan, 1988), p.23.
- 19 Robertson, *History of America*, vol. 1, pp.286—87.
- 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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- 21 His "Remarks on the Sumatran Language. Letter to Sir Joseph Banks," dated March 5, 1780, was printed in *Archaeologia*, vol. VI (London: 1782), pp.154—158.
- 22 Marsden, "Remarks on the Sumatran Language" (1782), pp.154—155.
- 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."
- 24 Basil Willey, *The Eighteenth Century Background: Studies on the Idea of Nature in the Thought of the Period* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961), pp.205—207.
- 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."
- 31 Ibid., vol. 1, pp.20—21.
- 32 Ibid., vol.1, p.414.

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- 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
- 35 Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*, 3rd ed., 2 vols (Edinburgh: Donaldson, 1762), vol. 1, book XVI, pp.275 ff. See also vol.1, book XIV, chapters 2, 3 & 6, vol.1, p.245 ff., for discussion on Asia.
- 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."
- 37 Raynal, *Philosophical and Political History*, vol 2, pp.297—98.
- 38 Robertson, *History of America*, vol.1, p.416.
- 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."
- 40 The following is the description of the American inhabitants according to Linnaeus: "Copper-coloured, choleric, erect. *American*. Hair black, straight, thick; nostrils wide; face harsh; beard scanty; Obstinate, content, free. Paints himself with fine red lines. Regulated by customs." *A General System of Nature*, 13th ed. trans. by William Turton (London: Lackington, 1802), p.9.

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- 41 Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon, quoted in E.C.Eze (ed.), *Race and the Enlightenment*, p.25.
- 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."
- 43 Raynal, *Philosophical and Political History*, vol. 3, pp.373—374.
- 44 Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p.216.
- 45 Ibid., p.40.
- 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*."
- 47 Blainey, *The Great Seesaw*, pp.20—21.
- 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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- but singing joyously would take by the hand and envelop in the said veil any unwary passing European." Glyndwr Williams, "Seamen and philosophers in the South Seas in the Age of Captain Cook", *The Mariners Mirror*, Vol. 65 (1979), p. 8.
- 51 Blainey, *The Great Seesaw*, p.17.
- 52 Robertson, *History of America*, vol.1, pp.179ff, 286, 312.
- 53 *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith, Elder, 1896), Vol. 48 [XLVIII], p.428: "[and] the outbreak of the American war lent the book pertinent public interest and rendered it more popular than either of its predecessors."
- 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 herdsmen 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."
- 55 Robertson, *History of America*, vol. 1, p.283.
- 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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- 63 Ibid., vol.1. p.282.
- 64 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."
- 65 Ibid., vol.1, pp.281—82.
- 66 Ibid., vol. 1 p.282.
- 67 Ibid., vol. 1, p308.
- 68 Ibid., vol.1, p.282.
- 69 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."
- 70 Ibid., vol.1, p.283.
- 71 Ibid., vol.1, pp.308—09.
- 72 Ibid., vol.1, p.290.
- 73 Ibid., vol.1, p.290.
- 74 Ibid., vol.1, p.294.
- 75 Ibid., vol.1, p.290.
- 76 Ibid., vol.1, p.310: "The thoughts and attention of a savage are confined within a small circle of objects, *immediately* conducive to his preservation or enjoyment. Every thing beyond that, escapes his observation, or is perfectly indifferent to him." (my emphasis)
- 77 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)
- 78 Ibid., vol.1, p.314.
- 79 Ibid., vol. 1, p.292.
- 80 Ibid., vol.1, p. 296.

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- 81 Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p.234.
- 82 Robertson, *History of America*, vol.1, p.179.
- 83 Ibid., vol. 1, p.369.
- 84 Ibid., vol.1, p.268.
- 85 *A General System of Nature*, p.9.
- 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

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- property"; 5th class the Carribs, New Hollanders, Hottentots and Laplanders.
- 95 Raynal, *Philosophical 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.
- 98 Raynal, *Philosophical and Political History*, vol.3, p.74: With reference to the fall of the Spanish empire.
- 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.,1, 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.
- 108 Raynal, *Philosophical and Political History*, vol.3, p.391. See also Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*, vol. 1, book

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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.
- 110 Barbara Watson Andaya, *To live as brothers: Southeast Sumatra in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1993), p.214.
- 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."
- 112 Raynal, *Philosophical and Political History*, vol.5, p.498.
- 113 Ibid., vol.1, p.184.
- 114 Ibid., vol.4, p.310.
- 115 Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p.173.
- 116 Raynal, *Philosophical and Political History*, vol.1, p.329.
- 117 John Bastin, *The British in West Sumatra, 1685—1825* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, 1965), p.xxiv. In an 1818 dispatch Sir Stamford Raffles refers (p.155) to native "indolence and vice" as matters of longstanding contention.
- 118 Raynal, *Philosophical and Political History*, vol. 3, p.226.
- 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."

- 121 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).
- 122 Ibid., p.148.
- 123 Ibid., p.153.
- 124 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 Robertson, *History of America*, vol.1, p.294.
- 126 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."
- 127 Robertson, *History of America*, vol.1, 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.

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.

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

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

132 Ibid., vol.1, pp.315—16.

133 Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. by A. M. Sheridan Smith (London: Routledge, 2001), pp.209—10.

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.

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Appendix II

Chronological Summary of Public Offices held by William Marsden and his Membership of Learned Societies¹

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

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.

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".⁸
- 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 edition⁹
- 1785 *Natürliche und bürgerliche Beschreibung der Insel Sumatra in Ostindien Ausdem Englischen übersetzt*, Leipzig, 8vo.¹⁰
- 1785 "Observations on the Language of the People commonly called Gypsies. In a Letter to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. P.R.S. From Mr Marsden F.S.A. Read February 3, 1785", *Archaeologia, or Miscellaneous tracts relating to antiquity, Society of Antiquaries, London*, 1785, V. vii, pp. 382-386.
- 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.

- Joseph Banks, Bart. P.R.S. Read May 17, 1787", *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, V. 77, pp. 307-309.
- 1788 "Era of the Mahometans called the *Hejerà (Arabic)*. By William Marsden, Esq. F.R.S. and A.S. Read June 12, 1788", *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, V. 78, 1788, part 2, pp. 414-432.
- 1788 *Histoire de Sumatra, dans laquelle on traite du Gouvernement, & de cette isle. Traduite de l'Anglois sur la deuxième édition, avec des Cartes. Par M. Parraud, de l'Academie de Villefranche, et de celle des Arcades de Rome*, Paris, Chez Buisson, 1788. 8vo
(Marsden, 1838 footnote p. 53)
- 1790 "On the Chronology of the Hindoos. By William Marsden, Esq. F.R.S. and A.S. Read 24th June, 1790", *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, V. 80, 1790, pp. 560-584.
- 1792 "Letter to Charles Blagden, M.D Sec R[oyal]. S[ociety].", (concerning a Correction of an Era in his Chronology of the Hindoos), *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, V. 82, p. 195.
- 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, Esq.", *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 "On the traces of Hindoo Language and Literature extant among the Malays. By William Marsden, Esq.", *Asiatick Researches*, V. 4, pp. 221-224.
- 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 "My fair's external charms to paint", (Song), in *A Collection of English Songs: with an appendix of original pieces* [by James Dalrymple], edited by Alexander Dalrymple, London, Printed by William Bennett.¹¹

¹¹ Marsden, 1838, pp. 16-17.

- 1802 "Observation on the Language of Siwah", (*Proceedings of the Association for promoting the Discovery of the Interior parts of Africa*, V. 2, Part ii, pp. 209-12). London, 4to.
- 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
- 1803 "Observations sur la Langue de Syouah" in *Voyage de F. Hornemann dans l'Afrique Septentrionale*, traduite de l'Anglais par L. Langles, pp. 405-12. Paris, 8vo.¹²
- 1811 January: 3rd edition *History of Sumatra* (printed July 1810, but published the following January). (1838, p.139)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 Malaie, 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.¹⁴

¹² Marsden, 1827, p. 80.

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.

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
- 1827 *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana: Philologica et Orientalis: A Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts collected with a view to the General Comparison of Languages, and to the study of oriental literature,* London, printed [for the author] by J.L.Cox. 4to.
(Marsden, 1838, p. 161)
- 1830 *Memoirs of a Malayan Family*, translated [from the Malay] by William Marsden, London (Oriental Translation Fund) J. Murray.¹⁷
- 1831 “Notice respecting the Natives of New Guinea. By Wm Marsden, Esq., F.R.S., M.R.A.S. &c. Read July 3, 1830”, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, V. 3, pp. 125-130.
- 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:

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 Moriat*, a tragedy.
[A play by Marsden, written 1777 and (possibly) performed in Bengkulu,¹⁸ added to selected volumes of *Brief Memoir* as a separately paginated monograph. Such volumes were paginated, vii, 1-177, 1-100]
- 1869 *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata. The Plates of the Oriental Coins Ancient and Modern of the Collection of the late William Marsden*, London, Truber & Co.

¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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,²⁰ 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.

¹⁹ *dengan* is given *dangan* in the ms and in Marsden, and "a" occurs frequently elsewhere where "e" is used today.

²⁰ Se-paha = ¼ tahlil = 1/3 oz.(of gold) (Winstedt) Half rupia (Besar p. 714) = sesuku = ¼ tahlil

PAGE ONE:

para 1

Compensation for death by wounding appropriately attested

1. Fasal yang pertama dari bangun-membangun²¹ jikalau di bunuh melainkan
2. di bangun chinchang itu di pampas²² tetapi bunuh itu maka dibangun
3. yaitu terang dengan ketarangan-nya²³ adapun. Maka-nya jadi tarang jikalau
4. ada orang mati dia bunuh orang atau siang atau malam ada orang melihat
5. anak kemanakan²⁴ datuk yang lain-lah dari pada kampung orang yang kematian itu
6. barang dua tiga orang. Makanya sah²⁵ terang-nya jikalau dapat yang demikian
7. itu di-bayar bangun dua ratus rial jikalau perempuan melihat
8. atau hamba raja tiada jadi karena tiada patek orang itu menjadi
9. saksi atau peram?²⁶ orang yang mati itupun tiada jua patut-nya
10. menjadi saksi itulah adat di-dalam negri anak Sungai dari hal
11. bangun itu sebagai kepada orang yang kematian sebagai kepada raja
12. nasakh [n-sh-a-k]²⁷ dengan mentri itu-lah adat dalam negri Anak Sungai.

para 2

Compensation for manslaughter

13. Fasal yang kedua dari hal bangun jua jikalau ada mati pula
14. di-bunuh orang sama sa kampong-nya itupun be-lurus lurusan
15. kedua pihak-nya yang[h]imbau-lah dangan yang ter-bunuh tiada jadi gawe
16. singketa²⁸ melainkan di bayar saja bangun-nya sanak patut tetapi
17. tiada boleh mentri yang lain melainkan kepada emas saja kepada Raja.
18. jikalau patut bangun-nya jikalau se-per-dua bangun-nya sepuluh rial
19. kepada emas-nya jikalau se-per-empat bangun-nya lima rial kepada emas-nya.

para 3

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-te-rang-
21. ang-an-nya jikalau jadi gawe singketa²⁹ melainkan ber-kasam-an³⁰ tahlil emas
22. Dua puluh sebelah mengambil-lah itupun jatuh hukum-nya jadi sah terang-nya

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

PAGE ONE:

para 3 continued.

23. Maka di bangun sebelah kepada orang-yang ke-mati-an sebelah kepada raja dangan menteri
24. dan kasam-an demikian jua sebelah kepada raja sebelah kepada menteri itulah adat dalam negri Anak Sungai.

PAGE TWO:

para 4

Compensation of murdered exile goes to Raja not family.

1. Fasal yang ke-empat dari hal bangun orang yang di-buang dengan surat jikalau mati di-bunuh
2. dapat tindakan orang-nya melainkan di-bunuh orang yang membunuh orang itu jikalau tiada
3. di kasih sanak³¹ saudara-nya melainkan membayar bangun seratus rial bangun-nya
4. sebelah kepada raja sebelah kepada mentri.

para 5

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 dengan
6. dusun se-buah tetapi tiada-lah dapat ke-terangan-nya melainkan mati saja
7. orang itu sungguh pun demikian di-chari jua jalan ke-terangan-nya oleh
8. Raja dengan Mentri dengan 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 dengan adat-nya dalam negri Anak
11. Sungai itulah hal-nya.

para 6

Seeking asylum: how to make it legal.

12. Fasal yang ke-enam dari hal andam³² jikalau tiada dia-nya mencari rasa-an dan mu-
13. fakat kepada saudara-nya dia dapat lalu³³ saja andam ke rumah Raja melainkan
14. lepas³⁴ dia-nya dari pada membayar bangun melainkan tebus? ³⁵ andam saja
15. dua puluh rial itulah hal-nya itupun pihak dari pada andam jua melainkan
16. di-chari rasa-an dan mufakat³⁶ dengan 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-
19. nah [penuh] penuh di bayar penuh jikalau patut kurang dibayar kurang.

para 7

Approved procedure for Settling disputes.

20. Fasal yang ketuju dari pada hal pekerjaan hukum-behukum jikalau timbul

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 *Menabus gadei* to redeem a pledge Stevens (tebus to redeem, purchase, redemption)

³⁶ Marsden, 1812a, p. 340 *mufakat* to agree, unite Vide *muwafakat*.

PAGE TWO:

para 7 continued

21. ber-selisih paham negri Anak Sungai meski bechar³⁷ dan bechar kecuali melainkan
 22. kalau tiada putus kepada mentri di-bawa-bawa kepada raja dangan siapa Wakil
 23. Kompani yang duduk di Moko-Moko di situlah di-chari adat apa jenis.
- Jawi page 3

³⁷ See note on *bechar*.

PAGE THREE:

para7 cont.

1. jenis putus-nya maka sampai di-bahwa ara³⁸ sekali-pun kalau tambah demikian
2. itu tiada-lah putus kepada proateen melaikan 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 jikalau tumbuh³⁹ kedua-lah dalam negri Anak Sungai itupun
6. mufakat Raja dangan mentri dan Wakil Kompani yang duduk di Moko-Moko dan menyuroh
7. menjaput⁴⁰ kepada tanah⁴¹ 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 berbagi yang tiada boleh
10. berjalan yang bertangan tiada boleh m-n-j-ng-k-w/n menjankau [arti-nya?] ⁴²nya meski puli tebah kepada
11. jikalau tiada orang yang bergelar atau bernama tiada boleh habuk⁴³ di-gadung⁴⁴
12. atau bichara kechil atau bichara besar? atau kepada raja sekalipun jikalau ber-temu
13. yang demikian itu melainkan di-hukum⁴⁵ se-tahil se-paha..

para 10

Compensation for defamation or enticement of a woman ?

14. Fasal yang se-puluh jikalau ada anak kemenakan seorang sambahan⁴⁶ menyatakan
15. anak kemenakan orang salah⁴⁷ batang⁴⁸ baris kepada raja itupun datang orang

³⁸ Marsden, 1812a, p. 5, *ara* hope expectation

³⁹ Marsden, 1812a, p. 82, *tumbuh* ... uprisings in the country

⁴⁰ Marsden, 1812a, p. 103, *jepput, japut* to fetch, bring *Pergi men-jeppit anak-mu* go and fetch your child.

⁴¹ Marsden, 1812a, p. 207, *firtanah* and *pirtanah* slander (corruptions of *fitnah*)

⁴² Stevens *menjangkau* to grasp *menjangkan* to forbid and See note for *arti*.

⁴³ Stevens *abuk* to misappropriate a share of property by falsely claiming ownership

⁴⁴ Winstedt and Stevens false pretenses

⁴⁵ Marsden, 1812a, p. 520 punishment ... *hukum*.

⁴⁶ Marsden, 1812a, p. 181, *sambahan* a complimentary gift, an offering

⁴⁷ Marsden, 1812a, p 124, *salah* an offence

PAGE THREE:

para10 continued:

16. raja meliat perempuan itu tiada suatu apa hal-nya melainkan
17. yang mengatakan itu di hukum se-tahil se-paha karena orang itu membuat jela⁴⁹
18. kepada orang.

⁴⁸ *batang* (archaic) *Kamus Besar bangkai, mayat* (corpse)

⁴⁹ Stevens *jela* to cast a net (i.e. trap)

PAGE FOUR:

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. Fasil 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 belas 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 melainkan 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. kechil atau air besar di mudik tepinya orang tiada membayar tahu orang
14. yang punya tepian itu melainkan 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 melainkan membayar harga-nya dua-puluh rial sh-ba-t-ng

⁵⁰ Marsden, 1812a, p. 34 *baik* can also means whether.

⁵¹ Marsden, 1812a, p. 350 *nen*, that or those which *Vid iang*

⁵² Marsden, 1812a, p 88 *tuba* poisonous root *menuba 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.

PAGE FOUR:

para 15 continued

18. Kalau kita beritahu kepada orang yang punya ladang itu kira-nya⁵⁷ mati

19. juga dalam ladang itu tiada kita membayar harga-nya itu-lah halnya.

⁵⁶ Marsden, 1783, p. 83. Lychee

⁵⁷ See Note on *kira*.

PAGE FIVE:

para 16

Fines for recognition of run-away marriages.

1. Fasal yang ke-enam belas perakara pada hal orang yang lari kawin⁵⁸ dari pada
2. Kampong situ? itupun di-kawinkan-nya se-jatia⁵⁹ di-memberitahu kepada
3. Datok-nya melainkan orang itu di-hukum jikalau ada selang belok-nya orang yang
4. lari-itu melainkan orang yang mengawinkan itu di-hukum apalah jenis
5. Selang⁶⁰ belok-nya⁶¹ 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 hing[g]a se-puluh rial ke-atas
8. Tiada jadi di-hukum di-luar melainkan di Moko-Moko Raja petor⁶² sharak⁶³ 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 proateen⁶⁴ yang lain-lain di Moko-Moko
13. petor⁶⁵ 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 proateen atau kepada Raja
16. itu-lah tempat-nya tinggal.

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 *syarat*- condition, proviso term

⁶⁴ Marsden, 1812a, p. 221, also Marsden, 1783, *History of Sumatra*, chapter 11

⁶⁵ See note for *petor*.

PAGE FIVE :

para 19 continued

Punishment of theft

17. Fasal yang ke-sembilan belas pada hal orang churi menchuri jikalau
18. dapat tanda⁶⁶ keterangan-nya anak kemenakan yang lain2 datuk barang dua tiga
19. orang melainkan harta orang-it di-ganti tentangan orang menchuri itu
20. ada emas hidup jikalau tiada emas tebus kepada raja dua puloh rial

⁶⁶ Marsden p. 440, evidence (testimony) (token *tanda*)

PAGE SIX

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 sharan rial kira-nya menjadi
3. gawe singketa ber-kesaman dua puluh rial sebelah menyebelah kedua pihak itupun di
4. chari oleh raja dan mentri di-muka-lah dengan 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. tahlil sepaha kesaman angusuran⁶⁷ 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-lah 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 adapun
11. adapun satu perkara sendu agung⁶⁸ kedua sindu aku adapun sindu agung
12. itu lepas daripada poko⁶⁹chinchang⁷⁰dangan bangun belas tetapi maka sindu agung
13. itu bertokok gawe bertahlil emas kalau mati orang sindu agung orang yang
14. memegang⁷¹ 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 pampas⁷² apabila dia-nya ter-sindu itu melainkan
17. timbul? kita itu jikalau akan orang dibuang⁷³ sindu agung dikembali-kan jua
18. kita kepada orang yang menyinda-kan di-ahual⁷⁴ kalau di-tabusnya⁷⁵ meski ber-tiga gawe sekali
19. sah⁷⁶ lalu-nya kalau tidak di-tebus-nya itulah adat sindu agung tegoh⁷⁷orang yang

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, 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 ahual*

⁷⁵ Marsden, 1812a, p. 60, *Menabus 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-tegoh⁷⁸ gawe-nya

⁷⁷ Marsden, 1812a, p. 78-79, *Tagoh* or *tuggoh* ... *Bertagoh diri-nia dan bertatap arti-nia* to confirm himself and set his mind at ease. *Surat ka-tagoh-an* a deed a bond in writing.

⁷⁸ Marsden, 1812a, p. 79, *Bertagoh-tagohan ber-sumpah-sumpah* bound each other firmly by reciprocal oaths.

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PAGE SEVEN:

para 22

Debtors must replace proxy debt-slaves who have died or absconded.

1. Fasal dari pada sindu aku indal⁷⁹ rial kita tiada hilang hidup mati orang yang di-sindu itu
2. rial kita kembali juga jikalau dia-nya memachah⁸⁰ m[eng]-hilangi⁸¹ ganti⁸² jikalau dia-nya lari ber-hutang
3. hari-nya ter/[pem-]bayar⁸³ orang yang mengaku⁸⁴ itu tetapi kalau dia-nya lari⁸⁵ kasih[i.e. beri] tahu orang yang mengaku
4. itulah adat aku indal adanya

para 23

Marriage by ambil anak can redeem a debtor (with his life)

5. Fasal yang kedua puluh tiga dari orang sindu agung kita ambil akan perempuan
6. Dalam liat? dapat salah andam⁸⁶ kepada raja melainkan utang perempuan itu dapat lepas dan laki-laki
7. lawan-nya⁸⁷ salah liat⁸⁸ melipatkan⁸⁹ rial kita itu tentangan 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 daripada sindu aku⁹⁰ indal⁹¹ 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

⁷⁹ See Notes for *aku* and *sendu*

⁸⁰ Marsden, 1812a, p. 216, from *pachah* – to break off, discontinue

⁸¹ Stevens obsolete to eliminate

⁸² Marsden, 1812a, p. 280, successor

⁸³ Marsden, 1812a, p. 35, *pem-bayar* payment, method of payment, Stevens terbayar paid

⁸⁴ See Note for *aku*. Marsden, 1812a, p. 377, affiance (betroth) *meng-aku*, (and *tunang*)

⁸⁵ See note for *lari* Marsden, 1812a, p. 297, *Lari* – to run, run away, flee, abscond.

⁸⁶ Winstedt Min. confine a girl; settled of a marriage. Stevens, Min. I to hide, confine II grave (serious)

⁸⁷ Marsden, 1812a, p. 299, *lawan*... A match, fellow, counter-part; adversary, foe.

⁸⁸ Stevens, *liat* 4. trying to get out of [paying back debts] Marsden, p. 311, *liat* soft; pliant, flexible.

⁸⁹ Marsden, 1812a, p. 312, to fold, to double ... *Kembali-kan dangan lipat-nia* return it double or two-fold.

⁹⁰ See note for *aku*.

⁹¹ or *andal* [reliable trustworthy]

PAGE SEVEN

para 24 continued

13. itu kembali kepada kita orang yang empunya rial itu-lah adat yang di-pakai⁹² dalam negri
14. Moko-Moko ada-nya.

para 25

Fine for seducing an unmarried woman by force

15. Fasal yang ke-dua puluh lima dari hal semenda menyemenda jikalau keras-kan-lah hendak
16. sharak⁹³ timbang⁹⁴ adat-nya dua puluh-lah⁹⁵ 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

⁹² Marsden, 1812a, p. 577, *pakei* use (make use of)

⁹³ *Kamus Besar* syarak, Islamic law

⁹⁴ Winstedt *timbang, bertimbang* consultation. Stevens, to consider (in notarial instruments)

⁹⁵ Stevens :*wapu* = *pajak*, taxes

⁹⁶ Masden, 1812a, p. 256, *mengaras-i* to force, compel, coerse, ravish

⁹⁷ Stevens, to be in debt. Marsden, 1812a, p. 81, *tambul* provisions, meat, *timbul-* to rise up

⁹⁸ Marsden, 1812a, p. 268, *kena*, ... and *kenei* or *kunnei* to touch strike, hit affect.

PAGE EIGHT:

para 26

Adat payment by husband for unproven accusation of infidelity

1. Fasal yang ke-dua puluh enam dari hal semenda menyenda anak kemanakan seorang⁹⁹ 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 tentangan adat perempuan itu timbang¹⁰⁰ dua
4. puluh delapan (delapan) rial itulah hukum-nya orang yang seperti itu.

para 27

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

5. Fasal yang ke-dua puluh tujuh dari hal orang yang di-buang orang dengan surat kem[eny]enda
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 ke-dua puluh delapan daripada hal menarima orang yang semenda tiada
10. keruan¹⁰¹ tempat negri-nya dan kira-nya dapat chelaka atau membunuh orang atau dapat
11. memaling?¹⁰² maka badan-nya itu jalan-nya jikalau hukum di-bunuh dia-nya jua
12. di-bunuh jikalau hukum-nya di-pukul dia-nya jua di-pukul jikalau di-buang dia-nya
13. jua di-buang tetapi se-tahu Kompani membuang-nya maka-nya jadi.

para 29

Terminating marriage by jujur

14. Fasal yang ke dua puluh sembilan dari pada adat jujur¹⁰³ men-jujur dari Anak
15. Sungai lalu di-y-ka tahu-an jikalau patut tengah dua ratus rial dia [buat?] tahan

⁹⁹ alternative reading m-u-[k] rang Marsden, 1812a, p. 339, *murong*, *muram* melancholy or fornication

¹⁰⁰ Marsden, 1812a, p 80 *timbang* to weigh; to ponder; to exchange; to pay.

¹⁰¹ Marsden, 1812a, p 257 *karuwan* or *karawan* thought, ideas, conception,... *tiada karuwan* no idea, at random

¹⁰² Stevens and Winstedt – *meleng/meling* to take no notice of, careless, indifferent

¹⁰³ See Note on *jujur*.

PAGE EIGHT

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.

¹⁰⁴ Marsden, 1812a, p 266 restore included in meanings.

¹⁰⁵ Marsden, 1812a, p 119 grandchild, descendant,

[illegible]

PAGE NINE:

para 30

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-lah¹⁰⁶ dalam itupun di-lari-kan orang
3. tunangan-nya¹⁰⁷ 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-liput¹⁰⁸ oleh
5. perempuan itu kepada tunangan-nya yang dahulu jikalau yang sebelah laki-laki
6. mungkir¹⁰⁹ begitu jua hukum-nya tanda itu dapat saja oleh perempuan
7. itulah adat dalam negri Anak Sungai-nya adanya.

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)

Notes¹¹⁰

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 *erti*, 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 surat to outlaw, to expel from a family with a written document.

Mem-buang perampuan-nia to repudiate his wife.

¹¹⁰ 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 pampas* 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*; *ber-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 on *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 prithe, 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, superintendant 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, admissible; 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 puasa-nia his fasting is of no avail;

Saksi-nia tiada sah his evidence is not admissible, or, does not establish the point.

Note for *semenda-menyenda*

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-menyenda 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 althoughy the substitute should die, *sendu indal* (Vide *iring*). *Anak samang saya sindu-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

(Table of Contents was included in 2nd edn only)

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./MDCCLXXXIII. viii, 375.

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

Preface

pp. ii-viii. (French edn included conclusion.) Conclusion omitted in 3rd edn.

Chapter 1

Unknown to the Ancients – Situation – Name – General Description of the Country, its Mountains, Lakes and Rivers – Air and Meteors – Monsoons, and Land, and Sea-Breezes – Minerals and Fossils – Volcanos – Earthquakes – Surfs and Tides.
pp. 1-33.

Chapter 2

Distinction of Inhabitants – Rejangs chosen for General Description – Persons and Complexion – Clothing and Ornaments
pp. 34 – 47.

Chapter 3

Villages – Buildings – Domestic Utensils, – Food.
pp. 48-58.

Chapter 4

Agriculture – Rice, its cultivation, &c – Plantations of Coco, Betel nut, and other Trees, for Domestic use – Dye-stuffs
pp. 59-80.

Chapter 5

Fruits, Flowers, Medicinal Shrubs and Herbs
pp. 81-92.

Chapter 6

Animals – Beasts – Birds – Reptiles – Insects
pp. 93 -102.

Chapter 7

Productions of the Island considered as Articles of Commerce – Pepper Trade.
Cultivation of Pepper. Camphire. Benjamin. Cassia, &c.
pp. 103-132. (pp. 133-34 omitted in 1st edn.)

Chapter 8

Gold, Tin, and other Metals – Bees-wax – Ivory – Birds-nests – Import – Trade.
pp. 135-142.

Chapter 9

Arts and Manufactures. – Art of Medicine. – Sciences. – Arithmetic: Geography:
Astronomy: Music, &c.
pp. 143- 160.

Chapter 10

Languages – Malay – Arabic character used – Languages of the interior people –
Peculiar characters – Specimens of languages and of alphabets.
pp. 161-168.

Chapter 11

Comparative state of the Sumatrans in civil society – Difference of Character
between the Malay and other inhabitants. Government – Titles and power of the
chiefs among the Rejangs. Influence of the Europeans – Government in Passummah.
pp. 169-183.

Chapter 12

Laws and customs – Mode of deciding causes – Code of Laws.
pp. 184-198.

Chapter 13

Remarks on, and elucidation of the various laws and customs – Modes of Pleading –
Nature of Evidence – Oaths – Inheritance – Outlawry – Theft – Murder, and
compensation for it – Account of a Feud – Debts – Slavery.
pp. 199-217.

Chapter 14

Modes of Marriage, and customs relative thereto – Festivals – Polygamy – Opium,
Amuks.

pp. 218-243.

Chapter 15

Custom of chewing Betel – Emblematic presents – Oratory – Children – Names – Circumcision – Funerals.

pp. 244-261.

Chapter 16

The country of Lampooon and its inhabitants – Language – Government – Wars – Peculiar Customs – Religion.

pp. 262-267.

Chapter 17

Malay Governments – Empire of Menangcabow – Extent of the Sultan's ancient and present power – His titles – Literature and Arts among the people – Period of conversion to Mahometanism – General acceptance of the word Malay – Constitution of their States – Bencoolen – Indrapour – Anac Soongey – Palembang – Jambee, etc

pp. 268 – 291.

Chapter 18

The country of the Batta – Its productions – The inhabitants – Account of their manners, government, and some extraordinary customs.

pp. 292-312.

Chapter 19

Kingdom of Acheen – Present state of it's (sic) Commerce – Air and Soil – Inhabitants – Government – Revenues – Modes of punishing Criminals.

pp. 313-321.

Chapter 20

History of the Kingdom of Acheen and the countries adjacent, from the period of their discovery by Europeans.

pp. 322-372

Conclusion

pp. 373-375.

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 minutiae, 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.

***The History of Sumatra* by William Marsden, The Third edition, with corrections, additions and plates.**

Map facing Title page (*see* Appendix XVI)

Chapter 1

Situation – Name – General Description of the Country, its Mountains, Lakes, and Rivers – Air and Meteors – Monsoons, and Land and Sea-Breezes – Minerals and Fossils – Volcanos – Earthquakes – Surfs and Tides.

pp. 1-39.

Chapter 2

Distinction of Inhabitants – Rejangs chosen for General Description. – Persons and Complexions. – Clothing and Ornaments.

pp. 40-53.

Chapter 3

Villages. – Buildings. – Domestic Utensils. – Food

pp. 54-64.

Chapter 4

Agriculture. – Rice, its cultivation, &c. – Plantations of Coconut, Betelnut, and other Vegetables for domestic Use. – Dye Stuffs.

pp. 65-96.

Chapter 5

Fruits, Flowers, Medicinal Shrubs and Herbs.

pp. 97-111.

Chapter 6

Beasts. – Reptiles. – Fish. – Birds. – Insects.

pp. 112-128.

Chapter 7

Vegetable productions of the island considered as articles of commerce. Pepper. — Cultivation of Pepper. – Camphor. – Benzoin. – Cassia, &c.

pp. 129-164.

Chapter 8

Gold, Tin, and other metals. – Beeswax. – Ivory. – Bird's nest, &c. Import-Trade

pp.165-177.

Chapter 9

Arts and Manufactures. – Art of Medicine. – Sciences. – Arithmetic. -
Geography. – Astronomy. – Music, &c.
pp.178-196.

Chapter 10

Languages – Malayan – Arabic character used – Languages of the interior people –
Peculiar characters – Specimens of languages and alphabets.
pp. 197-203.

Chapter 11

Comparative State of the Sumatrans in civil society – Differences of
Character between the Malays and other inhabitants. Government – Titles and
power of the chiefs among the Rejangs. Influence of the Europeans – Government in
Passummah.
pp. 204-216.

Chapter 12

Laws and Customs – Mode of Deciding Causes – Code of Laws.
pp. 217-237.

Chapter 13

Remarks on, and elucidation of, various Laws and Customs – Modes of Pleading –
Nature of Evidence – Oaths – Inheritance – Outlawry – Theft, Murder, and
compensation for it – Account of a Feud – Debts – Slavery.
pp. 238 -255.

Chapter 14

Modes of Marriage, and Customs relative thereto – Polygamy – Festivals – Games –
Cock-fighting – Use and effects of Opium.
pp. 256-280.

Chapter 15

Custom of chewing Betel – Emblematic Presents – Oratory – Children – Names –
Circumcision – Funerals – Religion.
pp. 281-294.

Chapter 16

The Country of Lampong and Its Inhabitants – Language – Government – Wars –
Peculiar Customs – Religion.
pp. 295-303.

Chapter 17

Account of the Inland Country of Korinchi – Expedition to the Serampey and Sungei-tenang Countries.
pp. 304-324.

Chapter 18

Malayan States – Ancient Empire of Menangkabau – Origin of the Malays and general acceptance of Name – Evidences of their Migration from Sumatra – Succession of Malayan Princes – Present State of the Empire – Titles of the Sultan – Ceremonies – Conversion to Mahometan Religion – Literature – Arts – Warfare – Government.
pp. 325-352.

Chapter 19

Kingdom of Indrapura, Anak-Sungei, Passamman, Siak.
pp. 353-364.

Chapter 20

The Country of the Battas – Tappanuli-bay – Journey into the Interior – Cassia-trees – Governments – Arms – Warfare – Trade – Fairs – Food – Manners – Language – Writing – Religion – Funerals – Crimes – Extra-ordinary Custom.
pp. 365-395.

Chapter 21

Kingdom of Achin – Its Capital – Air – Inhabitants – Commerce – Manufactures – Navigation – Coin – Government – Revenues – Punishments.
pp. 396-405.

Chapter 22

History of the Kingdom of Achin, from the period of its being visited by Europeans.
pp. 406-463.

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:

- . The Pepper Plant, *Piper Nigrum*.
- . *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

Extract from Abbé W. T. Raynal, 1777, *A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the East and West Indies*, translated by J Justamond, London, T Cadell. 3rd revised edn, V. iv, pp. 4-6.

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 [page 6] preparing the chica 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 forms¹¹¹

- . pigmies (footnote p. 35)
- . Hill peoples (*orang goonoong*) (p. 42)
- . “barbarous and savage race of people living in the mountains” (footnote p. 254)
- . negritoes (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”.

- 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 thjeir 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)

“nation of the Batta” (p. 292)
 “we were under necessity of carrying on war for many years, with parties of that nation” (p. 294)
 “originality preserved in this nation” (p. 311)
 “from the most enlightened among other nations” (p. 373)
 “the more civilized nations before described, whom the Spaniards call Indians” (footnote p. 260)
 “settlers of these nations in the vicinity of Natal” (p. 280)

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)
“proatteens 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:

Section	Page
1 <i>Tanah Melayu</i>	103
2 Origins	108
3 Role of the <i>ra'ayat</i>	111
4 Use of <i>Melayu</i> and <i>Melaka</i>	113
5 Territory of Allegiance, an <i>HHT</i> view	134
6 Classical Courts, Marsden's view.	135
7 Proverbs	136

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:

“*Hai saudara-ku keempat, baik-lah, kita kelima mari kita pergi berguru. Ada sa-orang di-bukit ini; ia bertapa, Aria Putera nama-nya. Ada pun kita ini pada firasat orang tua2 akan menjadi hulubulang di-Tanah Melayu.*”

p. 26.

Sa-telah sudah, maka kata Sang Aria Putera,

“*Apa kehendak chuchu-ku kelima telah ku-ketahui. Ada pun chuchu-ku kelima ini akan di-perhamba raja dan jadi pegawai besar di-tanah Melayu, tetapi banyak orang besar2 sakit hati lagi dengki akan chuchu-ku;*”

p. 29

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

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

Kata sa-orang lagi,

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

pp. 46-47

Sa-telah sampai tengah bulan lama-nya, maka Raden Inu bermohon-lah pada Adipati Jayakatra itu lalu naik ka-jong belayar menuju tanah Melayu. Berapa lama-nya sampai-lah ka-Palembang.

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”).

...

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.”

Sa-telah sudah maka Raden Inu pun menyuruh orang membongkar sauh. Maka Raden Inu dan Adipati Palembang pun belayar-lah menuju tanah Melayu. Berapa lama-nya belayar itu maka sampai-lah ka-Bentan.

p. 68

Maka negeri Melaka pun sentosa-lah, sejok saperti ayer di-dalam tanam. Maka segala negeri pada Tanah Melayu itu pun sakalian-nya upeti ka-Melaka.

pp. 69-70

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.”

p. 70

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 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

p. 71

Sa-telah ia fikir demikian maka di-panggil nakhoda kapal itu, kata-nya,

“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,

p. 72

“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-suroh 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 menjunjung 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-buangkan 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, ...

kerana 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 perintah 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 menjunjung Duli Baginda Sultan."

p. 89

Sa-telah sudah raja dan Bendahara menggelar maka raja dan Bendahara pun memerentahkan negeri pula, sedai-kala memerentahkan menteri hulubulang dan ra'ayat-nya dan senjata-nya. Maka mashhor-lah nama raja dan nama Bendahara Mangkubumi itu merajakan raja di-Tanah Melayu, anak raja di-Bukit Seguntang, asal raja reinderaan.

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

p. 273

dalam negeri Majapahit ini

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. 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

Maka bedil pun di-pasang orang-lah dan tunggul panji2 pun terdiri-lah. Sa-telah Laksamana lepas-lah halangan, maka Laksamana pun belayar-lah. Maka segala perahu yang banyak itu pun belayar-lah menuju tanah Melaka. (Usually menuju negeri ...)

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”

“Maka Laksmana pun beribwayat-lah tatkala ia di-utuskan ka-benua Keling lalu ka-benua China, dan tatkala ia ka-Majapahit dan tatkala pergi ka-benua Siam dan tatkala pergi ka-Berunai. Maka Laksamana pun berbuat kata-lah tatkala ia di-utuskan pergi ka-negeri Mekah dan Madinah dan negeri Hafsah dan negeri Feringgi dan negeri Wolanda, semua-nya boleh mengadap dan berkata2 dengan raja-nya”.

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 khobar 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 sahut 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,

“Ada pun kita sakalian ini menchari kakak Galoh ini sudah-lah rata sa-genap pulau tiada juga bertemu; khabar-nya pun tiada. Ada pun sekarang ini kita hendak pergi ka-tanah Melayu pula, kerana ku-dengar tanah Melayu itu ada sa-orang raja, terlalu adil dan murah-nya pereksa-nya. Ada pun asal raja itu dari keinderaan. Ka-sana-lah hendak pergi bermain².”

...

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, neschaya 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,

"Baik-lah kita berhenti sa-kadar empat hari juga, kerana kita segera hendak belayar ka-tanah Melayu . Yang kaseh paman itu sa-penoh-nya-lah."

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 tujuh 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-lengkap-nya 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".

p. 57

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.

p.73

Maka kata Bendahara,

"Apa maksud orang kaya saudagar datang ka-Melaka ini, kerana tanah Keling dan tanah Keling dan tanah Melayu ini terlalu jauh pelayaran?"

Maka sembah saudagar itu,

"Orang kaya Bendahara, pada bichara hati hamba, ...Pada sa-genap negeri hamba pergi melihat temasha; sa-bermula maka lalu-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. ...".

p. 86

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 gelemat.

p. 89

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 memelihara segala ra'ayat-mu dan sangat2 pereksa-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 tujuh hari lagi pindah ka-Melaka. Akan berlengkaplah 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

Maka Sang Sapurba pun memelok menchiom anakanda baginda. Sudah itu maka Sang Jaya Nantaka pun berjalan-lah dengan segala ra'ayat. Maka Bendahara dan Temenggong pun bermohon-lah pada Sang Sapurba lalu berjalan mengiringkan gajah Sang Jaya Nantaka dengan segala ra'ayat.

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 bertanya 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 kepada Bendahara dan Temenggong,

“Ayo mamak Bendahara dan Temenggong, ada pun negeri kita kita serahkan-lah kepada 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 Temenggong,

“Daulat Tuanku, minta Allah Ta'ala juga duli shah alam dan di-jauhkan Allah Ta'ala kira-nya daripada seteru shah alam”.

p. 279

Maka Marga Paksi pun bermohon-lah kepada 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 manusia 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 pereksa-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

Sa-bermula peninggalan Raja Melaka sudah ghaib itu, maka Puteri Gunong Ledang pun tetap-lah di-atas kerajaan-nya dengan adil-nya dan murah-nya akan segala ra'ayat dan dagang santeri yang pergi datang itu sangat tafahus-nya. Maka negeri Melaka pun sentosa-lah, makin bertambah2 ramai-nya dengan sebab Bendahara dan Temenggong dan Laksamana memeliharakan negeri itu.

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 patut. 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 patek 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 *Melayu*; 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 patek 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 memining”.

p. 99

Compare the discussion concerning the Raja as a specific person with his embassy.

Maka sembah Pateh Gajah Mada,

“Ya tuanku paduka Betara, patek mohonkan ampun dan kurnia, salah-kah seperti sembah patek? Ada pun yang datang itu penyuroh daripada raja Melaka dari Tanah Melayu akan pekerjaan memining paduka anakanda Raden Emas Ayu”.

...

Maka sembah Pateh Gajah Mada,

“Pada bichara patek yang tua ini, baik juga kita sambut dengan perintah, 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 Pateh Gajah Mada,

“ Pada bichara-ku, mari kita chuba utusan Melayu ini, berani-kah atau penakut-kah ia ini, kerana aku dengar hulubulung yang enam orang datang ini akan ganti mata telinga raja-nya dan penaka tuboh raja-lah ... “

p. 100

Maka kata Pateh Gajah Mada,

“Bukan engkau sakalian aku hendak menyuroh mengalahkan negeri. Engkau hendak ku-surohkan menchuba hulubulung 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 tujuh puluh 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. ...”

p.101

“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 puluh itu pun mengamok segala orang Majapahit, mana yang terlintang itu di-bunuh-nya. ... Maka segala Melayu itu pun berjalan juga.

...

Maka titah Seri Betara pada Barit Ketika,

¹¹⁴ Cf. “segala orang Melaka”, pp.113, 324, 346, 370, 466; “segala orang Inderapura” p. 220; “segala orang Keling” p. 370, or *orang Inderapura*, pp. 172, 174, 175, 177.

"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,

"Surohkan 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,

"... tatkala patek di-Melaka, hamba ka-bawah duli paduka anakanda Sultan Melaka,"

p. 103

Maka kata Pateh Gajah Mada,

"Jangan-lah tuan shak hati. Ada pun yang pekerjaan ratu Melaka itu di-atas manira-lah, tetapi baik juga ratu Melaka sendiri berangkat datang ka-Majapahit ini, kerana paduka Betara bukan asa anak dua tiga, hanya-lah Raden Guluh sa-orang juga. Beberapa raja2 di-seluruh Tanah Jawa ini datang meminang, tiada di-berinya, kerana tiada berkenan pada hati-nya; tambahan baginda itu hendak bermenantu akan raja berasal. Akan sekarang sampai-lah saperti kehendak hati baginda itu".

p. 104

Sa-telah 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; shadahan keempat-nya laki2. Ada pun paduka anakanda yang tua sekali 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-rajakan dan yang bongsu itu hendak di-sambut-nya ka-Palembang".

...

Maka titah Betara Majapahit,
“Aku pun tahu akan anak raja di-Bukit Seguntang itu, kerana pada sangka-ku yang tua juga jadi raja benua

p. 105

Keling itu, sebab itu-lah maka aku mengutus ka-benua Keling, dan tiada aku tahu akan anak-ku jadi ratu Melaka. Jikalau akau 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 rangka 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 kerbau.

At the Melaka court

p. 113

Maka Bendahara pun menyembah lalu keluar dudok di-balai gendang mengerahkan segala pegawai dan petuanan berlengkap masing pada ketumbokan-nya. Maka masing dengan senjata-nya, dan gajah kuda akan tempat surat itu pun di-hiasai orang-lah. Sa-telah sudah lengkap. Maka di-naikkan-lah ka-atas gajah. Maka payong kerajaan empat puluh itu pun terkembang-lah. Maka segala bunyi2an pun di-palu orang-lah lalu berjalan masuk ka-dalam kota terlalu ramai, segala orang Melaka mengiringkan surat dan bingkis itu.

At Palembang

p. 119

Dalam berkata2 itu maka orang Majapahit pun datang sa-buah perahu kechil melihat raja.

At the Mahajapahit 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-tah membunuh kiai Tuah itu dan segala Melayu lima orang itu ... main kita jangan ketara, kerana Melayu ini bijaksana”.

p. 130

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 sifat-nya, maka ia berhadapan dengan engkau, bunoh oleh-mu beri mati2”

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 bermain-lah saperti tiada berjejak di-bumi laku-nya. Maka a pun memekis, kata-nya,

“Cheh! Mana-tah penjurit bernama Tameng Sari itu? Mari-lah berhadapan dengan aku supaya aku penggal leher-nya! Shadahan mana-tah hulubulang Melayu yang bernama Kiai Tuah itu?”

p. 131

Contrast

Maka penjurit itu pun memekis pula, kata-nya,

“Cheh! Mana-tah hulubulang Melayu yang bernama Kiai Tuah itu?

... 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,

"... jagankan Laksamana sa-orang, jikalau sa-puluh 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 puluh orang yang kepetangan atau tujuh puluh orang, maka kita suroh penjurit tujuh puluh itu mengamok ..."

...

Demikian titah Paduka Betara,

"Hai, anak-ku, apa-tah jadi segala ra'ayat habis binasa di-amok-nya? Segera-lah anak-ku surohkan 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 pergi-nya, ikut. 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, jagankan 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 tujuh puluh 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 menghunus keris panjang-nya lalu melompat ka-dalam lorong itu bertahan.

p. 153

Sa-telah datang kapada Pateh, kata-nya,

"Ada pun hamba memanggil tuan-hamba ini, titah Seri Betara hendak di-suroh tuan-hamba membunuh sa-orang Melayu Laksamana nama-nya."

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 itu yang berani dudok pada balai larangan kita".

p. 162:

Sa-telah sudah lengkap, maka titah Seri Betara,

"Hai pengawitan yang sa-ribu, pergi engkau bunuh 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 berkata Bendahara Seri Buana di-dalam hati-nya:

'Siapa gerangan orang ini, terlalu sangat tertib laku-nya dan manis muka-nya'.

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-Pertaun sini; bukan orang lain”.

...

Maka kata segala dayang2 itu:

“Ayo, dato’ inang, sungguh-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:

“Dayang-lah akan garam-nya”, lalu makan.

p. 173

... maka Laksamana pun segera melompat, serta memekis, kata-nya,

“Chih, mengapa begitu? 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 Laksmana 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,¹¹⁵ berchampur dengan Jawa Majapahit! Dayang pun satu, sa-bagai hendak mengajok beta pula*”.

(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 berchampur Jawa Majapahit; tiada tahu menari*”. (Which 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 hulubalang besar dudok di-atas segala hulubalang*”.

¹¹⁵ Marsden, 1812a, p. 246: *Kachuk*, *kachu* to shake, agitate; to jumble together, mix, mingle. *Lalu 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 dagang-an iang kachuk-kachuk, gave orders for purchasing a mixed variety of goods.]

Compare with

Bahasa menunjukkan bangsa. Manners betray rank. Longer version is:

Usul 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:

'... Beruntung 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 menyambut 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-pilih oleh Laksamana empat puluh 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 hulubulag 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 puluh itu orang yang pilihan

p 220

Maka segala hulubulag 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 puluh itu pun segera turun dari atas balai gendang itu menyamar masok sama² dengan orang banyak masok itu.

¹¹⁶ "The MBRAS book", 1992, pp. 25-26. Proverb B 12 and p. 231. Proverb U 24.

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 Pateh,

“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-bunuh-nya dengan tempek sorak-nya, kata-nya,

“Bunuh-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-bunuh”.

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; jangan Laksamana sa-orang, jikalau negeri Melaka sa-kali pun dapat kula alahkan”.

p. 247

Sa-telah sudah Laksamana ka-sungai, maka penjurit tempat puloh itu pun datang-lah dari kiri kanan Laksamana, seraya berkata:

“Bunuh-lah Melayu ini beri mati2. Jangan lagi beri lepas”.

p. 248

Maka kata Pateh,

“Hai segala penjurit, apa penglihatan-mu, kerana ia sa-orang, engkau empat puloh lawan, tiada terbunuh oleh-mu?”

...

Maka sembah Pateh:

“Ya, tuanku, mohonkan ampun dan kurnia, yang penjurit empat puloh ini patek surohkan membunuh Laksamana itu”.

...

Maka kata Pateh:

“... hendak ku-suroh menchuri keris Laksamana utusan Melayu itu “

p. 250

Maka Laksamana dan Hang Jebat, Hang Kasturi dan segala Melayu itu pun tidor-lah berkaparan terlalu nyedera.

p. 252

Maka segala penggawa di-pintu itu pun me rebahkan tombak, di-halakan-nya pada Laksamana, seraya kata-nya

“Bunuh-lah Laksamana dan segala Melayu ini” ;

p. 267

Maka sembah Pateh Gajah Mada,

“Mari kita chari penjurit barang empat puloh yang kepetangan; maka kita suroh mengamok di-tengah pesara, barang yang terlintang suroh bunoh. Maka kita berpesan pada-nya: ‘Apabila engkau melihat sa-orang orang Melayu datang hendak mengembari engkau, demikian sifat-nya dan rupa-nya sikap-nya, maka bunoh oleh-mu sungguh2, jangan di-beri lepas lari. Jika mati Melayu itu, besar ganjaran-mu pada-ku’. Demikian-lah kita kata pada penjurit itu”.

...

Maka titah Seri Betara

“Segera-lah pilih penjurit empat puloh itu”.

...

Maka penjurit empat puluh itu pun berchakap-lah membunuh Laksamana itu.

p. 270

Hatta maka terdengar-lah kapada raja Melaka bahawa Laksamana bertikam dengan penjurit empat puluh itu ...

...

Maka orang dalam negeri itu semua-nya takut melihat Laksamana dengan segala

p. 271

Melayu itu, kerana main Pateh habis di-ketahui-nya oleh Laksamana itu.

...

Maka Seri Betara dan Pateh Gajah 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, Laksmana 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,

p. 275

"Cheh, mengapa pula aku engkau tertawa2kan? Akan sekarang juga Melayu itu ku-bunuh!"

Majapahit assassin, Marga Paksi

Cf . p. 330 ff.

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 pegawai 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; tujuh 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 ketumbukan dan ra'ayat-nya sa-ribu, supaya hati Si-Jebat bimbang”.

...

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

p. 299 “ ... *melainkan segala hulubalang 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 seperti 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 hulubalang 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 seperti harimau yang gelak tiada membilang akan

p. 303

lawan-nya, shahadan maka keris-nya bernyala2 seperti gunung 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 ...

p. 313

Maka titah raja,

“Benar-lah seperti kata Laksamana itu; segera-lah Bendahara kerahkan segala pegawai dan petuanan dan segala ra’ayat suroh kotai kampong Bendahara ini tujuh lapis”.

...

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

p.314

Maka Laksamana pun tahu-lah akan Si-Jebat tidur itu. Maka Laksamana pun melihat ketika dan edaran. Sa-telah sudah sampai ketika-nya, maka Laksamana pun turun dari balai gendang itu lalu berjalan masuk ke-dalam pagar lalu berdiri di-tengah halaman istana itu. Maka segala orang-nya empat puluh itu pun berdiri di-belakang Laksamana. Maka segala orang banyak pun berdiri dari jauh melihat temasha: ada yang naik pohon kayu ada yang naik bumbungan ...

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

p. 315

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 kepada Allah, tiada tertanggung oleh-mu di-dalam akhirat jemah. Akan sekarang engkau hendak membunuh orang yang tiada berdosa pula berpuluh2 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 mashhor pada segala negeri”.

Maka kata Hang Jebat,

“Ada pun aku tiada mau turun dari istana ini berlawan dengan engkau, kerana engkau hulubalang besar lagi ternama; ...”

p. 317

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. ...

p. 319

Maka kata Hang Jebat,

“.... Sebab pun ku-perbuat demikian ini, sa-pala2 nama jahat jangan kapalang, seperti pantun Melayu, rosak bawang di-timpa jambak-nya; maka sempurna-lah nama derhaka dan nama jahat:

Maka kata Laksamana,

“Sungguh seperti kata-mu itu, tetapi akan kita di-perhamba raja ini hendak-lah pada barang sa-suatu perkerjaan itu bicharakan sangat2, seperti kata orang tua2:

Baik mati dengan nama yang baik, jangan hidup dengan nama yang jahat, supaya masuk shurga jemah”.

Maka kata Hang Jebat,

“Sa-benar-nya-lah seperti kata orangkaya itu. Apa-tah daya di-perhamba? Sudah-lah gerangan rupa-nya perjanjian di-perhamba akan mati dengan nama yang jahat; tetapi Si-Jebat tiada memberi ayer muka sahabat-nya binasa, sa-hingga mati sudah-lah. Tetapi Si-Jebat tiada beranak. Ada

p. 320

pun akan sekarang ada sa-orang perempuan, dayang2 dato Bendahara, Dang Baharu nama-nya, perempuan itu bermukah dengan di-perhamba. Sekarang ia bunting tujuh 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-atas 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-bunuh oleh sa-orang Melayu bernama, Laksamana hulubulang Raja Melaka”.

p. 332

Berapa lama-nya maka Kertala Sari pun sampai-lah ka-Melaka. Maka ia pun singgah di-luar kota pada kampong segala Jawa. Maka Kertala Sari pun menyamakan diri-nya kapada segala Jawi yang banyak itu. Maka Kertala Sari pun sedia-kala berjalan keluar masuk bermain2 sa-genap kampong orang kaya2 dan saudagar.

...

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 masuk 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 berkata2 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. Sa-lama-nya baginda hendak mengutus kerana baginda di-dalam ke-sukaran ..."

Maka Nala Sang Guna pun kaseh mesra akan Laksamana, kerana melihat laku Laksamana berkata2 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 tua ka-bawah duli Kisna Rayan"

p. 346

Sa-telah 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-telah keesokan hari-nya Laksamana pun datang ka-rumah Nala Sang Guna. Maka Nala Sang Guna pun bertanya kepada 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"

p. 348

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 berkedai. Maka segala orang negeri itu pun terlalu ramai melihat surat dari Melaka itu, kerana sangat di-permulia-nya oleh segala orang benua Keling itu.

p. 349

"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 terchengang2, 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-

p. 350

nya dan dengan merdu suara-nya, patut ia berkata2 itu.

Maka titah Kisna Rayan,

"Hai Laksamana, engkau ini peranakan¹¹⁷ 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 mergerti sedikit 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".

p. 363

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 rupanya 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 seteru".

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-puluh 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 ku-tendas kepala-mu".

p. 450

segala Melayu yang tujuh puluh 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 tujuh lapis dan parit-nya demikian juga dan pintu gerbang-nya besar enam butir. ..."

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?”

p. 466

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 perhiasan-nya ini?”

p. 468

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).

p. 470

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’.

p. 471

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 dha’if, bawah utusan Raja Melaka itu pun, jikalau ada derma kurnia Duli Shah Alam ...”

p. 473

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, tatkala 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 faseh 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-semberap 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 onlookers¹²⁰ 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) quarter¹²¹ 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 city¹²³ 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) as¹²⁵ [Previously they had been called *segala orang banyak* but now are described as *ra'ayat yang lari itu*.]

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

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] *negri*, 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 inclosure, 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.

6. Classical Courts.

“Classical courts” are variously described. J. M. Gullick, *Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya*, London, The Athlone Press, 1958, p. 8: gives a summary list, which however omits the Laksamana.

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 then 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

¹²⁶ Hamilton, (1937)1947, pp. 50-51.

¹²⁷ "The MBRAS book", 1992, pp. 181-62, Proverb R3.

¹²⁸ Abdullah, (1976)1981, p. 72. No. 855.

¹²⁹ "The MBRAS book", 1992, pp. 25-26. Proverb B 12 and p. 231. Proverb U 24.

Appendix XI

Endeavour Voyage (Comparative Vocabulary) Tables

Banks Table I

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

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.

Joseph Banks, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks*, edited J. C. Beaglehole, 2nd edn, Sydney, 1963, V. i, p 371.

Banks Table II

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

Specimen of Languages, including Malay, compiled by Joseph Banks.

Joseph Banks, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks*, edited J. C. Beaglehole, 2nd edn, Sydney, 1963, V. ii, pp. 238-239.

SPECIMENS OF LANGUAGE

SOUTH SEA	MALAY	JAVA	PRINCES ISLAND
1. <i>Matta</i>	<i>Majta</i>	<i>Moto</i>	<i>Mata</i> an Eye
2. <i>Maa</i>	<i>Macan</i>	<i>Mangan</i> to eat	
3. <i>Einu</i>	<i>Menu</i>	<i>Gnumbe</i> to drink	
4. <i>Matte</i>	<i>Matte</i>	<i>Matte</i> to kill	
5. <i>Outou</i>	<i>Coutou</i> a louse		
6. <i>Euwa</i>	<i>Udian</i>	<i>Udan</i> Rain	
7. <i>Owhe</i>			<i>Awe</i> Bambu cane
8. <i>Eu</i>	<i>Sousou</i>	<i>Sousou</i> a Breast	
9. <i>Mannu</i>		<i>Mannu</i>	<i>Mannuk</i> a bird
10. <i>Eyea</i>	<i>Ican</i>	<i>Iwa</i> a fish	
11. <i>Uta</i>	<i>Utan</i> inland		
12. <i>Tapoa</i>		<i>Tapaan</i> the foot	
13. <i>Tooura</i>	<i>Udang</i>	<i>Urang</i> a lobster	
14. <i>Eufwehe</i>	<i>Ubi</i>	<i>Uwe</i> Yams	
15. <i>Etannou</i>	<i>Tannam</i>	<i>Tandour</i> to bury	
16. <i>Enammou</i>	<i>Gnamuck</i> a Muscheto		
17. <i>Hearu</i>	<i>Garru</i>	<i>Garu</i> to scratch	
18. <i>Taro</i>	<i>Tallas</i>	<i>Talas</i> cocos roots	
19. <i>Outou</i>			<i>Sungoot</i> the mouth
20. <i>Eto</i>			<i>Tao</i> sugar cane

S. SEA	MALAY	JAVA	PRINCES ISLE	MADAGASCAR
1. <i>Tahie</i>	<i>Satou</i>	<i>Sigi</i>	<i>Hegie</i>	<i>Ifse</i>
2. <i>Rua</i>	<i>Dua</i>	<i>Lorou</i>	<i>Dua</i>	<i>Rua</i>
3. <i>Torou</i>	<i>Tiga</i>	<i>Tullu</i>	<i>Tollu</i>	<i>Tellou</i>
4. <i>Haa</i>	<i>Ampat</i>	<i>Pappat</i>	<i>Opat</i>	<i>Effats</i>
5. <i>Rima</i>	<i>Lima</i>	<i>Limo</i>	<i>Limah</i>	<i>Limi</i>
6. * <i>Wheney</i>	<i>Annam</i>	<i>Nunnam</i>	<i>Gunnap</i>	<i>Ene</i>
7. <i>Hetu</i>	<i>Tudju</i>	<i>Petu</i>	<i>Tudju</i>	<i>Fitou</i>
8. <i>Waru</i>	<i>Delapan</i>	<i>Wolo</i>	<i>Delapan</i>	<i>Walou</i>
9. <i>Iva</i>	<i>Sembilan</i>	<i>Songo</i>	<i>Salapan</i>	<i>Sivi</i>
10. <i>Ahouroo</i>	<i>Sapoulou</i>	<i>Sapoulou</i>	<i>Sapoulou</i>	<i>Fourou</i>
11. <i>Matahie</i>	<i>Sabilas</i>	<i>Suvalas</i>		
12. <i>Marua</i>	<i>Dubilas</i>	<i>Roalas</i>		
20. <i>Tahie Taou</i>	<i>Duapoulou</i>	<i>Rompoulou</i>		
100. <i>Rima Taou</i>	<i>Saratus</i>	<i>Satus</i>	<i>Satus</i>	
200. <i>Mannu</i>	<i>dua ratus</i>	<i>Rongatus</i>		
1000. <i>Lima mannu</i>	<i>Soreboo</i>	<i>Seawo</i>	<i>Seawo</i>	
2000. <i>Mannu Tine</i>				

* N.B. in the Island of Ulietea 6 is calld *ono*.

Specimens of language, including comparison of Malay and South Sea languages, compiled by Joseph Banks.
Joseph Banks, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks*, edited J. C. Beaglehole, 2nd edn, Sydney, 1963, V. ii, p. 240.

Hawkesworth, 1773, Table

English.	S Sea Islands.	Malay.	Javanese.	Prince's Island.	Madagascar.
One,	Tahie,	Satou,	Sigi,	Hegie,	Isse.
Two,	Rua,	Dua,	Lorou,	Dua,	Rua.
Three,	Torou,	Tiga,	Tullu,	Tollu,	Tellou.
Four,	Haa,	Ampat,	Pappat,	Opat,	Effats.
Five,	Reina,*	Lima,	Limo,	Limah,	Limi.
Six,	Wheney,	Annam,	Nummam,	Gunnap,	Ene.
Seven,	Hetu,	Tudju,	Peru,	Tudju,	Titou.
Eight,	Waru,	Delapau,	Wolo,	Delapan,	Walon.
Nine,	Iva,	Sembilan,	Songo,	Salapan,	Sivi.
Ten,	Ahouroa,	Sapoulou,	Sapoulou,	Sapoulou,	Tourou.

* 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

Appendix XII
Marsden, 1782, "Remarks"

Vol. VI. Tab. I. to face p. 154.

List of words of universal use as spoken in twelve different countries or districts.

English	Malay	Acheen	Batta	Lampoon	Nees	Rejang	Javan	Malagasy	Mongelaye	Macassar	Savu	Otaheite	Chinese
One	Satoo	Sah	Sadah	Sye	Sembooa	Do	Seejee	Eraike	Eclakoo	Snydee	Uffe	Atahay	Cheed
Two	Duo	Dna	Dna	Rowah	Dembooa	Dooy	Roro	Dooc	Lolaye	Dona	Rooe	Erooa	No
Three	Teego	Tloo	Toloo	Tullo	Tuloo	Fellou	Tullo	Teloo	Loolcetoo	Tullo	Tullo	Torhoo	Sanh
Four	Amput	Paat	Opat	Ampah	Oopha	'Mpat	Papat	Lphat	Lopah	Pa-me	Uppa	Attaa	See
Five	Lumo	Lumung	Leemah	Leemah	Leema	Lemo	Leemo	Leemo	Leemo	Leema	Lumee	Ereema	Go
Six	Anam	'Nam	Onam	Annam	Oonoo	Noom	Nanam	Enena	Daho	Anan	Unna	Aono	Lacq
Seven	Toojoo	Toojoo	Peetoo	Peetoo	Phcetoo	Toojooa	Peetoo	Phcetoo	Phcetoo	Peetoo	Petoo	Ahectoo	Shit
Eight	Slappan	D'lappan	Ooalloo	Ooalloo	Ooalloo	Delapoon	Oloo	Valoo	Apho	Arrooa	Aroo	Awarroo	Pech
Nine	Sambilan	Sakoorang	Seeah	Seewah	Seewa	Sembilan	Sanga	Seewec	Seewa	Affarra	Saio	Aeeva	Caow
Ten	Sapooloo	Saploo	Sapooloo	Pooloo	Phooloo	Depooloo	Sapooloo	Phooloo	Tooroo	Sapooloo	Singooroo	Ahooroo	Chap
An hundred	Sa-ratoos	Sa-ratoos	Saratoos	Saratoos	Oghoo	Sotofe	Satoo	Tatoo		Sangatoos			Chepe
Husband	Lackee	Lackaye	Morah	Cadjoon	Dongagoo	Sacky	Lanang	Laké laké	Namee	Baronee		Tane	Ang
Wife	Beenee	Beenaye	Aboo	Cadjoon	Soorava	Soorna	Oodone	Ampela	Jah	Makoonraye		Hualheine	Poh
Father	Bapa	Bah	Amamah	Bapa	Amah	Bapa	Paman	Appa	Bapa	Ambo		Medooa tane	Enteeah
Mother	Mau	Mau	Enang	Eenah	Enah	Indo	Becang	Nenay	Mau	Endo		Med. waheine	Neha
Brother	Sadurroo	Addooch	Alahah	Adding	Talleephoofoon	Cacoon	Sadooloor	Ranowla	Noko	Sadje		Teine	Suotee
Head	Capallo	Oolou	Oolou	Oolouh	Hugu	Oolou	Endais	Loohah	Jahé	Ooloo		Oopo	Toucah
Eyes	Matto	Matta	Mahkah	Matta	Huru	Matty	Meffoo	Meffoo	Nana	Mattaye	Madda	Matau	Buxu
Nose	Eedong	Eedoon	Aygong	Eerong	Eeghoo	Ecoong	Eerong	Oorong	Meenee	Eengana	Sivanga	Eahoo	Pech
Hair	Ramboot	Oh	Oboo	Booho	Boo	Boo	Ramboot	Vooloo	Jahé	Gummanna	Row	Eraowroo	Toumo
Cheeks	Peepee	Meung	Oroom	Bechum	Bo-oogh	Cubbole	Peepee	Takoolaka		Dowcheelee	Cavaranga	Paparea	Sheepay
Belly	Proot	Proot	Buttoohah	Tunnaye	Talloo	Tennuay	Oouattung	Keeboo	Ataliba	Allay	Dullo	Eoboo	Pueto
Hand	Tangan	Larrooy	Tangan	Chooloo	Tanga	Tangoon	Luagan	Feletanan	Tanaraga	Tapha-lamay	Wulalea	Breema	Tehoo
Legs	Cahee	Buttees	Paat	Binto	Apeh	Bettees	Seekel	Toongoota	Eetee	Aapiengna	Baibo	Awy	Caheot
Garment	Badjoo	Badjow	Alibee	Caway	Baroo	Badjow	Calambee	Ahanzoo	Moortana	Cabacha	Cova	Aihoo	Sann
Day	Aree	Ooraye	Torang harree	Rannee	Boo-oh	Beely looeng	Deena	Huteeanroo	Oofa	Affio		Mahana	Teet
Night	Mallam	Mallam	Borgning	Beenghee	Boong-ee	B. calemmoon	Oongee	Haree Vah	Gamoo	Bunnec-ee		Eaoo	May
White	Pootec	Pootec	Nabotrar	Mandack	Aphoofee	Pootec	Pootec	Phootec	Bootee	Pootec		Tea	Pay
Black	Itam	Heram	Nabeerong	Mallooin	Aytoo	Meloo	Eerung	Minetee	Metam	Lotong	Bulla	Ere ere	Oh
Good	Baye	Gact	Dengan	Buttie	Sooghee	Baye	Saye	Soah	Row	Macleching		Myty	Hoh
Die	Mattee	Mattay	Maltay	Jahal	Maté	Mattooc	Mattee	Mattee	Hoomoo	Mattce		Matte	See
Fire	Appee	Appooy	Alhee	Jahoy	Aphoo	Opoay	Geennee	Aphoo	Atta	Appee		Wahna	Whoe
Water	Ayer	Eer	Ayck	Wye	Eedano	Beole	Banneo	Rano	Eera	Ooaye		Ayy	Choe
Earth	Tana	Tano	Tana	Tanno	Tano	Peeta	Lumma	Tana	Tano	Bunnoo		Kenoca	Foh
People	Orang	Orecoong	Halla	Ooloon	Necgha	Toon	Wong	Ooloo	Anoonoo	Taow	Momonne	Tata	Lung
Coconut	Clappo	Oo	Crambee	Clappah	Bunneco	Necle	Clappo	No Word	Ooata	Calookoo		Taro - Aree	Eca
Teeth	Gegee	Geguy	Ningee	Eeflan	Eephoo	Aypen	Oontoo	Necphee	Oafice	Affunna		Enechees	Chackee
Hog	Babre	Booy	Babee	Babooye	Bavee	Soocetamba	Cheling	Lambo	Baye	Babce	Vavee	Boorb	Tee
Bird	Boorong	Chcechun	Peedong, Manook	Boorong	Foopho	Benono	Mano	Voorong	Olo	Manoomanoo	Dolula	Manoo	Cheow
Egg	Tellor	Boh	Peerah	Tullooy	Adoolo	Tennole	Endo	Atoodee	Affowa	Tello	Dullo	Aenoro	Nooy
Fish	Eecun	Incoor	Dekkay	Ewah	Eeagh	'Conn	Eewa	Phceah	Appce	Jooco-edja	Nudoo	Iya	Hec
Rice	Bray	Breagh	Dahans	Bees	Booragh	Blas	Bras	Varay	Rela	Bra	Arice		Bee
Potatoes	Oobee	Gadoong	Gadong	Cutillah	Gowwee	Ooby	Cufela	Oovee	Jammais	Oobee		Omanrah	Whunch e
Sun	Matto Aree	Mattowraye	Matah haree	Matta rance	Seeno	Mattu beely	Surmingee	Matloo anroo	Ooatoo	Matangaffo		Mahana	Jetoon
Flour	Boolan	Boolon	Boolan	Boolan	Bowa	Boolon	Oolan	Voolan	Ooroo	Oolaug	Wurroo	Marama	Goony
Stars	Beentang	Beentang	Bintang	Bintang	Doophee	Beetang	Oocentang	Vintan	Eepce berray	Eefce		Efaitoo	Schay
I	Anbo, Sayo	Ooloon	Apoo	'Gnah	Eeow	Ookoo	Conla	Zaho	Anee	Eeday-na	O	Waow, Mee	Gooa
Yes	Eco	Nyoh	Olo	Eea	Eh	Aou	Inghee	No word	Eeo	Sakomaye		At	Hoh
Come hither	Marce feence	Jah kunyi	Maré tofone	Eja dejah	Eince undeh	Comendi	Mareenee	Aveeah	Maoo			Harre mai	Layeno
God	Allah tallah	Allah	Dalbattah	Alla Talla	Lowa langee	Oola tallo	Dewah	Dernakaree	Allah tallah			Eatua	Teeha tay

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.

Examples of words in the Sumatran and Neighbouring Languages corresponding in sound and signification with others in places remote from thence.

Malay Achenese Batta Neas Rejang Javanese	Mattee Mattay Mahtay Mate Mattooe Mattee	Die, Dead	Otaheite Garageeco Madagascar Bugguefs or Macassar	Matte Mattee Mattee	Malay Achenese Batta Neas Rejang Lampoon Javanese	Duo Dua Duo Dembooa Dooy Rowah Roro	Two	Otaheite Savu Madagascar Bugguefs Easter Island Marquesas Amsterdam Tana	Erooa Rooc Dooc Dooa Rooa Aooa Eooa
Malay Achen. Batta Rejang Lampoon Javan.	Matto Matta Mahtah Matty Matmah Matta	Eyes	Otaheite Savu Garageeco Bugguefs Easter island Marquesas Amsterdam N. Zealand Malicolo	Matta Madda Matta Mattaye Matta Matta Matta Matta Maitang	Malay Achen. Batta Neas Rejang Lampoon Javan.	Teege Tloo Toloo Tuloo Telou Tulloo Tulloo	Three	Otaheite Savu Madagascar Bugguefs Easter Island Marquesas Amsterdam	Torhoo Tulloo Telloo Tulloo Toroo Atooro Toroo
Malay Achen. Batta Neas	Babbee Booy Babee Bavee	Hog	Otaheite Marquesas Amsterdam Savu Mongeraije Malicolo Tanna	Booa Booa Booacha Vavce Baye Brooas Boogas	Malay Achen. Batta Neas Rejang Lampoon	Ampat Paat Opat Oopha Mpat Ampah	Four	Otaheite Savu Madagascar Easter Island Marquesas Malicolo	Atta Uppa Ephat Faa Afaa Ebat
Batta Lampoon Javan.	Manook Manoo Mano	Bird, Fowl	Otaheite Easter Island Amsterdam Tanna N. Caladonia Bugguefs	Manoo Manoo Manoo Manoo Maneck Manoo manoo	Malays Achen. Batta Neas	Toojoo Toojoo Pailoo Pheetoo	Seven	Otaheite Savu Madagascar Mongeray Marquesah	Aheetoo Peetoo Pheetoo Pheetoo Aeheetoo
Rejang Neas	Neole Bunneco	Coconut	Amsterdam Chinese N. Caladonia	Ecoo Eea Neco	Malay Batta Neas	Sambilan Geeah Scwah	Nine	Otaheite Savu Madagascar Easter Island	Aeera Saio Seevce Heeva
Malay Neas Rejang Javanese	Eecun Eeagh Eewah Eewah	Fish	Otaheite Easter Island N. Zealand Amsterdam Madagascar	Eya Eeka Eeka Eeka Pheeah	Neas Lampoon	Adooloo Tulloy	Egg	Savu Bugguefs	Dulloo Tello
Malay Achen. Batta Lampoon	Ayer Eer Ayck Wye	Water	Bugguefs Mongeraye Otaheite Easter Island N. Caladonia	Ooaye Era Avy Evy Ooce	Malay Javan.	Papatcel Telingo Tapa Eerung	A Tool Ear Sole of Foot Black	N. Zealand Malicolo Otaheite Otaheite	Patoo patoo Talingan Tapooy Ere ere
Malay Neas Rejang	Oobee Gocee Ooby	Potatoes and Yams	Otaheite Easter Island Amsterdam N. Caladonia Madagascar	Eoohe Oohe Onbe Oovee	Malay Neas	Momotong Paya Talloo	Cut Fatigued Belly	Otaheite Otaheite Savu	Motoo Paya Faeca Dulloo
Malay Lampoon Javan.	Orang Oooloon Wong	Man Person People	Chinese Madagascar	Lang Ooloo	Malay Achen. Neas Rejang Lampoon Javan.	Bray Brécagh Booragh Blas Beeas Bras	Rice	Savu Madagascar Bugguefs Chinese	Arre Varay Bra Eee
Achen. Lampoon	Appooy Aphooy	Fire	Madagascar Chinese	Aphoo Whocee	Malay	Bapa	Father	Otaheite	Papa

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.

History of Sumatra, Specimens of Alphabets

REJANG ALPHABET.

ka ga nga la sa ma
la nga ta uo o
ma wa pa ka
nga cha ja
la o

§, Mark of Commencement. o, Mark of Pause.

The Powers of these Alphabets are governed by a variety of Signs, the application of which considerably alters the terminating sound. Those which belong peculiarly to the Raging are as follows.

* Duo dectas which changes the Termination from	a to an
Capena or Duo dectera changes a to ah	i Catoblong changes
Capoonjong	to ar Cametan
Calonan	to ee Catoblong
Camacha	to ay Catoblong
ka kan kak	kar kee kay kang
	ker kei know

The Patterns are never joined in writing, each for the most part representing a syllable —
The Writing is from the left hand to the right.

BATA

ga	sa	ma	ba	ta	ra	ma	na	ba	a
ga	sa	ma	ba	ta	ra	ma	na	ba	a

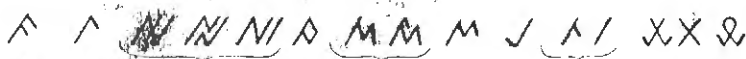
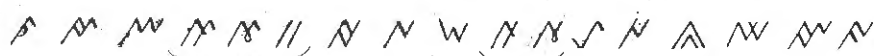
LAMPON

F	la
T	ga
S	qua
I	pa
J	ba
V	ma
X	ta
G	da
S	na
S	cha

1783 Plate: [**Specimens of Alphabets**] headed: **Rejang Alphabet**, William Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, London, 1783, facing p. 168.

SUMATRAN ALPHABETS.

Rejang.


 a ga nga ta da na pa ba ma

 cha ja nia sa ra la ya wa ha mba nga nda nja a.

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

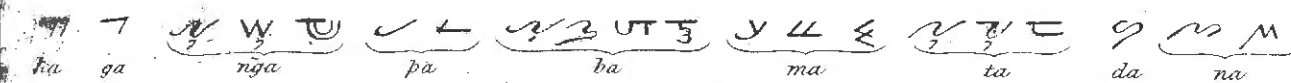
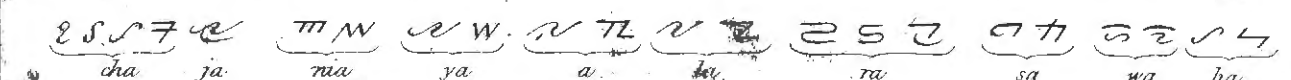
" Duo de-atas changes ka. to "k kaan 1 Ka-tulang to /k kang
 " Ka-jua to /u kah 1 Ka-mitan to /u lai
 " Ka-jungung to /u kar 1 Ka-tiling to /u kai, kē
 " Ka-lawan to /u ki 1 Ka-tulang to /u kau, kōu
 " Ka-micha to /u kã kō kē 0 Mati or brouhan to /u k;

which last, like the jexma of the Arabians, serves to cut off or deaden the vocal utterance, as the term expresses. Of these Signs more than one may be applied to the same character, as "N lin, "N lun, "N nūh, "N gang, "N baun, "N pur. S marks the Commencement of the writing, which proceeds horizontally, from the left hand to the right, the series of lines descending, most usually, from the top of the page; but not unfrequently the bottom line is the first written, and the others in succession towards the top. This practice (common to other tribes) appears to have given rise to the idea (noticed at p. 383) that the Battas are accustomed to write perpendicularly "from the bottom to the top of the line."

Batta.


 a ha na ma ta da ba pa wa ya sa ga la ra nga ja nia i u
 The Signs which govern the terminating sounds of these letters are, "e, "o, "oi, "ang, and "u or ung; as "e to, "o ti, "ang tang, and "u tu or tung. The final "ha takes the sound of k. 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.

Lampung.


 ka ga nga pa ba ma ta da na

 cha ja nia ya a ki ra sa wa ha
 To these letters the Signs are applied in the following manner: "h kai, "h kang, "h or "h kau, "h kan, "h kar, "h3 kai or kē, "h kau or kōu, "h kã, kō, "h kah, "h law, "h kai, 2 mati, as "h3 "h3 tampat.

Specimens of Languages spoken on Sumatra

	MALAY	ACHEEN	BATTA	REJANG	LAMPOON
One	Satoo	Sah	Sadah	Do	Sye
Two	Duo	Dua	Duo	Dooy	Rowah
Three	Teego	Tloo	Toloo	Tellou	Tulloo
Four	Ampat	Paat	Opat	'Mpat	Ampah
Five	Leemo	Leemung	Leemah	Lemo	Leemah
Six	Anam	'Nam	Onam	Noom	Annam
Seven	Toojoo	Toojoo	Paitoo	Toojooa	Peetoo
Eight	Slappan	D'lappan	Ooaloo	Delapoon	Ooaloo
Nine	Sambilan	Sakoorang	Seeah	Sembilan	Seewah
Ten	Sapooloo	Saploo	Sapooloo	Depooloo	Pooloo
Husband	Lackee	Lackaye	Morah	Lackye	Cadjoon
Wife	Beenee	Beenaye	Aboo	Sooma	Cadjoon
Father	Bapa	Bah	Ammah	Bapa	Bapa
Mother	Mau	Mau	Enang	Indo	Eenah
Head	Capallo	Oolou	Ooloo	Oolou	Ooloo
Eyes	Matto	Matta	Mahtah	Matty	Mattah
Nose	Eedong	Eedoon	Aygong	Eeoong	Eerong
Hair	Ramboot	Oh	Oboo	Boo	Booho
Teeth	Geeggee	Geguy	Ningee	Aypen	Eepan
Hand	Tangan	Jarrooay	Tangan	Tangoon	Chooloo
Day	Harree	Ooraye	Torang-haree	Beely-looeng	Rannee
Night	Mallam	Mallam	Borgning	B. calemmoon	Beenghee
White	Pootee	Pootee	Nabottar	Pooteah	Mandack
Black	Etam	Hetam	Nabeerong	Meloo	Malloom
Good	Baye	Gaet	Dengan	Baye	Buttie
Die	Mattee	Mattay	Mahtay	Mattoee	Jahal
Fire	Appee	Appooy	Ahpee	Opoay	Aphooy
Water	Ayer	Eer	Ayck	Beole	Wye
Earth	Tana	Tano	Tana	Peeta	Tanno
Coconut	Clappo	Oo	Crambee	Neole	Clappah
Rice	Bras	Breeagh	Dahano	Blas	Beeas
Fish	Eecun	Incoor	Dakkay	'Conn	Ewah
Hog	Babee	Booy	Babee	Sooeetemba	Babooye
Sun	Matto-haree	Mattow-raye	Mahtah-haree	Matty-beely	Mata-rannee
Moon	Boolan	Booloon	Boolan	Booloon	Boolan
I	Ambo, Sayo	Ooloon	Apoo	Ookoo	Gniah
God	Allah-tallah	Allah	Daibattah	Oola-tallo	Alla-talla

William Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, London, 1783, page 168.

1783 Table: Specimens of Languages spoken on Sumatra,
William Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, London, 1783, p. 168.

S U M A T R A.

SPECIMENS OF LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN SUMATRA.

	Malay.	Achin.	Batta.	Rejang.	Lampong.
One	Satu	Sah	Sadah	Do	Sye
Two	Dua	Dua	Duo	Duy	Rowah
Three	Tiga	Tlu	Tolu	Tellau	Tullu
Four	Ampat	Pât	Opat	'Mpat	Ampah
Five	Lima	Limung	Limah	Lemo	Limah
Six	Anam	Nam	Onam	Num	Anam
Seven	Tuju	Tuju	Paitu	Tujua	Pitu
Eight	Slappan	Dlappan	Uallu	Delapun	Uallu
Nine	Sambilan	Sakurang	Siah	Sembilan	Siwah
Ten	Sapuluh	Saplu	Sapulu	Depula	Pulu
Husband	Laki	Lakai	Morah	Lakye	Kajun
Wife	Bini	Binai	Abu	Suma	Kajun
Father	Bapa	Ba	Ammah	Bapa	Bapah
Mother	Ma	Ma	Inang	Indo	Inah
Head	Kapala	Ulu	Ulu	Ulau	Uluh
Eyes	Mata	Matah	Mahta	Matty	Mattah
Nose	Idong	Idun	Aygong	Iông	Iông
Hair	Rambut	Oh	Obu	Bu	Buho
Teeth	Gigi	Gegui	Ningi	Aypin	Ipun
Hand	Tangan	Jarruai	Tan'gan	Tan'gun	Chulu
Day	Ari	Urai	Torang-hari	Bili-lueng	Ranni
Night	Malam	Malam	Borgning	B. kalemun	Binghi
White	Putih	Putih	Nabottar	Putiah	Mandak
Black	Itam	Hetam	Nabirong	Melu	Mallum
Good	Baik	Gaët	Dengan	Baye	Butti
Die	Mati	Mattay	Mahtay	Mattoi	Jahal
Fire	Api	Apuy	Ahpi	Opoay	Appuy
Water	Ayer	Ir	Ayk	Beole	Wye
Earth	Tanah	Tano	Tana	Pita	Tanah
Coconut	Kalapa. Nior	U	Krambi	Niole	Klappah
Rice	Bras	Briagh	Dahano	Blas	Bias
Fish	Ikan	Inkur	Dakay	Konn	Iwah
Hog	Babi	Buy	Babi	Suitemba	Babui
Sun	Mata-ari	Mattaurai	Mahtah-hari	Matty-bily	Mata-ranni
Moon	Bulan	Bulun	Bulan	Bulun	Bulan
I	Amba. Aku	Uluu	Ahu	Uku	Gniah
God	Allah-tāla	Allah	Daibattah	Ula-tallo	Allah-tāla

2 D 2

Comparative

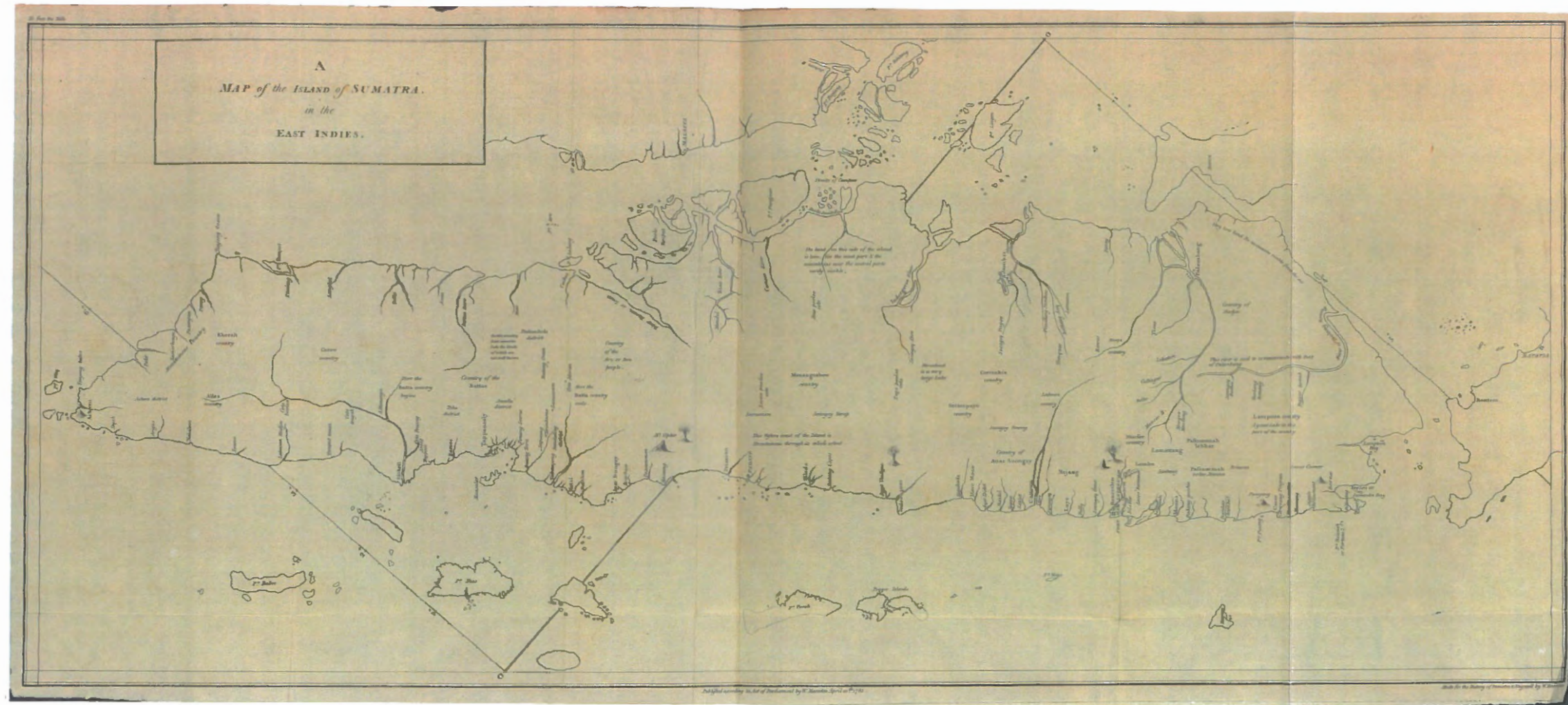
William Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, London, 1811, page 203.

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

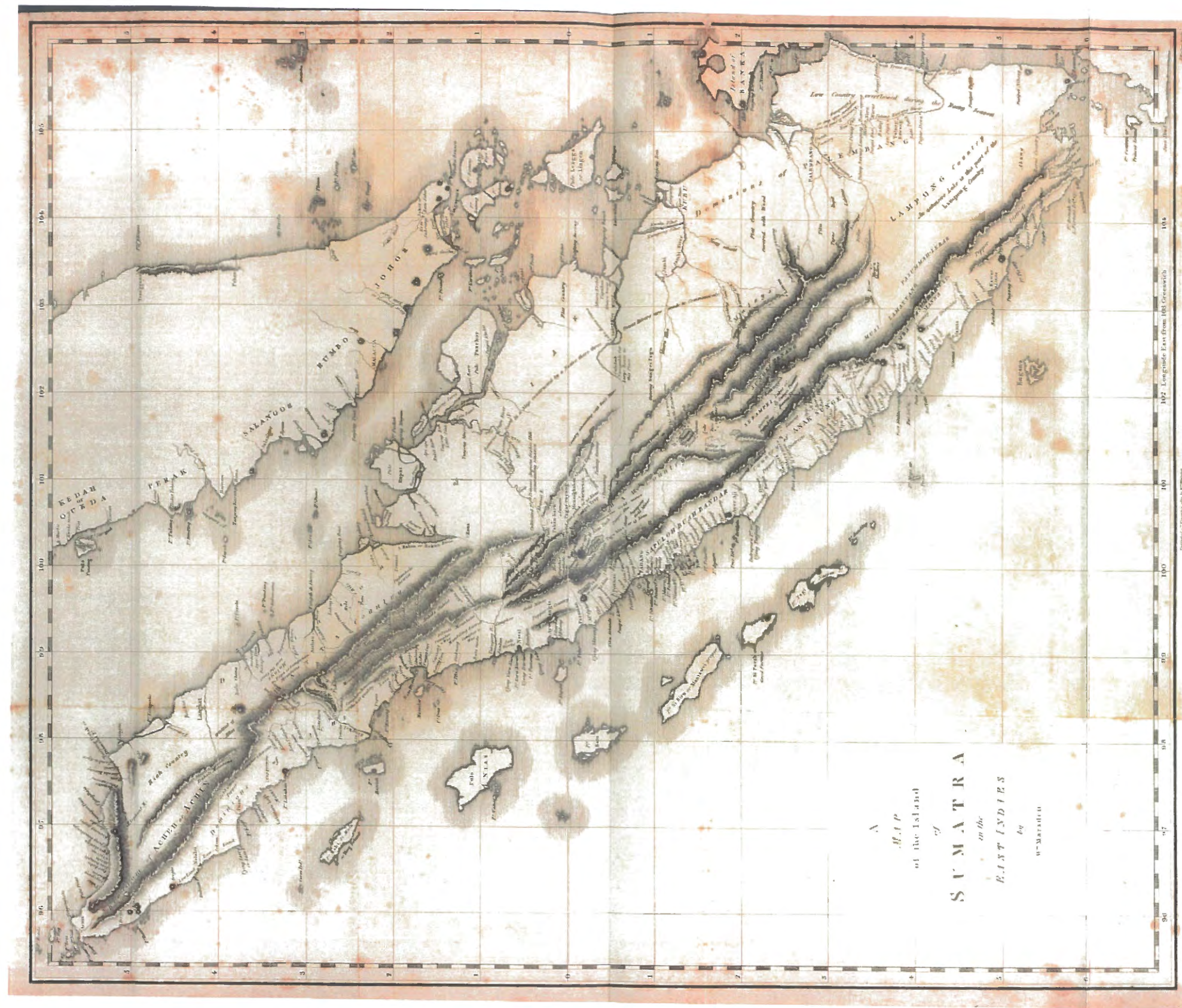
A P P E N D I X, No. II.												
A comparative TABLE of NUMERALS, exhibiting the Affinity and Extent of Language, which is found to prevail in all the Islands of the Eastern Sea, and derived from that spoken on the Continent of Asia, in the Country of the Malayes.												
[N. B. The Malay being considered as the root, three specimens of its Numerals stand separate, at the top of the Table. The derivative branches are ranged and numbered, according to the longitudinal situation of the several places, proceeding from Madagascar, the most Western boundary, Eastward to Easter Island. In the instances marked with a Star, liberty has been taken to separate the Article from the Numeral.]												
Malay. Malay at Sumatra. Malay. One, Satu, - - - - - Satu, - - - - - Sa. Two, Dua, - - - - - Duo, - - - - - Dua. Three, Tiga, - - - - - Teego, - - - - - Teega. Four, Empat, - - - - - Ampat, - - - - - Ampat. Five, Lima, - - - - - Leemo, - - - - - Leema. Six, Nam, - - - - - Anam, - - - - - Nam, and Anam. Seven, Toufou, - - - - - Toojoo, - - - - - Toojoo. Eight, De-lappan, - - - - - Slappan, - - - - - Delapan. Nine, Sambalan, - - - - - Sambelan, - - - - - Sambelan. Ten, Sapola, - - - - - Sapooloo, - - - - - Sapooloo. Herbert, p. 368. Marsden, p. 168. Forster's Observations, p. 284.												
I. Madagascar.	II. Madagascar.	III. Madagascar.	IV. Madagascar.	V. Achén, in Sumatra.	VI. Lampoon, in Sumatra.	VII. Batta, in Sumatra.	VIII. Rejang, in Sumatra.	IX. Princes Island.	X. Java.	XI. Tagales of Leucania, or Manila.	XII. Pampango, or Philippine.	XIII. Mindanao.
One, Ifsee, or Effa -	Efer -	Iffe -	Iffe -	Sah -	Sye -	Sadah -	Do -	Hegie -	Sigi -	Yfa -	Ifa, Metong -	Ifa -
Two, Rooe -	Rooa -	Tone -	Tone -	Rica -	Rowah -	Duo -	Dooy -	Dua -	Lorou -	Dalava, or Dalova -	Ad-dua -	Daua -
Three, Tulloo, or Tailloo -	Tahu -	Tello -	Tello -	Tloo -	Tulloo -	Toloo -	Tellou -	Tollu -	Tullu -	Tatl, or Ydo -	At-lo -	Tulu -
Four, Efax, or Efar -	Effutchi -	Effad -	Effad -	Paat -	Ampah -	Opat -	M-pat -	Opat -	Pappat -	Apat -	Apat -	Apat -
Five, Lime, or Leman -	Deeme -	Fruto -	Fruto -	Leemung -	Leemah -	Leemah -	Lema -	Limah -	Limo -	Lima -	Lima -	Lima -
Six, One, or Aine -	Eanning -	Woubla -	Ene -	Nam -	Annam -	Onam -	Noom -	Gunnap -	Nunnam -	Anim -	Anam -	Anom -
Seven, Heitoo, or Petoo -	Feeto -	Sidda -	Titou -	Too-joo -	Peetoo -	Paioo -	Toojoos -	Tudju -	Petu -	Pito -	Pito -	Petoo -
Eight, Balloo -	Varlo -	Foulo -	Walou -	D'Lappan -	Ooalloo -	Ooalloo -	De-lapoon -	Delapan -	Wolo -	Valo -	Valo -	Walo -
Nine, Serva -	Seve -	Malo -	Sivi -	Sakoorang -	Seewah -	Seeah -	Sembilan -	Salapan -	Songo -	Siyam -	Siam -	Seaw -
Ten, Foroo, and Fooloo -	Folo -	Nel -	Tourou -	Saploo -	Pooloo -	Sapooloo -	De Pooloo -	Sapoulo -	Sapoulo -	Polo and Pobo -	Apalo -	Sanpoolu -
Parkinson, p. 205.	Drury, p. 457.	Herbert, p. 22.	Sir Joseph Banks, in Hawkefworth, Vol. iii. p. 777.	Marsden, p. 168.	Marsden, p. 168.	Marsden, p. 168.	Marsden, p. 168.	Sir Joseph Banks, in Hawkefworth, Vol. iii. p. 777.	Sir Joseph Banks, in Hawkefworth, Vol. iii. p. 777.	Forster's Observations, p. 284.	Forster's Observations, p. 284.	Forster's Voyage, p. 399.
XIV. Isle of Savu.	XV. Island of Savu, or Savu.	XVI. Isle of Ceram.	XVII. Isle of Mejer. 1616.	XVIII. New Guinea. Anno 1616.	XIX. Pappua of New Guinea.	XX. Tierra del Espiritu Santo.	XXI. New Caledonia.	XXII. New Caledonia.	XXIII. Malicolo.	XXIV. Tanna.	XXV. Tanna.	XXVI. New Zealand.
One, Ifse, or Uffe -	Uffe -	O Ecuta -	Kaou -	Tika -	Ofer -	*The name of this island is as yet or fix, the name is at Annamook.	*Wag Eeing -	*Par Ai -	*Tee Kace -	*Ret Tee -	*Ree Dee -	Tahai -
Two, Rooe -	Lhua -	O Looa -	Roa -	Roa -	Serou -		Wa Roo -	Par Roo -	E-Ry -	Car Roo -	Ka Roo -	Rua -
Three, Tulloa -	Tullu -	O Toloo -	Tolou -	Tola -	Kior -		Wat Eeen -	Par Ghen -	E-Rei -	Ka Har -	Ka Har -	Torou -
Four, Uppa -	Uppa -	O Patoo -	Wati -	Fatta -	Tiak -		Wat Baack -	Par Bai -	E-Bats -	Ka Fa -	Kai Phar -	Ha -
Five, Lumee -	Lumme -	O Leema -	Rima -	Lima, or Liman -	Rim -		Wan Nim -	Pa Nim -	E-Reem -	Ka Rirrom -	K' Reerum -	Reema -
Six, Unna -	Unna -	O Loma -	Eno -	Wamma -	Onim -							Ono -
Seven, Petoo -	Pedu -	O Pecto -	Lvijfou -	Fita -	Tik -							Etu -
Eight, Aroo -	Arru -	O Aloo -	Eialou -	Wala -	War -							Warou -
Nine, Saio -	Saou -	O Teoo -	Siwa -	Siwa -	Siou -							Iva -
Ten, Singooroo -	Singooroo -	O Pooloo -	Sanga Poulo -	Sanga Foula -	Samfoor -							Anga Hourou -
Parkinson, p. 170.	Lieut. Cook, Hawkef. Vol. iii. p. 793.	Parkinson, p. 200.	Herrera, from Le Maire, p. 82.	Herrera, from Le Maire, p. 81.	Forster's Voyage, p. 402.	Cook, Vol. ii. p. 91.	Cook, Vol. ii. p. 364.	Forster, p. 284.	Cook, Vol. ii. p. 364.	Forster, p. 284.	Cook, Vol. ii. p. 364.	Lieut. Cook, 1770. Hawkef. Vol. iii. p. 475.
XXVII. New Zealand.	XXVIII. New Zealand.	XXIX. Horn Island. 1616.	XXX. Isle of Cocos. Anno 1616.	XXXI. Friendly Islands.	XXXII. Island of Amster-dam.	XXXIII. Sandwich Islands.	XXXIV. Otahite.	XXXV. Otahite.	XXXVI. Marquisas.	XXXVII. Marquisas.	XXXVIII. Easter Island.	XXXIX. Easter Island.
One, Ka Tahe -	Tahai -	Tacij, or Taci -	Taci -	A Tabaw -	Tahae -	*The name of this island is as yet or fix, the name is at Annamook.	Tohe -	*A Tahay -	*A Tahacc -	Bo Dahai -	Kat Tahacc -	Ko Tahai -
Two, Ka Rooa -	Rooa -	Loua, or Loa -	Loua -	Loa -	Eooa -		Rooa -	E Rooa -	A Ooa -	Bo Hooa -	Rooa -	Rooa -
Three, Ka Tarroa -	Toroo -	Tolou -	Tolou -	Toloo -	Tooroo -		Torhoa -	Toroo -	A Toroo -	Bo Dooa -	Toroo -	Toroo -
Four, Ka Wha -	T'Fa -	Fa, and D'Fa -	Fa -	T'Fa -	A Faa -		Ha -	A Haa -	A Faa -	Bo Ha -	Haa, and Faa -	Haa -
Five, Ka Reema -	Reema -	Lima -	Lima -	Neema -	Neema -		Il Lemi -	E Reema -	A Acema -	Bo Heema -	Reema -	Reema -
Six, Ka Onoo -	Honoo -	Houw -	Houno -	Vano -			Whaine -	A Ono -	A Ono -	Bo Na -	Honoo -	Hono -
Seven, Ka Wheetoo -	Widdoo -		Fitou -	Fidda -			Hitoo -	A Heitoo -	A Wheetoo -	Bo Hiddoo -	Heedoo -	Hiddoo -
Eight, Ka Warroo -	Warroo -		Walou -	Varoo -			Wallhoa -	A Waroo -	A Waoa -	Bo Wahoo -	Varoo -	Varoo -
Nine, Ka Eeva -	Heeva -		Ywou -	Heeva -			Iva -	A Eeva -	A Eeva -	Bo Heeva -	Heeva -	Heeva -
Ten, Kaca Haowroo -	Anga Horro -	Onge Foula -	Onge Foula -	Ongofooroo -			Hoolhoa -	A Hooroo -	{ Whannahoo, and Whannahoe. }	{ Bo Nahoo - }	{ Atta Hooroo - }	{ Ana Hooroo - }
Parkinson, p. 128.	Forster, p. 284.	Herrera, from Le Maire, p. 81.	Herrera, from Le Maire, p. 81.	Forster's Observations, p. 284.	Cook, Vol. ii. p. 364.	Anderson's Vocabulary, in this Appendix.	Parkinson, p. 64.	Cook, Vol. ii. p. 346.	Cook, Vol. ii. p. 364.	Forster's Observations, p. 284.	Cook, Vol. ii. p. 364.	Forster's Observations, p. 284.
[To front p. 530. Vol. III.]												

1784 Table: A comparative Table of Numerals, exhibiting the Affinity and Extent of Language, which is found to prevail in the Islands of the Eastern Seas, and derived from that spoken on the Continent of Asia, in the Country of the Malayo 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

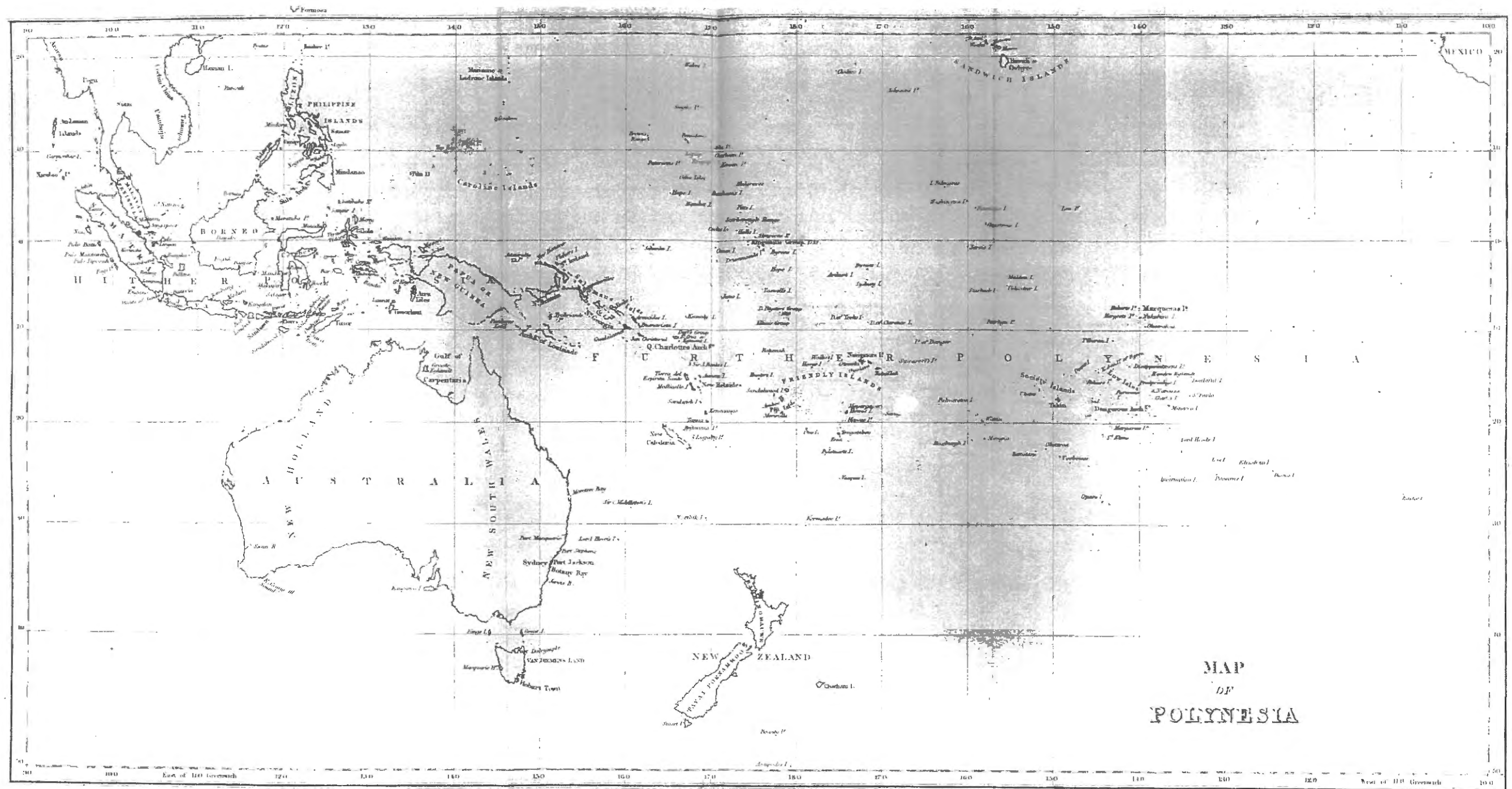
Appendix XVI
Marsden's Maps



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.



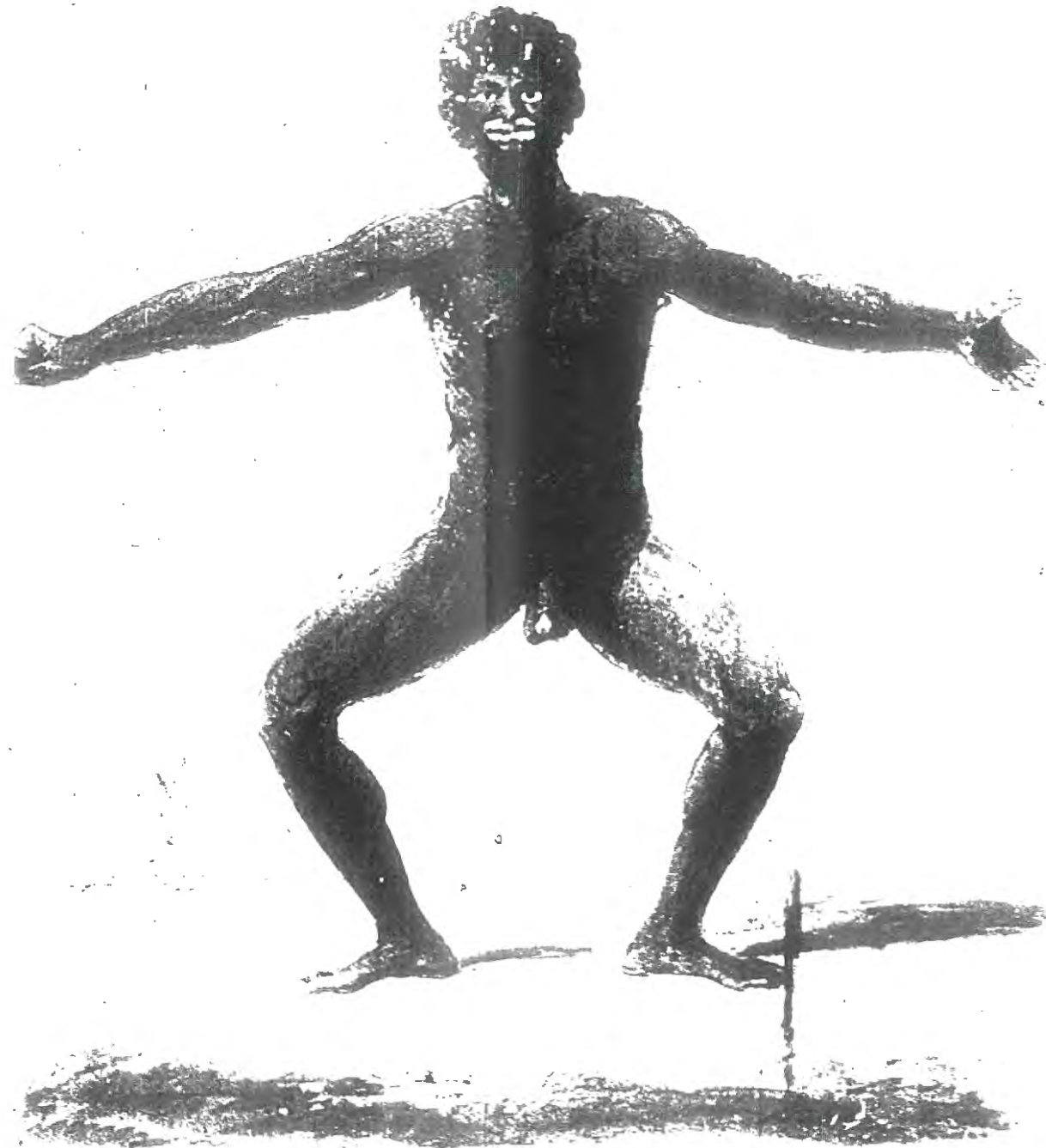
1811 Map: A Map of the Island of Sumatra in the East Indies,
William Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, London, 1811, folded map following the title page.



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).

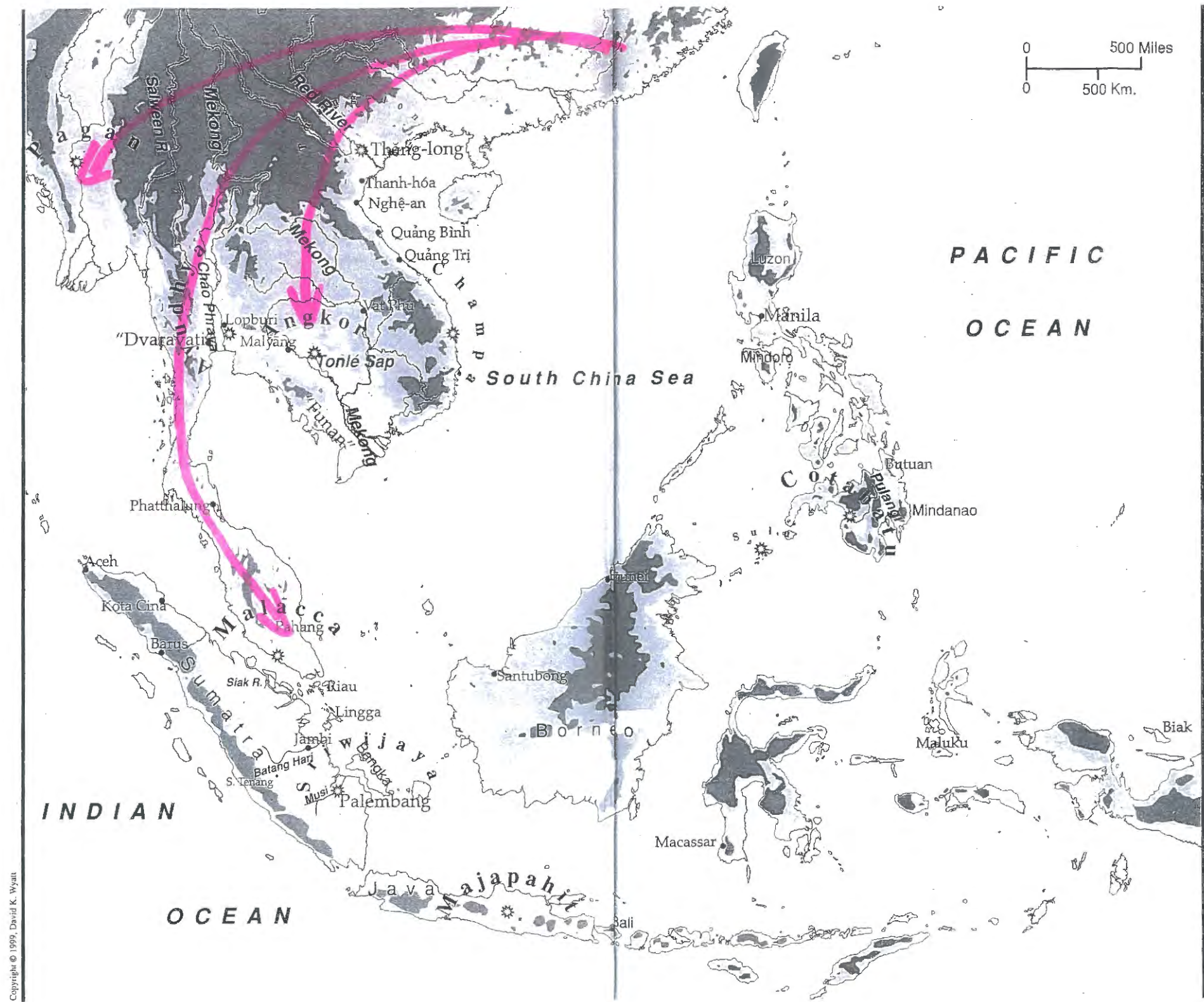


Bay Sketch No. 2

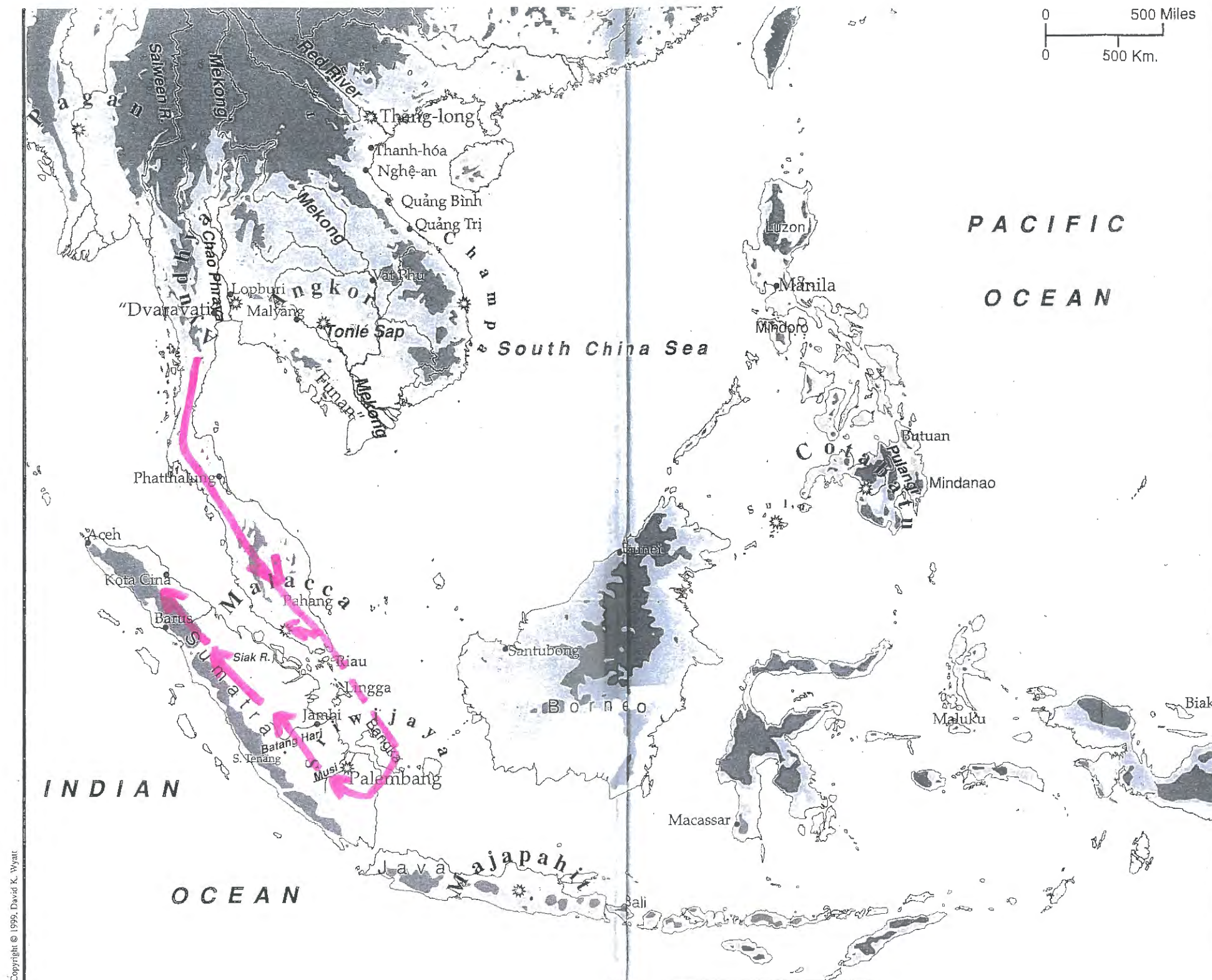
Sketch of [Australian Aboriginal] Women Fishing

State Library of NSW, Banks Papers on microfilm, reel 5 (c181).

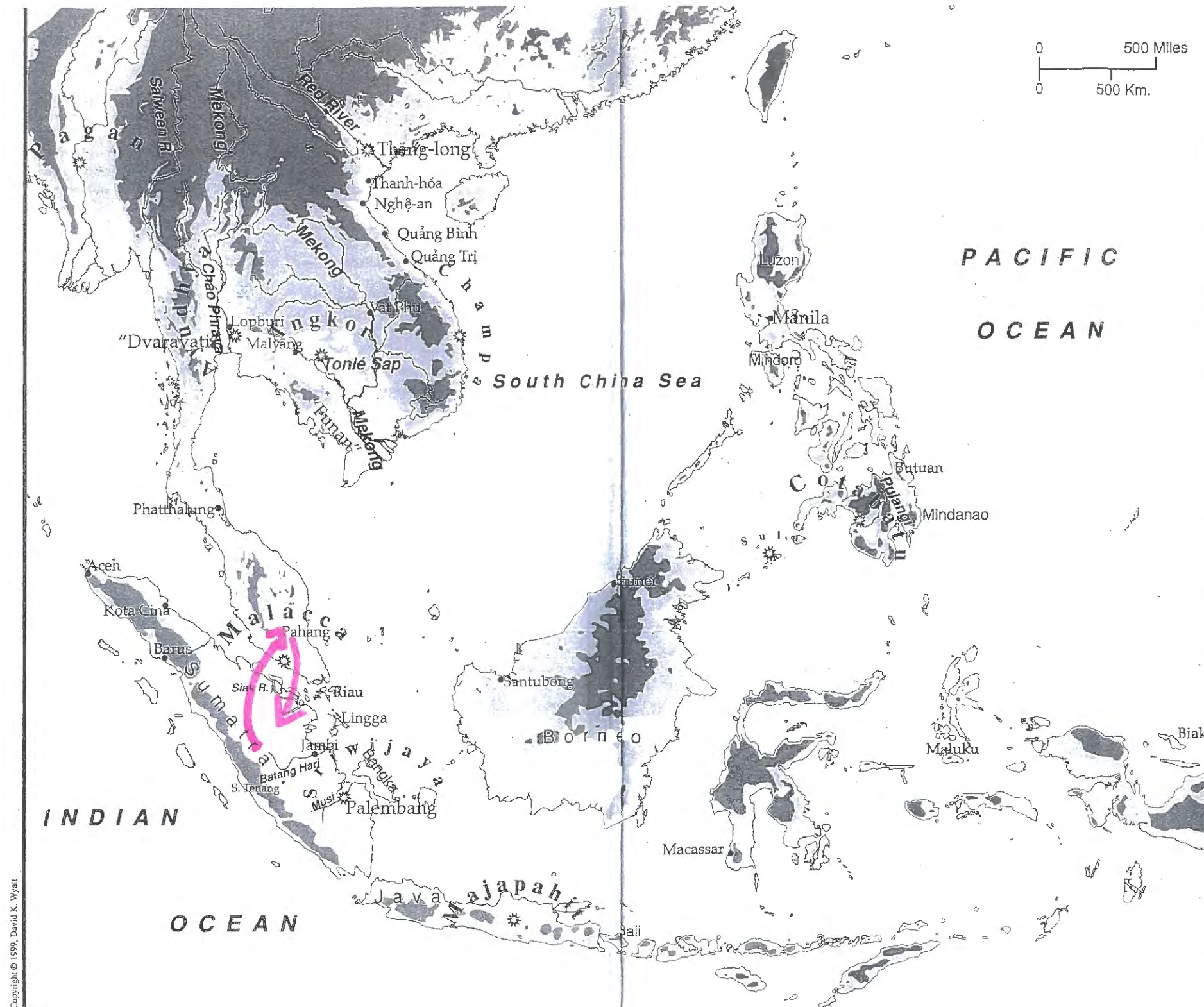
Appendix XVIII Migration Routes:



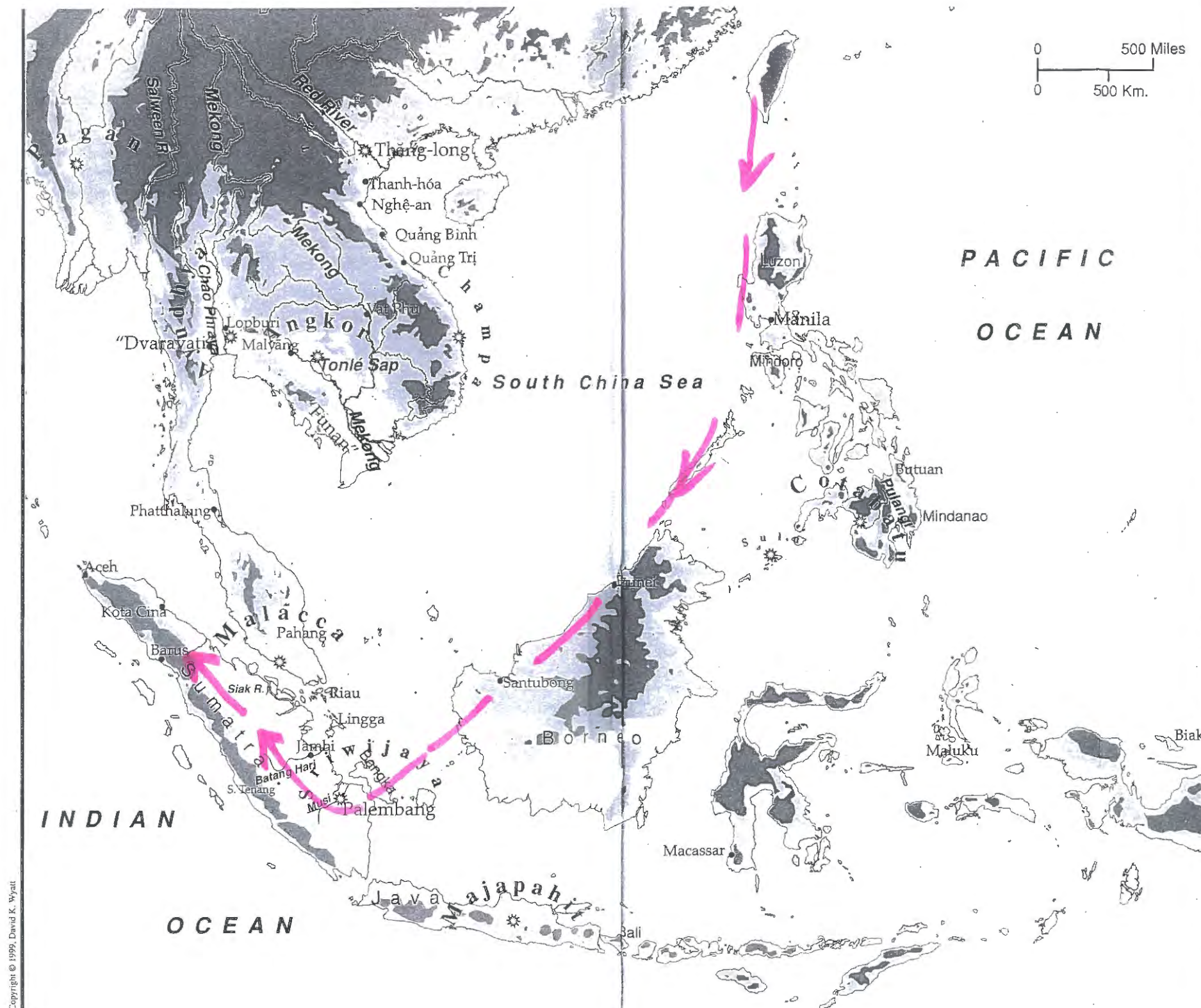
Map 1: From Tartary to the “great ultra-gangetic peninsulas”



Map 2: Malayo-Polynesian Settlement of Sumatra



Map 3. Migrations of the "Malays"



Map 4: Alternative migration route from Taiwan