The Pasai Chronicle



A Revised and Annotated Translation by

Russell Jones

ITBM
Institut Terjemahan & Buku Malaysia
Kuala Lumpur
2013

B686/276206
25.11.2013

This book **THE PASAI CHRONICLE** is a correct translation and a revised version of the book *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai*, previously published in the Journal of the Malayan (now Malaysian) Branch Royal Asiatic Society.

INSTITUT TERJEMAHAN & BUKU MALAYSIA BERHAD
(Company No.: 276206-D)
Wisma ITBM, No. 2, Jalan 2/27E
Seksyen 10, Wangsa Maju
53300 Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia

Tel.: 603-4145 1800 Fax: 603-4142 0753
E-mail: publishing@itbm.com.my Website: www.itbm.com.my

First published in 2013
Publication © Institut Terjemahan & Buku Malaysia Berhad
Text © Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society, 1960

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except brief extracts for the purpose of review, without the prior permission in writing of the publisher and copyright owner from Institut Terjemahan & Buku Malaysia Berhad (formerly known as Institut Terjemahan Negara Malaysia Berhad), Wisma ITBM, No. 2, Jalan 2/27E, Seksyen 10, Wangsa Maju, 53300 Kuala Lumpur. It is advisable also to consult the publisher if in any doubt as to the legality of any copying which is to be undertaken.

National Library of Malaysia Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

The Pasai Chronicle / revised and annotated translation by Russell Jones
(Malay Great Works Series)
Includes index
Bibliography: p. 181
ISBN 978-983-068-727-8
1. Malay literature--Translations into English. I. Jones, Russell.
II. Title : Translation from : Hikayat Raja Pasai. III. Series.
899.23

Concept and Design: E-Magineers (M) Sdn Bhd
Layout and Typesetting: E-Magineers (M) Sdn Bhd
Typeface: Adobe Garamond Pro, Dali
Font Size: 10/11/12 points
Paper type: Munken

Printed in Malaysia by:
Mihas Grafik Sdn. Bhd.
No. 9 Jalan SR 4/19
Taman Serdang Raya
43300 Seri Kembangan
Selangor

LITERATURE
ISBN 978-983-068-727-8
9 789830 687278
www.itbm.com.my
Wilayah Malaysia RM165.00
Sabah/Sarawak RM180.00

Contents

Foreword	vii
Acknowledgements	xi
Introduction	xiii
Text of *The Pasai Chronicle*	2
Manuscripts, Editions and Translations	123
Summary	127
Sample Pages Specimen of Raffles MS. 67	135
Notes	139
List of Persons	155
List of Places	165
Pasai and Samudera	177
Bibliography	181
Index	187
Translator's Biography	190

Map of Pasai and Malay Archipelago

Map of Pasai and Malay Archipelago







Pasai

Strait of Melaka

Lhokseumawe

KUTA KARUENG

1. Samudra
2. Peut Pleuh Peut
3. Meuranda Alue
4. Tungku di Hagu
5. Tungku Sareh
6. Tungku Sidi
7. Kuta Karueung
8. Tungku di Bale
9. Tungku di Me. Ujung
10. Turigku di Leboih
11. Tungku Said Syarif
12. Blang Pria
13. Raja Muhammad Nibong

Guedong

Pasai River

Lubuk Ruseb

Lubuk Tuwe

Thailand

Strait of Melaka

Pasai

Minangkabau

Melaka

Singapore

Brunei

Borneo

Sumatra

Bangka

Palembang

Belitung

Strait of Sunda

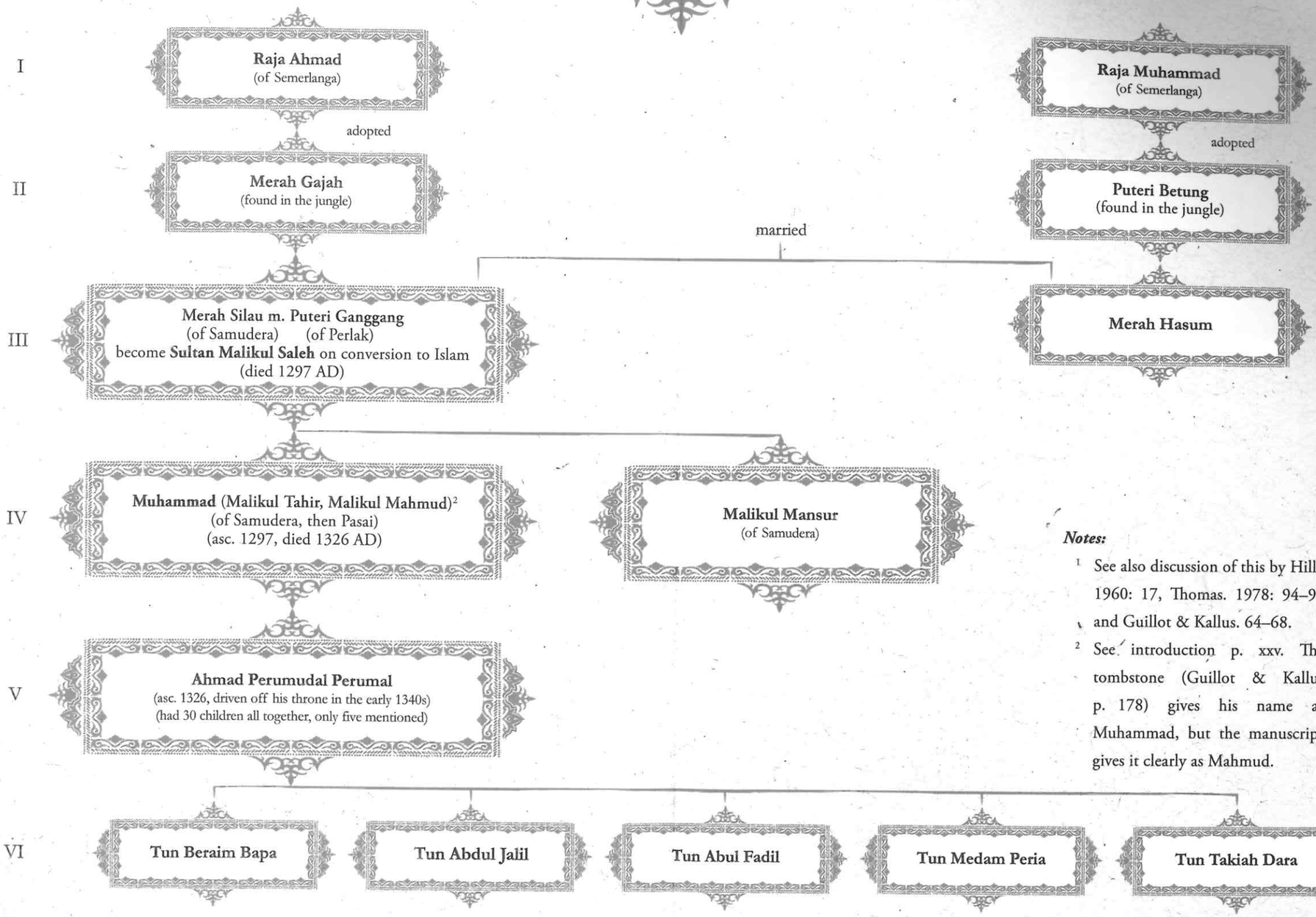
Bogor

Java

Macassar

The Samudera-Pasai Royal Genealogical Table

THE SAMUDERA – PASAI ROYAL GENEALOGICAL TABLE[1]



Notes:

[1] See also discussion of this by Hill. 1960: 17, Thomas. 1978: 94–95 and Guillot & Kallus. 64–68.

[2] See introduction p. xxv. The tombstone (Guillot & Kallus p. 178) gives his name as Muhammad, but the manuscript gives it clearly as Mahmud.

Foreword

In Appreciation of the Pasai Chronicle

It is only on rare opportunities that we are able to celebrate the translation of a Malay classical text into English. At a time when technology and the sciences are brought to the foreground and the literary past quite forgotten, the translation of *Hikayat Raja Pasai* by Dr. Russell Jones and published by the Malaysian Institute of Translation & Books is a noble act of prevention against allowing the past to slip into oblivion, and against the erasing of the collective literary memory of the peoples of the Archipelago.

Hikayat Raja Pasai, translated as *The Pasai Chronicle*, is the third classical text to be rendered into English in this Malay Great Works Series. The first two were, *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, "The Epic of Hang Tuah" and *Tuhfat Al-Nafis*, "The Precious Gift".

Few readers in Malaysia or Indonesia may be aware that *Hikayat Raja Pasai* is the oldest written text in Malay. Dr. Jones refers to Guillot and Kalus, who suggest that the first two parts of the *Hikayat* were written between 1428 and 1448.

By virtue of it being the first of its kind, it is also a rare document, containing evidence of the long history of chirographic literature and also of how the lingua franca of the Archipelago took roots and was employed in areas by people that had previously used other languages in their daily lives. It was the 'Latin' of the Archipelago. It also documents the condition of the language in the 14th century, of its vocabulary, terminologies and borrowings (especially in the form that was excerpted and copied in the *Sulalat al Salatin*).

It is required that scholars of the history of *Acheh*, Sumatra and the Malay Archipelago should first refer to this text for the genealogy of its kings, its relation to other states – including Siam and Java, the coming of Islam and how religion took root, and the administration and lives of the people. In these precious pages too are to be found the new literary culture of chirographic works and the intertextual nature of its contents and literary narration. Within its *Jawi* text, one may also be able to identify the oral strands of legends that were interwoven into the literary style of the times, which also reflect elements of important earlier texts like *Hikayat Seri Rama* and *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain*. To understand the *Sulalat al-Salatin*,

the great work of Melaka and Johor, one must also refer to this *Hikayat*, for much was learnt from it by the author.

Malay, as the lingua franca of the 14th century, clearly illuminates the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*. It is interesting to note that Pasai chose the language over its own local language, because it was more greatly understood and had a history of sophistication in many genres.

Thus the *Hikayat* was a historical and literary bridge between countries using the Malay language in 14th and 15th centuries. At times when Malaysia and Indonesia have experienced moments of misunderstanding in recent years, it would do well that this *Hikayat* remind us of our shared past, our shared geography and the many generations that travelled and migrated across the Strait of Melaka.

The translator, Dr. Russell Jones, is an erudite and dedicated scholar and teacher who has focused on Malay literature for at least 50 years; not less than 20 years with this text. He had earlier transcribed a version of this work (1999) and now based on the solid foundations of his experience and understanding of the literary style and complex paths of meaning and connotation of this very old text, he has

translated it into English. There certainly was no one better qualified for the job.

This translation offers us a grand panorama of the 14th century, a traumatic yet exciting time in the history of the literature in the Malay language.

Mohd Khair Ngadiron
Managing Director/Chief Executive Officer
Malaysian Institute of Translation & Books

Acknowledgements

I express my gratitude first of all to the late Dr. A.H. Hill, who contributed so much to the study of the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*. To the late Professor Amin Sweeney who threw light on a number of points in London rather long ago. To Dr. Ian Proudfoot for supplying an electronic version of *Hikayat Raja Pasai* in Malay from the Malay Concordance Project. To Associate Professor Stuart Robson, who clarified Javanese puzzles. To Lisa Wright who critically assessed the translation to put it in a form suitable for the general reader. And finally to the enlightened and cooperative team of the Malaysian Institute of Translation & Books who made the production of this work a pleasure.

Introduction

Nature of the *Hikayat*

This is an English translation of the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, a Malay text published in 1999 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.[1] The events narrated in the work play themselves out in a small Malay state near the northern tip of Sumatra, in Indonesia, during the latter half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century. The significance of this work to Malay studies rests in two circumstances, firstly that it tells of the arrival of Islam as a state religion in a small kingdom in the Indonesian Archipelago, and secondly that it is one of the earliest texts we have in the Malay language.

Like most early Malay texts this one is anonymous. The date of its original compilation has been the subject of much academic discussion and surmise. We shall return to that. Since the two extant manuscripts of the text are only about two centuries old, there is an interval of about four centuries between the events described in them and the compilation of our manuscripts. During this interval the story would have been exposed to a process of copying,

revision and recopying. Paper did not survive much more than a century in tropical humid conditions, so copying texts was essential. Indeed for an early part of its existence the scarcity, or complete lack, of paper and other writing materials may have meant that it was transmitted in oral form, as a recited ballad handed down from one narrator to another.[2] The occurrence of some passages in verse do indeed corroborate the view that parts of it at least were transmitted orally at some time. This will explain why some passages are quite enigmatic to the modern reader.

The title *Hikayat Raja Pasai* can be translated in several ways, such as 'History of the Kings of Pasai', 'Chronicle of the Kings of Pasai' or 'Stories of the Kings of Pasai', depending on our impression of it, but admittedly none is quite apt, and *The Pasai Chronicle* which we choose has the merit of being short and simple. It does also have some justification in the text, which in one place (MS. p. 141) does refer to itself as the *Hikayat Pasai*.

Can we properly call this a history? The *Hikayat Raja Pasai* is not a history as we would understand it, and was not intended to be one. If we believe that a history should record facts accurately, that the paramount aim of history should

be to compartmentalise experience into dated periods, that it should document its sources explicitly, should provide for us a true and objective record of events, we have to conclude that this text, which does not even mention any historical date, nor the length of a reign, falls far short of genuine history. Indeed the very concept of history would have been foreign to the compilers of the work. So if not history, what is it?

Simply *recording* events from the past is not what it is about. Hill, who studied the work more intensively perhaps than any other scholar, concluded that to those who compiled it the events described were 'subjectively rather than objectively true'.

Our 'history' is essentially a didactic text offering guidance for rulers and their subjects, predicting the future from what they have experienced in the past. We can only make sense of it if we see this compilation as a narration of events whose primary aim is to provide guidance to people, rulers and subjects, based on what happened, or is represented to have happened in the past. We will understand that for this purpose a myth functions as effectively as an authentic record of what happened. So we find that the compiler

does not hesitate to incorporate myths and imaginative tales from the pre-Islamic past, such as the princess who came out of the bamboo, the hair that must not be plucked out, the worms that turned into gold, an ant as big as a cat. The dominant themes in this text are common in early Malay writings of this kind. We may bear in mind that, in Anthony Milner's words, 'Malays owed their primary allegiance not to a territorially defined state, or even an ethnic or religious unity, but rather to a royal personage. They defined themselves as subjects of a sultan.'[3] In this scale of values order for the state took precedence over justice for the individual, but with one caveat: no ruler could inflict shame or humiliation on a subject without dire consequences ensuing.

So on the one hand we have the emphasis placed on the duty of the Malay subject to be loyal and obedient to the ruler, however wicked that ruler may be. We shall see Tun Beraim Bapa play this role. On the other hand we have the atrocious behaviour of a wicked ruler, which brings disaster to his state and people. Sultan Ahmad is cast as the principal villain. It is evident that objective historical truth is not of cardinal importance: it is quite evident that if the subjects believe that loyalty to the ruler is paramount, and

if the ruler believes that unjust conduct will lead to disaster, then the state will be the more secure for it.[4]

To maintain its place down the centuries, this essentially didactic work had to make itself at the same time attractive to audiences, using literary devices, rhyme, repetition, direct speech and dramatic episodes, thus providing an edifying tale and an entertaining romance.[5]

Myths are abundant in it. We must bear in mind that the nebulous and unstable Malay states which grew up without fixed land frontiers seldom lasted for more than a century. The role of the ruler was pivotal – without loyalty to him the state fell apart very quickly. The myths of origin which arose to underpin the position of the ruler sometimes gave him a supernatural, sometimes celestial, pedigree. Failing that, at least the line should not have a normal human origin. Thus we are told of a little girl who emerges miraculously from a clump of bamboo, and of her future husband as a little boy found while being carried round in the forest on the head of an elephant. Such tales serve to furnish an appropriate supernatural pedigree for the future ruling line. Similar stories can be found in many legends from the area. They give the ruling house a supernatural origin, and in this story also emphasise the *local* origin of the dynasty, in contrast to

the rival aspirants who may come from the outside world. Before his conversion Malikul Saleh had the distinctly Sumatran title *Merah*.[6]

The miraculous events surrounding the conversion of Malikul Saleh have a different function, also well established elsewhere in the Malay states.[7] Here the pedigree of the ruler is not at issue, but the adoption of a new faith involving profound modification of the administrative and social framework of the state, abandonment of the traditional modes of worship, discarding of myths justifying the existing system, adoption of something new and alien. Such a profound change needed to be validated by powerful miracles. In our story there is a further dimension. The appearance of the Prophet himself as it were trumps the claims of the later itinerant missionaries who were after all only agents of the new Faith.[8]

Later miraculous events, such as the sinking of the Javanese fleet in response to a princess's prayer, may be different again. These form part of the fabric of a story designed to demonstrate that evil acts bring dire consequences.

As in other Malay texts, aetiological stories, explaining how place-names came about, abound in this one. It can be surmised that, besides providing answers to questions that

may have been posed by people listening to the tales, these stories serve to enhance the authenticity of the narrative, by linking it to visible features whose existence is undeniable. It must be admitted that many are contrived and quite unconvincing.

We can take for example the explanations of the names Pasai and Samudera. When Merah Silau goes on a hunting trip which leads to the foundation of Samudera, he takes along a hunting dog called Si Pasai.[9] But Si Pasai belongs, logically, to the later hunting trip which led to the foundation of Pasai.[10] The explanation of the name Samudera has also lost its point. The Malay text gives the derivation of Samudera as *semut yang amat besar*, ('an ant that is very large') which is not a convincing explanation for 'Samudera'. It has been surmised that it should be *semut raya*, also meaning 'large ant', which is slightly more convincing. So we are left without any credible explanation. In any event Samudera, (the word means 'ocean' in Sanskrit) may have given rise to the name 'Sumatra' given to the whole island, and has attracted an extraordinary amount of discussion over the years.[11] See also the discussion on pp. 177–179.

Other Sources

The references used to prepare this new translation are listed in the Bibliography. For the historical background, this translation has had the benefit of a work not available to previous writers. It is the book by Claude Guillot & Ludvik Kalus, *Les monuments funéraires et l'histoire du sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra (XIIIe–XVIe s.)* published in 2008. This exceedingly thorough study has clarified our understanding of the history of Pasai, and is referred to frequently. Indeed readers who understand French might be recommended to read the *Introduction* of this work (pp. 9–12), as a succinct and contemporary introduction to the events we are about to explore.

There are reports on the area by a variety of early travellers who reached North Sumatra, in Chinese, Arabic, Italian and Portuguese, but very few are of relevance to our era.

There is another, somewhat later, Malay text which parallels parts of our *Hikayat Raja Pasai*. It is the *Sulalatus Salatin*, also known as the *Sejarah Melayu*, of which a manuscript is preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society, London, MS. Raffles Malay No. 18. The authoritative romanised edition of the text is listed in the Bibliography under Muhammad Haji Salleh, 1997. Many researchers into our text have drawn on this freely, but we have only done so sparingly.

The coming of Islam to Indonesia

Our *Hikayat* may not be a history per se, but we can set it in a historical context.[12] It is well known that in the first millenium, Buddhist and Hindu empires exerted an extensive influence in parts of Sumatra and neighbouring regions. There was a network of maritime trade routes stretching across the Indian Ocean. A glance at a map will show that Vessels on trading voyages eastwards from India and the Middle East towards the Indies and China would skirt the northern tip of Sumatra before sailing down the Straits of Malacca and onwards. Our text announces a new religion: 'Here is a story which tells of the kings who first embraced Islam in this land of Pasai'. All the evidence suggests that the first place in the region where Islam took root was in North Sumatra, and that this occurred in approximately 1280 AD.

The earliest written evidence of Pasai is to be found in the Chinese chronicle *Yuanshi*, (12, "Shizu 19, 9th month, *dingchou*", 245) which records that in 1282 the prime minister of Samudera sent two ambassadors to China, with the Muslim names of Suleyman and Hasan.[13] This has been taken as confirmation that Samudera had accepted Islam

by that date. But Dr. Claudine Salmon, who furnished that information, cautions against reading so much into it: the two 'ambassadors' could merely have been merchants en route to China who accepted diplomatic status because it would facilitate their business negotiations in China.[14]

The next external source is the Venetian traveller Marco Polo, who returning from China spent about four months in port in North Sumatra in 1292, waiting for more favourable winds that would permit onward passage across the Indian Ocean to Persia.[15] In his account, dictated long afterwards, he mentions the names of six kingdoms, including two that might be identified with Pasai and Samudera. He also notes that some of the coastal people had been converted to Islam. But this does not amount to evidence that the Pasai and Samudera rulers had been converted, nor that the inhabitants of these states were predominantly Muslims. Although the conversion legends conventionally depict the ruler as being converted first, from other sources we learn that conversion was a gradual process, beginning with visiting traders and scholars.

The most reliable direct evidence on our period consists of inscriptions in Arabic on the Islamic tombstones.

Meticulous study by many scholars, the most recent being Guillot & Kalus, enables us to set our Pasai Chronicle into a fairly dependable historical context. Based on their evidence we may postulate five royal generations during the period covered (see the genealogical table in the front fold-out. The two generations preceding the coming of Islam would be pre-1280, and must be largely fictitious, but as we have seen, were not without a purpose.

Islam arrived in the third generation, and we have two royal generations subsequently. The reign of the last, Vth generation, ruler was brought to a violent end around 1340 (see the genealogical table in the front fold-out). Our Malay text introduces a Malikul Tahir as a son of Malikul Saleh and father of Malikul Mahmud. But it is more likely that Malikul Tahir and Malikul Mahmud were one person, forming the IVth generation. The name on what is almost certainly his tombstone shows him as Muhammad ibn Malikul Saleh, who died on 9 November, 1326.[16] One of the epithets given to him is Malik al-Zahir, which in Arabic script differs by only one dot from Malikul Tahir, which could have led to the confusion.

The only other ruler in our genealogy with a known tombstone is Malikul Saleh himself, the ruler who was

converted to Islam.[17] His death occurred on a date corresponding to 1297 AD. His tombstone is one of two, both imported from Cambay and commemorating the first two Muslim rulers, which constitute valuable historical evidence in a situation which has little other reliable evidence of fact. Even so, this has to be tempered with findings that they must have been erected very much later than the deaths of those they commemorate.[18] Guillot & Kalus conclude indeed that the tombstone of Malikul Salih must have been 'reconstructed', at the earliest 120 years after his death.[19] It is likely that the inscription, with his precise date of death, was copied from an earlier stone.

To put these matters in perspective we may look ahead briefly at the subsequent history, beyond the period covered by our text which ends in the 1340's. After the defeated Sultan Ahmad fled the capital with his regalia, the Pasai "throne was occupied for about half a century by sundry resident foreign merchants, described as 'Turks'.[20] These 'Turks' then reigned from the middle of the XIVth century, until in about 1394 the Pasai dynasty was restored, with a descendant of Malikul Saleh ascending the throne. His name was Zainul Abidin, and his pedigree is verified by the inscription on the tomb of his daughter

which shows her to be the daughter of Sultan Zainul Abidin, son of Sultan Ahmad, son of Sultan Muhammad, son of Sultan Malikul Saleh.[21] It is surmised that with the restoration of the Pasai dynasty came a renewed interest in the royal genealogy. This explains why the tombstones of the first two rulers date from this time, as do quite possibly the writing, or rewriting, of the chronicle we are studying.[22]

A reconstructed genealogical table summarising the Pasai dynasty from Sultan Malikul Saleh right through to its demise in 1523, overcome by Acheh, is given by Guillot & Kalus (p. 92).

Our direct interest extends only to the early 1340s, when the Javanese kingdom sacked Pasai. That would have been during the reign over Majapahit of Tribhuwana, a queen, when the expansionist Gajah Mada was prime minister.[23] Hill observed, 'A Malay classic presents history as a succession of episodes often with only the most nebulous thematic connection between one and the next.'[24] He divided the narrative we are studying into three parts. Part I sets the scene, relates the founding of the dynasty, the conversion to Islam, the reign of the first two rulers up to about 1326 and the accession of Sultan Ahmad to the

throne. Part II relates the adventures of Sultan Ahmad's eldest son, Tun Beraim Bapa, and contrasts the conduct of the model of loyalty and obedience with the wickedness of the dissolute ruler. Part III narrates the story of the love-sick Javanese princess whose infatuation with the second son of Sultan Ahmad leads to the jealous Sultan putting him to death. In revenge a Javanese fleet is sent to sack Pasai, and the Sultan and his court flee.

At this point our basic story ends. Two further episodes have only, to use Hill's words, 'a nebulous thematic connection' with the main story. The first is an account of the voyages of Javanese fleets collecting tribute from over thirty small states in the Archipelago. We should not be surprised perhaps at this pro-Javanese narrative being incorporated into our text, even though it has little or no relevance to the main story, since both of our manuscripts came from Java.

It has been suggested that this part was written by a Javanese or pro-Javanese person,[25] but if so, how can we explain the final, bizarre, episode concerning the buffalo calf, which describes the humiliation of the Javanese at the expense of the Minangkabaus from West Sumatra?

Date of compilation of the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*

The probable date of the compilation of this *Hikayat* has

been discussed at length, by Hill and later writers.[26] Such discussion is complicated by the fact that various parts may have been compiled at different times, and one way or another theories have been quite inconclusive. For the compilation of the basic text, the first two parts, the best-supported suggestion comes from Guillot & Kalus. Basing their argument on the fact that the question of descent of the rulers or the claimants to the throne played an important role in Pasai between 1428 and 1448, they suggest that the first two parts of the *Hikayat* were written during this period.

Indeed the last decades have seen much, again largely inconclusive, academic speculation on different aspects of this text. If we readers, living centuries later in a very different environment, decide to ignore this and suspend our critical judgement as we wander in this remote world of blended fact and imagination, the experience is no less rewarding.

Malay and Indonesian languages

It will at first sight seem paradoxical that a translation of an account of a small *Indonesian* state in North Sumatra is being put out by a Malaysian Government agency as a specimen of *Malay* literature. The truth is that Malaysia and

Indonesia can best be perceived as one region linguistically and culturally, divided by chance into two political entities when Indonesia was colonised by the Dutch, and Malaysia by the British. Until less than a century ago Malay was the prevailing language, or at least the lingua franca, throughout the region. In the 1920s Indonesian nationalists, by then set on winning independence for a future state to be called Indonesia, renamed their form of Malay *Bahasa Indonesia*. But the cultural inheritance embodied in the Malay language belongs to both nations. The two forms of the language are still mutually comprehensible, and are best perceived as varieties of one language rather than as separate languages.

When Japan occupied both colonial territories, from 1942 to 1945, the separate political entities were reunited after centuries of separation. By a quirk of history, our *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, by no means a 'dependable' historical source as will become apparent, nearly become instrumental in the permanent reunification of the two territories. In early 1945, when it became apparent that the Japanese military occupation of the region would soon be brought to an end, leading Indonesian nationalists met to plan for the coming independence. One leader, Muhammad Yamin, made a speech in which he proposed that the future independent

Indonesia should also incorporate much of Malaya as well as the British possessions in North Borneo. In support he argued that, besides a largely legendary history of the Javanese empire of Majapahit, the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* ('the oldest book in Indonesian literature'), listing as it did so many of the territories as tributary to the Javanese empire of Majapahit, attested these claims too. Perusal of our book will show at once that this argument is quite unconvincing, and his nationalist colleagues were duly unconvinced, so that the Indonesian nationalists eventually settled for the existing borders of the Netherlands Indies. But this does illustrate that such myths can still play a role in nation-building, even in modern times.[27]

The language of the text

The Malay text includes many loan-words from Sanskrit, which came into Malay at an earlier period, under the influence of Hinduism and Buddhism. The next most frequent loan-words are from Arabic and Persian, which without doubt arrived with Islam. Remarkably, we find no loan-words from European languages, although the first Europeans, the Portuguese, reached the region in 1509. To this extent the text is more authentically Malay than most

Malay literature. Its antiquity is attested too by some Malay words occurring in archaic forms.[28]

The Malay (*Jawi*) script

The specimen page of the manuscript reproduced on p. 151 shows that it is written in what at first sight appears to be Arabic script. In fact 'Jawi' is adapted from the Arabic script, having been brought to the Malay world by Islamic travellers and scholars (together with the three materials for writing cited in our footnote 2 on p. 123). Thanks to these gifts from the Islamic world, a flourishing tradition of Malay manuscript writing came into being. *Jawi* script has a shortcoming in that it does not represent all vowels. Moreover, the handwriting of the manuscripts can lead to ambiguities. This, added to the challenge of interpreting language which is riddled with obscurities, leaves the translator of the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* with some insoluble riddles. He may comfort himself with the thought that there is little chance of any one else, even a Malay speaker, offering a convincing rebuttal of his efforts.

Personal names

Much can be gleaned from the names of the persons mentioned. For Muslim names in the translation we use the traditional Malay spelling rather than the scientific orthography employed for the romanised spelling of Arabic

words. Also, to make pronunciation easier for English readers we have not followed the more recent Malay versions in the official revised spelling of names, so we use Shaikh (rather than *Syeikh*), and Si Ali Kechil (rather than *Si Ali Kecil*).

Some Muslim names appear in orthodox forms (Zulaikha, Malik, Sulaiman, Fatimah) and some in adapted forms (Beraim for Ibrahim, Sekandar for Iskandar). There are some curiosities. For example, the first 'royal' generation, though not yet Muslims, have the *Muslim* names of Raja Ahmad and Raja Muhammad. And we are told that two local chiefs, on conversion to Islam, took the title of *Sayid*, a hereditary title normally reserved for descendants of the family of the Prophet, and consequently enjoying high prestige.

The toponyms are mostly Malay, and often have an obvious meaning. One, however, *Bukit Fudul Allah*, is clearly Arabic, and perhaps fictitious, as no other mention nor trace of it can be found in the area. (See 'Fudul Allah' in the list of place names.)

Some practical aspects

Curiously, since 1960 historians and other scholars,

even those who know Malay, have cited the English translation of Hill as a source more often than they have cited his, or later, improved Malay editions of the text. So to make this translation more useful for such scholars and their readers we have provided aids such as lists of persons and places and so on. Less specialised readers can safely ignore these.

Page numbering

For references to passages in the English translation the page numbers cited are those shown at the side of the page. The numbers shown at the right and left of the text are the page numbers of the base manuscript, and as they are incorporated in all the editions from 1987 onwards, in addition they facilitate reference to those Malay texts as well as the manuscript in London, and the facsimile incorporated in the 1999 editions.

The work is known to us now from two much later manuscript copies, both now in London, which are to be dated probably 1797 AD and 1815 AD. A list of the difference editions and translations of the text will be found on pp. 139–142.

Pasai – the sequel[29]

In the latter half of the XIIIth century the small state of Pasai in North Sumatra, thanks to the support of a local chief, Merah Silau, succeeded in imposing itself on merchants who came to trade there. He adopted Islam to link himself into the West Asian mercantile framework. In the early 1340s Pasai was sacked by Java, and the ruler fled. No more is heard of him. There was an interval of perhaps a half century during which foreign merchants, perhaps 'Turks' from Bengal, occupied the throne. They opened it up further to foreign influences. Near the end of the century a member of the original Pasai dynasty ascended the throne, and the dynasty continued. Soon after the middle of the XVth century a decline in Pasai's fortunes set in. This may have been due in part to the increasing rivalry of Melaka. In the following century Pasai was eclipsed by the rise of Acheh and in 1523 disappeared, absorbed by Acheh.

Russell Jones





Bismillahi-r-Rahmani-r-Rahim
Wabihi Nasta'inu Billahil-'ali

Part One

The Islamisation of Samudera Pasai

Here is a story, which tells of the kings who first embraced Islam in this [land] of Pasai. According to the story which has come down to us, of the countries here in the east it was Pasai
2 which first accepted the faith of God and His Prophet.

There were once two kings who were brothers, one named Raja Ahmad, the other Raja Muhammad. Raja Ahmad was the elder. The two brothers resolved to establish settlements in Samarlanga. Raja Muhammad set out with
3 his followers to clear a stretch of jungle. In the middle of the jungle there stood a clump of bamboo canes of quite extraordinary thickness. Although the people went on cutting it back they could not clear it. The clump grew up again as before. The Raja himself went and slashed at it, and succeeded in cutting it back to the roots. Then he saw in the centre of the clump a bamboo shoot as thick as a man's body. Just as he was aiming a blow at it out stepped a young girl of surpassing beauty. Throwing away his sword, he quickly gathered up the child and carried her back to his house. When Raja Muhammad's wife saw him carrying the child she at once ran up to them and took the child. The king and his wife sat down together and his wife saw that the child was a girl. They were both filled with joy. The king told his wife the story, from beginning to end, of his finding the child in a clump of bamboo. And to the child he gave the name Princess Betung.[1] He brought her
4 up as a royal princess, with appropriately garbed nurses and ladies-in-waiting to look after her. Great was the king's affection for his child, as with each succeeding day she grew more mature and more beautiful.

Now the news that his younger brother had discovered a child in a clump of bamboo reached the ears of Raja Ahmad. So he and his wife set out to see his brother's foundling child. Arriving at his brother's house they went inside and the younger brother greeted them respectfully and bade them be seated. He and his wife sat down, and

Raja Muhammad and his wife sat facing them. *Sirih*[2] was offered to him in a golden vessel. Then Raja Ahmad said, "Raja Muhammad, my brother, where is this child of yours? I would like to see her." Raja Muhammad called to his maids-in-waiting and the nurses, "Bring in my child," and at once they brought her before Raja Ahmad.
5 He was delighted to see what a very beautiful child she was. "You are most fortunate to get a child, when I, your elder brother, do not have one yet," he said. Then he and his wife took their leave and set off for home. When Raja Muhammad's people had finished constructing the settlement, complete with walls and moats, and a palace and an audience-hall, the ruler took up residence there and enjoyed his days giving feasts and entertainments to his officials, his chiefs and his people.

There is a story told about Raja Ahmad. Some time after this he established a settlement at Balik Rimba, about a day's journey away from his younger brother's settlement. This settlement likewise had fortifications and a moat, with a palace and an audience-hall. There the king lived happily, spending his days feasting with his troops.

One day Raja Ahmad went out hunting in the forest. But none of the spoils of the chase fell to his hand. In the

depths of the forest he came upon a shrine inside which was an old man. Raja Ahmad respectfully greeted the old man, who at once returned his greeting. Raja Ahmad 6
described to him how his brother had found a princess in a clump of bamboo. "My son," said the old man, "If you too would like a child I will show you one. Wait here a moment." Raja Ahmad waited. Almost at once there appeared a huge elephant, with a small child sitting on its head. The elephant took the child to the river, bathed it, and replaced the child on the bank. Then the elephant went back and bathed itself. After it had bathed, it lifted the child up onto its head and carried it off into the forest. That is what happened, while all the time Raja Ahmad was watching everything that the elephant did. Then the old man said, "Young man, you must do all in your power to find a way of catching the child, so that we may gain possession of it." Raja Ahmad replied, "Were I to be shown gold or jewels, even were they offered me as a gift, they 7
would not bring me as much joy as the sight of this child." He continued, "I will take my leave of you and get back to my own settlement. Which is the way out?" The old man showed him the road.

Emerging from the forest, Raja Ahmad arrived back in his own domain. When he reached the palace, he found

his wife standing at the gate to welcome him home. Raja Ahmad said to her, "Greetings to you, my wife. I went out hunting but did not get a single animal, in fact I did not even see one. But deep in the forest I came across a shrine. Inside the shrine there was an old man. I greeted him and he returned my greeting. I told him how my brother had found a princess in a clump of bamboo. The old man said, 'If you too would like a child alright, let me show you one. Wait here a moment.' I waited, and suddenly there appeared a huge elephant with a small child sitting on its head. The elephant took the child to the river and bathed it. Then it placed the child again on the river bank. After that the elephant went back and bathed itself. Then it lifted the child up onto its head and carried it off into the forest. That is what I saw happen." His wife replied, "My lord, do think up some way of getting hold of that child." Raja Ahmad emerged from the palace and assembled his soldiers. When the whole company was gathered together before him he told them about the child on the elephant's head and ordered that a way be found of capturing the child.

On an auspicious day the king and his soldiers went into the forest to the place where the elephant bathed

the child. The old man in the shrine had vanished, and so had the shrine. Nothing was to be seen of them anywhere. One day, a Thursday, the soldiers spent digging pits in the ground where they might conceal themselves in order to catch the child. Friday came, and out of the forest appeared the elephant carrying the child to the river to bathe at the same spot as before. On reaching the river the elephant bathed the child and after bathing it set it down on the bank. Then the elephant went back and bathed itself. At once Raja Ahmad snatched up the child and bore it quickly away. When the elephant saw this it gave chase, but the soldiers drove it off, and some pelted it [with stones]. The elephant turned back. Now that elephant was named Bujang Sekalis. It was a solitary elephant and was not able to live in the district a long time.[3]

Raja Ahmad made his way back to his own city with his soldiers. When he reached the palace his wife was standing at the gate to welcome him home. Her eyes fell on the young boy, and straightaway she came up and received him from her husband's arms. Raja Ahmad and his wife were thrilled to see how handsome the child was. They named him Merah Gajah.[4]

The news that Raja Ahmad had a child spread throughout the land and reached the ears of his brother, Raja Muhammad. So Raja Muhammad came to see Merah Gajah. He was delighted when he saw how very handsome the boy was. Raja Ahmad described to his brother Raja Muhammad everything that had happened while he had been out hunting, how he had come to a shrine in the middle of the forest and had found in it an old man, and how this had led to the discovery of the child. Raja Muhammad took leave of Raja Ahmad and his wife and returned to his own place. Time passed, and the two foundling children grew up. Merah Gajah and Princess Betung married. The two [kings] lived happily, now they were not only brothers but also allied by marriage.

Now we come to a story which has been handed down
11 to us about Princess Betung and Merah Gajah. Some time after they had been living together as man and wife, by the decree of God the Exalted, Princess Betung became pregnant, and when her hour was come the child she bore was a boy. They named the baby Merah Silau. Some time after this Princess Betung again became pregnant and when her hour was come she gave birth to another boy; and him they named Merah Hasum.

Now the fate of Princess Betung depended upon a single hair in the middle of her head. It was the colour of gold, and was visible only when she had put oil on her hair. One day when Princess Betung had put oil on her hair Merah Gajah caught sight of her single golden hair. "Come," he said, "Let me pluck out that single hair of yours." But the princess replied, "If you pluck out that hair of mine it will be a sign that you and I shall be parted."[5] Although he repeated the request several times, the princess steadfastly refused. One day when the princess was asleep, Merah 12
Gajah plucked out her single hair, thinking that no harm could come to her. Blood spurted out of the hole where the hair had been – white blood which went on pouring out without ceasing.[6] The flow of blood only stopped when the princess was dead. Her slaves and attendants at once rushed off to take the news to her father Raja Muhammad. "Your Highness," they said, "Your child, our lady Princess Betung is dead, killed because Merah Gajah plucked a single hair from the centre of her head." When Raja Muhammad heard their report he flung himself on the ground, rending his coat and tearing his garments. In an angry passion he assembled his troops, attacked Merah Gajah and slew him.

The news that Merah Gajah had met his death was at once reported to Raja Ahmad. They said "Alas, Your Highness, your son Merah Gajah has died, killed by his father-in-law because he plucked a hair from the middle of Princess Betung's head. He did not dream
13 that she would die." When Merah Gajah's father and mother heard these tidings they flung themselves on the ground, rending their coats and tearing their garments. Raging with anger, Raja Ahmad assembled his troops. When they were assembled, fully armed, he waited until an auspicious moment came. Then he set out to attack his brother Raja Muhammad. The two armies stood face to face and fighting broke out on all sides. Confusion reigned. Dust rose to the skies, until friend could no longer be distinguished from foe. To the battle cries of the chiefs and their troops was added the din of arms clashing and of javelins hurled by the leaders. The noise reached even into the depths of the forest. A great number were killed and injured as both sides fell upon one another and slew right and left, so that even the two kings met their death.

But the two brothers Merah Silau and Merah Hasum were spared. Those who had survived the battle gathered
14 together and paid homage to both princes in the land.

Time passed, and one day Merah Silau said to his brother Merah Hasum, "What shall we do? For we two alone are left, our grandparents and parents having died here in the land of Samarlanga. If we remain in this place we too will share their fate, for no good at all can come to us from living here. Let us leave this place and search elsewhere for a good place which we can make our home." When the two brothers had agreed on this they chose an auspicious day and set off towards the east.[7] They moved on from one halting-place to another. By the decree of God the Exalted they reached a city called Biruan. And there they settled, the two of them, one on either side of the river.

Now we come to a story, which has been handed down to us by tradition, about Merah Silau and Merah Hasum when 15
they were living in the land of Biruan. One day Merah Silau went down to the river for diversion. He noticed that there were a great many fish in the river. So when he returned home he told his servants to make a fish-trap. When the trap had been made, Merah Silau went back to the river to set it. The next day Merah Silau went to look at the trap and saw that it was full of galley-worms.[8] He threw away the galley-worms which were in the trap and reset it. The next day when he visited it, it was again full of galley-worms. These too he threw away. Once more he

set the trap. The next day he returned and saw that once again it was full of galley-worms. Merah Silau thought to himself, "Indeed it seems as if these galley-worms are food bestowed on me by God the Exalted." So he took the galley-worms home, put them in a cauldron and ordered them to be boiled. Then by the decree of God the Exalted
16 the galley-worms turned into gold and their spume into silver.

So great wealth came to Merah Silau. People told his brother Merah Hasum how God the Exalted had shown favour to Merah Silau. They said, "We saw your elder brother Merah Silau carrying galley-worms in a fish-trap back to his house. We think he must have eaten them." When Merah Hasum heard this report about his brother he remained silent.[9]

Merah Silau said to his men, "Let us ensnare the wild buffaloes that are of no use to the people here. I want to get them." Merah Silau paid the people [for their services] with pieces of gold and silver, and told them to make an *anderak*, that is, a kind of pit big enough to hold two or three hundred buffaloes. When the *anderak* was ready he ordered his men to stampede the wild buffaloes which were standing by the side of the entrance.

The frightened buffaloes made for the entrance where their horns became stuck in the gateway, so that they could move neither forwards nor backwards. The Merah Silau ordered them to bring a clod of earth apiece to block up the entrance. When the buffaloes of the village had all 17
died Merah Silau ordered the buffaloes in the *anderak* to be released. By this time they were tame, and Merah Silau had them tethered with a rope through the nose.[10]

The news of Merah Silau's exploit reached his brother Merah Hasum – how he was meddling with animals which were of no use to the people. The place became known by the name of Kerbau Kampung. Merah Hasum was angry with Merah Silau. Calling one of his followers, he said to him, "Go and take this message to my brother Merah Silau: What is the good of meddling with animals which are of no use to anybody? If he persists in shaming me and does not listen to what I say, let him take himself off. He shall not be allowed to remain here with me."

When Merah Silau heard what his brother had said, he thought to himself, "Alright, if Merah Hasum speaks to me like this, I will find another place in which to live."

Merah Silau waited for an auspicious day. Then he set out, taking with him his belongings and his [enormous] herd of buffaloes – as many as seven men were needed to carry the buffalo whips, and a hill was cut through by the tracks of Merah Silau's buffalo as they passed. After many days' travel towards the headwaters of the Pasangan River, Merah Silau arrived at Hulu Karang where the river forked and at that place he stayed. When he had been there for some time his buffaloes had eaten up all the rice in people's fields and ravaged everyone's banana trees. The folk there were angry with Merah Silau. "What kind of animals are these," they asked, "which have been brought to our land? They have eaten up all our crops so there is nothing left. So you and your men must remain with us no longer." When Merah Silau heard what they all said he replied, "Listen, you gentlemen who live in this place, be patient while I look for a place in which to settle."

18

So Merah Silau set out to look for a new home. He made his way upstream to Ulu Semenda and reached a city called Buluh Telang. There he met Megat Sekandar who bade him stay and entertained him with food and drink. When Merah Silau had enjoyed his hospitality Megat Sekandar said to him, "Why have you come to me?" Merah Silau answered, "My purpose in visiting you is to ask for a place

19

to settle in, for I am homeless." Megat Sekandar said, "In that case you had better stay here with me. There is plenty of arable land and ample grazing for the buffaloes." Merah Silau replied, "If I have found favour with you what objection can there be? For you will be like a father to me." Then he took his leave and went to fetch his belongings, his men and his buffaloes. All of them he brought to Buluh Telang. And there he settled.

After Merah Silau had made his home there his chief pastime, day after day, was cock-fighting. Many backers came to match their fighting-cocks against his. If he lost, he paid up the sum he had wagered. But if they were the ones to lose, he never asked them for what they owed him. This reached the ears of the chiefs and elders in the town. They too came to take part in cock-fighting with Merah Silau. When the time came for them to go home he gave to each of them a buffalo. Those who came to enjoy the sport with Merah Silau were delighted. Even to those who came only to watch he gave a buffalo each. This was his invariable custom.

20

Megat Sekandar and Megat Kedah were the elder brothers of Sultan Malikul Nasir of Rimba Jerana. Now the people were very fond of Merah Silau, so Megat

Sekandar told them each to bring a basket of rice and a fowl.[11] Soon afterwards Megat Sekandar held counsel with the chiefs, the elders and the people in the country. He said to them, "Listen, all of you. What
21 about Merah Silau? In my view it would be a good thing if we made him king. For he is fit to be a raja, and he is wealthy so we can have confidence in him." (Among those present there was one named Tun Haria Benung who did not agree that Merah Silau should become king.) Megat Kedah added, "If we make him king, why even our children and grandchildren will be ruled by him." Megat Sekandar consulted the assembly and found that they agreed with his proposal to make Merah Silau, as a king.

After Merah Silau had become king he attacked his enemy, the king named Sultan Malikul Nasir, at Rimba Jerana. They fought. Merah Silau's force overcame that of Sultan Malikul Nasir whose men broke and fled. Sultan Malikul Nasir withdrew to a place called Benua where he made a stand and built himself a palace. After he had been there for some time, one day Merah Silau attacked Sultan Malikul Nasir again. Battle was joined, and Sultan Malikul Nasir retreated into the forest. So Merah Silau called the forest there Pertama Terjun, the name by which

it has been known to the present day. Now Sultan Malikul Nasir reached a place where he settled and built himself a 22
palace. When he had lived there for some time the news was brought to Merah Silau that Sultan Malikul Nasir was living in a certain place with all his chiefs and his followers. Once again Merah Silau attacked Sultan Malikul Nasir.

The conflict raged and a great many people were killed and injured. Sultan Malikul Nasir's forces broke and fled to the other side of Gunung Telawas. Again and again Merah Silau encircled them, but each time they escaped from the trap. Merah Silau called the place Kubu,[12] the name by which it is known today. The Sultan made his escape. He came to a mountain stream, narrow and deep, and there one of his chiefs suddenly halted, paralysed in his tracks. They called the stream and the place Pekersang. Sultan Malikul Nasir made his way onwards and reached Kumat. It was some time after he had settled at Kumat with his chiefs and his followers, that they decided to build themselves 23
a fort. After the fort had been built, news of it reached Megat Sekandar. He launched an attack on the Sultan at Kumat. Fighting started and as it progressed more and more of the chiefs were killed. The Sultan was defeated, his fighting men dispersed in all directions,

nobody knew whither. Amongst the Sultan's chiefs was the officer named Tun Haria Benung who made his way to Barus. When he reached Barus, Tun Haria Benung was apprehended by the ruler of Barus who wanted to make him a prisoner. It was for this reason that from that time on, however old the ruler of Barus might be he still sent *sembah*[13] to the ruler of Pasai, and however young the ruler of Pasai might be he sent only *salam* to the ruler of Barus. As for Merah Silau, Megat Sekandar made him ruler in Rimba Jerana.[14]

This is a story which has been handed down to us. Once upon a time, in the days when the Prophet
24 Muhammad the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace) was still alive, he said to his companions in Makkah, "In time to come, when I have passed away, there will arise in the east a country called Samudera. When you hear tell of this country, make ready a ship to take to it all the regalia and panoply of royalty. Guide its people into the religion of Islam. Let them recite the two statements of the profession of faith. For in that country shall God (glory be to Him the Exalted) raise up saints in great number. But before that there will be a certain fakir in a country called Mengiri – take him to Samudera with you."[15]

Now there is a story told about Merah Silau at Rimba Jerana. One day he went out hunting, taking with him a hunting-dog named Si Pasai. When he released the dog it started barking on some high ground. Merah Silau saw an ant as large as a cat. He caught the ant and ate it. 25
He ordered his followers to clear the high ground, and there he built himself a palace where he lived with his chiefs and his subjects. Merah Silau named the place Samudera, which means a giant ant,[16] and he settled in it as its ruler.

Some time after the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) had passed away from this world, the Sharif of Makkah heard that there was a country in the east called Samudera. So the Sharif made ready a ship to take to Samudera all the regalia and panoply of royalty. When the ship was ready to sail the Sharif ordered Shaikh Ismail to make a stop at Mengiri. Shaikh Ismail boarded the vessel and they sailed away. After he had been at sea for some time he reached the shores of Mengiri and anchored in the roads.

Now the ruler of the country was named Sultan Muhammad. The people of Mengiri, seeing a ship anchored in the roads, at once went before the king and did obeisance. They said, 26

"May you live for ever, Lord of the Realm. There is a ship riding at anchor in the bay." The king said to his chief minister, "Send someone to look at the ship." The chief minister immediately left and ordered a man to take out a boat and look at the ship. When the boat reached the ship the boatman hailed it saying, "Where does this ship come from? What is the name of your captain? And where are you heading?" Those on board answered, "This ship has come from Makkah. The captain's name is Shaikh Ismail. He has been ordered by the Sharif to go to a city called Samudera." When the boatman heard what the men on board said, he returned to the shore and went to the chief minister, to whom he reported what he had been told by the men on the ship. Then the chief minister went into the presence of the king and said, "Your Highness, Lord of the
27 Realm, the ship comes from Makkah, its captain's name is Shaikh Ismail and it is bound for Samudera."

Now Sultan Muhammad was a descendant of Abu Bakr the Truthful (may God be pleased with him.) He ordered all kinds of food and sweetmeats to be sent to Shaikh Ismail. When these had been delivered he made his elder son ruler of Mengiri in his place. Then he himself and his younger son donned the clothing of fakirs. Abdicating the throne, he left the palace and went on board the ship. To the

men on board he said, "You shall take me to Samudera." The people on board thought, "This is indeed the fakir of whom the Apostle (may God bless him and give him peace) spoke." They took the fakir on board and set sail. They were at sea for many days.

Now Merah Silau had a dream in which he perceived a man who proceeded to cup his chin with his hand, and to cover his eyes with four fingers, the while addressing 28 him, "Merah Silau, recite the two statements of the profession of faith." "I do not know how to recite them," replied Merah Silau. "Open your mouth," said the person. Merah Silau opened his mouth and the person spat[17] into it. The taste was rich and sweet. Then he said to Merah Silau, "Your name shall be Sultan Malikul Saleh. Now you will become a Muslim by reciting the two statements of the profession of faith. Animals that are alive and lawful to eat you will slaughter with the proper ritual and eat. But if they are not so slaughtered you must not eat them. In forty days' time a ship will arrive from Makkah. Whatever the people on board say, and all their observances which are in accordance with the practices of Islam, these you must follow without deviation. And you must obey all their instructions."

Merah Silau asked, "Who are you?" and in his dream the voice answered, "I am the Prophet Muhammad the Apostle of God"[18] (may God bless him and give him peace) "who
29 was in Makkah." Then the person removed his hand from Merah Silau's chin. And the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace) said to Merah Silau, "Look down." Merah Silau looked down and as he woke from his sleep he realised that he was circumcised. Then he proclaimed, "I testify that there is no god but God, alone with no companion. And I testify that Muhammad is His Servant and His Apostle".[19] After he had recited those two statements of the profession of faith, Merah Silau recited all thirty sections[20] of the Qur'an without a single fault, although nobody had ever taught him to do this. At this the people and the chiefs exclaimed, "As for this that our ruler is reciting, we do not understand a single word of it."

The following is the story which has been handed down to us. In due course Shaikh Ismail's ship arrived at Teluk Teria and came to anchor. The fakir went ashore and, coming upon a man fishing, said to him "What is the name of this place?" The man replied,
30 "This place is called Samudera." "What is the name of its ruler?" the fakir asked. The fisherman replied, "The name of the ruler is Merah Silau and his title

Malikul Saleh." After they had spoken together, the fisherman went back to his fishing and the fakir returned to the ship.

The next day Shaikh Ismail went ashore and made his way to the capital to find Sultan Malikul Saleh. He came into the presence of the Sultan and said "O Sultan, recite the two statements of the profession of faith." The Sultan recited them, saying, "I testify that there is no god but God, alone with no companion. And I testify that Muhammad is His Servant and His Apostle." After the recitation Shaikh Ismail stroked his beard. The next day the fakir came bringing all thirty sections of the Qur'an for Sultan Malikul Saleh. He proffered the book to the Sultan who accepted it with reverence. He held it
31 up to his forehead in respect, opened it and recited from it. He needed nobody to instruct him, for he already understood how to read it. The fakir and Shaikh Ismail exclaimed, "Praise be to God, the Lord of all."

Then Shaikh Ismail ordered an assembly of the chiefs and the people great and small, old and young, male and female. When they were all gathered together they were taught by Shaikh Ismail to recite the profession of faith. The whole

population willingly recited the two statements of the profession of faith, in all sincerity and with true belief in their hearts. It was for this reason that the city of Samudera was given the name of Darulsalam,[21] because the people were not acting under compulsion and they did not oppose nor find it irksome to endure the rite of becoming Muslims.

Shaikh Ismail ordered that the regalia be taken off the vessel and brought ashore to Samudera Darulsalam. When that arrived and on an auspicious day all the chiefs and the people assembled before the ruler.
32 The Sultan donned his robes of state, a gift from Makkah, for now he was to be installed by the ritual beating of the drum. The chiefs were drawn up in rows facing the drum called Ibrahim Khalil.[22] The court herald stood holding the royal sword, and the officers of state bore their respective insignia. The installation drum was beaten and the band struck up. A royal salute was fired. Then the whole company of chiefs and people did homage, saying as they bowed in obeisance, "O King, Lord of the Realm, God's Shadow on Earth, may you live for ever." When the Sultan had been installed, the chiefs sat out in front, each according to his rank, before

their ruler. There were two principal chiefs in the capital. One was called Tun Seri Kaya and the other Tun Baba Kaya. Tun Seri Kaya was given the title of Sayid Ali Ghiatuddin and Tun Baba Kaya was named Sayid Semayamuddin.[23] When Shaikh Ismail had been in Samudera Darulsalam for some time he came and asked leave of Sultan Malikul Saleh to depart. 33

The Sultan gathered tribute[24] for the Sharif of Makkah: ambergris, camphor, eaglewood, sandalwood, benzoin, perfume,[25] cloves and nutmegs. Altogether it weighed about a hundred *bahara*;[26] all of it was handed to Shaikh Ismail. The Sultan said, "O Shaikh, this is the tribute we humbly offer to the Sharif of Makkah. And we pray that we may receive first the blessing of God, then the blessing and intercession of the Prophet Muhammad, the Apostle of God, and the blessing of the Sharif." Then Shaikh Ismail went on board the ship and set sail. But the fakir remained behind to firmly establish the religion of Islam in Samudera.

This is a story which we have heard. There was a tribe of people in that country who refused to accept Islam. So they fled to the upper reaches of the Pasangan river. That is the reason why the people in that country were called Gayo, a name which persists to the present time.[27]

34 Now the Sultan was not yet married. One day his ministers and his chiefs came and did obeisance before him, saying, "O King, Lord of the Realm, may you live for ever. We your slaves, humbly doing obeisance at your feet, beg to say that it were better Your Highness were married, so that the succession to your throne may not be broken but may descend to your children and grandchildren." When the Sultan heard what his ministers and chiefs said he replied, "If that is what you think I agree to it. Find someone who seems the most suitable in the opinion of you all." Then they did obeisance again saying, "Your Highness, Lord of the Universe, we your humble servants have heard tell of a certain ruler, in the country of Perlak, who has been blessed with three daughters of surpassing beauty. Your Highness may well command us to go there. For he is a great and powerful king."

The Sultan gave instructions to one of his ministers, telling him to visit the ruler of Perlak taking with him ladies who knew the vocabulary to use in marriage negotiations.
35 When everything was ready, on an auspicious day the ministers embarked on a ship and set sail for Perlak. In due course they reached Perlak and anchored in the roads. The people brought the news to the ruler of Perlak saying, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, there is a ship at anchor in the roads." The king replied, "Go and see

what ship it is." The people who had seen it went out in a boat, and when they reached the ship they called out, "Where has this ship come from and why are you here?" The reply from the ship was, "We come from Samudera Darulsalam and bring good tidings. Our purpose in coming here is to offer our homage to the Sultan of Perlak." The people hastened back to report to the Sultan of Perlak what the minister had said. The Sultan commanded, "Go and invite the minister ashore." They went and called out to the minister, who came ashore with his officers to appear before the Sultan. 36 They came into his presence and raised their hands in obeisance. Then the king addressed the minister, "What is your object in coming here, minister?" The minister replied, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, I am here at the command of my sovereign Sultan Malikul Saleh, the king of Samudera Darulsalam, to pay homage to Your Highness." He presented to the king the gifts and ornaments he had brought with him. As he did so, he spoke in words expressive of the loftiest and most ideal sentiments, now of good counsel, now in praise enough to bring joy to the faces of all men and understanding to the hearts even of those whose minds were least open to the possibility of the princess being betrothed.

The king of Perlak and the chiefs were delighted to hear this news. *Sirih* in gold and silver vessels was handed round to the ministers, each in turn according to his rank. The Sultan announced his decision in these words: "Ministers of Samudera, it is indeed our pleasure to approve the proposal 37 of our kinsman Sultan Malikul Saleh, for he is of our own race."

The next day the king ordered the palace to be decorated and the two princesses to be dressed in dresses of cloth-of-gold embroidered with precious stones. His third daughter, named Princess Ganggang, the child of one of his secondary wives, he had dressed in a sarong of patterned silk, a jacket red in colour like the *jambu* flower, rings studded with gems and dangling earrings that revolved. Princess Ganggang sat on a high dais facing the people as they prepared the choice viands of the feast for the ministers and the women who had come from Samudera to negotiate the marriage. When the crowd saw the three princesses, sisters one to another, their hearts warmed towards Princess Ganggang. For of all of them she was the prettiest and most attractive in her ways. "Who is that sitting up there on the highest dais?" they asked, and the reply was "She is the daughter of our king too, but she is the child of a secondary wife." When the feast

was over [the visitors] all begged leave of the king to 38 return to Samudera to report to Sultan Malikul Saleh.

When they arrived in Samudera they reported to the king. They said, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, it is true that the ruler of Perlak has three daughters. One of them is the child of a secondary wife. But in the opinion of your humble servants the prettiest is this child of the king's secondary wife; and it is she who is the most attractive in her ways and the most modest in her bearing. Moreover the place where she was put to sit seems to show that her status is above that of her two sisters." When they had finished telling their story the Sultan ordered his astrologers to be summoned. The astrologers came and the Sultan said "Go, you astrologers, look in your books of divination and find out about the daughters of the king of Perlak. Which is the best one to choose?"

The astrologers consulted their books of divination. They cast horoscopes. They wagged their heads. Then they came and did obeisance saying, "Your Highness, Lord 39 of the Universe, if you accept the princess who was sitting in the highest position, then beyond doubt sovereignty shall pass without break to your

children and grandchildren, and great shall be their good fortune."

The Sultan gave orders for them to go and fetch Princess Ganggang. The minister made ready and set off for the land of Perlak to collect the princess. After a number of days at sea he reached Perlak, where he and all the maids-in-waiting accompanying him went before the Sultan and did obeisance. "Your Highness," he said, "Lord of the Realm, this is the respectful petition of my lord Sultan Malikul Saleh, humbling himself at Your Highness's feet. He asks you for the hand of Princess Ganggang." The king replied "Very well. We will grant him the hand of this child of ours." He ordered a fleet of a hundred sail to be made ready, with Tun Perpatih Pandak to be her escort, to convey Princess Ganggang to Samudera Darulsalam. He ordered palatial quarters to be
40 prepared on the vessel for the princess together with her attendants, her slave-girls, her maids-of-honour and the regalia. When everything was ready, on an auspicious day the king conducted his daughter to the river mouth to the accompaniment of much music. When they arrived there Princess Ganggang did obeisance before her father, her mother and her two sisters, her tears flowing all the time. Her father, mother and sisters embraced and

kissed her. Then Princess Ganggang went on board the boat and set sail. Sorrowfully the Sultan of Perlak returned to his palace.

After some time at sea, the fleet reached Jambu Air, where Tun Perpatih Pandak put in and took the princess to her palace. There she was dressed up in fine clothing. Sultan Malikul Saleh came to welcome her. With full honour and ceremony he conducted her into Samudera Darulsalam. As soon as he arrived back in his palace he ordered the wedding festivities to be started. After they had been in progress for 41
some days the king was duly married to Princess Ganggang. After the wedding the king gave presents of fine clothing to his chiefs. To the poor and needy of the city he distributed alms, pieces of gold and silver. To Tun Perpatih Pandak he gave robes of the finest material, and all the people who accompanied Tun Perpatih Pandak he rewarded with gold and silver. After the king had presented these favours Tun Perpatih Pandak begged his permission to return to Perlak. The royal couple sent their compliments to the king and queen of Perlak and to their two daughters, together with presents of fine robes. So Tun Perpatih Pandak returned to Perlak. Sultan Malikul Saleh ordered improvements

to be made to the palace which they had built for the princess to practise her archery. He called the place Rama Gandi, a name by which it has been known up to the present time.[28]

42 When Sultan Malikul Saleh had been on the throne for some time, a trading ship came from the land of Kalinga.[29] On board was a man who had the power of detecting vapours given off by gold. He said, "In this country there are seven places where gold vapours are given off, but none of these are known to people here." Now a man from the Sultan's court overheard what the man on the ship said. He reported it to Sultan Malikul Saleh, and the Sultan ordered the man who had said it to be summoned. When the man from Kalinga came before him the Sultan asked, "Is what you have said true, that in this country there are places where gold vapours are given off?" Doing obeisance, the man from Kalinga replied, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm. If he were divining in his own country, your servant would have no doubt." When the Sultan heard this he gave him a full set of clothing as was customary. He said, "If what you say is true, go and fetch the gold from the place where these vapours are." The man from Kalinga did obeisance, then went off with a party of

the Sultan's followers. On reaching the place he ordered 43
them to dig in the ground. They found gold in great quantities, as much as five mines could have yielded. It was brought to the Sultan, who was very pleased to get so much gold.[30] When Sultan Malikul Saleh had been on the throne for some time the princess became pregnant; and when her hour was come she bore a son, an exceedingly handsome boy. The Sultan was overjoyed to see the royal child. He charged the most senior of the palace attendants and nurses to look after him. He ordered the big drum to be beaten and music to be played at the celebrations such as was the custom at royal births. For seven days and seven nights the king led the festivities, in which all enjoyed themselves, eating and drinking to their hearts' content. Then a day was appointed on which the infant prince's feet would touch the ground for the first time and he would have his head shaved, according to custom. On that day the citizens and the ministers and chiefs, all assembled and feasted themselves. At its conclusion the king bestowed alms and gifts upon his ministers and his 44
chiefs, the common folk great and small and all the poor and needy. To his son he gave the name of Sultan Malikul Tahir.[31] When the prince came of age he was made regent in Samudera.[32]

The story goes that one day Sultan Malikul Saleh went out on a hunting trip with his followers along the sea shore. He took with him a hunting-dog named Si Pasai. As soon as the king reached the shore he ordered the hunting-dog to be unleashed. The dog made for the forest that bordered the shore. There it saw a mousedeer standing on some high ground.[33] The dog barked at the mousedeer and tried to catch it. When the mousedeer saw the dog making towards it, it barked at the dog and the dog turned tail. Seeing the dog run away the mousedeer returned to its place.

45 When the dog saw that, it dashed up to the mousedeer and grappled with it. It did this about seven times. The king was amazed to see a dog and a mousedeer behaving like this. He himself went into the forest to the high ground to catch the mousedeer. The mousedeer ran away and again the dog grappled with it. The king exclaimed to those round him, "Have you ever seen a mousedeer as bold as this one? I think it must be living here that makes it so bold." They all replied, "Your Highness is undoubtedly right." The king concluded, "This is the right place for me to build a capital where my son Malikul Tahir shall become ruler." Sultan Malikul Saleh returned to his palace. The next day

he issued a decree to his ministers, his chiefs, his people and his soldiers, ordering them to clear the ground as a site for the new capital, each according to his abilities. And he ordered a palace to be built on the piece 46 of high ground.

When the new capital had been established, the hunting-dog Si Pasai died there. The Sultan ordered the dog to be buried there and its name he chose as the name of the city. He decreed that his son Sultan Malikul Tahir would be ruler in the new capital while he, Sultan Malikul Saleh, remained in Samudera Darulsalam.

When Sultan Malikul Tahir had been in Pasai for some years, he was favoured by God the Exalted with the birth of two sons. The elder was named Sultan Malikul Mahmud, the younger Sultan Malikul Mansur. Now Sultan Malikul Tahir fell sick, to the point when the judgement of God came upon him and he died. He was buried with the traditional rites for rulers who have returned to the mercy of God. As the two princes were still young, it was their grandfather[34] who became regent to manage the affairs of Pasai, until they would both be old enough to do this 47

themselves. The prince named Sultan Malikul Mahmud he entrusted to the care of Sayid Ali Ghiatuddin, bidding him teach the child the useful arts, of fencing, elephant-riding and horsemanship. The other prince, named Sultan Malikul Mansur, he entrusted to Sayid Semayamuddin.

Several years passed. Sultan Malikul Mahmud grew to manhood and his grandfather made him ruler in Pasai. Sayid Ali Ghiatuddin was appointed his chief minister. Sultan Malikul Saleh divided into two halves his subjects, the regalia, the royal elephants, the horses and the armoury. One half he gave to his grandson Sultan Malikul Mahmud. The other he kept for his other grandson Sultan Malikul Mansur, who was still a child. Sultan Malikul
48 Mahmud remained in Pasai the capital as its ruler, while Sultan Malikul Saleh returned to Samudera Darulsalam, taking Sultan Malikul Mansur with him.

After some time Sultan Malikul Saleh fell sick. He called together his ministers, his chiefs and court officials in the country and all the people great and small for the enthronement of Sultan Malikul Mansur. When they were all assembled before him the Sultan said, "To all of you, ministers, chiefs and soldiers I declare my intention of installing Sultan

Malikul Mansur as ruler. For I feel the time drawing near when I shall leave this mortal world for the world everlasting. What do you all think? Are you willing or not?" All the people answered, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, what Your Highness says is indeed right. Now that Sultan Malikul Mansur has reached manhood it is right that we should do obeisance to him." Sultan Malikul Saleh continued, "Then let 49 the ministers, chiefs and court officials install him as ruler here in Samudera."

About three days after the installation Sultan Malikul Saleh gave his last injunctions[35] to Sayid Semayamuddin and Sayid Ali Ghiatuddin. He said, "To you, the two chief ministers, I say this. Take good care of both my grandchildren. May it please God the Exalted to grant that you allow no discord to arise between the two brothers, and that you bring them up in the proper manner. May neither of you swerve from your allegiance to them, nor bow the knee to any rulers but my grandchildren. Above all, do not behave unjustly towards any of the servants of God, nor do anything which is contrary to the commandments of God. For in the Qur'an is written the decree of God the Exalted which says, 'Those who do not judge according to what God has revealed are the losers', meaning: 'Whatsoever does not apply the law which Allah has revealed verily is

50 an infidel.'"[36] The two ministers prostrated themselves and bowed their head. Their tears fell as they answered, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, Shadow of God on earth, by the grace of God the Exalted the Lord of All Creation, may it please God the Exalted that we your humble servants may never act in any way contrary to the instructions of Your Highness, Lord of the Realm. And may we never bow the knee to any rulers but the two grandchildren of Your Highness whom it is our duty to serve."

Sultan Malikul Saleh then sent for his two grandchildren. When the princes arrived he addressed them, his ministers, his chiefs and his court officials in these words: "My grandchildren, be it known to you both that I am stricken with sickness, so that I feel the time fast approaching when God the Exalted shall summon me to leave this mortal world for the world everlasting. When I have departed, pay great attention, both of you, to the duty you have of enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil.[37]
51 Do not covet material wealth, for this world is one full of vanity. Do not hanker after things which will be of no value to you in the world to come. Do not fail to consult one another in everything that you do. Above all, do one another no wrong, so that God the Exalted may vouchsafe to you both security on your thrones, and that He may

grant your prayers for things which are commendable. Do not disobey any of the commandments of God. Be not backward in doing acts of good service, and avoiding acts of wickedness. Command all men to do that which is right. Forbid them to do that which is wrong. Treat your subjects, both of you, with justice. Whatever happens do not fail to follow these injunctions of mine, my grandchildren."

The two princes prostrated themselves, weeping. They said, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, all the greater 52
are the favours which you have bestowed upon the two of us, your humble servants, inasmuch as you have blessed us with this advice." Now it came to pass by the decree of God the Exalted that there was an interval of three days after the king had spoken these words of advice to his grandchildren. Then, after embracing and kissing them, he returned to the mercy of God the Exalted. He was buried with the customary rites for kings when they have returned to the mercy of God. For that reason he has been known up to the present time as Paduka Sayid al-Marhum Samudera.[38] Then Sultan Malikul Mahmud reigned in Pasai and Sultan Malikul Mansur in Samudera. The two settlements were well-populated and prosperous indeed were their inhabitants in the days of the two brother-kings, having numbers of elephants and horses with plenty of

provender for them, and an incalculable amount of food for themselves. As time went on, the greatness and renown of Sultan Malikul Mahmud grew and grew. News of Pasai reached the king of Siam, who commanded that a fleet of
53 some one hundred boats, both large and small, should be made ready, to attack Pasai. When the expedition had been fitted out, the king ordered the most senior among his chiefs, a man named Talak Sejang, to be put in command of it. The fleet sailed for Pasai, and soon afterwards reached the bay of Pasai, where they dropped anchor.

When the people on shore caught sight of this huge concourse of boats riding at anchor in the bay, they at once brought the news to Sultan Malikul Mahmud. "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm," they reported, "We have seen a large fleet of boats riding at anchor in the bay. Who can tell where they have come from or what they have come for?" The Sultan commanded Barang Laksamana, one of his chiefs, to go and have a look at the boats. Barang Laksamana did obeisance and went at once. When he reached the vessels he asked, "Where have these ships come from? Where are
54 you going? And what have you come for?" The men on board told him, "These vessels of ours come from the land of Siam, and as for what we have come for, we

are ordered by the king of Siam to demand tribute from this country. Give us what we want and we shall return home with the tribute. Refuse and we shall attack this land of yours. Talak Sejang is the name of our commander."

Barang Laksamana hastened back to the Sultan. Doing obeisance he said, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, those boats have come from the land of Siam. Talak Sejang is the name of the commander. The king of Siam has ordered them here to demand tribute from our country. If his demand is met they will return home. If it is refused he will make war on us." On hearing this, the Sultan flew into a rage. His face grew dark, his hair bristled as he addressed Sayid Ali Ghiatuddin, ordering 55 him to assemble his ministers, his chiefs, captains and troops fully armed to await the enemy's landing. When they were all ready the Sultan addressed them, "By the honour and might of God who has created all worlds, so far from giving tribute from this land, I will not let them have even a single strand of useless hair shed from my body."

The Sultan's words came to the ears of Talak Sejang, who thereupon ordered his men ashore to

put up earthworks. His chiefs and his men landed and established themselves in a fortified line by the edge of the sea. Three days later the Sultan ordered his forces to attack. They advanced, the two sides met and the fighting began. The first day it was Barang Laksamana who led the attack. Many men on both sides were killed and injured. Then both sides withdrew into their defence lines.
56 The next day it was Tun Rawana Pematang who led the troops, reinforced by two elephants named Dola Laut and Muda Besi. The battle raged fiercely, it was dreadful, and again many on both sides were killed and injured before they disengaged. That is how the fighting went day after day without ceasing, for a period of about two months. Tun Rawana Pematang was wounded and so was Barang Laksamana.

Then one day it was Tun Haria Jong who led the attack. When the two sides met in battle, Tun Haria Jong's troops broke and fled back to their defences. When he saw what was happening, Sultan Malikul Mahmud was furious. He ordered all his subjects, great and small, to be conscripted, until every one of them capable of bearing arms was under arms. Then the Sultan himself sallied forth and led the attack
57 on Talak Sejang. Talak Sejang led his troops out

from his defences onto the battlefield where they stood drawn up in lines. The two armies stood face to face. Fighting broke out over the whole field. The uproar was deafening. A pall of dust rose to the sky, until the eye could no longer distinguish one person from another. Only the noise of the chiefs and the men shouting could be heard. The crash of arms echoed into the depths of the forest. The violence of the conflict was shattering. Many men on both sides were killed and injured.

The commander Talak Sejang received an arrow in his chest. It went right through his body and killed him. The war-cries of the Pasai troops sounded like thunder. The men of Siam took to their heels and ran hither and thither, not heeding where they went. Those who fled inland were all slaughtered by the men of Pasai. Those who escaped to the sea took to their boats and headed for Siam.

Elated by his victory the Sultan returned to his palace. 58
From that time on Pasai was a populous and rich country. The Sultan spent his time feasting and making merry with his ministers, his chiefs and his court officials, and the population dwelt in peace. When Sultan Malikul Mahmud had been on the throne for some time he was favoured by

God with the birth of a son and two daughters. The boy he named Sultan Ahmad Perumudal Perumal.

One day Sultan Malikul Mahmud announced to his chiefs and ministers, "I plan to go for a pleasure trip up the river, to look at the villages and hamlets. We can trap elephants and go hunting, as far as the land of Andami." On an auspicious day Sultan Malikul Mahmud set off in company with his ministers, his chiefs and his soldiers. He passed through many settlements and hamlets, feasting on the way with his ministers and chiefs.

Now according to the story we have heard, there came a time, while Sultan Malikul Mahmud was on his travels, when Sultan Malikul Mansur also wanted to go off and enjoy himself and entertain his ministers, his chiefs and his people with feasting and merrymaking. So Sultan Malikul Mansur ordered his men to get everything ready to accompany him. But Sayid Semayamuddin pleaded with him saying "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, for what reason is Your Highness taking us along the coast to enjoy ourselves now that Sultan Malikul Mahmud is not in Pasai? Because that road runs along beside your elder brother's palace and who knows it may give rise to malicious gossip,

59

and if it comes to your brother's ears it will inevitably result in enmity." But Sultan Malikul Mansur refused to listen to Sayid Semayamuddin. He took the route along the coast to enjoy himself, entertaining his ministers and chiefs with feasting and merrymaking. On their way back they passed close to Sultan Malikul Mahmud's residence. There Sultan Malikul Mansur caught sight of a woman of surpassing beauty coming out of the palace. At once he conceived a passion for her. He ordered the woman to be abducted and taken back to his palace in company with his chiefs.

60

When Sultan Malikul Mansur had been on the throne for some time he was favoured by God (Glory be to Him the Exalted) with the birth of three children, two daughters and one son.

Soon the news reached Sultan Malikul Mahmud that Sultan Malikul Mansur had abducted the woman as she was coming out of his palace. When Sultan Malikul Mahmud heard what had happened he was very angry with his brother and with Sayid Semayamuddin too. "For he was experienced as chief minister, why did he refuse to restrain the king from doing those things?

61

I shall not rest satisfied until I have killed Semayamuddin." He returned to his palace, his heart full of spite against Sayid Semayamuddin.

Now Sayid Ali Ghiatuddin was getting on in years, and his son-in-law named Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara had become chief minister in his place. Sultan Malikul Mahmud said to him, "Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara, what can we do about that Semayamuddin? For I fear that Sultan Malikul Mansur might be dangerous if we fall out with him." Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara answered, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, if we employ cunning against him there will
62 be no trouble for anyone. I can take him prisoner quietly." "How can we get the better of him?" asked the Sultan. Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara replied, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, your child Sultan Ahmad Perumudal Perumal has not yet been circumcised, let us make preparations for this to be done. We will invite your brother Sultan Malikul Mansur to come. Once he has come we can do what we like with him. The plan is simplicity itself."

The king was in agreement with Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara's plan. On an auspicious day he ordered a start to be made with the preparations for the circumcision of Sultan Ahmad Perumudal Perumal. He

sent word to Samudera Darulsalam inviting his brother Sultan Malikul Mansur to come. The messenger left, and when he reached Sultan Malikul Mansur he said, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, your brother cordially invites you to Pasai because he is going to have his 63
son circumcised." So Sultan Malikul Mansur set out and made his way to Pasai. When he reached Pasai he went in to see his brother Sultan Malikul Mahmud, while his chiefs waited outside. No sooner had he appeared before Sultan Malikul Mahmud than the latter gave a signal for the seizure of Sultan Malikul Mansur and his chiefs, including Sayid Semayamuddin. Then the order was given to imprison Sultan Malikul Mansur and his chiefs, including Sayid Semayamuddin, in cages. Sultan Malikul Mahmud considered the matter, and then said to Perpatih Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara, "What shall we do with Sultan Malikul Mansur? Had we better banish him from our land, or bid him return to his own land?" Tun Perpatih Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara replied, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, if Your Highness will listen to your 64
servant's plea, it were better that we banish him from this land of ours for as the old folk say, 'Out of sight, out of mind.' As long as he remains near at hand, inevitably Your Highness will be so upset by what he

has done that you cannot help becoming more and more angry at his conduct. So let us send him to a land far away from here."

The Sultan ordered four or five boats to be fitted out to take Sultan Malikul Mansur to the land of Temiang, with Tun Jaya Pangliran to look after him. Sultan Malikul Mansur was taken on board with all his belongings and his slaves and followers. Forthwith they sailed away.

Then the Sultan commanded that Sayid Semayamuddin be let out of the prison cage. He was brought before the Sultan who said "Semayamuddin, do you wish to remain here with me or not?" The minister did obeisance
65 and replied, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm. If I, your humble servant, am to be severed from my master then Your Highness had better sever my head from my body." So the Sultan ordered him to be beheaded and he was beheaded. The Sultan ordered his head to be thrown into the sea, and his body to be impaled on a stake at Kuala Pasai.

Now it came about by the decree of God the Exalted, that the head of Sayid Semayamuddin followed Sultan

Malikul Mansur's boat through the water. In due course the Sultan arrived at the anchorage at Jambu Air. When the boat had come to anchor the master heard a tapping sound coming from the rudder. He looked down at the water and saw a human skull caught in the rudder. At once he took the news to Sultan Malikul Mansur. The Sultan ordered the skull to be lifted on board, and he saw that it was the head of Sayid Semayamuddin. "For shame," he cried, "This is none other than the head of my old friend Semayamuddin. What providence can have brought you here and where can your body be now?" He ordered a search to be made for the body. A boat set out to look for it, and it was seen impaled on a stake at Kuala Pasai. 66
At once the news was taken to Sultan Malikul Mansur. He had word sent to Sultan Malikul Mahmud asking for the body. He was told that he could have it. They brought it to Sultan Malikul Mansur and when they laid it before him he saw that it was indeed the body. He shed tears of great bitterness. They joined the head and the body together. The corpse was bathed and placed in a shroud. The sultan recited funeral prayers over it and then went ashore to have it buried. He declared that the name of the place was to be Padang Maya. But we do not know for certain

whether it is because of the corpse buried there that people have called the place Padang Maya to the present day.[39] After the body of Sayid Semayamuddin had been interred, Sultan Malikul Mansur recited the exhortation to the dead[40] and said the funeral prayers. Then he returned to his boat which continued its journey to the land of Temiang. He arrived there and remained there for some time.

67 One day Sultan Malikul Mahmud was sitting on his throne giving audience to his captains, his ministers and his people. Suddenly a thought entered his mind – Sultan Malikul Mansur his brother — and he exclaimed, "Alas, what an idiot I have been! All because of a woman I drove my brother from his kingdom, and had his chief minister put to death." Conscience-stricken he burst into tears. To his captains he said, "Go at once and fetch my brother, because I am stirred by a great longing for him." At the king's bidding, Tun Perpatih Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara set out in a fleet of boats. When he came before Sultan Malikul Mansur, he did obeisance and said, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, your brother is stirred by a great longing for Your Highness. I, your humble servant, am ordered by him to fetch Your Highness." The king replied, "Very well", and Tun Perpatih said "May

it please Your Highness to come aboard." So the king came down and embarked on the boat, together with his wife and children, his worldly possessions and all his 68
slaves and followers. Leaving the shores of Temiang they sailed for Pasai.

When they reached Padang Maya where Sayid Semayamuddin was buried, Sultan Malikul Mansur visited his tomb, for he wished to recite the *fatihah*[41] and say a prayer. When he had recited the *fatihah* and said the prayer the king stood up and pronounced a blessing on the tomb. These were his words: "Peace be upon you, O believing inmates of this abode. Verily, if it be the will of God, we shall follow you".[42] Then he said, "Rest in peace, my sire. I will go now." A voice answered him from inside the tomb, "Unto you also be peace, my child. But where are you going? This is the place where you should be."

On hearing the voice the Sultan performed the ablution for the prayer, then he proceeded to perform a prayer of two *raka'as* with a *salam*. However, before he had completed the *salam*, the judgement of God came upon him and the Angel of Death claimed his soul, and he returned to the mercy of God the Exalted. But according to one[43] account 69
it was while he was doing the prostration that he passed

away. Everyone was astonished to see what happened to the king. Tun Perpatih Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara ordered a message to be taken to Pasai telling Sultan Malikul Mahmud what had happened. As soon as they arrived there the messengers told the story of the king's death from beginning to end. When Sultan Malikul Mahmud heard the news about his brother, he flung himself on the ground and tore his coat to shreds. Then he collapsed in a faint. For the space of about one hour he lay unconscious. When he recovered consciousness he ordered the body of his brother to be brought to him. People left at once to get it. Some time later the body reached Pasai, and the king gave it burial near the grave of his father, following the ritual prescribed by custom for rulers who have returned to the mercy of God.

Now Sultan Malikul Mahmud was filled with sorrow. His
70 remorse and his feelings of penitence gave him no respite. After being in that state for some time, he abdicated the throne and made Sultan Ahmad ruler of Pasai. It was some while later, during the reign of Sultan Ahmad, that Sultan Malikul Mahmud fell sick. The time drew near when he would be leaving this mortal world for the world everlasting. So he laid his last injunctions upon Sultan Ahmad. These were his words.: "My son, light of my eyes and fruit of my

heart, take good care that while you are ruler you fulfil all the commandments given you by God and His Prophet, and that you eschew the things which are forbidden by them. Do not transgress the commandments of God the Exalted or the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad the Apostle of God (May God bless him and give him peace). My son, you must not fail to heed well the counsel I am giving you. When there is anything you wish to do, you must consult the most senior among your ministers. Do not hastily embark on any course of action. Only when you have discussed it with your ministers and chiefs may you proceed with it. Firmly restrain 71
your desires to do anything which does not accord with the shari'ah. Do not oppress or despoil the servants of God the Exalted by unjust treatment. Do not fail to enjoin what is good and forbid what is evil, my son. For this mortal world will pass away and only the world to come will last for ever. Above all, my son, may you never disobey these injunctions of mine."

Sultan Ahmad bowed his head and prostrated himself in obeisance. He wept bitterly. Sultan Malikul Mahmud's sickness grew worse as time went on, and he returned to the mercy of God. The young prince and the ministers and chiefs buried him by the side of the mosque. Following

the established custom for rulers who returned to the mercy of God, the prince had a tomb with a dome over it made for him, like those of former times. And Sultan Ahmad came to the throne.



Part Two

The Adventures of Tun Beraim Bapa

One day, after Sultan Ahmad had been on the throne for some time, there came a ship from the land of Kalinga. Taking passage in this ship from Kalinga was a man who was a yogi.[1] He was possessed of great supernatural power. The men on board came ashore, and into the presence of Sultan Ahmad they led the yogi, who was carrying a staff. The yogi thrust the staff into the ground in front of Sultan Ahmad. He rested his chin on the staff, and the four feet of the staff were suspended in the air. Then he thrust the staff[2] into a wooden plank, which also became suspended, writhing and twisting this way and that. Then, overcome by the sanctity of the Sultan's

presence, the yogi fell to the ground in a faint. The Sultan was amazed to see what had happened to him, in spite of his deep knowledge of the magic arts. Afterwards the yogi embraced the faith of Islam and it was he who gave Sultan Ahmad the title of Perumudal Perumal.

During the course of his reign the king was blessed by God (Glory be to Him the Exalted) with thirty children. There were five by one mother: three
73 sons, the first named Tun Beraim Bapa, the second Tun Abdul Jalil, the third Tun Abul Fadil; and two daughters, one named Tun Medam Peria, the other Tun Takiah Dara.

Here is a story that is told about Tun Beraim Bapa: he was very brave, a champion without peer in those days. He was seven cubits in height. His chest was two cubits broad. He could smash an earth rampart forty foot thick to pieces by hurling the trunk of a coconut palm at it. Reports of his fame reached the land of Kalinga.

As for Tun Abdul Jalil, he was so handsome that at that time none other could match his looks. When he stood at the outer gate of the palace the gate reflected his splendour. When he stood on the part of the balcony called *dalkhana*,[3] it also reflected his splendour. When

he stood in the market place the whole market shone with the radiance of his person. If he dressed in Javanese costume he looked like a man of Java. If he dressed in Siamese costume he looked like a man of Siam. If in the costume of Kalinga he looked like a man of Kalinga. If in Arab costume, like an Arab. His renown spread to 74
Java and became known to Princess Gemerenchang, the daughter of the king of Majapahit.

As for Tun Abul Fadil, he was a profound scholar, well-read in all branches of knowledge. Many were the learned men from the west who came to put questions to him. But he was never at a loss for an answer, so great was his wisdom. His fame spread as far as the land of Samarkand.

Now Tun Medam Peria and Tun Takiah Dara, the two daughters of Sultan Ahmad Perumudal Perumal, were exceedingly beautiful, in those days they had no peer. The chief ministers of Sultan Ahmad were four in number; the first Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara, the second Baba Mentuha, the third Sulaiman Dendang Air, the fourth Tun Shah Alam Kota. It happened that Sultan Ahmad conceived an overwhelming passion for his two daughters Tun Medam Peria and Tun Takiah Dara. One day the Sultan was sitting in state with his ministers and

75 chiefs before him when he asked them this question: "If a man plants a crop, who should have the first claim to eat what has been grown?"[4] Tun Perpatih Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara answered, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, if it were we, your humble servants, who planted a crop it were right that another should have first claim to eat what had been grown. And great indeed would be our merit in giving first choice to another." For Tun Perpatih Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara had understood the king's innuendo. But Baba Mentuha replied, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, if it were we, your servants, who had planted a crop, it is we who should have first claim to eat what had been grown," for Baba Mentuha had not understood the meaning of the king's words.

Baba Mentuha's reply made the Sultan angry with Tun Perpatih Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara. One day Tun Perpatih told a maid to let Tun Medam Peria and Tun Takiah Dara know what the Sultan had said to his
76 chiefs. Tun Medam Peria had word sent to her brother Tun Beraim Bapa at Tukas, because that was where he was living. No sooner did the news reach him than he went straight to Pasai. Going into Sultan Ahmad's palace, he instructed his sisters to get dressed and he took them back with him to Tukas. So the Sultan

bore a grudge against Tun Beraim Bapa, angry that he had taken his two sisters to Tukas.

Some time later, there arrived from the land of Kalinga a ship of great size. On board were four swashbucklers whose prowess nobody in their own country could match. One of their number was a magnificent fighter, in skill and courage far surpassing his comrades. They came to Pasai wanting to pick a fight. When the ship reached the Pasai roads, it anchored at Teluk Teria. Going ashore, the newcomers met some of the inhabitants. They asked 77
the people of Teluk Teria, "What things are prohibited by royal decree in this country?" The Teluk Teria folk replied, "The things which are prohibited by royal decree in this country are to sit in the big audience-hall at the royal park, and to undo one's hair, or to sit with legs dangling and swinging from side to side. These are forbidden in this country." On hearing this, the swashbucklers said, "Very well. That is exactly what we will do." They made their way to Pasai and into the park. When they occupied the big audience-hall they crowded it out, and when they occupied the guest-room they packed it tight, and they let down their hair and sat with their legs dangling and swinging from side to side.

When people saw them doing this at once they went and reported it to Tun Perpatih Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara. He in turn ordered the news to be taken to Bermamat Pantai and Medana Pantai. These two courtiers at once
78 passed the word to Bujangga Baja Raya, who brought the matter before the king: "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm," he said, "We have received a visit from foreign intruders. Their leader is a champion swashbuckler from Kalinga who has come here, vain and proud, and mocking and bantering, to pick a fight, for in his own country there is no match for him. They are sitting in the big audience-hall and in the guest-room with their hair dangling free, and they are swinging their legs from side to side."

Sultan Ahmad gave instructions to Bermamat Pantai and Medana Pantai. "Go both of you to Tukas and take word of this to my son Tun Beraim Bapa." The two courtiers went to Tun Beraim Bapa at Tukas and reported, "Your Highness, your father has received a visit from foreign intruders. Their leader is a champion swashbuckler from Kalinga who has come here, proud and mocking, to pick a fight, for in his own country there is no match for him. They are overflowing the big audience-hall and they
79 are crowding the guest room, as they sit with their hair dangling free, and swinging their legs from side to side.

Your father has ordered that Your Highness be informed of this." Tun Beraim Bapa answered, "I send my respects to His Highness, Lord of the Realm, tomorrow I will present myself before him." The two men went back and reported to the king what his son had said.

Then Tun Beraim Bapa said to Perman Isap and Orang Tikar, "Go, both of you, to my lord of Barah Bukit and call my old friend the *Pendekar*[5] of Pulau Kukur. Then go to Kampung Bangka and call my friend the *Pendekar* of Bangka. Then to Langgar to call my friend the champion of Langgar. Call my brothers in arms Malik Akasan and Ali, the *Pendekar* of Kampung China, and Tun Bijaya Pangliran, and Rawana Pematang with their fighting-men. Bring them back with you." So Perman Isap and Orang Tikar set off and called these champions and *pendekar.* They all came hotfoot, with angry looks 80 and deep frowns on their faces. They exclaimed, "Your Highness, in ages we your servants have never been summoned like this. Even if someone was about to be murdered surely it could have waited a little while."

Tun Beraim Bapa responded, "Listen all of you, my old friends and brothers in arms, I ordered that you be called together because His Highness has received a visit from certain foreigners. Their leader is a swashbuckler from Kalinga who has come here, proud

and mocking, to pick a fight, for there is no match for him in his own country. They are overflowing the big audience-hall and they are crowding the guest room, as they sit with their hair dangling free and swinging their legs from side to side." When Tun Beraim Bapa's men heard this they all replied, "Your Highness, if the Lord of the universe be on our side, by the will of God the Exalted we shall be the ones to meet the challenge of their leader, this
81 swashbuckler from Kalinga." Thereupon Tun Beraim Bapa said to Perman Isap and Orang Tikar, "Go, my old friends, both of you together, and fetch some gravel, one large basket each." They went off to fetch the gravel. But far from carrying back a basket each they could not manage to carry even half a basketful. So Tun Beraim Bapa himself went down to the shore to fetch the gravel. He brought two baskets, balancing one basket on his right side with one basket on his left. He did it just for the exercise, and, far from tiring him out, it did not even make him sweat.

Then Tun Beraim Bapa said to Perman Isap and Orang Tikar "My friends, call Wasat Makam and Wasat Perak to me." They were there in moment and Tun Beraim Bapa said to them, "Wasat Makam and Wasat Perak, go and beat the battle drum and sound

the war clarion for me. I am going to play a game with my masters and my old friends." So the two of them beat the battle drum and sounded the war 82
clarion. Tun Beraim [Bapa] gave a display of fencing in front of his instructors. He did it just for the exercise, and, far from tiring him out, this did not even make him sweat.

The Sultan, hearing the noise of the battle drum, was startled out of his sleep. He cried to Dara Zulaikha Tingkap:

"Hey! Maid, Zulaikha Tingkap!
Awake! Awake!
Child of those who cast their bodies
Into death fire for their chieftain![6]
You are guardian of my women,
You, entitled Tun Derma Dikara,
Why do you not awake?
Do you not hear the thudding
Of the battle drum at Tukas,
Beaten thudding thud upon thud
At first dawn, while the moon is still bright?
On such a night, whence
Can an enemy have come upon us?
How many can they be?
And who can their leader be?"

Roused suddenly from her sleep, Dara Zulaikha Tingkap jumped up, all flustered. Her wrap had slipped from her shoulder. Her hair had come undone and lay in tangles strewn with rose petals. "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm," she cried, "Why do you call me at the first light of dawn, on a night when the moon has been shining brightly in the south? When people are sound asleep?"

83 The king exclaimed,

"Hey! Maid, Zulaikha Tingkap!
You, entitled Tun Derma Dikara,
Do you not hear the thudding
Of the battle drum at Tukas,
Beaten thudding thud upon thud
At first dawn, while the moon is still bright?
On such a night, whence
Can an enemy have come upon us?
How many can they be?
And who can their leader be?
Tell the men outside the palace to see
who is there and who is not."

Tun Derma Dikara Tingkap roused herself and questioned the men outside the palace. Bermamat Pantai and Medana

Pantai said, "Here we all are outside the palace, the royal servants; Bujangga Baja Raya and Malik Sulaiman and Shah Alam Kota, all are outside the palace." Dara Zulaikha Tingkap said to them,

"Do you not hear the thudding
Of the battle drum at Tukas,
Being beaten again and again,
At dawn while the moon is still bright?
On such a night whence
Can an enemy have come upon us?
How many can they be?
And who can their leader be?
Find out what is happening."

So Bermamat Pantai [and Medana Pantai] went off to Tukas to see what was afoot. They found Tun Beraim 84
Bapa playing games with his instructors and his captains. At once the two men came back from Tukas. On their return they told Derma Dikara Tingkap, "We have just arrived back from Tukas. There is no enemy at all. It is just that Tun Beraim Bapa is playing games with his instructors and his captains, joking and frolicking with them." Dara Zulaikha Tingkap went in and said to

the king, "There is no enemy at all. It is just that Tun Beraim Bapa is joking and frolicking with his captains." Sultan Ahmad Perumudal Perumal's response was, "Hey! Maid, Zulaikha Tingkap, thou who art worthy to be called noble, this is my secret wish. Be careful that thou dost not reveal it to anyone at all: If I do not put this Beraim Bapa to death, may my kingdom come to an end and may I never taste the delights of Paradise."

When daybreak came Tun Beraim Bapa said to his maid, whose name was Dara Sipir, "Hey! Dara Sipir,
85 grind some powder up for me and squeeze the juice from a lime. I am going to bathe with my old friends and my instructors." So Dara Sipir opened a chest and took out a grinder. She squeezed the juice from a lime and mixed it with shampoo. Tun Beraim Bapa and his companions applied the powder and lime-juice to their bodies. Then they made their way to the river Simpang. When Tun Beraim Bapa had finished bathing he returned to his palace.

There he had a chest opened and the clothing taken out of it, so that he could provide his friends, his comrades and his captains with the finest costumes. Next, Tun Beraim Bapa put on his new attire; a sarong of fine

yellow *laya bena-bena* silk with a brightly coloured end, the border neatly worked in gold thread with a trellis pattern of woven gold, the fringe decorated with tinkling bells; a coat shimmering like the rays of the sun, with cloud buttons and bespangled with myriads of scarlet gems: a headcloth the colour of *china kepaluan* with jewel-encrusted edges of gold and fringes of pearls; a waist-belt and armlets; bracelets in the form of dragons with seven coils; a *keris* with 86
gem-studded hilt in a scabbard of gold. A sash held a sword flashing like lightning, with a jewelled sheath of *nikas* and he had a golden bow slung from his left shoulder.[7]

He was a handsome sight as he bore himself with dauntless pride and uttered gentle words, like a tiger without equal. Then, escorted by his party of captains and instructors before him, he strode off to vanquish the swashbucklers. Matchless was his gleaming bow, his coat flashed with all the colours of the rainbow, his sword clanged, his javelin was as if studded with gems. The leaders reached the outer gate and went inside the palace grounds. When the Sultan saw so many people coming in he was startled. He cried out in alarm to Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, "Hey! Maid, Zulaikha Tingkap. Go and see who are all those people

coming in." Dara Zulaikha Tingkap ordered a lookout at the outer gate, and they saw the leaders of Tun Beraim Bapa's party. So she said to the king, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, there is nothing amiss. It is only the leaders of Tun Beraim Bapa's party who have come in."

87 Tun Beraim Bapa arrived at the outer gate. There he bade Perman Isap and Orang Tikar, "My friends, go both of you to my mother Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, who is called Derma Dikara, and tell her to ask on my behalf for the winged horse called Semberani,[8] which was born of a Persian sire." So they went to Dara Zulaikha Tingkap and said, "Tun Derma Dikara, please lay before His Highness, the Lord of the Realm, the petition of Tun Beraim Bapa who asks for the winged horse called Semberani which was born of a Persian sire." Dara Zulaikha Tingkap went into the Sultan's presence and did obeisance. She said, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, Tun Beraim Bapa asks for the grey, winged horse called Semberani which was born of a Persian sire." The Sultan replied "Hey! Maid, Zulaikha Tingkap, that horse is one I can find no way to bridle. No man has ever ridden him, for he is uncontrollable. But if my son Beraim Bapa wishes

to mount the horse, give it to him at once with bridle and saddle."

Dara Zulaikha Tingkap ordered the horse to be brought out and handed over, with bridle and saddle, to Perman Isap and Orang Tikar. Immediately the two men took 88 the horse out and brought it to Tun Beraim Bapa. The Sultan went into the park to see Tun Beraim Bapa putting it through its paces. When Tun Beraim Bapa saw the Sultan coming, he stood facing him and, mindful of the duty he was undertaking, bowed to the ground. The Sultan said to Bermamat Pantai and Medana Pantai, "Tell my son Beraim Bapa that I order him to mount the horse in the presence of the foreigners, whose leader is a swashbuckler from Kalinga. Tell him to make the horse gallop to Tukas." Bermamat Pantai and Medana Pantai took the king's message to Tun Beraim Bapa. They said "Your Highness, your father says you are to mount the horse in the presence of the foreigners, whose leader is a swashbuckler from Kalinga."

Tun Beraim Bapa did obeisance to the Sultan. Then he leapt on the horse's back and, spurring it to action, made it prance round the park. Then, remembering again his duty to the Sultan which he had called to mind as he was about to mount the horse, he once more spurred

it on and the dust rose into the sky. Urging it on, he
89 set its head in the direction of Tukas. In a moment it vanished out of sight of the Sultan. Bursting into tears, the Sultan said, "Alas, my son has vanished. Where, oh where shall I look for him? He would not heed my words when I told him that the horse was uncontrollable. It has never been ridden by anyone." Then suddenly, in a flash, there was Tun Beraim Bapa in front of the Sultan, making the horse prance like a strutting peacock. The Sultan was amazed to see it as lively as a rogue elephant.

Then the Sultan said to Bermamat Pantai and Medana Pantai, "Go and tell my son Beraim Bapa that he is to give a display of fencing to the music of the drum in front of the foreigners whose leader is a swashbuckler from Kalinga. He must rid me of my shame." Bermamat Pantai and Medana Pantai took the Sultan's message to Tun Beraim Bapa. They said, "His Highness says that you must give a display of fencing to the music of the drum in front of the foreigners whose leader is a swashbuckler from Kalinga." Tun Beraim Bapa replied, "If that is what His Highness wants, I beg the favour of a sword and a
90 shield." The two men went back to the Sultan and said "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, your son begs the favour of a sword and a shield." The Sultan said to the

two men, "Go both of you and fetch the swords and the shields. Bring them here. My son shall take any one of the swords and shields he likes." The two men went at once and fetched all the swords and shields, which they brought before the Sultan. Tun Beraim Bapa did obeisance to the Sultan and proceeded to take his pick of the swords and shields. He chose a sword which was much larger than the rest and also a shield much larger than the others. Then he bowed to the Sultan and went down to the park. As he was leaving he rolled up his sarong. With his right hand he grasped the handle of his sword, with his left he held up his shield.

The drums were beaten and the clarion sounded. The noise was like a peal of thunder. Tun Beraim Bapa turned towards one of his instructors, the champion of Kampung Bedil, and fenced to the tune called Anyam. Then he challenged 91
another of his instructors, Pendekar Ali of Pulau Kukur, this time fencing to a tune of great sweetness called Puspa Ragam. After that he challenged another of his instructors, the champion of Kampung Bangka, who threw into the air a hard coconut. Tun Beraim Bapa slashed at the coconut and split it in two. One half vanished out of sight, the other fell to the ground with the water still in the shell. Tun Beraim Bapa then challenged another of his instructors, the champion of Kampung Langgar, who threw into the

air an areca nut. He slashed at it and cut it in two, one half vanishing out of sight, the other falling to the ground. Once more he challenged one of his instructors, Pendekar Ali of Kampung China, who thrust an areca palm into the ground. Tun Beraim Bapa cut through the trunk [so swiftly that] it did not fall. Only when a gust of wind came did the trunk fall, breaking into four pieces.

Tun Beraim Bapa jumped one pace to the right and one pace to the left, brandishing his shield. And lo, the shield vanished from sight, leaving the straps in his left hand.
92 He waved his sword and the blade disappeared, leaving only the hilt in his right hand. Then Tun Beraim Bapa prostrated himself and did obeisance to Sultan Ahmad, and his comrades did likewise. When the foreigners from Kalinga saw the prowess of Tun Beraim Bapa they were filled with terror and confusion. Chins trembling, they behaved like chickens afraid of the hawk. They exclaimed to each other, "Never in our lives have we seen a human being doing the things that this man Tun Beraim Bapa does. So far from our standing up to him in a fight, we feel afraid even to look him in the eyes."

The Sultan said, "Come, you champions of Kalinga, and take on these captains and fencers of mine." But the champions of Kalinga held their peace. Covering their

heads in shame they returned to their ship and sailed away. The Sultan said to Tun Beraim Bapa, "Breath of my life and light of my eyes, take your upriver people home with you." Then he left for his palace. Tun Beraim Bapa went back in company with his upriver people, his 93
instructors and old friends and comrades in high spirits to Tukas, where he entertained them royally with food and drink. Then they took leave of Tun Beraim Bapa and returned each to his own home.

It was on a Friday some time later that Tun Beraim Bapa went to Pasai for pleasure. Entering the Sultan's domain he went up the steps to the *lepau*, that is, the balcony of the palace. There he saw Tun Fatimah Lempau, whose title was Temian Layangan, making a wreath of flowers with Dara Zulaikha [Tingkap]. She was one of Sultan Ahmad's inferior wives. "Hullo! Tun Fatimah Lempau, for whom are you making that wreath?" asked Tun Beraim Bapa. "For the mosque", she answered. When Tun Beraim Bapa heard this, he came and stood leaning against a pillar of the *dalkhana*. When Tun Fatimah had completed the wreath, she lept up and ran with it into the palace. Tun Beraim Bapa was annoyed and ran after her, trying to catch her. He had just caught hold of the corner hem of her dress, when his shoulder bumped into a door of the palace and he reeled backwards. 94

The Sultan was jolted out of his slumber in the royal bedchamber. Now the palace had nineteen bays[9], and the girth of each of its pillars was as broad as a man can embrace, but it still shook as though there had been an earthquake. The Sultan, startled, called for Dara Zulaikha Tingkap and cried "Hey! Maid, Zulaikha Tingkap, what made the palace shake like that? Is it an earthquake?" Dara Zulaikha Tingkap went outside and saw Tun Beraim Bapa trying to catch Tun Fatimah Lempau. She returned into the Sultan's presence and said "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, there is nothing the matter, it was only your son Tun Beraim Bapa flirting with Tun Fatimah Lempau, his shoulder bumped into a door in the palace."

The Sultan was furious, and he said to Dara Zulaikha Tingkap:

> "Hey! Maid, Zulaikha Tingkap!
> You, entitled Tun Derma Dikara,
> Child of those who cast their bodies
> Into death fire for their chieftain,
> You whose birth-place was the Rahat river.
> You are guardian of my women in the palace.

Be careful that thou dost not reveal this wish of my heart to anyone at all. If I do not put this Beraim bapa to death, may my kingdom come to an end and may I never taste the delights of paradise." 95

Then and there Sultan Ahmad thought to himself, "How can I bring about Tun Beraim Bapa's death? I could take him upstream to the headwaters of the river, then have him put to death." His mind made up, the Sultan instructed Bermamat Pantai and Medana Pantai: "Go you two and call Tun Perpatih Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara, Baba Mentuha and my chiefs." Bermamat Pantai and Medana Pantai went to call them, and when they were assembled before him Sultan Ahmad said to his ministers and chiefs, "Listen my friends, let us go for a pleasure trip up the river. There we will enjoy ourselves eating crustaceans with eyes on stalks, and crabs with oar-like fins, and prawns with curling tails, and *lembedak* fish with roes, and catfish heavy with eggs." The Sultan ordered all the people to make ready to accompany him.

Then the Sultan said to his chiefs, "Who is the best person for us to leave here to keep guard in Pasai?" Baba Mentuha replied "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, in the opinion of your humble servant, the best person

to leave behind would be Tun Beraim Bapa, for he is a
96 champion." When the Sultan heard this he said, "No. Not Tun Beraim Bapa. Him we cannot leave behind. For then who would there be to catch fish for us and to use the casting net?" Malik Sulaiman Dendang Air said, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, if the words of your humble servant should meet with favour, it were best that Tun Abul Fadil be left behind to keep guard in Pasai." But the Sultan said "No. Abul Fadil must not be parted from us." Then Tun Perpatih Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara said, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, in the opinion of your humble servant, it is Tun Abdul Jalil who should remain behind. For he is very handsome. If he dresses in Javanese costume he looks like a Javanese; if in Chinese costume, like a Chinese; if in Siamese costume, like a Siamese; if in Arab costume, like an Arab." The Sultan said "Yes. Let us leave Abdul Jalil here."

Then the Sultan said to Bermamat Pantai and Medana Pantai, "Go to Tukas, both of you, and let Beraim Bapa know that I intend [to go for a pleasure trip up the river] to eat crustaceans with eyes on stalks, and crabs with oar-like fins, and prawns with curling tails, and *lembedak* fish with roes, and catfish heavy with eggs." So they both set
97 off for Tukas to see Tun Beraim Bapa. When they reached

Tukas they said to him, "Your Highness, your father the Sultan wishes to go to the headwaters of the river for a pleasure trip to Lubuk Turai. There he will eat crustaceans with eyes on stalks, and crabs with oar-like fins, and prawns with curling tails, and *lembedak* fish with roes, and catfish heavy with eggs. You must come at once to accompany your father upriver." Bermamat Pantai and Medana Pantai took leave of Tun Beraim Bapa and returned to the Sultan, to whom they conveyed Tun Beraim Bapa's obeisance.

Meanwhile Tun Beraim Bapa called Perman Isap and Orang Tikar and said to them, "My friends, go both of you to the chiefs at the headwaters of the river and tell them to clear the paths and to cut down the jungle by the side of the river. His Highness the Sultan wishes to go for a pleasure trip to Lubuk Turai. Then go on to Belatap and speak to Malim Zainal of Belatap and Malim Pagar Sesah; then to Pahat Putar and speak to Si Ali Kechil and Si Bintang Timur and Si Akap Gagah Mengangkat. Tell them to wait for me at Pantai Manggang." Perman Isap and Orang Tikar did obeisance, then went upriver to the 98 people there, letting them know that the Sultan was going on a pleasure trip.

Tun Beraim Bapa went up into his house and began to weep bitterly, he and his whole household. A little

while later he went into the market and stood there. "Listen, you market folk," he cried, "From now on there will be no one to rally you, no one to make sport with you. I am going to accompany the Sultan upriver and then on to Bukit Fudul Allah.[10] Whether I shall come back or not who knows?" The market folk answered, "Your Highness, Tun Beraim Bapa, what enemy is there, what foe that stands in Your Highness's way, that Your Highness should speak in this fashion? Even if the very bones of all of us, Your Highness's servants living here in Tukas, are broken, nobody shall be allowed to do what he pleases [to Your Highness]." Tun Beraim Bapa said, "Hold your peace, all of you. I, Tun Beraim Bapa, have no mind to be a traitor. If I wished to be a traitor, if against Pasai not even the whole of Pasai would prevail against me; if against Java not even the whole of Java would prevail against me; if against China not even the whole of China would prevail against me; if against Kalinga not even the whole of Kalinga would prevail against me. If there is to be no kingdom for me in this world I will yet gain one in the world to come."

Going through the outer gate, Tun Beraim Bapa met
99 Malik Sulaiman Dendang Air and said to him, "Listen, my old friend Malik Sulaiman Dendang Air, there will be no one now to make sport with you, for I am

going upriver to Bukit Fudul Allah. Whether I shall come back or not who knows?" Malik Sulaiman [heard his words] and together they wept bitterly. Once more Tun Beraim Bapa went back to his house. He and his whole household, his slaves and his attendants, were in tears.

His Highness the Sultan set out in the manner of rulers when they go on pleasure trips. He said to Bermamat Pantai and Medana Pantai, "Go, both of you, to Beraim Bapa and let him know that I have already started upriver." The king set off upriver taking with him his consort, his concubines and his slave-girls. Meanwhile Bermamat Pantai and Medana Pantai went to [call] Tun Beraim Bapa, who thereupon left his home, taking with him his two kinsmen. He went via the market-place, and there he cried, "You market folk, farewell all of you. I am going upriver to accompany the Sultan to the headwaters and on to Bukit Fudul Allah. Whether I shall come back or not who knows?" The market folk wept. Tears poured from their eyes as they said a prayer for Tun Beraim Bapa. Tun 100
Beraim Bapa went down to the fork of the river and there boarded a boat. Sitting in the stern he began to ply his paddle, which had a blade three cubits wide and a handle three times as thick as

the span of finger and thumb, and seven cubits long. Each time he plunged the paddle into the water, the boat leaped forward the length of one reach[11] of the river. One of his captains waded through the water carrying the royal umbrella, keeping pace with the boat, so strong was he.

The Sultan reached Lubuk Sanggung. There he said to Bermamat Pantai and Medana Pantai, "Tell that son of mine, Beraim Bapa, to go and catch fish with the casting net." So they told Tun Beraim Bapa to catch fish with the casting net and he went to fish in the pool at Lubuk Sanggung. As soon as he had cast the net he dived in. When the Sultan saw Tun Beraim Bapa diving in, he made a sign to his chiefs to wait for him to come to the surface. They drew their swords and took their javelins out of their sheaths to hack at Tun Beraim Bapa and stab him. But Tun Beraim Bapa swam under water for a distance of about one reach of the river. Then he broke surface and climbed out on to dry land.

101 As soon as the Sultan and his chiefs realised what had happened, they were much dismayed. With sullen looks on their faces, they sheathed their swords and put away their javelins. The Sultan resumed his journey upstream

to the headwaters of the river. As for Tun Beraim Bapa, he went on fishing. He caught a great many fish: crustaceans with eyes on stalks, crabs with oar-like fins, prawns with curling tails, *lembedak* fish with roes, and catfish heavy with eggs. These he ordered to be presented to Sultan Ahmad.

Tun Beraim Bapa moved on upriver and reached Pantai Manggang. All his captains were there, waiting for him on the river bank. Tun Beraim Bapa sat in the bows of his boat shaking the water out of his casting net. He said to his captains, "My friends, who will there be now to make sport with you? I am going upriver and on to Bukit Fudul Allah. Whether I shall come back or not who knows?" They all replied, "Why does Your Highness speak in this fashion? Even if every bone in our bodies is broken, no one shall be allowed to do what he pleases to Your Highness." But Tun Beraim Bapa said, "My comrades, hold your peace, all of you. I have no mind 102
to be a traitor. If I wished to be a traitor, if against Pasai not even the whole of Pasai would prevail against me; if against Siam not even the whole of Siam would prevail against me; if against China not even the whole of China would prevail against me; if against Java not even the whole of Java would prevail against me; if against

Kalinga not even the whole of Kalinga would prevail against me."

Then Si [Ali Kechil of] Pahat Putar, Si Bintang Timur, Si Akap Gagah Mengangkat, Malim Zainal and Malim Pagar Sesah did obeisance and said, "Why does Your Highness speak in this way?" But he replied, "Hold your peace. If there is to be no kingdom for me in this world I will surely gain one in the world to come."

Then Tun Beraim Bapa said to Si Ali Kechil of Pahat Putar and Malim Zainal of Belatap, "My old friends, please go and wrestle with each other, while I watch for a while." They grasped hands, then they grappled with each other. They went on heaving and tugging at one another until their legs sank into the [soft] ground up to their knees. Tun Beraim Bapa remarked, "So, my friends, you two are equally strong." Si Ali Kechil of Pahat Putar replied, "Your Highness, were I not afraid of being thought a traitor I would take on even Your Highness." Tun Beraim Bapa smiled at this. Laying his casting net down, he came ashore. There he sat down with his
103 legs stretched out. He told Si Ali Kechil of Pahat Putar to lift his legs up. Si Ali Kechil of Pahat Putar tried to lift Tun Beraim Bapa's legs. But so far

from being able to lift them, he could not make them budge even an inch, though he exerted himself with such force that ten drops of blood fell from his ten fingers. Then Tun Beraim Bapa jerked his legs and Si Ali Kechil of Pahat Putar went tumbling head over heels like a leaf blown about in the breeze. Tun Beraim Bapa smiled as he climbed back into his boat.

Meanwhile Sultan Ahmad had reached Tanjung Ara. But the king's boat and those of his chiefs chanced to run into a log which lay at Tanjung Ara. The king ordered his chiefs and his men to heave the log out of the way. But they could not move it. So the king called up the elephants. Their names were Dola Laut, Chermin China, Raja Beruang, Raja Tangkas, Biram Pasai, Sempurna Derma Utama, Seri Negeri, Arak Api and there were others besides these. But all of them together still could not break the log.

The Sultan instructed Bermamat Pantai and Medana Pantai, "Go, both of you, and summon my son Tun Beraim Bapa." They both went off, and when they arrived they did obeisance and said, "Your Highness, Tun Beraim Bapa, 104
our lord the Sultan has ordered that you be summoned because his boat has run into a log at Tanjung Ara. He

ordered his chiefs and his men and the royal elephants to heave aside the log. But they are unable to move it. The only thing is for Your Highness to come at once."

So Tun Beraim Bapa was about to leave for Tanjung Ara, when Si Ali Kechil of Pahat Putar, Si Bintang Timur, Si Akap Gagah Mengangkat, Malim Zainal of Belatap and Malim Pagar Sesah did obeisance and said, "Your Highness, our rice is already cooked and our chickens slaughtered for the pot. Will not Your Highness stay here just a few minutes?" But Tun Beraim Bapa replied, "My friends and comrades, I can only ask you all to excuse me, because I have received an urgent summons from my lord the Sultan, so it feels just as if the curry were already in my stomach."

Tun Beraim Bapa left them and set off for Tanjung Ara. As soon as the Sultan saw him, he said, "My son, look at this boat of mine and those of my chiefs. They are stranded on this log. What can we do about it?" Tun Beraim Bapa prostrated himself and did obeisance. Then he went down to the log and felt his way along it from one end to the other. He pushed it this way and that and cried, "You chiefs, hold fast on to the boat of my lord the Sultan." So saying, he dived down to the log and again felt his

way along it from one end to the other. Drawing his knife, he hacked at the log and cut through it. Then he gave it a hefty kick and the two halves flew apart. One half went hurtling upstream and landed about two reaches away. Cascades of water poured down on to the boats and set them adrift. Some capsized, others collided with each other, others were cast up into the forest, so violent was the force of the water which fell on them, so powerful the waves set up by the log breaking. The Sultan's boat itself was carried away a distance of about one reach.

Once again Tun Beraim Bapa dived in and remained a long time under the water. The Sultan pretended to weep, saying between his tears, "Oh, my poor child, Tun Beraim Bapa. Have you vanished for good? Did the log fell on top of you? Light of my eyes and fruit of my heart, where can you be now? What mischief can have befallen you?" Meanwhile Tun Beraim Bapa was making his way upriver under the water, dragging the other half of the log with him, for a distance of about five reaches. Then, still holding the log, he climbed ashore. The log he stuck into the ground. It went into the ground to a depth of about four fathoms. Then he sat down on top of it and started shaking the water out of his hair and plucking at his nail protectors.[12]

Meanwhile the Sultan went back downstream. All Tun Beraim Bapa's followers, his maids-in-waiting, his servants and the ladies of the court attending him, were tearing their hair and weeping copious tears. "Alas," they cried, "Your Highness Tun Beraim Bapa, has Your Highness vanished for good?" Now there was a man walking further up the river who had seen Tun Beraim Bapa sitting on top of the log. When he reached the place where they were all weeping he asked, "Why are you all in tears?" They answered, "Because we do not know whether our master Tun Beraim Bapa has vanished for good, or may even be dead." But the man said, "Well, as for Tun Beraim Bapa, I have just seen him further up the river sitting on the bank, shaking the water out of his hair and plucking at his nail protectors." Immediately everyone ran off upriver to find him.

When the Sultan learned that Tun Beraim Bapa was still alive, he said to Bermamat Pantai and Medana Pantai, "Go, you two, and call the royal sorcerers for me." They
107 went to call the royal sorcerers who came at once. The Sultan said to them, "Royal sorcerers, go and make me a body-warming tonic.[13] My son Beraim Bapa has been in the water, perhaps he is feeling cold." The royal sorcerers made some cakes,[14] and in the cakes they put poison.

When they made them they presented them to the Sultan, who instructed Bermamat Pantai and Medana Pantai, "Go and take this warm tonic to my son. He must be feeling chilled after being in the water." So the two of them went away taking with them the hot tonic. When they reached Tun Beraim Bapa they said, "Here is something to eat for you sent by your father, a hot tonic, for Your Highness must be feeling chilled after being in the water."

Now Tun Beraim Bapa knew about the poison. He took one of the cakes and, breaking it in half, threw one piece to a dog. The dog ate it and immediately fell dead. The other piece he threw to a chicken, and the chicken likewise died. Tun Beraim Bapa thought to himself, "If I eat this I shall certainly die. But if I do not eat it I shall be a traitor. It is better that I should die than be called a traitor."[15] So he took 108
another of the cakes, and was about to eat it when Tun Medam Peria saw what he was doing. Quickly she snatched the cake from her brother's hand, ate it herself, and at once fell dead. Tun Beraim Bapa took another cake, but it was snatched by his sister Tun Takiah Dara, who ate it and also fell dead. Tun Beraim Bapa ordered [their bodies] to be taken to Bukit Fudul Allah and buried there.

Then Tun Beraim Bapa took the cakes that remained after his sisters had eaten theirs and ate them himself. The poison permeated his whole body. His whole body itched. He asked his friends Perman Isap and Orang Tikar to scratch him. But as soon as they started scratching Tun Beraim Bapa's back all their nails came out and they fell dead. Tun Beraim Bapa could endure the torment no longer. He went up to a *kulur* tree and rubbed his back against the trunk. But all the bark peeled off, all the leaves fell and the tree instantly died.

He said to Malik Akasan, "My old friend Malik Akasan, where is there a deep pool in the river?", Malik Akasan replied "Your Highness, I have heard a tale that old folk tell of a deep pool in the river called the Pool of Turai. It is enormously deep, and only about the width of a seed basket." Tun Beraim Bapa said, "My friend, take me there." So Tun Beraim Bapa made his way to the Pool of Turai. When he reached the spot he said, "Malik Akasan, my friend, go and cast a net." Malik Akasan cast a net. It started twisting round and round and descended into the Pool of Turai. Tun Beraim Bapa asked, "My friend, how are you going to get the net back? You can't pull it up because it has become caught on the

horns of the *lembu* snake." Malik Akasan dived under the water for the net. But he saw that in the pool there was a red glow, as if a fire were blazing. Quickly he came to the surface and gained the bank. "Your Highness," he said, "in the pool there is a red glow like a blazing fire."

Tun Beraim Bapa said, "Fetch me a coil of rattan." Then, girding himself and holding a talisman in his hand, he fastened the coil of rattan to his waist and plunged into the water. He caught the fish trapped by the net in the pool, taking a very large number. He came to the surface and threw the fish, strung on the rattan, onto the bank. Once again he plunged into the water. This time he encountered the *lembu* snake. The *lembu* snake seized him and he struggled in its coils. The next moment he had gained a grip on the snake. The water in the pool seethed and boiled like the waves of the ocean. When Tun Beraim Bapa's followers, his maids-in-waiting and the ladies of the court saw what was happening to him they cried, "Alas for His Highness Tun Beraim Bapa, it looks as though he is being eaten by the *lembu* snake."

But Tun Beraim Bapa drew his knife and slaughtered the *lembu* snake. After it was dead he slit open its stomach. All the inside of its body, its entrails,

heart and liver, came to the surface of the water. Tun Beraim Bapa cut the *lembu* snake's carcase into pieces and threaded it on to pieces of rattan. Then he came to the surface and threw the flesh of the *lembu* snake on to the bank. Climbing on to the bank himself, he ordered the flesh to be burnt. The *lembu* snake's venom was so powerful that anyone who breathed the smoke would die instantly. Tun Beraim Bapa ate up all the flesh of the snake.

111

Tun Beraim Bapa began to feel very weak. He ordered that all the fish he had caught be presented to Sultan Ahmad and that the Sultan be asked where he should be buried. Men set off with the fish, and presented them to the Sultan. "Your Highness," they said, "Tun Beraim Bapa begs you to say where he is to be buried, should he die." The Sultan replied, "Yonder is the place where you should bury him. For if Pasai is the land of God, so also is that place the land of God." The men did obeisance, and returned to Tun Beraim Bapa. When they arrived, they reported to Tun Beraim Bapa all that the Sultan had said. Tun Beraim Bapa said to Malik Akasan, "My friend, take me to Bukit Fudul Allah."

Then Tun Beraim Bapa set out with his friends and his kinsmen. Presently they came to a fork in the road. Malik Akasan said, "Your Highness, here the way divides in two. By this route it is two days' journey. By the other it is but a single day's journey before we reach Bukit Fudul Allah. But along this route stands the *sabasani* tree which has the form of a snake. Whosoever sets eyes on it trembles all over and falls to the ground lifeless. Beyond that, one comes to the *beluru* tree which has the form of a scaly dragon, and whosoever sets eyes on it likewise trembles until he falls lifeless." Tun Beraim Bapa replied, "My friend, take me by the shorter route."

112

Tun Beraim Bapa continued on his journey. Presently he came to the *sabasani* tree. When he caught sight of it he was startled, and he drew his knife. He struck a blow at the tree and there came out of it a shrill cry like that of a human being, and blood like human blood flowed from it. He continued onwards and came to the *beluru*[16] tree. When he caught sight of it, he was startled and he took out a javelin and thrust it into the *beluru* tree. Out of the tree there came a noise like an elephant trumpeting, while blood like human blood flowed from it.

As Tun Beraim Bapa continued on his journey, he became weaker and weaker. At last he said, "My old friend Malik Akasan, I pray you carry me, for I can no longer go on walking." So Malik Akasan carried Tun Beraim Bapa astride his hip. When they reached a certain spot Tun
113 Beraim Bapa could endure the journey no longer. He told [Malik Akasan] to put him down on the ground. Then he took his spear and hurled it, saying, "My friend Malik Akasan, were I minded to be a traitor, if it were against Pasai not even the whole of Pasai would prevail against me; if against Siam not even the whole of Siam would prevail against me; if against Kalinga not even the whole of Kalinga would prevail against me. But I have no wish to be a traitor. Look, my friend Malik Akasan, in whatever place my spear falls, there will I be buried."

Now the spear had landed at Bukit Fudul Allah. A moment later Tun Beraim Bapa passed away, to the mercy of God the Exalted. Malik Akasan carried his body, with his friends and companions, to Bukit Fudul Allah, in the manner that a fakir is carried. When they reached Bukit Fudul Allah they found that the spear had struck the ground between the graves of his two sisters. It had penetrated the soil so deeply that only about one cubit was visible. Now the shaft of Tun Beraim Bapa's spear was twice as thick as the

span of finger and thumb. Its blade was one cubit wide and nine cubits long. The spot where the spear had struck the ground was about half a day's journey away [from where he had thrown it]. Malik Akasan and all the people accompanying him buried Tun Beraim Bapa at the very place where the spear had fallen. Soon 114
the news that the prince was dead reached Sultan Ahmad. The Sultan was very pleased, his mind much relieved. The Sultan returned to Pasai, home to his palace.

Now there is a story which has been handed down to us about Tun Abdul Jalil, during the time he remained behind looking after the city of Pasai. He was told by the Sultan to make improvements to the city, the market-places and the parks, and to bank up the low-lying ground until it was all level parkland.[17]



Part Three

The Victories of Majapahit

There is a story told of Princess Gemerenchang, the daughter of the King of Majapahit in Java. She was unmarried, because she [was very particular, and] wanted to find and marry a prince who was both wise and courageous. The princess ordered one of her chiefs, whose name was Tun Perpatih Jena, to visit different countries and to draw portraits of the princes he found in those countries. He was to take with him a box of writing paper, a container of ink and a bundle of reed-pens.[1] Tun Perpatih Jena had a boat made ready and sailed from one country to another,

drawing portraits of the princes he found in each of them. By the time he reached Pasai, Tun Perpatih Jena had sketched some ninety-nine princes altogether. When he
115 saw Tun Abdul Jalil he drew a portrait of him; so this portrait, together with the others, brought the total to an even hundred. Then he left Pasai and sailed for his own country.

After some time he reached the land of Java, and went to see Princess Gemerenchang, taking with him the portraits of the princes. Princess Gemerenchang looked through the portraits of the ninety-nine princes. None of them took her fancy. But when she saw the portrait of Tun Abdul Jalil she was amazed at how handsome he looked. She asked Tun Perpatih Jena, "Whose portrait is this? What is his name? And in what land does he live?" Tun Perpatih Jena replied respectfully, "Your Highness, this is the portrait of one Tun Abdul Jalil by name, a prince in the land of Pasai." Princess Gemerenchang fell deeply in love with Tun Abdul Jalil, just from seeing his likeness in a picture.

The time came when Princess Radin Galoh Gemerenchang could no longer endure the yearning of her heart. She behaved like one out of her mind. When she ate it did

not satisfy her hunger, when she drank her thirst was not assuaged. The princess's maids-in-waiting and the ladies of the court told her mother and father how she was out 116
of her mind through seeing a picture of Tun Abdul Jalil. When the king and queen of Majapahit heard that their daughter was behaving in this way they were shocked and much disturbed. They sent for Princess Gemerenchang and said to her, "Child, what is this sadness in your heart?" Princess Gemerenchang answered, "Your Highness, as for this sadness which God the Exalted has suffered to enter my heart, it is a sadness immeasurably deep. The picture of Tun Abdul Jalil, a prince in the land of Pasai, I cannot banish from my mind for a single moment, and because of him I feel utterly forlorn. As the poem goes:

> 'Misfortunes poured on me
> and the days have become like nights,'[2]

meaning that 'this sadness lies so heavily upon me that these days are like a night.'"

When the Emperor heard his daughter Princess Gemerenchang speaking in this way, his anxiety became all the greater. He thought to himself, "If I do not give

117 in to my child's wishes it is certain that her sorrow will drive her out of her mind." He said to her, "My child, be patient a while. If it please God the Exalted I will find a way of sorting out your troubles." But the Princess answered, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, I am not able to wait in patience. If Your Highness really feels compassion and sympathy for me, will you not have me sent at once to this country of Pasai? Otherwise I shall surely die of a broken heart."

When her father and mother heard what Radin Galoh said, the king at once issued a decree ordering a fleet of *gorab*[3] and galleys and junks to be made ready. When the fleet was ready the king ordered one of the largest *gorab* to be fitted out with suitable decoration to carry his daughter Radin Galoh Gemerenchang. It was adorned with costly materials presented by the Emperor to the princess: items from the regalia, costumes of the finest cloth and of diverse colours, ornaments of gold, silver and gems; and
118 there were captains and courtiers and servants [who were to accompany her].

On an auspicious day the Emperor went in state with his chiefs and his troops to conduct his daughter the princess

to the water's edge. When they arrived there, the princess bowed in obeisance and took leave of her father and mother. The Emperor and Empress were in tears as they embraced and kissed her. Then the princess went on board the *gorab* which had been furnished for her, together with her maids-in-waiting, her old retainers and the ladies of the court. The officers went on board their boats and the princess and those with her took their departure. By night and day the princess and those accompanying her sailed on towards the city of Pasai.

According to the story which has come down to us, the news soon spread that a fleet bringing Radin Galoh Gemerenchang, the daughter of the king of Majapahit, was on its way from Java to the land of Pasai, because the princess was in love with Tun Abdul Jalil. When Sultan Ahmad heard it, day and night he became obsessed with one idea only, how to find some way of putting Tun Abdul Jalil to death. One day he said to Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, "Hey! Maid, Zulaikha Tingkap, understand that this is 119
something you must *never* reveal to anyone at all: if I do not put Abdul Jalil to death, may my kingdom pass away and may I never come to possess Princess Gemerenchang." He cast round for some means of bringing about the death

of Tun Abdul Jalil. When an auspicious moment occurred, he ordered that Tun Abdul Jalil be slain and he was slain. And when Tun Abdul Jalil had returned to the mercy of God the Exalted, the Sultan ordered his corpse to be cast into the sea at Jambu Air.

After some time, the fleet carrying Radin Galoh Gemerenchang reached the anchorage at Jambu Air. The whole convoy was lying at anchor in the roads off Jambu Air when a fishing boat came out from the estuary. The men in the junks saw the boat and when it approached the vessels they called out, "What is the name of this land?" The fisherman answered, "This land is named Pasai." The men in the junks called out again, "What are the tidings in this land?" and the fisherman answered, "The tidings are that the rhinoceros has eaten its young." "We do not understand what your words mean," said the men. "They mean," the fisherman replied, "that my lord the Sultan, who rules this land of Pasai, has put two of his sons to death. The first, named Tun Beraim Bapa, was put to death because the Sultan fell in love with his own daughters, one named Tun Medam Peria and the other Tun Takiah Dara. The other son, named Tun Abdul Jalil, he had put to death and cast into the sea here at Jambu

Air, because he heard that Princess Gemerenchang was coming from Java, because she had fallen in love with Tun Abdul Jalil. The Sultan had Tun Abdul Jalil's body cast into the sea. That was what we meant by 'the rhinoceros has eaten its young.'"

What the fisherman had said was reported to Princess Gemerenchang. When she heard the news the fisherman had brought, she beat her breast and wept. Then she said, "Listen, all of you, my chiefs and people. Go back to Java to my father and mother. If what I am about to do is wrong or foolish, I can only beg forgiveness at their feet. Tell my father and mother what you have heard and what you have seen." Then the princess spoke to the people in the vessel, "Listen, all of you who are in this *gorab*. Those of you who wish to stay with me, remain here. Those of you who wish to go back, transfer yourselves to another boat. For the sake of my loved one, Tun Abdul Jalil who is in this sea, it is my resolve that here I also shall find my place of rest."[4]

The princess said a prayer to God the Exalted. These were her words: "O God, O Lord, may it please Thee to grant

that thy servant may die, that my *gorab* may sink here in the Jambu Air sea and that thus I may be united with Tun Abdul Jalil." And it came about by the decree of God the Exalted that the *gorab* sank beneath the waves. The other vessels turned back towards Java.

There is a story which has been handed down to us, that when Sultan Ahmad heard the news that Princess Gemerenchang had been drowned he plucked at his fingers, and there was no end to his self-reproach at having killed Tun Beraim Bapa and Tun Abdul Jalil so great was his remorse. He said to his chiefs, "You, my chiefs, should have stopped me putting my sons to death." Tun Perpatih Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara replied, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, you know the saying,

'Whose pepper is it in the shed?
122 *Rana senjana kerati*[5]
Whose place is it to mourn the dead?
You are to blame that they've departed.'"

Meanwhile, the fleet which had brought Princess Gemerenchang arrived back in the land of Java. They went into the presence of the Emperor and told him

the story of how Princess Gemerenchang had drowned herself. They also brought the news that the Sultan in the land of Pasai had put his own sons to death. When the Emperor of Majapahit heard the tidings they brought, he and the Empress shed tears of great anguish. They hurled themselves on the ground and fell unconscious in a swoon.

When the Emperor recovered from his swoon, he instructed his prime minister to order his ministers and high-ranking commanders, the people and the troops to assemble. Then he directed them to prepare an armada fully armed for an attack on the land of Pasai – about four hundred of the largest junks, and also many barges and galleys. When the fitting out of the armada had been completed, the functionaries, the commanders and the rank and file embarked on their appointed vessels, with their arms and provisions. The ruler commanded that an officer of the highest rank, with the title of *Senapati Ing Laga*,[6] [be put in 123
command] and under him were hundreds of other officers and commanders.

On an auspicious day the whole fleet set sail for the land of Pasai. When it reached the anchorage at Pasai they went

ashore and built a line of fortifications all along the coast. When that was finished they took up their positions behind it. Meanwhile Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara went before Sultan Ahmad and told him that the enemy from Majapahit had established themselves in a fortified position. The Sultan was very pleased to hear this. "Tomorrow," he said, "We will go out against the enemy." Then he commanded Tun Bijaya Pangliran, whom he had put in command, to get together a great multitude of his subjects.

The next day the war drums were sounded on both sides. The troops were standing by on the field of battle. The two armies advanced. In the fighting that ensued a large number of men were killed or injured. Then the drums were sounded for a retreat and both armies withdrew into their positions. So the fighting continued day after day. It lasted about three months, without either side being defeated. For in support of the Javanese troops there came a continuous stream of reinforcements from other lands.

124 When the Senapati saw that the battle was indecisive, he became very angry with the commanders in his army.

Then he himself went ashore with about a thousand of his warriors. At the same time he ordered every man in the armada to disembark from the *gorabs* and junks, armed for the fight. Sultan Ahmad too assembled his captains and his warriors of renown; the *Pendekar* of Pulau Kukur and the *Pendekar* of Kampung Bangka, the champion of Langgar, the *Pendekar* of Kampung China, Si Ali Kechil of Pahat Putar, Malik Akasan and Tun Rawana Pematang. He also collected innumerable elephants, horses and troops.

At daybreak the war drums were sounded in the ranks of both armies. All the troops emerged from their fortified positions and stood facing the enemy on the battlefield. Fighting broke out on all sides. So deeply locked in combat were the troops that one man could not be distinguished from another. The clash of arms shook the very ground. The cries of the captains and their men sounded like thunder rolling across the sky. The blood of men flowed like a stream. As for the Majapahit troops, an endless stream came off the junks to the aid of their comrades, 125 including many from countries which were the allies of the ruler of Majapahit. The battle went on without pause for three days and three nights. Of the leaders, warriors

and captains and the rank and file, countless numbers lay dead.

They reported to the Sultan, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, many of our captains and warriors and men lie dead, countless numbers of them." The Sultan sighed, "Alas for my son Beraim Bapa. If only he were here! For if he were to fight against Java not even the whole of Java would prevail against him; if he fought against China not even the whole of China would prevail against him; if he fought against Kalinga not even the whole of Kalinga would prevail against Beraim Bapa." In response, Tun Perpatih Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara recited the verse:

"Whose pepper is it in the shed
Since from the stems the corns were parted?
Whose place is it to mourn the dead?
You are to blame that they've departed."

After that, Sultan Ahmad abandoned his palace, taking with him the people of his household and his regalia, everything that could be moved. He went to a place called Menduga. There he set up his court, about fifteen days journey from
126 the town of Pasai. Now according to the story which has

come down to us, when the battle had been raging for three days and three nights the men of Pasai were routed, and they scattered in all directions, fleeing this way and that in confusion. The Majapahit forces entered Pasai and penetrated Sultan Ahmad's palace itself. They took an enormous amount of booty and innumerable captives. The soldiers and other people remained a considerable time in Pasai, eating and drinking their fill.

Now on the battlefield at Pasai there was a wild mango tree. It was against this tree that the soldiers piled their lances. So many lances were piled against it that the tree actually leaned over. So the place was called Padang Pauh Bengkok,[7] a name by which it is known to the present day.

When the Javanese had occupied Pasai for some time, the Senapati set the functionaries, the commanders and the troops to work loading their boats. Every boat was loaded with such quantities of booty and prisoners that it was filled to overflowing, so that the fleet looked like ducks swimming in the water, that's what they looked like. They 127
all set sail for a triumphal return to their homeland. The sound of their cheering was heard over the whole sea. After

several days' sailing they reached Jambi and Palembang and called in there. These two places gave hostages and handed over their arms, both of them becoming vassals of Majapahit.

[When the fleet had reached home waters….] they all went ashore and into the presence of the Emperor and Empress. The Senapati gave the booty and the captives to the Emperor. Then he told him about the fighting from beginning to end. He described how the city of Pasai had been reduced and how its ruler had fled nobody knew whither. The Emperor ordered the booty to be divided into three parts: one part for himself, one for the Senapati and his officers and commanders, and one for the rank and file of his troops.

The Senapati proceeded to present the hostages from Jambi and Palembang, with all their weapons, to the Emperor. He explained how these two places had been brought into subjection to the Emperor. As for the Pasai prisoners, the Emperor made a decree ordering them to remain in Java, but allowing them liberty to settle in it anywhere they pleased.
128 That is the reason why there are in Java so many venerated Muslim tombs, dating from the time of the conquest of Pasai by Majapahit. So goes the story which has come down to us.

Now there is a story that some time after this the Emperor gave a command to Patih Gajah Mada, Temenggung Machan Negara, Demang Singa Perkuasa and Senapati Ing Laga. These were his words: "My ministers and commanders, what do you think we should do about the countries, the bays and river-reaches and islands that are not yet subject to us? I think you should attack them." They answered, "We will all do as Your Highness commands." So Patih Gajah Mada set the captains and the people and soldiers to work to fit out an expeditionary force, complete with arms and equipment, pennoned lances and standards, colours and tasseled ensigns. When all was ready Patih Gajah Mada, in company with his officers and commanders, went into the audience-hall before the Emperor. They all did obeisance and squatted down. Patih Gajah Mada reported, "Your Highness, all is now ready in accordance with Your Highness's decree. There are six hundred vessels under the command of three senior 129 commanders: that is, Temenggung Machan Negara, Demang Singa Perkuasa and Senapati Ing Laga, Your Highness. And besides these, there are the subordinate officers, the *ngabehi*,[8] the *lurah*, the *bebekal*, the *patinggi* and troops, numbering three hundred thousand in all, Your Highness."

The Emperor said, "Be patient, we must wait for an auspicious day." Then he entertained his functionaries, his commanders and his troops with much feasting. For seven days and seven nights they enjoyed themselves to the accompaniment of all kinds of music. When it was over the Emperor presented suits of clothing to his functionaries, his commanders, his captains and all the people, to each man according to his rank. After he had regaled them with refreshments he said, "My functionaries and commanders, the first territory I want you to bring into subjection is that of the Raja of Hujung Tanah."[9]

Taking leave of the Emperor, the functionaries, commanders and captains each went to his appointed station in the fleet, which forthwith set sail for the land of Hujung Tanah. All the islands they reached, great and small, became vassals and paid tribute: the Tambelan Islands, Siantan, Jemaja, Bunguran, Serasan, Subi, Pulau Laut, Tiuman, Pulau Tinggi, Pemanggilan; and after that Karimata, Belitung, Bangka, Lingga, Riau, Bintan, Bulang – all these became vassals of Majapahit.

130

Then the fleet sailed over to the mainland of Kalimantan and subjugated Sambas, Mempawah and Sukadana. After that, it went to Kota Waringin and then to Banjarmasin. Next, they went on to Pasir, Kutai and Berau. All these places were subdued during this period and made subject

to Majapahit. To the king of Majapahit they all sent tribute. About two monsoon seasons passed. Then the whole fleet set sail again towards the east, to Bandan Island and Siran and Larantoka. All these countries in the east became vassals of the king of Majapahit in these days of long ago, according to the tradition which has been handed down to us. To the king of Majapahit they all sent tribute. Then the fleet returned home, calling at Bima, Sumbawa, Seleparang, Bali and Blambangan, all of which were brought into subjection.

131

In due course the whole fleet returned to Majapahit in triumph. The functionaries and commanders went ashore and were received in audience by the Emperor. To him they presented the spoils of victory: hostages, tribute, the offerings of subject states and islands great and small, in such vast quantities that nobody could count them. There were objects of every colour, gold and silver, dollar pieces,[10] weapons, cloths of variegated hue, iron pyrites, beeswax,[11] birds' nests, rattan sleeping-mats, strips of palm leaf, in quantities altogether beyond counting. The Emperor commanded that the spoils be divided into three parts, one part for the Emperor himself, one for the functionaries and officers, and the other part for the troops.

The Emperor was famous for his love of justice. The empire grew prosperous. People in vast numbers thronged the city. At this time every kind of food was in great abundance. There was a ceaseless coming and going of people from the territories overseas which had submitted
132 to the king, to say nothing of places inside Java itself. Of the districts on the coast, from the most distant west and the most distant east, from inland right down to the shores of the Southern Ocean, the people all came for an audience with the Emperor, bringing tribute and offerings. From the east they came from Bandan Island, from Siran and from Larantoka, bringing their offerings of beeswax, sandalwood, massoia bark, cinnamon, cloves and nutmeg piled high in heaps, besides much ambergris and musk.

Majapahit was a very lively place. Everywhere one went there were gongs and drums being beaten, people dancing to the strains of all kinds of soft, agreeable music, entertainments of many kinds like live theatre, shadow-plays, masked plays, step-dancing and musical dramas. These entertainments went on day and night in the land of Majapahit. Food was

in plentiful supply. Everywhere there were people going to and fro in countless numbers.

After some time a thought occurred to the Emperor, "Every country has submitted to me except Pulau Percha, which alone remains unsubdued. I will employ a ruse to force Pulau Percha into subjection. I will order a buffalo contest to take 133
place." Now the Emperor owned a certain buffalo as large as a rogue elephant. The tips of its horns were six cubits apart. At their base the horns were four spans of finger and thumb in circumference. Its eyes were red like saga beans.[12]

It is related that the Emperor told a courtier to summon Patih Gajah Mada. The courtier did obeisance and left for the Patih's house. On reaching it he said, "Sir, the Emperor calls you." So the prime minister left home and went to the Emperor. On reaching the audience-hall, he bowed and did obeisance to the Emperor. Then he squatted down. A silver vessel containing *sirih* was brought in. After the Emperor had taken some *sirih* he said, "Patih, what do you think? Should we now make Pulau Percha submit to us? For it has not yet been brought into subjection to us as have all other places." The Patih replied, "I, your humble servant accept whatever

you wish, Your Highness."[13] The Emperor continued, "We can employ a ruse: let us pit my huge buffalo against Patih Suatang's buffalo. If his buffalo loses, force him into complete submission. If it is our buffalo that loses, come back with all speed."

134 Doing obeisance, Patih Gajah Mada went out and set the functionaries, the commanders and the troops to work at fitting out an expeditionary force. When everything was ready they all boarded their vessels with their stores and arms. The fleet numbered five hundred vessels in all. The commanders who sailed with it were the same three as before. There were also many subordinate officers, like the *ngabehi*, *aria*, *lurah*, *pembekel*, *patinggi*, *kebayan*[14] and two hundred thousand troops. The Emperor bestowed gifts on the commanders and gave refreshments to the troops. The feasting went on for three days and three nights.

When an auspicious day arrived, the functionaries and the commanders did obeisance to the Emperor and took leave of Patih Gajah Mada. Then each of them went to his appointed station in the fleet which set sail for

Jambi. After some time at sea they reached Jambi and made their way up the river. Arriving at Priangan in the hinterland of Jambi they disembarked from the boats.

News of their arrival reached Patih Suatang, who gathered together his chiefs and people to receive the Javanese. Meanwhile the Javanese commanders reached Priangan and 135 made a halt there to erect a temporary encampment. When this had been done one of the commanders was sent to Patih Suatang to let him know that they wanted to hold a buffalo contest. When the commander arrived, Patih Suatang at once greeted him with compliments and bade him be seated. The commander respectfully sat down. Then he presented the proposal of the commander-in-chief to hold a buffalo contest. Patih Suatang replied, "Yes, I agree. But I ask for seven days' grace, for I shall have to find a buffalo to fight the Emperor's buffalo." On his return the commander reported to the three senior commanders what Patih Suatang had said.

Now Patih Suatang and Patih Ketemenggungan, so the story goes, took a buffalo-calf which looked a strong and sturdy animal. After five days the open space at Priangan

was made ready. This buffalo-calf was put in a pen and allowed no milk. When the seven days' grace was up the soldiers on both sides drew up in lines across the open
136 piece of ground. The three senior commanders came to an agreement with Patih Suatang and Patih Ketemenggungan. It was that "If the buffalo of the Emperor of Majapahit loses, we Javanese will dress ourselves down to the ankles in women's clothes. If your buffalo loses, you must submit to the Emperor of Majapahit." To this Patih Suatang said, "Very well. I agree."

Then the men of Majapahit released their buffalo. The animal looked like a lion spoiling for a fight as it prowled round the ground. Meanwhile Patih Suatang released the buffalo-calf. It was so famished that it sped towards the large buffalo like lightning. Getting between the hind legs of the beast it started sucking at its testicles and would not let go. The large buffalo spun round in a frenzy. It tried to use its horns but to no purpose, because the calf was underneath its legs. It ran this way and that, but still the buffalo-calf would not let go of its testicles. The large buffalo let out shriek after shriek and rolled over and over on its back.

So the king of Majapahit's buffalo was defeated. The noise of the people cheering was like thunder rolling. The three senior commanders were covered in shame and wanted to go home. But Patih Suatang and Patih Ketemenggungan 137
said to them "Please, you commanders of the Emperor, our brothers, will you not remain a day or two longer? We would like to make merry in your company, as a mark of our good fellowship, by holding a feast for you all." The commanders replied, "Very well, if you wish we will stay."

Patih Suatang had hundreds of animals slaughtered for his guests' refreshment: buffaloes, bulls, goats, ducks and chickens. For drink they prepared hundreds of jars of liquor made from fermented sugar and flavoured rice-spirit. They put this into vessels made of single sections of the *telang* bamboo,[15] the open top being sharpened to a very fine point.[16] They prepared thousands of drinks.

When everything was ready, Patih Suatang said to his chiefs and his people, "Listen, all of you. When our guests have eaten, you must bring in the liquor in these vessels, each of you carrying one vessel. Then you offer to pour the liquor

into their mouths, all at the same time, taking one man each. When they open their mouths you must ram the vessels down their throats. The beat of a drum will be a signal for you all to thrust downwards at the same instant, so that they will all be killed."

When this had been agreed, Patih Suatang told one of 138 his chiefs to let the Javanese commanders know that they should seat themselves in lines on the field, near the town of Priangan. When they were all sitting in order, water and helpings of food were brought and placed in front of the commanders, the functionaries and the troops. Patih Suatang said to them, "Gentlemen, be pleased to partake of this unworthy repast which we the people of Pulau Percha offer for your refreshment." The commanders replied, "We all thank you most heartily for your hospitality." Then each man began to eat his helping of food.

When the meal was finished, the chiefs and people rose to fetch the liquor. Each approached his man, bearing in his hand one of the vessels made of *telang* bamboo. When the Javanese reached out to receive them, the people of Pulau Percha restrained them saying, "No. That is not our custom. It is for us to perform the task of pouring the liquor into your mouths, so that we may honour you as

our guests." So the Javanese all opened their mouths wide, and when the drum sounded, the liquor was poured into their mouths and the drinking vessels were rammed right down into their gullets.

Some fell dead on the spot, and others fled. A number of *bengkudu* trees standing on the field were bent over in an 139 easterly direction by the fleeing men who ran into them. To this very day the trees are still leaning, and even seedling plants from them lean towards the east. The corpses of the Javanese smelt so strongly on the field that ever since the place has been called Padang Si-Busok.[17] Furthermore, the place where the buffalo fight took place has been called Minangkabau up to the present day.[18]

The people who ran away returned to Majapahit in sorrow and distress. Making good their escape from Jambi, they set sail for their homeland. After some time at sea they reached Majapahit. They went ashore and into the Emperor's presence, and to him they told the whole story from beginning to end. "That is the way it happened, Your Highness", they said. The Emperor was speechless, so great was his disappointment in his commanders and the officers upon whom he had relied. That is what happened according to the story we have been told. 140

So
ends the Chronicle
of the rulers of Pasai. May peace
be on those who read it and those who
recite it. Above all, may it please God (Glory be to
Him the Exalted) to sustain those who have committed it
to writing through this world and the world to come, through
the blessing and intercession of the Prophet Muhammad the
Chosen One (may God bless him and give him peace).

Finished on Monday the twenty-first day
of Muharram in the year za,
[19] 1230 AH.

Appendix

[Copied] from [the manuscript of] Kiai Suradimanggala,[20] the senior regent of the province of Demak, in the Bagor area, in the year 1742. 141

These are all the places[21] mentioned in the *Hikayat Pasai*:

1. Pasai, whose ruler was named Ahmad
2. Balik Rimba
3. Samarlanga
4. Biruan
5. Simpang, up the river
6. Buluh Telang, ruled by Megat Sekandar
7. Benua, whose ruler was named Sultan Malikul Nasir
8. Barus
9. Samudera, whose ruler was Merah Silau
10. Mengiri, whose ruler was named Sultan Mahmud
11. Perlak, whose ruler was named . . . .
12. Jambu Air
13. Rama Gandi
14. Tukas
15. Pekan, whose ruler was named Tun Beraim Bapa

These are the places which were vassals of the king of Majapahit when Pasai was overwhelmed (its ruler was named Ahmad):

1. Tambelan
2. Siantan
3. Jemaja
4. Bunguran
5. Serasan
6. Subi
7. Pulau Laut
8. Tiuman
9. Pulau Tinggi
10. Pemanggilan, Karimata
11. Belitung
12. Bangka
13. Lingga
14. Riau
15. Bintan
16. Bulang
17. Sambas
18. Mempawah
19. Sukadana
20. Kota Waringin
21. Banjarmasin
22. Pasir
23. Kutai
24. Berau
25. Jambi
26. Palembang
27. Hujung Tanah

These are the places to the eastwards:

28. Bandan
29. Bima
30. Sumbawa
31. Selaparang
32. Siran
33. Larantoka
34. Bali
35. Blambangan

Manuscripts, Editions and Translations

The reader may like to know something about the malay texts, in manuscript and printed form, which preceded this translation.[1]

Manuscripts

The only satisfactory manuscript of *Hikayat Raja Pasai* is held by the Royal Asiatic Society in London, registered as Raffles MS. 67. It was a copy made in 1815 in Java for Sir Stamford Raffles, who was Lieutenant Governor of Java from 1811 to 1816. It was presented to the Royal Asiatic Society by his widow in 1830. See specimen on pp. 176 (This will be referred to as our base manuscript 'A'). This has been the basis used for all the printed editions mentioned below except that of Dulaurier in 1849, which was based on a manuscript copied from this Raffles manuscript (see below). The Hijrah date given by the copyist for completion of this work corresponds to 3 January, 1815. Hill's edition of 1960 erroneously give this as 1814, which has been followed by later researchers in the field.

What is actually the earliest manuscript of the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* is incomplete. It was copied, probably also in Java, in 1797 and was acquired by the British Library, London, in 1986 Ref. MS. Or. 14350 {Kratz, p.10}. It lacks pages near

the end and, more significantly the end pages themselves, where the colophon would have been written.[2] This will be referred to as our manuscript 'B'.

There is a third manuscript, not of great significance to our present study. It is a Malay manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Malais-Javanais no. 50, entitled *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasey* ('copiée et publiée par Dulaurier'), see 1849 below. Dulaurier had in fact copied it during a visit to London in 1838 and subsequently, in 1849, published it in Malay (Jawi) script in Paris. His edition is on the whole reliable, but in copying the manuscript he did introduce an unfortunate 'correction' of the title from *Hikayat Raja Pasey* to *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasey*. This was adopted for subsequent editions and translations, and indeed in all references to the text, until the present writer's first edition of 1987. The 1815 manuscript from which he copied has the title clearly *Hikayat Raja Pasai*.

Editions

(Readers, especially those who read Malay, or French, will find further supplementary information on different aspects of our text in the editions and translations listed.)

1849 Dulaurier, ed. (1807–1881) In Malay (*Jawi*) script.

1914 Mead, J.P. "A Romanised Version of the Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai" in *JSBRAS*, 66, pp. 1–55.

1960 Hill, A.H. "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai", a revised romanised version of Raffles MS 67, together with an English translation, both prepared by A.H. Hill, MA, D Phil." in *JMBRAS* 33, Pt. 2 (publication was delayed, and in fact it appeared in 1962; unfortunately Dr. Hill had been killed in a plane crash in 1961 and did not have an opportunity to correct the proofs of this text).

1963 Abdullah Haji Musa Lubis. *Kesah Raja-Raja Pasai*. Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara. (Abridged and modernised version for schools.)

1973 Teuku Ibrahim Alfian. *Kronika Pasai, Sebuah Tinjauan Sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.

1987 Jones, Russell (ed.). *Hikayat Raja Pasai*. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd. This is available on line at the *Malay Concordance Project* mcp.anu.edu.au).

1997 Jones, Russell (ed.). *Hikayat Raja Pasai*. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd.

1999 Jones, Russell (ed.). *Hikayat Raja Pasai*. Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Karyawan and Fajar Bakti.

This is the edition from which the present translation has been made. See specimen on p. 159. This

incorporates amendments taken from the 1797 manuscript. It includes a reproduction of the complete 1815 manuscript.

Translations

1871 L. de Rosny. *Les peuples de l'Archipel Indien connus des anciens géographes chinois et japonais, in Mémoires de l'Athénée Oriental*, I, Paris, 1871, pp. 55–78. (Extracts only).

1874 Marre, Aristide. *Sumatra, Histoire des rois de Pasey, traduite du malay et annotée*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie. Based on Dulaurier's 1849 edition.

1960 Hill, A.H. "*Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, a revised romanised version of Raffles MS. 67, together with an English translation, both prepared by A.H. Hill, MA, D.Phil." in *JMBRAS* 33, pt. 2.

2001 Translation into Japanese, published by Heibonsha Limited.

2004 *Histoire des rois de Pasey. Traduit du malais par Aristide Marre*. Présentation et notes de Monique Zaini-Lajoubert. Toulouse: Anacharsis Éditions.

2012 The present translation, *The Pasai Chronicle*.

Summary

The numbers are the marginal manuscript page numbers of the translation.

Part One

The Islamisation of Samudera-Pasai

2 Opening. Two brothers one named Raja Ahmad, the other Raja Muhammad, resolve to establish settlements in Samarlanga in north[1] Sumatra.

3 Raja Muhammad finds a young girl of surpassing beauty in a clump of bamboo. They name her Princess Betung.

5 Raja Ahmad secures a little boy who is seen sitting on the head of an elephant in the jungle. He is named Merah Gajah.

8 The two children are brought up together, marry and have two sons, Merah Silau and Merah Hasum.

14 After quarrelling with his brother, Merah Silau spends some time moving from place to place on the Pasangan river. Eventually he becomes ruler of Rimba Jerana.

19 One day when he is out hunting, Merah Silau finds a large ant, *semut besar*, which he eats. There he founds a city, calling it Samudera.

20 The Sharif of Makkah hears of Samudera and in fulfilment of a prophecy purported to be made by the Apostle of God, sends a ship there with a Shaikh Ismail as its captain. On the way it calls at a place called Mengiri, where the Muslim sultan forsakes his throne and joins the ship as a *fakir*.

22 Merah Silau has a dream in which the Prophet appears to him and gives him the title of Sultan Malikul Saleh. On waking he finds that he has been miraculously circumcised. He is able to read the Qur'an without help, although none of his followers can understand a word he utters.

23 When the Muslim ship has reached Samudera, Shaikh Ismail orders the ruler to recite the profession of faith, then installs him with due ceremony. Shaikh Ismail departs with presents. The *fakir* remains in Samudera.

25 A colony of Gayos flees from Samudera up the Pasangan river to escape conversion to the new faith.

30 Sultan Malikul Saleh marries the daughter of the ruler of Perlak after consulting his astrologers. By her he has one son, Malikul Tahir.

32 An Indian miner by divination finds gold in Samudera. This is the origin of the kingdom's great wealth.

34 The legend of the founding of Pasai. Malikul Saleh is out hunting when his dog named Pasai barks at a mousedeer which attacks it on some high ground. Saying 'What a fine place this is where even the mousedeer are full of fight,' Sultan Malikul Saleh builds a palace and a city on the high ground. He calls it Pasai. Malikul Tahir becomes its first ruler.

36 Malikul Tahir dies after a short reign. Of his two sons, Malikul Mahmud become ruler of Pasai and later, after the death of Sultan Malikul Saleh, Malikul Mansur of Samudera. In the days of their childhood the upbringing of the two sons is entrusted to two ministers of Samudera.

37 On his death-bed Sultan Malikul Saleh give his last injunctions to his two chief ministers and his two grandchildren.

41 A fleet from Siam raids Pasai when the king of Siam's demand for tribute is refused. The battle lasts two or three months before the Siamese forces are driven out by Malikul Mahmud.

45 Malikul Mansur, visiting Pasai during his brother's absence, commits an indiscretion which leads to their estrangement. Malikul Mahmud by a trick banishes him to Temiang and beheads his chief minister.

49 The banished ruler obtains the head and body of his dead minister and buries the corpse with proper rites at a place he calls Padang Maya.

50 Repenting, the ruler of Pasai invites his brother to return. But Malikul Mansur dies on the journey at Padang Maya as he is praying by the side of the grave. Full of remorse Malikul Mahmud dies too, and his son Ahmad comes to the throne.

Part Two

The Adventures of Tun Beraim Bapa

55 A ship comes from India with a *yogi* on board. He performs feats of supernatural skill, then faints

before the sanctity of Sultan Ahmad and is converted to Islam. It is he who gives the Sultan the title of Perumudal Perumal.

56 Among Ahmad's thirty children by one wife, three sons are named: Tun Beraim Bapa, of superhuman strength; Tun Abdul Jalil, of handsome appearance; and Tun Abul Fadil, of great learning. Sultan Ahmad conceives a passion for two of his own daughters and Tun Beraim Bapa conceals them in his own village. His effrontery angers the Sultan.

59 From India come four swashbucklers, insulting and provocative. Tun Beraim Bapa's display of horsemanship and *legerdemain* frightens them back to their ship, and his father forgives him.

74 An approach by Tun Beraim Bapa to one of his father's concubines puts him in disfavour again. Anxious to find a way of killing him Sultan Ahmad organises a river picnic, bidding him to accompany it. Tun Beraim Bapa is put to tests of strength and courage.

87 Finally the Sultan sends poison, which Tun Beraim Bapa takes, rather than run the risk of being thought a traitor. After more trials of endurance he slowly weakens and dies on Bukit Fudul Allah.

Part Three

The Victories of Majapahit

95 The daughter of the ruler of Majapahit falls in love with Tun Abdul Jalil after seeing his portrait. The jealous Sultan Ahmad kills his son. The princess prays that she may perish in the ship taking her to Pasai. It sinks and all on board are drowned.

103 In revenge a Majapahit fleet conquers and occupies Pasai after a hard fight. Sultan Ahmad and his court flee to Menduga. In due course the fleet returns to Java laden with the spoils of war.

109 A description of Majapahit's plans for territorial coquest Voyages of the fleet to the Riau and Lingga Archipelagos, to the east coast of Malaya, the Anamba and Natuna Is., the coast of Borneo; then to Bali Sumbawa and the islands to the east.

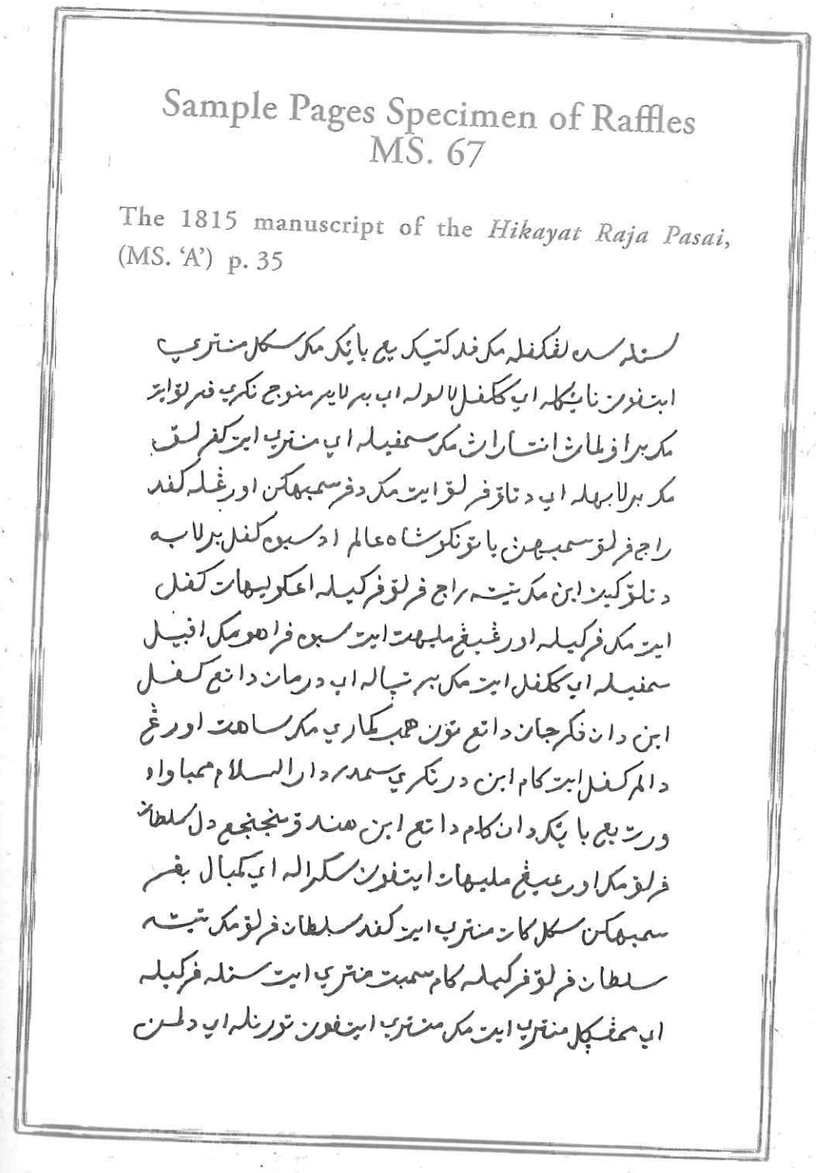
113 Majapahit forces attack Pulau Percha. Agreeing to settle the issue by a buffalo contest, they

are worsted by a trick, then put to flight with many slain.

121 A list of the places mentioned in *Hikayat Raja Pasai*.

Sample Pages Specimen of Raffles MS. 67

The 1815 manuscript of the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, (MS. 'A') p. 35



MS. p. 35: The 1999 Malay transcription

[35] *Setelah sudah lengkaplah, maka pada ketika yang baik, maka segala menteri itu pun naiklah ia ke kapal, lalulah ia berlayar menuju negeri Perlak itu. Maka berapa lamanya antaranya, maka sampailah menteri itu ke Perlak. Maka berlabuhlah ia di Teluk Perlak itu. Maka dipersembahkan oranglah kepada Raja Perlak, sembahnya, "Ya Tuanku Syah Alam, ada sebuah kapal berlabuh di teluk kita ini." Maka titah Raja Perlak, "Pergilah engkau lihati kapal itu." Maka pergilah orang yang melihat itu sebuah perahu, maka apabila sampailah ia ke kapal itu, maka bertanyalah ia, "Dari mana datang kapal ini dan pekerjaan apa datang tuan hamba ke mari?" Maka sahut orang dalam kapal itu,"Kami ini dari negeri Samudera Darulsalam membawa warta yang baik dan kami datang ini hendak menjunjung duli Sultan Perlak." Maka orang yang melihati itu pun segeralah ia kembali persembahkan segala kata menteri itu kepada Sultan Perlak. Maka titah Sultan Perlak, "Pergilah kamu sambut menteri itu." Setelah pergilah ia memanggil menteri itu, maka menteri itu pun turunlah ia dengan* [36]

MS. p. 35: The 2012 English translation

[35] When everything was ready, on an auspicious day the ministers embarked on a ship and set sail for Perlak. In due course they reached Perlak and anchored in the roads. The people brought the news to the ruler of Perlak saying, "Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, there is a ship at anchor in the roads." The king replied, "Go and see what ship it is." The people who had seen it went out in a boat, and when they reached the ship they called out, "Where has this ship come from and why are you here?" The reply from the ship was, "We come from Samudera Darulsalam and bring good tidings. Our purpose in coming here is to offer our homage to the Sultan of Perlak." The people hastened back to report to the Sultan of Perlak what the minister had said. The Sultan commanded, "Go and invite the minister ashore." They went and called out to the minister, who came ashore with [36]

Notes

Introduction

[1] Further information on this publication, and earlier publications, can be found on pp. 146–8. As translator, at the outset I must acknowledge the contribution to research on this text made by the late Dr. A.H. Hill, my some time teacher, who introduced me to the text in the University of London half a century ago. He produced the first comprehensive study of it, and his English translation of it was the starting point for the present one.

[2] Interestingly enough, our text is sometimes cited in support of the argument that the impetus for the writing down of Malay literature arrived with Islam. On p. 95 we see that an emissary sent on a mission to draw portraits was furnished with writing paper, ink and reed pens. The Malay words for 'paper' and 'pens' derive from Arabic, the word for 'ink' from Persian.

[3] Anthony Milner, 1994. *The Invention of Politics in Colonial Malaya: Contesting Nationalism and the Expansion of the Public Sphere.* Cambridge University Press, p. 26.

[4] The alert reader will not fail to notice that Tun Beraim Bapa's loyalty does not save him from a sad fate. It seems that faith in his example is so powerful that his personal sacrifice simply enhances the effect of his story.

[5] See Monique Zaini-Lajoubert, p. 35.

[6] See Guillot & Kalus, 2008, p. 98.

[7] See Jones, 1979, esp. pp. 157–8.

[8] Guillot & Kalus, 2008, p. 125.

[9] MS. p. 24.

[10] MS. p. 46.

[11] See for example B. Schrieke, 1957. *Indonesian Sociological Studies, Selected Writings*. Part Two. The Hague: Van Hoeve, pp. 253–7, 397–8.

[12] In doing this, we shall encounter difficulties with the lack of dependable sources, but since our aim is to offer a text to be appreciated for itself, not as a contribution to history, this need not deter us. The lack of reliable dates for example need not inhibit our appreciation of the work.

[13] Guillaume & Kalus, p. 121. See also their footnote 13 on p. 60.

[14] Personal communication, 14 December, 2008.

[15] Hill, 1960, p. 9. Jack-Hinton,1964, pp. 87–92.

[16] Guillot & Kalus, 2008, pp. 178–9. Hill,1960, p. 18, had deduced this.

[17] See illustration in Guillot & Kalus, 2008, p. 177.

[18] A Dutch scholar, Moquette, had pointed this out as early as 1913 (quoted by Marrison, 1951, p. 32). Daniel Perret, 2007, pp. 320, 323, puts the time lapse at least a century.

[19] Guillot & Kalus, 2008 p. 76.

[20] Guillot & Kalus, 2008 pp. 69–74.

[21] Guillot & Kalus, 2008 pp. 59, 75. In view of the long gap between Sultan Ahmad and Sultan Zainul Abidin they postulate a Sultan Ahmad II as father of Sultan Zainul Abidin.

[22] Guillot & Kalus, 2008 p. 76. Furthermore, the sceptical reader may be forgiven for wondering whether the evidence, the text and the tombstones, may not have been 'doctored' at that time to reinforce the claims to the throne of Pasai.

[23] Guillot & Kalus, 2008, p. 72.

[24] Hill, 1960, pp. 31–32.

[25] Hill, 1960, p. 39. Guillot & Kalus, 2008, p. 75.

[26] Indeed it has been debated by most of the prominent scholars in the field, such as Winstedt, Hooykaas, Te euw etc. A more recent discussion can be found in Braginsky, 2004, pp. 103ff.

[27] Muhammad Yamin, 1971. *Naskhah-Persiapan Undang-Undang Dasar* 1945. Jakarta: Siguntang. e.g. p. 107.

[28] Such as *anakda*, *kutaha*, *penah*.

[29] See Guillot & Kalus, 2008 p. 133.

Part One

[1] *betung*, bamboo.

[2] *sirih*: Betel-leaf prepared for chewing.

[3] The meaning of this is obscure.

[4] *Merah*, a Sumatran title; *gajah*, elephant.

[5] We find a very similar tale in the *Hikajat Atjeh* (another Malay text from North Sumatra). (See Teuku Iskandar, 1958, 21, 50).

[6] It was believed that white blood was a characteristic of royalty.

[7] The Malay manuscript clearly has 'towards the west' but it has been pointed out (Teuku Iskandar, 1964) that their subsequent movements require this to be read 'towards the east.'

[8] The Malay word for 'galley-worms', *gelang-gelang*, is clear in both manuscripts. Various explanations have been advanced as to the true significance of this anecdote, but it remains inexplicable.

[9] Presumably in anger.

[10] Changes resulting from many re-tellings over the years have obscured the significance of this anecdote.

[11] Presumably for a feast, to enhance Merah Silau's status.

[12] *kubu* denotes a stockade.

[13] *sembah*, obeisance to a ruler, or from a vassal state to a suzerain, or from a younger ruler to an elder one. *Salam* is simply a greeting between equals. The precise reason for this boost to Pasai prestige is not made clear here.

[14] In the place of the defeated Sultan Malikul Nasir.

[15] This prediction of the conversion of Samudera is an example of many such Traditions which have arisen since the time of the Prophet in an endeavour to link his name and authority with later events.

[16] The Malay reads *semut yang amat besar*, but it has been surmised that it should be *semut raya*, meaning much the same, and thus more convincingly giving rise to the name 'Samudera.' See Introduction, p. xix.

[17] Spat into it: Curiously, saliva being used as a symbolic means of imparting knowledge is found in legends in both Islamic and non-Islamic cultures.

[18] Dreams have played a critical role in Islamic tradition, providing a crucial means of connecting with past time, and were amongst other things a means of invoking the word of the Prophet to authenticate events long after he had passed away. There is a tradition that the Prophet said: 'He who has seen me in a dream has indeed seen me, for the devil cannot impersonate me.'

[19] Alternatively "There is no deity but God, and Muhammad is the Apostle of God."

[20] The Holy Qur'an is divided into 30 sections, each called a *juz*, so that if one *juz* is recited each day, the whole is recited in one Islamic month. Thus Qur'an *tiga-puloh juz* ('thirty sections') is synonymous with 'the whole Qur'an.'

[21] *Darulsalam*, Abode of Peace, is an epithet given to many Muslim cities. Perhaps the most famous of these is Baghdad. In the Malaysian region it is an honorific given to Acheh, Brunei, Pahang and Patani.

[22] *nobat Ibrahim Khalil*, 'the drum of Ibrahim, the Special Friend of God,' is the name of a melody played at the enthronement of a ruler. It is a belief of Islam that the patriarch Ibrahim was specially honoured with the confidence of God, thus becoming His 'Special Friend.'

[23] On the title Sayid see note on p. xxxi of the Introduction.

[24] tribute, *fidyah*: In the Indonesian countries the Arabic word *fidya* is used for atonement for the failure to observe the fast of Ramadan. In early Muslim usage it could refer to 'the ransom paid to escape a declaration of war and pillage' by a state threatened by Muslim arms. (See Wellhausen *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, Calcutta 1927, p. 434).

[25] *khelembak*, can also denote aloeswood, eaglewood (*Aquilaria malaccensis*).

[26] *bahara*, an indefinite measure of weight, around 200 kgs, depending on the commodity being weighed.

[27] For centuries the Gayos held themselves aloof in the mountainous Acheh hinterland, the tradition that they

had migrated there from the coastal area persisting. In explanation of why they were called Gayo there are unconfirmed suggestions that Achehnese may have had words *kayoi-kayoi* and *gayo-gayo* which mean 'running.'

[28] If the point of this anecdote was to explain the origin of the name Rama Gandi, we can only speculate that the words *kundai*, to practise archery, and *Gandi* which is similar in Malay script, have been corrupted in copying.

[29] Kalinga, in Malay *benua Keling*, a territory on the eastern coast of India.

[30] The gathering of gold and trading in it in Samudera are reported at least from the 15th century onwards. Gold played an important part in attracting merchants from India to South East Asia before the time of the Portuguese.

[31] In fact Malikul Tahir is probably identical with Malikul Mahmud (described in the text as his son, see p. 35).

[32] The text says that he was made raja. But his father was still ruler in Samudera.

[33] In Malay fables the mousedeer (*pelanduk*) typifies the physically weaker animals. The conclusion here is that land which could make even so weak a creature bold must be an auspicious site for a settlement. The tale at the same time gives a reason for the settlement being called Pasai.

[34] That is Malikul Saleh.

[35] The Malay chronicles regularly record the last injunctions (Malay *wasiat*) of rulers, when death was impending. This helped fulfil the function of the text in providing guidance to the subsequent rulers and their subjects.

[36] This sentence is given in Arabic, followed by a translation. It is from the Qur'an, *sura* V, *aya* 47 of the Qur'an, except that the last word has been changed. It is followed by a Malay rendering at the same *aya* as it is actually found in the Qur'an.

[37] This injunction to enjoin what is good and to forbid what is evil can be found many times in the Qur'an, in slightly varying form, e.g. *Sura* III, *aya* 104; also VII, 157; XXXI, 17 &c. It is of particular importance to individuals in Islam, which has no professional priesthood.

[38] For the Malays, like the Chinese, names could have supernatural properties. Posthumous names were often given, whether from fear of the power of deceased persons, or out of respect for the deceased. Deceased Malay rulers received the title *al-Marhum* (The Late), with the addition of an epithet often alluding to the place of his death.

[39] '*Padang Maya*' does not have a clear meaning in Malay. 'Padang Mayat' could mean 'Field of the corpse', but neither manuscript supports this.

[40] Arabic *talqin*, teaching, a custom of prompting of the responses needed to satisfy the two Angel-Interrogators of the dead in the tomb that the deceased is truly a Muslim.

[41] *fatihah*, the words of Surah I of the Qur'an which form the Muslim's most commonly recited prayer, for example at each of the five daily hours of worship, at funeral prayers ceremonies and so on.

[42] It is incumbent on Muslims to utter this Arabic invocation on entering a cemetery, there being a Tradition that the Prophet did so when he entered a cemetery. See Ghazālī, 1939, Vol. 1, p. 127; Abū Dā'ūd, n.d., p. 72.

[43] *Pada suatu kaul*: This is the only indication in the text that at some point the compiler had more than one source at his disposal.

Part Two

[1] The gist of this story of a powerful yogi, arriving in a ship from India, is clear: his Hindu powers were defeated by the sanctity of the Muslim Sultan. However the Malay text is very corrupt, and the details of the miracle-working encounter remain obscure How did a staff come to have four feet? Amongst other things, it is certain that some phrases have been omitted, which would have told how Sultan Ahmad

crowned the jogi's feat with a more wonderful one, causing him to swoon and subsequently to accept Islam.

[2] For this translation I have assumed that the word *sahutnya* ('his reply') in the text should be *tongkatnya* ('his staff').

[3] *dalkhana*, of uncertain meaning it probably derives from Persian and refers to some part of a veranda.

[4] A report that the Baktashi (a Muslim Order in the Ottoman Empire) practised intercourse with their own children may not be entirely reliable. But their defence of this, as reported, is of interest in this context, namely "that he who had planted the vine was entitled to taste of the fruit." (Rycaut, as reported by J.P. Brown, 1968 p. 215.) Nearer home, the French merchant François Martin, who visited Acheh in 1602, writes (probably referring to Hindus there), 'Fathers see no problem in living with their daughters, nor mothers with their sons. When we tried to point out to them what a great sin this was, they replied to us that when a man has grown a tree, if it produces some fruits it is reasonable for him to enjoy them.' (Reid.1995, p. 62.)

[5] A *Pendekar* was 'an amateur fighter, inclined to be something of a rowdy in times of peace.'

[6] The meaning is obscure. It has been surmised that it is a reference to suttee.

[7] Hill, 1960, p. 195, appends a footnote to this paragraph 'The text is obviously corrupt in parts, and I can offer no explanation of . . .', listing many dubious words. This still holds, fifty years later.

[8] Semberani may in fact be derived from Persia *sum*, hoof and *paran*, flying.

[9] It should be noted that Malay palaces were single storeyed structures usually built of timber and bamboo, and raised from the ground on poles, in fact similar to traditional Malay houses, or Dayak long houses.

[10] See Introduction, p. xxxi.

[11] *serantau*, a stretch of the river from one bend to the next.

[12] Plucking at his nail protectors, done simply out of boredom or perhaps to show his unconcern.

[13] *ubat hangat*, 'a sweetmeat made of flour, sugar and ginger, eaten in order to warm up the body when one feels cold'. (Ras,1968: 573)

[14] *peniaram*, pastry made with rice flour and brown sugar, fried, and presumably a form of *ubat hangat*.

[15] He faces a stark choice: To be disobedient to his sovereign or to eat cakes he knows to be poisoned.

[16] *beluru*. Burkill (1935:925) notes that this is 'A big climber, with enormous pods, ... If a length of the stem be cut from

this great liane, a quantity of fresh water runs out, which can be drunk.'

[17] The text does not tell us what Tun Abdul Jalil did about this.

Part Three

[1] Portraits: It is natural enough that in the days before photography, artists were employed to draw portraits In the early 11th century the renowned Persian physician and philosopher Ibn Sīnā (known to the west as Avicenna) was amongst fugitive men of learning sought by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. To find him, the Sultan had an artist 'draw his portrait, and, having forty copies of it painted by lesser artists, had these distributed in all districts together with a proclamation . . .' (Elgood., 951, pp. 187–8.)

The Muslim traveller Ibn Battuta, who visited China ca 1345 AD, reported the widespread practice there of drawing portraits. He writes 'This is a custom of theirs, I mean making portraits of all who pass through their country,' and he comments that 'the likeness was perfect in every respect.' (Gibb, 1957, pp. 285–6.)

[2] Curiously, this couplet put into the mouth of a Javanese princess is in Arabic. It is followed by a not quite precise translation in Malay. See Brakel, 1970, p. 15.

[3] *gorab*, the Malay word is *ghurāb*, from the Perso-Arabic *ghurāb* referring to a large sailing vessel usually with two or three masts and lateen-rigged.

[4] The 1797 British Library manuscript of *Hikayat Raja Pasai* ends here.

[5] '*Rana senjana kerati*' – the meaning of these words is unclear.

[6] *Senapati Ing Laga*, Javanese 'Army Leader in the Battle', the title of the commander-in-chief of the Majapahit army.

[7] *Padang Pauh Bengkok*, 'The Field of the Bent Mango'.

[8] *ngabehi, lurah, bebekal, patinggi*: By specifying precisely the officials involved, the writer, presumably writing in Java for a Javanese audience, seeks to add authenticity to his account. These are all rather junior ranks, such as village heads, difficult to translate precisely.

[9] For a list of the territories as they appear in the Javanese *Nagarakrtagama*, see Pigeaud, 1962. Vol. IV, pp. 29–35. Pigeaud questions the claim of the poet that these were tributaries of Majapahit, and doubts in fact if Majapahit authority had ever been of much consequence to them. Cf. also Robson, 1995. pp. 105–7.

[10] dollar pieces, Malay *rial*, but this is an anachronism. It is unlikely that these coins, Portuguese or Spanish, would have been known in the region until later.

[11] *lilin*: In the writings of fourteenth and fifteenth century Chinese travellers, beeswax is often mentioned as a common article of merchandise in Malay Peninsula.

[12] *saga beans*: the small red bean-seeds of *Abrus precatorius*, which have been used in South East Asia as beads.

[13] This sentence is spoken in Javanese.

[14] See footnote 8.

[15] *Buluh telang, Gigantochloa heterostachya.*

[16] I have not seen any reference to the use of drinking vessels of this fashion in Sumatra; but interestingly enough there is mention of something similar in Burma (in 1944): John Masters writes that he 'accepted a glass of Kachin home-brewed beer, *tsaku*, with a good conscience. Glass, did I say? – it was a two foot section of giant bamboo, six inches in diameter, the top cut on a slant for ease of drinking….' (*The Road Past Mandalay*, 1961, p. 217)

[17] "Stinking field."

[18] In Malay *Menang kerbau*, in Javanese *Menang kebo*, meaning 'buffalo winning.'

[19] *sanat za: za* corresponds to *Dje*, the fourth year in the Javanese eight-year cycle, correct for AH 1230. So 21 Muharram AH 1230, corresponds to 3 January AD 1815, the date on which this copy for Raffles was completed.

[20] Kiai Suradimanggala was appointed to Raffles' translators' office in Buitenzorg (now known as Bogor, Java) on 30 June, 1814, and remained there probably until July 1815. Our copy of the manuscript would have been made under his superintendence. It is not known where the manuscript to be copied came from.

[21] It was not the practice for Malay scribes to insert lists of place-names such as these. Most probably these were inserted at the request of Lieutenant Governor Raffles, to ease the difficult task of searching for such words in a Jawi text. Cf. Hill, 1960, p. 35.

Manuscripts, Editions and Translations

[1] Fuller information on some versions can be found in Jones, 1980.

[2] On this see Kratz, 1989.

Summary

[1] In fact it is believed that Malikul Tahir and Malikul Mahmud were one person. See p. xxiii of Introduction.

List of Persons

Abu Bakr, The first Caliph in Islam.

Ahmad, Raja†, He and his younger brother Raja Muhammad were chiefs in northern Sumatra. Raja Ahmad found the boy named Merah Gajah in the forest and adopted him.

Ahmad Perumudal Perumal†, *Sultan,* The son of Sultan Malikul Mahmud, he ascended the throne in 1326 and was last ruler of Pasai in this chronicle. He lusted after two of his daughters, and had two of his sons put to death. His actions brought the downfall of Pasai in the 1340s.

Baba Mentuha, one of Sultan Ahmad's chief ministers.

Barang Laksamana, an officer in Pasai, instructed to inspect foreign ships on arrival, and took command of the Pasai counterattack on the first day. (*Laksamana* occurs in Malay from this time meaning something like warden of the sea, in modern Malay 'Admiral').

Bermamat Pantai, one of Sultan Ahmad's officials.

Betung, *Puteri*†, a little girl found in a bamboo clump, mother of Malikul Saleh.

Bujangga Baja Raya, retainer in the palace of Sultan Ahmad.

Dara Sipir, a follower of Tun Beraim Bapa.

Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, confidante of Sultan Ahmad.

Gajah Mada, *Patih,* ('Rutting Elephant'), chief minister of Majapahit from 1330 to 1364 AD. He was instrumental in extending Javanese influence over much of the Indonesian Archipelago, and acquired a legendary status in Malay works such as the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*.

Ganggang, *Puteri*†, daughter of ruler of Perlak, married to Sultan Malikul Saleh.

Gemerenchang, *Puteri,* daughter of the Emperor of Majapahit, she fell in love with an image of Tun Abdul Jalil of Pasai, and subsequently committed suicide.

Ibrahim Khalil, (the prophet Abraham), his melody was played.

Malik Akasan, a follower of Tun Beraim Bapa.

Malik Sulaiman Dendang Air, (a *dendang air* is a cormorant), one of Sultan Ahmad's chief ministers.

Malikul Mahmud, *Sultan*†, elder son of Malikul Tahir, succeeded to throne of Pasai.

Malikul Mansur, *Sultan*†, younger son of Malikul Tahir, became ruler in Samudera.

Malikul Nasir, *Sultan*, a chief in Rimba Jerana, attacked and driven away by Merah Silau.

Malikul Saleh, *Sultan*, title taken by Merah Silau after his conversion to Islam.

Malikul Tahir, *Sultan*, 'made ruler in Samudera' subsequently became ruler in Pasai.

Malim Pagar Sesah, one of Tun Beraim Bapa's officers.

Malim Zainal Belatap, a follower of Tun Beraim Bapa.

Medana Pantai, a retainer in the palace of Sultan Ahmad.

Megat Kedah, elder brother of Sultan Malikul Nasir.

Megat Sekandar, elder brother of Sultan Malikul Nasir.

Merah Gajah†, a little boy cared for by an elephant, became father of Malikul Saleh.

Merah Hasum†, younger brother of Merah Silau.

Merah Silau†, son of Merah Gajah and Puteri Betung of Samarlanga. He settled in Samudera, where he was converted to Islam, taking the title Malikul Saleh.

Muhammad, the Apostle (*salla'llahu 'alaihi wa sallam*), who is said to have foretold the conversion of Samudera to Islam.

Muhammad, *Raja*†, he and his elder brother Raja Ahmad were chiefs in northern Sumatra. Raja Muhammad found the little girl, given the name Puteri Betung, in a clump of bamboo.

Muhammad, *Sultan*, ruler of Mengiri in South India, he abdicated and settled in Samudera as a *fakir*.

Orang Tikar, a follower of Tun Beraim Bapa.

Pagar Sesah → Malim Pagar Sesah.

Patih Ketemenggungan, he and Patih Suatang were chiefs in Minangkabau.

Patih Suatang, he and Patih Ketemenggungan were chiefs in Minangkabau.

Perman Isap, a follower of Tun Beraim Bapa.

Rawana Pematang, senior officer in Pasai forces, wounded during attack by Siamese.

Sayid Ali Ghiatuddin (formerly Tun Seri Kaya), one of two senior officials in Samudera at the time of its conversion to Islam. He became chief minister of Pasai under Sultan Malikul Mahmud.

Sayid Semayamuddin (formerly Tun Baba Kaya), one of two senior officials in Samudera at the time of its conversion to Islam. He became chief minister of Samudera under Sultan Malikul Mansur Sultan Malikul Mahmud had him kidnapped and beheaded.

Shaikh Ismail, emissary from Makkah sent on a mission to convert Samudera to Islam.

Si Akap Gagah Mengangkat, a follower of Tun Beraim Bapa.

Si Ali Kechil of Pahat Putar, a follower of Tun Beraim Bapa.

Si Bintang Timur, a follower of Tun Beraim Bapa.

Talak Sejang, Commander of a Siamese expedition to invade Pasai, he was defeated and killed.)

Tan → Tun

Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara, one of Sultan Ahmad's chief ministers.

Tun Abdul Jalil†, the handsome second son of Sultan Ahmad. Puteri Gemerenchang of Majapahit fell in love with his image, his jealous father had him put to death.

Tun Abul Fadil†, the third son of Sultan Ahmad, renowned for his learning.

Tun Baba Kaya → Sayid Semayamuddin

Tun Beraim Bapa†, the eldest son of Sultan Ahmad, he is the culture hero of the second part of the Hikayat Raja

Pasai, personifying the qualities of the stereotypical Malay hero: magical powers, extraordinary strength, extreme loyalty to his ruler. He died after taking poison sent to him by his father.

Tun Bijaya Pangliran, an official at the Pasai court. He was charged with the task of mustering the Pasai forces when a Javanese invasion was imminent.

Tun Fatimah Lempau, a secondary wife of Sultan Ahmad, Tun Beraim Bapa made advances to her when she was preparing flowers to take to the mosque. She had the title Temian Layangan.

Tun Haria Benung, he was in the service of Sultan Malikul Nasir and fled to Barus.

Tun Haria Jong, a commander in the Pasai forces at the time of the Siamese raid.

Tun Medam Peria†, the elder daughter of Sultan Ahmad, who conceived an incestuous love for her.

Tun Perpatih Jena, the emissary dispatched to neighbouring countries by Puteri Gemerenchang of Majapahit to seek a prospective husband for her.

Tun Perpatih Pandak, official at the court of Perlak, who conveyed Puteri Ganggang to Samudera for her marriage.

Tun Perpatih Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara → Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara

Tun Rawana Pematang → Rawana Pematang.

Tun Seri Kaya → Sayid Ali Ghiatuddin.

Tun Shah Alam Kota or Shah Alam Kota, one of Sultan Ahmad's chief ministers.

Tun Takiah Dara†, the younger daughter of Sultan Ahmad, who conceived an incestuous love for her.

Wasat Makam, he and Wasat Perak were bugler and drummer of Tun Beraim Bapa.

Wasat Perak, he and Wasat Makam were bugler and drummer of Tun Beraim Bapa.

Titles:

Merah, (meaning 'rich'), a headman, especially in Sumatra;

Patih, title of a senior functionary;

Puteri, princess; *Raja*, title given to even remote relatives of a royal person;

Sultan, a Muslim ruler;

Si, title or epithet often expressive of contempt;

Tun, (alternatively perhaps *Tan*,) a hereditary title.

List of Places

Andami, small place, probably up the Pasangan river.

Ara, *Tanjung,* small place, probably up the Pasangan or Pasai river.

Bagor, Bogor, west Java, where the manuscript was copied.

Balik Rimba, small place in north Sumatra; or it could mean merely 'at the other side of the forest'.

Bali, the well-known island to the east of Java. Tributary to Majapahit.

Bandan, in the Banda Islands in eastern Indonesia. Tributary to Majapahit.

Bangka, Island off the east coast of southern Sumatra. Tributary to Majapahit.

Bangka, *Kampung,* an outlying village subject to Pasai.

Banjarmasin, port on the south coast of Kalimantan, on the Martapura river. Tributary to Majapahit.

Barah Bukit, small place in North Sumatra, in the vicinity of Pasai.

Barus, a port on the west coast of Sumatra. Tributary to Majapahit.

Bedil, *kampung,* a village in the area of Pasai, North Sumatra.

Belatap, a village in the area of Pasai, North Sumatra.

Belitung, an island to the east of South Sumatra, also known as Billiton. Tributary to Majapahit.

Benua, small place in North Sumatra, exact location unknown.

Berau, a port on the East coast of Kalimantan. Tributary to Majapahit.

Beruana → Biruan

Bima, *tanah,* a state in the eastern part of Sumbawa. Tributary to Majapahit.

Bintan, an island of the Riau Archipelago to the south of Singapore. Tributary to Majapahit.

Biruan, the modern Bireuen, a place near the coast to the west of Lhok Seumawe in the Acheh Province.

Blambangan, a port on the South East coast of Java. Tributary to Majapahit.

Bulang, an island of the Riau Archipelago to the south of Singapore. Tributary to Majapahit.

Buluh Telang, Megat Sekandar was chief there. Exact location in North Sumatra not known.

Bunguran, the largest island in the Natuna Island group in the South China Sea. Tributary to Majapahit.

China, *Kampung,* a small village under the control of Pasai.

Fudul Allah, *Bukit,* an upriver burial place where Tun Beraim Bapa and his two sisters were buried. It is an enigmatic name. The nearest Arabic form that makes any sense might be *Fadl Allah* meaning 'God's grace' (see Qur'an II, 62). Needless to say, it is not to be found on any map.

Gayo, the Gayo area is in the central highlands of North Sumatra.

Hujung Tanah, (lit. 'end of the land'), the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, Johor. Tributary to Majapahit.

Jambi, a port up the Batang Hari River on the east coast of Sumatra.

Jambu Air, vessels arriving at Samudera and Pasai seem to have cast anchor in the Jambu Air roads.

Jawa, Java, the principal island in the Indonesian Archipelago. The seat of the Majapahit Empire was located in East Java.

Jemaja, a large island in the Anambas Islands in the South China Sea. Tributary to Majapahit.

Karang, *hulu,* a small place on the Karang River in the region of the headwaters of the Pasangan River in North Sumatra. Merah Silau resided there for a time with his buffaloes. Abdullah Haji Musa Lubis. (1963:120) surmises that *karang* should be *Krueng*, Achehnese for river.

Karimata, an island off the west coast of Kalimantan. Tributary to Majapahit.

Keling, *Benua* Kalinga, a territory on the eastern coast of India.

Kerbau, **Kampung,** small place, location not known, in North Sumatra.

Kota Waringin (or Kota Wringin), place in South West Kalimantan. Tributary to Majapahit.

Kubu, small place in North Sumatra, so-called because Malikul Nasir's forces were encircled in a stockade (*kubu*) there.

Kukur, *Pulau,* small place, probably an island, near Pasai in North Sumatra.

Kumat, small place in North Sumatra.

Kutai, place situated on the Mahakam River, on the East Coast of Kalimantan. Tributary to Majapahit.

Langgar, *Kampung* (in *Tanah* Langgar), small place under the suzerainty of Pasai.

Larantoka, located in eastern Flores. Tributary to Majapahit.

Laut, *Pulau*, island in the Natuna Group in the South China Sea. Tributary to Majapahit.

Lingga, Island in the group south of Singapore and east of Sumatra. Tributary to Majapahit.

Lubuk Sanggung, Pool or cavity in a river, perhaps the Pasai River.

Lubuk Turai, Pool or cavity in upper parts of Pasai River. Known locally as Lubok Tuwé.

Majapahit, a Hindu Empire based in Eastern Java, lasted c. 1293 to c. 1520 AD. Gajah Mada, *Patih* from 1330 to 1364, was de facto ruler, and he was instrumental in extending Javanese influence over much of the Indonesian Archipelago. The places noted here as 'tributary to Majapahit' were in many cases places simply visited by a Majapahit fleet.[1]

Makkah, (*Mekah* in Malay) the sacred city of Islam.

Manggang, *Pantai,* small place perhaps up Pasai River.

Mempawah, important harbour on the west coast of Kalimantan. Tributary to Majapahit.

Menduga, A small place in North Sumatra, in the hinterland.

Mengiri, Mengiri is not identified, but the Malay Jawi spelling could easily be a corruption of the Arabic name Ma'bar, given to the Coromandel coast of India.

Minangkabau, an important area in the highlands of West Sumatra.

Padang Maya, a place near the sea, not far from Jambu Air.

Padang Pauh Bengkok, open space in Minangkabau.

Padang Si-Busok, open space in Minangkabau, named because of the stink of Javanese corpses.

Pahat Putar, small village in Pasai domain.

Palembang, large city situated on the Musi River, East Sumatra. Tributary to Majapahit.

Pasai, near the mouth of the Pasai River, between Lhok Seumawe and Kuala Jambu Air. In about the fifteenth century the capital was some 2 km up the Sungai Pasai from the sea. The palace was about two and a half kilometres further up. (JMDS Alves, in *Archipel* 47, 1994, pp. 125–6). See discussion in Introduction p. xix and on pp. 177–179.

Pasangan, *Sungai*, a river rising in the lake known as Laut Tawar, flowing into the Strait of Melaka just west of Lhok Seumawe.

Pasir, a port in South East Kalimantan. Tributary to Majapahit.

Pekan, a small place near Pasai. But it could be simply *pekan*, meaning a market.

Pekersang, small place in North Sumatra. A tale is told to explain the name, derived from *terkersang*, meaning paralysed.

Pemanggilan, the name of an island off the West coast of Johor in the Malay Peninsula. Tributary to Majapahit.

Percha, *Pulau,* an old name for Sumatra.

Pueriangan, perhaps the place in Sumatra later given the name Minangkabau. Perhaps the same as the present place named Pariangan.

Perlak, Peureulak on modern maps, on a river of that name south east of Jambu Air. Of some importance (see Guillot & Kalus, p. 130).

Pertama Terjun, small place in vicinity of Pasai, mentioned perhaps only to explain the origin of the name, meaning 'First to leap down', though the link is not clear.

Rahat, *Sungai,* Passing reference only, location not known.

Rama Gandi, a place perhaps near Pasai, the reference is obscure.

Riau, in the Riau Archipelago, south of Singapore. Tributary to Majapahit.

Rimba Jerana, small place inland from Pasai.

Samarlanga, the present Samalanga, near the East coast of North Sumatra, to the west of Biruan.

Sambas, located on the Sambas River in West Kalimantan. Tributary to Majapahit.

Samudera, (The most accurate spelling for this name might be Sĕmudara.). See discussion in Introduction, and on pp. 177–179.

Selaparang, an island to the east of Java, better known as Lombok. Tributary to Majapahit.

Semenda, *Ulu,* a small place in North Sumatra, perhaps up the Pasai River.

Semerkendi, (Samarkand, historical city in present day Uzbekistan). It was formerly renowned as a centre of Islamic learning.

Serasan, an island in the South Natuna group in the South China Sea. Tributary to Majapahit.

Siam, old name for Thailand.

Siantan, one of the Anambas Islands in the South China Sea. Tributary to Majapahit.

Simpang, *Sungai,* a river tributary somewhere near Pasai. But *simpang* can mean merely the fork of a river, so this may not be a place name.

Siran, an island in the Banda Sea, now known as Seram. Tributary to Majapahit.

Subi, the largest island in the South Natuna Island group. Tributary to Majapahit.

Sukadana, place on the west coast of Kalimantan. Tributary to Majapahit.

Sumbawa, a large island in the Lesser Sunda Islands, east of Java. Tributary to Majapahit.

Tambelan, the largest island in the Tambelan Island group, between Singapore and north west Kalimantan. Tributary to Majapahit.

Telawas, *Gunung,* a small mountain in North Sumatra, perhaps near Samudera.

Teluk Teria, perhaps near the modern Lhok Seumawe on the East coast of North Sumatra. Vessels visiting Samudera and Pasai arrived here first.

Temiang, also Tamiang. On the East coast of North Sumatra, between Perlak and Aru. Sultan Malikul Mansur was banished to this place.

Tinggi, *Pulau,* a small island just south of Singapore. Tributary to Majapahit.

Tiuman, an island in the South China Sea, east of Pahang. Tributary to Majapahit.

Tukas, a small place in the Pasai domain, ruled by Tun Beraim Bapa.

Notes:

[1] Further information on these places can be gleaned from Pigeaud, Th. 1962, *Java in the fourteeth Century*. Vol 4, The Hague : Martinus Nijhoff, esp. pp. 29–35

Pasai and Samudera

These two place-names, key names in our story, are inextricably intertwined. The text we are reading is called the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* ('Chronicle of the rulers of Pasai' In the opening section we read 'According to the story which has come down to us, of the countries here in the east it was Pasai which first accepted the faith of God and His Prophet.' And it ends with 'Tamat *Hikayat Raja Pasai*' ('So ends the Chronicle of the rulers of Pasai.')

However, we see that the prophecy purported to be a tradition of the Prophet Muhammad runs 'In time to come, when I have passed away, there will arise in the east a country called Samudera. When you hear tell of this country make ready a ship to take to it all the regalia and panoply of royalty. Guide its people into the religion of Islam.' And it is in Samudera that we are told that the conversion of the ruler took place (Samudera being given the Arabic sobriquet Darulsalam 'Abode of Peace'). Subsequently, though, Malikul Saleh rules in Pasai. It seems almost as though Samudera and Pasai are identical, and it is understandable that often writers conflate the names Samudera and Pasai into Samudera-Pasai.

The authoritative work by Guillot & Kalus indeed opens with the words 'Le nom du sultanat de Pasai ou Samudra-Pasai, situé sur la côte septentrionale de l'île de Sumatra à laquelle il a donné son nom . . .'[2]

Nevertheless these authors do recognise the fact that there were two capitals, (as does the Hikayat Raja Pasai), and discuss this very confusing question.[3] The tombs of the first two Muslim rulers of 'Pasai' are to be found in Samudera, but tombs were sometimes shifted, and satellite pictures show that the Pasai river has changed its course over the years.[4] We are told that for at least a century the name Samudera referred to a quarter situated in the centre of Pasai. It probably corresponded to the area now known as Geudong.[5] As intriguing as this question is, we have to let it rest there.

Glossary of **toponyms:**

bukit – hill;

gunung – mountain;

hulu – upriver;

kampung – village;

negeri – country; city or settlement in which ruler resides often a very modest one with houses constructed of wood;

padang-open space,

field; *pantai* – beach;

pulau – island;

rimba – forest;

sungai – river;

tanah – land of;

tanjung – cape;

teluk – bay.

Notes:

1 Further information on these places can be gleaned from Pigeaud, Th. 1962, esp. pp. 29–35.

2 'The name of the sultanate of Pasai or Samudera-Pasai, situated on the northern coast of the island of Sumatra to which it has given its name . . .'

3 Guillot & Kalus, 2008, p. 76.

4 Guillot & Kalus, 2008, p. 15.

5 Guillot & Kalus, 2008, p. 65, footnote.

Bibliography[1]

Abbreviations

Archipel : *Journal Archipel* (Paris).

JMBRAS : *Journal of the Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, (Singapore/Kuala Lumpur).

JSBRAS : *Journal of the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore).

JSEAS : *Journal of South East Asian Studies* (Singapore)

VKI : *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.*

Abdullah Haji Musa Lubis, 1963, *Kesah Raja-Raja Pasai*. Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Sijistānī. No date. *Kitāb al-Sunan*. Cairo. Vol II.

Alghazālī → Ghazālī, al-

Braginsky, Vladimir, 2004. *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

Brakel, L.F., 1970. Persian Influence on Malay Literature. *Abr-Nahrain* Vol. 9: 1–16.

Brown, J.P., 1868. *The Darvishes or Oriental Spiritualism*. Reprint 1968. London: Frank Cass.

Burkill, I.H., 1935. *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*. London: Crown Agents.

Dulaurier, ed., 1849. *Collection des principales chroniques malayes*. Premier fascicule *La chronique du Royaume de Pasey*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

Elgood, Cyril, 1951. A *Medical History of Persia and the Eastern Caliphate*. Cambridge University Press.

Ghazālī, Abū Hāmid Muhammad al-, 1939. (1308AH). *Ihya ulum al-Din*, Four vols. Cairo.

Gibb, H.A.R., 1957. *Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Guillot, Claude & Ludvik Kalus, 2008. *Les monuments funéraires et l'histoire du sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra* (*XIIIe–XVIe s.*) Paris: Cahier d'Archipel 37.

Hill, A.H., 1960. *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai, a revised romanised version of Raffles MS. 67, together with an English translation, both prepared by A.H.Hill, M.A., D.Phil. JMBRAS* Vol. 33, pt. 2.

Jack-Hinton, Colin, 1964. Marco Polo in South-east Asia, A preliminary essay in reconstruction. *JSEAH* 5 No. 2, pp. 43–103.

Jones, Russell, 1979. 'Ten Conversion Myths from Indonesia' in Levtzion, N. (ed.), 1979. *Conversion to Islam*, P.L. 129–158 New York/London: Holmes & Meier.

Jones, Russell, 1980. 'The Texts of the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, A Short Note' in *JMBRAS*, 53, pt. 1, pp. 167–71.

Jones, Russell (ed.), 1987, *Hikayat Raja Pasai*. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd.

Jones, Russell (ed.), 1999. *Hikayat Raja Pasai*. Kuala Lumpur: Karya Agung.

Josselin de Jong, P. E. de, 1956. Malayan and Sumatran Place names in Classical Malay Literature. *The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography. Singapore*. Vol. 9, pp 61–70.

Kratz, E. U., 1989. *Hikayat Raja Pasai*: A second manuscript. *JMBRAS* 62, pt. 1: 1–10.

Lijst van de voornaamste aardrijkskundige namen in den Nederlandsch-Indischen Archipel, 1923. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.

Marre, Aristide, 1874. *Sumatra, Histoire des rois de Pasey, traduite du malay et annotée. Paris: Maisonneuve & Cie.*

Marrison, G.E., 1951. *The Coming of Islam to the East Indies* in *JMBRAS*, 24, pt. 1, pp. 28–37.

Masters, John, 1961. *The Road Past Mandalay*. London: The Companion Book Club.

Mead, J.P., 1914. *A Romanised Version of the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* in *JSBRAS*, 66, pp. 1–55.

Muhammad Haji Salleh → *Sejarah Melayu*.

Perret, Daniel, 2007. Some reflections on ancient Islamic tombstones known as *batu Aceh* in the Malay world. *Indonesia and the Malay World* No. 103, Nov. 2007: 313–340.

Pigeaud, Th., 1962. *Java in the Fourteenth Century*. Vol. IV. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Poerbatjaraka, R.M.Ng., 1940. *Pandji-Verhalen Onderling Vergeleken* Bandung: A.C.Nix & Co.

Qur'an (Qur'an), 1371/1952 Cairo: Dār al-kutub al-Miṣriyya.

Ras, J.J.,1968. *Hikajat Bandjar, a Study in Malay Historiography*. 'S-Gravenhage: N.V. De Nederlandsche Boek- En Steendrukkerij V/H H.L. Smits.'

Reid, Anthony, 1995. *Witnesses to Sumatra, A traveller's anthology*. Kuala Lumpur: OUP.

Robson, Stuart (transl.), 1995. *Desawarnana (Nagarakrtagama) by Mpu Prapanca*. VKI 169. Leiden: KITLV Press.

Sejarah Melayu (Sulalatu's-Salatin), Ms. Raffles Malay No.18, Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Sejarah Melayu, Muhammad Haji Salleh (ed.), 1997. *Sulalat al-Salatin*, *Karangan Tun Seri Lanang*. Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Karyawan & Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka.

Teuku Ibrahim Alfian, 1973. *Kronika Pasai, Sebuah Tinjauan Sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.

Teuku Iskandar, 1964. 'Suatu Kekeliruan dalam Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai' in *Dewan Bahasa* 8 pt. 5:226–30.

Thomas, Philip L., 1978. Thai Involvement in Pasai. *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. 66, pt. 1: 89–101.

Tun Seri Lanang, 1997 → *Sejarah Melayu.*

Wilkinson, R.J., 1932. *A Malay-English Dictionary* (Romanised). 2 vols. Mytiline.

Zaini-Lajoubert, Monique, 2004. *Histoire des rois de Pasey. Traduit du malais par Aristide Marre*. Présentation et notes de Monique Zaini-Lajoubert. Toulouse: Anacharsis Éditions.

Zoetmulder, P.J., 1974. *Kalangwan, a survey of Old Javanese literature*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Notes:

[1] See also 'Manuscripts, Editions and translations' on pp. 123–126.

Index

Abu Bakr, 20
Ahmad, 2–8, 10
Ahmad Perumudal Perumal, 44, 46, 56, 57, 66
Andami, 44
Ara, 83, 84

Baba Mentuha, 57–58, 75
Bagor, 121
Bali, 111, 122, 148
Balik Rimba, 4, 121
Bandan,111–112, 122
Bangka (island), 110, 122
Bangka (*Kampung*), 61, 71, 105
Banjarmasin, 110, 122
Barah Bukit, 61
Barang Laksamana, 40–42
Barus, 18, 121
Bedil (*Kampung*), 71
Belatap, 77, 82, 84
Belitung, 110, 122
Benua, 16, 121
Berau, 110, 122
Bermamat Pantai, 60, 64–65, 69–70, 75–77, 79–80, 83, 86–87
Betung, 3, 8–9, 126, 143
Bima (*tanah*), 111, 122
Bintan, 111, 122
Biruan, 11, 121
Blambangan, 111, 122
Bujangga Baja Raya, 60, 65
Bulang, 111, 122
Buluh Telang, 14–15, 121, 137
Bunguran, 110, 122

China (*Kampung*), 61, 72, 105

Dara Sipir, 66
Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, 63–65, 67–69, 74, 99

Fudul Allah (*Bukit*), 78–79, 81, 87, 90–92, 147

Gajah Mada, 109, 113–115
Ganggang, 28, 30–31
Gayo, 25, 130
Gemerenchang, 57, 95–103

Hujung Tanah, 110, 122

Ibrahim Khalil, 24

Jambi, 108, 115, 119, 122
Jambu Air, 31, 49, 100, 102, 121
Java, 57, 78, 81, 95–96, 99,101–102, 106, 108, 112, 136, 138–139, 148
Jemaja, 110, 122

Karang (*Hulu*), 14
Karimata, 110, 122
Keling, 130
Kerbau Kampung, 13
Kota Waringin, 110, 122
Kubu, 17, 127
Kukur, 61, 71, 105
Kumat, 17
Kutai, 110, 122

Langgar, 61, 71, 105

Larantoka, 111–112, 122
Laut, 110, 122
Lingga, 110, 122, 148
Lubuk Sanggung, 80
Lubuk Turai, 77

Majapahit, 95, 104, 108, 110–112, 119
Makkah, 18-22, 24–25
Malik Akasan, 61, 88, 90–92, 105
Malik Sulaiman Dendang Air, 76, 78
Malikul Mahmud, 35–36, 39–40, 42–47, 49–50, 52–53, 130, 145–146
Malikul Mansur, 35–37, 39, 44–51, 145–146
Malikul Nasir, 15–17, 121, 127
Malikul Saleh, 21, 23, 25, 27–38, 131, 144–145
Malikul Tahir, 33–35, 130, 145
Malim Pagar Sesah, 77, 82, 84
Malim Zainal, 77, 82, 84
Manggang, 77, 81
Medana Pantai, 60, 65, 69–70, 75–77, 79–80, 83, 86–87
Megat Kedah, 15–16
Megat Sekandar, 14–18, 121
Mempawah, 110, 122
Menduga, 106, 148
Mengiri, 18–20, 121, 144
Merah Gajah, 7–10, 143
Merah Hasum, 8, 10–13, 143
Merah Silau, 8, 10–19, 21–22, 121, 143–144, 146
Minangkabau, 119
Muhammad (*Raja*), 2–4, 8–10, 143
Muhammad (*Sultan*), 19–20
Muhammad (the Apostle), 18, 22–23, 25, 53

Orang Tikar, 61–62, 68–69, 77, 88

Padang Maya, 49–51, 131, 146
Padang Pauh Bengkok, 107, 136
Padang Si-Busok, 119
Pahat Putar, 77
Palembang, 108, 122
Pasai, 2, 35–36, 39–40, 43–44, 47–49, 51–52, 58–59, 73, 75–76, 78, 81, 90, 92-93, 96–100, 103–104, 106–108, 121–122, 127, 130, 143, 145–146, 148
Pasangan (*Sungai*), 14, 25, 143–144
Pasir, 110, 122
Patih Ketemenggungan, 115–117
Patih Suatang, 114–118
Pekan, 121
Pekersang, 17
Pemanggilan, 110, 122
Percha (*Pulau*), 113, 118, 148
Priangan, 115, 118
Perlak, 26, 30–31, 121, 152-153
Perman Isap, 61–62, 68–69, 77, 88
Pertama Terjun, 16

Rahat, 74
Rama Gandi, 32, 121, 130
Rawana Pematang, 42, 61, 105
Riau, 110, 122, 148
Rimba Jerana, 15–16, 18–19

Samarlanga, 2, 11, 121, 143
Sambas, 110, 122
Samudera, 2, 18–22, 24–25, 27–31, 33, 35–37, 39, 47, 121, 128, 130, 143–145, 152–153, 177–178
Sayid Ali Ghiatuddin, 25, 36–37, 41, 46
Sayid Semayamuddin, 25, 36–37, 44–51
Selaparang, 122
Samarkand (Semerkendi), 57
Serasan, 110, 122
Shaikh Ismail, 19–20, 22–25, 144
Si Akap Gagah Mengangkat, 77, 82, 84
Si Ali Kechil, 77, 82–84, 105
Si Bintang Timur, 77, 82, 84
Siam, 40–41, 43, 81, 92, 146
Siantan, 110, 122
Simpang (*Sungai*), 66, 121
Siran, 111–112, 122
Subi, 110, 122
Sukadana, 111, 122
Sumbawa, 111, 122, 148

Talak Sejang, 40–43
Tambelan, 110, 122
Telawas (*Gunung*), 17
Teluk Teria, 22, 59
Temiang, 48, 50–51, 146
Tinggi (*Pulau*), 110, 122
Tiuman, 110, 122
Tukas, 58–60, 63–65, 69–70, 73, 76–78, 121
Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara or Tun Perpatih Tulus Agung Tukang Sukara, 46–47, 50, 52, 57–58, 60, 75–76, 102, 104, 106
Tun Abdul Jalil, 56, 76, 93, 96–97, 99–102, 135, 147–148
Tun Abul Fadil, 56–57, 76, 147
Tun Baba Kaya, 25
Tun Beraim Bapa, 55–56, 58–62, 65–66, 68–93, 76–93, 100, 102, 121, 124 146–147
Tun Bijaya Pangliran, 61, 104
Tun Fatimah Lempau, 73–74
Tun Haria Benung, 16, 18
Tun Haria Jong, 42
Tun Medam Peria, 56–58, 87, 100
Tun Perpatih Jena, 95–96
Tun Perpatih Pandak, 30–31
Tun Rawana Pematang, 42, 105
Tun Seri Kaya, 25
Tun Shah Alam Kota or Shah Alam Kota, 57, 65
Tun Takiah Dara, 56–58, 87, 100

Ulu Semenda, 14

Wasat Makam, 62
Wasat Perak, 62

Translator's Biography

Russell Jones was born on a farm in England in 1926, and was brought into Oriental Studies by World War II. He joined the Royal Marines, and a posting to Singapore in December, 1945, then to Batavia (Netherland Indies), inspired a lasting interest in Malay and Indonesian. Following 10 years in the Colonial Service in Malaya, and six years of study and research in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London and the University of Leiden, he became Lecturer in Malay/Indonesian, firstly in Australia and latterly, until 1984, in SOAS. His doctoral thesis was on the Sufi, Ibrahim ibn Adham, and his other interests include foreign influences on Malay and Indonesian, the Chinese in the Nanyang, and the history of papermaking. His current research is focused on the paper and watermarks of Malay manuscripts.