MANUSCRIPTS written in the Malay language originate from throughout the Malay archipelago, the area occupied by the present-day nations of Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei, Singapore and the southern, ethnically Malay, regions of Thailand and the Philippines. Malay manuscripts are usually written on imported paper of European, Chinese or Indian manufacture in a modified form of the Arabic script known as Jawi. The earliest extant Malay manuscripts on paper date from the sixteenth century\(^1\) and the tradition of copying manuscripts continued into the first half of the twentieth century. Decoration and illumination\(^2\) in Malay manuscripts are the exception rather than the rule, with most examples falling into two categories, decorated frontispieces and colophons of texts and illuminated royal letters.

To date, manuscript painting from the islands of the Malay archipelago has been little studied. This is true even of the more highly developed tradition of Javanese manuscript illumination and illustration. Philologists preparing critical editions of texts and historians working with primary sources have rarely drawn attention to the presence of decorative elements in manuscripts studied. Neither did Malay manuscript art attract attention from the great British scholar-collectors who served with the East India Company in Southeast Asia during the early nineteenth century, and whose collections of manuscripts in Indonesian languages include many beautifully illuminated examples. Thomas Stamford Raffles (Lieutenant-Governor of Java (1811–16) and Bencoolen in Sumatra (1818–24), and who founded Singapore in 1819), whose wide-ranging interests encompassed all aspects of Malay and Javanese culture, makes no mention of manuscript art in his magnum opus *The History of Java* (1817), and on Javanese painting only states ‘The Javans have made no progress in drawing or painting; nor are there any traces to be found of their having, at any former period of their history, attained any proficiency in this art’ (Raffles 1965: 1.472); yet his collection of Javanese manuscripts and Malay manuscripts from Java includes some exquisite illuminated frontispieces.\(^3\) However, bearing in mind that even the infinitely more sophisticated tradition of Persian illumination and miniature painting was not seriously studied until early in the present century (Titley 1983: 7), the lacunae in our knowledge of the context and techniques of Malay manuscript art become less remarkable.

The following remarks on Malay manuscript art which preface a listing and
description of the British Library’s collection of decorated Malay manuscripts represent a preliminary attempt to describe, rather than analyse, decorative elements in Malay manuscripts. They are based on an examination of decorated Malay manuscripts in British collections and a select study of manuscripts in Malaysian institutions.

THE ART OF THE MALAY BOOK

Malay book art is immediately recognizable as evolving from the broader Islamic tradition of book illumination, albeit with a distinctive Malay flavour in terms of colours and motifs. In accordance with the orthodox Islamic aversion to the depiction of living creatures, figurative representation in Malay manuscripts is extremely rare. Instead, the artistic energies of Malay manuscript scribes and illuminators were channelled into the creation of purely decorative frontispieces and colophons, which are found in most genres of texts, ranging from literature, history, moral and didactic works, and Islamic texts, including of course, the Koran. Herein lies one obstacle to the systematic study of Malay manuscript illumination: it might be expected that in the Malay world, as in other Islamic civilizations, the art of manuscript illumination would reach its apogee in the Koran. The Koran, however, is only written in Arabic; as such Korans are not, linguistically speaking, ‘Malay’ manuscripts. Furthermore, most Western library collections are arranged and catalogued according to language, and hence it is possible that in large British collections of Arabic manuscripts there are illuminated Korans from the Malay world which have not yet been identified as such.

Characteristic designs for a frontispiece show a text block enclosed within rectangular borders which may be further surrounded on one, two, three or all four sides by a combination of single or multiple arches, ranging in shape from simple triangles, ogee arches and semicircular domes to ornate embellished variations on all three shapes, sometimes with decorated finials projecting into the page. These arches are often flanked on either side by pillars representing the projection of the borders of the text block into the page. Most frontispieces consist of double symmetrical designs, covering two facing initial pages, and in the majority of cases either the three outer sides of the text block are decorated, or the ornamentation is concentrated in a headpiece at the top of the text block. However, single decorated frontispieces are not uncommon, including the earliest example of Malay book illumination to be dated with any certainty – the initial page of the Hikayat Seri Rama (MS Laud Or. 291) donated to the Bodleian Library in 1633 by Archbishop Laud and hence written prior to that date. Colours used here are white, yellow, dark green and an orange colouring probably produced by the application of silver on a background of red lead, which has hastened the oxidization process.

Within the borders and arches of the frontispieces are found arabesques, geometric patterns and foliate and floral motifs. Indigenous vegetable motifs such as the clove flower, lotus flower (usually presented in its side view), mangosteen calyx and bamboo shoot, very often linked in a foliate and floral meander pattern, are common to other Malay decorative arts such as wood-carving, silver-work and embroidery. The most
a) Frontispiece from 'The Crown of Kings', copied by Muhammad Umar bin Syaikh Farid in Penang in 1824. Or. MS. 13295, ff. iv, 2r

b) Colophon from 'The Crown of Kings'. Or. MS. 13295, ff. 190v, 191r
Letter from Sultan Mahmud Syah of Johore and Pahang to Thomas Stamford Raffles, 1811.
MSS Eur F 148/4, f. 105r
Letter from Sultan Syarif Kasim of Pontianak to T. S. Raffles, 1811. MSS Eur D 742/1, f. 32r
a) Frontispiece from the *Hikayat Isma Yatim*, late eighteenth to early nineteenth century.
Add. MS. 12379, ff. iv, 2r

b) Frontispiece from the *Hikayat Nabi Yusuf*, probably eighteenth century.
Malay. D. 4, ff. 3v, 4r
prominent colours are various shades of red and reddish-brown used together with black and brown, followed by yellow, ochre, green and blue. Gold is used both in powdered form and as gold leaf. Little is yet known about the composition of the inks and pigments used in the decoration of Malay manuscripts, and whether these are mainly mineral- or vegetable-based, but later use of watercolours can be attributed to European influence. Similarly, almost nothing is known about the brushes and other implements used.

Although initial pages account for the majority of instances of manuscript art, colophons are quite often decorated too. Most colophons in Malay manuscripts are triangular in shape, the length of the sentences decreasing towards the bottom of the page. In illuminated examples, decorative motifs usually surround the v-shape, although in some manuscripts, the decoration may be double-paged and as substantive as the frontispiece. In a lavishly illuminated text such as the Royal Asiatic Society manuscript of Dafitar Sejarah Cirebon (Raffles Malay 30), as well as a richly illuminated frontispiece and colophon, section headings are set within decorative panels with gold and polychrome floral ornamentation, in the manner of illuminated Koranic surah headings.

Malay metrical works provide their own opportunities for decoration. There are two main genres of Malay poetry: syair, commonly used for narrative epics, and pantun, quatrains with an a-b-a-b rhyme pattern, with an initial allegorical couplet, the meaning of which is usually clarified and elaborated in the final couplet. The stanzas of the syair are also four-lined, with the rhyme scheme a-a-a-a. For both syair and pantun, the arrangement of the lines of the verses on the written page is nearly always (read from right to left):

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   line 2     line 1  
   line 4     line 3  
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Thus the page is usually divided into two columns, and in illuminated manuscripts the central divider may be a decorated and coloured vertical border. Alternatively, the divisions between lines 1 and 2 and lines 3 and 4 may be marked with coloured medallions. Sometimes single red or yellow circles are used, but also common are rosettes made of five, six or even seven superimposed roundels, the resulting ‘petals’ carefully coloured in different hues. An interesting illuminated frontispiece and colophon are found in the Bodleian’s Syair Berang-Berang (MS Malay.e.2(R)) which is written on pieces of paper stitched and pasted together to form a scroll, a highly unusual format for a Malay manuscript.

Apart from illuminated frontispieces, colophons and chapter headings, a very specific type of illumination, inherited from the Middle Eastern tradition, is sometimes found in a certain category of Malay Islamic works: stylized representations of the symbols of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. These are commonly found in Kitab Maulid manuscripts about the life of the Prophet, and the popular Arabic prayer book Dalail al-khayrāt.
It is perhaps not surprising to find that the one genre of Malay manuscripts which most often contains depictions of living creatures is that category of subject matter most rooted in traditional animistic beliefs: divination manuals and collections of charms, mantras and spells. These are routinely filled with magical sketches and diagrams of animals (real and imagined), spirits and ghosts. Sometimes these manuscripts are small enough to be carried on the person as an amulet, while others, as was the case with all kinds of texts, might have been written down at the behest of a European as an introduction to the inhabitants of the Malay spirit pantheon.

Another category of illustrated works includes instruction manuals and subject guides. These include treatises on court regalia, guns and other weapons like keris (Malay daggers). One unusual manuscript of recent origin is a manual of the dances of the Trengganu court, compiled by Tengku Ampuan Mariam, a Princess from Pahang and consort of Sultan Sulaiman Badrul Alam Syah of Trengganu (r. 1920–1942). Joget Gamelan fills three lined exercise books, and contains illustrations of dancers showing details of costumes, hand and feet movements (Harun & Siti 1986). A number of illustrated manuscripts of narrative works are known to exist, including one from Batavia dating from the turn of the century. A small but distinct collection of early twentieth century illustrated manuscripts is held in the Library of the University of Malaya.

Some of the most beautiful examples of Malay manuscript illumination are royal letters. A royal Malay letter was a complex document, for apart from the actual content of the letter, the position and wording of the various formal components, each of which offered scope for artistic embellishments, were determined by the relative status of sender and recipient, and these considerations in turn affected the aesthetic composition of the letter. At the top of the sheet was a formulaic letter heading in Arabic, often written in an ornamental calligraphic script. The text block was usually situated asymmetrically in the lower left corner of the sheet of paper, and when the scribe ran out of space the text would be continued, upside down and diagonally along the right-hand margin. In this margin, usually parallel with the opening sentence, would be placed the sender’s seal. Traditional Malay seals were impressed with lamp-black; as this could be very messy a small flap of paper was sometimes attached to cover the seal, and in some rare examples the flap was cut into fancy shapes like a small paper doily.

Not all royal letters were illuminated; it is apparent that some kingdoms – such as Pontianak on the west coast of Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo), the Riau archipelago to the south of Singapore, Palembang in Sumatra and the principalities of Madura – displayed a more artistic bent than others. The most sumptuous of all royal Malay letters in British collections is also the earliest: a letter of reply from Sultan Iskandar Muda of Aceh, on the northern tip of Sumatra, to King James I, dated 1615 and given to the
Bodleian Library in 1635 by Archbishop Laud (MS Laud Or. Rolls b.1). Nearly a metre high, the letter is written in a neat and clear hand in black ink on paper sprinkled with gold, surrounded by a splendidly illuminated floral border with a rich blue dome-shaped unicorn at the top. It is difficult to ascertain the chronological importance of this unique and splendid epistle within the context of the development of Malay manuscript art, for the next known illuminated Malay letter from an Asian ruler in a British collection dates from almost two centuries later.22

A fundamental difference of degree can be discerned between Malay book decoration and the art of royal Malay letters. In Malay manuscript books, examples of decoration range from simple text borders ruled in red and black, through slightly more elaborate borders filled with floral arabesque patterns, to fully ornamented polychrome frontispieces, the finest of which are embellished with gold. In contrast, the only Malay letters which were decorated were the very grandest royal letters exchanged between rulers or with European dignitaries, and hence royal letters were either illuminated lavishly or not at all. Gold is found in all the decorated letters seen, and is often used alone. Silver is only rarely found, probably due to its tendency to tarnish. Motifs and patterns are similar to those found in Malay book decoration, with a preponderance of floral and foliate meander patterns, arabesques and repeated geometric designs, usually surrounding the text block but sometimes scattered all over the sheet. Some regular, repeated, designs appear to have been stencilled or stamped, while a close inspection reveals that others were painted over a design drawn in pencil or black ink.

Decorative aspects of Malay letters were not just confined to the illumination of the paper, but extended to the envelopes as well. While ordinary Malay letters were just folded and sealed, royal letters were often conveyed wrapped in yellow silken envelopes — yellow being the royal colour — with the address written on a paper wrapper. The paper address wrapper was sometimes glued or sealed at the join, but in a number of examples, the two edges were cut into an elaborate pattern which could be interlocked to hold the wrapper together (see fig. 7).23 Very few original Malay envelopes have survived, but two of the earliest Malay letters in British collections still have their envelopes; the letter from the Sultan of Aceh to King James I mentioned above is stored together with its silk envelope in the royal colour of yellow (now brown with age) as befitted a letter from one king to another, while an earlier letter from Sultan Alauddin Syah of Aceh to Sir Harry Middleton written circa 1602 authorizing him to trade in Aceh (Bodleian Library, MS Douce Or. e.4) has an envelope of dark green silk. While some of these silks may have originated from India or China, European silk damasks also appear to have been used during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This tradition continued into the twentieth century: three letters of welcome presented to Sir Frederick James on a visit to Brunei in 1919 are also enclosed in silk envelopes (BL, OIOC, Or. MS. 13143).

As might be expected, most of the illuminated Malay letters held in British collections were sent from local rulers throughout the Malay archipelago to British and other European officials, but a few surviving examples show that European dignitaries writing in Malay to local rulers also sent illuminated letters.24 Both primary and secondary
evidence indicate that such letters were usually written on ‘ready-illuminated’ sheets of paper. One such example in the British Library collections, a letter from the Dutch Governor-General Reynier de Klerk in Batavia to Sultan Muhammad Bahauddin of Palembang in 1780, is written on paper of oriental manufacture of the type made from jute fibres, which together with the style of the floral decorations indicates an Indian origin. It is possible that this is the type of paper referred to when the Dutch Governor of the North-East coast of Java reported in 1808 that Javanese rulers often asked for gold-rimmed Surat paper from western India for important official decrees (Carey 1980: 2). Secondary sources suggest that when Raffles opened correspondence with Malay rulers concerning the impending British invasion of Java, he used ready-decorated sheets, rather than employing local scribes to decorate his letters. Munshi Abdullah, Raffles’s Malay teacher and scribe, states that when Raffles arrived in Melaka (formerly known as Malacca) in late 1810 he brought with him ‘paper for writing letters to Malay rulers and princes with gold and silver headings, and many other objects intended as presents for Malay royalty’ (Hill 1970: 74).

DECORATED MALAY MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH LIBRARY

Most of the manuscripts listed here derive from the collections of Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781–1826), John Crawfurd (1783–1868) and John Leyden (1775–1811), who all served in Southeast Asia during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The manuscripts themselves also mostly date from this brief period. The eleven codices are of very variable artistic quality: they include one of the finest illuminated Malay manuscripts known, the ْتْاَىُ al-Salātīn (Or. MS. 13205), copied in Penang in 1824, while most of the others could be termed more ‘rustic’ examples of manuscript decoration. On the other hand, the collection of illuminated Malay letters in the British Library is the best in the country, and many of these were recently displayed publicly for the first time in the British Library exhibition Paper and Gold (Gallop 1990). Nine of the ten letters listed below were sent to T. S. Raffles between the years 1811 and 1816.

All the decorated and illuminated Malay codices and letters in the British Library described below are held in the Oriental and India Office Collections unless indicated otherwise. Personal names of Malays and names of the Islamic months are given according to the Revised [Malaysian/Indonesian] Orthography of 1972 and the Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (Jakarta, 1988). The order of information given in the bibliographic descriptions is as follows: Manuscript number; title or description; date and name of author/copyist if known; number of folios if greater than one; writing materials, and names and dates on watermarks if any; size of folio; provenance; RV (Ricklefs and Voorhoeve) catalogue reference. Beginning and end of text (for codices). Description of decorative elements.
Add. MS. 12379. **Hikayat Isma Yatim**

Probably copied late 18th-early 19th century; 97 f.; ink, gold, red, blue-grey and black on European paper, no discernible watermark; 34 × 23 cm.; blind-tooled full leather binding; Crawfurd collection, 1842; RV (1977: 107–8), Lee (1989: Plate 1). Text begins: (f. iv) *Al-kisah ini hikayat Bahari Kala di tanah Melayu yang amat indah karangannya...*; ends abruptly (f. 97r) *... negeri terlalu ramai segala bunyi-bunyian tiada sangka.*

ff. iv–2r. Double frontispiece; 12 lines of text within thin blue vertical and red horizontal borders. Above and below the text block are rectangular panels of gold leaf surrounded by a repeated red-blue triangular pattern. The vertical columns bordering the text project into the page and are filled with a red and white floral arabesque pattern against a blue background. On the three outer sides the borders are surmounted by triangles containing a gold floral pattern with red details against a blue background with thin red and black borders. Red floral finials project into the page from the three outer sides (pl. 4a).

Although the overall visual impression of this frontispiece is striking, with bold use of gold, the illumination has been executed without particular care. The pattern appears to have been drawn directly with pen and ink, as there is no trace of pencil markings. In many cases pigment has extended beyond its intended borders. Within the three triangular sections on each of the two pages of the frontispiece, gold appears to have been applied first to the whole triangle. Blue pigment was then applied on top of the gold, and finally the floral arabesque patterns outlined in black ink on top of the remaining gold.

This is one of only two Malay manuscript books in the British Library illuminated with gold (the other being Or. MS. 13295 below). It was probably created in court circles as on f. 1r is a list of English letters with the statement in Malay that ‘Raja Ahmad’ wrote them.

Add. MS. 12386. **Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala**

Composed by Ahmad Rijaluddin in Ramadan 1226 (Sept. 1811); 51 f.; pencil, black and brown ink on European paper; 31 × 19 cm.; half leather binding with marbled boards; Crawfurd collection, 1842; RV (1977: 108, 1982: 319). Text begins: (f. iv) *Inilah hikayat diceterakan perintah negeri Benggala tatkala masa zaman senda Ahmad Rijaluddin ibn Hakim Long Fakir Kandu belayar (f. 2r) memawang diri ke Benggala maka dikarang hikayat ini menanggal akan zaman dipenuhkan surat pada sanat 1226 thahunz dal awal pada bulan Ramadan;* ends: (f. 49v) *... demikianlah diceterakan oleh orang yang empunya cetera itu.*

ff. iv–2r. Double frontispiece; 6 lines of text within square double ruled borders, surrounded on three outer sides with bold floral patterns in brown ink over pencil outline. Two different inks are used in this manuscript: black ink for text on ff. 2v–49v, and brown ink for ff. 1v–2r, 50v–51r, double ruled borders and catchwords throughout manuscript.
Or. MS. 13295. **Tāj al-Salāṭīn**

Copied by Muhammad Umar bin Syaikh Farid, 4 Zulhijjah 1239 (31 July 1824); 191 f.; ink, gold, dark blue, light blue, red, maroon, yellow and white on English paper, ‘R Barnard 1820’; 25 x 18 cm.; gold-tooled red leather Islamic-style binding; acquired in 1970; RV (1977: iio-ii).


ff. iv–2r. Double frontispiece; 9 lines of text in black ink with red rubrics on white cloud-like panels edged in black against a sea of gold. The text block is enclosed by various decorative layers, all executed with the greatest finesse and artistry, starting with two flanking vertical columns each enclosing a distinct gold arabesque pattern, with red, white and gold flowers in the outer column and purely gold foliage on the inner column, against a deep blue background flecked with tiny white and red crosses. These tiny scattered crosses occur throughout the decoration of the initial pages. The columns and text block are enclosed by two thin borders of red and blue flecked with white. Across the top and bottom are two panels of gold, these and the text block all enclosed by a further three thin borders of blue, gold and maroon. The straight lines and borders are enclosed within a series of undulating wave-like patterns which surround the decorated text block on the three outer sides, first in gold, then dark blue, and finally yellow, each band filled with decorative floral motifs edged in gold. Finally, two distinct types of finials project into the page from the peaks and troughs of the wavy border (pl. 1a).

ff. 2v–190r. On each page, the text blocks are enclosed within 6-ruled borders of alternating gold and blue.

ff. 190v–191r. Double colophon; 13 lines of text within red and gold borders, flanked to left and right by two vertical columns containing different gold floral arabesques. At top and bottom of each text block are panels containing inscriptions which give the name of scribe and date of writing in Arabic and Persian:

- f. 190v (top): katābahu al-faḍīr al-ḥāqīr bi-al-dhanb wa-al-taqsīr
- f. 190v (bottom): māshāʾīkh al-musammat Muhammad Umar bin Syaikh Farid
- f. 191r (top): ʿaḍīya Allah ʿanhumā wa-ʿan jamīʿ al-Muslimīn amin
- f. 191r (bottom): ba-māḥ-i zu al-ḥajj ba-tārīkh-i chahārum sanat-i 1239 hijrī

These panels and the text blocks are framed by thin maroon borders and enclosed by an undulating gently arching pattern on the three outer sides, from which numerous finials project into the page (pl. 1b).

As mentioned above, this manuscript is one of the most exquisite examples of Malay manuscript illumination known. However, stylistically it is rather unusual, and could not be described as a ‘typical’ Malay design executed to the highest standards, such as, for
example, the illuminated copy of the *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* (Raffles Malay 42) in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. The predominance of blue and gold is uncommon for a Malay manuscript and in fact represents a conscious tendency towards more ‘mainstream’ Islamic manuscript illumination from India and the Middle East. The practice of writing the text on bands of white within irregularly undulating edges surrounded by gold is common in eighteenth and nineteenth century manuscripts from Persia and India (see, for example, Lings & Safadi 1976: 87).

**Or. MS. 14194. Malay and Arabic prayer-book**

Various texts in different hands in Malay, Arabic and [Acehnese?]; c. 19th century; 112 f.; red, purple and black ink on Italian paper, ‘Antonio Galvari’, 3 crescent moons; 16.8 x 11.5 cm.; red cloth cover pasted to initial and final folio, wrapped in loose goatskin wrapper with curved flap (in red ink on inside of flap: *Surat Abdullah anak Abdul Rasyid Tanahabu*...); from E. J. Brill, 1984.

f. 44v. Single frontispiece; 6 lines of text surrounded by rectangular border containing scalloped pattern in red, white and black, with more intricate plaïted panel across top. Headpiece of two floriated posts flanking a triangular arch culminating in floral plume.

**MSS Malay B.3**

**B. *Syair Silambari***

Copied by Ibrahim on 18 Syawal 1225 (16 November 1810); ff. 20v–36r; ink, black and red on English paper, ‘1796’ ‘GR’ (ff. 20–34), unwatermarked paper made from flax & hemp (ff. 35–6); 20 x 14.5 cm.; John Leyden collection; RV (1977: 123). Text begins: (f. 22v) *Ada satu silambari / bunga kembang dini hari / pari bijak siapa rangkai / kita karang satu nyanyi*; ends: (f. 36r) *sanat 1225 tahun wau pada dua lapan belas hari bulan Syawal kepada hari arb’a bahwa pada ketika itu ditamatkan kitab silambari namanya kisah Ferangki ambil bini Cina di dalam negeri Melaka jadi perang besar dengan Wilanda adapun yang empunya surat ini wa-katibuha Ibrahim.*

ff. 22v–23r. Double frontispiece; 7 lines of text within ruled black and red borders filled with black-ink arabesque pattern, consisting of eight lotus flowers at corners and centre of each side linked by decorated tendrils and foliage. The floral patterns on f. 22v are larger and slightly more elaborate than those on f. 23r (fig. 1).

f. 36r. Colophon; 11 lines, with decorative panels outlined in red and black containing floral and foliate meander patterns surrounding last 5 v-shaped lines of text.

**C. *Syair surat kirim kepada perempuan***

Probably copied at around the same time as B; ff. 36v–45; ink, red, black, blue, green and yellow in the same hand on same paper (flax & hemp), folio size, provenance and RV reference as B above. Text begins: (f. 36v) *Ini surat kirim kepada perempuan / salam doa dari pada kakanda /
Fig. 1. Frontispiece from the *Syair Silambari*, copied by Ibrahim, 1810. MSS Malay B.3(B), ff. 22v–23r

Fig. 2. Frontispiece from the *Syair surat kirim kepada perempuan*, early 19th cent. MSS Malay B.3(C), ff. 36v–37r

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datang kepada tuan adinda / ayuhai emas manis syahda / telah termazkur di dalam dada; ends:
(f. 45r): arwah melayang semangat pun hilang / kehendak Allah apa nangkata.

ff. 36v–37r. Double frontispiece; 5 lines surrounded by squarish border containing floral arabsque. Headpiece of triangular arch containing large lotus flower, topped by large foliate plumes and flanked by vertical posts. The floral details and colours used differ on each of the facing pages (fig. 2).

MSS Malay B.6. Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah

Copied by Muhammad Kasim on 29 Jumadilakhir 1220 (25 August 1805); 158 f.; ink and two tones of red on Chinese paper; 20 × 14 cm.; full leather binding; John Leyden collection; RV (1977: 123). Text begins: (f. iv) Bismillah al-rahman al-rahim al-hamdulilah rab al-`alamin ini hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah diceterakan orang yang empunya cetera ini sekali peristiwa maka ada kepada suatu hari rasul Allah pun duduk dalam masjid Medinah dihadap oleh segala sahabat sekalian...; ends: (f. 158r)...tamat hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah anak cucu bini salallahu `alaighi wasalam pada sanat 1220 tahun-tahun wau pada sembilan likur hari bulan Jumadilakhir pada hari ithnin Muhammad Kasim.

ff. 1v–2r. Double frontispiece; 7 lines of text within rectangular borders, the two pages in different shades of red pigment. The top and bottom panels contain a large lotus flower with foliage, the vertical side panels contain a meandering foliate pattern, with large four-petalled flowers at each corner. The apparent simplicity of this design belies its quintessentially Malay charm (fig. 3).

f. 158r. Colophon; 10 lines of text bordered by a simple and elegant curved v-shape beginning and ending in a floral flourish, in red ink outlined with black.

MSS Malay B.12. Hikayat Perang Pandawa Jaya

Copied by Muhammad Kasim on 22 Syakban 1219 (26 November 1804); 119 f.; ink, red, pink and black on Chinese paper; 20.5 × 14.5 cm.; unusual (now loose) binding of plaited straw stitched to a cloth cover of [Indian?] chintz patterned with red carnations and green foliage; John Leyden collection; RV (1977: 124–5). Text begins: (f. iv) Al-kisah maka tersebutlah perkataan Arya D-s-t-r-s-t itu seorang saudara Maharaja Pandawa Jaya...; ends: (f. 117r) tamat pada sanat 1219 tahun2 ba pada dua likur hari bulan Sya'ban pada hari ithnin Muhammad Kasim; owner's mark (?) upside down on f. 118r: empunya Tunku p-a-n-?.

ff. 1v–2r. Double frontispiece; 7 lines of text surrounded by rectangular borders containing four-petalled flowers within panels at centre and lotus flowers at corners, with attendant foliage. Borders project into page on three outer sides, flanking shallow domes (black at top and bottom, red at side) containing foliate pattern, topped by trefoils. Substantial floral finials protrude diagonally from the two outer corners of each page.

While f. 2r uses only black and pink, red is also used in f. 1v for the floral finials and in the domes. The manuscript was copied by the same scribe as MSS Malay B.6, and details in the decorative frontispieces are also similar (fig. 4).
Fig. 3. Frontispiece from the Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah, copied by Muhammad Kasim, 1805. MSS Malay B.6, ff. iv–2r

Fig. 4. Frontispiece from the Hikayat perang Pandava Jaya, copied by Muhammad Kasim, 1804. MSS Malay B.12, ff. iv–2r
MSS Malay B.14. *Hikayat Indera Putera*

Early 19th century, c. 1821 (Mulyadi 1983: 10); 78 f.; ink, red and black on Chinese paper; 20 × 15 cm.; quarter leather and buckram binding; acquisition uncertain; RV (1977: 125). Text begins (f. iv): *Bismillah al-raḥmān al-raḥim al-ḥamdulillāh wa bāḥsh illāh ‘alī inilāh hikayat Inderaputera yang indah2 pekerjaannya dan ialah yang syohor ceriteranya pada manusyia dan pada tanah jihin yang amat elok rupanya serta kesyaktiannya terlalu amat pantasnya...*; ends abruptly: (f. 77r) *dan empat puluh payung mestt dikurang.*

ff. 1v,2v. Double frontispiece; 10 lines of text within triple rectangular borders filled with floral and foliate patterns. Vertical borders project into page at top and bottom, flanking a semi-circular arch filled with a chequered pattern. Along two vertical sides are three semi-circular arches, two filled with chequered patterns flanking one filled with foliage.

MSS Malay C.2. *Hikayat Cekel Waneng Pati*

Early 19th century; 153 f.; ink on Chinese paper; 29 × 22 cm.; full leather binding; John Leyden collection; RV (1977: 125).


f. 51v. Crude drawing of wayang puppet (face missing due to paper damage) and flowers.

MSS Malay D.3. *Hikayat Parang Puting*

Copied for T. S. Raffles by Ibrahim on 29 Syawal 1225 (27 November 1810); 63 f.; ink, pencil and reddish-brown pigment on European paper; 30 × 18.4 cm.; full leather binding; John Leyden collection; RV (1977: 126). Text begins: (f. 1r) *Inilah cetera orang dahulu kala diceterakan oleh orang yang empunya ceteranya hikayat Parang Puting anak dewa laksana dewa dari kayangan terlalu indah perkataan maka ia berperang dengan naga di dalam laut dengan sabab tuan puteri hendak diambil oleh naga itu inilah ceteranya...*; ends: (f. 63v) *tamat pada sanat 1225 tahun2 wau pada sembilan likur hari bulan Syawal pada hari thelatha ditamatkan surat hikayat Parang Puting Tuan Mister Rafles empunya surat ini wa-katibuha Ibrahim.*

f. 1r. Single frontispiece (unfinished); 9 lines of text surrounded by two rectangular borders, the inner one filled with four-petalled flowers and the outer one filled with a foliate meander pattern. Another horizontal border containing a floral and foliate pattern is placed top and bottom. To the left, an unfinished arching decorative pattern adjoins the vertical border, with some details outlined in black ink.

MSS Malay D.4. *Hikayat Nabi Yusuf*

Many names of scribes or owners are found in this manuscript, which has a complicated colophon, but copying was apparently completed by Muhammad Lebai on 5 Ramadan 1216 (9
January 1802); 34 f.; ink, red, black, green and ochre on oriental paper; original paper covers of one sheet of oriental paper stuck to one sheet of European paper with chain lines, very soiled, with scribbled notes in Malay and Tamil; English endpapers, 'S. Wise & Patch', '1807 U.E.I.C [United East India Company]'; 31 x 19.5 cm.; full leather binding; John Leyden collection; RV (1977: 126). Text begins: (f. 3v) Bismillah al-rahmân al-rahim wabah nasht'in billah 'ali ini peri mengatakan hikayat Nabi Allah Yusuf...; ends with many scribblings: (f. 3ir) ...tamat al-kalam bi'l-khairi wa al-salam sanat 1216 tahun kepada 5 hari bulan Ramadan pada hari Ahad...yang menyurat Hikayat Nabi Allah Yusuf ini dari pada mulanya datang kesudahannya senda Muhammad Lebai...; above the double frontispiece: (f. 3v) Inilah bekas tangan Ci' Mat orang k-a-y-a-ng-n dipinjam oleh Ci' Candra (f. 4r) inilah tulisan Ci' Mat Tok Muda anak Raja Indra Wangsa di Perlis.

ff. 3v–4r. Double frontispiece; 10 lines of text within rectangular borders on three outer sides, divided by diagonal lines across corners, surmounted by wavy domes at top and bottom. Densely decorated with lotus flowers and foliate arabesques, intensely and carefully coloured. Although the basic design is symmetrical over the two facing pages, many of the decorative floral patterns are different on each of the two pages (pl. 4b).

This is a very unusual pattern, with striking use of strong dark colours. On the basis of visual similarity and the binding alone, it is possible to link this manuscript with a copy of the Hikayat Syah Mardan held in the Royal Asiatic Society (Raffles Malay 66) which also has a double decorated frontispiece in the same colours. The close relationship of the two manuscripts is proved by the occurrence of the same names of owners or scribes: Ci’ Candra (MSS Malay D.4, f. 3v; Raffles Malay 66, f. [ii]r, f. [iii]r); Muhammad Yusuf (MSS Malay D.4, f. 31v; Raffles Malay 66, p. 225).

Letters

Manuscript Collections, Add. MS. 45273, ff. 28v–29r

Farewell letter from Panembahan Nata Kusuma of Sumenep, Madura, to Thomas Stamford Raffles, 3 Jumadilakhir 1231 (1 May 1816). Ink, yellow, ochre, brown, red, pink, green and gold on English paper, ‘Stroud & Co 1806’ ‘S&N’; red wax seal; 46.5 x 37 cm.; from Mrs Drake, 1939; RV (1977: 44), Gallop & Arps (1991: No. 17).

A strong European influence is apparent in the illumination of this letter. A garland of roses and leaves with a chain of gold links surrounds the text block, joined at the bottom with a sheaf of green leaves and gold bow, issuing forth from gilded cornucopia-like scrolls at the top. The heading is written on a pink medallion framed by green sheaves, surmounted by a European-style crown in red and gold with a cross at its centre (fig. 5).

A large collection of illuminated letters both from the Panembahan of Sumenep to Dutch officials and to the Panembahan from European dignitaries, including one letter from Raffles, are held in the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde in Leiden (Maronier 1967: 136–7).
MSS Eur D 742/1, f. 31


The illuminated border is composed of a diamond-shaped pattern enclosing four-petalled clove flowers. The sheet is scattered with two varieties of floral clusters: a single layer of clusters of two flowers and two leaves next to the border, and clusters of four flowers across the central part of the sheet. Six floral clusters in the middle have stalks of silver (now tarnished). Close inspection indicates that the pattern was first outlined in black ink, on top of which gold was applied.

MSS Eur D 742/1, f. 32

Letter from Sultan Syarif Kasim of Pontianak to T. S. Raffles, 16 Safar 1226 (12 March 1811). Ink and gold on English paper, ‘Budgen & Wilmott 1807’; lamp-black seal; 40.5 x 32.5 cm.; RV (1977: 122).

The illuminated border contains a five-petalled floral and foliate meander pattern with clove flowers at the corners, while the whole sheet is scattered with gold floral clusters of three flowers and three leaves on a single stalk (pl. 3).

MSS Eur D 742/1, f. 33a


Two different floral designs are found on the two sheets which have been pasted together to form this letter. The top sheet has three flowers and two leaves on a single stalk; the bottom sheet has three flowers and two leaves on a double stalk. In the centre of the illuminated border at the top of the top sheet is a four-petalled flower not present in the centre of the border of the bottom sheet; otherwise the whole border contains a three-petalled floral and foliate meander pattern with large clove flowers at the corners.

MSS Eur D 742/1, ff. 58–9

Letter from Governor-General Reynier de Klerk and the Council of the Indies in Batavia to Sultan Muhammad Bahauddin of Palembang, 15 August 1780. 2 f. (originally pasted together to form a long scroll?); ink, glitter and gold on Oriental paper; red wax seal; 48 x 28.5 & 41 x 28.3 cm.; yellow silk envelope, 36 x 8 cm., with paper address wrapper (f. 60); RV (1977: 122), Gallop & Arps (1991: No. 18).
Both the sheets are decorated with a scattered seven-petalled floral design, with illuminated borders enclosing floral arabesque patterns to the top three sides of f. 58 and the bottom three sides of f. 59.

**MSS Eur D 742/1, ff. 71–2**

Letter from the Raja of Buleleng, Bali, to T. S. Raffles, 1 Safar 1226 (25 February 1811). Ink and gold on European paper; 45.5 x 31.5 cm.; red wax seal; RV (1977: 122), Gallop & Arps (1991: No. 8).

The simple illumination found in this letter consists of a border containing a thick wavy design in gold horizontally across the top and vertically down the right of the text block, while the letter heading at the top of the sheet, *Qawl al-haqq*, is enclosed in double wavy petal-like lines of gold.

**MSS Eur E 378/1**


The area surrounding the text block is covered with an unusual curved-honeycomb grid pattern, enclosing a floral motif, with a hint of European influence. The text block is outlined in gold, and the lines of text in the main body of the letter are separated by ruled lines of gold.

**MSS Eur E 378/7**


The text is enclosed on the top three sides by a gold border containing jasmine flowers with two golden petals and one blue, and many-petalled gold flowers at the top two corners and centre. The top third of the sheet is occupied by an elaborate floral pattern which betrays a European influence in gold and two tones of blue.

**MSS Eur F 148/4, f. 105**

Fig. 7. Yellow damask silk envelope sent to T. S. Raffles, c. 1824, showing intricately cut-out interlocking edges of address wrapper. MSS Eur D 742/1, f. 61

The text is situated in the lower left part of this geometrically-complex illuminated letter. The whole sheet is surrounded by three golden borders, the inner and outer borders enclosing clove-flowers within a diamond pattern and the middle border containing an elaborate floral pattern. To the top and right of the text block the sheet is filled with a diamond-shaped grid formed from elaborate s-shapes, enclosing a variety of floral clusters, with elaborate floral sprays in the two top diagonal corners. The text block itself is bounded at the top and to the right with a small stepped-diamond pattern within ruled borders (pl. 2).

MSS Eur F 148/4, f. 106


The bottom three sides of the sheet of paper are bordered with a gold floral arabesque within thick red and thin black lines. The text, which is situated to the bottom left of the page, is bordered to the right by a double-ruled black ink border enclosing gold flowers with four major and four minor petals and circular red centres, linked by red stalks with green and yellow leaves. This border extends to the top of the page. At the top of the text is a beautiful multiple-layered border, with thin black and thick red lines and a gold four-petalled repeated floral pattern enclosing a thick gold floral arabesque with gold, blue and black flowers on a rich red background. This border is surmounted by a mihrab-shaped headpiece, containing a repeated gold cross-shaped grid pattern with red and black highlights, outlined in red and black and topped by a gold trefoil (fig. 6).
APPENDIX: THREE ILLUSTRATED MALAY MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA, KUALA LUMPUR

As illustrated Malay manuscripts are not common, the opportunity will be taken here to describe an interesting group of related early twentieth century illustrated manuscripts held in the Library of the University of Malaya.

MS. 39, *Hikayat Dewa Mandu* is written in a ledger book with a dark green binding, 250 p, folio size 31.5 x 21 cm. On the title page is written ‘Dewa Pandawa’ and in blue crayon underneath ‘Hikayat Dewa Pandawa II’. The manuscript is illustrated on 189 out of its 250 pages, sometimes with several scenes per page, in pencil, black ink and watercolours. Towards the end of the manuscript, the illustrations suddenly become very colourful with marked use of red, while the black ink text becomes very messy. The manuscript is dated Ahad 8 Rejab [no year], rumah no. 4, Jalan Pasalin. Two illustrations from this manuscript are reproduced in Akayet (1989: 3).

MS. 30, *Hikayat Hanuman* is also written in a ledger book; folio size 33.5 x 21 cm. On the title page is written ‘Hikayat Hanuman’ and in blue crayon ‘Hikayat Hanuman atau Seri Rama II’. The first part of the manuscript consists of 74 p written in black ink, with many illustrations in bright watercolours, with some use of powdered gold, including on the initial frontispiece (a different text continues in pencil for a further 39 p). The colophon is found on p. 73: *khatam hikayat Seri Rama hijrat 1311* [an earlier date, which might have read ‘1322’ with the Arabic figures ‘3’ and ‘2’ back to front has been crossed out, and ‘1311 ??’ is written across the top] *nabi Muhammad r-s-z rasul Allah kepada 10 hari sabtu jam pukul sembilan kepada Dulhijah siang di dalam Kampuang Kapur di dalam rumah number 3 p-y-t-s-t-r-p. Sahaya yang puny a tulis empunya Enci Siti Mariam bin [sic] Enci Sahbudin 1905* [signature: a-w-’-??-???-Sahbudin]. The language of the colophon is confused. If the A.H. date was indeed intended to read 10 Zulhijah 1311 (24 June 1894), this might refer to the date of the original manuscript from which this manuscript was copied; more likely is the reading 10 Zulhijah 1322 which concurs with the date written above the signature.

MS. 126, *Hikayat Indera Mengindera* consists of 4 volumes of lined note books, each 23 x 18 cm., with the following pagination: I (119 p), II (115 p), III (118 p), IV (89 p). Each volume is illustrated throughout. Two colophons are found. Colophon of II, p. 115: *terhentilah kepada bulan Jumadilakhir dua puluh lima hari Jumaat jam pukul dua belas di dalam rumah number dua puluh lima Jalan Pasalian [P-a-s-l-y-a-n]. Sahaya yang menulis menurun tauladan orang kepada masa tni sahayalah yang empunya surat ini tidaklah boleh orang mengikut dia* [signature – as in MS. 30]. Colophon of IV, p. 88: *tamat kepada tiga hari bulan Ramadhan r-a-b-kh jam pukul tiga di dalam rumah Kampung Kapur Jalan Pasalian rumah number dua puluh lima nyatalah sahaya k-n din menulis hikayat Indera Mengindera* [signature – as above].

Although a lot of information is given in these colophons, some serving to link these manuscripts with each other, much is presented in a very confusing way. MSS. 30 and 126 are clearly linked by the same signature and the mention of ‘Kampung Kapur’ in
the address (although different roads are given), while MS. 39 is linked to these two manuscripts by the mention of ‘Jalan Pasalian’, which also occurs in MS. 126, although the house number is given as ‘4’ in MS. 39 and ‘25’ in both colophons of MS. 126. The tentative conclusion is that MS. 39 was created, if not by the same scribe as MSS. 30 & 126, then within the same circle.

News of a fourth related manuscript has recently emerged: in early 1990, during preparations for the new Sultan Abu Bakar Museum in Johor, a collection of sixteen Malay manuscripts came to light. The Malay Manuscripts Centre of the National Library of Malaysia was invited to document these manuscripts, which remain the personal property of the Sultan of Johor. One of these manuscripts is a fully illustrated copy of the Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah, copied in a ledger book 32·7 x 21·5 cm., and dated 27 Rejab 1323 (17 October 1905) at 57 Jl Bas [b-a-s], Kampung Kapur, with a signature said to be similar to those described above (personal communication from Siti Mariani Omar of the Malay Manuscripts Centre, National Library of Malaysia, 1.3.1990). The signature, the address in Kampung Kapur, and the date of 1905 would appear to be strong evidence that this manuscript is related to the three described above.

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1 The oldest Malay manuscript documents known are two letters from Sultan Abu Hayat of Ternate to the king of Portugal, written in 1521 and 1522, and currently held in the Torre do Tombo archives in Lisbon (Blagden 1930).

2 ‘Illumination’ is used in this article in the strict sense of the word, i.e. ornamentation in which metals (gold or silver) are used. ‘Decoration’, a broader term which includes ‘illumination’, refers to all attempts to beautify the document through drawings and use of colours. ‘Illustration’ refers to drawings whose main aim is to clarify the contents of the text.

3 These include Raffles Malay 30, Raffles Java 4, Raffles Java 6 and Raffles Java 14, all held in the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

4 Apart from the British Library manuscripts listed in this article, decoration was found in the following Malay codices: Bodleian Library, Oxford – MS Laud Or. 201, MS Malay.e.2(R), MS Malay c. 1, MS Malay.d.1; Cambridge University Library – Add. 3765, Add. 3767, Add. 3782, Add. 3791, Or. 642, Or. 846, Or. 851, Or. 852, Or. 853, Or. 855, Or. 858, Or. 871, Or. 1860; John Rylands University Library of Manchester – Malay 9; Royal Asiatic Society – Farquhar 2, Raffles Malay 24, 30, 32, 41, 42, 49, 57, 66, 70, 80, Maxwell 15, 43, 48, 53, Malay 121; School of Oriental and African Studies – MS 25638, MS 12017, MS 12260, MS 37075, MS 41516, MS 40322, MS 7124, MS 36496. The finest collection is that of the Royal Asiatic Society, while an interesting number of late nineteenth and early twentieth century examples are held in Cambridge University Library. Illuminated letters are held in: Bodleian Library, Oxford – MS Laud Or. Rolls b.1; Cambridge University Library – Or. 637, Or. 638b, Or. 639, Or. 640; Royal Asiatic Society – Malay 142. Full details of all these manuscripts can be found in Ricklefs and Voorhoeve (1977, 1982).

5 I am grateful to the British Council for supporting a research visit to Malaysia under the CICHE programme in February–March 1990, during which time I had the opportunity to inspect a number of decorated Malay manuscripts. I would also like to express my thanks for the assistance of staff at the following institutions visited: Cik Norzilah and Encik Mat at the Kelantan Museum; Encik Mohd. Yusof Abdullah at the Trengganu Museum; Mrs Khoo Siew Mun and Haji Ibrahim Ismail at the Library of the University of Malaya; Hj. Wan Ahmad Hj. Wan Mamat, Encik Samsi Ahmad and Cik Siti Mariani Omar at the Malay Manuscripts Centre, National Library of Malaysia; Puan Rohani Rustam at the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, and Dr Khoo Joo Ee at the Museum Seni Asia, Universiti Malaya.

6 The only two Korans in the British Library which have been positively identified as originating from island Southeast Asia were acquired as part of the John Crawfurd collection in 1842. They can both be presumed to originate from Java as they are written on *dluwang*, Javanese paper made from the beaten bark of the mulberry tree. One of these manuscripts (Add. MS. 12312) has an unusual red and black double frontispiece (Gallo & Arps 1991: No. 70). The other manuscript is Add. MS. 12343.

7 An identical effect can be seen in the fully illustrated eighteenth century manuscript of the story of *Damar Wulan*, British Library, OIOC, MSS Jav. 89.

8 What is termed here ‘clove flower’ more properly refers to the four-petalled flower-like shape at the top of the clove.

9 Examples of such patterns can be found in Evans (1929), Siti Zainon (1986: 260–6) and Abdul Halim (1987: 81, 88, etc).

10 The prominence of red, used together with yellow, green and gold, is similar to the colours
found in Maghribi manuscripts from Muslim North Africa, in contrast to the supremacy of blue and gold found in the Middle East and India.

11 See, for example, *Syair Silindung Delima*, School of Oriental and African Studies, MS. 40322, late 18th–early 19th century.

12 See, for example, *Pantun alif ba ta*, Royal Asiatic Society, Maxwell 48, 1879.

13 A particularly fine example is Kelantan Museum manuscript MZ (KN) 146: 86, copied by Abdullah Latif ibn Haji Abdul Rahman Chondong in Patani, reproduced in Manuskrip (1990: 5).

14 A very beautiful example is in the National Library of Malaysia, Malay Manuscripts Centre MS. 1273.

15 See, for example, a treatise on divination in the Royal Asiatic Society, Maxwell 15.

16 Royal Asiatic Society, Raffles Malay 32, is an account of the customs of the kingdom of Johor, with illustrations of the different pennants used by court officials.


18 See Braginsky & Boldyreva (1990: 172).

19 See Appendix.

20 Wilkinson (1913) gives a valuable account of the conventions and etiquette of formal Malay letter-writing.

21 See, for example, the intricate cut-out seal flap in a letter from the Sultan of Kelantan, 1909 (Bahan 1982: 63).

22 An illuminated letter from the Sultan of Banten to King Charles II dated 1683 held in the Public Record Office (C.O. 77/14, p. 111) is written in Arabic.

23 A nice example is the wrapper from the envelope of the letter from the Sultan of Banjar to the Raja Besar Karangasem in Bali, 1813, Bodleian Library, MS Malay e.1.

24 A letter from Lord Minto to the Sultan of Mataram dated 3 September 1811 in the Museum Seni Asia, Kuala Lumpur (UM 81.131), measuring 114 cm. high x 55 cm. wide, is fully illuminated.

25 This letter possibly derived from the same source as a larger collection in the Royal Asiatic Society ( Malay 142), and was probably acquired during the British sack of the court of Palembang.

26 Raffles’s biographer Boulger may have been quoting from Abdullah when he confirmed: ‘He was also provided with gorgeous letter paper, such as their souls would delight in, for his communications to the native rulers’ (Boulger 1896: 89).

27 I am grateful to my colleague Dr Roderic Vassie for transliterating these lines.

28 The manuscript (from the collections of the India Office Library) was recently rebound, and the decorated initial pages are currently to be found on ff. iv & 2v. Such an arrangement is highly unusual in Malay manuscripts; the normal arrangement would be for the double frontispiece to be arranged on facing initial pages, and it is possible that these folios were misbound during recent repairs.

29 A possible identification of the scribe, Muhammad Lebai, is that he was the uncle of Munsyi Abdullah who became a manuscript copyist for Raffles. According to Abdullah, ‘One of my uncles Ismail Lebai had very good handwriting, and he and his younger brother Mohammed were both taken on as copyists’ (Hill 1970: 75). Although the manuscript in question originates from the John Leyden collection, there is a clear connection between some manuscripts in the Leyden collection in the BL and the Raffles collection in the R.A.S., as indeed is discussed below.

30 It is unusual to find silver being used in Malay manuscript illumination, but a letter fully illuminated in silver was sent from the Sultan of Pontianak to Governor-General van der Capellen in 1825 (Cambridge University Library Or. 638b).