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Silsilah Raja-Raja Brunei:
The Manuscript of Pengiran Kesuma Muhammad Hasyim

Introduction

Sir Hugh Low (1824-1905) lived in Borneo for over thirty years. He first arrived in Sarawak in 1843 or 1844, and spent the next two years travelling and collecting botanical specimens. Low was a great admirer and supporter of James Brooke's rule in Sarawak, and when Brooke was made Governor of the newly-established British colony of Labuan, Low was appointed Secretary to the government, taking up his post in early 1848. He remained in colonial service in Labuan until 1877, when he moved to the Malay peninsula as the fourth British Resident of Perak, a post he held until retirement in 1889. He died in Italy in 1905.³

Low gained considerable renown as a naturalist and explorer of Borneo, and identified several new botanical and zoological species. He was the first European to climb Mount Kinabalu in 1851, and the highest and deepest points of the mountain bear his name: Low's Peak and Low's Gully. But from his earliest days in Sarawak he also evinced a deep interest in Malay history and culture, and an appreciation of the centuries-old role of the Malay kingdom of

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2. I would like to express my profound appreciation to Henri Chambert-Loir for locating his 40-year old photocopy of the manuscript, and thus enabling this edition, and for helpful suggestions and some important corrections to the readings and translations. My thanks are also due to an anonymous reviewer for constructive comments; any remaining shortcomings are entirely my responsibility.

3. For a biographical outline of Low and his career, see Sadka (1954: 17-21).

Brunei as the acknowledged sovereign power along the north coast of Borneo. In his account of Sarawak published in London after his first visit to Borneo, he refers to the written histories of Brunei in the possession of Malay nobles, and his hopes of obtaining copies:

“There still existed during the lifetime of the late rajah, Mudah Hassim,⁴ the genealogical tree of the late royal family of Borneo, and annals of its history, but after his lamented death I could not learn what had become of them; and the surviving brother, the present rajah, Mudah Mohammed, feared that these relics, which had been preserved through generations with the most religious care, had perished in the flames of the houses of the murdered pangerans. These Mahometans, being more proud of their ancestry than those of the eastern world will allow themselves to be, take the greatest possible care of the histories of their families. On returning to the island I shall not fail to try by every means to obtain these papers, or copies of them, if they should be found still to exist” (Low 1848: 95).

During his subsequent long posting in Labuan, Low succeeded in obtaining copies of a number of Malay histories of Brunei, but it was only after his move to Perak that in 1880 he published a lengthy annotated compilation of historical materials from Brunei, in the 5th issue of the journal of the newly-established Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Low’s five-part contribution consisted of an English translation of a “Selesilah (Book of the Descent) of the Rajas of Bruni”, followed by his own ‘Notes’; an English translation of a ‘History of the Sultans of Bruni and of their descent, from Sultan Abdul Kahar to Sultan Abdul Jalil-ul-Jebar’; a “List of the Mahomedan Sovereigns of Bruni, or Borneo Proper,” compiled by Low based on the preceding texts, with reference to other sources; and finally a “Transcription and Translation of a Historic Tablet” (Low 1880).

The “Historic Tablet” (Batu Tarsilah) is identified precisely as a stone inscription standing on the tomb of Sultan Jamalul Alam in the *Makam damit*, “Small graveyard,” located at the foot of Bukit Panggal, and Low’s copy of the text was made on 1 June 1873. Low is, however, decidedly circumspect concerning the original form of his sources for the “Selesilah” and “History,” although the translations do appear to be based on single manuscripts of each, for in footnotes Low frequently makes comparisons with other copies of the texts. The main authority on Brunei history most often referred to by Low in his footnotes is one Pangiran Kasuma,⁵ who had given Low a copy of the *Selesilah* (Low 1880: 6). This was not the text translated by Low, but is frequently cited in footnotes for its variant accounts,⁶ and Low also refers to Pangiran Kasuma’s opinions conveyed orally.⁷

Low never published the original Malay texts of his source manuscripts,

4. Raja Muda Hasyim. Brunei governor in Sarawak, was killed in late 1845 or early 1846 on the orders of Sultan Umar Ali Saifuddin II of Brunei (r. 1828-1853).

5. Pangiran Kasuma is cited in nine separate notes by Low (1880: 6, 7, 11, 16, 17, 18, 20).

6. Low 1880: 7, 11, 17, 18, 20.

7. Low 1880: 16, 17.

and it was not until 1968, when Amin Sweeney published editions of two manuscripts of *Silsilah raja-raja Brunei* (henceforth SRRB) held in London, that the Malay texts became widely accessible. Sweeney's sources were MS 25032 from the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), referred to in his edition as MS A, and MS 123, held in the Royal Asiatic Society (RAS), referred to as MS B. Over the past half century no new edition of the SRRB has been published, but in the intervening years, many other manuscripts of SRRB have been documented or referenced in publications. All known versions of the SRRB will be listed and evaluated in a forthcoming publication, but the present article focusses on just one of these manuscripts, which was described in a catalogue of the Malay manuscripts in the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, by Henri Chambert-Loir (1980: 15):

21. Silsi[I]ah Brunei

A notebook with blue cardboard cover, without number nor title.

14 damaged pages now well restored; 16 x 20.5 cm.

Watermarks: a) Queen sitting in a chariot; b) GIOR MAGNANI; c) 1818.

Text: 9.5 x 13.5 cm. Number of lines irregular. Black ink. The historical text is written in a well-shaped and neat script, the spells in a clumsy but easy one.

p. 1: incomplete sentences; p. 2: talisman-formulas.

p. 3-10: historical sketches and genealogies of Brunei (b.w.r.n.y). Begins with the date of the death of Sultan Muhammad Ali bin Sultan Hassan: Sunday 14 Jumadilakhir 1072 [Saturday 4 February 1662] – (cp. with *JSBRAS* no. 5, 1880: 222; 14 Rabiulakhir 1072). Then follow some genealogies with mention of the first muslim ruler: Sultan Muhammad, allusion to the attack of the Spaniards, the civil war between Sultan Abdul-Mubin and Sultan Muhiuddin, the rulers of Matan and Sambas, etc ...

p. 11-14: new talisman formulas with twice the mention (pp. 12 and 13) of a date of birth: 5 Syaban 1246 [Wednesday 19 January 1831].

This very brief *Silsilah Brunei* should be compared with the texts published by Low (*JSBRAS* 5, 1880) and Sweeney (*JMBRAS* 49 pt. 2, 1968).

My attempts in the early 1990s to see this manuscript were unsuccessful.⁸ I am therefore extremely grateful to Henri Chambert-Loir for recently locating a photocopy of the entire manuscript, made at the time of the preparation of his catalogue, and for providing me with digital scans, on the basis of which the present edition has been prepared.

8. After the founding of the Malay Manuscripts Centre (Pusat Manuskrip Melayu, PMM) at the National Library of Malaysia in 1984, most of the Malay manuscripts in the Muzium Negara were transferred to the PMM, but according to the then head of the PMM, Datin Siti Mariani Omar, this manuscript could not be located (pers. comm., 8.6.93).

The Muzium Negara manuscript

On the basis of the digital scans, there are 14 pages with writing in this manuscript, and as noted in the catalogue description above, there are at least two distinct hands. The main text, the *Silsilah raja-raja Brunei*, begins at the top of p. 4 (*Bahwa inilah silsilah*) and concludes on p. 11 (*cucunya bernama Pengiran Amir, wa-Allahu a'lam*), and is written in a neat small hand (A), in dark black ink. There are lengthy marginal notes in hand (A) on pp. 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10. The second hand (B), which is larger and less accomplished, but carefully formed and very clear to read, in a slightly lighter ink, is found on pp. 2-3 and pp. 11-13 for all preliminary and end matter, comprising amulets, a historical statement and genealogy, notes on a birth, and two brief marginal comments on pp. 8 and 9. Hand B is also responsible for all additions of words written above the line in the *Silsilah*, suggesting that this person checked the copy carefully against its source. The first (p. 1) and last (p. 14) pages of the manuscript have scribbled notes in an indeterminate hand(s).

The genealogy presented on p. 3 is that of Pengiran Muhammad Hasyim, son of Pengiran Kerma Indera, and a grandson of Sultan Umar Ali Syarifuddin [sic] (d. 1795). At the end of the manuscript there is a statement on the birth of Pengiran Muhammad Hasyim's son, Abdul Rajad, in 1831, which, as noted further below in the section on "Birth notes," was drafted several times before being finalised. These multiple versions suggest that this note was not written by a professional scribe, but was most likely composed by Pengiran Muhammad Hasyim himself, who is thus the scribe of hand (B) and the owner of the manuscript. Since the paper is said to be watermarked 1818, it is proposed that the core text (hand A) was probably copied some time in the 1820s for Pengiran Muhammad Hasyim, who subsequently added the amulets and other paratexts, up to and around 1831, or slightly later.

The key to the identity of this owner of the manuscript can be found in one of the many publications on Brunei history by the senior Brunei historian, Pehin Jawatan Dalam Seri Maharaja Dato Seri Utama (Dr.) Haji Awang Mohd. Jamil al-Sufri, Director of the Brunei History Centre (Pusat Sejarah Brunei). Citing a reference to "Pangiran Kasuma" in Low's account, Pehin Jamil identifies him more precisely as "Pengiran Kesuma Negara Pengiran Hashim" and describes him as "A very knowledgeable person on the intricacies of the history of Brunei, and son to Yang Amat Mulia Pengiran Kerma Negara Pengiran Anak Sulaiman ibnu Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin I" (Mohd. Jamil 2002: 18). This critical piece of information – that the personal name of Low's 'Pangiran Kasuma' was Hasyim – together with a close comparison between the contents of the Muzium Negara manuscript with the text of "Pangiran Kasuma" described in Low 1880, allows us to identify the present manuscript as almost certainly the copy of the *Silsilah raja-raja Brunei* given by Pengiran Kesuma⁹ to Low.

9. The place of the indeterminate vowel /e pepet/ in standard Malay is taken by /a/ in Brunei Malay

According to Chambert-Loir (1980: 1), the present manuscript is one of at least 15 manuscripts in Muzium Negara of which the origin is unknown. However, one manuscript in his list (no. 34), as well as some rare printed books in the library, were previously the property of the Perak State Museum in Taiping. Since Low evidently brought his Brunei historical materials with him to Perak, whence he published the *Selesilah* in 1880, it is possible that the SRRB manuscript of Pengiran Kesuma may have come to the Muzium Negara together with other items from the Perak State Museum, or with other manuscripts of Perak origin.¹⁰

Contents of the *Silsilah raja-raja Brunei* of Pengiran Kesuma

In recent years there has been a growing recognition of the value that can be added to our understanding of a manuscript through a greater appreciation of its materiality: the paper on which it is written, the ink, the style of handwriting, the spatial layout of the text, the binding, and any annotations in the volume, including decorative features. Technological advances mean that it is now so much easier and cheaper to include photographic illustrations of manuscripts to accompany text editions.¹¹ In preparing the edition of Pengiran Kesuma's manuscript, the core text of the SRRB is therefore considered within the context of the whole book, including all the surrounding paratexts, and paying heed to the graphic interplay of the different textual elements on the page. Thus the list of the contents of the manuscript below starts from the scribbled annotations on the first page, with the amulets which open and close the royal genealogy regarded as an integral part of the book.

Contents:

- p. 1 Notes and scribbles.
- p. 2 (Hand B) Four amulets [A-D].
- p. 3 Statement on the death of Sultan Muhammad Ali on 14 Jumadilakhir 1072 (4 February 1662). Above this, written diagonally in the top margin, is the genealogy of Pengiran Muhammad Hasyim on both his paternal and maternal sides.
- p. 4 (Hand A) *Silsilah raja-raja Brunei*, starting with Sultan Muhammad, his brother Sultan Ahmad, and Sultan Syarif Ali.
- [Between the end of p. 4 and the beginning of p. 5 there is a break in the narrative.]
- p. 5 The Spanish attack on Brunei, and betrayal of Pengiran Seri Laila. Bendahara Raja Saqkam restored his father to the throne and killed the traitors. Reign of his brother Sultan Saiful Rijal.

(Clynes 2001: 15), and is often indicated with an *alif* in words written in Jawi script. However, in modern romanized Malay in Brunei this vowel is standardised to *e*. Henceforth in this article, the name written as “Pangiran Kasuma” by Low will be rendered as “Pengiran Kesuma.”

10. No. 16, *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, and No. 19, *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis*, bound in a single volume, were written by a scribe from Perak (Chambert-Loir 1980: 12-13).

11. Indeed, it could be regarded as a dereliction of duty not to include at least one photograph whenever a Malay manuscript text is published.

p. 6 Sultan Saiful Rijal enthroned his unborn child, who was born a simple minded but beautiful girl. Succeeded by his sons Sultan Syah Berunai and then Sultan Hasan (Marhum di Tanjung). The mute princess was given a great inheritance; her son was Bendahara Abdul who killed Sultan Muhammad Ali and became Sultan Abdul Mubin.

p. 7 The civil war in Brunei between Sultan Abdul Mubin, whose followers were named the Island Rajas, and Sultan Muhyiuddin, nephew of the late Sultan Muhammad Ali, whose followers were the Brunei Rajas.

p. 8 Descendants of Marhum Tuha [Sultan Jalilul Akhbar, son of Sultan Hasan] down to Sultan Muhyiuddin, and of Sultan Muhammad Ali.

p. 9 Descendants of [Sultan Muhammad Ali's son] Sultan Kamaluddin and his son Sultan Muhammad Aliuddin, and of Raja Tengah in Sambas.

p. 10 Descendants of Marhum di Tanjung, including the Raja of Suluk, and the cruel Pangiran Di Gadong Berunai.

p. 11 Siblings of Marhum di Tanjung, ending the *Silsilah*. (Hand B) Six amulets [E-J].

p. 12 Draft of a note on the birth of Abdul Rajad, son of Pangiran Muhammad Hasyim and Kahawang Bidah, on 5 Syaaban 1246 (19 January 1831). Eight amulets [K-R].

p. 13 Finalised note on the birth of Abdul Rajad on 8 Syaaban 1246 (22 January 1831). Two amulets [S-T].

p. 14 Magic squares and notes.

The contents are discussed in more detail below, starting with the *Silsilah* proper in hand A, followed by the various texts in hand B of Pengiran Kesuma.

Hand A: *Silsilah raja-raja Brunei* (pp. 4-11)

This is a very short text occupying eight pages and containing only 1,250 words, increasing to 1,500 with marginalia.¹² The text on p. 4 begins directly: *Bahwa inilah silsilah segala raja*, “This is the genealogy of the rulers,” and describes the reigns of the first Muslim sovereign of Brunei Sultan Muhammad, and his brother Sultan Ahmad who marries a Chinese wife, and whose daughter marries Sayid Syarif Ali. Sayid Syarif Ali becomes the third sovereign and reigns in Brunei as Sultan Berkat, and is succeeded by his son Sultan Sulaiman and thence his son Sultan Bolkiah.

The narrative on pp. 5-6 concerns the Spanish attack on Brunei, and the betrayal of Pengiran Seri Laila. Bendahara Raja Saqkam (as the name is consistently spelt s-q-k-m in this manuscript) valiantly battles the Spanish and restores his father (Sultan Abdul Kahar) to the throne, and kills the traitors Pengiran Seri Laila and Pengiran Seri Ratna. Bendahara Saqkam then supports the rule of his brother Sultan Saiful Rijal.

¹². In comparison, MS A contains approximately 10,500 words, and MS B approximately 10,800 words.

Sultan Saiful Rijal enthrones his child while still in the womb; a girl is born, who turns out to be simple minded but beautiful. Sultan Saiful Rijal is succeeded first by his son Sultan Syah Berunai, who has no children so abdicates in favour of his brother Sultan Hasan (Marhum di Tanjung). The mute princess was also married to a noble named Pengiran Muhammad, and given a great inheritance, and amongst her sons was Bendahara Abdul Mubin. It was he who killed Sultan Muhammad Ali and proclaimed himself sultan, following which civil war broke out in Brunei between his followers and those of Sultan Muhiuddin, the nephew of of Sultan Muhammad Ali, ending with the death of Sultan Abdul Mubin.

As noted in the contents list, between the end of p. 4 and beginning of p. 5, there is a break in the text. As the manuscript has been heavily restored and re-sewn, it is not easy to confirm the loss of intervening pages, or the extent of such loss.¹³ The opening of the *Silsilah* on p. 4 follows almost exactly that of MS A (Sweeney 1968: 49-50) and the Batu Tarsilah, albeit without any religious exordium, or mention of Dato Imam Yakub or Haji Abdul Latif and their royal patrons. The text on pp. 5-6 however follows very closely the narrative in Low's "History" (Low 1880: 10-11) and is also broadly similar to MS B (Sweeney 1968: 55-56). This implies a possibly lengthy loss of text between the current pp. 4 and 5, which might have contained the end of the core *Silsilah* of Dato Imam Yaakub, followed by the start of the historical chronicle akin to MS B. Furthermore, there are three instances of Low's citations from Pengiran Kesuma's narrative concerning episodes which are not found in this manuscript, and which therefore may have been lost in the intervening period. These include the explanation that the *kota batu* built by Chinese subjects during Sultan Berkat's reign was that located across the Brunei river beside Pulau Cermin (Low 1880: 7); a note that in former times the sons of sultans were called Rajas, the other nobles being titled Pengirans (Low 1880: 11); and the description of the arrival of the Sulus in the civil war (Low 1880: 17).

However, from p. 7 onwards, Pengiran Kesuma's manuscript diverges from all other known texts of the SRRB, in one important albeit brief passage. This explicitly describes the split of Brunei society into two camps during the prolonged civil war: the followers of Sultan Abdul Mubin, whose palace was on Pulau Cermin, were known as the Island rajas (*raja-raja Pulau*), while the supporters of Sultan Muhiuddin were the Brunei rajas (*raja-raja Brunei*). The Island rajas could claim the allegiance of nearly all the Bajau along the coasts of Sabah, because this was part of the inheritance of Sultan Abdul Mubin's mother, the mute princess, the sister of Sultan Hasan, Marhum di

13. At present there are 14 pages evident in the digital copy, with p. 1 preceded by a blank folio; the present manuscript is made up of 4 bifolia, folded and sewn down the middle between pp. 6-7, where sewing threads can be seen. There is no evident break in the text between pp. 8 and 9, as might be expected if one or more leaves (bifolia) had been lost between pp. 4 and 5.

Tanjung, and it was the great wealth of the Island raja faction that ensured their continued prominence in Brunei. Of particular significance is that the manuscript implies that the seismic events of the late 17th century were the origin of a long-lasting fissure in Brunei society, which still resonated at the time of writing in the early 19th century: *Itulah asal bangsanya raja2 pulau, ialah raja Bajau... Sebab itulah raja Pulau itu kaya sampai sekarang karena ia sama sepusaka dengan Marhum di Tanjung*, “That is the origin of the Island Rajas, who are the Bajau Rajas... And this is the reason why the Island Rajas are so rich, to the present day, because their inheritance equalled that of Marhum di Tanjung.” This section ends with the phrase *wa-Allāhu a‘lam*, “God is He who knows,” conventionally used to close a piece of writing, implying that this is the end of that particular text.

The manuscript continues on pp. 8-11 with a series of discrete and detailed genealogies of the descendants of Sultan Hasan, Marhum di Tanjung: firstly of Marhum Tua (Sultan Abdul Jalilul Akbar, Sultan Hasan’s son and successor); next of Sultan Muhammad Ali; and then of Raja Tengah of Sambas (who is described as the son of Sultan Jalilul Jabar, Marhum Tengah, who was the son of Sultan Abdul Jalilul Akbar). Next is an account of the descent lines of Marhum di Tanjung’s sons by concubines or non-royal wives (*gundik*), then of his daughters, and finally of Marhum di Tanjung’s siblings born of concubines. Some of these descent line also end with the phrase *wa-Allāhu a‘lam*, indicating that they should be understood as discrete texts complete in themselves. There is little narrative content in this section, although the lines of descent are occasionally peppered with some colourful comment, such as on the sadistic nature of Pengiran Di Gadong Berunai (the middle brother of Marhum di Tanjung born of a concubine), who seems to have delighted in killing people by beheading them not with a sword but with a saw, or roasting them above a fire, and who pulled out the teeth of his concubines.

The editing of marginalia

This manuscript of SRRB contains eight marginal additions on pp. 6-10, always written at an angle to the main text. These are not seamless additions to the narrative, in the same category as words occasionally added above the line (indicated in the edition with angled brackets), which are necessary to ensure the logical or correct flow of the text; for example, *jikalau* added above the line on p. 7, and *al-dīn* added twice to the name of *Sultan Muhyi* on p. 8. In every case, the purport of these marginal notes is solely to add genealogical information and lines of descent for individuals mentioned in the narrative. Six of these notes are in the hand of the same scribe (A) who wrote the main text and are relatively lengthy, all comprising two or more lines. In two cases, on pp. 8 and 9, brief notes are in hand (B), inked in on top of pencilled drafts.

In all cases except the first on p. 6, the marginal note is linked with the point of reference in the text by means of a symbol. On p. 7 this is the Malay numeral 2 (ʿ); on p. 8 the first note is linked with a V-shaped caret with a dot above, and the second one with a small circle (o); on p. 9 the first note is linked with a character resembling “N” and the second with “V”; and on p. 10 the note is again linked with a small circle (o).

In editing this manuscript, it was surprisingly difficult to select the appropriate format for presenting the marginal notes. Initially, it was assumed that the marginalia would be incorporated into the main text accompanied by suitable graphic indicators; for example, placed within square brackets, just as angled brackets are used for words inserted above the line. Almost immediately it became clear that such a course of action was inappropriate, because the marginalia is often very lengthy, and interrupted the flow of the narrative too much. Yet gathering the marginal notes together at the end of the text also not ideal, as the information was then too far removed from the point of reference in the text. Nor were footnotes the answer, as this would involve placing marginalia alongside editorial notes, whereas the two types of information were fundamentally different. Finally the decision was taken to present the marginalia at the end of each page of text. Even though this method hinders the flow of reading of the main text, it aims to preserve better the experience of the original reader of the manuscript, who would have been forced to pause while reading each page in order to physically turn the page and read the marginalia.

Hand B: Death of Sultan Muhammad Ali

The main text on p. 3 is a statement of the death of Sultan Muhammad Ali on the eve of Monday, 14 Jumadilakhir 1072 (4 February 1662). The year is also specified as a *Ha* year in the eight-year Malay *daur kecil* cycle, where each year is named after an Arabic letter, and the time of day is identified as that of Brahma, according to the Indic *ketika lima* cycle.¹⁴

Adapun Seri Sultan Muhammad Ali ibn Seri Sultan Hasan mangkat daripada negeri yang fanā kepada negeri yang baqā qālū inna lillāh wa-inna ilayhi raji‘ūn hijrat al-nabi ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam seribu tujuh puluh dua tahun pada tahun ha’ pada empat belas ha hari bulan Jumadilakhir pada ketika Brahma malam Isnin.

Seri Sultan Muhammad Ali, son of Seri Sultan Hasan, passed on from this transient world to the eternal world, as it is said, “We belong to God and to Him we shall return,” in the year of the migration of the prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, one thousand and seventy two, in the year Ha, on the fourteenth day of Jumadilakhir, at the time of Brahma, on the eve of Monday.

14. On the *ketika lima* cycle, of five time periods repeating over a five day cycle, see Farouk 2016: 105.

The circumstances of this event are well-known, from what is by far the most important and lengthy episode in several manuscripts of the SRRB.¹⁵ The son of the Bendahara Abdul Mubin was unjustly killed by the son of Sultan Muhammad Ali, and when the Bendahara laid the matter before the Sultan, the Sultan agreed that his son should face justice. At that point the prince ran into the palace and the Bendahara followed him in, but not finding him, ran amok and killed all the inhabitants. Thereupon the Sultan agreed that he himself too should die, and he was garotted by the Bendahara in the garden outside the palace, henceforth being known as *Marhum Tumbang di Rumput*, “the Late Ruler who fell on the grass.” According to Low, “the first date in Bruni history which can be trusted is A.H. 1072, being that of the death of Sultan Mahomet Ali” (Low 1880: 1), and elaborates further: “The date of this occurrence is the first and only one in Bruni history, it is: ‘Malam hari Isnein’ 14th Rabial Akhir, A.H. 1072” (Low 1880: 13). Subsequent historians of Brunei have thus cited this date of 1072 AH as “the first date given in any Brunei source” (Brown 1970: 144; Saunders 1994: 63), although Brown did later qualify this statement by noting that Low had also published the text of the Historic Tablet or *Batu Tarsilah*, dated 1807 (Brown 1988: 75), to which might be added a long list of dated tombstones and other dated manuscript books and documents from Brunei.

Nevertheless, despite the exceptional importance of this date in Brunei history and its widespread recognition as such, it should be noted that all references to this date of AH 1072 only derive from the single footnote by Low cited above, with no information on his actual source. Pengiran Kesuma’s manuscript is therefore the first known primary source in Malay for this date. It will also be noted – as highlighted by Chambert-Loir (1980: 15) – that there is a discrepancy between the date in Pengiran Kesuma’s manuscript (14 Jumadilakhir 1072) and that cited by Low (14 Rabiulakhir 1072, equivalent to Wednesday 7 December 1661). Furthermore, in Yura Halim’s 1951 historical novel *Mahkota berdarah* – shown to have been based on a manuscript of SRRB very similar to that translated by Low (Gallop 1997: 202) – the date is given as 14 Rabiulawal 1002 [sic] (Yura 1987: 18). Although it is not unknown in Malay sources to encounter a confusion between the parallel names of the two adjacent pairs of months (Rabiulawal / Rabiulakhir and Jumadilawal / Jumadilakhir), as the only known primary source Pengiran Kesuma’s date is to be preferred: 14 Jumadilakhir 1072 (Saturday 4 February 1662). Moreover, *malam Isnin*, “the eve of Monday,” refers to Sunday, and a discrepancy of one weekday is a very common occurrence in the conversion of Hijrah dates, due to variations in the start day of a particular month, depending on the sighting of the new moon in different locations.¹⁶

15. See Sweeney 1968: 57-65 and Gallop 1997: 190-192.

16. Cf. Gallop 1997: 212-3, n. 4.

Genealogy of Pengiran Kesuma Muhammad Hasyim

Written diagonally above the statement on the death of Sultan Muhammad Ali, in the top margin, is the genealogy of Pengiran Muhammad Hasyim:

Bahwa inilah alamat silsilah Pengiran Muhammad Hasyim ibn Pengiran Kerma Indera ibn Sultan Umar Ali Syarifuddin¹⁷ ibn Seri Sultan Muhammad Aliuddin ibn Pengiran ~~di Gadong~~ Di Gadong Muhammad Syahbuddin ibn Seri Sultan Muhyiuddin¹⁸ ialah bergalar Marhum Bungsu. Bahwa Pengiran Muhammad Hasyim itu bundanya Pengiran Saliha ibn Pengiran Pemanca Daud ibn Pengiran Abdul Rahman ibn Pengiran ‘Amribadar¹⁹ ibn Raja Bendahara Bungsu ibn Seri Sultan Muhammad Ali, ialah baginda itu berperang dengan Marhum di Pulau.

The genealogy can be presented in Table 1 below, with regnal dates largely based on the official genealogy prepared by the Brunei History Centre in 1986.

Table 1 - The genealogy of Pengiran Muhammad Hasyim

Birth notes

Notes on births are occasionally found in Malay manuscripts, and coincidentally, one published account documents several examples in a Brunei manuscript.²⁰ The example written by Pengiran Muhammad Hasyim affords a fascinating glimpse of a formal composition in progress. In his first draft on p. 12, he initially starts with *Adapun*, which is then crossed out, and then with *Bahwa adapun*, which is again crossed out, before drafting a full paragraph beginning *Bahwa adapun*. However, the finalised version of the note on the next page begins, in the standard formulaic structure of all Malay official documents, with the date, *Hijrat al-nabi*.²¹ The note was probably written

17. sy-r-f-w-a-l-d-y-n, although in all other sources the name is given as *Saifuddin* (s-y-f-a-l-d-y-n), for example, in MS A (SOAS MS 25032, f. 22v).

18. vocalised

19. vocalised

20. Cf. Gallop 2011: 63-64.

21. Cf. Gallop 2009: 276, where it is noted that in contradistinction to Malay epistles, Malay documents always start with the date, often given in exceptional detail, starting with the year and followed by month, date, day of week, and time.

some time after the birth, because the date of birth is corrected from 5 Syaaban in the draft on p. 12, to 8 Syaaban in the final version on p. 13, and although the time of day according to the prayer time is constant in both version as after ‘*isya*, the time according to the *ketika lima* has been corrected from Kala to Brahma. The baby’s title is given as *Hawangku*, indicating noble blood as the son of a *Pengiran*, and familiar as *Awangku* in contemporary parlance in Brunei. In one of the crossed-out drafts the baby’s mother, Bidah, is given the title *Kadayang*, relating to the present-day female non-noble title *Dayang*, but in both the full draft and the final version, she is called *Kahawang Bidah*. This suggests that the current Brunei male non-noble title of *Awang* was used in a less gender-specific way in earlier days, just as the title *Encik* was frequently applied to females in the broader early Malay world.

Amulets and magic squares

This manuscript contains 20 prescriptions for ways of achieving desired goals through the use of certain steps involving formulae. On each page of the manuscript, the amulets are written initially in the standard orientation, from top to bottom, but in order to make best use of space the writing then continues 90° clockwise, firstly into the left hand margin, then upside-down across the top of the page, and then along the right-hand margin.

Page	Ref.	Type	Description
2	A	<i>azimat</i>	amulet to gain affection and for protection against weapons
2	B	<i>azimat</i>	amulet to prevent someone running away or to stop a woman from getting married
2	C	<i>azimat</i>	amulet of ‘Alī, to protect against an attacker
Page	Ref.	Type	Description
2	D	<i>doa</i>	a prayer to be uttered after washing the face (to beautify the face)
11	E	<i>cakar harimau</i>	tiger’s claw amulet, to inspire fear in people and beasts
11	F	<i>azimat</i>	amulet to stop children having convulsions
11	G	<i>azimat</i>	amulet to stop children crying
11	H	<i>tangkal</i>	talisman to protect against spirits and devils in the house
11	I	<i>azimat</i>	amulet to stop children having convulsions
11	J	<i>azimat</i>	amulet to become powerful
12	K	<i>hikmat</i>	spell to ensure a woman never sleeps with another man
12	L	<i>azimat</i>	amulet to reveal a woman’s secrets

12	M	<i>azimat</i>	amulet to ease out a dead foetus following a miscarriage
12	N	<i>permanis</i>	prayer to beautify a face
12	O	<i>azimat</i>	attraction amulet
12	P	<i>azimat</i>	amulet for invisibility
12	Q	<i>azimat</i>	amulet to harm enemies
12	R	<i>azimat</i>	amulet to attract someone who does not like you
13	S	<i>azimat</i>	lunar eclipse amulet, to make someone love you or to beautify a face
13	T	<i>azimat</i>	amulet for coughing

The majority of these prescriptions, 15 out of the 20, bear the self-descriptor *azimat* (amulet), often elaborated further, for example as *azimat tangkal* (preventive amulet), *azimat petarik* (attraction amulet), *azimat halimunan* (invisibility amulet) and *azimat bulan dimakan Rahu* (lunar eclipse amulet). Five other terms are used: *hikmat* (spell), *tangkal* (preventor), *permanis* (beautifier), *doa* (prayer) and *cakar harimau* (tiger's claw).

All but the two beautifying prayers, described as *doa* and *permanis*, and the spell, *hikmat*, take the form of a magical formula or diagram (*raja*) composed of Arabic letters – or stylized Arabic letters – arranged in certain configurations, with instructions for their use. These formulae should be inscribed on a range of different media. When inscribed on paper they can be placed somewhere or worn on the body, either in a headdress (for a man) or earring (for a woman), or tied to a limb or around the neck; written on paper or a more durable medium like tin they can be placed (or buried) under the steps (up to a house) or in the prow of a boat; inscribed on an edible/chewable medium like black taro, lime or betel nut they can be absorbed into the body; or written on paper the ink can be dissolved in water and the solution drunk. In the case of the spell (K), a paste made from gall from a fighting cock mixed with honey solution should be rubbed onto the penis, whereupon following an act of intercourse the woman would never sleep with another man.

On the final page, p. 14, are a number of magic squares, with each cell containing a three-digit number. Many magic squares are derived from the basic 3 x 3 magic square, consisting of the numbers 1 to 9, arranged in such a way that the sum in any direction is always 15:

6	1	8
7	5	3
2	9	4

In her study of Islamic amulets, Venetia Porter has shown how complex magic squares can sometimes be reduced to a recognizable simple square by the subtraction of a certain number. Moreover, it is not uncommon for errors to occur in magic squares engraved on seals and amulets, necessitating correction (Porter 2011: 168, 171). Thus the complex magic square at the top of p. 14 of the manuscript can be corrected (in square brackets), whereupon it is recognizable as the basic 3 x 3 magic square, with 35 added to each cell.

356	351	376 [i.e. 358]
359 [i.e. 357]	355	353
352	361 [i.e. 359]	354

In its corrected form, the sum total would be 1065 across each line, which may represent the *abjad*²² value of an auspicious religious phrase or Name of God. For example, a similar square on a metal seal held in the British Museum, with 39 added to each cell, adds up to 1185 on each line, which is ‘the numerical value of the invocation to the greatest of the Names of God, *yā ism al-a‘ẓam*’ (Porter 2011: 170).

At the bottom of the page is a conjoined structure which could be deconstructed into three unfinished 3 x 3 squares, with that on the left rotated through 90 degrees and with 35 added to each cell; that in the middle with 93 added to each cell; and that on the right, as above, with 35 added to each cell.

Amulets are commonly found in manuscripts throughout the Malay world,²³ but there is a perception of a heightened appreciation for the protective power of Islamic amulets in Brunei and west Kalimantan. In a study of Malay seals, it has been noted that seals from Brunei have a higher number of talismanic elements than elsewhere, primarily in the use of the amulet of the name of the Sufi saint Ma‘rūf al-Karkhī written in disconnected letters, and also number formulae including 786, the *abjad* total of the *bismillah*.²⁴ Mansurnoor (1995: 93) notes that a manuscript by the prominent Brunei religious scholar Haji Abdul Mokti bin Nassar (d. 1946), who had spent three years in Mecca, cited ways to enhance women’s fertility by drinking water boiled with a certain tree resin (*damar putih*), and included attraction formulae reminiscent of the *petarik* amulets listed above.²⁵ To the present day, children of the royal family in Brunei have often been

22. In the *abjad* system, each letter of the Arabic alphabet is assigned a numerical value (cf. Gacek 2009: 11-12; Porter 2011: 134, 166).

23. See Skeat 1899, Yahya 2016.

24. Gallop 2013: 180-181.

25. Mansurnoor (1995: 93) also notes that the work of the 13th-century writer on the occult, al-Būnī, was apparently known in Brunei.

pictured wearing amulets on chains containing religious inscriptions and magic squares associated with protection. The official photograph released in 2007 of new-born Pengiran Muda Abdul Muntaqim, son of the Crown Prince, shows him wearing a large square gold amulet on a gold chain (Fig. 1). The amulet contains the *bismillah* at the top, and a 3 x 3 magic square with five-digit numbers in each cell. The large number of amulets in this manuscript of SRRB emphasises their important position in the writing culture of Brunei at that time.

Fig. 1 – Yang Teramat Mulia Pengiran Muda Abdul Muntaqim, first son of the Crown Prince of Brunei, pictured soon after his birth in 2007, with a gold amulet on a chain around his neck. (Image source: Flickr <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/7612264@N06/441314956/>>; accessed 17 Feb. 2019)

The aftermath of the Brunei civil war: new light on the Island Rajas versus the Brunei Rajas

Pengiran Kesuma's copy of the *Silsilah raja-raja Brunei* is an important addition to the small corpus of manuscripts of this premier work of Brunei historiography, until recently only represented in full published form by the two manuscripts edited by Amin Sweeney in 1968. It is most unfortunate that the slim manuscript of Pengiran Kesuma now extant has probably suffered considerable losses of pages since it was last referenced by Low for his publication of the *Selesilah* in 1880, but its value is evident in a number of unique textual elements not found in other published versions of the SRRB.

As noted above, the statement on the death of Sultan Muhammad Ali is of exceptional importance in being the only known primary source for the date of this event – 14 Jumadilakhir 1072 (4 February 1662) – long regarded as a high-water mark in Brunei historiography and a yardstick of the historicity of Brunei sources. It is also of interest that this statement does not form part of the *Silsilah* proper, but was rather added by Pengiran Kesuma as a momentous and portentous opening to the manuscript. For indeed, probably the most valuable aspect of Pengiran Kesuma's SRRB is its explicit description of the seismic divide in Brunei society resulting from the civil war that followed the killing of Sultan Muhammad Ali in the late 17th century, and the emergence of two distinct camps in Brunei society, the Island Rajas and the Brunei Rajas. This is the only known written source from Brunei to document and explain this divide, which according to Low still reverberated in Brunei society two centuries later. But Pengiran Kesuma's manuscript also further throws light on two crucial aspects of this rift.

Firstly, we know from Low (1880: 16) that Pengiran Kesuma's "sympathies and relationships were with the island," and his copy of the *Silsilah* was frequently cited to support this view, in contradistinction to the versions promoted by the Brunei rajas.²⁶ But Pengiran Kesuma's genealogy presented in this manuscript (see Table 1) shows that he himself was directly descended on his paternal side from Sultan Muhyiuddin, Marhum Bungsu, the 'Brunei Raja' who fought against the "Island Raja," Sultan Abdul Mubin. Meanwhile, on his maternal side, Pengiran Kesuma was descended directly from Sultan Muhammad Ali, who was killed by Sultan Abdul Mubin. On the basis of this genealogy, it would be natural to assume that Pengiran Kesuma would have self-identified with the "Brunei Rajas." The fact that this was evidently not the case indicates that in the small and tightly-interconnected world of Brunei nobility, paternal descent – and even the paternal line of the mother – was not necessarily the critical deciding factor in 'clan' allegiance. Throughout the *Silsilah*, although the significance of women is frequently relegated to a lower order – there are a number of instances within the written genealogies where the writer simply states *tiada kami sebutkan anaknya yang perempuan*, "we do not list his daughters" (p. 7, marginal note) – it is possible that in judging sympathies with the Island or Brunei Raja groupings, maternal descent, and thereby inheritance, may have played an important role.

For the other related significant revelation from Pengiran Kesuma's manuscript is that while the Island-Brunei rift originated in the civil war, the long-running repercussions were fuelled and perpetuated by the considerable resources controlled by, in this case, the losing side. This momentous societal divide was rooted in the unprecedented decision by Sultan Saiful Rijal to enthrone his unborn child while still in the womb. Even when the child was born female and thus could not inherit the throne of Brunei, and then turned out to be simple-minded, she was allocated a vast inheritance, equal to that of her brother, the famed Sultan Hasan, Marhum di Tanjung. Her inheritance brought with it the loyalty and service of most of the Bajau sea people subject to Brunei, and the lands stretching up the coast of Sabah.²⁷ Thereafter, her descendants and heirs played a powerful role in Brunei that was not negated by the death of her son Sultan Abdul Mubin, or even the shift in allegiance of the majority of the sea Bajau from Brunei to Sulu in the aftermath of the civil war,²⁸ right up to the period observed by Low.

Perhaps it was the loss of the last vestiges of Brunei control over the coastal lands to the northeast, through a series of commercial concessions in the last quarter of the 19th century, that finally dissipated the fortunes of the Island rajas and blunted the divide.²⁹ For the deeply entrenched animosities, which

26. Cf. Low 1880: 17.

27. The Bajau in Brunei would originally have played a role in Brunei as pivotal as that of the *Orang Laut* in the kingdoms of Melaka and Johor (cf. Andaya 1975: 43-52).

28. Brown 1971.

29. Cf. Saunders 1994: 83-91.

had persisted through two centuries in the close-knit royal circles of Brunei, seem now to be but a distant memory.³⁰

Transliteration and translation of Pengiran Kesuma's *Silsilah raja-raja Brunei* (Muzium Negara, MS [21])

The manuscript is presented in two sections: Part 1, the historical texts; and Part 2, the amulets and other paratexts. For ease of reading, in Part 1 all the Malay texts are presented first, followed by the English translations. In Part 2, each element is accompanied by its English translation.

Editorial note

In the transliteration and translation below, the following editorial conventions are followed:

- ... text missing (due to paper damage or cropped in the photograph)
- [] text restored or conjectured
- < > text located above the line
- { } text to be disregarded in the editor's opinion
- Đan text deleted in manuscript
- ? expresses uncertainty

No comment is made in the case of common scribal practices, such as the writing of *pa* with one dot, and the use of *syin* for *sin*, eg. in *niscaya*. Other unusual spellings are reflected in the transliteration or footnoted, for example the use of *alif* to indicate the characteristic Brunei vowel *a* where *e pepet* would be found elsewhere, for example in *kana* for *kena*, *langan* for *lengan*, *berparang* for *berperang*, etc.

Part 1: Historical texts

Malay text

[Hand B]

[p.3] *Adapun Seri Sultan Muhammad Ali ibn Seri Sultan Hasan mangkat daripada negeri yang fanā kepada negeri yang baqā qālū innā lillāh wa-innā ilayhi raji 'ūn hijrat al-nabī šallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallam seribu tujuh puluh dua tahun pada tahun ha' pada empat belas hari bulan Jumadilakhir pada ketika Brahma malam Isnin. Dan ialah baginda itu berperang dengan Marhum di Pulau, dan tempatnya istananya di dalam Kota Batu yang di Burunai. Dan nama anak baginda itu Seri Sultan Muhammad Kamaluddin, ialah disabut Marhum di Luba baginda itu.*

30. Pers. comm., Ampuan Haji Brahim bin Ampuang Hj. Tengah, 2.3.2019.

[Top margin] *Bahwa inilah alamat silsilah Pengiran Muhammad Hasyim ibn Pengiran Kerma Indera ibn Sultan Umar Ali Syarifuddin³¹ ibn Seri Sultan Muhammad Aliuddin ibn Pengiran d.g.a.g.a Di Gadong Muhammad Syahbuddin ibn Seri Sultan Muhyiuddin³² ialah bergalar Marhum Bungsu. Bahwa Pengiran Muhammad Hasyim itu bundanya Pengiran Saliha ibn Pengiran Pemanca Daud ibn Pengiran Abdul Rahman ibn Pengiran 'Amribadar³³ ibn Raja Bendahara Bungsu ibn Seri Sultan Muhammad Ali, ialah baginda itu berperang dengan Marhum di Pulau.*

[Hand A]

[p. 4] *Bahwa ini silsilah segala raja2 yang mempunyai tahta [mahkota]³⁴ kerajaan dalam kandang daerah negeri Burunai³⁵ dār al-salām yang turun temurun yang mengambil pesaka³⁶ nobat nekara dan genta alamat dari negeri Johor kamāl al-maqām dan mengambil pesaka pula nobat nekara dan genta alamat dari negeri Minangkabau yaitu negeri Andalas. Maka adalah yang pertama kerajaan di negeri Burunai dan membawa agama Islam dan mengikut syariat nabi kita Muhammad muṣṭafā ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallam dalam negeri Berunai yaitu Paduka Seri Sultan Muhammad dan saudaranya Sultan Ahmad. Maka beranak seorang perempuan dengan isterinya saudara Raja Cina yang diambil daripada Cina Batangan. Maka puteri itulah diambil Syarif Ali akan³⁷ isteri. Maka Sayid Syarif Ali itulah kerajaan dinamai Paduka Seri Sultan Berkat, ialah mengeraskan syariat rasul Allah ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallam dan berbuat mesjid dengan segala rakyat Cina dan berbuat kota batu.³⁸ Adapun Sayid Syarif Ali pancar daripada silsilah amīr al-mū'minīn Husain raḍī Allāh 'anhu cucu rasul Allah. Maka Paduka Seri Sultan Berkat itu beranak akan Paduka Seri Sultan Sulaiman, beranakkan Paduka Seri Sultan Bolkia, ber yaitu raja yang mengalahkan negeri Suluk*

...
[p. 5] *dan gundiknya, sebab itulah maka Pengiran Seri Laila Raja di Buang Manis³⁹ tempatnya diam berdayakan marhum itu tatkala disarang Kastila. Maka alah negeri Burunai habis lari segala raja2 menteri hulubalang*

31. sy-r-f-w-a-l-d-y-n; this ruler is usually termed Sultan Umar Ali Saifuddin.

32. vocalised

33. vocalised

34. m-m-k-k-t, i.e. *makota*, cf. MS A (Sweeney 1968: 11).

35. b-w-r-n-y

36. There are line fillers at the end of this line, the only such occurrence in the manuscript.

37. *akan* added at the start of the line, in the margin

38. otiose alif after *batu*

39. Alternative reading: *Pengiran Seri Laila Raja dibuang, Manis tempatnya diam*. Low (1880: 9) calls him 'Pangiran Buang Manis', who was banished by Bendahara Sakam to Kamanis, i.e. Kimanis, on the coast of Sabah.

membawa marhum. Hanya Bendahara Raja Saqkam⁴⁰ jua yang tinggal seorang tiada mau lari dengan hambanya seribu laki-laki, berbuat kota di Pulau Ambok melawan Kastila itu berperang. Maka dihimpunkannya segala Kedayan dan segala Bisaya. Setelah banyaklah mati Kastila dibunuhnya, maka larilah ia ke benua Lusong. Maka oleh⁴¹ Bendahara Saqkam itu diambilnya ayahanda baginda dan kakanda baginda ke negeri Burunai didudukkannya di atas kerajaan. Maka Bendahara Saqkam berlari ke Belahit mengikut Pengiran Seri Laila⁴² yang durhaka dua bersaudara dengan Pengiran Seri Ratna, maka matilah habis dibunuhnya. Telah sudah mati maka ia kembali ke Burunai mengeraskan kerajaan saudaranya Paduka Seri Sultan Saiful Rijal. Adalah pada zaman itu segala saudaranya jadi ceteria bendahari⁴³ empat puluh orang dan < jikalau >⁴⁴ Marhum itu pergi bermain berangkat ke Labuhan adalah segala saudaranya yang empat puluh itu bertanggal kimka membagi biru beremas akan tanda saudara Yang Dipertuan. Maka Paduka Seri Sultan Saiful Rijal

[p. 6] *itu hamil isterinya baginda [+6.1]. Maka dinobatkan dalam hamilnya itu, disangkanya anaknya itu laki-laki. Maka keluar perempuan, jadilah dungu tiada berakal tetapi parasnya terlalu elok. Kemudian pula berputera dua orang laki-laki, seorang bernama Sultan Syah Berunai,⁴⁵ seorang bernama Sultan Hasan. Maka Sultan Syah Berunai menggantikan kerajaan ayahnya. Berapa lamanya tiada mampu[?]⁴⁶ beranak maka ia turun dari atas kerajaan dibarikannya kepada saudaranya Sultan Hasan, ialah dinamai Marhum di Tanjung, yang mengikut Sultan Makota Alam yang di negeri Aceh. Ialah sangat gagah berani dan kebesaran dalam negeri Burunai melakukan sekehendaknya.*

Maka raja perempuan itu pun diberi pesaka Bajau Marudu dan Bajau Banggai dan Bisaya Mempalu dan Lawas Buku⁴⁷. Maka dijunjung oleh seorang ceteria, raja Pandai Kawat, bernama Pengiran Muhammad, ada hambanya tiga ratus orang disembahkannya akan berinya. Ialah beranakkan Raja Bendahara Pengiran Kahar dan Bendahara Pengiran Damit dan Bendahara Abdul, ialah merebut kerajaan Paduka Seri Sultan Muhammad Ali. Setelah jadi raja bernama Sultan Abdul Mubin, maka diam ia di Pulau

40. s-q-k-m

41. a-w-a-l-h

42. a-l-n-y-l-a, the dot of *nun* is probably an error or may be a blemish on the paper.

43. b-n-d-h-a-r-y. Low (1880: 10) has *bendahara*, which is a better reading, i.e. 'ceteria of the Bendahara', referring to Bendahara Saqkam himself.

44. This, and other insertions above the line, are in hand B unless specified otherwise, showing that Pengiran Kasuma himself checked the contents of the manuscript carefully and made corrections as necessary.

45. b-r-n-y

46. m-m-w

47. b-w-k

[+6.1] berputera pula perempuan juga bernama ... / seorang raja di Bali Benawang⁴⁸ seorang ... / Pengiran Tuha awang2 anak Marh ...

[p.7] Cermin. Pada masa itu berperang orang Burunai sama sendirinya, dengan Paduka Seri Sultan Muhyi<uddin> anak saudaranya Paduka Marhum Muhammad Ali [+7.1].

Maka sebab Sultan Abdul Mubin dinamai raja2 pulau, Orang Kaya Rongia,⁴⁹ pulau takluknya sepenggalnya tanah Saba, dan sebelah Sultan Muhyi<uddin> dinamai raja2 Burunai, takluknya sebelah tanah sepenggalnya hulu. Maka setelah alah pulau, matilah dibunuh Sultan Abdul Mubin, dikuburkan di Pulau Cer[*min*], di sanalah makamnya. Itulah asal bangsanya raja2 pulau, ialah raja Bajau. Maka Bajau yang lagi tinggal ke dalam Bajau Pututan pegangnya Pengiran Temenggung, dan Bajau Sugat dan Bajau Mamising[?] ⁵⁰ Bajau Pelawan Bajau Belasuk kekal ke dalam lagi tinggal lain daripada itu, semuanya habis Bajau kepada raja2 pulau, karena raja2 pulau itu pancar daripada saudara Marhum di Tanjung ialah maka banyak pesakanya Bajau dan benua perbahagian daripada Marhum di Tanjung jua, karena ia raja itu saudara yang tuha dalam Burunai, pesakanya seribu laki-laki. Sebab itulah raja pulau itu kaya sampai sekarang karena ia sama sepusaka dengan Marhum di Tanjung [+7.2]. Maka sekalian hasil Bajau itu

[+7.1] Sultan Muhyiuddin yang membalikan saudaranya ayahnya laki menantu hanya ialah membunuh Sultan Abdul Mubin dan anak cucu Sultan Muhyiuddin Sultan Muhammad Aliuddin yang kerajaan sekarang ini khallad Allah mulkahu wa-sultanahu wa-abbada ‘adlahu wa-ihsanahu wa-da[wa]⁵¹ dawlatahu wa-a-m-t-t-a-n.

[+7.2] Ialah beranakkan Pengiran Muhyi dan Pengiran di Gadong Kasim dan Pengiran Darwangsa dan Pengiran Mukmin dan Pengiran Saifa anaknya yang tuha tiada kami sebutkan anaknya yang perempuan.

[p.8] semuanya, ialah yang mengambil dia, dan berapa puluh hambanya bernama puawang2 yang kaya, wa-Allāhu a‘lam.

Pasal adapun raja2 yang pancar Marhum Tuha⁵², pertama anaknya yang tuha bernama Pengiran Besar Abdul [+8.1], dan ialah beranakkan Sultan Nasiruddin dan cucunya bernama Sultan Aliuddin {bera}⁵³ beristeri pula raja Jawa bernama Pengiran Siti Kisah, beranak laki-laki tiga orang. Yang tuha bernama Raja Umar; yang irang bernama Pengiran Aliuddin, yang tengah bernama Sultan Abdul Jalilul Jabar; yang dikatakan Marhum Tengah. Yang

48. b-n-d/w-ng, Benawang or Bendang.

49. According to Low (1880: 18), this was a Bajau title.

50. m-m-s-y-ng or m-m-y-ng

51. w-d-a-m

52. Sultan Abdul Jalilul Akbar, son of Sultan Hasan, Marhum di Tanjung.

53. The same insertion mark for the marginal annotation, as found in the line above after the name *Abdul*, is found here.

bungsu perempuan, tiada beranak. Dan beranak pula laki-laki bernama Raja Tuha dan bernama Sultan Muhyiuddin dan Pangiran Maharaja Laila dan Pangiran Di Gadong Damit. Dan anak perempuan lagi bernama Raja Ratna dan Raja Tengah dan Raja Sari dan Raja Bungsu, dan Pangiran Tinggal perempuan juga.

Pasal pancar Marhum Muhammad Ali, pertama mula anaknya yang tuha bernama Pangiran Di Gadong Umar namanya, ialah banyak anaknya cucunya dan [+8.2] Raja Bendahara dan Pangiran Bungsu namanya. Ialah yang beranakkan Raja Bendahara Alam, anak ratu di Sambas ialah cucu Marhum Sulaiman karena

[+ 8.1] ... ber[anak]kan dua orang perempuan bernama Raja Besar Su dan Pangiran Tuha, anak Raja Besar Pangiran Bendahara anaknya Pangiran Temenggung, dan Pangiran Tuha anaknya Pangiran Syahbandar Bekerma Dewa dan Pangiran Besar Sulung.

[+ 8.2] lagi saudaranya bernama⁵⁴ Pangiran [Muhammad?]⁵⁵

[p. 9] ialah jadi bendahara di negeri Burunai dan negeri Sambas dan saudaranya [+9.1] bernama Paduka Seri Sultan Kamaluddin, ialah yang memberikan kerajaan kepada Sultan Muhammad Aliuddin, menamai dirinya Paduka Maulana. Dan tiadalah kami sebutkan segala puteranya Marhum itu yang tiada ada, tinggal anak cucunya, berapa2 puluh banyaknya.

Bermula adapun pancar Raja Tengah [+9.2] yang kerajaan di negeri Sambas, ialah raja2 Sambas. Yang menjadi raja kerajaan di negeri Sambas anak cucunya Marhum Tengah, dan setengah jadi di Matan anak cucunya Raja Bakas yang bernama Panembahan anak Marhum Tengah di Sambas juga, itulah anak cucu Marhum di Tanjung Paduka Seri Sultan Hasan, wa-Allāhu a 'lam.

Bermula anak gundik Baginda yang tuha bernama Pangiran Di Gadong Besar Uthman, ialah beranakkan Pangiran Maharaja Laila yang gagah perkasa lagi kuat dan berani, dan dapat berlawan dengan anak Marhum Tuha yang bernama Pangiran Besar Abdul. Dan seorang lagi anak Pangiran Di Gadong itu bernama Pangiran Tengah, dan cucunya Pangiran Syahbandar Damit. Dan lagi anak Marhum di Tanjung itu perempuan

[+9.1] Raja Bendahara Pangiran Bungsu⁵⁶

[+9.2] Anak Marhum Tengah itu yang bernama Sultan Anum dan anak gundiknya bernama Pangiran Bendahara Raja Ludin dan bernama Pangiran Raja Arya Abdul dan bernama Pangiran Mangku Negara dan anaknya di negeri Matan dengan anak Panembahan Matan bernama Panembahan juga Pangiran Bakas namanya cuculah yang kerajaan di negeri Matan sekarang ini. Adapun yang kerajaan di Sambas pertama Marhum Tua Marhum Sulaiman beranakkan Marhum Bima dan yaitu Sultan Muhammad Jamaluddin dan

54. Written in Hand B.

55. Written in pencil, very faint, in a different part of the margin.

56. Written in Hand B in ink over a pencil draft.

beranakkan Sultan Muhammad Kamaluddin beranakkan Sultan Muhammad Abu Bakar dan beranakkan Sultan Umar Akamuddin.

[p. 10] bernama Raja Siti Nur Alam, ialah banyak benuanya dan hambanya yang turun kepada Raja Ratna, karena ia dikasihinya. Dan seorang lagi anak Marhum di Tanjung, perempuan, bernama Pengiran Tuha, awang itupun banyak jua benuanya dan hambanya ada seribu, dan banyak anak cucunya. Inilah pancar anak cucu Marhum di Tanjung, wa-Allāhu a'lam.

Adapun bermula akan saudara Marhum di Tanjung baginda itu, <yang> tuha anak gundik bernama Pengiran Temenggung Mahmud. Ialah yang berbuat bedil meriam Seri Negeri dan Si Darwis dan Si Mambang, dan ialah yang amhaf⁵⁷ hamba orang Burong Pingai, seorang pun tiada ke tempat lain. Dan anaknya laki2 dua orang bernama Pengiran Derma Putera dan Pengiran Sedewa Maharaja. Dan anaknya [+10.1] Raja Suluk yang bernama Pengiran Syahbandar Maharaja Laila, cucu Betara Raja Suluk, dan seorang lagi anak gundik. Saudara Marhum di Tanjung juga yang irang, yang tuha bernama Pengiran Di Gadong Burunai. Ialah sangat keras hukumnya, jikalau membunuh orang dipenggalnya dengan gergaji dan pahat dan disulanya dan [+10.1] dan cucunya bernama Pengiran Temenggung Kadir dan Pengiran Sedewa Maharaja dan Pengiran Salam dan Ampuan Jabar.

[p. 11] disalainya di atas api, dan ialah yang menjabut gigi gundiknya, dan banyak anak cucunya bernama Pengiran Tengah di Bengawan dan Pengiran Umar dan cucu Pengiran Di Gadong Bungsu. Dan seorang lagi saudara Marhum di Tanjung, anak gundik jua, bernama Pengiran Syahbandar Abid, ialah beranakkan Pengiran Canil dan cucunya bernama Pengiran Amir, wa-Allāhu a'lam.

[Hand B]

[p.12] ~~Adapun Hawangku kaluar diperanakkan oleh ibunya Kadayang Bidah kepada~~

~~Bahwa adapun Hawangku kaluar diperanakkan oleh ibunya~~

Bahwa adapun Hawangku anak Pangiran Muhammad Hasyim kaluar diperanakkan oleh ibunya Kahawang Bidah ~~kepada hari~~ kepada malam Selasa ~~lepas daripada orang~~ pada lima hari bulan Syakban lepas daripada orang sembahyang 'isya kepada getika Kala dinamai akan dia Abdul Rajad hijrat al-nabi ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallam ~~seribu~~ seribu dua ratus empat puluh ~~sembitan~~ enam tahun⁵⁸ kepada tahun ba, satwanya singa⁵⁹[?], tamat.

57. a-m-h-f

58. 5 Syaaban 1246 (Wednesday 19 January 1831 AD)

59. s-t-w-a-ny s-y-ng; two other possible readings are: *satunya siang*, 'at one o'clock at noon', which reflects the common Brunei interpolation of medial *alif*, cf. *ibuanya* (a-y-b-w-a-ny) in the final version of the birth note on p. 13, or *saatnya siang*, 'at the time of noon'. However, the time of birth has earlier been specified as after the 'isya prayer, i.e. at night.

[p.13]

Hijrat al-nabi ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam seribu dua ratus empat puluh enam tahun kepada tahun ba dualapan hari bulan Syaaban,⁶⁰ kepada malam Selasa, lepas daripada orang sembahyang ‘isya’ pada getika Brahma dewa[sa]⁶¹ itulah Hawangku anak Pengiran Muhammad Hasyim keluar diperanakkan oleh ibunya [Kahawang Bidah]⁶² dinamai akan dia Abdul Rajad

English translation

[p. 3] Seri Sultan Muhammad Ali, son of Seri Sultan Hasan, passed on from this transient world to the eternal world, as it is said, ‘We belong to God and to Him we shall return’, in the year of the migration of the prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, one thousand and seventy two, in the year Ha, on the fourteenth day of Jumadilakhir, at the time of Brahma, on the eve of Monday. He was the ruler who fought with *Marhum di Pulau* (the Late Ruler who died on the [Cermin] Island), and his palace was at Kota Batu in Brunei. The name of his son was Seri Sultan Kamaluddin, the sovereign who is called *Marhum di Luba* (the Late Ruler who died on Luba [island]).

[In top margin] This is the genealogy of Pengiran Muhammad Hasyim, son of Pengiran Kerma Indera, son of Sultan Umar Ali Syarifuddin, son of Seri Sultan Muhammad Aliuddin, son of Pengiran Di Gadong Muhammad Syahbuddin, son of Seri Sultan Muhyiuddin, who is called *Marhum Bungsu* (the Late Ruler who was the Youngest). And Pengiran Muhammad Hasyim’s mother was Pengiran Saliha, daughter of Pengiran Pemanca Daud, son of Pengiran Abdul Rahman, son of Pengiran ‘Amribadar, son of Raja Bendahara Bungsu, son of Seri Sultan Muhammad Ali, the ruler who fought with *Marhum di Pulau*.

[p. 4] This is the genealogy of all the rulers, who possessed the royal throne and crown located in the state of Brunei, abode of peace, who succeeded each other, who obtained the regalia of the royal drums and bells of insignia from Johor, place of perfection, and who also obtained the regalia of the royal drums and bells of insignia from Minangkabau, namely the state of Andalas. The first ruler of Brunei who introduced the religion of Islam and who applied in Brunei the law of our Prophet Muhammad, the chosen one, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, was Paduka Seri Sultan Muhammad. His brother was Sultan Ahmad, who had a daughter with his wife, who was a relative of the King of China, and who he had brought from Cina Batangan. That daughter was taken in marriage by Syarif Ali, and when Sayid Syarif Ali became ruler he was known as Paduka Seri Sultan Berkat. It was he who implemented firmly the law of the Messenger of God, may the peace and

60. 8 Syaaban 1246 (Saturday 22 January 1831 AD)

61. d-w-[s?]

62. Paper damaged, but the letters k-a...y-d-h are apparent and can be reconstructed by comparison with the name on p.12.

blessings of God be upon him, and who built the mosque with his Chinese subjects, and who constructed the stone fort. Sayid Syarif Ali was descended from the line of the Commander of the Faithful Husain, may God be pleased with him, the grandson of the Prophet of God. Paduka Seri Sultan Berkat begat Paduka Seri Sultan Sulaiman, who begat Paduka Seri Sultan Bolkiah, the ruler who defeated Suluk

[p. 5] and his concubines, and that is why Pengiran Seri Laila of Buang Manis betrayed the Late Ruler during the Spanish attack. Thus Brunei was defeated, and all the princes, ministers and warriors fled with the ruler. The only one who stayed, refusing to flee, was Bendahara Raja Saqkam, with his own force of a thousand men. They constructed a fort on Pulau Ambok (Monkey Island), and waged war on the Spanish. He mobilised all the Kedayan and Bisaya, and killed so many Spaniards, that they retreated to Lusong. Then Bendahara Saqkam brought his father and relatives back to Brunei and restored him to the throne. Bendahara Saqkam then set forth for Belahit on the trail of the treacherous brothers Pengiran Seri Laila and Pengiran Seri Ratna, and killed them both. After killing them he returned to Brunei, and firmly shored up the reign of his brother Paduka Seri Sultan Saiful Rijal. At that time, forty of his brothers were installed as *ceteria*⁶³ of the Bendahara, and if the Late Ruler set off on a visit to Labuhan, then all forty of his brothers would wear blue *kimka* patterned in gold, as a sign of their kinship with His Majesty.

Then the wife of Paduka Seri Sultan Saiful Rijal

[p. 6] became pregnant [+ 6.1], and he enthroned the unborn baby while she was still pregnant, for he assumed the child was a boy. But a girl was born, who grew up mentally handicapped, but exceptionally beautiful. After that he had two sons, one who was named Sultan Syah Berunai, and one named Sultan Hasan. Sultan Syah Berunai succeeded his father, but after some time, after not having managed to sire any children, he stepped down from the throne in favour of his brother, Sultan Hasan. It was he who is named Marhum di Tanjung (the Late Ruler who died on the Cape), and who followed in the footsteps of Sultan Makota Alam of Aceh. He was exceedingly brave and valiant, and ruled Brunei with a rod of iron, just as he pleased.

The princess was given as her inheritance the Bajau of Marudu and the Bajau of Banggai and the Bisaya of Mempalu and Lawas Buku. And her hand was requested by a *ceteria*, who was the chief of Pandai Kawat, named Pengiran Muhammad, who brought his three hundred followers as marriage dowry. Her offspring were Raja Bendahara Pengiran Kahar and Bendahara Pengiran Damit and Bendahara Abdul, it was he who wrested the throne from Paduka Seri Sultan Muhammad Ali. On becoming ruler he was known as Sultan Abdul Mubin, and resided on

63. A Brunei title of noble office (Brown 1970: 87).

[+ 6.1] and also begat a daughter named ... / a prince in Bali Benawang ... / Pengiran Tuha, the followers of the son of the Late Ruler ...

[p. 7] Cermin Island. During that time Brunei was plunged into civil war, against Paduka Seri Sultan Muhyiuddin, the son of a brother of the late Sultan Muhammad Ali. [+7.1]

The reason why [the followers of] Sultan Abdul Mubin were named the Island Rajas, Orang Kaya Rongia, was that he held sway over the lands and islands up Saba, while the side of Sultan Muhyiuddin was named the Brunei Rajas, holding sway over the lands upriver. When the island forces were defeated, Sultan Abdul Mubin was killed, and he was buried on Chermin Island, and that is where his grave is. That is the origin of the Island Rajas, who are the Rajas of the Bajau. Other Bajau, namely the Bajau of Pututan fell to the Pengiran Temenggung, and the Bajau of Sugat and the Bajau of Maming and the Bajau of Palawan and the Bajau of Belasuk remained with others. But apart from those, all the Bajau fell to the the Island Rajas, because the Island Rajas were descended from the sister of Marhum di Tanjung. Her Bajau inheritance was very great, and her share of the land inheritance equalled that of Marhum di Tanjung, because she was the elder sibling of Brunei, and she inherited a thousand men. And this is the reason why the Island Rajas are so rich, to the present day, because their inheritance equalled that of Marhum di Tanjung. [+7.2] And all the revenues of the Bajaus

[+7.1] It was Sultan Muhyiuddin who restored the relatives of his father and inlaws [?], and it was he who killed Sultan Abdul Mubin, and the descendant of Sultan Muhyiuddin is Sultan Muhammad Aliuddin who is ruling at present, may God preserve his kingdom and sultanate and prolong his wisdom and beneficence and extend his sovereignty.

[+7.2] He begat Pengiran Muhyi dan Pengiran Di Gadong Kasim and Pengiran Darwangsa and Pengiran Mukmin and Pengiran Saifa who was his oldest child, and we will not list his daughters.

[p. 8] fell to them, they took it all, and scores of their followers are (aristocratic) and wealthy *puawang* (to this day), and God is He who knows.

As for the rajas descended from Marhum Tuha (the Late Ruler was was old), his oldest son was named Pengiran Besar Abdul [+8.1], and his son was Sultan Nasiruddin and his grandson was Sultan Aliuddin. He also married a Javanese princess named Pengiran Siti Kisah, and had three sons. The oldest was named Raja Umar, the second oldest was named Pengiran Aliuddin, the middle one was named Sultan Abdul Jalilul Jabar, who is called Marhum Tengah (the Late Ruler who was the middle one), and the youngest was a female, who had no children. And he had other sons called Raja Tuha and Sultan Muhyiuddin and Pangiran Maharaja Laila and Pengiran Di Gadong Damit. And his daughters were named Raja Ratna and Raja Tengah and Raja Sari dan Raja Bungsu, and Pengiran Tinggal who was also female.

As for the descendants of the late Muhammad Ali, his oldest child was named Pengiran Di Gadong Umar, who in turn had many children and grandchildren, [+8.2] and then there was Raja Bendahara and Pengiran Bungsu. It was he who begat Raja Bendahara Alam, the son of the ruler of Sambas who was the grandson of the Late Sulaiman, because

[+8.1] .. begat two daughters named Raja Besar Su and Pengiran Tuha; Raja Besar's son Pengiran Bendahara had a son, Pengiran Temenggung; and Pengiran Tuha had sons Pengiran Syahbandar Bekerma Dewa and Pengiran Besar Sulung.

[+8.2] and had a sibling named [Pengiran Muhammad?]

[p. 9] it was he who became Bendahara in Brunei and Sambas, and his brother [+9.1] was Paduka Seri Sultan Kamaluddin. And it was he who relinquished the throne to Sultan Muhammad Aliuddin, and took on the title Paduka Maulana. And we will not list this late ruler's sons who passed away; dozens of his grandchildren remain.

As for the descendants of Raja Tengah [+9.2] who ruled in the state of Sambas, the princes who became the rulers of Sambas were the descendants of Marhum Tengah, while some of those who settled in Matan were the offspring of Raja Bakas the Panembahan, who was also the son of Marhum Tengah of Sambas, and thus the grandson of Marhum di Tanjung Paduka Seri Sultan Hasan, and God is He who knows.

As for His Majesty's oldest child by a concubine, named Pengiran Di Gadong Besar Uthman, he begat Pengiran Maharaja Laila, renowned for his courage, valour and strength, and who managed to defy the son of Marhum Tuha named Pengiran Besar Abdul. Another son of Pengiran Di Gadong was named Pengiran Tengah, and his grandson was Pengiran Syahbandar Damit. Marhum di Tanjung also had a daughter

[+9.1] Raja Bendahara Pengiran Bungsu

[+9.2] This son of Marhum Tengah was named Sultan Anum, and his sons by a concubine were named Pengiran Bendahara Raja Ludin and Pengiran Raja Arya Abdul and Pengiran Mangku Negara, and his son in Matan by the daughter of the Panembahan of Matan was also styled Panembahan and was named Pengiran Bakas, it is his grandson who is now ruling in Matan. As for those who ruled in Sambas, the first was the Old Late Ruler Sulaiman, whose son was Marhum Bima namely Sultan Muhammad Jamaluddin, who begat Sultan Muhammad Kamaluddin, who begat Sultan Muhammad Abu Bakar, who begat Sultan Umar Akamuddin.

[p. 10] named Raja Siti Nur Alam, who possessed much territory and many followers, which she bequeathed to Raja Ratna, for she loved her very much. Another daughter of Marhum di Tanjung was Pengiran Tuha, and she too had many followers and lands and a thousand slaves, and many children and grandchildren. And those are the offspring of Marhum di Tanjung, and God is He who knows.

As for the siblings of Marhum di Tanjung, the eldest was the son of a concubine, and he was named Pengiran Temenggung Mahmud, and it is he who made the cannons Seri Negeri and Si Deruwis and Si Mabang, and it was he who enslaved[?] the people of Burong Pingai, not one person [managed to?] move to another place. He had two sons, named Pengiran Derma Putera and Pengiran Sedewa Maharaja, and it was his son too who was the [+10.1] Raja of Suluk named Pengiran Seri Maharaja Laila, who was the grandson of the Batara Raja Suluk, and there was another son by a concubine. Of the middle brothers of Marhum di Tanjung, the elder one was named Pengiran Di Gadong Burunai. He was extremely harsh in his rulings, and he would kill people by severing their head with a saw or chisel, and impaling them and roasting them

[+10.1] And his grandsons were Pengiran Temenggung Kadir and Pengiran Sedewa Maharaja and Pengiran Salam and Ampuan Jabar.

[p.11] above a fire, and it was he who pulled out the teeth of his concubines. Amongst his many offspring were Pengiran Tengah of Bengawan and Pengiran Umar, and a grandson was Pengiran Di Gadong Bungsu. And another brother of Marhum di Tanjung by a concubine was Pengiran Syahbandar Abid, and he begat Pengiran Canil, and his grandson was named Pengiran Amir, and God is He who knows.

[p.12] And so Hawangku, the son of Pangiran Muhammad Hasyim, was born of his mother Kahawang Bidah on the eve of Tuesday on the fifth of Syaaban after the 'isya prayers, at the time of Kala, and he was named Abdul Rajad, in the year of the migration of the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, one thousand two hundred and forty six, in the year Ba, his animal is a lion.

[p. 13] In the year of the migration of the prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, one thousand two hundred and forty six, in the year Ba, on the eighth day of the month of Syaaban, on the eve of Tuesday, after the 'isya prayer, at the time of Brahma, at that time Hawangku, the son of Pengiran Muhammad Hasyim, was born out of his mother Kahawang Bidah, and he was named Abdul Rajad.

Part 2: Amulets and other paratexts

[p.1] *yā qudūs ini surat Pengiran*
bab ini tuan guru s-w-s-[ng?]
digelarkan
baik suda
l-m-l-ng

O Most Holy One! this is the manuscript of Pengiran
 this section is on Teacher ...
 who is entitled
 alright

...

[p.2] [A] *Ini azimat suruh bulan namanya, barangsiapa memakai dia⁶⁴ dikasih segala raja2 dan orang besar2 dan orang kaya2, segala mahaluk pun takutkan dia, jika dibawa berperang tiada kana oleh senjata. Maka disurat pada kertas maka dipakai, ini rajahnya:*

This amulet is called “summoning the moon,” whoever wears it will gain the affection of princes and notables and chiefs, all creatures will fear him, if carried into battle he will not be scathed by weapons. Inscribe this on paper and wear it, this is the formula:

[B] *Ini azimat tangkal orang lari disurat pada keladi hitam maka kita suruh makan kepadanya. Sebagai lagi jikalau hendak menahani orang berlari maka surat pada timah hitam taruh dalam perahunya niscaya tiada jadi dinugerkahkan Allah taala. Sebagai lagi, jikalau hendak akan tangkal orang bersuami surat timah hitam maka taruh di bawah tangganya niscaya tiada bersuami selama2nya dengan berkat rajah⁶⁵ ini. Rajahnya:*

The amulet is to prevent someone from running away; write it on black taro and then make the person eat it. And another way for stopping someone from fleeing: write it on black tin, and place it in his boat, and certainly God Almighty will not allow him [to flee]. And another [use] is to stop a woman marrying: inscribe it on black tin and place it beneath her steps, and she will certainly never ever get married, thanks to this formula. This is the formula:

[C] [Top, upside down] *Ini azimat ‘Alī raḍī Allāh ‘anhu disurat pada kertas maka ikat pada lengan jika orang hendak menatak atau menikam atau menabak tiada terangkat tangannya. Inilah rajahnya:*

This is the amulet of ‘Alī, the friend of God, inscribe it on paper and then tie it to your arm. If someone tries to slash or stab or swipe at you they will not be able to lift their arm. This is the formula:

64. d-a-y; throughout this MS in the amulets *dia* is usually spelt in this way.

65. r-j-h; vocalised

[D] [Right-hand margin] *Bab ini doa sudah basuh muka: Bismillāh al-rahmān al-rahīm yā Allāh³ yā Nur Muhammad limpahi akan cahaya nabuwa⁶⁶ Nur Muhammad pada muka hambamu seperti bulan purnama dan gemerlapan bintang zuhara, manis seperti laut madu, memakar seperti bunga raya gemar segala yang memandang tunduk kasih kepada aku berkat doa: Lā ilaha illā Allāh Muhammad rasūl Allāh, tamat.*

This is a prayer to say after washing your face: In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, Oh God (x3), Oh Light of Muhammad, cast the prophetic brightness of the Light of Muhammad on the face of your servant, like the light of the full moon and the brightness of the planet Venus, sweet as a sea of honey, blooming like a hibiscus, so all who gaze upon it will be filled with delight, and bow down out of love for me, through the blessing of the prayer: 'There is no God but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God.'

[p. 11] [E] *Ini cakar harimau, barangsiapa memakai dia ditakut orang akan dia dan segala binatang yang busu⁶⁷ pun takut dan jikalau laki2 ditaruh pada dasar dan jika perempuan taruh pada subang ini rajahnya:*

This is the tiger's claw, whoever wears it will be feared by all, and even the lowest beasts will fear him, men should place it in their headdress and women should place it in their earring. This is the formula:

[F] *Ini azimat kanak2 jangan sawan, disurat ini rajahnya:*

This is an amulet to stop children having convulsions, write down this formula:

[G] *Ini azimat kanak2 menangis, surat pada kertas, ini rajahnya:*

66. vocalised.

67. b-w-s; busu = bongsu (Winstedt 1957: 54).

This is a amulet for becoming powerful, inscribe it on paper and burn it, take the ashes and mix these with lime,⁷² this is the formula:

[p.12] [K] *Bab ini hikmat ambil hempedu hayam sabungan dan air madu[?]*⁷³ <maka> campurkan sudah itu maka sapukan pada zakar kita bawa jama' niscaya tiada dapat dengan laki2 yang lain [decorative flourish]

This is a spell. Take the gall of a fighting cock and honey[?] solution, and mix well, and then brush it onto your penis, and then have intercourse, and she will certainly never sleep with another man.

[L] *Ini azimat pembuka rahasia perempuan disurat pada kertas maka bubuh di bawah bantalnya, barang rahasianya dikatakannya, ini rajahnya:*

This is a an amulet to reveal a woman's secrets, write it on a piece of paper and place it under her pillow, and she will utter all her secrets. This is the formula:

[M] *Ini azimat selusuh*⁷⁴ budak mati dalam perut ibunya, surat pada [along the left-hand margin] *perca putih ikatkan pada pahanya kanan, ini rajahnya:*

This is a amulet to ease out a baby which has died in its mother's stomach, write it on white lead and tie it to her right thigh. This is the formula:

[N] [Top, upside down] *Ini pula permanis muka supaya berahi orang pada kita ini yang dibaca Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm Allāhumma*⁷⁵ Yā nūr Allāh 3 Yā nūr Muhammad 3 Yā nūr cahaya 3 Yā nūr cahaya Allāh cahaya Muhammad cahaya nabu⁷⁶ rasul Allāh berkat doa Baginda 'Aḥī Yusuf dan Puteri Zalaikha [berhikmat?]⁷⁷ Yā al-raḥmān al-raḥīm tamat.

This is also to beautify your face to make someone fall in love with you. Recite this: In the name of God the Merciful the Compassion, Oh our God, Oh Light of God 3, O Light of Muhammad 3, O Bright Light 3, O bright light of God, brightness of Muhammad, prophetic brightness of the Messenger of God, with the help of the prayers of His Majesty Yusuf and of the spells of Princess Zalaikha, O Merciful One, Compassionate One.

72. lime is mixed with betel nut for chewing.

73. m-a-n-d-w

74. "medicine to hasten or ease childbirth" (Winstedt 1957: 294).

75. vocalised, as are the next two phrases.

76. n-a.b-w, i.e. *nabi*

77. b-r-ḥ-m-t-k

[O] [Right-hand margin] *Ini azimat petarik, disurat pada kertas talur hayam hitam, surat namanya dan isterinya, maka ditanam dibawah tangganya, ini rajahnya:*

This is an attraction amulet, it should be inscribed on the egg of a black hen, write the person's name and the name of their wife, and bury it beneath their steps. This is the formula:

[P] *Ini azimat halimunan, surat pada kertas, maka taruh di buritan perahu, ini rajahnya:*

This is an amulet for invisibility. Write it on paper and place it in the prow of your boat. this is the formula:

[Q] *Ini azimat, disurat pada kertas dan surat nama seteru kita itu juga maka bakar, niscaya sakit atau mati, ini rajahnya:*

This is an amulet. Inscribe it on paper and write the name of your enemy and then burn it, and he will certainly fall ill or die. This is the formula:

[R] *Ini azimat, disurat pada mengalaq⁷⁸ putih basah dengan air hujan, diminum, barang a.w hikmat orang tiada mengasi, ini rajahnya:*

This is an amulet, write it on white [mengalaq?], and wash it with rain water, and then drink it, and it will enchant the person who does not love [you], this is the formula:

78. m-ng-l-q

[p. 13][S][Left-hand margin] *Ini azimat bulan dimakan Rahu,⁷⁹ barangsiapa memakai diperlebahi⁸⁰ segala raja2, dan segala menteri pun kasih padanya. Jikalau siapa memakai dia wajah bulan ini, jikalau perempuan memakai dia niscaya dikasih oleh suaminya, menyurat dia tatkala bulan dimakan Rahu. Jikalau akan permanis, disurat pada kertas, maka rendam pada mangkuk putih, maka basuhkan⁸¹ pada muka kita, niscaya hairan orang ...⁸² muka kita. Jikalau laki2 memakai dia dikarat pada kepala, jika perempuan pada telinganya kanan, niscaya hairan segala ...⁸³ memandang dia, dan kasih pada kita lagi m.l.w mulia pada kita, inilah rajahnya yang disurat, tamat.*

This is an amulet for when the moon is swallowed by Rahu (i.e. a lunar eclipse), whoever wears it will be favoured above all princes, and all chieftains will adore him. Whoever wears this moon face, if a woman wears it she will certainly be loved by her husband, [if] it is written at the moment of the lunar eclipse. To use it for beautifying, write it on paper, and then immerse this [in water] in white bowl, and then wash your face in it, then certainly everyone will be amazed at your face. If it is be used by a man then it should be bound to his head, and for a woman to her right ear, and everyone who sees them will be amazed, and will adore and honour them. This is the formula to be inscribed:

[T] [Top, upside down] *Bab ini azimat batuk surat pada sirih ber...⁸⁴ rajahnya:*
This is an amulet for coughing, write it on some betel nut ..., this is the formula:

79. Hindu dragon that swallows the moon and causes eclipses (Winstedt 1957: 262).

80. i.e. *diperlebahi*

81. b-a-s-h-k-n, can be read as either *basuhkan*, to wash, or *basahkan*, to make wet.

82. Text missing due to paper damage.

83. Text missing due to paper damage.

84. Text missing due to paper damage.

[p. 14]

356	351	3?6
359	355	353
352	361	354

[Written around the magic square] *Wāfaq w.b.y.ṭ.l.t.f baik / pungunannya seribu / enam puluh tujuh / bahum buang? dua belas*

A diagram good / one thousand / sixty-seven / before taking away[?] twelve /

Bismillah al-ṣāfi

w.a.n.l.ṭ

[rotatated 90 degrees anticlockwise]

360	355	362
369	355	352
3...	... 3	3...

[probably best understood as two conjoined 3 x 3 squares]

	931		356	351	3...
		933	359	355	353
932		934	352

Pengiran Kesuma's manuscript of *Silsilah Raja-Raja Brunei*, Muzium Negara, MS [21].

(Left) p.1; (below) pp. 2-3

Fragment of a manuscript page showing a portion of a table. The text is written in Arabic script, likely from a historical document. The fragment includes a header row and several data rows, though the text is partially obscured by a dark, irregular shape.

احمد علی خان قنبر

والله اعلم بالصواب

(Above) pp. 8-9, (below) pp. 10-11

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a signature or name, written diagonally across the page.

Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a continuation of the manuscript's content.

والدين ويا تسوا في دان اياه في منجابت كيكي كنديقا علمه

دان باینو انو جوج زبر کما فیض انو ثقف و بقاوت
دان فقیران عمر دان جوج فقیران و دیکادو و بقاوت

وان سورج لای سودار مرحوم دتیغ انوکند یو

٥	٦	٧	٨	٩	١٠	١١	١٢	١٣	١٤	١٥	١٦	١٧	١٨	١٩	٢٠	٢١	٢٢	٢٣	٢٤	٢٥	٢٦	٢٧	٢٨	٢٩	٣٠	٣١	٣٢	٣٣	٣٤	٣٥	٣٦	٣٧	٣٨	٣٩	٤٠	٤١	٤٢	٤٣	٤٤	٤٥	٤٦	٤٧	٤٨	٤٩	٥٠	٥١	٥٢	٥٣	٥٤	٥٥	٥٦	٥٧	٥٨	٥٩	٦٠	٦١	٦٢	٦٣	٦٤	٦٥	٦٦	٦٧	٦٨	٦٩	٧٠	٧١	٧٢	٧٣	٧٤	٧٥	٧٦	٧٧	٧٨	٧٩	٨٠	٨١	٨٢	٨٣	٨٤	٨٥	٨٦	٨٧	٨٨	٨٩	٩٠	٩١	٩٢	٩٣	٩٤	٩٥	٩٦	٩٧	٩٨	٩٩	١٠٠				
١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٦	٧	٨	٩	١٠	١١	١٢	١٣	١٤	١٥	١٦	١٧	١٨	١٩	٢٠	٢١	٢٢	٢٣	٢٤	٢٥	٢٦	٢٧	٢٨	٢٩	٣٠	٣١	٣٢	٣٣	٣٤	٣٥	٣٦	٣٧	٣٨	٣٩	٤٠	٤١	٤٢	٤٣	٤٤	٤٥	٤٦	٤٧	٤٨	٤٩	٥٠	٥١	٥٢	٥٣	٥٤	٥٥	٥٦	٥٧	٥٨	٥٩	٦٠	٦١	٦٢	٦٣	٦٤	٦٥	٦٦	٦٧	٦٨	٦٩	٧٠	٧١	٧٢	٧٣	٧٤	٧٥	٧٦	٧٧	٧٨	٧٩	٨٠	٨١	٨٢	٨٣	٨٤	٨٥	٨٦	٨٧	٨٨	٨٩	٩٠	٩١	٩٢	٩٣	٩٤	٩٥	٩٦	٩٧	٩٨	٩٩	١٠٠

این چکر هر معرب غسیا و همای دای دقالت اورغ الی

دای داد کل منافع یخ بوسه فود تاکه دای

فدسوبغ ابي جهنم

إني عرست كنفه جاغد
عوالدم الدم ادموع مالدم لدم عوه

ساودد و كذا في ركنه ملائكة عالم اع
وان اسما من الهه ٥٥

این عزیمت کانوم هنا عسی کوه فدق طس این رجعت

لا وومع نكحهم مجددم دم كن بند راج سليمان
راجن بر جمك بار حبه الحمد لله

شیطان مکر دکنش امنت فنجو و مکت کجی دان

سیطره خود میدادند و از آن قدر و میانه و از کجی و

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Postscript

As this article went to press I became aware of a book by Allen R. Maxwell, *Malay historical writings: two manuscripts from the Sarawak Museum* (Kuching: Sarawak Museum, 2005), containing an essay entitled “A brief Brunei Salasilah in the collections of the Sarawak Museum: a source for the study of Brunei history” (pp. 142-191). Through the kind help of Stephen Druce, I was able to obtain a copy of this essay, which includes a facsimile publication, transliteration and English translation of a seven-page Malay manuscript text in the Sarawak Museum. This text is a more-or-less exact copy of the SRRB of Pengiran Kesuma, with the marginal notes now incorporated into the main text, and which, crucially, includes 30 lines of text missing in the Pengiran Kesuma manuscript between pages 4 and 5. This newly-available text (lines 24.24–25.21, Maxwell 2005: 165-167) continues the concise genealogy from Sultan Bolkiah down to Sultan Aliuddin, omitting the name of Sultan Abdul Mubin. This is followed by a chronicle which starts with Sultan Abdul Kahar (recalling the “History” translated by Low, which also commences with this ruler). It mentions that he had 42 sons, including Bendahara Sabar whose mother was a Javanese, and Bendahara Sakam whose mother was a Bajau, and who had a propensity for seizing any beautiful woman he wanted; at this point the text rejoins that of Pengiran Kesuma’s manuscript. However, this restored text does not address the three instances of Low’s citations from Pengiran Kesuma noted above, relating to the building of Kota Batu, the use of the titles *raja* and *pengiran*, and the arrival of the Sulus in the civil war, indicating that these must derive from some other written or oral source. In a few cases the new manuscript has solved problematic readings, eg. for *amhaf* (n. 59) read *empunya* (Maxwell 2005: 174).