

The Printing of Munshi Abdullah's Edition of the *Sejarah Melayu* in Singapore

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Abstrak: Edisi bercetak pertama *Sejarah Melayu* diusahakan oleh Munshi Abdullah di Singapura. Butir-butir bibliografi lain mengenai buku ini kurang diketahui umum kerana tidak disebutkan di dalam buku tersebut. Dari kajian salinan foto dan salinan mikrofilem buku ini yang ada di Perpustakaan Universiti Malaya, disertakan dengan beberapa butir maklumat dan keterangan dari sumber-sumber lain, dapatlah kita mengolahkan suatu gambaran yang lebih jelas lagi lengkap mengenai latar belakang pekerbitannya. Kajian ini juga bertujuan menyatakan bahawa tarikh percetakan buku ini yang sebenarnya bukanlah 1831 tetapi sepuluh tahun kemudian, iaitu 1840 atau 1841.

More than any other classic of the Malay world, the *Sejarah Melayu* has captured the interest of scholars and laymen since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The number of manuscripts in which this text is preserved in libraries in Europe, Indonesia, Malaysia and other countries; the translations of it or parts of it into English, French and German; the various editions of it that have been published; the numerous studies and publications on it both in monographic form and in periodicals; its use as a text in secondary school examinations; bear testimony to its importance.¹ It is ironical that this classic has yet to be made available in an authoritative version based upon all extant copies of manuscripts and in the light of present day knowledge of Malay philology. The student's primary text is the edition by W.G. Shellabear published in Jawi in 1896 and republished in several editions since in the Roman script.

Amongst Shellabear's sources for his work was a printed edition of the *Sejarah Melayu* produced by Munshi Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir. Shellabear in his preface to the original of his Jawi edition of 1896 has this to say about Abdullah's edition:

Next to the above [i.e. John Leyden's translation of the *Sejarah Melayu* published in London in the year 1821] in point of date is the Malay text which is generally believed to have been printed in Singapore, probably at the Mission Press. The only copy of this edition to which I have had access is the one in the Logan Library at Singapore, which is without either date, imprint, or title page. There is however, a lengthy preface in Malay, which commences, "These are the words of the gentlemen of Singapore who desire to spread the knowledge of the Malay language," and further on it is stated

that "the gentlemen who superintend the schools established in the town of Singapore by Tuan Raffles, for imparting instruction in the Malay language and other subjects, are in search of Malay books," etc. The editor of an edition of the *Sejarah Melayu* printed in Holland, which I shall have occasion to notice later on, has reproduced this preface, but has carefully omitted those parts in the passages quoted above which refer to Singapore! The heading of the preface is made to read: "These are the words of Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munshi, who desires," etc., and the second of the two passages is similarly mutilated. The Dutch editor is, however, probably correct in attributing the preface to Abdullah, and it bears internal evidence of being the work of one man, to whom the duty of editing has been entrusted. But when we come to enquire into material which was at the disposal of Abdullah for preparing and correcting his text, we find only a long dissertation in the preface on the methods of textual criticism and the advantages of "comparing the book which is being copied with two or three others" and then the vague statement — "this is the way in which I have corrected this text as well as I could." Judging from the type in which this Singapore edition was printed, and from the quality of the printing, I am inclined to fix the date of its publication several years subsequent to the 1831 edition of the New Testament, which was also printed at the Mission Press, Singapore. The text of this old Singapore edition has ever since been considered as the standard.

However in the Malay translation of this preface in the Oxford University Press edition of 1967 and the

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Penerbit Fajar Bakti edition of 1977, the sentence regarding the date of publication has been translated as:

Dengan mempertimbangkan huruf-huruf cetak dalam mana edisi Singapura dicetak, dan dari nilai percetakannya, maka saya cenderung untuk menetapkan tanggal terbitnya beberapa tahun *sebelum* (my italics) edisi *Kitab Perjanjian Baru* tahun 1831, yang juga dicetak di Mission Press, Singapura.

T.D. Situmorang and A. Teeuw in their preface to the Romanized version published in 1952 state that they have based their work upon Abdullah's edition published in Singapore in 1831 in the Arabic script.²

Aman Dato' Maju Indo in his preface states that he has based his work on Shellabear's edition of 1895 and Abdullah's edition published in 1831.³

R. Roolvink in his 'The variant versions of the Malay Annals' published in C.C. Brown's annotated translation, *Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1970. p. xvi) states that:

The first printed text was that edited by Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munshi and published in Singapore about 1831; republished anonymously (by H.C. Klinkert) in the Netherlands (Leiden) in 1884; later published again in a romanized edition, by Teeuw and Situmorang (Djakarta/Amsterdam) in 1952.

What does Abdullah have to say about the matter in his *Hikayat*?

Syahdan maka sedikit hari aku di Melaka maka kembalilah pula ke Singapura. Maka ku dapati Tuan North sudah pindah ke Kampung Boyan. Maka di situlah aku dengan Tuan North itu membaiki injil Yahya itu dalam Bahasa Melayu lagipun banyak berselisih daripada asalnya. Maka sebab itulah dibaiki segala dan lagi pula pekerjaanku mengecapkan kitab Sejarah Melayu dan lagi berapa pula pekerjaan yang lain.⁴

No dates, but several events which may, if dateable, provide a clue as to the time he was working on the 'printing of the *Sejarah Melayu*'.

The above observations confirm the fact that an edition of the *Sejarah Melayu* was published in Singapore by Munshi Abdullah. The date of its publication however has been a subject of academic discussion from a positive proposition of 1831 to 'several years subsequent to the 1831 edition of the New Testament, which was also printed at the Mission Press, Singapore'. We must bear in mind that Shellabear had actually seen a copy of this work in Singapore 'without either date, imprint, or title page', and his supposition of its date of publication is based upon a comparative study of the typography in it and a

dated publication: *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in Malay*: Revised edition. Second part. Singapore: Printed at the Mission Press, for the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1831.⁵

Very few copies of the *Sejarah Melayu* (Abdullah's edition) are known to exist in public collections. The University of Malaya Library has acquired photocopies of it from two places. In 1971, a photocopy was obtained from the Penang Public Library. This copy is imperfect since it lacks all the preliminary pages and begins from page nine. On the last page (p. 368) is a signature which is unidentifiable and the date April 20th 1857 in manuscript. In 1979 a microfilm copy was obtained from the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (SOASIA 055). The Photoduplication Service of the Library of Congress included in the filming an unsigned document of three pages which is to be found in the copy of the book. This document contains information of immense value for the reconstruction of the circumstances surrounding the printing of Abdullah's edition of the *Sejarah Melayu*. Owing to its importance, the document is here-with reproduced in full.

[p. 1]

A Book in the Malayan Language entitled *Sejara Malayu*, which has been translated by Dr Leyden into English, the Translation being styled *Malay Annals*, to be obtained in London. The *Sejara Malayu* is a Malay classic of high reputation throughout the Malayan World. It contains ancient traditions & fables blended with authentic history. It is supposed to have been composed by a Mahomedan about two centuries ago, 1640 to 1650. Some of the traditions reach back to a period previous to the conversion of the Malays to Mahomedanism. Among other important authentic facts this book speaks of the Portuguese Conquest of Malacca. Like nearly all Malayan books the *Sejara* existed only in manuscript until 1841

[p. 2]

when it was printed in Singapore, at the expense of Thomas MacMicking Esq, under the careful superintendence of Mr Alfred North, well known as a superior Malay scholar, assisted by Abdullah, himself a Malayan author & particularly well skilled in the literature of his country & people. The Preface by the Editor, Mr North, presents to the Malays the advantages of printing over manuscript & the necessity of collation. Six MSS. were collated in preparing this edition. The work has received the encouragement of the Trustees of the Singapore Institution & of others interested in preserving from extinction a portion of the literature of a once heroic but now degenerate people. Possibly this is the last work of this

kind that will ever be printed, since the Malays themselves, as with us Europeans (with here & there an exception) are disposed to consign to oblivion & those enemies of civilization in tropical climates, the white ants, the many Malay MSS. that still exist. The number of MSS. now remaining may be from a hundred to two hundred. Some of them are voluminous but the greater part are small. They are partly original Malay works throughout as the *Sejara* & partly translations from the languages of India, from the Javanese & from the Arabic. Those from Arabic relate chiefly to law & religion — the others are tales of wars, composed both in prose & verse.

Though unsigned and undated, this document speaks for itself. Since it is to be found in a copy of the book under discussion it may be safe to assume that it is a contemporary document.

Before entering upon a discussion of some aspects of this document in relation to the printing of the *Sejarah Melayu*, it would help to know how a copy of this book reached the Library of Congress. It was amongst those purchased in Singapore by Alfred North at the request of Captain Charles Wilkes, Commander of the United States Exploring Expedition (1838–1842) which reached Singapore in February 1842.⁶ Twenty-one items are included in a document 'List of Malay books and Mss purchased by the Rev. A North Singapore for U.S. Ex. Ex. by request of Capt. Wilkes'.⁷ The price against the 'Sajarah Malayu (a printed book)' is \$3.00. In another document, 'Malay & Bugés manuscripts', our subject is stated as having been 'printed at expense of a mercantile house' in Singapore in 1840.⁸ These books and manuscripts were dispatched to the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. They are now in the Library of Congress.⁹

A study of the printing of this book brings to the fore several related features for discussion. Firstly the text, followed by its editor, the publisher (or correctly speaking the financier), the press, the printer, the book itself, and its date of printing.

The *Sejarah Melayu* needs very little introduction to students of literature, history and philology. Though most would use the standard editions by Shellabear, Winstedt,¹⁰ Situmorang and Teeuw, Aman Dato' Maju Indo, and A. Samad Ahmad,¹¹ consult Leyden's¹² and C.C. Brown's translations; and the many textbooks on classical Malay literature in general and special studies on the *Sejarah Melayu*, the existence of a large number of manuscripts of this text in public collections needs to be reiterated.¹³ A study of the provenance of a number of these manuscripts indicates their origins in the Malay Peninsula.¹⁴

Abdullah's edition is said to be based on a collation of six manuscripts.¹⁵

The editor, Abdullah (not Alfred North), too needs very little introduction. Several studies have been produced on him based extensively upon his own *magnum opus* the *Hikayat Abdullah* which he completed in 1843 and had it printed in 1849.¹⁶ In the context of the historical bibliography of the *Sejarah Melayu* we have to appreciate his place in the literary world of his time. He was a tutor of the Malay language, translator, copyist and author of several works. He was familiar with books and expounded the importance of reading and learning. He learned the art of printing when he was associated with the missionaries of the London Missionary Society (LMS) in Melaka.

The publisher or financier of the book, Thomas MacMicking's name appears sporadically in Buckley's *Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore* (1902)¹⁷ and in association with the Singapore Institution. On 27 August 1835 he was appointed one of the five members of the Committee of the Singapore Institution, and at the meeting of the Trustees on 5 January 1836, he was nominated a Trustee of the Singapore Institution. MacMicking was admitted as a partner in the firm of Syme & Co in November 1835. This firm was commenced in Singapore in 1823 and was appointed Lloyd's Agents in 1828. His name appears on the list of merchants of Singapore who petitioned to the Governor on the question of imposition of duties on Singapore. This petition was dated 11 January 1836. On 8 February 1837 MacMicking was proposed and seconded to be a member of the Provisional Committee of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce. He became a committee member on 20 February 1837. That he was an important figure may be seen from the fact that he was the chairman of a public meeting called for on 18 January 1845 by the Sheriff, Captain Faber, and attended by all the community.

One of the objects of the Singapore Institution, founded in 1823 by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, was 'to collect the scattered literature and traditions of the country, with whatever may illustrate their laws and customs, and to publish and circulate in a correct form the most important of these, with such other works as may be calculated to raise the character of the Institution, and to be useful and instructive to the people'.¹⁸ MacMicking's position as a trustee of the Institution and his position as a partner in an established concern could have well played an important role in the publishing of the *Sejarah Melayu* and confirm an earlier note that it was 'printed at expense of a mercantile house'.¹⁹

The press at which the book was printed has a

history of its own and dates back to the founding of Singapore.²⁰ Missionaries of the London Missionary Society (LMS) established a mission at Melaka in May 1815. In May 1819, the Reverend William Milne, as head of the mission successfully applied to the authorities in Singapore for the establishment of a station there. The Reverend Samuel Milton was dispatched to Singapore in October 1819 to select a piece of ground and to found the mission there. Milton was joined by the Reverend C.H. Thomsen in May 1822. In January 1823 Thomsen applied for permission to establish a printing press. The reply dated 23 January 1823, made known that 'the Lieut Governor gives his full sanction to the measure and will be happy to assist the undertaking, by the patronage and support of Government as far as circumstances admit'.

The history of the printing press which was established from the date of receipt of permission till the printing of the *Sejarah Melayu* is a complicated one. The LMS did not wish to invest in a printing press in Singapore since a well established Mission Press was already in operation in Melaka. The printing enterprise in Singapore initially was the effort of Thomsen and Milton. Thomsen took with him from Melaka a wooden press and a small quantity of Malay types and Old English types. Two assistants — Munshi Abdullah and a Eurasian lad by the name of Michael — accompanied him. Together they printed in English and Malay, did type-cutting, type-founding and book-binding in a small way. Raffles made good use of this facility for printing government regulations.

Printing on a large scale required more and larger presses and founts of types in Roman, Arabic, etc. Milton on his own initiative sailed to Calcutta in December 1822 and returned to Singapore on 8 April 1823 with a printer, Samuel Roberts, three presses, founts of types in Arabic and Siamese and other equipment for a printing establishment. He wrote to the LMS stating that he was 'prepared to print at this station in five languages, viz. English, Siamese, Malay, Chinese and Arabic'. The whole establishment — building and equipment — cost Milton £2,500. A very heavy outlay for one person to invest. Milton was in heavy debt as the returns on his investments would take time to be realized.

The Reverend Robert Morrison in his capacity as head of the Ultra Ganges Mission of the LMS was visiting Melaka and Singapore about the same time and advised Milton to turn over the printing establishment to Raffles' Singapore Institution. Morrison also persuaded Raffles to take over the presses and types for 2000 Spanish dollars from public subscriptions raised for the Singapore Institution. Milton reluctantly parted with his investments. The printer, Samuel

Roberts, became the Institution's printer. Milton however was given charge of the press.

The press was busy printing government regulations, missionary works and engaged in commercial printing. The imprint that appeared on the works printed at the press bore the names 'Institution Press' and 'Mission Press'. Milton resigned from the LMS in 1825. Thomsen continued to supervise the press until his own resignation from the LMS in 1834. Prior to his resignation in May 1834 he offered the press for sale. The offer was taken by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions who established a station at Singapore in July of the same year.²¹

Alfred North (1807–1869), was a printer by trade in New York. He was attracted to missionary work and after ordination came to Singapore in February 1836 to work in the printing establishment of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He remained in Singapore until the American Board moved to China in 1843. North went to Madura where he taught in a small mission school. He returned to America in 1847.²²

When the Americans left Singapore in 1843, they presented their press and equipment to the missionaries of the LMS who toiled in Singapore until their own departure to Hong Kong in 1846. The subsequent story of missionary printing in Singapore is another chapter in the history of printing.

From the above chronology we see four phases of the press from its establishment in 1818 until the close of the LMS in 1846. Thomsen printed on his own from his arrival in May 1822. Milton brought printing equipment from Calcutta in 1823 and within a few days of their arrival they were taken over by the Singapore Institution but remained in the hands of the missionaries. In 1834 the press passed into American hands returning to the LMS missionaries in 1843 until the departure of the latter in 1846.

The Book. It is a strange fact that this book lacks a title page. Most of the publications from this press that are available have title pages which hold information on the titles of the works, the name of the press and the years of publication. Shellabear saw a copy of this book 'without either date, imprint, or title page'. The microfilm copy of it from the Library of Congress too has no title page in it. It is because of this deficiency in the work that has led to speculation on its date of publication by those who have based their editions upon it.

What reasons are there to suggest that the *Sejarah Melayu* was not printed in 1831, but at a later date.

Walter Henry Medhurst, a missionary of the LMS, published an inventory of the Malay publications printed at Singapore between 1824 and 1833, i.e. during Thomsen's service with the LMS.²³ The *Seja-*

rah Melayu is not included in this list. If indeed the printer was Alfred North, we must bear in mind that North only arrived at Singapore in February 1836. The documents accompanying the copy of the book to the Smithsonian Institution bear the dates 1840 and 1841 as the dates of printing. On the basis of these factors, we can assign the date of its printing as 1840 or 1841.

Every once in a while, new evidence comes to hand which prompts us to revise earlier premises. This is clearly noticeable in our discussion so far. Shella-

bear's observation that Munshi Abdullah's edition of the *Sejarah Melayu* was published several years 'subsequent' to 1831 has become stereotyped as '1831' in the introductions to later editions. This date too has become a norm in biographies of Abdullah as well as studies on Malay literature and the *Sejarah Melayu* in particular. It is to be hoped that future studies will take cognizance of the fact that the printing of Abdullah's edition of the *Sejarah Melayu* in Singapore was done ten years after 1831.

APPENDIX

It is not possible to attempt a full bibliographical description of this work from the photocopy supplied by the Penang Public Library and the microfilm copy from the Library of Congress. A comparative study of both confirms that they are copies of the same edition. The following details are provided in order to assist in the identification of the original edition should one have access to an ideal copy of it.²⁴

[Title: *Sejarah Melayu*
 Editor: Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir
 Place: Singapore
 Publisher: Thomas MacMicking of Syme & Co. for the Singapore Institution
 Printing Press: Mission Press of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
 Printer: Alfred North
 Date: 1840 or 1841]
 Pagination (in Arabic numerals): [7] [1] 2-7 [7] [1-3] 4-368
 Page size: 217 x 130 mm
 Type page: pp. [1] 2-7: 34 ll., 185(195) x 103mm
 pp. [2-3]: 15 ll., 90 x 70 mm
 p. 4: 26 ll., 183(189) x 105mm

p. 5: 23 ll., 183(189) x 105mm
 pp. 6-367 22 ll., 185(193) x 105mm
 p. 368: 16 ll., 133(140) x 105mm

Typography (Jawi):

Two type sizes. Small types on pp.[1] 2-7 [2-3] 4 and 17 ll. on p. 5; larger types for 6 ll. at the bottom of p. 5 and the rest of the book for prose with small types for verse.

Chapter headings and the pages and lines on which they begin:

The text of the *Sejarah Melayu* is in 34 chapters. Each chapter is headed by the words *Al-kesah ceritera yang* followed by its number in words.

[Chapter 1] (begins on page 5: line 18)
 2(28:15) 3(47:1) 4(51:21)
 5(56:3) 6(59:18) 7(70:9)
 8(79:3) 9(83:6) 10(89:20)
 11(93:15) 12(108:15) 13(118:18)
 14(144:4) 15(166:15) 16(175:11)
 17(190:14) 18(196:13) 19(199:18)
 20(202:17) 21(209:18) 22(214:10)
 23(222:4) 24(230:6) 25(235:16)
 26(241:10) 27(272:19) 28(286:5)
 29(291:3) 30(311:3) 31(315:18)
 32(321:4) 33(332:21) 34(356:8)

NOTES

1. For a checklist of materials on and about the *Sejarah Melayu* held in the University of Malaya Library, see 'Sejarah Melayu: pameran dan senarai koleksi dalam simpanan Perpustakaan Universiti Malaya'. *Kekal Abadi*, jil. 1, bil. 3 (September 1982): 5–10.
2. *Sedjarah Melaju: Menurut Terbitan Abdullah (ibn Abdulkadir Munshi)*. Diselenggarakan kembali dan diberi anotasi oleh T.D. Situmorang dan A. Teeuw dengan bantuan Amal Hamzah. Djakarta: Penerbitan Djambatan, 1952. On p. xvii, the editors state that their Romanization is based on a copy of Abdullah's edition which was available in the library of the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap (the present Museum Nasional) in Jakarta.
3. *Sejarah Melayu*. Diterbitkan oleh Penerbit Djambatan dan Gunung Agung menurut naskah2 lama yang tersimpan di Perpustakaan Lembaga Kebudayaan Indonesia. Diberi anotasi oleh Aman Dato' Maju Indo. Djakarta, 1959. 2 vol.
4. *Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munshi*. [Singapore: Mission Press, 1849] p. 403. For a translation of this passage, see A.H. Hill's annotated translation *The Hikayat Abdullah*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1970. p. 291.
5. This work is available at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (N.T. Malay d.3 1831). For a facsimile of the title page, see Ibrahim bin Ismail. Early Malay Printing in the Straits Settlements by Missionaries of the London Missionary Society. MA report, University College London, 1980. p. 87.
6. Letter from Alfred North dated October 1843 which is to be found in the 1843 manuscript of the *Hikayat Abdullah* in the Library of Congress. This letter has been reproduced by C. Skinner as Appendix A in his 'Transitional Malay literature: part 1 Ahmad Rijaluddin and Munshi Abdullah'. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, vol. 134, pt. 4 (1978): 466–487. For details of the Wilkes Expedition, see Tyler, D.B. *The Wilkes Expedition: The First United States Exploring Expedition (1838–1842)*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1968.
7. Smithsonian Archives, Washington, D.C. Record Unit 7058, National Institute, 1839–1863. Records, Box 14, Folder 6.
8. Ibid.
9. Teeuw, A. 'Malay manuscripts in the Library of Congress'. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, vol. 123 (1967): 517–520.
10. 'The Malay Annals or Sejarah Melayu. The earliest recension from Ms. No. 18 of the Raffles collection, in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. Edited by R.O. Winstedt'. *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 16, pt. 3 (December 1938).
11. *Sulalatus Salatin (Sejarah Melayu)*. Diselenggarakan oleh A. Samad Ahmad. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1979.
12. *Malay Annals*. Translated from the Malay language by John Leyden. With an introduction by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821.
13. Datin Patricia Lim Pui Huen has traced forty manuscripts in her 'Bibliography of Melaka studies', in *Melaka: The Transformation of A Malay Capital c. 1400–1980*, ed. by Kernial Singh Sandhu and Paul Wheatley. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1983. Vol. 2, pp. 661–663. Their repositories are: Edinburgh University Library (1); John Rylands University Library, Manchester (1); Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur (5); Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam (1); Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden (2); Leiden University Library (10); Museum Nasional, Jakarta (5); Royal Asiatic Society, London (10); National Museum, Singapore (1); School of Oriental and African Studies Library, London (3); and the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (1). We may add to this the manuscript in the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society (cf. Newbold, T.J. 'Note on Malayan MSS. and Books presented to the Society'. *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. 7 (1838): 78–88; and Ibrahim bin Ismail. 'Newbold's Malay manuscripts in India'. *Kekal Abadi*, jil. 5, bil. 1 (Mac 1986): 5–8).
14. For instance Malay 1 in the John Rylands University Library, Manchester; Farquhar 5 and Maxwell 105 in the Royal Asiatic Society, London; and the manuscript in the Madras Literary Society.
15. Why was the *Sejarah Melayu* selected for printing? Abdullah in his long preface entitled 'These are the words of the gentlemen of Singapore who wish to spread the knowledge of the Malay language' (Bahawa ini perkataan segala tuan-tuan dalam negeri Singapura yang hendak memasyhurkan bahasa Melayu) provides the reasons for its selection. First, that the gentlemen who superintended the schools established in Singapore by Raffles for imparting instruction in the Malay language and other subjects were in search of Malay books which were well-known and known to all Malays so that they could be taught to the children because the language in them is correct and good. Secondly, the printed book has four advantages over the hand written book — the words are correct, the work is quick, the characters are clear and easy to read, and finally the book is cheap. The rest of the preface expands upon the advantages of printing and the processes involved in editing and printing the book. As a justification for printing the *Sejarah Melayu*, Abdullah, in anticipation of criticism against the choice, states his reason which is simply because of its language (... adapun sebabnya aku mengusahakan diriku mengecapkan kitab in sebab bahasanya).
16. Traill, H.F.O'B. 'The "lost" manuscript of the Hikayat Abdullah 'Munshi' '. *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 55, pt. 2 (1982): 126–134.
17. Buckley, C.B. *An Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore*. Singapore: Fraser & Neave, 1902. 2 vol. Reprinted in one volume at Kuala Lumpur by the University of Malaya Press in 1965.
18. Raffles, S. *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of*

Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, F.R.S. & c. London: J. Murray, 1830. Appendix, p. 79.

19. Cf. fn. 8 above.

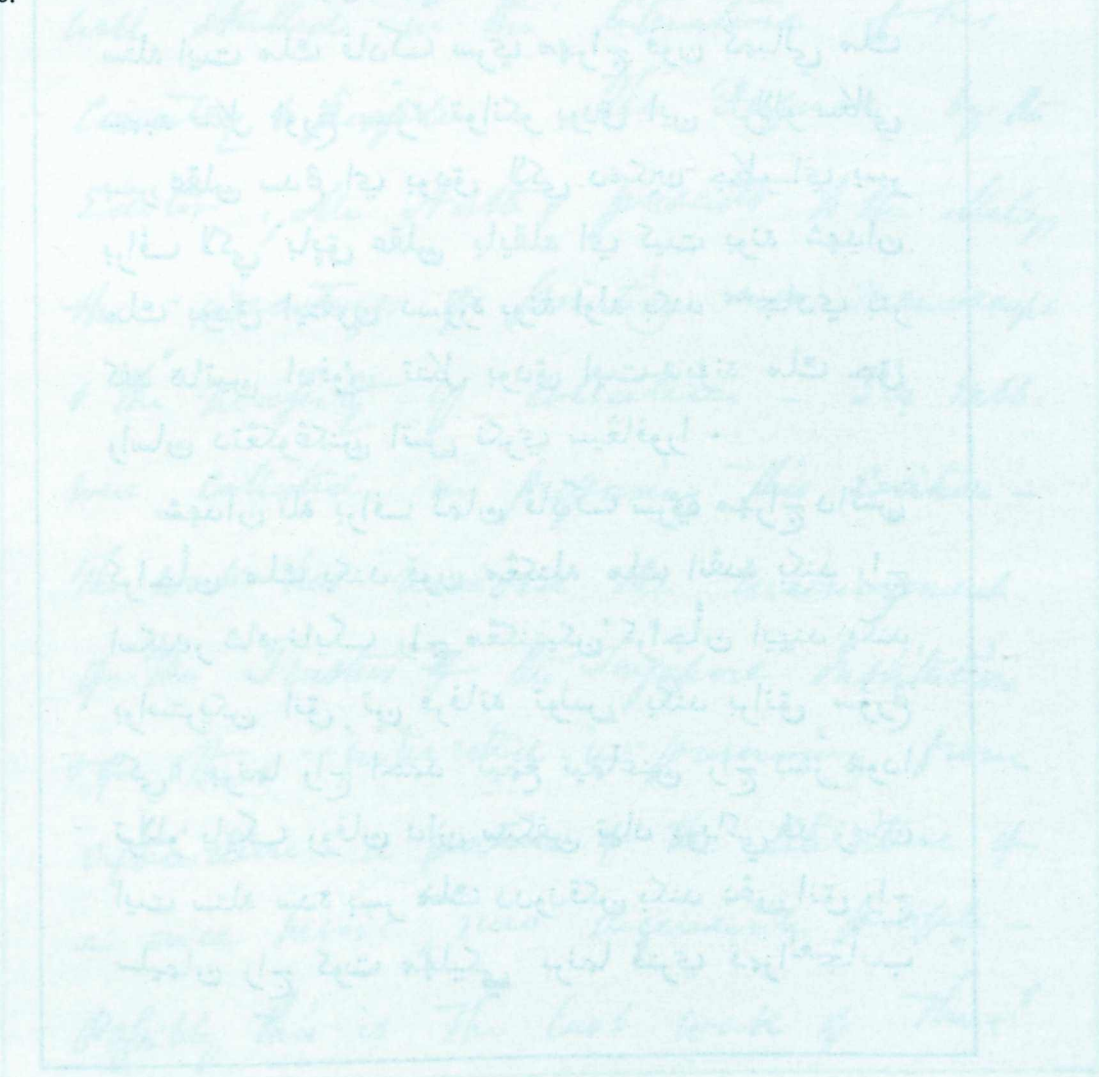
20. The summary here is based upon the following works on the history of printing: Byrd, C.K. *Early Printing in the Straits Settlements, 1806–1858*. Singapore: National Library, 1970; Ibrahim bin Ismail. *Early Malay Printing in the Straits Settlements by Missionaries of the London Missionary Society*. MA report, University College London, 1980; and O'Sullivan, L. 'The London Missionary Society: a written record of missionaries and printing presses in the Straits Settlements, 1815–1847'. *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 57, pt. 2 (1984): 61–104.

21. Haines, J.H. *A History of Protestant Missions in Malaya during the Nineteenth Century, 1815–1881*. Th.D. thesis, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1962. p. 158.

22. *The Hikayat Abdullah*. An annotated translation by A.H. Hill. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1970. p. 19 and fn. 7 on pp. 287–288.

23. Medhurst, W.H. *China: Its State and Prospects, with Especial Reference to the Spread of the Gospel*. London: J. Snow, 1842. p. 591.

24. The printing of the *Sejarah Melayu* must have been an expensive enterprise considering the size of the book of almost 375 pages in octavo. It speaks for the printing press which must have had large founts of Jawi types of at least two sizes, a large stock of paper and the manpower to print, collate and bind the copies. The perplexing question now seems to be why so few copies of this book have survived. Copies are only known to exist in Jakarta, Penang and Washington. How many copies were printed? Were they generally available? These questions await answers. The author would be happy to hear from readers who have had access to this book.



تودق ایت بڅکین برتمبون ۲ دښتې ایت مک تیاډ
 ترماکن لاکي اوله مانسي ددالم نکري سيغافورا مک تودق
 ایتفون تیدقله مالمقه لاکي فد سواة رواية درفد درس
 لمفت تودق ایت داتغ کأتس کاجه کنا باجو فادک
 سري مهراج چاریق لغدن مک دبوکن اورغ پاپي

چاریق باجوراج * دښفاتي تودق

بوکن دسهاج * سبب عقل بړدق .

ستله ایت مک فادک سري مهراج فون کمبالي مک
 سمبه سکل اورغ بسر ۲ توانکو بودق این ترلالو سکالي
 بسر عقلن سدغ اي بودق لاکي دمکین جکلو اي بسر
 براف لاکي باپق عقلن بايقله اي کیت بونه شهدان
 مک بودق ایتفون دسورة بونه اوله بکند منچادي بڼر
 کفد هاتین ادفون تتکل بودق ایت دبونه مک حق
 راسان دتڅکوڅکنن اتس نکري سيغافورا .

شهدان تله براف لهان فادک سري مهراج داتس
 کراجان مک بکند فون مڅکتله مک انقده بکند راج
 اسکندر شاه نايک راج مڅکنتيکن کراجان ايپند بکند
 براس تريکن انق تن فرفاته توله بکند برانق سورغ
 لاکي ۲ برنما راج احمد تيمغ تيماعن راج بسر مودا
 ترلالو بايک روفان دان سيکفن تياډ برباکي فد زمان
 ایت ستله سده بسر مک ددوکن بکند دغن انق راج
 سليمان راج کوت مهليکي برنما فترې قهرالعجايب

when it was printed in Singapore, at the expense of Thomas MacKintosh Esq, under the careful superintendence of Mr Alfred North, well known as a Superior Malay Scholar, assisted by Abdullah, himself a Malayan Author & particularly well skilled in the literature of his Country & people - The Preface by the Editor, Mr North, presents to the Malay the advantages of printing over Manuscript & the necessity of collection - Six MSS. were collected in preparing this Edition - The work has received the encouragement of the Trustees of the Singapore Institution & others interested in preserving from extinction a portion of the literature of a once heroic ^{but} now degenerate people - Possibly this is the last work of Thos^r!