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WORKING PAPER SERIES NO. 24

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(January 2017)

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The NSC Working Paper Series is published electronically by the **Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre** of ISEAS - Yusok Ishak Institute



Cover Image:
Manuscript of the Malay *Hikayat Indera Putera*, in Jawi script. Courtesy of the British Library.

ISSN:2529-7287

Citations of this electronic publication should be made in the following manner:

Arsenio Nicolas, Musical Terms in Malay Classical Literature: The Early Period (14th–17th century), **Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre** Working Paper No 24 (Jan 2017).



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# Musical Terms in Malay Classical Literature: The Early Period (14th–17th Century)[1]

Arsenio Nicolas

## Abstract

*From the late 14th century, Malay literati made use of musical references and imageries to illustrate the music of their time. These attestations of musical terms may be interpreted as either having been known for a period of time in musical circle or in elite courtly/literary culture, or as having been newly introduced into the literary language. This study highlights five linguistic sources of these musical terms: 1) Austronesian; 2) Indic- or Sanskrit-derived, appearing later than in Old Javanese, Old Balinese, Khmer and Cham; 3) Middle-Eastern; 4) Javanese (as a product of a long-term contact between Majapahit, Samudra-Pasai and Melaka); and 5) Austroasiatic (via the Orang Asli of the Malay Peninsula). Here I present and discuss various lists of musical terms mined from a pool of Classical Malay and Javanese sources, as well as European and Malay-Indonesian dictionaries. The lists are intended to provide new materials for the study of the musical history of the Malays and, in general, of Southeast Asia.*

## Introduction

The history of musical exchanges in the Thai-Malay Peninsula may date back to a prehistorical period when Neolithic communities started to inhabit the coastal, inland as well as cave and mountain regions. Subsequent musical developments starting from the mid-first millennium BCE point to long-term exchanges among the communities in the peninsula, continuing to the present. This study explores the historical significance of musical terms mentioned in selected Classical Malay texts that date from the late 14th to the early 17th century. During this period of transition from a Hindu-Buddhist culture to an Islamic culture among the Malays, Indic (predominantly Sanskrit), Middle Eastern, and Malay musical terms were referred to in various texts and in various contexts. Of particular interest is the entry of Sanskrit musical terms in the literary lexicon, which raises two questions—one, their sources and origins, and two, whether these musical instruments with Sanskrit names were indeed part of the musical heritage of the Malay courts and society during this period. In this regard, literary evidence cannot be taken as

1 I am deeply thankful to the Institut Bahasa, Kesusasteraan dan Kebudayaan Melayu (IBKKM, Institute of Malay Language, Literature and Culture), now Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu (ATMA, Institute of the Malay World and Civilization) at the National University of Malaysia (UKM) in Bangi, which granted me a Karyawan Tamu Research Fellowship in 1989–91, during which time I worked on this study. I sincerely thank with much appreciation and gratitude the Nalanda Sriwijaya Centre at ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute for the publication of this article. I am also grateful to the editors of this Working Papers Series: Terence Chong (Head, NSC), Nicholas Chan Wai Yeap, Helene Njoto, and especially Andrea Acri, who invited me to submit this paper.

historical evidence for the existence of such instruments in actual musical practices—a problem that cannot be easily resolved from a philological perspective, in the absence of other supporting data in archaeology and historical linguistics.

By the 13th century, there were several types of music on the Thai-Malay peninsula. The oldest were the music played by the Orang Asli, who came to the area in prehistoric times.[2] The musical instruments of the Austroasiatic peoples of mainland Southeast Asia are discussed by the present author in a forthcoming study (Nicolas forthcoming). The second was a type of music played at the Hindu-Buddhist temples, exemplified by the Hindu temples in Lembah Bujang, which community's identity remains problematic, with regards to whether they were Mon, Indian, or Malay. The third type was a more diverse and widely distributed type of music played in the villages inhabited by the new settlers—the Malays from Sumatra and Borneo, and much later, the Minangkabau from Sumatra, the Bugis from Sulawesi, and the Javanese from Java. The fourth was a new type of music played at the emerging courts of Malay rulers. The fifth was the music played by the Chinese in their own communities and temples.

This picture appears very much like what can be found today in western Malaysia, with the exception of music from the West or Europe which came later in the beginning of the 16th century after the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese, and the arrival of British merchants.[3]

For this study, I surveyed 53 literary texts in 1989–91 that were deposited at the library of the Institut Bahasa, Kebudayaan dan Kesusateraan Melayu (IBKKM) at the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) in Bangi, Selangor.[4] These texts were read and studied, serving as an index to all the identified musical terms. Their related cognates yielded a rich corpus of musical data. The data presented here are found in 23 texts (from the total of 53 texts) for a report written and published as a monograph (Nicolas 1994).

This survey yielded a list of the following musical terms (Nicolas 1994:105–121): *bunyi-bunyian*, *bunyian, pukulan*, *palu-paluan*, *tabuhan/taboh*, *nobat*, *gendang*, *genderang*, *serunai*, *nafiri*, *nagara/negara/nenggara/nakara*, *gong*, *balai gendang*, *kromong*, *rebana*, *gambang*, *moengmoeng*, *kopak/kopok/gopak*, *tjeratjap/ceracap*, *bangsi*, *rebab/rabab*,*biola*, *ketjapi*, *bende*, *beduk*, *genta, chanang*, *gendir/gender*, *chelempung*, *suling*, *harbab/harebab*, *tawak-tawak*, *gamelan*, *galaganjur, rarantjakan*, *kungkong, tjalapita*, *papatuk*, *tabla*, *madali/medali*, *sekati*, *merangoe/ranggu*, *serdam/seredam/serendam*, *muri*, *djamana*, *selukat*, *merdangga*, *peri*, *giring*, *sangka*, *trompet*, *dandi*, *dap*, *mar'oen*, *rana sakti*, *tambul/tambur*, *buluh perindu*.[5]

2 Benjamin (2013:457–58) states that the Orang Asli might have come from the Ban Kao area in what is now southern Thailand and have settled southwards, as originally proposed by Peter Bellwood. A recent study by David Bulbeck (2016:143), however, has questioned this.

3 Several studies have surveyed the musics of Malaysia in the context of its diversities and historical backgrounds: see Dobbs et al. 2001, Nasarudin 1989, Yousof 2004, Matusky and Tan 2005. These studies present in detail the diverse musical traditions that were brought to the peninsula by different migrant groups. A comprehensive study of Malay musical forms outside the Thai-Malay Peninsula has yet to be undertaken.

4 IBKKM (Institute of Malay Language, Literature and Culture) had been renamed several times in the past 20 years, and is now called Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu (ATMA).

5 From this list, not one musical term can be taken as equivalent to the contemporary word 'music' but several terms appear later as *musikan Belanda* in *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis* (Wati 1973:183), *muzik* in

## Dating of Texts

Studies to determine the dates of the first text and their subsequent recensions provide different interpretations as each version of a particular text of a particular literary work is examined (Winstedt 1940, 1958; Roolvink 1967; Iskandar 1967; Hussein 1974, 1990; Liaw 2011, 2013; Braginsky 2004). In the following section, four tables of musical terms are presented, using the chronological data provided by the website of the Malay Concordance Project (MCP).[6] The MCP website comments on the problems of dating and chronology:

> The chronology of classical Malay texts is mostly far from clear, and is further muddied by the problems of variant versions, and the dating of manuscripts as opposed to the texts that the manuscripts contain. Notwithstanding these uncertainties, the following order has been adopted for the texts available in the MCP. The sequence is based on an estimate of the date at which a text was written or compiled, not the date of the manuscript from which the MCP text has been derived.[7]

For this particular study, the following chronology is adapted from the MCP website. Only 10 relevant prose works, dating from the late 14th century to the 17th century are cited here from the 170 indexed titles, which include prose works, verse texts, an old dictionary and other publications in the Malay language. Verse texts are not included in this study. The following tables will illustrate some of the problems in utilising Malay prose texts as sources of musical data, framed within a particular literary period, and hence, may be regarded as part of a music history.

Given the uncertainties of dating and chronology, the following groupings of texts may reveal some significant data. In particular, it may be possible to trace the entry of a particular musical term into a particular period in the music history of Malay literary discourse. Nine of these texts are part of the study I published in 1994. One additional text, the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, is added by accessing the 'list of words' on the MCP website.[8]

**Table 1:** Five *hikayat*s dating from the late 14th century to the 16th century

| Title | Dating | Edition |
|---|---|---|
| *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* | 1371 (ms. 1852) | Winstedt 1966 |
| *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* | <1380 | Samad Ahmad 1987 |
| *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* | ca. 1380 (ms. <1624, <1682) | Brakel 1988 |
| *Hikayat Raja Pasai* | ca. 1390 (ms. 1815) | Jones 1987 |
| *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain* | <1600 (ms. ca.1830) | Hussain 1986 |

*Tuhfat Al-Nafis (*Hooker 1991:287, 296) and *muzik cara Holanda* (*tambur, seruling, terompet, biola*) also in *Tuhfat Al-Nafis* (*ibid.*:267).

6 http://mcp.anu.edu.au/Q/texts.html; http://mcp.anu.edu.au/Q/texts.html#chronological (accessed 4/11/2016).

7 http://mcp.anu.edu.au/Q/texts.html#chronological (accessed 4/11/2016).

8 http://mcp.anu.edu.au/N/AHmz_words.html (accessed 4/11/2016).

**Table 2**: Four *hikayat* dating to the 16th–early 17th century

| Title | Dating | Edition |
|---|---|---|
| *Hikayat Pandawa Lima* | ca. 1525 | Hussain 1964 |
| *Hikayat Seri Rama* | ? (ms. <1633) | Winstedt 1909 |
| *Hikayat Inderaputera* | <1600 (ms. 1700) | Ahmad 1968 |
| *Hikayat Indraputra* | ? | Mulyadi 1983 |

**Table 3**: Four recensions of the *Sejarah Melayu*

| Title | Dating | Edition |
|---|---|---|
| *Sulalatus Salatin* | 1356 | Samad Ahmad 1979[9] |
| *Sejarah Melayu* | ? | Raffles No. 18, Winstedt 1938 |
| *Sejarah Melayu* | ? | Shellabear 1896 |
| *Sejarah Melayu* | ? | Situmorang and Teeuw 1952; Abdul Kadir 1842 |

**Table 4**: Two recensions of *Hikayat Hang Tuah*

| Title | Dating | Edition |
|---|---|---|
| *Hikayat Hang Tuah* | 1700 | Ahmad 1975[10] |
| *Hikayat Hang Tuah* | ? | Balai Pustaka 1924 |

## Musical References in Malay Literary Texts

A musical reference is a literary device to record a musical event that is part of the narrative during a particular episode in the story of a *hikayat* (narrative text), *sejarah* (historical text) and other prose, as well as verse forms in Malay classical literature. Musical references tend to be lengthy, containing pertinent musical data, i.e., a complete list of musical instruments in an ensemble that, in some cases, can be corroborated with contemporary musical practices. A musical imagery, mostly short, is a literary technique used to enhance the narrative flow, the textual density and literary appeal of a prose or verse form. It is not an actual event or occurrence in the narrative itself. Some of these musical imageries are repetitive, incomplete in musical data, and are more lyrical in texture. In some works, one may detect the repetitive references to one particular musical term, like *bunyi-bunyian* (musical instruments), which may refer to any of the ensembles or specific musical instruments mentioned previously.

The lists in this study do not consider the usage of each musical term within the context of the text and the narrative, but they merely isolate these terms to constitute a

9 Dated 1356, revised 1612 and subsequently; manuscript: 1808 in http://mcp.anu.edu.au/N/SM_bib.html (accessed 4/11/2016).

10 Text: about 1700; manuscript: 1849. Available at http://mcp.anu.edu.au/N/Tuah_bib.html (accessed 4/11/2016).

first list. The study of these musical terms in the narrative context of the literary works in which they are found will be undertaken in a future publication.

It should be noted that any occurrence of a musical term in a manuscript could mean several things. First, the musical term had been known for a period of time in musical and literary circles, or at least in elite courtly culture. Second, it may also mean that the term was just newly introduced into the literary language, and thus was meant to make it known to a wider audience or reading circle. A particular narrative may have existed simultaneously as a written text and as an oral form, such as with the *wayang* (puppet theater) tradition in Java. For example, the *wayang wong* (human *wayang*) performed in the court of Jogyakarta was based on an extant text from the library of the palace (Soedarsono 1983). Furthermore, there is a separate corpus of texts called *pakem* used in the performance of *wayang kulit* (shadow or leather puppet theater) in the courts that is different from the performance traditions of *wayang* in villages. However, when both oral and written forms existed at the same time, the complexity of performance and realisation is even more pronounced.

Early on from the late 14th century, Malay literary writers have made use of musical references and musical imagery as illustrations of a musical life in that period. These terms, denoting both musical instruments and vocal genres, form part of the literary lexicon of various *hikayat*s. The following section discusses three sets of Malay classical texts in relation to the musical terms that are mentioned in them.

## Five *Hikayat*s Dating from the Late 14th Century

The early period of Malay classical literature, which roughly dates from the late 14th to the late 16th century/early 17th century, is represented by five *hikayat*s. These texts contain musical, literary, and religious terms that throw light into the transition from the late Hindu-Buddhist period into the early Islamic period, from the perspective of both musical and literary history. They are the following:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* | 1371 (ms. 1852) | Winstedt 1966 |
| *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* | <1380 | Samad Ahmad 1987 |
| *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* | ca. 1380 (ms. <1624, <1682) | Brakel 1988 |
| *Hikayat Raja Pasai* | ca. 1390 (ms. 1815) | Jones 1987 |
| *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain*[11] | <1600 (ms. ca. 1830) | Hussain 1986 |

Four texts, namely *Hikayat Bayan Budiman, Hikayat Raja Pasai*,[12] *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, and *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah*, contain Sanskrit musical terms. Three texts, namely *Hikayat Bayan Budiman, Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, and *Hikayat Muhamad*

11 The text is dated before 1600 (predates *Sejarah Melayu*) while the manuscript is about 1830. The text is clearly old as the beginning section of *Sejarah Melayu* is a paraphrase of the Iskandar story. See http://mcp.anu.edu.au/N/Isk_bib.html (accessed 4/11/2016).

12 Sweeney (1967:97) notes that the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* 'reveal some archaic features', one of which is that the spelling of Sanskrit words in the manuscript is nearer to the Sanskrit (although some forms are clearly the result of 'hypercorrection', or even neologisms): *shaudara* (*saudara;* Skt *sodara*); *manushia* (*manusia;* Skt *mānuṣya*); *hashta* (*hasta;* Skt *hasta*); *perkasha* (*perkasa;* Skt *prakāśa*); *abahagia* (*bahagia;* Skt *bhāgya*); *kulawarga* (*keluarga;* Skt *kula + varga*); *netiasa* (*senentiasa;* Skt *nityaśa*); *upama* (*umpama;* Skt *upamā*). Only one musical term from the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* can be traced to Skt: *serama*, Skt: *śrama*.

*Hanafiyah*, do not have any terms deriving directly from Javanese, although Sanskrit musical terms in all these four texts are already in use, and may have been derived from Javanese sources. Below here is a description of the texts.

*Hikayat Bayan Budiman*

The *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* (Winstedt 1966), the oldest Malay literary text so far known, survives in many editions today; both the manuscripts of Van der Wijk (Jakarta No. LXII) and Van der Tuuk (Leiden Coll. 3208) provide the name of the translator from Persian to Javanese, Kali Hasan, in the year 773 AH or 1371 CE (Liaw 2013:279). The following musical and extra-musical terms are found in it:

| Musical-Literary term | Pages in the text (ed. Winstedt 1966) |
|---|---|
| Indian/Sanskrit derived: | |
| *biduan*[13] (Skt) | 264. |
| *seloka*[14] (Skt) | 6, 149, 186, 238. |
| *gurindam*[15] (Tamil) | 149, 186, 219, 235. |
| Middle Eastern / Arabic-derived: | |
| *Hikayat* | 154. |
| *Madah*[16] | 6. |
| *Shair*[17] | 6, 146, 149. |
| Malay / Austronesian derived: | |
| *bunyi-bunyian*[18] | 137, 256, 263, 264. |
| *genderang*[19]*perang*[20] | 255. |
| *chanang*[21] | 69, 230, 232, 241, 242. |
| *pantun*[22] | 6, 149, 264. |
| *mengigal-igal*[23] | 219, 235. |
| *menari-nari* | 62, 264. |
| *meratap*[24] | 137. |

13 Cf. Zoetmulder's *Old Javanese English Dictionary* (henceforth: OJED) 2263 s.v. *widu*, Sanskrit (henceforth: Skt): 'actor (dancer, singer, reciter, leader in a performance?)'. See also OJED 2264, *amidu, amidu-midu, awidwa-widwan, pawidu, pawidwan*. For a discussion of the *vidu* performer in premodern Java, see Acri (2011, 2014).

14 Skt, 'Verses rhyming couplet, especially when humorous, ironical or satirical poetry' (Wilkinson 1903:398).

15 *Gerindam* / *gurindam*: a form of complete single couplet with final rhymes as defined by the Malay poet, Raja Ali Haji (Teeuw 1966:29-30); Tamil: *kirandam*. A smart saying or apposite quotation (Wilkinson 1959 : 358).

16 Arabic, 'saying, utterance' (Wilkinson 1959:718).

17 Arabic, *shi'r*, 'metrical romance or address' (Wilkinson 1959:1096).

18 Cf. OJ *uni*: 'sound, voice; contents'; *unyan-unyan*/*unen-unen,* 'musical instrument' (OJED 2122).

19 Cf. *kĕndaŋ*: 'a kind of drum' (OJED 849).

20 *Genderang perang*, 'a drum beaten to call troops to arms' (Wilkinson 1903:578).

21 A kind of gong' (Wilkinson 1903:247).

22 'Verse of which the first portion suggests the second; verse making by metonymy' (Wilkinson 1959:845).

23 Cf. *igĕl*, 'dance' (OJED 669).

24 *Ratap*, 'To lament, to bewail aloud, over a person deceased. "*Berbagei-bagei bunyi ratap-nia*",

*Hikayat Amir Hamzah*

Of these five, the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* mentions various musical terms derived from Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Tamil, Hindustani, (Old) Javanese, and Malay, which makes it a very rich source of musical ideas and musical practices of the period.

Sanskrit: *bangsi,*[25] *genta*,[26] *kecapi*,[27] *medali*,[28] *serama*,[29] *seloka*,[30] *biduan*, *lagu,*[31] *cerita*[32]
Persian: *negara*,[33] *muri*[34]
Tamil, Hindustani: *dandi*,[35] *ragam*[36]
Arabic: *zikir*,[37] *syair*, *nafiri*,[38] *harbab*/*herbab*,[39] *tabal*[40]

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various were the expressions of their grief, i.e., there was a variety in their songs and dirges' (Marsden 1984:141).

25 Old Javanese (henceforth: OJ) *baŋsi* (OJED 208), Skt *vaṃsi* (Kunst 1968:25).*Bangsi* is not commonly found in West Malaysia today. However, the Perak *Salasilah* documents that a flute called *bangsi* was part of the *nobat* brought from Johore to Perak 'when Tan Saban brought the prince of Johor over to Perak, he brought with him the insignia of royalty, namely, the royal drums (*gandang nobat*), the pipes (*nafiri*), the flutes (*sarunei* and *bangsi*), the betel-box (called *puan naga taru*), the sword (called *chora mandakini*), the sword (*perbujang*), the sceptre (called *kaya garnit*), the jewel *(kamala*), the "*surat chin*" the seal of state (*chap halilintar*), and the umbrella (*ubar-ubar*)' (Maxwell 1881:504; Khoo 1986:3). In Aceh, Sumatra, it is found in the Alas and Gayo languages (Soravia n.d.:112).

26 OJ *ghaṇṭa ghaṇṭā, ghĕṇṭa;* Skt *ghaṇṭā*, bell (OJED 489) (Kunst 1968:50; Wilkinson 1903:576).

27 'A native lute with four strings' (Wilkinson 1926:4448). Wilkinson refers to the four-stringed lute found in Borneo, and is called *sapeq, sampeq*, and also *kudyapi* in Mindanao and Palawan, Philippines (see Nicolas 2009). Cf. OJ *kacapī* (OJED 760), Skt *kacchapī*.

28 Skt *mandali*, a type of *vinā*, or a type of bar-zither used in East Java in the 13th century (Kunst 1968:20); 'A wind-instrument' (Wilkinson 1959:718).

29 'In time, in measure, rhythmical' (Wilkinson 1903:376); cf. OJ *srama, śarama, aśrama*, 'to perform a war-dance; Skt: *śrama*' (OJED 1813).

30 'Verses, rhyme, ironical or satirical poetry when not in the form of the *pantun*' (Wilkinson 1903:398), from Skt *śloka*.

31 Tune, invocation song of a shaman (Wilkinson 1959:638).

32 A tale, narrative; also spelled as *cheritera*, *cherita* (Wilkinson 1959:218–19). The author of the tale is often called '*tuan yang empunya cheritera ini*' (Wilkinson 1901:250).

33 '*nĕgara* (state kettledrum). Also spelled as *nagara, nekara*' (Wilkinson 1959:795).

34 Persian, 'a flute or clarionet of metal' (Wilkinson 1959:789).

35 Tamil, 'small cymbals'; Hindustani (Urdu): *dondi*, 'small Indian kettledrum' (Wilkinson 1959:254).

36 Hindustani (Urdu), and Skt *rag*; 'air, melody' (Wilkinson 1903:316).

37 'The remembering of Allah. *bĕr-dikir*: to sing religious chants, esp. at a commemorative feast such as the Maulud or Prophet's birthday, to the accompaniment of the tabor (*rĕbana*) and posture or dance while singing. Also *dzikir*' (Wilkinson 1959:294).

38 'The word *nafiri* comes from the Arabic *nafr*, which means a group or troop, usually military. In standard Arabic the term *naffīr āmm* is used to refer to the general call to arms. The word *naffir* later came to be associated with the long trumpet due to its use for military purposes. The *nafiri* of the Malay *nobat* is a long conical trumpet measuring between 80 to 83 centimetres in length. Its mouthpiece or circular opening is about three centimetres in diameter, and unlike modern trumpets it is part of the main tubular body of the *nafiri* and not separated' (Raja Halid 2015:98).

39 *Rabab*. Arab. A native fiddle or viol. Wilkinson 1901:321); *rebab*: two-stringed bowed lute (Kunst 1949:220).

40 Arabic, 'drum, kettledrum, royal drum (beaten at a coronation)'.; compare the verbal form *tabalkan*, 'to install (a ruling prince by beat of the royal drums)' = *nobatkan*, see *nobat* (Wilkinson 1959:809).

Middle East: *serunai*[41]
Javanese: *gendang, gong*,[42] *igal*[43]
Others: *gendering*,[44] *ceracap*,[45] *merangu*[46]

It is significant that the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* already mentions the five important musical instruments of the Malay court musical ensemble, viz. *gong, gendang, serunai, nafiri, nagara*,[47] but do not refer to the term *nobat*, which denotes the ensemble itself. The terms *nobat* and *tabal* appear in the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, dated to the same period; however, in the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* the terms *nafiri* and *negara* are not mentioned at all. And the other three terms, *gendang, gong, serunai*, are mentioned as individual instruments and not a part of the *nobat* ensemble. In the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, the term *gong* is referred to as an ensemble with *gendang* accompanying dances called *joget*, together with the classical Javanese theatrical forms—*wayang wong, wayang kulit,*[48] *topeng,*[49] and *joget tandak*.[50]

*Hikayat Raja Pasai*[51]

The *Hikayat Raja Pasai* is the oldest known historical text in Malay, which narrates events that took place from 1250 to 1350, from the reign of Malik al-Saleh (also Malik as-Salih)

41 The *serunai* in Malay is a quadruple-reed shawm with seven or eight holes. It is known as *surnay* (Iran), *zurna* (Turkey) and *shahnai* (India) (Raja Halid 2015:96).

42 *Goṅ*: 'a gong' (OJED 535). See also *goṅ*. 1. *goṅgoṇan*, B. *gaṅgaṅan*, *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* 24.66 , 'op de gong slaan' (Juynboll 1902:167).

43 In Malay literary texts, the term *igal* is mostly associated with the turkey, Argus-pheasant or peacock's strutting and spreading out its feathers, as in *mĕrak mĕngigal* (Wilkinson 1959:418). Cf. OJ *aṅgigĕl*, 'to dance' (often referred to *mrak* or *mayūra* in the texts), OJED 59.

44 'A war-drum, state-drum or processional drum' (Wilkinson 1959:350).

45 'A musical instrument of the rattle or castanet type; bamboos beaten together' (Wilkinson 1959:215).

46 'A musical instrument, obsolete and unidentified' (Wilkinson 1959:767).

47 *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* 326:34: 'Thus it was Amir Hamzah's ardent wish that the *gendang kesukaan* be played. Thus all the musical instruments were also played—*bunyi-bunyian gong, gendang, serunai, nafiri, nagara, merangu, dandi, muri, kopak, ceracap*—in such vibrant resonance…' (*Maka terlalulah sukacita Amir Hamzah; disuruhnya palu gendang kesukaan. Maka segala alat bunyi-bunyian gong, gendang, serunai, nafiri, nagara, merangu, dandi, muri, kopak, ceracap pun berbunyilah terlalu gegak gempita*'. *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* 659:32: '*bintang pun baharu padam cahayanya, maka tatkala itu berbunyilah genderang perang daripada kedua pihak tentera, terlalu azamat bunyinya, bercampur baur dengan bunyi gong, gendang, serunai, nafiri, nagara, ceracap, dandi dan pelbagai bunyi-bunyian lagi*). [Tr. A. Nicolas].

48 *Wayaŋ*, 'a dramatic performance in which a story is represented by puppets (*wayang kulit*), by dancers (w*ayang wong*)' (OJED 2229). The term *wayang* appears early in Old Javanese inscription dated 907 CE, issued during the reign of Balitung (Soedarsono 1983:3, 1984; for a recent discussion of the performers mentioned in this inscription, see Acri 2014:22–23.

49 *Topeṅ*, 'mask, masked performance' (OJED 2030).

50 *Hikayat Raja Pasai* 132:7: 'Thus the kingdom of Majapahit is lively, with continuous playing of *gendang gong* and the *joget* dancing with many musical instruments, with the soft and sweet sounds (*angrarangin*) of the many performances of the *wayang wong*, *wayang kulit*, *topeng* and *joget tandak*…' (*Maka terlalulah ramainya negeri Majapahit itu, sentiasa dengan gendang gong dan joget dengan pelbagai jenis segala bunyi-bunyian angrarangin bunyinya dengan pelbagai warna permainan seperti wayang wong dan wayang kulit dan topeng dan joget tandak*....). [Tr. A. Nicolas]

51 The *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, or Chronicles of Pasai, a little Malay state annexed by Aceh in 1524, are interesting for two reasons. They are the oldest Malay chronicles, and apparently served as a model for the *Sejarah*

to the Majapahit conquest of Pasai. Malik al-Saleh was the first king of the kingdom of Pasai in Sumatra to convert to Islam (Liaw 2013:348; Braginsky 2004:183ff; Guillot & Kalus 2008). Only two manuscripts of this text are extant today—the Raffles manuscript dated 1815 (Hill 1960), kept today at the Royal Asiatic Society in London, and an earlier manuscript in the British Library (Or. 14350), copied in Semarang on the north coast of Java in 1797 (Kratz 1989).

In the preface to the edition published in 1960, Hill recounts that there is only one extant manuscript of the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*. This is the copy prepared for Raffles in 1814, based on a manuscript which belonged to Kiai Suvadimanggala, the senior regent of Demak, in East Java (Hill 1960:4).[52] Jones published a new edition in 1987, with a much clearer translation and from which these musical terms were extracted (Jones 1987).

A second manuscript dated 1797 on the front colophon had been discovered and remains unedited (Kratz 1989). In the description of this second manuscript, Kratz discusses the processes of copying from one source that had been copied from several others originating from different places. In this case, the Semarang (central Java) manuscript was copied from an unknown source in Makassar (Sulawesi). What this second manuscript provides is a picture of readership of Malay texts in 18th century Makassar and Mataram Java (*ibid*.:1–2).[53] Kratz notes that this manuscript's audience included not only the Melayu and the Makassarese but the Chinese as well (*bangsa peranakan*), and this is significant for two reasons as it brings evidence of: one, the presence of a Chinese community well versed or fluent in Malay,[54] and two, of their interest in Islamic teaching. The manuscript is in two parts, the first is the *Hikayat Raja Handik berperang dengan nabi Allah*, a religious text, and the second is an incomplete text of the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, with the last 20 percent missing (*ibid*.:1–2).

In the opening page, the writer also exhorts the readers to read the *hikayat* with clean hands, or more appropriately, pure thoughts (*membaca dengan suci tangan; suci*:

*Melayu*, whose author paraphrased the Chronicles of Pasai, quoted them and imitated their contents. The copyist of the *Sejarah Melayu* manuscript finished his work on January 2, 1814 (21 Muharram, 1230 AH) and after the colophon, in which that date is given, follow lists of place-names, which may have been mentioned in the original work. The Chronicles start with the reign of Malik al-Saleh, whose gravestone imported from Cambay gives 1297 as the year of his death, and then described the reigns of Malik al-Dzahir, who died on 9 November 1326, and of his son Sultan Ahmad, and end with Majapahit's conquest of Pasai about 1350 and with Majapahit's vain attempt to conquer Minangkabau. The Chronicles therefore must have been written after 1350, and as they are quoted sometimes verbatim, in chapters seven and nine of the *Sejarah Melayu*, it must have been written before 1536 AD, when the first draft of that work was completed (Jones 1987:24).

52 Manuscript No. 67 in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society.

53 *Al-hamduli'l-lahi rabb al-'alamin hadha 'l-kalam al-sadiq / termaktub di dalamnya kertas ini ketika nabi kita Muhammad / mustafa serta saiyidina Ali membunuh segala kafir la'anatu'llah / di Padang Hunaini maka hai segala tuan2 laki2 dengan perempuan / yang saleh sekalian daripada bangsa Melayu dan Mengkasyar istimewa / pulaq daripada bangsa peranakan hendaklah kiranya tuan2 sekalian / membaca dengan suci tangan maka membukah daripada lipatannya surat (2) ini supaya jangan ini kenah kotor maka jikalau telah sudah membaca / taruhlah kepada tempat yang baik supaya ia boleh lamah dibaca/dibuat pengibur hati yang dikecut karena terlalu amat sukar / serta tiada dengan muda[h] akan menulis syahadan lagi segala tuan2 / yang meminjam hikayat ini jikalau telah sudahlah terma'lum daripada / perkataan daripada permulaannya datang kepada kesudahannya hendaklah / kiranya mengembalikan pulaq kepada orang yang empunya surat ini (3) bismillah.* (Or. 14350 f. l recto and verso).

54 Collins (1998) states that historically, fully half of sources in Malay were actually written by Chinese.

pure, sacred), and when handling the text (here rendered as *surat*), to be careful in turning the pages, as well as to protect it from dirt and keep it in a safe place so that it can be preserved and read again—to entertain 'the shriveled heart' (*dibuat penghibur hati yang dikecut*). The writer proceeds by telling the audience the difficult task of writing, and finally, to return the *hikayat* (here again, rendered as *surat*) to its rightful owner after it has been read. This may be a picture of 18th century mode of reciting, listening and reading *hikayat* texts in Sulawesi and Java. One can surmise that the literary and musical imagination of the 18th century audience in Macassar and Mataram Central Java, of Javanese and Chinese alike, can be stimulated with tales from the 14th century Majapahit kingdom in East Java, and Samudra Pasai in Sumatra.[55]

The *Hikayat Raja Pasai* shows early traces of Javanese musical terms. It is significant that of the nineteen musical terms that can be found in this text, eight terms, viz. *bedaya,*[56] *gong, beksan, joget, tandak, topeng, wayang kulit, wayang wong*,[57] can be traced to Javanese sources (Winstedt 1938:26). Of these eight, only *tandak* (*taṇḍak*) is an Old Javanese term, which means 'to dance, with song' (OJED 1929). The other seven terms are Javanese terms from the Surakarta period, roughly around the middle of the 18th century. Furthermore, the terms *beksan* and *joget* are, respectively, high Javanese and low Javanese terms for dance. *Joget* is also known in Balinese as *joged*, a village form of dance performed by young women for entertainment in temple feasts (McPhee 1966; Bandem and de Boer 1995). What is significant to note is that the terms *bedaya* (also spelled as *bedoyo, bedhaya, bedhoyo*)—a court dance for nine female dancers in the *kraton* (palaces) of Surakarta and Jogyakarta, and *wayang wong* (dance-drama) were then only performed inside these palaces in Java. The references to Javanese music and dance in this text reflect the wide knowledge of the *sahibul hikayat* (the poet, reciter) on the court culture of central Java.

Given that these musical terms found in *Hikayat Raja Pasai* are Javanese in origin, such borrowings may have occurred in the following manner. The Demak manuscript of Kiai Suvadimanggala was already a copy of an older text, and having been copied in Java, the passages with Javanese musical terms were added by copyists. By 1814, these terms were already current in the courts of central Java, to which the regent of Demak was a subject (Sutherland 1971:137–38).[58] These additions do not then appear to be a consequence of the Majapahit conquest of Pasai, as told in the *hikayat*, since during the Majapahit period, only 5 of the 10 terms are known to have been used in literary texts, which may have been contemporaneous with the Samudera-Pasai period. The other five are known only from the Javanese literary period of the new Mataram kingdom in central Java founded in the late 16th century.

55 Kratz (1989:4) extends the discussion of the presence of Malay texts in South Sulawesi, alluding to Roolvink's (1967) view that the *Sejarah Melayu* was brought to the court of Johor from Sulawesi.

56 *Bedaya*: court dances for nine female dancers in the palaces of Surakarta and Yogyakarta in Central Java.

57 These terms may confirm that the manuscript Jones used is dated 1813. Four of these terms, however, are derived from OJ: *beksan* (*baksa*, 'to dance', OJED 192), *goṅ*, 'gong' (OJED 535), *tandak*, 'to dance' (OJED 1429); the term *wayang* is derived from *wayaṅ* (OJED 2229).

58 During this period, Yogyakarta was ruled by Sultan Hamengkubuwana III (r. 1812–1814), and Surakarta by Sunan Pakubuwana IV (1768–1820). In Java, the Majapahit Kingdom (1294–1478) was succeeded by the Sultanates of Demak (1478–1546), Pajang (1546–1588), and Mataram (1578–today) in Central Java. In 1755, Mataram was divided between Surakarta and Yogyakarta. The year 1755 marks the division of the Sultanate of Mataram after the Treaty of Giyanti was signed.

Of the five *hikayat* discussed above, only the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* mentions the term *nobat*, the royal installation music ensemble in the Malay courts. In two other texts, the term *nobat* is not mentioned but the instruments used for *nobat*, viz. *gendang, nafiri, nagara,* and *serunai*, are mentioned in *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*; and only *gendang tabal, nafiri, serunai* in *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain*. The *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah* only mentions *tabal*.[59]

The following table divides the musical and literary terms into seven categories: 1) musical instruments; 2) vocal music; 3) playing techniques; 4) dance; 5) theatrical forms; 6) literary genres, and 7) religious texts. These categories display the wide array of concepts of musical ideas and aesthetics, as well as literary ideas, which can be derived from the texts. This could be a separate study.

**Table 5**: Musical, theatrical, and literary terms in five Malay texts

| **Title** | ***Hikayat Bayan Budiman*** | ***Hikayat Amir Hamzah*** | ***Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah*** | ***Hikayat Raja Pasai*** | ***Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnian*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dating and Text Edition | 1371 (ms. 1852) Windstedt 1966 | <1380 Samad Ahmad 1987 | ca.1380 (ms.<1624, <1682) Brakel 1988 | ca. 1390 (ms.1815) Jones 1987 | <1600 (ms. ca. 1830) |
| **Musical Instruments** | | | | | |
| Flute | | *bangsi* | | | |
| Bamboo wind pipe | | | | | *buluh perindu* |
| Sound | *bunyi* | | *bunyi* | | *bunyi* |
| Music ensemble | *bunyi-bunyian* | *bunyi-bunyian* | *bunyi-bunyian* | *bunyi-bunyian* | *bunyi-bunyian* |
| Small gong | *canang* | | | | |
| Pair of bamboo sticks | | *ceracap* | | | |
| Cymbals | | *dandi* | | | |
| Drum | | *gendang* | | *gendang* | *gendang* |
| Drum | *genderang* | *genderang* | *genderang* | *genderang* | *genderang* |
| Ritual bell | | *genta* | | | *genta* |
| Gong | | *gong* | | *gong* | |
| Fiddle | | *harbab/herbab* | | | |
| Lute | | *kecapi* | | | |

59 For a very comprehensive recent study of the *nobat*, see Raja Halid 2015. This dissertation deals with the history of the *nobat* and its various early sources in the Middle East and later in India, and how during the establishment of Malay Sultanates, it became a state musical heirloom. Two Malay literary texts, the *Hikayat Patani* (early 16th–17th century) and *Adat Aceh* (17th century) are discussed in chapters four and five respectively, in relation to its history from the early period, through the British colonial period and contemporary times. Chapter three provides an extensive description of its music and musical instruments.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *medeli** | | | |
| | | *merangu* | | | |
| Gong | *mongmong* | | | | *mongmong* |
| | | | | | *mong-mongan* |
| | | *muri* | | | |
| Oboe | | *nafiri* | | | *nafiri* |
| Drum | | *nagara* | | | |
| Reed pipe | | *serunai* | | *serunai* | |
| Royal installation drum | | | *tabal* | *tabal* | *tabal* |
| Royal music ensemble | | | | *nobat* | |
| Musical instruments | | | *palu-paluan* | *tabuh-tabuhan* | |

*Skt *mandali*, a type of *vīṇā*, or a type of bar-zither used in East Java in the 13th century (Kunst 1968:20).

| **Vocal Music** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Female singer | *biduan* | *biduan* | | | *biduanda* |
| Chant | | *zikir* | *dikir* | | |
| | *gurindam* | | | | |
| Melody | *lagunya* | *lagu* | | | |
| To read, recite, or chant | | | *mengaji* | | |
| To sing | *nyanyi* | *nyayi* | | | |

| **Playing techniques** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| To beat/to play | | | | *tabuh** | |
| To beat | | | *palu* | | *palu* |
| To beat | | | *palu* | | *palukan* |
| Beaten | *dipalu* | | *dipalu* | *dipalu* | *dipalu* |
| Blown | | | | *ditiupnya* | |

*OJ *tabĕh, tabuh*, 'beating, striking, esp. a musical instrument' (OJED 1892–1893).

| **Dance** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | *beksan* | |
| | | | | *joget* | |
| | *menari* | *menari* | | | |
| | *mengigal* | *mengigal* | *mengigal* | *mengigal* | |
| | | *tarinya* | *tertari-tari* | | |
| | | | | *serama* | |

| **Theatrical forms** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mask dance | | | | *topeng* | |
| Leather puppet theatre | | | | *wayang kulit* | |
| Mask theatre | | | | *wayang wong* | |

| **Martial Arts** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | *pencak* | |

| **Literary forms** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Story | *cerita* | | *ceritera* | | |
| Story | *cetera* | | | | |
| | | *empunya cetera* | | | |
| Prose narrative | *hikayat* | *hikayat* | *hikayat* | *hikayat* | *hikayat* |
| Rhymed verse | *pantun* | *pantun* | *pantun* | *pantun* | |
| | *ragam* | *ragam* | | | |
| Rhyme | *seloka* | | | | |
| | | *serdam* | | | |
| Verse narrative | *syair* | *syair* | | *syair* | |

| **Religious text** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quran | Quran | Quran | Quran | Quran |

## Four *Hikayats* Dating to the 16th–17th Century

The *Hikayat Sri Rama, the Hikayat Pandawa Lima,* and the two recensions of the *Hikayat Inderapatra/Inderaputra* belong to a group of texts whose sources may be traced to Java. The Malay *Hikayat Sri Rama*, dated to the 16th century, testifies to the existence of an original tradition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Classical Malay, which is related to the Old Javanese *Ramāyaṇa* but not directly deriving from it. The musical terms attested in the four texts are described in tabular form below:

**Table 6**: Musical terms in four *hikayat*s dated 16th–17th century

| | ***Hkt Seri Rama*** | ***Hkt Pandawa Lima*** | ***Hkt Inderaputra*** | ***Hkt Inderaputra*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Winstedt 1909 15. (ms. <1633) | Hussain, ed. 1964 ? ca. 1525 | Mulyadi 1983 | Ahmad 1968 <1600 (ms. 1700) |
| | | | | |
| Flute | | | *bangsi* | *bangsi* |
| Singer | | | *bidoean* | *bidoean* |
| Drum | *dandi* | | *dandi* | *dandi* |
| Bell | | *genta* | | |
| Bell of a Brahman | | *genta Brahmana* | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Poem | | *gurindam* | | |
| Lute | *kechapi* | | *ketjapi* | *ketjapi* |
| Bar-zither | | | *madali* | *madali* |
| Dance | | | | *merak mengigal* |
| *Rangu (*?) | | | *merangoe* | *merangoe* |
| Drum | *muri* | | *moeri*[a] | *muri* |
| | | | | |
| Fiddle | *redap*[b] | | | |
| Poem | *seloka* | | *seloka* | *seloka* |
| Playing music | *taboh larangan* | *taboh*[C] | | *tabohan* |
| Bamboo wind pipe | | | *buloh perindu*[d] | |

Notes:

a. Wilkinson provides a different definition for '*moeri*' as 'Persian: a flute or clarionet of metal' (Wilkinson 1901:662).

b. Hindustani (Urdu), 'a small drum' (Wilkinson 1901:325).

c. OJ: *tabeh*. Beating, striking, especially a musical instrument, the stick or the hammer for this. Later Malay literary works also mention *tabuh-tabuhan*, also found in OJ as percussion instrument (OJED 1892).

d. *Buloh pĕrindu*: '(i) an automatic wind instrument like a jew's harp; (ii) a bird-call made of bamboo; (iii) a legendary bamboo growing on high mountains and reputed to murmur so sweetly as to entrance all listeners' (Wilkinson 1932); cf. suara-nya Sang Samba itu sĕpĕrti buloh p. ("the voice of Sang Samba was seductive as the note of the Eolian bamboo"), Alleged pieces of this bamboo are much prized as love charms. (Wilkinson 1901:344; 1932); rindu. "passionate and sustained desire; longing; the cravings of love' (Wilkinson 1901:344).

## The *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (14th to 16th Century)

The *Sejarah Melayu* or the Malay Annals and the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* are the most celebrated works in Malay Classical Literature. Both were enshrined in the UNESCO Memory of the World, together with two others, the *Batu Bersurat Terengganu* (Inscribed Stone of Terengganu), and the Correspondence of the late Sultan of Kedah (1882–1943).[60]

The text commonly known as *Sejarah Melayu* has a number of versions (Roolvink 1967, Braginsky 2004).[61] The *Sejarah Melayu* relates the history of the Malay Sultanate in the 15th and early 16th century. This period saw the transformation of the Malays from a Hindu-Buddhist to an Islamic culture, centring on the entrepot port, Melaka, which connected itself to the maritime world linking Southeast Asia with India, China, the Middle East, and Europe. Written in 1612 but dealt with events from ca. 1400 CE to the early 16th century, the Annals are a rich source of historical information on trade relations with Palembang, Java, Sulawesi and Majapahit, customary ceremonial practices of the court that are observed today, and other aspects of Malay language, literature, and music. The Annals recount in detail the founding of Melaka and its rise to power and conclude with Melaka's defeat by the Portuguese forces, its downfall and the emergence of Malay Sultanates, particularly, Johor and Pahang.[62] It is the finest historical literary work in the

60 UNESCO Memory of the World: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/access-by-region-and-country/my (accessed 1/12/2016).

61 Malay Concordance Project: http://mcp.anu.edu.au/N/SM_bib.html (accessed 21/12/2016).

62 UNESCO Memory of the World: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/

Malay language, and there are more than thirty manuscripts extant today copied from earlier or original texts (Teh Gallop 2013). There are significant differences in many of the extant texts of the *Sejarah Melayu* as can be seen in the editions by Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir, Shellabear, Winstedt and Samad Ahmad. In the survey of four of these texts below, the musical references in one particular passage significantly differ from each other.

The *Hikayat Hang Tuah* is dated 1700 from a manuscript dated 1849 kept at the *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* (Institute of Language and Literature) in Kuala Lumpur. The National Library of Malaysia has also in its possession two manuscripts of *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, (ms.1658 and ms.1713). The manuscripts are written on old European paper about 200 years ago.[63] It is a national historical-heroic epic in which history is unraveled in the life of a hero.[64] The narrative is centred on one place, one monarch and one hero, more specifically, the relationship between the ruler and his subject (Teeuw 1960). It was written in the late 17th century that reflected the events in the Sultanate in Johore during that period (Parnickel 1962). More specifically, the narrative relates the conflict between Malacca and Majapahit (Ahmad 1975), which suggests connections between the conflict between Johore and the South Sumatran principality of Jambi, where, in the narrative, Majapahit stands for Jambi as the latter's aristocracy and rulers bore Javanese names titles, and Jambi was itself a vassal of the Javanese state of Mataram (Andaya 1978:86).[65]

In the following two tables of the four texts of the *Sejarah Melayu* (Table 3) and two texts of the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (Table 4), the variations in the number of musical terms mentioned in each text show the depth and extent of the musical knowledge of the scribes and copyists for each text or manuscript.

**Table 7:** Four texts of the *Sejarah Melayu*, late 14th century

| | *Sejarah Melayu* | *Sejarah Melayu* | *Sedjarah Melayu* | *Sulalatus Salatin* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Winstedt 1938<br>Raffles ms. 18<br>text: 1371<br>ms. 1852 | Shellabear 1896 | Situmorang and Teeuw 1972 | DBP 1986<br>Sahmad 1979<br>text: 1356<br>revised: 1612<br>ms. 1808 |
| Flute | *bangsi* | | *bangsi* | |
| ? | | | | *baluhan tabuh* |
| Bell | *bergenta* | *bergenta* | | |
| Poem | | *bergurindam* | *bergurindam* | *bergurindam* |
| Poem | *berseloka* | | *berseloka* | *berseloka* |
| ? | *berserama* | | | |
| Story | | | | *ceritera* |

memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-8/sejarah-melayu-the-malay-annals/#c183728 (accessed 1/12/2016).

63 Malay Concordance Project: http://mcp.anu.edu.au/N/Tuah_bib.html (accessed 21/12/2016).

64 UNESCO Memory of the World: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-4/hikayat-hang-tuah (accessed 1/12/2016).

65 All these sources are quoted in Braginsky 1990.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *dandi* | | | *dandi* |
| Zither | *kechapi* | | | |
| Bar-zither | *medali* | *medali* | *medali* | *medeli/mendeli* |
| To dance | *mengigal* | | *mengigal* | |
| Bird dancing | | | | *merak mengigal* |
| Theatre | *merakat*[a] | | | *merakat* |
| Drum | *merdangga* | | *merdangga* | |
| Drum | | *muri* | | |
| Melody | | | | *ragam* |
| Metallophone | *selukat*[b] | | | *selukat* |
| | | | | |

Notes:
a. OJ *rakĕt* 'prob. mask, but also: image, figure… A certain dramatic performance' (OJED 1491). Cf. *rakat*, 'a theatrical performance' (Wilkinson 1901:315).
b. A type of metallophone in the Principalities, i.e., Surakarta and Yogyakarta, central Java, usually called *saron penerus* or *peking* (Kunst 1968:79–80). This type of metallophone or a bamboo or wooden xylophone is illustrated in the 9th century Borobudur temple relief, see *ibid*: fig. 19. Another type of xylophone made of bamboo or wooden bars, today called *calung* or *gambang*, is also illustrated there, see *ibid*.: fig. 21.

**Table 8:** Two texts of *Hikayat Hang Tuah*

| | *Hikayat Hang Tuah*<br>*Balai Pustaka* 1924 | *Hikayat Hang Tuah*<br>*Ahmad* 1975<br>ca. 1700 (ms. 1849) |
|---|---|---|
| Flute | *bangsi* | |
| | *dandi* | |
| Bamboo wind pipe | *buloh perindu* | |
| Bell | *genta* | |
| | *genta alamat* | |
| | *genta besar* | |
| Lute | *ketjapi* | |
| | *madali* | *madali* |
| | *medali* | |
| Singer | *bidoean* | *biduan* |
| To dance | *mengigal* | *mengigal* |
| *Rangu* (?) | *merangoe* | *merangu* |
| | *moeri* | |
| Poem | *seloka* | |
| Poem | *serdam* | |

## Ties Between Malay and Javanese Music in the Light of the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*

One notes the appearance of musical terms of Javanese origins in the *Hikayat Raja Pasai:*

**Table 9:** *Hikayat Raja Pasai*: Old Javanese and Contemporary Javanese musical terms

| Old Javanese (East Java–Demak) | Contemporary Javanese (Demak–Mataram) |
|---|---|
| *goṅ* | *bedaya* |
| *taṇḍak* | *jentera*[a] *beksan* |
| *topeṅ* | *joget* |
| *tabuh* | *wayang kulit* |
| *tabuh-tabuhan* | *wayang wong*[b] |

Notes:
a. The term *jentera* here describes the type of *beksan* or dance. Wilkinson defines *berjentera* in several ways, one of which is to rotate or to move in waves (of light) (Wilkinson 1926:3864.1). It appears this is a very poetic way of describing how the dance would 'move in waves', a similar epithet applied to the movement of the hands of the *bedaya* dancers of the court of Surakarta.
b. The term *wayang wong* is quite important in determining the history of the term in relation to Malay texts. Soedarsono (1983:101–201) traces the history of the term as follows. It was created during the reign of Sultan Hamengkubowono I (r. 1755–1792) of the Kraton (palace) of Jogyakarta; it was a state *pusaka* or heirloom, and hence it was never played outside the palace until the first quarter of the 20th century (*ibid*.:vi).

Of these 10 musical and dance terms, *joget* and *wayang kulit* are known among the Malays in west Malaysia. *Joget* is a court dance in Pahang, which is today known as *Joget Melayu* or *Joget Malaysia* (Nasaruddin 1979; Yousof 2004). Swettenham provided the first account of this dance in an article he published in 1878, *A Malay Nautch*, but did not provide any much detail including the name of the dance, and names of musical instruments (Swettenham 1878). In a later publication, Swettenham (1885) wrote a very detailed description of the dance, the musical instruments of the ensemble, the names of melodies played by the ensemble, description of the costumes of the four dancers and the ensuing trance part in the latter part of the performance near day break (Swettenham 1895:43–51).[66]

*Joged* is the low Javanese (*ngoko*) term for dance and the dancer (usually a female), while *beksan* is high Javanese (*kromo*). It is interesting to note that what one finds in the Malay version is a *joget*, not a *bedaya* or a *beksan*, as *Joget Melayu* is a court dance. The other Javanese court dance for female is called *serimpi*, which is performed by four dancers. *Beksan* (OJ *baksa, babaksan*: 'to dance', OJED 192) also refers to several court dances for men, mostly warrior dances from the Nyutra and Trunajaya regiments, where the use of spears and shields are prominent. Some of these are *Beksan Lawung Ageng*, or the Great Lance Dance for 16 strong (*gagah*) men, and *Beksan Lawung Alit*, or the Great Small Dance for 18 refined (*halus*) male dancers (Soedarsono 1983:116, 536). There is also a term *Joged Mataram* from the court of Jogyakarta, a style of court dancing created

66 Skeat (1900:457–64) quotes this description extensively here. Nasaruddin (1979:79–81) describes the trance part as it was still performed in 1970s in the court of Terengganu.

by the first Sultan, Hamengkubuwono I (Brakel 1976:157). In Bali, the term *joged* takes on a different meaning, as most of the extant *joged* dances are accompanied by bamboo musical ensembles (McPhee 1966; Nicolas 1987; Bandem and deBoer 1995).

In Malay, the term *joget* is first known in connection with the music ensemble accompanying the dance—*Joget Gamelan*. Nasaruddin (1979) documents that the *Joget Gamelan* came from the Riau-Lingga islands and was later brought to the palace in Pahang, Pekan in 1811 on the occasion of the marriage of Tengku Hussain, the son of Sultan Abdul Rahman of Lingga, to Wan Esah, the sister of Bendahara Ali of Pahang. This augured well for the creation of a new *Joget Pahang* under the patronage of succeeding royal families. Until 1912, *Joget Gamelan* was performed at the court in Lingga, when until 1912, the Sultan abdicated the throne under Dutch pressure. Likewise, in 1914, after the death of Sultan Ahmad, the Pahang court did not continue the new tradition. It was his daughter, Tengku Mariam, who revived the dance. She married Tengku Sulaiman, the second son of Tengku Zainal Abidin of the court of Trengganu, where it was performed after the acquisition of a new gamelan. Today, it is called *Gamelan Terengganu* (Nicolas 1994:32–36).[67]

The ties with Java can be seen not only in the use of the term *joget* and *gamelan*, but more so, in the stories that the dances portray—episodes of the Javanese *Pañji* stories of Raden Galoh Kindra Kirana and Raden Inu Kertapati, as well as the adventures of the Islamic Prophet Ibrahim—2 of the 77 stories of the complete repertoire. The names of the dances are derived from the names of the musical pieces accompanying them. All the dancers are female, and the main hall inside the palace is set with carpets. The dancers face the Sultan, with the gamelan at the back of the throne. The right and left sides are reserved for courtiers. There are also many features of the costumes that are clearly influenced from Java (Nasaruddin 1979:74–76).[68]

In a study I made in 1991, I interviewed Tengku Cik bin Othman, a member of the Terengganu Palace and a musician. She provided the following information on the instrumentation of the two gamelan ensembles: the Gamelan at the Pekan Museum in Pahang, and the Gamelan Pahang (Nicolas 1994:36). The instrumentation for Gamelan Terengganu is included here for comparative purposes (Piah and Ismail 1986, figure 3).

**Table 10:** Musical Instruments of the Gamelan in West Malaysia

| | *Gamelan* | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Pekan Museum | Terengganu | Pahang |
| | | | |
| gongs-in-arow | *keromong* | *keromong* | *keromong* |
| wooden xylophone | *gambang* | *gambang* | *gambang*<br>34 bars |

67 See also *Gamelan Terengganu*: Tracks (B) 3 and 4 of *The Music of Malaysia, Unesco Collection*, Bärenreiter Musicaphon BM 30 L 2026.

68 The names of the dances are *Timang Burung*, *Ayak-ayak*, *Lambang sari*, *Ketam renjung*, *Geliong*, *Lantai Lima*, *Gending Gajah*, *Manggong mati*, *Wani-wani*, *Antawarda*, *Selangkah Tunggal*, *Baba Layar*, *Godang melati*, *Hujan Mas*, *Gombo*, *Ramban muda, Kilas Sedayong*, *Togok Ropin*, *Kunang-kunang mabok*, *Tawan*, *Rangun-rangun*, *Rangda Mangun*, *Serama* (*Sri Rama*), *Balak*, *Galoh Merajok*, *Inu Ngantok*, *Ranggong*, *Arak-arak*, *Silatin*, *Lolo* and *Monan*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| big gongs | 2 gongs | 2 gongs | 2 gongs |
| drum | *gendang* | *gendang* | *gendang* |
| metallophone | *demung* | *saron demung* | 4 *saron* |
| small gongs | 3 *kenong* | 3 *kenong* | |
| metallophone | | *gedemong* (6-7 bars) | |
| metallophone | | *gende* 14 *mata* (bars) | |

Swettenham's description of a performance of a *joget* in the court of Pahang in the 1890's bears similarities with the gamelan now housed at the Pekan Museum listed above. The instruments consisted of the following (Swettenham 1895:44–52):[69]

> *Chelempong*: row of gongs, 'gives a pleasant and musical sound like the noise of rippling water'.
> *Gambang*: wooden xylophone.
> Gong: 'gigantic'; played by a very young boy, using a very large, thick stick.
> Drum: played by an elderly woman with two sticks.
> *Chanang*: several players ('triangles').

## Four Musical Traditions in Malay Classical Texts

The study of musical references and musical imageries in Malay classical texts highlighted four general sources: 1) Indic or Sanskrit derived musical terms; 2) musical terms from the Middle East, exemplified by the term *nobat*; 3) Javanese musical terms as a product of a long-term contact between Majapahit, Samudra-Pasai and Melaka exemplified by the term *gong*; and 4) musical terms shared with the Orang Asli (original or aboriginal people in Malaysia).

### *Sanskrit musical terms*

Sanskrit musical terms are pervasive in Malay literary texts surveyed in this study from the late 14th century to the early 17th century and onwards. As literature immortalises many aspects in terms of themes, motifs, vocabulary, and narratives, this is not at all surprising. In the case of Old Javanese and Old Balinese inscriptions, Sanskrit musical terms were

69 Swettenham confused the two instruments here. He referred to 'harmonicon' as *chelempong* and the inverted bowls as *gambang*, which should be the reverse. 'On our entrance the band struck up, and our special attention was called to the orchestra, as the instruments are seldom seen in the Malay Peninsula. There were two chief performers, one playing on a sort of harmonicon, the notes of which he struck with a stick held in each hand. The other, with similar pieces of wood, played on inverted metal bowls. Both these performers seemed to have sufficiently hard work, but they played with the greatest spirit from 10 p.m. till 5 a.m. The harmonicon is called by Malays *chelempong* and the inverted bowls, which give a pleasant and musical sound like the noise of rippling water, a *gambang*. The other members of the orchestra consisted of a very small boy who played, with a very large and thick stick, on a gigantic *gong*—an old woman who beat a drum with two sticks, and several other boys who played on instruments like triangles called *chanang*. All these performers, we were told with much solemnity, were artists of the first order, masters and a mistress in their craft, and if vigour of execution counts for excellence they proved 'the justice of the praise'.

common during the Central Javanese period from the 8th to the 10th century, and slowly disappeared during the East Javanese period beginning in the mid-10th-century (Nicolas 2007, 2009; Kunst 1968). Musical data embedded in these inscriptions are fairly accurate. For example, inscriptions record historical events and royal edicts of reigning monarchs. However, in literary writings, there is a tendency for writers and copyists to expand and embellish texts.

In Malay classical literature, Sanskrit-derived musical terms appear in the form of Old Javanese terms, mainly from the *kakawin* genre (such as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* epics), and in the form of Middle Javanese terms, mainly from the *kiduṅ* genre of Pañji tales, as well as Javanese literature from the 16th century. The inclusion of all the three types of Javanese musical terms did not occur at the same time, but probably developed over time. The manuscripts that are extant today, which are mostly dated to the 17th and 18th centuries, bear the marks of this long-term musical exchanges between '*Jawa*' and '*Melayu*':[70]

*mengigal-igal*: *igĕl*, dance[71]
*beksan*: *baksa*, to dance[72]
gong: *goṅ*[73]
*tandak*: *taṇḍak*, to dance[74]
*wayang*: *wayaṅ*, shadow play[75]
*taboh*: *tabeh*, drum[76]
*merakat*: *rakĕt*, play[77]

With the exception of *rakĕt*, all the other six terms are found in contemporary musical practice in Java. The term *bedaya* is also current and had been known from at least the beginning of the 17th century (Florida 1992:22–24).[78]

The five texts dating from the late 14th century with musical references examined here, viz. *Hikayat Bayan Budiman, Hikayat Amir Hamzah, Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah, Hikayat Raja Pasai*, and *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain*, are contemporaneous with the appearance of the Terengganu Stone Inscription. This inscription is dated February 22,

70 The spread of the Malay language in the coasts of Sumatra and Java bear witness to this exchange, and several Malay literary genres have found their way into middle Javanese literature. These exchanges are still current as we find that Javanese and Balinese settlers in West Malaysia have brought with them their musics and dances and have become, by virtue of settlement and the acquisition of Malaysian citizenship, part of the musical landscape of contemporary Malaysia. For a very detailed study of the term 'Melayu', see Andaya 2001.

71 OJED 669 [*Hkt Bayan Budiman*; *Hkt Muhammad Hanafiyah*; *Hkt Pandawa Lima*; *Hkt Inderaputra*; *Hikayat Hang Tuah*].

72 OJED 192 [*Hikayat Raja Pasai*].

73 OJED 535 [*Hikayat Raja Pasai*].

74 OJED 1429 [*Hikayat Raja Pasai*].

75 OJED 2229 [*Hikayat Raja Pasai*].

76 OJED 1892 [*Hkt Seri Rama*; *Hkt Inderapatra*; *Hkt Inderaputra*].

77 OJED 1491 [Sejarah Melayu; Sulalatus-Salatin].

78 By tradition, the dance is attributed to the reign of Sultan Agung, Mataram's third and mightiest king (r. 1613– 46).

1303 AD, predating the arrival of Islam in Melaka by at least a hundred years (Nik Hassan Shuhaimi 1998:129). The language of the Terengganu inscription is a mixture of Malay, Arabic, and Sanskrit, indicating a transition in language use (Paterson 1924:253–254). Moreover, the introducers of Islam to Terengganu used Sanskrit religious terms that appealed to the educated elite, and the use of Arabic script substituted earlier Indian scripts (Nik Hassan Shuhaimi 1998:129). In the Terengganu Inscription and the five Old Malay inscriptions from the Srivijaya period[79] the use of Sanskrit words already indicated that Islam, just like Hinduism and Buddhism, was at first the religion of the elite and the lettered who could read the *sastras* and the *hikayat*. The only corpus of documents kept are the Malay literary texts mentioned above.

The influence of India reached the dominant polities of the region, which took on the importance of a new writing system, a new literature, a new temple architecture, the concept of a *devarāja*, and a new music, theatre, and dance. However, the numerous language groups of the Austronesians, the Austroasiatics, and the Thai-Kadais were hardly directly touched by the glitter and mysticism of India, as indigenous systems remained strong until the recent century.[80] For example, of the more than 400 musical terms for musical instruments in the Philippines, only 3 have been derived from Sanskrit—*gangsa, kudyapi, bangsi* (Nicolas 2011, Francisco 1960, 1964; Maceda-Yraola 1997:310–14). Likewise, in the two tables of dated and undated Old Javanese and Old Balinese manuscripts and inscriptions made by Kunst, about 40 Sanskrit terms can be identified, while 110 are Old Javanese and Old Balinese (Kunst 1968:90–117). From the list of about 170 musical terms from Malay literary texts that I gathered in 1989–1991, 14 are derived from Sanskrit, 40 are from Javanese,[81] 45 are from Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, English, Bugis, Minangkabau and Banjar, and 70 are Malay (Nicolas 1994).

Table No. 11 (see appendix) is a tabulation of Sanskrit musical terms in the MCP corpus of Malay literary texts. It is significant to note that 47 out of 70 prose texts and 23 out of 49 texts mention Sanskrit musical terms. Furthermore, these are mentioned in prose texts from the earliest known text, the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* (dated 1370s) to *Hikayat Kerajaan Sikka* (dated 1920s), spanning more than 600 years of Malay literary writing, and with continuity through all the 6 centuries. Verse texts, however, mention Sanskrit musical terms much later, from the 1780s to 1930s.

*Nobat*

The migration of the *nobat* and *gamelan* ensembles from the area of Riau-Lingga in Sumatra, moving from one palace to another, limited the elaboration of musical principles and aesthetics. It was a music that was exclusively used inside the palace and remained

79 Coedès 1930: see Lexique, pp. 65–80. It is interesting though that three words referring to bamboo are mentioned: *pattum* (Malay *betong*); *vuluh* (Malay; *buloh*), p. 78 and *haur* (Malay; *aur*), p. 80, all from the Talang Tuwo Inscription found in Palembang, dated 606 Saka or 684 CE, without mentioning any bamboo musical instrument in the area; see also Suhadi 1983 and Mahdi 2005.

80 The intrusion on Sanskrit words into several languages of the Philippines that are assumed to have never been directly in contact with India is quite significant, see Francisco 1960.

81 Zoetmulder (1982) in the preface to his dictionary notes, 'The influence of Sanskrit on Old Javanese has been enormous. Of the more than 25,500 entries in this dictionary, over 12,600, that is almost half the total number, go back, directly or indirectly, to a Sanskrit original'.

in the hands of a few musicians and aristocrats, hence limited as well in the styles, the instrumentation, the creation of new melodies and pieces, and the more crucial task of handing down to a new generation an oral tradition among the musicians, dancers, and their audiences. What perhaps differentiated the Malay sultanates from Java, Thailand, Cambodia or Laos was the role of the court in directing the path of artistic development in the area. The Malay *naubat diraja* remained within the confines of the Malay courts, and was never imitated or duplicated outside it (for it was in the first place, of foreign origin, hence the difficulty in imitation and spread), with the surrounding villages practicing a music of diverse types: Javanese, Minangkabau, Achenese, Bugis, and Thai, in addition to which are the rich traditions of the Chinese and Indians, played during important religious and cyclical rites. The absence of one strong Malay court centre or cultural centre from where diffusion of musical and artistic ideas can germinate and spread is a consequence of the conglomerated character of the Malay sultanates—a cluster or network of eight sultanates in West Malaysia and Brunei.

*From Bunyi-Bunyian to Nobat: Conversion to Islam*

The Sultanates of West Malaysia, Sumatra and Brunei adapted the *nobat* as state regalia and as court music upon or after the conversion of the monarchs to Islam. It is interesting to note that all these kingdoms spoke and wrote in classical Malay, and after the conversion and the transformation of former Hindu or local kingdoms, chiefdoms or polities into sultanates, the attributes of court power and the accompanying musical shift were borrowed partly from the Middle East, while retaining some aspects of their indigenous and Indic-influenced past.

This is not the case with the sultanates of Maguindanao, Maranao, and Sulu in the southern Philippines, where the *kulintang* music tradition maintained its importance in courts and villages. The Javanese Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms, after conversion to Islam, did not adopt the *nobat*. From the 16th century, *gamelan* ensembles in Java flourished, developing into diverse types of music within the strong court centres. These types remained exclusive to courts, but other types of musics and dances flourished in villages. The *gamelan sekaten* today plays for a whole week during the celebration of Maulud (Prophet Muhammad's birthday) in the grand mosques of Surakarta and Jogyakarta's palaces.

In the *Sejarah Melayu*, gong ensembles and *nobat* ensembles are mentioned in different contexts. This 17th century manuscript indicates that two types of musics were played in the palace—an older gong ensemble and a new ensemble—*nobat*. Today, this is replicated in the Terengganu palace, where the *gamelan* and the *nobat* are part of the state regalia. The following passage refers to the term 'gong' in the *Sejarah Melayu*:

> *Sejarah Melayu* 117:13: Maka bunyi-bunyian Melayu dengan bunyi-bunyian Jawa pun bertarulah bunyinya; gong, gendang, serunai, nafiri, nagara, gendir, sambiannya, sekati, kopak, ceracap, celimpong dan rebab, gelinang, suling, gambang, dandi, tiadalah sangka bunyi lagi.
>
> Thus, there were Malay musical instruments that clashed with the sounds of Javanese musical instruments: *gong, gendang, serunai, nafiri, nagara, gendir, sambiannya, sekati, kopak, ceracap, celimpong dan rebab, gelinang, suling, gambang, dandi*… (tr. Arsenio Nicolas)

Table No. 12 (Aee appendix) is a tabulation of musical terms belonging to the *nobat* musical tradition in Malay court culture. It is likewise significant to note that 46 out of 70 prose texts mention the term *nobat* and the musical instruments of the ensemble. There is a low frequency of use in the verse texts, with only 15 out of 49 texts. Like the Sanskrit musical terms, *nobat* is mentioned through the 600 year-span of Malay literary writing, from as early as the oldest known text, *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* (1370s) to the *Hikayat Kerajaan Sikka* (1920s). The 46 prose texts thus deal with the idea of *nobat* as a state regalia and as the most important type of music in the Malay courts.

*Gongs*

The term *gong* is mentioned in two early Malay texts, in the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* and in the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*. The two texts are dated to the late 14th century, and each draws from two distinct literary traditions. *The Hikayat Amir Hamzah* is derived from the Persian tradition, while the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* has links with the Javanese literary tradition. In the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, the gong is generally mentioned in a list of instruments that belong to the *nobat* ensemble—*gong, gendang, serunai, nafiri, nagara.*

> *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* 326:34: Ma*ka terlalulah sukacita Amir Hamzah; disuruhnya palu gendang kesukaan. Maka segala alat bunyi-bunyian gong, gendang, serunai, nafiri, nagara, merangu, dandi, muri, kopak, ceracap pun berbunyilah terlalu gegak gempita….*
>
> Thus, Amri Hamzah was so elated, he ordered the *gendang kesukaan* to be sounded. Thus all the instruments were played resoundingly —*gong, gendang, serunai, nafiri, nagara*, *merangu*, *dandi*, *muri*, *kopak*, *ceracap*…. (tr. Arsenio Nicolas)
>
> *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* 659:32: *…. maka tatkala itu berbunyilah genderang perang daripada kedua bunyi pihak tentera, terlalu azamat bunyinya, bercampur baur dengan gong, gendang, serunai, nafiri, nagara, ceracap, dandi dan pelbagai bunyi-bunyian lagi.....*
>
> Thus, the *genderang perang* was beaten from both side of the two armies, with such loud sounds, mixing with the sounds of the *gong, gendang, serunai, nafiri, nagara*, ceracap, dandi, and many others. (tr. Arsenio Nicolas)

In the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, the g*ong* is mentioned in association with Majapahit and Javanes*e* musical instruments, theatrical forms and dances—*gendang, joget, wayang wong, wayang kulit, joget tandak*:

> *Hikayat Raja Pasai* 132:7: *Maka terlalulah ramainya negeri Majapahit itu, sentiasa dengan gendang gong dan joget dengan pelbagai jenis segala bunyi-bunyian angrarangin bunyinya dengan pelbagai warna permainan seperti wayang wong dan wayang kulit dan topeng dan joget tandak....*
>
> Thus, the kingdom of Majapahit was in revelry, with the playing of *gendang, gong,* and *joget*, together with many types of musical instruments with such pleasant sounds, with many other colorful performances like *wayang wong, wayang kulit, topeng* and *joget tandak*…. (tr. Arsenio Nicolas)

Old Javanese and Old Balinese inscriptions do not mention the term *gong,* but it is only by the 14th century that the term appears in Middle Javanese literature, in the panegyric poem *Deśavarṇana*, as mentioned in this passage:

> *Pupuh* 66
>
> *1. eñjin rakwa khapiŋ něm iŋ dina bhaṭāra narapati sabhojanākrama maṛk,*
> *mwaŋ saŋ kṣatriya saŋ paḍāḍika pnuḥ yaça bukubukuran riněmbat asusun,*
> *ḍarmmāḍyakṣa kaliḥ sirekhin awawan/ banawa paḍa winarṇna bhawakha khiduŋ,*
> *göŋnyā lwir tuhu phalwa goŋ bubar agěnturan aṅiriṅ aweḥ ṛsepniṅ umulat*
> (Pigeaud 1960–63, vol. I, p. 50).
>
> In the morning, so it is said, on the sixth of the days, *Bhatara* (Lord) *Narapati*, with food, according to custom, entered into the Presence, with the honoured *kshatriyas* (noblemen) the honoured equally ones; packed were the buildings, *bukur-bukurans* (tower-like structures), carried on poles, with storey's. The *dharmadhyaksas* (bishops), the two, they here had for *wawans* (carriers) boats, equally painted red-and-black, their size: in shape true ships, gongs, and gubars (cymbals) were booming accompanying them, giving pleasure to the onlookers. (Pigeaud 1960–63, vol. III, p. 77).[82]

In temple bas reliefs, the illustrations of the gong appear only during the 13th and 14th centuries in several temples in East Java and in Angkor Wat (Morton 1976:Figs. 13–15; Nicolas 2016b). Three shipwrecks from the 13th century—the Butuan shipwreck, the Java shipwreck, and the Rang Kwien shipwreck in Thailand—all dated to the 13th century—attest to the existence of gongs by this period (Nicolas 2009).

Parallel to this is the appearance of the term *gong* in the Malay text *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, dated to the late 14th century or the early 15th century (Winstedt 1938:50–51; Braginsky 2004:179). Liaw (2013:245–47) provides a detailed historical and literary picture of this text. He agrees with Van Ronkel that the Malay text was directly derived from the Persian, and not from the Arabic language, which is evident in the two passages above where the term *gong* appears with musical instruments of the *nobat* ensemble. Furthermore, versions of the Amir Hamzah tale are known in Hindi, Bengali, Malay, and Javanese. The Javanese version itself, known commonly as Menak tales, is the source of Sundanese and Balinese versions. The various versions of the tale in many languages attest to the multiple sources of the narratives and for the musical imageries found in the Malay text.

There is an absence of illustrations of gongs, that is, flat gongs and bossed gongs (a gong with a central protrusion), in reliefs of temples dated to the 8th–9th and 10th centuries, particularly in the Prambanan and Borobudur temple complexes. During this period, only flat gongs were in use at the earliest time during the 10th century by Chinese communities along the coasts of western Sumatra, Singapore, the Malay Peninsula, western Borneo, western Philippines, and western Java (Nicolas 2009; 2016b:379). The Tang Dynasty annals (618–906 CE), recorded that the Buddhist ruler of Poli (identified either as Bali or Borneo,

82 Compare Robson's translation: 'On the morning, then, of the sixth day, *Bhatara Narapati* duly came into the presence with food, as well as the most eminent of the nobles: their pavilions and processional shrines filled the place, carried in row on row. The two Superintendents had as carriers ships, each depicting a scene from the ballads, And as big as real ships; gongs large and small resounded back and forth to escort them, deeply impressing the onlookers' (Robson 1995: 173).

see Goble 2016:6), rode his elephant-drawn state palanquin surrounded by vassals beating gongs, drums and blowing conch-shells (Groeneveldt 1876:84, quoted in Kunst 1968:65).

In this sense, also, Kunst (1968:59–70) is hesitant in assigning a firm dating for the reference to the term 'gong' (*goṅ)*[83] in the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa kakawin*: although the earliest core of that text dates to the 9th century (Acri 2010:476, fn. 3), its manuscripts date to a much later period in both Java and Bali.[84] Kunst (1968:67) further wondered that why such an important musical instrument as the gong had not been mentioned in Old Javanese literature more often.

These sets of data, therefore allow for the early dating of 'gong' to the 13th and 14th century, based on evidence from temple reliefs in East Java and Cambodia, the bossed gongs in three shipwrecks, and literary texts in Middle Javanese and Classical Malay literature. It is during this period that the gong had assumed its position as an important musical instrument, if not the most important musical instrument in the hierarchy of Javanese and Khmer musical ensembles.

Ships from maritime Southeast Asia, India and China have long been sailing through the straits and two of these, the 9th century Belitung shipwreck and the 10th century Intan shipwreck, were carrying bells, cymbals and ritual paraphernalia of *khakkara*s (ringed staff) and conch shells. This fact suggests the entry of a Tantric form of religious belief and ritual practice, mixing with Hinduism and Buddhism (Nicolas 2007). Chinese ships also carried ceramics and flat gongs, coming from China passing through the Philippines, Borneo and sailing straight to Java or Sumatra. Flat gongs were found on three sites: a shipwreck in Tanjung Simpang in the northwestern shore of Borneo, dated from the 10th century; another shipwreck in Pulau Buaya, Riau, Sumatra dated 12th century; and a temple site in Jambi, Sumatra with an inscription on the rim of the gong with a date 1231 CE (rendered in Chinese calendrical dates). All three came from China (Nicolas 2009).

The term *gong* appears in two earliest known Malay literary texts—the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* and the *Hikayat Raja Pasai.* The texts of these two works, including two others that contained the data for the 14th century in this study, *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah* and *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain*—are later recensions. If these gongs were from Thailand and Cambodia, the Malay term could have been *khong* rather than *gong*, although the term *mong* is also used for bossed gongs in Thailand, and Cambodia, but also in Java, Bali, Borneo and the Philippines.

The terms *gong* and *chanang* are mentioned in *Hikayat Raja Pasai*. The term *gong* in *Hikayat Raja Pasai* may mean a bossed gong, and not a flat gong, as the latter are generally called *gangsa*, derived from Sanskrit *kangsa*; also known as *panghat*: Isan, northeast Thailand; *gangsa, changsa, gangha*: highland northern Luzon; or *cing*: highland Vietnam; *luo, tongluo*: Chinese temples in the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia (Maceda 1998; Nicolas 1989, 2007, 2009, 2016a, forthcoming). The *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain*

83 Kunst (1968:65–70) discusses many terms from Old Javanese literature that may refer to many types of gongs, particularly *gong, brekuk, bungkuk, bheri, bhairi, bahari, reyong, kangsi, mongmong, gubar, barebet, mahasara, dengdengkuk, saragi.*

84 Indeed, the earliest Old Javanese manuscript date to the 14th century and stem from West Java (see Pigeaud 1967, I:143–45; 1970, III:67–69). De Casparis (1975:53) observed that such manuscripts survived because of their infrequent use or their unavailability to a wider audience such that copying was not necessary.

mentions the terms *mongmong* and *mongmongan*, which root word, *mong* is found in Java, Bali, Philippines, and in the mainland, in Thailand, Burma and Cambodia.

Table No. 13 (see Appendix) is a list of Malay literary texts where the term *gong* is mentioned. Only 27 prose texts mention it, whereas 43 prose texts do not. Likewise, only 10 texts in verses refer to the term *gong*, while 39 do not. However, while only 27 prose texts mention this term, the dating of these texts likewise span some 600 years of literary writing. It is found in the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* (1380s) up to *Hikayat Kerajaan Sikka* (1920s), through six centuries and even through almost every decade. The *Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang* (dated 1750s) has the highest number of references, totaling 53, as the story is based on the Javanese Pañji cycle. The text has a strong Javanese character, with some parts of direct speech in Javanese rather than Malay.[85]

*Musical terms shared with the Orang Asli*

The absence of the mention of bamboo and wooden musical instruments in the Classical Malay literary musical lexicon is striking. On the Thai-Malay peninsula today, the Orang Asli play several types of bamboo musical instruments: 1) bamboo pole wind pipes or aeolian bamboo pipes; 2) bamboo stick whirling device; 3) bamboo gong or bamboo drums; 4) bamboo stamping tubes; 5) bamboo buzzer; 6) bamboo clapper; 7) bamboo zithers (polychordal; three-stringed; two-stringed; monochord); 8) mouth harps; 9) flutes (ring flute, nose flute, transverse flute end-blown flute); 10) pairs of bamboo sticks; and 11) xylophones (Nicolas 1994:77–80), as documented in the early writings of British colonial administrators (Evans 1937; Blacking 1954–55; Nicolas, 2016a) and by contemporary studies (Nicolas 1994; Matusky and Tan 2005). Four of these are in common with those found among the Malays—*buloh perindu* (bamboo wind pipes), *bangsi* (bamboo flute), *ceracap* (pairs of bamboo sticks), and *baling-baling* (bamboo stick whirling device).

The *buloh perindu*,[86] or bamboo wind pipes made of tall bamboo poles with different shapes of holes on each of the upper internodes that sound off wooing sounds when the wind blows, are already documented in three early *hikayat* texts surveyed here—the *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain* <1600 (manuscript ca. 1830), the *Hikayat Inderaputera*, <1600 (manuscript 1700) and the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* ca. 1700 (manuscript 1849).

References to Orang Asli in Malay classical texts are quite significant.[87] The old generic term *Sakai* alone is referred about 101 times in 14 prose texts in all the seven centuries of Malay literary writing as shown in the list below; from the earliest text, the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* (dated <1380), to *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* (dated 1920s).

85 See http://mcp.anu.edu.au/N/Panji_bib.html (accessed 4/11/2016).

86 The *buloh perindu* is known in Bali as *sunari*, and are placed in the middle of a ricefield, where together with other sound devices like the *tlutak* (bamboo quill-tube percussion placed on an irrigation canal), *pinyekkan* (bamboo whirling device), create a soundscape, believed to sing as lullabies to the newly sprouted rice grains (Nicolas 2000, 2015). It is also called *sendaren* in modern Javanese, *sondari* in Sundanese and *sundari* in Old Javanese (Kunst 1968:26). In Old Javanese literature, *sundari* is mentioned in several texts starting from the 11th century, like in *Arjunawiwāha* (ca. 1040 CE), *Smaradahana* (ca. 1210), *Sutasoma* (1375) and others (Kunst 1968:95, 98, 100, 101, 103, 109, 114, 115). Kunst describes *sundari* as 'a piece of bamboo with holes of various shapes cut in its internodes… The wind striking the these holes produces pleasing sounds at different pitches…'

87 For a study of the history of the Orang Asli and the Malays, see Andaya 2002.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1380s | *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* | <1380 | 11 |
| 1530s | *Hikayat Seri Rama* | 15.. (ms. <1633) | 2 |
| 1570s | *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain* | <1600 (ms. ca. 1830) | 1 |
| 1600s | *Spraek ende Woord-Boek* | 1603 | 3 |
| 1650s | *Sejarah Melayu* | ca. 1612 (ms.1808) | 1 |
| 1660s | *Hikayat Banjar dan Kota Waringin* | 1663 (ms.1810) | 17 |
| 1700s | *Hikayat Hang Tuah* | ca. 1700 (ms.1849) | 28 |
| 1780s | *Misa Melayu* | ca. 1780 (ms.1836) | 2 |
| 1820s | *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* | ca. 1821 (edition 1898) | 3 |
| 1830s | *Pelayaran Abdullah ke Kelantan* | 1838 | 1 |
| 1840s | *Hikayat Abdullah bin `Abdul Kadir* | 1842, rev. 1849 | 2 |
| 1840s | *Hikayat Iblis* | 1846 | 1 |
| 1860s | *Salasilah Melayu dan Bugis* | 1865 | 1 |
| 1880s | *Hikayat Pahang* | 1883 (ms. 1883, 1932) | 1 |
| 1910s | *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* | 1783–1914 (ms. 1914) | 7 |

The current known linguistic term *Jakun,* a Malayic dialect spoken by the Orang Asli (Benjamin 2012:144), is mentioned extensively in four 19th century texts of the *Hikayat Abdullah*:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Hikayat Abdullah bin `Abdul Kadir* | 1842, rev. 1849 | 28 |
| *Pelayaran Abdullah ke Kelantan* | 1838 | 4 |
| *Ceretera-Cerita karangan Abdullah* | KA: 1843, HSA: 1851 | 1 |
| *Pelayaran Abdullah ke Mekah* | 1854 | 1 |

Furthermore, it is in *Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir* that a passage containing the names of other Orang Asli—*Banua, Jakun, Sakai, Udai, Akik, Ra'yat*:

> *Hikayat Abdullah* 353:8: *Maka kemudian daripada itu aku bertanya kepadanya: 'Ada berapakah bangsa atau jenisnya Jakun itu?' Maka jawabnya: 'Ada banyak jenis nama bangsa itu: pertama2 Banua, kedua Jakun, ketiga Sakai, keempat Udai, kelima Akik, keenam Ra`yat.'*
>
> Thus I then asked a question: 'How many groups of Jakun are there?' He answered 'there are many names for these groups: the first is Banua, the second Jakun, the third Sakai, the fourth Udai, the fifth Akik, the sixth Ra'yat'. (tr. Arsenio Nicolas)

In all these references however, it is only in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, where the *Sakai* is referred to in the context of war and music-playing:

> *Hikayat Hang Tuah* 14:27: *Setelah sudah segala orang besar-besar itu berbicara, maka mereka itu sekalian pun berlengkaplah dan mengerahkan Sakai berlengkap dendang dan lancang, tujuh buah dan berlengkap persembah. Setelah sudah lengkap semuanya, maka lalu belayarlah segala tuan-tuan itu dengan segala bunyi-bunyian...*

> After all the dignitaries have spoken, they all then made the proper preparations and directed the Sakai to prepare the long boats and war vessels, all seven and then performed the act of obeisance and allegiance (*berlengkap persembah*).[88] After all had been secured, all the dignitaries then sailed with all the musical instruments.... (tr. Arsenio Nicolas)

### Siam and Kamboja in Malay Classical Texts

Relations between Melayu and Siam (now Thailand) and Kamboja or Kemboja (now Cambodia) are extensively mentioned in the early Malay texts from the 15th to the 16th centuries. While there are hundreds of references to these terms in the following texts, only a few contain indirect or obscure musical data on the Malays, but none on Siam or Kamboja. The near absence of musical data pertaining to musical relations between Melayu and Siam and Kamboja is quite striking, and perhaps some of these might be found in other texts not mentioned in this study. Bossed gongs had been found in three shipwrecks in the area of the Gulf of Thailand: Rang Kwien (Thailand, 13th–14th century), Phu Quoc (Vietnam, 14th–15th century), and Sattahip (Thailand, 16th century). There are as well many shipwrecks along the eastern coasts of the Thai-Malay Peninsula, but none have yielded any musical instruments (Nicolas 2009). The early states, kingdoms and polities in this area—Kedah, Dvaravati, Sukhothai and Ayutthaya, Khmer—as well as those in Sumatra—Pasai, Kota Cina, Jambi and Srivijaya—were certainly engaged in trade relations, as well as in wars, and ships that sailed in the gulf transported musical ideas, musicians, dancers, and musical instruments. The earliest references to 'Siam' can be found in Cham and Khmer inscriptions dated from the 11th to the 13th centuries.[89]

Siam and Melayu are more directly connected in the *Pañji* stories, the *Menora* and *Makyong* trance rituals, and shadow puppet plays.The Javanese cycle of stories, *Pañji*, has circulated in many parts of Southeast Asia, including Malaysia and Thailand (Poerbatjaraka 1968; Saleh 1998; Robson 1992, 1996; Le Roux 1995; Puakson 2008; SEAMEO-SPAFA 2011, 2013). The contemporary forms of shadow puppet plays, the *Wayang Siam* and *Wayang Kelantan* are found in the northern state of Kelantan, west Malaysia and in Patani, southern Thailand. Both derive stories from the Indian epic *Rāmāyaṇa*, and are accompanied with a musical ensemble of gongs, drums, cymbals and a reed instrument (Sweeney 1972; Malm 1974; Matusky 1993; Wright 1980; Matusky and Tan 2012:3-23). 'Siam' as either the toponym or as a term referring to a person is mentioned in the series of texts tabulated below.

| **Title of prose texts** | **Number of References** | **Dating** |
|---|---|---|
| *Bo´ Sangaji Kai* | 5 | 1645–1898 (MS 1820–98) |
| *Carita Bangka* | 9 | 1861 (MS 1878) |
| *Cerita Patani dan Kelantan* | 4 | 1876 |
| *Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir* | 12 | 1842 rev. 1849 |

88 *Sĕmbah*, 'obeisance; gesture of worship or homage; speech accompanied by such a gesture; the word is used of allegiance to a feudal chief' (Wilkinson 1901:404).

89 Ferlus 2007:2. 'La plus ancienne attestation d'une forme de "Siam" serait dans une inscription chame du XIe (*syam* "un esclave Siam") mais la datation n'est pas sûre. On a de nombreuses attestations dans les inscriptions birmanes des XIIe-XIIIe (syam/syam "Chan") et d'autres dans les inscriptions khmères du XIIe (*syam kuk* "Siam à aigrette")'. See also Briggs (1949:62, 65).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Hikayat Aceh* | 1 | ~1625 (MS ~1675) |
| *Hikayat Banjar dan Kota Waringin* | 1 | 1663 (MS 1810) |
| *Hikayat Hang Tuah* | 30 | ~1700 (MS 1849) |
| *Hikayat Indera Nata* | 23 | ~1870 (MS <1874) |
| *Hikayat Inderaputera* | 1 | <1600 (MS 1700) |
| *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* | 53 | ~1821 (edition 1898) |
| *Hikayat Pahang* | 4 | 1883 (MS 1883, 1932) |
| *Hikayat Patani* | 80 | 1730 (MS 1839) |
| *Hikayat Raja Pasai* | 18 | ~1390 (MS 1815) |
| *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* | 100 | 1783-1914 (MS 1914) |
| *Hikayat Siak* | 6 | 1855 (MS 1893) |
| *Hikayat Syah Mardan* | 1 | ~1720 (MS~1871) |
| *Pelayaran Abdullah ke Kelantan* | 6 | 1838 |
| *Salasilah Melayu dan Bugis* | 4 | 1865 |
| *Sejarah Melayu* | 64 | ~1612 (MS 1808) |
| *Silsilah Perak* | 1 | ~1826 |
| *Tuhfat al-Nafis* | 60 | 1866 (MS 1890) |

One may note that as early as the 14th century, Melayu's relations with Siam appear to have been very much noted in the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*. There are more references to 'Siam' in later texts in the 17th century onwards, exemplified by the *Sejarah Melayu*, and *Hikayat Aceh*. Later texts with references to 'Siam' in the upper Malay states are *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* (in Kedah), *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* and *Pelayaran Abdullah ke Kelantan* (in Kelantan), and in the *Hikayat Patani* (in Patani, southern Thailand).

The same may be observed with regards to the relations between Melayu and Kamboja. In the following texts, the earliest references are in three early 17th century texts, *Hikayat Pandawa Lima* (?~1525), *Hikayat Inderaputera* (<1600 (MS 1700), and *Hikayat Aceh* (~1625 (MS ~1675).

'Kamboja'/'Kemboja' is mentioned in these texts:

| **Title of prose texts** | **Number of References** | **Dating** |
|---|---|---|
| *Carita Bangka* | 5 | 1861(MS 1878) |
| *Hikayat Aceh* | 1 | ~1625 (MS ~1675) |
| *Hikayat Hang Tuah* | 2 | ~1700 (MS 1849) |
| *Hikayat Hasanuddin* | 8 | ~1870 (MS ~1800) |
| *Hikayat Inderaputera* | 1 | <1600 (MS 1700) |
| *Hikayat Merpati Mas dan Merpati Perak* | 10 | >1883(MS 1887) |
| *Hikayat Negeri Johor* | 6 | ~1810 (MS 1849) |
| *Hikayat Pandawa Lima* | 3 | ? ~1525 |
| *Hikayat Siak* | 9 | 1855(MS1893) |
| *Mukhtasar Tawarikh al-Wusta* | 1 | 1854 |
| *Salasilah Melayu dan Bugis* | 32 | 1865 |
| *Tuhfat al-Nafis* | 53 | 1866 (MS 1890) |

## Concluding Remarks

This paper has surveyed the history of music of the Malays from the early 14th to the early 17th century, on the basis of the musical terms mentioned in Malay literary texts and their historical context within the literary world and the musical practices that are described in these texts. There is a lack of concrete evidence for music in the archaeological field and inscriptional Malay corpus. If all the extant texts of Malay literature were accurately dated, could the data mined from those sources serve as a means to determine the period in which musical terms entered the literary lexicon, and thus constitute the materials for reconstructing a history of music?

Classical literary works are a product of the court cultures, and Malay classical writing reflected the milieu of its time. The musical world that is portrayed in these texts can be deduced from these musical terms. Yet as this study suggests, there are several problems involved in the interpretation of these terms. How were the written texts created or recreated during the recitation and the listening, and the writing or copying? Could the audience have participated in the recitation itself, and were the spectators allowed to make comments during the course of the recitation or reading from the manuscript—be it an expression of wonder, surprise, anger or excitement and laughter? What transpires from the texts is a display of musical knowledge (of whatever depth and expertise) by the reciter, and then by the copyist. For instance, a reader or copyist might have previously heard new musical terms mentioned by the audience during the readings, and incorporated these into the text. A given dated text may have already been in existence for some time, and may have been subsequently copied and recopied so many times that certain aspects of the literary work in general, and of the musical data in particular, were changed. This scenario is apparent in the four texts of *Sejarah Melayu* and the two texts of *Hikayat Inderaputera* and *Hikayat Hang Tuah*. Until such time when all the texts will become available for further study, these significant aspects of musical history and imageries will remain tentative.

The presence of Sanskrit-derived musical terms in the earliest known Malay texts reflects a major change in the musical landscape in the Thai-Malay peninsula, following the coming of Hinduism and Buddhism beginning sometime in the first millennium CE. The use of Sanskrit musical terms in Malay classical literature beginning in the mid–14th century signaled a new music that may have also been derived either from direct contact with Indian traders or settlers in the Malay Peninsula, or with literary exchanges with Java and Thailand and Cambodia, where strong Indic literary traditions had flourished earlier. The establishment of the Malay Sultanates beginning in the centuries after the foundation of Malacca was always legitimised by the acquisition and performance of the royal ensemble, *nobat*. There are very early references to *nobat* in Malay classical literature beginning with the earliest known manuscript of *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*, where the terms *gong*, *kecapi,* and *bangsi* are also found. Thus, by the end of the 14th century, we find a heterogeneous music culture: witness the use of Sanskrit musical terms, the introduction of Persian instruments the *nobat* ensemble and *nafiri*, and the emerging Malay musical forms (Nicolas 1994:17–24).

Several musical terms are shared by the Javanese and Malay people, which connect Malay music traditions with the rest of the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic and cultural group—witness the Javanese terms *gong*, *gendang*, *bedaya,* and *joget*. While there seems to be some relations among these sets of musical terms, studies on music structures,

performance practices, and social settings are lacking. There is thus a gap between the historical data and the contemporary musical practices that are known today, which makes it difficult to map out paths of connections and musical exchanges among the various music communities that have inhabited the Thai-Malay peninsula—from the Orang Asli to the Malays, Indians and Chinese, and the more recent arrivals of the Javanese, the Bugis, the Minangkabau and other groups from around the region.

Over a period of time, there were significant musical changes in the musical life and musical styles in the Thai-Malay Peninsula that were related to the dynamic music cultures of Southeast Asia. The first significant change can be evidenced in the mention of musical events and phenomena in Malay texts that encompassed several music cultures in Southeast Asia—mainly from Java, Bugis, Riau-Lingga, Aceh, Banjar, and Makassar. Significantly, while the term *bali* as a place name occurs in some texts, no musical terms of Balinese origin are mentioned. This is also true for China, where term *cina* occurs, but there are no references to Chinese musical terms in Malay literary texts. The second change is the institution of the Malay *raja*, with the playing of the *nobat*, deriving its musical instruments from the Middle East and India (Raja Halid 2015, Chapter 2). The third is the reference to the term *gong* in early Malay literary texts, particularly *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* and *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*, both attributed to the 14th century.

The acquisition of the gong as a new bronze musical instrument by the Orang Asli from the Malays had been added to the repertoire to what was formerly an all-bamboo musical ensemble of stamping tubes. A similar phenomenon can be found in other musical cultures in Java, Bali and northern Luzon, where bronze musical instruments, upon their introduction, became more prominent and more important (Nicolas 1987, 1989). No evidence that bamboo musical instruments were ever played in court rituals and ceremonies has emerged so far; the consolidation of centralized political power was also contemporaneous with the appearance of gongs in inscriptions, which were issued by monarchs and kings, and in reliefs of temples, which were also built by the monarchs. The bossed gongs on the reliefs of Angkor Wat are illustrated in many war scenes conducted by monarchs. In East Java, during the Singhasari and Majapahit periods, the suspended bossed gongs represented on Panataran temple are inspired by the Old Javanese *kakawin Rāmāyaṇa*—one being played by a monkey and another by demons. On the *pendopo* of the same temple, two musicians play an archaic pair of small bossed gongs that are mounted on a connecting bar, each attached to outer ends and beaten with mallets by both hands of the player. The gong on the outer wall of Candi Kedaton in Trowulan is part of the narrative of the Old Javanese *kakawin Arjunawiwāha* (Kunst 1968; Nicolas 2007).

The fourth change is that many types of bamboo musical instruments—stamping tubes, quill tube percussions, buzzers, xylophone blades and others—are found in the upper mainland in Thailand, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam as well as in South China (Yuan and Mao, 1986), and also in northern Luzon, Borneo, Java, and Bali, but have left no traces among the Malays today or in the recent past. There seems to have been a major shift in ritual and cosmological paradigms when Malays converted to Islam. There is, however, the persistent practice of *main putri* today, where trance plays an important role in healing rites among the Malays in the northern regions. However, connections with similar trance rituals of the Orang Asli are unidentified. The Orang Asli live near the Kelantanese Malays, who in the past have shared with them ritual procedures and prayers (Nicolas 1994:63). Malay indigenous arts were performed in healing rituals, rites to honour

guardian ancestor spirits, and rites to ensure agricultural fertility and bountiful harvests or for prosperity (Ghulam-Sarawar Yousof 2004:64 quoted in Raja Halid 2015:77).[90]

Musical landscapes in the Thai-Malay Peninsula have sprung for several thousand years in the Upper part of the peninsula; first by the Orang Asli, whose music is based on bamboo and wood, then by the Mon-Khmer communities. They were followed by the Mon during the Iron Age, but little is known of the music of this group, as they have moved northwards to Thailand and Burma and would since then, assimilating and acquiring mainland music cultures. The settlement of the Mon-Khmer language speakers covered the northern edge of the Peninsula, including what is now Kedah and Kelantan, and as far south as Pahang and coastal Melaka, as suggested by Benjamin (1987:125).[91] However, this area was then taken over by the new Indian settlers, as suggested by Quaritch-Wales (1940) and subsequently by Jacq-Hergoualc'h (1992:39).[92] Earlier, Stargardt (1973) stated that Indian settlers were severely restricted in territorial extent. A future study on Mon-Khmer, Thai, Aslian, and Malay musics on Mainland Southeast Asia may unravel historical connections that would identify trends in musical changes and musical shifts in this area.

An intervening period with the appearance of bronze drums in Selangor on the central part of the peninsula linked the region to a larger Dongson music network, which extended to the north in what is now Nakhon si Thammarat in southern Thailand, where bronze drums were also found. These bronze drums are now housed at the Provincial Museum, together with stone lithophones (Nicolas 2009). However, the recent discovery of a bronze drum production site at Non Nong Hor, Mukdahan, Northeast Thailand, significantly changes the picture, as the 35 bronze drums found in Thailand had been associated with the spread from southern China and northern Vietnam (Boenoed 2016). Outside of Dongson and Yunnan, this production site brings to three together with the other two sites in Bali, Sembiran, and Manuaba, where on-site and local production had been confirmed (Bernet Kempers 1988:21, 409; Ardika 1991; Ardika and Bellwood 1991; Calo 2009:129ff.; Nicolas 2009, Bali field notes).

In the Lower Thai-Malay Peninsula, the musical landscape is much clearer than what may have transpired in the northern regions. Malay speakers settled just before the 14th century, bringing with them a sophisticated culture based on letters and literature—a legacy that was so vibrant and dynamic, as it is so now. The language network and spread of Malay was not, however, fully accompanied by the spread of musical instruments, nor by any paradigm shift in music. This is the case because communities adapted Malay

90 The latter also posits that the '*nobat* as a ritual performance can be seen in part as a continuation of this ancient practice'. See also Osman 1974.

91 Based on his study of Mon-Khmer languages in the area, Benjamin states: 'I am proposing that the population of the Isthmian parts of the Malay Peninsula changed from being Mon speakers to Malay speakers at some time around the 12th century AD, but that they remained Buddhists until several centuries later'. An earlier article by Benjamin (1985:269, note 12) has already proposed that the '...ancestors of some of the northern Melayu populations were probably speakers of the Mon language until eight or nine centuries ago'. See also Andaya 2001.

92 This is questioned by Nik Shuhaimi (2007:54) on archaeological ground: 'From the available archaeological and paleo-environmental data, archaeologists are able to establish the chronology of the prehistory and proto-history of Malaysia and confirm the view that there was no maritime migration during the Neolithic period. They have not found evidence to suggest that Indians established colonies during the protohistoric period'.

as a second language, and also because there were already indigenous music cultures in these islands. What Malay literature has contributed to is the inscription of musical phenomena in its literary history from the 14th century onwards to the early 20th century. This happened in much the same way as the early music of the Javanese, Khmer, Cham and Thai were first recorded in inscriptions beginning from 7th century CE throughout the early centuries of the Hindu-Buddhist period in Southeast Asia.

## Appendices

**Table 11**: Sanskirt Musical Terms in Malay Classical Texts Indexed from the Malay Concordance Project (MCP) Online Database

Number of Prose Texts with Sanskrit musical terms = 47 out of 70
Number of Verse texts with Sanskrit musical terms = 23 out of 49
Shaded parts indicate high usage of Sanskrit musical terms

| | | Total No. of Skt terms | Musical Instruments | | | | | | | | Vocal forms | | | | Music term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dating | Prose Texts | | *bangsi* | *genta* | *kecapi* | *madali* | *medali* | *medeli* | *mendeli* | *merangu* | *bidu* | *biduanda* | *seloka* | *lagu* | *ragam* | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1370s | Bayan Budiman | 4 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | 6 | 1 | | 1 |
| 1380s | Hikayat Amir Hamzah | 10 | 3 | 15 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 3 | | 5 |
| 1380s | Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 1390s | Hikayat Raja Pasai | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 1530s | Hikayat Pandawa Lima | 2 | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1530s | Hikayat Seri Rama | 4 | | 7 | | | 2 | 2 | | 2 | 2 | | | | | |
| 1550s | Hikayat Inderaputera | 7 | 1 | | 1 | | 2 | | | 1 | 10 | | 1 | | | 2 |
| 1600s | Hikayat Sang Boma | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1600s | Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1600s | Spraek ende Woord-Boek | 1 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1610s | Sejarah Melayu | 7 | | 1 | | | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| 1620s | Hikayat Aceh | 4 | 2 | 1 | 5 | | | | | | 1 | | | | | |
| 1620s | Cerita Kutai | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1650s | Hikayat Tanah Hitu | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1660s | Hikayat Banjar dan Kota Waringin | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1680s | Bab Takzir | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1700s | Hikayat Hang Tuah | 9 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 1 | | | 5 | 2 | | 1 | 1 | | |
| 1700s | Asal Bangsa Jin & Dewa-Dewa | 3 | 1 | | 3 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1720s | Hikayat Syah Mardan | 6 | 3 | | 3 | | 2 | | | 1 | | 6 | | | | 4 |
| 1730s | Hikayat Patani | 2 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 2 |
| 1750s | Hikayat Putera Jaya Pati | 4 | 1 | | 2 | | | | | | 3 | | 3 | | | |
| 1750s | Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang | 2 | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 1750s | Surat al-Anbiya' | 3 | | 4 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| 1780s | Misa Melayu | 7 | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | 2 | 4 | 2 | 6 | | 1 |
| 1760s | Bo´ Sangaji Kai | 2 | 3 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |

| Dating | Prose Texts | No. of Skt terms | Musical Instruments | | | | | | | | | Vocal forms | | | Music term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *bangsi* | *genta* | *kecapi* | *madali* | *medali* | *medeli* | *mendeli* | *merangu* | *bidu* | *biduanda* | *seloka* | *lagu* | | *ragam* |
| 1800s | Hikayat Raja Bikrama Sakti | 7 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 5 | | | | 11 | | 2 | | | | 3 |
| 1800s | Hikayat Ali Bad Syah | 4 | 2 | | 1 | | | | | 2 | | 3 | | | | |
| 1810s | Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala | 4 | 2 | 3 | | | | | | | | | 4 | 1 | | |
| 1820s | Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa | 2 | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1830s | Tambo Barus Hilir | 2 | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1830s | Pelayaran Abdullah ke Kelantan | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | | |
| 1840s | Hikayat Marakarma (Si Miskin) | 9 | 3 | | 1 | | 2 | | | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| 1840s | Hikayat Abdullah bin `Abdul Kadir | 4 | | 3 | | | | | | | | 4 | | 1 | | 3 |
| 1840s | Hikayat Maharaja Marakarma | 5 | | 4 | | | | | | | 1 | 2 | | 1 | | 2 |
| 1840s | Hikayat Iblis | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1850s | Hikayat Siak | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1860s | Hikayat Raja Damsyik | 2 | | 6 | | | | | | | | | 23 | | | |
| 1860s | Salasilah Melayu dan Bugis | 3 | | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 1860s | Tuhfat al-Nafis | 3 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | | | |
| 1870s | Kitab Suci | 5 | 9 | 2 | 1 | | | | | | 95 | | | | | 3 |
| 1880s | Hikayat Pahang | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| 1870s | Hikayat Indera Nata | 5 | | 1 | 2 | | | | | | 32 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| 1870s | Hikayat Nakhoda Asik | 5 | | | 13 | | | | | | 2 | | 2 | 1 | | 3 |
| 1880s | Hikayat Merpati Mas dan Merpati Perak | 4 | 1 | | 2 | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| 1890s | Hikayat Puras | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| 1900s | Cerita Jenaka | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| 1920s | Hikayat Kerajaan Sikka | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | 5 | | |

| Dating | Verse texts | | Musical Instruments | | | | | | | | | Vocal forms | | | | Music term |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *bangsi* | *genta* | *kecapi* | *madali* | *medali* | *medeli* | *mendeli* | *merangu* | *bidu* | *biduanda* | *seloka* | *lagu* | | *ragam* |
| 1750s | Syair Bidasari | 5 | | 1 | | | | | | | 3 | 12 | 3 | 1 | | |
| 1750s | Syair Hemop | 2 | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| 1800s | Syair Siti Zubaidah Perang Cina | 3 | | 5 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 1810s | Syair Sultan Maulana | 2 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1820s | Syair Sinyor Kosta | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | | | |
| 1830s | Syair Mekah Madinah | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1830s | Syair Tengku Perbu | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 1 | | |
| 1840s | Syair Engku Puteri | 1 | | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | | |
| 1840s | Syair Perang Johor | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | | | 1 |
| 1850s | Syair Kumbang Mengindera | 1 | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1850s | Syair Kumbang dan Melati | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| 1860s | Syair Nuri dengan Simbangan | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 8 | | | |
| 1860s | Syair Raja Damsyik | 5 | | 25 | 1 | | | | | | | | 67 | 2 | | 1 |
| 1860s | Syair Kiamat | 2 | | 6 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1860s | Syair Sultan Nur Peri | 2 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| 1860s | Syair Bunga Air Mawar | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| 1860s | Syair Awai | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| 1870s | Syair Perang Wangkang | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| 1870s | Syair Buah-Buahan | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | 4 | | |
| 1890s | Syair Seratus Siti | 4 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 2 | | | 1 | | |
| 1890s | Syair almarhum Sultan Abubakar | 2 | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| 1890s | Syair Raja Johor | 2 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| 1930s | Syair Tawarikh Zainal Abidin yang Ketiga | 4 | | 1 | | | | | | | 3 | | | 11 | | 3 |

**Table 12:** Nobat Musical Terms in Malay Classical Texts Indexed from the Malay Concordance Project (MCP) Database Online

Number of Prose Texts with Sanskrit musical terms = 46 out of 70
Number of Verse texts with Sanskrit musical terms = 15 out of 49
The number entries for *gong*, *gendang*, *gendering* are included as the contexts of their uses include *nobat* ensembles and others.

| Dating | Prose texts | *nobat* | *tabal* | *nafiri* | *serunai* | *nagara* | *negara* | *nenggara* | *gong* | *gendang* | *genderang* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1370s | *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* | | 2 | | | | | | | | |
| 1380s | *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* | | 2 | 6 | 4 | 2 | | | * | * | * |
| 1380s | *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* | | 5 | | | | | | | | |
| 1390s | *Hikayat Raja Pasai* | 2 | 2 | | 3 | | | | * | * | * |
| 1530s | *Hikayat Pandawa Lima* | | | | | | | | * | * | |
| 1530s | *Hikayat Seri Rama* | | | 2 | 2 | | | | | | * |
| 1550s | *Hikayat Inderaputera* | 1 | 1 | 6 | 1 | | | | * | * | * |
| 1600s | *Hikayat Sang Boma* | | | | 1 | | | | | | |
| 1600s | *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain* | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | |
| 1600s | *Spraek ende Woord-Boek* | | | 3 | 3 | | | | | | |
| 1600s | *Taj al-Salatin (Roorda)* | | | | | 1 | | | | | |
| 1610s | *Sejarah Melayu* | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | * | * | |
| 1620s | *Hikayat Aceh* | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | * |
| 1620s | *Cerita Kutai* | | | | | | | | * | * | |
| 1650s | *Hikayat Bakhtiar* | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1700s | *Hikayat Hang Tuah* | 1 | 7 | 5 | 6 | | 5 | | * | * | |
| 1700s | *Asal Bangsa Jin & Dewa-Dewa* | | | 3 | 1 | | | | * | * | * |
| 1710s | *Hikayat Sang Bima* | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 1720s | *Hikayat Syah Mardan* | | | | 1 | | | | * | * | |
| 1730s | *Hikayat Patani* | 14 | 11 | 9 | 2 | | 3 | | | | * |
| 1750s | *Hikayat Putera Jaya Pati* | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1750s | *Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang* | | | | 1 | | | | | | |
| 1750s | *Surat al-Anbiya'* | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | |
| 1780s | *Misa Melayu* | 1 | 6 | 13 | 8 | | 6 | | * | * | |
| 1760s | *Bo´ Sangaji Ki* | | | 3 | 2 | | | | * | * | |
| 1790s | *Hikayat Hasanuddin* | | | | | 1 | | | | | |
| 1800s | *Hikayat Raja Bikrama Sakti* | 1 | | 1 | | | 8 | | | | * |
| 1800s | *Hikayat Ali Bad Syah* | 2 | | 2 | | | 2 | | | | |
| 1810s | *Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala* | 2 | | 2 | | | | | | | |

| Dating | Prose texts | *nobat* | *tabal* | *nafiri* | *serunai* | *nagara* | *negara* | *nenggara* | *gong* | *gendang* | *genderang* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1810s | *Hikayat Negeri Johor* | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | | |
| 1820s | *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* | | | 1 | | | | | | | * |
| 1820s | *Silsilah Perak* | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 1830s | *Tambo Barus Hilir* | 3 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1840s | *Hikayat Marakarma (Si Miskin)* | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | |
| 1850s | *Hikayat Siak* | 1 | 1 | 2 | | 1 | | | | | |
| 1850s | *Mukhtasar Tawarikh al-Wusta* | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 1860s | *Salasilah Melayu dan Bugis* | 2 | 3 | 1 | | | | 1 | | | |
| 1860s | *Tuhfat al-Nafis* | 2 | 14 | 1 | | | | | * | * | |
| 1860s | *Asal Keturunan Raja Barus* | 6 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1870s | *Kitab SucI* | 3 | | 20 | | | | | | | |
| 1880s | *Hikayat Pahang* | | 2 | | | | | | * | * | |
| 1880s | *Hikayat Merpati Mas dan Merpati Perak* | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 1900s | *Cerita Jenaka* | | 2 | | | | | | | | |
| 1910s | *Hikayat Johor serta Pahang* | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 1920s | *Hikayat Kerajaan Sikka* | 4 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1750s | *Syair Bidasari* | 1 | | 4 | 4 | | | | | | * |
| 1750s | *Syair Ken Tambuhan* | 5 | | 3 | 1 | | | | | | |
| 1800s | *Syair Siti Zubaidah Perang Cina* | 1 | 1 | 11 | 8 | | | | | | |
| 1810s | *Syair Sultan Fansuri* | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | |
| 1820s | *Syair Sinyor Kosta* | | | | 1 | | | | | | |
| 1830s | *Syair Kerajaan Bima* | | | 1 | 2 | | | | | | |
| 1840s | *Syair Engku Puteri* | | | | | | 2 | | | | |
| 1840s | *Syair Perang Johor* | | | 4 | 3 | | | | | | |
| 1850s | *Syair Kumbang Mengindera* | | | | 2 | | | | | | |
| 1860s | *Syair Nuri dengan Simbangan* | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1860s | *Syair Raja Damsyik* | 22 | 3 | 16 | 5 | | | | | | |
| 1860s | *Syair Awai* | | | | 1 | | | | | | |
| 1890s | *Syair Seratus Siti* | 1 | 2 | 8 | 6 | | 2 | | | | |
| 1890s | *Syair almarhum Sultan Abubakar* | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 1890s | *Syair Raja Johor* | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | |
| 1930s | *Syair Tawarikh Zainal Abidin yang Ketiga* | 26 | 2 | 13 | | | | | | | |

**Table 13:** References to '*gong*' in Malay Classical Texts
- 27 prose texts refer to the term '*gong*'; 43 prose texts do not.
- 10 verse texts refer to the term '*gong*'; 39 verse texts do not.

| PROSE TEXTS | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1380s | *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* | 2 |
| 1390s | *Hikayat Raja Pasai* | 1 |
| 1520s | *Hikayat Pandawa Lima* | 1 |
| 1550s | *Hikayat Inderaputera* | 7 |
| 1620s | *Cerita Kutai* | 29 |
| 1650s | *Hikayat Bakhtiar* | 5 |
| 1650s | *Sejarah Melayu* | 4 |
| 1660s | *Hikayat Banjar dan Kota Waringin* | 10 |
| 1700s | *Hikayat Hang Tuah* | 5 |
| 1700s | *Asal Bangsa Jin & Dewa-Dewa* | 4 |
| 1720s | *Hikayat Syah Mardan* | 15 |
| 1750s | *Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang* | 53 |
| 1760s | *Bo' Sangaji Kai* | 7 |
| 1780s | *Misa Melayu* | 10 |
| 1790s | *Bo' Sangaji Kai* | 9 |
| 1800s | *Bo' Sangaji Kai* | 1 |
| 1800s | *Hikayat Raja Bikrama Sakti* | 9 |
| 1810s | *Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala* | 1 |
| 1820s | *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* | 2 |
| 1840s | *Bo' Sangaji Kai* | 8 |
| 1840s | *Hikayat Maharaja Marakarma* | 6 |
| 1840s | *Hikayat Marakarma (Si Miskin)* | 5 |
| 1840s | *Hikayat Abdullah bin `Abdul Kadir* | 1 |
| 1850s | *Bo' Sangaji Kai* | 5 |
| 1850s | *Hikayat Siak* | 1 |
| 1860s | *Bo' Sangaji Kai* | 1 |
| 1860s | *Salasilah Melayu dan Bugis* | 2 |
| 1860s | *Tuhfat al-Nafis* | 3 |
| 1880s | *Hikayat Pahang* | 11 |
| 1910s | *Hikayat Seri Kelantan* | 1 |
| 1930s | *Kitab Suci* | 1 |
| 1950s | *Hikayat Kerajaan Sikka* | 4 |

| VERSE TEXTS | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1750s | *Syair Bidasari* | 4 |
| 1810s | *Syair Sultan Maulana* | 6 |
| 1820s | *Syair Siti Zubaidah Perang Cina* | 1 |
| 1830s | *Syair Kerajaan Bima* | 3 |
| 1840s | *Syair Perang Johor* | 5 |
| 1860s | *Syair Kiamat* | 2 |
| 1890s | *Syair Raja Johor* | 4 |
| 1890s | *Syair Seratus Siti* | 9 |
| 1930s | *Syair Tawarikh Zainal Abidin yang Ketiga* | 6 |

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