

CHAPTER IX.

POLITICAL ORGANISATION IN NEGRI SEMBILAN.

The federation of *luha'* called "Negri Sembilan" has undergone many vicissitudes in the course of its history. Klang, the senior *luha'* of the original *Suku Jang Empat*, from which present-day Negri Sembilan originated, is nowadays a district of Selangor¹; and Segamat, Naning, and Djelai, in the 16th century component *luha'* of Negri Sembilan, are now parts of Djohor, Malaka, and Pahang respectively. Not only do the *luha'* vary in the different periods of Negri Sembilan history, but there is also the fact that we can hardly find two writers on the subject who agree with each other as to which districts make up Negri Sembilan as a whole. Winstedt and Nathan preface their own enumeration with the lists drawn up by Newbold, Lister, Wilkinson, and Parr & Mackray². The lack of agreement is quite considerable, but all the authors have one thing in common: they have all carefully listed nine *luha'*, no more, no less. In doing so they have, I am afraid, been rather too prone to take the literal meaning of the name "Negri Sembilan", the "Nine States", at its face value and to make the facts fit the name. Actually at the installation of the Jangdipertuan in 1898 there were present representatives of the following districts: Sungai Udjong, Djelebu, Djohol, Rembau, Tampin, Muar, Teratji, Djempol, Gunung Pasir, Inas, Gementjeh, and Linggi³, making twelve in all; if we include the Ruler's own district, Sri Menanti*, the result is a federation of Thirteen. The same *luha'*, with the exception of Tampin, participated

* The translation of "Sri Menanti" as the place where the first immigrants found "Rice awaiting" them is first given by Lister⁴, and has been accepted by many later writers⁵. I do not know whether it is popular etymology or an invention by Lister himself, but as an interpretation of the name it is absurd. Sri Manganti, the "Illustrious Waiting" is the name of a gate and a courtyard in the Javanese principalities⁶. In Negri Sembilan the name has been extended to the palace and even to the district as a whole, showing a development rather similar to that of the expression "The Sublime Porte".

in the ceremony of 1934⁷. Nor is it only in modern times that the traditional name of the State does not agree with its actual constitution, for when, after a period of dissolution, in 1889 Rembau, Djohol, and Sri Menanti formed a federation, they called it Negri Sembilan, tradition being held in greater honour than mathematical exactness. Nevertheless a study of present-day practice reveals a strong tendency to bring into prominence just nine *luha'* out of the greater number now making up the Federation. An answer to the question: how and why is this done, will prove of the greatest importance for an understanding of the ideal pattern underlying the political organisation.

When a new Jangdipertuan Besar has to be designated, four Lembagas of Muar set out to invite the Undangs of Negri Sembilan to be present at the ceremony. (Muar is the *luha'* within which Sri Menanti forms an *enclave*). Four of the Undang, viz. of Sungai Ujong, Djelebu, Djohol, and Rembau, are Electors, and to each Elector one of the Lembagas of Muar is sent as emissary. The envoy to Sungai Ujong is accompanied by a Lembaga of Teratji,
to Djelebu, by a Lembaga of Djempol,
to Rembau, by a Lembaga of Gunung Pasir,
to Djohol, by a Lembaga of Djohol⁸.

When the four electors converge on Sri Menanti for the installation ceremony, they each make their residence in one of the *luha' en route*, and the result is again a pairing-off of *luha'* according to the same principle as applied when the invitations were conveyed to the four main Undang, as the Undang of Djelebu makes his halt at Djempol, etc. — the Undang of Djohol's stopping-place is Muar⁹. The four great districts are said, in Negri Sembilan parlance, each to have one district as their *serambi*, their "verandah". (Muar's position as *serambi* to Djohol explains the apparent anomaly in the composition of the delegation bearing the invitation to Djohol. Formerly — in 1887 at any rate — Djohol exercised supremacy over Muar)¹⁰.

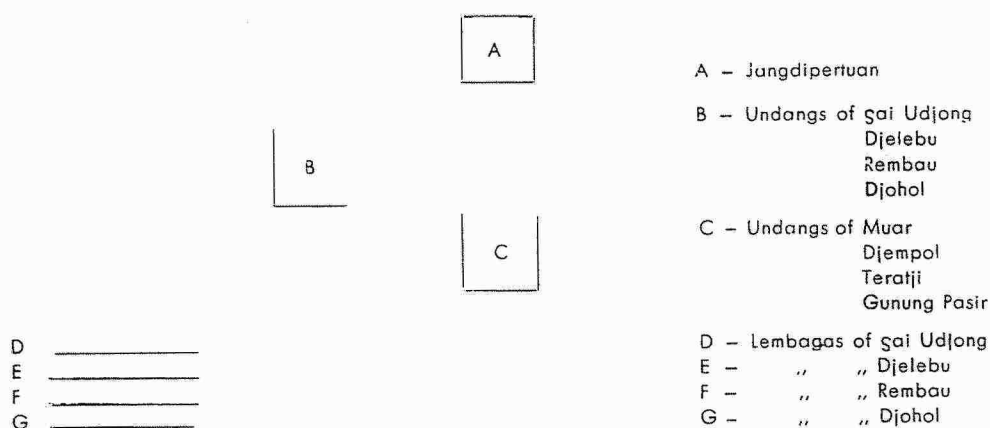
Once a Jangdipertuan has been appointed, the ceremony of his installation takes place, and in the ceremonial hall the seating arrangements for the Undangs is as follows¹¹: (see diagram on next page).

Taking all these data together, we may conclude that out of the thirteen districts making up the "Nine States", nine are indeed specially important, and these nine may be divided into three groups, thus:

1. Sri Menanti, the focus and centre of all the activities;

2. An inner circle of four *luha'* : Muar, Teratji, Djempol, Gunung Pasir ;
3. An outer circle of four : Sungai Udjong, Djelebu, Rembau, Djohol.

This ceremonial grouping roughly corresponds to the actual geographical position of the *luha'*, the "inner circle" clustering round Sri Menanti, and the four large districts of Sungai Udjong, Djelebu, Rembau, and Djohol lying further out in the west, north, south, and east respectively (see map 5).



In dealing with Minangkabau we mentioned the *pasupadan* complex, a group of five landowners, consisting of one in the centre and four round about ¹². We then noted the resemblance to the Javanese *mantjapat*-complex, which Van Oss enbruggen has explained as a self-contained conglomeration of four villages round a fifth, central, village, the latter representing the totality of the complex as a whole. Now in our opinion a very similar idea underlies the organisation of the Negri Sembilan federation, with the only difference that round the centre, Sri Menanti, there are grouped not four, but twice four territorial units *. Here also the centre represents the totality, that is to

* Such an 8—9 instead of the 4—5 grouping is not unique: a Javanese king, intending to unify his whole realm by subjecting a rebellious vassal, had the principle of unification embodied in a weapon which he ordered to be forged out of iron taken from eight points of the compass and a ninth place in the centre. This totality-weapon was the kris sembilan dèsa, the "Dagger of the Nine Villages" or "Nine Directions". Even more striking is the sitting in state, in the Javanese Principalities, of the Ruler surrounded by four, or concentric circles of each four, officials. The 8—9 grouping (the Ruler in the centre, and twice four officials round him) is then called *mantja-lima* ¹³.

say that the royal district Sri Menanti, and more especially its ruler, the Jangdipertuan Besar, is the representative of the unity of Negri Sembilan as a whole, and as it were embodies the whole State. In Minangkabau, as we have seen, the Jangdipatuan's rôle was of the same nature, and was expressed by, among other things, the way in which he was said to combine both phratries: *luha'* Agam was said to be Bodi-Tjaniago, L Koto was Koto-Piliang, but the Jangdipatuans' own *luha'*, Tanah Data, was "mixed", i. e. contained both. Now in Negri Sembilan the phratry-opposition is so slight as to be almost non-existent, but here too the royal *luha'*, Sri Menanti, is seen as the one that gathers together the distinct elements of each separate district: Negri Sembilan as a whole has twelve *suku*, of which four traditionally occur in varying combinations in each single *luha'*; but in Sri Menanti all twelve *suku* are met with ¹⁴. Although the actual facts do not always tally with the traditional formula (several *luha'* having more than four *suku*), the ideal pattern is obvious; Sri Menanti comprises the entire society, of which each district only contains a part, and therefore represents the entire Negri Sembilan "World" ¹⁵.

We saw that in Minangkabau the contrast between the patrilineal organisation of the royal house and the matriliney of the populace is also explicable point of view which sees the Ruler as the focus of his realm, and his position as a husband of his country. The rules to which a Negri Sembilan Jangdipertuan is subject show a very similar line of thought. He always has to marry a woman who is not of royal descent, but is one of his, matrilineally organised, subjects. According to the legend, in the days when a new Jangdipertuan was always sent over from Minangkabau, a certain continuity in the succession was nevertheless preserved by the rule that the newcomer was to marry his predecessor's daughter; this lady's title was Tengku Puan. Although nowadays this rule is not accepted as obligatory, the royal consort — who is still styled Tengku Puan or Ampuan — should "according to some authorities" always be a member of the Air Kaki *perut* of the *suku* Batu Hampar, this *perut* being in theory, the descendants of Maléwar's (the first Jangdipertuan's) wife ¹⁶. Even today an installation of a new Jangdipertuan would, in Sheehan's words, not be considered complete if the ruler-to-be were to lack an official consort ¹⁷; that is to say, a Ruler is not fully suited for his tasks unless he is united with a representative of his subjects, thus perpetuating

the union of the first Jangdipertuan, Radja Maléwar, with a woman of Negri Sembilan.

A concomitant of the obligatory marriage rule was the point of view, held as recently as 1914, that a member of the ruling house is only eligible to the post of Jangdipertuan if his mother is by birth a member of the *perut* Air Kaki¹⁸. Whether this regular connubial relationship between Air Kaki and the dynasty is still maintained nowadays is not clear from the most recent description of an installation ceremony, that of the Jangdipertuan Abdulrahman in 1933. We are told that a Tengku Ampuan was "chosen", but not from among whom and according to what principles. Probably the meaning is that from among the four wives a Jangdipertuan may legitimately have according to both *shar'* and *adat*¹⁹ the one who was matrilineally a member of the Air Kaki was designated as official consort; but all we are told about this Tengku Ampuan's descent is, that she is her husband's *fa-br-da*²⁰, and no information is supplied as to her matrilineal descent. All we can say is that there is no reason to suppose that the Air Kaki connection has been severed, and that to the contrary all evidence points to the fact that in 1936, when Tengku Abdul Aziz wrote his article on the *Adat Kuala Pilah*, the Air Kaki was at least intimately connected with the Jangdipertuan dynasty. The Air Kaki, for instance, always supply two out of the four highest court officials, the *Orang Empat Astana*²¹. Also it is clear from the whole article that the Air Kaki is not considered to be on a par with other Sri Menanti *perut*, but has, so to speak, a foot on either side, the two sides being the Rulers and the *suku*. The author even discusses at some length the consequences of a marriage between a member of the Air Kaki and of an "ordinary" *perut*. The result is — and this indicates that Air Kaki is only a privileged group among the *suku*, and not an offshoot of the dynasty itself — that matriliney always prevails; whether an Air Kaki woman marries a man who is a "commoner", or *vice versa*, the husband is seconded to his wife's *suku*, and the wife retains her control of the *tanah pesaka*²². This rule also holds good when one of the *Orang IV Astana* marries a wife from the *suku*-folk. As Abdul Aziz expresses it: the children of such a marriage follow their mother's *adat*. The situation is different, however, when a male member of the ruling house marries a non-royal woman; in this case the wife joins the patrilineal family of her husband, and the offspring will also be considered members of their father's lineage. In spite of this the court

circle claim for the issue of such a "mixed marriage" the right to their mother's *tanah pesaka*. The Lembaga of the mother's clans of course vigorously combat this point of view²³. Court and commoners also disagree on the position of another group of court dignitaries, the "Ninety-nine officials", *Pegawai jang sembilan puluh sembilan*. These functionaries consider themselves *ex officio* excluded from the authority of any Lembaga. The latter, on the other hand, contend that even a court *Pegawai* is subjected to the rule: *Orang semenda pada tempat semenda*: "a bridegroom has to defer to his in-laws", and thus comes under the jurisdiction of the Lembaga of his wife's clan²⁴. The Jangdipertuan actually has two functions: he is Undang of his own *luha'* Sri Menanti, and chief of the Negri Sembilan federation. In his status as Undang he automatically succeeds his father, but as Jangdipertuan Besar he is, theoretically at least, elected²⁵. The electors are the Undangs of the four greatest districts, Sungai Ujong, Djelebu, Djohol and Rembau, but already in 1914 Wilkinson wrote: "Nowadays the choice of a Yamtuan is a foregone conclusion; his election is a mere form"²⁶. When, in 1934, the old Jangdipertuan died, his son, Tuanku Abdulrahman, appears to have automatically succeeded him, but during the installation ceremony the Datu' Klana of Sungai Ujong, acting as spokesman for the four Elector *Penghulu*, spoke: "..... This day we have installed Tuanku Abdulrahman, son of the late Jangdipertuan Besar Muhammad Shah, on the Lion Throne of the Kingdom of Negri Sembilan"²⁷.

Lister mentions a quite different group of Undang who act as electors: "In dealing with the election of the Yam Tuan Besar of Sri Menanti, it is now only necessary that the Dato's of Johól, Muar, Jempol, Teráchi and Gúnong Pásir should be *d'accord*"²⁸. Even if this was correct in 1887, it no longer holds good for the present day.

The installation of the Jangdipertuan consists of two main ceremonies: the *bersiram* and the *tabal*. For the *bersiram*, the Ruler-elect and his consort drive to a raised seat, the name of which, *pantjapresada*, shows that in its original, Indian, form it consisted of five superimposed platforms — nowadays the number is greater, as appears from a photograph of the 1934 ceremony²⁹. *Bersiram* means "bathing" or "lustration", and implies that the participant is actually sprinkled with holy water and/or rice-flour. In the ritual described by Sheehan, however, a bowl containing "powder and lime" were carried round the dais seven times by court officials, the Jangdipertuan and the

Tengku Ampuan afterwards only dipping their hands into it four times.

The *tabal* is the installation proper; here the Undang proclaim the new Ruler elected, and Undang and Lembaga ascend the seven steps of the *singgasana*, the "Lion Throne", to make obeisance to the now duly installed Jangdipertuan. The ceremony closes with the burning of incense and the reading of a prayer to Allah*. According to Wilkinson this is really the crux of the ceremony, as this prayer confers the royal *mana*, the *daulat*³⁰.

Once in office, the Jangdipertuan is by no means a despot. Parr & Mackray quote the Rembau saying: "Now the raja is not the owner of the land, nor can he raise a war levy, but justice is with him, and to him is due for his sustenance a tribute of money, a measure of rice, and a cluster of coconuts"³¹. The Jangdipertuan was the final court of appeal, and theoretically he could deal with crimes punishable by beheading³². Altogether his actual political power was, and is, slight, but his importance, like that of the Radjo Alam of Minangkabau, lay in his supernatural powers. The prerogatives of the Ruler included the sole use of many forms of attire and ornament and of certain architectural features in his dwelling. The Jangdipertuan alone could have a cannon fired to mark the end of the Ramadan fasts; he alone had the right to sound the drum (*taboh*) to summon people for his own purposes³³. All these *pantang-larang*, although perhaps trivial in themselves, combined with the detailed court etiquette, the veneration in which the regalia are held, etc., are indications of a certain awe towards the Ruler and his *daulat*.

At certain festivals, such as a marriage or a circumcision in the ruling family, the Jangdipertuan had a right to claim tribute (*mas manah*), and also at cock-fights — in itself an indication that the cock-fight was not just a simple amusement, but an *adat* ceremony on par with circumcision and marriage. His perquisites were also all weird freaks and rarities, which are considered to be exceptionally well endowed with supernatural power: bezoar stones, freak buffaloes, and also, as in Minangkabau, illegitimate children³⁴. Winstedt apparently considers the saying that "the high-road and its stepping-stones" also belongs to the Ruler a cynical joke³⁵, but here again the idea probably is that objects which cannot find a place in the ordinary

* Sheehan calls it Arabic (p. 240), but the text as he gives it is Malay only (241).

categories of everyday life are the Jangdipertuan's, and there is no reason to assume the saying to be meant as a joke (after all, in English too one speaks of the "King's Highway").

It is Winstedt's great merit to have pointed out that in discussing the position of the Jangdipertuan one should not confine oneself to stressing "the real weakness and poverty of this high titular magnate", but should always take his supernatural powers into account. If one fails to do so, numerous features of Negri Sembilan custom will be insufficiently understood.

At the installation ceremony, for example, the Jangdipertuan must sit absolutely motionless; this has been explained by reference to the Indian belief that the ability to sit still for hours was considered "to be a sign of the commencing divinity of a king" ³⁶.

More important is the presence of a Méru within the precincts of the Jangdipertuan's estate. A replica of Meru, the Hindu Olympus, is often a feature of the palace grounds or the royal temples in those parts of South-East Asia which have undergone Indian influence *. A common way of reproducing the divine mountain is by a building with a roof in superimposed tiers ³⁸. Through this local Meru the divinity enters into contact with humanity, and in the first place with "The deputy elected by the Lord", the King ³⁹. Now the Jangdipertuan Besar too had his Meru; in the first place, behind the palace at Sri Menanti a hill is dedicated to the god Indra ⁴⁰, but also within the palace grounds itself a Meru played a part in the installation ceremony. In Pérak, where the palace is the Meru, the Sultan who is being installed performs a *pradakshina* round it, a clockwise circumambulation ⁴¹; with this ritual, he symbolically "takes possession of his kingdom in little" ⁴².

In Negri Sembilan the custom is slightly different; the Jangdipertuan sits enthroned on the raised dais, the *pantjapresada*, while the *Orang IV Astana* perform a circumambulation round him (see p. 156); so here the Jangdipertuan is already acknowledged as Lord of the Meru, and is venerated accordingly.

In Indian cosmology, the Meru is also the centre and pivot of the universe: it stands in the middle of the human world, *Jambudwîpa*, and round it are grouped the cities of the eight *lokapâla* (the "Pro-

* But not only in the area where Indian influence has penetrated: the sacred mountain appears to have been a pre-Hindu concept also ³⁷.

tectors of the World") and the four points of the compass⁴³. The preoccupation of Indian cosmology and astrology the number 4 and its multiples is also found in Indonesia, and so it is no wonder that the regalia of the Jangdipertuan come in groups of eight: 8 spears of state, 8 tapers, 8 umbrellas, etc.⁴⁴. Salutes numbered 8, 16, and 32⁴⁵, and the principal members of the dynasty and the court were the *Putra jang Empat* and the *Orang Empat Astana*, the "Four Princes" and the "Four Gentlemen of the Palace"⁴⁶. It is even likely that the idea of Negri Sembilan as a State of *nine* districts arises from the same classifying tendency, which has its roots in cosmological theory: eight districts symmetrically grouped round the Ruler who, as Lord of the Meru, is the fixed point and centre of the *Alam*.

We may note here that as the Meru is the centre round which the heavenly bodies revolve, it is also the symbol of an ordered universe, and of an orderly and cultured human society, as contrasted with chaos and barbarism. When a Javanese myth tells of the transportation of Meru from India to Java, this has been interpreted as meaning that an ordered society was founded in a previously barbaric country⁴⁷. Now in Minangkabau legend Sapurba, who was to be the first King of Minangkabau, appears on earth on the hill Siguntang Mahaméru; so here too a bringer of culture, who slays the dragon Si Katimono and institutes monarchical government, is associated with a Meru.

In some Peninsular States the supernatural character of the Ruler becomes manifest not only through his position as centre of the world, but also in a more active manner through the actual participation of the Ruler or other members of his family in ritual practices. Sultan Jusuf of Pérak "was placed shrouded on the wizard's mat with the wizard's grass-switch in his hand to await, as at an ordinary *séance* the shaman alone awaits, the advent of the spirits invoked"⁴⁸. Also in Pérak there was the hereditary post of State Magician; the occupant, who bore the title Sultan Muda (Junior Sultan), was a member of the princely dynasty, but could never inherit the Sultanate. His task was to mediate with and to propitiate the *djin keradjaan*, the Genii of Royalty⁴⁹.

In Negri Sembilan the connection between Ruler and Magician (*pawang*) is not quite as evident as in Pérak, but even so Winstedt is probably justified in pointing out the significance of the fact that the Jangdipertuan's insignia include a ring and a hair, objects used for divinatory purposes in many societies, not only among "Karens and

Malays" ⁵⁰. If in the course of this chapter we have come to the conclusion that the function of the Jangdipertuan is largely of a sacred or ritual nature, there is one question that should not be left unanswered, namely : With what supernatural powers is he associated ? If we are not mistaken, a description of the archaic Indonesian religious system should take into account the difference between the heavenly and the earthly or subterranean powers. In our opinion the *pawang* has to deal, perhaps not exclusively, but mostly, with the typically chthonic powers, who grant wisdom and fertility. Among the possessions of the Batak magician were books containing ritual formulae and symbols, and the wooden covers of these "*pustaka*" bear as most characteristic decoration relief-carvings of snakes or lizards ⁵¹, creatures that live mysteriously close to or under the earth. Or, to take an example from an area nearer Negri Sembilan : an inhabitant of Kelantan (on the north-east coast of the Malay Peninsula) who wishes to acquire a magician's powers sits on the grave of a murdered man, making believe the grave is a boat, and using the midribs of the leaves of a coconut palm as paddles. He then calls upon the murdered man to grant magical powers ⁵². The chthonic character of this ritual is evident, both in the use made of the grave and in the symbolic paddling of the canoe on the sea ; the sea is intimately connected with the underworld and the powers therein.

On the other hand the Ruler appears to be associated with the upper-world or heaven. In the first place this is indicated by the fact that he dwells on the Meru, the mountain which forms the *trait d'union* between heaven and earth ; but it also appear from the fact that it is the Ruler who is *par excellence* entitled to use the umbrella as his emblem. Now according to Mlle. A u b o y e r the umbrella is, in India, essentially a symbol of the world as a whole, and the meaning of the umbrella as an emblem of royalty is that the entire world shelters beneath the power of the Universal Ruler, the *cakrawartin* ⁵³. Possibly it is, at the same time or in a different cultural context, a symbol of the dome of heaven that spans the whole world. W i n s t e d t quotes a Selangor account of the creation of the universe: "..... The Creator made the magician's universe, a world of the breadth of a tray, a sky of the breadth of an umbrella" ⁵⁴. Here we find the *pajong* (umbrella) contrasted with another object as heaven to earth or underworld. In Java, where quite a hierarchy of umbrellas of different sizes and colours has been evolved among the courtiers, the regents, and the

Muslim religious officials, such umbrellas may be set out in racks; our photograph shows such a rack with the umbrellas standing on a base in the shape of two entwined *naga*, or serpents. The *naga* is undoubtedly an underworld creature, and this umbrella-rack, with its *pajong* resting on a *naga*, may surely be said to depict the upper-world or heavens standing on the nether-world below. For Indonesia at least one does get the impression that the *pajong* is probably a symbol of the heavens, or at any rate of the upper-world aspect of the earth, as contrasted with the nether regions. Now the Ruler is the dignitary who is *par excellence* entitled to the use of this sky or upper-world symbol: no regalia are complete without one or more State Umbrellas (Negri Sembilan has eight, according to Wilkinson⁵⁵; 16, according to Winstedt⁵⁶); when other *pajong*-bearing officials approach the Ruler they have to close their umbrella, and so forth. So we think that, in spite of the undoubted resemblance between the rôle of the *pawang* and of the Ruler in so far as both have supernatural powers and have certain ritual functions in the community, there is this essential difference, that the Ruler deals with the powers above, the *pawang* with those below. The *pawang* is associated with chthonic symbols, the Ruler with a celestial one; and it may be that the use of an umbrella by a *pawang* is, in principle, forbidden. In this connection it is interesting to note the remarks made by W. W. Skeat in his "Malay Magic". After quoting Blagden's account of the *pawang*'s activities, he says: "..... the priestly magician stands in certain respects on the same footing as the divine man or king — that is to say, he owns certain insignia which are exactly analogous to the regalia of the latter, and are, as Mr. Blagden points out, called by the same name (*kabesaran*). He shares, moreover, with the king the right to make use of cloth dyed with the royal colour (yellow), and, like the king, too, possesses the right to enforce the use of certain ceremonial words and phrases, in which respect, indeed, his list is longer, if anything, than that of royalty"⁵⁷. It may be significant that there is no mention of the umbrella forming part of the magician's insignia.

Although we could only deal briefly and rather superficially with the position of the Ruler, it seemed preferable to make at least some attempt at a closer definition, rather than to characterize it as "supernatural" or "sacred", and leave it at that.

Finally we would like to draw attention to the fact that, in all

the texts dealing with Negri Sembilan, we have nowhere found a reference to the Mangkudum, that member of the Basa IV Balai in Minangkabau whose "*rantau*" the Negri Sembilan were considered to be. We are therefore left in the dark as to what dealings Minangkabau really had with Negri Sembilan. Generally when some territory is said to pertain to a high dignitary, it means that he had the right to levy taxes there, or to draw income from it in other ways. It is possible that the Mangkudum held such "concessions" in Negri Sembilan; but in practice his influence cannot have amounted to very much. Even in the years 1773—1832, when the Jangdipertuans of Sri Menanti were invited or sent over from Minangkabau, the Negri Sembilan were probably well-nigh independent of the Sumatran motherland.

Chapter references.

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| ¹ Lister (1), 35. | ²⁶ Wilkinson (10), 39. |
| ² Winstedt & Nathan, 1. | ²⁷ Sheehan, 237. |
| ³ Birch, 20. | ²⁸ Lister (1), 52. |
| ⁴ Lister (1), 37. | ²⁹ Sheehan, facing p. 231. |
| ⁵ e.g. Wilkinson (10), 1. | ³⁰ Wilkinson (10), 44. |
| ⁶ Stutterheim (3), 60; | ³¹ Parr & Mackray, |
| Gericke & Roorda, s.v. <i>ma-</i> | Saying IX. |
| <i>nganti</i> . | ³² Wilkinson (10), 15. |
| ⁷ Sheehan, 230. | ³³ Wilkinson (10), 17; |
| ⁸ Sheehan, 272. | Winstedt (10), 76. |
| ⁹ Wilkinson (10), 36. | ³⁴ Wilkinson (10), 14. |
| ¹⁰ Lister (1), 38. | ³⁵ Winstedt (4), 91. |
| ¹¹ Sheehan, 235. | ³⁶ Winstedt (4), 93. |
| ¹² van Vollenhoven, 258. | ³⁷ Stutterheim (1), 348. |
| ¹³ Korn (2), 171; <i>Encyclopæ-</i> | ³⁸ von Heine-Geldern |
| <i>die, first edition only</i> , IV, 612. | (2), 67. |
| ¹⁴ Hamerster, 1460. | ³⁹ Stutterheim (1), 342; |
| ¹⁵ Sheehan, 237. | Rassers (2), 406. |
| ¹⁶ Wilkinson (10), 22, 27. | ⁴⁰ Winstedt (9), 27. |
| ¹⁷ Sheehan, 244. | ⁴¹ Winstedt (8), 139. |
| ¹⁸ Wilkinson (10), 39. | ⁴² Winstedt (10), 57. |
| ¹⁹ Winstedt (10), 41. | ⁴³ von Heine-Geldern |
| ²⁰ Sheehan, 243, 272. | (2), 29. |
| ²¹ Abdul Aziz, 211. | ⁴⁴ Wilkinson (10), 19. |
| ²² Abdul Aziz, 217. | ⁴⁵ Winstedt (10), 58. |
| ²³ Abdul Aziz, 211. | ⁴⁶ Wilkinson (10), 23, 30. |
| ²⁴ Abdul Aziz, 204. | ⁴⁷ Stutterheim (1), 340. |
| ²⁵ Wilkinson (10), 13. | |

- ⁴⁸ Winstedt (2), 50.
⁴⁹ Winstedt (2), 42, 50;
 Wilkinson (7), 49.
⁵⁰ Winstedt (10), 75;
 Winstedt (4), 91.
⁵¹ Catalogus VIII, 129, 130, 134,
 137.
- ⁵² Winstedt (2), 45;
 Skeat, 60.
⁵³ Auboyer, 26, 27.
⁵⁴ Winstedt (2), 48.
⁵⁵ Wilkinson (10), 19.
⁵⁶ Winstedt (10), 58.
⁵⁷ Skeat, 59.