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Introduction

This chapter discusses seven royal Malay charters, known as *piagam*, issued by the sultan and nobles of Jambi to chiefs in the Serampas region over a period of two centuries. Photocopies of the documents - which are held as *pusaka* or collective ancestral heirlooms - were obtained by David Neidel in 2003 and 2005 during fieldwork for his doctoral study of settlement histories in Serampas (Neidel 2006), which is situated just south of Kerinci in the highlands of Jambi.

In common with the other contributions to this volume, this chapter is based on a paper first presented at the workshop held in Berlin in September 2006, “From Distant Tales: Archaeology and Ethnohistory in the Highlands of Sumatra”. At the conference, it became clear that I was one of the few speakers not to have carried out fieldwork in the Sumatran highlands; instead, my paper was written in London working from paper and digital copies of the documents supplied by Neidel. Attempting to make a virtue out of necessity, I utilised the distance from the field to subject the documents to a close codicological, philological, and sigillographic study in the context of other Malay documents, exploring the extent to which these *piagam* conformed to standard formats for chancery documents throughout the Malay world, or whether they exhibited any distinctly local characteristics. One of the great advantages of the Berlin workshop - as intended by its organisers - was the opportunity for cross-fertilization over a wide range of disciplines, and this study in Malay diplomatics has benefited greatly from the anthropological, historical and environmental insights - from the forest floor, as it were - of David Neidel, C. W. Watson, Uli Kozok, and especially Heinzpeter Znoj.

I would like to express my profound appreciation to David Neidel for a most fruitful and enjoyable collaboration: for sharing with me copies of these *piagam*, for his help and advice with their interpretation, and for his comments on this paper. Any shortcomings remain entirely my responsibility.

Following our meeting in Berlin, Znoj kindly sent me copies of his colour slides taken in 1989 of four *piagam* from Muara Mendras in the neighbouring region of Sungai Tenang. These *piagam* will be edited and discussed in a subsequent paper.
through the exchange of views in Berlin and from their contributions to this volume.

**Malay Documents from Highland Jambi**

Although relatively large numbers of Malay letters have survived from all over the archipelago, far fewer are official and legal documents which shed light on the internal government of Malay states. Against this background, the compendium of original archival documents known from the interior highlands of Jambi is highly significant, both in terms of volume and of chronological range. At the core is the collection of 261 *pusaka* items bearing texts seen by Petrus Voorhoeve and his research team during two visits to Kerinci in April and July 1941 and presented in the *Tambo Kerinci* (Voorhoeve 1941). Among the manuscripts - which are written on horn, palmleaf, bamboo, metal, tree bark, and paper, mainly in Malay but also in Javanese and Old Javanese - are some 70 documents in Malay in Jawi (Arabic) script written on paper, many of which are royal edicts or decrees issued by the sultan and princes of Jambi to local chiefs in Kerinci. Entirely complementary to these *piagam* recorded in the *Tambo Kerinci* are the seven manuscript documents from Serampas discussed below.

The *piagam Serampas* comprise six manuscript documents from the village of Renah Kemumu and one from Renah Alai, both in Serampas.

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3 A description of the expedition, with preliminary lists of the materials found, is in Voorhoeve (1970). Of the original research materials which survived the Japanese occupation, some of the photographs of manuscripts taken by Voorhoeve are now held in the KITLV (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde) in Leiden as Or.414, while associated hand-written copies are held as Or.415. The story of the presumed loss of these research materials during the Second World War and their happy rediscovery in 1975 is recounted by Watson, infra. An edited version of the *Tambo Kerinci* (Voorhoeve 1941), in updated orthography, has recently been made available on the internet by Uli Kozok (http://www.hawaii.edu/indolang/manuscripts/Kerinci/Tambo/), who is also currently leading a research project to trace and document photographically those *pusaka* items which still survive today.

4 A further document shown to Neidel (Renah Kemumu MS G) is a prayer in Arabic dated *Jumaat 1.1.1981* entitled *Inilah doa Kanz al-‘Arsh, raja segala doa*, "This is the prayer of the Treasury of the Throne, the king of prayers". It is a single sheet of paper with three columns of text, with each line commencing *La ilaha illa Allah, subhan …. "There is no God but Allah, praised ..."* followed by a Divine Name. It is not related in content to the *piagam Serampas* and will not be discussed further here.
Piagam Serampas

(see tab. 12-1, and fig. 12-1 until 12-9). All these villages are currently located in the Kecamatan (Sub-district) of Jangkat, in the Kabupaten (District) of Merangin in the province of Jambi. The documents are written in Malay in Jawi script; they all bear seals and appear to be original royal edicts from the court of Jambi. The edicts were issued by the ruler (initially entitled Pangiran Ratu, and from the second half of the 17th century onwards Sultan) and/or senior princes (with the generic title Pangiran) of Jambi to local chiefs in Serampas bearing the titles dipati or menteri. The manuscripts, two of which contain more than one document text, date from circa 1650 to 1800; four are dated and three have been dated from the evidence of their seals.

As pusaka, the original documents are closely guarded, and Neidel was only given access to old photocopies of the Renah Kemumu documents. In general the condition of the photocopies is poor: many are very faint and show that the original documents too were in poor condition, with tears and losses of text, especially on the vertical sides. The one original document - from Renah Alai - is fully laminated and thus was difficult to photograph using a flash. The poor condition of the copies seen by Neidel, which were subsequently re-photocopied or photographed and scanned for the purposes of this study, has greatly hampered the reading of the documents. Nonetheless, descriptions of each of the documents and their seals, accompanied by transliterations and English translations, are given in Appendix A, while Neidel’s account of how the copies of these documents were obtained is presented in Appendix B.

It should be stressed that in terms of the study of Malay diplomatics, there is no theoretical reason for focusing on the piagam Serampas rather than any of the other Malay edicts from the court of Jambi, the texts of which are recorded in the Tambo Kerinci (Voorhoeve 1941). What is of critical importance about the piagam Serampas, though, is that we do have an indication of their physical form, however imperfect the photocopies. Although many of Voorhoeve’s photographs of Kerinci documents are deposited in the KITLV as Or.414, it has proved extremely difficult to marry up the images with the transliterated texts in the Tambo Kerinci.

In this paper, the piagam Serampas are analysed with reference to their structure, contents, self-referential terminology and seals, and some tentative conclusions are then drawn about the Jambi edicts found in Serampas, and their contemporary relevance.

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5 For an outline of the geographical and historical context of the Serampas region, see the article by Neidel, infra.
6 Justification for dating documents on the basis of their seals is provided below.
7 For an example of one of Voorhoeve’s photographs see fig. 12-14.
## Table 12-1: Piagam Serampas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Seals</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Renah Kemumu MS A</td>
<td>Edict (<em>surat titah</em>) issued by Duli Pangiran Ratu (r. 1639-1670) in Merangin addressed to various dipati.</td>
<td>#640</td>
<td>c. 1650s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2. Renah Kemumu MS B | [a] Edict (*piagam*) issued by Duli Pangiran Dipati, dated 1086 (1675/1676); outlines laws and ends with an exhortation to obey these laws  
[b] Edict (*surat titah*) issued by Duli Pangiran Dipati, confirming the authority of Dipati Pulang Jiwa and Dipati Penarang Bumi over the people of Teramang in Serapas. | #1679 | 1675 |
| 3. Renah Kemumu MS C | Edict (*piagam*) issued by Duli Sultan Inggalaga (i.e. Sultan Abdul Muhyi of Jambi, r. 1679-1687) to Dipati Paling Jiwa | #899 | c. 1680s |
| 4. Renah Kemumu MS D | Edict issued by Duli Pangiran Suta Wijaya to the *menteri-menteri* of Syiring, dated 23 Syawal 1120 (5 January 1709); outlines laws and specifies fines for certain crimes, with an exhortation to obey these laws. | #901 | 1709 |
| 5. Renah Kemumu MS E | Edict (*titah*) issued by Sultan Astra Inggalaga (r. 1719-1725, 1727-1743) and Pangiran Dipati Mangku Ningrat of Jambi; grant of authority | #1698 | c. 1720s-1730s? |
| 6. Renah Kemumu MS F | [a] Sealed grant of authority (*piagam serta cap*) granted by Sultan Anum Seri Inggalaga to six Dipati, dated 15 Safar 1173 (Monday 8 October 1759); specifying land boundaries and setting out laws.  
[b] Addendum to the above, setting out the royal prerogative to certain goods.  
[c] Agreement between Dipati Ranah Ulu of Serampas and Dipati Gantu Lulu and Dipati Agung on land boundaries, 28 February 1906, ratified by the Assistant Resident of Sanggaran Agung. | #900, #1678 | 1759, 1906 |
| 7. Renah Alai MS A | Letter of authority (*cap surat piagam*) issued by Duli Sultan Ratu Seri Inggalaga and his *adinda* Pangiran Ratu Cakra Negara to Dupati Anggu Baya and Dipati Suta Menggala, dated 20 Syaaban 1214 (17 January 1800). | #644, #1696 | 1800 |

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8 Here and elsewhere in this paper, the number following the hash (#) sign is the unique record number assigned to each seal in the present writer’s database of Malay seals; seals numbered up to #1604 are described in the catalogue of Malay seals appended to Gallop (2002).
The Structure of the Documents

It is well-known that formal Malay letters from all over the archipelago are composed according to standard rules, but recent research has suggested that many non-epistolary Malay documents from all parts of maritime Southeast Asia also adhere to a different but equally wide-spread formulaic structure, which, in its essentials, can in fact be traced back beyond the survival of documents on paper written in Malay in Jawi script, through Old Javanese charters on metal and stone, to proclamations in Old Malay inscribed on stone dating from the period of Srivijaya (Gallop 2003). The characteristic feature of this formulary is the opening phraseology, which has the following main components:

- On this date
- at this time
- so-and-so
- granted [type of document]
- to so-and-so
- for such-and-such purpose

Firstly, the date is given in full in words starting with the year and sometimes also mentioning the name of the year in the Malay octaval calendar, followed by the month, date, and often day of the week and even the time, and occasionally with a further mention of the auspicious nature of that moment. The date is followed by a phrase like pada dewasa / ketika / masa ini/itu or tatkala itu, all having the meaning of “at this/that time”. This is then followed by the names and titles of the issuer of the document and its recipient(s), and the substance of the message.

It should be stressed that placing the date at the beginning of the document rather than at the end is highly unusual for documents from Islamic chanceries outside Southeast Asia. There is little doubt that this compositional structure can be traced back to a pre-Islamic Indian source, but the emphasis on auspicious timings derives from specifically Nusantaran proclivities. In relation to our present area of study, Barbara Andaya (1993: 110-111) has commented on the significance of auspicious moments in Jambi and Palembang, and indeed, while over half of all Malay seals are dated, one - from Palembang (#671) - is unique in giving not only the year but also full details of day, month and even time of day.

The four dated Serampas document texts (Renah Kemumu MS B[a], D, F and Renah Alai MS A) all conform with this archipelago-wide

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9 For a general study of Malay letter writing, see Gallop (1994).
structural pattern, and a good example is Renah Alai MS A, the opening of which can be tabulated as follows:

- *Hijrat al-nabi salla Allah ‘alayhi wa-sallam seribu dua ratus sepuluh empat kepada dua puluh hari bulan Syaaban hari Jumaat waktu duha*
- *ketika itulah*
- *Duli Sultan Ratu Seri Ingalaga serta dengan adinda baginda Pangiran Ratu Cakra Negara*
- *mengurniai cap surat piagam ini*
- *kepada Dupati Anggu Baya serta dengan Dipati Suta Menggala*

The migration of the prophet, may God’s peace and blessings be upon him, one thousand two hundred and fourteen, on the twentieth day of Syaaban, on Friday, at forenoon,

- at that time
- His Majesty Sultan Ratu Seri Ingalaga and His Majesty’s younger brother Pangiran Ratu Cakra Negara
- granted this sealed decree
- to Dupati Anggu Baya and Dipati Suta Menggala.
- Wherefore the boundary downstream stretches to ...

A further four documents (Renah Kemumu MS A, B[b], C and E) are undated, but are similarly formulaic in their opening lines. These undated documents exhibit a simpler compositional structure which can be summarised as follows:

- This is a [type of document]
- from so-and-so
- to so-and-so
- for such-and-such purpose

As, for example, in Renah Kemumu MS E:

- *Ini [titah]*
- *dari bawah Duli Seri Sultan As[tra Inga]laga serta paduka adinda Pangiran Dipati Mangku Ningrat di Jam[bi]*
- *kepada hamba baginda peroatin Serampas Dipa[ti] ...*
- *[instructions on governance]*
- *This edict*
- is issued by His Majesty Sultan Astra Ingalaga and his honoured younger brother Pangiran Dipati Mangku Ningrat in Jambi
- to His Majesty’s subjects the *peroatin* of Serampas, Dipati ...
- *[instructions on governance]*
Finally, one document text does not conform to either model: this is the 1906 agreement apparently brokered by the Assistant Resident of Sanggaran Agung (Renah Kemumu MS F[c]), where modern Dutch influence can be seen in the opening formula *Kami yang bertanda tangan akhir surat ...*, “We, the undersigned ...”.

**Contents**

To the extent that the documents can be deciphered, the contents of these royal edicts fall into three categories. These are the boundaries of the land assigned to the recipient(s) of the edict; matters of governance and an enumeration of the laws to be upheld, and the penalties for contravening these rules; and a list of royal prerogatives, with an accompanying list of penalties for non-compliance.

Land boundaries are discussed in two documents, in some cases in considerable detail. Renah Alai MS A contains two short lists of four and ten toponyms but in Renah Kemumu MS F there are 25 toponyms. These lists of toponyms are not merely strung together to stake out a bird’s-eye view of the land; rather, they are linked by terrain-sensitive verbs such as *mudik* (travel upriver), *hilir* (go downstream), *menaiki* (climb), *turun* (descend), *meragat ke* (to take a short cut, to make a bee-line for a certain place), *merapat* (hug the side of, e.g. a hill) and *jatuh ke dalam* (plunge down) which graphically evoke the contours of the territory from the perspective of a traveller on the ground.

Aspects of governance treated include simple grants of authority to a *dipati* with an enumeration of all those expected to obey him. Specific subjects mentioned in these documents include the administration of the marketplace, management of debts, the bearing of offspring while in debt, sexual offences, and rights to the collecting of fruit and forest produce. Sometimes sanctions for non-compliance are listed; most of the documents simply include the general warning *hubaya-hubaya jangan dilalui*, “under no circumstances should [these laws] be contravened”, but in Renah Kemumu MS F the sanctions are given in more detail, including *diikat dikangkang* (to be tied up spreadeagled).

Two documents (Renah Kemumu MS F[b] and Renah Alai MS A) give lists of royal prerogatives (*hal larangan Sultan*), namely forest produce such as *geliga taring mestik* (bezoar and dew stones), *gading* (ivory) and *emas jatah jati rupa* (pure gold). Careful instructions are given regarding the precise chain of command along which such products should be passed in order to be conveyed to the court: from the finders to the *dipati*, from the *dipati* to the *jenang* (king’s herald), and from the *jenang* to the king.
Given the small size and the poor condition of this sample, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions about the evolution of the contents of these documents, although the documents certainly seem to have grown longer and more detailed - and are written in neater scribal hands - in the course of time.

Nomenclature

Piagam is nowadays the standard modern Indonesian word for a certificate or official charter, but various terms of self-reference are found in the documents themselves including piagam, titah, surat, cap and undang-undang (tab. 12-2). Piagam is originally a Javanese word meaning official edict or decree, and its use in these Malay documents reflects the strong Javanese influence at the courts of Jambi and Palembang (Andaya 1993: 66-67). Titah is the Malay term for a royal utterance or command; thus surat titah referred to the written form of the royal command, and this is the usual term for royal decree in most Malay states. In the Undang-undang Melaka, compiled in the 15th century, titah was one of five words whose very use was the royal prerogative, the penalty for misuse being death (Liaw 2003: 108). Cap, from the Hindi chhap, is the standard Malay word for seal, and can also mean the document on which a seal is stamped, while undang-undang refers to sets of laws.

The 17th-century documents in this corpus bear the terms surat titah and piagam, but it is not really possible yet to discern the relationship between the particular nomenclature of these documents and their issuer, formal structure, date or contents.

Table 12-2: Piagam Serampas: terms of self-reference, contents and dates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Self-description</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Renah Kemumu MS A</td>
<td>surat titah</td>
<td>[Torn, only opening address]</td>
<td>[c. 1650s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Renah Kemumu MS C</td>
<td>piagam</td>
<td>laws - obey the dipati</td>
<td>[c. 1680s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Renah Kemumu MS D</td>
<td>menggaduhkan undang-undang</td>
<td>laws - debts; sexual misdemeanours</td>
<td>1709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Renah Kemumu MS E</td>
<td>titah</td>
<td>laws - collecting of fruit</td>
<td>[c. 1720s]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Use of language

In formal Malay letters, flowery language is usually restricted to the opening compliments or *puji-pujian*, and even so many of the metaphors or similes encountered are stock formulae used and reused throughout the Malay world. For example, in one sample of a hundred Malay letters, the evocative phrase *selagi ada peridaran cakrawala matahari dan bulan*, “so long as the sun and moon revolve in the firmament”, used to emphasize the longevity of the sender’s sincerity, is found (with minor variations) in no fewer than 26 epistles, originating from localities as varied as Perlis, Kedah, Johor, Perak, Kelantan, Siak, and Pontianak in the 18th and 19th centuries. Moving on from the compliments to the contents proper, there is often an immediate shift in the tenor of the language employed, which in the body of the letter tends to be straightforward and prosaic. The message may well be conveyed with great subtlety and diplomacy, but only very rarely do we find literary devices deployed in the body of the text of a formal Malay letter.

In contrast, while the *piagam Serampas* share the same succinct formulaic opening structure as documents from all over the Malay world, the contents proper are peppered with poetic expressions. For example, the boundary list in Renah Kemumu MS F is concluded with the phrase *itulah setitik airnya dan sekepal tanahnya seekor ikannya*, “this is their drop of water and their handful of earth and their portion of fish.” The metaphorical nature and poetic beauty of this phrase is a recurrent feature of the language of these documents. Another common literary device is for the subjects under discussion to be symbolised by pairings linked by meaning and accentuated phonetically through alliteration, assonance, rhythm or internal rhyme. Such “lists” can be found evoking, for example, the pillars of community life:

---

cupak gantang sepancing sekolamnya sedenda sesetianya seogam seadatnya, “their weights and measures, their fishing tackle and ponds, their fines and compliances, their beliefs and customs” (Renah Kemumu MS F)

or worldly possessions:

sekali segalanya semata sabilahnya salilinnya sabangkit[?], “everything in its entirety, each tip and each blade of their [weapons], each candle ...” (Renah Kemumu MS B)

or forest produce:

kayu mayunya buluh bilahnya rotan rumbianya lubuk danau silang selangnya buah masam buah manisnya, “all kinds of woods, or bamboo poles or splints, or rattan or sago, from lakes and inlets, from this side or that side, and fruit whether unripe or ripe” (Renah Alai MS A)

Many similar parallelisms are found in the documents in the Tambo Kerinci, such as this list of prohibited forest products in a piagam held in Dusun Baru in Sungai Penuh:

kayu panjang dan pandak, buluh bilahnya, rotan rumbianya, dan siyalang malangnya 11 (Voorhoeve 1941: 3), “timbers long and short, bamboo poles and splints, rattan and sago, and large trees with honey-bee hives [across the path?]”

A melange of these literary devices can be seen in a document in the possession of Dipati Kuta Keras Tuo Panjang Rambut of Dusun Kuta Keras, which portrays the totality of the territory granted to the jurisdiction of Dipati Suta Manggolo by the Pangiran Temenggung Mangku Negara in the following terms:

saulu sahilirnya sekepal tana(h)nya sereguk hairnya seekor ikannya semerah sementerinya secupak segantangnya sedana sedandanya se(titik?)nya sepuncung(?)nya/ sesulonya seutana(h)nya (Voorhoeve 1941: 39), “the upper reaches and downstreams of its rivers, a clod of its earth, a gulp of its water, a catch of its fish, its leaders and officials, its weights and measures, ..., its fines and ?compliances, its poles and torches, its forests and habitable lands”

The frequency of occurrence of these pairings and poetical devices in the Tambo Kerinci suggests that their usage was no less formulaic than the phrases in the opening compliments of Malay letters. But while the widespread usage of the same metaphors in Malay epistles can be

11 The orthography has been updated.
attributed to their written record in the letters themselves and the prescriptive Malay manuscript letter-writing guides known as *kitab terasul* which circulated throughout the archipelago, the poetical expressions in the Jambi documents are probably rooted in the oral literary culture of the Sumatran highlands. In the introduction to a recent study of the phonic structure of Malay incantations, Braginsky (2007: 282-283) discusses the belief in oral-aural societies of the magical power of the word with particular reference to charms and chants: “[i]n developed forms of the charm this verbal rhythm achieves its magic efficacy not only through the word-repetitions, but also through assonances, alliterations and rhymes.”

In the royal Jambi edicts found in Serampas, we can envisage how the authority and majesty of the word of the king, visually manifest in the powerful form of writing on paper emblazoned with the sovereign emblem of the seal, was reinforced aurally through the oral recitation of his laws and prerogatives couched in the sacral language and rhythms of ritual chants and mantras. Yet although mantras are found all over the Malay world, so far similar poetic phrasing has not been found in Malay edicts on similar subjects from other regions, such as from Aceh or the states of the Malay peninsula.12

Apart from its literary colouring, it should also be mentioned that some of the vocabulary in the *piagam Serampas* is extremely hard to understand, not being found in any of the main historical Malay dictionaries or in the increasingly large corpus of written Malay texts held in the Malay Concordance Project.13 For example, among the forest produce classified as the royal prerogative listed in Renah Kemumu MS F [b] and Renah Alai MS A is the unidentifiable *cending*, while in Renah Alai MS A there is a prohibition on the taking of forest produce without informing the two *dipati*: *Maka jikalau ada orang calu-culu* [c.a.l.c.w.l.w] *mengambil kayu mayunya* ... No satisfactory entry for *cala*, *calu* or *culu* could be found in the dictionaries of Marsden, Klinkert, Wilkinson or even of Raja Ali Haji, or in the standard Malaysian *Kamus Dewan* or the Indonesian *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*. It is only in the rare early 20th-century Malay dictionary from Johor by Mejar Haji Muhammad Said that we find the Riau-Lingga word *calu* [c.a.l.w] which can have the meaning

12 The royal documents from Minangkabau discussed in Drakard (1999) are altogether different in structure, contents, and style from the edicts discussed here.
“repeatedly”\textsuperscript{14}, which makes perfect sense in the context of the \textit{piagam} Renah Alai.

\textbf{Seals}

The seven manuscripts under consideration yield nine seal impressions; all the documents bear at least one seal and two documents - Renah Kemumu MS F and Renah Alai MS A - bear two seals. Only five of these seals were known from an earlier study of some 1500 Malay seals (Gallop 2002; see fig. 12-10 until 12-13). All the seals are typically Malay in their shape, format, and medium: circles or petalled circles, with an inscription in Jawi script in a central roundel surrounded by a decorative border, and impressed in lampblack. Unfortunately, due to the very poor condition of the available copies, it has not been possible to decipher fully the inscriptions of the four newly-recorded seals.

As mentioned above, four of the documents bear dates, while the other four have been dated on the basis of their seals, and it needs to be ascertained just how reliable this procedure is. In principle Malay seals are personal seals of office, granted by the ruler to a certain individual official. At present over 1,600 Malay seals found on some 4,000 documents have been recorded, and over half of these seals are dated. In nearly all cases the use of the seal on a document can be correlated with the personal identity and dates of the sealholder, and therefore seals can be regarded as very reliable indicators of the date of the document on which they are stamped; the rare exceptions to the general rule will be discussed below.

There are very few chronological discrepancies in the use of sovereign seals. In a few cases where a seal is used by a son or immediate heir of the seal-holder, this may be because a new seal had not yet been granted or commissioned. A different, fairly common, situation is the use of a seal by

\textsuperscript{14} I am most grateful to Dato’ Yaakub Isa, author of \textit{Kamus bahasa Melayu klasik} (Kuala Lumpur: Berita, 1997) for his researches. He found in the Malay dictionary by Haji Muhammad Said bin Haji Sulaiman, \textit{Buku katan P. Bm. P. B. Dirajah Johor} (Johor Bahru: P. Bm. P. B. Diraja Johor, 1936), the following entry for \textit{calu}:

\begin{quote}
(1) orang atau kenaikan ulang-ali; kenaikan yang pergi balik atau berulang terutama kapal pada tempat yang dekat; (2) telah jadi biasa benar sebab selalu dibuat berulang-ulang”.
\end{quote}

He also found in a Kutai dictionary the phrase \textit{culu-culu}, meaning “kelakuan/perbuatan yang disengaja dan agak demonstratif yang bersifat mengolok-olok (dan kadang-kadang juga bersifat menantang)”, from H. Achmad Bahrah, \textit{Kamus Bahasa Kutei Umum - Indonesia} (Yogyakarta: Titian Ilahi 2000), which could give the added connotation of “brazenly, defiantly” to the action (Yaakub Isa, pers. e-comm., 18.1.2007).
an authorised representative, and several references in the VOC (Dutch East India Company) records indicate a considerable degree of latitude in the use of the ruler’s seal by others in Jambi in the 18th century. In 1732, on departing on a trip upriver, Sultan Astra Ingalaga of Jambi (r. 1719-1725, 1727-1743) entrusted his seal to the VOC, and successive Dutch residents were also known to have sent letters with the king's seal to the interior (Andaya 1993: 169). During the reign of his successor, Sultan Ahmad Zainuddin Anum Seri Ingalaga (r. 1743-1770?), the first minister complained that the sultan refused to give him the “great seal”, “the main sinew and soul of this office”, which authorized him to make rulings as he thought fit (Andaya 1993: 172). Although these comments suggest that we cannot always assume that the ruler named on the seal was the actual issuing authority of the document, there are no grounds for doubting the chronological accuracy of the seal, and we can have reasonable confidence in dating the undated piagam Serampas which bear sovereign seals (i.e. Renah Kemumu MS A, C) to the regnal period of the sultan named on the seal.

There are more anomalies in the use of non-sovereign seals, for the evidence of a small number of sealed documents suggests that seals granted to some individual officials continued to be used thereafter by their descendants. Where the descendants performed the same jobs as their forebears, the seals thus become de facto hereditary seals of office, even though they were originally issued as the personal official seal of the original postholder. This situation is particularly marked on the periphery of traditional centres of power rather than at the court itself, for the expense of a long journey to court to request a new seal would have been an obvious inhibiting factor.

It so happens that one of the non-sovereign seals on the piagam Serampas is a particularly difficult case. This is the highly distinctive seal of Pangiran Suta Wijaya of Jambi, inscribed Ini cap Pangiran Suta Wijaya // La ilah illa Allah (x4), “This is the seal of Pangiran Suta Wijaya // “There is no god but God” (Qur’an 47: 19) (x4)” (#901) in two concentric borders around a central arrangement of a crescent moon, the two-pointed sword Zulfakar, and two small circles, bearing a striking resemblance to a human face (fig. 12-12). Pangiran Suta Wijaya was the pre-regnal title of Sultan Ahmad Zainuddin Anum Seri Ingalaga, but probably a better-known incumbent of this office was the great Bugis warrior Raja Haji, who was granted this title in February 1760 on the occasion of his
betrothal to the daughter of Sultan Anum. How long he stayed in Jambi is not known, but in early 1761 a new Dutch resident, A. F. van Solms, reached Jambi, having “successfully chased away a party of Bugis led by Raja Haji, whom he encountered downstream” (Andaya 1993: 175). On 16 October 1763, a contract negotiated by van Solms was signed between Jambi and the VOC, which bore the seals of the sultan and five other ministers, including that of Pangiran Suta Wijaya. In view of the hostilities between van Solms and the Bugis mentioned above, it is unlikely that Raja Haji was present on this occasion, and in fact the seal of Pangiran Suta Wijaya is annotated on the contract, ini cap Pangiran Dipa, “this is the seal of Pangiran Dipa”. The puzzle is compounded by the presence of the same seal on some 13 royal edicts photographed by Voorhoeve in Kerinci in 1941 (fig. 12-14), at least three of which were issued by different names, one being attributed to Pangiran Sukarta Negara (Voorhoeve 1941: 129), and another two issued jointly by Sultan Anum S[eri] Ingala and Pangiran Temenggung Mangku Negara (Voorhoeve 1941: 124, 128). Thus in this case we have a seal used over a very long period of time (at least 54 years), and by a number of different titled officials. As it so happens, the document in the piagam Serampas on which this seal is found (Renah Kemumu MS D) is dated clearly 1709, but it would prove difficult to date securely an undated document bearing this seal without further investigation.

The Significance of the Piagam Serampas

One of the most striking aspects of the piagam Serampas is their considerable age, with three edicts dating from the 17th century. Most of the extant 17th-century Malay documents are letters to and contracts concluded with Europeans held in official archives, and documents which circulated within the Malay world itself are very much rarer. It is astounding to find that some of the piagam Serampas have survived for more than 300 years in the interior of Sumatra, belaying common assumptions about the durability of manuscripts and other organic artefacts in the tropical climate of maritime Southeast Asia. And yet the recent pioneering work of Ruth Barnes in radiocarbon-dating to the 14th century.

15 According to the Tuhfat al-nafis, the marriage was celebrated during this visit. Raja Haji soon left Jambi, fighting a war in Inderagiri and returning to Riau in 1767, after which his Jambi title was no longer used (Matheson/Andaya 1982: 118-119).
16 KITLV Or.414, nos.1a, 8b, 8c, 17, 18, 20, 24a.i, 24c, 25, 41a, 48b, 52a, 52d (all photographs).
and 15th century Indian trade textiles held as *pusaka* items in eastern Indonesia (Guy 1998:186), and, even more pertinently, similar efforts in radiocarbon-dating the Tanjung Tanah law text from Kerinci to the second half of the 14th century (Kozok 2004: 43; infra), have led to a reappraisal of received wisdom. What is clear is that the special care accorded to *pusaka* items - which are usually stored in the loft of the house of the village headman or chief adat official, wrapped in cloth and placed in boxes or chests and thus protected from dust and handling, and only opened (and thereby aired) once a year or so as part of special ritual celebrations involving a certain amount of expense - is probably a very effective local method of preservation.

The enduring social and political relevance of the *piagam Serampas* today is probably due mainly to one aspect of their contents: land rights. That this has been the case for over two centuries is apparent from the addition to Renah Kemumu MS F of an agreement on land boundaries signed between the *depati* of Serampas and Kerinci, brokered by the Dutch resident of Sanggaran Agung in 1906. According to Neidel, already in the 1970s and 1980s the Renah Kemumu *piagam* were photocopied and circulated in an attempt to halt the plan by the regional government to settle villagers outside the Kerinci Seblat National Park (see Appendix B), and Neidel was also shown a romanised transliteration which had been prepared for the only boundary list found in the Renah Kemumu *piagam*, at the beginning of MS F. In 2003, the nearby village of Guguk in Kecamatan Sungai Manau, also in Kabupaten Merangin, succeeded in gaining hutan adat (‘community forest’) status for Bukit Tapanggan, clawing back an area previously included in the forest exploitation rights (HPH, *Hak Pengusahaan Hutan*) granted to a logging company, PT Injapsin. A key piece of evidence in the judicial case was the village’s *piagam*, granted by the Sultan Anum Seri Ingalaga of Jambi in 1756 to Dipati Pembarap, which outlined the boundaries of the land under the jurisdiction of the *dipati*; in a photograph the *piagam* looks very similar to Renah Kemumu MS F, and is issued by the same ruler (fig. 12-15). On the 2nd of Syawal (during the feast of Idul Fitri, at the end of the fasting month) every year, at a community feast in Guguk the *piagam* is read aloud, to ensure that knowledge of the land boundaries and traditional tenets of forest management are kept alive for succeeding generations (Goeltom 2007).

In the swiftly changing contemporary socio-religious Sumatran landscape, one of the key determinants of the survival of such old manuscripts may be the particular understanding of Islam prevailing in a village and the accompanying attitude towards the ancestral rituals
associated with the care of *pusaka* items. Heeding Neidel’s plea (infra) to confront the “differences, ambiguities and complexities” encountered in attempting to construct a narrative account out of a range of sources leads us to conclude with the paradox of the essentially legalistic content of the *piagam Serampas* and their considerable sacral significance independent of their contents. Neidel was told by local informants that the Renah Kemumu *piagam* were written in “*bahasa Hindu*”, were eight hundred years old (evidently based on a misinterpretation of the Hijrah date 1173), were linked to Srivijaya, and were protected by village ancestors, who would bring illness to the village and decimate its rice fields if tradition were violated (see Appendix B). The sacral aura surrounding the Renah Kemumu documents meant that despite all his attempts, Neidel was not allowed access to the originals. And yet it is precisely the skills associated with modernist Islamic thinking - better knowledge of Arabic and hence of the Jawi script; familiarity with the Hijrah calendar and thus the ability to date documents; and a more critical approach to written sources - which would allow better access of the contents of the *piagam*, and enhance appreciation of their historical and legal value.

**Conclusion**

This paper has examined seven Malay documents from the Serampas region of highland Jambi. All appear to be authentic original royal edicts issued from the court of Jambi to local chiefs in the Serampas region over a period of two hundred years, from the mid-17th to the mid-19th century. The seven Serampas documents all conform to the pan-Malay diplomatic model, with a standard opening formulary usually starting with the date and then stating the name of the issuer and the recipient of the decree. The documents do appear to reflect a process of structural evolution in the Jambi chancery, with edicts from the reign of Sultan Ahmad Zainuddin Anum Seri Ingalaga (r. 1743-1770?) noticeably longer and more detailed, and written in a neater and more accomplished hand. In terms of contents, the edicts deal with matters common throughout the Malay world - namely land rights, laws and the punishments for non-compliance, and lists of royal prerogatives - but the language in which these matters are couched appears to be firmly rooted in local traditions and belief systems. In the context of the larger world of Malay chancery documents, the *piagam Serampas* illustrate how a conventional, formal, universal Malay cloak can be draped around a very distinctive and localised image of life and tradition in highland Jambi.
Appendix A: Piagam Serempas: Transliterations and English Translations

Editorial conventions:

.... text illegible, missing or indecipherable
[maka] reliable reconstruction of missing text
[maka] reliable reconstruction of partially legible text
[maka?] unreliable reconstruction
mak[?] reading uncertain
maka text crossed out by scribe
<maka> text added by scribe
(maka) text added at editor’s discretion
{maka} text deemed redundant by editor

Editorial note:

Due to the inconsistent use of vowels in Jawi script, place and personal names pose particular problems, and I would like to acknowledge the invaluable help of David Neidel in identifying local toponyms and honorific titles. Nonetheless, the Jawi spelling of the documents is reflected faithfully in the transliteration, for example, Serapas (s.r.p.s) in Renah Kemumu MS B [b], and Ranah (r.a.n.h) in Renah Kemumu MS F instead of the contemporary Renah.\(^17\) While the current chief adat official of Renah Kemumu bears the title Dipati Pulang Jawa,\(^18\) in the Renah Kemumu piagam we find the titles Dipati Pulang Jiwa (p.w.l.ng j.y.w) in MS B [b]; Dipati Paling Jiwa (p.a.l.ng j.y.w) in MS C; and Dipati Payung Dewa (p.a.y.ng d.y.w.a) and Dipati Paling Dewa (p.w.l.ng d.y.w.a) in MS F.

As the first five documents (Renah Kemumu MS A-E) are all damaged to varying extents, the transliteration and translation are presented line by line in order to emphasize where the losses of text occur in the original. The final two documents are more or less complete and are therefore presented without indicating the line breaks.

Abbreviations used:

ANRI Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta
KITLV Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
LUB Leiden University Library

\(^{17}\) Renah: a flat area, typically, but not necessarily, located in a valley (Neidel, pers. e-comm., 14.9.2004).

\(^{18}\) For contemporary stories about the origin of the title Depati Pulang Jawa, “the Depati who went home to Java”, see Neidel (2006: 387-388, fn. 89).
1. Renah Kemumu MS A

Decree (surat titah) issued by Duli [Pangiran] Ratu [to ...] in Merangin, c. mid-17th century

Only the opening address of this decree survives, with no indication of its contents.

Notes: read from a photocopy; the document appears to be severely damaged, with left side and bottom missing. Small neat hand; five lines.

Seal: #640, of Pangiran Ratu, r. 1639-1670, also known as Sultan Agung after 1669 (Andaya 1993: 71-72); inscribed:

\textit{al-khalifat al-mu’min Pangiran Jambi khallada Allah mulkahu}

“The caliph who is strong in faith, the Pangiran of Jambi, may God preserve his realm”

Circle, with a floral border; three other impressions of this seal are known, one on a letter from Pangiran Ratu of Jambi to Governor-General Johan Maetsuijker in Batavia in 1669 (LUB Acad.98 (13)); two others are on documents photographed by Voorhoeve in Kerinci in 1941 (KITLV Or.414, no.12c, 15c (photos)).

\textit{Ini surat titah Duli [Pangiran]n Ratu ...
dalam Merangin pertama m.n.a.t. .... d/r.a.w ...}
\textit{Dipati Teluk Rawang dan dipati sembilan dan ...}
\textit{Lanang Bijaya dan Dipati Kemala Dewa dan ...}
\textit{Setia Nata [dan] Dipati Marta Dewa dan ...}
\textit{...}

This is a decree from His Highness Pangiran Ratu ... in Merangin; firstly ...
Dipati Teluk Rawang and the nine dipati and ...
Lanang Bijaya and Dipati Kemala Dewa and ...
Setia Nata and Dipati Marta Dewa and ...
...
2. Renah Kemumu MS B

Although two separate photocopies have been seen, it is not known whether the original document consists of two sheets of paper, or a single sheet of paper with [a] on the recto and [b] on the verso. The fact that [b] does not bear a seal suggests it is an adjunct to [a].

[a] Edict (piagam) issued by Duli Pangiran Dipati, dated AH 1086 (AD 1675/1676)

Notes: read from a very faded photocopy, with losses to both left and right sides of the text, but complete at top and bottom. Seven lines.

Seal: #1679; illegible; circle, with a single-ruled outline, and a wide floral border around a double-ruled inner circle; this is the only known impression.

[Hijrah nabi] salla Allah ‘alayhi wa-sallam seribu dualapan puluh enam tahun pada tahun ...
... piagam¹⁹ Duli Pangiran Dipati tahta kerajaan negeri ...
... raja²⁰ dengan segala peranakannya dengan segala utan b.y.y.a ...
... sekali[?] segalanya semata sabilahnya salilinnya sabangkit[?] s.w.ng ...
... segala marah menterinya yang lima dengan peranakkannya dari k.s.m b.a.y...
... dengan pamangkunya sekaliannya barangsiapa tiada manurut k...
...[di]pati itulah ubaya2 jangan dilalui d.b.a.l...

[The migration of the prophet,] may God’s blessings and peace be upon him, one thousand and eighty-six years, in the year ...
... the decree of His Highness Pangiran Dipati, who is on the throne of government of the state of ...
... nobles and all their followers and all the ...
... everything in its entirety, each tip and each blade of theirs, each candle ...
... all their five officials (marah menteri) and their henchmen from ...
... and all their deputies, whosoever should fail to obey ...
... of the dipati, on no account should there be any transgression ....

¹⁹ g with three dots underneath
²⁰ vocalised
[b] Edict (surat titah) issued by Duli Pangiran Dipati, confirming the authority of Dipati Pulang Jiwa and Dipati Penarang Bumi over the Teramang people in Serapas

Notes: read from a faded photocopy; appears complete at the top and bottom, but with losses through fading to left and right. 12 lines.

al-Haqq

Ini surat titah Duli Pangiran Dipati dan ketahui jenang ...
kerana orang Teramang ayang di Serapas itu p.r.w... [Pu]
lang Jiwa dan Dipati Penarang Bumi dan jikalau orang Teramang ini ...
kepada dusunnya lima jangan dibari oleh Dipati Pulang Jiwa dan Dip...
Bumi dan jikal[au]²¹ pasar oleh Dipati Pulang Jiwa dan Dipati Penarang
Bumi ...
Pangiran Dipati titah. Wa-ba’ada adapun tambahan pula titah Duli ...
Dipati dan Pangiran Ratu jikalau ada orang Teramang ini d.t......
pasar anak orang sialkan[?] gaduh²² mati oleh Dipati Pulang Jiwa dan
Dipati ...
kemudian pula pada balai batinya dan ma...nya jangan ....
... ayang dua itu dan segala peranakannya itu titah Duli Pangiran ...
.... dipati ayang dua k.l.w.a.y tiada percaya aku²³ oleh dipati ayang dua ....
.... a.d.t t.m.h. orang besar pasar itu inilah Duli Pangiran ...

The Truth [i.e. God]

This is an edict from His Highness Pangiran Dipati; it should be known to the jenang ...
because the Teramang people who are [settled?] in Serapas ....
[Pu]lang Jiwa and Dipati Penarang Bumi and if these Teramang people ...
to their five villages it should not be granted by Dipati Pulang Jiwa and Dip[ati]...
Bumi and if the market by Dipati Pulang Jiwa and Dipati Penarang Bumi ...

the edict of Pangiran Dipati. After that, in addition it is decreed by His
Highness ...
Dipati and Pangiran Ratu, if these Teramang people ...
the market children are attacked and killed[?], then by Dipati Pulang Jiwa
and Dipati ...
and thereafter also at ... .... do not ...

²¹ j.k l
²² vocalised
²³ vocalised; a.k.w or l.k.w, laku
... the two and all their followers, it is decreed by His Highness Pangiran ...
... the two dipati ... does not believe ... by the two dipati ...
... the chiefs of the market, this is High Highness ...

3. Renah Kemumu MS C

Decree (piagam) issued by Duli Sultan Ingalaga (i.e. Sultan Abdul Muhyi of Jambi) to Dipati Paling Jiwa, confirming his authority over other chiefs and their followers (marah menteri peranakannya) and their territories, c. 1680s

Notes: read from a photocopy of the original document, which is badly torn, with losses of text down the left-hand side and at the bottom. Large, somewhat clumsy, cursive hand; dal is sometimes written with three dots underneath, indicated with *; 13 lines.

Seal (damaged): #899, of Sultan Abdul Muhyi of Jambi (r. 1679-1687; d. 1699), also known as Sultan Anum Ingalaga (Andaya 1993: 71-72, 103, 128, 140); inscribed:

*al-Sultan Abdul Muhyi ibn Abdul Jalal
“The Sultan Abdul Muhyi, son of Abdul Jalal”

Eight-petalled circle; an impression of this seal is also found on a contract with the VOC, 21 August 1681 (ANRI Riouw 68/2)

Ini piagam Duli Sultan Ing[alaga] digaduhkan [a]kan
Dipati Paling Jiwa mengulu akan marah menteri peranakannya bedusun belaman ...
pungut panggil24 janang raja jika tia[da] ...
marah menterinya atau pemangkunya rayat25 per...
mengikut perintah dipati itu raya ...
menteri sedenda* menteri peranakan sedenda*
jika tiada dipati mengulukkan seperti
dipati sedenda* dipati jika ilir ...
dipati atau peranakannya Serapas d...
Sultan dari pada* amat-amatnya[?] ...
d.r.ng.a.n ... negeri ber...
... segala ... negeri[?] ...

---

24 or penggal? p.ng.g.l
25 r.y.a.y
This edict from His Highness Sultan Ingalaga is granted to Dipati Paling Jiwa, installing him in authority over the marah menteri and their followers, in matters concerning villages and cultivated areas... the collection of revenue and mobilisation at the order of the king’s heralds; if not... the marah menteri or their deputies... obey the instructions of the dipati... menteri will be fined, and the menteri and their followers will be fined, and if the dipati does not exert his authority as instructed he will be fined, and if downstream... the dipati or his followers in Serapas... Sultan.... ... the state... ... the state...

4. Renah Kemumu MS D

Decree issued by Duli Pangiran [Suta] Wijaya, to the menteri-menteri of Syiring, dated 23 Syawal 1120 (5 January 1709)

In the edict the Pangiran hands down the laws (menggaduhkan undang2) to be administered by the menteri-menteri of Syiring[?] (sy.r.y.ng) and specifies the fines to be imposed for certain crimes, and ends with an exhortation to obey these laws.

Notes: read from a faded photocopy; the original document is torn along the left side and faded on the right, but complete at bottom. Large hand; 14 lines.

Seal: #901, of Pangiran Suta Wijaya of Jambi, inscribed:

\[\text{Ini cap Pangiran Suta Wijaya // La ilaha illa Allah } (x4)\]
\[\text{“This is the seal of Pangiran Suta Wijaya // “There is no god but God” (Qur’an 47:19) (x4)”}\]

Eight-petalled circle, with an inner circle containing a two-bladed sword, two circles and a crescent; 15 impressions of this seal are known, one on a contract between the sultan and nobles of Jambi with the VOC, 16 October 1763 (ANRI Riouw 68/7), and all the others on documents seen and photographed by Voorhoeve in Kerinci in 1941 (KITLV Or.414, no.1a, 8b, 8c, 17, 18, 20, 24a.i, 24c, 25, 41a, 48b, 52a, 52d).
Hijrat al-nabi salla Allah ‘alayhi wa-sallam telah syeribu syeratus dua pu[luh]
tahun kepada bα tahun ba kepada tiga likur hari bulan Syaw[al]
kepada hari Jumaat kepada waktu zohor kepada masy itu Duli
Pangiran[Suta]
Wijaya menggaduhkan undang2 memarintahkan menteri Syiring[?] ...
akan bati Syiring batiga[?] jikalau tiada mau’ menurut kata dipatinya
den[da] ...
oleh dipatinya jikalau menteri yang delapan dan dua anak batin[?] ...
... dipati ...
... dari kepada itu jikalau orang berutang tiada ...
...ema’n ya jikalau ia beranak di dalam utangnya anak emas dua puluh
pada ...
... 2 jikalau ada surat tinggalnya[?] jikalau ber ...
Air Didih laki2 empat rial perempuan enam rial, jikalau r...a belum ...
da balaki diperbuat orang yang lain dendanya sepuluh emas dipati ...
... penghulu bukan sangsi[?] bukan ditagohkan oleh hamba rakyat raja d ...
... juga [dipati?] ... hubaya2 j[angan] dilalui syeperti kena denda ...

The migration of the Prophet, may God’s peace and blessings be upon
him, after one thousand one hundred and twenty
years, in the year *ba*, on the twenty-third of the month of Syawal,
on Friday, at noon, at that time His Highness Pangiran [Suta]
Wijaya handed down the laws of government to the menteri of Syiring ...
the people of Syiring, the three, if they do not obey the word of their dipati
the fine ...
by their dipati, if the eight menteri and the elders and ...
... dipati ...
... after that, if debtors do not ...
.... the mother, if she gives birth to a child while in debt, the child will be
twenty *emas* to ...
... if they have documents allowing them to settle[?] if ...
Air Didih men are four *rial*, women six *rial*, if .... not yet ...
a married [woman] is raped by someone else, the fine is ten *emas*, the
dipati ...
.... the headman ...not ... not to be imposed by the people of the ruler ..
... on no account should there be any transgression, in which case these
fines will be imposed ...
5. Renah Kemumu MS E

Decree (titah) issued by Sultan [Astra Ingalaga] (r. 1719-1725, 1727-1743) and Pangiran Dipati Mangku Ningrat of Jambi to the peroatin of Serampas

Notes: read from a photocopy; the original document is very badly torn and faded, with severe losses of text down the left hand side, but complete at bottom. Competent, cursive hand, with wide loops; eight lines.

Seal (damaged): #1698; illegible; eight-petalled circle; this is the only known impression.

 Ini titah dari bawah Duli Seri Sultan As[tra Inga]laga serta paduka adinda Pangiran Dipati Mangku Ningrat di Jamb[i] ... kepada hamba baginda peroatin Serampas Dipa[t i] ... ... nya ... janang belum mudik jikalau ada lagi yang ... buah hendaklah kumpulkan [oleh?] kamu ... ... kembalinya ... jenang ... denda ... denda penghulunya empat tahil sepaha adanya tamma al-kalam.

This edict is issued by His Majesty Sultan Astra Ingalaga and his honoured younger brother Pangiran Dipati Mangku Ningrat in Jambi to His Majesty’s subjects the peroatin of Serampas, Dipati ...

... janang who have not yet gone upriver, if there are any more who .. fruits you should gather ...
... the fine ....
the fine for headmen is four and a quarter tahil, the end of the words.

6. Renah Kemumu MS F

Although two photocopied sheets have been seen, it is probable that this document consists of a single sheet of paper with [a] on the recto and [b] and [c] on the verso.

[a] Sealed grant of authority (piagam serta cap) granted by Sultan Anum Seri Ingalaga to the six Dipati, dated 15 Safar 1173 (Monday 8 October 1759)
In the edict the Sultan assigns to the six Dipati land as specified according to the boundaries in the document, and sets out other laws for them to uphold.\[^{26}\]

Notes: read from a photocopy; the document appears to be complete but is faded at the bottom. Small, neat and fine hand; 20 lines.

**Seals** (from right to left):

#900, seal of Sutan Anum Seri Ingalaga Sultan Ahmad Zainuddin of Jambi (r. 1743-1770?) (Andaya 1993: 171, 315); inscribed:

\[\text{al-wathiq billah al-Jali Sultan Ahmad Zainuddin // Sultan / Anum / Seri / Ingalaga}\]

“He who trusts in God, the Resplendent One, Sultan Ahmad Zainuddin // Sultan / Anum / Seri / Ingalaga “

Eight-petalled circle, with four petals enclosing animals: at 45º a ?tiger, at 135º an elephant, at 225º a ?boar; at 315º an unidentified animal; four other impressions of this seal are known, including one on a contract with the VOC, 16 October 1763 (ANRI Riouw 68/7), and two on documents seen and photographed by Voorhoeve in Kerinci in 1941 (KITLV Or.414, no.17, 18 (photos)).

#1678; seal of the Pangiran Ratu; inscription only partially legible, “... negara ...”, written in the round; circle, with a zig-zag border of ovals, and a star motif in the middle; this is the only known impression of this seal.

\[\text{Hijrat al-nabi salla Allah 'alayhi wa-sallam seribu seratus tujuh puluh tiga tahun kepada tahun jin kepada lima belas hari bulan Safar pada hari Isnin, bahwa ini piagam serta cap daripada Duli Sultan Anum Seri Ingalaga <serta dengan putera baginda Pangiran Ratu> digaduhkan kepada Dipati Payung Dewa dan Dipati Ranah Aur dan Dipati Paling Dewa dan Dipati Serampas dan Dipati Kerta Negara^{27} dan Dipati}\]

\[^{26}\text{According to Neidel, “the name of Renah Kemumu’s lembaga adat is Depati berenam, menti nan selapan, demonstrating continuity with the dipati yang berenam serta semerah sementerinya yang dualapan in the piagam. Of the Depati titles mentioned in the piagam, Dipati Serampas is the only one that is definitely still in use” (pers. e-comm., 14.9.2004). A list of the current Renah Kemumu depati titles and a brief discussion of the naming of adat institutions is given in Neidel (2006: 371-372, fn. 64).}\]

\[^{27}\text{With an extra dot underneath, hence n.b.g.a.r.}\]
Tanjung Benuang<sup>28</sup>, seperti utang tanah hilirnya [hingga<sup>29</sup>] Tanggal Jelatang lalu ke Pematang Kayu Arang lalu ke Bukit Kembul Tinggi Kembul Rendah lalu ke Bukit Gajah Berani di dalam Suluh hingga Lubuk Sawu<sup>30</sup> Abidi di dalam lalu ke Bukit Tanggal Belimbing turun ke Paru Jelatang di dalam Langkat Lubuk Sawu Birini[?] merapat Pauh Bejajar lalu ke hulu Sungai Kuku perbatasan dengan orang Pulau Sangkar<sup>31</sup> lalu ke Bukit Atap Ijuk<sup>32</sup> perbatasan dengan orang Lempur<sup>33</sup> hingga Tabat Cematang<sup>34</sup> Batu perbatasan dengan orang Balak Bukit dalam Menjuto hingga Muara Jernih mudik di dalam Selagang hingga Muara Saku mudik di dalam Air Dikit hingga Muara Sungai <Hampir > mudik di dalam banda Bantal hingga Batu Tugal {mudik<sup>35</sup>} di dalam Teramang hingga pinggir Rundang mudik lalu merapat Bukit Langkup jatuh ke dalam Graha Besar<sup>36</sup> merapat Tanggal Jalatang, itulah setitik airnya dan sekepal tanahnya seekor ikannya, itulah utan tanah Duli Sultan yang digaduhkan kepada Dipati yang berenam serta semerah sementerinya yang dualapan itu serta tuah anak perempuan yang tiga serta cupak gantangnya sepancing<sup>37</sup> sekolamnya<sup>38</sup> sedenda sesetianya seogam seadatnya, itulah titah Duli Sultan janganlah kamu melawan barang perintah Dipati yang berenam itu adanya tamat.

Ini undang-undang Duli Sultan digaduhkan aw kepada Dipati yang berenam, jikalau ada barang kehendak Duli Sultan kepada segala Dipati

<sup>28</sup> Tanjung Benuang is one of the larger abandoned village sites in Serampas, and is considered one of the three oldest and most important villages in the adat territory of Renah Kamumu (Neidel 2006: Appendix 3, p. 252).

<sup>29</sup> hng.g.n

<sup>30</sup> swu

<sup>31</sup> “[L]ocated in southeastern Kerinci … on an island in the Merangin river, and according to legend was occupied by immigrants from Batu Sangkar in Minangkabau” (Neidel, pers. e-comm., 14.9.2004).

<sup>32</sup> “The name of the large hill … located at the boundary between Air Menjuto and Air Dikit” (Neidel, pers. e-comm, 14.9.2004). For oral histories about this hill, see Neidel 2006: 367, fn. 62.


<sup>34</sup> According to Neidel, this must be a scribal error for Pematang.

<sup>35</sup> Perhaps this word too should have been crossed out.

<sup>36</sup> “Grehao Besar … the hot spring is now called Grau Sakti or Grau Gadang, and is mentioned in Marsden’s History of Sumatra, 3rd ed., pp. 317-318” (Neidel, pers. e-comm., 14.9.2004).

<sup>37</sup> s.p.n.j.y.ng

<sup>38</sup> s.k.l.m.ny
yang rapat, jikalau tiada datang tanduk kijang berjipang\(^{39}\) tiga\(^{40}\) serta dengan pitis sekeping sepertiga Sungai Tenang satu pemancak satu Duli Sultan serta dengan tanda jenang Padang Kuningan, jikalau tiada datang demikian itu barang yang dikehendakinya tiada diberinya, jikalau dikuatinya serta dikuasainya serta menarik merentak juga maka diikat dikangkang, jikalau melawan dibunuh-bunuh dipati yang rapat itu bunuh Duli Sultan, jikalau merah menterinya hendak jadi Dipati tiada diberi oleh Duli Sultan, jikalau ia hendak mengawas juga maka didenda oleh Duli Sultan, lagi Dipati yang di dalam Serampas Sungai Tenang itu dibebaskan oleh Duli Sultan, jikalau merah menterinya tiada mau berdusun berlaman cupak gantangnya dengan Dipati itu denda disiti\(^{41}\) oleh Dipati yang berenam, jikalau tiada ia mau\(^{42}\) bardurui[?] bertambang maka disembahkan kepada jenang serta Dipati yang rapat tamat.

Yang menyurat piagam ini juru tulis Sultan, Astra Yuda namanya.

Seperti seperkara lagi di dalam piagam pemucap[?] sudah dibebaskan oleh Duli Sultan tiada memberi penembus cap tamat [al-ka]lam.

The year of the migration of the prophet, may God’s blessings and peace be upon him, one thousand one hundred and seventy-three, in the year jim, on the fifteenth day of Safar, on Monday, wherefore this sealed decree of His Majesty Sultan Anum Seri Ingalaga <and that of his son Pangiran Ratu> was assigned to Dipati Payung Dewa and Dipati Ranah Aur and Dipati Paling Dewa and Dipati Serampas and Dipati Kerta Negara and Dipati Tanjung Benuang, in respect of the land downstream to Tangga Jelatang, then on to Pematang Kayu Arang, then on to Bukit Kembul Tinggi Kembul Rendah, then on to Bukit Gajah Berani in Suluh then on to Lubuk Sawu Abidi, then on to Bukit Tangga Belimbing and down to Paru Jebang in Langkat Lubuk Sawu Birini, going alongside Pauh Bejajar and then on to the upper reaches of Sungai Kuku bordering the people of Pulau Sangkar, then on to Bukit Atap Ijuk bordering the people of Lempur, up to Tabat Cematang Batu bordering the people of Balak Bukit in Menjuto up to Muara Jernih, upstream in Selagang up to Muara Saku, upstream in Air

\(^{39}\) b.r.c.y.p.ng

\(^{40}\) In Neidel’s listing (2006: 378, fn. 76) of pusaka found in each of the three main Serampas villages of Renah Kemumu, Tanjung Kasri and Renah Alai, that of Tanjung Kasri includes a tanduk kijang bercabang tigo, a barking deer (Muntiacus muntjak) horn which has three branches.

\(^{41}\) d.s.t.y

\(^{42}\) m.a.w.w

\(^{43}\) vocalised.
Dikit up to Muara Sungai <Hampir>, upstream in Bantal up to Batu Tugal, 
{upstream} in Teramang up to the edge of Rundang, downstream then 
alongside Bukit Langkup down into Geraha Besar alongside Tangga 
Jelatang; this is their drop of water and handful of earth and catch of fish; 
these are the forests and lands of His Majesty the Sultan assigned to the six 
Dipati, and their eight officials and assistants, and the bounty of their three 
daughters, and their weights and measures, their fishing tackle and ponds, 
their fines and compliances, their beliefs and customs; this is the decree of 
His Majesty the Sultan; it is forbidden for you to contravene any orders of 
these six Dipati; the end.

These are the laws of His Majesty the Sultan with which the six Dipati 
are charged, with respect to any wishes of His Majesty the Sultan 
addressed to the assembled Dipati: if the three-branched deer antlers and 
one and a third of a tin coin and one calm river and one ... are not sent to 
His Majesty the Sultan with the sign of a ... official, if these things are not 
sent, whatever they request will not be granted, if they persist in enforcing 
and apprehending and pulling and stamping, then they will be tied up with 
their legs wide apart; if they resist they will be killed, the assembling 
Dipati will be killed by His Majesty the Sultan; if their officials and 
assistants wish to become Dipati this will not be granted by His Majesty 
the Sultan; if they wish to ... this will be ... by His Majesty the Sultan; 
furthermore the Dipati of Serampas Sungai Tenang will be freed by His 
Majesty the Sultan; if their officials and assistants refuse to cultivate the 
fields and orchards and apply the correct weights and measures as 
instructed by the Dipati then they will be fined and have goods confiscated 
by the six Dipati; if they refuse to ... and to mine then they will be replaced 
by other officials and the assembled Dipati, the end.

The writer of this edict is the Sultan’s scribe, named Astra Yuda.

Another matter included in this edict: ... is freed by His Majesty the Sultan 
.... the end of the words.

[b] Addendum to the edict above:
Confirming the royal prerogative to certain goods such as bezoar stones 
and ivory, and ordering anyone who finds such goods to surrender them to 
officials to be passed to the ruler; and lists the punishments for 
disobedience. Also states punishment for poisoning [of the river?].

Notes: this page is much more faded, with many losses to the text. Written 
in the same hand as [a]; six lines.
... lagi pula adalah karena hal larangan Duli Sultan ... mestika kecik gading ... cending jual demikian itulah larangan Duli Sultan maka jikalau [dipati]nya atau marah menterinya atau anak mudanya mendapat yang demikian itu melainkan sembahkan kepada dipati, dipati menyembahkan kepada jenang, jenang menyembahkan kepada raja. Maka barangsiapa melingdungkan larangan itu jikalau ditahan hukumnya denda pecat sekati lima, jikalau marah menterinya setahl sepaha denda, jikalau anak denda sepuluh emas?, itulah adat lembaga yang dikurniai oleh raja kepada kamu. Maka jikalau ada orang mengupas meracun Bantal Kecil Batu Api Ulu Rambai samun sagala melainkan tangkap oleh kamu, jikalau s.l.h dan bunuh sembahkan kepada jenang kamu, yang bunuh dipati itu [bunuh]**4** jenanglah adanya tamat al-kalam.

... furthermore the prerogatives of His Majesty the Sultan are ... small bezoar stones, ivory ... cending, it is forbidden by His Majesty the Sultan to sell these items, and if the dipati or marah menteri or followers should come across any of these items they should present them to the dipati, and the dipati should present them to the jenang, and the jenang should present them to the king, and whosoever contravenes this prerogatives, when they are apprehended their punishment is to be fined one kati five [tahil], and for marah menteri the fine is one and a quarter tahil, and for the followers the fine is ten [emas], this is the customary law which the king has granted to you.

And if anyone poisons or pollutes Bantal Kecil Batu Api Ulu Rambai or commits violent robbery they should be captured; in the case of ... or murder then present the case to your jenang; the murder of a dipati it is the same as the murder of a jenang; the end of the words.

[c] Agreement between Dipati Ranah Ulu of Serampas and Dipati Gantu Lulu and Dipati Agung of Korinci that the right bank of the Menjuto river was Korinci territory and the left bank Serampas territory, dated 28 February 1906 and signed in the presence of the Assistant Resident of Sanggaran Agung

Kami yang bertanda tangan akhir surat ... hamba barangkali[?] gelar Dipati Ranah Ulu Rana... giling al-... Haji Muhammad ... gelar Dipati Gantu dusun Lula Korinci... busi2 gelar Dipati Agung Lempur Korinci...

Bahwa asal ini dari hari Raba’ 28 Februari 1906 ... hari ... alam Korinci dengan Serampas ... oleh ... Dipati Ranah ... Ranah Kamumu itu

**4** n.w.n.h
We, whose signatures are found at the end of this document ...
I who bear the title Dipati Ranah Ulu Rana...
.... Haji Muhammad ... who bears the title Dipati Gantu of the village of Lula Korinci ...
.... with the title of Dipati Agung Lempur Korinci ...

Wherefore starting on this day, Wednesday, 28 February 1906, ... in the land of Korinci and Serampas ... by ... Dipati Ranah .... Ranah Kamumu ... Sungai Menjuto Basyar, which means that if we face towards the rivermouth of Sungai Menjuto Basyar, the right [bank] of Sungai Menjuto is the territory of the people of Korinci, while the left [bank] of Sungai Menjuto is the territory of the people of Serampas and Dipati Ranah Ulu holds jurisdiction, while the rivermouth is the territory of all of us named above.

Dipati Ranah Ulu [x]Dipati Gantu Lulu
Dipati Agung [x]
Approved of in front of me.
Sanggaran Agoeng, 28 February 1906
...Assistant Resident
[signature]

7. Renah Alai MS A

Letter of authority (cap surat piagam) issued by Duli Sultan Ratu Seri Ingalaga and his adinda Pangiran Ratu Cakra Negara to Dupati Anggu Baya and Dipati Suta Menggala, dated 20 Syaaban 1214 (17 January 1800).

The edict outlines the boundaries of territory of the two dipati, and affirms their authority over the collection of forest produce and governance of this area, outlining the fines liable. The edict further
specifies the boundaries with the people of Merangin. It also reiterates the king’s prerogative over the sale of certain goods, and the chain of command for the surrender of such goods, and outlines the fines for non-compliance.

Notes: read from a photograph of the original document, which is now laminated. In good condition, with a fine, neat, small hand; but ends abruptly; perhaps the text continues on the verso, but no copies are available.

**Seals** (from right to left):

#644, seal of Sultan Masud Badaruddin (r. in 1777-ca.1790); inscribed:

sanat 1190 al-wathiq billah al-Makin Sultan Masud Badaruddin // Sultan / Ratu / Seri / Ingalaga

“the year 1190 (AD 1776/1777), he who trusts in God, the Master, Sultan Masud Badaruddin // Sultan / Ratu / Seri / Ingalaga”

Eight-petalled circle, with four petals enclosing animals: at 0º a wolf, at 45º an elephant, at 180º a deer; at 270º a ?tiger; three other impressions of this seal are known, including a letter from Sultan Ratu Seri Ingalaga of Jambi to Francis Light in Penang (SOAS MS 40320/11, f. 111) and two piagam (LUB Cod.Or.2241.Ilc.1; KITLV Or.342).

#1696, seal of Pangiran Ratu Cakra Negara, inscribed:

sanat ... Pangiran ..., “The year ... Pangiran ...”

Eight-petalled circle; this is the only impression known of this seal.

Hijrat al-nabi salla Allah ‘alayhi wa-sallam seribu dua ratus sepuluh empat kepada dua puluh hari bulan Syaaban hari Jumaat waktu doha ketika itulah Duli Sultan Ratu Seri Ingalaga serta dengan adinda baginda Pangiran Ratu Cakra Negara mengurniai cap surat piagam ini kepada Dupati Anggu Baya serta dengan Dipati Suta Menggala ini.

Maka adapun perbatas sebelah hilir hingga p.m.w.h mudik dan sebelah muara perbatasan dengan orang Sungai Tenang hingga Pangai lalu menuju Bukit Sedingin hilir lalu ke dalam tanah Serampas Ranah Alai Inum Jalung, itulah wetan tanah Dupati Anggu Baya dengan Suta Menggala ini.

Maka jikalau ada orang calu culu mengambil kayu mayunya buluh bilahnya rotan rumbianya lubuk danau silang selangnya buah masam buah manisnya dan jikalau tiada memberi tahu dupati yang berdua itu
dalam utan tanah ini, melainkan dirampas lagi kena denda dalam dua puluh, dan lagi pekenanya kepada yang empunya tanah lima emas adanya.

Dan lagi pula titah Duli Sultan kepada segala anak menteri, maka barang siapa tiada menurut barang perintah dipatinya itu seperti berdusun berlaman beradat berembaga bercupak bergantang melainkan kena denda oleh dipatinya, jikalau menterinya setahil sepaha, jikalau peranakannya lima emas, titulah titah Duli Sultan kepada kamu sekalian, hubaya jangan kamu lalui seperti di dalam piagam ini.

Dan lagi perbatasan dengan orang Merangin hingga Sungai Berangin meragatlah ke Bukit Sembilan Tanggu’ lalu ke Talang Serendit lepas ke Lubuk Tengkuyung jatuh lalu meragat ke Lubuk Rawang Peraku meragat lalu ke S.y.w Tengah di Batang Lendur perbatasan dengan orang Sungai Tenang dalam Batang Lendur hingga Lubuk Ujan Panas mudiknya.

Maka adapun yang larangan raja kamu ketahui pula, seperti jual geliga taring mestika atau gading atau cending dan emas jatah jati rupa, maka barang siapa kamu atau menteri atau anak mudanya mendapat sedemikian itu melainkan sembahkan oleh kamu kepada jenang, dan jenang sembahkan kepada raja, maka jikalau marah menterinya menyembahkan kepada dupati. Adapun barang siapa melarang melindungkan larangan seperti demikian itu melainkan didenda, dipati jikalau dipatinya hukumnya denda pecat sekati lima dan marah menterinya dandanya setahil sepaha dan anak mudanya sepuluh emas.

Maka jikalau ada orang upas ...

The migration of the prophet, may God’s peace and blessings be upon him, one thousand two hundred and fourteen, on the twentieth day of Syaaban, on Friday, at forenoon, at that time His Majesty Sultan Ratu Seri Ingalaga and His Majesty’s younger brother Pangiran Ratu Cakra Negara granted this sealed decree to Dupati Anggu Baya and Dipati Suta Menggala.

The boundary downstream stretches to p.m.w.h, then upriver until the rivermouth marking the border with the people of Sungai Tenang and on to Pangai, then towards Bukit Sedingin downstream into the land of Serampas Ranah Alai Inum Jalung, that is the eastern boundary of the territory of Dupati Anggu Baya and Suta Menggala.

If there are people repeatedly taking all kinds of woods, or bamboo poles or splints, or rattan or sago, from the lakes and inlets, from this side or that side, and taking fruit whether unripe or ripe, and if they do not inform these two dipati of this land and its forests, then these goods will
be confiscated and they will be fined twenty, and furthermore they should pay five emas to the owner of the land.

And furthermore His Majesty the Sultan decrees to all followers of the menteri, whosoever fails to obey any orders of their dipati, such as on matters regarding the settlement of villages and the cultivation of plantation, on customary law and community affairs, and on weights and measures, they will be fined by their dipati, menteri will be fined one and a quarter tahil and their followers will be fined five emas, this is the decree of His Majesty the Sultan to you all, under no circumstances should you trangress any of the stipulations of this edict.

Furthermore, the boundary with the people of Merangin is up to Sungai Berangin, cutting across to Bukit Sembilan Tanggu’, and then on to Talang Serendit, down to Lubuk Tengkuyung, steeply down and then cutting across to Lubuk Rawang Peraku, and then straight across to S.y.w. Tengah in Batang Lendur; and the boundary with the people of Sungai Tenang in Batang Lendur is upriver to Lubuk Ujan Panas.

Now your king’s prerogatives, as you know, are the sale of bezoar stones or dew stones or ivory or cending or pure gold, and so therefore whosoever of you or your menteri or your youths should find any of these items, you must present them to the jenang, and the jenang will convey them to the king, or the marah menteri should present them to the dupati. And whosoever obstructs the upkeep of these prerogatives shall be fined, if it is the dipati he shall be fined one kati five [tahil], and the marah menteri shall be fined one and a quarter tahil, and youths will be fined ten emas.
Appendix B: Comments by David Neidel on the sources for the *Piagam Serampas*, quoted from a personal e-mail to A. T. Gallop, 13 December 2006

“*Piagam Renah Kemumu*: The *piagam* of Renah Kemumu are part of the villages’ *tambo*, a collection of historical documents. The exact nature and contents of the *tambo* continues to be shrouded in mystery due to a number of strange stories about the language, contents, and age of the documents. A couple informants, for example, told me that part of the *tambo* is written in *bahasa Hindu*. Others told me that they contain mention of a representative of Srivijaya passing through the region. Meanwhile, the very common interpretation of the *tambo* as being 800 years old was clearly based on a misinterpretation of the date of 1173 *hijrah* contained in the *piagam* of Sultan Anum Seri Ingalaga. This would suggest that the mention of *bahasa Hindu* and the representative from Srivijaya are also based on misinterpretations, but we do not know for sure. While I have been told by *Depati Pulang Jawa* that the *piagam* for which I have obtained photocopies constitute the majority of the *tambo*, there is a chance that it may contain other documents of historical interest as well.

The basic problem in documenting the *tambo* of Renah Kemumu - and getting to the bottom of this mystery - were two-fold. First, the *tambo* is regarded as one of the community’s *pusaka*, which can only be opened - but is not necessarily always opened - during the village's annual *kenduri sko*. Usually stored in the loft of the house belonging to the head *adat* official (*Depati Pulang Jawa*), the *pusaka* are said to be protected by village ancestors, who would bring illness to the village and decimate its rice fields if tradition were violated. Second, for whatever reason, the current *Depati Pulang Jawa* and some of the other villagers seemed opposed to my actually seeing the *pusaka*. At one point, for example, I was told by the *Depati Pulang Jawa* that I could have photocopies made in Sungai Penuh (a 15 mile hike and two hour bus ride) if I held a *kenduri*, which would involve the sacrifice of a chicken and preparation of other food stuffs, before and after the *tambo* left the village. The rules kept changing, however, and finally I was told that my request had been denied at a *musyawarah*.

Although I could not document the *piagam* in situ, informants told me that there were various copies floating around. Photocopies, for example, were said to have been made in the late 1980s and sent to various government officials in order to counter attempts by the regional government to resettle the villages of Renah Kemumu and Tanjung Kasri outside of the Kerinci Seblat National Park. Following up on this lead, I
traveled to both Bangko and Muara Manderas (about five and 15 hour bus rides from Kerinci respectively) in attempts to track those photocopies down at the government offices to which they had been sent (in addition to conducting other business), but with no success. I also twice visited Pak Abu Nawas, a respected elder who had held the title of *Depati Pulang Jawa* before moving to Bangko, and who I was told may have copies of some of the documents as well. On the second occasion, after I had stayed with him for several days, he finally offered to allow me to see the photocopies. When he went back to his bedroom, however, he returned empty-handed, saying that he must have lent them out to someone.

The person who I finally did get the first set of *piagam* Renah Kemumu from was Pak Alutral, an *orang* Tanjung Kasri who is the son of a former *Pasirah* of the *marga* Serampas and a civil servant in the Department of Public Works. I had actually gone to his house in 2002 or early 2003 with the hopes of getting a copy of the *tambo* Tanjung Kasri (still undocumented), which I had been told he might have. As things turned out, he had been involved in the initiative to get the Renah Kemumu *piagam* photocopied in the late 1980s in order to counter the government’s resettlement plans and had kept copies for himself. Pak Alutral made copies of his photocopies for me on the second of a two day visit to his house. To be honest, I wasn’t even exactly sure what the photocopies were of when they were first given to me and only later figured out that they were from Renah Kemumu.

I received the second set of photocopies of Renah Kemumu *piagam* in 2005. Following the excavations with the *Highland Jambi Project*, I went to visit Pak Abu Nawas again. I had your transliterations of the initial set of *piagam*, which I gave to him as *oleh-oleh*. After a short conversation, he headed back to his bedroom, but this time emerged with a folder containing the photocopied *piagam*. His collection contained the *piagam* given to me two years earlier by Pak Alutral, but also included a number of others. He said that he had photocopied the *piagam* in Jambi in the 1970s, when he was *Depati Pulang Jawa*. He told me that they were all from Renah Kemumu. At that time, he also gave me the Islamic prayer, but it may have been a joke.

**Piagam Renah Alai:** I went to Renah Alai, which is located on the road between Bangko and Muara Mandras, in early 2003 in order to interview one of the old men, Pak Ali Mukin, who was said to be an authority on the history of the region. This was my first time in Renah Alai, so I stayed with his son, Pak Ruslan, who was the village head (*Kepala Desa*) and head *adat* official (i.e., *Depati Karti Muda Menggalo*) for the village. After showing Pak Ruslan my research permit, he arranged for me to meet
with his father and told me that money was not an issue because my research had been “approved by the president.” After dinner that evening, Pak Ruslan brought out the *piagam*, which was laminated and stored in his bedroom, on his own volition. He said that it was from around 1200 *hijrah* and apparently knew the contents. I was quite a bit surprised since I was not aware that Renah Alai even had a *piagam*. I did not have a camera along, so I asked Pak Ruslan if he could take the *piagam* with him the next time that he went to Bangko, the capital city of the Kabupaten (5-7 hours away by bus), and get a photocopy made for me. He agreed and said he would give it to Pak Alutral, an *orang Seramps* in Bangko at whose house I had met Pak Ruslan once previously. Nothing came of it.

In 2005, after the *Highland Jambi Project*’s archaeological excavations in Renah Kemumu, I went to Muara Manderas and Sungai Tenang in order to document some megaliths in the area. After completing that task, I took the morning bus from Muara Madras to Renah Alai (one hour). I went directly to Pak Ruslan’s house and presented him with my research permit and official letters. I quickly got to the point and asked him if it would be possible to photograph the *piagam*. He seemed a bit surprised that I wanted to do it immediately, but quickly launched into an explanation that it was a community *pusaka* and requested that I provide some type of *uang adat*. I gave him Rp. 20,000. He didn’t seem to think much of my offer, but got the *piagam* out anyway. I took several photographs of it and quickly departed for my next destination.”

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http://www.hawaii.edu/indolang/manuscripts/Kerinci/Tambo/
Malay Concordance Project.
Fig. 12-1: Edict issued by Duli [Pangeran] Ratu (r. 1639-1670) in Merangin addressed to various *dipati*. Renah Kemumu MS A (photocopy in the possession of Bapak Abu Nawas of Renah Kemumu)
Fig. 12-2: Edict issued by Duli Pangiran Dipati, dated AH 1086 (AD 1675/1676). Renah Kemumu MS B [a] (photocopy in the possession of Bapak Abu Nawas of Renah Kemumu)
Fig. 12-3: Edict issued by Duli Pangiran Dipati, confirming the authority of Dipati Pulang Jiwa and Dipati Penarang Bumi over the people of Teramang in Serapas. Renah Kemumu MS B [b] (photocopy in the possession of Bapak Abu Nawas of Renah Kemumu).
Fig. 12-4: Edict issued by Duli Sultan Ingalaga (i.e., Sultan Abdul Muhyi of Jambi, r. 1679-1687) to Dipati Paling Jiwa. Renah Kemumu MS C (photocopy in the possession of Bapak Abu Nawas of Renah Kemumu)
Fig. 12-5: Edict issued by Duli Pangiran [Suta] Wijaya, to the menteri-menteri of Syiring, dated 23 Syawal 1120 (5 January 1709). Renah Kemumu MS D (photocopy in the possession of Bapak Abu Nawas of Renah Kemumu)
Fig. 12-6: Edict issued by Sultan [Astra Ingalaga] (r. 1719-1725, 1727-1743) and Pangiran Dipati Mangku Ningrat of Jambi. Renah Kemumu MS E (photocopy in the possession of Bapak Abu Nawas of Renah Kemumu)
Fig. 12-7: Edict granted by Sultan Anum Seri Ingalaga to six Dipati, dated 15 Safar 1173 (Monday 8 October 1759). Renah Kemumu MS F [a] (photocopy in the possession of Bapak Abu Nawas of Renah Kemumu)
Fig. 12-8: Addendum to the edict contained in Renah Kemumu MS F [a], followed by an agreement between Dipati Ranah Ulu of Serampas and Dipati Gantu Lulu and Dipati Agung on land boundaries, 28 February 1906, ratified by the Dutch Assistant Resident of Sanggaran Agung. Renah Kemumu MS F [b], [c] (photocopy in the possession of Bapak Abu Nawas of Renah Kemumu)
Fig. 12-9: Edict issued by Duli Sultan Ratu Seri Ingalaga and his *adinda* Pangiran Ratu Cakra Negara to Dupati Anggu Baya and Dipati Suta Menggala, dated 20 Syaaban 1214 (17 January 1800). Renah Alai MS A (original manuscript in the possession of Bapak Ruslan of Renah Alai)
Fig. 12-10: A clearer impression of the seal (#640) of Pangeran Ratu of Jambi as found on Renah Kemumu MS A, from a letter to Governor-General Johan Maetsuijker in Batavia, 1669 (Leiden University Library, Acad. 98 (13))

Fig. 12-11: A clearer impression of the seal (#899) of Sultan Abdul Muhyi as found on Renah Kemumu MS C, from a contract with the VOC, 21 August 1681 (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Riouw 68/2)
Fig. 12-12: A clearer impression of the seal (#901) of Pangeran Suta Wijaya as found on Renah Kemumu MS D, from a contract with the VOC, 16 October 1763 (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Riouw 68/7)

Fig. 12-13: A clearer impression of the seal (#900) of Sultan Ahmad Zainuddin Anum Seri Ingalaga as found on Renah Kemumu MS F, from a contract with the VOC, 16 October 1763 (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Riouw 68/7)
Fig. 12-14: Photograph taken by Petrus Voorhoeve in Kerinci in 1941 of a document bearing the same seal (#901) as found on Renah Kemumu MS D (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden, Or.414, 48b)
Fig. 12-15: *Piagam Lantak Sepadan*, issued by Sultan Anum Seri Ingalaga of Jambi in 1756, from the village of Guguk in Kabupaten Merangin, Jambi (WARSI)