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C. H. THOMSEN, THE EDITOR OF "A CODE OF BUGIS MARITIME LAWS"

A *Code of Bugis Maritime Laws*, the little book that was anonymously published by the Mission Press at Singapore in 1832, caught rather much attention the first years after its publication and has been mentioned several times afterwards. Nevertheless the history of its origin has never been investigated nor has the anonymous editor been identified with certainty. At the moment, now that the booklet has been overtaken by later publications, the subject which it is dealing with: the maritime laws of Buginese merchants and navigators, is likely to be more worthy of attention than the book itself, a subject, moreover, which has never been exhaustively treated in spite of repeated discussion.¹ But in the history of the study of Buginese language and literature it still constitutes a minor problem which begs an explanation. We will, therefore, restrict ourselves here to biblio- and biographical annotations necessary for this explanation and consider the booklet in connection with the studies dealing with Buginese before the time of Matthes.



Considering the number of elaborate and informative works and articles concerning Buginese and Macassar languages and literature published by B. F. Matthes,² and up till now used as the main sources for the study of these languages, one is entitled to overlook a slight exaggeration in the statement:³ "Before Dr Matthes both languages,

¹ Cf. L. J. J. Caron, *Het handels- en zeerecht in de adatrechtsregelen van den rechtskring Zuid-Celebes*, Bussum 1937, where Matthes' treatise on the subject has also been reprinted. Professor Cense has told me that also on the island of Bima mss. containing former maritime laws have been preserved, which have to be considered in this connection.

² Matthes' linguistic works were published between 1858 (his Macassar grammar) and 1889 (the Supplement to his Buginese dictionary).

³ J. C. G. Jonker, in: *Levensberichten der afgestorven medeleden van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, Leiden 1909, p. 256.

as well as the literary productions existing therein, never have been studied scientifically, indeed, one may say, without exaggeration, they were as good as wholly unknown."

Matthes himself laid claim to be the first European who studied these languages scientifically.⁴ Indeed, the booklet under discussion was also known to him, but obviously he did not consider it worthy of the title "scientific".⁵

Nevertheless, in the first years that the interest for Indonesian languages and cultures was awakening, attention was also paid to the languages of South Celebes, and when Matthes started his work in Celebes in 1848, a few writings on this subject had already appeared. As has often been the case with other less well-known languages, in the beginning vocabularies were published, which were drafted on the basis of verbal and often hasty information and not based on firsthand knowledge of the language. The diligent founder and first president of the "Bataviaasch Genootschap voor taal-, land- en volkenkunde", J. C. M. Radermacher, who in the first volumes of this society's "Verhandelingen" supplied summary descriptions of various Indonesian and other Oriental areas, was the first who, in his brief description of Celebes, furnished a "dictionary", in which he inserted apart from Balinese also Macassar and "Bony" (i.e. Buginese) words.⁶ This list contains about 170 words and about 70 sentences. Among the last are some dialogues evidently taken directly from life, witness e.g.: "Why did you say that to the Mrs.?" "Because she wants to beat me!", the final sentences of a complete novel in a nutshell. The orthography of the Buginese and Macassar words in this vocabulary sometimes hardly allows one to guess which words are intended.

⁴ In the prefaces to his Macassar and Buginese grammars and dictionaries. In the preface to his Macassar grammar Matthes also mentions Ds. W. H. C. toe Water, whom R. A. Kern has called "the first to study scientifically the Macassar and Buginese languages" (*BKI* 1948, p. 4). In his time toe Water certainly had quite a reputation for his knowledge of Macassar and Buginese. But, as a minister, he has only been at Macassar from 1839 till 1842, and, after his transfer to Java, he already died the following year. His only publications are an article on the life and conditions of the Macassar and Buginese peoples (*Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* 1840 I, p. 561-594) and a translation of a little Buginese poem (*Ibidem*, 1844 III, p. 207-208). Much to his regret Matthes did not find anything useful among his papers.

⁵ *Over de Wadjorezen met hun handels- en scheepswetboek*, Makassar 1869, reprinted in Caron *o.c.*, p. 10-16.

⁶ 'Korte beschrijving van het eiland Celebes en de eilanden Floris, Sumbawa, Lombok en Baly', *Verh. Bat. Gen.* 4 (1786), p. 199-275; the "dictionary" p. 264-275.


In 1811, in his essay 'On the languages and literature of the Indo-Chinese nations',⁷ John Leyden also devoted a discussion to Buginese. He gives 53 titles of "most popular Bugis compositions", most of which prove to be proper names which denote episodes of the La Galigo epic, and he copies from one of these, "Wepaletei", a quotation in transcription with a translation attached to it. In his vocabulary of 54 words in four languages: "Bugis, Mangkasar, Bima and Sumbawa", Buginese words occur in a remarkably correct spelling, such as *wunni*, night, and *unka*, is. The first of these examples and his remark about "double consonants" suggest that he knew already something about Buginese consonant-gemination. He is also the first to mention a Buginese translation of the Koran.⁸

Raffles, in his 'Comparitive Vocabulary' of East-Indonesian languages, also gives "Bugis, Makassar and Mandhar", though no more than fifty words for each language.⁹ Crawford also composed 'Vocabularies', in which he compared about 250 words in fourteen Indonesian languages, among which "Bugis and Macassar".¹⁰ For these two and for several others of these fourteen languages he collected the words personally.¹¹

All these vocabularies must needs contain inaccuracies: often Buginese words appear in the Macassar list and the other way round, or the words are provided with personal and passive affixes, as for

⁷ *Asiatic Researches* X, London 1811, p. 158-289; about Buginese p. 192-198, 199-201.

⁸ In 1810 Leyden submitted a Buginese translation of Mark's Gospel, which he had made, to the Calcutta corresponding committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society at Calcutta, but it was not printed there, and on inquiry in 1847 it appeared to be lost, cf. *Handelingen van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap*, Amsterdam 1846, p. 64-71; 1847, p. 47-54.

⁹ T. S. Raffles, *History of Java* II, London 1817, 'Account of Celebes', Appendix F, p. cxviii. As Professor Cense informs me, two manuscripts from the collection Raffles (Royal Asiatic Society) contain Macassar and Buginese vocabularies. Raffles Java Ms 21 contains one vocabulary with Madurese (Sumëñëp) and Buginese words next to each other and one with Macassar and Buginese words, arranged in semantic groups: God, nature, elements, etc. Raffles Java Ms 40 contains a Buginese-Macassar vocabulary of about 2500 words, arranged in nearly the same categories as Ms 21: p. 1-224 words; p. 225-239 sentences (some of these in *hikayat* style). Apparently the Macassar words have been supplied by a Buginese informant. As to the orthography, sometimes  denotes the final ng (which is usually not written in the Macassar-Buginese script) in both Macassar and Buginese words.

¹⁰ J. Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago* etc. II, Edinburgh 1820, p. 125-191.

¹¹ *o.c.*, p. 120

instance Crawford's "jarimu, finger", correctly "your finger". Both Raffles and Crawford also publish pictures of the Buginese-Macassar script,¹² apparently, however, without using it. If they had based their vocabularies on words written down in that script, they would have avoided a number of mistakes, though not all of them, owing to the incompleteness of this script.

That also the Buginese script cannot pretend to a completely faultless transcription, is proved by the booklet published at Singapore in 1832. But even Matthes, who wrote the double consonants and the glottal stop in his transcriptions,¹³ is not always reliable on these points. And up till now we lack a dictionary which gives conclusive information on this head.

Matthes dwelt at great length on the shortcomings of the Singapore booklet, and he certainly had his reasons. But beside this, it may be observed, that here for the first time a Buginese text with translation was published, and that the transcription in the vocabulary added to it is based on the Buginese script. Compared with previous work, these are two merits which meant decided progress towards the knowledge of Buginese and which entitle it to be remembered as a first endeavour on this level.

The full title runs: *A code of Bugis Maritime Laws with a translation and vocabulary, giving the pronunciation and meaning of each word. To which is added, an Appendix.* Singapore: printed at the Mission Press. 1832. The contents are: p. I-V Advertisement: a short summary of the text published and some remarks on the language and the alphabet, which "is evidently traceable to the Sanscrit, from its order

¹² Raffles *o.c.*, p. xcv; Crawford *o.c.*, opposite page 71. Both give two lines of Buginese script as an example.

¹³ Matthes described the geminated consonant as a consonant which both closes the preceding syllable and opens the following. He distinguished the "open" vowels into "soft" ones and "sharp" ones, meaning thereby vowels which are not followed by a glottal stop and those which are, and in his transcription he marked the sharp ones by an acute accent (*Boeginesche spraakkunst*, The Hague 1875, p. 10, 11). N. Adriani spoke of half-closed syllables in Sangirese when a vowel is followed by a glottal stop, and marked these vowels in the orthography by a dot placed underneath, in accordance with the practice of his informant Miss C. W. J. Steller (*Sangireesche Spraakkunst*, Leiden 1893, p. 9). J. C. G. Jonker followed his example for Buginese (*Encyclopaedie voor Nederlandsch Indië*, s.v. Boegineesch). They did not realise that the glottal stop really was a genuine consonant and not a "vowel-quality". Although later on Adriani changed his practice and used an apostrophe behind the vowel, up till the present day the dot underneath the vowel still remains the common orthography in Sangirese.

and sound, like several others, in the Archipelago"; p. V-VI contain the alphabet with a transcription, in which *gna* for *nga*, *m'pak* for *mpa* and *ö, ön* or *öng* for the *ě* are to be noted; p. 1-12: the text of the maritime laws in Buginese script; then p. 1-9: Translation; p. 11-20 Vocabulary: the words are in Buginese script, transcription and English translation, and arranged per page of the text on which they occur (176 words); p. 21-28 Appendix: a vocabulary with the headings Pronouns, Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjugations and Interjections (139 words). In the transcription the consonants not represented in the Buginese script, *viz.* the final nasals (among which wrongly sometimes also *n* and *m*), a final *k* (by which is meant the glottal stop) and, but incorrectly, sometimes a final *h* (e.g. "söpuloh", ten, correctly *sěppulo*), are printed in italics. Gemination of consonants is lacking everywhere. The grammatical structure has not always been understood, e.g. "poasalato, crime", correctly *ppo/asalat/to*, to have also committed the crime of . . . The translations, too, are not always correct.

The impression was probably small. Matthes did not succeed in laying hands on a copy (he only knew it from later editions mentioned below) and in 1847 van Hoëvell inquired for one in Singapore, but in vain.¹⁴ Some copies, however, had turned up in Europe. In France the expert on maritime law J. M. Pardessus, who had seen an announcement of the publication in the *Asiatic Journal*, after much trouble, obtained one from Bengal in 1837, and in 1845 E. Dulaurier, professor of Malay in Paris, at his request, republished it together with a translation and annotations in French in the sixth volume of Pardessus' *Collection de lois maritimes antérieures au XVIII^{me} siècle*.¹⁵ Unfortunately, in his annotations he increased the mistakes. For instance, his comparison of Buginese "masuk" (correctly *massu*^s), to go out, with Malay *masuk*, to enter, was certainly not felicitous, but it is not found in the Singapore booklet. Later on (?), the Buginese text was printed again in Paris, now bearing the title *Chrestomathies Océaniques. Textes en langue Boughî* I, without translation or annotations.¹⁶

In the following years it also attracted attention in the Netherlands.

¹⁴ *Over de Wadjorezen etc.*, Caron *o.c.*, p. 12, 13. *Handelingen van het Nederl. Bijbelgen.* 1847, p. 47 sq. At present both the Leiden University Library and the Koninklijk Instituut voor taal-, land- en volkenkunde at The Hague possess a copy.

¹⁵ *o.c.*, p. 467-480, 'Code Bougui'; the account of this edition *o.c.*, p. 377-379.

¹⁶ no date, 18 pages, irregular type; on p. 18 the 'Alphabet Boughî'.

H. C. Millies, professor of theology at Amsterdam at the time and later professor of oriental languages at Utrecht, owned a copy and placed it at the disposal of the "Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei" in Vienna, where the complete booklet was reprinted in 1854, together with a German translation of the English part by "einem Mitglied der Staatsdruckerei, E. Seelieb". The introduction was somewhat abridged, the vocabulary alphabetically arranged and in the transcription a few not essential changes were made. This time the book was called *Die Sprache der Bugis* and was printed "Nach einer von Dr Millies in Amsterdam übersandten, und zu Serampore 1832 erschienen Broschüre". Without doubt the latter was the booklet published at Singapore, and possibly the title-page of this copy was damaged, so that it was erroneously supposed to have been published at Serampore in India, where also a renowned Mission Press was to be found.

This Vienna edition was connected with attempts in the Netherlands to procure printing-types of the Buginese characters, in which Millies took an interest on behalf of the work of Matthes in Celebes. The viennese types, however, were not considered satisfactory. A short time afterwards Millies succeeded in having the types cast in the Netherlands. In 1856 a *Spécimen des Caractères de la langue Bouguie, (dans l'île de Célèbes, Indes Néerlandaises,)* gravés et fondu par N. Tetterode, fondeur en caractères à Rotterdam sous la direction de Mr. H. C. Millies, à Amsterdam, was published; it was a plano-page with Buginese and Macassar text, provided by Matthes, in a type almost identical with that of Matthes' books.¹⁷

Finally it may be recalled that one of the Malayan texts of the maritime laws of Malaya, used already by Raffles,¹⁸ later on published with a French translation by Dulaurier¹⁹ and again translated into Dutch by Leupe,²⁰ bore the title "Code maritime des royaumes Man-kasar et Bougui" as Dulaurier put it, but, as Matthes has already made clear, it had nothing to do with Celebes. Although Dulaurier's Malayan text contains no words corresponding to his French title, there actually seem to exist some Malay manuscripts bearing such a title and one wonders whether these were perhaps intended for the states on the Malayan peninsula which in the 18th century came under Buginese rule.

¹⁷ For this paragraph, vide P. J. Veth in *Tijdschr. voor Ned. Ind.* 1856 II, p. 192-198.

¹⁸ T. S. Raffles, On the Malay nations, *Asiatic Researches* XII (1818), p. 102-159.

¹⁹ Pardessus, *o.c.*, p. 430 sq.

²⁰ *Tijdschr. voor Ned. Ind.* 1849, p. 305 sq.

So far for the vicissitudes and results of this Singapore publication. The anonymous author can be traced by paying attention to a sentence in the introduction on page IV, reading: "The Appendix is part of a vocabulary collected three or four years ago, but not yet printed."

In his translation of Abdullah Munsji's *Pelayaran ke Kelantan*, Dulaurier says in a note concerning a certain Thomsen mentioned by Abdullah, that he was a "missionnaire danois, qui a résidé à Singapore, et auteur du Bugis Vocabulary".²¹ Probably he alluded in this note to the booklet, which, also anonymously, had appeared in 1833 in Singapore at the Mission Press, bearing the title *A Vocabulary of the English, Bugis and Malay languages, containing about 2000 words*. (Price one dollar), VI, 64 pages, 8°. This vocabulary is not arranged alphabetically, but the words are grouped in 27 semantic sections, some of which are subdivided again, e.g.: Numerals, Universe, Elements (Fire, Water, Air, Earth), Man, Buildings, etc. Only the sections Adjectives and Verbs are each arranged in alphabetic order. There are four columns: English, Buginese in Buginese script, id. in transcription, and Malay in roman. That Dulaurier had this book in view appears from a Buginese dictionary in manuscript from his inheritance, which is preserved at present in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.²² On the first page of this ms. the two Singapore publications of 1832 and 1833 are mentioned as the sources, whilst the name of the author of the second book is given as Th. Thomsen. Dulaurier copied the Buginese words from both books on scraps of paper and pasted them in alphabetic order in a copy-book, composing in this way a Buginese-English dictionary.

Of this rare Singapore vocabulary of 1833, which was the principal source for Dulaurier's dictionary, the "Koninklijk Instituut voor taal-, land- en volkenkunde" at The Hague possesses a copy, which in the catalogue is put in the name of Th. Thomsen . . . possibly in reliance upon Dulaurier's knowledge of the question, which was, however, not altogether sufficient. For the Christian names of Mr. Thomsen in fact were Claudius Henry.²³

²¹ *Voyage d'Abd-allah ben Abd-el-Kadir Mounschy . . . de Singapore à Kalamtan . . . en l'année 1838*, traduit du Malay avec des notes . . . par Ed. Dulaurier, Paris 1850, p. 11 note 2.

²² *Bugis and English Vocabulary compiled from several sources* by Professor Edward Dulaurier (Ms.). Vide *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits Indiens, Indo-Chinois et Malayo-Polynésiens* par A. Cabaton, Paris 1912: 'Manuscrits Malayo-Polynésiens' n. 137.

²³ In the copy of the catalogue of the Koninklijk Instituut, which was used personally by the Instituut's former secretary Rouffaer, Thomsen's initials have been rectified in pencil into C.H.

From the exact conformity of the two booklets of 1832 and 1833 as to the Buginese type, the way of transcription, in particular the ö for the ë, and part of the content, it is evident that both are by the same author, *vis.* C. H. Thomsen. The Vocabulary of 1833 consequently is the same from which the author already published a part in the Appendix of his Bugis Code in 1832 and which according to the Advertisement of the latter was collected in the year 1828 or 1829. This Appendix, but for a few additions and occasional improvements, is identical with the sections numbered 22 and 24 up to 27 of the Vocabulary of 1833.

This Thomsen, author and editor of both books, has become especially known from the Hikayat Abdullah, where Abdullah relates that he taught Thomsen Malay and later co-operated with him in Malay translation work. Recently a few data concerning Thomsen were once more put together by A. H. Hill in a note to his translation of the Hikayat.²⁴ In addition to this we may give here a few more particulars about him, mainly based, besides on Lovett's History which was also used by Hill,²⁵ on the *History of the London Missionary Society* by W. Ellis²⁶ and the *Biography of the Rev. William Milne* by R. Philip.²⁷

C. H. Thomsen, as is also stated by Abdullah, was a German by birth.²⁸ But his native region, Holstein, and his surname make it likely that his family was of Danish origin. Thomsen is as normal a Danish family-name as Andersen, Pedersen or Nielsen. He was born in 1782.

On September 27th 1815 he arrived in Malacca as a missionary of the London Missionary Society²⁹ and was specially charged with work among the Malay, next to Milne, who had arrived a short time before as a missionary to the Chinese. He started learning Malay. Abdullah was his principal teacher, but he does not speak highly of the linguistic gifts of his pupil. After an absence from September 16th 1816 till December 29th 1817, when he accompanied his wife, who was seeking a cure for her bad health, first on Java and afterwards in England, but

²⁴ A. H. Hill, The Hikayat Abdullah, an annotated translation, *JMBRAS* 28 (1955) 3, p. 291.

²⁵ *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895*, London 1899. Hill's criticism of Lovett's reliability (*l.c.*) appears by no means justified, at least where Thomsen is concerned.

²⁶ I, London 1844.

²⁷ New York/Philadelphia 1843.

²⁸ His rendering of the ë by an ö also points to his German origin.

²⁹ At this time the English missionary societies had more foreigners, especially Germans, in their service.

died on the way to England, Thomsen published in 1818 in Malacca a "Malay Spelling book in the native character" and "reprinted his translation of Dr Watt's First Catechism" and "the tract on the ten commandments".³⁰ Furthermore, mention is made of 22.000 Malay tracts which were printed at Malacca in 1819.³¹ In 1822 he moved to Singapore. There, apart from his normal work and until his departure, he was attached to the Singapore Institution, founded in 1823 by Raffles, as professor of Malayan languages of the Malayan college, of which Rev. R. S. Hutchings was president and a certain Shaih AllaAdin and a certain Hassin were the „native Malay masters". He got permission to appoint, when procurable, Javanese and Buginese Masters of language too, like the Malay, for up to 30 dollars a month.³² In this connection he probably also started his Buginese studies: "About this time (*viz.* 1824) he commenced the study of Buguese, in which language a tract had been prepared for the press".³³ After 1827 his health declined. In this year and in 1829, therefore, he had a holiday in Bengal, but in 1832 and 1833, again for reasons of health, he had to restrict himself to the supervision of the Mission Press. In these years *The Revised New Testament* (Malay) was completed together with 15.000 tracts. "In 1834 he left Singapore for England and shortly afterwards returned to Saxony; his native country".³⁴

Thus, the English-Bugis-Malay Vocabulary was one of the last works he attended to in Singapore. In the Advertisement to this Vocabulary he states (p. III): "The Bugis part of the work has been lying by in M.S.S. for several years, and it would perhaps not have appeared in print now, but, for the kind offer of a friend to contribute Thirty Dollar towards printing it" and "The Malay, and next to that, the Bugis, are the two principal spoken languages in these parts."

Interesting too is the information with which he opens this Advertisement: "The second edition of a small Vocabulary, English and Malay, being expended, it was deemed desirable to publish another, to which

³⁰ Philip *o.c.*, p. 147, 151, 190, 191.

³¹ Ellis *o.c.*, p. 518.

³² *Memoir of the life and public services of Sir Th. St. Raffles by his widow*, London 1830, Appendix p. 74, 76, 80, 84. In these documents, which originated with Raffles, he is mentioned by the name of G. H. Thompson, but without doubt C. H. Thomsen is meant here.

³³ Ellis *o.c.*, p. 568.

³⁴ Ellis *o.c.*, p. 569, 570. As the German state called Saxony did not comprise Holstein, in this connection "Saxony" was obviously meant to refer to the Saxonian region in the Northwestern part of Germany.

the Bugis is now added." This means that already twice before he had published a similar vocabulary for Malay.

The first edition of this vocabulary is undoubtedly: *A Vocabulary of the English and Malay languages, containing upwards of 2000 words*. Printed at Malacca, 1820 (price one Sicca Rupee); I, 96 pages, high 12°. ³⁵ The Advertisement explains: "This little work is published with the design of furnishing strangers, first arriving in Malay countries, with a small collection of words necessary for common use, hoping at the same time that it will prove a usefull school book in places where the Malay and English languages are taught to youth", and is dated Malacca, November 1820.

Considering the title (2000 words!) and plan of this Malay vocabulary, which contains almost all the same words in the same grouping as the Buginese one, it is evident that this work too is by Thomsen. For his Buginese vocabulary he probably had these Malay words translated into that language by a Buginese.

The name of this Buginese is no longer known. But it has never yet been pointed out that this Malay vocabulary is mentioned in the Hikayat Abdullah, where Abdullah writes that Thomsen asked him to make a list of Malay words, for which he himself would furnish the English equivalents, for the benefit of English people who wanted to learn Malay. Abdullah relates: "I said: "Very well, sir" and applied myself to finding words and arranging them under various headings, such as the sky, the earth, the moon, the sun and so on, until about a month later I had listed all the words we wanted, *some two thousand* of them." Thomsen was content and added the English words. Abdullah continues: "The book was known in English as a Vocabulary. It was in manuscript only, not in printed form, for at that time the printing-press had not yet reached Malacca". ³⁶

According to these words of Abdullah, he was the real composer of the Vocabulary of 2000 Malay words, that is to say, of its third column, containing Malay words in Arabic script; the first column gives English and the second Malay in roman. The sections Adjectives, Pronouns and Verbs contain some grammatical remarks and at the back of the book there is a table of contents. Now that its source is known, this booklet of 1820 may be important for the knowledge of Malacca Malay of this time and especially of the language of Abdullah himself.

³⁵ The Leiden University Library possesses a copy of it bound in light green.

³⁶ A. H. Hill *o.c.*, p. 110; my italics (J.N.).

At the same time we catch a glimpse of the reasons why Thomsen published his books anonymously: the most important parts of them were contributions by his Malay and Buginese assistants.

The book obviously scored a succes. The second edition must have appeared some time between 1821 and 1832, but no copy of it is known to me. For the third edition, in 1832, the Buginese was added. But also after Thomsen's departure the series was continued. In 1846 *A Vocabulary of the English and Malay languages, enlarged and improved*, appeared. So the Buginese disappeared again, but the old non-alphabetic arrangements was preserved; this time 66 pages of Sentences and 30 pages of Dialogues (I-III) have been added; there is no preface. Furthermore there is a "new edition considerably enlarged" of the same work, of 1862, which, as appears from the Preface dated August 1854, was edited by B. P. K(easberry), "the second Edition of this work being nearly out of print". This time at last the alphabetic arrangement was introduced, and two dialogues, and extracts of letters, romance, poems, etc. from Marsden's Grammar were added. Since 1865 this same vocabulary appeared at van Dorp's in Batavia; to the title the words "with the proper orthography for Englishmen" are now added; the transcription has been slightly altered and the fragments from Marsden's Grammar have been dropped again. In 1894 yet another edition appeared in this form at Batavia.

Thomsen's revision of the Malay New Testament, with which Abdullah too had co-operated according to his Hikayat, where he passes a just criticism on this work of the missionaries,³⁷ is known as the second revision of the Leidekker-van der Vorm translation of 1831 by Robert Burn and Claudius H. Thomsen.³⁸

A Bugis tract was mentioned above. About this and Thomsen's further activities in the domain of Buginese, passages from his letters to the Missionary Society at London give more detailed informations: ³⁹ Dec. 1827: "... The trading Praws have as usual been supplied with all books and 4 pages of a Bugguise tract. ... I have long been seeking and have now met with a man who understands the Bugguese language well, he is at present employed in transcribing books, ..."

21 Sept. 1828: "... I have made some progress in the Bugguise this

³⁷ A. H. Hill *o.c.*, p. 119-120.

³⁸ *The book of a thousand tongues*, ed. E. M. North, New York/London 1938, p. 569.

³⁹ With the kind permission of the London Missionary Society, which provided me with these data.

year and have collected a good quantity of materials, but find I cannot quite depend upon any teacher here to undertake translating the S.S., if health and life should be spared, after my return I shall attempt if possible to go the Celebes for this purpose, . . ."

1st Oct. 1828, item in an abstract of Accounts: "9 months Bugis Teacher . . . spanish dollar 108."

1829: "Bugis — The cultivation of the Bugis Language is another object of the Institution and next of importance in this settlement to that of the Malay; soon after the commencement of the operations of the Institution a man was engaged, a few M.S. procured and transcribed by him, he also translated two Pamphlets from Malay into Bugis . . . and from which at some future time we might collect materials for a dictionary. About four thousand words have been collected for that purpose, but they are still in an undigested state . . ."

13 Febr. 1830: "Bugis I have dropt for the present, both Teachers and Books have an undefined and mixed language that I cannot venture upon publishing anything. Some time ago I commenced translating a code of ancient laws, which is considered a standard work among the people; it was intended to print the text with a translation, but I found it necessary, with help of the teacher to make many corrections in the work and after all could not feel confidence to proceed further."

27 Sept. 1831, in a list of the output of the Mission Press: "Bugis Tract — 8 pages — 8vo. 500 copies."

23 Nov. 1832: ". . . I have had the Tract formerly printed revised, and one new one has been added both have been finished, 3000 in number."

4 Oct. 1832: "These have been printed during the year . . . Bugis — 12 pages, size 12mo. copies 2.000 . . . In Bugis, a small Native work, "Maritime Laws" has been printed with a translation. A vocabulary — English, Bugis and Malay — is also in the Press."

Apart from a confirmation of our thesis that Thomsen is the anonymous editor of the Singapore booklets concerning Buginese, the above passages from his letters also give an indication that he printed at least three Buginese tracts.⁴⁰ Copies of two of these or similar pamphlets, printed in Buginese script, I found in the Netherlands: one in the

⁴⁰ Also H. C. Millies, in his 'Proeve van eene bibliographie over het eiland Celebes', *Aardrijkskundig en Statistisch Woordenboek van Ned. Indië* I, Amsterdam 1861, p. 235, makes mention of Christian tracts in Buginese, printed in Singapore: one of 1827, one of 1831 and two of 1833. For this he probably based himself on the 'List of books printed in Singapore' on page 591 of W. H. Medhurst, *China: its state and prospects*, London 1838.

library of the Nederlandse Zendingshogeschool at Oegstgeest and one in the library of the Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap at Amsterdam.

The size of the first pamphlet is 8 pages 8°, 23 lines a page and its title is *Agama idi*^s; on the front page is written in ink: "Buginees tractaatje door Thomsen zendeling" ("Buginese tract by Thomsen, missionary"). The Buginese type is more than twice as large as that of the *Code of Bugis Maritime Laws* and that of the second tract, and, moreover, less regular. It contains, besides the far from faultless Buginese, quite a few printer's errors. Even the title is at variance with Buginese idiom and literally means "religion we". Possibly this is a "translation" from the Malay "Agama kita", our religion, which in Buginese however should have run "Agamatta". These points make it probable that here we are dealing with one of Thomsen's first tracts, possibly one of those to which he alludes in his letter of 1829. The first seven lines run in transcription: "Agamanna idi^s iaro mappaguru kori/di^s maega parëkara iaro alasana (?) / silaong sipa^sna silaong kuae ppa/rentaengngi linoewe kuaenna / ia idi^s de^s nakkulle mmissëngngi silaong / madjëppuiwi narekko Alla de^s napai/ssëngngiwiro koridi^s rilalëna kita^se." What this faulty Buginese means to say, is, concisely summarized: "Our religion teaches us many things about God, which we cannot know but from Holy Scripture."

The size of the second tract is 23 pages 12^m, 18 lines a page. On the back is written in ink: "Korte schets der Chr. leer in het Boegineesch" ("short sketch of Christian doctrine in Buginese"). According to the last lines of the tract it was printed in the year 1833. Hence it is one of the last tracts of Thomsen, which obviously have been set up, like the Code and the Vocabulary, with a new and smaller type. It is divided into seven numbered chapters, respectively dealing with the knowledge of God, the love of God, the fear of God, following of the law of God, self-denial, the trust in God and the worship of God. The first six lines run in transcription: "Naianae maelo^sni iko massompa riAlla/taala ënrëngge mapeati korialenamisa. / Ëngkaporo kuam-mëngngi makkulle idi^s massompae / riAllataala ënrëngge mapeati korialena / agana harusu^sni ingngërrangngiwu koripitue / wuangëna ia riawa iewe." Shortly put this means: "If we want to worship God, we have to keep in mind the seven subjects mentioned below."

The language of both tracts falls short of the standard of good Buginese. A notable feature is the repeated use of *ko* "there" before the preposition *ri*. The erroneous use of substantive personal pronouns instead of the affixes points to Malay influence, from which language

the tracts have probably been translated. On the whole they would have been rather unintelligible for a Buginese neither acquainted with the subject nor with Malay or English!

Thomsen never had the opportunity to realize his intention to go to Celebes for the translation of the Bible into Buginese.⁴¹ But his Buginese tracts did reach these regions. Mention is at least made of a visit of three missionaries, Lay, Dickinson and Wolff, to South Celebes in 1837, who distributed some Buginese tracts there.⁴²

His occupations with Buginese are remarkable, showing his interest in a subject, which no one else in Malaya has undertaken to study. But, apart from his capacities, he obviously had no opportunity there to obtain more satisfactory results. Therefore, as he himself recognised, he would have done better to go to Celebes. It was Matthes who, better equipped, started the work in more favourable circumstances in South Celebes, fourteen years after Thomsen's departure from Singapore.

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⁴¹ As Professor Cense informs me, the School of Oriental and African Studies possesses a bundle of manuscripts bound together (n. 37337), which contains in Buginese script: p. 1-14 a short treatise on the Christian faith; p. 15-19 a tract beginning with the words "Naia agama kita, iaro mappaguru koridi' maega parakara"; p. 19-22 a tract on the ten commandments (*hokkong*); p. 26r-33v a vocabulary of Buginese words together with a Malay translation in Arabic script; p. 34r-145v, 151, 22v-24v a Buginese translation of the Gospel of Matthew; p. 150r, 149r-146r some verses of the first chapter of the Gospel of Mark. Did Thomson after all set himself to translate the Bible into Buginese, or are these translations of Leyden which were thought lost for a long time but have been preserved here? (cf. note 8). [After this article was completed, I had the opportunity to see the above-mentioned ms. The whole of it appears to be written by the same person, probably Thomsen or his assistant. The first and the second of the three tracts in this ms. are the second and the first respectively of the printed ones mentioned on the preceding page here, but the many corrections (often improvements) which they contain compared with the printed tracts show them to be later revisions].

⁴² *Baseler Missions Magazin* 1840, p. 158; quoted by H. van den Brink in his *Dr Benj. Fred. Matthes*, Amsterdam 1943, p. 15.
