



DATO SIR ROLAND BRADDELL

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The Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

**A STUDY OF ANCIENT TIMES IN
THE MALAY PENINSULA
AND THE STRAITS OF MALACCA
and
NOTES ON ANCIENT TIMES IN MALAYA**

by

Dato Sir Roland Braddell. S.P.M.J., K.B.E.

followed by

**NOTES ON THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY
OF MALAYA**

by

Dato F.W. Douglas

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NOTES
on the
HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY of MALAYA
and
SIDELIGHTS on the MALAY ANNALS
by
Dato F.W. Douglas
Malayan Civil Service

* * * * *

Biographical note:

F.W. Douglas. b. 1874. Son of Sir John Douglas, Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements. Appointed Junior Officer, Perak 1895. Served in the F.M.S., U.M.S. and S.S. Retired in January 1928, when District Officer Klang. Title of Dato conferred on him by Sultan Sulaiman Shah of Selangor.

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DATO SIR ROLAND BRADDELL. S.P.M.J. K.B.

Roland St. John Braddell was born in Singapore on December 20, 1880. He was the eldest son of Thomas Braddell, who later became Attorney General and Chief Judicial Commissioner of the Federated Malay States, and was Knighted in 1914. Roland was the third generation of the Braddell family to work in Singapore. His grandfather, Thomas Braddell, was appointed the first Attorney General of the Straits Settlements in 1867 and drafted the Pangkor Engagement.

Roland was sent to Kings School, Canterbury, the oldest Public School in England, and later to Worcester College Oxford, where he studied Law and obtained an Honours Degree. He was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in July 1905 and was admitted to the Bar of the Straits Settlements in April 1906. Unlike his father and grandfather he never held any Government appointments, but joined his father's legal firm, Logan and Braddell. His brother Robert joined him later and the firm was renamed Braddell brothers. Roland practised law in Singapore and Malaya for nearly fifty years.

He became a member of the M.B.R.A.S. in 1913, and served on the Council of the Society from 1926 until 1952. He was Vice President from 1938 to 1942 and in 1946 and 1947, and from 1948 to 1951 he was President. He contributed 22 articles to the Society's Journal and was awarded the honorary Degree of D. Litt. in 1950, by the University of Malaya, then in Singapore.

For many years before the Second World War Roland Braddell was the private legal adviser to H.H. Sultan Ibrahim of Johore, and from 1932 to 1940 he was appointed a member of the Johore Executive Council and of the Johore Council of State. After the Japanese occupation of Malaya Braddell was appointed legal adviser to U.M.N.O. and was also appointed a private legal adviser to Their Highnesses the Rulers during the Constitutional discussions, between 1948 and 1951. For these services H.H. Sultan Ibrahim of Johore conferred on him the title of Dato, with the order S.P.M.J. He was Knighted by King George VI in 1948. At the age of 80 he returned to England and died in 1966.



An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca.

By ROLAND BRADDELL, F.R.G.S.

§ 1. *Prejatory.*

This essay is proffered with the object of re-awakening interest in the ancient story of the Malay Peninsula, with which is interwoven that of the Straits of Malacca. So far, despite all that has yet been written, the Peninsula is a dark spot in the ancient story of south-eastern Asia. Two inconsistent views of the ancient history of the Malay Peninsula are too often expressed locally, that there remains nothing worth doing and that it is all too problematic to be worth doing. It is hoped that this essay will prove the incorrectness of both these views.

§ 2. *Anthropological.*

The Malay Peninsula, which runs from Tavoy to Singapore, begins at the isthmus of Kra, 10° N., where it is about 35 miles from sea to sea, widening out in the middle to a maximum breadth of under 200 miles and reaching a total length of roughly 1,000 miles. There is no spot, even in the far interior of the Peninsula, which is as much as 100 miles from the sea. Its back-bone consists of a main range (or system of ranges) of mountains which are steep and savage, being clad with jungle to the very sky-line, and which reach in some parts from 6,000 to 7,000 feet high. From this range pour the main rivers of the Peninsula and they for long formed the principal high-ways to and from the coasts. The reader is referred to Skeat and Blagden (3, introduction) for an admirable description of the Peninsula and the environment in which its pagan peoples have lived.

In remote times the Peninsula was continuous with Borneo and Java. Celebes, New Guinea and the neighbouring islands were joined to Australia, but there was always a break between Borneo and Celebes, called Wallace's Line, with perhaps another break between Lombok and Bali. The archaic continent of Asia was, accordingly, divided from the former extension of the Australian continent by a sea-passage which had to be crossed by migrating peoples (4, pp. 121, 131; Fig. 30).

Who first peopled the Malay Peninsula? Whence and how did they come? What part did the country play in the peopling of Oceania? From what races are its present peoples derived?

Whence have come the cultures and languages, past and present, of its various peoples? These and others are the problems which make the Malay Peninsula so important to the anthropologist.

Wilkinson (2, chs. I & IV) divides the living peoples, indigenous in the Peninsula, into (a) the Negritoes, collectively known as Semang (b) the Sakai (c) the Besisi (d) the Proto-Malays (e) the Malays.

Winstedt (5, ch. VIII) states them as (a) the Negrito (b) the Sakai (c) the Besisi (d) the Proto-Malay (e) the Malay; but in his new *History of Malaya* omits division (c).

Proto-Malay, however, is an expression from the use of which great confusion arises. It appears to have been invented (see 6, p. 238) by Haddon as a convenient term to mean the branch of Pareocean man¹ from whom the various specialized modern 'Malays' are sprung. Elliot Smith (4, p. 152) suggests that the expression should be kept for that branch of the Mongol race, sometimes called the Maritime or Oceanic Mongols, from which the modern mixed population of the Peninsula and Archipelago called 'Malay' is descended. It seems to the present writer that it would be wiser not to use the expression in connection with a living race but, if it is to be used at all, to give the prefix Proto its proper meaning of primordial.

The distinguished American anthropologist Professor Kroeber (7, p. 486) says that the north of the Peninsula is divided into three racial groups, the Semang, the Sakai and the Malays; and he does not mention the Jakun at all.

The divisions of Skeat and Blagden (3, p. 21) appear to be the most convenient, adding to them a fourth group, the Malays, with whom, of course, their work is not concerned. We can, then, state the living peoples of the Peninsula to be as follows,

- A. SEMANG—the Negrito tribes generally; of whom the East Coast ones are known as Pangan;
- B. SAKAI—including the Senoi or central Sakai tribes;
- C. JAKUN—the aboriginal Malay tribes, including the Blandas of Selangor and Sungai Ujong; the Besisi, sea tribes of the Selangor and Malacca Coast; the Mantra, in the interior of Malacca; and the Udai, a mixed tribe of Johore;
- D. MALAY.

These peoples have, of course, mixed and produced mixed tribes but such will fall into the above groups in accordance with what part of the mixture predominates.

¹ Another term invented by Haddon to express the southern examples of Yellow Man (6, pp. 62, 63).

It is essential anthropologically to consider questions of race, culture and language separately. In fact, it has become a commonplace that the arguing of connection between these three factors, the making of inference from one to the other, is logically unsound (7, p. 111); yet the fault persists in book after book.

The term *race* is one which has unfortunately acquired a somewhat varied meaning in every-day speech. From the standpoint of the anthropologist a race is a biological group, based on community of physical characters. Where a group is characterized by a linguistic unity he terms it a *stock*; and where it is characterized by cultural, historical or political unity, he terms it a *nation*. If every writer on linguistics, ethnology or archaeology would follow that terminology, much confusion would be avoided. As Kroeber (7, p. 57) says "it may seem of little moment whether the word race is restricted to its strict biological sense or used more loosely. In fact, however, untold loose reasoning has resulted from the loose terminology." A classic instance, of course, is the "Aryan race," an expression that is really meaningless. Aryan is purely a linguistic term and merely indicates a family of languages and the speakers of those languages; yet over and over again it is used as though it actually had a physical meaning and indicated a race of men. The "Latin race" and the "Anglo-Saxon race" are two more instances; here, what is really meant is the Latin culture and the Anglo-Saxon culture. Then there are such expressions as the "French race" or the "German race," which mean in reality the French nation or the German nation.

Similarly, expressions like Malay, Malayo-Polynesian, Dravidian, Mon-Khmer refer, primarily, to families of languages and, secondarily, to the ethnic complex which speaks such languages. There is, strictly speaking, no such thing as the Malay race; there are the Malay people, the Malay culture and the Malay language etc.

So, too, with culture. Because two peoples possess a certain culture, that is no evidence of any racial unity. Elliot Smith (4, pp. 146, 147) points out, as must be obvious to any student of ethnology, that there is in most modern writings a serious confusion between race and culture. "In ethnological discussions, few people seem to be able to steer clear of such elements of confusion. Race and the culture of a race are two very different things. Any member of any race can adopt the culture of another people without undergoing any change in its physical characteristics."

Finally, language is possibly the worst trap of all. We have already instanced the classic case of the Aryan. "As a matter of fact," writes Kroeber (7, p. 104), "languages often preserve their existence, and even their territory, with surprising tenacity in the face of conquest, new religions and culture, and the economic disadvantages of unintelligibility. To-day, Breton, a Keltic dialect,

maintains itself in France as the every-day language of the people in the isolated province of Brittany—a sort of philological fossil. It has withstood the influence of two thousand years of contact, first with Latin, then with Frankish German, at last with French"; and he says later (*ibid.*, p. 111) that "it is possible for a population to substitute a wholly new language and type of civilization for the old ones, as the American negro has done, and yet to remain relatively unmodified racially, or at least to carry on its former physical type unchanged in a large proportion of its members. On the other hand, a change of speech without some change of culture seems impossible. Certainly wherever Greek, Latin, Spanish, English, Arabic, Pali, Chinese have penetrated, there have been established new phases of civilization."

Again, he points out (*ibid.*, p. 113), that "no clear correspondence has yet been traceable between type or degree of civilization and type of language. Neither the presence nor the absence of particular features of tense, number, case, reduplication, or the like seems ever to have been of demonstrable advantage toward the attainment of higher culture."

In comparing language with culture one must bear in mind facts such as that the bulk of Japanese culture is Chinese; yet Japanese speech is built on wholly different principles.

When we come later to deal with Professor Rivet's theories the above commonplaces as to race, culture and language should be kept in the forefront of the reader's mind.

Let us now consider the questions of race with which the Peninsula involves us. The history of race classification will be found traced by Kroeber (7, pp. 49-55). At this date it is generally considered by English scholars that there are six fundamental races, which Elliot Smith (4, ch. IV) states as the Mediterranean, the Nordic, the Alpine, the Australian, the Negro and the Mongolian; and Hocart, perhaps more conveniently, (1, ch. 11) as the Australoid, the Negro and Negroid, the Mongolian and Mongoloid, the Mediterranean, the Nordic and the Alpine. Kroeber divides them into Caucasian i.e. Nordic, Alpine, Mediterranean and Hindu (*sic*); Mongoloid; Negroid; and people of doubtful position: but the English divisions are convenient and will be followed here.

Taking the living peoples, indigenous in the Peninsula, the Semang are usually stated to be Negroid pygmies; the Sakai to be Australoid; the Jakun to be Mongoloid near-pygmies; and the Malay proper to be Mongoloid.

A local re-consideration of the whole question would, however, be a most fruitful enterprise. Already, according to Mr. A. C.

Baker¹, the Temiar in the Cameron Highlands, who are usually called 'Sakai,' are considered by Mr. H. D. Noone, the present Ethnographer, to be "Nessiots", a primitive Indonesian stock who preceded the round-headed Oceanic Mongols."

We shall return further to these racial questions in considering the theories of Professor Rivet.

So far as archaeological skeletal remains are concerned there is little beyond the debris of skulls discovered in 1860 by Mr. Earl at a shell-heap 10 miles from the mouth of the Sungei Muda in Province Wellesley and identified by Professor Huxley² in 1863 as belonging to 'the Australo-Melanesoid race.' This shell-heap has recently been re-examined by Dr. van Stein Callenfels, whose discoveries confirm (so the writer understands) Professor Huxley's identification.

The remains found by Ivor Evans at Kuala Selinsing, Perak, would appear to belong to the historic period; but the discussion of them by Professor Gordon Harrower (8) would seem to possess more anatomical than anthropological value.

The languages of the Peninsula have been very fully treated by local scholars and, if there is room for much further research, Hocart (1, p. 280) perhaps points to a direction in which it might proceed. He says that philologists have made a mistake in looking exclusively to words for evidence and in not admitting affinity unless they can identify with certainty a sufficient number of words. They will not admit, he says, that, if the structure is nearly the same in two languages, those languages must be closely related. Structure, he argues, is far more permanent than words, as is shown by the fact that a man who learns another language can master the vocabulary, but seldom the structure, and goes on casting his new words into his old forms.

Winstedt (5, ch. IX) says that the Semang or Negritoes still have a number of words of a distinctive type that have not been traced to a Mon-Khmer or Malayan source many of which, he now tells me, belong to that old Malayo-Polynesian language, Sundanese. The Sakai dialects, he formerly considered, would appear to have been related from the first to the Mon-Khmer languages, though in his latest work he calls their language Malayo-Polynesian with an admixture of Mon-Khmer. The Jakuns speak a Malayan dialect which, however, contains a number of unexplained and possibly alien words.

¹ See *Journal of the Malayan Branch. R.A.S.*, Vol. XI, 1933, pp. 288-295 at p. 291.

² Should be Nessiots, i.e. Islanders, a term invented by Haddon to express what are frequently called Indonesians.

³ See *Letter on the Human Remains found in the Shell-Mounds*; *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, Vol. II, new series, 1863.

Malay is universally admitted to form part of the great Malayo-Polynesian family of languages. Some authorities believe that the Mon-Khmer languages of southern Indo-China and the Kolarian or Munda-Kol tongues of India are related in origin to Malayo-Polynesian and denominate the larger whole the Austronesian family. As we shall see, Professor Rivet and others cast the net still wider and insist upon an even greater family of languages which they term Oceanian. Malay, therefore, is a member of the Malayo-Polynesian or Austronesian or Oceanian families.

Turning now to culture, it is noticeable that the Malay Peninsula has already produced considerable evidence upon which the prehistorian can work, due very largely to Ivor Evans. It is a matter of dispute whether any palaeolithic implements have been discovered. Ivor Evans denied this¹, as also did the late J. de Morgan (9, iii, p. 134) but Fritz Sarasin (10, p. 196; 22, p. 29) asserts that a pure palaeolithic corresponding to the Siamese and the oldest Hoabinhian² of Indo-China can be accepted as existing in the Peninsula. The latest authorities speak of a mesolithic culture which still used palaeoliths.

The early neolithic in the Peninsula corresponds with that in Indo-China called Bacsonian from its presence in the highest degree in the grottoes of the massif of Bac-son in Tonkin, explored by Mansuy and Mlle. Colani, with whose names this culture will always be associated.

Fritz Sarasin (22, p. 33) believes it possible to distinguish four series of stone age cultures, from palaeolithic to neolithic, in South East Asia, all of which are represented in the Malay Peninsula.

It need hardly be pointed out that, as used above, the expressions 'palaeolithic' and 'neolithic' merely indicate a stage of culture and not a period of time. Neither is a synchronism with that in Europe but indicates merely a similarity of the implements and the mode of their making³.

Kroeber (7, p. 486) says that culturally the Malay Peninsula belongs with the East Indies rather than with Indo-China; and that is very true of to-day but it is clear that in pre-historic and early historic times the connection was with what are to-day called Indo-China and Siam. This displacement of culture leads one also to notice (though without drawing any inferences) a somewhat similar displacement of language. Hocart (1, p. 284) says "Dravidian itself seems to have pushed back earlier languages which have left scattered fragments such as Munda near Calcutta.

¹ see *Journal of the F.M.S. Museums*, Vol. XV, Pt. 1 1930, pp. 21-22.

² i.e., of the archaic type found in the province of Hoa-binh, Tonkin.

³ The writer ventures to suggest that in the Malay Peninsula various stages of stone culture existed side by side and that one of them at least persisted as late as the XVIIth century A.D.

Some authorities link it with Mon-Khmer which once formed a compact mass in Indo-China. This group has been called Austro-Asiatic. This general eastward push has displaced the Malayo-Polynesian family, often called Austronesian. It now only just hangs on to the mainland in the Malay Peninsula, but has spread overseas to Easter Island and to Madagascar. It is divided into Indonesian, of which Malay is the best known, Polynesian, Micronesian and Malagasy."

For the present cultures of the pagan tribes of the Peninsula the reader is naturally referred primarily to Skeat and Blagden (3), a companion to which for purposes of comparative study is Hose and McDougall (11). For the Malay culture the authorities collected in the bibliography below will form a sufficient introduction.

The Malay Peninsula abounds in evidence of the diffusion of cultures but so far no analysis of this evidence has been made in the light of present-day theory and admittedly the difficulty of doing so is very great but some attempt should at least be made.

Events in India since 1920 have shed an entirely new light upon the problems of diffusion and have confirmed theories published by Elliot Smith and Perry some three or four years prior to that date (see, 4, pp. 384-6).

In 1920 preliminary excavations were begun at Harappa, a small village situated on the railway line half-way between Lahore and Multan; and in 1922 excavation began at Mohenjo-Daro in the Larkana district of Sind, some 400 miles from Harappa. As these explorations have proceeded a new archaic civilization has been revealed dating back to at least 3,000 B.C. and, as a result, ancient Mesopotamia becomes linked with Oceania. Already a large quantity of literature has grown up around these discoveries but it will be sufficient here to refer the reader to Professor Gordon Childe's recent book (12) as the most convenient summary of the cultural results of the discoveries. Those interested in problems of language and palaeography may take as a starting-point Dr. Hunter's recent book (13) which contains a valuable introduction by Professor S. Langdon, in which he entirely agrees with the remarkable discovery of G. de Hévésy of the kinship between the Indus scripts and those of Easter Island and says that there can be no doubt concerning their identity. Dr. Hunter (13, p. 49) reaches the important conclusions that this Proto-Indian script is connected as to its origin with Egypt on the one hand and Sumer-Elam on the other; that the script is, on the majority, if not all, of the texts, a simplified syllabary of open and closed syllables, roughly 250 in number, many of them constituting complete words; that from the open syllables of this script are derived the Brahmi¹ quasi-alphabetic script, and a large portion

¹ The principal earliest Indian form of writing, from which all living Indian alphabets are derived.

of Sabaeans¹; that it is quite possible that Phoenician and Cypriote are likewise modifications of Proto-Indian, which however presupposes a common meeting-ground of their sailors and merchants in the Isthmus of Suez and the mines of Sinai, which re-opens the question of the origin of the Alphabet and suggests that Proto-Indian was an all important link in the chain of its development from pictographic origins.

The connection with Easter Island mentioned above may be noted in conjunction with a statement by Marchal, the well-known French archaeologist, to the effect that the series of blocks sculptured with rather crude images on the plateau of Pasemah remind one of the extraordinary giants of Easter Island, whose origin is still a mystery². Dutch scholars, however, regard the Pasemah sculpture as pure 'Indonesian' made in the beginning of the Christian Era.

This takes us directly to the problem of the diffusion of culture and the part which the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca have played in such diffusion.

In a notice³ of Professor Gordon Childe's *New Light on the Ancient East*, Mr. H. J. Massingham observes that science has now accepted the principle of diffusion, urged upon it incessantly by the Diffusionists, and has deserted the old guard of believers in the independent development of archaic culture; and he says that the weight of Professor Gordon Childe's authority is enough to turn the scale. For the mechanism of diffusion the reader is referred to chap: X of Professor Gordon Childe's book (12) and to the other books cited in the bibliography hereto, particularly the introduction to Dawson's *The Age of the Gods*.

The great protagonists of the diffusionist school are, of course, the late Dr. Rivers, Sir G. Elliot Smith and Mr. W. J. Perry; and, whether he agrees with them or not, an understanding of their theories is necessary to any student of the cultural history of the Malay Peninsula. Hocart (1, p. 37) says that "the true importance of diffusionism does not lie in migrations, as one might think from the literature; but in the working hypothesis that cultures with the same structure are derived from a common original, and that the closer the resemblance the nearer the common original."

Perry begins *The Children of the Sun* (21) with these words, "The vast region stretching from Egypt by way of India, Indonesia and Oceania, to America, is important in the study of the early history of culture. It contains remains of civilizations rooted in

¹ The script of the Sabaeans, a name used loosely for the ancient dwellers in south-west Arabia.

² see *Asiatic Mythology*, 1932, at p. 241; for the Sumatran remains, see *Megalithic Remains in South Sumatra*, n.d. (c. 1933) by Dr. Van der Hoop.

³ See the London *Sunday Times*, April 22, 1934.

the depths of time, whose ruins stand in the fever-haunted jungles of India, Cambodia, Java, Guatemala, on the islands of Micronesia, and elsewhere as silent witnesses to the frailty of human endeavour, arousing in the traveller wonder at the skill of their builders, and pity that such fair creations were doomed to ruin and decay. It contains, on the other hand, many communities of lowly culture, even so primitive in some instances as not to have learned to procure their food from agriculture or domesticated animals, who often live in countries that possess ruins of ancient civilizations, and show no signs of attempting to emulate the efforts of their predecessors."

His book seeks to show that the earliest peoples in these parts who had advanced beyond the food-gathering stage, were so similar in culture that they can be grouped together as constituting what he calls the Archaic Civilization. Given that the later civilizations originated from it, he propounds the question where and how did it come into being? The solution, he suggests, is to be sought in Egypt. The book contains much matter that is of the highest interest to the Malayan student together with a bibliography of great value.

We shall now proceed to a consideration of the theories of the great philologist Professor Rivet of Paris as to the Oceanians (14, 15 and 16) which, we shall find, lead us into a *mélange* of race, culture and language of the most interesting description, and which illustrate what a part the Malay Peninsula and its surrounding seas must have played in the ancient history of man. As Sir G. Elliot Smith said in a passage which we have already quoted, Malaya was, indeed, "the great jumping-off place of Asia and cultural exchange."

By 'Oceanians' Rivet means the ethnic complex which comprehends the Australians and Tasmanians, the Melanesians, the Polynesians and Micronesians, the Indonesians, the Mon-Khmers and the Mundas. It is primarily a linguistic theory and, though it happens that the Australians are one of the fundamental races of man, the use of the word above is not in that sense. Rivet finds a linguistic unity amongst all the above stocks and he goes on to see how the linguistic evidence accords with racial and cultural evidence.

The linguistic unity of the complex, he says, is established to-day since the works of W. Schmidt, d'A. Trombetti and himself; and the student will find a very full bibliography attached to the works of Rivet which we cite (see 14, implemented by-16). Rivet is careful, however, to point out that this linguistic unity does not correspond with an anthropologic or ethnographic unity; that one must presume that the community of languages of people so profoundly dissimilar is a secondary phenomenon; and that it is the tongue of one of them which has obtruded into the general

mass for reasons and under conditions which remain obscure. We shall see in later parts of this essay that the ancient Chinese found a linguistic, if not also a cultural, unity running from what is to-day Indo-China round the Gulf of Siam, down the Malay Peninsula, into Sumatra and Indonesia proper; and this unity they described by the word *Kun-lun*, or, as the French write it, *K'ouen-L'ouen*.

Rivet discusses whether it is possible that the linguistic unity, which he considers to be established, can possibly come from the fact that the stocks mentioned represent human waves which once issued from the same region or from contiguous ones, as data furnished by anthropology and ethnography permit him to suspect; and he suggests that there may have been four such human waves.

The oldest of these, he suggests, is represented by the Australians.

At the beginning of history, he says, this stock appears marooned in their great island but the discovery at Talgai of a skull that is perhaps pleistocene, but in any case exceedingly ancient, proves that they occupied their habitat in extremely ancient times and other discoveries show that they once occupied a far wider territory. Thus the find at Wadjak in Java by E. Dubois of two Australoid skulls, very probably pleistocene, and the discovery in 1925 by Mansuy and Mlle. Colani of an analogous skull in the lower neolithic beds at Lang-Cuom in Tonkin show that the Australian territory comprised certain parts of Malaysia and Indo-China. Long before these discoveries de Quatrefages and Hamy had insisted in 1882 upon the existence of an ancient Australoid element in India, a theory confirmed by the discovery in 1920 in the region of Benares of petroglyphs identical with Australian ones and by the demonstration of marked affinities between the Australoid and Munda languages, the latter of which was spoken of old in the whole of North-East India from the Himalayas to the Gulf of Bengal before having been pushed back by the Tibeto-Burman, Aryan and Dravidian language invasions. He adduces also cultural evidence such as the use of the boomerang in Celebes, South-East India and Gujerat. He concludes that the fact that the very primitive character of the civilization of the Australians which has never passed out of the palaeolithic stage together with the discovery of the Talgai skull go to show that the Australians formed the most ancient part of the Oceanic ethnic complex, and so the most ancient wave, which, since he considers that the evidence shows their presence at a very ancient time in a part of India, in Malaysia and in Indo-China, Rivet suggests came from the southern regions of Asia and Insulind, proceeding down to Australia from north to south.

The Talgai skull which Rivet mentions is considered to be that of a lad about 15 years of age; it was first heard of in 1914 and first described in 1918. Elliot Smith (4, pp. 108, 122,

123, 134; 17, pp. 129, 130) does not admit its great antiquity in point of time, considering that it does not date back further than 4,000 B. C., but he admits the primitiveness of the skull and agrees that one is justified in distinguishing it from the modern Australian by the term Proto-Australian. On the other hand, Sir Arthur Keith (18, p. 303) says that in it was seen for the first time a stage in the evolution of the aborigines of Australia—a stage attained before the end of the pleistocene period of Australia. Its exact age, he says, is a moot point, but if we regard it as corresponding to the late cave period of Europe and assign to it an antiquity of some 12,000 or 15,000 years, we shall probably under-estimate its antiquity.

Elliot Smith (4, p. 133) agrees that the skulls found by Dubois at Wadjak in Java are Proto-Australian.

We can add two further pieces of racial evidence not mentioned by Rivet. Elliot Smith (4, p. 133; 17, pp: 130, 131) mentions an Australoid skull found in the Madras Presidency; and Sir Arthur Keith (18, pp: 304-311) describes a Proto-Australian skull, known as the Cohuna skull, which was found with remains of probably four other individuals at Cohuna, 750 miles distant from Talgai as the crow flies, and he says that this Cohuna man represents, with the exception of the Java pithecanthropus and the Peking sinanthropus, the most primitive form of man known to us.

Elliot Smith (4, p. 121) says that people with the same physical characteristics as the Australian race are found in the South of India and Ceylon, and, mixed with other races, in North-Eastern India, especially in Chota Nagpur. Others, again, are found in the Malay Peninsula (i.e. Sakai), Eastern Sumatra, Borneo and some islands of the Philippines; and he agrees with Rivet that there was a north to south migration, which he puts as from Chota Nagpur eastward and southward through the Malay Peninsula.

Kroeber (7, p. 486) says that the Sakai or Senoi resemble a series of hill tribes scattered from India to the East Indies; the Vedda of Ceylon, the Irula and other tribes of southern India, and the Toala of Celebes. Perhaps the Kolarians or Munda-Kol of Central India, the Moi and other groups of Indo-China, the Nicobar islanders, and certain nationalities of Sumatra are also to be reckoned as partial representatives of the same type. This race, if it is such, is generalized with certain Caucasian and Negroid but few Mongoloid resemblances. It is perhaps to be classed as Australoid and has been named Indo-Australoid¹.

The Melanesians form Rivet's second wave and he says that of old they occupied a much more extensive territory than to-day.

¹ These are Kroeber's views but modern scientists, Sir Richard Winstedt informs me, are sceptical of much of the evidence.

De Quatrefages and Hamy have showed that a Melanesian element has intervened in the peopling of a certain number of Polynesian islands as far as and including Easter Island. Mansuy and Mille. Colani have discovered in the most ancient neolithic beds of Duong-thuoc, Khac-Kiem and Lang-Cuom, in Tonkin, skulls approaching clearly to the Melanesian race (sic) and the same ethnic type has been disclosed in India (the pre-Dravidian black type of Lapique) where it has persisted to our days, in particular amongst the Dravidian populations, as it persists still amongst the Indo-Chinese populations. Ethnography, Rivet says, confirms entirely these conclusions and permits us to enlarge them further. Ethnographers, in particular Graebner, have shown that a great number of Melanesian cultural elements are to be found in the whole Oceanic world, in the Indian Archipelago and in South Asia. So Rivet suggest that it is not illogical to think that the centre of dispersion of the Melanesians has been the same as that of the Australians and they too came from north to south.

There is, in reality, grave objection to Rivet's use of the word Melanesians. Hocart (1, p. 16) says that the inhabitants of Melanesia are sometimes described as Oceanic Negroes; but they are a hotch-potch of races. They include fuzzy Australoids, notably in the hills of Viti Levu.

Kroeber (7, p. 45) divides the Negroid stock into two large divisions, the African negro proper and the Oceanic Melanesian, with a third division, the dwarf blacks or Negritoes, who differ from other negroids in being relatively broad-headed and who, though very few in numbers, possess a wide and irregular distribution in New Guinea, the Philippines, the Malay Peninsula, the Andaman Islands and Equatorial Africa. He suggests that it is possible that the Negritoes are an ancient and primitive type who once inhabited much wider stretches than at present in Africa, Asia and Oceania. Rivet says that the fundamental unity of the African and Oceanian negroes is not contested by anybody; but unfortunately he makes no reference to the negrito at all.

Elliot Smith (4, pp: 138-145) after pointing out that the tallest and the shortest people in the world both belong to the Negro Race, says that the Negro population of the world was in ancient times broken into two main groups, African and Melanesian, widely separated in the geographical sense, the vast bulk of the race being found in Africa. The Melanesian Negroes present the general characteristics of the African, but in a form suggesting more or less admixture with other races. In the intervening space between Africa and Oceania only comparatively small numbers of Negroid people are to be found. There are clear signs of Negro mixture in Southern Persia; and again in India, although one great factor in the population is the presence of members of the Australian Race called Pre-Dravidian, there are also traces of intermingling

with the Negro Race, to which part of the darkness of skin-colour so widely prevalent in India may be attributed.

"The Far Eastern group of Negroes in Papua and Melanesia is even more mixed than the African group. We do not find here the distinctive features of the African Negro in their most extreme form. It is probable that the Melanesians were intermingled with many other peoples during their easterly wanderings. In particular they became mixed with peoples of Australian and Mediterranean affinities. In the Solomon Islands, and elsewhere in Melanesia, one frequently finds amongst the Negroids individuals who are almost indistinguishable from the Australians. The two races intermingled not only in the islands, but probably also from time to time long before they reached Melanesia."

Here we may recollect Professor Huxley's identification of the debris of skulls discovered in 1860 in Province Wellesley as Australo-Melanesoid.

Later, Elliot Smith says, "As in the case of the migrations of the Australian Race, so also with the Negroes; groups were left on various islands to blaze the trail of the ancient wanderers. There are pygmy Negritos in the Andaman Islands and in various parts of the Malay Archipelago as far east as the Philippines and New Guinea to help us plot the easterly migration. The absence of Negroes of more normal stature in these places may be due to the fact that the taller people intermingled with people of other races to such a degree that their individuality has been lost."

It would, however, seem that the Negrito remains a very puzzling problem. Until lately it was usual amongst local writers to state that he is the oldest inhabitant of the Peninsula (e.g. 2, p. 1; 5, p. 80) but if Rivet is right (and the other authorities quoted seem to support him) this would not seem to be the case, and the Australoids preceded him. Professor Dixon (20), however, agrees with the older local view.

Fritz Sarasin (22, p. 31) says that Mansuy and Mlle. Colani have termed the skulls which Rivet mentions, Proto-Melanesian.

The last two waves are the Polynesians and Indonesians. As for the Polynesians, Rivet says that the story of their migrations is too well-known to insist upon it. There is amongst ethnologists practical unanimity in attributing to them as their place of origin some region of South Asia or Insulind; and the remarkable discovery of de Hévésy of the kinship between the writing of Easter Island with that of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa brings to the theory a new proof as unexpected as it is decisive, says Rivet. Rivet says that all are agreed that the Indonesians have exercised their influence not only on the Melanesian domain, but also in South Asia. This ancient South Asiatic influence is witnessed not only by ethnography but by linguistics and anthropology. From the neolithic,

an Indonesian element has contributed to the peopling of Indo-China (Annam and Tonkin), of which one finds traces among the present people, notably in Cambodia, despite the great mixtures to which they have been submitted.

We now reach a serious divergence of opinions. Hocart (1, p. 16) says that the Mongoloids prevail in Indonesia. They occupy the small islands north of New Guinea where they are called Micronesians, and the Pacific west of Fiji, that is Polynesia.

Kroeber (7, p. 487) says that Indonesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia have brown inhabitants of prevailing Mongoloid affiliations. At p. 44, he divides the Mongoloid race into the Mongolian proper of Eastern Asia, the Malaysian of the East Indies and the American Indian; and he says that the original Mongoloid stock must be looked upon as having been more like present-day Malaysians or American Indians, or intermediate between them. From this generalized type peoples like the Chinese gradually diverged, while the less civilized peoples of America and Oceania kept more nearly to the ancient type. Within the East Indies, a more and a less specifically Mongoloid strain can at times be distinguished. The latter has often been called Indonesian.

Elliot Smith (4, pp: 169, 170) says that the members of the Mediterranean Race¹, *who form the basis of the Indonesian and Polynesian populations*, are considerably mixed with a type of the Alpine Race, which has been termed "Maritime Armenoid," and to a lesser degree with Mongols and Melanesians: and he says that there has been an appreciable Alpine element, which has left indelible traces in the physical characters of the people in India, the East Indies, Oceania and America. At pp: 147, 148 he says that it is difficult to say with certainty where the Mongol came into existence; the whole question is largely a matter of conjecture. But "wherever the race acquired its distinctive feature, it wandered far and wide as soon as climatic conditions permitted, north into Mongolia, Manchuria and Eastern Siberia; west into Turkestan and Tibet; and south into Yunnan and Burma, and into what we now call Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, and the Malay Archipelago. Different groups had assumed distinctive characters so that Northern, Southern and Maritime Mongols became differentiated; and as the first and third of these subdivisions intermingled freely with other races, their differences from the Southern Mongols (who exhibit the characteristic features of the race in their most extreme form) become further emphasized. To interpret the physical characters of the people we have to picture members of the Mongolian group wandering away from the centre (where the most intensive specialization of racial characters was taking place) before the process of differentiation was far advanced, for on the fringe of the Mongolian domain one finds

¹ Dolichocephalic, of course.

members of the race differing less emphatically from other human beings than, say, the Chinese do. But as this fringe extended its wanderings, it came at length into contact with the expanding edges of other races, in particular the Alpine people in Central Asia, and the Indian and Indonesian people (both essentially Mediterranean in race) in the South."

At p. 153 he says that the so-called Indonesians were the people who lived in the East Indies before the Malays intruded into the Archipelago. "It is probable that in very early times they had wandered along the southern littoral of Asia, through India, Indo-China, and the Malay Peninsula. In course of time these people, who belong to the Mediterranean Race, became intermingled in the Malay Archipelago with Maritime Mongols, and the two form the chief element in that mixed race—the modern Malay population."

It will be remembered, as pointed out above, that Elliot Smith terms the Mongols of the Malay Peninsula the Maritime or Oceanic Mongols.

It is clear, then, that Elliot Smith differentiates strongly between the Indonesians and the Malays racially: and, as we have seen, both the Malays and the Jakuns are generally considered to be of the Mongoloid Race.

What was the original home of 'the Malay'? It is often stated that Sumatra is his original home, when what is meant is that it is the home of the Malay culture and the country where the earliest written specimens of the Malay language have been found. Using the word culturally Kroeber (7, p. 487, n.l.) says that "the Malays proper, whose home until the twelfth or thirteenth century lay in Sumatra, are to be distinguished as a particular people from the Malaysian or East Indian group which we name after them, in the same way that the Mongols are a nation which is but one of many that constitute the Mongolian race and the Mongoloid stock." But what is the 'Malay proper'? Is the origin of Malay culture in Trengganu and Kelantan really the same as that of the Malay culture on the west and south of the main mountain range of the Peninsula? and did the Malays of these two States really acquire that culture at the same time as the Western and Southern Malays? What of the Malays still further north in Siamese territory? Did not the Menangkabau matriarchy find its origin in the remotest time and was it not originally common to all the ancestor tribes of the present Malays? A little more light can be shed upon these problems when we come to the historical parts of this essay.

Prehistorical research supports the theory of Kern, as stated by Winstedt (5, p. 86), that the home of the Malay is to be found in Champa, Cochin-China and Cambodia. The Chinese evidence, which will be examined later, certainly points in that

direction as does the fact that racially the Malay is a Mongol or Mongoloid.

The objections to the reasoning in Professor Rivet's articles are obvious and are well stated by Professor Meillet (23) though the latter does not refer anywhere in his article to the former.

Meillet says that the traits by which human races are to be distinguished have nothing to do with language. The area occupied by languages depends in no way upon facts of race but solely upon historical circumstances and Meillet instances well-known cases where tongues but not population have changed; thus, the great majority of Europeans to-day use languages of the family called Indo-European but without any community of race. If extensions of language denote extensions of civilization, one would not be surprised to notice an appreciable accord between an area of certain types of civilization and that of certain types of language. Nevertheless, the systematic attempt to prove this made by Schmidt in his recent book on the languages of the world has not achieved results that carry any conviction. An extension of language is more likely to come from the extension of a type of organisation and of psychology than from a material civilization. Meillet concludes his article by pointing out that though linguistics and anthropology are connected sciences, though indeed linguistics form a part of anthropology in the wide sense, it is impossible to establish a connection between the facts of language and the principal questions which anthropologists study; and, even where one sees any possibility of such a connection and facts appear that begin to establish it, it is a matter purely of first beginnings. Such attempts, however, are worth pursuing since linguistics and anthropology will derive benefit from them; but a rigidly critical spirit must be maintained.

The discussion of Rivet's theories, though singularly inconclusive, has proved useful in introducing a number of facts and in enabling us to collect a number of views expressed by other writers. We can now pass to a writer who concerns himself more with living races and whose work is of the greatest utility to Malayan students. This writer is Professor Roland Dixon, the well-known American anthropologist, and we shall conclude with a notice of his work (20).

Whether Dixon's methods are correct or not, whether scientists accept his hypothesis or not (and he admits himself that it places him squarely in the ranks of the "long discredited polygenists") his book contains most valuable material and most valuable indications of the directions in which local research might fruitfully be conducted. Indeed, the present writer has found Dixon's book of greater use than any other in considering the complex problems which the Malay Peninsula presents to the student.

He begins by an attempt to analyze the physical characteristics of the peoples of the world on the basis of eight primary types

and thereafter he endeavours to sketch for each continent the broad outlines of its racial history.

In his introduction he reminds us that physical anthropologists are not by any means yet agreed as to what are the true criteria of race, and that there is considerable doubt as to the real correlation of the various characteristics. Since there are no absolute standards of race, some arbitrary criteria must be used; and he chooses three relating to the head—the cranial or cephalic index, the altitudinal or length-height index, and the nasal index—by means of which he is able to divide man into eight fundamental 'types,' which are not races in the ordinary sense of the term, and are not to be confounded with the many more or less clearly differentiated racial groups into which the peoples of the world to-day may be divided. These living races, he says, are each of them the result of some particular combination of the original 'types' or elements. As has already been pointed out, he admits that the general hypothesis on which his work is based places him squarely in the ranks of the long discredited polygenists: but, he says (and, indeed, it seems true) the whole trend of recent anthropological investigation, together with the archaeological discoveries of the past twenty years (a decade when he wrote) can have no other outcome than the abandonment of the monogenist position and the frank acceptance of polygenism¹.

The main interest of his work for the local student, however, lies in his tracing of the racial history of Asia and the introduction to it given above is only necessary to explain the terminology which he uses.

We find that his eight fundamental 'types' divide into four dolichocephalic and four brachycephalic. So we get what he calls

Caspian—dolichocephalic,	hypsicephalic, and leptorrhine;
Mediterranean— do.	chamaecephalic, and do.
Proto-Negroid— do.	hypsicephalic, and platyrrhine;
Proto-Australoid— do.	chamaecephalic, and do.
Alpine—brachycephalic,	hypsicephalic, and leptorrhine;
Ural— do.	chamaecephalic, and do.
Palae-Alpine— do.	hypsicephalic, and platyrrhine;
Mongoloid— do.	chamaecephalic, and do.

When the curtain lifts upon the history of the Malay Peninsula we shall find that it can only be understood as a part of the general history of southeastern Asia or Farther India as it is called. Dixon finds it convenient on many grounds to group together all the peoples of south-eastern Asia within Farther India, including within that area Burma, the Shan States, Siam, French Indo-China, and the Malay Peninsula, together with the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal; and this is fortunate

¹ See Keane, *Man Past and Present*, 1920, General Considerations pp. 1-19, for the position as to monogenism or polygenism as it stood then.

since it fits in perfectly with the historical parts of this essay and makes them better intelligible.

The peoples of this whole area are divisible on the basis of language into three main groups—the Tibeto-Burman stock, the Thai stock and the Mon-Khmer stock. The Tibeto-Burman and Thai, with the Chinese, form one great group of languages with various important features in common; the Mon-Khmer stands wholly separate and apart from all of them, and is, on the other hand, related in a similar general fashion to the whole group of Malayo-Polynesian and Melanesian languages which are spread over most of the whole of Oceania (20, pp: 269, 270).

The inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Dixon finds, may be conveniently considered together, since he says that in their history they seem to be more or less closely related. "We have in their area an obviously very much mixed population, ranging from the pygmy-like Andamanese Negritos, through the Semang and Sakai, to the modern Malay." The Andamanese he finds to be in the main true Negrito Palae-Alpines, with a slight admixture of Proto-Negroid elements. The Semang and Sakai, however, offer a very puzzling problem. He suggests that the Semang would represent the result of a mixture between a Negrito Palae-Alpine people similar to the Andamanese, and a Proto-Australoid-Proto-Negroid group, the females retaining more clearly than the males the original Negrito element. The Sakai afford an even more complicated puzzle. If we rely on the head-form "the Sakai are predominantly brachycephalic and platyrrhine, i.e. Palae-Alpine, with a strong secondary factor of the Proto-Australoid or Proto-Negroid types; if we rely on cranial data, they are on the contrary predominantly of these latter two dolichocephalic types, with but a small minority of brachycephalic factors..... The situation is rendered still more puzzling by the fact that measurements of the living Sakai of different sections of the country show equally contradictory results, some being dolichocephalic, others brachycephalic!" (20, p. 274).

"Obviously, in the present state of our knowledge, or lack of knowledge, no valid conclusions can be drawn, but I would suggest the following tentative unravelling of the puzzle.

"The term Sakai (by some called also Senoi) has been applied to a series of very variable small groups of people, who may be regarded as having originated through the mixture, in varying proportions, of a predominantly brachycephalic people comparable with the modern Burmese or Pwo-Karen and the Semang, who were themselves the result of a blending of a Negroid people with the original Negrito stock. The dominant brachycephalic factor among the Sakai, unlike the case of the Semang, is thus mostly derived from the main, or non-Negroid, Palae-Alpine type. The Nicobarese would then constitute a rather similar group, differing mainly in having a considerable Alpine element, derived probably

from later Malay contacts. It is probable that the Blandas and some of the so-called Jakun of the southern portion of the peninsula also belong to this group, although in the absence of any detailed measurements the question cannot be settled" (20, p. 274).

It must be obvious from the above and from other previous quotations that a very great deal remains to be done in connection with the problems of the Semang, the Sakai and the Jakun; indeed, one might almost say that those problems still remain to be approached.

Dixon proceeds, "Quite another stratum of population is represented by the Malay peoples of the peninsula. Some, such as those of south Perak¹ and the west coast farther north, together probably with the Besisi of the south, represent a relatively old stratum, in contrast with the later groups which, coming from Sumatra, over-ran and conquered the southern part of the peninsula only a few centuries ago. The older stratum of Malay-speaking folk is almost exclusively brachycephalic, the Palae-Alpine type being in the majority, but combined with a large minority of the Alpine, which increases in strength as one goes southward, and among the shore and island folk in comparison with those of the interior." (20, pp: 274-5).

The Malay of the Peninsula is taken for granted locally but his case remains almost in the same position as those of the Semang, Sakai, and Jakun. He is very largely unstudied. Obviously, close measurements through the various main districts of the Peninsula are essential and such districts must be divided topographically into coastal, riverine and mountain compartments. Siamese help will be required since a study of the Malays of the Peninsula must obviously go as far north as the Isthmus of Kra and possibly even further.

Dixon sums up the racial history of the Malay Peninsula thus (20, p. 275) "The oldest stratum of population was the Negrito Palae-Alpine, which survives to-day in comparative purity only among the Andamanese. With this was later blended a taller Negroid people, of mixed Proto-Australoid and Proto-Negroid types, to form the Semang. This Negroid population is still represented among some of the hill-folk in Burma, such as the Chin, is more strongly present in Assam, and dominant in the greater part of India. Subsequently to the formation of the Semang a strong immigration came into the peninsula from the north, of the normal Palae-Alpine type, of which perhaps some of the Karen may be regarded as the last survivors. From the fusion of these with the older Semang was derived the Sakai and some, perhaps, of the Jakun; the later and less modified portions of this wave forming

¹ It is, however, considered generally that most of the South Perak 'Malays' are of quite recent immigration, e.g. Banjarese, Javanese and Achinese.

the older Malay groups of to-day. Finally, in recent times, came the Menangkabau Malays from Sumatra, who have overlain the earlier groups throughout the south."

And now we must go north-east to what are to-day Siam and Indo-China. The extreme southeastern corner of the Asiatic continent is dominated by three great rivers, the Menam, the Mekong and the Red or Song-koi. The deltas and lower valleys of these rivers are rich agricultural lands, and have apparently from the earliest times been contended for by one people after another. "To the anthropologist this area is of very great interest, since into it, as into a huge funnel, have come from the north a variety of peoples, and from it have gone out some, at least, of the emigrants who have peopled the island world of the Pacific" (20, pp: 275, 276).

Linguistically, it is a complex region. The Cham and some of the wilder tribes of the southern Annamese plateau speak languages akin, on the one hand, to the Malayo-Polynesian, and on the other to the Mon-Khmer, to which stock belongs the speech of the Cambodians and the majority of the hill-tribes, known generically as Moi, Pnong, or Kha. The Siamese, Laos, Thos, etc., belong, on the contrary, to the Thai stock, as do the Shans of Burma and southern China. The Annamese and Tonkinese, finally, speak languages which are either derived from southern Chinese dialects or have been profoundly influenced by them (20, p. 276).

In the modern population two quite different groups may be distinguished. The first is represented by the Cham and their affiliated tribes, together with a large part of the Mon-Khmer-speaking peoples of the higher plateaus and mountains i.e. the Pnong, Moi, Kha, etc. All of these show a large dolichocephalic factor and in this respect seem allied to the ancient neolithic population. This more aboriginal long-headed group may be further sub-divided into those who, like the Cham, are tall with straight or wavy hair, light skins, relatively narrow and sometimes aquiline noses and non-Mongoloid eyes: and those who, like some of the wilder Mon-Khmer-speaking tribes, are marked by distinctly short stature, dark skin, curly or even frizzly hair, a broad nose and thick Negroid lips. It seems probable that in the latter group are the much mixed survivors of an early Negroid stratum, of mixed Proto-Australoid and Proto-Negroid types (with perhaps some Negrito), whereas in the former may be suspected the presence of a considerable Caspian-Mediterranean element, of which there are clear indications farther north in China and in the islands of the Pacific (20, pp: 276, 277).

"The other major division of the population is, in contrast to the first, in majority brachycephalic, and includes the Siamese, Laos, and all the Thai-speaking tribes, together with the Tonkinese and Annamese. All of these are of short stature, with light

yellowish skin, straight black hair, and eyes which usually show the Mongoloid fold. In all the Palae-Alpine type is in large, often very large majority, the Alpine being secondary; a small minority of leptorrhine dolichocephalic forms also sometimes appear. The modern Khmer or Cambodians seem to be, on the whole, intermediate between this group and the first.

"Now the origin of this brachycephalic, Thai-speaking group can be traced historically with some certainty. In the third century A.D., when we first get any information in regard to this region, the whole area, except perhaps the southern and southeastern coasts, was occupied by Mon-Khmer-speaking peoples, among whom already cultural influences from India had begun to make themselves felt. In the succeeding centuries a considerable civilization grew up among the Khmer, initiated apparently by actual colonies of Dravidian-speaking peoples from the eastern or Coromandel coast of India. By the fifth or sixth century A.D. these states began to be savagely attacked by Thai-speaking tribes pressing southward from China along the Menam and Mekhong valleys. In the former their pressure was strongest, and although held in check for a time, in the eleventh and again in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they swept away all resistance, and finally conquered the Menam valley to the sea, completely destroying the western Mon-Khmer Kingdoms in what is now Siam. Farther eastward the Laos were less successful, and although the Khmer Kingdom fell before the attacks of the Thai (Siamese) from the west, and those of the Annamese from the east, their descendants still form the bulk of the population of Cambodia to-day. The modern Siamese, Laos, and other Thai-speaking peoples here are thus the somewhat mixed descendants of the old, non-Chinese population of southern China, who.....have been of large historical importance in China since very early times.

"What can be said of the Mon-Khmer peoples, who apparently everywhere preceded the Thai peoples in this extreme southeastern corner of Asia? On the basis of our present data, the most reasonable theory would seem to be that they were a mixed people, predominantly of Proto-Negroid, Proto-Australoid, and Caspian types, with a minority of the Palae-Alpine factor which was dominant in the Thai, and a trace, perhaps, of its Negrito variety. That the early Mon-Khmer had a notable "Negroid" element seems to be corroborated by the Chinese descriptions of them in the third century. In regard to the sources of the Negroid element we have as yet no clear evidence, and can only conjecture that it came in from the westward along the southern border of the Asiatic continent. The Caspian factor, present in this region in minor degree only, seems, however, clearly to have come down from the north along the Mekong valley, from the mountain and plateau region of the Chinese-Tibetan border, where strong remnants of the type are still to be seen. It is tempting to regard the

Cham, who appear to have been the earliest historical occupants of the Mekong delta, as a relatively pure advance guard of this Caspian type, which, mingling with the prehistoric Negroid and Negrito aborigines, formed the nucleus of the people who, under the pressure of the Mon-Khmer, emigrated eastward, to form the older or so-called Indonesian stratum of population in the Archipelago, and later moved on farther east through Melanesia to the islands of the South Seas" (20, pp: 276-278).

Dixon deals with Java and Sumatra under the heading of Indonesia, whose peoples from the linguistic point of view form a unit, since all the languages fall into a single broad group, related on the one hand, to the Melanesian, Micronesian and Polynesian languages, and, on the other, to the Mon-Khmer stock of south-eastern Asia.

Sumatra which at the Straits of Malacca almost joins the Malay Peninsula, and may have been actually continuous with it even in proto-historic times, is divisible topographically into two very distinct parts, the north-eastern being low, swampy and covered with dense jungle whereas the more healthy south western half is a high rugged plateau. These differences are reflected in the culture, the occupants of the lower portion of the island being in general rather primitive, while those of the highlands are relatively advanced. Dixon says that on physical grounds the population is divisible into three groups, characterized respectively by the predominance of the Alpine, the Palae-Alpine, and the Proto-Negroid types.

"The first group," says Dixon (20, p. 353), "comprises the true or so-called Menangkabau Malays, whose habitat is mainly confined to the central highlands of the south-western side of the island, and who appear to be relatively recent immigrants, reaching their historic homes probably by way of the east coast rivers from the north. In their general physical characteristics they resemble closely the Chinese of the coastal provinces of Fukien and Chekiang."

The second group represents a much older stratum. Amongst them are the Battaks, together with the people of the Lampong and Palembang districts to the south; and to this group also seem to belong the Kubu and other primitive tribes of the eastern lowland. The resemblance of this group to the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula has often been noticed. Dixon finds amongst them a strong predominance of his Palae-Alpine type and a considerable factor of Proto-Negroid and Proto-Australoid types.

The third group is found, so far as we know yet, only in the Palembang highlands, at the extreme southern tip of the island and is contrasted with the other groups in that it is almost purely dolichocephalic. Dixon says that the data here are old and no nasal measurements given, so that he cannot determine the type according to his system, but "if these people of the extreme south

are not descendants of the Indian immigrants which came into Sumatra in small numbers in the beginning of the Christian era, we may regard them as probably survivors of the oldest or dolichocephalic stratum of the Sumatran population" (20, p. 354).

If one may be bold to venture a suggestion, might not these dolichocephals represent the incursion which long prior to the Christian era brought into Sumatra that archaic civilisation whose remains are found in the South on the Pasemah plateau, a civilisation which still remains in Sumatra native tradition? (See 24 *passim*).

Java, unlike Sumatra, has no extensive lowland, says Dixon; but is throughout a mountainous and volcanic land. Its population is usually divided into three sections—the Sundanese in the west, the Javanese proper in the centre, and the Madurese in the east. Dixon says that, so far as the data go, there is little difference between them physically but the wide prevalence of the custom of artificial cranial deformation makes the determination of physical types in Java difficult. It seems, however, that throughout the island the Palae-Alpine type is strongly dominant, with the Alpine secondary, and only small minorities of Proto-Negroid and Proto-Australoid being present. The people thus apparently are comparable to the second or main group in Sumatra, who had received a considerable infusion of the Alpine Malay type. That the older, dolichocephalic stratum has not wholly disappeared seems to be shown by the Tenggerese in the mountain country at the eastern end of this island (20, p. 355).

Perry (21) insists upon the prevalence of his archaic civilization in Java and the presence of the remnants of dolichocephals in the island again suggests the conclusion put forward above in relation to Sumatra.

If Perry's archaic civilization were proved to have existed in Malaysia, would it not be more probable that it came from India and was similar to that discovered during the past decade and more in the Indus Valley, rather than direct from ancient Egypt as Perry and Elliot Smith have suggested? The chain might then be Egypt, Elam-Sumer, Indus Valley, Sumatra, Java (and possibly the Malay Peninsula), Indonesia and out through Oceania to Eastern Island, finally reaching the shores of South America. It is a fascinating problem and one more than worth study throughout Malaysia.

The somewhat lengthy quotations from Professor Dixon's book will serve two purposes; to illustrate how useful it is to local students and to form an introduction to the ancient history of the Peninsula with which the rest of this essay will deal.

Enough has been said in this excursus to show how necessary is a scientific study of the anthropology, in its widest sense, of the Peninsula and how inconclusive are the main modern authorities,

principally, of course, from the lack of data, the patient collection and publication of which should be the first duty of local ethnology.

It is hoped that all the members of the Malayan branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and its Council, in particular, will bring all the pressure of which they are capable upon our Governments to constitute a proper department of anthropology for our part of the Peninsula. The appointments merely of one ethnographer and one archaeologist are totally insufficient.

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The above citations and complementary bibliography have been chosen merely as introductory authorities to a close study of the anthropology of the Malay Peninsula. The caution as to terminology can only be repeated; it will be found that in the main Haddon's terminology has passed into local writings and that Buxton and Keane follow it. Neither in the fundamental races of man nor in the modern peoples is there any consistent nomenclature. The science of anthropology is as divided on its nomenclature as it is on the question of the criteria by which races should be differentiated. It is still divided also upon the basic question of monogenism or polygenism. Finally, in reading the books suggested above, the student must guard against accepting any of them as finally authoritative and must even be carefully on his guard against the facts stated in them, e.g. Keane, *Man Past and Present*, p. 222. All the anthropological works above endeavour to cover a very wide territory and a large number of races or of peoples, as the case may be; there is no book as yet dealing with south-eastern Asia alone (so far as the writer is aware) and none dealing solely with the totality of the racial questions of the Malay Peninsula.

§ 3. *Pre-Funan.*

As will be seen later, the hinduized State to which the Chinese gave the name of Fu-nan (or Fou-nan, as the French write it) was the first kingdom recorded as having extended its power into the Malay Peninsula but its actual history begins in the 3rd century A.D. and ends in the 7th. It has, accordingly, seemed convenient to treat of the period prior to the 3rd century A.D. under the general name of Pre-Funan.

We embark at once upon the story of Greater India, as her scholars now call it, the India that lay across the Bay of Bengal in south-eastern Asia¹. Throughout this area a most profound influence has been exerted by India which seems to have introduced into it architecture, sculpture, writing, monarchy, religion, iron, cotton and a host of other elements of higher culture. Sir Charles

¹ Throughout this essay we shall use the expression 'south-eastern Asia' as meaning Lower Burma, Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, the Malay Archipelago, Siam and Indo-China.

Elliott (25, iii, p. 151) has written that "the destiny of south-eastern Asia with its islands depends on the fact that the tide of trade and conquest, whether Hindu, Moslim or European, flowed from India or Ceylon to the Malay Peninsula and Java and thence north to China with a reflux west in Champa and Camboja." Certain it is that it is quite impossible to study the history of the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca without also studying the history of India, China and south-eastern Asia. The student, accordingly, must begin a long study but one which fortunately compensates him most fully with the great interest of its subject-matter.

The splendid isolation upon which the historians of India used to insist so vigorously has now gone to join the many exploded myths of scholarship, and the Vedic gods are seen to have stretched wide powers. The inscription of Boghaz Keui discovered by the German archaeologist, Hugo Winckler, in 1907 proved that in far off Cappadocia, cir: 1400 B.C., the Hittites and Mitanni, while concluding a treaty, invoked Indra, Mitra and Varuna. The discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro in the Indus valley prove a thriving trade with Mesopotamia three thousand years before Christ and we are now able to link up ancient Egypt, ancient Mesopotamia and ancient India in a most surprising manner. By the 3rd millennium B.C. India was confronting ancient Egypt and ancient Mesopotamia with an individual and independent civilization of her own. Sir Herbert Marshall has written that "we are justified in seeing, in the great Bath of Mohenjo-Daro and in its roomy and serviceable houses with their ubiquitous wells and bathrooms and elaborate systems of drainage, evidence that the ordinary townspeople enjoyed here a degree of comfort and luxury unexampled in other parts of the then civilized world" (as quoted in 26, p. 123).

But this ancient civilization of the Indus valley lay in north India, while we are concerned mostly with the south. India to-day is divided into two main parts. The north is called by the Persian name Hindustan, from the sanskrit¹ *sindhu*, 'the river,' i.e. the Indus, and *sthana*, 'the land,' and it is shut off from the south, called the Deccan, by the Vindhya range of mountains. The name Deccan is taken from the vernacular Dakkan and is derived from the sanskrit *daksina*, 'the right-hand country,' so called because the ancient Indians faced the rising sun in naming the points of the compass. The full sanskrit for the region south of the Vindhyas is *Daksinapatha*, 'the path of the south' or 'the tract in the south.' The sanskrit name for the north is *Aryavarta*, 'the land of the Aryans,' so that India divides, in sanskrit terminology, into *Aryavarta* and *Daksinapatha* and, in English, *Hindustan* and

¹The transliteration of sanskrit words used in this essay are mainly those to be found in Dr. A. A. Macdonell's, *Practical Sanskrit Dictionary*, 1924. Diacritical marks are, however, omitted for printing reasons.

Deccan. Nowadays, however, English writers more usually designate by 'the Deccan' the plateau and not Malabar and the Tamil countries of the further south. This latter use will be indicated in this essay by the expression 'the Deccan proper' and where we intend to imply the whole area south of the Vindhyas we shall use the sanskrit Daksinapatha.

In early times Tamilakam¹, the land of the Tamils, was shut off from the Deccan proper by a broad belt of forest land. The real importance of Tamilakam and of south India generally to the history of India has only come to be appreciated properly in recent times. Vincent Smith (27, p. 8) writes that attention has been concentrated too long on the north, on sanskrit books, and on Indo-Aryan notions. It is time, he says, that due regard should be paid to the non-Aryan element. He then quotes with approval the following words of the late Professor Sundaram Pillai:—

"The attempt to find the basic element of Hindu civilization by a study of sanskrit and the history of sanskrit in Upper India is to begin the problem at its worst and most complicated point. India, south of the Vindhyas—the Peninsular India—still continues to be India Proper. Here the bulk of the people continue distinctly to retain their pre-Aryan features, their pre-Aryan languages, their pre-Aryan social institutions. Even here, the process of Aryanization has gone indeed too far to leave it easy for the historian to distinguish the native warp from the foreign woof. But, if there is anywhere any chance of such successful disentanglement, it is in the South; and the farther South we go the larger does the chance grow.

"The scientific historian of India, then, ought to begin his study with the basin of the Krishna, of the Cauvery, of the Vaigai, rather than with the Gangetic plain, as it has been now long, too long, the fashion."

If that is true of the history of India, it is even more true of that of Malaysia and south-eastern Asia in general. Fortunately, since the last edition of Smith's book, 1924, there has been a rapid increase in our knowledge of South India, thanks largely to the researches of a distinguished body of Indian scholars from some of whose work we shall quote at times as we proceed. But local Tamil scholars with their knowledge of Malaya could help greatly for there is a rich body of Tamil literature that still remains to be explored and analyzed.

The earliest statement of the territorial limits of Tamilakam is by Tolkappiyar, an ancient grammarian, usually stated as belonging probably to the 4th century B.C., and he asserted that it extended east to west from sea to sea, and north to south from the hills of sacred Tirupati to Cape Comorin. The Indians

¹ Or Tamilagam, as it is sometimes written.

of to-day are ethnically divided into seven main physical types¹ of which the seventh is the Dravidian, extending from Ceylon to the valley of the Ganges and pervading Madras, Hyderabad, the Central Provinces, most of Central India and Chota Nagpur. Of these seven types the Dravidian alone is taken to be indigenous, or at least to be the earliest inhabitants of India. Of the Dravidian languages Tamil is, of course, by far the most important and has undergone a literary cultivation from a very early period. The people of the west coast gradually differentiated themselves from the rest and developed a distinct language of their own—Malayalam, said to be a patois of Kodun-Tamil and Prakritic-Sanskrit.

It has been truly said that history is geography set in motion and that what to-day is a fact of geography becomes to-morrow a factor of history. All historical problems should be studied geographically and all geographic problems must be studied historically (28, p. 11). North India forms one boundless plain with an assured water supply, which permits cavalry hordes to sweep from one end to the other during the dry season. Hence North India has been the seat of large empires, each of which has, in its day, ruled over many provinces, maintained rich and learned Courts, and added to the common culture of all India. The Madras coast, popularly called the Eastern Carnatic, has the same features, though in a very much narrower area. The Deccan proper is cut up by nature into small isolated districts, where racial and linguistic differences have been preserved through ages with very little change. And, hence, the history of the Deccan proper has been a record of the rise of numberless petty kingdoms, their eternal contest with their neighbours, and down-fall one after another. Unlike Hindustan, this region of the south has failed to exert any influence on the other parts of India, but has succumbed to Hindustan or the Carnatic whenever its geographical isolation has been broken by the aggression of some great empire of those parts (29, pp: 5, 6). In reading Indian history, however, one must be on one's guard against the word 'empire,' since its connotation cannot be used without giving a misleading view of the course of that history. No Indian Empire, even that of the Mauryas, had any meaning such as we imply when we speak of the Roman or British Empire. The word merely means that the ruler of some particular dynasty became sufficiently powerful to proclaim himself an all-ruler, 'the wielder of the discus' or 'the holder of the one umbrella.'

Though Daksinapatha produced no empire such as, for instance, that of Magadha, it was most excellently fitted to play a supreme part in Indian history and from it sprang greater India. The Kalingas, the Pallavas and the Cholas played a greater part in world history than any northern dynasty. Nature has endowed the southern part of India with greater facilities for maritime activities

¹ See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1909, Vol. 1, pp. 283-348.

than either the delta of the Ganges or that of the Indus. Girt by the sea, with dense forests in the interior, abounding in strong timber admirably suited for ship-building, with hospitable coast-lines extending for a thousand miles, southern India was pre-eminently adapted for the development of seamanship and navigation, so that it is no wonder that the inhabitants of the Tamil coastal districts have been called from early times *Paradavar* or sailors. They must early have discovered the periodicity of the monsoons since it is impossible to live on the coasts of southern India without noticing that phenomenon and the possibilities for sailing-craft which it offers. They kept the secret closely guarded from competitors so that it only became known to Europe when it was ascertained by Hippalus, as will be seen later.

For many years ethnologists, archaeologists, etc. hotly disputed the great antiquity of ship-building and ocean travel but to-day it is realized that travel by sea was one of man's earliest discoveries and less risky than travel by land (e.g., see 16, p. 250). Daryll Forde (30) has traced the evolution of ship-building in an excellent little book which contains references to the principal authorities and Hornell (31) has dealt with Indian boat-designs and the use of eyes on the prows of ships and boats. These works establish fully the antiquity of ship-building.

It is, of course, impossible to tell when the Indian sailors first used the oceans but Hall (32, p. 173) says that the ancient Sumerians as disclosed in statuary etc. bear most resemblance to the Dravidian ethnic type of India and that they were very like the southern Indians of Daksinapatha, who still speak Dravidian languages. He suggests that it is by no means improbable that "the Sumerians were an Indian race which passed, certainly by land, perhaps by sea, through Persia to the valley of the two Rivers. It was in the Indian home (perhaps the Indus valley) that we suppose for them that their culture developed" (ibid: pp: 173, 174). In a footnote (ibid: p. 174, n. 2) he observes that the legend of Oannes, the Man-Fish, argues an early marine connection with a civilized land over sea. Oannes swam up the Persian Gulf to the earliest Sumerian cities, bringing with him the arts of civilization. That is, of course, pure speculation but solid facts proving the great antiquity of the sea-trade between south India and the west, and also of the carriage from India by sea of commodities from Malaysia and China, are to be found in the works of Rawlinson (33), Warmington (34) and Schoff (35). This evidence will be found collated in chronological sequences with further evidence from Tamil sources by Srinivas Iyengar (36). It was probably from Tamilakam that during the reign of Solomon, about 1000 B.C., the ships of Tarshish came with gold and silver, ivory, apes and peacocks (37, p. 658; 38, p. 4). The names of the last two, *kapim* and *tukim*, as found in the Hebrew Bible, are the same as those used in Tamil *kavi* and *thoki*. Hornell (31, p. 193) points out that Ophir was hardly likely to have

been an Arabian trading port as Rawlinson (33, p. 12) asserts, since the round voyage took three years, and he suggests that a port on the Indian coast would suit better but even that seems too near for such a voyage and many writers have suggested, and still suggest, that Solomon's Ophir was the Golden Chersonese or Malay Peninsula: but here again we are obviously in the realms of pure speculation.

There is very much about sea-travel in ancient Indian literature but unfortunately it is almost impossible in the present state of opinion to assign agreed dates to most of it. It is, however, universally agreed that the most ancient of Indian literature is contained in the four Vedas¹ and of these the Rigveda² is the oldest. The most conservative estimate places the Vedas in the 7th century B.C. and the least would have the Rigveda as old as from 2000 to 1500 B.C. In the Vedas are several references to sea-voyaging, such as to "merchants under the influence of greed sending out ships to foreign countries" and to "merchants whose field of activity knows no bounds, who go everywhere in pursuit of gain and frequent every part of the sea," while in other passages we hear of voyages to distant lands and to ships with a hundred oars.

The Ramayana, save for interpolations which would seem to date from the 2nd or 1st century B.C., appears to be the work of Valmiki, an Indian author said to be of the 6th century B.C. The Mahabharata apparently dates from the beginning of the 4th century B.C., with later interpolations. Both contain important references to sea-voyages and the former some celebrated passages relating to Malaysia, which will be considered later.

Buddhism was an international religion and it is not surprising that Buddhist literature contains much about sea voyages, in particular the Jatakas, or Birth stories, all of which have been translated into English by Cambridge scholars³. They "include many incidental references to the political condition of India in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., which although not exactly contemporary with the events alluded to, certainly transmit genuine historical tradition" (27, p. 11).

All the ancient Indian sea literature in the opinion of Professor Sylvain Lévi (39 and 40) certainly alludes to a known venture; but it is difficult to state it with assurance. The movement which brought Hindu civilization to the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and what is now Indo-China was far from inaugurating a new route, as Columbus did in sailing towards the west. Adventurers,

¹ *Veda* means 'sacred knowledge or scripture.'

² I.e. the *Veda* of verses.

³ Professor Cowell, Dr. Rouse and others; published at Cambridge, 1895-1907.

merchants and missionaries, they profited by the technical progress of navigation to follow, under better and more efficient conditions, a way that had been traced from time immemorial by the sailors of another race which Aryanized India misunderstood as savages. This ancient race, he says, gave the family of languages which can be traced from Himalaya to Easter Island and their later followers were the unknowing heirs of a civilization which had its greatness.

It was gold that primarily attracted these Indians. Other products also enriched their traffic, notably sandal-wood and eagle-wood, camphor, cloves, spices and drugs, and tortoise-shell, to mention but a few. Perry, Elliot Smith and others have proved conclusively the great importance of gold in the story of man. Macdonell and Keith have written in their Vedic Index that "it is impossible to exaggerate the value attached to gold by the Vedic Indians" (as quoted in 36, p. 24) and Hocart (1, p. 124) deals shortly with its importance, citing the Indian text which says 'Gold is Life.' Here it must be recalled that the Malay Peninsula is full of ancient gold-workings, that the Batang Padang district in Perak still contains gold which can be obtained by washing and that Pahang has a long history of gold mining.

In the fourth canto of the Ramayana we get a veritable course in geography (39). Sita, the wife of the hero, has just been abducted by a ravisher. Sugriva, king of the monkeys, who has contracted an alliance with Rama, sends his fleets to the four cardinal points to track down the wrong-doer and for each of them he prescribes the course which they are to follow. The route begins by the east, continues by the south, then by the west and finishes by the north.

We get a reference to the 'Isle of Gold,' Suvarna-dvipa, and another which is almost invariably¹ taken to refer to Java. In what is known as the Bombay recension it says (40, p. 80), "With all your efforts gain the Isle of Java, embellished with seven kingdoms, the isle of gold and silver, adorned with mines of gold; then beyond the isle of Java etc." The sanskrit for Isle of Java here is Yava-dvipa. What is known as the Bengal recension, however, gives a different version; it reads "the Isle of Jala, embellished with fruits and sweet things, and also Suvarna-rupyaka and the isle Gana; then beyond etc." We shall deal later with these references in the Ramayana.

There is a very interesting article by Professor Lévi (41) in which he deals with two of the Jatakas. He says that a large number of these stories draw their materials from adventures oversea and that the sea and its navigation evidently formed a large place in Indian life in the period when the stories were

¹ Though in reality the question is one of doubt as will be seen when we deal with the matter later herein.

conceived. The study of the texts throws much light on the glorious period, almost completely ignored in other branches of literature, of the Indian civilization during which the mariners, missionaries and merchants of India carried the culture of the fatherland to the islands of the Malay Archipelago, the Malay Peninsula and Indo-China. Manimekhala, 'the Girdle of Gems,' was a divinity of the sea who appears, it seems, in two only of the Jatakas. Lévi's article describes the voyages of Samkha, a rich brahman, and Janaka, a king's son, and how they embark in search of fortune to the land of gold, Suvarnabhumi, the Golden Chersonese of the Greeks. Manimekhala has remained famous in the land of the Tamils and gives the title to a great classical poem in Tamil literature, the Manimekhalai. Whether heroine or goddess, her original residence was at Puhar, in the port where the great river of the south, the Kaveri (or Cauvery), empties itself and which was one of the great centres of traffic between India and the further East. She had her temple, her cult and her festivities at Kanchi, not far from Madras, the holy city of Buddhism in the south of India and a place of the greatest importance in the history of south-eastern Asia, since it was the principal city of the Pallava Kings. She is one of the numerous deities who are 'the guardians of the sea' but her proper domain is that region of the ocean which stretches from Cape Comorin to the El Dorado of Suvarna-dvipa. She still appears in the Cambodian Ramayana (42) and the Siamese Ramayana (43) and appears in the literature and folk-lore of Ceylon (43 and 44). It would be an interesting enquiry to discover if she has any connection with the Chinese Kuan-Yin, in her aspect of protectress of sailors and travellers by sea, or with the Chinese Ma Tsu P'o, the special sea-goddess of Fukien, whence so many Chinese sailors and merchants have travelled to the 'South Seas' from the earliest times. As is well-known the former of these goddesses had an Indian origin, and Ma Tsu P'o, whose origin is quite uncertain, is not unlike Manimekhala in attributes. The modern Chinese sailor carries an image of her crowned with a heavenly crown in a shrine on the left side of his ship, that being the place of honour in the east. Morning and evening incense is burned to her (45).

There is a great body of early Tamil literature (the most flourishing period seems to have lain between 100 and 300 A.D.) which should yield much fruit on the matter of geography, trade and sea-travel when a thorough research has been made into it. Kanakasabhai Pillay has 'ploughed the virgin sail' in his book *The Tamil Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*¹ and Srinivas Iyengar has made copious use of it in his *History of the Tamils* (36) but much still remains to be done.

It is very clear that long before there are any recorded Indian kingdoms in south-eastern Asia there had been traders and sailors

¹ Unfortunately the present writer is unable at the moment to refer to this work.

visiting its shores. Gradually their cultural influence took root in the coastal districts and in due course they founded kingdoms so that the coast from Lower Burma to Borneo and round the Malay Peninsula, the Gulf of Siam and Indo-China became dotted with Indian colonies and Indian towns.

As is well-known, the Malay name for Indians from the Coromandel coast particularly and south India generally, throughout the Malay Peninsula and Java, is *Orang Kling*; and it is usually considered that *Kling* here stands for Kalinga. It is also usually considered that the Burmese 'Talaing' is derived from Telingana, in turn derived from Tri-Kalinga or Tri-Linga, and employed to designate the country of Kalinga proper, on the western side of the Gulf of Bengal as well as the country of the Talaings on the opposite shore which had been colonized by them (46, p. 30; 47, p. 6). The Talaings are found chiefly in the Thaton and Amherst districts in Lower Burma. In Siam they are found chiefly on the Menam and Meklawng rivers. Wherever they are found they use their own language and keep up their separate nationality. The racial name of this people is Mon and in Siam they are popularly known by that name alone (48, p. 2). Thyagaraju (49) says that in Burma the Telugus are known as Korangees and he suggests that Korangee, meaning 'from Koringa,' is the same as 'from Kalinga,' since 'r' and 'l' interchange under certain conditions well-known to philology. The Andhras were Telugus and their history and that of the Kalingas seems to interweave.

The history of Kalinga is still obscure and there is much dispute as to the exact territory comprised within the term but Sylvain Lévi (40, p. 11) says that "it comprised all the east coast between the Ulkalas to the north and the Telingas to the south. The Vaitarani watered the country; the Mahendra mountains (Eastern Ghats) were on its confines to the south. It comprised, then, the modern province of Orissa, the district of Ganjam and probably also that of Vizagapatam." In saying this, he is quoting Pargiter¹. In the earliest times it was under reprobation; if a man went there except on a pilgrimage, it was necessary for him to purify. The Mahabharata in one passage puts the Kalingas amongst the tribes who are evil; but a later passage says that they are amongst the people who knew the eternal order in company with nations who are the élite of Brahmanism. This change of attitude, says Lévi, was without doubt due to the importance of Kalinga from the time when Indian civilization spread round the Gulf of Bengal.

In 261 B.C.² the great emperor Asoka conquered Kalinga and

¹ Sir Charles Elliot (25, p. 263) says that the Kalinga was 'the country between the Mahanadi and the Godavari.'

² By no means an undisputed date, see *infra*.

we know that the terrible bloodshed caused thereby provoked the moral crisis from which Asoka came out a transformed man. Thereafter Buddhism became the religion of South India, though side by side with Brahmanism; and it had one of its holy places in Kalinga, Dantapura, the town of the tooth, from which that holy relic was later taken to Ceylon.

The outstanding role which the men of Kalinga played must have caused the east coast of India to be known generally as Kalinga amongst those peoples which use the expression Kling or expressions kindred thereto. People arriving on the eastern coasts of the Bay of Bengal and in the Malay Peninsula were described as coming from Kalinga generically. Professor Mookerji in his very entertaining history of Indian shipping (50) says that after the Tamils the leading part in the pioneering of India's eastward maritime trade was taken by the ancient kingdom of Kalinga on the eastern sea-board, which is said to have been founded "at least eight centuries before Christ,"¹ and which extended from the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Krishna (ibid.; p. 144). "If formed one of the five outlying kingdoms of ancient India, with its capital about half way down the coast and still surviving in the present city of Kalingapatam." Lévi says (40, p. 12) that the capital was the holy city of Dantapura, the locality of which will be discussed later; Gerini (46, p. 76, n.l.) says that the old capital of Kalinga was at first called Sinha-pura after its founder, Sinha-bahu, the father of Vijaya, the first recorded sovereign of Ceylon.

Mookerji (50, pp: 144, 145) says that some of the Kalinga inscriptions "speak of navigation and ship-commerce as forming part of the education of the princes of Kalinga."² In a footnote at p. 145 he quotes the following passage from Hunter, "This and others of the inscriptions prove, in the opinion of the scholar to whom we owe their decipherings, that Kalinga was at that time an emporium of trade. We know from other sources that, shut out as Orissa was from the general policy of India, it boasted of fabrics which it could send as valuable presents to the most civilized monarchs of the interior. So fine was the linen which the prince of Kalinga sent to the King of Oudh, that a priestess who put on the gauzy fabric was accused of appearing naked," which reminds one of the Roman moralists who thundered against the indecency of the Indian fabrics affected by the women of Nero's time.

Mookerji (ibid: p. 145) says, quoting from Phayre, that from the evidence of the sacred scripture of the Burmese it is clear that a steady commercial intercourse was cultivated with Burma by the Buddhist merchants of Kalinga, which soon led to missionary undertakings for the propagation of their religion, and afterwards

¹ Quoting from Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. 1, p. 188.

² Quoting from Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. 1, p. 170.

to the assumption of political supremacy in the land. He also quotes (ibid: p. 146) another authority who states that the intercourse between the east coast of India and the coasts across the Bay of Bengal and along the Straits of Malacca attained its height at the time when the Buddhists were in the ascendant, that is during the first five or six centuries of our era. The first great Buddhist persecution both checked it and also drove great numbers of the victims from India to the opposite coast. The Tamil and Telugu local histories and tradition are full of such narratives.

So far as the present writer is aware, there is no history which deals with Kalinga only; and there is the greatest divergence of opinions about it. Its territory seems to have varied very greatly from time to time. It seems to play a part in the histories of the Andhras, Cholas and Pallavas; or, at all events, its history seems to interweave with theirs. The Andhra-bhasa (as it is called in Sanskrit), i.e. Telugu, is the chief language in eastern India from Madras northwards to near Orissa. It is also spoken in the east of Hyderabad and in the extreme south of the Central Provinces, reaching down into Berar. It has an extensive literature written in a script of its own, which is allied to Devanagari, but characterized by curves. Telugu is, of course, one of the nine vernaculars which compose the Dravidian group of languages. The great exploits of the Chola King that form the subject of the Tanjore inscription, which will be examined later in this essay, are the subject of a panegyry in a Tamil poem called *Kalinga Huparani* (50, p. 177), while Rawlinson (33, p. 139, n.l.) says that "the first Hindu colony reached Java from Kalinga about 75 A.D.¹ The first King was Aditya. The earliest inscriptions are in Vengi (i.e. Kalinga) dialect, and *Kling* is the Javanese for India." The Vengi dialect is nowadays called grantha-pallava and Vengi was, of course, in the Pallava territory² so that it would seem as if Rawlinson identified Kalinga with Pallava.

Much information about Kalinga and the south Indian dynasties is to be found in Sewell and Aiyangar's work on the inscriptions of South India (51), though a certain amount of care must be taken in using it. The authors say, at p. 2, that as far back as the time of the Puranas the people of South India were known as belonging to three Tamil nations, the Pandyas, Cholas and Cheras. The Ramayana adds a fourth, the Telugu country of the Andhras. Buddha, who is almost universally taken to be an historic person, was born about 563 B.C. and died in 483 B.C. According to the Singhalese Mahavamsa the occasion of his death was also the occasion of the arrival in Ceylon of Vijaya, a prince exiled from Bengal (51, p. 3). In 322 or 321 B.C. the great Chandragupta usurped the throne of Magadha in northern India

¹ This, however, is based merely upon tradition.

² Actually it is the Kistna-Godaveri delta.

and to his court Megasthenes came as ambassador in 302 B.C. Asoka who was actually crowned in 264 B.C. began a war on Kalinga in 256 B.C. This last date differs from the one usually given for the conquest of Kalinga, namely 261 B.C., but apparently represents the latest view in India. Asoka (51, p. 12) recognized as independent sovereigns in his day the Chola, Pandya, Chera and Andhra kings in southern India. He died about 226 B.C. according to Dr. Barnett, 232 B.C. according to Vincent Smith and 237 or 236 B.C. according to the Cambridge History of India; and after him the Maurya Empire of Magadha gradually broke up. The Andhras began to acquire power after Asoka had conquered their northern neighbours, the kings of Kalinga. Later, about 163 B.C., the king of Kalinga, Kharavela, was powerful enough to enter into alliance with the Andhra king; and under him Kalinga became the centre of a powerful empire. In 22 B.C. a Pandya king sent an embassy to Augustus Caesar in Rome. Sewell and Aiyangar (*ibid*: p. 13) give the political condition of southern India in A.D. 1 as follows:—The Ganjam and Vizagapatam country was probably governed by the king of Kalinga. The Andhra king ruled the Godavari and Krishna tracts, with parts of Nellore, Cuddapah and Kurnool. North of what is now the Madras Presidency they had greatly extended their power so as to govern the whole of the Deccan proper and even far to the north of it. The Chola king held the territories lying between Pulikat and Ramnad on the eastern side of the peninsula, with their capital at Puhar on the Kaveri river (Kanchi or Conjuveram was a vice-royalty). The Pandyas held Madura, Tinnevely, Travancore, part of Coimbatore, Cochin and the Palni Hills. The Cheras ruled the country to the north and west of the Pandya dominions.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF
ANCIENT TIMES IN THE MALAY PENINSULA AND THE
STRAITS OF MALACCA.

§ 3. *Pre Funan*

(Plates I - III)

A digression must now be interpolated in further explanation of the purpose of this essay.

Since the opening of the present century it may be said that we have had in the main three historians—Dr. Blagden, Mr. R. J. Wilkinson and Sir Richard Winstedt—each of whom has contributed articles and notes to this Journal on various subjects and at varying intervals of time, Sir Richard Winstedt being by far the most prolific contributor of the three. In addition, Mr. Wilkinson has written a popular *History of the Peninsular Malays*¹ and Sir Richard Winstedt has recently contributed a corpus of historical writing which includes a general *History of Malaya*. This corpus of writing is of unique value where the author is dealing with the Mohammedan period and will prove to be a gold-mine to future historians but, where he is dealing with the pre-Mohammedan period, only a brief view is given, the author treating the period as merely introductory to his main theses and relying principally upon current Dutch views. It is interesting to note how Sir Richard's mental attitude has changed and how we have now to thank one, who in 1911² wrote of himself "I am no historian either by taste or training", for the largest body of local history which we possess.

In their writings Mr. Wilkinson, with one exception³, never cites any authorities, Dr. Blagden very few and Sir Richard Winstedt very largely those in the Dutch language, which is a shut book to the vast majority of possible students in the Peninsula. Any person beginning the study of the ancient history of the country is, therefore, faced first with the task of discovering what are the authorities to which he must go.

It is the object of this essay accordingly to assist any intending student by providing him with references to easily available authorities in the English and French languages, by giving him some view of present theories and by throwing out some suggestions for his consideration and possible exploration. Dutch and German writings are not quoted since the writer is not familiar with those languages and it is the most unfortunate fact that no close *précis* of the most important articles in the Dutch language has been contributed to this Journal save a very brief outline of

¹3rd edition, revised, 1923.

²See J.R.A.S. (S.B.), No. 57, p. 183.

³*Some Malay Studies*, see No. 96 in the bibliography hereto.

the first part of one of Rouffaer's most important articles by Winstedt¹. It would be most useful if such *précis* could be contributed now ; it is a task which one recommends to those able to perform it. It has sometimes been said that unless a person has a thorough knowledge of the Dutch and Malay languages he should not attempt to write concerning our ancient history but, if that were to be acted upon, the subject would soon be dead in Malaya ; and there is in reality not the least reason why the ancient history of the country should be regarded as the peculiar domain of linguists alone, though it is obvious that the historian can only begin where the linguists have finished. The majority of the contributors to this Journal² and to its predecessor, Logan's Journal of the Indian Archipelago, have been amateurs, not professional scholars ; and only by encouraging a healthy amateur interest first shall we find anyone content to pass into that semi-professional class to which Mr. Wilkinson and Sir Richard Winstedt³ belonged. The present writer naturally makes claim to nothing except diligence and an urgent desire to awaken interest in a most fascinating and useful course of study.

By the beginning of the Christian era the great republic of Rome had given way to a still greater empire and the writings of Strabo, 20 A.D., show a large trade between Rome and India, to which a great impetus was given in the time of the Emperor Claudius (41-54 A.D.) by the Roman discovery of the periodic change of the monsoons. About 45 A.D. a sea-captain Hippalus made this discovery and sailed from the Red Sea to India out of sight of land ; and in his honour the Romans named the south-west monsoon the Hippalus. Thereafter, a great direct sea-trade between the Roman Empire and India developed and in about 60 or 80 A.D. (or even perhaps during the reign of Domitian 81-96 A.D.) there appeared a trade handbook called the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*⁴ written by an Egyptian Greek merchant, name unknown but an inhabitant of Berenike ; and this book forms the first record of organised trading by the West with the East. In about 150 A.D. we have Ptolemy's geography which contains the first exposition of what lay beyond the Bay of Bengal.⁵

The great emporium of the trade was Alexandria, where a colony of Indians was established to carry it on, while at Madura in India there was a colony of Roman merchants. Dion Chrysostom (c. 100 A.D.) tells us of the geography of India and the adjacent countries as described in the Puranas and says that the information was obtained from those who come from India. Ptolemy says that he got his information from persons who had resided in India ; and it is very clear that Roman commercial agents lived in India in this age (see generally 52).

¹J. R.A.S. (S.B.), 1922. No. 85, pp. 256-260.

²In which expression we include the Journal of the Straits Branch, R.A.S.

³Both were Civil Servants, as was their predecessor Sir William Maxwell.

⁴Voyage round the Indian Ocean.

⁵Godinho de Eredia (writing between 1597 and 1600 A.D.) says that it was written in A.D. 163 ; see Translation by J. V. Mills, J.R.A.S. (M.B.), 1930. Vol. VII, at p. 229.



A map of 1623 A.D. showing a river crossing the Peninsula.
 (Langren in Linschoten, Dutch Edition).
 Published by the courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Among the tales which early filtered into the Roman Empire were those of a wonderful El Dorado beyond the Bay of Bengal. Pomponius Mela (c. 43 A.D.) mentions Argyra and Chryse, the land of silver and the land of gold, but says nothing about them except that they are opposite to the mouths of the Ganges. Pliny, 77 A.D., mentions the promontory of Chryse but has in fact nothing to tell about it. The author of the *Periplus* is the first to give us any detailed information, but only hearsay since it is clear that his actual knowledge did not extend beyond the port of Korkai in the Pandya country. He says (35, p. 45) that Chryse produced tortoise-shell, that the ships which sailed to it were called *colandia*¹ and were very large (*ibid*: p. 47) and finally (p. 48) that just opposite the Ganges "there is an island in the Ocean, the last part of the inhabited world towards the east, under the rising sun itself, it is called Chryse; and it has the best tortoise-shell of all the places on the Erythraean Sea." He does not mention Argyra at all.

Ptolemy is the first European to give us a picture of the East beyond India. His *Geographiké Syntaxis* is usually considered to have been written in the middle of the IInd century A.D. but the facts in it must date back several decades earlier. The work is divided into eight books with twenty-six maps, not one of which latter, however, remains to us. Of the books, the first forms an introduction, the eighth a summary description of the maps; the second and third are devoted to Europe; the fourth to Africa; and the fifth, sixth and seventh to Asia. Book VII is the most important for our present purposes since it treats of India, Cisi- and Trans-Gangetic, as Ptolemy calls them, of the Sinae and Taprobane, which last is, of course, Ceylon, while the Sinae are the southern Chinese. This seventh book has long been a source of interest and of much vexation to its students. As Gerini has written (46, p. 1) "Klaproth, Cunningham, Yule, Lassen and others, while meeting with fair success in identifying Ptolemy's names of places west of the meridian of the Ganges, had failed to evolve the slightest order out of the chaos of his trans-Gangetic Geography, and to locate with certainty even a single one of the numerous cities he names beyond the outskirts of the Gulf of Bengal. The more eastern portion of Ptolemy's geography came, therefore, to be looked upon as utterly unreliable if not fantastic; and the severest strictures were passed on the great cosmologist and geographer, to the effect that he had made a mess of his eastern longitudes and latitudes, coined names of cities and peoples out of his fancy, confused islands and continents, making pretence to a knowledge of regions which his contemporaries had never reached, and on which they possessed but second-hand information of the vaguest possible character."

Since those words were written, however, the researches of many scholars, including Gerini himself, have helped to clear

¹This word is probably derived from the Sanskrit *Kolantarapota* "ships for going to foreign shores", see Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. 1, p. 115, see also note by Mr. C. N. Maxwell in the Appendix hereto.

away the fog so that at this date there is no possible excuse for dismissing Ptolemy with observations such as that "it is all too speculative."

The problem, of course, is to reconstruct Ptolemy in the light of modern geography and to identify the places which he mentions; and the first task naturally is to discover, if possible, what Ptolemy really did say. In other words, the first question is one of texts.

Ptolemy's work from the 2nd to the 16th centuries A.D. was constantly consulted and often added to or corrected by those who used it or adapted it to their personal experiences. Actually of the existing MSS. only one is as old as the 11th century while one other belongs to the 13th and the rest are later. Of the maps in existence the oldest seems to date from 1401 A.D. and not one is from any of Ptolemy's (53, pp. 111, 112). This is particularly unfortunate if Rylands (54, p. 17) is correct in the following observations: "In the first book of the *Geographia* (Ptolemy) explains how he made his maps of the "habitabilis", and in the following books he gives us—not, as seems to be generally supposed, the list of stations or places from which he made his maps, but having first plotted, by a process of simple triangulation, the positions on his map—his lists were constructed from it. In other words, the list of places, with their longitudes and latitudes appended to the several maps, form an index to the maps, and not a table of the data from which they were constructed."

Berthelot (53, p. 112) points out that none of the old maps extant is taken directly from any of Ptolemy's originals since the dimensions of the degrees do not accord with Ptolemy's own statement of his proportions and he says that the maps of Trans-Gangetic India are particularly bad in this respect.

Bunbury (55) has a long discussion (pp. 572-579) as to the purpose of Ptolemy in Book VIII of the geography and arrives at a conclusion, described by him as inevitable, that Ptolemy, who was much more an astronomer than a geographer, was not recording in that Book "the results of observations but stating for the information of his readers what he knew must be the fact, assuming the position of the place to be such as it was already determined in his tables. The same explanation may be extended to all the other statements contained in the eighth book. They are evidently not, as they have been commonly regarded, a fresh series of *data* for certain positions which have been already determined, but a statement of certain astronomical facts with regard to a certain number of places, the position of which is assumed to be already known."

The best edition of Book VII at this date is that by Renou (56), published in 1925 and used by Berthelot as the basis of his book, though he has not followed it exactly in regard to all the positions of longitude and latitude given by Renou, who gives in footnotes all textual variants, thus enabling the reader to follow him and providing a most useful adjunct to the body of his

work. Gerini worked upon McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*. 1885 edition¹, which was based upon that of Nobbe (Leipzig, 1843); but Renou considers Nobbe's edition not to have been well chosen (56, p. v.).

We shall follow Renou's text, giving the names as spelled by Ptolemy therein.

The next question that arises is the manner in which to re-construct Ptolemy's maps. It is very clear that his ideas cannot be stated with precision in our own geographical terms since they were so very far from the truth. In trying to re-construct Ptolemy there are four methods used, which may be described as (a) the purely geographical or mathematical, (b) the etymological, (c) the historical, and (d) the mixture of the previous three. The first method can never be conclusive as will be illustrated below; the second seems too frequently to lead to an ignoring of elementary logic and in any event can, again, never be conclusive; the third fails because of the paucity of material; but the fourth, if followed wisely, does provide a path to solution. The late Colonel Gerini was an exponent of this last method and a word or two concerning his well-known book is necessary in justice to his memory. His book is too often mentioned, particularly by local students, only to be spurned or criticized but actually it is remarkable for its erudition, for its anticipation of theories accepted to-day, for its pointers in the right direction and for its store-house of quotations and facts. It is a work which cannot possibly be ignored (indeed, it will be found that Warmington (34), to take one writer, cites it continuously and bases much upon it) and, although at this date much correction and rejection have to be made, it must stand in the library of every serious student of the ancient history of south-eastern Asia and must be the subject of his constant reference and attention. As Professor Nilakanta Sastri says (57, p. 257 n.), Gerini's work "deserves grateful acknowledgment from all students of the historical geography of Eastern Asia."

Ptolemy gives us a picture of the sea-route from India to southern China. Working in his study in Alexandria, he collated and combined in a truly remarkable manner all the geographical information then known to the Western world and from this information he created a kind of cartographic lexicon in which he enumerated the positions in longitude and latitude of the places mentioned. He based his work largely upon that of Marinus of Tyre, known to us only from Ptolemy's quotations of it, but he criticizes and corrects Marinus from the latest information available, relying above all upon the recent accounts of merchants, some of them contemporary (34, p. 106). But, unfortunately, he was not working upon scientific data; he had few direct astronomical observations at his command; he was compelled to calculate and compare itineraries, rendering days' journeys and

¹A reprint of which has been issued in 1927, edited by Surendranath Majumdar Sastri.

voyages into stadia, and to use other such rough methods. Furthermore, the ancient Greek sailors worked by dead reckoning since the log was not invented until the beginning of the XVth century. A just critic will, accordingly, emphasize the fact that Ptolemy was so right rather than that he was so wrong, for, as we shall see, Ptolemy's general statement of south-eastern Asia is clear enough although his detailed positions are often very wrong and though he often laboured under serious misconceptions.

To arrive at the mathematics of the Ptolemy problem one must first ascertain how he works out his degrees of longitude and latitude. Gerini's calculations are based upon a system which is so complex and so ingenious that his critics reject it for that reason; Berthelot's system, on the contrary, possesses the merit of simplicity and uniformity; as does that of Rylands (apparently unknown to Berthelot, judging from his bibliography), though Rylands' method again differs from the other two. These differing methods naturally give different results; thus for the Ptolemaic 167° long: Gerini gives $104^{\circ}21'$ E. Greenwich, Berthelot $101^{\circ}20'$, while Rylands gives for the Ptolemaic 180° long: $114^{\circ}29'$ E. Greenwich, Berthelot 110° .

It must then be clear that the mathematical method of reconstructing Ptolemy is a dubious one, to say the least of it. Moreover, commentators who work upon different texts naturally get differing results and this causes further confusion. Nevertheless, Berthelot's method produces most interesting and useful results so that we shall use him as a basis for our consideration of the problem.

For his longitudes Ptolemy took the difference in hours of any given place from his initial meridian which was in fact that of Alexandria, where he wrote, though in theory it was the westernmost point of the Fortunate Islands, *i.e.* the Isle of Ferro in the Canaries, that being the furthest point west then known; but Ptolemy was in a difficulty since the ancients had no portable chronometers. He himself preferred astronomical data "but as a matter of fact Hipparchus is the only person who has given polar elevation of some few cities, while some of his successors have recorded 'the positions lying opposite to one another', that is, approximately under the same meridian. Moreover, distances (especially east and west) have been inaccurately reported, owing to the want of sufficient astronomical knowledge, and also to the neglect of the observation of lunar eclipses"; thus Ptolemy, as quoted by Rylands¹, who goes on to point out that "this being so there remained no other course but to set down certain fundamental points, whose position Ptolemy believed was accurately determined, and starting from these the remaining positions were consecutively put in according to stadal measures or other evidence" (54, p. 22). Moreover, Berthelot (53, p. 119) says that the stadal measures differed in the different maps; thus, in Ptolemy's map No. 10, which was of Cis-Gangetic India, he gave

¹I have only the text of Book VII and so must merely quote. R.B.

to a degree of longitude $458\frac{1}{2}$ stadia, whereas in map No. 11, which was of Trans-Gangetic India (and so the important one for us) he gave 500 stadia.

Now, 10 stadia equalled 1 geographical or nautical mile; but according to Ptolemy's system of measuring (35, p. 54) the circumference of the earth was estimated at 180,000 stadia, with 500 stadia to the degree, whereas it should have been 600 stadia, since 10 stadia equalled 1 minute of a degree, *i.e.* 1 geographical mile.

In order to correct Ptolemy Berthelot considers it necessary to deduct only 60° from his longitudes since he finds that to be roughly the distance between Alexandria, the true meridian, and the island of Ferro, the theoretical one; so, when Ptolemy says that a place is 160° east, it means 100° east of Alexandria, whose meridian is actually $29^\circ 53'E.$ of Greenwich, which Berthelot simplifies into a rough 30° for general purposes (53, pp. 122, 123).

Ptolemy's latitudes in principle were observed directly by measuring either the height of the sun or the length of the longest day in the year. In map No. 11 (Trans-Gangetic India) he allows 500 stadia, says Berthelot, to a degree of latitude, thus making it equal to a degree of longitude in the same map. Ptolemy, however, worked also by calculations based on a day's sail and Berthelot (at p. 382) corrects the distance for a day's sail in the Indian Ocean from Ptolemy's 516 stadia to 600, or 60 geographical miles, and, using this formula, works out his latitudinal positions from the distances given by Ptolemy between the places which he mentions, these distances being converted by Berthelot into kilometres.

With these prefatory remarks we can now approach the problem of identification.

Ptolemy's name for the Malay Peninsula was the Golden Chersonese; and it is clear that the Roman ships for that destination, having made for a point on the west coast of India, then sailed south, round the bottom of India and up to a point on the east coast, which Ptolemy called the terminus (Apheterion), whence they sailed across the Bay of Bengal for the Golden Chersonese. Near this Apheterion was a town called Paloura.

Our first task will be to identify, if possible, the Apheterion and Paloura.¹

Ptolemy entirely misconceived the shape of India, having no idea that it was a peninsula. It is generally agreed that his Cape Komaria² (which the *Periplus* calls Comari) was our Cape Comorin but he did not realize that it was India's most southerly point since he placed considerably to the south-east of it another cape which he calls Kory³ (not mentioned in the *Periplus*) and

¹Also written Palura.

²Also written Comaria.

³Also written Koru.

which he says was also called Kalligikon. This latter cape seems to be the same as that which Pliny (VI, 72) calls the promontory of Kalington; and it is generally agreed that it is our Calimere Point. From it Ptolemy takes the coast north-east up to the mouth of a river which he calls the Khaberos¹ (probably Camara in the *Periplus*) generally agreed to be the Kaveri, and then south-east again to the Apheterion which he makes the most southerly point of India.

The Bay of Bengal is called by Ptolemy the Gangetic Gulf and this he makes to begin at Paloura.

The respective positions of these places, as given by Renou, are :—

Cape Komaria	121° 20' E.	13° 30' N.
Cape Kory	125° 20' E.	18° N.
R. Khaberos	129° E.	15° 15' N.
Apheterion	136° 20' E.	11° 20' N.
Paloura	136° 20' E.	11° N.

But Berthelot corrects the positions thus :—

Cape Komaria	121° 20' E.	13° 30' N.
Cape Kory	125° 40' E.	13° 20' N.
R. Khaberos	129° E.	15° 20' N.
Apheterion	136° 20' E.	11° 20' N.
Paloura	136° 40' E.	11° 30' N.

Ptolemy places the Apheterion in Maisolia² (called in the *Periplus* Masalia) and Paloura in the Gangetic Gulf. In Maisolia there is the river Maisolos³ and Maisolia is generally taken to be the district of Masulipatam while the Maisolos is the Kistna (or Krishna) River, though Gerini thinks it to be the Godavari which otherwise is not mentioned at all by Ptolemy, nor is it in the *Periplus*.

In Maisolia, Ptolemy says, there was also the emporium of Kantakossyla and a modern epigraphic discovery enables us to identify the River Maisolos and Kantakossyla. Extensive Prakritic inscriptions⁴ of the IIIrd century A.D. were found on the site of Nagarjunikonda on the right bank of the Kistna (or Krishna) River and amongst the geographical names mentioned in them is that of Kantakasola⁵, which is the exact equivalent of Ptolemy's Kantakossyla and shows how accurate in that instance was his nomenclature.

We can, then, identify Maisolia and Kantakossyla with certainty as being in the Kistna-Godavari area in the centre of which

¹Also written Khabaris.

²Also written Maesolia.

³Also written Maesolos.

⁴Published in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xx.

⁵See *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1934, p. 21.

Masulipatam lies on the coast; and we are thus in the southern part of the ancient Kalinga territory which, as already has been stated, is said by Professor Mookerji to have extended at one time from the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Kistna (or Krishna) River and to have had its capital at the present Kalingapatam. Masulipatam was one of its principal ports. If Ptolemy's Apheterion was in Kalinga territory we can readily understand how the name K'ling or Keling or Talaing became, or continued to be, so widespread in south-eastern Asia and why it persists to this day as a name for south India,¹ and for south Indians generally and particularly for those who came from the Coromandel (or Chola) Coast. Moreover, Ptolemy's Cape Kory also called Kalligikon (Pliny's promontory of Kalingon) gives us the name again; yet, curiously, Ptolemy does not speak of the Kalingas by that name at all nor does the *Periplus*.

Berthelot on good reasoning places Paloura where Coringa is to-day and here again we have a variant of the name Kalinga; but he points out (53, p. 312) that the facts given by Marcianus of Heraclea would place the Apheterion exactly at the modern Kalingapatam, the best harbour, so he says, upon the whole coast and in this connection it is interesting to note that Sylvain Lévi (58), proceeding upon purely etymological grounds, in which Przluski (59) agrees, identifies Paloura with Dantapura, the ancient Kalinga town. Despite the facts given by Marcianus of Heraclea Berthelot on good reasoning rejects Kalingapatam and identifies Paloura with the Coringa of to-day, placing the Apheterion accordingly just to the north of the mouths of the Godavari.

It is interesting to note here that Ptolemy gives another Paloura on the westernmost mouth of the Ganges and that this Paloura appears to be Tamralipti (Tamluk), a famous port of embarkation in the VIIIth century A.D., as witnessed by I-Tsing and Hsüan-tsang, and the sea-port of Bengal in the Post-Vedic and Buddhist periods, frequently mentioned in the great epics.

We can now cross the Bay of Bengal and we find that Ptolemy places on the same latitude as Paloura the town of Sada in the country of Argyra, which is generally accepted as being the southern Arakan of to-day. Sada was the port for which the Greek ships from the Apheterion made; St. John (60, p. 231) says "Ptolemy, in his review of Marinus, says distinctly that the passage across the Gangetic Gulf is from Paloura to Sada and thence to Temala; from Temala (or Tamala) to the Golden Chersonese the direction is still towards the south-east." North of Sada was the River Sados; and we must identify, if possible, this river and the town.

In Argyra (Southern Arakan) Ptolemy gives the following places, against which are set the positions ascribed to them in Renou's text together with the distances between the places

¹The mail-boat to Madras is called *Kapal Negri Kling*, the Kling country ship.

which Ptolemy gives as rendered in kilometres by Berthelot :—

Symbras ¹ , town	.. ..	153° 30'	14° N.
Sados, mouth of the river	.. .. (98K.)	153° 30'	12° 30' N.
Sada, town	.. .. (94K.)	154° 20'	11° 20' N.
Berabonna, emporium	(106K.)	155° 30'	10° 20' N.
Temalos, mouth of the river	.. .. (166K.)	157° 30'	10° N.
Temala, town	.. .. (79K.)	157° 30'	9° N.
Promontory after this town	.. .. (80K.)	157° 20'	8° N.

These positions are exactly the same as those given by Gerini (46, Table II), except that for Symbras he gives a latitude of 13° 45' N.

Symbras is identified by Berthelot as the port of Kyank-pyu on the isle of Ramri; Gerini identifies it as the town of Ramri. The river Sados then is either the Tanloua, 90 km. south, or the Sandoway, 120 km. south, Ptolemy's distance being 98 kms., and the town of Sada, which Ptolemy puts 94 kms. south of the river Sados, and so clearly not on its banks, will be Hsanda. St. John (60, p. 220) thought that the names Sados and Sada may be connected with the San-dwai (Sandoway); Gerini takes the river to be the Thate or Thade above Sandoway and Sada to be Sandoway itself. Berthelot says that if Gerini is right then the Sados should be the Tanloua and Ptolemy will have over-estimated the distance by 35 to 40 kilometres and Berthelot recalls, as Gerini points out (46, p. 45), that there is an ancient Indian settlement at Sandoway. Sylvain Lévi (61, p. 19) puts Sada between Akyab and Sandoway.

We can, therefore, safely assert that we are in the Sandoway district.

Berabonna, judging by Ptolemy's distance of 106 km., will be near Kyaung-tha, or, according to Gerini, Kwa. Berthelot points out that in a map of 1781 by G. de l'Isle, inserted in vol. 1 of Sonnerat's *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, there is to the north of Cape Negrals a town named Barreban.² St. John (60, p. 220) says that Berabonna is the first of several names beginning with the Mon word *Be* (Bee) meaning "a river" and that it appears that words beginning with that syllable are connected with rivers.³ Gerini agrees with St. John in this view (46, p. 199 n. 4) as does Blagden (62), and Sylvain Lévi says that it is probable that Berabonna belongs to an indigenous language which might be Mon (61, p. 22).

The mouth of the Temalos is clearly one of the mouths of the great Irrawaddy, says Berthelot, and it is only a question which is to be chosen. Gerini prefers the Bassein mouth and identifies the town of Temala with Bassein; but, as Berthelot points

¹Also written Sembra.

²See note by Mr. Justice J. V. Mills in the Appendix hereto.

³See note by Mr. C. N. Maxwell in the Appendix hereto.

out, the statements of Ptolemy exclude Bassein since he says that the town of Temala is 79 kms. beyond the river and he gives it one degree of latitude further south. Again, Gerini identifies the promontory after Temala as Cape Negrais as does Warmington (34, p. 126) while Rawlinson (33, p. 132) more cautiously says 'near Cape Negrais'; but Berthelot points out that this identification is in contradiction to the clear data given by Ptolemy. The promontory after Temala marks the entrance to the next area with which Ptolemy deals, the Sabarakos¹ Gulf which all are agreed is the Gulf of Martaban; and the promontory is 80 km. from Temala and a degree south of it. Ptolemy's sequence is clear—a river, then 79 kms. beyond and 1 degree south, a town, after which a promontory 80 kms. further on and one more degree south. The latitudes are wrong, of course, (even if the delta of the Irrawaddy has much changed since Ptolemy's time) but they corroborate the fact that the places were distant from each other. Berthelot identifies the Temalos as the present main mouth of the Irrawaddy, Temala near the present Pya-pun, and the cape as Elephant Point at the mouth of the Rangoon River.

St. John (60, p. 221) says that he has long been of opinion that Temala ought to be identified with Diamond Island at the mouth of the Bassein River and he observes that *Ti* in Mon means 'earth' and *Di* (pronounced *Ti*) 'a tidal wave'. The Burmese, he says, call Diamond Island *Thami-la* but there is every reason to think that the word is a corruption of some other name.

Whatever may be the precise identifications, it is perfectly clear that we have reached the Irrawaddy delta and that we now turn into the Gulf of Martaban, where we reach what Ptolemy calls the country of the cannibal Besyngitai²; and we give the positions and distances in the same way as before:—

Sabara, town	(162K.)	159° 30'	8° 30' N.
³ Besynga, emporium .	(214K.)	162°	9° N.
⁴ Besyngas, mouth of the river	(26K.)	162°	9° 30' N.
⁵ Beroba, town	(240K.)	162° 20'	6° N.
Promontory after this town	(294K.)	159°	4° 20' N.

Gerini differs from these positions only in that he gives for the Besyngas river 162° 20', 8° 25', and for the promontory he has 4° 40' latitude.

It will be observed that according to Ptolemy we go east and south with a turn back west to the promontory which marks the end of the Gulf; and this is fairly correct since that promontory also marks the beginning of the Golden Chersonese or Malay Peninsula. Ptolemy gives the total distance as 774 km. but he

¹Or Sarabakos.

²Also written Besungitae or Besyngitai.

³Or Besunga.

⁴Or Besungas.

⁵Also written Berabai.

takes 82 kms. for the day's run (516 stadia). Berthelot considers that a day's run would more properly be taken at 111 km., which means that Ptolemy's distances should be increased by $\frac{3}{8}$ ths, thus getting 1062 kms. About $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the way down Ptolemy gives the mouth of the Besyngas, about $\frac{2}{3}$ rds the town of Beroba and the promontory at the end. Berthelot says that 360 kms., down the coast one has the vast estuary of the Tavoy, 320 kms. south of that and 400 kms. north of Junk Ceylon one has Karathuri near a tin-mining district: so he identifies the Besyngas as the Tavoy, Beroba as Karathuri and the promontory as Junk Ceylon. The emporium of Besynga will then be one of the many ports in the Tavoy estuary and Berthelot observes that the port of Tavoy itself is the first usual calling-place after Moulmein. He says that the name of the town Sabara and the Sabarakos gulf are said to be derived from the Pali name for the Salween River, *Saravari*, and variants for the town and gulf in some of the MSS. are Saraba and Sarabakos. Here he is evidently quoting Gerini (46, p. 71) but St. John (60, p. 223) doubts if the name Salween is really old. Berthelot identifies Sabara with the Martaban of to-day.

In considering Ptolemy's distances it must be remembered that the coast of the Gulf of Martaban is fringed with innumerable islands which make exact calculations impossible.

Gerini's identifications are very different from those of Berthelot and, one is bound to say, not nearly as probable. He identifies Sabara with Twante, Besynga with Rangoon, and the Besyngas with the Rangoon River, Beroba with Mergui and the promontory beyond it with Boyce's Point; but these identifications ignore Ptolemy's data as to distance. Rawlinson (33, p. 133) and Warmington (34, p. 127) (both doubtless following Yule) identify Besynga with Bassein but St. John (60, p. 221) shows that Yule's reasoning was wrong and he observes that the name Bassein is a modern corruption.

Berthelot's method of identifying by distances and the general application of Ptolemy's data seems to be the only sensible one to apply to the purely geographical aspect of the problem. Where etymology disagrees with the data, it should surely be rejected. We suggest, then, that in general Berthelot's identifications along the Gulf of Martaban should be accepted. They appeal to one's sense of logic in that they assign to the only river mentioned by Ptolemy the most important one in the district, the Tavoy, and they assign to the promontory that marks the beginning of the Chersonese the land-mark that has always marked for sailors the entrance to the Straits of Malacca, namely Junk Ceylon, which, though actually an island, gives the general effect of a promontory.¹

¹Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer*, 1828, says that it is "twice a day an isthmus, and the same number of times an island, being separated from the mainland by a sand-bank, daily overflowed at high-water, the springs rising about ten feet; length forty miles by fifteen in breadth. It forms the northern point of the Straits of Malacca"; vol. 2, p. 62.

We may note here that Ptolemy distinguishes quite clearly between promontories and capes, using for the former the Greek *akhroterion* and for the latter *akhron*.

We now come to the Golden Chersonese and travel down its west coast, round its extremity and up its east coast. Ptolemy is the first European writer to appreciate the true nature of the Peninsula and he distinguishes it from Chryse which he says (VII, ch. 2, sec. 17) was situated below Argyra and was a neighbour of the Besyngitai. Argyra, he says, was the place where the majority of the silver mines were to be found while Chryse possessed very numerous gold mines. We shall now set out as before the positions and distances of all the places mentioned by Ptolemy in the Malay Peninsula:—

Takola, emporium ..	(80K.)	160° 30'	4° 15' N.
Promontory after this town	(166K.)	158° 20'	2° 20' N.
Khrysoanas, mouth of the river	(134K.)	159°	1° N.
Sabara, emporium ..	(325K.)	160°	3° S.
Palandas, mouth of the river	(121K.)	160° 30'	2° S.
Meleoukolon, cape ..	(158K.)	163°	2° S.
Attabas, mouth of the river	(112K.)	164°	1° S.
Kole, town	(83K.)	164° 20'	equator.
Perimoula	(203K.)	163° 15'	2° 20' N.
Perimoulikos Gulf ..	(162K.)	162° 30'	4° N.

Gerini gives the following positions:—

Takola	160°	4° 15' N.
Promontory	158° 40'	2° 40' N.
¹ Khrysoanas R.	159°	1° N.
² Sabara	160°	3° S.
Palandas R.	161°	2° S.
³ Meleoukolon	163°	2° S.
Attabas R.	164°	1° S.
⁴ Kole	164° 20'	equator.
⁵ Perimoula	163° 15'	2° 20' N.
⁶ Perimoulikos Gulf	162° 30'	4° 15' N.

In addition to the above places Ptolemy gives the following

¹Khrysoana.

²Sabana.

³Maleu Kolon.

⁴Koli.

⁵Perimula.

⁶Perimulik.

inland towns :—

Kalonka	..	..	..	162°	1° 20' N.
Konkonagara	..	..	..	160°	2° N.
Tharra	..	..	..	163° 15'	1° 20' N.
Palanda	..	..	..	161° 15'	1° 20' S.

for which Gerini gives the positions thus :—

¹ Kalonka	..	..	..	162°	4° 40' N.
² Konkonagara	..	..	..	160°	2° N.
Tharra	..	..	..	162°	1° 20' S.
Palanda	..	..	..	161°	1° 20' S.

Ptolemy further tells us (VII, Ch. 11, S. 12) that the Khrysoanas, the Attabas and the Palandas rivers spring from an un-named mountain crest which dominates the Golden Chersonese and, flowing together in a common stream, then divide to form the Attabas at 161° 30' E., 3° N. and the Khrysoanas at 161° E., 1° 20' N., and that the remainder becomes the Palandas, for which unfortunately he gives no further positions.

One's first observation must be that, whatever were the positions which Ptolemy actually did give, certain general deductions can be made from his data. In the first place, it is clear that he realized he was dealing with a peninsula which widened out and narrowed again. It is also clear that he appreciated the general direction of the Peninsula to slant from north-west to south-east; the Chinese, as we shall see, regarded it at one time as running west to east.³ It is further clear that he thought the equator to run through the peninsula, a mistake which, as we shall see later, seems to have been shared by the Arabs and Chinese centuries after Ptolemy wrote.

It is further interesting to note that there were two important entre-pots, or emporia as Ptolemy calls them, in the Peninsula, one in the north and one in the south, just as there are to-day; and, as we trace the history of the Straits of Malacca, we shall see that entre-pots continued to exist throughout in the north and south. They were, of course, the natural and direct results of the north-east and south-west monsoons and of the economic fact that it was cheaper and quicker to tranship than to make the complete voyage from India to China or *vice versa*.

Berthelot, working as usual on distances, arrives at these deductions. Ptolemy says that 80 ks. from the initial promontory was the emporium of Takola; this distance increases to 110 ks. according to Berthelot's formula and that leaves a choice between Gherbi at 90 ks. and Trang at 140 or a place in between,

¹Balongka.

²Kokkonagara.

³Johore men call Pahang men *orang barat*, western men, as also do the Pahang men call the Kelantanese; see also notes in the Appendix hereto by Mr. Justice Mills and Mr. Linehan.

but Trang fits in better with the succeeding statements, says Berthelot, so he identifies Takola with Trang. Then 166 ks. (225 ks.) from Takola Ptolemy gives a promontory un-named and below that 300 ks. (410 ks.) from Takola the mouth of the Khrysoanas river. It is difficult to see why Berthelot renders Ptolemy's distances from Takola to the Khrysoanas as equivalent to 410 ks. but that is not very important. He thinks the promontory to be the island of Penang since he says that Gunong¹ Jerai (Kedah Peak) creates no projection from the coast. Penang, he says, is 220 ks. from the Trang River and 180 ks. further is the Perak River which he identifies as the Khrysoanas but in an endeavour to quote Gerini (apparently, though he does not name that author)² he makes the curious mistake of saying that the Malay word *sungai*³ means gold and that this is still given to an affluent of the Perak, the Sungai Jarum. He says that Sabara (Sabana) was later replaced by Malacca, but gives no authority for that statement; and he says that at the time of the Portuguese the Straits of Malacca "dans cette partie était encore dénommé détroit de Saban", quoting from an article by Gerini in 1904⁴; but here again Berthelot misunderstands since Gerini was speaking of the east entrance of the Straits of Malacca, recorded as *Saban* by Galvano and *Sabam* by Teixeira. The strait of Sabam in Portuguese times was the strait between Sumatra and Kundur, which latter island was itself called by them Sabam⁵. The mouth of the Palandas he gives as the west entrance of the channel of Singapore, and appears to regard the Straits of Johore (Selat⁶ Tebrau) as part of the Johore River in the eyes of Ptolemy since he writes "celle du Johor pour lequel le choix est offert entre deux embouchures, a l'ouest et a l'est de l'île de Singapour." He says that, the assimilation of the Johore with the Palandas being very plausible, the difficulty is to place Sabana and leaves it at that.

Cape Meleoukolon (Malaio-Kolon) he identifies with Tanjong⁷ Penyabong since the usual identification with Cape Rumenia does not agree with Ptolemy's data, and (so he says) that cape only exists on the maps "sa pointe extrême (Randkoun (*sic*) Penyousouch) est unie et boisée, sans relief et se reconnaît par les bancs de sable et de corail qui la prolongent (bancs Roumenia); les navires passent entre eux et le continent". This does not seem to make much sense but we will deal further with the question below.

The Attabas he identifies with the Pahang; Kole with Tanjong Penunjak (though doubtingly); Perimoula in the delta

¹Malay for 'mountain.'

²See 46, p. 97 where Gerini writes of the Sungei Jarum-mas in Perak and the Sungei-mas in Johor and says quite clearly that *mas* means 'gold', as, of course, it does.

³It means, of course, 'river'.

⁴J.R.A.S. 1904, p. 723; also see 46, p. 758.

⁵See J. V. Mills' translation of Godinho de Eredia, J.R.A.S. (M.B.), 1930, Vol. VIII, p. 225 and map facing.

⁶Meaning 'strait'.

⁷Meaning 'cape, head-land or promontary'.

of the Kelantan ; and the Perimoulikos Gulf as beginning at the great lagoon of Tale-Sap. Kalonka (Balongka) he puts in the valley of the Menam-luang ; Konkonagara (Kokkonagara) towards Kuala Kangsar ; Tharra somewhere in the upper basin of the Pahang ; and Palanda at Kota Tinggi.

Gerini differs entirely from Berthelot but then Gerini cuts off all the south part of the peninsula. He writes (46, p. 104), after identifying Cape Maleou-kolon with Tanjong Kuantan :

" My predecessors have almost invariably jumped to the conclusion that the promontory our author had in mind was Ramenia (or Rumenia) Point at the southern end of the peninsula. I must, however, differ from them on account not only of the calculated result obtained, but also on the score that Ptolemy evidently knew nothing of the configuration of the peninsula below the fourth parallel of North latitude. Hence he made the peninsula terminate at Palanda (Perak) on the western side and at Cape Maleu Kolon (Tanjong Kuantan) on the eastern ; assuming, I suppose, that the coast ran straight, or nearly so, between the two places, since he assigns to both the latter the same latitude, and makes them 2° of longitude apart. The correct distance is 3° of true longitude."

But Gerini does not do justice to Ptolemy's data in this passage for surely Sabara (Sabana) is where the peninsula terminates on its west side and not Palanda. Further, the illogical nature of Gerini's view is shown by the fact, that, though he makes Ptolemy ignorant of the nature of the peninsula he nevertheless finds by his own method of calculation that Ptolemy has calculated the exact position of Cape Meleoukolon with not a minute's mistake, + or Gerini works it out at $4^{\circ}8'$ in our latitude which is exactly where Tanjong Kuantan (which name he corrects later to Tanjong Gelang) lies. The confusion in the names of the Tanjong is due to the fact that he changed his map as he went along (ibid : p. 476).

The fact is that it is necessary to reject Gerini's identifications in the Malay Peninsula entirely, utilizing his book in this connection merely for the wealth of information which it contains. Forcing him as it does to cut the peninsula below the 4° N. lat., his geographical method breaks down entirely ; and his assumption of Ptolemy's ignorance is unwarrantable.

We are, accordingly, left with Berthelot as our only exponent of the mathematical approach to the problem : and we have difficulties. If a map is constructed according to Ptolemy's own positions, and upon it are marked each place which he names and in the position named, and then, since we do not know Ptolemy's own idea of the coast lines, straight lines are drawn from place to place starting at Sada and going round to the country of the Leis-tai (with which we have not yet dealt), one is at once filled with doubt as to the positions and distances upon which Berthelot has to proceed. In any event, how can we possibly believe that any extant text gives all Ptolemy's positions or distances exactly as

he himself originally gave them? We can only use in a general way such information as the best texts give us.

Berthelot's method of using distances is at least useful; unfortunately, however, he does not give Ptolemy's data but only his own version of them in the French measure and, as already stated, the only text available to the writer is that of Book VII which gives no distances.

Ptolemy was stating (or endeavouring to state) in scientific terms the results of the information which he received and it appears to us that it is more profitable to try to deduce in very general terms what that information might have been than to make mathematical calculations from figures which are from any point of view dubious. We shall, therefore, try to make such deductions, first reminding the reader that for our purposes a Ptolemaic degree of longitude and of latitude is 500 stadia or 50 geographical miles and a day's sail is taken by Ptolemy at 516 stadia (82 kms.) or just over a Ptolemaic degree.

Ptolemy starts the Chersonese at the promontory (Junk Ceylon) which he places in $4^{\circ} 20' N.$ (or $4^{\circ} 40' N.$, according to the text) and he makes its southern-most place to be Sabara (Sabana) in $3^{\circ} S.$; that is to say, he allows about $7\frac{1}{2}$ Ptolemaic degrees of latitude or 375 geographical miles for the Chersonese.

He places Takola and the beginning of the Perimoulikos Gulf on the same latitude but 2° or $2^{\circ} 30'$ degrees apart according to the text. Calling it 2° we get 1000 stadia or 100 geographical miles.

Then, he places the promontory below Takola and Perimoula exactly on the same latitude but $4^{\circ} 35'$ or $4^{\circ} 55'$ apart according to the text. Calling it $4^{\circ} 50'$ we get 2250 stadia or 225 geographical miles.

Now, on our maps the 8th parallel of north latitude runs through Junk Ceylon and the Peninsula ends approximately at $1^{\circ} N.$, thus allowing 7° of latitude or 420 geographical miles.

The widest part of the Peninsula lies between Tanjong Hantu on the west coast and Tanjong Penunjok on the east, and they lie about 3° of longitude apart or 180 geographical miles; the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*¹ says 'about 200 miles'.

On the figures given in Renou's text it will be seen that the western-most point given by Ptolemy is $158^{\circ} 20' E.$ long; and the eastern-most is $164^{\circ} 20'$; thus giving the Peninsula a slant W. to E. of 6 Ptolemaic degrees or 300 geographical miles.

On our maps the west coast of Junk Ceylon lies in approximately $98^{\circ} E.$ longitude and the western-most part of the peninsula in a little over $104^{\circ} E.$; call it approximately 6° degrees or 360 geographical miles.

The above series of comparisons gives one to think furiously

¹14th ed., Vol. XIV, p. 713.

and, when taken in conjunction with what appears in the next paragraph but one, fills one with admiration for Ptolemy.

Roman trade with India collapsed about 215 A.D. and from then onwards knowledge in Europe of what lay beyond the Bay of Bengal grew dimmer and dimmer until it practically faded out,¹ to be revived only after the Portuguese and Dutch penetrations by which time, of course, the science of navigation was aided by many inventions not existing in the time of Ptolemy. Any reader interested in primitive methods of navigation will do well to study Ferrand's book (63), which forms the first volume of a series² called *Bibliothèque des Géographes Arabes*.

As we shall be considering ancient geography throughout this essay it will be convenient here to remind the reader of a few facts and to utter a caution against thinking of ancient places in terms of modern geography. At this date south-eastern Asia has fallen into well-defined and well-known political divisions with surveyed areas and a modern nomenclature. In particular, it is possible at this date to purchase splendid maps of the Malay Peninsula and of all the Malay States under British protection but it is only quite recently that the country has been properly surveyed so as to make this possible.³ When the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was founded in 1878 accurate knowledge of the Peninsula was extremely small and one of the first tasks of the Society was to prepare a map. In 1884 the late Mr. A. M. Skinner, of the Colonial Service, issued a geography of the Malay Peninsula (64) in which will be found a map of the Peninsula as it was then known together with a description of the whole territory and its then political divisions. In it he wrote (at p. 5) "although the Peninsula has been coasted round by Europeans and at a few places occupied by Forts and Factories ever since the beginning of the XVIth century: and although the interior is nowhere more distant than 100 miles from the sea, yet it still remains one of the least known lands in Asia and one of the few regions of which the greater portion can still be said to have been unvisited by civilised man." At this date motors, roads and railways have made us familiar with the Peninsula, huge areas of which have been cleared, developed and inhabited. It is difficult to picture it as it was in ancient times (or even for that matter as late as 1884) but we must endeavour to do so. We must think of a land the vast part of which was covered by jungle with a high and difficult range of mountains dividing the west from the east and with its main rivers following in all probability very different courses from those which we know to-day. At various points in this territory there were small trading and mining stations where only civilisation existed. Such inhabitants as the country possessed, who were not immigrant traders and miners, were the fore-runners of such wild tribes as survive to-day

¹Compare, for instance, Ptolemy with Cosmas Indicopleustes.

²Discontinued owing to Ferrand's recent death.

³Indeed, even at this date, there are very large tracts of the Peninsula which are still unsurveyed.

with others now extinct or bred out into other tribes. Of Malays as we know them to-day there was not one.¹ In Ptolemy's time there were no political divisions and no royal princes. It is possible to assert this because Ptolemy mentions royal towns where he knew them and cities to which he could give the name of Metropolis. In the Chersonese he gives none such; the most important places which he mentions are merely emporia, *i.e.*, entre-pots or trading stations, markets for the interchange and collection of goods and produce. His description of the peoples met with ends just above the Chersonese with Chryse, the Besyngeitai and the Leistai; in the Chersonese he mentions none at all.

Let us now see what we can do to identify the various places named by Ptolemy and let us consider first his three rivers, the Khrysoanas, the Palandas and the Attabas, since it will help us very much if we can identify these rivers. We can, in very general terms, summarize Ptolemy's information thus:—

- (a) these three rivers rise from the same crest of mountains and after running as one stream for some distance branch off;
- (b) the Khrysoanas runs from east to west and branches off at a latitude not far north of its mouth;
- (c) the Attabas runs from west to east and branches off at a latitude considerably north of its mouth and north of where the Khrysoanas branches off;
- (d) the remainder of what was a joint stream becomes the Palandas which flows from north to south, its mouth being very far south of those of the other two and nearer longitudinally to the mouth of the Khrysoanas than that of the Attabas.

We think that we can deduce concerning these rivers that since they are the only ones mentioned they were at that time the three most important rivers in the Chersonese, not necessarily by reason of size but for other reasons, and that they had trading or collecting stations at their mouths since they obviously were land-marks and ports of call for the ships. It is also a fair assumption that, since gold was one of the principal things for which the ancient Indians came and since the name for the peninsula shows that it was famous for its gold, these three rivers were connected with gold either as being gold-bearing or as water-ways from important gold-bearing districts, and possibly as both. We can further deduce that one of the rivers, the Khrysoanas, from its very name must have been connected *par excellence* with gold.

At this date nobody would consider the Malay Peninsula as an important gold area; indeed, Scrivenor (65) is almost sarcastic about it in that connection. Here again we must not think with modern minds but must remember that the great discoveries of gold in Australia, California and South Africa only occurred in the

¹Though doubtless anatomically this may not be true.

XIXth century. To the ancients gold was a much rarer, more valuable commodity than to us; and methods of working it, which for us would produce pitiful results, were profitable to them.¹ It will be as well to consider quite summarily the position of the Malay Peninsula in early European eyes as an historic gold area. Eredia (66, p. 228), writing at the beginning of the XVIIth century, says, "this Peninsula was so celebrated among all the ancient writers especially Curtius, Strabo, Pliny, Pomponius Mela and others on account of the many large gold-mines which existed therein, that they all commonly called it 'Land of Gold'." He tells us (at p. 233) how he saw Malays sifting the sands along the shore north of Malacca fort with sieves and getting gold. He tells (p. 233) that 'Patane' was the first seat of the Empire of the Malays in 7° N. latitude and one of the famous Oriental ports with an extensive trade and commerce, and that it contained even in his day "large gold-mines which have been discovered in the mountains and ranges and in other parts of the territory along the course of the River of Cea,² where one finds a large quantity of gold in the form of dust and small grains, which is taken for sale to the port of Malacca, as is well-known to the captains and merchants of the latter place, who always buy it for the trade with Choromandel." He then says that Pahang was the second seat of the Empire of the Malays and that it was a port just as much frequented by merchants because of the gold from its mines. "It was from here, one presumes, that there came the gold which formed the subject of the ancient trade with Alexandria or Grand Cairo." The Pahang gold was "nowadays" taken to the port of Malacca for sale. "So much so, that the King of Pam (*i.e.* Pahang) sent from Adea³ a beautiful piece of gold-stone two and a half yards in length, as a present for the Captain or Governor of Malacca, Joao da Silva: who out of curiosity to see gold in this form, ordered the piece of gold-stone to be broken at once in his presence; enclosed in the inside there was found a vein of gold a yard wide; this happened in the year 1586 and was well known to the people of that day."

Hamilton (68) in the beginning of the XVIIIth century tells us that over 13,000 oz. of gold were then exported from the Pahang River. Newbold (69), 1839, has a great deal to say about Malayan gold and describes how it was assayed by "Chuliahs or Klings" who used "the batu uji or touch-stone brought from India."⁴ (see vol. I, pp. 145, 147).

Coming to recent times, Skinner (67, p. 51) says that of the mineral states Pahang is placed first by the Malays, then Kelantan and then Patani. He says, and it is true, that "gold is found in Pahang almost exclusively in the central line of the State—at Paso on the Bera, at Luet, the Jelei, the Kelau, the Lipis and its feeder at Raub etc. Whatever the explanation may be, it is worth

¹See note by Mr. Linehan in the appendix hereto.

²See note by Mr. Justice J. V. Mills in the appendix hereto.

³See notes by Mr. Justice J. V. Mills in the appendix hereto.

⁴See note by Mr. Linehan in the appendix hereto.

noticing here, as it has been noticed before, that the principal gold-workings of the Peninsula lie almost along a not very wide line drawn from Mounts Ophir and Segamat (the southern limit of the auriferous chain) through the very heart of the Peninsula, to the Kalian Mas, or gold diggings, of Patani and Telepin in the north. " The gold-mining centre of Pahang is the Jelei district. In another place (64, p. 16) Skinner tells us that in 1884 Jelei gold was bringing a higher price by 3 per cent than the best Australian.

Pahang must have yielded vast quantities of gold through the centuries and mining still proceeds there at the famous Raub mine and at Buffalo Reef near which and at Selinsing are the remains of a vast and very ancient mine, round which have been found many stone implements. At long last these ancient mine-workings are to be explored archaeologically. A description of them by Sir Hugh Clifford will be found in his *Further India*.¹

The present Malacca and Muar Districts were also famous gold areas of old and around Mount Ophir there are many ancient workings.

One last gold area that we must notice is the Batang Padang district in Perak where gold is still mined, and also washed after heavy rains. There is much information to be found about gold in Perak in Major McNair's book (70, pp. 35-57) while an article by Mr. Daly in 1878 (71) should also be studied. It would seem, however, that Perak never compared as a gold area with Pahang and the Malacca-Segamat region.

And now for Ptolemy's rivers, which, as we have seen, were identified by Berthelot as the Perak (Khrysoanas), the Johore (Palandas) and the Pahang (Attabas). He points out (53, p. 398) that the heads of these rivers are very close but he says that there is no actual contact between them and that Ptolemy accordingly is not relating actual fact. As will be seen, we do not agree with Berthelot's identifications; but apart from that it must be remembered that Malayan rivers have often changed their courses, particularly those of the east coast (72, p. 124). Only quite recently, on the west coast, the Kinta changed its bed; and the Perak was seen during heavy floods to make its way out to sea at Lumut. It is, moreover, not necessary to show that any three rivers correspond exactly with Ptolemy's data; it will be quite sufficient to show a correspondence close enough to make them correct in general.

Save for the distance of 325 kms. between the Khrysoanas and Sabara (Sabana), the three rivers which answer best to Ptolemy's rivers are the Muar, the Pahang and the Johore.

First of all, let us consider the Muar and the Pahang. Here we have the classic route across the southern part of the Peninsula and, indeed, the only easy one below its far north until the British opened up the country by building roads.

¹1904, p. 13.

Skinner (67, p. 53) wrote in 1878 that "the *common* source of the River Muar and the southern branch of the River Pahang is the key to the geography of the South of the Peninsula"; the italics are ours.

Eredia's map (66, facing p. 207) shows under the name Panarican¹ the drag-way used for boats leaving the Muar and going to the Pahang. It says on the map "by the Panarican they travel from Malacca to Pahang in 6 days' journeying."

Hamilton in 1727 (68, ii, p. 81) wrote that the "Pahang River runs far into the country, and *washes the foot of Malacca Hill*. There is abundance of Gold Dust found in it, and I have seen some lumps of five or six ounces each", etc. The italics are ours again.

Newbold (69, ii, p. 162) in 1839 wrote that the Muar River "has its rise according to the natives among the mountains of Jellabu and falls into the sea twenty miles east of Malacca. From these mountains the Seriting River which disembogues itself into the China Sea at Pahang and the Calang² river which flows into the Straits of Malacca near Salangore have also their rise."

Old maps of the XVIth and early XVIIth centuries³ show a wide river running from Muar to Pahang and making an island of the Peninsula south of the Muar River. This shows how well-known and how much used the route must have been at that time.

There is an interesting account⁴ of a trading journey from Malacca to Pahang in 1827 by a Mr. Charles Gray, who died as a result of jungle fever contracted during the trip. The village of Jelai was the centre of the traffic in gold at this time. Mr. Gray says "the river Seriting, the lake of Brah and river Brah falls, fall into the river Pahang which empties itself into the sea"; Brah is, of course, Bera.

Daly made the trip from Ulu⁵ Muar and Jumpol to Pahang in 1875 (67, pp. 59, 60) and he says in his journal that the dividing land between the River Jumpol and the River Ilir³ Serëting, as he calls them, was 24 chains or a little more than a quarter of a mile.

On the map at this date there is shown a lake area called Tasek⁶ Bera from which running north is the Sungei Bera flowing into the Pahang. Slightly south of it is shown the Sungei Palong

¹From the Malay *penarekan*, meaning 'portage'.

²i.e., Klang.

³e.g., maps of 1596 and 1598 in Linschoten, 1605 Hulsius, 1611 Hondius, 1617 Visscher.

⁴See J.I.A., 1852, vol. VI pp. 369-375.

⁵It is the custom in Malaya, following that of the Malays themselves, to describe the hinterland or head-waters of a river by adding to its name the Malay word *ulu* (should be *hulu*) meaning 'head'; upper portion; handle'; and to describe the lower reaches by adding to its name the Malay word *ilir* (should be *hilir*) meaning 'flowing down-stream; movement or situation downstream'.

⁶Meaning 'lake'.

which makes a big bend towards and near Tasek Bera. The Palong flows on to become the Muar. Prospectors and topographical surveyors have proved that the Pahang changed its bed of old in at least one place and it is clear that at one time it must have carried on for miles and miles before turning due east and might even have gone down into the Johore. Whether this last was the case or not, the Segamat flows into the Muar and in amongst the mountains where it rises and not very far off the Selai also rises flowing into the Sembrong which in turn rises from practically the same place as the Pengeli which flows into the Johore.

The whole of these important watersheds can be studied in articles written by D. F. A. Hervey in 1879 (73) and in 1881 (74), and by Lake and Kelsall in 1894 (75). These articles, in addition to their interest and the valuable information which they contain, should be studied for the names mentioned many of which differ from those shown in our present maps.

The Muar river best of all would answer to the name Khrysoanias; not only was it, with its feeder the Segamat, a gold river but it was the high way for the Pahang gold. All round it there are names connected with gold; thus the district on the north side of Mount Ophir is known as Paya¹ Mas, while 7 miles south of Malacca there was a place called Teluk² Mas, which does not seem to be shown on the map to-day (76, p. 169). It must be remembered that the east coast of the Peninsula is shut off from use during the N. E. Monsoon and all traffic, that possibly could, would find its way over to the sheltered west coast. The gold in and around the Muar and the Segamat is described by Newbold (69, ii, pp. 163, 164, 166, 167), Daly (71, p. 195) and Scrivenor (65, pp. 21, 22).

Finally, it may be noticed that near the place where the Khrysoanias branched off, *i.e.*, 161° E., 1° 20' N., Ptolemy puts the town of Kalongka, 162° E., 1° 20' N.³ Alternative readings for this town are Balonga, Balongka, Balonca and Baloncha. While entering the strongest possible caveat against deductions from modern names, one cannot but help recalling the following facts. One of the celebrated exports of Malaysia from time immemorial was camphor and the original collectors of it were the Orang Utan, or wandering tribes, of Johore, also called Orang Rayet or Jakuns. There was a special language used in collecting camphor, called the *pantang kapur*,⁴ which has been the means, it is thought, of preserving some remnants of the aboriginal dialects (77), as has also the *pantang gaharu*, used in collecting *gaharu*, lignum aloes or eaglewood which *pantang* also applies to the search for gold (78). Ridley in 1894 said that the Kapur Barus, or camphor tree, is a Bornean tree and that although for

¹Meaning 'swamp, morass'.

²Should be written *telok*, meaning 'bay'.

³The exact latitude is doubtful but we take that given by Renou.

⁴*Pantang* means that which is taboo; *Kapur* means 'camphor'; and *pantang kapur* is the secret language for use when camphor-hunting, plain Malay being forbidden.

some time it had been known that the tree producing it was a native of the Endau district of Johore the fact had not been recorded at that time in any botanical work. It was to be found then on the Madek and Kahang rivers in Johore in the Endau district (79). Doubtless this camphor found its way down the Muar to the west coast. The *pantang kapur* was preserved amongst the Jakun encampments which were to be found in the seventies, eighties and nineties along the Madek and Palong rivers. In 1908 Boden Kloss stated that on the upper tributaries of the Siak River in Sumatra there was a tribe of Jakun aborigines called Palong (80) and one of the Malay words used amongst miners is *palong* meaning a sluice-box made of a tree split in half and hollowed out (81). Actually, the word *palong* means a 'hollow with stagnant water' but is used specifically of troughs of wood for watering cattle or feeding poultry; and is also a descriptive name for a dugout canoe. It may be stated here that for all Malay words we use Wilkinson's magnificent dictionary, 1932, as great a contribution as has ever been made to Malaya and by which his name will always be remembered. From Palong to Balonga does not seem impossible; at all events, the attention of etymologists is called to the facts just stated.

The name Palandas reminds one immediately¹ of the Malay *pelandok*, the mouse-deer, which plays such a favourite part in the folk-lore of the Malays, and whose name is written by Erédia as *palandos* (66, p. 25) and *palandas* (64, p. 27). It plays a part in the Malay legend of the founding of Malacca,² and there was a place on the left bank of the Endau River in Johore called Tujung Pelandok, meaning 'the hoof-marks of the pelandok', which is celebrated in pantuns (74, p. 128 and see map facing p. 126). It is, of course, quite common for rivers in Johore to receive animal names, e.g., Sungei Gajah (elephant), Sungei Landak (porcupine), etc. Gerini suggests (46, pp. 729, 730) that the origin of the name Palandas is to be found in "Belandas, Blandas or Belendas, a tribe now still surviving in the Sungei Ujong and Negri Sembilan Districts."

Attabas certainly suggests the Malay word *atap*, 'roof or thatch',³ and Gerini gives this as its derivation though he puts the river far north, the Trengganu in fact. There is a Sungei Atap Layar shown on Hervey's map (74) and plant-names are the commonest of all Malay names in the Peninsula. There seems to be no trace left in the Pahang or its tributaries of Attabas or any thing like it but that, of course, means nothing.

It seems to us that the Perak could never have been the Khrysoanas since it fits none of Ptolemy's data save possibly the distances as worked out by Berthelot. The Bernam would be a bit better but the passage across the Peninsula by the Bernam

¹But see Mr. C. N. Maxwell's brilliant note in the Appendix hereto; it is very convincing.

²See Leyden's Malay Annals, 1821, p. 89.

³But see note by Mr. Linehan in the Appendix hereto.

is too arduous ever to have been a trade route. As the crow flies it is 170 miles, so Swettenham said, but his route took him over 420 miles (82).

Concerning the identification of Takola a regular literature has grown up in connection with which Berthelot makes this delightful observation (52, p. 383) " Il en est peu dont l' emplacement ait suscité plus de controverses. Le débat a dévié sur le terrain de l'étymologie et les linguistes s'y sont ébattus joyeusement ". How often as his studies progress will the student find the linguists gambolling joyously in the pasturage of Indian, Chinese and Arabic names !

The best etymological discussion of the name Takola is that by Sylvain Lévi (61) with which may be considered that of St. John (60) but the name of the place will appear again and we shall have occasion later to refer to these articles and others. The debate has now crystallized into general acceptance of the theory that Takola was, vaguely, " in the region south of the isthmus of Kra ", though exactly where is a matter of dispute.

Ptolemy placed Takola 1° or $1^{\circ} 30'$ E. of the promontory (Junk Ceylon) and $5'$ or $25'$ S. of it ; but according to Berthelot he stated that the distance between the two was 80 kms. ; i.e. just on 1 day's sail. This makes it unlikely that the latitudinal position is really the one which Ptolemy gave. Taking the longitudinal positions we have 50 or 75 geographical miles and taking the latitudinal only a few miles. A geographical solution of the problem by using Ptolemy's data as given in the extant texts does not seem possible and we suggest that unless history or archaeology can help us the exact identification must be abandoned. Etymology, we submit, should be made the basis of an identification only in cases of absolute certainty ; otherwise, it should be used as corroborative or cumulative evidence only. Names in Malaysia were never constant and were applied very often to one or more localities just as to-day Malacca means to the British either the town or the district of that name while to the Dutch it has the further meaning of the entire Malay Peninsula.

Berthelot, as we have seen, put Takola at Trang ; Gerini identified it with Takuapa. From this latter place there is a very ancient Indian trade-route running across to the Bay of Bandon and this route has recently been explored by Dr. Quaritch Wales (82A). Two rivers with only five miles between them form the route, with fine anchorages on both coasts ; the reader is referred to the article cited for a full description. Dr. Wales (ibid. p. 5) says that this route " was primarily one of expansion rather than of trade, and was certainly much more suited for such use than either the more northerly Mergui-Pracuab crossing or the well-known Kra route, both of which were used by Europeans and others in later centuries, but neither of which appears to have been suitable for early colonial expansion because neither offers on the east coast large quantities of well-watered territory and fine harbours. Moreover, not the slightest sign of Indian remains

has been noticed on either route, and both have been traversed by observers not devoid of archaeological interests, while the Kra route was in fact carefully searched by Prince Damrong's orders." The author (at p. 10) also observes that Gerini's identification of Takuapa with Takola may be correct but the available archaeological evidence does not go as far back as Ptolemy's time; in the map at p. 28, however, he places Takola definitely at the modern Takuapa. We would suggest that the identification by Gerini rested only upon etymological reasoning and that it must be rejected because it does violence to Ptolemy's text. There can, one imagines, be no doubt that the promontory which begins the Golden Chersonese is Junk Ceylon and Takola was south of this promontory; therefore it could not be Takuapa which is considerably north of it. We shall have much more to say about Takola in later parts of this essay.

Taking Berthelot's reckonings, the promontory which succeeds Takola is more likely to have been Kedah Peak than Penang, since Berthelot was wrong in thinking that the former was not a prominent mark. It is visible 30 miles distant and has always been a mark for sailing vessels. It is possible, too, that the archaeological remains found upon the Peak represent ancient beacons to guide sailors by night, though Ivor Evans thinks that they were religious (83, pp. 105-111). It is not possible, of course, to date these remains, though they were probably very early as we shall show later.

But is Berthelot right? It seems a little extraordinary that Ptolemy, mentioning only one promontory on the west coast, should have chosen Kedah Peak or Penang and ignored all the rest. If, on the other hand, Takola had been in ancient Kedah, the capital of which seems to have been in about 6° N., and if the Khrysoanas were, as we suggest, the Muar River just above 2° N., then we should get a prominent feature of west coast navigation. Ptolemy puts his promontory roughly half way between Takola and the mouth of the Khrysoanas; and roughly half way between 6° N. and the mouth of the Muar one gets the bulge of land between the Perak and Bernam Rivers, or Pangkor north of it; and between them are the Sembilan Islands, a well-known mark for sailors. Crawford's description of his trip from Calcutta down the Straits in 1821 is well worth study (84).

For the southern emporium Sabara, or as it is more usually called Sabana¹, Singapore Island at once suggests itself, since Sabara was the southernmost point of the Chersonese.

Tanjong Burus, or Bulus, now called Tanjong Piai, in Kukup, must be rejected, though it would correspond with Ptolemy's data. It would have been a senseless place for an emporium, if only for reasons of navigation. There is only one very slight

¹McCrinkle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 199, 1927 edition, suggests that Sabana "may be a somewhat distorted form of Suvarna, golden coloured." We have not quoted his identifications of places in the Golden Chersonese since they are useless and must be discarded at this date.

piece of evidence that there was any ancient settlement on Singapore Island. In 1891 a stone axe-head was found which proved to have come from Tanjong Karang on the west coast of Singapore Island and to have been made from local stone; a description of this implement¹ and of the circumstances in connection with its discovery has been given by H. N. Ridley (85). There seems certainly to have been a stone-age portage between Johore and Singapore Island as is proved by the number of neoliths that have been found on the Johore coast in front of Singapore Island. It has been stated by local historians that there was once a 'Mon' settlement on Singapore Island but upon what evidence (if any) the writer does not know. It hardly seems likely that the Indian sailors would have ignored an island which stood at the nodal point of the Indian and Chinese routes, which had splendid water and which was covered with fine timber particularly suitable for masts and spars as we know from books written during the Clipper period.

It is, however, impossible to assert that Sabara was at any definite place save, vaguely, the southernmost part of the Peninsula.

As we have identified the Khrysoanas with the Muar and the Palandas with Johore, Palanda may well be Kota Tinggi, as Berthelot suggests.² With regard to the Khrysoanas Berthelot says that Ptolemy gives 325 kms. as the distance from that river to Sabara, but seeing that the distance from Penang to Singapore is 395 miles and that, according to Berthelot, Ptolemy's distances must be increased by 3/8ths we need not pay much attention to the distance. On the other hand, Ptolemy's figures represent 4 days' sail but in the Straits of Malacca it is not possible to assert any definite distance for a day's sail since too much depends upon wind and tide. If, however, Ptolemy really did give 4 days' sail as the distance, the Khrysoanas could not have been the Muar. We think that Ptolemy's evidence concerning the course of the three rivers outweighs the distance as given in the present texts; and we do not see how that evidence could be made to fit any river further north than the Muar.

Cape Meleuokolon is almost invariably taken to be Cape Rumenia, though both Gerini and Berthelot disagree. If Sabara was Singapore and the Palandas was the Johore, then Cape Meleuokolon could not have been Cape Rumenia, assuming that the distances given at present are correctly those of Ptolemy.

Let us first try to fix the place where the Perimoulikos Gulf began, and then work downwards.

It hardly seems possible that so sheltered an anchorage as that of the Bay of Patani could have been ignored in Ptolemy's time. Skinner says (64, p. 25) that "the Bay of Patani is formed

¹To be seen in Raffles Museum, Singapore.

²There is evidence which shows an ancient settlement near Kota Tinggi, though it is not possible to date it.

by the projection of a narrow strip of land about 7 or 8 miles in length, which, connected with the mainland to the east and, bends round to the north-west like a horn and protects the roadstead, so that vessels can at most seasons ride in safety; which accounts for the high estimation in which it was held by early navigators." How could sailors ever have failed to use such a place, situated as it was on an otherwise inhospitable coast? Moreover, into the Bay flows the Patani which taps the gold-bearing area. We suggest that the Bay of Patani was where the Perimoulikos Gulf began. Ptolemy calls the Gulf of Siam the Great Gulf.

Now taking Ptolemy's distances as recorded by Berthelot and turning them into day's sails, we get about 1 3/8th days from Cape Meleuokolon to the Attabas (Pahang), 1 day's sail from there to Kole, 2 1/4 days more to Perimoula and slightly less than 2 days more to the Perimoulikos Gulf; call it, a total of 7 days' sail.

If the Perimoulikos Gulf has been placed correctly, then Perimoula will be either in the delta of the Kelantan, as Berthelot suggests, or at the mouth of the Trengganu. Either would fit but the Kelantan is a high-way into the gold-bearing area.

The Attabas being placed as the Pahang, Kole might be at the mouth of the Kemaman River where Chukai is to-day. Tanjong Penunjok, which is doubtfully suggested by Berthelot, would surely be too bleak a spot for a port of call on the east coast.

Cape Meleuokolon will then be Tanjong Penyabong opposite which is that well-known land-mark for sailors Pulau¹ Tioman.

Of the inland towns Kalongka cannot be fixed in any particular place; there seems to be doubt as to its latitudinal position. In dealing with it previously we have given the position in Renou but an alternative is 4° 40' N., being a difference of no less than 3° 20'.

Tharra, of which alternative readings are Threa or Tarra, is situated again in positions which vary too much. Berthelot says that no less than 10 different versions appear in the extant texts! It is impossible to suggest any locality for such a place.

Finally, we have Konkonagara, also written as Kokkonagara. Its position seems to have been given in all the texts as 160° E. 2° N. It was, therefore, in the region through which the Khrysoanas (Muar) ran but it is impossible to place it precisely. The name, however, is definitely Indian, *nagara* being sanskrit for country. It suggests a connection with the people in Southern India whom Ptolemy called the Konkonagai whose town was Dosara. Berthelot (53, p. 302) considers that the Konkonagai were the Kalingas and that Ptolemy's river Dosaron was the Mahanadi. Cocanada seems to have been another name for Coringa. If all this is so, then Konkonagara in the Golden

¹Meaning 'island.'

Chersonese had a Kalinga connection and, as we shall see, it was very common for Indians to carry the names of well-known places in their own country into south-eastern Asia, just as Australians, Canadians and Americans have carried English names. At all events, Konkonagara is the one patently Indian name¹ which Ptolemy gives in the Peninsula. A long discussion of it by Gerini (46, pp. 94-97) is interesting.

This concludes the places given by Ptolemy in the Peninsula and there only remain the islands which he mentions as being near to it. Of them, however, we shall confine ourselves to the famous reference to Iabadiou.

It is curious that, although Ptolemy was the first to describe the Malay Peninsula, no local writer hitherto has turned his attention to the subject; and it need hardly be said that the present writer proffers what he has written above with the utmost diffidence.

So far archaeology has produced nothing in the Malay Peninsula that can be said to be contemporaneous with Ptolemy. We need not despair, however, since archaeology in British Malaya is only just beginning and we would call the attention of readers to the great value and importance of potsherds. A study of Dr. Quaritch Wales' article (82 A) on the Takuapa trade-route will illustrate this for he points out how Mr. R. L. Hobson of the British Museum was able to date potsherds found on the route and says (at p. 10) "the evidence of the identified pottery therefore, quite apart from other evidence that will be discussed later, seems to suggest that the settlement flourished from about the fifth or sixth to the eighth or ninth century A.D." Raffles Museum possesses a quantity of potsherds collected by Mr. Gardner on the Johore River and these possess interesting features though they have not yet been examined thoroughly and no attempt has yet been made to date any of them. One can only repeat that a piece of broken pottery may turn out to be even more important than a bronze statue and that care should be taken to preserve any find of potsherds and to report it at once to Raffles Museum.

In Book VII, ch. 2, para. 29, Ptolemy refers to Iabadiou. Here is what he says according to Renou's text:—

"Iabadiou, which means "isle of barley"; it is said that this island is very fertile, that it produces a great quantity of gold and that it has a metropolis called Argyre, situate at its western extremity in 167°, 8° 30' S.; the eastern extremity of the island is situate 169°, 8° 10' S."

The late Professor Kern showed that Iabadiou corresponds with a prakrit Yavadivu, which evolved into Javadivu (86) and

¹In connection with Kole it is worth noting that there was a Koli in ancient India, see the *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* by Nundo Lal Dey, 1927, p. 102; see also the *Frazer Lectures*, 1922-1932 edited by Warren R. Dawson, 1932, p. 64.

philologists at this date are all agreed that *Iabadiou* is the same place as the sanskrit *Yava-dvipa* to which with *Suvarnavdipa* a passing reference has been made earlier in this essay; and these names lead us to a consideration of ancient Indian geography and history in the first centuries of the Christian era.

The earliest periods in the ancient history of the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca can only be visualized as a part of the general history of south-eastern Asia and so of Greater India. No one at this date could doubt that the basis of Malay culture is Indian; and the farther north one goes the more pronounced does that fact become, doubtless because of the strong Siamese influence. Remove the uppermost layer of Islam, take away the lowermost aboriginal layer and what remains is Indian, so that to this day it may be said that the large part of Malay culture is ancient Indian in origin. In 1881 Sir William Maxwell (87, p. 29) wrote that "there would be more observers of curious customs and beliefs among the Malays if Englishmen in these latitudes would get out of the habit of regarding the Malays simply as a Muhammadan people inhabiting the countries in the vicinity of the Straits of Malacca. Let them regard the Muhammadanism of the Malay as an accident not to be taken into account in studying the character and tracing the origin of the people." In 1919 Sir Richard Winstedt (88, p. 119) wrote that "the more one studies the subject, the more one realizes the immense debt Malaya owes to India for folk-tales as well as for language, religion, custom, literature and general culture." The whole question obviously merits a book to itself but none has yet been written; and Indian scholars are handicapped by the fact that no corpus of authoritative translations of the best Malay texts has yet been made.

Possibly the best introduction to a survey of ancient Indian history and geography is the traditional descent of the Malay Sultanates; the States of Perak, Johore, Malacca and Singapore, on the one hand, and the ancient northern kingdom of Kedah, on the other.

The traditional histories of Perak, Johore, Malacca and Singapore are concerned, amongst other matters, with tracing the descent of their Rajas back to the ancient Indian-Malay kingdom which they call Palembang and also with tracing the descent of the kings of Palembang. Unfortunately, however, if these histories were ever put into writing in pre-Mohammedan times, no copy exists to-day and in their present form they date from what Wilkinson calls the Augustan era of Malay literature, namely the first decades of the XVIIth century A.D., at a time when a very strong Persian influence permeated it (89, pp. 15-20). Most important of these histories is the *Sejarah Malayu*¹ or Malay Annals, as they are called, though *Sejarah* actually means 'genealogies.' They have been translated into English by Leyden (90), whose translation we shall follow herein, and there is an annotated

¹We use the old spelling in preference to the new *Melayu*.

abstract by Braddell (91).¹ There are several variant recensions of the Malay Annals but as yet no authoritative translation into English with textual variants has been published, though there is a fairly recent Malay text by Shellabear. A good English edition of the *Sejarah Malayu* is urgently needed.

The *Sejarah Malayu* was written in 1612 A.D. from a Malay book which had been brought from Goa, or so its author says, to the Court of Acheen at a time when that Court was in its highest ascendancy; the writer modestly describes himself as an ignorant man but in reality he was, to use the words of Mr. Wilkinson, "a very uncommon man, the descendant of a long line of great public servants." Unfortunately, however, he began with the object of re-writing the book which had come from Goa 'in proper form' and this fact may account for the very Persian flavour of the genealogy of the Palembang kings and, possibly, other distortions. Blagden has said that there is little doubt that the Annals are founded on earlier records, which had not survived, and it is clear that at the beginning of the XVIth century A.D. the Portuguese writers had access to traditional history which was at considerable variance with the accounts in the *Sejarah Malayu*.

Were the traditions recorded by the Portuguese written or oral? From the preface to the *Sejarah Malayu* it seems clear that there had been previous written traditions. Do any such remain in Goa or in Portugal? It would be a fascinating quest to seek them.

The *Sejarah Malayu*, as Wilkinson says (89, Op. 32) "is an anecdotal history; its kernel is the pedigree of the royal house of Malacca; its flesh is made up of the legends and of the gossip associated with that royal house. As evidence of historic truth it is usually treated rather uncritically, being sometimes over-valued and sometimes unfairly depreciated."

In his *History of Malaya* (92, pp. 34, 35) Sir Richard Winstedt writes:—

"The historian makes a sure land-fall at last when he comes to the fourteenth century Tumasik, so-called² by Wang Ta-Yuan in 1349 and in the Malay Annals—probably anachronistically as having been "visited" by a Chola King after his conquest of Lenggiu on a tributary of the Johore River in the eleventh century! The history of ancient Singapore in those same annals is unfortunately only a hotch-potch of myths and tradition. The annalist gives a dynasty of five Kings. The progenitor of the line bears the name of Sang Sapurba after a nymph of Indra's heaven, perhaps a corruption of Prabhu, a fourteenth century title of Majapahit princes; but criticism is hardly concerned with a male nymph who was credited with being the founder of the royal house of old Palembang and at the same time the son of Raja Suran, the

¹There is also a French translation by L. M. Devic, *Légendes et traditions historiques de l'Archipel Indien*, 1878.

²Actually the Chinese represents Tan-Ma-Hsi.

Chola invader of the XIth century ! As ruler of Palembang he styled himself Trimurti Tribuana ! A son of his with the name of another nymph, Nila Utama, married the daughter of a Permaisuri queen of Bentam, and descrying Tumasik from a tall cliff, while hunting deer, crossed over, became its first King and changed its name to Singapura, styling himself Batara Sri Tribuana. The style Tribuana was best known as that of a queen of Majapahit (1329-50) but may refer to the three Kings of Sri Vijaya to whom the Ming chronicles allude. The last king but one of Singapore is given the old Sri Vijaya title of Sri Maharaja, while the last of all is credited with the Muslim title of Iskandar (or Alexander), because Sumatran folklore connected Alexander with Mahameru, the mountain of the Sailendra dynasty, and as the Malay rulers of Malacca claimed descent from these Sailendras, they also must have been connected with an Alexander who must have been the Macedonian conqueror ! The end of the thirteenth century saw the coming of Islam ; and according to Malay historians Alexander brought it ; so tradition slipped an Iskandar into the Malacca genealogy at the most plausible place, the only possible place between the Hindu period and the historical rulers of Malacca. So much for the olla-podrida of the *Malay Annals*."

It would be a pity if this passage were allowed to be the last word upon the traditional matter of the Annals and we shall devote our remaining space to suggesting other views. What ancient history, particularly what Oriental history, is not "a hotch-potch of myths and tradition" ? Are not the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, the Puranas capable of being so described ? But has historical scholarship abandoned them for that reason ? Surely we should endeavour to ascertain the historical basis upon which the tradition, however distorted, is based. Science nowadays treats traditions with respect and finds them on many occasions to be clues and guides to the facts which lie at their base.

The existence of ancient Singhapura is vouchsafed nowhere save in the Malay traditions which the Malay Annals embody ; the name is not even mentioned anywhere else. But no scholar has yet denied its existence or hesitated to ascribe the name to the Tumasik, Tamasak or Tan-ma-hsi of other records or to the ruins of the ancient settlement which remained visible when the British came to the island of Singapore in 1819. Either the Malay Annals are utterly worthless as being "a hotch-potch of myths and tradition", in which case they must logically be rejected *in toto*, or they are not entirely worthless, in which case they must be subjected to criticism and analysis. The latter view was that which prevailed prior to the appearance of the *History of Malaya* and it is by no means clear from that work and his other writings that it is not Sir Richard Winstedt's own view despite the derision of the passage which we have quoted.

We feel that Indian scholars, if they were provided with an authoritative and complete translation of the Annals and the other traditional texts, would agree with Sir William Maxwell

when he wrote (93, p. 183) "if, as there seems good reason for believing, the Hindoo legends in these works are traceable to the Braminical scriptures of India, their value from an ethnological point of view may perhaps some day be better appreciated." Maxwell himself dealt with these Indian origins in two well-known articles to which the reader is referred (94 and 95).

Let us examine shortly the traditional descent as given in Leyden's translation (90). The first annal deals with the descent of the ancient kings of Palembang which it traces from Alexander the Great, called Raja Secander, or Iskandar, and this has long remained a favourite name with Malay Rajahs. As already observed in the passage quoted from the *History of Malaya* the last king of Singapore (who was the first of Malacca) is called Iskandar Shah in the Annals. Wilkinson has dealt at length with the Alexander Myth (96, pp. 75-78) and has suggested that it was not really myth but "bad historical research, the work of men who tried to make events fit in with their idea of the course that events should have taken." Would it not perhaps be better to say that it was not so much bad historical research as a deliberate gloss endeavouring to attune an almost forgotten tradition to the ears of the writer's own times? As the author says, "I happened to be present at an assembly of the learned and noble, when one of the principal persons of the party observed to me, that he had heard of a Malay story, which had been lately brought by a nobleman from the land of Gua,¹ and that it would be proper for some person to correct it according to the institutions of the Malays, that it might be useful to posterity." Wilkinson (89, p. 19) records this passage as "I have just heard that a Malay history has been brought from Goa; let us re-write it in proper form so that it may be a source of knowledge to our descendants who may profit by its contents." It is clear, then, that the Malay Annals was a re-writing; and one ventures the suggestion that a name had descended in the tradition which sounded like Secandar or Iskandar and which in Mohammedan times had become that appellation. The writer of the Annals accordingly takes the original founder of the line to be the great Iskandar and begins his book with the Persian version of Alexander's life and goes on therefrom to give a kind of Persian dynastic genealogy, beginning with one Araston Shah who reigned for 350 years which Braddell (91, p. 131) says is the usual way for Eastern histories to express a dynasty. The names of the kings which follow next are well worthy of philological examination; Braddell attempted it but he was writing in Penang in 1851 and far from any reference library.

What then is the explanation of Raja Secandar and Iskandar Shah? We shall see later the strong connection of the Indian ruling families in south-eastern Asia with the dynasties of Southern India and particularly with the Pallava dynasty, and the suggestion immediately occurs to one's mind that the original name may have been Skanda, Skandavarman, Skandasishya or Skan-

¹Goa.

daunishya; names closely connected with, and constantly recurring in, the ancient history of southern India.

Proceeding through the curious genealogy we reach a Raja Narsi or Tarsi Barderas who married the daughter of a Raja Salan, King of Amdan Nagara. By this marriage there were three sons, Raja Heiran who inherited Hind, Raja Suran to whom was given his grandfather's Amdan Nagara, and Raja Panden who reigned in Turkestan. From Raja Suran is traced the descent of the Malacca Sultans.

Braddell (91, pp. 132, 133) says that in this three fold division the annalist takes a deeper step into Persian history and that it "is clearly copied from that made in the reign of Feridoun, 6th of the Peishdadian dynasty, about 750 B.C." and he says that the Heiran and Suran of the annalist are obviously Iran and Turan. Maxwell (94, pp. 94 ff.) suggests that Amdan Nagara was Gujerat and not Hamadan in Persia as Braddell had taken it to be. Maxwell (95, p. 399) further points out that "one of the most striking coincidences in the traditions of different Malay States is the constant recurrence of three persons as the founders of kingdoms, the authors of government and order, or the progenitors of a line of rulers." He then quotes from a Menangkabau, Sumatra, tradition in the Malay MS. which was at that time in his possession telling how Iskandar Z'ul Karnayn (Lord of the two horns, i.e. Alexander the Great) begot three sons named respectively Maharaja Alif, Maharaja Dipang and Maharaja Diraja. These three while on a voyage arrived at Ceylon where they agreed to separate. Then the eldest Maharaja Alif claimed the Crown *Makota*¹ *Singhatahana*². The brothers disputed over the crown and an angel came to whom they surrendered it, and who let it fall into the sea, instantly vanishing thereafter. "Then said Maharaja Alif "How now, my brethren, will ye sail towards the setting of the sun?" Maharaja Dipang replied, "I intend to sail for a land between the rising and setting of the sun." And Maharaja Diraja said, "As my two elder brothers have thus decided, I shall sail for the rising sun, and we will take our chance of what fortune may befall us". Then Maharaja Alif set sail for the setting sun, namely, Roum; and Maharaja Dipang sailed to the dark land, the country of China; and Maharaja Diraja sailed away to the land of the rising sun, and after a long time reached the top of the burning mountain (Menangkabau in Sumatra)."

Maxwell goes on to quote from Marsden (97, pp. 341-2) a Johore legend also dealing with the three brothers and the crown: he only quotes part but the full passage from Marsden is as follows:—

"Upon the obscure history of these supposed brethren some light is thrown by the following legend communicated to me as the belief of the people of Johor. "It is related that

¹Mahkota; Malay for 'crown' from the sanskrit *Mukuta*.

²A name again well worthy of philological examination; see *infra* (p. 51) the way in which Wilkinson spells the name.

Iskandar dived into the sea, and there married a daughter of the King of the ocean, by whom he had three sons, who, when they arrived at manhood, were sent by their mother to the residence of their father. He gave them a *Makuta* or crown, and ordered them to find Kingdoms where they should establish themselves. Arriving in the straits of Singa-pura they determined to try whose head the crown fitted. The eldest trying first could not lift it to his head. The second the same. The third had nearly effected it, when it fell from his hand into the sea. After this the eldest turned to the west and became king of Rome, the second to the east and became king of China. The third remained at Johor. At this time *Pulo Percha* (Sumatra) had not risen from the waters. When it began to appear, this king of Johor, being on a fishing party, and observing it oppressed by a huge snake named *Si-Kati-muno*, attacked the monster with his sword called *Samandang-giri*, and killed it, but not till the sword had received one hundred and ninety notches in the encounter. The island being thus allowed to rise, he went and settled by the burning mountain, and his descendants became kings of Menangkabau."

There are actually three sets of three sons in the traditions and the last quoted legend seems to mix two of these sets because as we shall see it was Raja Suran who married the daughter of the ocean King and had by her three sons.

Of the three sons of Raja Salan as stated in the Annals, *i.e.* Heiran, Suran and Pandan, the Malay Sultanates trace from Suran, who is supposed to be the progenitor of the kings of Palembang, as we shall show later. Might there not be here the lingering distorted tradition that these kings claimed a descent from the Indian Solar Kings?

There are three houses which were the recognized royal houses in India and "Indian princes even at the present day generally trace their descent to one or another of these houses" (98, p. 42). These three houses were the Lunar from Candra or Candramas, the Solar from Surya, and the Agni-Kula, who were from the sage Jamad-Agni. According to Gunawardhana the earthly ancestor of the solar race was Manu VII, Chief of the Dravidas, as the Bhagavata Purana states. Whether Surya was the sun-god or was the brother of King Sambara whom the Aryans are supposed to have defeated, he stands as the head of the Solar Kings just as Candra, Sambara's other brother, stands as the head of the Lunar Kings.

It may further be noted that in the fourth Annal we get a reference to "a raja of the land of Kling, named Adi Bernilam Raja Mudeliar, who was descended of Raja Suran. He was a raja of the city of Bija Nagara, and had a son named Jambuga Rama Mudeliar, who succeeded to the throne on the death of his father" etc. Here we have a southern Indian King claiming descent from Raja Suran.

Is it a possible suggestion that Raja Suran was once Surya?

At all events, the inference from the dim and almost forgotten legends which the Malay traditional descents embody is that the kings of Palembang traced their descent from some great ancestor and from three brothers, of whom one is called Raja Suran in these traditional descents. Quite possibly the three brothers were not descended from the great ancestor but *vice versa*, in which case one would have an ancestor with a name such as Skandavarman etc. descended from Surya, one of the three great houses of Kings. Admittedly it is speculation and can be nothing else.

The continual reference to the loss of the crown, a different version of which appears in the Malay Annals, may be explicable by the reasons for the coming of the kings to Sumatra but this we shall consider in a later place. It would certainly seem to point to some essential fact in their dynastic history.

Wilkinson in his Dictionary writes this *sub* Mahkota; "Strictly speaking, Malay Sultans had no crown. The Malay idea of a crown was a tiered head-dress like the Papal tiara; one is illustrated on the old Perak official buttons. It is probably of Persian origin though it bears some resemblance to Indo-Chinese head-dresses. The absence of a diadem is explained by tradition in a legend that the crown of Alexander which was brought by Sang Sapurba to Sumatra was afterwards lost in the sea. The Peninsular account makes Telok Blanga the scene of the loss (Malay Annals 32); the Sumatran account says that divers found the crown but could not drive away a serpent (*ular bidai*) that had coiled round it. They therefore had a copy made, the *mangkota sanggohani*, reputed to be in the Minangkabau regalia; after which they slew the luckless jeweller who copied it so as to prevent his making other duplicates (*Must. Adat* 30, 31)." Unfortunately, there seems to be very little written about the Sumatran legends in English and it would be a most useful thing if some local Malay scholar would deal with the subject in this Journal. Wilkinson's reference to the Malay idea of a crown reminds one of a well-known passage from Wang Ta-Yuan concerning the "bejewelled cap" of the chieftain of Tan-ma-hsi quoted by Winstedt (92, p. 35), which passage we shall notice further when we come to deal with ancient Singhapura.

The second Annal opens with the coming of three brothers, sons of Raja Suran, to Palembang and makes the founder of ancient Singhapura to be the son of one of these three. It is very clear that into the account of Raja Suran and in the second Annal's description of the founding of ancient Singhapura several hundred years of traditional history are telescoped, doubtless because that traditional history was so dimly remembered. The tremendous social, religious and political changes wrought by the coming of Islam doubtless caused the ancient Indian traditions to be more quickly forgotten than they would otherwise have been; if indeed they would have been forgotten at all but for that coming. The same spirit which, as we shall see, caused the physical breaking of the ancient Indian effigies and religious places must have caused the spiritual breaking of the ancient Indian traditions.

We will now consider the identification of Raja Suran with the Chola King who ravaged the Straits of Malacca in the XIth century, an identification which is so very positively asserted in the passage which we have quoted from Sir Richard Winstedt's *History of Malaya*.

The Annals say that on the death of Raja Salan, Raja Suran reigned in his place at Amdan Nagara, all the kings of the east and west acknowledging his power except China which he determined to subdue. He collected an army accordingly and after marching for two months arrived at Gangga Nagara. The Annals identify this place as on the river Dinding in Perak. Except for this statement in the Annals there is not the slightest evidence that any place in the Peninsula was ever called Gangga Nagara, much less any part of Perak. The only name which we come across that has the slightest resemblance to it is Ptolemy's Kokkonagara or Konkonagara; and that is clearly quite different because Ptolemy speaks of Gange and the Gangaridai in India, Gange being, of course, the equivalent of Gangga.

Having killed the King of Gangga Nagara and taken to wife his daughter, Putri Gangga, Raja Suran then advanced to Klang Kiu, which Braddell corrects to Glang Kiu (91).¹ The Annals say that Glang Kiu was in former times a great country, possessing a fort of black stone up the river Johore, and that its King was Raja Chulan.² Raja Suran killed Raja Chulan and married his daughter Putri Onang-Kiu. As we shall see, he had three sons by her. Once more there is no evidence at all save that of the Annals that Johore or any part of it was ever called Klang or Glang Kiu or Ganggayu.

Winstedt in the passage we have quoted asserts quite definitely that Raja Suran was a Chola invader of the XIth century who visited Tumasik after his conquest of Lenggiu on a tributary of the Johore River.

So far as the Chola invader is concerned, the reference is, of course, to Rajendra Chola I and his campaign along the Straits of Malacca *circa* 1025 A.D. In identifying him with Raja Suran it is clear that Winstedt must be accepting the identification of Gangga Nagara with Perak and Glang Kiu with Johore. He thus accepts the authority of the Annals at its maximum value and then proceeds to use his identification for the purpose of destroying the value of his authority. If the identification of Gangga Nagara and Glang Kiu is incorrect, nothing remains to connect the Chola King with Raja Suran. The whole argument, then, can be criticized as being illogical and it is furthermore a strange thing that it is not a Chola King who is the vanquisher but the vanquished, for surely Raja Chulan, if it suggests anything, suggests a Chola. Moreover if Raja Suran were a Chola, then the Kings of Palembang

¹Given in Devic's translation as 'Ganggayou', *i.e.*, Ganggayu.

²Given by Devic as 'Raja Tchoulin', *i.e.*, Chulin.

bang were descended from Cholas by tradition, which would be a startlingly novel proposition and for which there is no historical foundation whatsoever.

The history of this positive identification of Suran with Rajendra Chola I is illuminating. Colonel Gerini first made the suggestion, repeated in 1909 in his *Researches* (46, p. 98) and drew from Wilkinson in 1907 the following (89, p. 33):—"Raja Suran is not a very convincing historical figure, and most of his adventures can be traced to the romance of Alexander. Nevertheless, Colonel Gerini, a well-known writer on Siamese subjects, has thought fit to take Raja Suran seriously and to give us the date on which he overcame Raja Chulan." In 1920 Blagden (98, p. 26) wrote that "comparing these somewhat scanty historical facts with the legends handed down by tradition and embodied in Malay literature, one is tempted to see in the mythical expedition of Raja Suran down the Malay Peninsula (*Sejarah Melayu*, Chapt. I) a vague reflection of the Chola raids of the 11th century." In the same year we have Winstedt (99) writing that "it is very probable, as Blagden has suggested (J.R.A.S. (S.A.) No. 81) that Raja Suran represents a Chula King who was at enmity with Palembang and ravaged Palembang's subject state Kedah." In 1924 Wilkins suddenly blossoms out as a whole-hearted convert to the Gerini theory which in 1907 he had been deriding. He identifies (100, pp. 290-1) the Glang Kiu country with Lenggiu without giving any reason or authority for doing so; and then says "The Malay Annals' recall the destruction of Kiu by a Chula King from southern India;" and also "But Gangganegara (Bruas) of which the site is well-known and much more accessible, was also taken by the Chola King and yield inscriptions", thus identifying Gangga-negara with Bruas, again without giving reason or authority; and saying that its site is well-known and easy of access, meaning in reality that the site of Bruas is well-known and easy of access.

As for this positive assertion that Glang Kiu is Lenggiu up the Johore River, which Winstedt has adopted in 1934 in the passage quoted from his *History of Malaya*, he himself provided the best answer in 1932 in his *History of Johore* (101, p. 3). After mentioning Raja Suran's conquest of Gangga Nagara, he quotes a passage from the Annals concerning Ganggayu, as he there calls it, i.e. Glang Kiu, and the fort of black stone. He then says: "If only that fort of black stone could be traced or a Hindu relic be unearthed at Chandi Bemban up the Madek river or scholarship determine the origin of such names as Lenggiu (a tributary of the Johor) on whose banks are places with names so suggestive as Pasir Berhala and Gajah Mina, then at last the early history of Johor might be unravelled." So there we have it; the identification of Lenggiu (wherever or whatever that may be) with Glang Kiu is a mere guess; and the fact is that there is no such place as Lenggiu at all. There is a Lenggiu River but nobody knows why it is called the Lenggiu.

So we find Blagden's temptation becoming Winstedt's probability and then Wilkinson's definite assertion and lastly passing into the *History of Malaya* as fact.¹

Is it not far more likely that the annalist coming across a tradition that Raja Suran (or whoever the King actually was) had conquered Gangga Nagara and a place which reached the annalist as Klang or Glang Kiu or Ganggayu identified those places with his own country, the Malay Peninsula, either to extol the progenitor of his Rajas or because he thought it more acceptable to posterity?

Gangga Nagara at once suggests India and the ancient Ganga-rastra or Gangaradha, as does Ganggayu, if that is really the way in which Glang Kiu should be written, as stated in the passage quoted from Winstedt's *History of Johore*. Pliny mentions the Gangaridae-Kalingae and they were one of those Kalinga tribes who made up the Tri-Kalingas or Three Kalingas. McCrindle (102, pp. 134-137) says that the three tribes mentioned by Pliny—the Maccocalingae, the Modogalingae and the Gangaridae-Kalingae—were subdivisions of the Kalingae, "a widely diffused race, which spread at one time from the delta of the Ganges all along the eastern coast of the peninsula, though afterwards they did not extend southward beyond Orissa. In the *Mahabharata* they are mentioned as occupying, along with the Vangas (from whom Bengal is named) and three other leading tribes, the region which lies between Magadha and the sea." A King of Vanga married a daughter of the King of Kalinga, says the Mahavamsa; their son founded the Lion City, Simhapura, in Ceylon and became its King (see 103 generally). Ptolemy also mentions the royal city of Gange and the Gangaridai. It is unnecessary to pursue the matter further but we suggest that an explanation of Raja Suran's campaign is more likely to come from ancient Indian history than from Rajendra Chola I's campaign of the XIth century A.D.

The next matter worthy of note in connection with Raja Suran is the story of his descent under the sea and his marriage with the daughter of an under-sea king, by whom he had three sons, the youths with whom the story of the Palembang Kings begins. This marriage at once suggests a tradition of a Naga alliance and, if so, is thoroughly in keeping with any south Indian royal descent. Winstedt has sensed this in a characteristic note (104, p. 418) but the reader should also refer to the articles by Srinivasachari (105) and Przulski (106). The former shows that the earliest Pallava epigraphs give accounts of the connection of the Pallavas with a Naga princess and there was a strong connection between the Chola country and the Nagas, Kaveripattinam, the ancient Chola capital at the mouth of the Kaveri, being traditionally recorded as the capital of the Nagas. The well-known connection between the Pallavas and the ancient Indian

¹It even appears in the Annual Report on Johore, a Government Publication. R.B.

dynasties of south-eastern Asia quite possibly accounts for the fact brought out in Przulski's article that throughout south-eastern Asia there are strong traditions of an alliance with a sea princess or a Nagi. At p. 276 in a footnote he cites the legend of Raja Suran from the *Sejarah Malayu*.

Chatterji (107, pp. 4-5) writes :—" The origin of the Sailendra dynasty of Srivijaya (with its headquarters at Palembang in S. E. Sumatra) seems also to be associated with the Naga tradition. In the *Chu-fan-chi* of Chao Ju-Koua, a work on Chinese trade in the 12th century, it is stated :—" They (the people of San-fo-tsi or Srivijaya) gave the title of ' long-tsing ' to their King." Now the Chinese word *long-tsing* according to Pelliot means " the seed of the Naga."

" The old Tamil poem *Manimegalai* mentions a town Nagapuram in Savaka-nadu which is the Tamil name for Java.¹ Two Kings of Nagapuram are mentioned—Bhumi Chandra and Punyaraja—who claimed descent from Indra. This Nagi legend is found, on the other hand, among the Pallavas of Kanchi. There are two inscriptions dating from the IXth century giving the genealogy of the Pallava Kings. According to the first, Asvathaman, the son of Drona, married a Nagi and their offspring was Skandasisya, the legendary ancestor of the Pallava Kings." Owing to exigencies of type we have had to alter Chatterji's spelling of several of the names above but the true Sanskrit pronunciation of Skandasisya, as we have had to write it, brings us very close to the Malay Iskandar Shah. We shall elaborate later the facts set out in the above quotation ; and for the present put it before the reader for his consideration in connection with what we have written about the Malay traditional descent.

We make the suggestion then that Raja Suran was a composite figure equipped with traditional matter which really related to several figures in the Palembang dynastic tradition ; and it appears to us that a close examination of this figure of Malay tradition by competent hands would be very profitable.

By the daughter of Raja Chulan of Glang Kiu, Raja Suran had three sons, Bichitram Shah, Palidutani and Nilumanam. By the daughter of the king of the land under the sea, he had also three sons, Bichitram Shah, Nila Pahlawan or Palawan, and Carna Pandita or Kama Pandita. But there is a curious break between the first and second annals, as given by Leyden. The first ends with the three sons, Bichitram Shah, Palidutani and Nilumanam. It tells us that Raja Suran placed his second son Palidutani on the throne of Amdan Nagara, and his son Nilumanam in the country of Chandukani but to his eldest son Bichitram Shah he only gave a small piece of territory which so displeased the prince that he embarked with " twenty vessels fitted out with all the apparatus of war determining to conquer all the maritime districts." He conquered many places until he reached " the sea of Silbou " where, being caught in a dreadful hurricane, his

¹This is doubtful ; more likely ' the Malay Country.'

fleet was dispersed, and the half of them returned to the country of Chandukani, but the fate of the other half is unknown. The adventures of this prince were very numerous but here are only alluded to briefly."

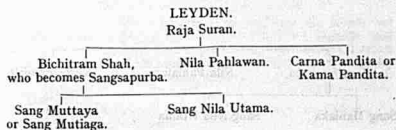
The second annal tells of the appearance of three princes in Palembang. We learn that the ruler of Palembang at that time was called Damang (Demang) Lebar Daun, or Chief Broad Leaf, which Maxwell (95, p. 404) has stated to be a name thoroughly characteristic of the aboriginal Malay tribes. We are told that two young girls are working in the terrace rice-fields and see their fields one night gleaming and glittering like fire. When daylight comes they ascend the mountain of Sagantang Maha Miru and find the grain of the rice converted into gold, the leaves into silver and the stalks into brass; then going further up they see that all the soil of the mountain is of the colour of gold and on the ground which had assumed this golden colour they see three young and handsome men. One of them wears the dress of a raja and is mounted on a bull, white as silver, while the other two stand on his either side, one holding a sword and the other a spear. The one on the bull explains that they are the descendants of Raja Secander Zulkarneini and the offspring of Raja Suran, king of the east and west. "My name", he says, "is Bichitram Shah who am raja; the name of this person is Nila Pahlawan; and the name of the other, Carna Pandita. This is the sword *Chora sa mendang kian*, and that is the lance, *Limbuar*; this is the signet, *Cayu Gampit*, which is employed in correspondence with Rajas."

The name of Bichitram Shah was changed into Sangsapurba and the bull vomited foam from which stepped a man named Bat'h who began to recite the praises of Sangsapurba and gave him the title Sangsapurba Trimarti Trib'huvena. Nila Pahlawan and Carna Pandita married the two girls who had met them in the rice-fields, while Sangsapurba married the daughter of Demang Lebar Daun and assumed the throne of Palembang, the Demang becoming his *mangkubumi*.

Sangsapurba had two sons, Sang Muttaya and Sang Nila Utama, the founder of Singhapura.

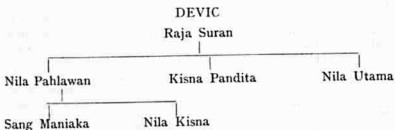
Braddell (91) from his text gives the names of the sons of Raja Suran as Bichitram Shah, Nila Palawan and Kama Pandita; and the sons of Sangsapurba as Sang Mutiaga and Sang Nila Utama.

We can summarize the above genealogy thus:—



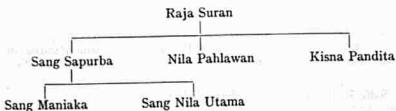
Winstedt (104, p. 413) writes: "According to Dulaurier's text (*Collection des Principales Chroniques Malayes*, vol. 11, Paris, 1856, p. 35) Bichitram Shah accompanied by Nila Pahlawan, Kisna Pandita and Nila Utama, came from heaven down to a mountain in Palembang, Bichitram Shah was given the title of Sang Sapurba, made ruler of the country and begat two sons Maniaka and Nila Kisna (ib. p. 54)—it would appear however that this text has dragged in a redundant Bichitram Shah not to leave him out of the story." Now, there is no copy of the 1856 Dulaurier edition available to the present writer, though there is an 1849 one in Taiping. Devic, however, states in his preface that his translation is that of Dulaurier's text. Devic's French translation mentions Bichitram Shah as one of the three sons of Raja Suran by one mother while the three by the other are named as Nila Pahlawan, the eldest, Kisna Pandita, the second, and Nila Utama the third. There is no redundant Bichitram Shah whatsoever nor is he mentioned at all in this connection. It is Nila Pahlawan who becomes Sang Sapurba and has two sons Sang Maniaka and Nila Kisna.

We can summarize these genealogies as follows:—

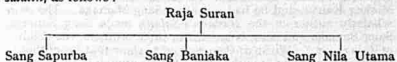


Shellabear's Malay text according to Winstedt (104 p. 413) states that "the three persons who descended on the Palembang hill were Nila Pahlawan, Kisna Pandita and Nila Utama and that they were half-brothers of Bichitram Shah, their father being Raja Suran and their mother a princess from a kingdom in the depths of the sea. Nila Utama is given the title of Sang Sapurba and begets Maniaka on a daughter of a Palembang aboriginal chief."

Wilkinson in *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya*, 1908, gives this as being the genealogy in the Malay Annals,



He says that the author of the Malay Annals, however, gave a different genealogy to his friend the author of the *Bustanu's salatin*, as follows :—



Sir William Maxwell (95) gives a variant of the story of the princes from a Perak MS. then in his possession. Here the princes are named Najitram, Paldutani and Nila Asnam ; and " they were seated on a white elephant and each of them had girded on by his side a sword named " Chora Samandang Kiri." This is the royal sword of state of all Malay rajas. Each of them also held in his left hand a wand (*Kayu gamit*), that is to say, the *chap halilintar* (' the seal of the thunderbolt '). " It is also said in this MS. that they were " the sons of a raja who had descended from the abode of Indra." " The eldest prince was sought out by the people of Andalus¹ and made by them King of Menang Kabau. And he took the royal title of Sang Purba. Afterwards the people of Tanjong Pura² came and fetched away the second prince. His royal title was Sang Manika. The youngest remained at Palembang with Raja Demang Lebar Daun, and was made King at Palembang and invested with the royal title of Sang Nila Utama. To him Demang Lebar Daun resigned his throne, and became Mangko-bumi or Chief minister."

Here we have quite obviously a very different version from that of Leyden's text ; and in Appendix A of their *History of Perak* (108), Winstedt and Wilkinson deal with the Perak version of the dynastic legend, in which we get still other names. In the first version there are two princes, Raja Kilan and Raja Chulan, the sons of Raja Suran, and they appear in a rice-clearing in the land of Minangkabau. Raja Chulan married the daughter of Demang Lebar Daun, Chief of that country. In the other version we get four sons of Raja Chulan—Nila Utama, Nila Pandita, Nila Pendaga and Nila Kechil Bongsu. The first became Emperor of Byzantium and China, the second Sultan of Singapore and Malacca, the third Sultan of Perak. Then the authors say (at p. 120) " These legends are Perak variants of the stories told in the " Malay Annals " of the founders of the Palembang and Singapore dynasties. Even there they are folk-lore (J.R.A.S.M. B., 1926, vol. IV pp. 413-419)³. Nila Uttama, for instance, is Tilottama, an Apsara or nymph of Indra's heaven ! "

Such is the most unsatisfactory condition in which we find the names of the princes in the traditional legends and the absence of a critical study and an authoritative text is much to be deplored. How can one criticize a thing until one knows exactly what that thing is? Winstedt wrote (99) " Accord-

¹Sumatra.

²A part of Borneo.

³i e., No. 104 in the bibliography hereto.

ing to the *Sejarah Melayu*, (Leyden's " Malay Annals ", pp. 20-44) the founder of old Singapore was Sang Nila Utama. He was the grandson of Raja Suran and the son of Sang Sapurba, ruler of Minang Kabau, and he had a brother Sang Maniaka. The more scholarly author of the *Bustanu's-Salatin* made Sang Sapurba, Sang Baniaka and Sang Nila Utama, three brothers, the children of Raja Suran." Winstedt then goes on to show that his authority for identifying Sang Sapurba with a female nymph is an article in Dutch by van der Tuuk. He writes that " it is hardly perhaps known to English students that van der Tuuk, in his *Bataksch Leesboek*, IV, pp. 115, has robbed Singapore of its legendary founder by identifying Sang Sapurba, Sang Maniaka and Nila Utama with Suprabta, Tillottama and Menaka, three well-known nymphs (*apsaras*) of Indra's heaven " etc. The whole note should be studied ; it shows the authority upon which some of the statements which we have quoted from the *History of Malaya* are made. Leyden's Annals as a fact do not mention Sang Maniaka at all.

The identification of Nila Uttama with an *apsara* named Tillottama is, then, the theory of a very distinguished Dutch orientalist. On the other hand, however, Uttama was in fact a royal name in India, e.g. Uttama Data, who was one of the early Naga Kings (109, p. 15). In sanskrit *Uttama* means ' highest, supreme or chief.'

As for the name Sang Sapurba, Sir William Maxwell (95, p. 403, n. 2 ; see also 110) said that " *Sang* is a title applied in Malay and Javanese to Gods and heroes of pre-Muhammadan times. Applied to gods it is often coupled with the word *hyang* which means " divinity " " deity " and then becomes *sangyang*. *Sang* is still an ordinary title among the chiefs of the aboriginal tribes of the Peninsula. It is probably of Sanskrit origin and, like the *sain* and *sahib* of India, is probably derived from *swami*. *Purba* is the sanskrit word *purva* ' first '. *Sang Purba* may therefore be translated " first deity " or " first chief ". Wilkinson's Dictionary shows that *sang-yang* is used in connection with major divinities such as Visnu, and that it is added to the titles of heroes and kings and also certain minor dignitaries but he says that these last *sang* titles are now obsolete. We shall at a later stage adduce also an interesting Chinese reference to the title *sang*. Blagden (111, pp. 150-151) shows that the name Sungei Ujong is really Sang Hyang Hujung, which means much the same as our " Holy-head."

If the *Purba* in Sang Sapurba is really Prabhu (as it quite likely is), then the name would be Saprabhu or something like that. Now it is a fact that Suprabha is the name of one of the seven princes who were the masters of the continent of Shalmali as stated in the Puranas, e.g. the Agni Purana, Ch. CXIX ; the Vishnu Purana, section IV. So, is there any need to assert that the male prince Sang Sapurba was the nymph Suprabta merely because of a similarity of name?

Nilā is used in the Annals in respect of both men and women, see, for instance, the opening of the fourth Annal in Leyden's version. In Sanskrit *nilā* means 'dark blue or sapphire' etc, and it is an epithet of Siva; there is one of the Puranas called the Nilā Purāna and one also finds Nilā in the name of a mountain¹ and a river. Nilā Uttama in Sanskrit would accordingly seem to mean the Sapphire-blue Chief or Supreme Being.

Unable as we are to read Dutch, we cannot state the reasoning which led van der Tuuk to convert Sang Nilā Uttama into Tilotama; but there does not seem from other sources open to us to be any reason for thinking that it is other than a Sanskrit expression applicable to the founder of a dynasty.

Whoever Sang Nilā Uttama was, he could not have been the founder of Singapore in the way in which the Annals tell the story; and once more we have the annalist telescoping legendary history, fitting such facts as have reached him on to such figures as have reached him.

According to Leyden's Annals, Bichitram Shah who was given the title of Sang Sapurba first became king of Palembang and then king of Tanjong-pura, after which he went to Bentan, which is Bintang opposite Singapore. Here his son Sang Nilā Uttama became Raja of Bentan and Sang Sapurba "gave him a kingly crown, the gold of which could not be seen for the multitude of gems, pearls, and diamonds with which it was studded". This crown was the one lost in a storm opposite Singapore according to the Annals. Then Sang Sapurba finally became king of Minangkabau where he slew the great serpent Saktimuna; and from him, say the Annals, are descended all the Rajas of Pagaruyong to this day.² Nilā Uttama went on from Bentan to found Singhapura.

We get therefore the *propositus* Raja Suran; his son, Sang Sapurba, founder of the dynasty of Palembang; his grandson, Nilā Uttama, founder of Singhapura and the royal Malacca dynasty. The ancient kingdom at Palembang dates from the 7th century at the latest; and Singapore from the thirteenth. It is clear that in the second Annal we are being given the traditional arrival of the Palembang kings in Sumatra but where the annalist fails after that is that he telescopes several centuries of history and makes Singhapura to be founded by the son of the first Palembang King. Blagden pointed out in 1920 (111, p. 26) that the coming of the three princes to Mount Siguntang Mahameru was "not a Malay national legend but an echo of the dynastic tradition of the Palembang family which claimed to spring from "the King of the mountains", i.e. the Sailendravamsa, or Family of the Lords of the Mountain.

Winstedt deals with Mahameru in the passage which we have quoted from his *History of Malaya*. Wilkinson in his dictionary under "Seguntang" writes "Bukit Seguntang; (locally) Bukit Siguntang-

¹The Nilā Mountain is mentioned in the Puranas.

²Pagar-ruyong was the seat of the Rajas of Menangkabau.

guntang ; the traditional hill at the foot of Mahameru on which Sang Seperba and his brothers appeared before founding the Shailendra or "mountain" dynasty of Sri Vijaya (Palembang). The dynasty was founded in the eighth century A.D. The hill of Seguntang is really a hummock on the banks of the Jambi River, the site of a later palace of the Shailendras; cf. *Hang Tuah*. Geographically it has nothing to do with Mahameru ; but later tradition which knew of the legendary coming of the kings from the Mahameru foothills (Shailendra) and knew them also as Seguntang Kings identified the latter site with the foothills of the former."

This passage is open to criticism, as we shall see later when considering the history of Sri Vijaya, but it serves as a good introduction to the consideration of the Malay tradition concerning Mount Mahameru.

Braddell wrote the following note as to Bukit Seguntang in 1851 (91, v, pp. 176-7):—" *Sagantang Maha Miru*. I am not aware whether the derivation of this word has been satisfactorily settled. The following is offered as a probable one from Hindu mythology. We are informed that the earth is circular and flat, 4,000,000,000 miles in circumference, in the centre is Mount Meru 600,000 miles high etc., etc. this mount has three peaks, one of gold, one of silver, and one of iron, the seats respectively of Brahma, Siva and Vishnu, etc., etc. The Himalaya mountains are called Maha Miru, but whether figuratively, as resembling the general description of that mount, or literally, I am not aware ; nor does it appear to be of much consequence at present. Bichitram Shah is described as descending to the Palembang Plains from Mount Maha Miru, and we can suppose that, at the time these annals were written, that event had become traditional, and would consequently be involved in mystery and fable. The Indian prince, of a superior race, and of a higher degree of civilization, would probably, among the simple inland inhabitants of Palembang, be considered as a new Avatara, and the mountain from which he descended, would be holy as the heaven or Maha Meru of Vishnu. At the very place described as that from which Bichitram Shah appeared, we have the sacred Gunong Dempo and a further similarity will be found in the fact that in conjunction with Dempo, are two other peaks Lumut and Berapi, the latter as its name denotes being a volcanic mountain, which, among all uncivilized nations, is the object of veneration. These three would form a sufficient likeness, taken in conjunction with their great height, to the original Maha Meru. (The Semiru of the Brata Yudha, see Raffles' Java, has most probably a similar origin)."

Though written more than eighty years ago, the modern citations which we are about to make will show how right in essence this note is.

We must remind the reader once more of the ancient Indian habit of carrying about the names of famous or holy places. Even

in India itself they did this ; thus, Sarkar (29, p. 11) says that " for the benefit of those who could not travel, some local rivers and cities of the south were named after those of the north and regarded as equally sanctifying. Thus, Madura is the southern Mathura, and the Godavari is the southern Ganges, Ganga Godavari." In their colonies they used almost entirely names taken from their own country. It is impossible, accordingly, to attribute a place-name solely to India merely because in India we find a well-known place of that name. We should be like historians some hundreds of years hence arguing that Boston could not be in America because it was in England. Maha Meru, or Sumeru, was, of course, the most celebrated mountain in ancient Indian geography and mythology but that does not mean that there was not a Mount Maha Meru in Sumatra. On the contrary, we should expect to find important mountains in Indian settlements similarly called ; and so we do. Dr. Vogel writes (112, p. 5) concerning Java that " the loftiest mountain top of the island is known by the name of Sumeru or Semeru, in which we easily recognize the Sumeru of Indian mythology. Other volcanoes bear the familiar names of Arjuna, Brama (*i.e.* Brahma), and Kawi. The principal river of Central Java and of the whole coast is the Serayu, which takes its rise from the southern slopes of Mount Prahū. Evidently the name *Serayu* is the Javanese form of the Sanskrit *Sarayu*, the ancient name of the Gogra, the well-known tributary of the Ganges. Ayodhya, the glorious capital of Rama, was situated on the bank of the Sarayu, and this alone will suffice to account for the name having been applied to a river in far-off Java."

The Malay tradition which identifies Bukit Seguntang with the first kings of Palembang has received striking corroboration in recent years. The reader will have noticed that we have been referring throughout this part of our essay to 'Palembang' and 'the kings of Palembang.' We have done this deliberately because the whole question of identifying Palembang with Sri Vijaya and its kings with the Sailendra dynasty has recently been put at large again. We shall examine the question at length when we reach the period called 'Sri Vijaya' in this essay.

Dr. N. J. Krom in an interesting note (113) written in 1933 has pointed out that until quite recently ancient Palembang (which he identifies with Sri Vijaya) had not yielded any traces of antiquarian remains. " It is true that a few relics had come to light in the adjoining highlands, but until 1920 neither in Palembang itself nor in the districts of the Palembang lowlands anything of interest had been found, notwithstanding the fact that according to the Chinese sources the capital of the realm must undoubtedly have stood on the bank of the river at no great distance from the coast. It happened in the year just mentioned that a stone slab bearing an inscription in Pallava-grantha characters was discovered on the north-western side of the Seguntang hill which is situated to the west of the town". So came to light on Bukit Seguntang the oldest inscription in the Malay language, dated Saka

605 (A.D. 683), the actual language being that mixture of sanskrit and malay which is nowadays called Old-Malay. Other inscriptions were found later and with them all we shall deal at the appropriate place ; here we merely note that once again a tradition has been confirmed by archaeology as has occurred so very frequently all over the world.

Gunong Dempo is half-way along the Pasemah plateau and it dominates the whole region, its crater-top (for it is a volcanic cone) being 3150 metres high. On the Pasemah plateau are the very interesting megalithic remains to which we have already referred¹ very shortly and which are so admirably described in Dr. van der Hoop's book (24) and summarized in an article written by him in 1934 (114). He writes (24, p. 32) that " the top of the Dempo principally consists of an old, semi-circular shaped crater wall in the south-east. This encloses an old crater bottom which in the north-west is itself intersected by the new crater with the crater lake. The old crater wall is 3022 M. high, the old crater bottom a little lower and the top of the new crater wall, called the Goenoeng Merapi, is 3159 M. high ". Van der Hoop's conclusions are that the civilization, to which the remains belonged, mainly flourished previous to the advent of the Hindu settlers and cannot be much younger than the Christian era ; a find of bronze ' kettle drums ' would seem to date from 50 to 200 A.D. (114, p. 43). All the conclusions are naturally tentative but it seems safe to assert that the Pasemah civilization was ' Indonesian ' and that it was in existence in Ptolemy's time. Demang Lebar Daun was an ' Indonesian ' chieftain. The Malay Annals tell us in effect that into an ' Indonesian ' settlement there intruded Indians whose prince appeared first on the slopes below Dempo ; archaeology corroborates that around Dempo there was an ' Indonesian ' settlement and that Indian influence obtruded into it and over-grew it.

The kingship which the Malay Annals record as having been founded in ancient Palembang was clearly an Indian one and has left many survivals in Malay law and custom. Thus the Sultans of Perak to this day are installed by the head of a family called the *Bangsa Muntah Lembu*¹ which claims descent from Bat'h and which avoids the flesh of the cow, as well as milk, butter, ghi, etc. and whose head is styled the Sri Nara Diraja ; a Mohammedan family still clinging to ancient Brahminism. The Sri Nara Diraja whispers into the ear of the Sultan whom he is installing the *chiri* or installation formula which is in the *bahasa Jin*, or language of the genii, actually a very corrupt sanskrit, a study of which is to be found in the *History of Perak* (108, App. J) and concerning which further information is contained in *Shaman, Saiva and Sufi* (115, pp. 150, 151) and Maxwell's article on the Chiri (94). The Perak regalia are also interesting for the use of the *naga* or dragon in parts of it ; complete replicas are contained in Raffles Museum, Singapore, and some illustrations with a full

¹See this Journal Vol. XIII, Part II, pp. 79, 94.

²Family of the Cow's vomit.

description will be found in the *History of Perak, supra*, while Wilkinson (116, App. III) gives some valuable information concerning the regalia.

A full study of Malay court customs throughout the Peninsula would be useful; so far, Wilkinson and Winstedt are practically our only authorities, in the articles and works cited in this essay. As is well-known a Malay Sultan is an absolute ruler but the form of absolutism during the Mohammedan period is taken from Islam; Indian monarchy was different. Radhagovinda Basak (117, p. 526) writes that Hindu political thinkers worked out a kind of compact between the two parties, the king and his people, "the former agreeing to rule righteously and not in accordance with his own sweet will and to protect the rights of his subjects, and the latter agreeing to pay him taxes (*bali*) in return for his services to the community." Generally ancient Indian kingship belonged to the *Ksatriya* caste and it was usually hereditary though election to the royal office was not unknown. At the basis of ancient sovereignty in Malaya lay a somewhat similar concept of a pact, which is set out in the *Malay Annals* (90, p. 26) as the conditions on which Sangsapurba married Demang Lebar Daun's daughter, afterwards assuming sovereignty over Palembang. The pact was that Sangsapurba should engage, both for himself and his posterity, that the Demang, his family and descendants should receive a liberal treatment; and, in particular, that when they committed faults they should never be exposed to shame nor opprobrious language, but if their faults were great that they should be put to death *according to the law*; while Sangsapurba required in return that the other parties should engage in no treasonable practices against his descendants even though they should become tyrannical.

The divinity of rulers was taught emphatically in the Hindu political system and Manu laid it down that kings were created by God and made from the essences of the great gods, conceptions with which any student of Egyptology will be very familiar. In crowning the king it was Indra that was crowned, so a person who would be prosperous should worship his king as he would Indra. No one should obey a king as a mere man, but as a great god in human form (see 118). We have a well-known instance of the *Deva-raja*, or Royal God, cult in an Indian Colony in the case of Cambodia under Jayavarman II in the 9th century A.D., while something very like it, says Chatterji, was to be found in Champa and in Central Java (107, pp. 79, 80). The Malayan student will find a consideration of Siamese customs very useful to him and we would recommend him to two splendid books on the subject by Dr. Quaritch Wales (119 and 120). Indian influence on Siamese culture was mainly brought about indirectly *via* the Indianized Kingdoms of Dvaravati, Sri Vijaya and Cambodia. "We can trace the influence of the Khmers fairly clearly, but the other two kingdoms, especially Sri Vijaya, exerted a strong if undefined

influence over the development of Khmer culture, and hence of that of Siam, the extent of which is hardly yet realized;" (119, pp. 18, 19). Dr. Quaritch Wales says (ibid. p. 29) that according to the Hindu theory, the king is identified with either Siva or Visnu and this theory attained its highest importance in ancient Cambodia, and he says that "the royal god was not Indra, the King of the gods, but a god of the King, either Siva or Visnu, presenting certain peculiarities and identified with a great ancestor or a legendary founder of the Kingdom." In the Malay Annals it is, of course, Siva since Sangsapurba appears on the bull, or Nandi. The Khmer cult of the Devaraja was "a highly specialized form of an earlier Indian conception of divine Kingship, in which the King was to some extent identified with the Hindu gods Siva and Visnu" (120, p. 16). Whether there was any form of Deva-Raja in ancient Palembang, we do not know, but the name which Bat'h gave to Sangsapurba was Sri Tribhuvana Trimurti, which brought forth one of Sir Richard Winstedt's exclamation marks in the passage from his *History of Malaya* which we are considering. *Tribhuvana* means the three worlds, i.e. the heaven, the sky or lower regions, and the earth; *Trimurti* means having three forms—the trinity, Brahma, Visnu and Siva—and it signifies the three powers viz: creation, the special attribute of Brahma, preservation, that of Visnu, and destruction, that of Siva. Bat'h, therefore, gave to Sangsapurba (the great ancestor or legendary founder of the Kingdom) a name whereby he declared that Sangsapurba had the attributes of Brahma, Visnu and Siva, and contained in him the essences of those gods; he thus treated Sangsapurba as the personification of the three great Hindu gods; and what is there surprising in that?

We can now leave the Malay Annals which we have introduced out of their chronological sequence in order to put the reader's mind in a receptive condition for what we are about to say concerning ancient Indian history and geography. In particular, would we impress on the reader that no tradition should be ignored or condemned; on the contrary, it should be recorded and explored most patiently and it must always be borne in mind, for at any moment a lucky strike of the *changkol* or a change of river-bed may corroborate it or explain it; or some historical passage come to light which it explains; or some other of the many chances of epigraphy or archaeology make it important. Finally, in regard to ancient Malay tradition or custom the chances are greater that an explanation will come from India than from anywhere else. Even so far as Malaya's prehistory is concerned we suggest that that of India may be as helpful as that of Indo-China to which at present our eyes are so much directed. We should, indeed, regard nothing as exclusive but cast our net as wide as we can and remember that whatever small catches we may make are bound to assist scholars in other parts of the world and, in particular, the great Indian scholars who are at present throwing such illumination upon their country's great past.

(To be continued).

APPENDIX.

The reader will be as deeply indebted as I am to the gentlemen whose notes appear in this Appendix. The spirit of co-operation shown is immensely gratifying and augurs well for the future of ancient history in Malaya. If other readers will also favour this Journal, or me personally with their notes, I shall feel that my labour in writing this essay, and the many years of reading which have preceded its writing, have been well spent.—R. B.

Mr. Justice J. V. Mills.

- p. 13. I do not think Berthelot can be right in saying that G. de l'Isle made a map in 1781: his first map was made in 1705 and I cannot find one made by him later than about 1757 (in an Atlas, so perhaps of earlier date). The appearance of BARREBAM is curious: my selection of maps does not purport to go outside the Malay Peninsula and only a certain number go as far as Burma: so far as my maps go, BARREBAM appears only in two French maps, one by de l'Isle, 1705, and the other by Mr. C., 1719: (de l'Isle made another map in 1710 but as I have not got a copy I presume that it is no improvement on the map of 1705): the map of 1719 I should say was a copy of de l'Isle's map as it contains two similar errors *i.e.* "Calanta" and "Paha": if that conclusion is correct, then only de l'Isle in his map in 1705 (and perhaps in that of 1710) marks BARREBAM: I can throw no light on the name: the Ptolemaic BARABONA does not appear later than Waldseemuller's map of 1507.
- p. 18: "west to east": you do not say at what period the Chinese thought that this was the direction of the Peninsula: it seems to me certain that when the Wupeipi-shu charts were composed, not later than about A.D. 1435, the Chinese knew that the direction was approximately north-west to south-east.
- p. 25: "prepare a map": what I regard as the earliest "modern" map of the Malay Peninsula is a map in 6 sheets, about 6 feet square, drawn by E. J. d'Souza, and published at the instance of the Straits Branch of the R.A.S. by Messrs. Stanford, in 1879: when I have time I hope to bespeak a photostat from the British Museum.
- p. 28: "River of Ceu". This is undoubtedly the river Sea or Telubin. It appears as 'Sai' in the Nagarakretagama (1365 A.D.); also in Ferrand's *Relations des Voyages Arabes*. The name or a similar one appears in many of the old maps from A.D. 1536 to 1850; the name Telubin does not appear till after the latter date.

The details are as follows:—

Cay. c. 1536	Desceliers (?)	Say 1711
Ciu (?)	1542 Rotz	Seu 1726
		Valentijn.

Seya (?)	1558 Homem	Sey	1728 Kuapton.
Sera	1568 Homem	Seu	c1740 Ottens.
Soia	1598 Linschoten	Seu	1750 Robert.
Sea	1613 Eredia	Seu	1752 d'Anville.
Soia	1617 Visscher	Seu	1775 Mannevillette
Sey	1635 Berthelot	Seu	1808 Cary.
Sey	c1673 Pauh	Seu	1813 Pinkerton.
Coy	1700 Eberard	Seu	1832 Wyld.

As to "ADEA", Linehan suggests Endau, and I am unable to make any better proposal; though it is curious that while the name Sedili appears in several maps from 1635 (Berthelot) onwards, I do not find the name Endau in any map before 1849 ("INDAU").

p. 30: "Panarican": according to the *Malacca Strait Pilot*, 1924, only 2½ cables (¼ mile) separates the 2 streams and canoes can be dragged over the intervening swampy ground.

p. 31: "Old maps": I have looked into this matter of the "transpeninsular" river with the following results: you will see that it is shown in every map from c. 1536 to c. 1580: and, with 4 exceptions, in every map down to 1623: after that it is suddenly dropped (Eredia, of course, knew better): Mercator-Hondius omit it from their map of 1633 though they had put it in their map of 1606 and Hondius in his Map of 1611: apparently by 1633 they had learnt the truth, perhaps as a result, direct or indirect, of Eredia's discoveries (Eredia at Goa must have met and talked to a lot of travellers).

c.1536 Desceliers (?) 1550 Desceliers.

1541 Deslieus 1553 Desceliers.

1542 Rotz 1558 Homem.

1544 Cabot 1561 Gastaldi.

1546 Desceliers 1568 Homem.

1569 Mercator

c.1572 Anonymous.

1578 Martines.

c.1580 Dourado.

?1580 ? Dourado.

(Not in Anonymous map of ? 1580).

1590 Laco.

(Plancuis, 1592, is too indistinct to say).

1593 de Jode.

(Not in Ortelius, 1595).

1596 Laugren: (called "Malayo").

1596 Lodewycksz: (called "R. Feroso"
and also "Muar R".)

- 1598 Linschoten : (called " R. de Malayo ".)
- 1598 Linschoten : (called " Malayo ").
- 1598 Lodewycksz : (called " R. Formeso " and also " R. Muar ").
- 1599 Gijsberts Soon.
- c.1600 Laugren.
- 1602 Tatton.
- 1605 Hulsius.
- 1605 Blaeu.
- 1606 Mercator-Hondius.
- 1611 Hondius.
(Not in Eredia. 1613).
- 1617 Visscher : (called " R. de Malayo ").
- 1623 Laugren : (called Malayo).
- 1623 Sauctes.

- p. 32 : " Teluk Mas " : the name of the *Mukim* still appears in the 1927 map of Malacca.
- p. 43 : ' Tan-ma-hsi ' : I think the great majority of Malayan words and place-names will be found to be transcribed according to the dialect of the people of Amoy (the " Chinceos " of Eredia)—I am studying that hypothesis at present—, and according to that dialect the name is " Tan-ma-sek ".
- p. 45 : There is something particularly satisfying in seeing the locality of a place definitely fixed in a map : the " Wu-pei-chik " chart gives us that satisfaction, in placing " Tam-ma-sek " a little to the north of the sea-route from the Kerimun Islands to Pedra Branca : I date the matter of the map at about July, 1433.
- p. 60 : I am under the impression that Tanjong Pura was only one part of Borneo, but I have not enough books here to check that. However, Ferrand Relations &c. p. 660 states that the Chinese name " P'o-ni " dates from the 9th century, and the Nagarakretagama of 1365 gives many names other than Tanjong Pura.

Mr. C. N. Maxwell, M.C.S.

We find Palandas (p. 17) as the mouth of a river and Palanda (p. 18) as an inland town. I gather that Ptolemy plotted his maps from information obtained from sailing masters and travellers who came to the Malay Peninsula for gold (and tin). *Landa (melanda)* means to pan for ore. *Melanda mas*, to pan for gold, *dulang pelanda*, the wooden pan used by gold and tin washers to this day; also *pendulang*. Pelanda or pelandas may therefore have been accepted as being the name of a river or town whereas it simply referred

to the places where people washed for gold *i.e.* the gold-fields.

- p. 18: "the remainder becomes the Palandas, for which unfortunately he gives no further positions." This may be accounted for by the fact that the gold-fields were extensive.

It looks as though the true name of the river was overlooked in favour of the object of the voyage and that the river was called Palandas because it was the gold-seekers' first port of call and the river which either contained gold or led to the gold-fields.

Kelang (*Klang*) and *Gaylang* (*kelang, kalang, galang*) show where the nature of the business, *i.e.* timber working and boat building, gave names to places in Selangor and Singapore which superseded the original Malay names of the rivers. I should say that Kalonka might describe any place where boats were laid up for a season for a general overhaul before the return voyage. But, there is another possible explanation of Kalonka.

Kelang-kaling means rocking backwards and forwards (as a cradle) and *kolong* means shallow alluvial mine workings, (fossicking depressions).

The radicals k and l, in this order, show you a pond, *kolam*,¹ a bowl, *sekul*,² or a boat, *kolek*;³ vide sketch, ب₁ ب₂ ب₃. So it is just possible that Kalon (g) ka referred to places where there were shallow diggings and cradle washing.

Kolantarapota. (p. 2) "ships going to foreign shores". This is an interesting translation which I should like to have analysed. Why "foreign shores"? *Kol* is certainly ship or boat; cf. *kolek*; *Antara*, between. But what is *pota*? Is it *putar*? If so, *Kolantaraputar* might mean the ship that does the round voyage *i.e.* going with the one Monsoon and returning with the next.

Mr. W. Lineham, M.C.S.

- p. 18: note 3—yes, and to Pahang people Trengganu and Kelantan rice is known as *beras barat*.

p. 27-29—in addition to your arguments—not alone was gold more highly prized and abundant slave labour available but the metal, in the shape of rich alluvial "pockets"—by the 17th century mostly worked out—was more accessible. Exactly the same thing happened in Wicklow, Ireland, where during the early centuries A.D. gold-mining was operated on a very large scale (there is still gold there, but, it appears, it doesn't pay

to work). It is no exaggeration to say that gold is to be found even now in almost every river in Ulu Pahang. The peasants in certain localities (e.g. the Tui and the Kechau) still take out licences to pan for gold (*meriau mas*), and in this way they sometimes get 25 cents or even a dollar's worth of gold in a day. The people in the Pasir Mas¹ District of Kelantan (Kelantan Bharu) pan for gold in the same way.

- p. 28 : *batu uji*—Malay gold-smiths used (and still use in Kelantan) neoliths of meteoric stone for the purpose.
- p. 28 : Adea—in my history (of Pahang) I conjecture this to be Endau.
- p. 29 : Selinsing—R. E. Williams of Bentong has been getting some remarkable discoveries of neoliths, early iron-age implements and pottery at Tresang in old gold workings.
- p. 32 : I agree that of all the rivers in the Peninsula the Muar best fits the description of Ptolemy's Khrysoanas.
- p. 32 : the facility with which Malayan rivers, particularly near the coast and especially on the east coast, change their courses is amazing. The Bebar changed its *Kuala* by 5 miles in the last forty years. The Pahang river shifted its estuary from Kuala Pahang Tua to Kuala Pahang perhaps in the latter part of the 15th century. During the 1926 floods the Tembeling at Kuala Nyong broke through a *tanjong* disclosing its ancient course on the banks of which was discovered a neolithic settlement.
- p. 33 : *Palong*—if the word is Malay it appears to be the outlandish form of *Palang*, cognates *Galang* (we get a locality named Galang in the region of Lubok Paku), or *Alang* or Kalang which have the general meaning of 'obstruction' 'check', 'barrier', 'restraint'. Thus S. Palong may mean the "Barrier River" in which logs were placed across the river by the local Chief to facilitate the collection of dues from passing boats.
- p. 34 : I don't think that Attabas has any connection with *atap*.
- p. 41 : The religion of the Malays should not conceal their character and origin—The inhabitants of Pahang, (or some of them at least) as late as the beginning of the 17th century, were addicted to human sacrifice—apparently a relic of Mahayana Buddhism on which were superimposed Tantric orgies.
- p. 44 : Tribuana—There was a Bendahara of Pahang about the middle of the 16th century with the style of Seri Tribuana. His daughter married Sultan 'Abdu'l-Kadir.

¹Pasir, sand ; mas, gold.

- p. 48 : *Singhatahana*—probably the Sanskrit *Singgasana*, a throne, synonymous with *takhta*, used even to the present day in royal epistolary literature e.g. a Sultan describes himself or is described as being *atas takhta singgasana kerajaan* "upon the throne of State".
- p. 51 : Loss of a crown—In Malay States the installation of a ruler was not complete (*sempurna*) unless the state regalia (*Kebesaran*) were available at his coronation. Sultan Sulaiman (1722-1760) declined to be installed till the Bugis had recovered the regalia. Sultan 'Abdul'l-Rahman had to be re-installed when the Dutch obtained for him the regalia in 1822. These emblems of royalty were a possession which according to the constitution (*adat istiadat negeri*) the ruler could not part with.
- p. 52 : "The Annals identify this place as on the river Dinding in Perak"—The Annals say that it was inland of the Dinding (*di-darat Dinding*) "on the further side of Perak."
- p. 53 : Glang Kiu—The Malay Annals record that Raja Suran after conquering Gangga Negara proceeded to assault Ganggayu, that this name was the Malay pronunciation of Glang-Kiu (گلنگیو), that that place was situated in the upper reaches of the Johore and that it had a fort (*Kota*) of black stone which still existed in the author's day. In spite of the fact that the "Annals" say that Glang Kiu was in the hinter-land of the Johore and that there is there a stream named Lenggiu, it may be that the place the author had in mind was the famous Kota Gelanggi (گلنگی) situated near Pulau Tawar, Pahang, about 2 miles from the mouth of the Tembeling. According to traditions recorded by Cameron (J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 9, 1882) Kota Gelanggi was the seat of ancient kings and had a huge fort (*kota*), so the Malays called it *Kota Gelanggi* (the fact that the so-called fort is a collection of huge limestone caves does not detract from the argument—the locality is still under jungle and little exploration has been done). In 1870 Bendahara Ahmad sent men to the locality of Kota Gelanggi to capture a legendary princess who was said to reside there! In 1882 he himself visited the Caves.

The Johore forces sacked Pahang in September, 1612, a year or so before the "Malay Annals" were commenced. The Johore men brought back captives who no doubt circulated legends of Pahang including that of Kota Gelanggi. Traditions are extant even in Johore to the present day of a black stone fort called Kota Gelanggi, see Winstedt's *History of Malaya*,

p. 124. It may be that this was the account which inspired Tuan Seri Lanang to connect Ganggayu and its king Raja Chulan with Gelanggi and its fabled monarch. Why do the "Annals" state that Glang Kiu was situated in the upper reaches of the Johore? We may assume either that the story of Gelanggi reached the author in a garbled form, or that being a patriotic son of Johore he was determined that his country should be connected with the beginnings of the Malay kings, or that he made the simple mistake of writing Johore for Pahang, or that a subsequent Johore commentator, convinced that the author was wrong, took it upon himself to emend the original text and that this emendation became incorporated in the MS. of the "Annals" which have been handed down to us. We have d'Eredia's word for it that in ancient times the king of Pahang ruled over the countries of *Ujong Tanah* (which of course, included Johore). Mention of the "Siamese" subjects of Raja Chulan would point to Pahang rather than Johore as having been the scene of the conflict between him and Raja Suran. The name of Raja Chulan's daughter Puteri Onang Kiu is reminiscent of that of Puteri Onang (or Wanang) Seri, the daughter of the king of Pahang, who was captured by the Malacca Malays about 1454, married S. Mansur, and was the ancestress of the Sultans of Pahang.

The view put forward *supra* that Glang Kiu was Kota Gelanggi of Pahang is not new; Sir Frank Swettenham (J.R.A.S. (S.B.), 1885, No. 15, p. 24) says "it is worthy of record that this Kota Kelanggi is mentioned in the *Sejara Malayu* (the Malay Annals) as having been occupied by Siamese."

Mr. A. E. Coope, M.C.S.

Sabana. Ptolemy's names are so weird that conjectures are difficult but do you not think that it may be a mispronunciation and misconception of '*sahbandar*', when he might have given the name to any emporium? (But was not *Shahbandar* introduced under Persian influence many centuries later? R.B.).

Tanjong Penyabong. Despite the maps, it is the southern promontory which is called Tanjong Penyabong—the northern is Tanjong Pelandok.

Johore. Has it ever occurred to you to wonder what the Malays called Johore Lama¹ before they founded Johore Bahru?² Obviously they would not call it Johore Lama then. I think that the answer is that they called it what the local inhabitants still call it—Johore Kampong.³ Now, this is curious and bafflingly

¹ Old. ² New. ³ A grouping together; a village.

interesting. Why not Kampong Johore? No Malay peasant makes a mistake in speech so there must be a good reason for the apparent inversion. But though I questioned the local people when I was there, and have since asked educated Malays in Johore Bahru, I can get no explanation. Probably the explanation carries with it the explanation of the name Johore.

Mr. F. N. Chasen.

Barat. I believe Humphreys was the last to discuss the implications of *barat* in J.R.A.S. (M.B.), 1926, VI. IV, p. 135.

Palandas. Have you considered the Pirate-wind—the N. E. Monsoon or *landas*—the wind that brought the Sulus to Brunei and then to the East coast of the Malay Peninsula? See L. A. Mills, J.R.A.S. (M.B.), 1926, vol. 111, p. 129.

Sabana. Opposite Pulau Tekong Besar there is a river Sevana marked on the maps.

Ungku Aziz tells me that the name of the Sabana (better Sevana) River is probably derived from *vena*, a murmuring, reverberative or echo which in Johore (I did not know this before) is used as the equivalent of *bahana*. *Bahana* means any reverberating noise and particularly (though Wilkinson, rather surprisingly, does not say so) "an echo."

Then "Sabana" would mean "continually murmuring" or, if the river gets its name from Bukit Sevana, as it well may, Bukit Sevana would mean either "the continually echoing hill" or "the hill with one echo."

Wilkinson says, I see, that *vena* means "tidal bore". We don't have them in our parts and anyway, if it is so used in Borneo, I rather wonder whether the translation may not be confusing the noise of the bore with the bore itself.

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Further Notes upon A Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula

(Vol. XIV, Part III).

The following notes have been received by me since the last Part of this Journal was printed. Dato Douglas' experience of the country is long and intimate while Mr. Baker's notes, coming as they do from a practical gold-miner resident for 25 years in the district of which he writes, are most valuable. Once more the spirit of co-operation is most gratifying.—ROLAND BRADDELL.

Dato F. W. Douglas.

p. 33. "The Bernam would be a bit better but the passage across the Peninsula by the Bernam is too arduous to have been a trade route." One can take a fairly large prahu right up the Bernam (the tide runs up to Changkat Mentri) then up the Slim to where Slim village is now. One can go even further with dugouts up beyond the hot springs and from there is a really easy path over into Pahang used in my time even for bringing tin over from Pahang both by elephant and by pack in rotan baskets. Thence direct down stream to the heart of the Ulu Pahang gold mines on the Medang (Buffalo Reef, etc.), Tanum, Tui, etc. The recent discoveries of the stone graves on the Slim prove that this has always been one of the trade routes. I think that there is something in the idea that the three rivers were the Bernam, the Muar and the Pahang.

"Buffalo reef" why? Was there one in Australia or did the early English miners find a number of buffalo bones which were the ordinary changkol of early Malays? Berkeley found numbers at old mines in Upper Perak.

p. 40. You write of the Sejarah Malayu as coming from Goa and the inference is that you think it came to Acheh from Goa in India but the Goa of the Malays (Gua caves) is in the Celebes and it is said in the foreword that it is a Malay tale. "Hamba dengar ada hikayet Malayu di-bawah uleh orang deri Goa." The caves in the island of Celebes are famous and Brooke of Sarawak made a journey to see them in the country of Wajao which was once part of the old Kingdom of Luwu, whence come our Selangor royal family, in the gulf of Boni as it is called now.

Note.—The following passage from Sir Frank Swettenham's account of his journey across the Malay Peninsula by the route to which Dato Douglas refers is reprinted from J.R.A.S. (S.B.) Vol. XV, pp. 34-35:—

"So far as I know, this is the first time the Peninsula has been crossed from sea to sea by a European from any point North of the Muar River, that is to say, in the wider part where the journey can only be accomplished by crossing

the main range of mountains which forms the backbone of the Peninsula. I believe that Mr. C. Bozzolo crossed from the Galena mines in Patani to the mouth of the Muda River in Kedah, passing however North of the main dividing range.

Fourteen years ago I saw in Klang a Frenchman who told me he had three times crossed the Peninsula from Klang to Trengganu, but there are very strong reasons for doubting that statement.

Some years ago Messrs. Daly and O'Brien ascended the Muar River, crossed a few hundred yards of dry land by portage and descended the Bra, a tributary of the Pahang River, having its embouchure about eighty miles above Pekan, while Mr. W. Knaggs, I am told, has just crossed by the Muar and Triang Rivers, the mouth of the Triang being a few miles further from Pekan than that of the Bra. The shortest crossing of all is said by the Malays to be by the Muar, Rumpin and Mentiga Rivers.

We have crossed the Peninsula by probably the longest route, unless the ascent of the Muda and descent of the Patani Rivers be longer and feasible. The Bernam river, the largest in some senses of those flowing into the Straits of Malacca, is the furthest North of those rivers which, rising in the main range, flow East and West to the Straits of Malacca, both the Krian and Muda Rivers being stated to take their rise in mountains other than the main chain. The Pahang River again is universally admitted to be the longest navigable river on either side of the Peninsula, and though we did not descend the centre or parent stream, the Jelei, there is probably not very much difference in navigable length between that and the Lipis, and there is no recognised crossing from the western to the eastern side of the range which would take the traveller to the head waters of the Jelei, nor any easily navigable river on the western side that would lead up to a point on the western slopes of the main chain opposite to the source of the Jelei. When it is considered that the measured distance on the map from Kuala Bernam to Kuala Pahang is, as the crow flies, one hundred and seventy miles, the route by which we have travelled covering a distance of four hundred and two miles ascending the largest river on the western side of the Peninsula and descending the longest on the eastern, may be considered fairly direct."

Sir Frank says (p. 2) that the influence of the tide is felt for 80 miles from the mouth of the Bernam and that Kuala Slim was 120 miles from the mouth of the Bernam river "by the present channel." There are references to gold at pp. 6-7, 9, 10, 16, which show clearly that the route went through a good country—R.B.

Mr. V. B. C. Baker.

p. 29. RIVER OF CEA—the Sai or Telubin delta in Patani. Worthy of close investigation in connection with the history of Pahang, as the home of the "orang siam" or "men of Sia" who mined gold so efficiently and extensively in Pahang in the centuries before its invasion by the Malaccan Malays. These miner colonists were evidently of pre-Thai stock.

Encyl. Brit. 14th Ed. under "Siam." "There was a friendly interchange of letters between James I and the King of Siam, who had some Englishmen in his service, and, when the ships visited Sia (which was "as great a city as London"), or the queen of Patani, they were hospitably received and accorded privileges."

About the same time, the beginning of the XVIIth century, Eredia tells that Patane was the first seat of the Empire of the Malays in 7° N., lat.....and that it contained, even in his day, "large gold mines, which have been discovered in the mountains and ranges and in other parts of the territory along the course of the River of Cea where one finds a large quantity of gold in the form of dust and small grains which is taken for sale to the port of Malacca....." He then says that Pahang was the second seat of the Empire of the Malays and that it was a port just as much frequented by merchants, because of the gold from its mines. The Pahang gold was "nowadays" taken to the port of Malacca for sale. (Quoted in J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV). There are many reasons for the diversion of exports to Malacca at this time, amongst others, the incursion of Minangkabau Malays into Ulu Pahang, and the ascendancy of ex-Malacca Malays at Kuala Pahang.

The race of the "men of Sai" is uncertain. Linehan (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, Part II, pages 9 and 10) notes that Ligor, it appears, was a State of mixed population but under Malay rule. The King of Ligor, and Lord of Tambralinga (Tembling?) led two hostile expeditions against Ceylon about the middle of the 13th century with Javaka (Malay) forces. The Thai over-lords (the Thais, Sukhothai) obtained supremacy over Ligor about 1280 A.D., and afterwards suzerainty over Sai and Pahang during the 14th century) apparently did not interfere with the Ligor dynasty in Pahang. They merely exacted tribute, and established settlements. In about 1450 A.D., the Malacca Malays invaded Pahang, by sea, and established themselves at Pekan. About 1500 A.D. the King of Ligor, on instructions from the King of Siam, invaded Pahang via the land route down the Tembling. This was probably an attempted reassertion of the pre-Thai suzerainty.

The men of Sai who colonised Pahang were miners, not seafarers—probably of stock other than Malay. They followed gold and tin up the Telubin (Sai) and crossed over into the

Pergau and thence up the Lebir and over, *via* the Sat, into the Tembeling valley. Linehan (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, Part II, page 10) mentions "the river Tembeling, a highway of communication between Pahang and the north," and on page 9 "the river Tembeling which the discovery of numerous neolithic and early iron-age implements there indicates was at one time a thickly populated district." Some of them would take the alternative route up the Galas and over *via* Pulai into Jelei—the route followed by the railway to-day. Hence the importance of Sai, which as related by Eredia tapped so many goldfields.

These "orang siam" these miners of Sai, thus penetrated into Pahang by what seems to-day the back door, and spread from the centre outwards—exactly the opposite to their successors, the Malaccan Malays, and subsequent raiders who penetrated it from seaboard inwards, *i.e.*, from the east coast of the Peninsula at Kuala Pahang or the west coast *via* the Bera or Serting (the Penarican of Eredia). The gold-fields of the centre of the Peninsula had at that time three main outlets, at Sai, at Kuala Pahang, and at or near Malacca. In the time of Ptolemy also there were three, but his Palandas in the south had dropped out 1000 years later and its place been taken by the Sai in the north. The River Khrysoanas was probably the Malacca or Muar outlet, the River Attabas the Pahang outlet—the conspicuous mountain near its mouth is still called Gunong Tapis. It is abundantly clear that our early records are the work of mariners, or historians taking down the stories of seamen, and that they are influenced by the seaman's mentality. These men were chiefly interested in ports. But the miners and other inhabitants inland, who brought the gold and other commodities to the ports were landsmen—they followed valleys, not necessarily travelling on the rivers. Judging by the places they worked, they generally travelled overland, like the still existing hill-men in the Peninsula, as opposed to the seafaring and riverine Malays. They probably used elephants, in preference to boats. Hence many of the apparent difficulties of the old records. The seafarers and river-folk in their accounts assumed continuous water transport in the interior, whereas often it did not exist, and was not needed.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note how Bahman, a man of aboriginal extraction and a gold-miner at Semanahan, naturally used the overland route up the Tembeling into Kelantan and Trengganu after his trouble in 1893. He was chased by Clifford over the same route in 1893 and 1895. Clifford and his force ascended the Kuantan River to the Ulu Chiri and thence over into the Ulu Tembeling, an alternative overland route, which requires investigation. It is quite unexplored and unknown by Europeans or Malays even to-day. Che Lambak, who in his youth accompanied Clifford, died recently at Kuala Kenau, near S. Lembing.

p. 29. ADEA.—There is a difficulty about the identification of Adea with Endau. Endau is off the "gold-belt," and it is unlikely that a piece of auriferous ore of the remarkable size stated would be found near there. But, of course, the difficult passage may merely mean that the King of Pahang was staying there at the time he sent the wonderful specimen to Malacca. It may have been mined elsewhere. Eredia does not say that the specimen was mined at Adea. A slab of auriferous quartz $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards long by a yard wide, if even only one foot thick, would weigh over two tons. Nearly all the references to gold in Malaya refer to alluvial mining, but this is a definite reference to lode-mining.

Is it not possible that ADEA is not a place-name at all, but merely the Malay word "hadiah," meaning a gift or present (between equals), such as this slab of gold-ore was?

p. 33. ATTABAS.—Can this name possibly have any association with Tapis? This is the name of a very prominent mountain, Gunong Tapis, 4,958 feet, lat. N. $4^{\circ} 01'$, long. E. $102^{\circ} 54'$.

On the map there is no obvious connection, but at sea, off Kuala Pahang or Kuala Kuantan, it is outstanding on the horizon, a noteworthy object and landmark. Sailing up the river Pahang, near Pekan, for many miles it is visible and conspicuous straight ahead up the river. It is still more conspicuous near the old mouth of the river, Pahang Tua, a few miles to the north. Even to-day local people pronounce its name more like Tapas or Tapus, than Tapis, and it is a landmark for fishermen.

The Luit, one of the tributary valleys of the Pahang, which was very extensively worked for gold in ancient times, has its source near the south-western slopes of Gunong Tapis. In many ways the inhabitants of this Luit district still differ from their neighbours, particularly in appearance, character, and customs. (See J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, Part II, page 6). The map comprising your Plate III may indicate the Luit as a tributary near the mouth of Attabas Fl. It is one of the auriferous areas mentioned by Skinner.

By a coincidence, an account of one of the rare ascents of Gunong Tapis is published in the same volume of J.R.A.S.M.B. as your paper (Vol. XIV, Part III, at page 333, Symington).

It would be interesting to have the opinion of Mr. W. Linehan regarding this; he knows the locality.

p. 63. KALONKA.—Were the place names which Ptolemy collected from sailors about 150 A.D. likely to have affinities with the Malay language? It seems more than doubtful whether any of the Malay languages were spoken in the Malay Peninsula 1800 years ago¹. Ancient place-names may still survive, more or less

¹ But surely that is not so? R.B.

corrupted: that is a different matter. Were this not so, one might suggest a connection between Kalonka and "Kulun" (Ka-hulu-an—towards the interior)—as in Bangkulun (Bencoolen).

With all respect to Mr. C. N. Maxwell, (note on page 63), as a miner I would submit that "Kolong" means underground workings and not shallow mining depressions, or fossickers' pits. Wilkinson gives under "kolong" as the first meaning:—"space *under* anything, usually the covered space *under* a Malay dwelling," and as the fifth meaning:—"shallow alluvial mine, surface digging."

Now I believe the type of mine working implied by "kolong" is that sometimes referred to as "lombong siam." In this method, vertical shafts were sunk at intervals of about 4 fathoms apart, down to the "karang" or alluvial wash, sometimes as deep as 40 feet. The wash was then removed by gouging it out around the bottom of the shaft as far as possible, timbers being skilfully placed and advanced overhead (spiles), as work proceeded, to obviate collapse of the overburden. In this way, the underlying alluvial bed was extracted over huge areas without removing the overburden, or disturbing the surface other than by the numerous shaft openings. A small scale example of modern coal-mining practice. The old miners in Pahang used carefully shaped timbers, properly "joggled" or joined. One of their implements for shaping the timber was probably the iron socketted tool, now known as "tulang mawas." This was probably held by means of a loop of thick rotan passed through the ferrule or socket of the tool and under the armpit—hence the curious alignment of the ferrule or socket, quite unsuitable for a wooden haft—and hence the legend of the "iron forearm." It was worked from the elbow joint, not the wrist. See illustrations in "Malaya," by R. O. Winstedt, 1923, at page 156. Also in "A History of Malaya," Winstedt, at page 14 (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIII, Part I, 1935).

The cavity under the supporting timberwork would naturally suggest associations with the space under the floor of a house. Moreover, when abandoned the shafts collapse and become filled up, and all that is visible on surface is the numerous shallow depressions marking the sites of the vertical shafts—hence Wilkinson's fifth meaning, and Maxwell's definition, connected with the idea of concavity. If the gold or tin had been extracted from shallow surface pits, the Malay word would be "galian" or diggings in the Australian sense. If from a large opencast working, then "lombong." My idea is that "Kolong" is associated with timber spiles, forming a confined space. That it belongs to the series kalang (crossbar), kelang (obstruction, thwart), kelong (fishtrap with compartments), kolong; rather than to kalong (curved neck ornament), kelang (millstone), kelong (concave).

Incidentally, it is quite possible that Scrivenor's ill-founded remarks and misapprehensions re gold mining in Pahang, to which

you refer at the bottom of page 28, were based on a cursory inspection of some of these apparent shallow depressions in the top of the overburden, which are not mines in themselves, but merely vestiges of the mine workings below.

In Sungai Lembing we have two ancient workings on a hillside, one known as "Kolong Dalam" and the other as "Kolong Pahat." These names go back long before the advent of Europeans. In the former the ancient miners penetrated down to a depth of about 200 feet vertically below surface, *i.e.*, until standing water and comparatively hard rock were reached. Both old mines are on the outcrops of a lode, and were essentially underground mines—by no means shallow surface workings. "Kolong" in this district, where lode-mining has been continuous for at least many generations, probably many centuries, is always used in the sense of deep or underground workings, as opposed to shallow surface diggings.

p. 37 (and p. 25). KOLE.—I fancy the claims of Kuala Kuantan. It is about the right distance north of Kuala Pahang. Linehan (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, Part II, page 251) says, and I agree, "The importance of the Kuantan river lay in the fact that it had the best, and in monsoon weather the only practicable harbour in Pahang, that the head-land at its estuary often provided a land-fall for Chinese mariners, etc." The same conditions probably held good in Ptolemy's time, 1800 years ago.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ANCIENT TIMES IN THE MALAY PENINSULA AND THE STRAITS OF MALACCA.

S 3. Pre-Funan

Our anticipation of the *Sejarah Melayu* will have prepared the reader's mind for the introduction of the Indians into the story of the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca and we propose now to use the Kedah Annals as a convenient vehicle for continuing our consideration of the period we term Pre-Funan which takes us up to the middle of the 3rd century A.D.

We turn then to the early traditions of the ancient State of Kedah which are embodied in the very interesting *Hikayat Marong Maha Wangsa*¹, usually called in English the Kedah Annals. When they were reduced to writing we have been unable to discover but they were translated into English by Col. James Low (121) in 1849. He thought it probable that the Annals were originally "written in some Hindu dialect, until Islamism prevailed in Keddah, when the previous order of things was subverted, and the Arabic character was introduced" (121, p. 3). It is said that Low's translation is not a good one but nobody else has bothered to provide another during the eighty-eight years that have elapsed since its publication, though Bland in 1910 contributed a précis in English of a part of the Annals (122) and Sturrock has edited in romanised Malay Wilkinson's *jawi* edition (123). There has, moreover, been no local consideration of the contents of the Annals beyond Low's own notes appended to his translation, except a note by Blagden (124) upon the cannibal King of Kedah and an article by Winstedt (125) containing some general references. An examination of the Annals, therefore, is much overdue.

The Kedah tradition of royal descent begins not with a royal prince but with a semi-royal ambassador who was sent on an embassy to China. The first Annal translated by Low relates the voyage of the ambassador, the shipwreck of most of his fleet and his consequent foundation of the settlement of Kedah.

The Annals tell us (121, p. 4) that "after the war of Rama the Island of Lankapuri became a desert, and fell under the rule of the mighty bird Girda which however had previously harboured on the Island". Girda is, of course, Garuda, Vishnu's bird, and Low tells us that Lankapuri was the Lankawi islands

¹ Meaning "Story of Marong Mahawangsa; or Marong of the Great Family."

but says that "there was a Lankapuri likewise lying somewhere betwixt Palembang and Jambi in Sumatra". Much more, however, must be said than that and we shall find ourselves involved in the ancient Indian geographic picture of south-eastern Asia and the Malay Archipelago.

Ancient Indian geography is a difficult matter to consider because the subject has not yet received from Indian scholars sufficient attention nor are they in sufficient agreement, and also because our main local library has a deficiency of books dealing with things Indian: but quite enough can be said to show local students what a profitable object of study is to be found in the Puranas which deal with the evolution of the universe from the constituent elements, the genealogies of the gods and seers, groups of 'great ages' included in an aeon (*kalpa*) and the history of royal families¹. Actually the sanskrit word *purana* means simply an 'ancient tale' or 'old narrative' and for a general picture of the Puranas the reader is referred to an excellent article by Ramachandra Dikshitar (126).

The Purānas go as a whole by the name of the Fifth Veda and they must have attained celebrity in the latter part of the Vedic period. There are 18 Mahapurana or Great Puranas and 18 Upapurana or small Puranas. Of the Mahapurana the most important for our present purpose is the Vayu Purana, of which there is a study by Ramachandra Dikshitar issued by the University of Madras (127). The Puranas date from a period prior to Gautama Buddha for the earlier; those of them that contain the dynastic lists show evidence of revision during the beginning of our era up to 500 A.D.; and it seems that the composition of the whole body spread over some centuries, some of them being prior to the Mahabharata since the Puranas are mentioned in that epic. Many of them were translated into Tamil and passed into the great literature of the Sangam Age. They give a picture of the cosmogony according to ancient Indian conception and the Vayu Purana in its chapter 48 gives a picture of Greater India which makes this purana so important to us. Portions of the Vayu Purana, which is considered to be one of the earliest of those extant to-day date back to the 5th century B.C. but other portions must have been added or revised as late as 500 A.D. (127, pp. 46-49). Jayaswal considers that the important chapter 48 gives names current in Gupta times² (109, p. 155, n. 5).

The Brahman conception of the world was that it contained seven concentric *dvipas*—Jambu, Saka, Kusa, Salmala (Salmali or Shalmali), Krauncha, Gomeda (Gomanda or Plaksha) and Pushkara—encircled by seven *samuḍras*, or collections of water, the Seven Seas in fact. *Dvipa* is often translated bluntly into

¹Cambridge History of India, vol: 1 p. 296.
²320-600 A.D.

' island ' but primarily it meant ' land having water (and not sea) on two (and not all) of its sides ' (128, p. xxxvii). Majumdar (ibid : p. 751) says that " it has also to be added in this connection that the word *dvīpa* has been derived by Panini as *dvi* and *ap*. It thus means land having water on two of its sides. Thus *dvīpa* is not identical with ' island '. It includes peninsulas and sometimes *doabs* also ". Macdonell in his Sanskrit Dictionary says of *dvīpa* " sandbank in a river ; island ; concentric terrestrial island (the world being considered to consist of 4, 7, 13 or 18 such encircling Mount Meru like the petals of a lotus) ". It is worthy of notice that the Chinese used the word *tcheou*¹ in the same way (129, p. 222). The Malays similarly gave their word for island *pulau*, an extended meaning ; in Sumatra it is used as meaning the level bank of a river (24, p. 3) and Wilkinson in his Dictionary seems to show that the basic idea is a piece of land which is divided off or isolated by water or sea or marsh or rice-fields.

Of the seven *dvīpas* mentioned Jambu *dvīpa* is the central and represents Asia. The navel or centre of the earth is the Meru range and in its middle is the Meru Mountain or Sumeru or Maha Meru, as it was variously called ; Tripathi (130, ix, p. 883) thinks that the Altai mountains formed the Meru range. Maha Meru itself contained the abode of the four-headed Brahma with camp residences of almost all the powerful gods (ibid : p. 884). Nundo Lal Dey (131, p. 197) says that there was also a Meru in Saka *dvīpa* which is the Hindukush mountain. Pliny and Arrian called it Mount Meros and said that it was the abode of Bacchus (102, pp. 156, 184).

It is an interesting fact that the conception of the earth as consisting of Seven Islands or Continents was not peculiar to ancient India. An article by Eckhard Unger in *Antiquity*² contains the following passage :—" The only example of a Babylonian world-map hitherto found dates from the Persian period and is probably part of a comprehensive description of the world. According to the text on the tablet we have here a chart of the ' Seven Islands ' or regions supposed to lie between the ' Earthly Ocean '—called the ' Bitter River '—and the ' Heavenly Ocean '. A description of the latter, with its zodiacal signs, even comes into the text. Yet the round earth, with Babylon as its centre, the ' hub of the universe ', is just roughly sketched in, being only required, apparently, to make clear the position of the ' Seven Islands ' . . . For a long time this cosmos was the accepted idea of the world, but every nation saw it with a different centre—itsself, placed, as the case might be, in Jerusalem,

¹When quoting French authors we use the French transliteration the Chinese character is 洲 .

²Ancient Babylonian Maps and Plans, 1936, vol : ix, pp. 311-322 at p.314.

Egyptian Thebes or Greece, and naturally the arrangement within the cosmos varied accordingly”.

Jambudvīpa was divided into nine *varsas* or continents of which Bharatavarsa occupied the southern-most part of the hemisphere. We now reach a source of much controversy. To quote Ramachandra Dikshitar (124, p. 17) “to what geographical territory the term *Bharatavarsa* is to be assigned is still a bone of contention among scholars. One school of scholars maintains that it means the Indian empire as it is to-day, including perhaps Burma. Others are of opinion that *Bharatavarsa* means Greater India and will therefore include Malaya Peninsula, Indian Archipelago, and even Indo-China”. The original is quoted without alteration.

The nine divisions were Indradvīpa, Kaserumat or Kaserudvīpa, Tamraparna or Tamravarni, Gabhastimat or Gabhastiman, Kumaridvīpa or Kumarika, Nagadvīpa, Saumya, Varuna, and Gandharva (128, p. 8 ; 127, pp. 18 and 19).

Majumdar makes these identifications (128, appendix 1)—Kumaradvīpa is India proper ; Tamraparna is Ceylon ; Indradvīpa is Burma, which conjecture he says is supported by Ptolemy ; Kaserumat is the Malay Peninsula ; Gandharva is Gandhara, the valley of the Kabul with a small tract of land to the east of the Indus ; for the rest he makes suggestions into which we need not go.

Jayaswal (109, pp. 154, 155) writes :—“Between the Himavat and the sea, Bharatavarsha stands, but it covers a larger area on account of Indians (Bharatipraja) living in eight more islands or sea-girt lands (dvīpas) ‘which are mutually inaccessible on account of the sea intervening’. India is the ninth in that sea-girt system. This clearly means that the eight dvīpas or islands and peninsulas, inhabited by Indians, were in one direction from the Indian Peninsula. The direction is indicated by the situation of Tamraparni, one of the eight Hindu dvīpas. All these dvīpas were to the east, that is, they constituted what we call Further India. Indradvīpa, the first dvīpa in the list, has been satisfactorily identified with ‘Burma’. The Malay Peninsula was well known to Indians at that time, a fact evidenced by an inscription of the fourth century A.D. inscribed on a pillar (in the present district of Wellesly) by a Hindu sea-captain (Mahanavika) Budhagupta¹ of Eastern India, and it is very probable that the *Kaseru* or *Kaserumat* dvīpa which is mentioned next to Indradvīpa, meant the present Straits Settlements”. Jayaswal thus accepts three of Majumdar’s identifications ; but the rest he says are ‘hopeless’. He considers Nagadvīpa to be the Nicobars, following Gerini (46, pp. 379-383) ; and he thinks that ‘Naga’ was the ethnic designation of the pre-Hindu

¹Actually the inscription gives the spelling Buddhagupta. R.B.

inhabitants of the Indian over-seas colonies. "Gabhastiman, meaning the 'Island of the Sun', Saumya, Gandharva and Varuna represent the Archipelago (Sumatra, Borneo, etc.) out of which Sumatra-Java had certainly settlements of Indians before the fourth century A.D. It is certain that the Puranas in the third and fourth centuries are conscious of the Hindu colonies in Further India and treat them as parts of Bharatavarsha".

Ramachandra Dikshitar (127), on the other hand, considers that the nine divisions of Bharatavarsa were all in India except Indradvipa which was Burma. He follows Gerini's identifications of the dvipas; and he is definite that Kaserumat or Kaserudvipa was not the Malay Peninsula but Eastern Bengal and Assam.

Where Indian scholars differ it is obvious that the writer can offer nothing but there is matter peculiar to the Vayu Purana which seems to have great bearing on the dispute and it is contained in Chapter 48 of that *purana* alone, no other containing anything like it. No English translation of this *purana* has yet been published but Professor Nilakanta Sastri has most kindly translated Chapter 48 for us. His translation is printed in the Appendix and should be studied closely by the reader. It is obvious that the chapter presents great interest to anthropologists and geologists as well as geographers and historians.

Tripathi (130, x, p. 121) summarizes the information in the Vayu Purana by saying that¹ "to the south of India, in the Indian Ocean there were many small hilly islands rising on the peaks of a mountain range called the Vidyutan range, inhabited by a short-statured people of cloud-blue colour enjoying short life, living on green fruits, roots, herbs and foliage like monkeys and cows². Besides these islands there were numerous small ones called the *Varhinadvipa Varsa* and six other islands inhabited by various classes of people and containing mines of different metals and gems. The names of these six islands are (1) Angadvipa (? Borneo); (2) Yama or Yavadvipa (? Java); (3) Malayadvipa (? Malayan Peninsula, or Celebes and Malacus Islands); (4) Sankhadvipa and Kumudadvipa (? Siam and Cambodia or New Guinea); (5) Kusadvipa (Cocos Islands); and (6) Varahadvipa (? Phillipine or Australia). Of these Angadvipa was full of Mleccha³ and other populations, had a hill called the Cakra Mountain which contained numerous Naga abodes, and was regarded to be in the middle or heart of the Naga countries. The high beautiful Malayadvipa, the land of gold and silver mines and of sandal forests, inhabited by many kinds of Mlecchas, had the

¹The passage is quoted *verbatim* and without changing the spelling of the geographic names used. R.B.

²Which makes one think of the Negritos. R.B.

³Uncivilised people.

Mahamalaya alias Mandāra mountains which had the hermitage of Sage Agasti and of many Siddhas. The Sankhadvipa also was inhabited by many kinds of Mlecchas and contained the palace of a Naga King Sankha-Mukha. The Kumudadvipa was inhabited by many pious people. In the Varaha island lived various tribes of Mlecchas and other nationalities. It was highly prosperous, and contained extensive rice-fields and a beautiful hill called the Varaha from which flowed the river Varahi. The people here were worshippers of the Varaha incarnation of Visnu ”.

Vader (132), p. 348) gives some further information. He points out that the Vayu Purana describes the six dvipas round about Jambu Dvipa as (1) Anga Dvipa (2) Yava Dvipa (3) Malaya Dvipa (4) Sankha Dvipa (5) Kusa Dvipa and (6) Varaha Dvipa. He then proceeds “ the third in the above list viz: Malaya Dvipa is further described in verses 20-30 of (Chapter 48 of the Vayu Purana). It is said about this island that there are many gold mines there and the population consists of several classes of Mlecchas. There is a great mountain named Malaya containing silver mines. Heavenly bliss is obtained on the mountain on every Parva or Amavasya day. The famous Trikuta mountain is also situated on this island. The mountain is very extensive and has several very beautiful valleys and summits. The great city called Lanka is founded on one of the slopes of this mountain. Its length is hundred yojanas while its breadth is 30 yojanas. To the east of this island lies a great Siva temple in a holy place called Gokarna ”.

Tripathi (130, IX, pp. 466, 467) says that the Nisada Mlecchas in India are described in the Puranas as being of charcoal colour, red eyes, black or curly hair and that they were a short-statured but very strong people. From the very beginning they were treated as a degraded race owing to their peculiar constitution and conduct. From their description he says that they appear to correspond with the present day ‘ Dravidian type ’ of the Indian ethnic divisions as given in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* ; and he points out that the red quality of the eyes is a marked characteristic.

At p. 468 he says that the Puranas also make mention of numerous Mleccha tribes living in Indonesia and “it is just possible that, during the age of Asura supremacy when the great Indian empire extended far outside (or when India proper came under the subjugation of the Asuras of the now-submerged Patala continent) free maritime intercourse and the then political situation had led several migrations of these Mleccha people to and from India, resulting in their manners, customs, language and religion being greatly influenced by the outside contact ”.

It seems to us that the ancient Indians differentiated the people of Further India into two main generalisations, Mlecchas and Nagas, and we think that the former referred to the ancient

black element in the population which resembled the Negritos, Melanesians and Australians of to-day, while the latter referred to that part of the population which may be termed Indonesian. Jayaswal is clearly right in thinking that the Nagas of Further India were among its pre-Hindu inhabitants since tradition everywhere proves that; but the Puranas seem clearly in their mention of the Mlecchas to show that the Nagas were not the only pre-Hindu ethnic element. If our view is right, the Puranas accord with the evidence and with what the Chinese noted since the latter, as we shall see, clearly remarked the two main ethnic generalisations, calling the Indonesian type *Kuntun*¹ and stating the physical peculiarities of the other though not giving it any particular name.

The Puranas and Epics also refer to another people called Raksasas who were, we suggest, the cannibalistic part of the population called *Lo-cha*² by the Chinese and whose existence, as we shall see, was noted by Ptolemy. Ravana was the great Raksasa king.

Of the six dvipas named above Malaya-dvipa and Yava-dvipa possess the greatest interest to us: but before considering them we may note as to the other dvipas that Jayaswal takes Anga-dvipa to be Champa (109, p. 244) and he also says (ibid: p. 250) that "the Vayu Purana gives a full description of Simhapura, a capital in Further India, evidently in Malaya" but unfortunately does not elaborate this statement in any way or say in which dvipa the Purana places Simhapura. Ramachandra Dikshitar (127, pp. 30-31) follows Gerini's identifications and states Kusa-dvipa to be the Sunda Archipelago, Varaha-dvipa possibly the Hog Island near the west coast of Sumatra, Anga-dvipa the Andaman Islands, Sankha-dvipa possibly Tongking and Che-Kiang. But the reader who examines Gerini will see that his identifications turn upon etymological reasoning, which we suggest to be largely unsafe.

And now we will consider the identification of Malayadvipa. Ramachandra Dikshitar (127 p. 30) says that it is "identified with the modern Sumatra where the chief mountain bears the name Malaya". Tripathi, as we have seen, doubtfully suggested the Malay Peninsula and Gerini seems to have considered it to be a later term applied to the Peninsula (46, p. 81) and that the Puranic Salmali-dvipa was the Peninsula.⁴

崑崙.

崑崙.

剌羅;

the Chinese equivalent of Raksha.

⁴In which case the reader should recollect what we wrote in this Journal vol. xiv, pt. 3, at p. 53, the last paragraph. R.B.

We suggest that there is evidence to prove that Malaya-dvipa was Sumatra; or possibly Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula taken together as a general district.

As we have seen, the Vayu Purana places a city of Lanka (Lankapuri or Lankapura) in Malaya-dvipa; and as is well-known the name Lanka has very strong connection in Malay tradition with Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula.

Now the Ramayana tells us that Lanka was the city of Ravana, King of the demon Raksasas, who carried off Sita the wife of Rama, and it is a vexed question where this Lanka of the Ramayana should be situated. Many Oriental scholars assert bluntly that Ravana's Lanka is Ceylon because it is so stated in the Mahavamsa¹, the most ancient history of Ceylon, which dates from the fifth century A.D. Other scholars place it elsewhere and in 1926 Vader contributed his well-known article (132) in which he re-examined the whole question. His theory as summarized by himself is as follows:—"Lankā was the capital of the big island known as Raksasa Dvipa situated in the midst of the southern ocean. This Lanka was situated on the equator or the middle part of the earth. The distance between the Southern extremity of India and the Rāksasa Dvipa or Lanka was a hundred Yojanas *i.e.* about 700 miles". He then collects evidence to show that Ceylon and Lanka were not the same nor was the Lanka city situated in Ceylon. He produces references showing the use of the names Simhala and Lanka in the same passage but differentiating between them clearly. He then cites the passage from the Vayu Purana concerning Malaya-dvipa which we have already quoted, and goes on to show that the great astronomer Bhaskaracarya, who was born in 1115 A.D., stated that Lanka was on or about the equator. He also cites the Ramayana as showing that Ravana's Lanka could not have been Ceylon. His conclusion, worked upon Bhaskaracarya's statements as to latitude and longitude and the distance of 100 yojanas, is that the Maldive Islands were the Raksasa-dvipa. Vader shows that the ancient name for Ceylon was Tamra-dvipa or Tamraparni, which Ptolemy called Taprobane, and that it was afterwards called Simhala-dvipa. He concludes with this interesting passage—"Even the geologists maintain that before the 4th millennium B.C. there existed a big continent in the Indian Ocean. Its extent lay from the south of India. In course of time this big continent became immersed in the waters and what portions we have now such as Malaya Dvipa, Seychelles, Rodrigues, Chagos, Mauritius, Madagascar, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Ascension, Falkland, Graham, West Antarctica, etc. are nothing but the mountain tops or plateaus of the old big continent. The Malaya Dvipa or Maldives is the site of the Raksasa Dvipa of Ravana with its capital Lanka-Puri."

¹See Geiger's Translation, 1934, Ch. VII, xxxi.

In 1928 Ramadas (133) subjected Vader's article to criticism. He considered that "his arguments, supported by extracts from Sanskrit literature, to show that Lanka was quite distinct from Ceylon, are otherwise convincing, but do not prove what he says concerning its location". Later he writes that Vader "asserts that this Malaya Dvipa is the present Maldives in the Indian Ocean. But what about the Siva Temple to the east of these Maldives? Is the mountain there called Malaya? Are there any gold and silver mines in them?" Ramadas looked to the Malaya mountains in India which lie to the west of Orissa and he says that the mountains of Ganjam and Vizagapatam are well-known by that name. Malai, Ramadas reminds us, means a hill in the Dravidian languages; and he says that the Eastern Ghats, north of the Godavari Valley are called the Malaya mountains. Trikuta (which in Sanskrit means three-peaked) is, he says, the biggest mountain in the present Malaya hills. Working thus on etymological lines Ramadas concludes that "Lanka was the name of the highland from which the two rivers, the Narmada and the Mahanadi, rise, and it was the chief abode of Ravana, the King of the Rakshsas of the time of Rama of the Ikshvaku family of North Kosala". He has, however, to admit that he can point to no geological evidence to show that any sea ever existed round it and the Ramayana clearly indicates that this was the case with Lanka. Apart from that, Ramadas seems to base his arguments upon the proposition that there can only be one place called by the same name.

We venture the following possible explanation. The original story of Rama, Ravana and Lanka is a very ancient one indeed, and there is no hope, in our opinion, of ever ascertaining the site of the original Lanka. But we know of the ancient Indian habit of carrying their celebrated names to different localities. We have already commented upon this habit² which is well-known and has been remarked by many scholars. What more natural than that Ceylon or Simhala should have received the name of Lanka? This is recorded in the fifth century A.D., centuries after the first story of Lanka. And what more natural than that there should also have been another Lanka in Gupta times, from which chapter 48 of the Vayu Purana appears to date? What again is more natural than that the Kalingas from ancient Orissa should have carried the name Malaya with them and applied it to a place or places distinguished by mountain ranges?

The name Malaya-dvipa does not occur in the older parts of the Puranas at all; it appears to have come into use after the beginning of our era. We will now show what is the evidence connecting the name Lanka with Sumatra.

¹The Greeks also knew Ceylon as Palaesimunda from another ancient Indian name for it, Parasamudra. R.B.

²See this Journal vol. xiv, pt. 3, pp. 55-6.

Marsden (134, pp. xxiv-xxv) wrote in 1812 that "much fallacious inference appears to have been drawn from the resemblance of the sanskrit term *Malaya* to the name of the people of whom we are speaking, which has induced some persons, whose authority carries with it great weight, to consider the *Malaya* dwipa as denoting the Malay peninsula". He then goes on to say that it was exclusively the mountainous region in the southern part of the peninsula of India and refers to the Tamil names for it, all of which are "derivatives from the word *male*, signifying 'a mountain'." That puts squarely in issue the question why the Malays are so-called; why do we find *Malayu* as a name in the Peninsula and in Sumatra? The answer, in our opinion, can only be that the ancient Indians brought it like so many other names from their own country. As a sanskrit word *Malaya* is the name for the Western Ghats which abound in sandal trees and so the name is connected with sandal wood, the sandal tree and sandal ointment; but whether it is the mountain which gave its name to the tree or the tree to the mountain we do not know. Wilkinson in his Dictionary makes no suggestion as to the origin of the name Malay; and, unless it was imported as one would expect by the ancient Indians, there is no explanation for it¹.

If the reader will now turn to Marsden's History of Sumatra (97, pp. 338-340) he will find two curious Menangkabau documents quoted *in extenso*, a warrant and a letter. The three seals on the warrant are curious; they are those of the eldest brother, the Sultan of Rum, the second brother, the Sultan of China, and the youngest brother, the Sultan of Menangkabau, whose warrant it was. The first is called Maharaja Alif, the second Maharaja Dempang or Dipang and the last Maharaja Dirja or Durja, which obviously is Maharaja Diraja. The reader will remember what we have already written² concerning these three brothers, though we have not as yet explained them. There was an ancient notion about four emperors, the 'sons of heaven', of China, India, the Roman Empire (Rum) and the Yue Chi. Professor Pelliot has illuminated it in a most interesting essay (135) and it has also been considered recently by Professor Przyluski (136); to those two essays the reader is referred as giving the explanation for the three seals on the Menangkabau documents. The Yue Chi have dropped out in the southern seas; coming from the far north they were meaningless in Malaysia. The Sultan of Menangkabau substitutes himself for the emperor of India as doubtless did the ancient Maharajas whose seat was at Palembang and of whom he claimed to be the dynastic descendant.

In the Menangkabau warrant there are *inter alia* the following

¹Since writing the above Dr. R. C. Majumdar has dealt with the question in an important article *The Malay*, 1936, Vol. III J. G. I. S. pp. 86-96, and to it the reader is recommended. This article makes it unnecessary for me to change what I had written. R.B.

²See this Journal, Vol. XIV, pt. 3, pp. 43-44.

claims¹ by the Sultan who traces his dynasty from the Kings of Palembang, viz :—that he is a descendant of Raja Iskandar Zu'lkarnaini; the possessor of the wood *kamat*; of the lance *lambing lambura*; of the gold-mine named *Kudarat-Kudarati* which yields gold of twelve carats, and of the gold named *jatijati* which snaps the *dalik* wood; of the sword named *churak-si-mandang-giri*, which received one hundred and ninety² gaps in conflict with the fiend *Si Katimuno*, whom it slew; of the mountain *Siguntang-guntang*, which divides Palembang and Jambi, and of the Burning Mountain."

In the letter the following further things should be noticed. It says that "when the world was habitable God gave him a bird called *Hocinet*, that had the gift of speech; this he sent down on earth, to look out for a spot where he might establish an inheritance, and the first place he alighted upon was the fertile island of *Lankapura*, situated between Palembang and Jambi, and from thence sprang the famous kingdom of *Manancabow*, which will be renowned and mighty until the Judgment Day". *Hocinet* here is obviously the Garuda of the Kedah Annals. In dealing with Menangkabau traditional history Marsden (97, p. 332) wrote that it deduced its origin from two brothers who landed at "Palembang or at a small island near it, named *Lankapura*" after which they proceeded to the mountain named *Siguntang-guntang*. Marsden in these passages has evidently taken *pulau* as 'island' but, as we have seen, it had a wider meaning in Sumatra; so may it not be that the legend was that the two brothers landed on a river-bank where *Lankapura*, the town, came to be? It does not matter at all, however, and we have made the citations merely to show, as is well-known, that tradition in this part of Sumatra places there a *Lankapura*, or city of Lanka.

There was every reason for the ancient Indians connecting the name of Lanka with Sumatra, since in that island even to this day the last vestiges of a previous cannibalism still remain, and, as we shall note later, there is traditional evidence for cannibalism in early times in the north of the Malay Peninsula, where the name Lanka is very strong in tradition and recorded evidence.

Taking the rest of the statements in the *Vayu Purana* as to *Malaya-dvipa*, they all apply well to Sumatra. It was noted for its gold and silver; in it was a *Trikuta* mountain and *Mahameru* as we saw when dealing with the *Sejarah Malayu*; there are very beautiful valleys and summits on its mountain range, indeed notoriously so; it is, as we shall see in the next paragraph, closely connected with the sage *Agastya*; there was a pre-hindu city near its *Mahameru* mountain as we have already seen; and there is

¹We have followed Marsden's spelling rather than modernize it. R.B.

²Why this number? Sir Richard Winstedt has already propounded this question but there seems to be no answer as yet. R.B.

every reason to think that in the ancient state of Kedah, east of Sumatra, there may well have been a great Siva Temple. If not in Kedah, then certainly somewhere east of Sumatra either on the Indo-Chinese or the Malay Peninsula. At the present Mi-son in particular there was a very celebrated temple of Siva as we shall note in the next part of this essay.

The statements about Agastya seem, however, to clinch the matter. Ramachandra Dikshitar (127, pp. 29-30) writes that "among India's sages and seers, Agastya is supposed to have been the L'Indoisateur. From his original abode in Benares, the legends say, he travelled to the far south, made the forest regions of the Dekhan and South India habitable, and established his southern home at the Podyal hills, a name familiar to the students of Sangam literature. Tradition affirms that this enthusiastic adventurer did not rest content with the cultural conquest of the Daksinapatha. He crossed the seas to the Indian Archipelago and pursued his mission with such zeal and zest that the cult of Agastya took deep root in the isles of Sumatra, Java and Bali. Scholars who have examined the inscriptions and studied the sculptures with the meticulous attention which they deserve, have proved to demonstration that the worship of Agastya is an established fact in these islands.

" Tradition handed down by the Puranas and the Itihasas in general and Tamil literary works in particular with regard to Agastya's mission and conquest is corroborated by epigraphic and sculptural evidence not only in South India but in the islands of the Indian Archipelago. Among other Puranas the *Skanda Mahapurana* and the *Agnipurana* furnish us with details as to the mode of worship of Agastesvara. Confining ourselves to the date furnished by the *Vayu Purana* we find that Agastya who is celebrated by *Agastya Kundam* in Benares and *Agastya padam* in Gaya and even to this day, visited a number of islands in the Indian ocean. A whole chapter (ch. 48) entitled *Bhuvanavinyasa* is devoted to an account of what the Purana calls six *anudvipas*. The geography seems to tally with our knowledge of these places ". He then goes on to the consideration of the six *dvipas* with which we have already dealt. For the Agastya cult in Malaysia reference may also be made to Chatterji (107, p. 80), Coomaraswamy (137, p. 206) and Chhabra (138, pp. 60-61).¹ It seems that the Sailendra kings were strong supporters of the Agastya cult during the so-called Sailendra period in Java ; the connection of these kings with Sumatra will be considered at the proper chronological period of this essay.

And now we come to the question of Yava-dvipa, concerning which Wilkinson has recently written in this Journal (139, pp. 1-3)

¹See also Professor Nilakanta Sastri, *Agastya*, Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal etc., 1936, vol: 76, No. 4, pp. 471-545; an important and valuable article R.B.

in very general terms. One of the principal difficulties in connection with the puranas is their textual corruption. We have seen that in the passages quoted from the Vayu Purana there is a question of either Yama or Yava dvipa; Jayaswal writes it Ya(v)a dvipa; and Ramachandra Dikshitar gives it as Yama dvipa with no alternative. In a footnote to the Appendix hereto Professor Nilakanta Sastri considers that Yama dvipa should be Yava dvipa.

The great Dutch scholar Dr. Vogel evidently considers that the puranas make no mention of Java for he has written (112, p.15) that "there is no account whatever of those mercantile and missionary relations between India and Java which have left such lasting traces in the culture of that island. In the whole gigantic literature of ancient India, both Sanskrit and Pali, there is but a single mention of Java, which occurs in the Fourth Canto of the Ramayana". Here he clearly takes Yava-dvipa in the Ramayana to be the present isle of Java; but the question is a vexed one. For instance, Professor Coomaraswamy in his great book on Indian art (137, p. 198) writes that "Sumatra appears to have received Indian colonists at a very early date, probably well before the beginning of the Christian era. The Land of Gold (and this name is really applicable to Sumatra, and not to Java) is referred to already in the *Jatakas* and the *Ramayana* as *Suvarna-dvipa* and *Suvarna-bhumi*, and when the same text speaks of *Yavadvipa suvarnakaramandita*, it is Sumatra that is to be understood. Sumatra is the *Zabadion* of Ptolemy, the *Zabag* and *Zabej* of later Arabic writers". In identifying the Yava-dvipa of the Ramayana with Sumatra Professor Coomaraswamy is in accord with that great French scholar, the late Gabriel Ferrand (140, pp. 146-150).

There was a time when any phonetic equivalent of Java was attributed solely to the present island of Java but the fashion to-day is to call Yava-dvipa Java-Sumatra which seems to dodge the question. Hirananda Shastri (141, p. 312) writes that "as M. Duroiselle kindly tells me, the consensus of opinion, arrived at by scholars like Barth and Kern, is that *Suvarna-dvipa* and *Yava-dvipa* are the same, that is Java-Sumatra". The same opinion was held by Chavannes (142, p. 193) and by Pelliot (129, p. 320) who says that the name of Java has also been applied to the Malay Peninsula.

Ferrand (140, pp. 186-187) quotes Kern¹ as saying that according to the dominant conception *Suvarna-dvipa* and *Yava-dvipa* were confused one with another; in the proper sense the former is equivalent to Sumatra and the latter to Java; Sumatra (or a part of it) and Java have been considered as one perhaps because the two isles formed part of a political grouping.

¹*Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. V, p. 314.

PLATE IV

ASIAE XI TAB.



Ptolemy's Map of India and the Ganges River (Printed in Cologne in 1584).

Let us see what evidence there is as to Yava-dvipa prior to the Vayu Purana which we take to date from Gupta times.

The *Hou Han Shu* (compiled in the fifth century A.D.) records that an embassy was sent to China in 132 A.D. from a place called Ye-tiao,¹ which had a king whose Chinese name is considered by French linguists to represent Devavarman (see 86 ; 143 ; 144 xiv, p. 14 ; 145, 2, p. 155) though Pelliot does not agree as to that transliteration of the name (146, p. 251, n.l.). The old pronunciation of Ye-tiao is Yap-div in which Pelliot has recognized the name Yava-dvipa but in so identifying it he guards against saying whether it is Java or Sumatra, leaving the question open, save that he considers it to be the same as Ptolemy's Iabadiou (129, p. 258, n. 2). This Ye-tiao may have been connected with a Burning Mountain or Volcano (see 147 and 143) ; and, if this is so, Dempo and the claim of the Sultan of Menangkabau to be the possessor of the Burning Mountain are worth remembering, though, of course, the southern seas were full of volcanic islands.

Next we have Ptolemy's Iabadiou which as we have already seen is the phonetic equivalent of the prakrit form of Yava-dvipa. Unless Iabadiou was Sumatra, Ptolemy makes no mention of that great island. Berthelot (53, p. 406) is very certain that Iabadiou is the Java of to-day but he has to correct the longitude and latitude and the route ; and he does not seem to think it extraordinary that, if he is correct, Sumatra should have been omitted. He gets over the difficulty by saying that " this great island was for long regarded as an assembly of several distinct islands ", a proposition for which he gives no authority,² and in which it is almost impossible to believe if one is familiar with the Straits of Malacca.

We have already³ quoted in full Ptolemy's reference to Iabadiou and it will be remembered that he states the name to mean ' the Isle of Barley ' showing that he was aware of the literal meaning of the sanskrit Yava-dvipa. Wilkinson (139, p. 1) says concerning Iabadiou that " written in Sanskrit it gives only the older form of the colloquial Prakrit *Iavadiou*, " the land of millet ", or, it may be, " the land of grain " ."

But *yava* in sanskrit primarily means ' barley ' and *yavaka* is a cake made from barley ; Macdonell does not give to *yava* the meaning of ' millet ' or ' grain ' at all. Is there any actual instance in the earliest Indian literature of *yava* meaning either ' millet ' or ' grain ' ? Millet is a well known Indian grain and has its own proper sanskrit name *kangu*. There are dictionaries which attach

¹葉調.

²In all probability, however, he has in mind what Gerini says (46, footnote pp. 588-9). R.B.

³See this Journal, vol. XIV, pt. 3, p. 38.

to *yava* the meaning of millet but may that not be because a certain kind of grain that grows in Java got the name *yava* attached to it? This would seem to have been at a much later date than the early uses of the expression *Yava-dvipa*. The question poses itself 'why should the early Indians who were perfectly familiar with barley and millet have called an island *yava-dvipa*?' Not because barley grew there for, though fairly recent experiments have shown that barley will grow on the mountains of Java, its cultivation has never been taken up. In the opinion of Mr. S. M. Sharma, of Kuala Lumpur, who has been experimenting at Cameron Highlands, Pahang, barley cannot be successfully cultivated within 15° N. & S. of the equator except on high elevations.¹ Barley could never have been an extensive crop in Java, if it was ever grown there at all, since no trace of it remains and one cannot imagine an island being called after barley unless that grain was an outstanding characteristic of the island. The name, therefore, presents a difficulty to any one but a philologist. Groeneveldt (148, p. 132, n.) begs the question in a way that is very familiar to any close student of what linguists have had to say about ancient names for places in Malaysia:—"Yava Dvipa does not mean, as has been thoughtlessly said and repeated, *the country of the barley*, for the simple reason that barley could not grow there, but instead of barley we must read *millet*, of which there are different varieties indigenous in the island, many of them called by the generic name Java. It is not impossible that the first Hindus found this cereal used instead of rice, and that the latter was introduced by them." But surely that note carries little conviction. If the Indians found millet plentiful in the island and wanted to call it after that grain, then surely *Kangu-dvipa* would have been the name. Ptolemy writing in 150 A.D. *circa* says quite distinctly 'island of barley' and that fact cannot be forgotten; it proves that at that time the Indians associated the name *Yava-dvipa* with their own familiar food 'barley' and not with their equally familiar food 'millet' unless we are to assume that Ptolemy himself had a knowledge of sanskrit and provided his own explanation. It is quite true that kinds of millet in Java came to be known as 'Java' or 'yava' and this possibly explains why some dictionaries give 'millet' as a meaning of the sanskrit *yava*. A Javanese legend is given by Gerini (46, pp. 591-2) thus:—"A king of Hastinapura (on the Ganges), by the name of Aji-Saka, was the first Indu adventurer who reached Java, then called *Nusa Mendang* and peopled by Raksasas. Finding there an edible kind of grain called *Yava* or *Java*, he changed the name of the island into *Nusa Java*. Having in due course subdued the cannibal Raksasas, he founded cities, taught the people to write, and established the Saka era, so called after him, in A.D. 78". This attempt to explain the name Java is of a type very familiar to readers of Malaysian literature. The writer

¹He tells me that it cannot be a commercial crop and that the grain will not harden. R.B.

asked the assistance of Dr. Chhabra with regard to Yava-dvipa and he makes a tentative suggestion that Yava-dvipa may possibly be explained as the 'barley-shaped island'. He points out that Jambu-dvipa and Amra-dvipa, meaning 'Rose-apple island' and 'Mango island', are so termed from the shapes of the fruits and not from the fruits themselves. Gerini suggested that Yava was really an ethnic name (46, pp. 131, 150, 460-6) and says that Yavana was the name of the Mon Annam race. Jayaswal (109, pp. 151-3) points out that in the Puranas there are yavanas who should be *yaunas* and he says (at p. 153) that "the Kushans bore the royal title *Yauv* or *Yauva* and the Kushans are placed in the Puranas as the Tukhara-Murundas and Sakas. The Bhagavata shortly after (XII, iii, 14) actually used the form Yauna". The Saka era¹ was used throughout Further India in early times; why? Is it possible that originally Yava-dvipa was Yavana-dvipa or Yauva-dvipa? Dr. Chhabra writes that he thinks not.

There we must leave the question of the derivation of the name Yava-dvipa and return to the question of its location.

We have already shown how the Bombay recension of the Ramayana describes Yava-dvipa as being the isle of gold and silver, adorned with mines of gold and embellished with seven kingdoms, while the Bengal recension speaks of 'the isle of Jala, embellished with fruits and sweet things, and also Suvarna-Rupyaka and the isle of Gana' etc. The seven Kingdoms in the Bombay recension may have been a mistake for 'seven jewels', an expression that frequently occurs in Buddhist texts; so Sylvain Lévi suggests (39, p. 81). It will be noticed that in the Bombay recension Yava-dvipa is the isle of gold and silver, whereas in the Bengal *Suvarna rupyaka* (i.e. Gold and silver) is divorced from the isle of Jala, which Lévi thinks to be a textual corruption for Java. The Vayu Purana also states that Yama-dvipa was "full of mines" and that its main hill is a source of gold. It is generally considered that the present Java could never have had the attributes of gold and silver, and particularly gold, applied to it, though it is fair to say that one authority, P. Hovig, has stated that on the strength of geological observations there is good reason to assume that Java was, indeed, the Gold and Silver Island of the ancient records.² He seems to stand alone in this view. Sumatra, on the other hand, is, of course, and always has been a gold country. The question is discussed by Sylvain Lévi (39, pp. 148-150) and to his discussion the reader is referred. Przulski (149, p. 92, 93) concludes that "we are not at liberty to affirm either with Kern that Yava is Java or with Ferrand that

¹For a recent article on the Saka era in Java see H. B. Sarkar's *Date of the Introduction of the Saka year in Java*, J.A.S.B. 1933, vol. xxix, No. 1, pp. 17-21. R.B.

²As quoted in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1928, p. 112, No. 547.

Yava is not Java but Sumatra. Probably for Ptolemy and for all the ancient geographers Yava is Java-Sumatra".

But with deference to a great scholar, why 'probably'? Actually the only one of these ancient geographers who gives us a clue to the situation of Yava-dvipa was Ptolemy since it seems clear that his Iabadiou was the Yava-dvipa of the Ramayana : but, as we shall see when we deal further with Ptolemy, his text agrees with Borneo rather than Java or Sumatra.

The fact is that, if philology is set aside and the available facts are faced squarely, the situation of the ancient *Yava* and its phonetic equivalents is a varying one. The philologists, however, have governed so long that this fact has become obscured. To them Iabadiou, Ye-po-ti, Tchou-po, Javaka, Savaka etc. all represent *Yava* and, therefore, must be correlated. At first they took them all for the present island of Java without question ; then Kern uttered some caution as we have pointed out ; and later Gerini, Ferrand and others, objecting that Java would not fit the facts as to gold and silver, set up exclusive claims for Sumatra ; so the present fashion of Java-Sumatra for Yava-dvipa was introduced, leaving its phonetic equivalents, however, much as they originally were.

The matter is vital to the subject of this essay and will continually recur, since we have chosen to keep to the chronological order as far as is possible. The principles upon which we shall deal with it and other questions of location are that each time a place-name recurs it must first be faced afresh as though it had arisen for the first time, that because in one century a place name can be located in a certain spot it does not necessarily follow that the same place-name must be located in the same spot in another century, and finally that when a philological explanation does not fit with given facts or data philology must step aside and must never be allowed to govern.

Let us now return to the Kedah Annals. The *propositus* is Raja Marong Mahawangsa who "traced his lineage from the inferior gods. His father was descended from the genii, and his mother from the Devadeva or demigods. He was a great Raja amongst the many Rajas who had been assembled by the King on this occasion, and he moreover wore a diadem" (121 p. 3). That means that, though not of royal rank, the Raja was semi-royal. He had married "contrary to the wish of his parents, a girl whose father was a Girgassi Raja and whose mother was descended from the Raksasa" (ibid). This is important for the Girgassis inhabited the country where the Raja founded his settlement and the Annals tell us that the Rajah could speak Girgassi. As we have shown, the Raksasas were cannibals ; and large in the Kedah tradition looms a Cannibal King whose cannibalism is explained as coming through his Girgassi descent which means,

we suggest, that there had been much sexual intermingling between the Girgassis and the Raksasas.

Who exactly were the Girgassis? What is the explanation of the name? The Annals tell us that the Girgassis were giants; therefore, they were a race of much higher stature than the other races known to Malaysians. They do not seem to fit into any picture that we get of races in Indo-China or the Malay Peninsula except a very extraordinary Chinese reference to the country of P'i-Kien whose king had a body 12 feet high and a head 3 feet. This reference occurs during the Liang period, 502-556 A.D., and we shall deal with it when we reach that date.

Ptolemy, unfortunately, was but little interested in ethnic details; yet he tells us a little about the inhabitants of Trans-Gangetic India. He says that the Besyngitai along the Sabarakos Gulf were cannibals; he mentions the Saesadai who were dwarfs and shaggy-haired with large faces and light skins; he mentions another tribe of cannibals called the Gamera; and he says that below the region of Argyra, where were the majority of the silver mines, was situated Chryse, neighbouring on the Besyngitai, and that Chryse possessed very numerous gold mines, its inhabitants being pale-skinned, shaggy-haired, dwarfs, and flat-nosed. In the Malay Peninsula or north of it on the west coast of the Gulf of Siam he places the Leistai, or Pirates, whose country lies between the Perimoulikos Gulf and the Great Gulf, and he says that above them lay broken country full of tigers and elephants. The inhabitants of the Leistai country had the appearance of beasts and dwelt in caves; they had skins like that of the hippopotamus, so hard that arrows would not pierce them. In the islands round the Peninsula he mentions cannibals. Tantalizing glimpses but enough to help us in our understanding of the peninsula at the beginning of the Christian era and clearly falling into the general picture which present knowledge otherwise presents to us.

For that general picture the reader is recommended to the excellent publication *Indochine* issued under the direction of Professor Sylvain Lévi in connection with the Exposition Coloniale Internationale de Paris in 1931 and to the articles therein written by leading French savants (150). Professor Przyluski writes of the populations of Indo-China and upon his article in the main is based what immediately follows.

It would seem that at the beginning of neolithic times Indo-China was peopled by negritic elements principally Melanesian and very dolichocephalic. We may hypothecate that in the first phase of the peopling of the peninsula of Indo-China the inhabitants resembled the Negritos, Melanesians and Australians of to-day. With neolithic times an Indonesian element intrudes; these people were of fairer skin and dolichocephalic. Later the type becomes modified by a Mongol cross, caused by strong

Mongol invasions which seem to have begun with the age of metals and continued into historic times.

The ancient black element has almost disappeared on the Asiatic continent and only survives amongst the savages of the Malay Peninsula, says Przyluski, while the Indonesian type is still found almost pure among the Khas of Laos, the Mois along the Annamite chain and the Phnongs of Cambodia. There is, however, a negritic cross to be observed fairly frequently amongst the Annamites and Cambodians. Chinese annalists of the T'ang dynasty tell us that from Linyi (the Annam of to-day) towards the South the people have frizzy hair and black bodies which means that the earliest elements must have been numerous until the VIIth century A.D. at least.

Whence came the Indonesians? Kern basing himself upon linguistic reasoning considered that they had spread from the Asiatic continent towards the Sunda islands. This hypothesis seems confirmed by modern study, archaeological and ethnical, and remains still the most probable one.

Taking the waves of civilisation they may be stated thus. . . A palaeolithic culture used by the earliest dark-skinned inhabitants came into contact with a neolithic culture introduced by sea-faring invaders of clear skin and Indonesian type. The palaeolithic industry was not abruptly replaced but gradually improved by a method of polishing. One does not ever imagine any abrupt replacement of one culture by another but rather a gradual and slow replacement resulting finally in complete supersession. Next came the introduction of metals, the earliest being bronze implements of a simple fragile type and with little variation in form. Later at a period that bordered upon historic times came larger bronze objects, more robust and more perfect, with geometric decoration and even with complicated compositions comprising animal and human forms. Metals would seem to have been introduced from the north. The Museum at Hanoi contains a large number of bronze drums many of which depict human figures and illustrate the type of man and type of life then prevalent. It would seem as though the bronze industry had penetrated into Indo-China with the armies of the Han dynasties. The human images depicted on bronzes found in Tongking suggest similarities with the manners and religious customs of the Indonesians, notably with the Dyaks of Borneo. It is noticeable in this connection that the Khas, Mois and Phnongs resemble very much the Battaks of Sumatra and the Dyaks of Borneo.

During the second or later bronze¹ age Indo-China entered the orbit of a maritime civilisation that comprised the whole

¹Mr. Linehan notes as to this "The mines at Sungei Lembing must have been worked during the Bronze Age to provide a constituent of bronzetitan. It appears that the chronological order in which metals were mined in Malaya was—gold, tin, iron. It is surprising what few bronze objects compared with neolithic and iron-age finds have yet been discovered in Malaya". R.B.

of south-eastern Asia and Indonesia, and that reached as far in one direction as Japan and in the other as Madagascar. Though imperfectly attested so far, this maritime civilisation is sufficiently characterised by institutions and a mythology capable of statement. The mythology rests upon a cosmological dualism where mountain and sea oppose each other, the winged people against the water people, the men of the heights against those of the coasts. Among the gods, the Divine Bird opposes the Divine Fish. The social organisation was similarly based upon a dualism; each tribe divided into two factions—mountaineers and coast people—who drew their subsistence from the mountains or the sea. The chiefs and witch doctors of the former descend from the Divine Bird and have command over fire, lightning and thunder. The chiefs and witch doctors of the latter descend from the Divine Fish or Serpent and command the waters of the rivers and of the rains.

One of the essential elements of this civilisation is the importance of the female element. The Chinese voyagers in the South Seas noted with surprise that in these regions the woman chose the man. The matriarchal system seems to have been universal until the influence of the Indian and Chinese civilisations, of which male ascendancy was one of the pivots, superseded or counter-balanced it.

The whole of the evidence enables Przyluski to lay down a general law by which the distribution of peoples in Indo-China can be explained. During thousands of years men were pushed by successive waves from the interior of Eastern Asia towards the peninsula of Indo-China. Another but less important push came from the opposite direction; sea-faring people from the seas of the south made frequent irruptions on the coasts of the peninsula and succeeded in stretching their domination over groups in the interior. Naturally the invaders sought first to seize the fertile land; and, doing so, they either overwhelmed the inhabitants or pushed them back. Thus came about the ethnic mixtures and movements that began in the earliest times and went on during the historic period. The alluvial lands were the richest, the soil getting less fertile along the heights; so it resulted that the populations graduated according to altitude; almost everywhere, the contrast is very strong between the inhabitants of the high and the low regions. The least civilised are to be found in the highest lands, the most civilised along the alluvial lands.

Such, very briefly and with much omission of detail, is the picture painted by French science of ancient Indo-China and we suggest that when knowledge of the Malay Peninsula has increased the picture painted of it will be precisely the same. Enough, however, is known already to make that suggestion a feasible one.

Is it not possible that the curious story of the killing of Saktimuna by Sang Sapurba (see 104) is really an echo of the

ancient opposition between the Divine Bird and the Divine Serpent, the men of the heights and the men of the coasts? Sang Sapurba is of the race of the king who appeared on the mountain of Seguntang, by slaying Saktimuna he frees Sumatra from its coils; and is this not an allegorical statement that the Kings of the Mountain who came from the mainland conquered the people of the coast and river and substituted themselves as rulers? Traditions undergo vicissitudes but they have a habit of living and being brought on to changed conditions, of being used long after their true origin and their true nature are forgotten.

Ptolemy's reference to the cannibal Besyngitai is very interesting in view of what the Kedah Annals have to say about the Girgassis and the Cannibal King Raja Bersiong, the tusked raja, whose cannibalism was inherited through his mother a Girgassi woman. These Girgassis seem to have been matriarchal since the Annals say that they had women Chieftainesses. They were known to the Raja of Kalangi¹, as the Annals call him, and they made superb vases or jars of a great size, one of which was given by the Raja of Kalangi to Mahawangsa's envoys (121, p. 163). It is fair, we think, to say that the Girgassi country extended from the Raja of Kalangi's territory down to the Kedah country, in which case it corresponded exactly with Ptolemy's Besyngitai. For what it is worth, if anything, it may be noted that Annandale and Robinson have recorded² that the *Orang Laut Kappir*, whose original home was said by themselves to have been the large island of Langkawi lying off the coast of Kedah, claimed to be the same people as the *Orang Besing* who, they said, occupied the small islands off the extreme south of Tenasserim. These *Besing* spoke a language of their own, not Malay, and were said by the *sam-sams* (i.e. Indo-Chinese or Siamese Malays) to be jungle folk as well as seamen. It may be perfectly true that the story of Raja Bersiong resembles one in the *Jatakas* as Dr. Blagden has pointed out (124) but we think that the facts to which we have referred in this paragraph cannot be ignored.

We do not know what is the derivation of the name Girgassi nor have we seen any explanation for it though Wilkinson suggests with a query that it was Sanskrit. He says that the girgassi is a tusked man-eating ogre and, again, a forest ogre, described (Perch. Mal. 48) as a cannibal giant. He refers to the folk-lore concerning the girgassi and says that "these ogres (*bota*, *gergassi*, *raksasa*) are not evil spirits in the true sense but hate inspired personifications of aboriginal enemies whom the Aryans conquered". Indian scholars can very possibly help us.

Raja Marong Mahawangsa was sent with a considerable fleet by the Raja of Rum to negotiate a marriage between that potentate's son (who accompanied the expedition) and the daughter of the Emperor of China. Was that possible?

¹Later we shall show that this Kalangi was Lower Burma. R.B.

²*Fasciculi Malayenses*, Part I, 1903, p. 65.

Rum, of course, here means the Roman Orient, to which the Chinese gave the name of Ta Chin or Ta T'sin¹; and this seems a good place to introduce the Chinese into the narrative of our essay.

The Chinese penetration of the south is recorded by their historians. Thus, for instance, in the Liang Dynasty history as translated by Groeneveldt (148, p. 128) it is stated that "the countries of the southern ocean are, generally speaking, situated at the south-west of the Giau-chi, and on the islands of the ocean". "In the period Yuan-ting of the Han dynasty (116-110 B.C.) admiral Lu-po-teh was sent to open the south; he founded the district Jih-nan and since that time the countries beyond its borders have all come to court and presented tribute. Afterwards, during the reign of the emperor Hsüan of the Han dynasty (73-49 B.C.) the Romans and Indians have sent envoys and presented tribute through the same way. In the time of Sun-Ch'üan of the house of Wu (222-251) two functionaries, called Chu-ying and K'ang-tai were ordered to go to the south; they went to, or heard from, a hundred and more countries, and made an account of them".

What we have now to say about Chinese history is based in the main upon the recent edition of Latourette's excellent work (151) to which we refer the reader.² We shall also follow his spelling of Chinese names as far as he gives them. There is always great trouble in giving Chinese names since there are so many ways of spelling them. In general where we quote French authors we shall follow the French spelling but it will not be able to make any hard and fast rules; so the reader must make for himself such mental changes as he finds to be necessary.

The political boundaries of China changed in different periods and we would refer the reader to the maps in Dr. Pott's book (152) as the handiest conspectus of these changes. Like the oldest civilisations of Egypt and Babylonia and the early one in north-west India, that of China first emerges in the dim light of prehistory in a fertile river valley, that of the Yellow River; and the beginnings of her history are naturally to be found in her myths and legends. History proper is reached with the Ch'in and Han dynasties, covering the period 221 B.C. to 220 A.D. The Han dynasty is divided into two periods, the earlier or Western which reached its apex in the reign of Wu Ti (usually called Han Wu Ti to distinguish him from others of that name) who came to the throne in 140 B.C. and reigned until 87 B.C., and the later or Eastern Han Dynasty.

The great emperor Shin Huang Ti (221-209 B.C.) unified China as it then was and "proceeded to extend his boundaries into non-Chinese territory. Much of the coast from the present

¹大秦.

See also *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, by H. Cordier, 4 vols. 1920.

Chekiang south into what is now Indo-China was occupied by peoples called the Yüeh, presumably related to the present / inamites. They were partially civilized, tattooing their bodies, using metals, and displaying skill as navigators. They possessed fertile and well-cultivated lands. In B.C. 211 Shih Huang Ti sent five large armies to annex the region. The more northerly territories—those in the present Chekiang, Fukien and Kwangtung beyond Canton—were quickly overrun. It was not until about B.C. 214, however, that the more southerly regions were conquered. By the end of that year the Ch'in boundaries seem to have been extended into the delta of the Red River and along the coastal plain beyond the site of the present Hue" (151, i, p. 97).

The principal kingdom of the Yüehs was Nan-Yüeh in the north-west of the Tongking of to-day; its inhabitants, says Leclère¹, were of Mon stock but perhaps already at the period of the Chinese conquest under the domination of the Annamites—Giau-chi, Kiao-chi or Kiao-tche,² as the Chinese called them—who had come south from the Yangtze (153, p. 14). In 221 B.C. Nan-Yüeh was annexed to China; and about 218-214 B.C. the territory called Tongking to-day was annexed. In 214 B.C. the country was organized into a province called Siang. At the end of the Ch'in dynasty the Chinese general who was then governor declared his independence and formed the kingdom of Nan Yüeh with its capital at what is Canton to-day and comprising much of the present Kwangsi and Kwangtung with much of the coast of Indo-China down to Cap Varella. The King of Nan Yüeh conquered the Chinese province of Siang and divided it into two provinces—Giau-chi or Kiao-tche (Tongking) and Kieou-tchen (the region of Than Hoa and the Chinese territory in Annam)—with capitals respectively at the Hanoi and Than-hoa of to-day. In 196 B.C. the Han emperor officially recognized the kingdom of Nan Yüeh and its king agreed to rule as a vassal king but in 183 B.C. he revolted and assumed the title of Emperor of Nan Yüeh.

Under the Han emperor Wu Ti, Nan Yüeh was re-conquered by the Chinese in 108 B.C. and its territories were added to the Han domains, so that under the Hans China was extended on the south to include much of what are now Chekiang, Fukien, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Hainan, the north-eastern section of French Indo-China, Kweichow and Yunnan. Three commanderies were created in the south, viz:—Giau-chi or Kiao-tche, Kieou-tchen and Je-nan or Jih-nan.³ The first comprised the Tongking of to-day; the second, Than-hoa, Nghe-an, Ha-tinh and as far as Porte d'Annam; the third, Quang-binh from Porte d'Annam,

¹His book must be used with the utmost caution, see *critique* by Coedès in B.E.F.E.O., 1914, vol. xiv, pp. 47-54; it is included in the bibliography to this essay since it summarizes much useful matter. R.B.

²交趾.
³日南.

Quang-tri, Thu'a-thien, and down to Cap Varella. Thus ancient Je-nan included that part of modern Annam which lies between Porte d'Annam and Cap Varella ; it was divided into five districts, the two southern-most having their headquarters at Siang-lin and Si-kuan.

Tongking remained a Chinese province from 108 B.C. to 968 A.D., save during the periods 544-602 A.D. and 939-965 A.D.

And here let us remark that it is a tragedy of ancient history and geography that to make it intelligible one must express it in modern geographical terms which at once carry ethnic and political suggestions to the sub-conscious mind of the reader ; but we must ask him to bear in mind always that when we express an ancient place by a modern name, we point purely and simply to that which is only geographic.

By the year 132 A.D. the coastal regions in north-eastern Annam were already a terminal point for navigation from the South Seas as the Chinese called Malaysia and in this year we have mention of the kingdom of Ye-tiao already mentioned.

It is perfectly clear from Ptolemy's Geography that by the end of the first century A.D. the route down the east coast of the Bay of Bengal, the Gulf of Martaban, the Straits of Malacca, then up the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, round the Gulf of Siam and up the coast of Indo-China to a port which he calls Kattigara was well-known and was dotted with important entrepots and ports of call, while inland there were also places of importance.

China's first communication with India would seem to have been by land from the south-east of Yunnan. Her first indisputable relations with southern and western Asia *via* Burma start about the beginning of the second century A.D. when there reigned in the country of Chan (*i.e.* Shan) a King recorded by the Chinese as named Yong-Yieou-tiao who had received an Imperial investiture in 97 A.D. but there is also evidence that in the second century B.C. there were relations between India and China *via* Burma (129, pp. 142-143).

The Chinese called the eastern part of the Roman Empire Ta Ch'in or Ta Ts'in.¹ With the Mediterranean world they had little, if any, direct contact in the time of the Hans. "Traders from the west were regularly reaching India. When, about the first century B.C. or the first century A.D., they learned to take advantage of the monsoon to make the voyage across the Indian Ocean from the Red Sea, the commerce became extensive and important and was to continue so for many centuries. Few travellers from the Mediterranean world seem to have gone beyond India and Ceylon, however, although the Romans and Greeks

¹For their relations generally see *China and the Roman Orient*, by F. Hirth, 1885.

heard vaguely of China. In A.D. 120 jugglers, sent with an embassy of one of the states on China's southern border, arrived at Loyang and professed to come from west of the sea, a region which they declared to be the same as Ta Ch'in " (151, p. 129).

The *Hou Han Shu*, or Annals of the Later Hans, compiled in the fifth century A.D., record that in 166 A.D. a party of foreigners who claimed to have been sent by the then Roman emperor, Antun or Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, as ambassadors to China, arrived by sea in Tongking and then went over-land to the court of the Chinese emperor to whom they offered ivory, rhinoceros horns and tortoise-shell. They were in all probability Orientals and the genuineness of their embassy was suspected by the author of these Annals (154, pp. 1, 2). Chang considers that this embassy was the first recorded successful attempt to complete the course of navigation from the far west to the far east; but it is, of course, obvious from Ptolemy that the sea-route was well-known before then.

Buddhism would seem to have reached China in the reign of Ming-ti (58-57 A.D.) through the preaching of two Indian missionaries who may have taken the route of the Irrawaddy and Yunnan. The Chinese themselves would seem not to have been bold discoverers; their voyages seem to have been made slowly by a cautious creeping along the coasts at a time considerably later than the exploitation of the sea-route from India and the west.

The sea-route from the coasts of India to China once it was developed displaced the land-route since it was much easier though longer. Canton in due course became the first town in China proper to be visited by foreigners who are recorded as being there in the second half of the third century A.D. (154, p. 4).

It is obvious that in the civilisation of south-eastern Asia by the Indians the Straits of Malacca and the Malay Peninsula must have played vitally important parts since they provided the main high-ways of that civilisation. It is a most unfortunate fact that the ancient Indians unlike the Chinese were neither historians nor geographers; they left only the vague and unsatisfactory records with which we have dealt. For the early period which we are now considering, that is up to the middle of the third century, the evidence is afforded by Chinese records, by art, by epigraphy, by references in Indian literature and by tradition, together with Ptolemy's geography. All this evidence has fortunately been weighed and considered by many great scholars who provide us with the inferences which they think should be drawn from it.

Outside of the Chinese writings, we have in this period only one piece of recorded evidence, the sanskrit inscription of Vo-can in Annam dateable about 200 A.D. This is the earliest

inscription of Champa¹ and records a donation by a King. The name of the royal family has been read as Sri-Mararajakula, and it is usually said that the King was of the dynasty of Sri Mara. The latest consideration of this inscription is to be found in Dr. Chhabra's splendid monograph (138).

Art provides us with a deal of evidence, which connects south-eastern Asia with the village of Amaravati in the Kistna (Krishna) district of the Madras Presidency, the name of which village is applied to a school of art. In Java, Sumatra, Siam, Annam and the Celebes "bronze and stone figures have been discovered, some of monumental size, all of them supposed to be imported from Amaravati" and to the Amaravati School must also be attributed the influx of art into Funan in the opinion of Dr. Ludwig Bachhofer (155). To this school and the period of 150 A.D. must be attributed the enormous stone Buddha of Mt. Seguntang in Sumatra as well as the small bronze Buddha of P'ong Tūk to which we are about to refer (155, p. 126). Dr. Krom has written a note concerning the Sumatran Buddha (113) and illustrations are contained in the volume where that note appears. For the reader who is interested in matters of Indian and Indonesian art, Professor Ananda Coomaraswamy's celebrated work is obviously recommended (137) while a very useful essay on the School of Amaravati by Devaprasad Ghosh (156) is worthy of attention.

Most interesting for our particular purposes, however, are the discoveries of Professor Coedès at the village of P'ong Tūk in Siam, some 15 kilometres from the railway station of Ban Pong which is not far west of Bangkok (see 157, 158, and 159). Amongst these discoveries were a fine bronze statuette of Buddha and a Roman lamp. The statuette, Professor Coedès considers and his view is accepted everywhere, was of the School of Amaravati of the second century A.D. The lamp, he is almost certain, was actually made in the Mediterranean area and was not an Indian copy. "If it was not made in India, it must have been brought over from Italy or from Greece, or more probably from some place in what we call in Europe the Near East, and this raises the fascinating question of the relations between this country (Siam) and the Roman Empire during the second (may be the first) century A.D." (158, p. 16). Here we may interpolate that, if Coedès is right, the provenance of the lamp was what the Chinese called Ta Ch'in or Ta Ts'in, while the Indian themselves called the inhabitants of the Roman Orient by the name of Yavana, which eventually came to apply to all foreigners. "The Greeks are known to Indian literature as Yavanas or Ionians, a name which came to India through Persia, and owes its origin to the fact that the Persians, as they became acquainted with Greeks other than those of Ionia, extended the term Ionian to all

¹At that time called Lin-Yi by the Chinese. R.B.

Hellenes. The earliest occurrence of the word in India is in Panini, which shows that the word has passed into Sanskrit before the time of Alexander the Great. In its Prakrit form, Yona, we find it in the inscriptions of Asoka as the name of his Hellenistic neighbours. The word survived in India long after its original application was forgotten, and came to mean foreigners in general—indeed there are signs that it was early applied, not only to the Greeks, but also to the Sakas, so that in later times it was regularly applied to the Muhammadans" (160, p. 62). Ptolemy and those of his informants who were not Indians would have been known in India as Yavanas and that part of the ancient Tamil literature known as the Sangam, which is generally considered to coincide in date with the first two centuries after Christ and so to be contemporary with the lamp of P'ong Tük (first to second century A.D.), is full of references to the Yavanas and their presence in south India, their ships, their military genius, their sailors and merchants, their trade and articles of merchandize, of which vases and lamps were specially mentioned (34, p. 270).

Professor Coedès points out that "the old Hinduized Kingdoms of Lower Siam were not so far away from one of the routes followed by traders, who, coming from Europe and India and bound for China, wished to escape the journey round the Malay Peninsula. It is a well-known fact, mentioned in the Chinese Annals and corroborated by a good deal of evidence, that in order to escape that journey and avoid the straits, they used land-routes across the Peninsula in some of its narrow parts. P'ong Tük does not lie along any of these routes; it is much further north. But it lies along a route of great historical importance, which, coming from Lower Burma, crosses the mountain range at P'ra Chedi Sam Ong, the famous Three Pagodas pass. Now the Chinese of the Han Dynasty tell us that in A.D. 120 a company of musicians and acrobats from Ta Ts'in—say Greek or Roman comedians—was sent over from Burma to China, and reached China by sea. It is quite possible that instead of going round the Malay Peninsula they crossed over to the Lower Menam Valley, followed the route along the Mekong, and embarked in some part of the Gulf of Siam" (158, p. 18).

P'ong Tuk would, moreover, seem to have been on or near the ancient porcelain route concerning which Mr. Collis Brown has written in the *Illustrated London News* of December 7, 1935. He says that "the popular notion that porcelain was brought from China direct to the West by ship is only true of the seventeenth century and after, when some was taken home in Dutch and, later, in French and English vessels. Before that date, right back to the twelfth century—that is to say, during the Sung, Yuan and Ming dynasties—there was no carriage of porcelain direct to the Mediterranean, if exception is made of the few pieces the Portuguese imported as curiosities". Leaving ports like Macao in southern China by junk the porcelain, so Mr. Collis says, "was

brought down to the coast and into Siam, where it was purchased by Indian and Persian dealers resident there. The agents of these men transported it thereafter chiefly across a narrow part of the Malay Peninsula, called the province of Tenasserim, from the port of which, Mergui, it was either taken in Indian ships across the Bay of Bengal to Masulipatam and thence distributed over the continent or in Persian and Arab ships to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, from whence it reached Cairo, Constantino-ple, Venice, and, very occasionally, England".

This old trade-route had been in existence for many centuries and since it was an easy and natural one may have been used in the first centuries of our era, so it appears to us. In reality it was not in the Malay Peninsula properly so called but north of it since it "lay up the Tenasserim River from Mergui to the town of Tenasserim, a distance of 45 miles, and from that up to the Little Tenasserim another 40 miles to the present frontier of Siam". Mr. Collis says that along the route were the remains of old walled towns but no excavations were made by him and there is accordingly an interesting virgin field for exploration amongst these old sites.

Of the short cuts across the Malay Peninsula proper Dr. Quaritch Wales has very recently explored three, the Takuapa-Bandon route and two others south of it from Trang to Nakon Sri Thammarat and Patalung respectively (82a). In addition there were the more northerly Mergui-Pracuab crossing, which was for long used, and the well-known Kra route. The first three produced much evidence of Indian remains but nothing which can be dated prior to the fifth or sixth century A.D.; a consideration of this evidence must therefore be postponed to a later period of this essay. Dr. Quaritch Wales says that the Kra route was carefully searched by Prince Damrong's orders and the Mergui-Pracuab route has been covered many times by people versed in archaeology; yet from neither has appeared the slightest evidence of Indian remains¹.

The evidence at present available seems to show that the sea was the main highway for the first Indian penetration of south-eastern Asia and that the land routes were used later, except for the Burma-Yunnan route which may have been used by merchants from the west as well as by the Chinese.

It would seem that the first part of the coast opposite the Bay of Bengal which attracted Indian settlements after the time of Buddha was what we call Lower Burma and that the main attraction lay in the fact that gold had been found inland, after which Lower Burma came to be known in Buddhist literature

¹Gerini, however, wrote that ancient remains of temples and of earthen ramparts were still (1909) to be seen in the environs of the village of Kra (46, p. 115). R.B.

as Suvarna-bhumi, which means the Land of Gold. This name appears in pali as well as sanskrit ; and pali is the earliest form of prakrit, a vernacular descended from a Vedic dialect and not so developed as sanskrit which succeeded it (161, pp. 59, 199). Accordingly, Suvarna-bhumi as a name must date back very far. To-day scholars understand it in its most extended sense to refer to the peninsula of Indo-China, and, particularly, to the country extending beyond the east and north coasts of the Bay of Bengal or Ramanadesa, as it was called in sanskrit, that is Lower Burma. Srinivas Iyengar (36), Sir Charles Elliot (25), Professor Mookerji (50) and Harvey (47) all state that Suvarna-bhumi meant Lower Burma and particularly Pegu and Thaton where the earliest Indian kingdoms in that territory were founded. It seems clear that from the beginning of the Buddhist era parties of Indians from the east coast of India came to Lower Burma by sea and thence found their way into the west of what is Siam to-day.

That distinguished scholar H. R. H. Prince Damrong of Siam says that the earliest Indian immigrants settled along the West Coast from Pegu down through the Malay Peninsula and that from the coast of Pegu they crossed over to Nagor Pathom on the Gulf of Siam (162, p. 7). Harvey considers that these immigrants came by sea from the present Madras Presidency (47, p. 6). Prince Damrong says that the Mahavamsa, the great chronicle of Ceylon, mentions two monks who were sent by the great Asoka to Suvarna-bhumi, which Professor Rhys Davids in his work on Buddhism explains as consisting of the region extending from Pegu down the Malay Peninsula. The Mons, says the Prince, allege that Suvarna-bhumi was identical with the district of Thaton on the Gulf of Martaban. The Prince thinks that "we Siamese with better reason than the Mons may place it in our own country. For we have a district called U Thong (source or repository of gold) which corresponds to the old name Suvarna-bhumi". He agrees, however, with Professor Rhys Davids that Suvarna-bhumi meant the region extending from Pegu to West Siam and perhaps even as far as what is now Annam. Then he proceeds (ibid: p. 10) that "there is one established fact not yet known to archaeologists in other countries, namely, that in West Siam there exists a certain city with the remains of many *stupas*¹, *chetiya*s² and *viharas*³. In the whole of Suvarna-bhumi from Burma and Pegu down through the Malay Peninsula there is no city at once larger and older than this one. In ancient writings it is called Jaiya-Ciai or Ciri-Jaiya and it was already abandoned before the founding of the old capital at Sukhodaya. Only recently has it become a town once more after construction of the railway, its name being Nagor Pathom. Many later proofs have been dis-

¹Buddhist relic-mounds.

²Buddhist assembly-halls.

³Buddhist monasteries.

covered to support the view of H.M. King Mongkut who set up a stone inscription at the *cheliya* there, declaring that the Buddhist religion was introduced into the city in the time of Asoka"; and he gives facts to support this statement.

There seems to be little doubt that Suvarna-bhumi was the place known in the Periplus and to Pomponius Mela and Pliny as Chryse which Ptolemy was the first to distinguish from the Chersonese. Suvarna-bhumi, applied at first to a particular territory, soon came to be a generic name like El Dorado or the Gold Coast. Ptolemy's Chryse would seem undoubtedly to have covered the land known as Suvarna-bhumi in the more particular sense which we have set out above, *i.e.* Lower Burma and West Siam.

Professor Banerji in his great History of Orissa (163, p. 93) writes that "it is dawning upon us slowly that in the very dawn of Indian History the people of Kalinga were the pioneers of Indian colonisation in Further India and the Indian Archipelago. More than half-a-century ago Kern recognized that South Indian tribes took the most prominent part in the colonization of the Indian Archipelago and among the Simbiring tribe¹ (which means the Black) there are five sub-divisions designated Choliya, Pandiya, Meliyala, Depari and Pelawi." In these five names he rightly recognized the South Indian names Chola, Pandya, Pahlava or Pallava and Malayali or Chera. The origin of the Depari is still a subject of conjecture. The Meliyala, according to Vogel, are the Malayallis of the Malabar Coast of South India. The same authority states that "it is curious that among the other tribes of the Karo-Bataks the 'Keling' origin of the Simbiring is a recognized fact". The reader is commended generally to Professor Banerji's chapter on the Overseas Empire of Kalinga.

It is, we think, clear that the Kalingas crossed the Bay of Bengal to Suvarna-bhumi (in its particular sense) and that thence they and successive waves of Indians thereafter spread their colonisation over the Indo-Chinese peninsula, down the Malay Peninsula, into Sumatra and Java and thence into the islands of the Indian Archipelago, through Oceania and possibly finally to the west coast of South America; but that is a generalisation which would in itself require a whole book to expound.

In south-eastern Asia there were two zones of civilization, the Indian and the Chinese, and save in the north of what is Indo-China to-day, it was the Indian civilization which prevailed in the places recorded by Ptolemy, though, of course, he does not say so himself. The Roman Empire was in touch with India, with the Indo-Chinese peninsula and with China; at least one Roman embassy is recorded and it is highly probable that the ambassadors employed were Orientals familiar with the Far East. Such a person was Raja Marong Mahawangsa married to a Girgassi and

¹In Sumatra.

speaking that language. But, the reader will ask, why should Raja Marong Mahawangsa be treated as having made the settlement in Kedah so very far back?

The Annals tell us that changes were proceeding in the physical shape of Kedah during the earliest times of its first kingdom. When Raja Marong Mahawangsa arrived off Kedah "he inquired of an old Malim (captain) who was in his ship if he knew the locality", who said, "the large island we have reached is now becoming attached to the main land, and its name is Pulo Srail (or Sri) my lord. That small island which your highness sees is named *Pulo Jambul*, and that other, more in shore, is *Pulo Lada*" (121, p. 8). Pulo Srail is, of course, Gunong Jerai or Kedah Peak and Low has recorded (*ibid.* p. 23) that it was called K'hau Srail by the Siamese, while Kedah itself was called by them Muang Srail or Chrai.

Raja Mahawangsa in due course abdicated in favour of his son and set sail for Rum. "In going out of the harbour, Mahawangsa looked towards the shore and saw *Pulo Lada*, which island had then been annexed to the main land, called afterwards *Bukit Lada*, the 'Hill Lada', also *Pulo Jambul*, before an island, but which had also been joined to the main shore; and which afterwards got the name of "the *Hill Jambul*", for it was quite in a line with Pulo Srail, which last was just about being joined to the main land and was subsequently named Gunong Jerrei or Chirrei, on account of its great height. Again towards the N.N.W. was to be seen what looked like a point of a moveable nature and further seaward Pulo Giryang, which was, not long afterwards, attached to the main, also then called Gunong Giryang, and Bukit Tunjang" (121, p. 169).

It is then very clear that the Annals are asserting here that Raja Mahawangsa must have reigned a very long time ago. Winstedt writes (125, p. 35) that "allusion is made to the fact that Gunong Geriang, Gunong Jerai and Gunong Jambul were once islands. Now geologists tell us this is true, but it was thousands of years ago, too far back for tradition to have come down; so that presumably Malays must have observed the evidence of sea-shells inland and drawn haphazard the correct conclusion". But we venture to suggest, in the first place, that no tradition is too old to come down and that if the tradition of the Flood could descend so could one as 'young' (if one may so express it) as that now under consideration. The tradition that large parts of the present Peninsula were once under sea and that various mountains and hills were once islands is rife throughout the country; thus it is embodied in Menangkabau customary sayings in the Negri Sembilan (164, p. 13); it is found in the Benua legends (73, p. 105); at Changkat Rembian in the Batang Padang District, Perak, there is a rock supposed to be the petrified hull of an Indian ship which came trading to those parts in ancient days (165) and there are similar legends in Johore and Muar (166);

see also Maxwell's Legend of Pulau Tunggul (167). Geology proves that it was a fact and, if it was a fact, why should not so vital a fact have been handed down in tradition ?

And was it a fact so very long ago ? Winstedt does not give a reference to the geological opinion which he records but Dr. Ingham, of the Geological Survey Department, has kindly provided us with references. The reader is referred to Scrivenor (65, pp. 185 ff. ; 168 pp. 119 ff.) and Wilbourn (169, p. 298) for the geological data, and for botanical and zoological evidence to Ridley (170) and Robinson and Kloss (171).

But a new and most striking fact has come to light which Mr. H. D. Collings, of Raffles Museum, allows me to state in anticipation of a fully descriptive article which he is writing for the Raffles Museum Bulletin. In Goa¹ Bintong, Bukit Chuping, N. Perlis, there were found sea-water shells, swamp shells and fresh-water shells mixed together. The sea-water shells were in sufficient quantities to show that they had been used for food ; therefore, they must have been procured from some place within 10 miles from the cave or they would have hardly been brought to it before going bad. Associated with these shells is a bead which fortunately has been dated by Mr. H. C. Beck, the well-known expert, as coming from the first four centuries A.D. The Malays in the district all say that in old days the sea came up where the cave is.

The bead is strikingly like those found at Kuala Selinsing. Mr. Beck has reported on some beads found by Mr. G. B. Gardner in Johore as being of a type dating back as early as 700 B.C. and upon others from Johore as dating from the first century A.D. Of crystal and carnelian beads from Slim River, Perak, he has written that they were almost identical with beads found at Kuala Selinsing which were provisionally dated to the 4th century A.D. and of glass beads from slab graves at Sungkai and Slim he has pointed out that they belong to a series of yellow and orange beads that extend " from Egypt to South Africa on the one hand and to the Philippines on the other ". All this matter will duly be published and we are merely able to anticipate very curtly what obviously is going to be a most valuable addition to our knowledge of the Peninsula.

We are justified in saying, then, that, according to Kedah tradition, at some date very long ago a settlement was found near Kedah by a semi-royal personage who suffered ship-wreck while on an embassy to China. To his settlement Mahawangsa gave the name of Lankasuka according to the Annals. This corresponds with a Chinese name Langga-siu with which we deal later herein.

¹Meaning ' Cave '.

Let us now examine the facts given as to his voyage and the ship-wreck.

There were two large ships, one for the prince and one for the ambassador, and many smaller ships for their suites. "The fleet sailed on a fortunate day, and as it went along, touched at all the Ports which were then under the empire of Rum—the Embassy receiving at each of these, the accustomed marks of respect. At length it entered the sea of Hindustan, and beheld its wonders. Then coasting down that continent, the fleet anchored occasionally in the bays of the Islands, where the people sought for shell-fish, fired guns and otherwise amused themselves".

The Annals are, of course, full of anachronisms and, as they proceed, show the same telescoping of history that we noticed in the *Sejarah Malayu*.

The Annals proceed in Low's translation "After a while it reached the mouth of the Changong river where reigned Raja Galungi or Kalungi"; Bland says "now when they had sailed as far as Kuala¹ Ching Kong, the name of whose Raja was Klanggi"; while Sturrock gives the names as Kuala Changgong and Kelinggi. Low identifies the Changong as 'the river of Pegu'; Winstedt says that "another anachronism may be the mention of Kuala Changgong, if that name means Rangoon, which latter name dates from 1755 A.D. only" (see 122, 123 and 125).

The next place "after a voyage of some days" was the "Tawai river, where it disembogues into the sea"; Sturrock gives the same name. This seems clearly to be the Tavoy River on the Tenasserim coast.

Then came the "port of Mrit", as to which Low notes that "this was the name then, and in fact is the native name now, given to the British possession of Mergui". Bland gives the name as Marib and Sturrock as Kuala Parit. Low's explanation seems best in view of the fact which he states.

After some days the ships next came in sight of "Salang, in the sea called Tappan". "Here having cast anchor abreast of the Island, the Ambassador sent a party on shore to ask permission of the Chief or Raja to wood and water, but the Prince's vessel² with other ships stood on down the coast, by rounding the point of the island". Here we are clearly at Junk Ceylon; Low says that Tappan is an obsolete name as he had not found anyone who could explain it. Sturrock gives the extraordinary name Bang Tofan.

The Prince's vessel then made for the "island of Lankapuri" where he was ship-wrecked. Mahawangsa, however, sailed down to Pulau Srai or Kedah Peak.

¹Mouth of a river.

We see then that this ambassador of the Raja of Rum proceeded along Ptolemy's route, according to which the Roman ships reached the west coast of India, went round its foot up to Paloura, then across the Bay of Bengal to Sada, etc. Marong Mahawangsa got into the sea of Hindustan which we can say was the Bay of Bengal; thence he reaches the country of the Raja of Kalangi (Klanggi or Kelinggi) where there is a big river the Changong. Kalangi with its variants clearly represents Kalinga and its other forms and ancient Burma, as we have seen, was a Kalinga or Telinga country. The Kedah Annals say in one passage that this Kalangi was Ava (a much later name, of course) and Low says that it was Pegu, the ancient Burmese kingdom, though this again was a later name for the country than Kalangi or Kalinga. We can identify it as Lower Burma or Suvarnabhumi. Mahawangsa then sailed for some days to the Tawai which we think, as Low did, was the Tavoy; after which he made the port of Mrit or Mergui according to Low, then Junk Ceylon and thence to Kedah Peak.

In considering Ptolemy's place-names we have suggested that the Temalos River and Temala were in the Irrawaddy Delta, after which Ptolemy tells us came the country of the cannibal Besyngitai, where there was an emporium called Besynga by Ptolemy and this we have suggested was in the estuary of the Tavoy River. Thereafter came a town Beroba which Berthelot suggests was Karathuri but which Gerini identifies as Mergui, a place for which Berthelot gives no equivalent. Lastly Ptolemy makes the Chersonese begin at a promontory which seems clearly to have been Junk Ceylon.

Before leaving the Raja's voyage to Kedah we should remark the succession of great storms which Garuda sent in his endeavours to prevent the fleet from reaching China and which wrecked so many of the Raja's ships. These storms were obviously what are called Sumatras in the Straits of Malacca—storms of wind and rain, lightning and thunder, very violent and still forming a hazard of navigation even in the case of steamships. Garuda, as the Annals say, is "beheld high in the air, casting his vast shadow over the fleet". We suggest that in such legends of Garuda we have the true origin of the Arab sailors' *rokh* or giant bird that was so dangerous and whose coming darkened the whole sky in the Straits of Malacca; in reality it was the Sumatra storm which appearing first in the distance is likened to a vast bird at whose coming the sky is blackened as though by its wings which with their violent beating drive the wind hurling through the Straits, leaving death and destruction in their trail. Maxwell has recorded (87, p. 13) that "if, during the day, the sun is suddenly overcast by clouds and shadow succeeds to brilliancy, the Perak Malay will say "Gerda (*i.e.* Garuda) is spreading out his wings to dry". There are many references to the *rokh* in Ferrand's translation of the Arab texts (172) and there is a very useful note on the Garuda

bird in Penzer's *Katha Sarit Sagara* (173, i, pp. 103-105). Our explanation is, however, original so far as we know, but we think that any local reader who studies the descriptions in the Kedah Annals will agree with us. Garuda was the vehicle of Vishnu and the enemy of the Nagas, or serpents; and in the story of Sinbad the Sailor the *rokkh* is represented as attacking gigantic snakes.

Let us now set out shortly the story of Mahawangsa's founding of his settlement.

When he had moored his ship he went ashore with his Chiefs and followers and was shortly visited by large numbers of the Girgassis, whose caste he knew and whose tongue he could speak. They told him that they had no Raja and gave him permission to make a settlement. So he pitched upon "a delightful and convenient spot for a residence" and erected a fort with a ditch around it, and a palace and hall of audience to which he gave the name of Lankasuka. He took up his abode with his wife in the palace and had his effects brought from the ship while his followers erected their dwellings round the place. Later, numbers of people with their families joined the settlement which prospered and increased.

A son was born to Mahawangsa and when he reached marriageable age the Raja sent for his four old mantris and asked if there was any powerful country lying near at hand whose king had a disposable daughter. The mantris replied that there was no country of any note situated near the Raja's domains but there was a country called Acheh on the sea coast of the island of Percha, i.e. Sumatra. It was divided into many provinces and lay about 25 days sailing from their Raja's country. "There is also another country situated on the same continent where we are settled. The name of its Raja is Kalangi. It lies too in the line of the voyage which brought us here. It is about one month's sailing hence to that country, which contains many rare productions, such for example, as huge vases, and small jars, and the large tree called *malau tahi semoot*¹ besides many other kinds of wood of great girth. The river also which flows through that country is broad, and comes from a great distance". Accordingly, an embassy was sent to Kalangi, whose Raja gave them a large vase² made by an ancient Girgassi and sent a polite reply to Mahawangsa's message. We then get a statement after the embassy had returned to Kedah that Mahawangsa had reclaimed large tracts of land from the sea. On the advice of his Chiefs Mahawangsa installed his son as his successor and married him to a princess, whether a daughter of the Raja of Kalangi or not is not stated. The large jar was placed close to the foot of a tree.

¹Which Low says is "the sticklac of commerce, the sanskrit Laksha".

²Can any one explain why Kalangi was celebrated for its "huge vases and small jars"? R.B.

Then follows a very interesting passage. The old Raja said to his son that if he was blessed with children he should send one son to the N.N.W. of Kedah, one to the S.S.E. or nearly so, and a third to the E.N.E., but that his son himself should remain in Kedah. Later the second Raja, Podisat, had four children, three sons and a daughter; and in due course colonies were sent out. The first which included many Girgassi families went under one of the princes to the N.N.W. with numbers of horses and elephants and after 200 days' travelling reached a desirable spot where a rivulet flowed into the sea, and where the land was level and populous. Here a settlement was made called Siam Lanchang, and also called generally the country of Siam.

Next a similar expedition went S.S.E. under another prince and at length reached a large river which flowed to the sea and where there were three or four islands. The prince shot a silver arrow from his bow Indrasakti and made his settlement upon the island where the arrow fell calling it Indrasakti. Later he changed the name to Perak, the silver country, after the silver-pointed arrow.

The third colony went out under the princess and went due East. It reached a wild, woody tract covered with jungle, of great extent and unfrequented, after which it went over hills and mountains and when it approached the sea and reached a river mouth, a settlement was made and the princess became its raja. This was Patani.

Here we have a tradition that three new kingdoms were founded by descendants of Mahawangsa. We cannot say in reality what were these kingdoms, or the dates when they were founded. The three names given for the new kingdoms are obviously late interpolations and do not answer to known facts. The state of Perak is very doubtful while obviously Siam, in the sense of modern Siam, must be ruled out. The directions in which the expeditions sailed have been the subject of adverse comment in that they do not accord, in the cases of Siam and Perak, with the true directions. But these are minor matters besides the main fact that the Annals record the founding of a very ancient settlement by a semi-royal founder and the founding of three other settlements by his descendants. Let us see whether actual facts show any semi-royal family connected with the earliest Indian settlements in south-eastern Asia; *guarding ourselves, however, from drawing inferences or making assertions.*

First we must note the ancient Indian settlement which the Chinese called Langga-siu.¹ It is mentioned in the *Liang Shu*, or Annals of the Liang Dynasty (502-557 A.D.) and the relevant passages have been translated by Groeneveldt (148, pp. 135-137) with which should be compared Schlegel (174, IX, pp. 191-200).

¹ 狼牙修.

The Chinese history makes it clear that in the sixth century A.D. the tradition in Langga-siu was that the country had been founded "more than 400 years ago", which would mean in the first century of the Christian era. We shall at the proper chronological period of this essay consider the identification of Langga-siu and quote the relevant passages but for the moment it will be sufficient to say that in our view the state was on the Malay Peninsula between 9° and 6° lat. N. We have therefore the ancient state of Lankasuka in the Kedah tradition and the other state of Langga-siu in the Chinese Annals. One feels reasonably safe in relating the two to each other, both on etymological grounds and probabilities.

The next kingdom to which we must look is the one to which the celebrated inscription of Vo-canĥ must be referred; this inscription will be found set out and translated by Majumdar (175, Bk. III, pp. 1-3). It refers to the royal family of Sri Mara, and it refers to a 'first conquest' though of what is unknown since again the text is missing; and it was apparently set up by an 'excellent King' whose name, however, is not mentioned. It is a Sanskrit inscription and so proves an Indian settlement at Vo-canĥ while epigraphy proves it to date from the second or third century A.D. It is usually stated to be the earliest inscription of the ancient Indian Kingdom of Champa which the Chinese called Lin-yi. Vo-canĥ is in the province of Khanh-Hoa, where there was once a province of Champa called Kauthara.

Majumdar (175, Bk. I, p. 21) says "Thus a Hindu or Hinduised dynasty was founded by Sri Mara in the second century A.D. and it was ruling over the region, later known as Kauthara, about the second or third century A.D."; but actually there is no evidence that Sri Mara founded any kingdom at all. All that the inscription says is that the king who erected it was "the delight of the family of Sri Mara" and here the inscription is perfect, no other name following Sri Mara. There are words missing after the first mention of Sri Mara though not after the second. We have no information as to who was Sri Mara or where he lived or what relation to him was the un-named king who set up the inscription. We know from Chinese records that in 137 A.D. the K'iu-lien, a barbarous people on the frontiers of Je-nan, invaded the sub-prefecture of Siang-lin which was the southern-most part of Je-nan. In 192 A.D. a king of the family of Kiu, named Lien, headed a fresh attack on Siang-lin and proclaimed himself king. Maspero has suggested that Lien and Sri Mara were the same but it is conjecture only (176, p. 51).

We have in the Vo-canĥ inscription the earliest actual record of an Indian King in south-eastern Asia, though we also have in Chinese history the King of Ye-tiao whom we have already mentioned.

Jayaswal (109 p. 169) says that "the Kaundinyas who were on the scene as early as the second century A.D. were probably the

same family who sent out a scion to Champa (Indo-China) to be the founder of the Kaundinya Kingdom there. They seem to have been imported from Northern India in the time of the Imperial Satavahanas. The family was a very respected one. They are mentioned with respect in two Malavalli inscriptions and were related to the royal family. We seem to have a historical corroboration here of the Champa tradition of the Kaundinyas. Champa received her colony from southern India led by the Kaundinyas. Another Kaundinya, in the reign of Samudra Gupta, goes to Champa and reforms the society there. He was very likely connected with this family. The Kaundinyas must have been in touch with their Champa branch, which would have been certainly to their advantage. In the second, third and fourth centuries they were thus social leaders in the South and the Colonies". Again he writes later (ibid. pp. 244-245) that "the State of Champa (Annam), according to Chinese authorities was founded in 137 A.D. Champa seems to have been mentioned under the name Angadvipa by the Vayu Purana (Chap. 48)". He says that Kiu-lien (which he writes Kin-lien) seems to be the Chinese rendering of Kaundinya.

Let us now see with what ancient states the Kaundinyas are associated. The *Liang Shu* says that the King of Poli¹ had the family name of Kaundinya (148, p. 204). The identification of this Poli is a matter of difficulty and will be treated later; for the present it is sufficient to say that it was in Malaysia. The Chinese record that "when asked about their ancestors or about their age, they do not know it but they say that the wife of Suddhodana² was a woman from their country".

Coedès (177) has shown that the inscription engraved on a slate pillar which was found in the ruins of a monument at Thap-Muoi in the Plaines des Jones is really a Funan inscription. It dates from the second half of the fifth century A.D. epigraphically and its author is stated to be Gunavarman, who is called a "King's son". His father was of the race of Kaundinya and he had put his son at the head of a domain wrested from the mud, which, Coedès says, evidently meant reclaimed by drainage and drying from the alluvion of the Mekong which constitutes to-day the Plaine des Jones. Coedès thinks that Gunavarman's father was certainly a King of Funan.

The tradition of Funan as it was stated in the first half of the third century A.D. was that it was founded by a man named Kaundinya who by means of a magic bow triumphed over the local queen Lieou-ye and then married her. The reader is referred here to Pelliot's splendid article (146) in the *Etudes Asiatiques*. Kaundinya was said to have come from Wou-wen but where was that?

¹波利 (=P'o-Li 婆利).

²The father of Buddha.

In a footnote to his *Deux Itinéraires* (129, p. 386, n. 2) Pelliot says that de Lacouperie identified Wou-wen with Oman and the coast of India but this identification he himself discards. Pelliot eventually considered Wou-wen to be on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula (146, p. 248) but he works this out by a process which the reader should study, and to which we shall have to refer later.

The Kaundinya tradition was carried on in Cambodia after the Khmers broke away from Funan as we shall see in the next period of this essay.

Lastly in Borneo, at Kutei on the east coast, there was found an inscription which dates epigraphically from 400 A.D. circ. and which records three Kings—Mulavarman, the author of the inscription, son of Asvavarman, son of Kundunga or as some have written it Kundanga. Kundangga seems to be a Tamil word; can it be Kaundinya? If Poli were Borneo, as some think, then it would seem that it might be so, since the Chinese recorded Kaundinya as the king's family name there.

The reader's attention is particularly drawn to the interesting note which Dr. Chhabra has sent us concerning the name Kundanga; it will be found in the Appendix hereto.

However all that may be, we can say that we have an Indian family, the Kaundinyas, connected with Poli, Funan, Cambodia, and possibly Champa. May it not be that there was one original Kaundinya in south-eastern Asia and his descendants founded other kingdoms? Is it possible that the Kedah Annals still preserve the tradition of such things having happened? Is it conceivable that Sri Marong Mahawangsa, *i.e.* the Great Family, was the original Sri Mara and that descendant princes went to Funan and to Poli (Borneo)?¹ The Kedah Annals, like the *Sejarah Melayu*, suffer from re-editing and a telescoping of history but we do know that Kedah was a very ancient Indian settlement since it contained at one time² records that date epigraphically from 400 A.D. circ. Had it not been for Col. Low we should have known nothing of this for he was the only person who did any archaeological exploration in Kedah until Mr. Ivor Evans did a little not so long ago. Col. Low's archaeological work is preserved in the Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indo-China (178) but there are also notes concerning it in his translation of the Kedah Annals. These Annals record that the old Hindu idols and remains were destroyed when the country became Mohamedan and Low says that "the remains of numerous

¹Mr. Linehan informs me that Seri Ismara is the title of one of the royal family in Kelantan (Tengku Seri Ismara Raja) and that in the 15th century Pahang was ruled by a prince of the family of Paduka Bubunnya (see this Journal, vol. xiv, pt. 2, p. 12). Is there any connection with Sri Mara and Kaundinya? R.B.

²*i.e.* before the British possessed Province Wellesley, which had been part of the State of Kedah. R.B.

temples which I discovered being induced to the search first accidentally by having seen some loose bricks lying in a spot in the forest, and afterwards from reading the above noticed passages, when joined to the ruins of almost every fort and site described in this history of Kedah likewise found by me, are so far satisfactory that they verify the main points of that history" (121, p. 481). He also found several ruins of ancient tombs near Kedah Peak (ibid. p. 257) where bodies were interred and these had been built close to "Sivaic temples". "The Malays who were along with me expressed their opinion, founded on certain anatomical appearances which I cannot at present describe that the occupants of these tombs were not of the Malayan race, but were most likely Klings".

Dealing with the various places where the Annals say that the capital or palace was situated from time to time Low says that "traces of the wall of the fort of Srokam still exist, shewing that it was partly erected with the laterite found close at hand, and lining the north bank of the river." He also says that "Sungei Mas was explored by me. It is a small stream falling into the old channel of the Muda River. The appearance of bricks scattered about, tends to corroborate our author's account of it".

It is very clear that Kedah was much fuller of archaeological remains in 1849 than to-day and one can only deplore the loss of valuable information brought about by neglect of these remains nearly all of which have long since disappeared. But there must be much living tradition in Kedah well worthy of record and one hopes that what has been written above will stimulate somebody to add to our present information about this historically most important State.

We can now conclude by returning to Ptolemy and his Iabadiou but unfortunately this island cannot be placed without some general consideration of Ptolemy's coastal positions beyond the Chersonese. They will be found set out in the Appendix, together with the distances from the preceding place as given by Ptolemy and rendered into kilometres by Berthelot.

We left Ptolemy at the Perimoulikos Gulf $162^{\circ} 30'$, 4° N., where he ends the Golden Chersonese. He next takes us to the country of the Leistai, concerning which he tells us elsewhere in Chapter 2 of Book VII that the inhabitants lived in caves and looked like beasts, having skins like a hippotamus, so hard that arrows would not pierce them. Above their country was a broken wild region containing elephants and tigers, and above that again was a territory in which lived the Kodoutai, Barraï, Sindoi and Daonai which last people lived near the river Daonas. These peoples in their turn lived below a country called Khalkitis where there were very many copper mines.

The name Leistai is generally taken not to be a transliteration but the Greek name for robbers or pirates and Ptolemy seems

to be corroborated as to them by archaeological evidence of cave-dwelling and by references in later Chinese records to pirates and to people with skin shields that threw off arrows. These records will be considered at their proper chronological time.

From the country of the Leistai Ptolemy takes us round what he calls the Great Gulf and thence to the country of the Sinai. Journey's end for him is Kattigara beyond the River Kattiaris but unfortunately owing to his misconceptions it is almost impossible to follow Ptolemy once he leaves the Chersonese. The mathematical method breaks down absolutely; the philological produces its usual results; and we are left only with such deductions, if any, as can be made by comparing his data with known facts. Two things seem principally to have thrown Ptolemy out; the first a passage from Marinus of Tyre (given in 53, p. 390) which caused him to place all his positions in the country of the Leistai facing due south and the second a belief that the line of coast from the country of the Leistai made a great bay to the Sinai, proceeded southwards to Kattigara and then enclosed the Indian Ocean into a vast lake surrounded by 'Unknown Land'. These two main errors combined with mistakes of longitude and latitude must have reflected themselves in our opinion in the positions which Ptolemy gave to the islands which he placed in the seas around the Chersonese. If the reader will look back to the maps which accompanied the last part of this essay he will see the general results of Ptolemy's geography and will understand the difficulties which face any attempt to fit them to the true facts.

The two most important places to locate are Kattigara and Zabac which he tells us was the intermediate calling place between the Chersonese and the Sinai and which was in the country of the Leistai. If moreover, one could fit Ptolemy's physical facts with reality that would be a great help; but one cannot, as we shall indicate.

Kattigara can be placed on historical reasoning but not on mathematical, which latter gives Amoy according to Berthelot, Hang-chou according to Gerini and Kotawaringin in Borneo according to Rylands! Ptolemy was writing during the later or Eastern Han Dynasty when the capital of China was at Loyang near the present Honanfu (151, pp. 46, 124, 126). It is clear from Chinese records that the sea-route at the time when Ptolemy wrote ended at a place in either the commandery of Je-nan or that of Giau-chi. Chang says that it seems to be generally agreed that Kattigara was on the north-eastern coast of Annam though there is disagreement as to exactly in what part of that region it was to be found (154, p. 3); that is to say, that it was in Je-nan. But Pelliot (129, p. 133) says that Kiao-tche (Giau-chi) or Tongking was the terminus-point of the navigation where the envoys who said that they came from Marcus Aurelius disembarked in A.D. 166; Rawlinson thinks that

Kattigara is probably Kiau-chi in Tongking (33, p. 136); Warmington thinks that the identification of Kattigara with Hanoi or Kiau-chi in the gulf and district of Tongking is perhaps right; Latourette (151, p. 129) says that the main port in the south was in Tongking; and Kuwabara takes the terminal point as Tongking (179, 2, p. 72). Ptolemy tells us that the road from the capital of the Sinai ran south-west to the harbour of Kattigara and since Giau-chi was the northernmost commandery of the Chinese and Je-nan the southern-most it seems to us that Giau-chi or Tongking suits best. Chinese records make it clear that the terminal point of the sea-route only moved to Canton much later. It is very clear that great wealth was pouring into the commanderies from the sea-trade because the *Hou Han Shu* speaks a deal of the avariciousness of the governors and the vast wealth which they acquired (179, 7, pp. 52-53).

We take Kattigara therefore, to have been in Tongking in which case the River Kattiaris would seem to have been the Red River.

Zabae is a problem to which the answer seems impossible. The only facts about the place are that it was the intermediate calling place between the Chersonese and Kattigara, that it was 20 days' sail from the Chersonese though from what part of that peninsula is not stated, and that ships sailings from Zabae went south and then more to the left to reach the coast of the Sinai.

Berthelot (53, p. 120) also quotes Ptolemy as saying that Zabae had a longest day of 12 hours and 15 minutes, the sun passing there twice a year at the zenith at $78^{\circ} 54'$ in the summer solstice each time. Ptolemy gave it a latitude of $4^{\circ} 55'$, or forty minutes north of Takola. Berthelot puts it near the present Bangkok; Gerini near the present Saigon; Yule identified it with Champa because of the name; and Warmington dubiously suggests that it was 'near the southern end of Cochinchina'.

If only one could fit Ptolemy's physical data with the facts, it would be a great help. He mentions 3 gulfs—the Great Gulf, the Theriodes Gulf and the Gulf of the Sinai; 8 rivers—the Sobanos, the Daonas, the Dorias, the Seros, the Aspithras, the Ambastos, the Sinos and the Kattiaris; and 4 main divisions of land—the promontory at the beginning of the Great Gulf, the beginning of the Great Gulf on the coast of the Sinai, Cape Notion and the Cape of the Satyrs.

His main mountains are:—

Mt. Bepyron, whose extremities lie	..	$148^{\circ}, 34^{\circ}$ and $154^{\circ}, 26^{\circ}$
Mt. Maiandros, " " "	..	$152^{\circ}, 24^{\circ}$ " $162^{\circ}, 16^{\circ}$
Dabasa Range, " " "	..	$162^{\circ}, 23^{\circ}$ " $166^{\circ}, 33^{\circ}$
Mt. Semathenon, whose western end is		$170^{\circ}, 33^{\circ}$.

From these mountains most of Ptolemy's rivers flow. From Mt. Bepyrion two rivers flow into the Ganges; from Mt. Maiandros descend the rivers beyond the Ganges as far as the Besyngas but the Seros River flows from Mt. Semathenon from two sources of which the most western lies $170^{\circ} 30'$, 32° , and the most eastern lies $173^{\circ} 30'$, $30'$ their confluence being at 171° , 27° .

From the Dabasa Range flow the Daonas and the Dorias, the former also running from as far as Mt. Bepyrion; the positions which he gives for the two rivers are:—

Source of Dorias .. .. .	..	164° 30'	28°
Source of Daonas in the Dabasa Range..		162°	27° 30'
Source of Daonas in Mt. Bepyrion ..		153° 30'	27° 30'
Confluence .. .. .	..	160° 20'	19°

The River Sobanos flows from Mt. Maiandros, its source being $164^{\circ} 30'$, 28° .

Of the rivers in the country of the Sinai Ptolemy tells us that the source of the Aspithras lies in the eastern part of Mt. Semathenon 179° , 16° ; that the source of the Ambastos lies 179° , 15° but he says nothing else about it; that the source of the Kattiaris lies 180° , 2° S. and that it breaks off from the Sinos at 179° , equator, but he does not say anything as to the source of these two rivers.

The Peninsula of Indo-China from which depends the Malay Peninsula is the daughter of its rivers. Three long chains of mountains descending from the Himalaya—Tibetan massif create four large basins where flow four great rivers, the Irrawaddy, the Menam, the Mekong and the Red River. The main vertebra of French Indo-China is known by the name of the Grand Cordillera which separates the upper basin of the Mekong from that of the Red River and the coastal basins of the Gulf of Tongking.

The main rivers besides the Menam, the Mekong and the Red River in the area beyond the Chersonese seem to be the Me-Klong in Siam, the Donnai or Dong-nai in Cochinchina, the Song Ma and the Song Ca in Annam.

The most notable Capes are, starting from the north, Cape Batangan, Cape Varella, Cape Padaran and Point Ca-mau or Cape Cambodia as we call it; and in the Gulf of Siam, Point Samit, Cape Liant and the bulge of land south of the Bay of Bandon after which there is Cape Patani in the Malay Peninsula.

If one takes the Sobanos as the Me-Klong one goes against Ptolemy's data as to its source. If one takes the Sobanos as the Menam, then all Ptolemy's positions seems to be wrong and what becomes of the Great Gulf? We do not wish to elaborate but merely suggest to the reader that he tries to fit Ptolemy's mountains, rivers and capes with actual facts, and we think that he will

agree with us that if Kattigara was in the Gulf of Tongking it cannot be done, still less if Kattigara were in Je-nan.

To us it is axiomatic that any identification to be logical must do justice (even though it only be very rough justice) to Ptolemy's data ; it cannot go against them. As Berthelot says (53, p. 391) "The mouth of the Sobanos could only be identified with that of the Menam by supposing a categorical mistake on the part of Ptolemy. That kind of supposition opens the field to all kinds of imagination".

In Ptolemy's list of places there are two which he dignifies by the name of capital or metropolis, Balonga and Kordathra both of which are on the coasts of the Great Gulf before the coast of the Sinai is reached ; between them lies the river Daonas. We know that according to tradition Funan was founded in the first century but we do not know where ; we also know that there was a Hindu State at Vo-canb which is identified with Champa. Each of these States presumably had a capital. It is obvious that Ptolemy's States were sea-faring ones since they had capitals on the coast and not up rivers or at river-mouths. Balonga on philological grounds is said to be the Cham Bal-Angwe which Gerini says means 'capital of Angwe', the latter being the Indian name *Anga* for Champa. The reader recollects *Anga-dvipa* in the Puranas. Kordathra, a variant for which is Kortatha, is generally taken to represent Kauthara and there was at one time a Kauthara in southern Champa. But neither of the places will fit Ptolemy's data as to the river Daonas, nor as to their occurring before the coast of the Sinai is reached.

As we have said, an identification must either fit reasonably with Ptolemy's data or else it must be rejected. It seems to us that Ptolemy's route beyond the Khersonese is impossible to follow upon that principle and therefore any identification is sheer guess-work.

One thing, however, seems clear, namely, that Ptolemy's misconceptions are such that they must affect his placing of the islands. This is what he says as to them :—

"The following islands are reported in the part of India already considered

Bazakata	144° 30'	9° 30'
Saline	147°	9° 20'

"It is said that in this island there are a large number of shell-fish and that the inhabitants always are naked and call themselves Aginnatai.

"There are also three cannibal islands, the Sindai : that in the middle is situated 152° 20' 8° 20' S.

"The island of the Good Spirit .. 145° 4° 15'

" The five Barousai islands, the inhabitants of which are said to be cannibals : that in the middle is situated 152° 20' 5° 20' S.

" The Sabadibai, three cannibal islands ; that in the middle is situated 160° 8° 30' S.

" Iabadiou which means ' island of barley ', it is said that this island is very fertile, that it produces a great quantity of gold and that it has a metropolis named Argyre, situated at its western extremity 167° 8° 30' S.

" The eastern extremity of the island is situated 169° 8' 10 S.

" The three isles of the Satyrs ; that in the middle is situated 171° 6° 10' S.

" It is said that their inhabitants have tails like those which are attributed to the satyrs.

" It is reported also that there are ten continuous islands named Maniolai where it is said that ships using iron nails are held back, perhaps because these islands produce the stone of Heracles ; also ships are constructed there with wooden pegs ; they are inhabited by cannibals, called Maniolai, and that in the middle is situated 142° 2° S."

How can we identify these islands ? So far there is a great divergence of opinion and, we suggest, a considerable lack of logic. It seems to us that certain facts must be borne prominently in mind when one approaches the problem.

The first of these facts is that Ptolemy's main positions in Book VII all lie along *coasts* ; he follows sea-routes and only after he has given coastal positions does he tell us about mountains and rivers, peoples and towns in the hinterlands.

The second is that the classic sea-route ran from the east coast of the Peninsula of India to the west coast of the Peninsula of Indo-China, *thence down the Straits of Malacca*, round the Malay Peninsula and onwards. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that there is absolutely no evidence for the use of the Straits of Sunda during the whole period with which this essay proposes to deal, that is, up to the 14th century A.D. These Straits came into use when cargoes were carried to Europe round the Cape of Good Hope and that did not occur until Portuguese times. The classic route used by Ptolemy's informants and described by the Chinese and Arabs ran always through the Straits of Malacca.

Berthelot does not appreciate these things in what he wrote about Iabadiou (53, pp. 406-7). He says that Java was the terminus of the route down the west coast of Sumatra and he says that Argyre was on the celebrated Straits of Sunda. Had he admitted what we have written above his placing of the islands must have differed.

The third fact is that Ptolemy's informants were mariners and merchants familiar with the coasts which he was describing and that his distances were derived from sailing distances given to him by these informants. Such distances must have been very variable but Ptolemy reduced them to a fixed 516 stadia per day.

The last fact is an immensely important one, namely that the ships sailed on monsoon winds which blow regularly.

Thus, Kuwabara says (179, 2, p. 36) "all ships, whether Chinese or foreign, being sailing ships, came to China with the south-west wind from the end of the fourth moon to the sixth moon, and the outgoing ships went with the north-east wind from the end of the tenth moon to the twelfth moon, so that the half year from May to October was the busiest time at the sea-ports". In a further note (ibid. p. 72) he shows how the monk I-Tsing in 671 A.D. and the Japanese prince Takawoka in 866 A.D. sailed from India respectively in the eleventh moon and the first moon. This meant that the ships left India on the north-east monsoon.

The ships from China on the return journey sailed on the north-east monsoon and must have sailed direct as coastal trade in the Gulf of Siam and on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula is only possible to sailing craft in the south-west monsoon.

Horsburgh's *India Directory*, 1827, is a most useful book to consult though one must bear in mind always that Horsburgh was writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the general facts as to winds and tides would be the same in Ptolemy's time as in Horsburgh's, we think, though the ability of the ships to take advantage of them would be entirely different.

The south-west monsoon prevails outside of Acheen Head from April to October and seldom blows far into the Straits of Malacca but being obstructed by Sumatra it frequently causes stormy weather in the Straits, and south-east and southerly winds prevail much, though they vary frequently in every direction. The Sumatras or squalls from southward are frequent in this monsoon, also northwesterly are more common than in the other season. Accordingly the north-east Monsoon is the fair season throughout the Straits and so was the trading season on the west coast of the Peninsula just as the south-west was on the east coast.

Horsburgh says that 'ships can proceed through the Straits in both monsoons, whether bound to the northward or southward; but those going to the northward, generally make the quickest passages, and sometimes get through, without anchoring above once or twice'.

In the Indian Ocean the north-east monsoon begins in October or early November and continues until April; this is the fair weather monsoon in the Bay of Bengal, the winds being more moderate and settled than in the other.

In the China Sea the south-west monsoon generally begins about the middle or end of April and continues to the beginning or middle of October, liable to an acceleration or retardation of 12 to 15 days in one season from another. It is at its strongest and least liable to changes in June, July and August. The north-east monsoon frequently begins in the northern part of the China Sea about the end of September or early in October ; but in the southern part of this sea it seldom sets in steadily until November. It reaches its greatest strength throughout the Sea in December and January abating in February.

The result of all this is that from October to April ships were converging upon the Malay Peninsula from India and from China, returning home during the remaining of the twelve months, while coastal trading proceeded most actively on the west coast from October to April and most actively on the east coast from April to October. The obvious result must have been a large transshipment trade and the creation of markets or entre-pots. Ptolemy gives us three such ; Takola on the west coast, Thipinobastai on the east and Sabara in the extreme south. Moreover, cross-routes over the Peninsula capable of being used for the transport of goods would have been very useful and, as we have seen, there were such.

A day's run coming down on the strong north-east monsoon from China would bear no relation to a day's run in the Straits of Malacca or in the Gulf of Siam on coastal trade ; but Ptolemy as we have just noticed reduced them all to one average of 516 stadia. His positions suffered as a result and this must be borne in mind in connection with the islands particularly.

Turning now to these islands we make the proposal that they were mariner's islands and not landsmen's. They were islands that were mentioned in connection with a sea-route and not because they were otherwise important. It must be obvious that Ptolemy's informants were familiar with hundreds of islands beyond the ones mentioned by Ptolemy. Why then did Ptolemy only mention the few he did ? Because they were nautically the most important seems to us the only answer that is fair to Ptolemy and his informants.

It is generally taken that Bazakata, Saline, the Good Spirit and the Maniolai are the Andamans and Nicobars. Thus Berthelot identifies Bazakata and Saline with the Andamans, the Maniolai with the Nicobars and the Good Spirit with Car-Nicobar ; Gerini identifies Bazakata with the main Andamans, Saline with Car-Nicobar, the Maniolai with the Nicobars and the Good Spirit with the Great Nicobar. The Andamans and Nicobars are obviously what we term mariner's islands and when the voyage across the Bay of Bengal was being explained to Ptolemy these islands must have been mentioned ; the more southerly of the Nicobars would be out of the sailors' route though not entirely unknown to them

and this will probably explain the way in which Ptolemy introduced the Maniolai islands and his language concerning them. It is, however, curious that Ptolemy named the Good Spirit between the Sindai and the Barusai. In Renou's edition it is not stated whether the latitude given was north or south ; in McCrindle (180) the positions are 145° 15', equator.

Except for the Good Spirit the rest of the islands form an arc round the Chersonese. We should expect Ptolemy to mention such islands as were the most important or outstanding sailor's marks in the Straits of Malacca and between the Chersonese and Indo-China ; and it can be argued that in fact he did so. Our suggestion will at least produce something logical which we think has not been offered by those others whose explanations we have seen.

Berthelot identifies the Sindai with the Batu Islands off Sumatra ; the Barousai with Barus in Sumatra saying that Sumatra was long thought to be a group of islands ; the Sabadibai were southwest of Sumatra near Bengkoelen ; the Satyrs were Bangka and Billiton with a fragment of Sumatra as the third island ; Iabadiou he says is obviously Java.

Gerini gives the Sindai as the Pogy (Pagi) islands off the west coast of Sumatra at Indrapoera ; the Barousai as the Nias islands off the west coast of Sumatra at Barus ; the Sabadibai (which word he says is the same as Saba-dvipa) are the Si-Berut group off the west coast of Sumatra ; the Satyrs are the Great Anambas or Siantan group ; and Iabadiou is for Gerini Sumatra and emphatically not Java.

McCrindle (180) cites Lassen who says that the northernmost of the Sindai islands " must be Pulo-Rapat, on the coast of Sumatra, the middle one the more southern, Pulo-Pangor, and the island of Agatho-Daimon one of the Salat Mankala group ". Agatho-Daimon is, of course, what we have called the Good Spirit. McCrindle thinks that it could not have been one of the Sindai islands as Lassen asserted. For the Barusai he gives Yule's explanation that they were the Nicobars. Of the Sabadibai he says that the latter part of this name represented the sanskrit *dvipa* and that they are probably " those lying east from the more southern parts of Sumatra ". Iabadiou he takes to be Java and says that Mannert took it to be Banka. Of the Satyrs he says that Lassen took two of them to be Madura and Bali, the third being probably Lombok. Yule thought them to be connected, as also the Sindai, with the islands of Sondur and Condur. Yule thought that " it would not be difficult to show that Ptolemy's islands have been located almost at random, or as from a pepper-caster ".

And that, indeed, is how they must have been located if the identifications we have set out or any of them were correct. But why should such a thing ever have happened ? If Ptolemy could

describe the route with reasonable accuracy as far as the country of the Leistai, why should he be so absurd as to give us islands off the west coast of Sumatra and either Java or else Sumatra in an impossible position? Is it not the explainers and not Ptolemy who have located the islands as from a pepper-castor?

Bunbury (55, II, pp. 608, 643-4) has some observations as to Iabadiou which are worthy of note. At p. 608 he writes:—"It is strange also that no indication appears to have reached the ears of Ptolemy of the vast archipelago of islands—many of them of very large size—which so closely adjoined the Malay peninsula to the East. He has indeed the names of several islands in these seas, but none of them of any considerable size, except one to which he gives the name of Iabadiou or Sabadius (the reading is uncertain), which he represents as two degrees of longitude in length, and describes as very fertile and containing abundance of gold, with a capital city named Argyre (or the Silver City) as its western extremity. This has been generally identified with Java, but the resemblance of name is dubious, and the other statements concerning it would certainly apply better to Sumatra. It appears indeed absolutely incredible that he should have been acquainted with the smaller and more distant of these two great islands, and have had no information concerning the larger one, which is so much closer to the Malay Peninsula".

He carries his argument further in the Appendix at pp. 643-4, and concludes "It seems not improbable that in this case, as in several others, he mixed up particulars which really referred to the two different islands and applied them to one only; but it is strange that if he had any information concerning such islands as Sumatra and Java, he should have no notion that they were of very large size, at the same time that he had such greatly exaggerated ideas of the dimensions of Ceylon".

It is noteworthy that philologically Iabadiou is not the equivalent of Yava-dvipa but is evolved from Yavadviva, a prakrit form; yet when Ptolemy wants to render the sanskrit *dvīpa* he does so by using *dībai* or *dība*, as in Sabadībai and Nagadība. It seems, however, to be quite clear that his note as to Iabadiou is a rendering of what the Ramayana says as to Yava-dvipa.

We suggest that there was no need for Ptolemy to have mentioned either Sumatra or Java but that an omission of Borneo would be extraordinary. The route, it must be remembered, was from Palura on the west coast of India to Sada in Lower Burma and then down the Straits of Malacca. Sumatra does not come into that at all and coasting down the Straits it would either have been invisible or a mere low and faint silhouette on the horizon. Sumatra was only important to ships that sailed across from Ceylon and Ptolemy's did not. Java again was far away since Ptolemy's route went round the Malay Peninsula and up the

east coast. Sailing on the northeast monsoon from Tongking to the Chersonese, however, knowledge of Borneo is inescapable and directly such voyages began the great island must have been known, for many ships must have been blown there out of their course while many others must have gone down there deliberately.

We are dealing with an arc of islands round the Chersonese the east end of which is more northerly by $2^{\circ} 10'$, Ptolemaic, than the west. The islands at the east end are the Satyrs and one correlates them with the Cape of the Satyrs in the country of the Sinai. As Berthelot says (53, p. 414, n.) the Cape of the Satyrs is so-called because on Ptolemy's map it comes opposite the Isles of the Satyrs. Since Ptolemy has gone all wrong in his exposition of the countries beyond the Chersonese, one must, to get any idea of the real facts, take his country of the Leistai and bend it up north, pushing his Great Gulf round and bending it up north again when the country of the Sinai is reached. If this is done, then the arc of islands must also be pulled up north some Ptolemaic degrees. We shall then get an arc of islands which we can place logically and with little difficulty.

The Satyrs become the Natunas and Iabadiou becomes Borneo or rather the western coast of Borneo from about where Brunei is to Cape Api facing the Api passage. Ptolemy's informants would either know nothing about the real shape of Borneo and its eastern coasts or else have told Ptolemy merely about the coast which they used. We notice that the name Saba is connected in present maps with the north-eastern part of the island in British North Borneo; and that Saban is a tribal name amongst the Muruts (11, i p. 35) while one of the principal Chiefs of the Madangs is or was called Saba Irang (11, ii p. 286) but we draw no inferences at all from these facts.

Ptolemy quite clearly puts Iabadiou *east*¹ and south of the Chersonese and the maps in the last part of this essay show how the islands lay according to his positions. Moreover, the *western* extremity of Iabadiou was 20 minutes *south* of the eastern according to Ptolemy. That will not fit Java at all but it does fit the part of Borneo which we have given. To us it seems that Ptolemy's data fit Borneo but not Sumatra or Java.

The next nearest islands are the three Sabadibai. The name should be noted because if Ptolemy's name was Sabadiou or Sabadius,² then Sabadibai is in keeping and Sabara or Sabana the most southerly point of the Chersonese is again in keeping. According to Ptolemy the centre of the Sabadibai was in the same latitude as the west end of Iabadiou but 7° west of it. The

¹The easternmost position on the Chersonese is Kole $164^{\circ} 20'$, whereas Iabadiou is 167° at its western extremity and so just over $2\frac{1}{2}$ Ptolemaic degrees (125 geographical miles) east of the Chersonese. R.B.

²Or Zabadiou as Coomaraswamy notes it in the passage cited *supra* p. [18]. R.B.

longitudinal position is the same as that of Sabara and we must therefore look for islands which will agree roughly with the position of Sabara and the Api Passage ; we find ourselves in the Rhio Archipelago which is exactly where we ought to be, for that is where one of the sea-routes would go. It is, of course, true that Ptolemy's 7° west or 350 miles is much too far ; but his positions must be rejected for any except general directional purposes.

The next islands are the three Sindai, the middle of which was 10 minutes north of the Sabadibai but 7° 80' west of them. They are followed by the five Barousai in the same longitude as the Sindai but 3° north of them. Both sets of islands are west of the Chersonese. In their Ptolemaic positions they correspond with no actuality but they do correspond generally with the Carimon Islands² and the Five Islands as the Chinese at first called Malacca from the islands opposite it. Both these sets of islands were and are essential landmarks for sailors in the Straits of Malacca.

To us it is inconceivable that Ptolemy's informants could have said nothing about the Natunas, Borneo, the Rhio Archipelago, the Carimon and the Five Islands. No mariner could ever have omitted them in describing the sea-route from east to west or the last two in describing the Straits of Malacca.

If Iabadiou were Borneo, then why did Ptolemy correlate it with the Yava-dvipa of the Ramayana ? Possibly because he learnt that Borneo was fertile and contained gold ; possibly because, as Bunbury suggests, he confused places ; or possibly because Borneo actually was the Yava-dvipa of the Ramayana. It certainly had a very definite gold history ; Hose and McDougall say that " in south-west Borneo there are traces of very extensive washings of alluvial gravels for gold and diamonds. These operations were being conducted by Chinese when Europeans first came to the country ; and the extent of the old workings implies that they had been continued through many centuries " (11, i, p. 17 ; see also i, pp. 28-9 ; ii, p. 306).

The problem presented by the identification of Iabadiou with Borneo is a much smaller one than that presented if either Java or Sumatra is taken. It is to us the only identification which makes sense of the islands and does justice to Ptolemy's intelligence, the positions which he gives and the facts of his sea-routes.

We have now finished the Pre-Funan part of our essay and have shown, we believe, that there are many gaps in our knowledge and many directions in which further research is not merely profitable but necessary.

(To be continued).

²Actually there are four islands in this group but they look like three. R.B.

APPENDIX.

VAYU PURANA Ch. 48.

Translated by Prof. N. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

- 1-10. South of Bhārata Varsa, beyond a distance of 10,000 yojanas by sea, there is a dvīpa—three thousand yojanas long and one third as broad. It is full of varieties of flowers and fruits. There is in that island a famous kula-parvata Vidyutvanta with many crests. There are thousands of rivers and tanks with clear and sweet waters. In the different parts of the mountain are towns where lived men and women in happiness. People there have long moustaches, are dark in hue, become aged 80 at the time of birth, live on roots and fruits like monkeys, and devoid of *ācāras* (religious observances) like cattle. That island is full of such men and manikins.
- 10-12. Round about are other islands spreading over twenty, thirty, fifty, sixty, eighty, a hundred, and a thousand yojanas; these are small islands scattered in groups, and collectively known as Barhinadvīpa.
- 13-18. There are six other provinces (pradesa) of Jambūdvīpa in different shapes. These are Anga dvīpa, Yama dvīpa¹, Malaya dvīpa, Sankha dvīpa, Kusa dvīpa, and Varaha dvīpa. Of these Anga dvīpa is of a large size and is full of different clans and groups of *mlecchas*, and contains many rivers, trees, forests and hills, famous for its mines of gold and coral, being near the salt sea. There in the midst of Nāgadesa is a mountain Cakraḡiri which contains a number of waterfalls and caves, and which touches the sea on either side with its extremities.
- 19-25. Yama dvīpa again is full of mines. The hill here is known Dyutimān, the source of rivers and of gold. In the same way Malaya dvīpa has mines of precious stones and gold, besides sandalwood and ocean mines. It is full of groups of *mlecchas* and has many rivers and hills. The hill here is Malaya and contains silver mines. The noble mountain is reputed as the Mahāmalaya. A second mountain (is there) Mandara by name, a beautiful hill with flowers and fruits resorted to by *devarsis* (Divine Sages). There is the venerable abode of Agastya revered by devas and Asuras. There is Kāncapada other than the Malaya hill, and it is the holy hermitage rich in kusa grass and soma. It is a veritable Paradise. In every parva it is said that Heaven descends here.

¹ Surely Yavadvīpa is meant. (Translator's Note.)

- 26-30. In the same way there is the Trikūta nilaya, in height many yojanas and full of charming caves and crests. On its top is the great city of Lankā with palatial buildings, ever contented and prosperous. Its area is 100 by 30 yojanas. It is the residence of great Rāksasas who can assume different disguises and who were defiant enemies of the devas. It is inaccessible to ordinary human beings. In front of that dvīpa and on the shore of the sea, there is a great Siva temple known as Gokarna.
- 31-33. Sankhadvīpa which is an *ekarājya* (under one monarch) has an area of 100 yojanas and is full of mlecchas. There is Sankhagiri which has a number of mines and is served by many holy men. From this the sacred river Sankha-nāgā takes its source. It is the residence of Nāga king Sankhamukha.
- 34-35. Kumudadvīpa is full of different flowers, villages, and mines. Here is the deity Kumuda who is the vanquisher of the wicked and who is a sister of Mahādeva.
- 36-40. Varāhadvīpa again contains many mleccha ganas (groups) and different other communities. There are a number of towns. It is noted for its wealth and prosperity and also for righteous men. It has a number of rivers, hills and forests. Here is Varāhaparvata, a tall and charming hill, full of caves and caverns and waterfalls. From it rises the great river Vārāhī, the holy river of good drinking waters. Here people worship Varāha Vishnu to the exclusion of other deities.
- 41-3. Thus are the six sub-dvīpas; the south of Bhārata dvīpa extends to a great distance. Thus this one varsa has a number of dvīpas, separated by sea and standing in groups. Thus has been told the extent of Jambudvīpa with its four mahādvīpas, the intermediate (antara) dvīpas, and the sub-dvīpas (anudvīpa).

PTOLEMY'S COASTAL POSITIONS BEYOND THE GOLDEN CHERSONESE.

. Renou's edition of Book VII.

(with variants from McCRINDLE (180) in footnotes).

Chapter 2.

In the country of the Leistai:

¹ Smarade	.. .. .	(70K)	163° 30'	4° 50 N.
² Patrasa	.. .. .	(158K)	165°	4° 50 N.
³ Sobanos, mouth of the river..		(54K)	165° 20'	4° 45 N.

¹Long: 163°

²Pagrasa.

³Long: 165° 40'

¹ Thipinobastai, emporium ..	(52K)	166° 20'	4° 45' N.
Akadra	(54K)	167°	4° 45' N.
² Zabai, town	(106K)	168° 20'	4° 45' N.

In the Great Gulf :

³ Promontory at the beginning of this gulf	(66K)	169°	4° 15' N.
Thagora	(160K)	168°	6° N.
Balanga, metropolis	(88K)	167° 30'	7° N.
Throana	(125K)	167°	8° 30' N.
⁴ Daonas, mouth of the river ..	(118K)	167°	10' N.
⁵ Kordathra, metropolis	(236K)	167°	12° 30' N.
Sinda, town	(151K)	167° 15'	14° 20' N.
Pagrasa	(24K)	167° 30'	14° 30' N.
Dorias, mouth of the river ..	(111K)	168°	15° 30' N.
⁶ Aganagora	(121K)	169°	16° 20' N.
Seros, mouth of the river ..	(242K)	171° 30'	17° 20' N.
⁷ The beginning of the Great Gulf on the coast of the Sinai		170° 20'	17° 20' N.

Chapter 3.

The Sinai are bounded, on the north, by the part of Serike already indicated, on the east and south by an unknown land ; on the west by Trans-gangetic India, following the line already defined as far as the Great Gulf, by the Great Gulf itself and by the gulfs situated after it, which are called Theriodes and that of the Sinai where live the Ethiopian Ichthyophagoi,—according to the following contour :—

After the beginning of the Gulf on the coast of India :

⁸ Aspithras, mouth of the river	(190K)	175° 30'	16° N.
⁹ Bramma, town	(600K)	176° 40'	8° 30' N.
¹⁰ Ambastos, mouth of the river.	(200K)	177°	10° N.
¹¹ Rabana, town	(118K)	177°	8° 30' N.
¹² Sinos, mouth of the river ..	(166K)	176° 20'	6° 30' N.
¹³ Notion, Cape	(224K)	176°	4° N.

¹Pithonobaste.

²Long : 168° 40'

³Long : 169° 30'.

⁴Doanas.

⁵Kortatha.

⁶Aganagara.

⁷The end of the Great Gulf towards the Sinai ; 173°, 17° 20'.

⁸Aspithra, long : 170°

⁹177°, 12° 30' N.

¹⁰Ambastes ; 176°.

¹¹Rhabana.

¹²Sainos.

¹³The Southern Cape ; 175° 15'.

¹ Theriodes, bottom of the Gulf			
of	(176K)	176°	2° N.
Cape of the Satyrs	(176K)	175°	equator.

And in the Gulf of the Sinai where live the Ethiopian Ichthyophagoi :

² Kattiaris, mouth of the river	(572K)	177°	7° S.
Kattigara, the anchorage of			
the Sinai	(118K)	177°	8° 30' S.

Dr. B. CH. CHHABRA.

[I submitted the type-script of this article to Dr. Chhabra and he very kindly sent me the following note in a hand-written letter. For reasons of type all the diacritical marks have had to be left out and also two sanskrit names.—*R.B.*]

" You consider the name Kundunga of the grandfather of Mulavarman of Kutei (East Borneo), and seem inclined to identify it with Kaundinya. I also held the same view at first, but later I had to give it up. It is indeed very tempting to connect the word Kundunga with the world Kaundinya, considering the apparent phonetic resemblance between the two. We must, however, bear in mind that Mulavarman's inscriptions are all couched in pure Sanskrit and there is absolutely no justification for our assuming that the author of his inscriptions has employed the corrupt form Kundunga for Kaundinya. On the other hand, when we consider how well-versed he is in Sanskrit and how thoroughly familiar he is with the Vedic and Puranic literature as is evident from the inscriptions themselves, we can safely conclude that he should have used the right word Kaundinya, had this latter indeed been intended. It follows, therefore, that we have to accept Kundunga as the properly spelt name of Mulavarman's grandfather. There is, however, no doubt that the name in question has not the appearance of a Sanskrit one, and as such it stands conspicuous in all the four Yupa Inscriptions of King Mulavarman. It has been conjectured by several scholars (and I have also pointed out in my essay "Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule", *J.A.S.B. Letters*, vol. 1, p. 39) that Kundunga can be a Tamil name. In support of this view Prof. Krom cited a similar name Kundukura which is Tamil and occurs in one of the Pallava inscriptions.

" In fact, you also observe that 'Kundunga seems to be a Tamil word;' and ask 'can it be Kaundinya?' from which it appears that you think that the Tamil people perhaps used the form Kundunga and meant thereby Kaundinya. In this regard,

¹The head of Wild Beast Gulf.

²Kottiaris, 177° 20'.

I have consulted Mr. N. L. Rao of our office, who is an assistant for inscriptions in Dravidian languages. He says that Kaundinya cannot become Kundunga in Tamil. Also he is unable to explain the word Kundunga, if it is Tamil at all.

" Personally I am inclined to treat Kundunga as a Tamil word or at least one of Tamil origin. Besides Kundukura which has been quoted by Prof. Krom, I may cite two more which are still more similar to Kundunga: (1) " Kadungon " is the name of a Pandya King, roughly contemporaneous with Kundunga. (the word Kadungon means, I am told, ' great king ', *kadu* = great, *kon* or *gon* = King). The reference may be found in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVII, pp. 293, 295, 297 and 306. (2) In the Hira-hadagalli Prakrit Inscription of the Pallava King Sivaskandavarman (*Epi. Ind.* vol. I, p. 6.) a word 'Kodumka' occurs in line 8 of the text in an expression *Chillareka-kodumkabhojabamhanam*. The meaning is not quite clear to me, though it has been translated as ' the garden in Chillarekakodumka, belonging to the *brahmanas* '. The word occurs several times in the inscription.

" I may add that the reading of the name is definitely *Kundunga*. Prof. Kern, first read it as *Kundanga* which the Dutch scholars transcribe as *Kundangga*. Prof. Vogel later showed the correct reading *Kundunga*.

" In this connection the same Mr. N. L. Rao as spoken of above has given me another piece of information, which deserves consideration: " Kudugu is the mediaeval name for Coorg near Mysore. The province is now known as Kodagu and its inhabitants as Kodaga." He adds that the dropping of the nasal letters from Kundunga is possible, and may be this latter is the same as modern Kodaga. In this case, however, the word Kundunga cannot be a proper name but an adjective, meaning ' inhabitant of Kundungu or Kudugu '".

R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G.

Early Kedah.—It is well that attention should be drawn to the traditional history of this ancient State. Just as the legends of the Malay Annals go back a thousand years to the beginnings of Palembang history so also the folklore of Kedah may take us to the founding of the still more ancient " Langkasuka ". But does it ?

There are two versions of the Kedah dynastic Annals. One, the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*, used by Col. Low and Dato' Braddell, places the conversion of Kedah to Mohammedanism at about A.D. 1474, speaks of seven reigns of non-Moslem rulers bearing Indo-Chinese titles, and tells us that the founder of the line was an ambassador from " Rum " (the Eastern Roman Empire) to China. The other, the *Tarikh Silasilah of Che Hasan* (J.M.B.R.A.S. XIV pt. iii), gives nine non-Moslem rulers with

Sanskrit titles, puts the conversion at before A.D. 1179 and says that the first ruler was a prince from "Gumrun in Persia", *i.e.* GAMBROON, a port on the Caspian. The difference is great. Let us now take the known facts.

Northern Malaya in 1006 A.D. was ruled by a certain Maravi-jayottungavarman, son of Cudamanivarman, king of Kataha (Tamil Kidara) and Sri Vijaya (Negapatam Inscription). There is no name remotely like these two in either Kedah list.

In 1030 A.D. the Tanjore Inscription records the victories of Rajendracola I over the king of Kadaram and Sri Vijayam, the king's capture and the taking of Kidaram and Langkasuka. There is no mention of this war in the Kedah traditions.

In the middle of the thirteenth Century, Candrabhanu, another ruler of Northern Malaya, invaded Ceylon, annexed part of it and exacted tribute. This is attested by Tamil and Ceylon records, some being dated; and it is supported by an inscription in Siamese Malaya (Jaiya) mentioning this ruler and dated 1230 A.D. There is nothing of all this in either Kedah history although Che Hasan puts the conversion to Moham-medanism at before 1179 A.D.

At some date about A.D. 1360 or 1370 Langkasuka, Kedah and Terai were captured and destroyed in the Majapahit War and Langkasuka disappears (as a name) from history (Nagara Krtagama). There is no mention of this in the Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa although Langkasuka is given as the residence of Marong Mahawangsa and his successors.

What then are we to believe ?

Kidara or Kataha may not have been our Kedah though it must have been situated in Northern Malaya, Coedès is doubtful about its identity; our last authority (J. L. Moens in the Batavian Society's Journal, 1937, pt. iii) denies the identity altogether. Kedah in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries must however have been part of the Kataha-Sri Vijaya Empire, in which case it would have been a small dependency with hereditary Chiefs of its own. Those Chiefs may be the traditional early rulers. The founder of the line may well have been an immigrant from GAMBROON, whom his descendants would exalt as a "prince" or "ambassador", just as the Malacca *btndahara* family traced back to an imaginary *baginda mani purindam*. After the fall of their suzerain the Kedah Chiefs would be left really independent so that we can understand the Raja of Kedah seeking recognition of his royalty from Sultan Mahmud of Malacca. If we wish to believe the literal truth of the traditions we may suppose that the early Chiefs were personally Moslems coming originally from GAMBROON; that they bore Sanskrit (Sri Vijaya) and Indo-Chinese (Ligor) titles; and that the conversion of the whole State to Islam occurred in 1474 A.D.

All this only adds to the interest of the folk-lore. Who were the cannibal *Gérgasi*? Who was the tusked raja (*raja bersiong*) who reverted to cannibalism?

Marong is Indo-Chinese and means "dragon" (see my Dictionary, s. v. *kop*). *Marong Mahawangsa* cannot possibly have been the name of the founder of the very ancient Langkasuka; but names mean little. Tradition has it that Langkasuka was founded about A.D. 115. The early rulers were Buddhists. Local tradition insists that the still earlier inhabitants of the country were fair and were cannibals, *gérgasi* or *batak*. The operative *ma'yong*, for instance, is said to have been taken from certain "white *batak*"; and we know that the modern *Batak* are cannibals. But the *Batak* tradition is found in other parts of the Peninsula and need not connote cannibalism; it may only have suggested it. Probably the early Indian traders found in Kedah a fair aboriginal population who had attained already to a substantial degree of culture.

Old Names.—Dato' Braddell's article raises the question of the accuracy of names hitherto accepted for certain localities. *Javadvipa* or *Iabadiou*, for instance, he identifies with Borneo and not Java. Mr. J. L. Moens goes much further. He denies that Palembang was ever Sri Vijaya, he places *Kataha* in Java in the seventh and eighth centuries and on the *Johore Estuary* in the tenth; he locates *Langkasuka* in *Ligor* in the second Century and in *Kedah* much later; he says that *Jababhumi* "as a rule" is not our Java. All this sounds paradoxical but is supported by a wealth of learned reasoning. Are we to revise all our identifications?

Caution is necessary. There is no actual proof that *Javadvipa* is Java in every single case. The great Javanese prince *Erlangga* styled himself *Yavadviparaja* (Moens, p. 410) and there are old inscriptions calling the island Java in Java itself. The name, indeed, survives to the present day as Java. But it seems to have been used loosely. Our "Sumatras" are called by Malays *angin Jawa*; written Malay is *Jawi*; Indian Moslems born in Malaya are *Jawi-péranakan*; *Candrabhanu*, the invader of Ceylon, figures in India and Ceylon as a *Javaka* or *Savaka* ruler. A few writers speak of Java as *Java Major* and of Sumatra as *Java Minor*. As for Dato' Braddell's "millet" or "barley" dispute, millet in Java-Malay is *javawut*.

It should be remembered that to Malays Sumatra and Java are not "islands" (*pulau*). They are too large for that and are styled *tanah*. And as they were never political units they could have had no very definite Malay names. To foreigners they were even vaguer. To Chinese Selangor is *Klang* and Singapore *Selat*; and I have known a Malay describe Sultan *Abdullah's* banishment to the Seychelles as *pérgi Bombe sa-bélah sana nigéri*. Terms like *Javadvipa* and *Suvarna-dvipa* could only have been

known to the learned and would mean little even to them so long as they were innocent of maps. Names of States and townships stand in a different category; they are more definite. Malay States were usually river-states and were named popularly after the rivers, though conquest might extend them and though a State commonly had an honorific name of its own; Kedah is *daru'l-aman*, Selangor is *daru'l-ihsan*, etc. These last names are modern. The royal residence or capital had also an honorific name, e.g. Siak Sri-Indrapura, but a change of capital meant a change of honorific, witness the Perak villages of Brahmana Indra, Pulau Indra Sakti and Bukit Chandan Sri Andalan. Was Sri Vijaya the honorific name of a town or of a State? Probably it was the name of a town; the distinction drawn by the Arab Haraki (A.D. 1132) between Zabaj (the State) and Sarbaza (the town) bears this out, as also the title of "King of Kataha and Sri Vijaya", when the former was the mightier and the latter the more time-honoured title. It is rather unlikely that names shifted from place to place as much as Mr. Moens would have us believe.

How much importance are we to attach to Malay myths and tradition? Mr. Moens gives some reasons for thinking that the first Sri Vijaya was Kelantan and that there was a second at Muara Takus in Central Sumatra. He may be right: as a Malay jurist once said, "When the facts are obscure the reasons for my decision must also be somewhat obscure". But Malay tradition is all in favour of Palembang as the first seat of the ancient Empire. The author of the Malay Annals who records the tradition could not have known that a Sri Vijaya inscription of A.D. 684 (the oldest in Sumatra) would be dug up in the twentieth Century at Palembang along with a colossal Buddha and other traces of former greatness; that the Palembang township was near the Bukit Si-guntang-guntang on which "Sang Sapurba" built his palace; and that a party of British officials who climbed Mount Dempo in the days of Raffles would find its summit haunted by the ghosts of Demang Lebar Daun and other figures of the Sejarah Malayu. Surely there is something in so persistent a tradition.

Langkasuka is in a different category. In A.D. 1360 it was a port on the East Coast of the Peninsula and was destroyed by the Javanese of Majapahit. Could it at about the same time have been on the West Coast and the capital of Kedah? The Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa was written (even in its earliest form) at a much later date when the exact facts had been forgotten and the rulers of Kedah would be glad to claim descent from the ancient magnates who reigned at Langkasuka. Langkasuka itself was—and probably always was—Ligor.

Correction.—In the last part of my essay (p. 63), the reference by Mr. W. Linehan to the "early centuries A.D." should read the "Middle or Late Bronze Age."—R.B.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ANCIENT TIMES IN
THE MALAY PENINSULA AND THE STRAITS OF
MALACCA.

By ROLAND BRADDELL, M.A. (Oxon.); F.R.G.S.

S. 3. Pre-Funan; Addenda.

Mr. Wilkinson¹ would seem to suggest that Malaya was not rich in gold, even for the first century A.D., and he points out, as is well-known, that India got a great deal of gold from Europe. But was that not in return for goods sold to Europe, tortoise-shell, muslins, spices and the other luxuries concerning which Tacitus and others complained so bitterly? It surely seems clear that the first searches for gold began long before Tacitus and that the Malay Peninsula was part of a group of countries celebrated for gold, a fact which remains enshrined in ancient Indian names such as Suvarnabhumi, Suvarnadvipa and Suvarnakuta.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar emphasizes in Chapter IV of his recent book *Suvarnadvipa* (181) all that we had written about the Indian search for gold. It seems clear that the reputation for gold continued to the second century A.D. and is preserved in Ptolemy's names of Chryse, the Golden Chersonese and the Khrysoanas River while even as to Iabadiou the important point that is emphasized is that it contained gold and silver. As we shall show when this essay proceeds, the reputation for gold continued for centuries after Ptolemy's time. The evidence of Mr. Baker², in addition to the evidence which we collected, surely makes it clear that Malaya was a considerable gold producer for the times. The truth is that this is a point concerning the ancient story of this Peninsula which has so far been entirely overlooked by local writers but which we believe to be of value to archaeologists working in the Peninsula.

One can almost say that the only real evidence as to the Malay Peninsula during our Pre-Funan period is that of Ptolemy, who deserves much fairer treatment than he has received so far. Dr. Majumdar (181) in dealing with him has been content to follow previous writers, mainly McCrindle and Sylvain Lévi.

It will be remembered that we dealt with the three rivers which Ptolemy gives and we made the point that the great rivers of the Peninsula when Ptolemy was writing did not run as they do

¹See this Journal, vol. XV, Pt. 2, p. 170.

²See this Journal, vol. XV, Pt. 1, pp. 27-31.

to-day nor were the coast-lines as they are to-day. In a private letter Dato Douglas has informed us that "between Klang and Kuala Selangor the land has moved out over half a mile since 1922".

Dr. Linehan also writes that "in the locality of the S. Chenaham which forms the boundary on the coast between Perak and Province Wellesley survey records show that there has been accretion of land to the extent of over half a mile in fifty years. Sir Hugh Low in his "Journals" for the year 1878 noticed many traces of ancient beaches in the locality of Dinding in places now remote from the sea". This should be remembered not merely in connection with Ptolemy but also with what we have written in the last part of this essay about the land changes to which the Kedah Annals referred (*ibid.* p. 95).

In identifying the Khrysoanas with the Muar we disagreed with Berthelot who made it to be the Perak and we rejected the Bernam which would have fitted better Ptolemy's distances. We were swayed by Sir Frank Swettenham's account of the crossing by the Bernam but Dato Douglas has brought forward important matter in this regard. In the first place, he shows that in fact the Bernam crossing was and is easy, if properly used, and he shows that there is a well-known and much used track to the gold mines of Pahang. This restores the Bernam and there is other matter which helps us to identify it with the Khrysoanas. Dato Douglas reminds us of the stone graves at Slim which prove that this has always been one of the trade routes. In this connection the following passage from Winstedt's *History of Malaya* (92, p. 13) is worth noting:—"Slab graves have been found in Perak at Slim, at Sungkai and at Changkat Mantri on the Bernam river—one has been rebuilt in the garden at Taiping Museum. With them have been found not only cornelian beads, cross-hatched stone pounders, rough pottery, bronze utensils but iron socketted tools".

Dr. Linehan writes that "these graves have been found in Malaya only in the water-shed of the Bernam and of rivers nearby which it is reasonable to suppose were at one time tributaries of the Bernam". Those graves cannot be dated positively but they are more likely to belong to the beginning of our era than to be much older. However that may be, not only have we a route into the gold mines of Pahang but we have a route that goes through a gold area. In a private letter Dato Douglas refers to the Perak River having shifted "its course from Dindings to the present channel, and in doing so collected the Kinta, Batang Padang, Bidor and Sungkai Rivers which I think all were part of the Bernam watershed at one time". This is more than possible and beyond all doubt this must have been a well-known gold-bearing area. To this very day gold is being mined at Bidor, it having opened up again in that district due to the high price which gold has been

fetching these past years, while around there Chinese women after heavy rains have been washing the off-scour from rubber estates for gold which they obtain in very small quantities; and Dr. Linehan writes that other gold mines are being worked to-day in South Perak. The ancient Indians remarked very much upon the phenomenon of alluvial gold in their El Dorado and it seems to have made a great impression upon them. They spoke of places where the soil was gold and, though it is not possible to say where exactly these lands were, the west coast of the Peninsula has been a place where for centuries washing the soil and even the sand by the sea has produced gold, though in very small quantities judged by modern standards. The fact that you get little gold in the twentieth century A.D. is surely irrelevant as to the quantity that could have been obtained in the first.

Therefore, the Bernam so far fits the Khrysoanas in every way except one, *i.e.* that it joined with the other two rivers. These were the Palandas and the Attabas which, agreeing with Berthelot, we have identified with the Johore and the Pahang. As to the former, we call attention to Mr. G. B. Gardner's recent article (182) concerning the beads and rough gemstones which he found along the Johore River. These were examined by experts and Mr. Gardner is able to tell us that the rough gemstones were all early Indian while twenty per cent of the beads were classed as of the Roman Empire during the first two centuries of the Christian era. One was identified as a Hittite stone bead of 700 B.C., one a glass bead similar to those made in Italy about 700 B.C. and there were two glass beads of Phoenician or early Cypriot type.

Dr. Quaritch Wales writes to us that the Roman beads are quite common at Johore "but are not known from any later or other sites in Malaya and—provided Beck is right in identifying them as Roman beads, and I now think he is—afford valuable dating evidence". There is a fact that may be remembered in connection with the possibility of Phoenician beads being found in the Peninsula and it is this. Le May (183, pp. 35-6) writes that it is possible that the Phoenicians came to the Malay Peninsula though that "depends upon the identification of hoards of small flat silver or billon coins, blank on the one side and with a sunk incuse square on the other, which have been excavated not only in Siamese Malaya but also in Borneo and the Dutch Islands"; and he says that the earliest coins with an incuse square known to him are "the coins of Lydia in the sixth century B.C., which based its coinage on the Phoenician standard". Aymonier, he says, "in his enthusiasm, ascribes the arrival of the earliest immigrants to the sixth century B.C."¹

Mr. Gardner was an enthusiastic amateur archaeologist who, if he had received the right direction and encouragement, might have

¹See *Le Cambodge*, vol. III, pp. 348-9.

done very useful work. As it is, we have him to thank for the evidence referred to and also for a mass of very interesting potsherds now in Raffles Museum some of which present unusual features. Many of them have been considered by experts to date from Han times and they too were found round Kota Tinggi and along the Johore River which therefore is proved to have been the scene of ancient human settlement. We feel that our identification of the Palandas with the Johore and Palanda with Kota Tinggi is a reasonably certain one.

The Attabas seems clearly to have been the Pahang. Like the Johore it fits exactly Ptolemy's positions and archaeology corroborates both as the scenes of ancient settlement.

Did the Bernam, the Johore and the Pahang ever rise from the same source and run together at first as one stream? It may be impossible to prove that they actually did but is it possible to prove that they did not?

We think, therefore, that Ptolemy's rivers are reasonably identified as the Bernam (not the Muar), the Johore and the Pahang.

Ptolemy gives the emporium of Sabara or Sabana as the most southerly point of the Peninsula and this clearly was to the west. We omitted to state that Tanjong Bunga on the western extremity of the Peninsula is an archaeological spot where many stone axes have been found and where there may have been a portage since the only stone axe found on Singapore Island was discovered near the beach at a place which apparently was more or less opposite to Tanjong Bunga.

In connection with Ptolemy's names Dr. Linehart has directed our attention to this Society's map of the Peninsula in 1887 which shows a spur of Gunong Tahan as being named Bukit Batu Atap; and he says that as a consequence he is now inclined to give some credence to Gerini's derivation of Attabas from *atap* which Dr. Linehan had previously rejected.¹

Dato Douglas has contributed to this Journal² some very useful notes upon some of Ptolemy's names giving hindustani words as the possible origins of them. In particular we would refer to his suggestion that Sabana may be connected with *Saba*, hindustani for 'easterly winds'. He says that "on Ptolemy's map it appears at the southern end of the peninsula, so the point at which one would meet the easterly winds". In that connection, one should also remember the name Sabah given to the north-eastern part of Borneo.³ Dato Douglas also makes suggestions for the origins of Khrysoanas, Tharra or Threa, Konkonagara, Kolandia and Maleikolon, as he spells it.

¹See this Journal, 1936, vol. XIV, Pt. 3, p. 64.

²See this Journal, 1938, vol. XVI, Pt. 1, pp. 151-2.

³See for instance the map of Asia in Philips' Authentic Imperial Maps Series.—R. B.

In connection with the origins of Ptolemy's names we must remember that we are not dealing with phonetic changes at all; we are trying to find the synonyms in another language, an entirely different proposition. Etymologically, for instance, the Malay *pelandok* could not, perhaps, become Palanda or Palandas but there seems to be no reason why if the Portuguese wrote, as we know they did sometimes, *pelandok* as *palandos* or *palandas*, the Greeks could not have done so as well. However, it is much more likely, we believe, that Ptolemy's names were Indian in origin rather than Malay.

Mr. Wilkinson says that Indian colonisation, a word which he puts in italics, must have been superficial and Ptolemy's emporia, also in italics, small and unluckily placed but he gives no reasons for this conclusion. It would seem at all events that Takola had a long history and we doubt if modern Indian authorities would agree with Mr. Wilkinson though doubtless such settlements and emporia as there were would have been small places to our eyes but, then, so would most of the world's cities in those times. Still it would be as wrong to exaggerate as to underestimate and we think that small or big, unluckily or luckily placed, Ptolemy makes it clear that there was a "colonisation" with settlements and emporia in the Malay Peninsula at the beginning of the Christian era. Dr. Majumdar agreeing with Sylvain Lévi thinks (181, pp. 69-70) that "the century 50-150 A.D. witnessed a remarkable growth in the trade and maritime activity of the Indians in the Far East" and he also writes that "this period of active intercourse must also be regarded as the *terminus ante quem* for the Indian colonisation in the Malay Peninsula. For, Fou-nan (ancient Kamboja) was colonised by the Hindus in the first century A.D. and Champa not later than the second century A.D. It, therefore, stands to reason that the Malay Peninsula, which lies on the route to these distant countries, must have been colonised at an earlier date".

We have made a somewhat novel use of the *Sejarah Malayu*, or Malay Annals, and the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*, or Kedah Annals, and have directed very pointed attention to some of the traditions in them. Now, it may be perfectly true that, as Sir Richard Winstedt has said, the former is a "hotch-potch of myths and tradition" and the latter a "farrago of folktales"; nevertheless, as the same high authority declared in 1911 (184) "Now, folk-tales it must be admitted require very careful sifting. They may be partly based on actual fact; they certainly abound in fiction. They may obviously deal with a pre-Muhammadan age and yet they always contain many anachronisms. The places and persons they refer to may be historical but are generally obscure and forgotten. We can only make deductions on very broad lines"; and again "The heroes may intermarry with 'Batins' and aboriginal tribes. That is what we know actually to have happened. Still, the tales will undoubtedly paint the

adventures of Malay Chiefs the leaders of Malay settlers. Again the age of the tales is indisputable. They ante-date Muhammadan influence ; at bottom though accretions from the Hindu cosmogony and late historical incident have often crept in, they are early Malayan full of primitive custom ". He also writes in this same article that " the early history of Malacca is recorded in Annals tinged with Persian literary influence ; the story of its great hero Hang Tuah in historical prose. The story of the old-world Kingdom of Bruas (though it still survives also as a rhapsodist's tale) commanded sufficient interest in historical times to be written down centuries ago in conventional Hindu *hikayat* form under the grandiloquent name " Shamsu'l-barain ". So too the history of Kedah. It is easy to see that stories which have escaped such treatment must have dealt with settlements very early, very insignificant perhaps and certainly long since decayed ".

Neither tradition nor hypothesis must ever be allowed to masquerade as history but illumination upon history is so often shed by tradition and folk tales that we have felt it wise to call pointed attention to some of the ancient traditions of Malaya in connection with its earliest history.

Lastly, the reader should note two recent articles (185 and 186) in connection with the earliest intercourse between India and China as to which we wrote in the last part of this essay ; and in connection with Agastya, there is a most important essay by Professor Nilakanta Sastri to which we omitted to refer previously (187).

S. 4. Funan.

We reach now the historic period when we can rely upon written records and the inferences to be drawn from them. Unfortunately, however, throughout this entire essay we shall never reach a period of absolute certainty because we have to deal with Chinese, Arabic and Indian place-names the location of which presents continuous problems.

Funan is the Chinese name for a state which first appears in their records in the period 220-280 A.D. and disappears in the seventh century A.D. leaving no traces. Its actual history, however, ends before T'ang times (618-907 A.D.) and the present period of this essay, therefore, runs from the beginning of the third century A.D. to the beginning of the T'ang era.

The title of this essay confines its subject-matter to the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca but in practice that is impossible. No understanding of the ancient history of these regions can be obtained without one also of that of India, China and Further India generally. Malaya is but a portion of a whole ; it is in the main only a highway of migration and trade, a meeting-point of civilisations. Such a place can never be treated as

a single subject or be placed in any single compartment. This essay must, therefore, travel very much further than merely the Peninsula and the Straits; and we shall begin by a look at the general picture which history presents during the period on the Coromandel¹ coast in India to the west and in China to the east.

According to tradition the Chola country included the modern districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore and part of the Pudukottah state. Its great river was the Kaveri which tradition said was "released from his water-pot by the sage Agastya in response to the prayer of the King Kanta and for the exaltation of the 'children of the sun'" (57, p. 23). Here we may note that in the Sangam age the Cholas were even then looked upon as descended from the sun. Chola is really a dynastic name; nothing is known of its origin but it was from the earliest times used to describe the people and country subject to the Chola dynasty of rulers (57, p. 24). The kings were autocrats and their crest was the tiger which they carried on their banners.

The language most commonly employed in the Chola inscriptions is tamil, though there are some sanskrit records and some in both languages. The sanskrit employed the *grantha* script, closely allied to the tamil in its evolution (*ibid.* p. 10). Professor Nilakanta Sastri says that "in no sphere is the influence of Aryan ideas on Tamil culture in early historical times more evident than in that of religion and ethics" (*ibid.* p. 109). The ritual of Brahmanical Hinduism struck root very early in the Tamil land and was the dominant one on the Sangam age but Buddhism had also laid its hands on the Tamils. "Belief in re-incarnation, the effects of *Karma* in successive births and the power of Fate was part of the common basis of all religion in India, and this is clearly seen to have been generally accepted in the Tamil country also" (*ibid.* p. 116).

King Kanta, the contemporary of the great sage Agastya, ruled from Campa, later on called Kakandi, and from Puhar or Kaverippumpattinam. Puhar was one of the few great cities of the time and, being on the sea coast, it was also the great emporium of the kingdom and the subject of many references and descriptions in the Sangam literature. "This celebrated city, full of riches coveted by Kings and teeming with sailors, is so well stocked that it will not fail in its hospitality even if the whole world encircled by the roaring sea become its guest; indeed in the hoards of (merchandise) brought in ships and carts, (the city) resembles a congregation of (all) the alien tracts producing precious goods" (57, p. 96). It was full of foreign merchants; "like the large crowd gathered in a city of ancient renown on a festival day when people from many different places betake themselves to it with their relatives, persons from many good countries speaking different

¹Coromandel is the English way of expressing *Cholamandalam*, the Chola country or kingdom.—R. B.

tongues had left their homes and come to reside (in Puhar) on terms of mutual friendship" (*ibid.* p. 99). To it were brought "bagfuls of black pepper", "gems and gold", "sandal and agil", "the pearl of the southern sea", "the coral of the western sea", "foodstuffs from Ceylon" and "goods from Kalagam". This last signifies goods from Malaysia shipped from Kalagam, which may be ancient Kedah¹. Whatever its exact geographic location there can be no doubt that the goods were Malaysian which had either passed up the Straits of Malacca or had come across the Peninsula by land. It is clear, to summarize, that in the second or third century A.D. the carrying trade between the Malay Peninsula and India was controlled by the Cholas. They were the principal kingdom of Tamilakam in the first two centuries after Christ; but they gave way to the Pallavas whose history may be said to begin about 200 A.D., to reach its climax in the seventh century A.D. and to end with the ninth century A.D. when they were overpowered by the Cholas.

The Pallavas are the outstanding Indian dynasty in the early story of south-eastern Asia. They may be studied in the histories of Gopalan (188) and Jayaswal (109), in the studies by Father Heras (189) and in the monographs of Venkayya (190), Chhabra (138) and Vogel (191).

Who were the Pallavas? There is much difference of opinion but as Vogel wrote (191, p. 172) "this much is certain that, when the Pallavas of Coromandel first make their appearance in history, they are thoroughly hinduized"; Coomaraswamy (137, p. 101) wrote that "whatever their antecedents, the Pallavas seem to have been vassals of the Andhras in the Godavari-Kistna deltas (Vengi) in the second century, and to have succeeded them as rulers in the third and fourth" and also that "originally Buddhists, they became for the most part Saivas by the end of the sixth century, when Buddhism was declining in the south". Gopalan (188, Ch. 2) set out all the theories extant in 1928 and Jayaswal, re-considering the question in 1933, found the key in the Puranas (109, pp. 179-184). Wherever they had their origin, the Pallavas were certainly foreign to the locality over which they ruled. The language of their records was never Dravidian; at first prakrit of a variety that was northern and then sanskrit in the Vakataka style, it leads Jayaswal to assert that the Pallavas were northerners. He says that *Pallava* means 'a branch' and probably stands for 'the Junior dynasty'. He also says that they adopted the Vakataka heraldic marks; they had on their seal Ganga and Yamuna, the river-goddesses, which were known Vakataka insignia and also probably had in common the *makara* or *makara-torana*. They also had the Bull of Siva in common. Jayaswal makes very wide claims for the importance of the

¹We shall return to the question but for the present it is sufficient to refer the reader to Professor Nilakanta Sastri's recent article *Kataka*, J.G.I.S., 1938, vol. V, Pt. 2, pp. 128-146.—R. B.

Pallavas in the history of India. Their power reached its zenith in the seventh century A.D. but it suffered a temporary set back from Samudra Gupta in the middle of the fourth century A.D. This was the great period of the Guptas who, according to Jayaswal, were Jats from the Punjab and Visnuites. By his wars Samudra Gupta stretched his empire temporarily into the south. Not only did India make submission to him but also Further India, so Jayaswal thinks, for the Allahabad pillar inscription states that the King of Simhala (Ceylon) 'and all the other islanders' (Oceanic rulers) made their submission and acknowledged Samudra Gupta as their emperor (109, p. 156). The date of this was *circa* 350 A.D.

But the Pallavas soon freed themselves and in Further India Gupta influence seems confined mainly to art.

One of the things concerning the Pallavas which has most interest for students of Further India is the tradition of their foundation as a dynasty.

Vogel (191, p. 171) says that "it is not a little curious that the Pallavas derive the origin of their race not from the Sun or the Moon, as is usual among the princely families of India, but from Asvatthaman who, like his father Drona, is one of the leading heroes in the great epic Mahabharata. The salient point about those two ancient warriors is that they were Brahmins, belonging to the priestly house (*gotra*) of Bharadvaja" and (at p. 172) that there is a "curious legend preserved in Tamil poetry which connects the origin of the Pallavas with the ancient rulers of Coromandel." It relates that the first "Pondaiman (*i.e.* Pallava) was the son of a Cola King by a Nagi or female serpent-demon". In a foot-note he says that "the Tamil poem Manimegalai in which this legend occurs, also mentions a town named Nagapuram in Savaka-nadu which, as Mr. Venkayya says, appears to be the Tamil name of the island of Java. Two Kings of Nagapuram are mentioned, *viz.* Bhumicandra and Punyaraja, who claimed to be descended from Indra".

These statements of Vogel must be elaborated. We have already referred to the matter of the Pallava descent in connection with the *Sejarah Malayu*¹, and remind the reader of what we said there.

Jayaswal considers that the Pallavas had their rise as feudatories to the Nagas, who according to him were early rulers in India. Virakurcha, founder of the Pallava dynasty, was invested with the insignia of full sovereignty by his marriage with the Naga princess, daughter of the Naga emperor, who at that time (the latter half of the third century A.D. according to Jayaswal) was the Bharasi-va Naga whose dominions extended through Nagpur and Bastar up to the confines of the Andhra country (109, p. 179.) The tradi-

¹See this Journal, vol. XIV, Pt. 3, pp. 48-49.

tional Pallava descent as given in their inscriptions is stated by Chatterji (107, p. 5) thus :—" there are two inscriptions dating from the 9th century giving the genealogy of the Pallava Kings. According to the first, Asvatthaman, the son of Drona, married a Nagi and their offspring was Skandasisya, the legendary ancestor of the Pallava Kings. The second inscription, found in North Arcot, says that Virakurcha married a Nagi and obtained from her the insignia of royalty and that after him came Skandasisya ". Jayaswal (109, p. 187) discusses these inscriptions, the Rayakota¹ and the Velurpalaiyan² plates, and points out that the former says that Skandasishya who was an *adhiraja* was the son of a Naga lady ; Asvatthaman is only mentioned as one of the ancestors. The latter shows that Skandasishya, father of Kumara Vishnu and grandfather of Buddhavarman, is clearly Skanda-varman II, whose son was Kumara Vishnu II. In those latter plates it is not stated that Skandasishya was the son of Virakurcha, but he is stated to have flourished *after* Virakurcha and in his line, which statement implies a break in the line. Gopalan (188, p. 50) writes that " of Virakurcha, however, the grandson of Kalabhartr, we learn from the Velurpalayam plates (verse 6) that ' simultaneously with the hand of the daughter of the Chief of Serpents he also grasped the complete insignia of royalty and became famous '. This means in plain language that Virakurchavarman became King on marrying the daughter of a Naga chief ". Gopalan dates the accession of Virakurcha about 358 A.D. but there is much dispute as to dates, Jayaswal for instance dating the Pallava capture of the Chola capital, Kanchi, about 275 A.D. and dating Virakurcha as *circa* 265-280 A.D.

Gopalan considers (188, pp. 21-2) that the legend cited by Vogel from the Manimegalai does not apply to the Pallavas at all. His reasoning is cogent and possibly the explanation may be that a Chola tradition was brought on and applied to the Pallava conquerors of the Chola country which is quite a common process in traditions. The reader who wishes to pursue the matter further should study Venkayya's article on the Pallavas (190) which seems to have been Vogel's authority.

Venkayya (*ibid.* at p. 221, n. 1) thought Savaka-nadu to be the present island of Java and Vogel clearly followed him but actually the identification is purely philological and, as we shall show from time to time, Savaka or Javaka was generic for ' Malays ' of all sorts, which explains the footnote we placed to our previous reference to Savaka-nadu³.

The Manimegalai in the opinion of Professor Nilakanta Sastri must be dated relatively late and he considers that a date later

¹Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 233.

²S. I. I., 11, p. 507.

³See vol. XIV, pt. 3, p. 40, n.

than 400 A.D. is forced upon one (57, p. 4, n.). The Pallava plates as we have just seen are considered to be of the ninth century A.D.

Przyluski (106, p. 277) treats the Pallava and Chola legends as separate, calling the latter analogous. He points out how similar legends are found on the Indo-Chinese peninsula in connection with Champa, Funan, Pegu, Siam, Annam, Sumatra (San-fo-ts'i) and in the *Sejarah Malayu*. This splendid article should be studied by the reader.

Let us turn now to ancient China and note very shortly what was happening there in our Funan period.

At the beginning of the third century A.D. the Han dynasty collapsed to be succeeded by the Three Kingdoms—Wei, which comprised the central and northern provinces with its capital at Loyang; Wu, which comprised the provinces south of the Yangtse River with its capital at Nanking; and Shu, which included the western part of the Empire with its capital at Chengtu.

After the Three Kingdoms there followed a most disturbed period in which we have the Western Tsin Kingdom, 265-317 A.D.; the Eastern Tsin, 317-420 A.D.; the earliest Sung, 420-479 A.D.; the very short Ch'i, 479-502 A.D.; the Liang, 502-557 A.D.; and the Ch'en 557-589 A.D.; after which came a period of reconsolidation beginning with the Sui, 581-618 A.D., and continuing with the glorious T'ang period than ran from 618 to 907 A.D.

From the collapse of the Hans to the foundation of the Sui the records are largely 'a confused mass of names and wars', according to Latourette who says (151, pp. 162-3) that "a perusal of the annals of the period gives the impression of almost continuous strife, of wave upon wave of barbarian invasion, of a seemingly uninterrupted series of rebellions, and of widespread anarchy" but there were compensations, for the wars brought about a geographical extension of the Chinese people and their culture while large sections of the land over considerable portions of time enjoyed comparative peace and prosperity; and there was much literary activity. Latourette (at p. 167) says that foreign commerce continued both by the overland routes and by way of the ports on the south coast, of which those in Tongking on the delta of the Red River were earlier of chief importance but Canton was growing as a rival.

During the period 220-589 A.D. Latourette says, and it is very clear otherwise, that "Chinese merchants seem not to have ventured very far afield and to have left chiefly to strangers the initiative in foreign trade but outsiders found China a profitable country with which to deal" (*ibid.* p. 167). The fact is, as Kuwabara says (179, 2, p. 70), that "the Chinese trading ships before the T'ang era were inferior in all respects to those of the South sea countries."

While the above illustrates the state of affairs at the west and the east, it is clear that there must have been very great trading and colonizing activity by Indians on the peninsula of Indo-China, in the Malay Peninsula and in the Malayan Archipelago. The records, however, of this activity are principally Chinese. Epigraphy and archaeology both afford a certain amount of evidence and there is one piece of Indian literature that has still to be noticed, the *Niddesa*, which perhaps should have been considered during our last period but which we have held to the present because of doubt as to the exact date to which it should be ascribed. Dr. Chatterjee says (192, 1, p. 24) that the *Niddesa* cannot be later than the 3rd century A.D. and the reader should note what he has written concerning Java and Sumatra in Indian literature. It is, however, subject to the comment that his identifications are all purely philological and that any equivalent of Java or Yava is ascribed accordingly to the present island of Java.

In the late Professor Sylvain Lévi's well-known article on the *Niddesa* (61) there is very much matter of interest both philologically and otherwise but it would be impossible to assert that all his identifications are supportable. He considers a passage in the *Niddesa* and endeavours to identify the places mentioned in it. This passage is as follows :—

" Again, under the sway of passions which dominate his soul, in quest of enjoyments, he embarks on the great sea, sometimes icy cold, sometimes burning hot, troubled with mosquitoes, with gnats, with the winds, with the sun, with serpents, suffering from hunger and thirst, he goes to Gumba, Takkola, Takkasila, Kala Mukha, Maranapura, Vesunga, Verapatha, Java, Tamali, Vanga, Elavaddhana, Suvarnakuta, Suvarnabhumi, Tambapanni, Suppara, Bharukaccha, etc "

The same series of places re-appears in an identical form in another passage of the same work and Sylvain Lévi thought them to represent a well-known route corresponding closely with Ptolemy's route in so far as they were places on the sea. He thought that the series of ports enumerated in the *Niddesa* unfolded into the outline of a vast periplus which left the Far East, touched the coasts of India and lost itself in the depths of the west. Suppara and Bharukaccha are, of course, the Sopara and Broach of to-day ; and after them we ceased to quote the rest of the names as not germane to our purpose but amongst them were such names as Suratthe or Surat, Yona or the Greek world and Alisanda or Alexandria.

Lévi's article is very discursive but his identifications appear to be as follows :—*Gumba*, too obscure and uncertain to place ; *Takkola*, Ptolemy's Takola, ' the region south of the isthmus of Kra ' ; *Takkasila*, Ptolemy's Tokosonna or Tokosanna, the river of Naaf in India ; *Kalamukha*, very uncertain ; *Maranapura*, nil ;

Vesunga, Ptolemy's Besunga (or Besynga as we write it) in Lower Burma; *Verapatha*, Ptolemy's 'town of Berabai', the region of the Tavoy; *Java*, Java or Sumatra or perhaps both; *Tamali*, Tambalinga or Tambralinga, Chinese Tan-ma-ling 'not far from the region of Pahang where the name of Tembeling is still in use'; *Vanga*, not as one would expect Bengal but the island of Banka; *Elavaddhana*, the name is very obscure; *Suvarnakuta*, the wall of gold, the Chinese Kin-lin, south-east of India, in the direction of Java; *Suvarnabhumi*, Ptolemy's Chryse, all the countries situated on the east of the Bay of Bengal which Ptolemy calls Trans-Gangetic India, the Eldorado of the Indian adventurers; *Tambapanni*, Ptolemy's Taprobane, Ceylon.

That, however, gives us no itinerary nor does it correspond with Ptolemy's route. It is a list of places well-known to ancient Indians and would seem to have been strung together to illustrate the tortured wanderings of the hero, who, being tortured, would not follow along any well-known itinerary but whom the poet makes to travel wildly here and there. Lévi's identifications rest solely upon philological reasoning and we suggest that the passage is of no real assistance in identifying any single place geographically.

We turn now to the great peninsula of Indo-China, the civilised peoples of which were distributed at the beginning of the Christian era in the following manner according to Grousset (145, ii, pp. 548-9):—

- (a) the Burmans and Tibetans along the Upper Irrawaddy;
- (b) the Peguans along the Lower Irrawaddy and also perhaps in the valley of the Lower Menam;
- (c) the Thais very probably held Yunnan their country of origin where many of their clans preserved their independence up to the thirteenth century A.D.;
- (d) the Khmers or Cambodians, or their ancient stock, peopled not only the Cambodia of to-day but very probably a great part of Laos and Cochin-China;
- (e) the Chams inhabited southern Annam from Cap St. Jacques in the south to Tourane in the north;
- (f) the Annamites occupied the north of Annam above Tourane, and Tonkin.

The two ancient states in Indo-China with which we are mainly concerned in the present period are Funan and, to a much less degree, Champa. Funan at different times held sway in what are to-day Cambodia, Cochin-China, Laos, Siam and the Malay Peninsula, while Champa was a state holding the coasts of what is Annam to-day and was composed of the Cham nation. Cham is to-day the name for an ethnolinguistic stock in French Indo-China.

The history of Champa may be studied in the well-known histories of Maspero (176), which should be read subject to Aourousseau's critical notes (193), and of Majumdar (175) while Grousset's general history of Further India (145) is very useful.

Annam to-day presents an ethnological picture which it is as well to remember in considering the ancient state of Champa. For a very useful conspectus the reader is referred to *L'Annam* (194) an official publication issued at Hanoi for the great French Colonial Exhibition in Paris in 1931. What we are about to write concerning present-day Annam is based upon it.

Modern Annam contains three main classes of peoples—the Annamites; the Malaysians, largely on the coast, to which group belong the present Chams; and the Indonesians, who cover a great part of the Annamite mountain chain. In the times with which we are dealing in this period of the essay the Annamites or Giau-chi as the Chinese called them were confined to Tonkin and northern Annam and were part of the Chinese empire.

The Malaysians are not very great in number at the present time but once they occupied three-fourths of Annam and played a role that was historically important. Ethnically, they are nowadays considered to be less different from the Indonesians than used to be thought, some authorities even maintaining that the Indonesians are the true Proto-Malays, or pure Malays, while the Malay populations of the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and the islands of the Malay Archipelago are the products of many mixtures of Indonesians or pure Malays with such different elements as Burmans, Negritos, Hindus, Chinese, Papuans, etc. In any event the so-called Malaysians present a very great variety of types.

In Annam the Malaysian tongues are allied, on the one side, with the Mon-Khmer group covering the south-west and west of the Indo-Chinese peninsula and, on the other but to a less degree, with the Polynesian tongues of Oceania. The basis of the Cham vocabulary to-day is Malayo-Polynesian and goes back to a very remote age. To its neighbouring Indo-Chinese tribes have lent many words while Brahmanism, Buddhism, Islam, and relations with the Annamites, Chinese and Cambodians have brought into the Cham language terms from the Sanskrit, Arabic, Khmer, Chinese and Annamite languages.

The Malaysians of Indo-China to-day are matriarchal both in their family and social organization, all rights coming from the mother and being transmitted by her, while marriage within the same clan is regarded as very grave incest.

The religion of the Chams was originally Sivaite Brahmanism from India together with Buddhism but to-day they have lost the memory and civilization of India. At an unknown date they



became converted to Islam but it is a religion very much mixed with strange elements and the Imams do not understand or read Arabic.

The writing of the early Chams we shall consider later in connection with epigraphic evidence. They have left over the whole area once occupied by the state of Champa archaeological remains of great importance.

The Indonesians to-day are found in the mountains; they number some 600,000 throughout Indo-China, half of them living along the main range of Annam. The name Indonesian is given to those peoples with an easily recognized racial type who form the coastal populations of the Malay Archipelago, the Dyaks of Borneo, the Battaks of Sumatra, various tribes in the Celebes and Moluccas, etc. and who have nothing in common with the Polynesians. They are short of stature, meso or dolichocephalic, yellow-skinned, and with straight or very slightly curly hair; and, as we have said, are possibly the root stock of the Malaysians.

Whence did the Malaysians and Indonesians in Annam originally come? There are two hypotheses to explain the presence of the former; either they are the remains of an invasion or invasions from the islands of Malaysia or they are indigenous and were in occupation of the country when the whole of Insulinidia formed a great continent. Possibly both hypotheses are true. For the Indonesians only the second explanation seems to be true, since it is difficult in view of their state of civilization to regard them as invaders.

The tribes which compose the Indonesians of Annam to-day are as numerous as are the tongues which they speak. In their family and social organization they are patriarchal; the women do the work and the men hunt, amuse themselves and carry out such work only as tradition permits. In the southern tribes Hindu influence is noticeable and certain Hindu divinities such as Sri, Indra, the Nagas, are associated or incorporated with forest and earth spirits. The Annamites regard them as powerful in magic but call them 'savages'.

Once a great people the Chams of to-day are found in the south of Annam, in Cochin-China and in Cambodia, numbering about 130,000. Maspero (176) gives us a picture of the earliest inhabitants of Champa as depicted by the Chinese historians. Two main divisions were made—the Chams themselves, who were sea-faring, being noted as fishermen and hardy mariners prone to piracy; and the savages of the mountains whom the Chams called Mlecchas or Kiratas, that is to say, savages or mountaineers. Maspero considers the coastal Chams to have been a people of Malayo-Polynesian origin, and says that their language to-day does not differ sensibly from that recorded in the oldest inscriptions in their tongue, being Malayo-Polynesian. He cites the earliest

Chinese description of them which says that they had dark skins, sunken eyes, turned-up noses, and woolly (*crépu*) hair. Maspero says that the clothes which they wear to-day do not differ from those of the Malays and that they are the same as originally recorded by the Chinese. The mark of royalty was the umbrella, its colour being white. The kings were war-like and maintained a big fleet and a large army, in which were used war elephants. Fortresses and walled cities containing houses of brick were constructed and the general picture is that of a powerful, highly organized state. The principal religion was Brahman but they also practised Buddhism; their castes were the usual four, Brahmans, Ksatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. They used the Saka era and probably the *amanta*¹ method of lunar reckoning. Their culture was Sanskrit.

Maspero, Le Clère (153) and Morizon (195) all consider the Chams to have been invaders from Malaysia.

The Sanskrit name of the state was *nagara Campa* or Champa; and in Sanskrit *campa* designates the *champaka*, a tree that is very familiar in Malaya. The name for the state was imported from India where there was a famous Campa state in the early centuries of the Christian era. The national name for the inhabitants, Chams (*Tiam*) would seem to have been taken from the name of the state and not *vice versa*. The Arabs (much later than our present Funan period) called the country *Canf* and etymologists find the name also in Marco Polo's *Cyamba* or *Chamba* and in Ptolemy's *Zabae*, though his town of that name could not possibly have been in Annam according to the positions which he gave. The Chinese name for the country at first was *Lin-yi* corresponding to the Annamite *Lam-ap*: later they called it *Chan-cheng*, their transliteration of *Champa*.

The Chams make their appearance in Chinese history in the second century A.D. since they are apparently the people whom the *Hou Han Shu* records as *K'iu-lien* and who attacked the Chinese sub-prefecture of *Siang-lin*, burnt all its strongholds and killed its sub-prefect in 137 A.D. They were then not yet fully organized and seem to have possessed only the southern part of Annam between Cape Varella and Cap St. Jacques, the territory north of that being included in the Chinese southern commanderies. In 192 A.D. another successful attack upon *Siang-lin* was headed by a chieftain whom the Chinese record as *Lien* and who proclaimed himself king of the territory. This gave the Chams what is known to-day as *Quang-nam*, and it remained their northern boundary despite attempts to extend into Chinese territory that were sometimes successful for a very short time.

When the Chams make their appearance in history they are already Indianized. Their royal dynasty descends from *Siva* and

¹As to which see *infra*.

the title of *varman*, which the Chinese transcribed as *Fan*, was used by them. The dominant religious cult was Sivaism, the god being worshipped under the names of Mahesvara and Paramesvara. At the end of the fourth century A.D. King Bhadravarman constructed the great Siva temple of Mi-son in Quang-nam; it was burnt down in the sixth century and was re-built by King Cambhu-Varman towards the end of that century. The other great sanctuary was that of Po Nagar at Nha-trang which was dedicated to the *sakti* of Siva. But Buddhism was also practiced though perhaps to a less degree. In the seventh century there was a serious Chinese invasion with the temporary loss of the capital but the Chinese were duly expelled.

The first capital of Champa seems to have been Indrapura on the site of Tra-Kieu to-day, thirty kilometres south of Tourane, and the northern part of the state seems to have been protected by a fortress called K'iu-son, near the present Hue, its remains being visible to-day. The provinces of the state, more or less independent during the sixth dynasty, 860-986 A.D., were Kauthara (Khanh-hoa in which was Vo-Canh where the most ancient known Cham inscription was found); Vijaya (Binh-dinh) where the capital was removed circa 1,000 A.D. and remained until Champa disappears; Amaravati (Quang-Nam); and Panduranga (Phan-rang). The main ports were called Sinhapura, probably on the Song Thu-bon, and in the province of Vijaya Sri Vinaya if Maspero's re-construction of the Chinese *Che li p'i nai* is correct.

Champa was in constant friction at first with the Chinese to the north, then, with the Annamites, and lastly with the Khmers who finally at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. destroyed the state and made it a province of their empire; but with Funan it seems to have lived amicably in the main.

For the ethnographical picture of Cambodia and Cochinchina the reader is referred to two more publications issued in 1931 in connection with the Colonial exhibition in Paris; the first is Morizon's monograph (195) and the second is *La Cochinchine* (196), the ethnographical and historical parts of which were written by G. Naudin, curator of the Museum of Cochinchina.

Morizon (195, pp. 11-13) says that in its earliest times Cambodia was occupied by Indonesian peoples of relatively pale skins and who seem to have been its true aborigines; and he says that before the Christian era they were living in the ancient isle of Kouk-Thlok, that is to say, the present chain of the Cardamoms. He finds that there was an invasion by negritoids from the coast of Coromandel who were pushed out by dravidian and aryan invasions and he says that the aboriginal Indonesians conquered this negritoid invasion. "These negritoes who were then called the *pann nonn*, the people without laws, the people without gods, were divided into two branches of which one going

towards the south became destroyed in the end while the other gaining the south-eastern regions of Asia exists to-day very nearly intact in the high valleys of the chain of the Cardamoms". "It is probable that after this invasion the first inhabitants of Cambodia formed a very great number of tribes, some inhabiting the mountains which frame the basin of the Mekong to the north, between the China Sea and the Menam, others being installed in the valley of the Mekong and along the littoral of the Gulf of Siam in the country called Funan, which occupied the Cambodia and Cochin-China of to-day. All these savage tribes like the present-day Phnongs of the region of Kratie, the Kouys of Dangrek, were, owing to their mixing with the negritoes from Coromandel, dark-skinned and with woolly (*crépu*) hair. The Chinese historians in Tsin times (265-419 A.D.) say of them that the men of Funan are ugly and black and that they have curly (*frisé*) hair". "Some centuries later Indo-Malays from Java invaded Cambodia. It is this invasion which the Cambodian legends designate under the name Chvea-Pream, that is to say, Brahmanic Malays. The inhabitants of the plains were easily subdued by the new-comers while the people of the up-lands whose customs were more war-like held their independence and have maintained their ethnic integrity until our times. To-day they still continue to live in an isolation that is almost complete. It is to this historical peculiarity that one owes the mosaic of mountain peoples who surround the more homogeneous Cambodians of the plains. Among these independent races some have preserved an almost pure Indonesian type such as the Stieng and the Khas for they did not entirely avoid contact with the invading negritoes while others strongly mixed with these latter and being untouched or nearly so by the Indo-Malays from Java retained their black skin and an absolute negroid type (Samres, Sactchs, Pears, Kouys)".

"The last elements which were added to the primitive Cambodian race consisted of peoples strongly pigmented, having India as their place of origin and penetrating into Cambodia from the north-west. Among them were the Khmers or Kamvujas who were the most numerous. The Khmers mixed with the peoples of the plain whom they subdued and from their fusion came the eventual Cambodian race".

Naudin (196, p. 14) says that the Cambodians or Khmers belong to the great aryan family of which India was one of the homes, and which civilized a part of the Far East being held in check by the Chinese. He says that it is difficult to-day to find the original type but that one can still see in the modern race certain Khmers of the purest Hindu type.

In Cochin-China and in Cambodia are to be found Malaysians, Indonesians and negritoes, the two latter found in the mountainous regions and being termed "savages"; thus the Cambodians call the Khas and Stieng by the name of Phnong, meaning savage,

while *Moi* is the Annamite word for savages. The general picture presented is much the same as that in the Malay Peninsula and it is obvious that one cannot answer the question 'how did the Malays, Indonesians or Proto-Malays and the negritos come to be in the Malay Peninsula?' without answering the same question for the peninsula of Indo-China and the island of Sumatra and, indeed, the whole Malay Archipelago. We have already posed the question concerning the Malays in the anthropological excursus¹ to this essay and the reader should note that Morizon considers "the cradle of the Malay race to have been the region of Nhatrang where to-day are to be seen the most numerous vestiges of the Cham or Malay race" and he cites Cabaton's theory that from there they spread to Insulinidia and thence as far as Madagascar (195, p. 100).

If the reader considers closely the four works issued in connection with the Paris Colonial Exhibition from which we have cited he will not find their authors to be entirely consistent; and we suggest in general, as we have already suggested in our anthropological excursus, that it is impossible in the light of present knowledge to accept any categorical assertions concerning the origin of the Malay, Indonesian or negrito tribes or peoples. We suggest that, although widely stated with acceptance, Rouffaer's theory that the home of the Malays was in Sumatra needs much further consideration.

With regard to the Peninsular Malays Mr. Vlieland has recently² made some very pertinent observations. He disputes the conventional account by which "the indigenous Malays are represented as having sprung from an original stock which came over from Sumatra centuries ago". He says that "it is impossible to believe that Malaysian immigrants from the west passed right across the Peninsula, dropped down on to the eastern coastal plains and settled there, leaving only a few stragglers on the west.

"Even if there were good reasons, known to untutored immigrants to whom the eastern plains were an unknown land, for preferring that land to settle in, it is unthinkable that they would have crossed the main divide and the hill country which lies at the back of the coastal plains of the north-eastern States. For the Malaysian is no bushman and he does not travel through the virgin equatorial forest afoot³; the lines of his migrations are traced on water and he travels from one river to another *via* estuary and coast, not over a forest-clad divide.

"It is just possible that adventurers from Sumatra, on striking the west coast might sail right round the Peninsula and settle

¹This Journal, vol. XIII, Pt. 2, pp. 86-87.

²See *The Eldorado of Southern Asia* in the *Straits Times Annual*, 1937, pp. 107-8; Mr. Vlieland, of the Malayan Civil Service, was the Census officer for the last census, 1931, and has made noted contributions to local demography.

³But he does if he has to.

finally on the plain of Kelantan in the far north-east. It is equally conceivable that Javanese, Banjarese, Boyanese, Bugis and others from the south of the Archipelago might avoid Singapore, Johore and Pahang and sail on and on up the east coast instead of the west, but it is unthinkable that the vast majority would have behaved in this curious way.

" For what was there against the south and west, and what was the irresistible lure of the far distant plain of Kelantan away up an unknown and treacherous coast ?

" There must be some explanation of the mystery but none was ever put forward until about three years ago, possibly because no one had ever looked at the peoples of Malaya from the demographic standpoint, as opposed to the standpoint of the anthropologist, the archaeologist or the historian. It was not realised, in fact, that the conventional story of Malay settlement did not provide a tolerable explanation of demographic facts.

" In 1934 the writer advanced the hypothesis that the first " Malay " settlers on the plains of Kelantan and Trengganu came from the north and east long before the earliest Settlements on the west coast ; that waves of migration passed southward along the east coast of the Peninsula leaving contingents in their wake ; that these waves " fanned out " southwards, eastwards and westwards on reaching what we now call Singapore and settled all over the Archipelago and on the east coast of Sumatra ; and that the west coast of the Peninsula was colonised later and relatively slowly by a kind of backwash from Sumatra and the southern islands.

" This is of course only a working hypothesis ; it cannot be proved, but it does at least work, in that it does provide an explanation of known demographic facts and a useful basis for further investigation and inference. This line of thought pursued back from the present day seems, moreover, not unlikely to meet the other lines on which anthropologists and archaeologists are working forwards from the vestigial relics of the past ".

And what about the Malays in the Siam of to-day ? *Siam*, the publication issued in 1930 by the Ministry of Commerce and Communications Bangkok, stated that there were then some 400,000 Malays in Siam, mostly in the southern provinces. It says¹ that " the modern Malay is of very mixed race ; but it seems fairly certain that his main derivation is from the Jakuns, or Proto-Malays, a primitive jungle tribe scattered through the Peninsula and related to the Chams of Annam. According to some students and other keen observers the Pattani Malays are also strongly mixed with Semang, the original inhabitants of this part of the country " *i.e.* negritos.

¹See the chapter on *Nature and Industry*, p. 86.

We would remind the reader of what we wrote in the anthropological excursus¹ to this essay at pp. 86 and 87 and we suggest that a Sumatran origin for all the Malays of the Peninsula generally is untenable as a theory; we also suggest that scientific studies of the traditions and customs of the Kelantan, Trengganu and Siam Malays are indispensable though not yet forthcoming.

When, later in this essay, we reach the Chinese records we shall find that there is much difficulty in identifying their toponyms. It will, therefore, be as well to see first what is the epigraphical evidence for Indian settlement in Further India during our present Funan period.

We remind the reader that the earliest inscription is that of Vo-can-h (with which we have already² dealt) dated palaeographically in the 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D.³ Coomaraswamy (137, p. 195) says that at the time of the inscription "there existed in the Nhatrang region a Hindu Kingdom known as Kauthara, succeeded a little later by that of Panduranga at Phanrang." If this is so, we must bear in mind Ptolemy's Kordathra, metropolis.

The inscriptions of the Malay Peninsula, *i.e.* south of the isthmus of Kra, are not very numerous but nevertheless are very important. They are summarized, though somewhat unfortunately, by Dr. Majumdar (181, pp. 88-90).

Firstly, there are the famous ones discovered in Kedah and Province Wellesley by Colonel Low which may be studied in his account of them (178), in Laidlay's note upon them (197), in Professor Kern's article in this Journal (198), in M. Finot's article (199), in Dr. Chatterjee's book (192), and in Dr. Chhabra's monograph (138).

The seven inscriptions (Dr. Majumdar's Nos. 1-7) on the granite rock at Chero-k Tokun, Province Wellesley⁴, were taken, following Mr. Laidlay, to be pali but Dr. Majumdar in his new book shows that in fact they are sanskrit and he dates them as "not later than the fourth century A.D.", noting that the peculiar characteristics of south Indian alphabets are "not very conspicuous in this record".

The inscription (Dr. Majumdar's No. 12) which was found by Colonel Low beneath the floor of a ruined house near Bukit Meriam was sent to Calcutta and is now lost. It recorded a Buddhist formula; the language is sanskrit and Dr. Majumdar

¹See this Journal, vol. XIII, Pt. 2, October, 1935.

²See this Journal, 1937, vol. XV, Pt. 3, p. 100: but see Dr. Sircar's fresh dating, J.G.I.S., Vol. VI, pp. 53-55.

³While this essay was in the press there came to hand Dr. Sircar's article, J.G.I.S., Vol. VI, pp. 53-55, in which he attacks the previous dating of this inscription and gives reasons for dating it as not earlier than the closing years of the fourth century A.D.

⁴See a note by Mr. I. H. N. Evans in J.F.M.S. Mus., 1930, vol. XV, Pt. 1, pp. 35-36 and plate, for the present condition of these inscriptions.

says that it may be referred to the fourth or fifth century A.D. He finds in it no traces of the peculiar characteristics of south Indian alphabets. Dr. Chhabra, however, includes this in his list of Pallava inscriptions and points out that a stanza in the inscription corresponds with some rock inscriptions at Batoe Pahat in West Borneo. He says that "it is impossible to scrutinize its palaeography in order to assign an approximate date to it. On the strength of what little can be made out of the eye-copy, it possibly stands, as Prof. Kern has pointed out, in relation with the sea-captain Buddhagupta's inscription".

And that brings us to the most famous of these inscriptions, the four (Dr. Majumdar's Nos. 8-11) inscribed on a slate-stone slab which Colonel Low found near the ruins of an old Buddhist temple in the northern district of Province Wellesley and which is now to be seen in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The slab itself has in the centre a representation in outline of a stupa with seven umbrellas and the inscriptions record the successful voyage of the great sea-captain (*Mahanavika*) Buddhagupta, a resident (?) of Raktamrtikka. The language is sanskrit and the characters according to Dr. Majumdar "seem to belong to the fifth century A.D.", with characteristics of south Indian alphabets to be noted. Professor Kern dated this inscription as *circa* 400 A.D. and this date is generally accepted, Dr. Chhabra saying that it may be assigned to the 5th century A.D. and adding that "that of Kedah may be a little earlier" which is a little curious in view of what we have just quoted from him concerning that last inscription.

Professor Kern identified Raktamrtikka with the Chinese Ch'ih-tu (as to which later) which he considered to be a port on the Gulf of Siam. The identification is based on the fact that both the Indian and Chinese names mean 'Red Earth'. Professor Coedès (200, p. 14) agrees that Raktamrtikka was the same as Ch'ih-tu, which latter, however, he places definitely in the Malay Peninsula. There was apparently a Raktamrtikka in India also which several authorities consider to be the place of the inscription (*e.g.*, see 192, pt. 2, p. 6) and Dr. Majumdar (181, pp. 82 and 83) agrees with them. Obviously there is no means of being positive.

The inscription is very interesting for the man's name and the fact that he was a sea-captain. It is strange but very appropriate that there should emerge thus not the name of a king but that of a man whose class made kings possible in the Peninsula. It is noteworthy that in his name we get in Further India a *gupta* at the time when the Guptas were strong in India and near the time when as we have already pointed out Samudra Gupta was receiving the submission of the oceanic rulers after his defeat of the Pallavas. Yet the inscription is undoubtedly a "Pallava" inscription, that is to say, it is written in what is called *Grantha-Pallava* or *Vengi* from the district in which this type of writing is noteworthy.

From Rajapuri in Siam there comes another inscription, on a Buddha, which records a Sri Samadhi Gupta and which Professor Coedès dates towards the 6th or 7th centuries A.D. (200, p. 33). These seem to be the only records of *gupta* names in Further India.

Next there is the so-called 'Pallava seal' about which there is quite a literature. It was found by Mr. Ivor Evans at Tanjong Rawa, Kuala Selinsing, Perak, and consists of an inscribed cornelian which is apparently part of a signet ring though the ring itself was not found.

The site is archaeologically a very important one but Mr. Evans was never able to excavate it completely and it is hoped that Dr. Quaritch Wales will return to it some day. The reader is referred to Mr. Evans' accounts (201 ; 202 ; 203 ; and 204) for full details and copious illustrations, the seal itself being illustrated and described in the last of these articles.

The writing on the seal is the box-headed type known as the Pallava script. The name on the seal was at first taken to read 'Sri Vishnuvarman' and the engraving was dated palaeographically as about 400 A.D. but later Dr. Callenfels suggested the 6th century. Dr. Blagden and Mr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum considered 400 A.D. to be too early and thought it even possible that the seal might be a great deal later ; they read the inscription as " Sri Vishnuvarmmasya ".

Sir Richard Winstedt in 1932 wrote that the seal was " engraved with the name of a Hindu prince Sri Vishnuvarman, in Pallava characters of the 5th century A.D." (205, p. 5) ; but later he and Mr. Wilkinson in their *History of Perak* (108, p. 4) wrote that it was " engraved with the words Sri Vishnuvarmmasya, in Pallava characters of the 7th century A.D. or later " ; which view Sir Richard repeated in his *History of Malaya* (92, p. 20).

In 1934 the writer put the matter up to Professor Nilakanta Sastri who was " unable to agree that the seal is specifically Pallava or that it is a very early specimen " ; he read it as either Sri Vishnu Varmmasya or Sri Vishnu Sarammasya " the termination being wrong in either case, and the usual form being Varmanah or Sarmanah ". The writer sent a note of the Professor's views to this Journal (206) which brought forth a most interesting article by Dr. Chhabra (207) in which he anticipated the publication of the views expressed in his monograph on the Pallavas (138). Dr. Chhabra reads the seal as Sri-Vishnuvarmmasya and considers this to be a genitive, meaning that the seal belonged to Sri Vishnuvarman whom he identifies very positively with the King Visnu of the Ligor inscription, part of which is dated 775 A.D.

In 1936 Professor Nilakanta Sastri contributed a note upon the seal to this Journal (208). He suggests that it belonged to a merchant named Vishnuvarmma and that this merchant was probably

not a south Indian but came from central India while he agreed that the best opinion put the seal nearer the sixth century A.D. than the fourth, though the earlier date is not an impossibility.

Finally, Dr. Majumdar in his recent book (181, p. 8) says that the seal is "engraved with the name of a Hindu prince Sri Visnuvarman in characters of the fifth century A.D." and in a footnote he says that Dr. Chhabra's ascription of it to the eighth century A.D. "is very doubtful". He makes no mention at all of Professor Nilakanta Sastri's opinion.

It is, then obvious that the only thing which can be said about this seal is that upon the opinions of experts it dates between 400 A.D. and 775 A.D. but preferably between 400 and 600 A.D.

Leaving the British part of the Peninsula and going to the Siamese Dr. Majumdar (181, p. 90) gives us No. 13, the Takuapa inscription, of which he says that it has not been deciphered yet but that the characters are of early Indian type, showing no traces of the characteristics of south Indian alphabets. He cites Finot and an article by Gerini in 1904 but curiously ignores everything else that has been written about this celebrated inscription. We refer the reader to Professor Nilakanta Sastri's very full study (209) and Professor Coedès' note upon the inscription (200, pp. 49-50), which contains Hultzsch's translation. The inscription has been translated fully by Professor Nilakanta Sastri and he makes it clear that it is in the tamil language and dates from the eighth or ninth centuries A.D. We shall deal with it again when we reach it chronologically.

Professor Nilakanta Sastri's consideration of the inscription has one very important effect; it dislodges a great deal of argument whereby Takuapa was identified with Takola following Gerini. Here again etymology went in face of the facts (46, pp. 85-94) since Takuapa is north of Junk Ceylon whereas Ptolemy's Takola was considerably south of the promontory which began the Golden Chersonese, *i.e.* Junk Ceylon. Dr. Quaritch Wales (82a and 210) takes Takuapa to be Takola but he does not explain why. Dr. Majumdar (181, p. 81) seems to accept Gerini's identification, for which there is nothing in support except argument from names such as Takua-pa, Takua-thai and Takua-thung. We shall refer to the question again *infra*.

Dr. Majumdar's No. 17 is "an inscription from Caiya inscribed on a pillar. It is written in sanskrit with characters belonging to the fourth or fifth century A.D." This presumably is the inscription which Dr. Chhabra calls that of Sri Deb in his monograph (138, pp. 54-55) and he says in a footnote that Finot in 1910 thought that it probably came from Chaiya on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. Dr. Chhabra says that this inscription which is now in the Bangkok Museum actually came from Sri Deb or Sri T'ep in Siam. Dr. Quaritch Wales (210, p. 66)

says that though the inscription was at first thought to come from Chaiya "it was subsequently shown that the stone in fact came from Sri Deva", the ancient name of Sri T'ep. Palaeographically, this inscription is generally taken to date in the fifth century. It is in Pallava sanskrit as is another which Dr. Quaritch Wales discovered at Sri T'ep; this latter is dated by Dr. L. D. Barnett in the early sixth century.

This leaves us with Dr. Majumdar's Nos. 14-16, "Inscriptions, discovered at Ligor, of not later than the fifth century A.D. These have not been edited yet, but the characters resemble those of Takua Pa (No. 13)". These three inscriptions come from Nak'on Sri Thammarat, the modern name for the ancient Nagara Sri Dharmaraja, a very ancient site for the antiquities of which the reader is referred to De Lajonquière (211 and 212), Claeys (213) and Coedès (214).

Of the three inscriptions two are upon a porphyry slab and are dated by Finot as from the fourth to fifth centuries (199, p. 147) but by Coedès from the fifth to the sixth (200, p. 55). As far as they are decipherable they contain nothing of interest. The third inscription is in the Tamil language and was at first dated by Aymonier and Finot as from the fourth to the fifth centuries A.D. but Hultzsch showed that it was later than that of Takuapa and dated probably from the Chola dynasty. Coedès says that the first face might once have been in sanskrit but the second is in tamil and he gives a translation by Hultzsch (200, pp. 58-59). This inscription, then, does not belong in this period of our essay.

For our present period, therefore, the epigraphic evidence so far discovered in the Malay Peninsula consists of the inscriptions (a) from Kedah and Province Wellesley (b) from Kuala Selinsing, Perak, (c) from Nak'on Sri Thammarat, Ligor.

We pass now to Java where we have four rock inscriptions in Pallava-Grantha script. Three inscriptions, at Ci-aruton, Jambu and Kebon Kopi respectively, were found close to each other in the hilly country around Buitenzorg while the fourth was found at Tugu near the sea-coast east of Tandjong Priok, the port of Batavia. They should be studied in the monographs by Dr. Chhabra (138) and Dr. Vogel (215), and in Dr. Chatterjee's book (192) while they are fully considered by Dr. Majumdar (181). They record a king named Purnavarman, the ruler of a town called Taruma, whose footprints were likened to those of Visnu and who dug two canals named Candrabhaga and Gomati, both being names of well-known rivers of north India, though, as usual, these names were also found for rivers elsewhere, *e.g.* in south India and for certain channels in Ceylon (138, p. 33).

Purnavarman's footprints form the subject-matter of the inscriptions at Ci-aruton and Jambu; his elephant's footprints those of the inscription at Kebon Kopi; and the digging of the

canal Gomati that of the Tugu inscription which says that this event occurred in the 22nd year of the king's reign but unfortunately mentions no era.

The king's title was *rajadhiraja*; the name of his town, Taruma, is an Indonesian word for 'indigo' according to Professor Krom but, again, there was a city Taruma mentioned in a south Indian inscription (139, p. 32).

Dr. Vogel makes a very shrewd deduction from the dates given in the fourth inscription which says that the canal took 21 days to dig and gives the month dates of the first and last days. He deduces that the *amanta*¹ system of reckoning months was used and not the *purnimanta*²; he says (215, p. 32) that "the use of the *amanta* month, therefore, in Purnavarman's inscription may be taken as another indication of south Indian influence. I may add that, whereas the Vikrama era is generally associated with the *purnimanta* scheme (except in Gujerat) the Saka era has the *amanta* month, especially in Southern India, which is the real home of that era".

These four inscriptions are usually taken to belong to the middle of the fifth century A.D. Dr. Majumdar, however, thinks that it would be reasonable to place Purnavarman in the sixth century (181, p. 110) but he does not seem to be altogether consistent because (*ibid.* at p. 113) he also speaks of them as being of the fifth century.

Then there are Pallava-Grantha inscription at Tuk Mas at the foot of the volcano Merbabu in Central Java and at the Dieng plateau in Central Java. There is doubt as to the date of these, the former of which only has been deciphered since the latter is too obliterated. Dr. Chhabra (138, p. 33) says that the former was dated palaeographically in the fifth century by Professor Kern whereas Professor Krom places it in the seventh century. Whichever opinion is correct, Dr. Chhabra says that it may be regarded as the earliest known vestige of the Hindus in Central Java; there is, however, nothing in the wording of the inscription of interest to us. The latter inscription is of "about the same time (*i.e.* 600 or 700 A.D.)", according to Dr. Chhabra (*ibid.* p. 34). Dr. Majumdar (181, p. 114) says that the Tuk Mas inscription shows "a developed stage of that used by Purnavarman, and may thus be referred to the seventh century A.D."

These last inscriptions then may or may not belong in our present period but, despite the very high authority which an opinion of Professor Kern possesses, we presume it to be safer to say that, following the opinions of later experts, they should be

¹Which reckons from new moon to new moon.

²Which reckons from full moon to full moon.

ascribed to our next period. We have, therefore, in Java epigraphic evidence for our present period only from the Residency of Batavia, *i.e.* West Java.

We go next to Borneo where we have the famous sanskrit *yupa* inscriptions of Koetei, East Borneo, which may be studied in Dr. Vogel's well-known monograph (191) and in Chhabra (138) and Chatterjee (192) while they are considered by Dr. Majumdar (181, pp. 126-128). These four inscriptions are in the Pallava-Grantha script and are inscribed on *yupas*, or sacrificial stone shafts, which are now to be seen in the Batavia Museum. They give us the names of a king Mulavarman, his father Asvavarman and his grandfather Kundunga. It is said that Asvavarman was the founder of a noble race like Amsumat, who is the Sun-God, literally 'the Radiant One'. It is, accordingly, thought that Mulavarman was of the solar line of kings. The inscriptions make it clear that he was of the Brahmanical caste and the nature of the sacrifices to which the inscriptions refer and the posts themselves indicate clearly the worship of Siva. Mulavarman's title is *rajendra* in one inscription and *rajna* in the other three.

The names of the royal persons obviously present matters of great interest. As Dr. Majumdar says (181, p. 127) "Mulavarman was undoubtedly a historical personage, but the same cannot be asserted with certainty of his two predecessors". Dr. Majumdar calls attention to the striking resemblance between Kundunga and Asvavarman and Kaundinya and Asvatthama. We have already dealt with this question in the last part of this essay where we were able to print a note by Dr. Chhabra dealing with Kundunga. Dr. Majumdar, however, proceeds "But in spite of the resemblance in the names, it should be remembered, that as the inscription was a contemporary record of Mulavarman, its writers were not likely to have given two mythical names as those of his father and grand-father; and as such we can accept them as historical personages". He then has this most interesting paragraph—"The second king has a correct Sanskrit name, whereas the name of the first may be either of Indian or native origin. The second king is also referred to as the founder of the family. On these grounds Krom concludes that Kundunga was a native chief whose son adopted Hindu religion and culture, and thus became the founder of a Hindu-ized royal family. This, however, cannot be readily accepted, as 'Vamsakartha' does not necessarily mean the first King of a long line, but may refer to the most illustrious member of it".

The Koetei inscriptions are not dated but on palaeographic grounds they are universally accepted as being *circa* 400 A.D., being thus taken as generally contemporary with those from Kedah and Province Wellesley.

Somewhat later in date are the eight sanskrit inscriptions in Pallava-Grantha engraved on a rock near the springs of the

Tekerek River at Batoe Pahat¹ in West Borneo. Dr. Chhabra is the only authority in the English language for these inscriptions (138, p. 41) and he considers that they testify to the early existence of Buddhism in Borneo for he finds in them phrases similar to those used in the Bukit Meriam and Buddhagupta inscriptions in Kedah but he dates them (*ibid.* at p. 61) as being considerably later *viz.* in the sixth century A.D. Dr. Majumdar refers to them (181, p. 130) but he says nothing as to their date, and contents himself with only a brief note, citing Dr. Chhabra.

For our present period, therefore, the epigraphic evidence so far discovered in Malaysia outside the Malay Peninsula consists of the inscriptions from (a) the Batavia District in West Java (b) Koetei, East Borneo (c) Batoe Pahat, West Borneo.

We turn now to Indo-China and begin with the Champa inscriptions that fall within our present period. They may be studied in Dr. Majumdar's book on Champa (175) with which Dr. Chhabra's monograph should be read (138). All are sanskrit in the Pallava-Grantha script.

First, there is a group of five consisting of the two Cho Dinh rock inscriptions, the My-son stele inscription, the Chiem-Son rock inscription and the Hon-Cuc stone inscription, all of which are considered palaeographically to date from *circa* 400 A.D., thus falling into line with the Buddhagupta and Mulavarman inscriptions, though it is generally considered that those relating to King Bhadravarman are slightly the older, Professor Coedès taking them to be *circa* 350 A.D. It is clear that the break between them and the Vo-canh inscription is a very long one.²

The Cho Dinh inscriptions are engraved on a rock in the village of Nhan-thap, to the north of Cape Varella, Cho Dinh actually being the name of a near-by market-place. They refer to a sacrifice to Siva and mention a king (Dharma-Maharaja) Bhadravarman. The My-son inscription is inscribed on a stele in front of the large temple of My-son, a village in the district of Quang Nam. It records a perpetual endowment to Bhadresvara, *i.e.* Siva, and mentions King Bhadravarman as the donor. Dr. Majumdar (175, p. 5) writes that "judging from the number and beauty of temples which once surrounded the shrine, and the many endowments that have been made to it by successive Kings, the temple of Bhadresvara seems to have enjoyed a very high prestige in Champa".³ The Chiem-Son and Hon Cuc inscriptions mention nothing of interest to us but we can deduce one geographic fact

¹Batoe is the Dutch way of writing *batu*, malay for rock or stone, while *pahat* is malay for a chisel. Batu Pahat is a common toponym throughout Malaysia but this one in Borneo seems to be the only one where a chiselled rock exists.

²This, however, must now be read subject to Dr. Sircar's views.

³Could this be the great temple of Siva to which the Vayu Purana refers? See the last part of this essay, pp. 69 and 116.

from them and the My-son inscription, namely that the river Song-thu-bon, a little to the east of My-son was known as the 'Great River'. The Chiem-Son inscription is engraved on a rock overhanging the river Song-Thu-bon a little to the east of My-son while the Hon-Cuc inscription is engraved on a rock called Hon-Cuc near the village of Chim-Son in the province of Quang Nam.

Lastly, there is the My-son stele of King Sambhuvarman which is dated in the Saka era; but unfortunately the exact year is missing so that it can only be said that it was between 479 and 577 A.D. It tells us that the Bhadresvara (Siva) temple at My-son had been burned down and that it was restored by King Sambhuvarman; it confirms to the temple the endowment of land made by King Bhadravarman and it mentions a King Rudravarman. The last king is described as "the ornament of the Brahma-Ksatriya family", and the inscription says that "while four hundred.... years of the Sakas had elapsed, the temple of the God of Gods was burnt by fire". The date of Rudravarman's death was given but unfortunately is missing now. The inscription calls the country Campadesa or the Kingdom of Champa. In this inscription, therefore, we have the first use in Further India of the Saka year and the first use of the name Champa.

For our present period then, the epigraphic evidence so far discovered concerning Champa consists of the inscriptions from (a) Nhanthap, to the north of Cape Varella (b) My-son, Quang Nam (c) Chim Son, Quang Nam.

We go now to such inscriptions as can be said to relate to Funan. First, there is what is known as the Thap-muoi pedestal inscription engraved on a slate pillar which was found among the ruins of the monument of Prasat Pram Loven on the hill of Thap-muoi in the Plaine des Joncs near Saigon. Then, there is an inscription on a slab of schist discovered at the monument of Ta Prohm in the province of Bati; and, lastly, an inscription recently discovered near the village of Khvao in the district of Prei Sandek, province of Treang. The first two may be studied in Professor Coedès' article (177) and Dr. Chhabra (138) also refers to it, while the last has only recently been published by Professor Coedès (216).

The Thap-Muoi inscription is considered palaeographically to be contemporaneous with Purnavarman's inscriptions in Java and so is allocated to the latter half of the fifth century A.D. It records the foundation of a sanctuary and the foot-prints therein of Visnu under the name of Cakratirthasvamin by Gunavarman, a king's son, and it begins with reference to a king whose name is lost except for the first two letters Ja.... and who conquered in battle another king named Vira...., the rest of the name being lost. Apparently Gunavarman was the son of the former. The inscription mentions but does not name his mother. His father is

called " the moon of the line of Kaundinya " and it is stated that Gunavarman had been appointed by the king, his father, as " chief of a religious domain conquered from the mud " which evidently means reclaimed by drainage and drying from the alluvium of the Mekhong which constitutes the Plaine des Jones to-day.

The Treang inscription made known by Professor Coedès (216) relates to the foundation of a hermitage with a tank and a dwelling-house by Queen Kulaprabhavati, the principal spouse of a king called Jayavarman, and Professor Coedès says that the palaeography dates the inscription to the end of the fifth century A.D. He thinks that this king was the father of Gunavarman above. The inscription mentions the town of Kurumba; and like that of Gunavarman it shows a Visnuite character.

The third of the Funan inscriptions had for its purpose the praise of a religious chief of the Brahmins whose name is now missing. It mentions a King Rudravarman and his father Jayavarman but this text shows a Buddhistic influence in the invocation part of it. Professor Coedès (177) says that it must be dated a little before the middle of the sixth century A.D. but this does not seem to be consistent with his later article (216) in which he says that Rudravarman's accession was posterior to 614 A.D.

Finally, we may remark that in Siam there was a kingdom called Dvaravati from which inscriptions in the pali and mon languages have been found that date from the sixth to the eighth centuries A.D. The writer is unable to give exact references to these.

In dealing with the Pallava-Grantha inscriptions Dr. Chhabra draws some important conclusions. He finds that the early waves of immigrants must have hailed from those regions of south India that were under the government of the Pallavas in those times and principally from the Coromandel coast. He points to the use of *varman* in the names of all the kings mentioned, this also being part of the nomenclature of the Pallava kings and he also points to the use of the Saka era, which was prevalent in south India, though not used by the Pallavas themselves. The Vikrama era was common in north India but this also was not used by the Pallavas who employed for dating purposes merely the regnal years of their kings.

Dr. Chhabra in a footnote (138, p. 58) says that *varman* was originally a nominal addition used by Ksatriyas just as *gupta* was by Vaisyas, *sarman* by Brahmins and *dasa* by Sudras. Later it came to denote simply that the bearer belonged to a ruling class irrespective of caste. We have already noted that the Pallavas were Brahmins of the Bharadvaja *gotra*.

Then, Dr. Chhabra has an important note as to the evidence concerning religion which is afforded by the inscriptions. "Religion", he says at p. 59, "has all along been the pivot round which all the activities of the Hindus revolve. The same is noticeable in the lands and islands that come under their influence. Although ever since the time of Asoka (c. 250 B.C.) Buddhism had been spreading far and wide outside India, yet according to epigraphical evidence, it was Brahmanism that was first to reach the countries under discussion. This colonial Brahmanism expresses itself in three main forms; Sivaism, Visnuism and the cult of Agastya. All of them had their origin in India". At p. 53, he notes how in the Cambodian texts there is evidence of the early existence of Brahmanism and Buddhism almost side by side.

The fact is that in ancient times there seems to have been that same religious tolerance in Further India that is so marked a feature of life to-day. Chatterjee (107, p. 241) calls attention to the "strange combination" of Mahayana doctrines with the worship of Siva in ancient Cambodia and says that it "has its parallel in Champa, in Java under the Singasari and the Majapahit dynasties, and in Magadha and Bengal under the Pala dynasty". He says that other Indian cults were not unknown in Cambodia and that the worship of Hari-hara (Visnu and Siva combined in one) was very popular in Cambodia in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D.

There was in Further India none of the antagonism between Buddhism and Brahmanism, between Visnuism and Sivaism that led to so much bloodshed at various times and places in the mother country. When one notes the prevalence of any particular faith, one must not, then, draw any conclusions of conflict with other faiths or make any of the other deductions that one might have to do if one were dealing with the same evidence at the same date in India.

Archaeology is so very technical a subject that it is not possible for us to summarize all the evidence which it affords for our present period but some general observations may be useful.

In the Malay Peninsula we have in the Siamese part evidence of ancient Indian settlements at Takuapa, Trang, Chaiya and Nak'on Sri Thammarat for all of which the reader should see in particular Claeys (213) and Quaritch Wales (82A and 210) but just how early these settlements actually were it does not seem possible to say.

In the British part of the Peninsula we have for certain the ancient sites in Kedah and Province Wellesley dating from at least the middle of the fourth century and the ancient site at Kuala Selinsing, Perak, dating from the evidence of the seal to at least *circa* 600 A.D., and from the evidence of beads cited in the last part of this essay possibly dating back to a period contemporary

with the Kedah and Province Wellesley sites. Then we also have ancient sites in Pahang for which the reader is referred to Dr. Linehan's work (217-220).

We think it fair to say upon the archaeological evidence alone that between 200 and 600 A.D. there were ancient Indian settlements in Kedah and Province Wellesley ; in Perak, up the Bernam and around the Batang Padang district, and at Kuala Selinsing ; and in Johore, up the Johore River and around Kota Tinggi. Dr. Linehan writes to us that in his view the Pahang sites so far discovered give no evidence of Indian settlement there. No Hindu religious symbols have yet been found on these sites. We do not say that the settlements we have mentioned were the only ones ; the fact is that a really authentic article setting out the sum of our present archaeological knowledge of the Malay Peninsula is very badly needed and, naturally, only an expert could attempt such a work. Most of the authorities are collected in the bibliography to this essay.

We turn now to Funan and find ourselves almost entirely dependent upon the Chinese records ; indeed but for their mention of the state the name would have been entirely unknown. Yet its importance is tremendous for it was the first great Indian kingdom in south-eastern Asia known to us and out of it grew the great Khmer empire of Cambodia.

As we are about to introduce the Chinese records concerning Greater India into the narrative of this essay it may be as well to point out some facts concerning them. In the first place, it is obvious that, save by sinologists, translations must be used ; and the translators do not always agree, indeed sometimes they are scornful of each other. They very rarely spell Chinese names or words in the same way ; and their translations for the greater part are given for the purpose of expressing theories or illuminating essays upon special subjects.

In the second place, none of the translators has been content to give a simple translation in chronological order of all the relevant passages and retaining the original Chinese names. Groeneveldt goes nearest to doing so but his translations are not complete and they suffer from the facts that he places them in the geographical compartments to which he conceives them to belong and that he frequently uses modern names without showing what are the Chinese originals.

In the third place, it seems that there are still many passages which have not been translated and, perhaps, which have not so far been mentioned at all.

As we are about to deal with many Chinese names we must remind the reader that in quoting authors who write in French we preserve their way of transliterating the Chinese. Amongst

English writers there are many variations of spelling and consistency therefore becomes impossible since we must always be quoting. Finally, most English writers seem to follow Karlgren and it must be remembered that "his "Ancient Chinese" gives mainly the pronunciation of the Ch'angnan dialect of North China about the year 600 A.D.", according to Mr. G. H. Luce to whose work we shall be referring the reader later on in this essay.

We shall try to deal with the Chinese evidence available to us in a chronological sequence but it is very difficult to do so. Groeneveldt, Schlegel, Pelliot, Hirth, Rockhill, Ferrand and the rest were not mere translators; they were also exponents of theories and hypotheses and very rarely were they concerned with any systematic chronology.

The writer suggests that it is essential to the further progress of the ancient history of Greater India that some scholar should prepare a bald translation in chronological sequence of all the available Chinese evidence, retaining the Chinese names and showing the characters for them. If a note as to the Fukien pronunciation of the place-names could be added, it would be very useful. No one would be content to make such a translation unless paid and it would, therefore, be necessary for some society or group of societies to finance the work and its publication. But without such a work it is utterly impossible to check the theories of sinologists and etymologists who so far have had the field as the parade ground for their generally conflicting views and who too frequently set aside given facts because they do not agree with etymological theories.

The *locus classicus* for the history of Funan is, of course, Pelliot's famous essay (221).

Gerini (46, p. 207) was the first to point out that the Chinese name Funan was the transcription of the indigenous name for 'mountain': and it is accepted to-day that Funan represents the Khmer *vnam*, modern Cambodian *phnom*, meaning 'mountain'. Dr. Linehan writes that *gunong*, the Malay for mountain, is doubtless akin to Funan, *vnam* and *phnom*. For a discussion of the name, its connection with a mountain and for the site of the state and its capital the reader is referred to Finot (150; 223) and Coedès (222; 224) besides Pelliot's articles (129; 221).

The exact location of Funan has been the subject of dispute. Groeneveldt (148) and Schlegel (174) both give it as Siam, more often than not without showing the Chinese characters or otherwise warning their readers that they are writing about Funan in reality; Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 50) take Funan as being "roughly Siam". Takakasu (227, p. 11) places it in Siam but says (*ibid.* p. 12) that it also included a part of Cambodia. Bose (225) says that "the valley of the Menam formed an integral part of the Kingdom of Funan and the empire of Kambuja for

long centuries". Finot, however, considers the basin of the Mekhong to have been the locale of Funan (150, p. 61) and Pelliot (221, p. 284) cites a Chinese work which says that the kingdom of Funan had the "Port of the Thousand Rivers" which seems to be a reference to the Mekhong. Chinese records make it clear that Funan commanded the Gulf of Siam and that it was a compulsory stopping-place on the route to China.

The student will see from the preceding paragraph, and generally as this essay progresses, that it is quite impossible to depend upon any one authority where Chinese place-names are concerned; all available must be examined.

The best opinion to-day is, as stated by Quaritch Wales (228, p. 82), that Funan "occupied at first what we now call Cochin-China, around the mouths of the Mekhong"; and that in its heyday it corresponded to the whole of Cochin-China and Cambodia (183, p. 50), though it is often equated loosely with Cambodia (e.g. 229, p. 153). At one time its suzerainty seems to have covered at all events parts of Siam and the Malay Peninsula.

Quaritch Wales (228 p. 90) says that the ancient capitals of Funan were at Basak, Sambor du Fleuve, and Angkor Borei (Vyadhapura).

We have already made a passing reference to the legend of the founding of Funan¹ and we shall elaborate it. In the first half of the third century, probably about 245-250 A.D., two Chinese functionaries named K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying were sent to enquire as to the strangers beyond the bounds of Je-nan and they either visited or learned about a hundred and more countries of which they made accounts, publishing on their return to China two works in which they recounted their experiences. These accounts have been lost but fortunately they provided so much information for the compilers of the Chinese annals that a good deal of their work remains in quotations. The *T'ai p'ing yu lan*, of the period 977-983 A.D., quotes their account of Funan; and we give a free rendering of Pelliot's translation of the passage (146, pp. 245-6):—"In the beginning Funan had as its sovereign a woman called Licou-ye. There was a man of the country of Mofan called Houen-chen, who liked to worship a spirit, in which his ardour never failed. The spirit was touched by his great piety. One night Houen-chen dreamed that a man gave him a divine bow and ordered him to embark on a large merchant junk and put to sea. In the morning, Houen-chen went into the temple and at the foot of the tree of the spirit, he found a bow. Then he embarked on a great ship and put to sea. The spirit turned the wind so that the ship reached Funan. Licou-ye wanted to pirate the ship and possess it. Houen-

¹This Journal, 1937, vol. XV, Pt. 3, at pp. 100-101.

chen raised the divine bow and shot. The arrow pierced the boat of Lieou-ye from side to side. Lieou-ye was frightened and yielded and thus Houen-chen became king of Funan".

Other versions of the legend are to be found in the *Chin Shu*¹ which gives the stranger's name as Houen-houei; in the *Nan Ch'i Shu*² which gives the name of Houen-t'ien and says that he came from the country of Ki and also says that finding Lieou-ye going naked he made her clothe herself; and in the *Liang Shu*³ which also gives the name as Houen-t'ien but says that he came from the country of Kiao, which was south of Funan, and also says that he made Lieou-ye clothe herself. The same legend will be found in Ma Tuan-lin's *Wen Hsien T'ung Kao*, written in the thirteenth century A.D. and having as its basis Tu Yu's *T'ung Tien*, 735-812 A.D.; it was translated into French by d'Hervey de Saint-Denys but it is said that the translation is not good. It gives the stranger's name as Houen-houei and says that he came from the country of Ki, south of Funan (230, p. 437).

Pelliot, and following him every one else, takes the name of the stranger as Houen-t'ien, which is a Chinese transliteration for Kaundinya, while Lieou-ye represents an indigenous name and means Willow Leaf. The legend, then, tells us that a Kaundinya arrived in Funan from the south by ship on the favourable monsoon (the spirit having turned the wind *i.e.* to south-west) and married Willow Leaf the local chieftainess after subduing her tribe. Whence did this Kaundinya come? Pelliot (146, p. 247) says that K'ang T'ai elsewhere said that the country was 'now' (*i.e.* circa 245-250 A.D.) called Wou-wen which he considers to have been on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula; his reasoning and etymology should be studied. Ki and Kiao he cannot explain beyond saying that one is an alteration of the other.

The folk-lore concerning the magic bow of the earliest Kaundinya is considered by Finot (223, pp. 30-37) and he points out how it corresponds with the spear of Kaundinya in the My-son Stele inscription of 579 Saka, 657 A.D. This inscription, as translated by Majumdar (175, III, p. 23) says concerning the town of Bhava (Bhavapura) that it was "there that Kaundinya, the foremost among Brahmanas, planted the spear which he had obtained from Drona's son Asvatthama, the best of Brahmanas. There was a daughter of the king of serpents, called Soma, who founded a family in this world. Having attained, through love, to a radically different element, she lived in the habitations of man. She was taken as wife by the excellent Brahmana Kaundinya" etc. Finot says that this legend was carried to

¹History of the Chins, 265-419 A.D., compiled by Fang Hiuan-ling, 576-648 A.D.

²Written by Hsiao-Tzu-hsien, 489-537, A.D.

³History of the Liangs, 502-556 A.D., written by Yao Chien who died in 643, A.D.

Champa by a Cambodian princess. He also points out that Soma and her family, the Somavamsa, were connected with the moon and the lunar kings, while later inscriptions show that Kambu from whom the Cambodian kings traced their descent by his marriage with the *apsara* Mera was of the *Suryavamsa* or solar line of kings. These Cambodian kings succeeded Funan after its overthrow by their founder but they seem to have adopted the Funan family tradition and sacrificed their own.

One seems to glimpse a chain. The Pallavas overthrew the Cholas and took over a Chola tradition of descent from a Nagi ; Kaundinya of Funan marries a local ' Indonesian ' princess and so a Nagi ; to their race the Pallava tradition is applied ; Cambodia overthrows Funan and its kings take over the Funan tradition of descent. Later we shall suggest it to be possible that the first kings of Palembang might have been Sailendra princes from Funan. If so, they would take with them their traditions ; we have suggested that in effect the *Sejarah Melayu* does tell a tradition of descent similar to the Pallava. And we have shown that in the tradition in the *Sejarah Melayu* and in Menangkabau documents which we have quoted the spear *Limbuar* plays a prominent part. Wilkinson has taken this to represent Demang Lebar Daun and to be an ' Indonesian ' weapon. Is it not possible that the spear of Asvatthama is the true connection ?

As for the magic bow of Kaundinya we referred briefly in the last part of this essay to the legend in the Kedah Annals concerning the founding of the State of Perak by a prince armed with a magic bow. Winstedt and Wilkinson in their history of Perak (108) consider the legends of the founding of the State. These include (see p. 119) a silver bow and a silver arrow (silver, of course, to explain the name Perak, which is Malay for that metal) and the giving of this bow to a prince whose grandfather said " shoot, and where the arrow falls thou shalt be king. Call the country Perak, that is, silver ". The arrow flew for seven days and seven nights and fell at Pulau Indra Sakti. In the Kedah Annals we are told that the name of the bow was Indra Sakti. Winstedt (231) points out the extraneous nature of a bow to a Peninsular tradition ; he asks " whence did a Malay chronicler get the non-Malayan idea of choosing a site by loosing an arrow, a weapon seldom or never employed by people of his race, into trackless forests ? " His solution is that " evidently in this Kedah legend we meet another instance of Malay indebtedness to Persian models, such as is seen in the introduction to the *Sejarah Melayu* (Wilkinson's *Malay Literature*, I, p. 18) and in the introduction of the same type to the *Kedah Annals* ".

Maxwell (232) gives a translation of the passage from the Kedah Annals and also a great deal of interesting matter concerning the legends in Perak. The Kedah Annals, which call the bow Indra Sakti, say that the prince loosed his arrow when he came to

' the tributary of a large stream which flowed down to the sea. Further on they came to a large sheet of water, in the midst of which were four islands ". The arrow fell on one of these islands which was accordingly called Pulau (island) Indra Sakti¹ and on which the settlement was made, the town including a fort, palace and council-chamber. The name was later changed to Negri (country) Perak. Of this story Maxwell says that it has no local currency in Perak and that the Perak Malay commences the history of this country with the legend of the White Semang which he gives in full in his article. He says that ' it is not easy to name any spot in Perak which corresponds in the least with the lake and islands described in the text. Colonel Low suggests the Dindings, or some tract near the Bruas River. The latter is probably the oldest settled district in Perak. The *Sejarah Melayu* mentions a ' Raja of Bruas ' before there was a Raja of Perak of the Johor line. Local traditions, too, all speak of Bruas as the ancient seat of government. Localities on that river are identified by natives as the scenes of the fabulous adventures described in the *Hikayat Shamsubahrin*² and it is traditionally related that the Bruas was formerly connected with the Perak River at a place now called Tepus, but then called Tumbus. Ancient tombs at Bruas support the popular tradition of its importance as a settlement in former times. The most venerable spot in Perak, however, is Tumung on the Perak River, a few miles north of Kwala Kangsa³, which is the scene of the legend of the White Semang already alluded to ".

Dr. Linehan writes that he " carried out some investigations into the tombs of Bruas and that at Temong or Tumong. The pattern of the stones and the script of the inscriptions show that the graves at Bruas and that at Temong are contemporaneous. The script of the Temong stones has been examined by Indian and Malay scholars but has not yet been deciphered ; neither has the writing on the Bruas stones. The script is Arabic (in Naskh, not Kufic characters as some people have thought) and is apparently a religious formula repeated again and again. The local religious leaders at Temong who were present when the tomb there was being photographed expressed surprise at the view that there was an inscription on the tomb. They had taken the letters for pure ornamentation !

" The first to record the existence of To' Temong's grave was Sir Hugh Low, British Resident of Perak in 1877 (?) in his Journal.

" To' Temong must have been a very celebrated lady for we can follow the tradition of her fame across the divide into the valley of the Lipis in Pahang. In a genealogical account of the family

¹In connection with the name Dr. Linehan notes that there is a locality called by that name on the Pahang River nearly opposite Pulau Tawar in Pahang.

²Now written *Shamsu'l-barain*.

³Now written *Kuala Kangsar*, where H.H. the Sultan lives.

of the Orang Kaya Stia Wangsa of Lipis shè appears as *Baginda Damun*. That family traced their descent from Kota Lama in Perak so the introduction by them into Pahang of the tradition of To' Temong may readily be understood.

" I have made a study of old Muslim tomb-stones throughout the Peninsula and the Bruas and Temong ones are not quite like any I have yet encountered in ornamentation and in script though they may be proto-types of the Achinese grave stones of the seventeenth century in the grave-yard Makam Chondong in Pahang. For Muslim graves they are properly ornamented (N. and S.). They almost certainly do not go back to a period prior to the fifteenth century ".

It will, then, be seen that the tombs are Mohamedan : and, so far as is known to us, there is no evidence of any very great antiquity in the settlement at Bruas.

It is very clear that there are three traditions in Perak (1) the tradition recorded in the *Sejarah Melayu* that the Sultans of Perak are descended from a prince of the Malacca-Johor line ; this is accepted as the authentic tradition (108, p. 7); (2) a legend that the state was brought into being as the result of the union of Nakhoda Kasim with a girl from the White Semang, in which legend are mixed up a Bamboo Princess and a minister Tan Saban who came from Tanah Merah, meaning Red Earth but a very common toponym in the Peninsula ; (3) a legend which connects the State of Perak with a prince armed with a magic bow. These legends should be carefully studied and we suggest that (1) is clearly the one which history can accept, that (2) contains some very ancient ' Indonesian ' legend, and that (3) is entirely foreign and was introduced from another tradition in order to explain the name *Perak* in a fashion so very familiar in Malaysian literature.

Now, though nobody yet seems to have stated the fact, the name *Perak* is very strange and so far inexplicable. The ancient name *Manjong* would seem to have been used in very old times for some portion of the State but Maxwell (224) says that he could get no information about it in Perak itself. Dr. Linehan writes that *Manjong* is probably connected etymologically with *Semenanjong*, meaning a peninsula. Dato Douglas has an interesting, though inconclusive, note on the name Perak which he says does not appear before 1529 A.D. He wonders if the connection may not be with the malay *barat*.¹

Why should the State be called *Perak* or *Negri Perak*, the Silver Country ? There would seem to be no trace of silver there ; indeed, Mr. J. B. Scrivenor, lately Government Geologist, writing in Burkill's very valuable *Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, 1935, says that silver is only found in the

¹This Journal, 1938, Pt. 1, p. 151.

Peninsula as an impurity in galena and that attempts to extract it on a paying basis failed. The present writer put the matter up to Mr. Fred Wickett, a very well-known miner and long time resident of Perak, and in a letter he replied that the late Sultan Idris of Perak had told him in 1900 that " sampans loaded with silver ingots (boat-shaped) used to be brought past Kuala Kangsar" and that " the silver came from a big silver mine somewhere on the Siam-Legeh-Perak-Kelantan boundary but the Sultan did not know where." Mr. Wickett says that he and a friend for years spent a lot of time looking for the place but without success. Dr. Linehan writes that Mr. Bozzolo, the first District Officer of Upper Perak, was through the country mentioned by Mr. Wickett in 1889 and says nothing about the existence of silver mines in his report. Perak has been famous for tin as far back as its history can be traced and it also possesses alluvial gold in the Batang Padang district and in olden times probably very much more ; but how did it ever come to be called the Silver Country ? There is a mystery and the explanation might perhaps be that the name was originally different but near enough to change into Perak.

It is clear that the legend of the magic bow is entirely foreign to true Perak tradition and the question arises whence it came. As we have seen, Sir Richard Winstedt would go to Persia. One wonders, though, whether it may not really be connected with Funan and India. We shall see shortly that Funan was overlord of part of the Malay Peninsula and we have already seen that the first Kaundinya came from the south from Mo-fou or Mou-wen or Ki or K'iao ; but, according to Pelliot, from the Malay Peninsula. The capital of Funan according to the *Liang Shu*, as we shall see, was 500 *li* from the sea on a great river ; another account mentions a lake. As we have pointed out the Kedah Annals do preserve the founding of settlements by princes of the royal line of Marong of the Great Family. One such founded a settlement by means of a royal bow. The Annals say that this settlement was Perak : but might it have been Funan ?

It is interesting to note that in the Kedah Annals the great Marong himself had a magic bow with which he fought Garuda when he sent the storms upon the fleet. From this bow he shot arrows called respectively *Ayunan* and *Bratpura*. The name of the bow is given as *Prasa Sampani Gambar*.

The idea of the magic bow carried by Kaundinya seems to be connected with the bow of Indra.

The name of the Queen Lieou-ye or Willow Leaf, as Pelliot points out, is strange because of the absence of the willow in Indo-China ; but, whether willow-leaf or some other leaf, it would seem to have been a typical ' Indonesian ' name and we have in Malay tradition Demang Lebar Daun or Chief Broad Leaf, whose daughter married Sang Sapurba, founder of the Palembang Dynasty ; and

Winstedt and Wilkinson (108, p. 123) where they are dealing with the White Semang legend say that " the tale of a Bamboo Princess occurs also in the Malay version of the *Ramayana*, and in the Kedah and Achinese Annals ; the Rajas of Raman may not eat bamboo-shoots because their ancestor came out of the bamboo and the " Malay Annals " tell of a Champa prince born from an arec-palm spathe (*Malay Reader*, Winstedt and Balgden, Oxford 1917, p. 182) " .

Dr. Linehan writes that the family of Jelai Chiefs in Pahang have a tradition that they come from a *betong* (or *batong*) bamboo. One of their taboos is that they cannot repose on *selising* (or *selinsing*) grass.

That there was a very strong connection between Indo-China and the Malay Peninsula is very clear. Blagden (233, p. 3) says concerning Champa that " according to Ptolemy the metropolis of this region was Balonga. This place can be clearly identified, on other grounds besides mere similarity of name, with Bal-Angoue, of which the ruins situated near the coast about lat : 14° N. are still in existence, and which was therefore apparently the first, or at least the earliest known, as it ultimately became the last, of the Cham capitals. Its fall is narrated, curiously enough, in the *Sejarah Melayu*, where it is called Bal, the generic Cham word for ' metropolis ' or ' capital ' " .

In another very interesting, though perhaps out of date, article (234) Blagden says much that is well worth close study about Indo-Chinese influences in the Malay Peninsula and concerning the origin of the Malay race. His comparative vocabularies should also be studied and for our present purposes we may note that in Kelantan, Rumpin, Endau and Johore the words for ' mountain ' in aboriginal dialects correspond with the Cambodian *phnom* and Stieng *bnom*. With regard to the names for our pagan tribes Blagden (*ibid.* p. 42) points out that *Semang* merely means ' debt-slave ' and *Sakai* ' servant ' or ' dependent ' . Hervey thought the latter to mean ' dog ' in which case Blagden points out that it would resemble the Cambodian *chhke* with the same meaning. *Semang* is, of course, applied to the negroes, *Sakai* to the fairer jungle-men ; both are popular generic names so familiar now that there is no chance of killing them however unfortunate they are from an ethnological point of view. Blagden says in a footnote to p. 42 that he suspects Jakun (aborigines in Johore) to represent the Pali *Yakkha* (demon) and that it, like *mentra*, a name of sanskrit origin, was applied to the jungle-men by their Hinduized neighbours ; but Wilkinson shows that it is of Indo-Chinese origin, *jah-kun*. This should be borne in mind in connection with what we shall say about the Chinese *kun-lun*. Blagden thinks that Girgassi also was a word of sanskrit origin but he does not explain in what manner. At p. 45 he says that " there must have been a time, that is to say, when the ancestors of the present jungle-men

of the Peninsula were held in subjection by an Indo-Chinese race of the Mon-Annam family, and its seems probable that such a race at some time or other held sway in the Peninsula itself? ". But is it not more probable that many of the jungle-men are really 'Indonesians'? The report by Mr. H. D. Noone, the present Government Ethnographer, upon the Ple-Temiar Senoi (235) is a most illuminating piece of work. What he has to say there in the chapter on *Culture, Breed and Language* should particularly be studied. His evidence is clear that these Temiar are really 'Indonesians' or, as seems a much better expression, Nesiots.¹ In the first part of this essay we endeavoured in an anthropological excursus to demonstrate what great gaps there are in our knowledge of Malayan anthropology and we suggested a re-study of the pagan tribes. Mr. Noone's study of the Ple-Temiar forms the first of what one hopes will be many studies by him of our aboriginal or pagan tribes.²

We have suggested and we suggest again that the patient collection and exploration of the legends in the Malay Peninsula is work of the most useful type. So far Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu have produced almost nothing for want of work by European writers. Sir Richard Winstedt in his article upon folklore written in 1911 (184) said that 'it is hoped that entrance of European officers into the states now taken over³ may throw fresh light on the forgotten history of primitive settlements in the Peninsula ". But those officers have had so much to do in political and administrative matters that only lately are we beginning to get anything in connection with cultural anthropology; these States, however, still remain virgin field for all practical purposes.

The ancient ethnic details given by the Chinese as to Champa are all collected by Maspero (176); they bear a general resemblance to those given by the Chinese in respect of Funan. Indeed, the Chinese noted a close correspondence of all the regions in what they called the South Seas. The curious thing in their descriptions is that nowhere do they seem to describe people like the present Malays; always they refer to people with woolly or curly hair. Kuwabara (179, No. 2, p. 62) says that the Chinese expression *K'un-lun* (or *K'ouen-louen*, as the French write it) means "black ones". The expression *K'un-lun* usually is taken to have applied generally to the populations of Malaysia. Kuwabara shows how many of these *K'un-lun* were slaves in China and he says that "the *K'un-lun* slaves were principally the negroes of the Southern

¹They use the long-house and in this connection the reader's attention is directed to Mr. Bishop's article *Long-Houses and Dragon Boats*, *Antiquity*, 1938, vol. XII, No. 48, pp. 411-424.

²Mr. Noone's study, of course, had no connection with our suggestion and we mention it only by way of illustration.

³British influence was obtained in 1909 by treaty with Siam which prior thereto had claimed suzerain rights over Kedah, Perlis, Trengganu and Kelantan.

Seas, but as, during the T'ang and Sung eras, the negroes of Africa seem to have been brought into China through the hand of the Arabs, the latter also may have been included in the same appellation". The impression left upon Kuwabara's mind, then, by the Chinese records is quite clearly that the *K'un-lun* were negroes, while Schlegel thought them to be negroites.

Maspero (176, p. 23) says that the mark of royal power in Champa was the umbrella, of which the colour was white. Bose (225, p. 114) says that like the Indian kings the King of Siam has five emblems of royalty, viz:—the royal seven-tiered umbrella, the royal fan, the royal sword, the royal diadem and the royal slippers. We have already¹ cited a passage from Sarkar (29) referring to "the holder of the one umbrella" as meaning an all-ruler in India. Maspero (*ibid.* p. 23) cites an inscription from Champa which says that "he ruled with the one umbrella". Winstedt (115, p. 153) says that "the yellow umbrella of the Malay ruler was imported from China". He gives no authority for the remark, which may be correct as to the colour; but so far as the umbrella itself is concerned it seems to be perfectly clear that as a royal emblem it was introduced from India. White is the true Malay raja colour and not yellow, although to-day people in Malaya speak of yellow as "the royal colour". The *Sejarah Melayu* is quite clear that, when the customs of the court of Malacca were settled, the white umbrella "which is superior to the yellow one" was confined to the raja's person while the yellow umbrella was confined to his family (90, p. 95). The *Sejarah* says that the white umbrella was superior "because it is seen conspicuous at a greater distance" but that is only a typical attempt to explain something the true meaning of which had been forgotten. In the Johore regalia to-day the two largest umbrellas are white.

Dr. Linehan refers us also to the *Adat Lembaga Negri Perak* which shows that the Sultan's colour is white; the Raja Muda's yellow (*Kuning jingga*); and the Raja Bendahara's black. The old Malay royal umbrella and its colour are, says Dr. Linehan, the counterpart of the flag in more advanced countries. The reader is referred to an excellent article by Jeanne Auboyer which deals with the umbrella as a symbol of sovereignty in India (236).

We propose now to note the anthropological (physical and cultural) details given by the Chinese as to Funan, taking Pelliot's essays (221 and 146) as our basis and giving free renderings of his translations.

The *Chin Shu* says that "the men are very ugly and black; their hair is curly (*frisé*); they go naked on bare feet. Their life is simple and they are not thievish. They work at agriculture. They sow one year and leave fallow for three. They are very fond

¹This Journal, vol. XIII, Pt. 1, p. 100.

of carving ornaments and chiselling. Taxes are paid in gold, silver, pearls and perfumes. They have books and depots of archives and other things. Their written characters resemble those of the *Hou*.¹ Their funerals and marriages are generally like those of Champa". This work says that in the state there were walled towns, palaces and domestic buildings.

The *Nan Ch'i Shu* has a very full account. Of the character of the people of Funan it gives two differing accounts. The first says that they were malignant and crafty, taking by force the inhabitants of neighbouring towns that did not pay homage to them and making slaves of them; but later it says that the character of the people was good and not pugnacious. The contradiction doubtless was due to accounts from different dates being collated in the one work. The *Nan Ch'i Shu* further says that "as merchandize they have gold, silver and silks. The sons of important families cut brocade to make of it a sarong; the women cover their heads. The poor clothe themselves in a bit of cloth. The inhabitants of Funan make rings and bracelets of gold and vessels of silver. They cut down trees to make their houses. The king lives in a tiered pavilion. They make their enclosures with palisades of wood. Along the sea-shore there grows a great bamboo whose leaves are eight to nine feet. These leaves are dressed to thatch the houses. The people also live in houses on piles. They make boats of eight or nine *tchang*¹ and six or seven feet in breadth. Bow and aft are like the head and tail of a fish.² When the king goes out, he goes by elephant. Women are also allowed to go by elephant. For amusement the people like cock-fights and pig-fights. They have no prisons. In cases of dispute, they throw into boiling water gold rings and eggs; it is necessary then to pull them out. Or else they make red hot a chain which must be carried in the hands for seven paces. The hands of the guilty are completely burnt; the innocent suffers no hurt. Or else they make them plunge into the water. He who is in the right does not sink; he who is in the wrong does. They have sugar-cane, *tchou-tcho*,³ passion fruit, oranges and many betel-nuts. The birds and mammals are the same as in China".

The *Liang Shu* says that the climate and customs of Funan were in general the same as those of Linyi (Champa). The country produced gold, silver, copper, tin, perfume of aloes, ivory, peacocks, fishing birds and parrots of five colours. It also says that the custom in Funan during primitive times was to tattoo the body, to wear the hair down the back and to wear no clothing at all.

Elsewhere in the *Liang Shu* it is said that "actually the men of this country are all ugly and black with curly hair. They do not

¹i.e. Indian writing.

²A *tchang* is 10 feet, so Pelliot says (146, p. 256, n.1.).

³i.e. Dragon boats, see the article *Long-Houses and Dragon-Boats*, cited in a footnote *supra*.

⁴Which Pelliot explains is a sort of sugar cane.

dig wells in the places where they live. For several dozen families they have in common a tank from which they draw their water. Their custom is to worship the spirits of heaven. Of these they make bronze images; those with two faces have four arms; those with four faces have eight arms. Each hand holds an object, sometimes a child, sometimes a bird or a quadruped, or even the sun or the moon. The king when he goes out or returns goes by elephant; so too do his concubines and palace people. When the king is seated, he squats with his right knee raised and his left on the ground. A piece of cotton cloth is stretched in front of him on which are placed gold vases and perfume-burners. In time of mourning the beard and head are shaved. There are four kinds of burial; 'by water' in which the body is thrown into the river; 'by fire', in which it is burnt to cinders; 'by earth' in which it is buried in a ditch; 'by bird' in which it is left in the country-side. The people are of greedy character; they have neither rites nor good manners; boys and girls follow their tastes without check".

The *Liang Shu* says also that "the law of this country was to have no prisons. The guilty (which Pelliot says should be 'the parties') practice at first fasting and abstinence for three days. Then they make an axe red-hot and cause the guilty (*i.e.* parties) to carry it for seven paces. Or else they throw into boiling water gold rings and hens' eggs and cause the parties to hunt for them. If a person is in the wrong, then his hand will be burnt. If in the right, it will not. Moreover they keep crocodiles in the moats; and outside the gates there are wild beasts in the enceinte. The guilty (parties) are given to the wild beasts and the crocodiles. If the crocodiles and the wild beasts do not eat them they are thought to be innocent; at the end of three days they let them go. The crocodiles reach a size of more than two *tchang* (*i.e.* over 20 feet, chinese); they resemble alligators, have four feet, and their mouths are five to six feet long, each side as pointed as a sword; normally they live on fish but if by chance they find a deer or a man, they will eat them too. To the south of (Kwangsi) and in foreign parts they are everywhere".

The *Hsin T'ang Shu*¹ tells us that the country of Funan was low-lying like Champa and that the king's name was *Kou-long*. "He lives in a belvedere of two storeys. The enclosures are timber stockades and bamboo leaves are used as thatch for the houses. When the king goes out he rides on an elephant. The people have black bodies and curled (*bouclé*) hair; they go naked. Their custom is not to thieve. As for their fields they sow one year and leave fallow for three. The country produces a diamond which has the appearance of smoked quartz; it grows in abundance at the bottom of water under stones. People plunge in to look

¹*New History of the T'ang*, compiled under imperial edict in the eleventh century because the Old History was so severely criticized for its literary style.

for it. One can scratch jade with it but if one strikes it with a ram's horn it dissolves. The people love cock-fights and pig-fights. They pay their taxes in gold, pearls and perfumes".

The *T'ai p'ing yu lan* tells of a curious custom in Funan: it says that "when, in the house of an inhabitant of Funan, any object disappears, they take a pint of rice and go to the pagoda of the god and ask him to point out the thief. The rice is placed at the feet of the god. Next day they take the rice and call the servants of the house and distribute the rice among them to eat. In the thief's mouth, blood will flow without his being able to masticate the rice; in the mouth of the innocent, the rice passes freely. It is thus everywhere from Je-nan to the furthest limits". It also says that "the people of Funan are very big. They live in houses which they adorn and engrave. They give generously and have many birds and animals. The king loves hunting. All mount on elephants and when they go hunting it is for months and days". Again it says that "the kingdom of Funan produces a diamond with which one can cut jade. In appearance it is like smoky quartz. It grows at the bottom of the sea, one hundred *ichang* down, on stone like stalactites. Men dive to find it. At the end of a day they leave. If one strikes it with iron it is not damaged but the iron on the contrary is spoiled. But if one strikes it with a ram's horn, the diamond immediately breaks up".

Pelliot (146) cites a further passage from the *T'ai p'ing yu lan* concerning the ships of Funan. It is a quotation from K'ang T'ai's third century account and says that "in the kingdom of Funan they hew trees to make boats of them. The long ones are ninety six feet by six feet beam. The prow and the poop look like the head and tail of a fish; they are decorated all over with iron ornaments. The big ships carry a hundred men. Each man has a long oar, a short oar and a pole. From prow to poop there are fifty men, or more than forty, according to the size of the boat. When it is going, they use the long oars; when lying to, the short ones. When the water is not deep they use the poles. All lift their oars and chant in perfect time". We have substituted 'pole' for Pelliot's *gaffe*; the short oars were used when the boats were *au repos* and Pelliot explains that it was to keep them in place despite wind and current. This text, as Pelliot observes, is obviously the basis of the passage concerning boats in the *Nan Ch'i Shu* which we have cited above. Pelliot shows how in the third century, if he is correct in his dating of the passage, the foreign ships that went to China were very large carrying 600 to 700 men and 1,000 tons of cargo. That argues a highly organized sea traffic over a route that must have been commercialized for a long time.

It is impossible, we believe, to over-estimate the importance of Funan to Greater India and the Malay Peninsula. It is, therefore, essential for us to deal fully with its history.

It is generally accepted that the first Kaundinya who married Queen Willow-leaf arrived in Funan during the first century A.D. The *Chin Shu* says that his descendants grew weak and his posterity ceased to rule (221, p. 254); the *Nan Ch'i Shu* says that his sons and grandsons succeeded him up to the death of the King P'an-houang (*ibid.* p. 257); the *Liang Shu* gives more details saying that Kaundinya "had a son, and set apart for him a royal fief of seven towns. One of his successors, Houen-p'an-houang, by means of a ruse, succeeded in dividing the towns and causing feelings of suspicion to arise between them. Then he took his troops, attacked them and conquered them. Then he sent his sons and grandsons to govern separately each of the towns; they were called Little Kings" (221, p. 265).

P'an Houang died at the great age of ninety and his second son P'an-p'an was placed on the throne but this latter left the affairs of the country to his great general Fan-man, as the *Liang Shu* calls him, or Fan-che-man as the *Nan Ch'i Shu* has it; since Pelliot preferred the latter, we shall use it here. P'an-p'an died after three years and the people elected Fan-che-man to succeed him, thus bringing the line of the first Kaundinya to an end. P'an-houang's death, according to Pelliot, took place in the second century A.D.

It is quite possible that the names P'an-houang and P'an-p'an were really those of the fiefs over which these kings ruled. It looks as if Kaundinya ruled over a confederation of capital towns from which doubtless the districts attached thereto took their names. In that case King P'an-houang might very well have been the King of P'an-houang and his son the King of P'an-p'an. Each of them from being Little Kings became the Great King of Funan or head of the confederacy.

Fan-che-man was brave and capable. At a date generally considered to be about the beginning of the third century A.D. he extended widely the power of Funan. He gathered his troops and subdued the neighbouring kingdoms which all became his vassals and as a result he himself took the title "Great King of Funan".

This title is an interesting one. Pelliot points out that the character *Fan* in the king's name is the same as that in the names of the kings of Champa and therefore represents *varman*. It is further quite clear from the Chinese records that Funan and its kings were Indianized. Accordingly the title which the *Liang Shu* transcribes as Great King of Funan was in Indian probably "Maharajah of the Mountain" since "great king" would obviously be *maharaja* and we have already seen that Funan is merely the Chinese transcription of "mountain".

Fan-che-man then built a great navy with which he over-ran the *Chang-hai*, or Great Sea, which was "that part of the China

Sea, including the Gulf of Tongking, which extends from Hai-nan to the Straits of Malacca" (221, p. 263, n. 2.) With his fleet he attacked more than ten kingdoms amongst which the only ones named were K'iu-tou-K'ouen (Ch'ü-tu-K'un), Kieou-tche (Chiu-chih), and Tien-souen (Tien-sun), thus increasing his kingdom by some five or six thousand *li*. Then he wanted to conquer Kin-lin (Chin-lin), the Frontier of Gold; but he fell ill and sent his son Kin-cheng to take his place. Fan-che-man, however, died; probably about 225 A.D. (107, p. 15; 228, p. 83) or, as Pelliot put it, between 225 and 230 A.D. (221, p. 303).

A period of disturbance ensued; Fan Chan, the son of Fan-che-man's eldest sister, was at the time chief of two thousand men and usurped the throne. He had Kin-cheng decoyed and then killed him after which he reigned for "more than ten years" according to the *Nan Ch'i Shu* (221, p. 257). His reign was an important one because he was the first king of Funan to send an embassy to China and to enter into direct relations with the princes of India (221, p. 292). The *T'ai ping yu lan* cites the ancient *Wou li* as saying that in the period 229-231 A.D. Funan and other foreign countries came to offer presents; but the *T'ou chou tsi tch'eng* also quoting the *Wou-li* gives the date as 225 A.D. (221, p. 283) and Grousset (148, ii, p. 557) adopts the latter date.

A fifth century Chinese work the *Chouci king tchou*, as Pelliot writes it, says that in the time of Fan Chan a man named Kiat siang-li came from a place called T'an-yang, which Pelliot says must have been west of India, and travelling by stages reached India and then Funan where he told the king about the marvels of India and said that it was 30,000 *li* from Funan and would take four years to reach and return to Funan (221, pp. 277-8). The *Liang Shu* says that in the time of the Wu dynasty, 222-280 A.D., Fan Chan sent one of his relatives Su-wu on an embassy to India. Luce translates the passage thus:—"From Funan he left the port (lit. mouth) of T'ou-chü-li and followed a great bay of the sea. Straight to the north-west he entered a number of bays and passed along many kingdoms. After more than a year he reached the mouth of the river of India; after ascending the river 7000 *li* they arrived" (229, p. 146). Pelliot (221, p. 271) writes the name of the port as T'eou-kiu-li; Gerini as T'ou-Kou-li (46, p. 755). The Indian king was most surprised to learn that men existed on the furthest shores of the ocean and later delegated two emissaries, one of whom was called Ch'en Sung, to accompany Su-wu back to Funan which was reached four years after Su-wu's original departure. The Indian ambassadors brought with them a gift of four horses.

The *Liang Shu* says that "at this moment the Wu had sent the *chung-lang* K'ang T'ai on an embassy to Funan. He saw Ch'en-sung and others and questioned them in detail about the country and customs of India" (229, pp. 146-7).

As we have seen K'ang T'ai and his companion Chu Ying were sent to Funan between 245 and 250 A.D. and when they got there Fan Chan's successor Fan Siun was on the throne according to the *Liang Shu* (221, p. 268). The third century *San Kuo Chih* records that in the twelfth moon of 243 A.D. Fan Chan sent an embassy to China offering musicians and products of his country. The *Liang Shu* says that when Fan-che-man died he left also surviving him an infant at the breast named Ch'ang who lived among the people. When Ch'ang reached the age of twenty he attacked and slew Fan Chan, being in turn killed himself by Fan Siun, described as Fan Chan's great general. If Fan-che-man died between 225 and 230 A.D. then Fan Chan's murder must, according to the *Liang Shu*, have occurred between 244 and 249 A.D., assuming that Ch'ang was twenty according to Chinese reckoning¹. Chatterji puts the arrival of K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying as about 245 A.D. (107, p. 19); and, if we accept that date, we can say that Fan Chan was murdered in 244 or 245 A.D. It seems clear according to the *Liang Shu* that Fan Chan reigned for twenty (nineteen) years which the *Nan Ch'i Shu* expresses as "more than ten". Maspero says that the succeeding king Fan Siun reigned between 260 and 290 A.D. (176, p. 54, n. 2) but he seems to have misread Pelliot whom he cites as his authority. The latter (221, p. 303) re-organized his dates in consequence of his discovery of the text cited above which proves an embassy from Fan Chan in 243 A.D. Chatterji (107, p. 19) says that Fan Chan died about 245 A.D. and that seems to be correct.

Fan Siun, according to the *Liang Shu*, erected belvederes and pavilions where he used to walk. In the morning and at mid-day he gave three or four audiences to foreigners and his own people who brought him gifts of bananas, sugar-cane, turtles and birds. The *Liang Shu* says that when K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying arrived the people of the country were still going about naked, only the women wearing any clothing, which caused the Chinese to remark that "the kingdom is indeed beautiful but it is strange that the men are so indecent". Fan Siun then for the first time issued orders that the men should wear a piece of cloth which was the *kan-man* or sarong (221, p. 268).

Fan Siun's reign seems to have been a long one for the *Liang Shu* says that in the period 280-289 A.D. he sent "for the first time" ambassadors with tribute. The *Chin Shu*, however, records an embassy from Funan in 268 A.D. in addition to those in 285, 286 and 287 A.D. (221, p. 252). From 270 to 280 A.D. Fan Siun contracted an alliance with Fan Hiong, King of Champa, and concerted with him attacks on the Chinese territory north of Champa. The struggle continued until peace was established in 280 A.D. (175, p. 23).

After Fan Siun there comes a period of silence until the middle of the fourth century and it will be convenient, therefore, to con-

¹i.e. nineteen according to English.

sider now those Chinese toponyms which date back to K'ang T'ai's embassy or are prior thereto.

In the *Shan Hae King*, or Hill and River Classic, which is considered to be nearly as old as the earliest of the Chinese works on topography there is the first mention of the K'un-lun (144, p. 241; 147, p. 356). The passage merely mentions a burning mountain beyond the K'un-lun. The *T'ai ping yu lan* cites the *Nan chou i wu chi*, or Account of Remarkable Objects in the Southern Provinces, written by Wan Chen who lived in the third century A.D., as saying that "the Kingdom of Funan is more than 3000 *li* west of Linyi (Champa). It created itself a kingdom. Its vassals all have their mandarins; the great officers of the right and left are all called *K'ouen-louen* (K'un-lun)" (221, p. 282). The division of Court officers into right and left is used to this day in Johore and is based on the ancient traditional Malay custom.

We have mentioned above Ch'u-tu-kun, Chiu-chih, Tien-sun, Kin-lin and T'ou-chü-li and we will now consider their location taking Tien-sun first, which country is considered by all authorities to be the same as the country elsewhere called Tun-sun, or Tun-sün as Luce writes it. We shall keep to the spelling Tun-sun.

The first passage concerning it occurs in the *Liang Shu* and has been translated by Groeneveldt (148, pp. 239-241), by Pelliot (221, pp. 263-265) and by Luce (229, pp. 147-149). Schlegel (174, X, pp. 33-36) has also translated a passage purporting to be from the *Liang Shu* but Pelliot (221, p. 263, n. 1.) says that he has in fact followed a reproduction in the *Nan Shih*¹, which accounts for the great difference in their translations. But even Groeneveldt and Pelliot are by no means in accord nor does the latter completely agree with Luce. As Tun-sun is almost certainly either the Malay Peninsula or a part of it we will give a free translation of Pelliot and note important variations in Groeneveldt and Luce:—"More than 3000 *li* from the frontier² (of Funan) there is a kingdom of Touen-siun which is upon a precipitous shore.³ The country is not more than 1000 *li*. The town is 10 *li* from the sea. There are five kings. All are vassals of Funan.⁴ The eastern territory of Touen-siun puts it in relations with Kiao-tcheou (Tongking), its western territory connects with (*i.e.* is in communication with) India, Parthia and the furthest kingdoms beyond. Merchants come there in great numbers to barter. The reason is that Touen-siun makes a curve and goes out into the sea for more

¹The *Nan Shih*, or Southern History, covers the First Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en dynasties, 420-589 A.D. and was written in the seventh century A.D.

²Luce has "the southern frontier"; Groeneveldt has "to the south of Funan".

³*Sur un rivage escarpé*; Groeneveldt says "it is situated on a peninsula"; Luce says "it lies on a rugged coast".

⁴Which both Groeneveldt and Schlegel give merely as 'Siam'.

than 1000 *li*. The Great Sea is shoreless and one cannot go straight across it.¹ This market is a place of meeting for east and west. Each day there are more than 10,000 men there. Rare articles, precious merchandise, there is nothing that cannot be found there. Also there is a wine tree like the pomegranate. The juice of its flowers is collected and put in a jar; after several days, it turns into wine.²

"Outside Touen-siun on a great island in the sea, there is the country of P'i-k'ien³ which is 8000 *li* from Funan. It is told that the stature of its king is twelve feet high and his head three feet. From ancient times he has not died and no one knows his age. This king is super-natural and holy. The good and evil actions of his people, the chances of the future, there is nothing the king does not know. Thus no one dares impose upon him. In the countries of the south, he is called the king with the Great Neck.⁴ The custom of the country is to use dwelling-houses, to wear clothes, to eat non-glutinous rice. The language of the people differs a little from that of Funan. There is a mountain which produces gold; the gold appears in the stone in huge quantities. The law of the country is that, to punish the guilty, they are eaten in the presence of the king. In this country they do not receive merchant strangers; if they come, they kill them and eat them. So no merchant dares to go there. The king lives always in a raised house. He eats no flesh and does not worship the spirits. His sons and grandsons live and die like the common people; the king alone does not die. The King of Funan has often sent ambassadors to take letters to him. They reply to each other. The King of P'i-k'ien has often sent to the King of Funan a pure gold vessel for fifty persons. Its shape is sometimes like a round plate, sometimes like terra-cotta cups; it is what one calls a *to-lo*; its contents is five *cheng*⁵; or sometimes its shape is that of a tea-cup and its contents one *cheng*⁶. The king knows how to write Hindu texts. The text has about 3000 words. It tells the origins of the previous life of the prince and resembles the sutras of Buddha. It also expatiates upon well-being.

"It is further reported that to the east of Funan, there is the huge Great Sea. In the sea there is a great island. On this island

¹Groeneveldt has "the eastern frontier of Tun-sun, extends as far as Kiau-chou and on the west it borders on India. The different countries beyond the Ganges all come to trade here, the reason of this being that if from Tun-sun you put out to sea for more than 1,000 *li*, you still have a vast ocean before you, which no ship has ever been able to cross"; he admits in a footnote that the passage is not very clear. Luce accords with Pelliot save that in the last sentence after the statement that the Great Sea is shoreless he has "junks cannot yet cross it direct".

²Groeneveldt's translation stops here, as does Schlegel's.

³Or P'i-ch'ien as Luce writes it.

⁴Luce has 'the Long-Necked King'.

⁵Pelliot says 10 *cheng* to the *teou* or bushel: Luce has 'five pints'.

⁶Luce has "one pint".

there is the kingdom of Tchou-po. To the east of this kingdom there are the Ma-wou islands. If one goes further eastwards over the Great Sea for more than a thousand *li* one reaches the Great Natural Island". There follows some curious information about a tree which grows from fire. In a footnote Pelliot points out that the Great Natural Island should really be the Volcano Island, 'Great' being faulty in the Chinese for 'Fire' and so making it the Natural Fire or Volcano Island.¹

Pelliot (221, p. 264, n. 5; 129, p. 270) considers that all the notices in the passage above go back to K'ang T'ai's mission of the third century A.D.

This long passage, then, adds the further toponyms P'i-k'ien (P'i-ch'ien), Tchou-po, as Pelliot writes it, the Ma-wou (Ma-wu) Islands and Volcano Island to those which were known to the Chinese in the middle of the third century A.D.

Pelliot says in his article on Funan (221, p. 279) that he had not brought together all the texts dealing with Tun-sun but he gives one from the *Fu nan chi* of Chu Chih, who wrote in the second half of the fifth century A.D.; a free rendering of his translation is as follows:—"The kingdom of Tun-sun is a dependency of Funan; the king is called K'ouen-louen (K'un-lun). In the country there are five hundred families of *Hou*² (Hu) from India, two fo-t'ou³ (Fo-t-u) and more than a thousand Brahmans from India. The people of Tun-sun practice their doctrine and give them their daughters in marriage; so many of these Brahmans do not go away. They do nothing but read the holy books of the heavenly spirits and offer to the heavenly spirits white vases of perfumes and flowers and cease in this neither night nor day. When they are sick, they make a vow to be "buried by the birds". With songs and dances, they are taken outside the town and there are birds that eat them. The bones that remain are burned and put in a jar which is thrown into the sea. If the birds do not eat them, they are put in a basket. "Burial by fire" consists of throwing oneself into the fire. The ashes are gathered in a vase which is buried and to which sacrifices are made ceaselessly. There is a wine-tree that is like the pomegranate; flowers are gathered of which the juice is put in a jar. At the end of several days, it becomes an agreeable and intoxicating wine". (221, pp. 279-280).

Citing the third century *Nan Chou i wu chih*, the *T'ai ping yu lan* says (221, p. 282) "Tun-sun is more than 3000 *li* from Funan.

¹The passage is also given by Laufer (147, p. 346), who translates "Volcano Island".

²Pelliot thinks that as the *Hou* are distinguished here from the Brahmans they may be Indian merchants.

³Pelliot says that the expressions means sometimes figures of Buddha and sometimes stupas.

It was originally a separate kingdom. One of the previous kings of Funan, Fan-man, was bold ; he subdued it ; at present Tun-sun is a dependency of Funan ”.

There is a further reference in the *Nan chou i wu chih* which seems to refer to Tun-sun ; it says “ the *ho hiang* grows in the country of K’u-sun ; it belongs to the class of perfumes designated under the name of *fou-fong* ; the plant has the appearance of the *tou-liang* (*eupatorium*) ; it can be used for the preservation of clothes ” (237, p. 27). Laufer says that K’u-sun is incorrect and should be Tun-sun, as there is much room for confusion between the characters *K’u* and *tun*. Luce, who writes it Ch’u-hsun, says that Laufer is no doubt right (229, p. 151).

These seem to be the only references during our present period but there is more information that must have been contemporary though it is included in later works.

Schlegel (174, X, pp. 33-36) gives a translation in English of a passage concerning Tun-sun in Tu Yu’s *T’ung Tien*, a T’ang work that is the basis of Ma Tuan Lin’s *Wen Hsien T’ung K’ao*, in which the passage concerning Tun-sun will be found translated into French by d’Hervey de Saint-Denys (230, pp. 444-447). These works say that Tun-sun was first heard of during the Liang dynasty ; but Pelliot has shown that it was known since K’ang T’ai’s mission. They repeat the information in the *Liang Shu* but bird burial is more clearly described and they state that the birds “ are said to be like geese, having bills like parrots, and of a red colour which come on flying in myriads ”. The great number of flowers produced in Tun-sun is mentioned and it is stated that “ every day several cart-loads of them are collected for sale. When dried, they are still more fragrant ”.

Groeneveldt (148, pp. 240-241) and Luce (229, p. 150) translated a passage from the *T’ai p’ing huan yū chi*, a geography published between the years 976 and 983 A.D., of which Groeneveldt remarks that its notices of foreign countries generally are inaccurate repetitions of the articles on the same subject in the histories of the preceding dynasties. The passage says that Tun-sun produces the *ho-hiang* “ if you take a branch of this plant and put it into the ground, it lives again. The leaves serve to make clothes. In this country there are more than ten different kinds of fragrant flowers, which come during the whole year, and every day many waggon-loads are collected in order to sell them. When dried they are still more fragrant and their offal is made into powder for rubbing the body ” The passage then deals with ‘ bird burial ’.

Before considering the information about Tun-sun we can add the only other references to P’i-K’ien.

Pelliot says that the passage from the *Liang Shu* appears word for word in the *T’ai p’ing yu lan* which cites it, however, from the

fifth century *Fu nan chi*. The only other passage given by Pelliot (221, p. 273) is a mere mention of P'i-K'ien and the immortality of its Long-Necked King and Pelliot traces it back to the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries. Laufer (147, pp. 350-351) cites a passage from the *Huan lan* or *Yuan lan*, a T'ang work, which says that "in P'i-K'ien there is the Island of Blazing Fire, producing a tree the substance of which can be woven and which furnishes what is called fire-proof cloth", i.e. asbestos. Finally, there is a passage in Ma Tuan-lin which, however, adds nothing new (230, p. 448).

Apart from the cultural details the most remarkable thing about Tun-sun is the *ho-hiang* plant which is also mentioned in connection with Chū-tu-kun, or K'ou-tou-k'ouen, another toponym which dates back to K'ang T'ai's mission.

Pelliot (221, p. 266, n.) says that K'ou-tou-k'ouen is written like that nowhere else and it is his view that it is faulty for "the country of Tou-k'ouen", a well-known place which he thinks was on the Malay Peninsula though he does not say where.

Laufer (237, p. 24) translating from the *Wu wai kuo ch'uan*, containing information about K'ang T'ai's mission, writes that "Tou-k'ouen (on the Malay Peninsula) is situated more than three thousand *li* to the south of Funan (Cambodia) and produces the *ho hiang* (aromatic *ho*)". He also translates the following passage from the *T'ai p'ing huan yū chi*:—"it is under the Sui (589-618 A.D.) that one first heard spoken of the four countries Pien-teou (called also Pan-teou), Tou-k'ouen (called also Tou-kun), Liu-li (called also Kieou-ya) and Pi-song. One reaches these four countries by crossing from Funan the great bay of Kin-lin and travelling south for 3000 *li*. In agriculture these peoples are identical with those of Kin-lin. Amongst the population there are many with white skins. Tou-k'ouen alone produces the aromatic *tsien hiang*. As for the *ho-hiang* tree it lives a thousand years. Its trunk and root are very big. Once cut, the wood decays completely and is destroyed in four or five years. Only the knots in the middle remain hard and healthy and it is only these that retain a fragrant smell. They are gathered and used for perfume" (237, pp. 25-26). Laufer notes that "this last information is peculiar, for all writers have insisted on the fact that only the leaf is used".

Ma Tuan-lin under the heading Pien-teou gives the exact passage which Laufer translates above (230, pp. 511-512).

Laufer has collected many passages dealing with the *ho-hiang* and gives illustrations from Chinese works; local botanists should study his article (237). It is sufficient for us to note that, though the various Chinese accounts are not consistent, Laufer on the sum of evidence considers (at p. 38) that the *malabathrum* of the ancients, the *tamālapattra* of India and the *ho-hiang* of the Chinese is the patchouli (*Pogostemon*) in connection with which

the reader should turn to Burkill's admirable *Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*. If Laufer is right, then the remarkable passage in the *Periplus* which tells of the market for *malabathrum* should be recalled. It is given by Schoff (35, p. 48) thus :—" every year on the borders of the land of This there comes together a tribe of men with short bodies and broad, flat faces, and by nature peaceable ; they are called *Besatae*, and are almost entirely uncivilized. They come with their wives and children, carrying great packs and plaited baskets of what look like green grape-leaves. They meet in a place between their own country and the land of This ". The leaves were afterwards rolled into balls ; " those made of the largest leaves are called the large-ball *malabathrum* ; those of the smaller, the medium ball ; and those of the smallest, the small ball. Thus there exist three sorts of *malabathrum*, and it is brought into India by those who prepare it ".

It is usual to equate these Besatai with " the Beseidais or Tiladais, placed by Ptolemy to the east of the Ganges ", to use Laufer's words (237, p. 9 ; see also 35, pp. 278-9). Renou, however, gives the name of Saesadia while McCrindle calls the Besatae of the *Periplus* the Sesatai ; a translation of Renou's passage (56, p. 52), which should be compared with McCrindle (102, p. 127), reads thus :—

" Between Mount Imaos and Mount Bepyron, the Takoraioi are situated furthest to the north, the Korandakaloi come below, then the Passadai, after whom, beyond Maiandros, are the Piladai ; it is thus that one names the Saesadai who are dwarfs, shaggy, with large faces but white skins.

" Above Kirradia, where it is said that the best *malabathrum* is found, live, the length of Mount Maiandros, the cannibal Gameraï.

" Above¹ the region of Argyra where, so it is said, are very many silver mines is situated the region of Khryse, neighbour of the Besyngetai, which also has very numerous gold mines ; its inhabitants are similarly white of skin, shaggy, dwarfs and flat-nosed ".²

Kirradia is presumably the country where the Kirradeoi live ; we, therefore, get a picture of the tribes from the coast of Burma across to Siam and down to the Besyngetai who must be placed in the country just above Junk Ceylon. The reader will remember what we have written about all this in previous parts of this essay.

Laufer writes (237, p. 39) that " the population of Tou-k'oun and Toun-sun, as we have seen, is identical with that short-statured savage tribe which every year visited the frontier

¹Or ' beyond ' as McCrindle has it.

²White Semang.

country of Thinaï to traffic in *malabathrum*. The resemblance which there is between the white-skinned Beseidais of Ptolemy and the white population of Kin-lin¹, mentioned in the *T'ai p'ing huan yu ki* is indeed curious."

Luce also considers all the questions in connection with the *ho-hiang* and Laufer's article from which we have quoted (229, pp. 129-137).

When we reach the next period of this essay, we shall get another very interesting reference to a trade originating from a race that seems to be either negro or sakai or a mixture of the two.

Laufer is very certain that the *ho-hiang* is not a *Cinnamomum* and so rules out the camphor tree, the product of which in recent times was collected by the wild tribes of the Peninsula and which would seem to fit in with the passage from the *T'ai p'ing huan yu chi* cited by Laufer. It may be, perhaps, that in the various Chinese texts a confusion has arisen between the patchouli and the camphor, though the former is a bush and the latter a very big tree. Local botanists should direct their attention to the question.

Now, where should Tun-sun, P'i-k'ien and Chü-tu-kun or T'u-kun be located?

Schlegel thought that Tun-sun was Tenasserim; Pelliot says that it was on the Malay Peninsula and Groeneveldt, from the internal evidence in the Chinese accounts "as well as from the universal testimony of Chinese geographers", is sure that it is on the Malay Peninsula, probably between 8° and 10° N. Majumdar (181, p. 145) says that Tun-sun is "a kingdom in Malaysia which cannot be exactly located". Schlegel was influenced by etymological reasoning which Pelliot effectively criticizes (129, p. 407). Luce seems to agree with Pelliot's suggestion that Tun-sun was on or near the Isthmus of Kra rather than the southern part of the Peninsula, which theory depends upon "whether, rather than passing through the Straits of Malacca, commerce took the land-route across the Isthmus of Kra".

The facts, however, are that Tun-sun, to the east of which was the China Sea, was 3000 *li* south of Funan and that it had a precipitous or rugged shore. One can call the *li* a Chinese mile but in point of fact, as Dr. Quaritch Wales notes, "a *li* has varied greatly according to the period, and no certain distance can be attributed to it" (228, p. 82 n.). Tun-sun was a meeting place for east and west and 10,000 persons resorted to it daily; it was in relations with Tonkin to the east and India to the west. It was, therefore, a great emporium of trade fed by the north-east and

¹This is a slip: it was not Kin-lin but the other four countries that had the white population.

south-west monsoons. It made a curve and went out into the sea for more than 1000 *li* and contained five kings. Its main town was 10 *li* from the sea.

From those facts surely the proper inference is that Tun-sun must have been a generic name for the Malay Peninsula and that its main town was a trade emporium some distance from the sea and, one can infer with safety, up a river. There is nothing to show whether this town was in the north or the south of the Peninsula but if at the north, then, it must have been served by a land-route.

Where was P'i-k'ien? Luce (229, p. 148, n. 3) writes that for reasons unknown to him Pelliot would place P'i-ki'en "whatever we are to make of the name, in the neighbourhood of the Irawaddy and the shores of the Indian Ocean". From the facts given it is hard to see why Pelliot chose this district which seems to have been known by the Chinese as P'iao during the same period and we suggest that it was somewhere in Sumatra in which case its relations with Funan, over-lord of Tun-sun across the Straits, would be natural. It hardly seems credible that the condition of affairs in the neighbourhood of the Irawaddy was such in the middle of the third century A.D. that merchants could not trade there because of cannibalism. All the data seem to contradict that. Luce subjects Pelliot's views to criticism (229, p. 158) and seems to incline to the view that Sumatra fits the facts better than Burma.

Chū-tu-kun or T'u-kun is considered by Pelliot to have been on the Malay Peninsula and here we would point out to the reader that there would seem to be a difference of opinion as to where exactly the Malay Peninsula begins. We ourselves follow the usual British view that 10° N. is the dividing line between the two peninsulas but some writers, e.g. Luce (229, at p. 143) appear to consider that Tenasserim was on the Peninsula.

Luce (229, pp. 144-5) records the information concerning Tu-k'un most of which was collected by Pelliot; and he cites the passage from the *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi* which we have already translated above in connection with the *ho-hiang*. It says that the kingdoms of Pienteou, Tu-k'un, Chū-li and Pi-sung are 3000 miles south after you have left Funan and crossed the Great Bay of Kin-lin. Pien-tou is a mystery and there is no means of identifying it: but if T'u-kun is on the Malay Peninsula, then the inference is that all four places are on that peninsula and in that connection we recall that T'un-sun, which we take to be the Malay Peninsula, contained five kingdoms.

The location of the great bay of Chin-lin involves that of Chin-lin itself. D'Hervey de Saint Denys quotes a Chinese authority for the view that this great bay was the Gulf of Siam and

it must have been (230, p. 511, n. 9) though Luce in a passage which is open to much argument (229, pp. 153-4) says that "the 'great bay' must surely be the Gulf of Martaban".

Luce, however, (*ibid.* p. 155, n. 1) admits that the texts known to him do not refute the possibility of its being the Gulf of Siam but he says that on this theory it would be still more difficult to explain the statements about Lin-yang, as to which last place see below.

Luce accepts the location of T'u-kun as being in the Malay Peninsula. To reach it the text says that one leaves Funan and crosses the great bay of Chin-lin and travels 3000 *li* south. How does the Gulf of Martaban fit into that picture? Luce (229, pp. 151-153) translates Pelliot (221, p. 266, n. 5.) and observes thereon that "for the present Pelliot obviously inclines to the view that Chin-lin refers to the region of Thaton-Martaban. There are objections, of course."

Let us look at Pelliot's references. A third century work, the *San tu fu*, mentions the Frontier of Gold and a seventh century commentator adds the note that it was 2000 *li* or more beyond Funan, that it produced silver, was plentifully populated and that its people liked hunting big elephants and capturing them alive, "when the elephants die, they remove their tusks". The *T'ai p'ing yu lan* adds that when the elephants were captured alive, they were used for mounts. The *Fu nan chi* speaks of the Chin-lin¹ or Torrent of Gold and also of the Estuary of the Elephants, the former of which is stated to be pure and the latter limpid. The same work seems to have said that 2000 *li* by land from a place called Chin-ch'en was a Buddhist kingdom called Lin-yang² to which it was necessary to go by carriage or on horse as there was no route by water. The *T'ai p'ing yu lan*, which tells us that Chin-lin and Chin-ch'en are the same places, says that according to K'ang T'ai's report Lin-yang was 7000 *li* southwest of Funan; the *Nan chou i wu chi* gives west instead of southwest. K'ang T'ai reported that in Lin-yang there were already several thousand Buddhist priests.

Pelliot, however, does not go further than equate the Chinese Chin-lin or Frontier of Gold with the pali Suvarnabhumi or Land of Gold. This latter must have been the same as Ptolemy's Chryse; we have already dealt with its location³ and seen that it corresponds in its most extended sense to the peninsula of Indo-China.

If Lin-yang was Upper Burma as Luce considered, then what is the difficulty in considering the great bay of Chin-lin to have been the Gulf of Siam?

¹Different characters.

²Which Luce considers to be in Upper Burma.

³This Journal, 1937, vol. XV, Pt. pp. 91-931.

Tu-k'un, as we have noted, is taken generally to be in the Malay Peninsula, following Pelliot; but where? and what does the name mean? It makes one think of the Malay *tukun* which Wilkinson says is Kedah Malay for "hidden or sunken rock as a danger to navigation"; and so is a very likely toponym. Cherok Tokun as we have seen is the site of an ancient inscription. What does *Tokun* mean? *Cherok* means a "recess or cranny" while *cheroh* has the meaning "to level off a perpendicular surface such as the face of a river-bank". What is the true meaning of the name Cherok Tokun, how old is it and is there any possibility of a connection with the Chinese Tu-k'un? Was this area ever covered by water and, if so, when? The fact that it is on the west coast does not militate necessarily against the Chinese data which give only the distance and the direction. There were land-routes and there is always the possibility of a kingdom having stretched from one side of the Peninsula to the other. But we do not ourselves think that Tu-k'un could have been in Kedah, ancient or modern.

Let us next try to locate Chiu-chih and T'ou-chü-li. Pelliot writes Chiu-chih as Kieou-tche but he considered that the *tche* is a faulty reading for *li* (221, p. 266 n. 3). Luce summarizes Pelliot's views (229, pp. 145-147) and accepts Pelliot's suggestion that Chiu-chih is the same as Chü-li.

If Chü-li, or Kiu-li as Pelliot writes it, is the same as Chiu-chih (and the data show that it is) then we must not forget that Ptolemy placed on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula a town called Koli; and we have already suggested that if Tu-k'un was on the peninsula then the other places also were.

Pelliot (129, p. 387, n. 6) says that when the monk Bodhibadra passed by Funan on his way to China in 509 A.D. the distance between Chü-li and Tun-sun is given in one text as eleven days and in another as twelve. Presumably this Tun-sun would be the main town of Tun-sun. Unfortunately it is not possible to do more than note this fact as Chavannes' article dealing with Bodhibadra is not available in Singapore where we are writing.

Luce agrees that Chü-li might be the same as T'ou-chü-li but he says that this is more doubtful. Sylvain Lévi proposed to identify T'ou-chü-li with Ptolemy's Takola and Pelliot would favour this if the reading could be sustained but he pointed out that the *Shui Cheng Chu* of the early sixth century (and so one hundred years earlier than the *Liang Shu*) contains a quotation from one of K'ang T'ai's works which says that "leaving the port of Chü-li and entering a great bay, one turns straight north-west, and after a little more than a year one reaches the mouth of the river of T'ien-chu (India) which is called the mouth of the river Heng-shui (Ganges)". It is clear that this reference is to the same port as the one in the reference which we have quoted previously about Su-wu's embassy to India.

Gerini (46) at first thought T'ou-chü-li (or as he wrote it Tau-Kiao-le) was the same as Takola (*ibid.* at p. 93) but he changed his mind (*ibid.* at p. 755) because he found that the Chinese characters were more correctly read T'ou-kou-li "making it very improbable that Takkola is meant". He considered that "some port of Fu-nan proper on the Gulf of Siam is evidently intended" but the facts in the Chinese notices make that suggestion quite untenable.

We seem clearly to be faced with a port on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula or else on the west coast of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. We do not think that there can be any doubt that land-routes across these peninsulas were used in the third century A.D. though archaeology has not yet proved the fact. The convenience of sailing across the Gulf of Siam and transporting goods across the Malay Peninsula must have presented itself in the early stages of Funan's existence. It would not be so convenient obviously to have a land-route across the Indo-Chinese peninsula. We feel sure that Tou-chü-li must be looked for on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and that the Indo-Chinese peninsula can be rejected.

Ptolemy gives us Takola as the northern emporium of the Golden Chersonese and he puts it south and east of the promontory at which he begins that peninsula. There can be no doubt on Ptolemy's data that this promontory must have been Junk Ceylon. We must, therefore, search for some place south of Junk Ceylon and, according to Berthelot's calculations, at least 110 kilometres south. As we have seen¹ Berthelot considered the spot to be Trang which is 140 kilometres south of Junk Ceylon. Dr. Quaritch Wales, however, identifies Takuapa (north of Junk Ceylon) as Takola and points to the fine harbour and easy land-route across the peninsula as evidence, and the fact that the harbour of Takuapa is opposite the Ten Degree Channel (228). The suggestion is tempting but it is in the teeth of Ptolemy's facts. Let us see if there are other places which fit those facts and also the necessities of the case.

Quite clearly Tou-chü-li, which we place on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, was an important place since it was the point of embarkation for India. Equally clearly at the same date there was an important emporium also in the Peninsula, namely, the unnamed principal town of Tun-sun, which we have shown to be a name for the Peninsula. That town lay 10 *li* up a river, 10,000 people came to it daily, and in it every kind of merchandise was procurable.

May it not be that Ptolemy's Takola, the principal town of Tun-sun and Tou-chü-li are one and the same?

¹See this Journal, 1936, vol. XIV, Pt. 3, pp. 23-4, 34-5.

Takola had a very long history for there is reason to think that it still existed in the eleventh century A.D. ; we shall give the detailed reasons for saying this as we reach them chronologically.

Takuapa has not been proved to have such a history ; Dr. Quaritch Wales does not seem to have found any proof later than the eighth century A.D. or earlier than the sixth except for potsherds of the period 220-589 A.D. Dr. Quaritch Wales takes these potsherds to their earliest date the third century A.D. but they might just as well have been of the sixth.

We would expect to find more than merely a good harbour and a land-route as the *raison d'être* of an emporium that had a history as long and as important as that of Takola. We should expect a surrounding hinterland of importance. We are not dealing with the south but the north of the peninsula. A harbour and the meeting of trade-routes is sufficient for a southern emporium served by both monsoons but not for the northern one. Let us see what the facts were in 1830 as given by Crawford in his *Embassy to Siam and Cochin-China*. We find (Vol. 2, p. 154) that there were at that time three land-routes which carried the traffic between the countries lying on the shores of the Straits of Malacca and bay of Bengal with the Siamese capital ; and they were (a) between Kedah and Singgora (b) the most frequented, between Trang and Ligor (c) between Pun-pin, opposite to Junk Ceylon, and Chai-ya. The land part of the journey took from five to seven days on elephants.

The principal port of Funan was at the mouths of the Mekhong River and the nearest shore of the Malay Peninsula contains the eastern termini of the three routes mentioned, which were also the most convenient in 1830 for trade with the Menam.

We believe that the routes mentioned by Crawford must always have presented great attractions and we note that the most popular of those routes reached the west coast at Trang which is some way up the Trang River and that by working out the probabilities of Ptolemy's data Berthelot adopted Trang as the site for Takola. We note also that Dr. Quaritch Wales found remains near Trang of a temple of Sailendra style. He describes the site as a Javaka site. Trang, however, does not seem to have a history which would fit in with that of Takola.

The big agricultural plain of Kedah must always have had great attractions for settlers and must have been a great source of food supplies. Singgora and Patani had a great trade history as long as they can be traced back.

It must be evident that the coast from the Bay of Bandon to Cape Patani must have played an important role from the time when trade began in the Gulf of Siam and with Indo-China. It

must also be evident that the fertile plain of Kedah on the west must always have played an important part also. With easy land-routes linking up these two important areas and a port on the west bringing them into connection with India and the shores of the Bay of Bengal it is easy to see that this Malayan area must have a great importance to the history of Greater India. Somewhere there lay a port and an emporium on the west coast but where? Takuapa or Trang or Kedah? Were not in all probability the port and the emporium the same?

We shall return from time to time to the question of Takola as it arises in chronological sequence.

We would prefer to identify Chiu-chih or Chü-li with Ptolemy's Koli on the east coast and separate it from Tou-chü-li, which we would place on the west coast.

Of Pi-sung nothing can be said except that, as Luce suggests (229, p. 158), the name is close phonetically to Ptolemy's emporium named Besynga but he says that the location 3000 *li* south of the bay of Chin-lin is hard to reconcile with Besynga.

There remain only Tchou-po or Chu-po, the Ma-wu Islands and Volcano Island.

There is another third century reference to Chu-po which Luce translates (229, p. 117) but it gives no indication of the locality of the place; the details are only cultural, the most interesting being that the girls of the kingdom weave the *po-tieh* cloth, for the nature of which see Luce (*ibid.* p. 116).

Laufer (147, pp. 351) identifies Chu-po, as he writes it, with Java since the name is a variant of She-po, as he writes it, or Shay-po, as Schlegel writes it, "by which Java became known from the first half of the fifth century". This conclusion, he thinks, is confirmed by a text ascribed to the *I Wu chi* and contained in the *T'ai ping yü lan* in which the Island of Blazing Fire is located in the kingdom of Se-tiao which he says is doubtless a misprint of Ye-tiao which is Yavadvipa and so Java. Since the *I wu chi* in its account of Volcano Island depends upon the text of the *Liang Shu* it seems equally certain, he says, that Chu-po mentioned in the latter is the island of Java.

This does not seem very logical and it is perfectly clear that the equation Chu-po or Shay-po=Ye-tiao=Yavadvipa=Java is purely etymological. So far as Ye-tiao is concerned, we have already referred to it in the last part of this essay.

Ma Tuan-lin (230, pp. 518-9) cites the "Customs of Funan" by K'ang T'ai under the title Ho-chan or Fire Islands. Laufer (147, pp. 352-3) translates the passage and all that we need notice is that it mentions Volcano Island as about 1,000 *li* east of Ma-wu

Island and says that north of the country of Ko-ying and west of Chu-po there is a mountain, 300 *li* in circumference, which erupts with fire from the fourth moon and ceases in the first.

Pelliot in his famous *Deux Itinéraires* (129) has a very long and intricate discussion on toponyms for Java with which island alone he identifies Tchou-po and Cho-po (She-po or Shay-po); but in a later article (146) written in 1925 he renders Cho-po as Sumatra-Java (*ibid.* p. 250) where it occurs in a passage dating back to the third century A.D. concerning the country of Ko-ying or Kia-ying. Pelliot says that this last name is evidently to be looked for in the Protean one of Kalinga " which we recognize under the T'angs as another name for Cho-p'o (Sumatra-Java) ". The reference is to the name Ho-ling which we shall find in the next period of this essay.

Before going any further we suggest as a proposition capable of acceptance that the name Yava and its various equivalents, Chinese and otherwise, was applied to various places at various times before eventually crystallizing solely in the present island of Java.

Let us leave etymology aside and see what are the facts as to Tchou-po. We are told that it is a great island east of Funan in the China Sea and that to its east are the Ma-wu islands while more than 1000 *li* further eastwards is Volcano Island; and west of Tchou-po and north of Ko-ying there is a volcanic mountain 300 *li* in circumference.

Pelliot (129, p. 260) admits that Java is certainly not east of Funan and hardly to the south-east. He says that the Chinese notice must not be taken as strictly accurate since apart from Java one could only think of Borneo and that is not really east of Funan. But curiously he makes no mention of the even greater difficulty that Java is not in the China Sea. Everyone agrees that as stated by Pelliot himself the Chang-hai or Great Sea is the China Sea from Hainan to the Straits of Malacca and that surely rules out Java.

The only answer to the data can be that Tchou-po was at this date the Chinese name for Borneo, as Gerini has suggested (46, p. 245). He makes the further suggestion that Tchou-po (Chu-po) actually is the northern part of that island still called Sabah in some modern maps.

The equation Tchou-po=Yavadvipa=Iabadiou is universally accepted. We have already shown in the last part of this essay that Ptolemy's data for Iabadiou cannot apply to Java but must apply to Borneo. We show here that the Chinese data for Tchou-po give the same result and so the data give us the equation Tchou-po=Iabadiou. Yavadvipa therefore in 150 A.D. and 250 A.D. cannot be Java or, following the latest way of stating it, Java-Sumatra but Borneo.

The whole question resolves itself into a very simple proposition, *viz* :—is one to rely upon etymology and reject the given facts or is one to do logical justice to the facts and leave etymology to its proper business of words? There surely can be only one answer.

The Ma-wu Islands will be for us the Philippines. Pelliot taking Tchou-po for Java says that Ma-wu must be faulty for Ma-li which was a later (much later) name for Bali ; he accordingly takes the Ma-wu Islands to be Bali.

The Volcano Island and the mountain east of the Ma-wu obviously cannot be located ; the southern seas are full of volcanic islands and mountains. Laufer, however, thought that Timor might be Volcano Island (147, p. 346).

We shall have more to say about Ko-ying later.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ANCIENT TIMES IN
THE MALAY PENINSULA AND THE STRAITS OF
MALACCA

S.4. Funan.—(continued).

The fourth, fifth and sixth centuries A.D. formed the Dark Ages in Chinese history for they were a long period of almost incessant civil warfare and foreign invasion (154, p. 5). The distress in China naturally affected her over-seas relations. The *Liang Shu* (148, p. 128) says that "during the Chin dynasty¹ those who came to China were very few, and therefore they were not mentioned in the history of that dynasty. In the Sung² and Ch'i³ dynasties, more than ten countries made their appearance, and for the first time a notice of them is given. Since the accession of the Liang dynasty⁴, they have come over the sea every year for getting an almanac and acquitting themselves of the duty of tribute, in greater number than in any former time".

Except for the general statement in the *Nan Ch'i Shu* that during the Chin period Funan came regularly to pay its tribute (221, p. 257) the only information concerning that State which we get for this dynasty is the statement in the *Chin Shu* that in 357 A.D. "Tien-tchou Tchan-t'an of Funan offered in tribute caparisoned elephants", with the result that an imperial decree forbade the further giving of strange animals from foreign countries. A further reference in the *Chin Shu* in a special paragraph devoted to Funan repeats this information in a slightly expanded form and gives the king's name which is considered probably to represent Chandana (107, p. 21); it says that he had only recently ascended the throne. Sylvain Lévi suggested that in reality this embassy had nothing to do with Funan but came from India; Pelliot, however, refutes this suggestion (221, p. 252, n. 4).

Towards the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. there occurred what Quaritch Wales (228, p. 84) has described as "a landmark of the highest importance in the history of Funan and in the whole subsequent development of Indian cultural expansion" and for which he puts the closer dating of "about the end of the fourth century". The *Liang Shu* says that one of the successors of Chu Chan-t'an (Tien-tchou Tchan-t'an)

¹265-420 A.D.

²i.e. the First Sung 420-479 A.D.

³479-502 A.D.

⁴502-557 A.D.

was named Chiao-ch'en-ju, that is Kaundinya, and that he was originally a Brahman. "A supernatural voice said to him: "go and reign in Funan!" Chiao-ch'en-ju rejoiced in his heart. To the south he reached P'an-p'an. The people of Funan heard of it; the whole kingdom arose with joy, went before him and chose him king. He changed once more all the rules according to the methods of India. Chiao-ch'en-ju died. One of his successors Ch'ih-li-t'o-pa-mo in the time of the Emperor Wen (424-453 A.D.) of the Sung dynasty presented a memorial to the emperor together with local products" (229, p. 169). Ma Tuan-lin adds the information that he introduced communal tanks in place of individual wells (230, p. 440)

We have already seen that according to tradition the kingdom of Funan was founded by a Kaundinya who came from a place which Pelliot considered to have been on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. His dynasty weakened and was supplanted by a line of military kings. In the fourth century A.D. we now have a new dynasty of Kaundinyas in Funan. Jayaswal has called attention to a second century inscription from Mysore and a fourth century record of a land grant to Brahmanas of the Kaundinya *gotra*¹, the second of which shows that the donee was related to the Kadamba king who was the donor. Jayaswal identified this southern Indian family positively with the Kaundinyas of Greater India, as we have already seen², but Dr. Chatterjee in a recent article more cautiously admits it only as a possibility (238, p. 139). We drew attention to the Kaundinyas and their connection with Greater India when we were noticing the Kedah Annals, in which connection we referred to the Vo-canh inscription from Champa. We wondered if it were possible that the tradition in those Annals concerning the founding of the ancient kingdom of Kedah and then the founding of other kingdoms by descendants of the first king could have any connection with the Kaundinyas and we used the accepted dating which places the Vo-canh inscription in the second or third century A.D. Recently, however, Dr. Sircar (239) has come forward with reasoning which leads him to date this inscription to a period not earlier than the first half of the fourth century A.D.³ Mainly he bases himself upon the fact that it was not until the middle of that century that prakrit gave way completely to sanskrit in south Indian epigraphy. If his facts are correct, his reasoning seems to be unassailable, and his results have this merit that instead of leaving the Vo-canh inscription as an isolated specimen divided by two centuries from the rest of the earliest inscriptions of Greater India it would fall into line beside the Bhadravarman inscriptions of Champa, *circa* 350 A.D., though Dr. Sircar admits that the latter might possibly

¹Stock or family.

²This Journal vol. XV, pp. 100-102.

³But see the recently published views of Professor Coedès, I.H.Q., 1940, Vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 484-8.

have to be advanced several decades. These inscriptions are followed closely by the Kedah and Province Wellesley ones. In the last part of this essay we have dealt with all these earliest inscriptions.¹

We pass now to the fifth century A.D. The first name which appears in the history of Funan in that century is that of King Chih-li-t'o-pa-mo, for which no transcription has been found though *pa-mo* doubtless represents *varman* and Chih-li represents *Sri*². The *Sung Shu*³ says that in 434 A.D. the kingdoms of Champa, Funan and Ho-lo-tan sent embassies, and that in the next year Funan and Cho-p'o-so-ta (or Cho-p'o-po-ta) sent embassies. We deal with Holotan and Cho-p'o-po-ta in the geographical excursus which follows. In 438 A.D. it says, the kingdoms of Corea, Japan, Funan and Champa sent embassies and in a later passage we are told that the king's name was Tch'e-li-pa-mo, which is the same king as mentioned above. The *Sung Shu* also records that in 431 or 432 A.D. Funan refused to join with Champa in an attack on Tongking (221, p. 255).

The *Nan Ch'i Shu* says that during the First Sung dynasty Funan came regularly to pay tribute and it says that at the end of that dynasty the king of Funan had Kaundinya as his family name and Jayavarman (Cho-ye-pa-mo) as his personal name, and that he sent merchants to trade in Canton. Then there follows a long and very interesting account of a mission to China in 484 A.D. by an envoy of King Jayavarman. This envoy was a monk named Sakya Nagasena (221, pp. 256-261). The king complained that one of his subjects had gone to Champa, stirred up trouble there and seized the throne, and he asked the Emperor's assistance against this man. Maspero (176, p. 75) and Mājumdar (175, p. 32) think that this usurper was a son of King Jayavarman; but, however that was, the Emperor of China not only gave no help but recognized the usurper as king of Champa in 491 A.D. and gave him a high title. From the account we learn that Funan worshipped Siva and that the god had his perpetual abode on Mount Motan where he descended daily. This mountain is considered to have been the hill Ba Phnom which is very near the apex of the delta of the River Mekhong. The capital, Vyadhapura, was at the foot of this hill and it seems probable that the name of the state was derived from Ba Phnom. Dr. Chatterjee asks if *Sri Saila* might not have been the sanskrit equivalent (238, p. 139). The *Nan Ch'i Shu* concludes its notice of Funan by saying that the country was continually being invaded by Champa and was not able to keep up its communications with Tongking.

¹This Journal vol. XVII, pp. 166-177.

²Had the name been Chih-li-to-lo-pa-mo it would apparently have represented Sri Indravarman (140, p. 161).

³History of the First Sung dynasty, 420-479 A.D., written by Ch'en Yo, 441-513 A.D.

Majumdar (175, p. 32) considers that Jayavarman's letter shows that " the Chinese Emperor was tacitly looked upon as the sovereign authority by all the states in the Far East, and whatever the amount of actual control possessed by him, he never ceased to exercise a political influence upon them all. "

The above is all that is known of the history of Funan in the fifth century A.D. but there is a considerable quantity of information about other places and events in that century. This, however, we shall reserve for the geographical excursus which follows, and we shall confine ourselves to the history of Funan alone in the rest of this part of the essay.

At the beginning of the sixth century A.D. King Jayavarman was on the throne of Funan and the *Liang Shu* says that in 503 A.D. he sent a coral statue of Buddha to the Emperor for which he received a high title (221, p. 269). The sculpture of Funan seems to have been appreciated in China because Pelliot cites another text from a seventh century work which records that in the period 479-482 A.D. there was at Canton a huge stone Buddha from Funan which required seventy to eighty men to move it (129, p. 386).

In 509 A.D. the monk Bodhibhadra passed through Funan (129, p. 387) and embassies were sent in 511 A.D. and 514 A.D. in which last year Jayavarman died (211, p. 270). There is an inscription at Vat Prei Vier in Cambodia, dated 665 A.D., which records the date of Jayavarman's death (240, p. 56).

He was succeeded by King Rudravarman, the son of a concubine, who had killed his younger brother, the son of the legitimate queen. Rudravarman sent embassies in 517, 519, 520, 530, 535 and 539 A.D. in which last year he offered the Emperor a hair of Buddha which was twelve feet long. The Emperor sent a monk to fetch it, after which the *Liang Shu* appears to make no further mention of the history of Funan (221, pp. 270-1).

Dr. Quaritch Wales (224, p. 89) says that Rudravarman was " the last king of Funan for about 550 A.D. his empire was overthrown as a result of the revolt of some of his vassal states, more particularly Chen-la, the primitive Cambodian state where the early Khmers at this time threw off the yoke. " This, doubtless, represents a view very widely held but it is not completely certain.

Pelliot cites passages from the *Ch'en Shu*¹ which give embassies in 559, 572 and 588 A.D. but make no mention of any king's name (129, p. 389).

¹History of the Ch'en Dynasty, 557-589 A.D., written by the author of the *Liang Shu*.

The first mention of Chen-la occurs in the *Sui Shu*¹ which says that "Chen-la is south-west of Linyi; it was originally a vassal of Funan.....The name of the king's family was Kshatriya; his personal name was Citrasena; his ancestors progressively increased the strength of the country. Citrasena seized Funan and subdued it. He died. His son Içanasena succeeded him; he lived in the town of Içana" (221, p. 272).

Ma Tuan-lin has a long and interesting account of Chen-la (Tchin-la) but neither in his notice of it nor in that of Funan does he say anything about the conquest of the latter by the former. He says that during the first Sung, the Ch'i and the Liang dynasties the kings of Funan continued to send as tribute different products of their country and that in the time of the Sui dynasty "the ruling king had the name of *Kou-long*, a family name very wide-spread in all the kingdoms of these southern regions. Learned elders say that *Kou-long* is only a corruption of the word *Kouen-lun* caused by time and bad pronunciation. Under the Sui dynasty and later under the T'ang from the period 618-626 A.D. embassies from Funan appeared regularly at court. In the period 627-649 A.D. one of these embassies brought to Loyang and offered to the Emperor two men from the kingdom of *Pe-teou* situated to the west of Funan and south-west of *Tsan-pan*. The men and women of this kingdom all have white heads when new-born. Their bodies are also very white. They inhabit the caves of a mountainous country, surrounded on all sides by steep rocks and precipices which makes the region almost inaccessible. The country of *Pe-teou* touches that of *Tsan-pan*" (230, p. 441).

Commenting upon the name of the king of Funan the *T'ung Tien* says that "in the time of the Sui dynasty, the king of this realm had for family name *Kou-long*; in various kingdoms, many men have *Kou-long* for family name; if one asks the old men, they say that the *K'ouen-louen* have no family names; (*Kou-long*) is then an alteration of *K'ouen-louen*" (129, p. 128, n. 4; 221, p. 283).

The *Hsin T'ang Shu* in its paragraph on Funan says that the king's family name is *Kou-long* and that he had his capital at *Tô-mou* but it "had been reduced by Chen-la and he has had to go south to the town of *Na-fou-no*. In the periods 618-649 A.D. they came again to Court. They offered two men of the White Heads. The White Heads are directly to the west of Funan. All of them have white faces and their skin is as smooth as ointment. They live in the mountain caves; on all four sides surrounded by peaked rocks and no one can go there. They are neighbours of *Tsan-pan*."

¹History of the Sui Dynasty, 589-618 A.D., compiled by Wei Cheng, 581-643 A.D.

In its paragraph on Chen-la the *Hsin T'ang Shu* says that "King Kshatriya Içana at the beginning of the period 627-649 A.D. subdued Funan and possessed himself of its territory" (221, p. 274).

The *Chiu T'ang Shu*¹ mentions an embassy from Funan in the period 627-649 A.D. (129, p. 390).

We shall consider in the geographical excursus the references to *Kou-long* and K'ouen-louen, the White Heads and Tsan-pan.

Pelliot (129, pp. 387-8) says that Chinese tradition attributes the victory of Chen-la over Funan to Citrasena; the *Hsin T'ang Shu* alone, by what he thinks to be an almost certain mistake, places the triumph of Chen-la at a later date under the reign of Içanasena (Icanavarman). He says that in any case the Chinese notices must be wrong since from the reign of Bhavavarman, elder brother and predecessor of Citrasena, epigraphy shows us kings of historical Cambodia in possession of the greatest part of the ancient territory of Funan. He then asks if the *T'ang houei yao*² is not more exact when it says that in the period 535-545 A.D. of the Liang dynasty Chen-la reduced Funan for the first time and occupied its territory. Pelliot says that this text would go back to Chen-la's first embassy to China in 616 or 617 A.D. since the capital of the state is named in the same text as Içanapura. As the Chinese had no knowledge of Bhavavarman it would be to Citrasena, the first prince whose name they recorded, that they would have attributed wrongly the conquest of Funan just as in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* which did not know Citrasena it is Içanavarman who is the conqueror (129, p. 388). Such were Pelliot's theories which seem to be accepted generally at this date.

Dr. Sircar sets out a modern view thus:—"on the death of Rudravarman, the last monarch of Funan mentioned in Chinese annals, there was a dispute as regards the succession to the throne. Bhavavarman, who was the ruler of Kambuja³ at this time and who was also related to Rudravarman (who might have been Bhavavarman's maternal grandfather) seized this opportunity to conquer part of Funan with the help of his brother Citrasena known as Mahendravarman when he ascended the throne afterwards. Funan was not completely destroyed. The monarchs of Funan retreated to the region south of their ancient capital Vrah Vnam. But Funan ceased to be the paramount power in Indo-China as it had been hitherto. The conquest of Funan was completed by Isanavarman, the son and successor of Mahendravarman, who

¹Old History of the T'ang Dynasty, compiled by Liu Hsu, 897-947 A.D.

²Or *T'ang hui yao*, written about 950 A.D.

³Actually, of course, of Chen-la; the name Kambuja came later.

seized the ancient capital of Vrah Vnam. Chinese historians mention Isanavarman as the conqueror of Funan" (239, pp. 141-2).

Cambodian epigraphy tells us that Citrasena took the name of Mahendravarman and that he succeeded his elder brother Bhavavarman (107; pp. 32-3). Another inscription says that Bhavavarman came to power by force of arms and yet another that he was the son of Viravarman who does not seem to have reigned since Bhavavarman succeeded Rudravarman. Chatterji (107, p. 33) says that "as the inscriptions of Bhavavarman have been found scattered over a wide area and as some of them manifest a warlike tone we may conclude that it was Bhavavarman, a prince of Chen-la, who became the paramount sovereign after striking a death-blow to the supremacy of Funan." None of Bhavavarman's inscriptions are dated but they are considered palaeographically to belong to the sixth century A.D. Furthermore, Icanavarman, his nephew, is known to have been reigning in 616 A.D. and as he succeeded his father, the younger brother of Bhavavarman, it seems safe to assert that Bhavavarman reigned in the middle of the sixth century A.D. or at the time when Funan would seem to have been conquered. Lastly, in the most archaic of the Bhavavarman inscriptions there is this definite statement—"Having conquered the kings of the mountain, his glory spread over all the directions of the earth" etc. (107, p. 42). That seems to be a direct reference to the kings of Funan.

There is reason for thinking that the Rudravarman whom Bhavavarman succeeded was the same king as the one whom he conquered, as Pelliot has suggested, and this seems to be borne out by the pedigree which the kings of Cambodia claimed in the tenth century A.D. They asserted that they were the descendants of Srutavarman and boasted of having delivered their native land from the chains of tribute, which seems to refer to the yoke of Funan; and they traced their descent from Rudravarman as chief of their branch. They claimed origin from Soma and Kaundinya (107, pp. 29-30). Everything seems to point to the fact that Bhavavarman claimed to carry on the Funan throne and so laid claim to the Funan royal descent. Moreover, as ruler of the vassal state Chen-la, Bhavavarman might very well have been a member of the Funan royal family.

Luce gives notices of Chen-la (229, pp. 189-194) and considers that it supplanted Funan about the end of the sixth century A.D. Its first embassy to China seems to have been in 616 or 617 A.D.

Funan, however, sent embassies also in the first half of the seventh century A.D. as we have seen, after which, to use Pelliot's graphic expression, night descends upon its rulers and they disappear in the Khmer empire.

One pictures a failing struggle to retain power, then a lapsing into entire decay, followed by the royal family or some of its members seeking their fortunes somewhere else.

I Tsing writing about 692 A.D. says that Funan was then known as Poh-nan or Pa-nan. "Of old it was a country, the inhabitants of which lived naked; the people were mostly worshippers of heaven (the gods or *devas*), and later on, Buddhism flourished there, but a wicked king has now expelled and exterminated them all, and there are no members of the Buddhist Brotherhood at all, whilst adherents of other religions (or heretics) live intermingled" (227, p. 12).

The reader will find a useful summary of the history of Funan and an important discussion of its art in Le May (240).

The whole question of the last days of Funan and its passing into the beginning of the Cambodian empire is worthy of close argument and is a matter of importance as we shall see when we come to discuss Sri-Vijaya and the origin of the Sailendras.

S.5. Geographical.

The history of Srivijaya begins with an embassy which it sent to China in the period 670-3 A.D. and there is, therefore, a long gap between our Funan and Srivijaya periods. This excursus is designed to cover that gap and also to deal with various Chinese toponyms of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. which were omitted from our Funan period. For the sake of continuity, however, it will include the travels of I Tsing and, therefore, will overlap the beginning of our Srivijaya period. It will take us well into T'ang times and will involve us mainly in questions concerning the ancient geography of Malaysia.

As to that geography it can be said that the attempt to reconstruct it so far has been based mainly upon philological speculations. Indeed, a cynic might observe that it has been more of a witch-hunt for names than an attempt to ascertain the evidence and to face it when ascertained. The student of what has been written so far in English and French¹ will be struck by the great wealth of speculation as compared with the poverty of fact. Indeed, the greater part of the Chinese evidence is still untranslated and without going so far in the disparagement of sinologists as did Gerini (*e.g.* 46, p. 608, n. 1.) an unbiased student must say that their divergent views and a comparison of those views with the facts which they give make it quite impossible to accept the *ipse dixit* of any of them. Moreover, they are far from being in agreement even as to translations.

¹ To which only we apply ourselves; see this Journal, vol. XIV, pt. 3, pp. 10-11.

Recently this Journal has been so fortunate as to be permitted to publish an English translation of Mr. Moens' most interesting reconsideration of a number of geographical matters in connection with Srivijaya, Yava and Katāha (241). The reader who has followed us so far will readily understand that, though we may get very different results from him and though we may take occasion to criticise his views, we are working upon the same principles as Mr. Moens.

In considering his essay it must be remembered that he has compressed a large mass of material into it and that he does not always explain his reasoning. It is possible to show that sometimes he makes incorrect statements and that sometimes he states as facts what are in reality only his theories. It may quite possibly be that many, if not the majority, of his identifications will be rejected¹ but he has performed a great service by throwing a flood of new light and fresh thought upon a subject which without any justification was becoming stereotyped and, what is worse, sterilized from criticism.

We agree with Mr. Moens that it is wrong to disregard in favour of phonetic reasoning the evidence which we are given. We agree with him that having ascertained the evidence we must accept it and reason from it. Indeed, we would insist most urgently that unless the ancient geography of Malaysia is determined by a scientific application of the fundamental rules of reasoning it will get nowhere.

It has been the endeavour of this essay to proceed chronologically and we would have preferred to have given the reader a conspectus of the ancient Chinese geography at various main periods but it is not possible to do so. Too much of the material is untranslated and, save in the case of Funan, we have no complete translations of the notices about any of the main places in chronological sequence. There is the further difficulty that Chinese authors quote with complete indifference to chronology and almost invariably without indicating the works from which they are quoting. Kuwabara writes that "as Chinese books in general are conspicuous for their absence of an exact idea of date, we must be very careful in making use of the materials afforded by them" (179, 7, p. 28).

Of the great geographic encyclopaedias only the works of Ma Tuan-lin and Chau Ju-kua have been translated: and neither translation is considered to be entirely accurate. The absence of a translation of the geographical part of Tu Yu's *Tung Tien* is particularly to be deplored, as that is a T'ang work which reaches down from the earliest period to the eighth century A.D.

¹See, for instance, Professor Nilakanta Sastri's criticisms in J. G. I. S., 1940, vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 15-42.

The reader will, therefore, appreciate that it is at the moment impossible to present any accurate picture of the ancient Chinese geography of Malaysia and that all that is possible is to discuss such facts as are available at present.

We begin with the travels of two Buddhist priests, Fa-hien and Gunavarman.

The adventures of the former are related by himself in his work the *Fo kuo chi* which has been translated by Beal (242) and Giles (243) amongst others, while Groeneveldt has translated the part of it which is material to our present purpose (148, pp. 131-133). Majumdar in the recently published second part of his *Suvarnadvipa* reproduces Legge's translation (244, pp. 24-27). So far as is known no Chinese monk before Fa-hien had ever left China for India and "with him began a period of intercourse between China and India, the importance of which we cannot fully appreciate in the present age of internationalism" (245, p. 61). Fa-hien left China in 399 A.D. and went to India by land. After a lengthy stay in India he returned to China by sea via Ceylon and a place which we shall write as Ye-po-ti¹ where he arrived in 413 A.D. sailing for China the next year. Fa-hien's travels thus lasted for fifteen years.

What we know about Gunavarman is contained most fully in the *Kao seng ch'uan* which was written in 519 A.D. by the monk Hui-chiao and the material part of which has been translated by Chavannes (142). Gunavarman travelled by sea from Ceylon to China via a place which we shall write as Cho-po. It is not known when exactly he reached Cho-po but he left it for China in 424 A.D.

A consideration of the facts about these places, Ye-po-ti and Cho-po, is of paramount importance to the ancient geography of Malaysia and leads us to a consideration also of the ancient names representing the sounds *Java* or *Yava*.

Almost universally nowadays it is stated that Fa-hien visited the present island of Java as though that were an actual fact. Thus, Professor Vogel in his *Buddhist Art*, 1936, writes "when the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien visited Java on his voyage home from Ceylon", etc.; and Dr. Majumdar in his *Suvarnadvipa*, 1937, writes "the first valuable and authentic account of the state of Hindu culture in Java is furnished by Fa-hien", and in a footnote (p. 103) he says that "the scholars are generally agreed that Ye-p'o-ti of Fa-hien denotes Yavadvipa (= Java) "

¹But as usual there are other ways of spelling it, as Yavadi by Groeneveldt, Ya-po-ti by Gerini and Ye-p'o-ti by Pelliot.

Once an idea becomes implanted in the minds of learned men, it is very hard to dislodge. With each repetition a new authority is added for the view until what was really only theory is accepted as a fact. There has, however, been no discussion up to now in English or French of all the actual evidence which Fa-hien himself gives.

In 1904 the great French scholar Pelliot in his famous *Deux Itinéraires* (129) discussed the toponyms Yava-dvipa, Ye-tiao, Iabadiou, Tchou-po, Tou-po, Ye-po-ti, Cho-po and Ho-ling, and considered the question of their location. His conclusion was that they all represented the present island of Java and, whenever his facts either pointed to Borneo or gave Borneo as an alternative, he rejected that island. In arriving at his conclusion he relied upon what was a chain of reasoning but, when that reasoning is examined, it will be seen to be dependent mainly upon the etymology of the names.

There is no doubt that, despite the contrary views of Ferrand, Schlegel and Gerini, it has been Pelliot whom the majority of writers since have followed. But Pelliot himself changed his views radically upon one most important point. We have already remarked in this essay that the modern fashion is not to consider Yava-dvipa as being Java but to beg a question by calling it Java-Sumatra¹. Following that fashion Pelliot in 1925 described Tchou-po and Cho-po as being Sumatra-Java (146, pp. 248, 250) and thus broke the chain of his reasoning in 1904, when he had been very certain that each of them represented the present island of Java and nowhere else.

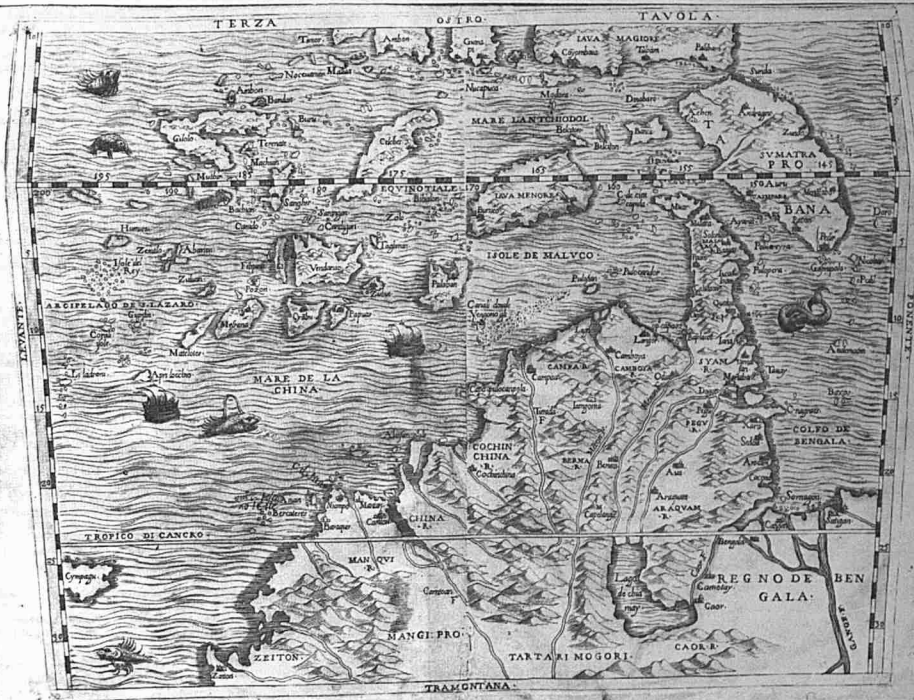
We propose to re-examine the available evidence about the eight Chinese toponyms above and to ask the reader for his attention unbiassed by any prepossessions. Unless the questions involved are decided correctly any attempt to reconstruct the ancient geography of Malaysia is bound to go wrong.

We must begin by a little recapitulation since we have already referred in previous parts of this essay to Yava-dvipa, Ye-tiao, Iabadiou, and Tchou-po.

Yava-dvipa. The *Ramayana* says that Yava-dvipa² was embellished with seven kingdoms and calls it "the isle of gold and silver, adorned with mines of gold"; and it says that beyond Yava-dvipa was the mountain called Çiçira (which means literally "fresh") the summit of which touches the sky and which is visited by gods and demons. Moens calls attention to Mt. Kinabalu in Borneo in connection with Çiçira (241, pp. 33, 100).

¹This Journal, vol. XV, pt. 3, pp. 76, 79-80.

²This Journal, vol. XIII, pt. 2, p. 103; vol. XV, pt. 3 pp. 75-80.



Yava-dvipa is a sanskrit name meaning literally " the island of barley "

There is, of course, no indication whatsoever in the *Ramayana* of the geographic position of Yava-dvipa.

Ye-tiao. Ye-tiao¹ was known to the Chinese as having sent a mission to the Emperor in 132 A.D. It is stated to be a kingdom beyond the borders of Je-nan.

Ye-tiao represents the sound *Yap-div*, according to Pelliot whose opinion has been generally accepted, and is a Chinese transcription of a prakrit form and not a sanskrit one (129, p. 266 and n. 2). All are agreed in correlating this Yap-div, and so Yeo-tiao, with the sound *Yava*.

Iabadiou. Except for Ptolemy, about the middle of the second century A.D., Iabadiou² would be unknown ; it occurs in his pages and nowhere else but it has the variant form in many of the MSS. of Sabadiou (or Sabadios).

All are agreed that Iabadiou is the equivalent of the prakrit *Yava-divu* or *Yava-diu* and that it must therefore be correlated with the sanskrit Yavadvipa and the chinese Ye-tiao; and accordingly with the sound *Yava*.

All are also agreed that Iabadiou and Yava-dvipa are the same place.

The information which Ptolemy gives resembles that in the *Ramayana* and he says that the name Iabadiou means " the island of barley ". He tells us that it was fertile and that it produced a great quantity of gold. He also tells us that its metropolis was called Argyre and that this town was situate at the western extremity of the island which he places $2\frac{1}{2}$ of his degrees of longitude east of the Golden Chersonese or Malay Peninsula. He puts the eastern extremity 20 minutes of his latitude north of the western and 2 of his degrees of longitude east of it. We are, therefore, told that Iabadiou was an island very much to the east of the Golden Chersonese and that its eastern extremity was considerably north of its western. It is obvious that neither of these indications could fit the islands of Java or Sumatra.

Ptolemy, however, places Iabadiou some 5 of his degrees of latitude south of the Golden Chersonese. With regard to this it must be remembered that Ptolemy, like so many other learned men, could not rid his mind of an *idée fixe* and it seems clear that,

¹This Journal, vol. XV, Pt. 3, p. 77.

²This Journal, vol. XV, Pt. 3, pp. 108, 112-3.

like so many other learned men, when he was given facts which did not coincide with that *ide fixe* he rejected the facts and not the idea. In his day the accepted theory was that a great southern *Terra Incognita* made an inland sea of the Indian Ocean and, following that theory, he enclosed what we call the South China Sea by land with the result that he had to reject the facts which his informants must have given him. Thus he put Kattigara $8\frac{1}{2}$ of his degrees of south latitude instead of far up to the north as his informants must have told him. Kattigara was the farthest point of which they could tell him and it corresponded with the present Hanoi or some place even farther north than that. Ptolemy thus put Iabadiou and Kattigara upon the same position of latitude $8^{\circ} 30'$ S. The result of his obsession is that all his positions beyond the Golden Chersonese have to be bent up north and also the Islands which he gives, as we have previously pointed out in this essay¹.

It seems clear, therefore, that while we can accept the fact that Iabadiou was well to the east of the Golden Chersonese we ought not to accept the fact that it was a long way south of it.

If Ptolemy's evidence as to the geographic position of Iabadiou is to be disregarded completely, then, of course, anybody's guess will be as good as another's: but, if it is to be weighed logically, then Iabadiou could not be either Sumatra or Java. We must look for an island well to the east of the Golden Chersonese, *i.e.* the Malay Peninsula; and we must look for an island the eastern extremity of which was north of its western extremity. Sumatra and Java are thus ruled out and there remains Borneo. Except for the south latitude given by Ptolemy his data fit reasonably well the western coast of Borneo from Cape Api or Cape Datu to its northern extremity in which case the capital Argyre would correspond with a position where Kuching is to-day. We can, of course, only apply the main facts which Ptolemy gives us and cannot attempt any mathematical assessment of his degrees of longitude and latitude.

In considering the possibility that Borneo was Iabadiou, or Sabadios, we must not forget that Sabah is the native name for its northern promontory. Hatton in his *New Ceylon or Sabah*, 1881, says (p. 57) that "a rough line drawn across the map from the Kimanis River on the north-west coast to the Sibuco River on the east coast, will indicate the territory hitherto called Sabah, now to be better known in the future as British North Borneo." Posewitz throughout his book (246) treats of the territory of the British North Borneo Company under the heading of Sabah. When the Sultan of Brunei conferred concessions there on Baron

¹This Journal, vol. XV, Pt. 3, p. 113.

Overbeck, he gave him the title of Maharajah of Sabah (246, p. 9). Ling Roth says that "in Darvel Bay there are the remnants of a tribe which seems to have been more plentiful in bygone days—the Sabahans" (247, i, p. 22). Hose and McDougall (11) call these people Sabans.

Mr. Keith, Conservator of Forests in British North Borneo, informs us that the name Sabah is better known on the west coast of British North Borneo than on its east coast or interior and he says that in Sarawak it is still commonly used for northern Borneo.

It is, of course, quite impossible to say how old is this name Sabah or what territory was originally included in it but it is legitimate to point to the fact that there still lingers in Borneo a place-name which seems to be connected with that used by Ptolemy. Dato Douglas in an interesting essay on Malay place-names¹ has pointed out that *saba* in hindustani means the easterly winds and has suggested that Ptolemy's Sabana may be connected with that. It may well be that between the name Sabah and the word *saba* there is a connection. Hamilton's *East-India Gazetteer*, 1828, calls attention to the fact that in Borneo "the names of many of the rivers, mountains, and districts, greatly resemble those of the Ultra Gangetic provinces."

If there is a native name for Borneo it would appear to be, as variously spelled, Kelamantan, Kalamantan or Klemantan. Sir Hugh Clifford in his article on Borneo in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says that "by some *Klemantan* has been declared to be its native name, but for this there is scant warranty, natives of the Archipelago speaking invariably of a particular part of the island, never of the island as a whole." It may be noted, however, that Hunt was quite definite in saying that "the natives and the Malays, formerly, and even at this day, call this large island by the exclusive name of *Pulo Kalamantan*, from a sour and indigenous fruit so called" (248, p. 12a). Mr. Hughes-Hallett in his recent essay on the history of Brunei writes that "the native name for this island of Borneo has always been *Pulau Kelamantan*."² Hamilton's *East-India Gazetteer* says that "the kingdom of Borneo, or Brunei, by Europeans termed *Borneo* proper, having been the first state visited by them, may have given rise to the erroneous application of the name to the whole island, which by the native inhabitants, and throughout the eastern archipelago, is universally termed *Pulo Klemantan*"; and again "the natives call their island *Klemantan*, or *Quallamontan*". Sir Hugh Low (249, p. 3) says that "the natives of Borneo in general have no idea that

¹This Journal, vol. XVI, Pt. 1, pp. 150-2.

²This Journal, vol. XVIII, Pt. 2, p. 23.

their country is an island : it is only the Malays and inhabitants of the sea-coasts, whose maritime pursuits have necessarily forced upon them the knowledge of its insular position, who have one comprehensive term for the countries which comprise it. These call it Tanah Kalamantan, and occasionally Pulo Kalamantan, or the island Kalamantan ; but this term is usually restricted to what we would call an islet, large countries being designated Tanah, or land—a word nearly similar in signification to our term continent—their language having no other expression equivalent to that geographical term, and consequently more appropriate to this land, than the term Pulo. "

In his recent essay on the natives of Sarawak¹ Mr. Banks writes of the Kalamantans but the origin of this expression must be borne in mind. Hose and McDougall (11, i, p. 30) distinguished amongst the pagan tribes of Borneo six principal groups (1) Sea Dayaks or Ibans (2) Kayans (3) Kenyahs (4) Klemantans (5) Muruts and (6) Punans. Under the expression Klemantans " we group a number of tribes which, though in our opinion closely allied, are widely scattered in all parts of Borneo, and present considerable diversities of language and custom " (*ibid.* p. 34). Hose (250, p. 34) explains the name Klemantan in this connection as " one recently devised. " " The name Pulo Klemantan (the Mango Country) is that given by Malays to the whole island. " Klemantan, therefore, as used to indicate human beings is a scientific term of recent invention.

Treacher (251, p. 15) writes that " in some works, Pulo Kalamantan, which would signify *wild mangoes island*, is given as the native name for Borneo, but it is quite unknown, at any rate throughout North Borneo, and the island is by no means distinguished by any profusion of wild mangoes. " In a footnote he says that " the explanation *Sago Island* has been given, *lamantah* being the native term for the raw sago sold to the factories. " Mr. Banks in the essay cited has much that is interesting as to sago-eaters in Borneo.

Crawford in his *Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, 1856, says " it may be noticed that Borneo has been sometimes called by the Malays Kalamantan. This word is the name of a species of wild mango, and the word at full length would simply mean Isle of Mangoes. The name however is mythic, and neither a popular or well-known one. "

Is it possible that the name of mango may have been caused by the shape of the island? Dr. Chhabra has already called attention in connection with the name Yava to an ancient Indian

¹This Journal, vol. XVIII, Pt. 2, pp. 49-54.

habit of naming islands from their shapes and in doing so instanced Amra-dvipa meaning Mango Island¹. Did the Malays do the same thing?

It is quite impossible to say how old the name of Kelamantan is but it would seem to have been a purely Malay name for the island.

The Portuguese appear to have invented the name Borneo which was their version of Bruni or Brunei. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this ancient and once powerful Malay state possessed vastly more territory than it does to-day. As stated in Hamilton's *East-India Gazetteer* "the sea-coast of this State extends about 700 miles, with a depth of territory inland of from 100 to 150 miles. To the west it confines on Sambas at Tajong Data² lat : 3° N., lon : 110° 36' E ; to the east it is bounded by the tract claimed by the Sooloos, marked by the mouth of the Sandakan river in lat. 5° 50' N., long. 118° 15' E." Posewitz (246, p. 10) says that "up to about fifty years ago the whole of North Borneo from Cape Datu in the west to the River Sibucu in the East, belonged to the kingdom of Brunei." Hunt in his Report to Raffles in 1812 (248, pp. 12-30, a) said that Borneo was divided between three great states Brunei, Sukadana and Banjer-massing, as he wrote it.

Ptolemy, of course, does not give full positions for Iabadiou but only those of its metropolis Argyre, which was situated at its western extremity, and of its eastern extremity. As we have said, these positions fit reasonably well the coast from Tanjong Api or Tanjong Datu to the northern promontory. If this is accepted, then, as we shall see, the reputation for gold and silver came from territories around Kuching and to the south of it and not from the part of the island to which the name Sabah is now attached.

Moens identifies both Yava-dvipa and Iabadiou as names for the Malay Peninsula (241, p. 100) though he also admits the Golden Chersonese to be the Malay Peninsula (*ibid.* p. 47). We shall refer again to these views.

Ferrand in the latest consideration which he gave to the matter said that there is an absence of decisive geographic precision in the data afforded by the *Ramayana* and Ptolemy ; and he said that the choice of Sumatra is easy because it is the only place which by its richness in gold could be considered (140, pp. 118-9) and it seems clear that in Ferrand's view Sumatra is the only place in Malaysia famous for gold (*ibid.* also at pp. 120,

¹This Journal, vol. XV, Pt. 3, p. 79.

²i.e. Tanjong Datu.

148, 153, 162). He repeated this idea in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (252) where he identifies Yava-dvipa, Ye-tiao, Iabadiou, Tchou-po and Ye-po-ti with Sumatra. Ferrand was also influenced by the fact that the Malay name for Sumatra is *Pulau Mas* or Gold Island.

He was, of course, wrong in thinking that Sumatra was the only place in Malaysia famous for its gold because both the Malay Peninsula and Borneo were.

Turning to the early descriptions of Borneo in English at the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D. we find that it was famous for gold, which came from the southern part of the region to which Ptolemy's facts seem to point and we find, moreover, that this region was celebrated then for its fertility. The reader is referred to the articles on Borneo in Moor's *Notices* (248) where he will find Dr. Leyden's description of the island in addition to Hunt's Report from which we have already quoted.

Earl writes of the western part of Borneo that "no country in the world can compete with it" and he says that this part of the island "in addition to the possession of a soil which vies in richness with that of any other island in the Archipelago, contains inexhaustible mines of gold and diamonds which are so easily wrought that the inhabitants are enabled to procure considerable quantities of both with the most inefficient instruments" (253, pp. 240-1).

Writing at the beginning of the present century Guillemard says that there are few rivers in Borneo which are not auriferous (254, p. 247).

The reader should consult Posewitz for full details as to all minerals in Borneo. He says (246, p. 312) that "the island of Borneo has long had the well-deserved reputation of being rich in gold. The occurrence of the noble metal was, probably, known to the earliest Hindoo population," and again "when the first diggings were made is not known; but it is certain that the noble metal has been won by the natives since the earliest times. Its mode of occurrence, as alluvial or drift gold, made it easy to obtain; and its application for purpose of ornament and exchange, caused the natives to search for it." He also says (p. 316) "if we are to give credence to the reports and statements of the natives, the greater number of the rivers of Borneo contain gold-sand in greater or less quantity. This has been confirmed, partly by mining investigations, partly by scientific travellers, as well as by the reports of European officials." Low has much to say about gold in Sarawak (249) and all the books about Borneo emphasize it as being a gold-bearing country.

An examination of the sketch map by Posewitz which shows the distribution of useful minerals in Borneo shows that there is an area rich in gold and diamonds lying between Kuching and Pontianak and along the banks of the Kapuas as far as long. 114° E., while the southern tributaries of the Kapuas flow through districts containing gold and diamonds. The Bandjermasin district in the south-east of Borneo is also a producer of gold and diamonds.

But what about silver? The *Ramayana* combines gold and silver among the attributes of Yava-dvipa but Ptolemy mentions only gold. He does, however, call the capital Argyre and this has usually been taken to mean Silver but Moens, who identifies it with Ligor in the Malay Peninsula, suggests that the name may be a greek version of the sanskrit *nagara* (241, p. 56). Mr. Banks informs us that the site of the cinnabar mines near Kuching is called Tagora, and, without drawing any inferences at all, we note that fact as not uninteresting.

Could Borneo have had any reputation for silver? Campbell (255, ii, p. 895) says that "silver and gold invariably occur together in the East Indies. In some mines it is in the proportion of 7 to 1, in others only 2 to 1, but on the average 3 to 1." Writing in 1856 Crawford in his *Descriptive Dictionary* says of silver that "no veins of this metal have hitherto been discovered in any of the islands of the Malay or Philippine Archipelagoes, many of which contain such abundant stores of iron, gold, tin and antimony. A small quantity of it, however, appears to be contained in all the gold of these countries. In Malay the name for silver is perak, and in Javanese sálaka. Both are native words of which the origin has not been traced." Low (249, p. 19) says that "of the precious metals, gold is abundant; silver being unknown in the East in these latitudes, though it abounds in China and Japan." Guillemard mentions the discovery of a large vein of silver in Sarawak (254, pp. 246-7). Posewitz (246, p. 440) also refers to this discovery but the vein seems to have petered out after two years. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* does not mention silver among the minerals of Borneo. We cannot, therefore, say, as we can of gold, that Borneo must always have had a reputation for silver.

But there is another possible explanation for the silver reputation if Borneo was Iabadiou or Yava-dvipa. Borneo is famous for its antimony or stibnite which is used for dyeing sarongs. Earl says (253, p. 311) that the Malays of Sambas painted flowers on their dresses with a preparation of antimony ore giving it a bright and permanent steel colour and that clothes thus adorned were much valued. The first Rajah Brooke of Sarawak profited a great deal from the antimony in his country and Marryat (256) has some interesting notes as to this and also

as to gold in Sarawak. He says that "the antimony is obtained from the side of a hill, the whole of which is supposed to be formed of this valuable mineral. The side at which the men are at work shines like silver during the day, and may be seen several miles distant, strangely contrasting with the dark foliage of the adjoining jungles" (*ibid* : p. 9). Both Low (249) and Hose (257) mention that antimony occurs at places in Sarawak in the form of an outcrop and the latter says (p. 196) that "in colour Stibnite resembles pewter or unpolished silver, from which fact it gets its native name *Batu Perak* (silver rock)." Posewitz also mentions that the native name for antimony-ore is *batu perak* (246, p. 412, n. 1) and writing of silver (p. 440) he says that "in W. Borneo the natives report that silver-ores occur in the rivers Spauk and Skadau. But samples of these could not be obtained. Perhaps there has been some mistake here as the natives include the antimony ores under the term *Batu Perak* (silver-stone)."

Before leaving this question, we might interpolate that stibnite is not a noticeable mineral in the Malay Peninsula. Scrivenor writing in Burkill's *Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula* says that stibnite has been found in gold mines in Pahang and at places in the Kinta Valley and in Upper Perak but that no deposits of commercial value have been found. It would not seem, therefore, that the presence of antimony might afford a clue to the mystery involved in the name of the State of Perak¹.

We can say that there are two explanations for the statement in the *Ramayana*, either that Yava-dvipa contained mines of gold and mines of silver or that it contained mines of gold and silver mixed ; and in the case of the former that instead of silver we might read antimony if Borneo was Yava-dvipa.

Crawford, however, in his *Descriptive Dictionary* says of antimony that "this metal, until lately unknown to the natives of the East, as it was to Europeans until the fifteenth century, was found for the first time in Borneo, in 1823, on the north-western coast of that island. It exists in several places there, but mines of it have been worked only in Sarawak." We do not know what authority he had for his statement that antimony was "until lately" unknown to the natives of the East but it seems impossible that so bright an ore occurring in outcrops could have escaped notice or that, having been noticed, Indians, Chinese and others did not extract it.

It seems clear, then, that if Yava-dvipa and Iabadiou were Borneo, the attributes of fertility, gold and silver would apply to the district round Kuching and between it and Pontianak.

¹See this Journal, vol. XVII, Pt. 4, pp. 183-4.

Gerini who professed to work out Ptolemy's data mathematically came to the strange conclusion that Iabadiou was Sumatra and thought that he had established that proposition conclusively although he agreed that the Golden Chersonese was the Malay Peninsula. Gerini, of course, "rectified" Ptolemy's positions after methods of his own but how is it possible to locate on the west of the Malay Peninsula an island the positions of which Ptolemy most definitely places well to the east of it ?

Majumdar states that Ptolemy "definitely mentions Java under the name of Iabadiou or Sabadiou" (181, p. 98). He also says that "the obvious identification of Ptolemy's Iabadiou (= Yavadvipa) with Java has been questioned by some authorities" (*ibid.*). But what is there obvious about it ? and how did Ptolemy definitely mention any such thing ?

Majumdar then sets out what he states to be the arguments against Java and says that "a little reflection" will destroy them. He says that "Ptolemy's reference to the abundance of gold in Java" must have been based on "general popular notions rather than any geological examination of the soil." The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 12 p. 978, says that "of all the great islands of the archipelago Java is poorest in metallic ores. Gold and silver are practically non-existent." How could such an island ever have given rise to a general popular notion that it contained an abundance of gold ?

Majumdar, following Pelliot (129, p. 127), also refers to an inscription of the eighth century A.D. found in Java itself which, he says, refers to that island as Yava-dvipa and praises it for its richness in gold mines. If that were the fact, then it would merely prove that in the eighth century A.D. the present island of Java was known as Yava-dvipa, and nothing more ; but is it the fact ?

The inscription to which Majumdar refers is known as the charter of Changal or Tjanggal and is the earliest dated inscription so far found in Java. It was discovered more than fifty years ago amongst ruins on a hill named Gunong Wukir near Burabudur in Central Java and can now be seen in the Batavia Museum. It tells of the establishment of a *linga* sanctuary by a king named Sanjaya in 732 A.D., the exact date, which is given, corresponding to the 6th of October in that year (138, p. 35).

Every important matter in connection with this inscription is the subject of controversy ; the re-construction of the missing parts, the correct translation of the sanskrit, and the interpretation of the statements made in the inscription. Its evidentiary value is, therefore, not too high. A translation into English of the whole of the charter will be found in Chatterjee (192, Pt. 2,

pp. 32-4) while considerations of it are to be found by Chhabra (138 and 258), Ferrand (140, pp. 120, 161-2), Majumdar (181, pp. 229-234), Nilakanta Sastri (187, pp. 500-5) and Stutterneim (259 and 260).

The references to Yava-dvipa occur in the 7th and 8th verses of the charter.

The authorities are not agreed as to the proper way in which the sanskrit of the 7th verse should be reconstructed. The following translations into english of that verse are available :—

(1) Nilakanta Sastri (187, p. 500) " There is an excellent island, called Yava, abounding in grain and other seeds and endowed with gold mines ; it was taken hold of by the gods. . . . There is a most divine and miraculous seat of Sambhu (Siva), for the well-being of the world, brought over as it were from the family established in the blessed land of Kunjarakunja " ;

(2) Kern (260, p. 76) " There is¹ an excellent, unequalled island, named Java, exceedingly fertile in corn and other grains, rich with gold-mines ; it was taken into possession by the immortals by. . . and so forth ; there is a most wonderful miraculous sanctuary of Siva, conducive to the welfare of the world, (and) brought over from the " clan " settled in the blessed land Kunjarakun-jadesa, like one calls it " ;

(3) Stutterheim (260, p. 79) " There was an excellent, unequalled island, named Java, excelling in corn and other grains, furnished with gold-mines and therefore taken into possession by the immortals. . . ; (on that island) was a most wonderful, miraculous sanctuary for Siva, conducive to the welfare of the world, surrounded by holy streams, in the first place the Ganga, (and) situated in the blessed district Kunjarakunja " ;

(4) Chatterjee (192, pp. 33-4) " There was an excellent island called Yava incomparable (to others), which contained an abundance of grains such as rice and others, which was possessed of gold mines and which was acquired. . . by the gods. There was the wonderful and most excellent place (*i.e.* temple) of Siva tending to the welfare of the world, which was supplied as it were from the family settled in the illustrious land of Kunjarakunja. "

The rest of the charter is translated into English by Chatterjee only. The 8th verse is as follows :—" In that noble island called Yava which became the great characteristic of. . . of men, there

¹But Ferrand (140, p. 161) shows that Kern began his translation with the words "There was".

was the foremost of kings of exalted birth whose name was Sanna, who was of great fame and who, out of attachment to his subjects, rules in a proper way through (the peaceful methods of) conciliation and gift, like a father (ruling) the child from his very birth and who, with his foes subdued, protects the earth for a long time with justice like Manu."

The 9th verse refers again to Sanna ; and the 11th verse says that " the son of (the king) named Sannaha is the king the illustrious Sanjaya " etc.

It will be noted that in the translations of the 7th verse there is a difference, some beginning with the words " There is " while others begin with " There was. " As the sanskrit has *āsīt* indicating the past the latter are accurate. Kern drew attention to this fact (140, p. 120) and Moens also comments upon it (241, p. 46). He says that Pelliot's comparison of Yava-dvipa with Java relied upon the erroneous interpretation of Sanjaya's inscription. He says that the Yava-dvipa in the inscription was the place where Sanjaya's ancestors ruled before their emigration to Java. Stutterheim does not agree with this (260, p. 84, n. 1.) : but obviously the view of Moens is a tenable one.

It is usually said that Sannaha was an alternative for Sanna so that this king is called " Sanna or Sannaha " and Sanjaya is said to be his son. But is this certain ? Might there not have been three different kings—the ancestral *rajakūla* Sanna, Sannaha and his son Sanjaya ? Why should the inscriptionist use the name Sanna in the 8th and 9th verses and then change it to Sannaha in the 11th ?

Finally, there is much controversy as to the latter part of the 7th verse which refers to the land of Kunjarakunja.

Majumdar concludes his reference to Iabadiou by saying that " we may thus accept the view that Ptolemy knew this island of Java under its Hindu name. His account of Java, as quoted above, together with the latitude of its chief town given by him, certainly shows that he possessed a somewhat detailed knowledge of the place " (*ibid* : pp. 98-99). But why pick out the latitude of Argyre and ignore all the other positions given by Ptolemy ? Surely not because that alone, being 8° 30' S. Ptolemaic, might correspond with a latitude for Java. If Ptolemy's evidence is to be used at all, then all of it must be considered.

The following three propositions seem to be established upon the evidence :—

(1) since Yava-dvipa and Iabadiou were each famous for gold and the former for silver, neither of them could have been Java ,

(2) since Iabadiou was east of the Peninsula and its eastern extremity was north of its western, it could not have been Sumatra nor could it have been Java ,

(3) since Ptolemy shows most clearly that his Iabadiou was a completely different place from his Golden Chersonese and since the latter most clearly was the Malay Peninsula, Iabadiou could not have been that Peninsula.

The only answer to these propositions is the Changgal inscription but when this answer is examined it will be found to consist of two beggings of the question. The answer is that the present island of Java was Yavadvipa because the inscription says so and that there must have been a popular notion that it contained gold because the inscription says so. In the first place, as we have said, it is not certain at all that the inscription does identify Yavadvipa with Java since it is equally possible that it merely gave Yavadvipa as the home of the ancestral Sanna. In the second place, it is inconceivable that there could be a popular notion in a place where gold was unknown that the place contained gold mines. People might well think that all parts of an island famous for gold contained gold, although some of these parts did not ; they might even think that a place which in fact contained no gold did contain that metal ; but it surely is impossible that at any time of its history the present island of Java could have been popularly thought to be " adorned with mines of gold , " as the *Ramayana* has it , or " rich with gold-mines , " as the Changal inscription has it ; not gold, be it noted, but *gold-mines*. The use of the word " mines " indicates an actual fact, the fact of mining. Finally, even if the answer of the Changgal inscription were correct, it would merely prove that in the eighth century A.D. Java was thought to be the ancient Yava-dvipa ; not that it was but that it was thought at that time to be. A statement in the eighth century A.D. is surely not proof of a fact in the middle of the second.

Tchou-po Tchou-po¹ (Chu-po) is a Chinese toponym which appears to date from the third century A.D. The only evidence as to its geographic position is that it was on a great island east of Funan in the Chang-hai or Great Sea, which all are agreed was the Chinese way of expressing the China Sea from the island of Hainan down to the Straits of Malacca, in other words what we call the South China Sea. The only facts which we are told about it are that the women of the place knew how to weave cotton with flower patterns.

Ferrand thought that Tchou-po was Sumatra ; Gerini that it was Borneo and that part of the island called Sabah, *i.e.* British North Borneo ; Majumdar is uncertain whether to accept Pelliot's

¹This Journal, vol. XVII, Pt. 1, pp. 206-7.

early identification of it as Java or Ferrand's identification as Sumatra (181, p. 101) but he mentions nowhere the fact that Pelliot later took it to represent "Sumatra-Java"; Moens considers it to have been Tubuk, capital of Mindanao (241, pp. 33-6).

Chinese directions are not, of course, absolutely accurate; they can only be used in a general sense. We must look for a place east of Funan, *i.e.* Cambodia and Cochin-China, and in the South China Sea. Obviously Sumatra and Java are out of the question and equally obviously Borneo fits. The weaving of cotton cloth with floral patterns is, of course, in keeping with many places in Malaysia and has not positive value as evidence; but it fits with Borneo.

We shall consider the name of Tchou-po later on and for the moment merely note that etymologically it can be correlated with the sound *Java*.

Tou-po. We must introduce now the facts as to Tou-po. Pelliot says that in the *T'ung Tien* and the *T'ai ping yu lan* there are notices concerning Tou-po which are attributed to the Sui dynasty 589-618 A.D., but he goes on to show that in fact it must have been known in the middle of the third century A.D. and that in reality it is the same place as Tchou-po (129, pp. 275-8). Laufer also has the same opinion (147). We have introduced Tou-po, therefore, as a third century toponym but it must be noted that both Moens and Majumdar treat it as sixth century though neither of them refers to Pelliot's views.

It is unfortunate in view of its importance that the only notice of Tou-po of which a full translation is available is that in Ma Tuan-lin. Pelliot refers to the notices in the *T'ung Tien* and *T'ai ping yu lan* of which he gives a very short summary and he refers also to other untranslated notices and references.

Ma Tuan-lin says that Tou-po was first heard of during the Sui dynasty and that it was situated east of Funan in the Great Sea: it took several tens of days to reach there. Its inhabitants had pale skins and intelligent faces; and they wore clothes. The men cultivated rice and the women wove cloth with flower patterns. The soil of the country contained gold, silver and iron, and gold money was used. A special kind of perfume is mentioned which was used for the breath but not the clothes and which was extracted from the flowers of a tree that grew on the river banks and gave out a perfume so strong and noxious that animals avoided it and human beings feared to breathe it. When in full bloom, the flowers of the tree fell and were carried along by the river so that they could be gathered. The island of Tou-po contained more than ten cities, the capitals of as many small states whose chiefs all took the title of king (230, pp. 513-4).

Ferrand thought that Tou-po was Java and Gerini that it was Borneo; Majumdar says that Pelliot "has, with good reasons, identified" it with Java (181, p. 111). But Pelliot in the passage to which Majumdar must be referring admitted that it could be Borneo. Moreover, since he considers it to have been the same as Tchou-po, under his latest identification he would call it "Sumatra-Java".

Moens takes Tchou-po and Tou-po to be the same places and considers them to have been Tubuk, the capital of Mindanao (241, pp. 33-4).

It seems quite clear that Tou-po is a variant for Tchou-po and that both names refer to the same place.

As Tou-po was an island east of Funan in the South China Sea we must say of it the same as we said of Tchou-po, that it could not be Sumatra or Java but that Borneo fits. We are, however, in possession of valuable facts concerning Tou-po and we must see what results can be derived from those facts.

In the first place, the island of Tou-po was obviously a large one since it contained more than ten cities, the capitals of as many states; and in this connection we should remember the seven kingdoms of Yava-dvipa.

Then, Tou-po was a rich island since it used a gold coinage and contained gold, silver and iron. Borneo contains all three. Very fine steel is made by its inhabitants from its iron as all the accounts of Borneo to which we have referred above mention. Java could not have been noted by the Chinese as containing these three metals: nor could the Malay Peninsula which, though it contains iron and gold, is not known to contain silver.

Could Sumatra have been so known? The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 21, p. 552, says that gold and silver are mined on the west coast of Sumatra and in Bencoolen and it mentions magnetite amongst the minerals found in the island. Crawford in his *Descriptive Dictionary* and Marsden in his *History of Sumatra* both refer to iron ore in Sumatra and the making of tools and weapons from this iron. Collet mentions iron in the Lampong district (255, p. 31). It is clear then that Sumatra would answer in this respect.

But Sumatra was not in the Great Sea and therefore does not answer in that respect. We are left then with Borneo only which both answers geographically and contains the three metals mentioned.

Rice and cotton-weaving, of course, also fit in the picture ; but what of the strange perfume ? Is there such a tree in Borneo or elsewhere ? We have propounded this question to Mr. Keith, the Conservator of Forests in British North Borneo, to Mr. Holttum, Director of Botanic Gardens in Singapore, and to Mr. Corner, the Assistant Director. Mr. Keith says that he has consulted intelligent natives of various tribes but they all say that they know nothing of such a tree and he has not been able to identify it though he refers to the Pandan tree as also does Mr. Holttum. Mr. Corner suggests the genus *Barringtonia* and particularly the species *racemosa*. This is a common riverside tree, he says, with large heavily fragrant flowers that fall off and float on the river, and the large seeds are poisonous, being used as *tuba* or as pig-poison. This is the tree which the Malays call *putat*.

One must, of course, not take the Chinese notices as completely accurate accounts or as written by persons with first-hand knowledge. As Hirth says " the information regarding foreign countries, we must assume, was entered in the chronicles from depositions made by the various foreigners arriving at the Court of China " and " it looks as if the foreigner, on or before being introduced at Court, was subjected to a kind of cross-examination, and that a uniform set of question was addressed to him by means of one or several interpreters " (261, p. 11). Actually, the information about Tchou-po and Tou-po would seem, according to Pelliot, to date from the third century embassy to Funan of K'ang Tai and Chu Ying who gathered as much information as they could about places in the south seas which, however, they did not visit.

Assuming that the tree is reasonably well identified as the *Barringtonia racemosa*, it is, of course, common throughout Malaysia and is not peculiar to Borneo, though it is worthy of note that Low mentions the *Barringtonia* as a feature of the Bornean landscape (249, p. 30).

Summarizing the facts about Tou-po we can say that, while the geographic details point to Borneo rather than Sumatra or Java, the other details are in accord and that Java is ruled out not merely by its geographical position but also by the fact that Tou-po was noted for producing gold, silver and iron.

We shall deal later with the name Tou-po and merely remark here that it can be correlated etymologically with the sound *Java*.

Ye-po-ti. We now reach the fifth century A.D. and Fahien's Ye-po-ti.

We propose first to set before the reader the exact facts as given by Fa-hien and then to submit upon those facts that the one thing most certain is that, wherever it may have been, Ye-po-ti was not Java. We suggest that, however explosive the results may be, this conclusion is inescapable. Gerini reached it and recently Moens has reached it. We reached it ourselves after a study of the facts as to winds and navigation available in sailing directories; and we submitted our views to Mr. Grimes, the Government Meteorologist at the Singapore Air-port, and he has confirmed them in the light of the very accurate knowledge of the winds, which is possessed to-day as the result of air travel. We refer the reader to the accompanying essay by Mr. Grimes and to the wind charts which he exhibits there.

Fa-hien sailed for Ceylon from India from the port of Tamralipti or Tamluk, which was in the present Midnapur district at the mouth of the Hoogly River. After a stay in Ceylon for two years he shipped in 413 A.D. on a large merchant vessel which carried about two hundred men.

The following are the facts as given in the translation by Giles; we have underlined what seem to us to be the most important of them.

" Catching a fair wind, they sailed westward for two¹ days; then they encountered a heavy gale, and the vessel sprang a leak ".

We are told that " the gale blew on for fifteen days and nights, when they arrived alongside of an island ". Here the vessel was beached and the leak was caulked, after which they again put to sea on their journey.

There follow descriptions of the sea, which Fa-hien says was " infested with pirates to meet whom is death ", and of the storm, after which the narrative says " *when the sky had cleared, they were able to tell east from west and again to proceed on their proper course* ; but had they struck a hidden rock, there would have been no way of escape "

Giles then translates thus :—" And so they went on for more than ninety days until they reached a country named Java, where heresies and Brahmanism were flourishing, while the Faith of Buddha was in a very unsatisfactory condition "

Actually, of course, the country was named Ye-po-ti and Beal in his translation adds in brackets after that name " Java, or *perhaps,*² Sumatra "

¹Legge in his translation gives three days; but both Beal and Groeneweldt agree with Giles.

²These italics are in the original and are not mine.—R.B.

Having remained in Ye-po-ti "for five months or so" (that is, of course, Chinese moons) Fa-hien "again shipped in a large merchant vessel which also carried over two hundred persons. They took with them provision for fifty days and set sail on the 16th day of the 4th moon".

"A north-east course was set in order to reach Canton".

The ship sailed on for a month and some days when, during the middle watch of the night, a black squall came upon it and a deluge of rain. This storm went on so that nearly seventy days had elapsed from the time when they sailed and their provisions were almost finished. The merchants consulted together and in his report of their conversation Fa-hien records that they said "the proper time for the voyage to Canton was about fifty days".

The ship was then put upon a north-west course and after twelve days' continuous sail they arrived off the coast of China at Tsing-chow on the borders of the prefecture of Chang-kwang. It was then the 14th day of the 7th moon.

The following important facts, accordingly, are stated by Fa-hien:—

(1) leaving Ceylon the ship sailed eastward on a fair wind for two days;

(2) a storm then arose and after it had abated the ship proceeded on her proper course;

(3) Fa-hien disembarked at Ye-po-ti where he remained for five moons or so;

(4) he sailed from Ye-po-ti for Canton on the 16th day of the 4th moon;

(5) in order to get there a north-east course was set;

(6) the normal maximum for this voyage was fifty days.

Before assessing the results which derive from those facts it is necessary to appreciate the type of ship upon which Fa-hien would have sailed and the prevailing winds above and below the equator.

Fa-hien does not tell us what kind of a ship he used except that it was large enough to carry two hundred men. It would seem that it was not a Chinese but a foreign ship (179, 2, p. 70). Whether it was an Indian ship, or a Chinese or a Persian or a Ceylonese, it most certainly was one which could not sail against a head wind.

Mr. Wilkinson has written recently¹ that "a junk could only run before the wind" but that probably goes too far. At all events we know that Chinese junks in the twelfth century A.D. could use "not only a stern wind, but wind off or towards the shore can also be used. It is only a head-wind which drives them backward. This is called "using the wind of three directions." When there is a head-wind they can heave the anchor and stop" (226, p. 30).

In fairness we must allow for the use to a reasonable extent of a moderate beam wind by Fa-hien's ship.

An examination of Hornell's well-known monograph (41) and a consideration of the facts given by Hirth and Rockhill (226) and Kuwabara (179) make it absolutely clear that, whatever was the kind of ship which carried Fa-hien, it could only have used favourable winds and could not have sailed against a head-wind.

This fact is made even more clear when we study the Asiatic shipping which used to frequent the port of Singapore during the early decades of the last century. Excellent descriptions of these craft will be found in Crawford (84), Earl (253), Davidson (262), Cameron (263) and Finlayson (264). It is clear that none of them could sail against a head-wind and that all of them depended upon the fair winds.

Even the early European-rigged mercantile shipping that carried the trade between India and China could not sail against the NE monsoon up to China and it was for that reason that the so-called opium clippers came into being. Lubbock's book (265) is full of facts about the India-China trade and should be consulted. He points out how the "country ships", as they were called, which carried the trade, could not sail against the NE monsoon so that until the advent of the clippers the commodities of the China trade had to put up with one season only. It was not until January, 1830,² that the first of the opium clippers, the *Red Rover*, designed by Captain Clifton, sailed to China against the NE monsoon. This feat enabled three voyages to be made in twelve months instead of two (one up and one back) as before and was such a boon to the trade that Captain Clifton was presented with £10,000.

Since the ancient sailing ships could only travel upon fair winds, it is obvious that, if we know these winds, we also know the main trade-routes by sea between India and China and in the Malay Archipelago and the Gulf of Siam.

¹See this Journal, vol. XVII, Pt. 1, p. 141.

²Buckley in his *Anecdotal History of Singapore*, vol. 1, pp. 324-5, gives the date wrongly but he was citing from W. H. Read's *Play and Politics* where the mistake was made.

We have already written something about the monsoons north of the equator¹ but we have said nothing as yet concerning those south of it ; nor have we given any detailed information as to the winds in the seas with which we are concerned in this essay.

Since we believe that it is impossible to understand the accounts of ancient sea-voyages and ancient geography without a clear understanding of the main facts about the prevailing monsoons we propose to set out those facts, basing ourselves upon the appropriate Admiralty *Pilots*² and Horsburgh's *India Directory*, 1826.

The prevailing winds over the regions with which we are concerned are determined by natural phenomena and we can be certain that during all relevant periods the facts concerning these winds have been constant, though the knowledge of them and their use has doubtless varied.

These prevailing winds, called monsoons, are determined by the main average distributions of pressure. Thus during the winter of the northern hemisphere while the interior of the continent of Asia is covered by an anticyclone, the winds blow round this anticyclone, in accordance with Buys Ballot's law, in a clockwise direction and inclined outwards. The resulting wind is the NE monsoon, which, speaking generally, blows from October or November until March. In the summer of the northern hemisphere an area of low pressure lies over the continent of Asia and pressure is higher south of the equator. Round this area of low pressure the winds blow counter-clockwise. The resulting wind is the SW monsoon, which, speaking generally, blows from June to September. April and May, and the end of September and the beginning of October are transition months, when the winds are variable. The monsoon winds fluctuate considerably in strength following the variations in the pressure distributions. Squalls are common during both monsoons, the most dangerous being those that are known as arch squalls, when the clouds are seen rising from the horizon in the form of an arch.

But south of the equator the monsoons are not the same. In the northern hemisphere the winds blow clockwise round a high-pressure system and counter-clockwise round a low pressure ; but in the southern hemisphere it is *vice versa*. Hence in the northern winter, when pressure is very high over Central Asia and low over Australia, the gradient of pressure being directed approximately from NNW to SSE across the equator, the NE monsoon of

¹This Journal, vol. XV, Pt. 3, pp. 109-110.

²These are the *Bay of Bengal Pilot*, 1931 ; the *Malacca Strait Pilot*, 1934 ; the *Eastern Archipelago Pilot*, vol. 2, 1934, and 4, 1939 ; the *China Sea Pilot*, vols. 1, 1937, and 2, 1936.

the China seas reaches the equator between 105° and 120° E as a northerly wind and is further deviated on crossing the equator, continuing towards Australia as a NW or WNW wind. This is usually called the NW monsoon and its period of blowing corresponds with that of the NE north of the equator. During the northern summer pressure is low over Central Asia and high over Australia; and a system of SE monsoon winds blow from the direction of Australia, reaching the equator from approximately southward and being further deviated into the SW monsoon of the China Seas.

When, then, the monsoon north of the equator is blowing from the SW it is blowing from the SE south of it; and when it is blowing from the NE north of the equator, it is blowing from the NW south of it.

The India-China trade proceeded upon the monsoons north of the equator. That fact is absolutely certain and it involved the creation of entrepôts since trade, besides following the easiest route, prefers the cheapest methods. A shift of cargo at convenient points on or near the Straits of Malacca was obviously cheaper and more expeditious than carriage right through with the long delay attendant upon changes of wind. The China goods came down on the NE monsoon and, if they were to continue in the same ship to India, they would have to wait somewhere until the wind changed.

Since the India-China trade proceeded upon the monsoons north of the equator, it is inconceivable that any of its entrepôts would have been situated in Java.

In Ptolemy's time there were entrepôts at Takola in the north and Sabana in the south, both of them being in the Golden Chersonese or Malay Peninsula. The northern entrepot doubtless collected the trade from the Gulf of Siam and was served by land-routes across the Malay Peninsula. The southern entrepot besides collecting the trade from China would handle that from the regions south of the equator.

We can get a good idea from what used to go on in Singapore in the early days. The sailing ships from China, Siam and Cochin-China used to arrive on the NE monsoon in January, February and March, and sail back on the SW in April, May or June at the latest. In 1841 a few Chinese junks delayed their departure until the middle of July but several were lost with valuable cargoes and the lesson was not lost upon their successors.¹

¹Buckley, *Anecdotal History of Singapore*, vol. I, p. 323.

Earl notes that the north of Borneo was so situated with respect to the monsoons that voyages to and from Cochin-China could be made with the greatest facility at all times of the year (253, p. 323) and Moor (248, p. 13) says that trade between Singapore and the west coast of Borneo was able to proceed during either monsoon, the *prahus* making two voyages a year, one every six months. Dr. Leyden noted that the Chinese junks came down from Amoy to Pontianak about February and sailed back about June. Crawford in 1822 on his mission to Siam sailed from Singapore during the NE monsoon on February 27th and after passing Cape Rumenia and Pedro Branca stood across to Borneo, the high land of which he sighted on March 2nd, on which day the noon observation gave 1° 33' N., twenty miles to windward of the mouth of the Sambas River, "between which and that of Pontiana lies the country so well known in these parts for its extensive production of gold. We had no sooner approached the coast of Borneo, than the water became smooth, the winds variable, and there was no longer a southerly current" (84, 1, p. 89). The ship then went about and sailing past High Island or Sapata¹, the most southern of the Natunas, stood for Pulau Obi and Cambodia.

It is obvious, then, that the west coast of Borneo would have been favourably situated for a southern entrepot of the India-China trade.

Bugis craft from Celebes and elsewhere in the Malay Archipelago came to Singapore in October and November.

Let us now see what results from the six facts about Fa-hien's voyage which we have set out.

The first of those facts tells us that Fa-hien was making for the Straits of Malacca. The favourable wind was obviously the SW monsoon. We know that he sailed from Ye-po-ti on the 16th day of the 4th moon which would have been in May. He had stayed there for five moons or so and therefore would have arrived in December or perhaps November. He was at least 90 days getting from Ceylon to Ye-po-ti; therefore he could not have left Ceylon later than September or August.

At Ceylon the SW monsoon begins about the middle of May as a rule but in the Bay of Bengal it is not fully established until the latter half of June. This monsoon is stronger on the eastern coasts than on the western coasts of Ceylon. August is a fine month with fresh winds from SW to WSW veering at times to WNW between Galle and Colombo. In September fresh WSW winds prevail.

¹Not the better known Sapata in the Catwick group.

It is then clear that the favourable wind upon which Fa-hien's ship sailed east for two days was a westerly wind and the dates show that, when he sailed, it was still the time of the SW monsoon.

Upon an eastward course with a westerly wind it is clear that Fa-hien was not bound for Java but for the Straits of Malacca; in other words, he was on the normal sea-route for China. We would remind the reader of what we have already written as to that¹ and would add the following passage from Gerini (46, p. 607):—"it would manifestly be absurd that Fa-hien, in order to go to China, should take the round-about route by way of Java, especially as there is no evidence whatever as to such a remote and difficult route, requiring considerable skill in seamanship, ever having been used until the advent of European navigators in the Archipelago. I-tsing,² who mentions several itineraries to and fro from India and China, never speaks of passages through Sunda Strait, nor does any Arab or Chinese author or traveller, even up to the days of Chao-Ju-Kua and Ibn Batuta³. It is only when we come to the oft-quoted Chinese chart of about A.D. 1399 published by Phillips⁴, that we find a route marked through Sunda Strait and thence along the whole length of the west coast of Sumatra to Acheh or Lambri, unaccompanied, however, by any sailing directions, which is a proof that it was as yet but imperfectly known and seldom used. On the contrary, the real and only route from India and Ceylon to China is laid down in the same map through the Malacca Strait. I have accordingly come to the conclusion that no ship ever proceeded from India to China *via* Sunda Strait until the advent of the Portuguese in the eastern seas".

In the days of sailing ships the winds were the seamen's roads and they show that Gerini was right quite apart from the facts which he adduces. An examination of the navigational books will show the difficulties involved in the use of the Sunda Strait by sailing ships from India and Ceylon and the pointlessness of it as compared with the easy passage through the Straits of Malacca. Moens appears to think that the Sunda Strait may have been used for the India-China trade (241, pp. 3, n. 3; 8; 19) but there is no evidence of this and plenty of reason against it.

Only to ships from Africa could Sunda Strait have presented any attraction as a gateway to China.

¹This Journal, vol. XV, Pt. 3, p. 108.

²In the seventh century A.D.

³In the twelfth and fourteenth centuries A.D. respectively.

⁴This is the *Wu pei pi shu* chart, see Mills, J.R.A.S., M.B., 1937, Vol. XV, Pt. 3, pp. 1-48.

For the old India-China trade only three routes were used, so the evidence shows, until the advent of European sailors *viz*: (1) by land only, (2) by sea, across the Malay Peninsula, and again by sea, (3) by sea only. Ptolemy shows that the sea-route in his time went *via* the Straits of Malacca and we have already set out evidence of the use of land-routes across the Peninsula linking the Gulf of Siam with the Indian Ocean and Straits of Malacca.

By Fa-hien's time the sea-route was fully organized and there is evidence of the use of it by Indian monks and by Chinese monks from Fa-hien to I Tsing in the seventh century A.D. as to which the reader should consult Mukherji (245) and Anesaki (266).

It cannot be over-emphasized that the all-sea route from India and Ceylon to China was through the Straits of Malacca from Ptolemy's time until the coming of the Portuguese at all events.

Our second main fact tells us that after the storm had abated the ship got back upon its proper course. Beal and Groeneveldt in their translations make this even more clear since they write "at length, the weather clearing up, *they got their bearings and once more shaped a proper course*"¹ (242), p. 1 XXX; 148, p. 132).

Nevertheless, Schlegel (174, X, p. 248) in 1899 wrote as follows:—"The old name of Java was *Yava dvipa*, the Island of Millet, a name given to it by the first Hindu colonists. In Prakrit this was pronounced *Yavadiu*, the Iabadiou of Ptolemy, and *Yava di* of Fa-hien, who was accidentally driven by storm to Java in A.D. 414, although he intended to pass by the Strait of Malacca on his voyage home to China from Ceylon".

It will be noted that, while admitting the proper course and clearly recognizing the difficulty of getting Fa-hien to Java, Schlegel, who began with a *petitio principii*, distorted his facts to save it.

So, too, does a modern writer, Chang (154, p. 5, n. 5) in a passage published in 1934; "The Chinese name is Yeh-p'o-t'i which has been identified with Yawadwi(pa), an old sanscrit form for Java, and this identification has been generally accepted. Recently G. Ferrand declared that Yeh-p'o-t'i must be Sumatra and not Java, because the route between Ceylon and Canton went along the coast of Palembang (Journal Asiatique, 11; 20, 1922, p. 221). The chief objection to Ferrand's opinion is that Yawadwipa, from which Yeh-p'o-t'i is derived, has never been used for Sumatra. On account of the adverse weather, the ship of Fa-hien diverged from its course so that we cannot expect it to have followed the ordinary route."

¹My italics.—R. B.

Quite apart from Fa-hien's definite statement that the ship was on its proper course, a knowledge of the prevailing winds makes it impossible to see how the storm which arose could possibly have driven Fa-hien's ship to Java or have caused it to have diverged there from its ordinary course.

We have seen that Fa-hien must have left Ceylon in August or September, *i.e.* on the SW monsoon, and he did not reach Ye-po-ti until December or perhaps November when the NE monsoon was blowing north of the equator. The fair season for sailing in the Straits of Malacca is the NE monsoon. Therefore Fa-hien was going on one favourable monsoon intending to pick up the other. Had he been intending to sail through the Sunda Strait he would have started upon the NE monsoon when he would have had the NW below the equator. During this latter monsoon the prevailing winds along the west coast of Sumatra down to Sunda Strait from November to March are from W to NW and that is also the best season for passing through the Sunda Strait.

When, therefore, Fa-hien's ship got back upon its proper course, it got back on the normal sea-route through the Straits of Malacca. The storm into which he ran was a natural phenomenon since in the month of September there is an average of two cyclonic storms in the Bay of Bengal, their direction being generally westward. Such storms could not possibly have driven Fa-hien to Java or have caused his ship to diverge there from its normal course.

Our third fact tells us that Fa-hien disembarked at Ye-po-ti where he remained for five moons or so.

The first thing that strikes one from the evidence is that Fa-hien went deliberately to Ye-po-ti. His language tells us that. He says that his ship proceeded upon its proper course after the storm abated and that in due course he disembarked at Ye-po-ti. He gives no explanation of why he came to be there or why he disembarked there. The inference is that Ye-po-ti was a normal place at which to disembark and that he intended to reach this place when he left Ceylon. Moens also reads the evidence in this way though there is a misprint in the translation of "Ferrand" for "Fa-hien" (241, p. 48).

Then why did Fa-hien disembark at Ye-po-ti? and why did he wait there for five moons or so? The answer is, obviously, that he was waiting for the change of monsoons and that Ye-po-ti was an entrepot.

In the southern part of the South China Sea the NE monsoon is not established southward of lat. 5° N. until November or, sometimes, December, reaching its greatest force in January and February. In the northern part it starts in the early part of

October and has its greatest strength and regularity in December and January. In Singapore it is usually established in November or December and is most regular in January and February.

The SW monsoon generally begins in the second half of April and a little later in the northern part of the South China Sea but its time of commencement is variable. It begins to be felt in May and is established by the second half of that month in the southern part of the South China Sea and on the coast of Borneo. Further north it is established during June. Its maximum development is in June, July and August.

It seems clear that Fa-hien left Ceylon on a trader bound for Ye-po-ti, that he left on the SW monsoon and arrived on the NE, and that he had to wait for the change of monsoons until he could start for China.

The action of the winds always necessitated a wait somewhere for the change of monsoons whether coming from India or Ceylon to China or coming from China to Ceylon or India.

Where then was Ye-po-ti?

Our fourth and fifth facts provide the answer. They tell us that Fa-hien set sail on the 16th day of the 4th moon from Ye-po-ti to Canton and that a NE course was set. It will be remembered that the ship continued on this course for a month and some days, when it ran into a bad storm after which it changed course NW and reached China.

These facts tell us clearly that Fa-hien set forth on the SW monsoon and therefore that Ye-po-ti was north of the equator.

If Ye-po-ti had been in Java, then the monsoon would have been blowing steadily from ESE in May and Fa-hien's ship, even if it could have sailed on such a wind, could not have set a direct course for Canton by sailing NE. The ship would have had to pass through Carimata Strait and get into the South China Sea before she could have set a NE course for Canton. We must not, of course, take the NE as exact. It means merely that the ship sailed upon the SW monsoon and so went NE. We suggest that upon Fa-hien's evidence it is certain that Ye-po-ti was not in Java but somewhere served by the NE monsoon. Moens rightly says that if Fa-hien " had left Java for Canton his captain could not have left in a north-eastern direction and he could not have kept to his course during 1½ months. He would either have landed in Borneo or should have taken a northern course in the beginning " (241, p. 48). He suggests that Fa-hien disembarked on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula, crossed it and sailed from Ligor. He says that " though Fa-hien's reports prove to us that Ye-p'o-t'i represents Malaya, there is no proof that he travelled *via* Java " (*ibid.*).

With regard to Moens' theory that Ye-po-ti represents Malaya, or the part of it in which there was land communication with Ligor, we must remember that for this to be so Fa-hien must have landed at some spot on the west coast and crossed to another on the east so as to sail direct to Canton upon a NE course. That means that we should have to invent evidence since Fa-hien makes no mention of it: indeed, the language of his narrative contradicts it. The next difficulty is that the time from Ceylon to Ye-po-ti would become impossibly long. The last difficulty is that if his ship had been sailing from the region of Ligor for Canton it would not have sailed direct to the spot where the storm hit it. The other and more usual route would have been taken along the coasts of Indo-China. We shall have more to say about this latter route.

Gerini and Ferrand thought that Ye-po-ti was where Palembang is to-day because they thought that Bhoga (or Fo-che), which in the time of I Tsing was one of the southern entrepôts of the China-India trade, was situated there. But assuming that Bhoga was Palembang, which is not absolutely certain as we shall see in due course, Fa-hien's time factors would not suit that place very well. The statement in the *Eastern Archipelago Pilot*, vol. IV, p. 9, that NE winds prevail in Palembang in May and June is incorrect, so Mr. Grimes informs us. Had it been correct, it is obvious, of course, that Fa-hien could not have sailed in the 4th moon from there for Canton. There is this objection to Palembang that before any direct course could be set for Canton the ship would have to work its way out of the river and round the island of Banka. Palembang is some $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of latitude south of the equator and we suggest that any place south of the equator is impossible for Ye-po-ti: it must have been north of the equator. It would, moreover, be quite illogical to assume that because Bhoga was an entrepôt towards the end of the seventh century A.D. it was also one at the beginning of the fifth.

Everything points to Borneo and the region of Kuching, and, if that is so, Fa-hien's data will correlate with those of Ptolemy as to Iabadiou and the Chinese notices as to Tchou-po and Tou-po.

If Ye-po-ti was in Borneo, then it must have been in an important district and in some part from which a course could have been set direct for Canton and for that reason we have suggested the region where Kuching is to-day. It would also fit in with Fa-hien's times from Ceylon because after standing across from Singapore Strait to the Pontianak-Sambas region Capes Api and Datu would have to be rounded.

Our last fact tells us that Ye-po-ti was normally a maximum distance of 50 days from Canton: and that would fit in well enough with Kuching. Gerini allows 50 miles a day for Fa-hien's ship but in provisioning they would have to allow for bad weather and carry enough for a maximum time.

It is a noticeable fact that the date when Fa-hien sailed, viz : the 16th of the 4th moon, coincides with the time when the SW monsoon usually sets in properly on the coast of Borneo. He had valuable books which he was taking back to China to translate and was doubtless impatient to get home. He evidently took one of the first ships sailing, if not the very first.

As for the name Ye-po-ti, all are agreed that it is the Chinese equivalent of the Prakrit *Yavadiu* and, therefore, is the equivalent of the Greek *Iabadiou*. It, therefore, is correlated with the sound *Yava*.

Cho-po. We pass now to the story of Gunavarman and the identification of his Cho-po, for which as usual there are other transcriptions such as Schlegel's Shay-po, Gerini's She-po and Hirth and Rockhill's Sho-po.

Gunavarman was a Kshatriya and his ancestors were hereditary rulers of Kashmir but from his youth he devoted himself to the religious life. When he was thirty he was offered the throne of Kashmir but he refused it and went to Ceylon and later Cho-po where Brahmanism was flourishing. When he arrived at Cho-po he was welcomed by the king's mother who had dreamed of his arrival. Owing to the ascendancy which he gained over her he converted her and the king to Buddhism. This king's name is given as P'o-to-k'ia. Shortly after this the soldiers of a neighbouring country, the name of which we are not told, invaded Cho-po and the king asked Gunavarman for advice. The enemy was repelled but the king received an arrow wound which Gunavarman cured. The king became more and more religious until finally he wished to abdicate. His ministers, however, implored him not to and finally he was persuaded to retain his throne ; but he made three conditions which were accepted and of these one was that throughout his kingdom Gunavarman should be obeyed. After this Buddhism became the religion of the whole kingdom and the king built a monastery for Gunavarman whose reputation spread so that neighbouring kingdoms sent messengers inviting him to visit them. In 424 A.D. monks from China came to see Gunavarman whom they persuaded to visit that country. He embarked in that year for Canton upon a ship belonging to an Indian named Nandi and he remained in China where he died at Nanking in 431 A.D.

Chavannes thinks that the conversion of Cho-po to Buddhism occurred in 423 A.D. but unfortunately the narrative gives no dates prior to 424 A.D. and we do not know how long Gunavarman lived in Cho-po.

Even more unfortunately the narrative gives no indication whatever of the situation of Cho-po or of the routes taken by Gunavarman except that he sailed direct from Cho-po to Canton.

The narrative says that his ship had intended to go first to a "small kingdom", which is not named, but, a favourable wind rising, it went direct to Canton. That wind, of course, would have been mainly the SW monsoon. It appears, therefore, that Gunavarman's Cho-po must probably have been north of the equator. The small kingdom is usually stated to have been Champa which is quite probable though, of course, it is merely a guess. What is meant in the statement that Gunavarman's ship intended first to go to "a small kingdom" is that the original intention had been to take the coastal route along the shores of Indo-China. We have already referred to this route and shall have more to say later.

There is more information as to Cho-po in the fifth century A.D. Ma Tuan-lin under the heading of Che-po or Tou-po, as transcribed by de Saint Denys, says that during the First Sung dynasty a king, whose name in Chinese seems to represent something like Sri-pada-dhara or dvara-varman sent an embassy to China in 435 A.D. and that thereafter Chinese relations with this country were interrupted until the great Sung dynasty, the next date given being 992 A.D. (230, p. 499).

Groeneveldt gives a short passage from the *Sung Shu* which refers to this embassy of 435 A.D. (148, p. 135). In his transcription of the name of the country as Ja-va-da Groeneveldt was rendering the Chinese Cho-po-po-ta which, as explained by Pelliot and now generally accepted, must have been a mistake caused by running together the names of two separate states, Cho-po and Po-ta (129, pp. 273-4). Pelliot refers to a number of passages in Chinese works which have not been translated and mentions the names of Cho-po-ta, Cho-po-po-ta and Cho-po-so-ta. Ma Tuan-lin has a short notice of Po-ta in which he says that the king of that country named Che-li-po-ling-kia-pa-mo sent ambassadors with various products of the country in 449 A.D. and again in 451 A.D. (230, p. 508). Gerini gives an embassy from Po-ta in the period of 420-3 A.D. (46, p. 541). There is no indication of the geographical situation of Po-ta and it can, therefore, only be noted as a name occurring in the fifth century A.D.

Pelliot (129, p. 271) and Schlegel (174, X, p. 251) both cite the *Pien-i-tien* section of the *T'u shu chi ch'eng*¹, an encyclopaedia compiled about 1700 A.D., which gives embassies from Cho-po in 433 and 435 A.D.

The above seem to be the only available references to Cho-po itself in the fifth century A.D. but there are further references to a kingdom called Ho-lo-tan which was situated in the *chou* (island or continent) of Cho-po.

¹In the last part of this essay we wrote the name in the French way (*ibid.*: p. 192).

Ho-lo-tan. Ma Tuan-lin has a notice of Ho-lo-tan in which he says that in 430 A.D. it sent ambassadors who offered " a diamond mounted in a ring, parrots, Indian and Ye-po clothes, etc." (230, p. 505). Pelliot gives a passage from the *Sung Shu* which Ma Tuan-lin was evidently quoting: it says that the gifts were diamond (*kin-kang*) rings, red parrots, coarse (*ki-pei*) and fine (*po-tie*) cotton goods from India and cottons from Ye-po, which Pelliot considered to have been Gandhara in India (129, pp. 271-2). Moens, however, disagrees with Pelliot and thinks that Ye-po is really Cho-po but his reasoning is not very convincing (241, p. 18, n. 3). The mention of Indian cloth, however, is important because it shows that Ho-lo-tan had trade relations with India and the mention of diamonds shows that quite probably it was a diamond-producing country. In this last connection it is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the one and only place in Malaysia famous for diamonds is Borneo. These diamonds come from near the region where we have located Fa-hien's Ye-po-ti.

Ma Tuan-lin says that Ho-lo-tan is situated in the island of Cho-po or Tou-po. Majumdar (181, p. 103) refers to a passage from the *Sung Shu* which says that " the state of Ho-lo-tan ruled over the island of Cho-p'o ". He is obviously referring to Schlegel's translation (174, x, p. 159). Schlegel, it should be noted, writes the name as Ka-la-tan. Gerini cites an article by Parker in the *China Review*, vol. XVI, p. 301, which contains a reference from the *Pei-wen yun-fu*¹ that says " The state of Ho-lo-tan has its capital at *She-p'o chou* ". Parker in another article in the same Review, vol. XIII, p. 384, translates from the same source " The capital of Ho-lo-tan is on Java island " (46, p. 469, n. 3). Neither of these volumes of the *China Review* is available in Singapore.

Ma Tuan-lin says that in 433 A.D. the king of Ho-lo-tan, whose name was Pi-cha-pa-mo (Vaisavarman, according to Schlegel, or Visvavarman, according to Gerini) sent to the Emperor a letter, the text of which he records, and he adds that " some years later the prince who wrote this letter was deposed by his own son ". The letter shows Buddhist influences. In 436 A.D. envoys arrived again from Ho-lo-tan and in 449 A.D. the Emperor issued a decree in which he praised the three sovereigns of Ho-lo-tan, Po-hoang and Po-ta. Finally, says Ma Tuan-lin, a grandee of Ho-lo-tan, named Po-ho-cha-mi (Vara-svami, according to Gerini) came as ambassador in 452 A.D.

Schlegel refers to various passages in the *Sung Shu* relating to the same facts as those in Ma Tuan-lin but he does not translate them and he substitutes Pahang and Padar for Po-hoang and Po-ta.

¹This was a large dictionary published in 1711 A.D.

Pelliot says that, in addition to the embassies given above, the *Sung Shu* mentions others in 434 and 437 A.D. but he does not translate these passages (129, p. 262, n. 2). These doubtless are the embassies to which the dates 433 and 436 A.D. are assigned in the translation of Ma Tuan-lin.

These notices of Cho-po and Ho-lo-tan give us no clue whatsoever as to their geographical situation.

Po-hoang. Ma Tuan-lin (230, p. 507) has a notice of Po-hoang which comes between his notices of Ho-lo-tan and Po-ta. He tells us that in 449 A.D. the king whose name was Che-li-po-lo-pa-mo (Sri-pala-varma, according to Schlegel, or Sri Balavarman, according to Gerini) sent ambassadors with forty one different products of the country, unfortunately not specified. The Emperor bestowed titles and acknowledged the ruler as King of Po-hoang. In 451 and 456 A.D. "the same prince" sent further embassies. In 459 A.D. the king of Po-hoang (presumably a different one as the words "the same prince" are not used) sent red and white parrots. In 463 and 466 A.D. fresh embassies appeared.

Schlegel translates a passage from the *Nan-shi* very similar to that in Ma Tuan-lin and says that it occurs also in the *Sung Shu* with some slight variations of characters in some of the names (174, X, pp. 39-40). An embassy in 464 A.D. is given by Schlegel and there is mention of the "great historians" Da Napati and Da Surawan, as given by Schlegel, who led the embassies of 456 and 466 A.D. respectively.

Gerini (46, p. 541) gives an embassy from Po-hoang in the period 420-3 A.D. at the same time as that of Po-ta and he says that he derives these from the article by Parker in the *China Review*, vol. XIII, p. 337.

None of these notices give any indication whatsoever as to the geographical situation of Po-hoang.

After the fifth century A.D. the names of Ho-lo-tan, Po-hoang and Po-ta disappear save for an incidental reference to Ho-lo-tan in the *Sui Shu* to which we shall refer later.

Summarizing the historical facts we have then :—

- (1) evidence of the kingdom of Cho-po in 424, 430, 433 and 435 A.D. ;
- (2) evidence of the kingdom of Po-ta in 420-3, 435, 449 and 451 A.D. ;

- (3) evidence of the kingdom of Ho-lo-tan in 430, 433, 436, 449 and 452 A.D. ;
- (4) evidence of the kingdom of Po-hoang in 420-3, 449, 451, 456, 459, 463 and 466 A.D.

All we know geographically about these states is that Ho-lo-tan was on the island of Cho-po and that Cho-po must have been north of the equator. Whether Ho-lo-tan ruled over Cho-po or not, it seems clear that the latter was the name of an island and also a kingdom. This is proved by the fact that in 433 A.D. the king of Cho-po has a quite different name from that of the king of Ho-lo-tan in the same year.

Cho-po. Apart from the general acceptations of the fact, the identity of Gunavarman's Cho-po with Fa-hien's Ye-po-ti would seem to be a permissible deduction. Each of them sailed to a place in the south seas from which it was possible to sail direct to Canton, Fa-hien leaving it in 414 A.D. and Gunavarman in 424 A.D. One name correlates with the sound *Yava* and the other with the sound *Java*. When Fa-hien was in Ye-po-ti it was not a Buddhist country but he converted it. The reasoning is, of course, weak but the deduction is a possible one.

Where was Cho-po? Chinese geographers very many centuries later identified it with the present island of Java and with the Cho-po of the Sung dynasty. It has, however, been pointed out so often by Pelliot, Gerini, Schlegel and others that such identifications are quite worthless as evidence that it is unnecessary to say more than that.

Ferrand in 1919 wrote most strangely concerning Ye-po-ti that "in the absence of any indication as to the route followed, we must presume that the voyage was made direct from Ceylon to the Strait of Sunda. Ten years later, Gunavarman took the same route" (144, XIV, p. 50). At that time Ferrand accepted the view that Ye-po-ti was Java. In 1922, of course, he changed his view and took it to be Sumatra but we cite the passage as illustrative of the strange way in which facts are so often ignored by the leading authorities upon the ancient geography of Malaysia. There is every indication of Fa-hien's route to Ye-po-ti and absolutely none of Gunavarman's to Cho-po; yet Ferrand wrote of the latter as though it were certain and said of the former that there was no indication. Even in 1922 when Ferrand was identifying Ye-po-ti as Sumatra he wrote the strange statement that "from Ceylon to Canton the usual route passes by Che-li-fo-che, that is to say the Strait of Sunda and Palembang. Tcheou K'iu-fei shows that clearly in the twelfth century and there is no reason to think that such was not the route of the sailors of the fifth

century. Yavadvipa then indicates Sumatra and not Java" (140, p. 155). Tcheou K'iu-fei¹ whom he quotes a few pages later (p. 160) does not support him in the least and the whole passage is wild since the route *via* Che-li-fo-che was quite clearly through the Strait of Malacca and not the Sunda Strait as we shall see when we reach I Tsing. Moreover, Tcheou K'iu-fei or Chou K'iu-fei, wrote in 1178 A.D. and nothing can be more clear than that at that time the China-India sea-route was, as always, *via* the Straits of Malacca.

Ferrand in this same essay (pp. 167-7) cites the astronomer Aryabhata, who was born in 476 A.D., where he says in his *Aryabhatiyam* (VI, verse 13) "when the sun rises in Ceylon it sets in the town of the Happy (in the Fortunate Islands 180° longitude west of Ceylon); it is midday at the point of Yava (Yavakoti) and midnight in the country of the Romans." He is translating from Kern who identified Yavakoti with Yava = Java but Ferrand says that it could as well be Sumatra. He then cites Kern who translated another passage about Yavakoti from the *Surya-Siddhanta* where it is said that the ramparts and gates of Yavakoti were made of gold. And he says that "Kern adds in his commentary that "these ramparts and gates of gold seem to be an embellishment borrowed from the Ramayana" and concluded that we lack indications to decide whether it is Java or Sumatra". Ferrand thought that it was the latter.

Chatterjee has translated the passage from the *Surya-Siddhanta*, which he says is an astronomical work which can be dated back to the fifth century A.D. though in its present form it dates from the eleventh, thus:—"At quarter of the circumference of the earth, eastwards in the land of Bhadrashva (the Eastern Division of the earth) is the famous *nagari* Yavakoti with golden walls and gates" (192, p. 25). Moens refers to the *Surya-Siddhanta* as being of the fourth century A.D. (241, p. 56). He puts forward the very interesting view that the name of Funan from olden times was Yava and that Yavakoti is a much older name for the later Yamakota, standing for Yamanagara or Ligor (*ibid*: p. 56). His reasoning, however, is open to much criticism. Kern, according to Moens, thought that Yavakoti lay at the east end of Java or in Koetei.

Ferrand also located Cho-po in Sumatra (252, p. 1182).

Majumdar considers Cho-po to have been Java but admits that the correctness of that identification cannot be regarded as absolutely certain (181, p. 102).

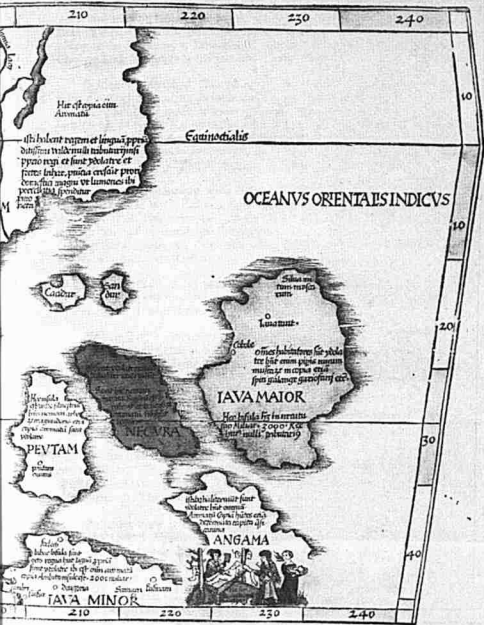
Gerini (46, p. 516) thought that She-p'o, as he wrote the name, "is now conclusively proved to be part of the Malay Peninsula below the Kra Isthmus, which formed its northernmost limit."

¹Author of the *Ling-wai-tai-ta*.

INDIA OR



Ptolemy 1535. India Orientalis.



Printed by Melchior and Gaspar, Treschel, Lyons.

Po-hoang, Po-ta and Ho-lo-tan he takes to be respectively Pahang (46, p. 500 n. 1.), a place on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula abreast of Chumphon (*ibid* : p. 541); and the Krut district on the west coast of the Gulf of Siam or Gurot in the Ghirbi district on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula or "possibly, though it seems very unlikely" Kelantan (*ibid* : p. 469, n. 3). But he thought that Ya-po-ti, as he wrote it, was Sumatra since he took that place to be Ptolemy's Iabadiou. Gerini, therefore, thought that Cho-po and Ye-po-ti were not the same places.

Schlegel identified Cho-po with the Malay Peninsula upon etymological reasoning which Pelliot is considered to have exploded. Schlegel made a most definite identification of Ho-lo-tan (which he wrote as Ka-la-tan) as Kelantan but his reasoning is not logical and is based upon the resemblance or fancied resemblance between the names. Moreover, as Pelliot notes, there are two villages in Borneo called Kalatan : so why not choose them ?

Schlegel's reasoning with regard to Po-hoang is even weaker. He identifies it with Pahang and says that after the fifth century A.D. the next reference to it is in 1377 A.D. when, however, it is known to the Chinese as Panggang, as he writes it¹. Pelliot (129, p. 272) observes that this identification is uncertain which seems an understatement.

Linehan (220, p. 2) says that Pahang is the Khmer word for "tin" ; he makes no reference to the fifth century Po-hoang which evidently he does not consider to have been Pahang.

Majumdar, unfortunately, has accepted Schlegel's identification of Po-hoang (181, p. 77) though not his identification of Ho-lo-tan or Cho-po. Majumdar thinks that Ho-lo-tan represents the kingdom in western Java ruled over by Purnavarman (*ibid* : p. 112) and that Cho-po is Java.

Before going any further let us consider the etymological side of the questions which we have been considering.

No argument can arise as to Yava-dvipa, Ye-tiao, Iabadiou or Ye-po-ti. The first is sanskrit and the last three are transcriptions of the prakrit *Yavadivu* or *Yavadiu*. All four lead, therefore, to the sound *Yava*.

Pelliot's view is that Cho-po, Tchou-po and Tou-po all represent the sound *Djava*, *i.e.* Java ; but Schlegel considered Cho-po to represent *Djava* or *Djapa*, meaning the China rose or hibiscus. Pelliot has a long discussion of the matter in which he disagrees with Schlegel and concludes that Cho-po is a transcription of a

¹Ferrand (144, XIII, pp. 283-4) gives transcriptions for Pahang as P'eng-leng, P'eng-k'ang, P'eng-heng.

place-name which had the sound *Java* (129, pp. 287-9) and Pelliot's view is generally accepted. Pelliot, however, admitted that if Tchou-po and Tou-po were the same, "their common identification with Java is embarrassed by the ancient pronunciation of *po* with a guttural final" (129, p. 278) and Moens observes that "instead of seeing in "Java" the original name it is evident that one should recognize the name Toubouc or Tabouk, the old name of Kota Baru the most powerful city of the later Moros of Mindanao which city would answer to all given data and would be geographically correct" (241, pp. 33-4).

If Pelliot's views are accepted, then the three toponyms Cho-po, Tchou-po and Tou-po give us the sound *Java*; but the matter can hardly be said to be certain. So far as we know, nobody has considered the sound *Saba* in relation to them.

From this etymology some curious facts obtrude themselves. We have Ptolemy in the second century A.D. giving a greek transcription of the prakrit name *Yavadiu*, we have the Chinese notice of the embassy of 132 A.D. from Ye-tiao using a chinese transcription of the same prakrit name and we have Fa-hien at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. using another chinese transcription of the same prakrit name. This would seem to show that from the second to the fifth century A.D. the prakrit place-name *Yavadiu* was in use; and one wonders how this fact fits in with the dates which palaeographers have assigned to the earliest sanskrit inscriptions of Greater India.

It is again curious that if Tou-po, Tchou-po and Cho-po represent the sound *Java* and, if they refer to the same place as Yavadvipa, Ye-tiao, Iabadiou and Ye-po-ti, we should get two different sounds for the same place. Why should the second century *Yava* in Ye-tiao and Iabadiou become the third century *Java* in Tchou-po and Tou-po? Why should Fa-hien give the equivalent of the former, and the *Sung Shu* and Gunavarman's story that of the latter?

Is it possible that the bad pronunciation of sanskrit in Malaysia (40, p. 39) also applied to prakrit and that *Java* was the local coarse way of pronouncing *Yava*? and that the Chinese seamen took back to China the former whereas the scholarly Fa-hien, who had been so long in India, used the latter?

Pelliot's discussion of the name Java should be carefully studied (129, pp. 265-9).

The conclusion would seem to be that on the phonetic evidence we are not necessarily driven to hold that Yavadvipa, Ye-tiao, Iabadiou, Tou-po, Tchou-po, Ye-po-ti and Cho-po are one and the same place.

Let us now consider the identifications proposed by Moens and his reasoning.

In the first place he emphasizes (241, p. 21) the fact which we have already mentioned in this essay that the name Java did not always apply to the same place throughout the centuries before it finally crystallized upon the present island of that name. That fact seems to be generally admitted at this date and it destroys the main line of Pelliot's reasoning in 1904 which was based upon the constancy of the name.

Moens summarizes his views in the following paragraph:—

“ Though Fa-hien's reports prove to us that Ye-po-ti represents Malaya, there is no proof that he travelled *via* Java. We deduce that the 5th century Kelantan was in Cho-p'o, the 6th century Tch'e-t'ou in the vicinity of Patalung and it is probable that the 5th century Yava-dvipa of Fa-hien represents the 5th century Cho-p'o (Malaya). Gunavarman the Buddhist Kashmirian monk who stayed in Cho-p'o until 424 A.D. from where he went to China *via* Champa likewise travelled from Ceylon *via* Malaya. This appears to have been the centuries old normal route to China when the Straits of Malacca were not in use, and the journey was *via* Kra, Trang, Kedah overland from Malaya's west coast. Fa-hien travelled *via* Ligor, and Gunavarman *via* Kedah; the first mentioned met few compatriots (hinayanists) and many renegade Brahmins. The second journeyed *via* a purely Buddhist city. We may assume the identity of Yavadvipa = Ye-po-ti = Malaya and bear in mind Ptolemy's report of 132 A.D. that the route in the 2nd century passed through Malaya and that this “ island ” was called Iabadiou, a faithful Greek transcription of the name Yavadvipa ” (230, pp. 48-9).

Moens' identification of Cho-po as the Malay Peninsula is based upon his identification of Ho-lo-tan, or Ko-lo-tan as he writes it, as Kelantan (*ibid*: p. 22). In examining the reasons for this latter identification (*ibid*: pp. 18-19) there would seem to be a slip either in the translation or the original. As translated Moens says that “ Pelliot believes that Ko-lo-tan, on the island of Cho-p'o, is identical with Kelantan ” (p. 18) but in a footnote he says that Pelliot believed this identification to be problematical, and that is correct (129, p. 272). Actually Pelliot rejected it because he went on to show the unsoundness of the reasoning upon which the view had been suggested by Schlegel who was the propounder of it.

Moens points out that the native name for Kelantan is Kalatan (p. 17) and Mr. Anker Rentse in a letter to the writer says that “ the ordinary raiyat of Kelantan always refers to his country as *Kelatan*. But considering the local dialect, which tends to cut

words short in the pronunciation, this fact may be used in an argument against the spelling of *Kelatan*. However, we have another proof in favour of *Kelatan* (see J.R.A.S.M.B., vol. XII, Pt. 2, 1934, p. 55), the Kelantan Gold Coin (see also illustrations, Plate XVIII, Fig. 1 and 2, J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XIV, Pt. 3, 1936). The inscription in Jawi shows clearly (كلتن) (K. l. t. n. = Kelatan). These gold coins are more than 200 years old".

The first certain references of the Chinese to Kelantan, however, show it clearly as *Kilantan* and not *Kelatan* (226, p. 62, 65). Moreover, the variant Ko-lo-tan for Ho-lo-tan is unusual and the latter was undoubtedly the true name of the state, not the former.

The phonetic identification is, therefore, problematical and the geographic identification upon which Moens also bases himself depends upon the reference to Ho-lo-tan which occurs in the *Sui Shu* and which we shall consider later.

The passage which we have set out above in which Moens summarizes his views is open to the answers that there is no proof at all in Fa-hien's reports that Ye-po-ti represented Malaya; that there is no evidence at all that Fa-hien passed through Ligor; that there is no evidence at all as to Gunavarman's route (except that he went direct to Canton) or that he travelled *via* Malaya; that Ptolemy most clearly gives a route down the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, round the bottom of it and up the east coast; that Iabadiou is a faithful greek transcription not of the sanskrit *Yavadvipa* but of the prakrit *Yavadiu*; and that Ptolemy's Iabadiou being quite a different place from his Golden Chersonese could not possibly have been the Malay Peninsula and Moens himself admits that the latter was the Peninsula (p. 47).

Summary.

Returning again to the seven toponyms which we have been considering we can summarize the dominant facts as follows :

(1) the Yava-dvipa of the *Ramayana* was famous for gold and silver and contained gold mines; beyond it was a mountain named Çiçira, the abode of gods and devils, the summit of which touched the sky; and in Yava-dvipa were seven kingdoms;

(2) the Iabadiou of Ptolemy was famous for its fertility and its gold; it was well to the east of the Malay Peninsula; its capital Argyre was situated at its western extremity which was considerably to the south of its eastern extremity;

(3) Ye-tiao is nothing but a name;

(4) Tchou-po was on a great island east of Funan (Cambodia and Cochin-China) in the South China Sea ;

(5) Tou-po was an island east of Funan (Cambodia and Cochin-China) in the South China Sea ; it was famous for iron, silver and gold ; and it contained more than ten kingdoms ;

(6) Ye-po-ti was a place from which it was possible to sail direct to Canton upon the SW monsoon ;

(7) Cho-po was an island containing at least two kingdoms, one of which was called Ho-lo-tan, and from Cho-po ships could sail direct to Canton ; Ho-lo-tan very possibly was a diamond-producing country.

Conclusions.

We suggest that the following are proper deductions to be made from the evidence concerning the seven toponyms which we have been considering :—

(a) the Yava-dvipa of the *Ramayana* and the Iabadiou of Ptolemy were probably the same ;

(b) the Iabadiou of Ptolemy and the Ye-po-ti of Fa-hien were very probably the same ;

(c) if the Iabadiou of Ptolemy and the Ye-po-ti of Fa-hien were the same, they could not have been Java, Sumatra or the Malay Peninsula but were most probably Borneo ;

(d) Tou-po could not have been Java or Sumatra ;

(e) Tchou-po could not have been Java or Sumatra ;

(f) Tou-po and Tchou-po were probably the same place ;

(g) Tou-po and Tchou-po were probably the same as the fifth century Cho-po ;

(h) the fifth century Cho-po was probably the same as the Ye-po-ti of Fa-hien.

From these eight deductions it results that these seven toponyms probably referred to one and the same place. It seems certain upon the facts which we have set out and discussed that, if the seven toponyms do represent the same place, then it could not have been Sumatra or Java or the Malay Peninsula but must in all probability have been Borneo.

It is a most strange fact that while writers so far have readily accepted a very early intercourse between China and Java, none of them seems to have suggested such a thing in respect of Borneo although communication between that island and Cochin-China

and between that island and the southern entrance to the Straits of Malacca was feasible upon either the NE or the SW monsoon, and although the action of the winds must have made a knowledge of Borneo inescapable as soon as ships sailed direct down the South China Sea. The last fact is obvious but, if evidence is necessary, the writer would cite the instance of a junk which sailed in 1937 from Hainan for Singapore but which after thirty days at the mercy of the wind landed at Kuching, Sarawak.

Mr. Banks in a letter to the writer says that "Tatau is still the only place I know visited yearly by Wangkang¹ direct from China for the purpose of loading ironwood".

Finlayson writes of the junks which visited Singapore from China in 1821 that "they had neither chart nor book of any description on board, nor any written document to point out their route. They had no means even of ascertaining the ship's way, neither did it appear that they kept an account of transactions on board. They had a rude compass, set in a wooden frame, and divided into twenty-four points, which they did not appear to put great dependence on, and this was probably the only nautical instrument on board. Their mode of proceeding is to set out with the favourable monsoon. After reaching a certain point without losing sight of land, they stand across the China Sea, calculating that they will, as they generally do, reach the opposite side in ten or twelve days. They make but one voyage across the China Sea in a year; on their return, they sometimes make a short coasting voyage in addition, after which the junk is hauled up, covered with straw, and laid side till the following season" (256, pp. 69-70).

The best description known to us of Chinese junks, their crews and navigation is that by Gutzlaff which appears in Bowring (267, i, pp. 246-252). He says there that "the navigation of junks is performed without the aid of charts, or any other help except the compass: it is mere coasting, and the whole art of the pilot consists in directing the course according to the promontories in sight". He is, of course, speaking of the Chinese junks which arrived in Siam every year in February, March and the beginning of April from Hainan, Canton and elsewhere, and which sailed home in the last of May, in June and July.

It is noticeable that in the account of the south seas which came from the third century embassy of K'ang Tai and Chu Ying to Funan we are told of the kingdom of Tchoupo which is on the great island in the Great Sea. Now, we know that from the coast of Cochin-China to Borneo navigation is possible on either monsoon. It was, therefore, inevitable that the Chinese ambassadors in

¹i.e. Chinese ocean-going junk.

Funan should have been told of Borneo. But why should they have been told of Java? Remembering what we have already written about this embassy and the information which it obtained, the reader will agree that, if Borneo is accepted, its information was natural. It learnt about Funan, about the Malay Peninsula and Borneo and certain islands beyond Borneo to the east. That would be natural and what one would expect: but why should the remote Java have been introduced, a long way south of the equator, difficult of access and served by winds normally unfamiliar to the sailors of Funan?

Moens takes the Ma-wu islands to be the Clove Islands and the Volcano Island to be Ternate, while he takes Pi-k'ien to be south Malaya. We certainly prefer his Clove Islands to our own Philippines and the Volcano Island might well have been Ternate but Pi-k'ien does not seem to fit in. Moens also says that Tunsun was the southern part of the peninsula. We suggested that it was the Malay Peninsula and that Pi-k'ien was Sumatra. The evidence is all set out in the last part of this essay and can be judged by the reader.

When did Borneo first become known to the Indians? It is, of course, not possible to say for certain but once their ships began to sail the South China Sea they must soon have discovered Borneo. The action of the winds forces one to that conclusion. It seems certain that the Indians preceded the Chinese in a knowledge of the South China Sea and that Indians had the carrying trade in their hands long before Chinese competition became serious.

Once the western coasts of Borneo became familiar their fertility and great mineral wealth must have attracted the Indians. If one takes the natural course of trade by means of sailing-vessels and remembers the winds and land-routes, one would pre-suppose very early Indian colonies on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula at the northern entrance to the Straits of Malacca and on the east coast opposite and on the western coast of Borneo. Once they settled on this last coast one would pre-suppose extensions round the south, across the Java Sea to Java and further east round the coast of Borneo on that side and across into Celebes. One would, accordingly, expect to find evidence of early settlements in all these places and, speaking very generally, that is what one does find. We have the very early inscriptions to which reference was made in the last part of this essay and to which we must add the new evidence recently published by Dr. Quaritch Wales (268). For further additional archaeological evidence the reader is referred to the excellent summary in Banks' essay (269) which contains a good bibliography. There is a further note by Banks in his Annual Report on the Sarawak Museum for 1938. Reference should also be made to Majumdar's cultural history of Suvarnadwipa (244). No traces of buildings or ancient cities have yet been found in Borneo but this may be explained, perhaps, as Mr. Banks

has suggested in a letter to the writer, by the fact that the buildings were made of wood so easy to come by in that heavily forested country. Low said that houses built of stone were never seen in Borneo (249, p. 153). Another explanation may be a lack of exploration by professional archaeologists.

The fact, however, is certain that there were very ancient Indian or Indianized kingdoms in Borneo in the east and south-west, and, that being so, it is inconceivable that the easiest coast to reach and the district which was full of gold and diamonds as well as other minerals and which by reason of its rivers and its fertility was most suitable for settlement, were not settled prior to the establishment of colonies in the east and south-west. We suggest that among the earliest places in Malaysia settled by the ancient Indians must have been the region between Kuching and Pontianak and the regions watered by the Kapuas and Sambas. Mr. Banks in a recent essay in this Journal (270, p. 51) has written that "there seems to be little doubt there descended on the Land Dayaks of Western Sarawak an early sixth or seventh century Pallava invasion from Madras, doubtless *via* Java. Traces of these people have been found near Banjarmasin in Dutch Borneo and on Bukit Berhala on the Samarahan river in Western Sarawak, these last comprising a large, square block of sandstone (Yoni) with a socket in the middle for the upright stone pillar (lingam) as an object of worship, an elephant-headed God known as Ganesa and a stone bull (Nandi) in a crouching position, guardian to the sacred shrine to Siva". In a letter to the writer Mr. Banks says that "the cliffs at Tanjong Po are made of coarse sandstone in which are enclosed many round pebbles, the only place I know where the formation exactly resembles the stone from which was carved the Yoni from Bukit Berhala and as you will see the sites are not far apart".

Banks (270, p. 52) also writes that "Land Dayak traditions of early days, their ancestral names such as Pati and Radin, the names of their deities such as Petara, the reluctance of many to eat Deer meat and particularly the form of dancing by the men all seem to indicate a Javan and ultimately Hindu influence manifested in ways not acquired in the course of Land Dayak travels, for they claim with some reason to be the original inhabitants of this part of the world. The presence of old Pallava remains and the many almost Indian customs still assimilated by the Land Dayaks suggest the original Kalamantan people have been modified by a religious and cultural Hindu invasion."

A study of place-names in Borneo shows many Indian names but it is, of course, impossible to say when they were introduced. In the north there are many names beginning with *kin* or *kina*. The sanskrit for China is *Kina* (227, p. 136, n. 3) and it is a curious fact that in Brunei *kina* is the way of pronouncing *china* (251, 20, p. 69). The name of the great mountain of Borneo,

Kinabalu, is generally taken to mean "Chinese Widow." Low (249, pp.6-7) says "I have been informed by the Rajahs of Borneo that it derives its name from the circumstance of its summit having been in former times the residence of a female spirit of great beauty, of whom it is said a Chinese prince of Bruni (before the time of its conversion to the religion of Mahomet), became enamoured, and, wishing to obtain her in marriage, made a journey intending to visit her residence, but, losing his footing, fell over one of the rocky precipices near the top, and was killed. Hence the spirit has been denominated the Widow of the Chinaman, and the mountain, after her, named Kina or China Balou, the Borneans not pronouncing the *ch* soft, as is the practice amongst Malayan nations". Hose, however, suggests that the name represents *Kina Bahru* or New China (257, p. 193).

Summarizing, we suggest that both *a priori* reasoning and such data as we possess lead us to a very early knowledge of Borneo on the part of the Indians and Chinese and that in the case of both probably, but the latter certainly, they must have been familiar with Borneo before they became familiar with Java the navigation to which island was far more difficult and more dangerous.

Bertrand Russell has said that it is a healthy idea, now and then, to hang a question mark on the things one has long taken for granted; and therein is a good excuse, if there is no other, for the attempt which we have made to re-examine the evidence concerning *Yava* and *Java*.

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Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya

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No statement could be more untrue or more unwise than that Malaya has no history; yet it has been, and is being, continually repeated. It is untrue because Malaya, in point of fact, has a history going back to the third century A.D., and a proto-history and pre-history stretching back behind that. It is unwise because its effect is to discourage students from embarking upon what is a most fascinating, though very difficult, subject. Nor is the other statement that the history of Malaya is not worth further investigation, because it has all been done before, any less untrue or unwise. Despite all that has been discovered and all that has been written about the ancient past of Malaya we are still not much further than over the threshold. Now that steps are being taken towards the foundation of a Malayan university and the creation of a spirit of Malayan citizenship, the study of the history of the country becomes a matter of practical, as well as academic, importance; and it must be taught properly in our higher schools and colleges. It is not too much to expect that in course of time Malay, Chinese and Indian students in Malaya will be making their own researches into the sources of ancient history available in their own languages, large quantities of which have not as yet been translated into English.

In 1935 this Journal began the publication of an essay by me entitled *An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca*, and continued it until 1941¹. The loss of four working years during the Japanese occupation makes it impossible for me to finish that essay as I had projected it; nor would it be necessary to do so now, in view of the recent history by Professor Georges Coedès (272)¹, which has so full a documentation and contains, though in a somewhat summarized fashion, discussions of nearly all the points over which controversy has raged. But, fortunately, all my notes and most of my library were preserved by the Japanese authorities in charge of the Raffles Museum and Library, Singapore; and, as there are a number of matters of interest, upon which further facts and views can be added usefully to what Professor Coedès has written, I propose to continue my *Introduction* in the form of the present series of *Notes*.

¹ J.R.A.S. (M.B.), vol. XIII, Pt. 2, pp. 70-109; vol. XIV, Pt. 1, pp. 10-71; vol. XV, Pt. 3, pp. 64-126; vol. XVII, Pt. 1, pp. 146-222; vol. XIX, Pt. 1, pp. 21-74.

Keble Chatterton (273, p. 16) has written that the history of the world, its discovery, its trade, and its development is that of travel; but especially travel by sea-routes. None of those sea-routes is of greater importance to the story of mankind than the great one over which commerce passed to and fro between China and the Mediterranean; and in the long chain of that route no link was of greater importance than the stretch of sea which we call to-day the Straits of Malacca. The story of the Malay Peninsula is the story of the Straits of Malacca; its importance in world history is, therefore, obvious. It cannot be studied without also studying the history of China and of the three great peninsulas of Asia, the Arabian, the Indian, and the Indo-Chinese, of which last the Malay Peninsula is but a continuation. So vast is the terrain and so complex the study involved in the re-construction of the story of Malaya that no single scholar could possess all the knowledge necessary. Each searcher after the truth must depend, to a greater or less degree, upon his fellow-searchers—anthropologists, archaeologists, geologists, philologists, epigraphists, palaeographers and historians; sinologists, sanskritists, indianists and other linguists; as well as meteorologists, navigators, and travellers, though these last three classes so far have been strangely neglected.

For the re-construction of the ancient pictures of Malaya a number of ancient toponyms, Greek, Indian, Chinese, Arabic and so forth, have to be identified correctly; and they present great difficulties. If, of course, the geographical, historical, and etymological data co-incide, an identification will be certain; but if the geographical data contradict the others, what then should be the result? It is not too much to say that so far the geographical data have been ignored in favour of the historical and, particularly, the etymological ones; but it is submitted that this is logically wrong. Surely, the true approach should be as stated by Hirth (261, pp: 170-1):—"with regard to these, as to all identifications of names, I wish to say that most of the writers on the subject seem to have been a little rash in declaring identity on the ground of mere similarity in sound. The name of a place ought to be the last thing we should think of. If, after we have recognized a locality by its characteristic features, a reasonable etymology suggests itself for its name in Chinese, the additional evidence it affords is certainly a welcome help; but we should be careful not to jump at linguistic conclusions before having examined the facts underlying them".

It is not too often that we get geographical data with regard to an ancient toponym; but, when we do, these data must be faced, even if it means discarding theories which are generally accepted.

1 Reference numbers continue from the bibliography attached to my *Introduction*, or refer back to it.

At present the whole subject of the ancient history of south-eastern Asia is in danger of becoming stereo-typed by continual repetition of what are in reality only theories as though they were actual facts. No meteorologist, no navigator of sailing craft, could possibly believe that Fa-hien visited the island of Java, because the specific facts which he himself gave show that that view must be wrong. Yet because of an etymological similarity of names it is being repeated over and over again, as a matter of actual fact, that Fa-hien did visit the island of Java in 414 A.D.; and Professor Coedès himself has accepted the view. So too, in the case of Ch'ih-t'u, unless every fact in the Chinese notices concerning that place is discarded, how could it possibly be placed in the north of the Gulf of Siam? Moens (241) has endeavoured to correct previous identifications in the light of geographical data and, though one may not always agree with his new results, surely his process of reasoning is logical and the process which prefers phonetic similarities is illogical. What justification can there be for ignoring a definite statement as to the position in which to look for any particular place? If we are given in a Chinese notice a gnomon reading which points to a place well to the north of the equator, how can we reject that and, because of etymology, locate the place well to the south of the equator? Yet that is done almost universally in the case of Ho-ling.

In arriving at conclusions as to the locality of any toponym on the sea-route there are five basic facts which are most helpful and of which sight must never be lost in considering ancient times. They are:—

- (1) periodic winds prevailed over the seas which formed the China-Mediterranean route;
- (2) the ancient commercial ships proceeded only with these winds favouring them and never attempted to sail against them;
- (3) the periodicity of the winds made entre-pots an economical necessity;
- (4) man's imitativeness, and the process known as the diffusion of culture, stamped the ancient commercial ships with a general pattern;
- (5) man's conservativeness hardly changed the general nature of the construction of the ancient commercial ships and their sails.

A knowledge, therefore, of the winds and the ships and of general facts of navigation will tell us very much and may prevent us sometimes from adopting etymological speculations. Though the knowledge of the ancients as to the exact facts concerning the

monsoons may not have been as sound as that possessed by European navigators at the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D., the general facts given by the Europeans must have applied in the case of the ancients, while the knowledge of coastal navigation of the ancients may well have been even better than that of the Europeans. A study of European navigational records has seemed to the present writer to be of the greatest value and, as these Notes proceed, use will be made of them from time to time.

The first description of the Malay Peninsula, and the lands beyond, which we possess is that given by Ptolemy, whose geography is generally dated as *circa* 150 A.D. but whose facts are anterior thereto. Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder and the *Periplus* do not take us this far; they leave us at Chryse, though that there were other lands beyond Chryse was known to them vaguely. So far as archaeology has yet gone, it has afforded no certain proofs of Indian penetration into Malaysia or Indo-China prior to Ptolemy, the earliest archaeological finds of definitely Indian remains taking us back only to the art of Amaravati, in southern India, which dates from the second to the fourth century of our era. The earliest Chinese records, as yet translated, concerning the Malay Peninsula date back to the third century A.D., though they contain traditional matter which takes us behind that date. The earliest epigraphical record in south-eastern Asia is the sanskrit inscription of Vo-can, in the region of Nha-trang, Indo-China, and dates from the third century A.D. This inscription is now considered to relate to the ancient kingdom of Fu-nan, and not to Champa, as previously thought (272, p. 48).

Nevertheless, it seems clear that there were Indian settlements in the Malay Peninsula and elsewhere in south-eastern Asia from the first century at least of the Christian era; and the first Hinduized empire, Fu-nan, can be dated from that century. Its power and wealth were due to the fact that it commanded the Indo-Chinese coastal sea-route. It was the first power definitely known to have exercised sway over the Malay Peninsula, which was called by Ptolemy the Golden Chersonese, and the earliest Chinese name for which was Tun-sun. Ptolemy records an entrepot at each of the northern and southern ends of the Straits of Malacca; and Chinese records corroborate as to the northern one, though they are silent (at all events so far as they have yet been translated) as to the southern. This silence is quite probably due to the fact that Chinese vessels up to this time had not gone further than some transshipment port on the east coast of the Peninsula, or perhaps in Siam.

Definite historical proof of Indian settlement in the Malay Peninsula, therefore, may be said to date from the beginning of the Christian era; but what about the times which preceded that era?

The work of a succession of famous Dutch and French scholars has revealed so strong a connection between ancient India and south-eastern Asia that Indian scholars nowadays describe the whole of the latter region as Greater India. It is only natural that they should have concentrated so much upon this Greater Indian aspect; but there may be a danger of forgetting that the ancient Indians of historical times did not introduce civilization into south-eastern Asia. The point has been stated by the late Mr. R. J. Wilkinson (274, pp: 134-5) in the following words:—“Working on linguistic data only, the great Dutch scholars Kern and Brandes had pointed out years ago that when the Indian traders first came to Indonesia they must have found organized government, the cultivation of sugarcane, bananas, coconuts and rice, irrigation, great skill in working bamboo and rattan, a knowledge of astronomy and navigation and the beginnings of luxuries such as the shadow-play and the *gamelan*-orchestra”; and again (p. 138) “While Dutch scholars have done much to throw light on the past history of Sumatra and Java we British have done far less for Malaya. For this, I fear, the “Greater India” theory has been largely responsible. We have been too ready to believe that two thousand years ago the Peninsula was a waste of jungle and swamp peopled only by wild tribes among whom a few Indians settled and did business. We have been trying to deduce Malaya’s early cultural history from occasional Buddhist images, Pallava seals, beads presumably Indian, some rock inscriptions and references to Malaya in old Indian literature. It is not enough. No Hindu and no wild tribesmen can be responsible for the slab tombs, avenues of menhirs (*batu hidup*) at Malacca and carved megaliths at Pengkalan Kempas. There must have been an indigenous civilization in the Peninsula as well as in Sumatra two thousand years ago; it is for us to emulate the Dutch and learn more about it”.

These words of Mr. Wilkinson, concerning which much more needs to be said, form an admirable introduction to the pre-history and proto-history of the Malay Peninsula, though as yet we know lamentably little about them owing to the lack of systematic investigation.

1. Pre-history and Proto-history.

In the passages quoted, Mr. Wilkinson seems to have assumed that there was a sharp-cut division between the Indonesian and Hindu civilizations; but was that so? Was the so-called Indonesian civilization itself not a blend of others? and did not the connection with India go back into lost stretches of time? Indeed was there ever any period when there was not a nexus with India? It does, at all events, seem to be certain that the pre-history and proto-history of Malaya cannot be brought into proper focus apart from those of India and the rest of south-eastern Asia, the Philippines and the Pacific basin, and of Australia and New Zealand.

As yet we know very little of the pre-history of the Malay Peninsula. Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie, the present Director of Raffles Museum, Singapore, has summarized what little we do know in a valuable paper (275) which contains a good bibliography. His picture, however, should be fitted into the broad conspectus given by Professor Kalidas Nag in 1941 in his *India and the Pacific World* (276) in which he gathers together most of what had been discovered by that date of the pre-history and proto-history of China, Japan, Thailand, the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, the Philippines and the Pacific basin. The importance of the Malay Peninsula to the history of man becomes more and more clear; and the Malayan Governments owe a duty to the world of science at large which they must discharge. Systematic and prolonged research into the past of the Peninsula must be organized and financed; and the promising beginning, made largely with funds supplied by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, must be continued and enlarged. The Governments of Perak, Kedah and Johore gave a generous example of what may be achieved when they provided the funds which enabled Dr. Quaritch Wales to carry out the archaeological researches upon which he reported in this Journal (268).

The following miscellaneous notes are intended to supplement Mr. Tweedie's paper and Professor Kalidas Nag's book, with which the reader should also study Professor von Heine-Geldern's most important essay in *Science and Scientists in the Netherlands Indies* (277) and his notes on prehistoric research in Indonesia in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for 1934* (278).

Megaliths. The *batu hidup*¹, to which Mr. Wilkinson referred, have been discussed by Mr. Sheppard, of the Malayan Civil Service, in an interesting paper with illustrations (279); and there are observations upon them by Dr. Linehan and the late Mr. F. N. Chasen². The precise nature of these stones, however, must be regarded as undetermined. They may have been pre-Muslim: they may not. Mr. Sheppard prefers the former view and points to the presence of barrows round them, barrows which on excavation were found to contain no remains or objects.

The graves and megaliths at Pengkalan Kempas, Linggi, Negri Sembilan, are discussed fully by Ivor Evans (280, pp: 81-104) and illustrative plates are given in his book. An admirable illustration of the whole group appears in Sir Richard Winstedt's *History of Malaya* (92, Plate XIX, facing p. 166). Sir Richard describes them as "Menangkabau megaliths, Pengkalan Kempas" and was

1 Or *batu hidup*; meaning "live stones"; also called *batu tumbob*, or "growing stones".

2 In *Third Congress*, pp: 205-6.

inclined to the view that "Probably the Pengkalan Kempas stones were originally menhirs" (92, p. 12). Van der Hoop (24, p. 131) says of them that "it is difficult to determine whether the whole group dates from the Mohammedan period or whether the Mohammedans have here utilized a megalithic monument which already existed when they arrived"; and upon that point cites Ivor Evans.

With the exception of the slab-graves, to which I refer later, no other traces of a megalithic culture have yet been discovered in the Malay Peninsula. The stones at Berhala Lima, near Kota Bahru, in Kelantan, which had been identified by Dr. van Stein Callenfels as being megaliths, turned out upon excavation to be natural out-croppings of rock. The references to them in Sir Richard Winstedt's *History of Malaya* (92, pp: 12-13), though fully justified at the time because of Dr. Callenfels' confident identification, must now be disregarded.

Professor Von Heine-Geldern was of the opinion that the earliest megalithic culture of Indonesia "has come from China by way of Further India, probably between 2000 and 1500 B.C. and has probably been introduced from the Malay Peninsula into Indonesia by peoples speaking Austro-nesian languages. Notwithstanding the many influences and cultural layers of later times it forms up to the present, the main stock of indigenous civilization and must, therefore, be regarded as the most important pre-historic culture of Indonesia" (278, p. 35). He considers that this megalithic culture belongs to what he terms "the quadrangular axe culture", which "is characterized especially by axe-(or rather adze-) heads of quadrilateral cross section, in the Malay Peninsula and in Western Indonesia also by beaked adzes" (*ibid*:). His views on the megalithic culture are much elaborated in his 1945 essay (277, pp: 148-152) where he puts the earliest date for its introduction back to 2500 B.C. and says (p. 151) "On the basis of van der Hoop's results in South Sumatra and of metal finds in the megalithic graves of the Malay Peninsula and of Java, I had to revise my chronology of megalithic cultures. I came to the conclusion that we had to distinguish at least two, and possibly more, megalithic waves which reached Indonesia at different times." I shall make further quotations from his views when I reach the slab-graves.

Neolithic. It would seem that there was no transitional period from the late neolithic culture to the first appearance of Hindu archaeological remains; and in Malaya, as in South India, there would seem to have been no indigenous bronze age, the neolithic passing straight into the iron. It is thought that the Aryans introduced iron into the Deccan, their name for it being *syāma ayas*, literally "black copper" (281, p. 17). Some have thought that the

true connection of the Malay expression "*lombong Siam*"¹ is with the sanskrit *syāma* and not "Siam": but that is a speculation, though the most ancient of these *lombong* could certainly never have been made by Siamese miners as they antedate by many hundred years the first incursions of the Thai people into the Malay Peninsula (see 292, p. 14f).

The objects of bronze which have been discovered in Malaya would seem to have been importations because it seems impossible to believe that bronze could have been made in the Peninsula for metallurgical reasons. But the existence of a bronze age in Malaya is best stated as Mr. Tweedie states it, namely "improbable (275, p. 9).

Though the Indian remains are present contemporaneously with the neolithic ones, Professor Coedès (272, pp: 7-8) points out that there is no question of a first contact, but that from pre-historic times maritime relations existed not only between the different parts of south-eastern Asia but also between those parts and India. It seems, he says, that between pre-Aryan India and Indo-China and Malaysia there was a community of culture as proved both archaeologically and linguistically.

In his consideration of the neolithic, Mr. Tweedie says (275, p. 5) that "apart from the axes, which are equally suitable for felling trees, the only obvious weapons are two spear-heads recorded by Evans from Kelantan and Pahang"; and this statement calls for a little expansion.

The late Dr. van Stein Callenfels did not consider the stone spear-heads to be neolithic. He says (282, p. 38) "It is true that there are a few stone spear heads from Kelantan in the Perak Museum at Taiping, but their shape indicates that they are not of the neolithic period. I believe them to be copies of iron spear heads at the beginning of the iron age when that metal was still scarce and only available for the chieftains. The practice of copying metal instruments in stone was world-wide".

Mr. Tweedie, as he tells me, omitted deliberately from his paper any reference to the Kedah artifact, to which I am now about to refer, because of his doubts whether it was really Malayan. In 1936 Dr. Callenfels called attention (282) to this implement, an illustration of which will be found in the volume containing his paper. He was in doubt whether it was a big arrow-head or a small spear-head. In 1937 Mr. H. D. Collings in his comments (283) upon Dr. Callenfels' paper treated it as a stone arrow-head, while Mr. McCarthy, of the Australian Museum, Sydney, in the

¹ "Siamese open-cast mine".

paper (284) which he read in 1938 to the Third Congress of Prehistorians of the Far East in Singapore, treated it as a spear-point, since he referred to it in connection with the third class of the types of Australian points, i.e. "round-butted spear-point worked on both surface". At p. 40 of his paper, he says "The now famous point from Kedah, Malay Peninsula, in the Raffles Museum collection is of this type; it is however, more slender than the Java form, and, while the chipping of the implement resembles the Kimberley¹ specimens, it is thicker, and more slender than the latter, and has a longitudinal ridge not present on them".

Dr. Callenfels said of the Kedah point that it "came to light in the course of dredging in the Padang Pelandok tin-mine near Sintoh village in north-eastern Kedah", and that it was presented to him by Mr. J. Kemp, J.P. As Mr. Kemp was managing director of the tin-mine, the evidence as to the provenance of the point seems sufficient. Its remarkable character is shown, in the words of Dr. Callenfels, by the fact that "arrow and spear heads dating back to the neolithic period are known from the Netherlands Indies, but on the continent (French Indo-China, Siam the Malay Peninsula) no specimen has yet been discovered" (282, p. 38), in connection with which passage it will be remembered that its writer had rejected the stone spear-heads from Kelantan as not being of the true neolithic.

Now, there is a remarkable piece of written evidence in connection with stone arrow-heads to which attention has not yet been drawn. Chinese records prove the existence of a state which they call P'an-p'an and of which they show a first embassy in the period 424-453 A.D. (221. p. 269, n. 2). I shall give the reference and discuss the evidence as to this state and its locality in a later note. It is sufficient here to say that it was clearly a *K'un-l'un* state² (i.e. Indonesian or Malay) though Hinduized, and that it was undoubtedly situated somewhere on the north-east part of the Malay Peninsula, bordering on the northern frontier of Lang-ya-siu; and it was the state from which the second Kaundinya went to Fu-nan. Professor Coedès (272, p. 47) places Lang-ya-siu as situated across the Peninsula, with access to the sea on the coast, and as being the Lankasuka of the Malay and Javanese chronicles, that is to say, ancient Kedah.

In the notices of P'an-p'an which appear in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* and the *Hsin T'ang Shu* we are told that the arrows used there were fitted with heads of very hard stone and the spears with double-edged iron blades sharpened along both edges, a most interesting

¹ In north-west Australia.

² For a summary of the discussion as to the ethno-linguistic complex to which the Chinese gave the name of *K'un-l'un* see Coedès (272, pp. 10-12, 14-15).

piece of evidence as to the blending of the stone and iron cultures. Here we have definite proof that stone arrow-heads were actually used in a place not so far from the Padang Pelandok mine and where, as we know, there were connecting land-routes.

In view of the evidence as to the provenance of the Kedah point, which may well have been a large arrow-head, and in view of the Chinese evidence, I suggest that it may be accepted provisionally as a Malayan artefact despite the fact that nothing similar has yet been discovered, which, after all, is not very strong negative evidence since there has been so little archaeological research.

Melanesoid. The affinities between the Malay Peninsula and Australia have been noted in several connections; and Mr. McCarthy begins his paper (284) with this sentence "It is now generally admitted that many identical traits are present in Australia, on the one hand, and the region comprising Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, and the Netherlands East Indies, on the other hand".

Professor von Heine-Geldern says (278, p. 50) "Let me only emphasize the important fact that the present forms of indigenous Australian culture must largely derive from the prehistoric Bacsan-Hoabinhian civilisations of Further India and Indonesia. The similarity of the stone tools is such as to preclude all doubt".

Mr. Tweedie has very rightly included in his bibliography the paper by the late Dr. Callenfels on the Melanesoid civilizations of Eastern Asia (285), though he avoids carefully the term "Melanesoid" and prefers "cave cultures", even to "Hoabinhian" or "Bacsanian" (275, p. 5). Mr. H. D. Collings in a paper (286), which is not included in Mr. Tweedie's bibliography, attacked vigorously the use of the term "Melanesoid" at all, and Mr. Ivor Evans has supported this attack (287). Mr. McCarthy (284, p. 38) says "I disagree entirely with the proposal that "Melanesoid culture" be adopted in place of the original term Hoabinhian, which was adopted by the Congress at Hanoi in 1932¹. The Senoi, for example, can not be denominated by a term representing any one of the four physical strains present among them, and the same can be said for the Hoabinhian cultures until the relationship between the industries and skeletal remains is more clearly defined; at present we are not justified in linking the culture as a whole with any one of such types. The use of the term "Melanesoid" is also unsatisfactory in view of the occurrence of the Hoabinhian culture in Australia. I therefore agree with Mr. Collings that the term "Melanesoid" be discontinued".

¹ The paper has a misprint "1942", which I have corrected in my quotation, R. B.

Finally, Professor von Heine-Geldern (277, p. 130) says "However; this does not justify replacing the term Hoabinhian (or Bascon-Hoabinhian, as I prefer to call the whole cultural group) by that of Melanesoid Culture, as van Stein Callenfels suggested. This suggestion, which was, at the very least, premature and, moreover, ambiguous, has been rightly criticized and rejected by Collings, Evans and McCarthy".

It is, therefore, suggested that the expression should now be abandoned finally in Malaya; and that in future we use either Mr. Tweedie's "cave cultures" or Professor von Heine-Geldern's "Bascon-Hoabinhian".

The importance of the Malay Peninsula in the history of mankind is shown very vividly in the views of Professor von Heine-Geldern concerning the "Austronesians" i.e. Malayo-Polynesians. He says that Kern's view, derived from philological reasoning, that the Austronesian land of origin was most probably located on the coast of Annam is not borne out by the archaeological facts, which point definitely to the Malay Peninsula (277, p. 140). His opinion is that "the last common homeland of the Austronesian peoples before their dispersal must have been the Malay Peninsula", and (p. 141) that the ancestors of the Austronesians, before they migrated southward to the Malay Peninsula, must, on the archaeological evidence, have come from the Northern Shan States and the middle Mekhong and its tributaries in French Laos. Whether these views are accepted finally or not, they show how important to the world of science systematic research through the Peninsula must be.

Slab-Graves. I pass now to the slab-graves mentioned by Mr. Wilkinson. They are the most interesting and in many ways the most important archaeological discoveries yet made in the Malay Peninsula; and a small literature has built up locally around them, the last contribution to which is Sir Richard Winstedt's paper (287).

At p. 95 of that paper, he writes "Mr. Braddell (J.R.A.S.M.B., XVII, Pt: 1, 1939, p. 147) contends that the Perak graves are on a site chosen as being on the route to Pahang gold-mines and near Perak gold-fields, that the river Bernam must be Ptolemy's Khrysoanas and the miners have been Indians. One can accept his statement as to the presence and attraction of gold on the Perak to Pahang route. But apart from the gold pin in a Sumatran slab-grave, none of the metal occurs in these graves, a rather extraordinary fact unless they have all been rifled. So unless there are found ancient gold-workings near the slab-graves of Sumatra and Java the trade of the dead must be counted unproven"; and he goes on to consider whether the builders of the Perak slab-graves

were Indo-Chinese or Indian, pointing out some grave objections to Mr. R. J. Wilkinson's view that they were probably the former.

The three most interesting problems in connection with these graves are—who built them? what were the builders doing in the places where the graves were found? when were they built?

Quite a number of these slab-graves have been discovered, all near the Bernam, Kruit and Slim Rivers in Perak, and for descriptions of them the reader is referred to the papers by Ivor Evans (288) and H. D. Collings (289), each of which contains illustrative plates. No skeletal remains were found in the graves but in them, and around them, a great deal of broken pottery was found, as well as cornelian, crystal and glass beads, iron implements and bronze objects, and in one of them (that at Changkat Mantri on the Bernam River) a stone bark-pounder with cross hatching. It must be noted that this last was the only stone implement found in or around any of the graves; and it is not necessarily evidence of the neolithic.

Mr. Tweedie (275, p. 10) says "The iron implements differ from modern Malay tools and weapons in being socketed instead of tanged; many are by normal standards very "unhandy" in design and it is hard to say what they were used for. They are found casually as well as in the graves, and are common enough to be familiar, under the name *tulang mawas* (apes' bones), to the Malays, who associate them with a legendary giant ape with sickles in its elbows".

All local archaeologists have found these *tulang mawas* implements impossible to explain as working tools; but the late Mr. V. B. C. Baker, who was manager of the Pahang Consolidated mines and a miner of the highest reputation, has written this¹ concerning them "The old miners in Pahang used carefully shaped timbers, properly "joggled" or joined. One of their implements for shaping the timber was probably the iron socketted tool, now known as "tulang mawas". This was probably held by means of a loop of thick rotan passed through the ferrule or socket of the tool and under the armpit—hence the curious alignment of the ferrule or socket, quite unsuitable for a wooden haft—and hence the legend of the "iron forearm". It was worked from the elbow joint, not the wrist". That seems to be a satisfactory explanation and can be accepted, I suggest.

Let us consider first the questions of who built the graves and what the builders were doing in the surrounding country.

¹ J.R.A.S. (M.B.), vol: XV, Pt: 1, p. 30.

Sir Richard Winstedt gives me credit for too much in the passage quoted above. When I was considering in the *Introduction* the three rivers which Ptolemy gives in the Malay Peninsula, I rejected Berthelot's identification of the Khrysoanas with the Perak River and would have preferred the Bernam but was thrown off that because of an account of it written by the late Sir Frank Swettenham.

The Bernam, however, was fully restored by evidence and arguments which Dato Douglas gave me in a letter and by his notes (290). He also suggested in a later paper (291) that the name Bernam might be derived from hindustani *bar*, meaning "famous", and *nam*, meaning "name". In this paper, he referred again to his identification of the Bernam with the Khrysoanas and wrote that "the recent find of graves in Slim in the Bernam river valley in which are beads similar to those found at the Indian settlement at Selinsing, would seem to indicate the possibility that the foreigners who came to Malaya in Ptolemy's time were Indians, and that they gave the names, some of which remain to this day". It was Dato Douglas who established the identification of the Bernam as the Khrysoanas; and I merely adopted and agreed with that view.

Mr. H. D. Noone in his paper on the Bernam land-route (292), again, influenced me very much in my acceptance of the identification. In the course of this paper, he wrote that "the peculiar slab-built graves, which seem exclusive to the Bernam area, point to trade settlements which are possibly of Indian origin." Although published later, Mr. Noone's paper was actually written considerably before the article (291) by Dato Douglas. Each of them, therefore, arrived separately at the conclusion that the builders of the slab-graves were *possibly* Indians.

When I accepted the Bernam as the Khrysoanas, I referred also to the slab-graves and to the fact that gold was still being mined in the Bidor area: but I was careful to express no opinion as to who had been the builders of the grave¹. I cited a passage from a private letter in which Dato Douglas wrote of the Perak River having shifted "its course from Dindings to the present channel and in doing so collected the Kinta, Batang Padang, Bidor and Sungkai Rivers, which I think all were part of the Bernam water-shed at one time". Mr. Noone (292, p. 145) wrote that "to this day Straits Steamship boats of small tonnage can reach Ulu² Bernam Oil Palm Estate, which is only a few miles from the slab-grave site of Changkat Mentri. There are beaten tracks through the Ulu Sungkai and Ulu Slim into the Ulu Jelai both of which

¹ J. R. A. S. (M. B.), vol: XVII, Pt: 1, pp: 146-8.

² Ulu indicates the hinterland of a river.

would bring the Jelai gold by more direct routes than the southern ones into the navigable Bernam, and so to the west coast. The latter track is not without its traditions, and near the pass into Pahang there is a great rock, the Sapor Batu". Mr. Wilkinson (274, p. 143) wrote that "to any one who knows the district it will be evident that in old days communication was easy between Changkat Mentri, the Bernam area, Slim and Sungkai and even to the Batang Padang and Kinta districts. The importance of the sites of the slab-graves needs no further explanation. They stood at Perak's Southern Gate".

I have insisted in the *Introduction* upon the importance of gold and have submitted that it was the search for gold which first attracted the Indians to the Malay Peninsula. No local writer previously had paid any attention to these points. I also drew attention to the fact that the amount of gold to be found in the Peninsula in our modern times has no bearing upon the conditions prevailing at the beginning of the Christian era. I cited amongst others Sylvain Lévi upon the importance of the search for gold in relation to the Hindu expansion into the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. It is encouraging, therefore, to find that Professor Coedès has taken the same view in his recent book (272, p. 24); and, with that very high authority, I suggest once again to local archaeologists that research in areas where gold either is or was known to have been found will repay their efforts. The proto-historic is every bit as worthy of their researches as the pre-historic.

I would suggest that the absence of gold objects in the slab-graves is not really of much value as negative evidence. It is hardly likely that in the Peninsula local gold-smiths worked the gold found in ancient times: the art history of the country, so far as it is revealed, goes to show that there was little or no local art. The gold found in Malaya was exploited and sent away. The position in Sumatra would have been different, since there we do find a long art history. That Sumatra to the Indians meant gold is clear from its Sanskrit name Suvärna-dvīpa (Gold Island). Nobody is ever likely to find old gold-workings in Java since the metal is unknown in that island, which was one of the reasons why Ferrand and many others have rejected the identification of Yava-dvīpa with the island of Java; but I have dealt fully with all this in the *Introduction*.

That the builders of the slab-graves must have been engaged in mining is, I think, almost certain. In the first place, it seems to be quite certain that in South India the slab-graves and other megalithic tombs belong to a civilization which practised the mining industry (281, p. 17). In the second place, the graves lie in a most important mining district, which must have a history stretching back for nearly 2000 years, since it is still being mined.

In connection with this history the following facts should be remembered:—

(1) Bronze Buddhist statues¹ have been dredged up from deep down in modern tin-mines in Perak—at Pengkalan near Ipoh in the Kinta valley (two); at Tanjong Rambutan in the Kinta valley (one); at Bidor in the Batang Padang district (one); and at Sungai Siput in the Kinta valley (two). These statues are considered to date from the Vth-VIth centuries;

(2) Bronze axes (or adzes) have been found at Tanjong Malim in Perak;

(3) Iron (*mawas*) tools have been found in Perak at Sengat near Ipoh, at Tanjong Rambutan, and at Bengkong in the Batang Padang district.

In connection with the possible megaliths at Pengkalan Kempas and Malacca it should be noted that at one time Naning in the Malacca district was the scene of much gold-mining (69, vol: 1, pp: 259-260) and also up the Muar River at Bukit Raya and in Segamat (69, vol: 2, pp: 164-5); and at Johole (in the Negri Sembilan) at Bukit Chimendras and Taon in Gemenchi, bordering on the eastern frontier of Naning (69, vol: 2, pp: 141-5).

That the builders, in my opinion, were most probably Indians will appear a little later; but it must be noted that Dr. Quaritch Wales has expressed the definite opinion that they were not of Indian origin but were Indonesians (268, pp: 56-7) and he says that a comparison between the Malayan and South Indian slab-graves suggests that, if there is a common ancestor, it must be remote.

This brings us to the last question—when were the graves built? Were they pre-historic or proto-historic? My answer is that they seem to have been proto-historic.

Sir Richard Winstedt has written "But for the bronze drums from Indo-China, one would *guess* the grave builders came from British India, especially as 100 A.D. saw Indian influence strong in the Malayan region" (287, p. 98).

He must have had in mind the dating system for bronze drums of Dr. Callenfels (293) with which Professor von Heine-Geldern has expressed agreement (277, p. 146); but it must be noted that French archaeologists disagree completely (294 and 272) from this dating. This is not very material since the only bronze drum-

¹ For summary see Quaritch Wales (268, pp: 50-52).

head found in Malaya comes from Pahang, having been got from the Tembeling River; none have as yet been found in the areas round the Perak graves. And it may be noted that, judging from the decadence of its decoration, the Pahang drum might have been very late.¹

Dr. van der Hoop (24, p. 131) has written of the Perak slab-graves that they "are built in the same way as those in the Pasemah. They are somewhat longer and narrower, however, and composed of granite slabs"; and that "Evans judges these graves to date from between the late neolithicum and the Hindu period. This agrees, therefore, with our finds in the Pasemah". At the time when these views of Evans and van der Hoop were expressed, the further finds at Slim, described by Mr. H. D. Collings (289), had, of course, not yet been made.

Professor von Heine-Geldern (277, p. 148) says of iron that "it is probable that its general use started only after the establishment of the first Hindu colonies in the Archipelago (first or second century A.D.?)" and later in the same passage he says of the cist graves discovered by van der Hoop in the Wanasari region, West Java, that "they may be tentatively ascribed to the first centuries of the 1st millenium A.D." At p. 150, he says "It will be seen that all the stone cist graves and slab built graves of South Sumatra, Central and East Java contained glass beads and metal, bronze, gold, copper or iron. The same was the case in similar graves that have been investigated in the Malay Peninsula. From these facts we may infer that the use of such graves was introduced in Indonesia not earlier than the Dongson period".² At p. 143, he says that it is possible that the use of stone cist graves "continued in Sumatra into the historic period, as was indeed the case in Java". His view is that the Dongson culture reached the Archipelago not earlier than about 600 B.C. and not later than some time during the second half of the first millenium B.C.

Dr. van Stein Callenfels and Dr. Stutterheim both thought that the custom of burial in stone cist graves might have been introduced by the earliest wave of immigration from South India: but von Heine-Geldern suggests China, where similar grave forms occur during the Han period (pp. 151-2) and he considers that "direct Chinese influence in Indonesia goes back at least to the early Han period, that is, at the very latest to the 1st century B.C." (p. 147).

¹ See the illustration in *Winstedt's History of Malaya*, Fig. 10, p. 15, and compare with the French and Sumatra drums.

² By which he expresses "the whole of the Bronze Age culture of Further India and Indonesia", taking "Dongson" in the same way as "Hallstatt" or "Latena" in Europe, i.e. from the first site where the particular culture was recognized (277, p. 143).

The Han period covers 206 B.C. to 220 A.D. Thus, it coincides practically with the Andhra period, which is taken as from 230 B.C. to 225 A.D. (281, p. 47). The powerful Andhra kingdom stretched across the Deccan between the Godavari and Krishna (Kistna) rivers: above it, on the east coast of India was the Kalinga country and south of it were the Cholas on the east coast, the Cheras on the west, and the Pandyas at the southern end of the Indian Peninsula. All were in sea communication with Western Asia and Egypt. China was in communication with northern India by the land routes through the Gobi; and southern India was in sea communication with Indo-China and perhaps the extreme south of the China but it does not seem that Chinese vessels had yet reached India.

The first Andhra capital was at Amaravati on the lower Krishna but about 100 A.D. another capital was established on the upper Godavari at Pratissthana, modern Paithan. Amaravati gives it name to a form of art in southern India from roughly the second to fourth centuries A.D., which influenced very greatly the art of various parts of Further India.

The best means available at present by which to date the Perak slab-graves would seem to be afforded by the beads which were found in them. At present, we have finds of beads at the Tanjong Rawa settlement at Kuala Selinsing, Perak; in the Slim graves, Perak; in the Changkat Mentri grave, Perak; at Kota Tinggi in Johore; and one from the Gua Bintong near Bukit Chuping in Perlis, which State is a continuation of the Kedah alluvial plain; while a number of glass objects were discovered by Dr. Quaritch Wales in Kedah, and glass beads of which some would seem, however, to have been late but others coincided with Kuala Selinsing types (268, pp: 30, 32, 34, 38). What Dr. Quaritch Wales says about beads (268, pp: 56, 60-1, 67-8) needs some further consideration.

I have already referred in the *Introduction*¹ to Mr. G. B. Gardner's finds on the Johore River and to his paper (182) concerning them. The remarkable things concerning these finds were (1) the high percentage of Roman beads, viz:— 20 per cent (2) the discovery of one Hittite bead of 700 B.C., one glass bead similar to those made in Italy about 700 B.C., and two glass beads of Phoenician or early Cypriot type (3) the discovery of some eighty early Indian stone beads. It was these finds which led me to accept Berthelot's identification of the Johore River as being Ptolemy's Palandas river and of Kota Tinggi as being Ptolemy's town of Palanda; and Dr. Quaritch Wales has supported me (268, p. 67). He considered (p. 68) that "the carriers of the

¹ J. R. A. S. (M. B.), vol: XVII, Pt: 1, p. 148.

Roman beads are likely to have been Indians". But Mr. Gardner was also of opinion that many of the beads which he found were not imported but locally made. Dr. Quaritch Wales considered (p. 68) that "the culture of the slab-grave builders and of such people as ultimately founded the Kuala Selinsing village is essentially Indonesian, though no doubt the Indonesians did not remain unmodified by their contacts with the Indian settlers and ultimately came to thrive in the Perak region more than elsewhere in the Peninsula as a result of the presence of advanced Indian cities there which afforded them protection".

I think that in connection with Malayan bead-finds we have at least three different sets to consider (1) very ancient ones, imported (2) a series (Johore, Kuala Selinsing and slab-grave) which might have been imported or manufactured locally as well (3) a newer series, probably all manufactured locally. Attached as an Appendix to the paper by Mr. H. D. Collings (289) on the Slim graves, there is a report by the leading authority on ancient beads, Mr. H. C. Beck. Sir Richard Winstedt summarizes this report by saying "Mr. H. C. Beck found that Mr. Collings' collection of beads as a whole (was)¹ so like the Kuala Selinsing and Johore beads that he would allocate all to the same period i.e. between 1 and 400 A.D."

That places the slab-graves (I assume that *all* are roughly of the same period, though that question has not yet been considered) squarely in the Hindu period, proto-historic or historic.

I wish now to call attention to some remarkable discoveries at a site on the outskirts of Pondichéry in French south India, which will throw considerable light upon the subject. Mons. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil wrote a preliminary note upon them before actual excavations were made (295) and, after those excavations were made and a quantity of Arretine pottery, datable to about 1 to 50 A.D., had been discovered at the site, Mr. R. E. M. Wheeler contributed a paper about them (296).

Following Warmington (34, p. 107), Jouveau-Dubreuil accepted that Ptolemy's *emporion*, or emporium, ought to be translated not merely by "market" but by "Roman market" or better "Roman factory" (i.e. in the same sense as "factory" was used by the old East India Company). Ptolemy gives two such emporia at the north and the south of the Straits of Malacca, namely Takkola and Sabana. He also gave three inland towns, Kalonka, Konkonagara and Tharra, the positions of which are so variously stated in the different versions of his Book VII that it is impossible to be precise as to their location. The best edition, however, of Ptolemy's Book

¹ Omitted by error in the print.

VII is admittedly that by Renou (56) on which I worked in the *Introduction*¹; and the positions are given there as

Kalonka	162°E.	1°20'N.
Konkonagara	160°E.	2°N.
Tharra	163°15'E.	120°20'N.

The mouth of the Khrysoanas is given as 159°E. and 1°N. and Ptolemy says that it springs in a mountain-crest, flowing at first as a common stream with the Palandas and Attabas rivers but separating from them at 161°E. and 1°20'N.

Berthelot places Konkonagara on the Khrysoanas, which he considered to be the Perak, at perhaps Kuala Kangsa, and Tharra for which he gave 162°E. and 1°20'N. possibly in the basin of the Pahang (53, p. 404). As I have said, I prefer the Bernam for the Khrysoanas; but clearly Konkonagara, a definitely Indian name, must have been somewhere along the Khrysoanas and I suggest somewhere in the slab-grave region.

Jouveau-Dubreuil calls the Pondichéry site Arikemodu but Wheeler says that that name does not seem to be known and calls it by its modern name of Virampatnam. It is two miles south of Pondichéry, which Jouveau-Dubreuil confidently identifies as Ptolemy's "Podouke, emporion", and Wheeler provisionally accepts. Wheeler agrees that on "the fragmentary evidence at present available the site qualifies sufficiently for the status of *emporium*".

Amongst the objects found in the excavations carried out in 1941-2 were some graffiti in a Brahmi script ascribed by Dr. B. C. Chhabra on epigraphical grounds to the period from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D., and also an extensive series of beads made from quartz, amethyst, topaz, agate, jasper, cornelian and glass, together with unworked and partially worked stones. "The site was very clearly a focus for the semi-precious stone trade and related industries. One type of bead in particular is significant: the so-called "colored barrel" which is distributed widely in India and is found also in the eastern Mediterranean area" (296, pp: 92-3).

Jouveau-Dubreuil mentions no beads but he says that most of the glass objects found at the time when he saw the site were of a very special shape, exactly like those found in extreme abundance on the Phoenician coast of the Mediterranean from the beginning of 500 B.C. Dr. A. Aiyappan, of the Madras Museum, on being shown them, immediately recognized the shape of these ob-

¹ J. R. A. S. (M. B.), vol: XIV. Pt: 3.

jects as identical with similar ones found at Amaravati, where glass of the same type was found. Jouveau-Dubreuil, accordingly, dated the Pondichéry site as in the first and second centuries A.D., which is, of course, exactly the period of Ptolemy. He considered that the site was that of a manufacture of objects in glass by Indians working under the supervision of Romans. Wheeler says that it is clear that the stratum, from which sherds of imported Roman pottery, notably amphorae and red-glazed Arretine ware, and at any rate some of the beads came, was accumulating not later than 50 A.D., and perhaps upwards of half a century later. He says also that an identical complex of bead-forms and stones occurs on two sites in the State of Hyderabad, these being dated definitely by finds of coins of the Andhra period (which he gives as late B.C. to 250 A.D.) in association with the bead industry. Wheeler says that "archaeologically, the type-fossil of the period is the bead, and it is on a careful study of bead-forms that South Indian archaeology of this phase is most likely to make its first advances".

It may, then, well be that in Malaya there was also a bead industry where local (Indonesian) workmen manufactured under the supervision of Indians who had learnt the art in south India; and in view of Ptolemy's two emporia at Takkola and Sabana it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Romans also frequented the Peninsula, in which case the finds of Roman beads becomes easier to understand.

During the years 1940 to 1945 the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient in Indo-China has achieved many most remarkable results, which are described in a recent brochure.¹ From our purely Malayan point of view the most interesting of the new finds are those made at Oc-Eo, an ancient town situate some 25 kilometres from the coast of the Gulf of Siam in the province of Chaudoc in the Transbassac. A large number of finds at different sites in this province were made, which will enable us now to build up the ancient history of Fu-nan, previously known only from Chinese records and a few sanskrit inscriptions. Aerial reconnaissance had revealed at Oc-Eo a maritime town, with sea-communication through a port connected with it by a canal. Polished stone axes, some of which resembled others discovered by Mr. Ivor Evans at Kuala Selinsing, were discovered here, together with thousands of beads, in crystal and cornelian as well as other substances, of which some were "Roman" beads. Bronze and iron objects were discovered as well as a number of leaden amulets with Brahman symbols on them. But quite the most remarkable and most interesting object discovered was a large cabochon in *pâte de verre* with the face in profile of a bearded man with braided hair and wearing a Scythian cap. This was "clearly a Sassanid effigy of about the middle of the IVth

1 *L'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient de 1940 à 1945*, Saigon, N.D.

century A.D. when a king of Iranian stock was reigning over Funan". Objects of a Roman character were also found, such as a cornelian intaglio with a clearly Roman bust upon it and a gold medallion with the effigy of one of the Antonines and a Latin inscription of which only the letters AVREL... are still legible. Another find portrays certainly Antoninus the Pious and bears a date corresponding to 152 A.D. These finds will clearly link up with the earliest "Roman embassies"¹ when they have been properly considered and with the "Roman" lamp found at P'ong Tuk in Siam. Sanskrit inscriptions also were found, which date back palaeographically to the IIIrd or IVth centuries A.D. One must await a full description of the Chaudoc discoveries but it is clear that they are of first importance and will have to be considered in relation to Ptolemy's emporia and cities in the Malay Peninsula. Incidentally, it would seem that M. Paul Lévy has now written a book concerning Ptolemy's geography, the thesis of which is that the Golden Kheronese was not the Malay Peninsula but the Burmese deltas and that Cattigara must be looked for not in Tongking but in Cochin-China in the region of Cape St. James. It will be interesting to see how M. Lévy arrives at such results or how he compresses Ptolemy's 14 degrees of latitude (i.e. 700 geographical miles) between Sada, where the ships arrived on the east coast of the Bay of Bengal to Sabana the most southerly point which he gives on the Kheronese. It would seem that, following the custom of so many others, he must have preferred to ignore Ptolemy himself in his identifications.

At the end of his paper (284) Sir Richard Winstedt refers to Professor Otley Beyer's pre-historic discoveries in the Philippines and regrets the absence of accounts of them. Professor Kalidas Nag (276, pp: 72-83) gives much information about them, and the Philippines generally, in his book; and, while I was in Madras during the Japanese occupation of Malaya, Professor Nilakanta Sastri most kindly had typed out for me a paper¹ by the eminent American anthropologist, Professor Roland B. Dixon, in which he discussed Professor Beyer's discoveries, which he himself had examined in Manila in 1930. I quote the following passages from my type-script, as there seems to be no copy of the original in Malaya:—

"Now both the iron and glass objects are similar to and in some cases identical with the pre-historic glass finds in the south of India. These occur in the dolmen tombs and urn burials which are found by the hundreds of thousands, and which almost certainly ante-date the historic Chera, Chola and Pandyan Kingdoms, whose

¹ It is doubtful if they were real embassies; their dates were 120 and 166 A.D.
² Ptolemy's degree of latitude was 50 geographical miles.

³ *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol: 69, 1930. pp: 225-9.

history goes back to the beginning of the Christian era or before. As finds of similar glass beads and bangles have recently been made in the Malay Peninsula, in dolmen tombs in Java, and in North Borneo, the inference is inescapable that we have clear evidence of a trade contact between the northern Philippines and southern India, running well back into the first millenium B.C. The extensive trade and colonization and later conquests of the South Indian Kingdoms, in Sumatra and Java as well as in Indochina in the early centuries of the Christian era, are of course well known. This new material, however, seems to make it clear that this was far from being the beginning of such contacts, but rather the last stages in an association reaching as far as the northern Philippines, which had begun many centuries before. In Chinese historical sources, there are a few references to maritime traders bringing typical Indian products to China as far back as the 7th century B.C. These accounts have generally been regarded with incredulity or strong suspicion at least. In view of this evidence from the Philippines the probability of these accounts is greatly increased, with consequences for the history of Chinese culture which are obvious.

"A new chapter seems thus to be opening in the early history of southern Asia and Indonesia. So little serious attention has yet been paid to the pre-history of the whole of southern India, that the course of its development and the origins of its culture are still virtually unknown. That the knowledge of glass-making reached it from Western Asia is extremely probable, either by way of the sea-trade with southern Arabia, Mesopotamia and Egypt, or possibly overland. That southern India becomes a way-station between Western Asia and the Philippines in the diffusion of one cultural trait at least."

Professor Dixon concluded his paper with the following paragraph:—

"With the discovery of the ancient cultures of the Indus Valley at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, a new era in our knowledge of the origins and developments of the Indian culture has been begun; with the recent archaeological discoveries of Dr. Anderson and Dr. Li in China, we for the first time have begun to get a glimpse into the early stages of growth of Chinese culture. The finds made by Professor Beyer during the last four years in the Philippines, have similarly opened up for us a wholly new vista, which not only carries our vision in one sweep back perhaps to palaeolithic times, but shows us clearly that even this remote fringe of the old world was reached by cultural streams, some of whose sources lay in western Asia, and whose influence was felt here perhaps as early as the beginning of the first millenium B.C."

The net result of all the above leads me to put forward the opinion that our Malayan slab-graves must be dated, at all events provisionally, from the beginning of the first millenium A.D. and that the builders must be considered, again provisionally, to have been South Indians. Further research into our ancient Malayan sites may clear the matter up finally.

In conclusion, I would call the attention of Malayan readers to the much regretted deaths in 1945 of Messieurs Henri Maspero, Paul Pelliot, Victor Goloubew and George Groslier and in 1943 of Mlle. (Dr.) Madeleine Colani. Their names will live for ever in the annals of research in southeastern Asia and be as widely mourned in Malaya as in the larger world of science outside.

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Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya

2. The Ancient Bead-trade.

Ancient Beads. It is proposed to continue the discussion, which began in the last part of these *NOTES*, concerning the ancient Malayan beads. The earliest which have been discovered so far were obtained, as has been seen, by Mr. G. B. Gardner in Johore. Amongst the 600 or so which he obtained at Kota Tinggi and Johore Lama were

- (1) some 80 early Indian stone beads;
- (2) a Hittite bead of 700 B.C.;
- (3) a glass bead similar to those made in Italy about 700 B.C.;
- (4) two glass beads of Phoenician or early Cypriot type;
- (5) a great quantity of Roman beads, forming some 20 per cent of the total.

Dr. Quaritch Wales (268, p. 61) carried out excavations at Kota Tinggi and found in each layer a small number of beads, mostly of the common Kuala Selinsing type, which he considered "likely to be of Indonesian type". As he found blue and white Ming porcelain and stamped pottery throughout the deposits he found it difficult to decide whether the Kuala Selinsing type of beads were "very early or had reached Johore as late as Ming times". He also obtained more Roman beads at Kota Tinggi from villagers who had picked them up superficially after heavy rains.

"Roman", of course, is merely a generic term and Mr. H. C. Beck considered that the Johore Roman beads dated from "any time in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era" (182). It would seem that a slip has occurred in the discussion by Dr. Quaritch Wales concerning the Johore beads. He writes (286, p. 60) "In the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Stockholm, Mr. Beck¹ figures a Roman bead from Cumae and one from Johore side by side, noting that they are identical in appearance and there is little difference in their specific gravity. These

¹ The authors of the paper actually were Messrs: Seligman and Beck. R. B.

Roman beads from Johore are important because of the high ratio they bear to the total number of beads found by Mr. Gardner; they are much more important than the more ancient but solitary Hittite bead and two Phoenician beads, also found there by Mr. Gardner, because these latter are more likely to have been in existence long before they reached Johore. For the history of the region they are valueless". From this passage it would seem that Dr. Quaritch Wales was including the bead illustrated in the *Bulletin* amongst the general Roman beads; and, if that is so, it is a slip on his part. A reference to the *Bulletin* (297, p. 14, Fig: 1) shows that it is a large black glass bead, more or less triangular in shape, with a white "eye" at each corner and, comparing that illustration with Plate 84 attached to the report of his finds by Dr. Quaritch Wales (268), one sees that it is entirely different from the Roman beads illustrated there, none of which is an "eye-bead" or is triangular in shape. The illustration in the *Bulletin* shows the Johore bead beside an almost exactly similar one from Cumae and in the text Messrs: Seligman and Beck say that such beads have been found at a number of sites in the Mediterranean, there being examples in the British Museum dating from the 6th or 7th centuries B.C. and of about the same date as strings in the Beck collection from Cumae and Pozzuoli. It is one of the latter which is illustrated beside the Johore bead.

It seems clear that the Johore "eye-bead" must be separated from the Roman beads, as Mr. Gardner separated it, and for dating purposes can be placed besides the Hittite and the Phoenician or Cypriot beads. It is, of course, item (3) in the list given above. Even assuming that the types persisted for long, as doubtless they did, the beads in items (2), (3) and (4) of the list above would seem to have pre-dated the Christian era: and it is a remarkable fact that amongst the 600 or so obtained by Mr. Gardner in Johore there should have been no less than 4 such ancient beads. That they must have been imported seems to be very clear and the interesting problem arises of who imported them. If they were imported, as seems clear, then how can they be said to be valueless historically? It is proposed a little later to consider this problem of their importation.

As was seen in the last part of these *Notes* there was an ancient and wide-spread trade in beads. Messrs: Seligman and Beck (297, p. 9) show that the export of beads from West to East went back as far as several hundred years B.C. and, at p. 14, they write that there was "a considerable export to the Far East of glass ware and beads from the Roman Orient during the few centuries before and after the beginning of our era". Mr. Beck examined a collection of beads from Sarawak in a very important paper in *Man* (298) and noted that "a few of the specimens show such great

similarity to early types found in Europe that I think they are early beads which have travelled to Sarawak". This paper is illustrated by two plates, one of which is in colour. One of these Sarawak beads (Plate K, No. 15) Mr. Beck finds to be "so strikingly like the little white bottles with purple decorations found in various parts of south Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean which are dated to the fourth and third centuries B.C., that I think it is probably of the same date": and another (Plate K, No. 16) he also thinks to date from the third or second centuries B.C. A composite cane eye-bead (Plate K, No. 18) is next considered by him in connection with which he says that evidence is available to show that cane beads of this type were made at least five hundred years earlier than the second century A.D. and he considers it probable that they were "imported at an early date". He summarizes, at p. 181, his general views and considers that 6 beads (Plate K, Nos: 15, 16, 18 Plate L, 20, 21, 27) appear to date from the Greek or early Roman period.

In Hose and McDougall (11, i, p. 244) there is a coloured plate (No: 130) showing old beads worn by Kayans in Borneo, of which three (I, F and H) are said by Messrs: Seligman and Beck (297, p. 15) to be of Romano-Egyptian type and one (A) of a type found in Egypt where they are of considerable antiquity, some even dating back to 900—600 B.C., though the type persisted later and seemed to have been brought to the Far East in some quantity. Ancient beads are highly prized by Bornean tribes to this day and large sums of money are paid for them. No evidence of any such custom in the Malay Peninsula has been recorded.

The 4 Johore beads, therefore, fall within the evidence of an ancient trade in beads from the West to the East that extended back before the Christian era and we know that a bead trade persisted until the nineteenth century A.D. If prevailing customs in Borneo can be regarded as evidence of ancient ones, it is remarkable that beads played their part in the cult of the dead, and their occurrence in dolmen graves and stone-slab graves may possibly be explained thus. Hose and McDougall (11, i, pp: 226-228) and Ling Roth (247, p. 282) refer to the Bornean beads and there is more also in Hose (250, p. 207). It is clear that a custom persists of placing a bead of some value under each eye-lid of a corpse for use by the ghost-soul for its passage across the River of Death and the finds of beads amongst ancient burial remains, to which Ling Roth refers, would seem to show that it must have been a very ancient one.

The 80 early Indian stone beads found by Mr. Gardner are (cf: MS p. 5) not described by him or dated; but it may be worthy of notice that a collection of beads from urn burials in the Wynaad on

the Malabar Coast consisted entirely of stone beads, none of any other substance being found there (298, p. 175). It is fair to reason that the Johore stone beads must have been imported and it also seems fair to conclude that the use of stone-beads in India must have come into existence before beads of other substances were available, though it may well have continued after that time. The number of 80 out of a total of 600 is again remarkable and would seem to be evidence of a trade from India to Johore in such beads. Would that trade not have preceded the one in glass beads? It seems difficult to believe that people would buy stone beads when the far more attractive coloured varieties were available. On that view, one would begin with an Indian trade in stone-beads and then find it supplanted by a trade from the West in coloured beads which persisted into the period of the Roman beads. With regard to these latter we have already called attention to the Roman factory at Pondichéry and it may be noted that Professor Coedès accepts this definitely as Ptolemy's emporium of Podoukē (272, p. 35). It is, therefore, possible that the Johore Roman beads may have been imported from that place, a question which could only be decided by expert comparisons of the two sets.

The southernmost position given by Ptolemy in the Golden Chersonese was that of the emporium of Sabana, to the west and the south of Palanda. This latter place may reasonably be identified with the present Kota Tinggi but there is no evidence upon which Sabana can be located. Wherever that emporium was, it seems hardly likely that it was the site of a bead manufacture, as was the emporium of Podoukē. No beads have been found in Johore (or Singapore) except at Kota Tinggi and Johor Lama. The large numbers which have been obtained at these last places, and are still obtainable, point to their having been a centre of the bead trade but there is no evidence of any bead manufacture there.

Therefore, it is suggested, the result, as far as the present evidence takes us, would seem to be that all the items in the list above of Mr. Gardner's collection were importations; and we offer the further deduction that they evidence a bead trade into Johore from before the Christian era and continuing for at least 200 years after that era. If that is so, all of them are of considerable historical importance.

But, if they were imported, can anything be said upon the question of who imported them?

Phoenicians. Whether one accepts or not the statement by Herodotus that Phoenicians circum-navigated Africa during the

region of the Pharaoh Necho², it is clear that they possessed the ships and the navigational skill for long ocean voyages. It is, therefore, possible that they could have sailed to the waters of south-eastern Asia but there is no evidence that they ever did so. Attention was called in the *Introduction*³ to a passage in Le May's *Buddhist Art in Siam* (183, pp: 35-6) in which he referred to the possibility of such a thing having happened and called attention to the hoards of small flat silver or billon coins excavated in Siamese Malaya, in Borneo and the Dutch Islands. These coins are blank on one side and have a sunk incuse square on the other, which fact led Mr. Le May to compare them with Lydian coins of the sixth century B.C. and to observe that Lydia based its coinage on the Phoenician standard. Phoenician alphabetical writing was introduced into India where it came into use not later than 700 B.C. (161, p. 7) and Sir Percy Sykes (38, p. 4) says that Phoenician ships "opened up commercial relations with India". Campbell (255, i, p. 25 and n. 2) refers to Jeremiah X, 9, "silver spread into plate is brought from Tarshish and gold from Uphaz" and identifies Uphaz with Mount Ophir in Sumatra. He also writes, at p. 20, that "among the various traditions as to how Java and the Eastern islands were originally peopled is one which says that its first inhabitants came in vessels from the Red Sea, *Laut Mira*⁴, and that on their passage they coasted along the shores of Hindustan"; and, at pp: 21-22, he seems to accept that the Phoenicians did sail to Malaysia.

There is the famous passage in Josephus which speaks of the pilots furnished by Hiram of Tyre "to whom Solomon gave this command, that they should go along with his stewards to the land that of old was called Ophir, now Aurea Chersonesus, which belongs to India, to fetch gold"; but can this passage be accepted as original and not as a later interpolation? Sir Hugh Clifford seemed to have accepted it and to have taken the Malay Peninsula to have been Solomon's Ophir (299, pp: 11-14). Such an identification, however, is generally rejected to-day, though there is a difference of opinion as to what should be substituted for it. Schoff considered the question and agreed with Glaser that Ophir was a trading centre in Arabia where the products of the East were received and re-shipped or sent overland to the Mediterranean. He disagreed from Lassen's location of the place in India and said that "later scholarship is sufficiently sure in locating Ophir on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, but the Indian names for the products mentioned⁵ proved clearly enough that it was a trading centre dealing with

² 609-593 B.C. upon the system of dating in the late Professor J. H. Breasted's *History of Egypt*.

³ This Journal, vol: XVII, Pt: 1, p. 148.

⁴ Malay (*laut* (sea) *merab* (red)). R. B.

⁵ Ivory, apes and peacocks. R. B.

India, even if the land itself was not Indian" (35, p. 175). Hall, however, prefers the Indian theory and writes that "it is quite probable that Ophir is really the Konkan or Cochin coast, and that Solomon's Phoenician sailors reached India, unless, as is possible, they went only as far as Southern Arabia, where they received the Indian products brought by the local traders" (300, p. 434). The *Cambridge Ancient History*⁶ accepts South Arabia with a query; and Sir Percy Sykes considered that Ophir was "probably the modern Dhufar" (38, pp: 39, 304). At p. 307, he said that "it is clear that Dhufar is the biblical Ophir, the Sephar of the motto and the Supphur of Ptolemy". Professor Hitti (301, p. 41) considered that the Ophir of Hiram and Solomon was "probably Zafar in 'Umān'".

On the other hand, many place Ophir in Africa and Holland Rose (302, p. 23) says that it was "undoubtedly Somaliland or Jubaland further south". Gaston Maspero⁷ in 1910 wrote that "a whole library might be stocked with the various treatises which have appeared on the situation of the country of Ophir: Arabia, Persia, India, Java, and America have all been suggested. The mention of almug wood and of peacocks, which may be of Indian origin, for a long time inclined the scale in favour of India, but the discoveries of Mauch and Bent on the Zimbabaye have drawn attention to the basin of the Zambesi and the ruins found there. Dr. Peters, one of the best-known German explorers, is inclined to agree with Mauch and Bent, in their theory as to the position of the Ophir of the Bible (*Der Goldene Ophir Salomo's*, pp: 50-62). I am rather inclined to identify it with the Egyptian Pūānit, on the Somali or Yemen seaboard".

In face of all these differences of opinion it does not seem useful to consider any further the position of Ophir or the possibility of a Phoenician penetration into Malaysia⁸. Nevertheless, the facts remain that two beads of Phoenician or early Cypriot type have been discovered in Johore and that the Phoenicians had the navigational skill and possessed ships of sufficient capacity to sail the open ocean. But there is no evidence (except the beads) which goes to show that they ever got as far as Malaysia; and the beads might well have been brought by others. There is also a fact which would seem to militate against the view that the Phoenicians opened up sea communication between the West and Malaysia; and that fact is the control of the Indian Ocean by ancient Arabians.

⁶ Vol: III (1925) p. 357.

⁷ *The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 742, n. 2.

⁸ It may be noted that Cary and Warmington (305) say that some trace Phoenicians to Sumatra and even claim for them a colony in Shantung ca. 680 B.C., citing Lacouperie.

Sabaeans. Arab navigational records date from Muslim times but for countless centuries before then Arabian sailors were famous and amongst them the name of the Sabaeans stands foremost. Did the Sabaeans ever reach Malaysian waters, and could it have been they who carried on the ancient bead-trade which we have been examining?

In his *Abstract of the Sejarah Malayu* (91) the late Mr. T. Braddell made references to the Sabaeans but since then sight has been lost of them locally⁹; but they are very important to remember. Their name comes from the Arabic Saba', biblical Sheba. The ruins of the ancient Shabwa, which Hitti says was the classical Sabota, have been the subject of recent explorations concerning which there are two very interesting papers by Mr. R. A. B. Hamilton in the *Geographical Journal*¹⁰. This place in the Hadramaut was not actually the Sabaean capital, as will be seen later, but Mr. Hamilton says that its name is almost revered in Yemen and the Hadramaut. The name Saba itself was not in point of fact that of a town but in reality the name of a land and a people (301, p. 55).

Dr. Carl Peters (303) has pointed out how many name-sounds, notably the River Sabi, still remain in eastern Africa to remind one of the Sabaean epoch there. It is, accordingly, not unworthy of notice that in Malaysia there are such name-sounds. In the Malay Peninsula there is Sabah, or Sabak, a village at the mouth of the Bernam River¹¹. South of Singapore there is the island of Kundur which for long was called Sabam. Mr. J. V. Mills has traced the latter name from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth in his excellent essay on Eredia (66, pp: 198-199) and has reproduced Eredia's map of southern Johore which shows the island of Sabam and the Estreito Sabam. The indigenous name for the northern part of Borneo is Sabah¹². It is impossible, of course, to say how old these three names are but, if we turn to Ptolemy, we find similar name-sounds which must date to the first century of the Christian era at least. We have Sabara and the Sabarakos Gulf, generally taken as being in the Martaban region: the emporium of Sabana

⁹ I made only one small reference to them in the *Introduction*, J. R. A. S. (M. B.), vol: XIII, Pt: 2, p. 79.

¹⁰ 1942, vol: C, No: 3, pp: 107-123; 1943, vol: CI, No: 3, pp: 110-117.

¹¹ Dennys in his *Descriptive Dictionary*, 1894, has the entry "Sabba-Important V. and Police Station on S. bank of Bernam R., N. Selangor, about 15 miles from the mouth"; but it should be noted that Wilkinson gives the Malay word *Saba* as sanskrit in origin, with the meaning "frequenter; visiting"; and *Sabah*, Ar: *Shabab*, "indistinguishable; alike," while *Sabak* means either "to weep" or "to boil down palm-sap for making native sugar". Reference may be made to Gerini in connection with the Bernam village (46, p. 522).

¹² For the names of Borneo see the *Introduction*, J. R. A. S. (M. B.), vol: XIX, Pt: 1, pp: 33-36.

at the south of the Golden Chersonese: Iabadios, or Sabadios, the reading being uncertain according to Bunbury (55, ii, p. 608): the Sabadibai islands: and Zabae.

Tradition also could be invoked, as will be seen later when ancient Arabian history comes to be considered.

From Chinese records it appears that Arabians had a counting-house at Canton in 300 A.D. (266, p. 4; 272, p. 99). Dr. T'ien-tsé Chang says that either Arabs or Persians introduced into China the cultivation of jasmine during the second half of the third century A.D. (304, p. 4) and reference should be made to the authorities which he gives for that statement. Beal's assumption of *Sa-po* as "Sabaeans" in his translation of Fa-hien (242, 1, p. lxxiv) and Hirth and Rockhill's reference to it (226, p. 3) must be ignored, as Pelliot has shown that *Sa-po* is the Chinese transcription of *sārthavāhā*, "chief merchant" (129, p. 356)¹³. Cary and Warming-ton (305) say that the Sabaeans seem to have reached China in the first century A.D.

The reader can now be referred to the confident statements of Steiger, Otley Beyer and Benitez, authorities of the highest reputation (306, pp: 126-132). They say, at p. 126, that "Arab relations with the Far East began as early as the time of Babylon, and at that time and in subsequent periods their relations were chiefly with India. Now the part of Arabia that carried on the trade was only one region—the country of Saba in southern Arabia, known in the Bible as Sheba. This south, or Sheban, coast, which lies along the southern part of Arabia partly on the Red Sea and partly on the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden, had been the home of a seagoing and commercial people in the earliest period of history. There is no question that at the time of King Solomon and the building of the city of Jerusalem the Shebans were the greatest seagoing people around Asia Minor. Just as the Phoenicians were the sailors in the Mediterranean, so in the same way were the Shebans in the Indian Ocean".

At pp: 127-128, they say "It is entirely doubtful whether any Phoenician, Greek or Roman ships ever got beyond India. But during Roman times the Romans tried to put the Shebans out of business by building fleets in Red Sea ports and the Persian Gulf and trading with India themselves. It may have been this Roman interference which first started the Sheban ships to seek Oriental ports beyond India for goods which the Romans could not get. At any rate, Sheban trade beyond India began about the time of the Roman competition with the Shebans in the Indian trade. The

¹³ See also T'oung Pao, 1912, vol: XIII, pp: 456-457.

first Arab ships which, according to the records, went as far westward as South China, date from the time of the first century of the Christian Era. Ptolemy's famous geography, published about A.D. 150, was based in the main on certain geographical and sailing directions left by a Phoenician sea captain named Marinas, who lived and visited the East around A.D. 75. There is no doubt but that Marinas was himself in China and made several voyages between East China and Arabian ports. These voyages were undoubtedly performed in Sheban ships, since after the destruction of Carthage, Phoenician ships had been run off the Red Sea by the war between Rome and Carthage, and Phoenicians would not enter the employ of the Romans. In the Chinese records themselves, the first definite account of Arab trade occurred at the end of the third century of the Christian Era, when the extent and character of a thriving Arab merchant colony in Canton was described".

At pp: 128-129, they say "Probably the stimulus of this competition¹⁴ was the prime motivating force in extending the Arab commerce beyond India to China and Malaysia in an effort to get their goods at the source rather than through the Indian merchants. At any rate, we know definitely that Arab trade with China and Malaysia was actually in existence at least as early as the first century of the Christian Era".

The suggestion that the Johore beads, being items (2) to (5) in the list above of Mr. Gardner's collection, were carried by Sabaeans would, therefore, not be without foundation. If we accept as a fact that the Sabaeans had certainly entered China by the beginning of the Christian era, it does not seem necessary to ascribe that fact merely to Roman competition. Sailors extend their explorations and traders have a habit of extending their trade, particularly when it is easy to do so. The same monsoons which carried the Sabaeans to and from India would have carried them to and from Malaysia and China. They would not have gone abruptly to China, one imagines, but rather have extended their exploration and trade gradually, first into the Straits of Malacca and the Malay Peninsula, remembering in this case that the easiest sailing route through the Straits passed from the north of Sumatra across to the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and down it. From the Malay Peninsula an extension to the Sarawak region, and the west coast of Borneo above it, was a normal and easy one and it has already been pointed out in the *Introduction*¹⁵ how that was so. From the Malay Peninsula passing up its east coast and standing across the bottom of the Gulf of Siam to the Indo-Chinese coast

¹⁴ i.e. with the Romans. R. B.

¹⁵ This Journal, vol: XIX, Pt: 1, p. 52.

was the normal and easiest way to use the SW monsoon; and to return on the NE in the reverse directions. The Indo-Chinese coast abounded with good harbours and clearly visible land-marks, as all navigational works at the beginning of the nineteenth century show¹⁶; and from Indo-China to south China was a further normal and easy extension. But one imagines that all this must have been gradually and with alternations of fortune, as far as all events as trade was concerned.

The finding of ancient pre-Christian beads in Bornco as well as in Johore would, accordingly, be quite natural, assuming, of course, that they were pre-Christian and that the type had not persisted so as to make them synchronous with the Roman beads. For the present at all events the suggestion is proffered that they should be taken as being pre-Christian and the further suggestion is proffered that they are more likely to have been carried direct in Sabaeen ships than transhipped in India and then carried by Indians. There can obviously be no certainty upon the present state of evidence and these suggestions should be treated neither as assertions nor as theories. They are merely suggestions.

3. Ancient history of South Arabia.

It must be insisted again that the story of ancient Malaya cannot be told properly as a separate subject but only as part of a whole. In historical times that whole is the story of the long sea-routes which began in the Mediterranean and Aegaeon and stretched as far as China; but, of course, historical times do not begin at the same period in each of the different parts of these routes.

Muhammad was not the first to bring Arabia into a leading position in the world's history. Arabian navigation, and the wealth that came from sea-control, began on parts of the long sea-route centuries before the Christian era. The Arabians are the first known navigators of the Indian Ocean; their mastery of it fell to the Romans and the Persians; and then reverted to the Muslim Arabs until the Portuguese rounded Africa and obtained the command.

The study of ancient Arabian history, therefore, is as important to the story of Malaya as is that of ancient Indian and Chinese history. Arabia was the link between the Mediterranean and India, and so between the Mediterranean and all the East beyond India. The following notes are written to provoke further interest in the subject. They are based, in addition to the two papers by Hamilton

¹⁶ In a later part of these *Notes* this will be dealt with fully in connection with Chinese navigation. R. B.

already noted, upon the following main authorities, stated in the order of their publication:—Vincent (307), Bunbury (55), Schoff (35), Hadi Hassan (308), Cary and Warmington (305), Sykes (38), Amir Ali (309), and Hitti (301).

Even if it is not always true to say that history is geography set in motion, it would seem to be true of ancient Arabia whose history is one of struggles for command of her land-routes and coastal ports. The explanation lies in her geography, a word or two as to which will, therefore, not be out of place. Its outstanding features are expressed in the names given to Arabia by the Romans. Arabia Petraea, the rocky, was their name for the northern portion centred on Sinai and the Nabataean kingdom with its great commercial centre Petra: Arabia Deserta, the desert, included the great Svro-Mesopotamian desert; and Arabia Felix, the happy, comprised all the rest and not merely Yemen, as once was thought. Running from the head of the Persian Gulf at its eastern end to the south-eastern corner of the Mediterranean at its western and with its centre directly north of Arabia is that semi-circle of fertile land nowadays called the Fertile Crescent, one of the most important stretches of land in the history of mankind.

Eastern people do not always use the word "island" with our exactitude, and attention to that fact was drawn in the *Introduction* in connection with malay *pulau*, chinese *chou*, and sanskrit *dvipa*. "The Arabians call their habitat *Jazirat al-'Arab*, "the Island of the Arabs", and an island it is, surrounded by water on three sides and by sand on the fourth" (301, p. 8). The eastern coast is flanked by the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf; the southern, which extends for some 1200 miles from Bab el Mandeb to Ras el Hadd, is washed by the Arabian Sea; and shipping from and to these two coasts is served by the SW and NE monsoons. But the third coast along the Red Sea was difficult of navigation for ancient sailing ships which ran only with the wind favouring them; and the alternating monsoons do not blow in the Red Sea, where the wind for most of the time blows in one direction only, from the north-west. Therefore, the ancient Egyptians provided their ocean-going ships with long oars as well as one large square sail; and this can be seen from their earliest representations in the third millenium B.C. The ancient Arabians preferred to develop a long land-route which ran from Yemen north into Syria, the so-called "spice road". The great object of the earliest Red Sea trade was the frankincense and spice country of Somaliland which the Egyptians called the Land of Punt or Puânit, but which may possibly have included the land on both sides of Bab el-Mandeb and so Yemen (301, p. 34). Geographically, the ancient Arabians were favoured in their competition for the Somali frankincense and spice trade, since the mon-

soons favoured their shipping, and they had the long caravan route alongside the Red Sea.

Beginning in Palestine, running down to the Isthmus of Suez, and continuing thence parallel with the Red Sea, there runs that great chain of mountains which is known in Arabia as *al-Hijāz*, meaning "the Barrier". Where the land on the western side of the Barrier is fertile, its fertility is caused by the waters that run from these mountains and Yemen at the south-western corner of the peninsula is particularly well favoured. We use the name "the Hedjaz" for these fertile parts through which the main caravan-route ran. On the eastern slopes of the lower part of the mountain chain the valleys are protected and fertile. Amongst them are Nejran, ar: *Najrān*, the Jawf or Jauf, and the valley of the Sabaeans, which was made rich by the great irrigation dam which they constructed at Ma'rib, the classical Mariaba. "These three valleys, which were the centres of caravan-trade bound north, owed their prosperity mainly to their position above the greatest of all the East-flowing courses, the Valley of Hadramaut. This great cleft in the sandstone rock, (originally, Bent believes an arm of the sea, now silted up), which gathers the streams from the highest peaks, runs parallel with the coast for more than 200 miles, fertile and productive for nearly the entire distance; then it turns to the south and its waters are lost, the mouth of the valley being desert like the cliffs that line its course" (35, p. 117).

The arabic name for Yemen is *al-Yāman*, so called because it lies to the right (*yaman*) side of the Hedjaz, in opposition to Syria, ar: *al Sha'm*, which lies to the left. The Arabians direct themselves facing the east so that the south is their right and the north their left. Yemen, accordingly, expresses the south.

In ancient times the Hadramaut included the district of Mahrah and al-Shihr as it then was. It was the celebrated Arabian land of frankincense, its chief centre being Zafār, formerly a town but now a district on the coast with the modern name of Dhufār. Frankincense still flourishes in the Hadramaut and other parts of Arabia and Dhufār is still the chief centre of the trade (301, p. 36). The Hadramaut Zafār must not be confused with the Zafār in Yemen which became the Himyarite capital. The word Zafār, classical Sapphar or Sapphar, seems to mean no more than "capital" or "royal residence" (35, p. 140). The Yemenite Zafār was near the modern town of Yerin, its ruins being still visible, and so was some 100 miles NE of Mocha on the road to Sanaa.

"The name "Hadramaut", the Hazarmaveth of Genesis X, means "Enclosure of Death", referring probably to the crater of Bir Barhut, whose rumblings were held to be the groans of lost

souls" (35, p. 119). Its people were known to the classical writers as the Chatramotitae.

Aden, principal place in the Arabia Eudaemon of the Romans, was from very early times an important trade centre and the chief port first of the Minaeans and then of the Sabaeans. Beyond it along the southern coast and up the coasts of Oman and the Persian Gulf, both of which were under the control of the Arabians in ancient times, there was a chain of ports from the principal of which caravan-routes led to the main route up the Hedjaz. The configuration of the land led all these routes into the main one, which at the north forked into Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia; and Hitti thinks that Ma'rib was their southern meeting-place (301, p. 55). It was the inherent difficulty of navigating the Red Sea and the absence of seasonal winds there which caused the Sabaeans to develop the land-routes and the presence of frequent oases and fertile resting-places along the main route enabled its easy development. Geography thus caused the caravan-routes to come into being.

Hamilton considers that from the earliest times, and certainly from 3000 B.C., the main land-route had existed, and he says that in the second millenium B.C. there was a considerable development of shipping in the Indian Ocean. The period from that millenium to the second century A.D. covers the rise of the ancient kingdoms of South Arabia to their zenith, he says, and in it there was a long development of the divine kingship of Saba. Hamilton considers that the Nisab-Markha-Beihan triangle must have been the first place where all the caravan-routes from southern parts joined and where the southern terminus of the great incense route must have existed. As illustrating the greatness of the trade he says that in the first century B.C. we hear of caravans composed of two and three thousand camels arriving in the south Mediterranean and it is inferred in the account that such were common. He points out that, if a caravan consisted of three thousand camels, it would have extended some twenty miles on the march.

There naturally was a great diffusion of culture between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean and a great interchange of trade commodities. It was trade which built up the ancient South Arabian kingdoms. They did not seek conquest abroad and the colonies which they planted outside of Arabia were trading ones. Of the four best-known of these ancient kingdoms, Saba, Ma'in, Hadramaut and Cataban (Qatabān), the first three are mentioned in the Old Testament: and at this point reference to tradition may well be made. Hitti says that the Sabaeans "were the Phoenicians of the southern area. They mapped its coasts, charted its routes, mastered its treacherous monsoons and thus monopolized its trade

during the last millenium and a half before our era. The circumnavigation of Arabia, stated as a theoretical possibility by Alexander's admiral, Nearchus, was in their case an actuality¹⁷ (301, p. 49). Vincent says that Sabaea, the Hadramaut and Oman were the residence of navigators in all ages from the time that history begins to speak of them and that Hippalus was two hundred years later than the first evidence that the Sabaeans knew how to use the monsoons (307, ii, p. 63). Agatharcides, ca: 113 B.C., says that the Sabaeans were able mariners who sailed in very large vessels to the country where odoriferous commodities were produced and planted colonies there (307, ii, p. 33). Pliny, 79 A.D., says that there were Arabians on the coast of Malabar and in such numbers at Ceylon that he represents them as masters of the coast (ibid: p. 283): and, as has been seen above, they were in South China in the first century of our era. Did they plant any colony in Malaysia?

It is well known that the Bugis royal tradition in Celebes (and so that of the Sultans of Selangor in the Malay Peninsula who originally were Bugis) traces descent from Queen Balkis or Bilkis, ar: *Bilqis*, of Sheba. Why should the Bugis have any such tradition? Could there be any truth in it?

The Arab traditions of Sabaeen descent appear to be as follows, taking them from Schoff (35, pp: 107-109) and that high authority the late Sir Syed Amir Ali (309)¹⁷. The great grandson of Shem was Eber whose second son was Joktan, whom, says Schoff, the Arabs call Kahtān. Joktan had two sons Hadramaut and Jerah, whom the Arabs call Yarab, written by Amir Ali as Yreb. This last had a son Abd-er-Shems which Amir Ali writes Abd urh-Shams, who was known as Saba the Great. Amir Ali says that Saba means "the capturer" and, as will be seen later, the Sabaeans possessed themselves of the Minaean kingdom, including Yemen. Saba the Great is said to have founded the capital city of Ma'rib. According to the Arab accounts the great irrigation dam at that place was finished by a King Zu'karnain (35, p. 108). Amir Ali says that traditionally Saba left two sons. Himyar, meaning "red" from the red mantle which he wore in imitation of the Pharaohs, and Kuhlān. After the former, who succeeded to his father's throne, the dynasty of Saba was called Himyary, or Himyarite. Amir Ali says that traditionally Yareb, son of Kahtān, was the first prince of Yemen and that the Arab ul-Mu'ariba were tribes sprung from Kahtān. These tribes are chiefly concentrated in Yemen. According to Amir Ali, it was the descendants of Kahtān who burst into Arabia from its north-east corner and penetrated into the south, their primitive cradle having lain in Meso-

¹⁷ Unfortunately the notes which I made from his work *The Spirit of Islam* are unpagged and no copy of the book is available to me in Singapore. R. B.

potamia: and he says that in moving south from there to Yemen they must have passed the whole length of the peninsula and doubtless have left settlements behind them. He says that this wave was headed by the two sons of Eber, Kahtān and Yaktān, and that to this dynasty belonged the great Zu'lkarnain and Queen Bilkis who went to Jerusalem in the time of King Solomon. He considers that there is considerable doubt as to the identity of Zu'lkarnain, the opinion that he was Alexander the Great being open to question. The name, of course, means "lord of the two horns" and Amir Ali says that the ancient Sabaean sovereigns wore as head-dress the crescent-shaped moon with two horns, which they borrowed from Egypt about the period of this king. He suggests that the reference in the Koran¹⁸ was to some sovereign of native origin whose extensive conquests became magnified in imagination into world-wide dominion¹⁹.

If some Sabaean trading colony did implant itself in Celebes, its chieftain might well have claimed descent from Queen Balkis of Sheba and have married a Bugis princess. If Amir Ali's views as to Zu'lkarnain were correct and if that king were in reality a Sabaean, Bugis royal tradition would link with the royal traditions of Palembang, Malacca and Perak, which claim descent from Zu'lkarnain. It may be noted also that ancient beads have been found in Celebes.

But it must be understood that this matter of tradition has been introduced purely as a matter of interest. The present writer neither accepts it nor bases any theories upon it, much less that it does in fact evidence any Sabaean penetration into Malaysia.

We can pass now to the facts of ancient Arabian history. Hitti says that "the first kingdom that we are able to discern through the mists of South Arabian antiquity is the Minaean kingdom, which flourished from ca. 1300 to 650 B.C., according to the school of Arabists who hold for the higher chronology" (301, p. 52). This kingdom flourished in the Jauf of Yemen between Nejran and the Hadramaut; and in its hey-day embraced most of South Arabia, including Cataban and the Hadramaut. Its capital was Karna (Qarnāw), represented by the modern Ma'in, in the southern Jauf NE of Sanaa. But, says Hitti, "the Sabaean were the first Arabians to step within the threshold of civilization" (ibid: p. 49). Sykes writes that "Sabaean inscriptions date back to the ninth or tenth century B.C., and in the Book of Kings we have an account

¹⁸ Sura, XVIII, 83-98. R. B.

¹⁹ Reference may also be made to Abdullah Yusuf Ali's *The Holy Qur-an*, 1938, in connection with Zu'lkarnain, pp: 760-763 and n. 2428, p. 753: he accepts the usual belief that he was Alexander the Great.

of a Queen of Sheba who came to "prove Solomon with hard questions". This visit would have taken place about 950 B.C. The Sabaeans lived in North Arabia at this period, and, so far as is known, they moved southwards during the ninth and eighth centuries" (38, p. 38). Carl Peters (303) considered that the country of Queen Bilkis of Sheba was bounded on the north by the southernmost province of the Solomonic kingdom, and that in Solomon's time the Sabaeans were dominant in South Arabia and possessed the gold countries between the Zambesi and Sabi Rivers.

Hitti allots to the first Sabaean period the dates 950-650 B.C. and says that its first kings were synchronous with the last Minaeans but after about three centuries the Sabaeans fell heir to the Minaean kingdom and established themselves as masters of South Arabia and rulers of the most brilliant era in its history (301, p. 54). But Minaeans and Sabaeans were kinsmen, just as the later Himyarites were kinsmen of the Sabaeans. It seems not to be a history of different races but of different dynasties of the same race. Minaeans and Sabaeans both spoke the same language though with dialectical differences, according to Hitti in the passage just cited. He says that Dedan, ar: *Daydān*, mentioned repeatedly in the Old Testament is the modern al-'Ula, an oasis in the northern Hedjaz. For some time it was the headquarters of the Sabaeans in the northern part of the peninsula. Hitti says that "at the height of their commercial power the Sabaeans evidently exercised control over the transport routes leading through al-Hijāz northward to the Mediterranean ports and had colonies planted along these routes" and that "if historical, the Queen of Sheba (koranic Balqis) who brought to the wise king of Israel gifts of unique value characteristic of South Arabia (1 K. 10: 10; 2 Ch 9: 9) must have had her headquarters neither in al-Yaman nor in Ethiopia, but in one of these Sabaean posts or garrisons in the north on the caravan route. Not until two centuries after the age of Solomon (ca. 1000 B.C.) do the Yamanite kings begin to figure in inscriptions" (301, p. 42).

That the Sabaeans moved south down the Hedjaz caravan-route and finally possessed themselves of Yemen, therefore, seems clear; but there would appear to be room for further research into the facts and dates. Hamilton, for instance, says that west of Shabwa Philby found an inscription of Shabwa kings, attributed to ca 900 B.C., which speaks of brother kings then known as Sheba and Raidan. Hitti, however, says that in the first Sabaean period "Mukarib Saba" was the title of the priest-king who stood at the head of the state (301, p. 54) and that after the second period, which he dates as from 650—115 B.C., the inscriptions reveal the

title "King of Saba' and dhu-Raydān" (301, p. 55). Raydān later became known as Zafār, the region of the sea-coast.

Hitti says that the castle of Sirwāh, modern Kharibah, a day's journey west of Ma'rib, was the oldest structure built by the Sabaeans and their first capital, and that Shams (or Shamsiyah) and Yith'i-amara, the two Sabaeans who paid tribute to Sargon 11, belong to this age (301, pp: 54-55). Sargon 11 is dated 722-705 B.C. by Hall (300). During the second Sabaean period, Ma'rib, sixty miles east of Sanaa, became the capital but it would seem that the older portions of the great irrigation dam there were constructed in their first period, though Sykes attributes the whole work to the Himyarites.

The second Sabaean period proved to be the most glorious in their era and was succeeded in 115 B.C. by a Himyarite kingdom which lasted until 300 A.D. Hamilton says that 300 A.D. was the hey-day of South Arabia. "The Himyarites were close kinsmen of the Sabaeans and, as the youngest branch of the stock, became the inheritors of the Minaeo-Sabaean culture and trade. Their language was practically the same as that of the Sabaeans and Minaeans before them" (301, p. 56). About 300 A.D. a second Himyarite kingdom seems to have come into existence. Until then the Hadramaut, the capital of which, according to Hitti, was Shabwah, the classical Sabota, seems to have had kings of its own but during the second Himyarite kingdom its king becomes "king of Saba', dhu-Raydān, Hadramaut and Yamanāt", which means the Hadramaut had lost its independence (301, p. 60). It is, however, doubtful if Shabwah was ever a capital; and upon that the reader should consult the two papers by Hamilton. Save for an Abyssinian incursion the second Himyarite dynasty held its position until about 525 A.D. (301, p. 60). Hadi Hasan says that Himyarite decline began soon after the fifth century A.D. and reached its climax in 523 A.D. The great dam at Ma'rib met with catastrophe between 542 and 570 A.D. and "later Arab imagination seized upon this spectacular episode of the great flood and bursting of the dam to explain the whole age-long process of decline and decay in South Arabian trade, agriculture, prosperity and national life; a decline due, as we have already learned, to the entry of Roman shipping into the Red Sea, the introduction of the divisive influence of new religions²⁰ and the subsequent submission to foreign rule" (301, p. 65).

To understand how Roman competition undermined the ancient Arabian domination of the Indian Ocean it is necessary to go back to Ptolemaic times. Soon after Alexander's death the Greek Ptole-

20 During the later Himyarite period Christianity and Judaism entered Yemen. R. B.

maic dynasty was founded in Egypt by Ptolemy I Soter, 323—285 B.C., with Alexandria as its centre of government, culture and commerce; and he began a bid for sea-power, which continued under his son, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, 285—246 B.C., and his grandson Ptolemy III Euergetes, 246—221 B.C., by which time a chain of trading ports had been established along the African shore of the Red Sea from Suez to Ras Benas and command of that sea had been secured. Exploration beyond it had begun, but after the death of the third Ptolemy the Sabaeans stopped all activity of Ptolemaic shipping beyond Bab el Mandeb. The attempt of the Ptolemies to contest the supremacy of the sea with the South Arabians was made possible by their ownership of the Phoenician seaports and their consequent power to utilize Phoenician seamen. Although the Sabaeans had been able to bottle their opponents in the Red Sea, they had lost their command of the maritime commerce in that sea. When Egypt fell to Rome in 30 B.C., the Romans obtained the Ptolemaic chain of ports and command of the Red Sea. At first, they attempted a land conquest of Sabaea; but, when that failed, they concentrated on their sea-power and were able gradually to obtain control of the sea-route, and maritime trade, to India, which was thoroughly well known to them by the time that the *Periplus* was written, ca: 60 A.D. It is unnecessary to go into detail or to set out the various descriptions of Arabia and Sabaea in the classical Greek and Roman writers. The main facts are clear; and the possibility of Roman ships having sailed into Malaysian waters can be left for discussion by those interested in the subject. As has been seen, present opinion is that they did not do so.

Therefore, if the Johore beads were imported direct, the choice would seem to fall upon those ancient Arabian ships which are described generically as "Sabaean". If the beads were not imported direct, then they would have been brought by Indian ships after transshipment in India and probably on its western coast.

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Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya*

4. Takola and Kataha.

In Book VII of his Geography Ptolemy gives the following four positions, as stated in Renou's edition (56), which is generally conceded to be best (272, p. 22, n. 3):—

Beroba, town	162° 20' E	6° N.
Promontory situated after this town	159° E	4° 20' N.
In the Golden Chersonese: Takola, emporium	160° 30' E	4° 15' N.
Promontory situated after this town	158° 20' E	2° 20' N.

The first two of these positions are the last of those given "Amongst the cannibal Besyngitai in the Sabarakos Gulf".

In 1897 Dr. C. O. Blagden said that the Golden Chersonese is "without any doubt the Malay Peninsula" (62, p. 236) and that is the generally accepted identification. The data in Ptolemy's Geography make it certain, in our view, that his Golden Chersonese must have been the Malay Peninsula.

The usual view is that Ptolemy wrote his Geography ca: 150 A.D. and certainly during the period 150-160 A.D. It is clear from his Almagest that he took observations personally the earliest of which was in 127 A.D. and the latest in 141 A.D. The Tetrabiblos and then the Geography followed the Almagest and finally the Astronomical Hand-tables. Therefore, the Geography must have been written after 141 A.D.; and it seems to be clear that Ptolemy outlived the Emperor Antoninus Pius who died in 161 A.D.

As Ptolemy tells us himself, his Geography was based upon the work of Marinus of Tyre, which he corrected and completed from further information gathered by himself. Marinus, who is usually

* Unfortunately suitable type for setting some of the diacritical marks required by this paper is not available in Malaya. An attempt has been made to obtain the necessary fonts from the manufacturers, but they have not been able to supply it in time. To avoid confusion, the paper has therefore been set without any diacritical marks.

dated as ca: 120 A.D., obtained his information from the book of a sea-captain or traveller named Alexander, who is usually ascribed to ca: 75 A.D. The works of Alexander and Marinus have been lost and are known only from quotations by Ptolemy.

The evidence of classical literature, therefore, shows that the history of Takola begins in the 2nd century A.D. and, since it was then of sufficient importance to be a Roman emporium, must go back at least to the 1st century A.D.

We take the Malay Peninsula as beginning at the isthmus of Kra in latitude 10° N. and that is the usual view; but many writers take it further north to 13° 45' N. so as to include Tenasserim. For Ptolemy it began at the promontory which we identify with Junk Ceylon (Puket Island), following Berthelot (53). One piece of evidence was adduced in the *Introduction*¹ to show that Junk Ceylon once was not an island but an actual promontory, and to that more evidence could be added, so that this fact can be accepted. Whether or not it was still an actual promontory in the time of Ptolemy does not matter, since its general appearance is such. The Sabarakos Gulf is agreed generally to have been the present Gulf of Martaban and the area extending south of it. The last town given by Ptolemy in the Besyngitai country is Beroba. Using the general indications in Ptolemy, Berthelot places Beroba about two-thirds down the coast line and so where the present Karathuri appears on the map²; and this identification we accept. Below the Gulf of Martaban there is only one really prominent promontory and that is the one formed by Junk Ceylon.

To locate Ptolemy's Takola we must look for a place well to the east and also to the south, of Ptolemy's promontory. It is axiomatic with us that, while the exactitude of Ptolemy's positions cannot be accepted, and identification must accord with his general indications or otherwise the whole subject becomes mere guess-work; and we find the most satisfactory method of approach to be that of Berthelot, which has been explained already in the *Introduction*³.

Since, therefore, Ptolemy's promontory can only be Junk Ceylon and since Takola was east and south of it, we must reject the identification with Takuapa, which has been accepted by so many, and we would ask what is the promontory, if Takola were Takuapa. We should also note that there is no real similarity between the names, although Takuapa is often, even generally, called Takopa. *Takuapa* means "tin in the forest", while *Takua-tung* means "tin in the plain", *takua* being Siamese for "tin" (309, ii, pp: 16 and 17)⁴. In Ptolemy's time the Thai languages had not reached this area, according to general opinion.

It would seem that in his identification of Takola with Takupa Dr. Quaritch Wales was greatly influenced by the fact that it afforded the best anchorage for ships on the whole west coast of the Malay Peninsula and that it was the first point of land reached by east-bound vessels from India after leaving the Ten Degree Channel (288, pp: 36, 55). Of the excellence of its harbour there cannot be any doubt but what evidence is there that the ships used the Ten Degree Channel? Seen on a modern map, one can, as Dr. Quaritch Wales did, push one's finger from Negapatam through the Channel in a south-eastward direction until it rests upon Takuapa; but did the ancient sailors from Negapatam so push their ships? The only direct evidence which we have in translated form is that of I Ching (I Tsing) in the 7th century A.D. and it does not help because ships in those days sailed from the ancient port of Kedah, as will be seen later. Moreover, according to Ptolemy, ships for the Golden Chersonese sailed from the *apheterion*, a place somewhere in the Godavari-Kistna area, and it would seem, though it is far from certain, that they crossed to a place which Ptolemy calls Sada and from there sailed down the coast. Moreover, as Dr. Quaritch Wales says, it was necessary to escape "the clutches of the savage Andamaners". Both for that purpose and navigationally one would have supposed a passage between Car Nicobar and the Nicobar Islands. There is the further fact that water and wood were necessary at convenient places for the ancient ships and that the Nicobars were well situated for this purpose. Long direct passages in early times were avoided for a variety of reasons.

Takola as written by Ptolemy, is agreed universally to have been the same place as the sanskrit Takkola. Reference has already been made in the *Introduction*⁵ to Sylvain Levi's celebrated geographical study (61) in which he considered a number of places, including Takkola, which appear in various works of ancient Indian literature and particularly in the *Niddesa*, usually dated as between the end of the 1st and beginning of the 3rd century A.D. (181, p. 58). The name of Takkola appears also in the pali *Milindapanha*, the date of which is uncertain but is placed in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*⁶ as approximately about the beginning of the Christian era. Professor Nilakanta Sastri, however, considers it to be ca: 400 A.D. (57, pp: 623-624). In St. John's translation (60, p. 217) the passage reads:—

"Just, O King, as a ship-owner who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town, will be able to traverse the high sea, and go to Vanga or Takkola, or China, or Sovira, or Surat, or Alexandria, or the Coromandel coast, or Further India (Suvannabhumi) or any other place where ships do congregate".

The description of Takkola as a place where ships congregated accords well with the word *emporion* which Ptolemy attaches to Takola; but it is only in Ptolemy that we get any data for its location. There are absolutely none in the Indian literature. We have discussed the identification of Takola in the *Introduction*⁷. Berthelot considered that Ptolemy's general indications showed that it must have been Trang and we pointed out that archaeologically Trang does not seem to have been sufficiently ancient. We suggested, accordingly, ancient Kedah; but that suggestion has been rejected by Dr. Quaritch Wales (268, p. 67) and by Professor Nilakanta Sastri (310, p. 9); so the question must be re-considered. The rejection turns upon the Chola inscriptions of the 11th century A.D., concerning which there is a large literature, and it involves consideration of the Tamil names *Kadaram*, *Ilangasoka* and *Talaittakolam* occurring therein. In the inscription there is no geographical indication where these places are but scholars have agreed identifications upon etymological reasoning. Nobody, however, has paused to consider the complete disappearance from Indian literature of the sanskrit *Takkola* for many centuries before the appearance of the tamil *Talaittakolam*.

In the *Introduction*⁸ the identification of the Chinese toponyms Tun-sun (Tien-sun, Tun-hsun) and Tou-chu-li has been considered and the facts concerning them have been set out. It was submitted upon these facts that Tun-sun must have been a general name for the Malay Peninsula. Its principal place is not named in the Chinese records but the facts which they give show that it must have been on the west coast of the Peninsula and that it was a port, from which ships sailed to India, as well as a mart for east and west to which merchants came in great numbers to barter. It was, accordingly, an entrepot. The name Tun-sun dates back to the 3rd century A.D. and the notice in the *Liang Shu* says that there were five kings in Tun-sun, all of whom were vassals of Funan, though it is not possible to say exactly at what date. It appears from the *Liang Shu* that Tou-chu-li became known in China during the time of the Wu dynasty, 222-280 A.D. There are no geographical data concerning it except that clearly it must have been a port on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula in sea-communication with India. In the *Introduction* the resemblance of the name to that of Takola was noted and views upon that question were collected; and we posed the question "May it not be that Ptolemy's Takola, the principal town of Tun-sun and Tou-chu-li are one and the same?"

In his latest work Professor Coedes considers that Tun-sun was "probably on the Malay Peninsula" (272, p. 30 and p. 46, n.1) and he accepts without any reservation (*ibid*: p. 47) that T'eu-kiu-li (i.e. Tou-chu-li) is the same place as the sanskrit Takkola

of the *Milindapanha*. It is also worthy of remark that in his *Kambuja-Desa*, 1944, Professor R. C. Majumdar accepts that Teu-ki-li, as he writes it, was "probably the famous port of Takkola". We feel justified, therefore, in putting forward the suggestion that the answer to the question which we posed should be in the affirmative.

Professor Nilakanta Sastri in 1940 (311, p. 287, n. 1) placed Takola "on the isthmus of Kra or a little to the south" but that will not fit the data in Ptolemy. In 1944 Professor Coedes (272, p. 47) wrote concerning the sanskrit Takkola that "it is agreed to place this town at Takua Pa on the west coast of the isthmus of Kra, but it may perhaps have been more to the south"; and for the latter part of that statement he cited the present writer's *Introduction*. For reasons already given, we suggest that Takuapa must be rejected and that we must look east and south of Junk Ceylon. If the lack of archaeological evidence can be ignored, Berthelot's identification with Trang is undoubtedly satisfactory and answers the data in Ptolemy. Warrington Smyth (309, ii, p. 11) considered that the port of Tun-sun was "more than likely to have been near Trang". In the *Introduction*⁹ we wrote with regard to Takola that "We would expect a surrounding hinterland of importance. We are not dealing with the south but the north of the peninsula. A harbour and the meeting of trade-routes is sufficient for a southern emporium served by both monsoons but not for the northern one"; and the facts of navigation and of the monsoons make that proposition clear. Trang satisfies these requirements. Rice is grown there (309, ii, p. 13) and easy land-routes connect it with Patalung province (272, p. 33), which is an agriculturally rich one (309, ii, p. 117) and with the big province of Nakon Sri Tammarat, or Lakon as it is more usually called (309, ii, v. 128). This latter province is also known as Ligor, which Graham says is "probably a Chinese corruption of Lakon" (312, i, p. 31): he tells us (*ibid*: p. 10) that "round about the towns of Lakon and Patalung the largest and most fertile plains are situated". Warrington Smyth says that in his time Trang could generally be used by small coasters and that vessels there did not need to face half the bad weather that they must when going to the other ports (309, ii, p. 128). He also says that according to public tradition native boats could ascend the eastern branch of the Bandon River to its source and then go down the Trang River to the west coast without a portage, the distance being given as 170 miles (*ibid*: p. 80). The Bandon River drains an extensive valley between two mountain ranges.

The reader will have noticed that Ptolemy puts Takola 5 minutes south of the promontory and 1 degree 30 minutes east of it (his degree being 50 geographical miles), and it may well be asked how that fits Trang. An examination of Berthelot (53)

should be made on this point but some further facts concerning Ptolemy's methods will also be helpful. As we have said, he corrected and completed the work of Marinus by means of further information which he collected himself from sailors, merchants and travellers in Alexandria. None of such information could have been really accurate. As Warmington says (33, p. 131), Ptolemy "was dependent for his information upon ignorant sailors, who often misspelt hopelessly the very names of the ports at which they touched. He had only their word for the directions in which they sailed from port to port, and this was often entirely wrong; and for distance, as he himself confesses, he had to be content with calculating from the average run of a ship per day, with deductions to allow for irregularities of the coast, and other disturbing factors". Seamanship in those days was pilotage rather than navigation and the ships themselves had unhandy steering and rigging which did not permit of their sailing close to the wind or tacking across it. They were dependent upon wind and tide, and the wind had to be a favouring one. To attribute to each day's sail by such ships, particularly in Malaysian waters, a fixed average must have led to errors. Throughout antiquity longitudes were matters of dead reckoning; there was no precise method of observing diurnal time or of comparing such observations with one another. Though there were instruments by which latitudes could be measured, it would seem that experienced travellers did not use them extensively and it is clear that Ptolemy had very few such observations, none of which could have been completely accurate. The gnomon and the astrolabe (fore-runner of the sextant) were known but experienced seamen did not rely upon them. They sailed from point to point, or, where they knew the favouring wind, put out boldly to sea trusting to arrive roughly at their destination.

Ptolemy assigned precise longitudinal and latitudinal positions and prepared his tables "by calculating and comparing itineraries, rendering days' journeys and voyages into stadia, and other such rough methods as have been employed by geographers in all ages when they have had to lay down maps of countries for which they had no proper scientific materials" (55, ii, p. 549). He thus gave scientific form to that which was quite unscientific. Moreover, the maps and MSS. of Ptolemy's Geography which remain to us all date many centuries later than the original work and there exists the margin of error caused by faulty copying or by deliberate changes. Accordingly, it is useless to attempt a purely mathematical approach to his longitudes and latitudes. The only method is to accept the general indications and to endeavour, as Berthelot does, to work back to the information received by Ptolemy, and then to check results, where possible, with archaeological and historical facts. It is for this reason that we suggest Berthelot's identification of Takola with Trang to be satisfactory.

Summarizing, then, we submit (1) that Ptolemy's Promontory was Junk Ceylon (2) that Takola = Takkola = the principal place of Tun-sun = Tou-chu-li and (3) is best fitted by Trang, save upon archaeological evidence. Since that evidence has been ignored in the identification with Takuapa, it can also be ignored in the case of Trang, for it must be remembered that archaeologically Takuapa cannot be taken back to Ptolemy's time, the potsherds discovered there by Dr. Quaritch Wales being of doubtful evidentiary value, to say the least.

We have suggested in the Introduction¹⁰ that Tou-chu-li is not the same place as the Chu-li (which seems to be the correct rendering of Chu-chih) appearing in the *Nan chou i wu chih*; but, even if it is, the name seems to disappear after the 3rd century A.D., since Wan Chen, the author of that work, is stated by the *Sui Shu* to have lived in that century. Accordingly it would seem that just as Takkola disappears from ancient Indian literature and Takola from classical, so Tou-chi-li disappears from the Chinese records, any later mention being but repetition in the fashion of Chinese historians and encyclopaedists. As will be seen later, *Takkola* is preserved, however, in the name of a commodity for many centuries later.

We pass now to *Kataha* which Dr. Quaritch Wales (268) would locate in Perak and Mr. Moens (241) first in Java and later in Johore.

In the text of the famous Tamil poem *Pattinappalai*, of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D., we are told of "goods from *Kalagam*" which found their way to the ancient city of Puhar (Kaveripattinam). The full passage is translated by Professor Nilakanta Sastri in his history of the Cholas (57, pp: 99-100). The annotator of the poem, who wrote very much later, says that this *Kalagam* was the same as *Kadaram*; and Professor Nilakanta Sastri says that this has the sanction of old lexicons like the Pingalam (ibid: p. 264) and that the *Divakaram*, the earliest lexicon in the Trang language now known to us, gives the equation in its geographical section (313, p. 26). *Kadaram*, also written *Kidaram*, was the Tamil equivalent of the sanskrit *Kataha*, as we know from the Chola inscriptions. The views of Professor Nilakanta Sastri upon the series of names (and no higher authority could be cited on the point) are as follows:—

(1) "In the text of the *Pattinappalai*, the word *Kalagam* stands for the name of a place in constant trade relations with *Pattinam* or *Kaveripattinam*, the celebrated port of the early Chola monarchs of the Sangam age. And the mention of *Kalagam*, which must be *Kadaram* or nothing, in this early poem of the second or third century A.D. is not without considerable significance to a

study of the early history of the Hindu colonies of the East" (314, pp: 128-129):

(2) "*Kataha* is Sanskrit, and the three other words are Tamil; of these *Kadaram* and *Kidaram* are variants of the same word (cf: *Kada-kida*, *kana-kina*, *pala-pila*, etc.) which has the same meaning as *Kataha*; while *Kalagam* meaning 'black' is synonymous with *Kadara*, also Sanskrit, meaning 'tawny' or 'dark brown'. The form *Kalagam* is the earliest in Tamil literature. So that the Indian names of this kingdom fall into two groups:

Skt. *Kataha* = Tam. *Kadaram* or *Kidaram* = cauldron

Skt. *Kadara* = Tam. *Kalagam* = black, or dark brown.

"It is difficult to decide which of these is the earliest form of the name, and all of them seem to be purely Indian words, having little to do with any language in Indonesia" (ibid.:, pp: 129-130).

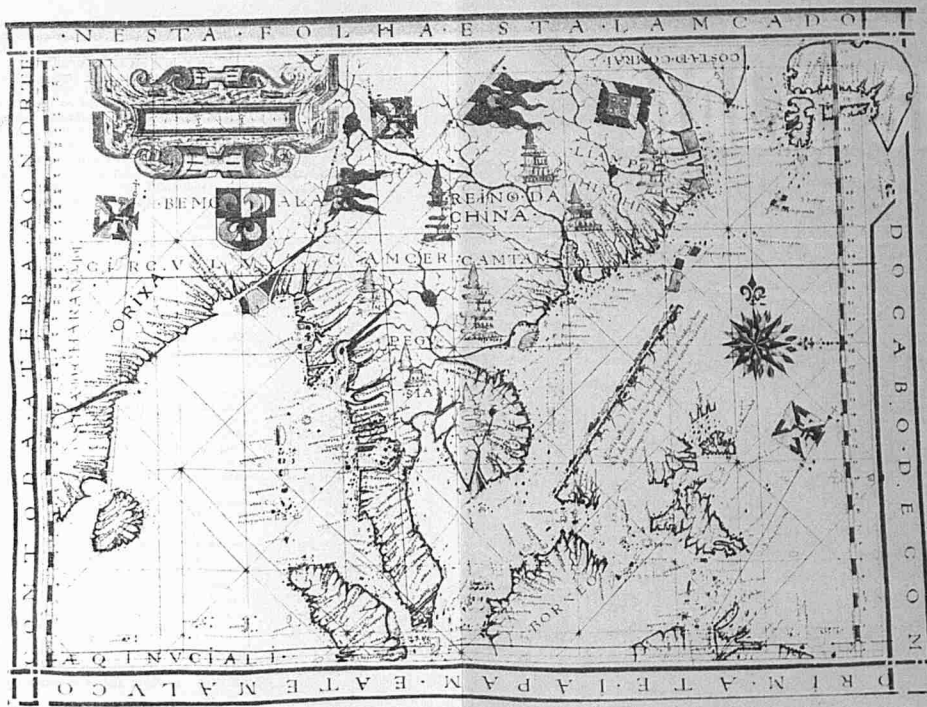
Professor Nilkanta Sastri, therefore, is in accord with the views expressed by Professor Coedes in his famous study of Srivijaya in 1918 (315, pp: 19-20); and he rejects the criticism of those views by Ferrand (140).

Though the identity of *Kalagam* with *Kadaram* may, perhaps not be entirely free from doubt, there is general agreement with the rest of these views, and for our present purposes all are accepted.

Dr. V. S. Agrawala (316, p. 96) says that "*Kataha Dvipa* is mentioned several times in Sanskrit and Prakrit literature as a place situated beyond the sea and reached by ships leaving the seaport of Tamralipti. In Prakrit its name occurs as *Kadahadipa*". Tamralipti is, of course, the modern Tamruk in the Midnapur district in the western part of the Ganges delta.

References to the Puranas were made in the *Introduction*¹¹, and to the nine divisions, *Indra-dvipa*, *Kaseruman*, *Tamra-varna*, *Gabhastiman*, *Kumari-dvipa*, *Naga-dvipa*, *Saumya*, *Gandharva*, *Varuna*. The *Vamana Garuda Puranas* substitute *Kathaha* in place of *Saumya* or *Gandharva* (317, p. 59) and the *Agnipurana* refers to a "peak, as the boundary of a tract, under the name of *Anda-Kataha*, of which the limit is said to be the peak in question" (318, p. 59, n. 13).

Dvipa, of course, means either "island" or "continent". *Kataha Dvipa* therefore, indicates generally a large tract of sea-girt land: and the *Kaumudimahotsara* mentions a city *Kataha-nagara* as one of the great Indian cities famous for gay life (318, pp: 61-63; 316, p. 59). Dr. Sircar (316, p. 59) thinks that this Sanskrit



1571 Fernão Vaz Dourado, (Tabularum Geographicarum Lusitanorum).

drama is not earlier than the 7th or 8th century A.D. Dr. O. C. Gangoly says that the upper limit of its date "has been accepted by scholars as the seventh century" (318, p. 61). He writes (*ibid*: p. 67) that "Reverting to the text of the *Kaumudi-mahotsava*, we have cited enough references to establish that Katahanagara as a very popular city was very well known to Indians who made frequent voyages to the city, which was thus linked up with India Proper in various ties of mercantile and social interest". He thinks (*ibid*: p. 64) that "It is very probable that Kataha (Kalagam, Kadaram) was an important sea-port and a brisk centre of trade, at least from the third century A.D., long before the rise of the Sailendras". He says (*ibid*: p. 65) that the principal port of embarkation for Kataha was Tamralipti and that various passages in the *Kathasaritsagara* leave no doubt that frequent voyages were made.

The Katha literature of the 8th to 11th centuries A.D. shows Kataha Dvipa as a popular place in stories concerning the adventures of merchants overseas (316), and one finds some slender geographical clues for its location in the *Kathasaritsagara*, or Ocean of Story, for which we use the superb edition by Mr. N. M. Penzer (173). These clues are as follows:

(1) the story of Guhasena shows that the city of Tamralipta (as Mr. Penzer has it) was in sea communication with "the country of Kataha" (173, i. pp: 153-156);

(2) in the story of Chandrasvamin we are told that he went in a ship from Jalapura, an Indian coastal city, to the "great island of Nārikela" and then to the island of Kataha with the merchant Danavarman; and there he heard that another merchant named Kanakavarman "had gone from that island to an island named Karpura. In the same way he visited in turn the islands of Karpura, Suvarna and Simhala with merchants, but he did not find the merchant whom he was in search of. But from the people of Simhala he heard that that merchant Kanakavarman had gone to his own city, named Chitrakuta" (173, iv, pp: 223-224);

(3) in the story of the Two Princesses we are told that King Gunasagara, who was a King in "the dvipa named Kataha, the home of all felicities", decided that his daughter should marry King Vikramaditya; "Accordingly, the King made his daughter embark in a ship on the sea, with her retinue and wealth, and sent her off. But it so happened that when the ship came near Suvarnavdipa it was swallowed, with the princess and the people on board, by a large fish" (173, ix, pp: 50-51).

Some further facts as to Takkola and Kataha can be obtained from the names of certain products. As to the former the reader

should note Sylvain Levi (61) and Coedes (315, p. 15). Professor Nilakanta Sastri adduces further evidence to which attention is now drawn.

In India to this day, and particularly in South India, the Malaysian area is known as *dripantara* (319, p. 1) and the antiquity of this name has been shown by Sylvain Levi (320), who shows that it corresponded exactly with the Chinese use of K'un-lun and accordingly covered the "South Sea", or Malaysia. Professor Nilakanta Sastri refers to two other passages, one in Sanskrit and the other in Tamil, in which the word *dripantara* occurs (319, pp: 3-4). In the former there occurs the phrase "*dcipantara-nita-lavanga*"; and a connection between the *dripantara* and *lavanga* (Sanskrit for "cloves") is shown in the full passage. Unfortunately, however, the learned Professor has fallen into the error of thinking that "the home of the cloves, *lavanga*, is the Malay Peninsula". Despite many attempts in early British times, cloves could never be grown successfully in the peninsula. This, however, is immaterial and all we need do is to substitute "Malaysia" for "Malay Peninsula" and remember that, as far back and as late forward as we can trace, the entrepôts of the Peninsula have been great centres of the clove and spice trade. The Moluccas are, of course, the true home of the clove.

The Sanskrit passage cited by the Professor occurs in the *Raghuramsa* of Kalidasa, who is generally taken to have lived at the end of the 4th century, or in the 5th century, A.D., though additions were made later to his work.

The Tamil passage occurs in the ancient poem *Silappadikaram* and is rendered by the Professor (313, p. 26) thus, "Having entered together with the east wind that came laden with (the aroma) of aloe, silks, sandal, spices and camphor put by the residents of Tondi on board a fleet of tall roomy ships". The place which was entered was the city of Madura in the south of India. Professor Nilakanta Sastri thinks that the Tondi here could not have been either the celebrated one of the Cheras on the south-west coast of India or the one in the Ramnad District of south India but must, from the context, have been a Tondi somewhere in lands colonised by Indians across the sea and probably Malaysian. The commodities are just such as would have come from a Malaysian entrepôt, their arrival on the east wind means that they had come from such a direction, and one knows that the ancient Indians carried names from their home-lands to their new colonies. One need have no hesitation, therefore, in accepting the Professor's suggestion.

He refers also to two commentators upon the poem, one an early one and the other of about the 14th century A.D. From them we learn that amongst the spices (*vasam*) was *lavangam*, Tamil

for "cloves", and *takkolam*, Tamil for "cubeb", while the later commentator mentions three varieties of aloe, *agil*, of which two are called respectively *takkoli* and *Kidararan*. Obviously these names derive from Takkolam, or sanskrit Takkola, and Kidaram (Kadaram, Kataha). The Silappadikaram, in the view of Professor Nilakanta Sastri, is not an early work like the Pattinappalai and the passage relating to Tondi is later than the *Raghuvamsa* "by about a century, if not more" (313, p. 28).

Did the commodities take their names from the places or *rice versa*? We suggest the former as the true answer. Takkolam¹² is still to-day the name of an ancient and historic place, though nowadays it is a simple village situated directly to the west of Madras, six miles south-east of Arkonam junction (61, p. 14). The name Kadaram is known in Madura and it was there that Hultzsch in 1891 placed the Kadaram of the Chola inscriptions (315, p. 5). Certain exports of Malaysia were once known in England as "Straits produce", though none of them was grown there: they were trans-shipped at Straits Settlements ports. In our view, Takkola and Kataha were beyond doubt entrepôts and the practice of attaching to commodities the name of the principal place from which they were shipped is an old and well attested practice, followed by the ancient Chinese, e.g. their use of *Po-ssi*, Persian. We suggest, therefore, that the names of two ancient places in India were given to two Indian overseas entrepôts and that the names of the latter were later attached to distinctive commodities exported from them.

We have now given such facts concerning Kataha as appear in the ancient Indian literature available to us. Standing alone, they do not enable us to locate the place precisely; but the following conclusions can be drawn:—

(1) Kataha was the name of a large tract of sea-girt land, *Kataha Dvīpa*, or in parkrit *Kadahadīpa*, in which there was a famous city *Katahanagara*, which was also an entrepot in constant sea-communication with India;

(2) In Kataha there was an important peak which formed the boundary of a tract called *Anda-Kataha*;

(3) Kataha was in the *dvīpantara* i.e. Malaysia, and from it sea-routes led to and from Tamralipti in the Ganges delta, *Narikela Dvīpa*, *Karpura Dvīpa*, *Suvarna Dvīpa* and *Simhala Dvīpa*;

(4) from Kataha *agil*, or aloe-wood, was a celebrated export to India.

Beyond any question, *Narikela Dvīpa* was the Nicobar Islands, *Suvarna Dvīpa* was Sumatra, and *Simhala Dvīpa* was Ceylon.

The location of Kārpura Dvīpa, which means "the Camphor Islands", is not certain; but in all probability it was either Borneo or the north-western part of Sumatra. Mr. N. M. Penzer (173, iv. p. 224, n. 1) quotes with approval a letter from Dr. C. O. Blagden to this effect; and Professor R. C. Majumdar has adopted this identification (181, p. 52). One finds it continually stated that the camphor from Barus, in NW Sumatra, was the finest but, in point of fact, this was the Arab view expressed from the 9th century A.D. onwards. The Chinese have always considered the Bornean camphor to be the best and have paid the highest prices for it. To them at any rate Borneo would have been *the* camphor island but what the Indians thought one does not know. Since Suvarna Dvīpa in the *Kathasaritsagara* was clearly Sumatra, one prefers to allot to Karpura Dvīpa the position of Borneo rather than to divide Sumatra into two *dvīpa*, though the latter would be consistent with ancient practice. The objection to Borneo would be that the search of Chandrasvamin would take him very far, whereas, if he went to Ceylon, to NW Sumatra and to some other part of Sumatra, he would be travelling to places in the Kataha circle. Against that, however, is the fact that the shipwreck of Vikramaditya's daughter occurred near Suvarna Dvīpa on her way to Kataha. There Suvarna Dvīpa must be the north of Sumatra. Accordingly, we suggest that it is better to look outside Sumatra for Karpura Dvīpa, and Borneo, being a notable camphor island fits well.

Kataha is usually identified with "Kedah" (e.g. 272, p. 181), and we may have here the true origin of the latter name. Mr. Penzer (173, i, p. 155) quotes Mr. R. Sewell, a high authority, as follows:—

"Granted that Kedah was so spelt in ancient times, and that it came to be called Kadaram in South India, we can delete the "m" as a South Indian dialect suffix (e.g. *pattana* becomes *pattanam*, *mandala* is *mandalum*, etc.). Then the transformation is natural enough:

Ke	da	h	
Ka	tā	ha	
} Ka	dā	ra	m "
} or Ki			

Mr. Sewell considered that the phonetic change from *ha* to *ra* is not too forced.

Mr. Penzer adds "It should be noted that the Southern Hindus knew of a Kadaram in their own country, and it is natural for people, hearing of a foreign place with a name like that of one of their own towns, to call the foreign place after their own". However, the prakrit *Kadaha* gives the same sound as the tamil *Kadaram* and the Chola inscription to which we refer late gives both sanskrit *Kataha* and tamil *Kadaram*. We suggest that the Indians took the name with them.

Sewell and Aiyangar (51, p. 65) say "Kadaram is almost certainly a South-Indian perversion of the name Kedah, a state on the west of the Malay Peninsula". The sanskrit *Kataha*, of which *Kadaram* was the tamil equivalent, gives us, however, a much closer approximation, and one may well query the derivation of the name Kedah, which Wilkinson gives in his Dictionary, from the Indian *Kheddah*, "elephant trap", or the arabic *Kadah*, "goblet". This question will be pursued further in the next section of these Notes.

Though it should be accepted in general that "Kedah" was *Kataha* or better *Kataha Dvipa*, and that *Chieh-cha* was the 7th century Chinese name for its principal port, this does not take us very far. We do not know the exact boundaries either of *Kataha* or of ancient Kedah. In 1894 Dennys¹³ wrote "Kedah (formerly written "Queda", the Portuguese spelling), called *Sai* by the Siamese, to whom it is nominally tributary, is a State, bounded, on the north by Ligor (part of Siam), on the east by Patani, on the south by Perak, and on the west by the sea and the strip of land called Province Wellesley. It lies between 5° 30' and 7° 4' N. lat., is about 130 miles long by 30 to 40 miles broad". The State was then divided into three province—Setul, Perlis, and Kedah proper. The first-named was the most northerly and Perlis in the centre has since become a separate State under its own Rajah. Province Wellesley is a strip of land, originally part of the State of Kedah but ceded to the British in 1798.

In 1839 Newbold (69, ii, p. 2) wrote that Kedah extended "from the Trang river 7° 20' N to the Krian, in 5° 10' N., which separates it from Perak". The recent publication of the *Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* enables one to give the extent of Kedah in the 16th century as "almost bounded on one side by Trang (Terrao) and on the other by the end of the kingdom of Malacca and Bruas (Baruas)". The mouth of the Bruas lies in 4° 28' N.

The present Kedah River has its mouth in 6° 06' N. but the Old Kedah (about 26 miles away) lay at the entrance of the Sungei Merbok in 5° 41' N (321, p. 14) and Mr. Mills quotes Mr. Best, of the Malayan Survey Department, as saying that "The present Kedah River, owing to the geological formation, can never

have been much different from what it is now—a shallow-mouthed estuary within which a vessel drawing more than 6-8 feet would possibly be “neaped” for periods up to a fortnight by poor tides: the roadstead is hopelessly exposed to the S.W. monsoon. On the other hand, Kuala Merbok gives every indication of having always been a deep entrance, and it is still connected by a deep navigable channel with the Muda River, which in the old days undoubtedly carried nine tenths of Kedah’s exportable produce. Knowing this area well, I am convinced that this channel, which runs through an extensive swamp, was once much larger than it is now and may possibly have been the main outlet of the Muda”. The mouth of the Merbok lies in 5° 41’ N.

But in 1825 Milburne and Thornton¹⁴ said that the Kedah River (Kuala Batrang) was navigable for vessels of 300 tons but that the entrance was choked by a mud-bank. All vessels which passed that bank went up to Alor Star. In 1839 Newbold 69, ii, p. 3) said “The embouchure of the Quedah river lying in 6° 6’ N., will admit, at spring tides, vessels of 250 tons”.

For the geology of Kedah and Perlis the reader should refer to Willbourn (169) and for its prehistory to Collings (322; 323) and Callenfels (324), while there is a short note concerning the Trang-Patalung area by Evans (83, p. 161).

For the archaeology of Kedah in historic times we have Evans (83, pp: 105-121), Dr. Quaritch Wales (268), and Dr. and Mrs. Quaritch Wales (325).

It is certain that in Ptolemy’s time the geography of the Malay Peninsula must have presented different features from those shown in a map to-day,¹⁵ but on the material available at present it is quite impossible to state the differences. Willbourn (169, p. 290) says “Mr. Ridley¹⁶ suggests on botanical evidence, that at no great distance of time the flat land of Kedah was under the sea, in which Gunong Jerai¹⁷ and Gunong Perak stood out as islands as Penang does at the present day, and that the present flora of Province Wellesley and Gunong Jerai came up from the south while the flora of the country from Bangtaphan to Alor Star came from Burmah southwards”. Mr. Ridley, doubtless, was referring to times long preceding the Christian era. Nowadays the plain on the side of Kedah Peak “extends into Perlis to within a few miles of the Siam border, and east of Alor Star a narrow deep bay of alluvium penetrates inland as far as Kampong Pinang. It is possible to draw a line from the sea eastwards through Alor Star, on perfectly flat country for more than half the breadth of the State at its widest part” (169, p. 296). “The greater part of Perlis is occupied by a flat alluvial plain which extends southwards through Kedah as far as Gunong Jerai” (ibid: p. 299). Dr.

Quaritch Wales (268, pp: 1-2) says that much of the flat land available in Kedah and Province Wellesley for padi culture is "of quite modern formation, especially that which lies north of Kedah Peak, and has been vastly increased within living memory. The importance of the so-called Kedah River, on which the modern capital Alor Star is situated, is of only very recent origin: It is formed only by the confluence in new low land of several small streams which in the early days of Indian colonization emptied themselves separately into the sea and offered neither safe anchorage nor suitable agricultural land on their banks". He places his "First Wave" of Indian colonization in Kedah as having occurred in the 1st to 3rd centuries A.D. Before one could accept the generalized statements in the passage just quoted from Dr. Quaritch Wales as representing the state of affairs in Ptolemy's time (which falls within the "First Wave") one would prefer to have detailed reports from the Survey Department or the Irrigation Department and would prefer much closer dating than "very recent origin". In point of fact, the earliest archaeological evidence of ancient Indians in Kedah dates from the second half of the 4th century A.D., two hundred years later than Ptolemy, and the dating is based upon epigraphic reasoning.

It is important to remember that Ptolemy mentions only two entrepots in the Golden Chersonese, Takola in the north and Sabana in the south, and that he makes no mention of Kataha or any name like it. The fair inference from this is that in his time Takola was the northern entrepot and that at some time later it became supplanted in importance by Kataha, just as in our own British times Malacca yielded in importance to Penang and Penang in its turn to Singapore. If we place Takola at Trang, as it seems that we must, we have seen what were its advantages and that it was situated conveniently to the Ganges delta and the Gulf of Siam: but a place in ancient Kedah would have had greater advantages which may have become apparent only after the settlement at Trang had been made. An entrepot on the Merbok River at the foot of Kedah Peak, in addition to having local food supplies, would have been in a good situation for navigation not only to and from the Ganges delta, as well as from Ceylon and Negapatam. The dating of Indian works is too vexed a subject to enable one to use them as the basis for positive evidence of the founding of Kataha, and the negative evidence of Ptolemy should prevail that in the 2nd century A.D. Kataha did not exist or, if it did, was then of no importance. Dr. Quaritch Wales says (268, p. 1) "Kedah combined the practical advantage of an excellent anchorage (the estuary of the Merbok) with the spiritual attraction of being dominated by a high mountain (Kedah Peak), which to the superstitious Indian sailors must have appeared to be a veritable home of the gods. From Kedah there was of course always easy access to the Ligor region of the

east coast, by the route now followed by the railway; but this route, as a means of avoiding the sea journey round the Peninsula, could never have competed with the much shorter route from Takuapa, further to the north, across to the Bay of Bandon. It is rather then as affording a good harbour at the northwest entrance to the Straits that Kedah drew its importance". Save for the identification of Takola with Takuapa we are in accord with Dr. Quaritch Wales in this passage. States and capitals had the same names very often and we identify Katahanagara (Kataha) with the settlement on the Sungei Bujang, which flowed into the Merbok estuary (268, p. 3); and the peak, which was the boundary of Anda-Kataha, we identify with Kedah Peak.

If we accept Trang as Takola, then the promontory which Ptolemy gives after it becomes Kedah Peak and not, as Berthelot has suggested, Penang. He made the mistake of thinking that Kedah Peak could not be described as a promontory; but we differ. It stands out in solitary grandeur and is a landmark for sailors visible 30 miles distant and we agree with Dr. Quaritch Wales (268, p. 2) that it was probably a peninsula at the material date.

We do not agree with Dr. Quaritch Wales in placing the city of Kataha inland in Perak. The evidence cited shows that the town of Kataha (or Katahanagara) was also a port. On the other hand, we do agree with Dr. Quaritch Wales that there must have been an important Indian settlement, or more than one, in the Kinta valley, Perak. In his criticism of the views of Dr. Quaritch Wales, Professor Nilakanta Sastri (310) has not appreciated either the effects of the NE monsoon upon the east coast of the Peninsula or, in particular, the results of mining. The actions caused by mining and the accumulation of silt and slag are too well known to us here from cases within our memory and the possibility of the disappearance of a city as the result of mining is something which has been proved by actual experience within the past forty years, e.g. Kuala Kubu and Serendah.

To summarize so far, it is submitted that (1) Kataha and Kadaram (variant Kidaram) were certainly the same place (2) Kataha was ancient Kedah (3) Ptolemy's Takola and the sanskrit Takkola were certainly the same place, which also was represented probably by the chinese Tou-chu-li (3) Takola is more likely to have been Trang than Takuapa.

5. Ilangasoka and Kadaram.

The Malaysian conquests of the Chola king Rajendra I are considered to have taken place in 1025 A.D. In the *Introduction*¹⁸ we criticized the statement that these conquests are reflected in the Malay Annals by Raja Suran's campaign in the Peninsula

and that Raja Suran was Rajendra I. We suggested that the name Suran stood for a King of the solar race.¹⁹ Dr. Quaritch Wales (268, p. 78) consider that "Suran is clearly a reference to the fact that the Colas belonged to a dynasty claiming solar origin"; and he considers that the legends concerning Suran's conquests "do refer to the Cola invasions"; but he thinks that there is a mixture of Rajendra's two campaigns, the first against the Ganges area and the second against Kadaram. He takes Raja Chulan probably to be a corruption of the name of the Sailendra emperor Culamanivarman known to be reigning at the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Professor Nilakanta Sastri considers that our suggestion that Suran stood for a king of the solar race (*suryavamsa*) is "probable" (310, p. 15) and that we raised "many valid objections to Raja Suran's exploits being connected with Rajendra's expedition" (*ibid.*; p. 14, n. 7). He does not think that Raja Chulan stood for Culamanivarman because that suggestion seems "to overlook the fact that Culamanivarman never came into conflict with the Cola power, but lived on most friendly terms with it" (*ibid.*: p. 15). Recently, Sir Richard Winstedt, basing himself upon identifications by Dr. L. D. Barnett, suggests that "Shulan must be the dynastic name of the Cholas of Negapatam" and that "Raja Suran could be Rajesuran, the Tamil form of Rajesvara or else the legendary Raja Sura of Tirukkalukkunram in Chingleput. His three "sons", Jiran of Chandragiri, Chulan of Vijaya-nagara, and Pandyan of Negapatam, must be corruptions of the names of the Chera, Chola, and Pandya dynasties, though the Cheras never ruled Chandragiri, the Cholas were nearly extinct before Vijayanagara arose and the Pandya kingdom never include Tanjore, in which Negapatam lies" (326, p. 129). One can only hope that scholars in India will turn their attention to the names and the legends in the Malay Annals.

We pass now to the Chola inscriptions upon which there is a large literature. It will be sufficient here to refer the reader to the discussions by the French scholars, Professor Coedès (315: 272 and Gabriel Ferrand (140), and by the Indian scholars, Professors R. C. Majumdar (181, pp: 167-182) and Professor Nikankanta Sastri (57, pp: 224, 258-268, 332-333, 622-624; 311, pp: 280-291).

In the sanskrit portion of the Larger Leyden Grant of Rajaraja Chola the Great, which may be dated 1005 or 1006 A.D., we learn of a Lord of *Sri-Visaya* "who was conducting the rule of *Kataha*". In the tamil portion he is called *Kidarattaraiyan*, or ruler of *Kidaram*.

Then there is a series of inscriptions concerning the conquests overseas of Rajendra Chola I, the first of which is dated in the 6th year of his reign and the last in the 31st year. There are

differences of opinion as to the exact dates of the regnal years of this king, but Professor Nilakanta Sastri puts them at 1012-1044 A.D. The inscriptions will be found summarized in Sewell and Aiyangar's *Historical Inscriptions of South India* (51, pp: 58 ff:). From them we find that the sanskrit Kataha and the tamil Kadaram are names for one and the same place.

Most important for our present purposes is a passage which occurs in the *prasasti* of the tamil portion of the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. It has been translated several times by different scholars and we give the latest rendering by Professor Nilakanta Sastri, the distinguished Tamil scholar and historian (311, p. 286), setting the places out in capitals:—

“(Rajendra) having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Sangrama-Vijayottungavarman, the King of Kadaram, together with the elephants in his glorious army, (took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; (captured) with noise the (arch called) Vidhyadhara-torana at the war-gate of his extensive capital (nagar), SRI-VIJAYA with the jewelled wicket-gate adorned with great splendour and the gate of large jewels; PANNAI with water in its bathing ghats; the ancient MALAIYUR with the strong mountain for its rampart, MAYURI-DINGAM, surrounded by the deep sea (as) by a moat; ILANGASOKA undaunted (in) fierce battles; MAPPAPPALAM having abundant (deep) water as defence; MEVILIMBANGAN guarded by beautiful walls; VALAIPPANDURU possessed of Vilaippanduru (?); TALAITTAKKOLAM praised by great men (versed in) the sciences; the great TAMRALINGA (capable of) strong action in dangerous battles; ILAMURIDESAM, whose fierce strength rose in war; the great NAKKAVARAM, in whose extensive gardens, honey was collecting; and KADARAM of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep sea”.

In his previous translation of this passage (57, pp: 254-255) he added to Ilangasoka the words “i.e. Lankasoka”, and for “the great Tamralinga” he gave “Mudamalingam”, the form also used by Professor Coedès.

It should be noted also that Jayangondar, the Court poet of the Chola king Kulottunga I, who wrote the tamil war-poem *Kalingatuppurani*, speaks of the Chola conquest of “Kadaram where the crystal waves washed the sand mixed with red gold” (315, p. 20; 57, pp: 263-264).

The Tanjore inscription does not give geographical data upon which any identification of the places named could be ventured and

phonetic reasoning, combined with historical facts, has had to be followed. When the identification of Ptolemy's Takola was considered in the *Introduction*²⁰, it was suggested that it should be looked for in ancient Kedah and that the promontory which succeeded it would then be "the bulge of land between the Perak and Bernam Rivers, or Pangkor north of it". This suggestion was rejected by Dr. Quaritch Wales (268, p. 67) because in his views the bulge probably did not exist in Ptolemy's time, and because "secondly, there seems little doubt that Takola survived in the XIth century as the Talaitakkolam of the Cola inscription of 1030 A.D. But since the Ilangasogam of the same inscription has definitely been identified with the Langkasuka which the *Kedah Annals* so clearly locate at the base of Kedah Peak it is necessary to look for Talaitakkolam elsewhere".

Again he writes (ibid: p. 71) "we know for certain that in the XIth century Ilangasogam (= Langkasuka, the city on the Sungai Bujang, Kedah) was a dependent of the S'ailendra Empire". At pp: 76-77, he points out that Kadaram must have been different from Ilangasogam and says "Coedès himself felt this difficulty since he had already located the Langkasuka of the *Kedah Annals* (= Ilangasogam of the Cola records = Ling-ya-sseu-kia of Chau Ju-Kua) at the base of Kedah Peak, with which localization I cordially agree". And, at p. 68, he writes of "the powerful kingdom of Lang-ya-hsiu which is generally agreed to have been situated at Ligor".

Throughout his recent paper concerning the name Langkasuka in this Journal (vol: XXI, Pt: I, pp: 119-124) Dr. Linehan has assumed that it represented the Kedah settlement.

We agree completely that the Ilangasoka (Ilangasogam) of the inscription must be the Malay Langkasuka but we do not agree that it was the city at the foot of Kedah Peak on the Sungai Bujang. The evidence, as we shall show, places it on the east coast of the Peninsula.

In his latest work (272, pp: 182-183) Professor Coedès gives the following identifications of the places mentioned in the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. as having been conquered by Rajendra I; and we give them as written by him:—

Crivijaya (Palembang),

Malaiyur (the Malayu of the 7th century, i.e. Jambi),

Mayirudingan (the Je-lo-ting of the Chinese, some place on the Malay Peninsula),

Ilangacogam (Lankasuka),

Mappappalam, (Pappaha, placed by the singhalese chronicle *Mahavamsa* on the coast of Pegu),

Mevilimbangan (identified with Karmaranga or Kamalanka on the isthmus of Ligor),

Valaippanduru (perhaps Pandur (anga), in Champa, preceded either by the Tamil word *ralai* "fortress", or by the Cham word *palei* "village"),

Talaitakkolam (Takkola of Ptolemy and the *Milindapanha*, on the isthmus of Kra),

Madamalingam (Tambralinga, Chinese Tan-ma-ling, of which the centre was at Ligor),

Ilamuridecam (Lamuri of the Arabs, Lambri of Marco Polo at the northern extremity of Sumatra),

Manakkavaram (Nicobar Islands),

Kadaram (Kedah).

As Professor Nilakanta Sastri says (311, p. 286) "it is not easy to explain the order in which the different places are named; this does not seem to follow with any accuracy the actual course of the campaign, but is apparently determined by the requirements of verse"; but (ibid: p. 287) "we may assume with Krom: "first an attack on the capital Sri Vijaya in which the king was taken prisoner, followed by the occupation of two important points of the East Coast of Sumatra; then the conquest of the Malay Peninsula, and finally Atjeh (Lamri) and the Nicobars on the way home; and all this summed up in the fall of Kataha"."

In connection with the names it should be noted that the Tamil *ma* is the same sanskrit *maha*, each meaning "great" and that the Tamil *talai* in Talaitakkolam means "head" or "chief". Sylvain Levi (40, p. 43), as quoted by Majumdar (181, p. 75), considered that the *me* in Mevilimbangan should "be analysed, in the inscription of Tanjore, like Ma-Damalingam, Ma-Nakkavaram, as Me-Vilimbangan; it is clear that Velimbangan is the Indian transcription of Malay *belimbing* which is the equivalent of Karmaranga. The Indian name of fruit, derived from the country, has become in its turn the indication of the country itself". Professor Coedès cites this passage from Sylvain Levi's *Pre-aryen et pre-dravidien dans l'Inde* (40) as the authority for his identification of Mevilimbangan.

Professor Nilakanta Sastri, as has been seen, writes Tambralinga in place of Madamalingam; and all are agreed that the

two places are the same. One prefers respectfully his view Valaipanduru defines satisfactory identification (311, p. 287).

We propose now to consider the identification of Ilangasoka (Ilangacogam) and Kadaram, which obviously from the context of of the inscription were two different places. We do not propose to weary the reader with a recapitulation of all the views which have been expressed about the location of these places. They exhibit in details a considerable conflict of opinion and many of them are out of date. We shall consider the matter afresh, giving such references as seem to be helpful.

There cannot be any doubt that the Tamil *Ilangasoka* is the same name as the Malay *Langkasuka* and the Javanese *Lengkasuka* of the *Nagarakretagama* of 1365 A.D.; but we do not agree with Dr. Quaritch Wales that the Ilangasogam of the Tanjore inscription "has definitely been identified with the Langkasuka which the *Kedah Annals* so clearly locate at the base of Kedah Peak" (268, p. 67). His authority for this identification was the famous study of Srivijaya in 1918 by Professor Coedès (315, p. 15), who based himself at that time on Gerini (327), Blagden (328), and Colonel Low's translation of the *Kedah Annals*, *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*. When this last was considered in the *Introduction*²¹ we accepted the 1918 identification by Professor Coedès and related the Chinese Langga-siu (as we wrote it then) of the *Liang Shu* with the Lankasuka of Low's translation; but a further and closer analysis of the available facts causes us how to reject it, and, as will be seen later, Professor Coedès himself does not seem to hold the opinion any longer.

In 1906 Blagden wrote "But it is worth mention that Langkasuka still lies in the memory of the local Malays. It has developed into a myth, being evidently the 'spirit-land' referred to as Lakan Suka ('Lakaun Suka') by the peasantry of the Patani states and the realm of Alang-ka-suka, interpreted by a curious folk etymology as the 'country of what you will', a sort of fairy-land where the Kedah Malays locate the fairy princess Sadong, who rules over the Little People and the wild goats of the lime-stone hills, and persistently refuses all suitors, be they never so high-born or otherwise eligible" (328 p. 119). In 1905 Col: Gerini had identified the Lengkasuka of the *Nagarakretagama* as the old capital of Kedah mentioned in the *Kedah Annals* (327, pp: 495-498) and in 1909 he repeated this in his study of Ptolemy (46, p. 825). In 1909 in his *Notes on Malay History* (III) Blagden accepted this identification by Gerini and he set out the passage in the second strophe of Canto.14 of the *Nagarakretagama* where the dependencies of Majapahit in the Malay Peninsula are given. He also considered the identification of these dependencies; and

the reader will find in Ferrand's *Textes* (172, i, pp: 651-665) a list of all the names in the Javanese poem with many identifications. In his identification of Lengkasuka Blagden rested himself upon the Kedah Annals (328, pp: 148-149): but in addition to this name the poem gives *Keda* and *Jera*. The former was regarded by Blagden as obviously Kedah and Ferrand agrees. Of *Jera* Blagden said that, while the Dutch *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie* identified it with Jering in the Patani states, it might equally well stand for Gunong Jerai (Kedah Peak) except that that district was already referred to by the mention of Lengkasuka.

The Kedah Annals, as Sir Richard Winstedt says, are "full of omissions, anachronisms and errors" and the text would not seem to have been completed till late in the 18th or early in the 19th century (329, pp: 32, 33). They are, therefore, clearly a case of a late annalist giving written form to current legends and oral history. As a source of interest the traditional matter is well worth exploration but the work cannot be treated as authentic history. In 1932 in his great Dictionary the late Mr. R. J. Wilkinson wrote that Langkasuka was "Probably in North Malaya (where there is a River Langkasuka, where the Kedah records speak of *L.* still as an old Kedah capital, and where there are traditions of a fairy land (*alang-ka-suka*) or kingdom of a Golden Age)" Winstedt (92, p. 21) says that the Langkasuka River is "a tributary to an upper reach of the Perak River".

It is, then, clear that the legend of Langkasuka is not static in one place; the name represented a golden empire and a golden time of the past. That the Kedah annalist should have incorporated such a place in his work as the first name of the ancient settlement founded by Marong Mahawangsa was only natural, with the traditions of Langkasuka all around him on the tongues of the people; but these traditions were a general Malay heritage. The question before us is where Langkasuka must be placed exactly; and the facts of history show that (even if at one time or another its confines may have stretched to the west coast) it was primarily an east coast state, while Keda (Kedah) was always on the west coast and never reached the east.

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- 3 *ibid.*, pp: 12-22.
- 4 See also takua dam, *ibid.* p. 118, and the glossary in Crawford (84).
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- 10 *ibid.*, pp: 203, 206.
- 11 J.R.A.S. (M.B.), vol: XV, Pt: 3, pp: 65-75.
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- 13 *Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya*, 1894.
- 14 *Oriental Commerce*, 1825.
- 15 See *Introduction*, J.R.A.S. (M.B.), vol: XV, Pt: 3, pp: 94-95.
- 16 H. N. Ridley, F.R.S., most distinguished of Malaya's botanists.
- 17 Kedah Peak.
- 18 J.R.A.S. (M.B.), vol: XIV, Pt: 3, pp: 44-48.
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- 21 J.R.A.S. (M.B.) vol: XV, Pt: 3, pp: 64-103.

Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya

6. Langkasuka and Kedah

As stated in the 1948 edition of his history (272) the present views of Professor Coedès concerning Langkasuka are as follows, using his own spelling of the names:—

(1) P. 72, the Lang-ya-sieou of the *Liang Shu*, which reappears in the 7th century under the name of Lang-kia-chou and in the 12th under that of Lang-ya-sseu-kia is the Langkasuka of the Malay and Javanese Chronicles of which the name survives in modern geography as that of a tributary of the upper Perak River. It must have been situated astride the Peninsula with access to the Gulfs of Siam and Bengal and with a land-route;

(2) Pp. 133-134, the Kāmalanka of Hiuan-tsang is perhaps the same as the Lang-kia-chou of Yi Tsing, that is the same as Lankasuka, and it must, without doubt, be looked for in the Malay Peninsula;

(3) P. 241, Ilangāçogam is Lankasuka;

(4) P. 383, the Long-ya-si-kao of Wang Ta-yuan in the middle of the 14th century is Lankasuka.

These views are different from those which he put forward in 1918 (315). There, as Dr. Luce says, he "connects the Ilangāçogam of the Tanjore inscription (1030), the Lingya-sš-chia of Chao Ju-Kua (1225) and the Lēnkasuka of the Nāgarak-rētāgama (1365), but distinguishes them from the Lang-ya-hsiu of the *Liang Shu*, the Lang-ya-hsü of the *Sui Shu*, and the Lang-chia-shu of I-ching" (229, p. 166).

It will be noticed that Professor Coedès now abstains from identifying Langkasuka with the settlement at the foot of Kedah Peak and leaves it generally on the Malay Peninsula. He considers that Kaṭāha and Kaḍāram represent Kedah (272, pp: 240, 242) and, when one compares that with what he says about Ilangāsōka, it seems clear that he does not hold any longer to the 1918 identification.

It is proposed now to discuss chronologically the available evidence for the location of the Ilangāsōka (Langkasuka) and Kaḍāram, which appear in the Tanjore inscription. Nearly all of

it is derived from Chinese sources, in connection with which there are many difficulties for those who are not sinologists.

Chinese Names. In the first place, as Mr. Forrest says (330, p. 15) "The romanisation of Chinese is at present in confusion, and even if we were to confine our attention to the northern ('Mandarin') dialects, it is not easy to pick out a system in all respects suitable for our purposes. The Wade system has wide currency among foreign students of the standard dialect; but it is hardly phonetically precise enough for scientific use, and suffers from the fault of being inadaptable to the representation of the sounds of non-"Mandarin" dialects, let alone those of the aboriginal or contiguous language with which Chinese is to be compared. These faults it shares with the new and officially adopted 'National Alphabet', which adds others of its own; both were devised to meet practical ends rather than linguistic". These difficulties are illustrated by reference to McGovern (331, p. 459), Dubs (332, p. 23), and Latourette in his recent *Short History of the Far East*, 1947, pp: 6-7, n.

One finds great divergences in the romanisation of Chinese place-names amongst those who write in English, though modern writers in French display a welcome uniformity since they follow the method prescribed by the *École Française d'Extrême Orient*. In this paper the romanisation of the main authority cited will be used with such variants in brackets as seem to be useful: the main place-names are printed in heavy type and the Appendix contains the necessary Chinese characters. For modern Chinese names the excellent collection by Mr. Firmstone (333) is most useful.

In searching for the Malaysian equivalent of a Chinese place-name, we have to remember the local dialects, as to which a writer in the *Geographical Journal*¹ says "Any Chinese who speaks Northern Mandarin, which has come to be called the National Language, would read the character of every Post Office name in the Northern pronunciation, unless he has local knowledge, and would not recognize the correct dialect pronunciation. Thus the name which is printed conventionally in the Post Office List as Hongkong, and is locally pronounced something like Hoenggong, would be read by him as Shiang-gaang".

The most important dialects in the South Sea to-day are the Amoy-Swatow and the Cantonese ones. It is reasonable to think that this must have been so from the earliest times of Chinese enterprise overseas, since it is South China to which we must look for the sea connection with Malaysian ports. Many local names must have been carried back to China in these dialects. Thus, the

(1) The Romanisation of Chinese Place-names by A. R. H., 1943, vol: CII, no: 2, pp: 67-71.

old indigenous name for Singapore was Tamasek in Malay and Tumasik in Javanese. It appears in the Peking dialect as T'an-ma-hsi but in Amoy Hokkien it is Tam-ma-sek, the exact equivalent (321, p. 22). Accordingly, one is more likely to reach a proper idea of an indigenous name, which was imported by seamen into China, by rendering the sound in the Amoy-Swatow or Cantonese dialects than in the Peking pronunciation, into which sinologists always romanize.

It is clear, at all events, that nobody, who is not a skilled sinologist, should attempt himself to find similarities between extant Malaysian names and Chinese ones; but, though the sinologists must supply the necessary facts, it is possible for others to consider what conclusions should be drawn from those facts.

The next difficulty arises out of the different series of names which we get at different periods. Not only do we get different names but often the same name appears in different characters; and the name of what is apparently the same place or district is often given in variant form. We have been unable to find any explanation of these facts by a sinologist. For the earliest series of names Hirth (261, pp: 11-12) has suggested that foreign embassies and travellers were subjected to a kind of set cross-examination when they reached the Court and that this was done by one or several interpreters. He accepts the view that in Han times the trading language of the Orient was Greek and for that he cites Reinaud (334, p. 162), whose book, though published in 1863, is still of great importance for the earliest connections of the West with India and China. Hirth thinks that the language spoken by the embassy or the traveller would be translated by an interpreter, who understood it, into Greek and then, perhaps by a different interpreter, from Greek into the language spoken at the Chinese court. The early Chinese records speak frequently of "double interpreters" and "envoy interpreters" so that one does get the general impression that Hirth's suggestion is right in principle. When received by the Chinese officials, the sounds as they conceived them to be would have been expressed in *kuan hua*, the "official speech" of the court and its capital.

When the Chinese themselves traded overseas, one imagines that they would have brought back names which may well have passed into current usage; and the sounds of these names would have been carried from one dialect to another, reaching the records in the official speech. There were, too, changes of the capital at different times and this may have affected the sounds of the names.

The last difficulty, which may be noted, is the vagueness of so much geographical information in the dynastic histories and ency-

clopaedias. During Han times and thereafter it became recognized that it was the duty of a dynasty to cause the history of its predecessor to be compiled and a nearly uniform model was followed based upon the first of the histories, Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih Chi*, or Historical Record, which he wrote at the close of the 2nd or beginning of the 1st century B.C. (151, p. 84).² In the histories there are three main sections, the last of which contains biographies of eminent persons and a detail of all that was known respecting foreign nations (335, p. 15). But Professor Dubs points out that the histories were merely records of events "written by bureaucrats attached to the central government and for the use of such bureaucrats" (332, pp: 29, 31). Such persons, one would imagine, would not be interested greatly in exact geographical details and this may explain the loose generalities so often found.

The old Chinese encyclopaedias consist almost entirely of selected quotations from earlier writers and the name of encyclopaedia is applied to them only because they comprise the whole realm of knowledge (336, p. 85). Hardly ever do they give the sources from which they are quoting and this makes it difficult often to ascertain the exact dating of the facts and place-names which they give.

Sea-Route. It is as well to remember some of the general facts concerning the sea-route from China to Malaya and India, which ran down the coast of Indo-China for so many centuries.

"The history of eastern Indo-China begins, towards the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., with the founding of the kingdom of Nan-yue (Ann. Nam-viêt), of which the sovereign Tchao T'o (ann. Trieu Da) subdued Tonkin and North Annam, which he divided into two large provinces: Kiao-tche (ann. Giao-chi) and Kieou-tchen (ann. Cûn-chân), the first corresponding to the Tonkinese delta, the second to the three northern provinces of the present Annam: Than-hoa, Nghe-an and Ha-tinh" (150, p. 63).

The capital of Nan Yüeh (Nan-yue) was at what is now Canton and the kingdom seems to have comprised much of the present Kwangsi and Kwangtung together with the portions of Indo-China mentioned above (151, p. 107). The ancient pronunciation of Chiao-chih (Kiao-tche) was Kiao-chi (154, p. 3, n. 2) and the Chinese knew the Gulf of Tongking as the Sea of Chiao-chih. In 108 B.C. the Western Han Emperor Wu Ti conquered Nan Yüeh and added its territories to the Han empire, which before his death extended on the south to include much of what is now Chekiang, Fukien, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Hainan, the north-eastern section of French Indo-China, Kweichow, and Yunnan

(2) This authority is cited now in the Third Edition Revised, 1946.

(151, pp: 107, 108). Wu Ti divided the Indo-Chinese part of his empire into three commanderies: Chiao-chih, Chiu-chên (Kieou-tchen) and Jih-nan (Je-nan), which last formed the southern-most part of the Chinese empire. It is agreed that the northern limit of Jih-nan was the modern Hoanh-son, but there is a difference of opinion as to the southern, Maspero thinking that it reached the modern Huè, Pelliot that it reached Tourane, and Arousseau that it extended as far as Cape Varella (150, p. 63, n. 2). Professor Coedès (1972, p. 77) puts Jih-nan as "between Porte d'Annam and the Col des Nuages", while Dr. Chang (154, p. 2) says that it "more or less corresponds to the modern province of An in Annam".

A passage in the *Ch'ien Han Shu*, the history of the Western Han dynasty written by Pan Ku, 32-92 A.D. (337), gives a sea-route "from the barriers of Jih-nan, Hsü-wên and Ho-p'u" as far as a kingdom called Huang-chih (Houang-tche). This passage, which has been translated in full by Dr. Luce (338, pp: 97-99), is considered by Pelliot to form historical proof that China was in sea-communication with India from the first years of the first century B.C. (339, p. 459, n.). He says (*ibid*: p. 460) that the account clearly joins information going back to the period 140-86 B.C. with information obtained from an embassy sent to Huang-chih by the Emperor Wang Mang, whose period, 8-23 A.D., divided the Western from the Eastern Han. On the outward journey Huang-chih was reached by a final sea stage from the kingdom of Fu-kan-tu-lu, an overland route having been used to the latter from the Shên-li kingdom, up to which point the journey had been all by sea. On the return journey, however, the route is stated as being entirely by sea. The various places mentioned on the voyage after the starting points cannot be located, except possibly Huang-chih and Fu-kan-tu-lu; but it seems to be accepted that Pelliot's view is in general correct (see 185, 186). It is worthy of remark that a Chinese coin about the 2nd century B.C. was found in excavations at Candravalli in Mysore (185, pp: 386-7). Dr. Luce has discussed the various views in his valuable paper, which deals more particularly with Fu-kan-tu-lu (338). Ferrand considered that Huang-chih was Kâüci, modern Conjeeveram, and that Fu-kan-tu-lu was the ancient Pagan, the ruins of which stand on the left bank of the Irrawaddy River, 21° 10' N (144, xiv, pp: 45-48).

Hsü-wên and Ho-p'u were two sub-prefectures of Ho-p'u on the southern coast of the present Kwangtung province (338, p. 97, n. 1) and the starting points of the route in the *Ch'ien Han Shu* were, therefore, in south China and north-eastern Annam. The account makes it perfectly clear that the Chinese at that time travelled in "the merchant ships of the barbarians".

Ptolemy's Geography was written while the Eastern or Later Han dynasty, A.D. 25-220,³ was ruling China from its capital Lo-yang, which was near the present Honanfu in the province of Honan. From Ptolemy we get the first full statement of the trade-routes by land and by sea to China from the Roman Orient, which the Chinese called 'Ta-ch'in. The land route passed through the Tarim Valley into north China, which Ptolemy called Sërikë, its people being the Sërës and its metropolis Sëra. These three names derive from the Greek word *sër*, "silk", which in turn was derived from the Chinese *ssi*, meaning the same. The northern land route is often called the Silk Route, the southern sea route being the Spice Route. Ptolemy gives the terminus of the latter as "Kattigara, the harbour of the Sinai" and says that the northern limits of the Sinai touched Sërikë. It is considered usually that the country of the Sinai represented the southern part of the Chinese empire as it was then and thus included Tongking and north-eastern Annam. Modern opinion in general places Kattigara on the delta of the Red River in Tongking and possibly where Hanoi is to-day. It should, however, be noted that in consequence of the discoveries at Go Oc Eo, at Rachgia in about 10° N., R.A. Stein and Paul Levy have concluded that Kattigara was located in what is now Cochinchina, probably near the present Baria, and Stein identifies it with the Ch'ü-tu (Chü-tu-kien) of the *Liang Shu*. Unfortunately, their respective papers are not yet in Singapore and, for the time being, I can only refer the reader to the review of the 1948 edition of Professor Coedès' history (272) by Professor Lawrence P. Briggs in *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, vol: VIII, Number 3, May 1949, at pp: 373-375. The capital of the Sinai was Thinai which, if historically possible, might have been the old Chien-yeh or Chien-k'ang, modern Nanking, "south capital". On the historical facts Sëra must have been Lo-yang.

At Kattigara goods were landed and passengers disembarked, the rest of the journey to the Chinese capital being made along post-roads.

In 192 A.D. the kingdom of Champa came into being and comprised in course of time the Indo-Chinese coast-line as far south as Panduranga with the more northern provinces of Kanthàra (Khanh-hoa), Vijaya (Binh-dinh), Amāravatī (Quang-nam), and the capital at the present Tra-Kiêu, 30 km. south of Tourane (150, p. 65). The first Chinese name for Champa was Lin-i (Lin-yi; Ling-i).

The ancient kingdom of Funan (Fou-nan) can be traced to the beginning of the Christian era and attained its highest power towards 200 A.D. It occupied the delta and lower valley of the

(3) There is much confusion as to Chinese dating but the latest views are used in this paper.

Mekong with the coast of the present Cochin-China, and extended its power into the present Siam and as far south as the northern part of the Malay Peninsula and the isthmuses of Kra and Ligor. It derived its wealth and power from the command of the sea-route but towards the end of the 6th century A.D. it was overwhelmed by its vassal, the Khmer state which the Chinese called Chên-la; and the command of the sea-route with the consequent wealth and power then passed to Chên-la.

The so-called embassy of Roman merchants to China in 166 A.D. arrived by sea in north-eastern Annam and proceeded by land in all probability to the Court of the Emperor Huân, where offerings were made. But it seems safe to say that, though Jih-nan and Chiao-chih continued for long to be important terminuses, Canton had become the end of the sea-route by the second half of the 3rd century A.D. (154, p. 14).

After the disruption of the Han Empire there followed the disturbed period which the Chinese call the Six Dynasties and which is often described as the Dark Ages in China. These dynasties were the Wei, Chin, Sung, Chi, Liang, and Ch'ên, the whole period lasting from 220-589 A.D. Strangely enough, commerce continued to flourish despite the political disturbances and the sea-route maintained its activity, due to the energy of Indians, Arabs and Persians (154, p. 5). About 226 A.D. Ardashir founded the Sasanid dynasty in the province of Pars, or Persia, in the southwestern portion of the Iranian plateau, and thereafter the Sasanids extended their dominions until they controlled the coasts. They built up a powerful marine and their ships in course of time became familiar in Chinese ports, where they were known as *Po-ssi*. The histories of the Six Dynasties, particularly the *Sung Shu* and the *Liang Shu*, contain much information about countries in the South Sea and the history of Langkasuka begins in the *Liang Shu*, which says also that the South Sea countries were, generally speaking, situated at the south-west of the land of Chiao-chih on the islands of the sea and that since the accession of the Liang dynasty (502-557 A.D.) they had come over the sea every year for getting an almanac and paying tribute, in greater numbers than in any former time (148, p. 128).

The Liangs were followed by the Ch'êns (557-589 A.D.), after whom China became unified once more under the Suis (589-618). Then came the great T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.), whose glory has caused the Chinese of the far South to denominate themselves "the men of T'ang" (151, p. 215). Foreign trade now reached greater proportions than ever; but, once again, it was due chiefly to the initiative of foreigners (151, p. 193). The sea-routes to the south saw a great increase of shipping and in T'ang times Canton (Kwang-chow) won its final supremacy over the Indo-Chinese ports, while Ch'üanchow, near the present Amoy, entered into strong com-

petition for overseas trade by the 9th century A.D. (154, p. 12). Archaeologically, it may be noted that Chinese celadon ware becomes almost universal in Asia in and after the 9th century A.D. Professor Latourette (151, p. 195) writes of this period "Whether many Chinese merchants journeyed to foreign lands seems very doubtful. We know that for at least a time under T'ai Tsung an imperial rescript forbade Chinese going abroad—from which it may be fair to assume that some were in the habit of doing so. Chinese knowledge of the geography of neighbouring lands was increasing, but, with the one exception to be noted in a moment, the accounts that have come down to us in any complete form appear not to have been derived through first-hand observation but from the kind of information which might seep through from aliens". His one exception was Hsüan-chuang but, as will be seen, that first-hand information applied to the land routes. For the sea-route in the 7th century A.D. we have the first-hand information of I-ching (Yi-tsing, I-tsing).

Of the histories of these dynasties it should be noted that the *Sung Shu*, the *Chin Shu* and the *Ch'i Shu* were compiled by Shen Yo, 441-512 A.D.; the *Liang Shu* and the *Ch'ên Shu* were compiled by Yao Chien, who died in 643 A.D.; the *Sui Shu*, according to Dr. Luce, was compiled by Wei Cheng, 581-643 A.D., but, according to Professor Latourette, by an imperial commission under T'ang Tai Tsung, who reigned 627-649 A.D.; the *Pei Shih*, or Northern History, and the *Nan Shih*, or Southern History, were compiled by Li Yen-shou of the 7th century A.D. (see generally 151). Unfortunately, there are two T'ang histories, the *Chiu T'ang Shu*, or Old T'ang History, and the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, or New T'ang History, and the latter is the source of much trouble and confusion. The former was compiled shortly after the fall of the dynasty and the latter in the 11th century A.D. The former appears to be of the greater value as evidence, for the reasons which have been stated in my paper on Sumbas and Borneo.⁴ An exceedingly valuable authority for the T'ang period is the *T'ung Tz'u*, an encyclopaedia completed by Tu Yu in 812 A.D., of which, however, only a few passages have been translated.

After the T'angs came the period known as the Five Dynasties, 907-960 A.D., and then the Sung dynasty, 960-1279 A.D., which is divided usually into Northern Sung up to 1127 A.D., when it lost northern China to the Mongols, and Southern Sung thereafter, when the capital became fixed at Lin-an, the present Hangchow (151, p. 229). Of the histories of these periods it may be noted that the *Chin Shih* and the *Sung Shih* were compiled by T'o-p'o, a Mongol, whom Dr. Luce dates 1313-1355 A.D.

(4) J.R.A.S. (M.B.), vol: XXII, Pt: 4, p. 5.

It was during the Sung period that the compass ("south-pointing needle") came into use by the Chinese for navigation and that for the first time the Chinese obtained control of the sea-route to the South Sea and to India: and during this period Chinese trade reached its greatest extension, Chuanchow becoming predominant as the chief centre of their overseas enterprise (151, p. 237). For the understanding of Sung navigation and their geographical ideas of the countries in the South Sea three encyclopaedias are of outstanding importance, the *P'ing-chou k'o lan* of Chu Yü, completed in the first quarter of the 12th century A.D., the *Ling Wai Tai Ta* of Chou Ch'ü-fei, compiled in 1178 A.D., and the *Chu Fan Chi* of Chau Ju-Kua, compiled in 1225 A.D.; but of these a complete translation of the last only is available (226). For the others one can use only such few passages as have been translated. Other important encyclopaedias of the Sung period are the *T'ai P'ing Kuang Chi*, compiled by Li Fang (925-996 A.D.) and completed in 978 A.D., the *T'ai P'ing Yu Lan*, also compiled by Li Fang and others and completed in 978 A.D., and the *T'ung Chih*, compiled by Cheng Ch'iao (1104-1162 A.D.). In modern times the *T'ai P'ing Kuang Chi* and the *T'ai P'ing Yu Lan* "have been among the principal sources from which lost pre-Sung writings have been re-collected" (336, p. 92). For all these encyclopaedias, again, we have to rely upon mere references for the most part. Finally, we can note here the *Wên Hsien T'ung K'ao*, an encyclopaedia compiled by Ma Tuan-lin, who lived at the end of the Sung and the beginning of the Yuan dynasty, 1279-1368 A.D. Other authorities will be noted as they are cited below. Ma Tuan-lin's work has been translated in full by de Saint-Denys (230) but the translation is said to be indifferent. The material in Ma Tuan-lin "on the period before A.D. 756 was almost all taken from the *T'ung Tien*, although a certain amount of material neglected by that work was supplied from other sources. The material for the period between 756 and 1224 was collected by Ma, his sources being standard histories, *kuai yao*, such individual records as he considered reliable, and writings of the kind generally classified as belles-lettres. The Sung dynasty is more fully treated than any other, valuable material frequently being included which does not appear in the *Sung Shih*" (336, p. 131).

It is very clear that local sinologists can assist greatly in the reconstruction of the history of ancient Malaysia by providing translations of such relevant passages as are yet untranslated, and a great debt would be owed to such of them as would be content merely to supply those translations, giving the Chinese names and characters without any attempt to locate them in the text and thus avoiding the pit-falls of Groeneveldt (148).

Lang-Ya-Hsiu. There is general agreement amongst sinologists and historians that this Chinese name represents the Malay

Langkasuka and, accordingly, it can be said that the history of Langkasuka begins with the Chinese notices of Lang-ya-hsiu (Lang-ya-sieou), which is recorded in the *Liang Shu* as having sent embassies to China in 515, 523 and 531 A.D. and in the *Ch'ên Shu* as having sent one in 568 A.D. (129, p. 405). The notice in the former history has been translated in full by Groeneveldt, who writes the name as Lang-ga-siu (148, pp: 135-137), and almost in full by Luce (229, pp: 163-164), whose romanisation of the name we follow.

At the time when Lang-ya-hsiu first appears, Funan would seem to have been still the overlord of the Malay Peninsula; and the first envoys from Lang-ya-hsiu stated that according to the tradition of their kingdom it had been founded 400 years ago, which would take us to the 1st century A.D. Whether that tradition was correct or not, it is safe to say that Lang-ya-hsiu was an ancient kingdom before ever it came into relations with China.

The only geographical information in the *Liang Shu* is that Lang-ya-hsiu was in the South Sea 24,000 *li* from Canton and that from east to west it was 30 days' march, from south to north 20 days' march. Its climate and products were stated to be somewhat like those of Funan; aloes and camphor were specially abundant. The name is written in the *Liang Shu* also in the shorter form Lang-ya.

The notice in the *Ch'ên Shu* has not been translated and Pelliot (129, p. 405, n. 7) refers also to the *Ts'e Fu Yuan Kuei*, an encyclopaedia completed in 1013 A.D., which again has not been translated. Mr. Hsü in his summary of references to Lang-ya-siu, as he writes it, does not mention this encyclopaedia or the *Ch'ên Shu*, but says that the account in the *T'ung Tien* is similar to that in the *Liang Shu* (340, pp: 57-58).

So far the facts do not enable one to place Lang-ya-hsiu but the *Chiu T'ang Shu* says (229, p. 170) that P'an-p'an "lies to the south-west of Lin-i (Champa) in a corner of the sea. To the north it is parted from Lin-i by a small sea. One can reach it by boat from Chiao-chou (Tongking) in 40 days. The country is contiguous with Lang-ya-hsiu", this last being written with the same characters as in the *Liang Shu*. Charignon (341, p. 241) gives the *Chiu T'ang Shu* as saying that "the country of P'an-p'an lies to the west of Lin-i, upon a cape in the South Sea". The "small sea" which parted P'an-p'an from Lin-i must be the Gulf of Siam (129, p. 229, n. 2). Dr. Luce discusses the various views up to 1924 as to the location of P'an-p'an and summarizes (229, p. 172) "That P'an-p'an was on the east coast of the peninsula, is not disputed; the only question is its latitude. In fixing this, we must bear in mind (i) that it was south of Dvāvaratī, (ii) that it was north-west

of Ko-lo, (iii) that it adjoined Lang-ya-hsiu". To explain this last sentence reference must be made first to the notice in the *Chiu Tang Shu* of a kingdom which Mr. Hsü writes as Tuo-ho-lo and others as To-ho-lo. As translated by Mr. Hsü (342, p. 1) it runs "The State of Tuo-ho-lo is bounded in the south by P'an-p'an, in the north by Kia-lo-sheh-fu, in the east by Chen-la (Cambodia), and in the west by the great sea, being five month voyage from Canton". In the same history the notice of Chên-la says that this state is bounded on the west by Tuo-lo-po-ti (To-lo-po-ti) and in the south by a small sea. To-ho-lo, or To-ho-lo-po-ti, is accepted by all as Dvāravatī, the capital of which was at Nakhon Prathom (272, p. 131).

The *Hsin Tang Shu* says that south-east of P'an-p'an was Ko-lo, also called Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo, and the references to Ko-lo are collected and discussed by Dr. Luce (229, pp: 178-189). The net result of Dr. Luce's discussion and the views of Pelliot and Ferrand as to the location of Ko-lo are summarized by Professor Coedès when he places it "in the region of Kedah or of Kra" (272, p. 159, n. 5).

Mr. Hsü has added a number of new translations and much useful information in his paper on Dvārapati (342) and it must be remembered in connection with this and his other papers that, in addition to being a Chinese scholar, he has lived in Malaya and in various parts of Siam, whose language he speaks, reads and writes. He cites the *T'ung Tien* (ibid: p. 59) as mentioning that "Ko-lo or Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo has been heard of since the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) as having been situated south-east of P'an-p'an" and, after a discussion of various views as to its proper location, considers that it was the isthmus of Kra. He considers that "P'an-p'an should be identified with Pran-puri (Pranpun), as the *Sui Shu* says that T'u-ho-lo was bounded by P'an-p'an at the south. T'u-ho-lo has been identified with Dvaravati which represents the present Nakhon Prathom. Though Ko-lo is said to be at its south, that might be south-east since one would start sailing towards the east first, before turning to the south on account of the shoals along the coast" (340, p. 49).

Professor Coedès says that P'an-p'an was situated on the Malay Peninsula (272, p. 62), a coastal place on the Gulf of Siam (ibid: p. 90), but does not give any closer identification. Dr. Quaritch Wales thinks that Wieng Sra may well have been the first capital of P'an-p'an (228, pp; 74-75), which spanned the Malay Peninsula on either side of the trans-peninsular route (ibid: p. 85), and in his Map of Greater India (ibid: facing p. 12) shows it across the Peninsula above the Bay of Bandon.

The net result of the Chinese records, so far available to the non-sinologist, proves that in their ideas Lang-ya-hsiu was primarily

an east coast state and it is only the size of the kingdom as given in the *Liang Shu* which leads to the supposition that it traversed the Peninsula to its west coast. As we have seen, Professor Coedès accepts this supposition. Sir Richard Winstedt in his latest work *Malaya and Its History*, p. 28, writes that Langkasuka "with a capital in what is now Kedah, probably straddled from sea to sea, controlling one of India's early land-routes to Indo-China"; and it is clear from what he writes at p. 18, and again at p. 28, that he accepts the Lang-ya-hsiu of the *Liang Shu* as having been Langkasuka, which at p. 18 he equates with Kedah. Mr. Hsü after a summary of Chinese references identifies "Lang-ya-siu in the Liang dynasty as a Mon-Khmer country at Ligor"; and states his views as to the series of countries in the Sui and T'ang Dynasties that they were "P'an-p'an (now Pranpuri, i.e. Hua Hin) in the north, Ko-lo at the Isthmus of Kra, Lang-ya-siu in Ligor, Ch'ih-t'u in Singora, and Lo-yueh in Johore as identified by Pelliot" (340, p. 59).

We submit that there is nothing in these Chinese records which could enable one to say that the Lang-ya-hsiu of the Liang and T'ang periods was Kedah.

Dr. Linehan has suggested that the name Langkasuka may have been Langka Asoka, to which Professor Nilakanta Sastri says that he sees no objection except that there is no evidence to support the supposition.⁵ That is so: but there is a piece of evidence that at least one Chinese author confused Lang-ya-hsiu with the island of Langka (Ceylon). Charignon cites a work which he writes as the *Tien-hia-kiun-kuo* to the effect that "The country of the Mountain Silan is the ancient Lang-ya-sieou"; and the context shows clearly that Ceylon is meant.⁶ I have no note of this Chinese work.

Leng-Chia-Shu. The next reference to Langkasuka would seem to occur in the *Hsu Kao Seng Chuan*, an encyclopaedia compiled by Tao-hsuan, 596-647 A.D. (335, p. 206). Mr. Hsü (340, p. 58) says that this work "mentions that Kunarada wished to sail to the country of Leng-chia-shu" and he tells me that nothing beyond this bare fact is stated. He has supplied me with the Chinese characters which appear in the Appendix and tells me that this is the earliest record in which *Leng* or *Ling* appears as a variant for *Lang* in the series of Chinese names transcribing the Malay Langkasuka.

Lang-Ya-Hsu. It is accepted by sinologists and historians that the Lang-ya-hsü which we are about to discuss is the same as the Lang-ya-hsiu previously discussed and is a transcription of

(5) J.R.A.S. (M.B.), 1948, vol. XXI, Pt. 1, pp. 119-123 at p. 122.

(6) See his work on Pinto, 1936, p. 63.

Langkasuka. The name appears in the accounts of a mission despatched by the Sui Emperor Yang Ti in 607 A.D. under the leadership of Ch'ang Chün (Chang Tsun) to the kingdom which the Chinese called Ch'ih-t'u. Dr. Luce (229, pp: 174-175) has translated a large part of the account in the *Sui Shu* and Mr. Hsü (343, pp: 1-3) has translated the whole of it as well as the whole of the account in the *T'ung Tien* (ibid: pp: 3-4). There is also an account in the *Pei Shih* (229, p. 173) but it has not been translated. Reference for the account in the *Sui Shu* may be made also to Schlegel (174, ix, pp: 194-195), Charignon (341, pp: 325-326), Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 8, n. 2) and Ferrand (144, xiii, pp: 307-308). Mr. Hsü writes the name given in the *Sui Shu* as Lang-ya-hsü, as does Dr. Luce, but the name in the *T'ung Tien* as Lang-ya-hsiu. There can be no doubt that the two are one and the same place. Notices of Ch'ih-t'u will be found also in the *T'ung Chih*, not translated, and in Ma Tuan-lin (230, pp: 471-475).

Nearly all the names of places given in the *Sui Shu* and *T'ung Tien* accounts of Ch'ang Chün's mission occur nowhere else (343, p. 6) and there are divergences of opinion as to where exactly they should be located but everybody is agreed that the course taken was down the Indo-Chinese coast, across the bottom of the Gulf of Siam to the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and the description of the return journey makes this perfectly clear. As translated by Mr. Hsü (343, p. 3) the *Sui Shu* says of this return journey "Upon entering the sea swarms of green fishes hover above the water. After sailing for over ten days they reached the southeast of Ling-i, the vessel running between mountains, the straits being more than one thousand steps in width; but the water smelled yellowish raw for more than a whole day. It was said to be the odor emitted from the refuse of enormous fish. Along the shore northward they reached Chiao-chih (Annam)." Dr. Luce translates a very small part of this passage but is more clear where he has "After more than 10 days' sail over the sea, they reached the southeast of Lin-i and sailed parallel to the mountains" (229, p. 175). It would seem certain that the place where the water was yellow and smelled was opposite the mouth of the Mekhong and Crawford (84, p. 59) says that, as his ship approached Cambodia, "the water was as disturbed and muddy as at the mouth of the Ganges, in the westerly monsoon. This, as I afterwards understood, was occasioned by the river of Camao, called by the Kambojans, from the abundance of mud which it carries along with it, Takmao, or the "black stream"."

In Ch'ang Chün's voyage we get the first Chinese description of the coastal sea-route and this is a convenient point at which to illustrate the advantages of that route from statements made at the beginning of the 19th century.

In his navigational *Memoirs*, 1805, Horsburgh writes "Leaving Sincapour Strait or Pulo Aor, steer along the coast of Tringany to the Redang Islands; from thence across the mouth of the Siam Gulph, to the coast of Cambodia; keeping the coast of Cochin China on board to Cape Turon, smooth water will be experienced during the route. From Cape Turon, it is not above half a day's run to the south-west part of Hai-nam; this island may be coasted along to Hai-nam Head (being the N.E. promontory), passing between it and the Taya Islands. The run from thence may be accomplished in half a day to the coast of China, about Tien-pe-hein (or Tien-pak), or more easterly about Hai-liu. The islands may be coasted along at discretion, to Canton River; or shelter taken among them on emergency". This passage refers, of course, to the voyage up on the SW monsoon; and of the return passage he says "the coast of Cochin China is mostly all high land and safe to stand to near the shore there being no dangers but what are generally visible above water. On the North part of the coast there are land breezes in the mornings near the shore in the early part of the North-East monsoon and also to Southward light land and sea breezes at times in November. In general the wind most prevalent even in November and October and frequently in September is the North-East monsoon from Cape Turon to Cape Padaram."

The reader will find White's book (344) a most useful one for the navigational facts of what he calls the coast of Onam or Cochin-China. He says (p. 83) "The whole country, in its present limits, extends from the latitude of 8° 40' to 17° 0' north, and from Cape Avarella, in longitude 109° 24' east, it extends from the coast about one hundred and fifty miles westward". A chain of mountains runs from Cape St. James to the gulf of Tonquin (as he writes it) and he says (pp: 72-73) "The coast is bold, abounding in great varieties of fish, and affords every facility to the navigator, having good anchorage in every part (though near Cape Avarella, the easternmost land of Cochin China, the soundings extend but a short distance from the shore); and there is no invisible danger on the coast, excepting Holland's bank, which lies three or four leagues to the north-west of the island of Pulo Ciecer de Mer, (between which two there is a safe channel,) Britto's Bank, (situated near the main land, on the same parallel as Pulo Ciecer de Mer,) and a shoal bank, situated between Pulo Ciecer de Terre and Cape Padaran, but the latter is not in the way of ships navigating along the coast".

This route would obviously have presented great attractions to navigators from the earliest times, more particularly as there were important trading stations along it.

The course taken by Ch'ang Chün's mission was as follows. In the 10th moon of 607 A.D. it sailed from Canton on a fair wind,

i.e. the NE monsoon, for more than 20 days until it reached Tsiao Shih hill (Chiao-shih, "Scorched Rock"), which it rounded south-east and then anchored at Ling-chia-po-pa-to (Ling-ch'ieh-po-pa-to), which faced Lin-i (Champa) on the west and on which there was a temple. Ling-chia-po-pa-to is accepted as a transcription of the Indian name Liṅgaparvata. Then, going south, it reached Shih-tze-shih (Shih-tzu-shih, "Lion Rock"). From there, according to Dr. Luce, along a continuous line of islands, after 2 or 3 days' voyage, it opened in the west the mountains of Lang-ya-hsū kingdom. Mr. Hsū has "further south they reached Shih-tze-shih (the Lion Rock) whence islets appeared like chains", and the *T'ung Tien*, as translated by him, has "where there appeared many islets". After Lang-ya-hsū the mission went to the south past Chi-lung (Cock Cage) island "within the jurisdiction of Ch'ih-t'u", according to Mr. Hsū. Dr. Luce has "Thence to the south they left Chi-lung ("Fowls' Cage") island and reached the borders of Ch'ih-t'u". Dr. Luce then omits some words and proceeds "Their boat being towed by cable, after more than a month they reached the capital". Mr. Hsū in the *Sui Shu* has merely "It took more than a month to reach the capital" and nothing at all about being towed by cable. His translation of the *T'ung Tien* has "In a month's time they reached the capital" and there is nothing about towing. This is not unimportant since many writers have thought that Seng-chih, the capital of the State, must have been up a river; and Mr. Hsū is emphatic that there is no mention of any river in either account (343, p. 8). The name of the capital is given in the *T'ung Tien* as Shih-tze-cheng, which is literally "the Lion City", and Mr. Hsū says that this accords with Singora "which in the *Maritime Chart of Cheng Ho* could be identified with Sun-ku-na, in *Ching T'ung Tien* and *Ch'ing T'ung K'ao* as Sung-chū-lao, in *Hai Kuo Wen Chien Lu* as Sung-chū, and in *Hai Lu* as Sung-k'a which is now a popular name among the Oversea-Chinese. The term Singora came from Sanskrit, meaning the Lion Seat or the Lion City." His view is that Ch'ih-t'u must be placed in Songkhla (Singora) and Patani: he does not accept the view of Mr. Moens that it should be identified with Pthalung. Professor Coedès, however, has adopted this last identification (272, p. 89). In either event it is the east coast and the argument resolves itself again into the question of latitude. Therefore, Lang-ya-hsū must also be on the east coast but north of Ch'ih-t'u, and Ligor fits in either view.

Ch'ih-t'u, means "Red Land" and was a name which the accounts in the *Sui Shu* and the *T'ung Tien* tell us was given to it because the earth was coloured red. It would seem clear that the Chinese name is, accordingly, a transcription of the Malay name *Tanah Merah*, "red land"; but the latter is a name given to literally scores of places throughout Malaysia, where laterite and red earth form so marked a feature of the landscape. The most important of such places in the Peninsula to-day is the district of

Tanah Merah up the Kelantan River. Mr. Hsü in support of his identification of Ch'ih-t'u points to the fact that "in Singor^e and Pattani the earth is usually red in colour, known as the color of rusted iron. Moreover, according to the *Phongsawadan Mu'ang Songkhla*, it is recorded that the Malays built up their capital by the side of Khao Deng (the Red Hill) quite a happy coincidence" (343, p. 13).

Dr. Quaritch Wales (228, pp: 28-29) identified Ch'ih-t'u with the modern state of Kedah and invoked the 5th century inscription of Buddhagupta, as others have done: but on the facts of Ch'ang Chün's voyage this cannot be so.

As translated by Dr. Luce (229, p. 173) the *Sui Shu* says that Ch'ih-t'u to the north touches the sea and that south of it is the Ho-lo-tan kingdom: but Mr. Hsü romanizes this latter name as K'ou-lo-tan and considers that the Ho-lo-tan of the *Sung Shu*, the K'ou-lo-tan of the *Sui Shu*, and the K'ou-lo-chieh of the *T'ung Tien* are one and the same, the *chieh* in the last being faulty for *tan* (340, p. 47). All of them for him represent the present island of Java. De Saint-Deny's romanizes Ho-lo-tan as Ko-lo-tan (230, p. 266).

But the Ho-lo-tan of the *Sung Shu* is stated to be on She-p'o (Cho-p'o) island and there are difficulties in accepting that as Java at that time. In the *Sui Shu* it seems impossible to believe that, in the geographical facts given, there would have been a sudden jump from places in the north of the Malay Peninsula down to Java. One would say that the Ho-lo-tan (Ko-lo-tan) of the *Sui Shu* represented "Kelantan" on the geographical facts given but we have the difficulty of placing Tan-tan in that case.

It must be remarked here that in Malaysia it is completely unsafe to assume that, once a name has been identified as a particular place, it can only mean that place wherever and whenever the name re-occurs. The fact is that the same Malaysian name applies very frequently to several places in quite different parts and numberless instances of this can be cited. Moreover, the ancient Indians also often gave the same name to several different places. It is suggested, accordingly, that the facts in each case must govern and that there would be nothing in the least strange if more than one place were called Ho-lo-tan or Ko-lo-tan.

In its directions for reaching the state of P'o-li the *Sui Shu* says that one passes Ch'ih-t'u and Tan-tan and then comes to P'o-li. Mr. Hsü considers that Tan-tan represents Kelantan in the neighbourhood of Tendong, a village lying 10 miles from the mouth of the Kelantan River and about 5 or 6 miles from the present capital Kota Bahru (340, p. 53). He thinks, accordingly that

Ko-lo-tan could not be Kelantan. On his facts and reasoning it seems quite an acceptable view that Tan-tan was in some part of the present state of Kelantan: but it does not follow necessarily that Ko-lo-tan could not also have been or that part of the present Patani might not have been called Kc-lo-tan. However, the question is immaterial for our present purposes. It is clear on the Chinese evidence that Lang-ya-hsü, Ch'ih-t'u and Tan-tan certainly were kingdoms which they placed on the east coast of the Peninsula.

Lang-Chia-Shu. The next evidence is that of the Chinese pilgrim I-ching (I-tsing, Yi-tsing) whose two works will be called here the *Memoirs* and the *Record*. The former has been translated by Chavannes (345) and the latter by Takakusu (227). I-ching first left China about 671 or 672 A.D. and returned for the last time in 695 A.D. (151, p. 196). Of the 60 Chinese pilgrims mentioned in the *Memoirs* no less than 37 took the sea-route.

In the *Memoirs* (345, pp: 56-59) we are told of three Chinese pilgrims named I-lang, Chih-ngan and I-hsüan, who sailed from a small port near Canton, passed Funan and reached the country of Lang-chia. We are told then that the king of Lang-chia-shu treated them with ceremony. Chih-ngan fell ill and died there, but I-lang and I-hsüan went on to Ceylon. Here we get Lang-chia and Lang-chia-shu just as before we had Lang-ya and Lang-ya-hsiu in the *Liang Shu*.

Lang-chia-shu is mentioned again in the story of I-hui (ibid: p. 78) who intended to go to India and reached Lang-chia-shu where he died.

Tao-lin (ibid: pp: 99-106) was tossed on ship over the seas of the south. He passed the Copper Columns (in Tongking) and reached the kingdom of Lang-chia, passed the kingdom of Ho-ling and the country of the Naked People (the Nicobars) and finally reached eastern India in the country of Tan-mo-li-ti, i.e. Tamralipti, modern Tamluk in the Ganges Delta.

Ho-ling is mentioned several times in the *Memoirs* and was an important Buddhist centre. Ch'ang-min (ibid: pp: 42-43) left in a ship for the South and went to the State of Ho-ling, from where he embarked for Mo-lo-yu (Mo-louo-yu) and there took ship for India but was wrecked and drowned. T'an-juen (ibid: pp: 77-78) left Lo-yang and travelled to Chiao-chih where he waited for the right monsoon. His ship reached Pou-p'en to the north of Ho-ling and there he died. Fa-chen (ibid: pp: 157-158) was tossed on the waves to the north of Ho-ling, traversed successively all the islands and reached little by little Chieh-ch'a, where he died. There are some other references to Ho-ling but they are not geographical. Following Chavannes and Pelliot, Professor Coedès says that Ho-

ling must represent middle-Java (272, p. 137) but there are grave objections. The facts and views concerning Ho-ling will be examined in a later section of these *Notes*.

From the *Memoirs* it appears that Lang-chia-shu was a stopping-place on the sea-route and was reached after Funan (present Cochín-China in this context) had been passed: in other words, it must have been the same place as Ch'ang Chün saw on the same route. Sinologists and historians all agree that Lang-chia-shu represents the Malay Langkasuka.

In the *Record*, as translated by Luce (229, p. 160), I-ching says that the country east of the famous Nālanda monastery was called "the East Frontier Kingdoms". Thereafter are the Great Black Mountains, the southern frontier of T'u-fan (Tibet). "Southward from this the country borders the sea; it is the kingdom of Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo (Criksetra). To the south-east of this is the kingdom of Lang-chia-shu. Further east is the kingdom of Shē (? = Tu)-ho-po-ti (? Dvāravati). Further east finally one reaches the kingdom of Lin-i (Champa)".

In the biography of the 7th century pilgrim Hsüan-chuang, whose name is written almost every way, there is the following passage as translated by Luce (*ibid*: p. 159) "Then northeast, beside the great sea in a valley of the mountains, is the kingdom of Shih-li-ch'a-a-ta-lo (Criksetra). Further, to the south-east, in a corner of the great sea is the kingdom of Chia-mo-lang-chia (Kāmalanka). Further, to the east, is the kingdom of To-lo-po-ti (Dvāravati). Further, to the east, is the kingdom of I-shang-nu-lo (Icānapura). Further, to the east, is the kingdom of Mo-ho-chan-po (Mahāchampā): this is what we (Chinese) call Lin-i. Further, to the west is the island kingdom of Yen-mo-lo. In the case of all these six kingdoms the paths across mountains and streams are difficult". Hsüan-chuang travelled on the northern land-route from and to China, and never visited any of the places mentioned in this passage. For a well-known study of Hsüan-chuang (and also of I-ching) the reader should refer to Grousset (346).

Criksetra is generally accepted as being the ancient name of Prome (272, p. 132). Professor Coedès (*ibid*: pp. 133-134) says "To the west of Dvāravati and to the south-east of Criksetra, Hiuan-tsang places "near a great bay" the country of Kamalanka, which is perhaps identical to the Langkia-chou of Yi-tsing, that is to say to Lankasuka; it must at any rate be looked for on the Malay Peninsula"; and in considering the Mēvilimbanṅam of the Tanjore inscription he says that it is "identified with Karmaranga, or Kamalanka on the isthmus of Ligor" (*ibid*: p. 241).

The general result of the above evidence must be to place I-ching's Lang-chia-shu as primarily an east coast state.

Chieh-Ch'a. As has been seen, Fa-chen died in Chieh-ch'a. The *Memoirs* tells us also that Wu-hing (345, pp: 138-157) embarked in China "in the time of the east wind" and in a month reached Srivijaya where the king honoured him. Then in one of the king's ships he reached Mo-lo-yu at the end of 15 days and after another 15 days Chieh-ch'a, where "the last month of winter being come" he changed the course of his navigation and went to the west, reaching Negapatam in 30 days and then sailing from there for 2 days to Ceylon.

I-ching himself was in Chieh-ch'a and Takakusu (227, pp: xxvii-xxxvi) has collected all the facts concerning the pilgrim's travels. The following appear concerning Chieh-ch'a which Takakusu writes as Ka-cha:—

(1) After his first visit to Srivijaya I-ching went to Mo-lo-yu where he stayed for 2 months and then, changing his direction, went to Chieh-ch'a, where he re-embarked in one of the king's ships in the 12th moon: going north after more than 10 days' sail he came to the Nicobars, lying to his east, and from there in the north-west direction he reached Tāmralipti in about half a month;

(2) having travelled and stayed in India, he returned to Tāmralipti and then took ship to Chieh-ch'a where he landed;

(3) Tāmralipti was the place, he says, where we embark when returning to China and sailing from there two months in the south-east direction we come to Chieh-ch'a, by which time a ship from Srivijaya will have arrived, generally in the 1st or 2nd moon; we stay in Chieh-ch'a till winter, then start on board ship for the south and come after a month to Mo-lo-yu, which has now become Srivijaya, arriving generally in the 1st or 2nd moon; we stay there till the middle of summer and sail to the north reaching Kwang-tung in about a month, by which time the first half of the year will have been passed.

In the last passage, which is not too clear, it would seem that by Mo-lo-yu he really meant Srivijaya, Palembang. Mo-lo-yu (Malayu) is stated by Professor Coedès to be centred in the region of Jambi on the east coast of Sumatra and to have sent its first embassy to China in 644-645 A.D. (272, p. 138). Upon I-ching's evidence this kingdom was subdued by Srivijaya and became part of the latter. It is the Mo-lo-yu of Jambi to which Wu-hing sailed. He took a month from Srivijaya (Palembang) to Chieh-ch'a and in the reverse direction I-ching also gives a month, taking him to mean Srivijaya and not the Jambi Mo-lo-yu.

I-ching's facts make it clear that Chieh-ch'a must have been the ancient Kedah settlement on the Merbok estuary and that it

was an entrepot. Phonetically, Pelliot says that Kie-tch'a (Chieh-ch'a) must represent Kaḍa and he agrees with Beal, who (as far back as 1881) had found the Malay Kedah in the name (129, p. 351, and n. 6). Professor Coedès (315, p. 21) considered that Kie-tch'a, as he writes it, corresponded to Kaṭāha and referred to the Khmer *Khdah* (pronounced *Khteah*) and the Siamese *Kadah* (pronounced *Kathah*). In his latest work (272, p. 73) he writes "The archaeological remains found in Kedah are from different periods. They prove the antiquity of this site which we shall find later on under its sanskrit name of Kaṭāha, and its Chinese name of Kie-tch'a".

Ma Tuan-lin (230, p. 461) says that in 638 A.D. the kingdom of Kia-tcha, as de Saint-Denys romanizes it, sent an embassy to China. The characters differ from those of Chieh-ch'a but Ferrand says that they equal phonetically the Malay Kedah (144, xiii, p. 249).

From these views, and from the actual facts, it is a fair proposition that Chieh-ch'a was the same place as the sanskrit Kaṭāha, tamil Kaḍāram, and that the true origin of the name Kedah is to be found in these Indian names.

It is submitted that on all the evidence which has been summarized so far Langkasuka was primarily an east coast state and Kedah a west coast state, and that the two were not one and the same. The next evidence comes at the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century.

Chia-Tan. The most celebrated T'ang cartographer was Chia Tan (Kia Tan), 730-805 A.D. His work was compiled between 785 and 805 A.D. and in it he gives first an itinerary by land from China and then one by sea; but the original work has disappeared and there are only quotations in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* and the *T'ai ping huan yu chi*, an encyclopaedia compiled in the period 976-983 A.D. The two itineraries were the subject of Pelliot's famous paper in 1904 (129) and have been studied by Hirth and Rockhill (226, pp: 9-14), Ferrand (172, ii, pp: 642-644) and Luce (229, pp: 185-189).

In the land itinerary we are told that Chên-la had been divided into a northern portion called Land Chên-la and a southern called Water Chên-la, and that south of the latter is a "little sea", south of which is the kingdom of Lo-yüeh and still further south the Ocean. The "little sea" would seem to be the Gulf of Siam and the Ocean the South China Sea.

In the sea itinerary we get a picture of the route from Kwang-chow (Canton) to the Malabar coast and then to the Persian Gulf.

The route passes the island of Hainan across to the Indo-Chinese coast and down that coast to a place called Kun-t'u-nung. From there after 5 days' sail a strait is reached which the barbarians call Chih (Tche) "from north to south it is a hundred *li*. On the northern shore there is the kingdom of Lo-yüeh; on the southern shore there is the kingdom of Fo-shih (Palembang). Eastwards from the kingdom of Fo-shih, sailing for four or five days, you reach the kingdom of Ho-ling; it is the largest of the islands of the south. Then, westwards, issuing from the strait, in three days you reach the kingdom of Ko-ko-seng-chih, which is on a detached island at the north-west corner of Fo-shih. The inhabitants are great plunderers; voyagers on junks are in dread of them. On the northern shore there is the kingdom of Ko-lo. West of Ko-lo there is the kingdom of Ko-ku-lo" (229, pp: 185-186).

It is the view of Ferrand (172, ii, p. 644, n. 1) that this part of the sea itinerary "has been shortened and re-shaped by a compiler who was but little familiar with the geography of Malaysia"; and Luce writes "this passage, which Pelliot calls "obscure and seemingly inaccurate", seems to be corrupt" (229, p. 189). However, for our present purposes, only the names Ko-lo and Lo-yüeh are essential. The Chih quite obviously is the Straits of Singapore. We leave Ko-lo until we have considered the Arab evidence and Lo-yüeh until we consider Marco Polo: it is sufficient here to note that Ko-lo must have been somewhere on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and was a place distinct from Lo-yüeh.

The next Chinese evidence comes in the *Chu Fan Chi* of 1225 A.D., but the long gap is filled by the Indian evidence examined in the last two sections of these *Notes*, and by the Arab evidence to which we pass now.

Kalah. The main authority for the Arab voyages is that of Ferrand in his *Textes Géographiques* (172) and the gap which has to be filled in is covered from Ibn Khordädzbeh, 844-848 A.D. to Yäküt, 1179-1229 A.D.; but there are only two descriptions of the sea-route by authors who actually travelled along it. They are Sulaymân, 851 A.D., and Abû Dulaf Mis'ar, ca: 940 A.D., whose work is preserved in quotations by Yäküt and Kazwîni, 1203-1283 A.D. Ibn Khordädzbeh is also a good authority, since he was a post-master and wrote from information received in the course of his duties from travellers.

Ya' kûbî, ca: 875 or 880 A.D. (172, i, pp: 49-50), states the seven seas between Persia and China as follows:—

(1) the sea of Färs (the Persian Gulf) on which one embarked at Siräf and which ended at Räs al-hadd, in the south-east of Omân;

(2) the sea of Lārwi, through which the ship's course had to be steered by the stars;

(3) the sea of Harkand, which contained the island of Sirandīb (Ceylon) noted for its precious stones;

(4) the sea of Kalāh-bār, which was shallow and contained large serpents and where often the wind was so strong as to cause ship-wreck; in this sea were islands which produced the camphor-tree;

(5) the sea of Salāhit, a large sea containing many marvels;

(6) the sea of Kundrang, where there was much rain;

(7) the sea of Cankhay (China Sea), on which one could travel only with the south wind up to the estuary of a large river along the banks of which were military posts and inhabited country.

Kundrang (the Kun-t'u-nu-na of Chia Tan) corresponds to the sanskrit Kunduraṅga, of which it is the regular Arabized form (172, i. p. 17). Salāhat, or Salāhit, as it was also called, corresponds to Chia Tan's Chih and the Malay *selat*, and would seem from various other statements to have included the seas south of Singapore. The sea of Harkand seems to have been the Gulf of Bengal.

Sulavmān (ibid: pp: 35-41) says that from Muscat the course went to Kūlam Malaya, i.e. Quilon on the Malabar coast, where fresh water was taken on board before sail was set for the sea of Harkand as far as Laṅgabālūs, i.e. the Nicobars, and thence to the sea of Kalāh-bār. He explains then that *bār* designates both a kingdom and a coast. It corresponds, of course, to the sanskrit *vāra* and *raja*. Kalāh-bār, he says, is a dependency of Djawāga, i.e. Srīvijaya, Palembang. At Kalāh-bār the ships got well-water which is preferable to spring or rain water. The distance between Kūlam and Kalāh-bār was one month's sail. The ships then sailed to Tiyūma, generally taken to be Tioman island, where there was fresh water, if needed, and this occupied 10 days sailing. From there the ships made for the place called Kundrang which was reached in another 10 days and where there was fresh water and a mountain. After that the ships went to a place called Campa (Champa), where there was fresh water and from which the kind of aloes called *canfi* was exported. This was reached after another 10 days' sail; and, when the ships had taken in fresh water, they sailed for the place called Cundur-fūlat, which was the name of an island where fresh water could be got. It took another 10 days to reach Cundur-fūlat, after which the ships entered the sea called Cankhay and passed the Gates of China, which consisted of mountains washed by the sea with an opening in between through which the ships passed. "When, by divine favour, the ships have emerged safe

and sound from Cundur-fūlāt, they set sail for China and reach there at the end of a month. Of this month seven days are spent in traversing the straits formed by the mountains" (ibid: p. 41).

Ferrand (ibid: p. 40, n. 6) says that Cundur-fūlāt "is the island of Poulo Condore which is situated some 40 miles south of the delta of the Mékong"; but on Sulaymān's course that is impossible. *Fūlāt* represents the plural of the Malay *pulau*, island, and *Cundur* corresponds to Condore: but Sulaymān's island must have been far north of the present Condor group and so may have been Culao Cham, but certainly some island off the north part of the Indo-Chinese coast.

Abū Dulaf Mis'ar, as quoted by Yākūt, says (ibid: p. 221) that he found Kalah (*sic*) to be very large, surrounded by big walls, with numerous gardens and abundant streams of water. He found there a mine of tin such as existed nowhere else and called *kala'a*, from which *kala't* swords were forged and they were "true Indian swords." Between this town and the town of China, he says (ibid: p. 222), there are 300 parasangs. Around Kalah there was a succession of towns, small market-towns, and gatherings of houses. "Their king is under the suzerainty of the sovereign of China and makes the *khufba* to the name of the latter"; and he says that the *kibla* of the king of Kalah is oriented towards China, while the royal prayer-house is consecrated to the king of China. From Kalah he left for Malabar.

Later he gives us two places (ibid: p. 230) Kalah "country at the extreme limit of India from which aloes is exported" and Kalah "port of the sea of India, mid-way between Omān and China. Its situation in the inhabited world is on the line of the equator". Kazwīnī (172, ii, p. 312) in "the First Climate" has "Kalah. Town of India mid-way between Omān and China. Its situation in the inhabited world is exactly on the equator. At mid-day one does not cast the least shadow. One finds there plantations of bamboo which is exported all over the world"; and (at pp: 313-314) in "the Second Climate" he has "Kalah. Large town of India well fortified, with raised walls. Numerous gardens are found there. It is a rendezvous for the Brahmans who are the sages of India. Mis'ar bin Muhalhil says "It is the first of the countries of India in the neighbourhood of China; it is the last point to be reached by the ships which cannot go further without shipwreck". There is a fortress there where the swords called *kala'iyya* are made; they are the best Indian swords; no other kind in the whole world are better than those of this *kala'a*. Its king is subject to the king of China, his *kibla* towards him; his prayer-house, his customs are the same as those of the king of China. They believe firmly that submission to the king of China is a blessing and that dis-

obedience to him would bring them evil. Between Kalah and China the distance is 300 parasangs”.

Abū Mis'ar, as quoted by Yākūt, tells us that from China he went to Kalah “It is the beginning of India and the last point which the ships can reach; it is not possible for them to go beyond without being wrecked”. The explanation of this would appear to be that the ships came down on the NE monsoon, which is also the fair season in the Straits of Malacca, and by the end of that monsoon they would have reached Kalah beyond which they could not make for Ceylon in the teeth of the SW monsoon. This would show that Kalah was an entrepot.

Other information in the *Textes* up to the period of the *Chu Fan Chi* can be summarized as follows:—

(1) Ibn Khordādbeh (172, i. p. 27)—From Laṅgabalūs to the island of Kilah, six days' sail; this island belongs to Djāba the Indian; it contains the famous mines of *kala'i* tin and bamboo plantations:

(2) Ibn al-Fakīh, 902 A.D., (ibid: p. 58)—Kalah-bār forms part of the empire of Djāwaga: one king rules over this empire:

(3) Abū Zayd, ca: 916 A.D. (ibid: p. 83)—The king of Djāwaga still counts amongst his possessions the island of Kalah which is situated half-way between the lands of China and the country of the Arabs: it is the centre of the trade in aloes, camphor, sandal, ivory, tin, ebony, Brazil-wood, spices of all kinds, and other things it would take too long to enumerate: it is there that the fleets from Omān come and it is from there that the fleets sail for the Arab countries:

(4) Mas'ūdī, 943 A.D., (ibid: p. 95)—In the neighbourhoods of Kalah and Sribuza (Śrīvijaya, Palembang) there are mines of gold and silver: (p. 96) the country of Killa is nearly half-way on the route to China: to-day this town is the general rendez-vous for the Mussulman ships from Sirāf and Omān, which meet there the fleets of China; but it was not so before: the Chinese ships went then to Omān, Sirāf, etc, and those from these countries sailed in their turn to China: a merchant is mentioned who embarked on a Chinese ship to go from Killa to the port of Khānfū: (p. 98) the sea of Kalāh-bār, that is to say the sea of Kalah, like all shallow seas is dangerous and navigation is difficult; one encounters there many islands and of the kind which seamen call *surr*, plural *sarūir*, which is the point of junction of two straits or canals:

(5) The Summary of Marvels, ca: 1000 A.D. (ibid: p. 152)—The island of Kalah is a large one inhabited by Indians, where there are tin mines and bamboo plantations: (p. 156) the island of

Kalah is said to occupy a position mid-way between China and the Arab land: it produces many commodities, aloes, camphor, sandal, ivory, tin, ebony, logwood: to-day one goes there from Omān:

(6) Edrīsī, 1154 A.D., (ibid: p. 184)—The island of Kalah is very large and a king lives there called Djāba (al-Hindī) or Indian prince: there is a rich tin mine there: the metal is very pure and very bright but the merchants fraudulently mix it after its extraction from the mine and then carry it everywhere else: it produces rattan and excellent camphor:

(7) Ibn al-Baytār, 1197?-1248 A.D. (ibid: p. 288)—Camp-hor is brought from the country of Kalā;

(8) Ibn Saʿīd, 1208 or 1214-1274 or 1286 A.D. (172, ii, p. 343)—The town of Kalah is well known to travellers: it has given its name to the excellent, workable, soft tin called *kalahī*.

It is convenient also to collect here the further information up to that in the *Mohit* which will be examined separately below:—

(9) Dimaskī, ca: 1325 A.D., (ibid: p. 378)—The sea of Kalah is so called after the island of Kalah with a town of the same name, the largest of the four towns which are situated there: (p. 383) the island of Kalah, after which the sea that washes it is called, is very dangerous to land upon, its length is 800 miles, width 350, it contains the towns of Faṇṇur, Djāwa, Malāyur, Lāwri and Kalā: there are elephants introduced from the continent, which are reared and trained for the kings of the country;

(10) Nuwayrī, dead by 1332 A.D. (ibid: p. 396)—The island of Kalah with the towns of Faṇṇur, Malāyur, Lāwri and Kalah;

(11) Abūlfidā, 1273-1331 A.D., (ibid: p. 403)—The island of Kala is the port for all regions between Omān and China; tin is exported from there called by its name; there is a prosperous town inhabited by Muslims, Hindus and Persians; one notices there tin-mines, plantations of bamboos and camphor trees. Twenty days' sail separate it from the islands of the Maharāja, i.e. the king of Srivijaya:

(12) Ibn al-Wardī, ca: 1340 A.D., (ibid: p. 421)—The island of Kalah is a large one, which contains trees, rivers, and fruits; a king who is descendant of Djāba the Indian lives there; there are tin-mines, camphor trees, which can give shade to a hundred men and more, bamboo, and so many wonderful things that one could not relate them without being called a liar:

(13) Bākuwī, beginning of the 15th century A.D., (ibid: p. 463)—Kalah, a town of India, mid-way between Omān and China, situated on the continent upon the equator; all ships go there;

bamboo is found there (this place is in his "First Climate" and in his "Second Climate", p. 465, he has Kalbā, clearly a mistake for Kalah, since he gives in connection with it statements which he has taken from Abū Mis'ar):

(14) Ibn Iyās, 1516 A.D., (ibid: p. 482)—Kalah is a little town between Omān and China, situated in the middle of the equator, at mid-day there is no shadow; it is the terminus for merchant vessels; bamboo grows there; it is a well known country.

When all the evidence above is examined and confusions are discarded, the result surely must be that the Arab accounts of Kalah co-incide with the Indian accounts of Kaṭāha and Kaḍāram which were examined in the last two sections of these *Notes*. It is clear that to the Arabs Kalah was the name both for an important entrepot and for the Malay Peninsula, just as to the Indians were Kaṭāha and Kaṭāha-dvīpa. Dr. Quaritch Wales has proved archaeologically that Kedah was a Hinduized settlement of importance throughout the period of the Arab evidence above and has carried that settlement back to the 4th century A.D. There is no other place in the Peninsula which can fit the facts. Warrington Smyth (209, ii, pp: 30-31) has described Kra (Pakchan) and we suggest that neither physically nor archaeologically could it possibly have answered to the facts. We submit that the Arab entrepot called Kalah must have been the Kedah settlement on the Merbok estuary. But Ferrand rejected this identification on phonetic grounds and insisted that Kra was meant. Professor Coedès (272, p. 221) writes "Kalah (Kra = Malay Peninsula)" and in his map of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula shows Kalah in brackets below the name Kra. In venturing to dispute that view we do so with the utmost respect to one who is acknowledged to be the highest authority.

The question, we submit, is not whether Kalah is the phonetic equivalent of Kedah but what was the place which the Arabs called Kalah and for that their own statements, when combined with others, provide the answer.

Ko-Lo. In 1904 Pelliot discussed fully the question of Chia Tan's Ko-lo which he considered to have been the same as I-ching's Chieh-ch'a and the Arab Kalah (129, pp: 349-345); and again in 1912 he considered that "Ko-lo would at all events be on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula with a margin of identification roughly between Malacca and Kedah". Ferrand (144, xiii, p. 312) agreed that Chia Tan's Ko-lo was the Arab Kalah but insisted on phonetic grounds that each of them was Kra, while the Ko-lo of the T'ang histories he placed on the east coast of the Peninsula. Luce has a long discussion of the views as they stood in 1924 (229, pp: 186-189) but is inconclusive. The *Hsin T'ang Shu* stated

Ko-lo to be south-east of P'an-p'an and to have contained 24 prefectures and to have supported a large army. P'an-p'an undoubtedly was on the east coast but Chia Tan shows clearly that Ko-lo was on the west coast, so that "south-east" must be wrong in the *Hsin T'ang Shu*. Ferrand got over the difficulty by having two Ko-los, as to which Luce wrote "It seems on the whole more probable that the Chinese accounts, drawn from miscellaneous sources and apparently inconsistent, contain mistakes, than that that there should be two Ko-lo's" (229, p. 189).

In 1918 Professor Coedès (315, pp: 21-22) accepted Pelliot's view that Ko-lo was Kedah but in his latest work (272, p. 159, n. 5) writes "Ko-lo, in the region of Kedah or of Kra". Mr. Hsü (340, pp: 48-49) gives some references to Ko-lo and (p. 59) identifies it as being "at the Isthmus of Kra".

The whole question is too long and complicated to consider here, and we would point out also that all the various references to Ko-lo have not yet been collected and translated. I-ching, we suggest, may have been transcribing Kaṭāha when he wrote Chieh-ch'a, for he was a sanskrit scholar; but it would seem that the more usual Chinese name was Ko-lo which was apparently the same as Kalah. This last, we have already submitted, could only have been Kedah and we submit, therefore, that, on the evidence at present available in translation, Kalah and Ko-lo should be identified with Kedah and not Kra.

Ling-Ya-Ssi-Kia. The *Chu Fan Chi* gives a place which Hirth and Rockhill writes as Ling-ya-ssi-kia, Luce as Ling-ya-ssuchia and Mr. Hsü as Ling-ya-ssi-kia, while the French way is Ling-ya-sseu-kia.

It would seem that the names of very many of the places in the *Chu Fan Chi* must have been given in the Fukien dialects to Chau Ju-kua, who was Inspector of Foreign Trade at Chüanchow and based a large part of the book on information gathered there from Fukienese sailors and travellers. Dr. Blagden (347, p. 169) complained that the transliteration of Hirth and Rockhill did not follow at all closely the dialect which Chau Ju-kua appeared to have in view and consequently did not always facilitate identification.

In the *Chu Fan Chi* Ling-ya-ssi-kia appears twice in that full form (226, pp: 62, 69) but in the notice of the place as Ling-ya-ssi (ibid: p. 68). It appears as one of the 15 dependencies of Sān-fo-ts'i, i.e. Srivijaya. The geographical facts are as follows:—

(1) Ling-ya-ssi can be reached from Tan-ma-ling by sailing six days and nights; there is also an overland route;

(2) Fo-lo-an can be reached from Ling-ya-ssī-kia in four days; there is also an overland route;

(3) the neighbours of Fo-lo-an are P'ōng-f'ōng, Tōng-ya-nung and Ki-lan-tan.

All are agreed that, wherever it should be placed exactly, Tan-ma-ling was an east coast state and that Ling-ya-ssī-kia is the same as I-ching's Lang-chia-shu and represents the Malay Langkasuka.

The modern Chinese name for Beranang, a village in Selangor on the Langat River, is given as Fu-lu-ngan by Mr. Firmstone, who says (333, p. 190) that it is also applied indiscriminately to some other places in the same district, e.g. Blau and Broga, and is apparently phonetic. Luce and Pelliot write Fo-lo-an as Fo-lon-gan. Hirth and Rockhill identify Fo-lo-an with the west coast Beranang but that is impossible because of the distance of four days and because the neighbours of Fo-lo-an were P'ōng-f'ōng, Tōng-ya-nung and Ki-lan-tan, which Hirth and Rockhill (and everybody else) identify as Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan. Professor Coedès (272, p. 308) suggests with a query Pathalung for Fo-lo-an. The facts in the *Chu Fan Chi* show that, if not there, it must at any rate have been on the east coast, as must also have been Ling-ya-ssī-kia.

The evidence and views concerning Tan-ma-ling and Fo-lo-an will be examined in a later section of these *Notes*. It is sufficient to note here that on the evidence each must have been on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula.

Ki-t'ō. The *Chu Fan Chi* also mentions a place called Ki-t'ō in its account of Nan-p'i, i.e. Malabar. "Every year ships come to this country from San-fo-ts'i, Kien-pi and Ki-t'ō, and the articles they trade with are the same as in Nan-p'i". It is generally agreed that Kien-pi is the *Kampe* mentioned in the *Nāgarakretāgama* and that it was on the east coast of Sumatra (272, p. 309). Schlegel (174, ii (1901), p. 138) considered that Kien-pi was either the island of Kampei or Muara Kompeh at the confluence of the Kompeh and Jambi rivers, and Pelliot approved these views (129, p. 344, n. 4). Accordingly, two of the places from which the ships came to Malabar were from the west coast of the Straits of Malacca.

Wang Ta-yūan also gives Ki-t'ō with the same characters but says only that it and A-chi (Acheen) were addicted to piracy (352, p. 253). This passage is repeated in the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*, 1436 A.D. (ibid: p. 254).

Ferrand (144, xiii, p. 285; xiv, pp: 225-226) considered that Ki-t'ō represents the Malay Kedah and Coedès (315, p. 21) con-

sidered that it also represents the Tamil Kiḍa in Kiḍāram, variant for Kaḍāram. There seems to be general agreement that from its name Ki-t'ō must represent the Kedah of that time but there are no definite geographical facts yet available in translation which enable us to fix it positively. If Ki-t'ō is the same place as Chi-ta in the *Wu-pei-chih* charts (considered later), then, of course, there are such facts. Upon the etymological opinions cited above, it seems fair to say that Ki-t'ō and Chi-ta must be the same place.

Before leaving Ki-t'ō reference must be made to another place mentioned in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* without any geographical facts and written in the French way as Kie-t'ō. In 1918 Professor Coedès (315, pp: 19-21) considered the series of names Chieh-ch'a, Ki-t'ō and Kie-t'ō. As has been seen, his opinion was that Chieh-ch'a corresponded to Kaṭāha and that the form was exactly how the sanskrit name would be rendered in Indo-Chinese tongues. Though the character 'ō in Ki-t'ō and Kie-t'ō is dental, there are, he said, instances also of its use as a labial, for which he cited Sylvain Lévi. He considered that Kie-t'ō = Kaḍah and Ki-t'ō = Kiḍa. He equated the three Chinese names with the Kalah or Kilah of the Arabs and the Ko-lo of Chia Tan and the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, and considered that "all these different names represent phonetically and geographically Kedah". His present view, as has been seen, is that Chieh-ch'a and Kaṭāha are the equivalents of Kedah, that Ko-lo is in the region of Kedah or Kra, and that Kalah is "Kra = Malay Peninsula". Ki-t'ō and Kie-t'ō are not mentioned in his history (272).

But clearly the evidence of the *Chu Fan Chi* gives Ling-ya-ssī-kiā and Ki-t'ō as distinct places.

Marco Polo. At the beginning of 1292 A.D. Marco Polo sailed with a Chinese fleet from Zaitun, or Zayton, which is generally agreed nowadays to have been Chüanchow (the Arab Zifūn), and after a voyage of nearly two years reached his destination Hormuz. His course took him down the coast of Indo-China to the present Condore group from where he stood across to Locac, or Lochac, and thence to Pentan, which was clearly the island of Bintang, some 15 miles south of the south-eastern promontory of the Malay Peninsula. Its two hills are famous marks for vessels approaching the Straits of Singapore and must, in the nature of things, have been used by sailors for very many centuries.

In Penzer's edition of Frampton's translation of Marco Polo the Introduction contains a study by Dr. Blagden of Polo's route to the top of the Straits of Malacca (348, pp: lvi-x) and there is an excellent map which has been reproduced in other books.

In Ricci's translation of Benedetto's text (349, p. 280), which is founded on the great Geographic Text, we are told that after

leaving the Condore group (Sondur and Condur) Polo sailed "for some 500 miles to the south-east. One then reaches a continental province called Locac, which is very large and rich. There is a great king in it", etc.

The Toledo text was discovered at the end of 1932 and was not available to Benedetto. It has been translated by Moule (350), who gives variants in italics; and this is the most complete edition of Marco Polo available in Singapore at present. Moule has (350, i, p. 369) "And then from these *two* islands one sets out *because there is nothing which does to mention*, and goes again *still sailing about 500 miles by the sirocco*, and then one finds a province *which is on the firm land*, which is called *Lochac*, which is very great and rich" etc. The sirocco is the south-east wind and so the south-east point of the compass (ibid: p. 55); and, whether we say that Polo sailed to the south-east or by the south-east wind, there must have been a mistake. He could only have sailed on the north-east wind and was going westerly. Yule (351, ii, p. 276) follows Pauthier's text and merely has "let us go on five hundred miles beyond Sondur", etc, which makes sense.

In Benedetto's text (ibid: p. 281) Polo says, after he has described Locac, "You must know that when one leaves Locac, one sails 500 miles to the south, and reaches an island called Pentan, which is a very wild place" etc. In Moule's text (ibid: p. 370) we get "Now you may know *again* that when one sets out from the *province of Lochac* and he goes *sailing* five hundred miles by mid-day then one finds an island *full of mountains* which is called Pentan which is *in a very wild place*". Here "midday" is the south wind and so south point of the compass.

It is, accordingly, clear that Polo's first landfall after the Condore group was the east coast of the Malay Peninsula; that Locac was on the north of that coast; and that leaving Locac there was a run to the south which, according to Polo, was 500 miles long, i.e. he sailed from there down the whole length of the east coast of the Peninsula.

Ferrand (330, xii, p. 91) says that Tomasek read Locac as *Lōsak*, which he says (ibid: p. 134) = Ling-ya-sseu-kia = Leñkasuka. He says also (ibid: p. 138) that the Lang-sakā of the *Mohit* (as to which later) is without doubt the same and that Locac reproduces the arabised form of the indigenous name, which is reproduced in the Ling-ya-sseu-kia of Chau Ju-kua. Professor Coedès (272, p. 339) accepts these views and writes "Lochac, that is to say Langkasuka on the Malay Peninsula".

Yule's view was that Polo's course "would bring us to the Peninsula somewhere about what is now the Siamese province of

Ligor, and that is the only position accurately consistent with the next indication of the route, viz. a run of 500 miles south to the Straits of Singapore" (351, ii, p. 279). Since Polo sailed from Chūanchow, it is more than likely that he was rendering in Locac a name which he got from a Fukienese shipmaster. Cordier thought (ibid: p. 278) that that name might have been in the Cantonese and Fukien pronunciation Lo-kok or "kingdom of Lo". He repeated Phillips' statement that in T'ang times Lo-yüeh was pronounced Lo-gueh, but Pelliot has described that as pure fantasy (129, p. 237); and he considered that Lo-yüeh on Chia Tan's statement must have represented the present State of Johore. Cordier says that Polo often gives *c* for *h*.

Dr. Blagden (348, p. lvii) says "The name Locac has been variously and doubtfully explained. Probably the last syllable is the Chinese word *kok*, or *kwok*, "country". The first one may be the same as the first syllable of Lo-yueh, an old Chinese name for Siam after Northern and Southern Siam had been united. But in Polo's time the Northern Siamese of Sukhotai had only recently occupied the isthmus of the Peninsula down to Ligor or Nakhon, about 150 miles N.W. of Patani. The suggestion that Locac is a drastic contraction of Lengkasuka, the name of an old state or district in the northern part of the Peninsula, seems improbable in view of the fact that the fuller form is mentioned in the Javanese poem *Nāgarakretāgama* in 1365 and has survived in local popular tradition down to modern times. At any rate in Polo's terminology Locac is the Malay Peninsula, and the fleet sailed down its eastern coast till it came to the island of Pentan": he thought that "the landfall must have been made at some point on the N.E. coast of the Malay Peninsula in the region of Patani, Kelantan or Trengganu".

But Polo makes it clear that his Locac is a province in the north-east of the Peninsula, not that it is a name for the whole Peninsula, and the *Wu-pei-chih* charts, as we shall see, place Langkasuka quite clearly in the present Patani. Moreover, Locac would not have been a drastic contraction of the Malay Langkasuka but a Chinese seaman's name for that place. Seamen often have their own way of pronouncing and contracting foreign names, e.g. Junk Ceylon for Ujong Salang and St. John's Island for Pulau Sikajang, each a name given by our own seamen. It does not seem unreasonable, then, that Lo-kok may have been a seaman's version of the shortened form of the name, and we have seen two instances already of a shortened form of Chinese names for Langkasuka.

However, whatever views may be taken concerning the name Locac, it clearly was the first landfall on the Peninsula after having sailed past the Condore group and must have been the same place as Ch'ang Chūn saw before he turned south for Ch'ih-t'u. The

result is that we have from Polo corroboration that Langkasuka was an east coast state.

Since Polo's course went along the western shores of the Straits of Malacca after he had emerged from the Straits of Singapore, there is no mention of any place on the eastern shores of those Straits and so none of Kedah.

Lang-Hsi-Chia. We pass now to the evidence which resulted from the voyages of Cheng-ho in early Ming times. The first six of them were made during the life of the Ming Emperor Yung Lo, 1403-1424 A.D., and the last after his death (151, pp: 287, 288).

The most important part of this evidence comes from the *Wu-pei-chih* charts, the Malayan parts of which have been studied so admirably by Mr. J. V. Mills (321). In them we get Lang-hsi-chia (Long-sai-ka in Amoy Hokkien and Cantonese) as to which Mr. Mills says (ibid: p. 37) "There can be little doubt that "Long-sai-ka" represents the same name as "Lung-saka" of the *Mohit*". Mr. Mills shows quite clearly that Lang-hsi-chia is placed on the chart as between the Telubin River and Singora; and he says (ibid: p. 37) that "the chart definitely fixes Patani as the approximate situation of Langkasuka, the fairyland of Malay romance, and the most famous kingdom in Malaya", since, as he observes, Lang-hsi-chia beyond reasonable doubt must represent the Malay Langkasuka.

Rockhill (352) dates in 1349 A.D. the *Tao i chih lio* of Wang Ta-yüan, who visited a number of places for trade purposes. In this work we get the name Lung-ya-hsi-ki (Longya-si-kao) concerning which there are no geographical details. Pelliot (353, p. 330, n. 3) considered that Lung-ya-hsi-ki must be the same as the Ling-ya-hsi-ki of the *Chu Fan Chi* and Professor Coedès, as we have seen at the beginning of this paper, holds the same view.

It would seem, then, that the Lung-ya-hsi-ki of 1349 A.D., the Ling-ya-hsi-ki of 1225 A.D. and the Lang-hsi-chia of the *Wu-pei-chih*, which Mr. Mills thinks must date after 1433 A.D. (321, p. 5), are all transcriptions of Langkasuka and that they were on the north-east coast of the Peninsula.

Chi-Ta. The *Wu-pei-chih* charts give Chi-ta chiang (Kiet-tat Kang in Amoy Hokkien) which, as Mr. Mills shows, clearly represents "Kedah River", that is to say, the Merbok estuary. The first character is regularly used for the Malay *ke* as in keling, Kling (321, p. 14, n.); and *chiang* means, of course, "river". Mr. Firmstone (333, p. 200) gives the modern Chinese name for Kedah, the first character being the same as in the *Wu-pei-chih* charts; and he

romanizes it "Kit-ta" in Hokkien and "Kai-ta" in Cantonese. The *Wu-pet-chih* charts, therefore, show Langkasuka and Kedah as quite distinct places.

Mohit. The last piece of evidence comes from the *Mohit* and gives us clearly Langkasuka on the east coast and Kedah on the west coast of the Peninsula. Ferrand dates this work as 1554 A.D.

Lung-sakā is stated (172, ii, p. 530) as being "at the extremity of the coast of Cin", and in a position "at 1 isba (= 1° 42' 50") north of "Kalandan" (Kelantan), i.e. almost exactly half way between Singora and Lakon (Ligor)" (321, p. 31). Ferrand (354, xii, pp: 91, 138) and Luce (229, p. 166) calculate the exact position as 7° 43' N on the east coast of the Peninsula. Ferrand considers that Lung-sakā must represent Langkasuka and Ilaṅgasōka.

The *Mohit* gives Kīlā on the east coast of the Gulf of Bengal in a position corresponding to Kalāndan on the coast of Cin (172, ii, p. 532). Ferrand says (ibid: n. 7) that it is Kedah, as seems clear.

In the *Mohit*, then, we have once more Langkasuka and Kedah as two quite distinct places.

Summary. It has been seen that Langkasuka first appears in Chinese records in Liang times but Kedah not until T'ang times. When they both appear together, it is always as separate places, one on the east coast and the other on the west. The only reason for saying that Langkasuka ever stretched across the Peninsula derives from the statement in the *Liang Shu* of its size from east to west and it is worth notice that this size is east to west, not west to east. But we have seen that as far back as the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. the name Kalagam appears and thereafter Kaṭāha and Kaḍāram. They must have been the ancient settlement at the foot of Kedah Peak and, therefore, if Langkasuka really did stretch across the Peninsula it was not into Kedah. At the date of the Tanjore inscription Ilaṅgasōka and Kaḍāram are obviously distinct places and the evidence which we have summarized shows that the former must have been on the east coast and the latter on the west. How then can it be stated rationally that Ilaṅgasōka was in Kedah?

In his paper (355) on the political geography of Indo-China about 960 A.D. (i.e. more or less contemporaneous with the Tanjore inscription) Maspero has a map in which he places on the west coast of the Peninsula "Kedah (Kolo, Kilah, Kalah)" and below it "Laṅkasuka (Kaḍāram)", then "Beranan (Fo Lo An)" and, where Johore is to-day, "Lo Yue": but it is submitted on the

grounds above that these last three identifications are not supported by the evidence, though Lo Yue may well have included Johore. Maspero (ibid: pp: 79-80) says that the *T'ai ping huan yu chi* is a gathering together of documents all prior to the Sung dynasty and assembled uncritically. He considers the best authorities to be the *Ling Wai Tai Ta*, the *Chu Fan Chi*, the *Wên Hsien T'ung K'ao* and T'o-t'o's *Sung Shih*, all of which are noted above.

(to be continued)

Appendix.

Langkasuka Series.

狼牙修	LANG-YA-HSIU—Liang Shu: Chiu T'ang Shu.
梭迦修	LENG-CHIA-SHU—Hsü Kao Sêng Chuan.
狼牙須	LANG-YA-HSU—Sui Shu.
郎迦戌	LANG-CHIA-SHU—I-ching.
迦摩浪迦	KIA-MO-LANG-CHIA—Hsüan-chuang.
凌牙斯加	LING-YA-SSI-KIA—Chu Fan Chi.
狼西加	LANG-HSI-CHIA—Wu-pei-chih.

Kedah Series.

羯茶	CHIEH-CH'A—I-ching.
迦乍	KIA-TCHA—Ma Tuan-lin.
箇羅	KO-LO—Chia Tan.
吉陀	KI-T'O—Chu Fan Chi.
吉達	CHI-TA—Wu-pei-chih.

MODERN FORM (FIRMSTONE)

吉打	KEDAH—
芙蓉柔	BERANANG—

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- (355) MASPERO, GEORGES. La Geographie Politique de l' Indo-Chine aux environs de 960 A.D., E.A., 1925, vol: 2, pp: 79-125.

N.B. (272) is now cited from the 1948 edition in the *Histoire du Monde Serie*.

Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya

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7. Tan-ma-ling and Fo-lo-an.

As was seen in the last part of these *Notes* the *Chu Fan Chi*, 1225 A.D., gives the following geographical facts, retaining Hirth and Rockhill's method of spelling the names:—

(1) Ling-ya-ssī-kia (i.e. Langkasuka) can be reached from Tan-ma-ling by sailing six days and nights, there is also an overland route:

(2) Fo-lo-an can be reached from Ling-ya-ssī-kia in four days; there is also an overland route:

(3) the neighbours of Fo-lo-an are Pōng-fōng, Tōng-ya-nōng and Ki-lan-tan.

In his history (272, p. 308) Professor Coedès gives the following identifications:—

- (1) Ling-ya-ssī-kia, Lankasuka;
- (2) Tan-ma-ling. Tāmbrelinga, region of Ligor;
- (3) Fo-lo-an, P'at'alung?;
- (4) Pōng-fōng, Pahang;
- (5) Tōng-ya-nōng, Trengganu;
- (6) Ki-lan-tan, Kelantan;

thus placing them all on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula.

He considers (ibid: p. 72) that Tan-mei-lieou was an earlier Chinese name for Tan-ma-ling but that Teng-lieou-mei cannot be identified with certainty either as Tan-ma-ling (ibid: p. 304, n. 5) or as Tan-mei-lieou (ibid: p. 310, n. 2).

It is proposed now to examine all these views, for which purpose it is necessary first to assemble the facts available.

Tāmbrelinga. Both Professor Coedès (272, p. 73) and Professor Nilakanta Sastri in his new *History of Sri Vijaya* (356, p. 21) take

this name to be the same as the *Tambralingam* mentioned in the *Niddesa*. The former considers it to be proved thus that Tambralinga was already in existence in the 2nd century A.D. Sylvain Lévi wrote the name in the *Niddesa* as Tambapanni and it has been pointed out in the *Introduction* that the relevant passage merely gives an unrelated list of names with no geographical data¹. In the list occurs the name Takkola, which appears in Ptolemy, who, however, gives no name resembling Tambalingam. And, if Tambralinga really is the Tambalingam of the 2nd century A.D., then the name disappears completely for 800 years until it appears in the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. For ourselves, we prefer to begin the history of Tambralinga with that inscription and ignore the reference in the *Niddesa*.

As Professor Coedès recognized in 1918 (315), Mā-Damalingam in the inscription means the Great Damalingam, or Tamalingam, and represents Tambralinga. This view is accepted by all and finds its latest expression in Professor Nilakanta Sastri's history (356, p. 81). Professor Coedès (315, p. 17) says that *tāmra* is the prakrit form of *tāmra*, meaning "copper", and that Tāmralinga would mean "the country which has copper for its characteristic"; but, he says, since no copper is known in the Malay Peninsula, it may mean "Copper Linga". The presence of copper in the Peninsula will be noted later when we come to the problems of identification. Professor Coedès says, and all have agreed, that Tāmralinga = Chinese Tan-ma-ling = Tamil Tamalingam. Professor Nilakanta Sastri agrees with this view (311, p. 386; 356, p. 81) and also that Tan-ma-ling and Tan-mei-lieou are the same kingdom (356, p. 21). We accept these views naturally but we shall query the identification of Tambralinga with the region of Ligor.

The next mention of Tambralinga occurs in an inscription of 1230 A.D., discovered at the small town now called Ch'aiya. This inscription with an English translation is to be found in Professor Nilakanta Sastri's history (356, pp: 133-134). It gives the name of a king Candrabhānu called "Sri Dharmarāja, Lord of Tāmralinga". Since this inscription was found *in situ*, it can be said with certainty that in 1230 A.D. the area covered by the present Ch'aiya was within the jurisdiction of the king of Tambralinga; but what the limits of his kingdom were and where its centre lay are different questions.

Professor Coedès (357, p. 461) says that Sri Dharmarāja was the peculiar title of the kings of Ligor and he, therefore, places Tambralinga between the Bay of Bandon and Ligor, as does Professor Nilakanta Sastri (311, p. 294; 356, pp: 21, 81). This explains why Professor Coedès has identified Tan-ma-ling with the region of Ligor. But the reasoning in support appears to depend entirely

(1) This Journal, vol: XVII, Pt: 1, pp: 157-158.

upon the king's title and one asks when the kings of Ligor first used that title. Is there any evidence of its use before 1230 A.D.? Professor Coedès himself says (357, p. 463) that it was towards the middle of the 13th century A.D. that the Thais came into contact with the region of Ligor and gave to the capital of Tāmbrālinga the name which it bears to-day of Nāgara Sridharmarāja, the modern Nakon Sri Thammarat. Dupont (358, p. 107) puts the expansion of the Thais down Siam as occurring in the 13th to 14th centuries A.D.

The famous Ligor inscription of 775 A.D. (356, pp: 119-121, 125) gives the king's title as Sri-mahārāja and at that time Ligor was clearly under the suzerainty of the Maharajah of Srivijaya.

Then there is the inscription on the famous statue of Buddha from Grahi, which is accepted as the ancient site of Ch'aiya (272, p. 310; 356, p. 92). This statue is now in the Bangkok Museum but it came from the Wat Hwa Chieng at Ch'aiya (358, p. 107, and n. 1). Dupont (358) gives a reproduction (Plate VI, A) which shows the Buddha seated upon a curled *nāga* with the spread hood of the snake rising up behind the figure; see also Plate III in Coedès (315). The inscription appears upon the *nāga* pedestal which is Khmer work, whereas the figure of the Buddha is of different work and later in date (358, pp: 109-110; 272, p. 301 and n. 5).

The inscription is written in pure Khmer language but the script recalls that of Sumatra and Java (356, p. 91; 358, pp: 107-108). It shows that the *nāga* pedestal was made by one Nāno, who had the purely Khmer title of *mraten* (358, p. 109). It says that the region (*sruk*) of Grahi was governed by a *mahāsenapati* whose name is not too certain but may be taken as Talānai (272, p. 301, n. 5). The name of the king is given but not that of his kingdom. The royal title is given as the Khmer *Kamraten aū* and also the Sumatran *mahārāja* (358, p. 107). The inscription gives a date which for long caused uncertainty but which has been established definitely by Professor Coedès as 1183 A.D. (357, p. 469; 272, p. 301; 356, p. 92; 358, p. 107). Professor Nilakanta Sastri sets out the inscription, with an English translation, in his history (356, p. 133). Dupont cites Skeat and Blagden for the remains of the Khmer language in tongues of the Malay Peninsula and points out that this language was still in use at P'athalung as late as 1699 A.D., as is proved by an inscription found there (358, p. 108). It is generally considered that the name Pahang is the Khmer word for 'tin' (220, p. 2).

The inscription makes it clear that in 1183 A.D. the present Ch'aiya was in the province then called Grahi, ruled by a governor under a king, generally taken to have been Sumatran, and that

the language used in this province was Khmer. It is accepted without dispute that the Chinese name Kia-lo-hi is an exact transcription of Grahi; and Professor Coedès places Kia-lo-hi as "the region of Ch'aiya and the Bay of Bandon" (272, p. 274). The *Chu Fan Chi* lists it amongst the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i, or Srivijaya (226, p. 62).

Kia-lo-hi. This appears to be a Sung name and the references available are very meagre. There is a passage in the *Sung Shih* which Ma Tuan-lin repeats (230, p. 486) and which says that Chen-la (Cambodia) touches the southern frontier of Chan-ch'eng (Annam) and has the sea to its east, P'u-kan to its west, and Kia-lo-hi to its south. P'u-kan is generally taken to represent Pagan on the Irrawadi River in Burmah. The *Chu Fan Chi* (226, p. 52) repeats these geographical facts but in slightly different language, as translated by Hirth and Rockhill, since it says "in the west one comes to P'u-kan; in the south one comes to Kia-lo-hi"; and the notice on Chen-la ends with the observation "This country confines to the south on Kia-lo-hi, a dependency of San-fo-ts'i". In view of the extent of the Khmer Empire in Sung times the statements are readily intelligible: its power extended down the present Thailand as far as the region of Ch'aiya, where the power of San-fo-ts'i then began, since the *Chu Fan Chi* places Kia-lo-hi amongst the dependencies of the latter.

In its notice on Tan-ma-ling the *Chu Fan Chi* (226, p. 67) says "Ji-lo-t'ing, Ts'ien-mai, Pa-t'a and Kia-lo-hi are of the same kind as this country"; and the three first of these names also appear in the list of dependencies of Sri Vijaya (*ibid.*, p. 62). Professor Coedès (315, pp: 10, 11) has identified the Māyirudṅgam of the Tanjore inscription with the Chinese Ji-lo-t'ing, considering each to be an attempt to render an indigenous name; and in his history (272, pp: 241, 308) he would place Ji-lo-t'ing on some part of the Malay Peninsula. Like everyone else, he is dubious about Ts'ien-mai and Pa-t'a; the former he merely queries and for the latter suggests doubtfully the Batak country in Sumatra (272, p. 308). For ourselves, we would reject this last suggestion and would think that all three places must have been somewhere on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula; but in the absence of further facts obviously nothing can be said definitely. For those who like name similarities one can point to Tanjong Cherating, the northern headland at the entrance to the Cherating River, which Skinner (64, p. 28) gave in 1884 as the boundary between Trengganu and Pahang, while there are a Tanjong Paka, Paka river and Paka district south of the Dungun River in Trengganu. In point of fact, these last two areas would fit in reasonably well with the identifications which we shall suggest later: but we would base no identifications on mere name similarities without geographical data. For Ts'ien-mai no name similarity can be suggested at all.

All that we really know from these Chinese passages is that Kia-lo-hi was the southernmost boundary of Khmer suzerainty and the northernmost boundary of Srivijayan suzerainty in 1225 A.D. It seems quite clear that Kia-lo-hi is the transcription of Grahi and that the province of Grahi contained the present Ch'aiya. From the inscription of 1230 A.D. it is clear that Grahi had then come under the power of Tambralinga. It is, we think, unfortunate that scholars should call the inscription of 1183 A.D. "the Grahi Buddha" and that of 1230 A.D. "the Ch'aiya inscription". Clearly both were records of Grahi. Dr. Quaritch Wales (228, p. 174) considers that Ch'aiya represents Jaya and so was a shortened form of Srivijaya: and one knows that the Thais have a general custom of shortening place-names. If he is right, then the full Chinese name would have been Che-li-fo-che or shortened, Fo-che; and it would prove that in 1225 A.D. the name Ch'aiya was not known because the Chinese used Kia-lo-hi, or Grahi, at that time. Accordingly, one would suggest that Ch'aiya was a later name and that, if it does represent the sanskrit name, was given to the place by the Thais after they conquered it. We know that the Thai custom was to give honorific sanskrit names to the places they conquered and Nakon Sri Thammarat is the present version of one such name.

Teng-lieou-mei. This is the French way of writing the name; English versions are Tōng-liu-mei and Teng-liu-mei. According to Hirth and Rockhill, the name does not appear before the Sung dynasty and occurs first in the *Ling wai tai ta*, 1178 A.D. (226, p. 57, n. 1). It appears there in the list of Chen-la's dependencies (355, p. 98) and also in the *Chu Fan Chi*, 1225 A.D. (226, p. 54, p. 56, n. 10). No embassy to China is mentioned in any of the translated passages.

Mr. Hsü (342, p. 5) translates parts of a passage under the caption of Chen-la, which appears in the *Ling Wai tai ta*, "The State of Chen-la besides it there are the State of Teng-lieou-mei especially producing famous perfume; that which is produced in Teng-liu-mei is the most wonderful, unsurpassed by that of any other country". But Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 58, n. 3) say that this refers to gharu-wood (*chōn hiang*) and cite (ibid: p. 205, n. 1) a further passage from the same work which says "The best *chōn-hiang* comes from Chōn-la, the second best from Chan-ch'ōng. The Chōn-la kind is the hardest, that from Tōng-liu-mei the most aromatic. The San-fo-ts'i product is called "Lower Coast incense", that from P'o-lo-man is far superior to the Lower Coast incense."

Gharu-wood is "a pathologically diseased, fragrant wood" and is also called "aloes wood" or "eagle wood", Malay *gaharu*. The reader should refer to Burkill (365) under *Aquilaria*, where all the learning concerning this commodity is collected.

The *Ling wai tai ta* (226, p. 79, n. 1) says "The kingdom of Shō-p'ò, also called P'u-kia-lung, is in the south-east of the sea. Its position being downward (i.e. in the S. as compared to the countries of Annam in the N., which are held to be "upwards" or above") causes it to be called the "Lower Coast". In the eleventh and twelfth moons of the year ships can reach there from Kuang-ch'ou with the monsoon and sailing day and night in one month". The *Chu Fan Chi* has a further explanation of the two Coasts. It says (226, p. 204) "*Chōn-hiang* comes from different places. That coming from Chōn-la is the best; the second quality is that of Chan-ch'ōng, and the poorest qualities are those of San-fo-ts'i and Shō-p'ò. It is customary to distinguish between "Upper Coast" and "Lower Coast" countries; Chōn-la and Chan-ch'ōng are called "Upper Coast"; Ta-shī, San-fo-ts'i and Shō-p'ò (Cho-p'ò) "Lower Coast". In these passages Chōn-la (Chen-la) represents Cambodia, Chan-ch'ōng (Chan-ch'eng) Annam, Shō-p'ò (Cho-p'ò) generally taken to be Java, San-fo-ts'i (San-fo-ch'i) Palembang, and Ta-shī not the Arabs proper but "the Arab colonies in Sumatra, and the lower part of the Malay Peninsula", according to Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 205, n. 1.).

From the passages cited it seems that Teng-lieou-meï was famous principally for its gharu-wood and was an Upper Coast country.

As translated by Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 57), the notice in the *Chu Fan Chi* on Teng-lieou-meï (written by then as Tōng-liu-meï) says that it is to the west of Chen-la and contains a mountain called Wu-nung where the Buddha manifested himself after his *nirvana*, this event being commemorated by a bronze elephant. The products are "cardamoms, the *tsiēn*, *ch'ou* and *su* (varieties of gharu-wood), yellow wax and sticklac". Schlegel (174, x, p. 295) gives Bulong for the mountain and the products as "cardamoms, lignum aloes, yellow wax, kino gum and such like".

According to Hirth and Rockhill (226, pp: 57-58, n.1) the only indication of the geographical situation of Teng-lieou-meï, in addition to what appears in the *Chu Fan Chi*, occurs in the *Sung Shih*, where it is said to be 15 stages by sea north of Lo-yuē and south-west of Chōn-li-fu. Mr. Hsü (342, p. 5) translates from the account of Chen-la in the *Sung Shih* "Among its dependencies there is Chen-li-fu situated in the south-west and its south-east is bordered by Po-sze-lan, while the south-west has Teng-liu-meï as its neighbours. Under it there are sixty communities". Presumably, this is the passage to which Hirth and Rockhill refer; but here, as almost everywhere else, the close attention of sinologists is needed.

In his notice on Chen-la Ma Tuan-lin, as translated by de Saint-Denys, writes "Another kingdom dependent on Tchín-la is

that of Tchín-li-fou, situated at its south-west frontiers. This kingdom of Tchín-li-fou is itself bordered to the south-east by the country of Po-sse-lan and to the south-west by the country of Teng-lieou-mei" (230, pp: 487-488).

Schlegel (174, x, pp: 294-295) cites the *San t'sai t'u hui*, 1607 A.D., on Ting-liu-mi, as he writes it, which says that the lord of the country is chosen by universal suffrage and that, when he holds his court, his people after they have saluted him sit with crossed arms and clasp their shoulders as a sign of respect. He points out that this is the Malay custom called *sěngkělang* but he says (ibid: p. 296) that the same custom was in use in ancient Cambodia during the Sui dynasty in 617 A.D. and translates a passage from the *Pien-i-tien* in support of that.

Schlegel quotes copiously in his *Geographical Notes* from the *Pien-i-tien*, which comprises 140 volumes and forms the last part of the *Ku-chin-t'u-shu-chieh-chung*; and *Pien-i-tien* means literally "Records of Surrounding Nations". The main work consists of no less than 10,000 volumes and was compiled under Imperial auspices, being presented to the Emperor in 1725 A.D. (336, pp: 107-109). It is, therefore, a late work but, nevertheless, is said to be "the largest and most useful encyclopaedia that has ever been compiled in China", with the exception of the *Yung lo la tien*, which no longer exists save for a few hundred volumes (ibid:). With the exception of Schlegel, the *Pien-i-tien* seems to have been neglected by sinologists and the attention of local scholars is called to this work, which must contain a great deal of untranslated material that might be useful to Malaysian research: but the usual caution as to Ming works must be borne in mind.

One can go further than Professor Coedès and can deny upon the evidence the identity of Teng-lieou-mei with Tan-ma-ling. There are separate notices on these two places in the *Chu Fan Chi* and in the lists of dependencies given there Teng-lieou-mei is under Chen-la, while Tan-ma-ling is under San-fo-ts'i: and a comparison of their products shows great difference. The *sěngkělang* custom is not mentioned in notices on Tan-ma-ling or Tan-mei-lieou; and finally, the geographical data are different.

The doubting suggestion by Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 57) that Teng-lieou-mei was Ligor must be rejected, since it was under Khmer suzerainty and so must have been north of Kia-lo-hi (Grahi, Ch'aiya). Teng-lieou-mei can be left out of any further discussion.

Tan-mei-lieou. This again is the French way of writing the name, the English versions being either Tan-mi-liu or Tan-mei-liu.

The Sung Shih contains the following passage, as translated by Pelliot (129, p. 233):—"Kingdom of Tan-mei-lieou—To the

east, to reach Chen-la, 50 stages; to the south, to reach Loy-yue, 15 stages by sea; to the west, to reach Si-t'ien, 35 stages; to the north, to reach Teh'eng-leang, 60 stages; to the north-east, to reach Lo-hou, 25 stages; to the south-east, to reach Chö-p'o, 45 stages; to the south-west, to reach Teh'eng-jo, 15 stages; to the north-west, to reach Lo-houa, 25 stages; to the north-east, to reach Canton, 135 stages".

Schlegel (174, x, pp: 291-292) also translates this passage, giving Lowak for Lo-yue, Lohak for Lo-hou, and Lo-hoa for Lo-houa. Maspero (355, p. 110) repeats Pelliot and says in a footnote that Tan-mei-lieou was not heard of before it sent an embassy to China in 1601 A.D., for which fact he quotes the *Sung Shih*.

But the whole of the passage in the *Sung Shih* was not translated until Mr. Hsü did so (342, p. 6). It starts with the geographical facts just given but Mr. Hsü substitutes "journeys" for "stages" and puts in brackets the word "day" before his first use of "journeys". For the names he writes "Chan-la (Cambodia)", "Lo-yuëh", "the West Heaven (India)", "Chêng-liang", "Lo-ho (Lavo)", "Sheh-p'o (Java)", "Chêng-ju", "Loh-hua", and Canton. The passage then gives facts about Tan-mei-liu, as Mr. Hsü writes the name. Houses are of timber; gold and silver are used in trade; the residence of the ruler extends to five *li* but there are no city walls; the ruler goes out in elephant wagon or on pony. The country produces "rhinoceroses, elephants, copper-zinc alloy, *Lithospermum officinale*, *Caesalpina sappan*, and other drugs". In 1001 A.D. the king named Tou Sū Chi sent an embassy of nine persons, headed by the envoy Ta Chih Ma, the vice-envoy Ta Lüeh, and the judge Pi Ni. They offered "incense wood of a thousand catties, copper-zinc alloy and lead-tin alloy of hundred catties each, *Lithospermum officinale* hundred catties, on red blankets, four pieces of patterned cloth, *Caesalpina sappan* ten thousand catties, and sixty-one ivories". Mr. Hsü later gives the ruler's name as Tuo Sze Chi.

Schlegel (174, x, pp: 293-294) gives a passage from the *Pien-tien*, which seems to be based on the *Sung Shih*. As translated by him, it gives no geographical facts but says that the houses of the common people are built of wood; that the chief's residence was five *li* in circumference; that the chief rode out on an elephant or in a carriage with four ponies; and that the people bartered goods for gold and silver. The country produced "rhinoceroses and elephants, calamine stone, *lithospermum erythrorhizon*, sapan-wood and all sorts of medicine". It had never come to China before 1001 A.D. when the lord of the country "Ta: Suki" made a large offering consisting of "1000 pounds of Putschuk, a hundred pounds of Calamine and Tin each; 35 pounds of foreign *Coptis*; one hundred pounds of *Lithospermum erythrorhizon*; a set of red rugs, four

pieces of flowered chintz; 10,000 pounds of sapanwood and 61 Tusks of elephant-teeth". He writes the names of the envoys as Ta:Kitma, Ta:Lap and P'i-ni.

An amplification of the facts is to be found in Ma Tuan-lin in his notice on Tcheou-mei-lieou (Chou-mei-liu). This last name, however is clearly faulty, *tcheou* (*chou*) being a miswriting of *tan* (129, p. 233; 342, p. 6). As translated by de Saint Denys (230, pp: 583-585) the notice begins with a repetition of the geographical facts as given in the *Sung Shih* and then says, amongst other things, that the people used gold and silver in their commercial transactions, that the soil contained very pure gold of a deep red colour and a stone called *yu-chi*, inferior to jade but much esteemed, that there were elephants and rhinoceroses, and that the country produced sapan-wood and many medicinal plants. The king's name is written by de Saint Denys as To-siu-ki, the envoys as Ta-kou-ma, Ta-la and Tcha-pi-ni. The tribute sent in 1001 A.D. appears here as "one thousand pounds of scented wood, one thousand pounds of the metal called *teou*, one thousand pounds of the metal called *la*, thirty-five pounds of *hou-houang-lien*, one hundred pounds of red gold, red rugs, four pieces of flowered material, ten pounds of *sou-mu* wood and sixty-one pieces of ivory".

The products of a country, in our view, are so important for identification purposes that they have been set out in full in these excerpts; but the translations are not satisfactory. One wants the exact Chinese characters and not merely what the translators thought them to represent. De Saint Denys, however, does give some of them. *Sou-mu* (su-mu) is sappan (226, p. 217), also called "bresil" and "brezile-wood", and the reader is referred for this product to Burkill (365) under *Caesalpina*. Gerini says that *yü-shih*, as he writes it, is a jadeite produced in northern Burma and presumably traded into Tan-mi-liu, as he writes it (46, p. 523, n. 2). Berthold Laufer in his book *Jade*, 1946, says that *yü-shih* usually refers only to jade-like stones (p. 25). Hirth and Rockhill give *t'ou* (*teou*) as "white copper" in a passage where Chau Jukua is writing of the alloyed coinage of Shō-p'ō (226, p. 78). But de Saint Denys cites authorities to show that *teou* was probably a rich ore of gold and copper, while *la* was a kind of tin or an alloy of tin and copper (230, 585, nn. 17, 18). Mr Hsü gives "*t'ou* stone (copper zinc alloy)" and "*yü* stone (copper zinc alloy)".

The outstanding fact from all these notices is that Tan-mei-lieou must have been a wealthy and highly metalliferous country.

Schlegel (174, a, pp: 296-297) makes an attempt to explain the name Tan-mie-lieou but it carries no conviction and has not been adopted.

Unless there are more passages which have not been translated as yet, Tan-mei-lieou appears in 1001 A.D. and then is heard of no more.

Tan-ma-ling. Chau Ju-kua has a notice in his *Chu Fan Chi* on this kingdom (226, p. 67) in which he says that it is under a ruler addressed as *siang-kung*, which, according to Hirth and Rockhill, means "minister of state", *mentri* (*ibid.*: p. 68, n. 2). Schlegel (174, ii (1901), p. 128) gives it as "noble sir" and Mr Hsü (342, p. 6) as "the minister". Since Tan-ma-ling was one of the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i, as given in the *Chu Fan Chi* (226, p. 62) and paid tribute to it (*ibid.*: p. 67), one might say that the local chief-tain was a kind of Temenggong of Srivijaya. It sent an embassy to China in 1196 A.D., which is the only one mentioned in passages which have been translated.

The products, as given in the *Chu Fan Chi* and translated by Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 67), were "yellow wax, laka-wood, the *su* (variety of gharu-wood), incense, ebony, camphor, elephants' tusks and rhinoceros horns"; and we are told that Tan-ma-ling collected such gold and silver articles as it received for offering to San-fo-ts'i.

It seems that Chau Ju-kua got his facts as to Tan-ma-ling exclusively from oral information (226, p. 37.)

The *Tao i chih liö*, 1349 A.D., has a notice on Tan-ma-ling (352, pp: 123-124) which, as translated by Rockhill, says that it is the adjacent country to Sha-li-fo-lai-an, is level and extensive, producing more grain than it could consume, and has a ruler. The products are 'superior tin, pearl camphor, turtles' shells, cranes' nests, laka-wood, as also bees-wax and *huang-chou hsiang-l'ou* (gharu)". In his translation Mr. Hsü (342, p. 6) has "The land is the neighbouring country of Sha-li and Fo-lai-an" and gives the products as white tin of high quality, red (? crystals of) camphor, tortoise shells, *Rhinoplax vigil* (Forst.), lakawood, and roots of gharu-wood. He substitutes "hornbills" for "cranes", says nothing about nests or bees-wax, and has "local chief" for "ruler". It may be noted that "yellow wax" and "bees-wax" are the same (226, p. 238).

Schlegel (174, ii, (1901), p. 125) translates from the *San tsai t'u hui*, 1607 A.D., "When one sets sail from Canton for Tan-ma-ling it takes ten days and nights from Cambodia to reach it. The country has a landlord but no king. In 1196 A.D. they offered three golden wine-jugs and one gilded parasol". This passage must have been taken from some other work which, as usual, is not named. But it gives us another important geographical fact (if it can be accepted), viz:—that Tan-ma-ling was 10 days' sail from Cambodia, though from whereabouts in Cambodia we do not know.

In the case of Tan-ma-ling again we want more translations and a search for all references to it.

Schlegel (174, ii, (1901), p. 130) says that the name in the Amoy dialect sounds as "Tan-bé-ling, which, by assimilation, becomes Tembēling". If so, it is clearly a transcription of the Malay name; but Schlegel, ignoring completely the facts, located it on the east coast of Sumatra. Mr. Hsü (340, p. 60; 342, pp. 5, 7) considers that the T'ang name T'an-ling is the same as Tan-ma-ling but an enquiry into that is unnecessary for our present purposes.

As has been seen, Professor Coedès accepts Tan-ma-ling as being the same place as Tan-mei-lieou and his opinion has been accepted universally.

Fo-lo-an. Luce and Pelliot write this name as Fo-lo-ngan, Schlegel variously as Puluau, Ful-lo-ngan, Put-lo-an and Pulu-an; but we follow Hirth and Rockhill. The Chinese characters for the name are the same throughout the references given below.

Rockhill (352, p. 123, n. 1.) would seem to be right in saying that the Sha-li-fo-lai-an, which appears in the notice on Tan-ma-ling in the *Tao i chih lio* above, is really the same as Fo-lo-an. Mr Hsü, as has been seen, divided the name into two places; but surely *Sha-li* must represent sanskrit *Sri*, Malay *Sēri* and so be merely an honorific. Taking Sha-li-fo-lai-an and Fo-lo-an to be the same, we get another important geographical fact, namely that Fo-lo-an was the adjacent country to Tan-ma-ling. We have seen also that other neighbours of Fo-lo-an were Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan. From this it must surely follow that Fo-lo-an was an east coast state and could not possibly have been Beranang on the west coast of Selangor, as so many have accepted because of etymological reasoning. It is quite true that the modern Chinese name for Beranang is Fu-lu-ngan, as Mr. Firmstone writes it (333, p. 190): but Beranang is a village of no importance on the Langat River in south-eastern Selangor and there is no evidence that it ever was of any importance. Moreover, it is far inland and so could never have been a port, such as, we shall see later, Fo-lo-an undoubtedly was. Nevertheless, Maspero (355, p. 109), Majumdar (181, p. 194), Nilakanta Sastri (331, p. 294), Hsü (342, p. 6), and a good many others have accepted Beranang in Selangor as the proper identification. It would seem that once more we have a much accepted identification which is based purely on a name similarity and in the teeth of the facts. Professor Coedès does not fall into the error since, as has been seen, he identifies it, though doubtfully, with Pthalung, an identification which had already been made by the late Dr. C. O. Blagden (352, p. 123, n. 1). The only difficulty is that, if Fo-lo-an is really a transcription of the Malay name Beranang, there is no place now on the east coast

which will fit it: but that is not really a difficulty since the name may have dropped out of existence or Fo-lo-an may not be such a transcription. At all events, the geographical facts must be faced and they point clearly to the east coast. The exact location will be considered later under the questions of identification.

Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 205, n. 2) also consider that the P'o-lo-man mentioned in the passage, already quoted, concerning gharu-wood in the *Ling wai tai ta* is "probably an error for Fo-lo-an". If that is so, then Fo-lo-an was an Upper Coast country and this is corroborated by another passage in the same work where the name is written correctly. According to Hirth and Rockhill (*ibid*: pp: 69-70) it reads "The chief of Fo-lo-an is appointed from San-fo-ts'i. The country produces aromatics with which those of "Lower Coast countries" cannot compare in aroma or strength. There is here (in Fo-lo-an) a Holy Buddha which the princes of of San-fo-ts'i come every year to burn incense before". In the *Chu Fan Chi* (226, p. 62) we find Fo-lo-an given amongst the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i (Srivijaya).

Hirth and Rockhill (226, pp: 22-27) have translated a long passage from the *Ling wai tai ta* which is most important for an understanding of Chinese ideas as to South Sea navigation in Sung times. In it (p. 26) occurs this passage:—"It is impossible to enumerate the countries in the South-Western Ocean, but if we take Tongking (Kiau-chi) as a central point, we have to the south of it Annam (Chan-ch'ong), Kamboja (Chön-la) and Fo-lo-an".

That makes it clear, we think, that Fo-lo-an must have been on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and also that it must have been an important place for trade, which is borne out by the *Chu Fan Chi* in its notice on Ta-shi, the Arabs proper. After enumerating their products, it says (226, p. 116) "The foreign traders who deal in these merchandise, bring them to San-fo-ts'i and Fo-lo-an to barter"; and it speaks again of foreign traders in its notice on Fo-lo-an in which, as translated by Hirth and Rockhill, we read "To this country there came flying two Buddhas, one with six-arms, the other with four arms. Should ships try to enter the confines (of Fo-lo-an), they would be driven back by the wind; this is popularly ascribed to the magic power of (these) Buddhas. The Buddhist temple (of Fo-lo-an) is covered with bronze tiles and is ornamented with gold. The fifteenth of the sixth moon is kept as the Buddha's birthday with crowded processions accompanied with music and the beating of cymbals. The foreign traders take part in them".

This same notice gives the products of Fo-lo-an as comprising "the *su* and *chan* (varieties of gharu-wood), laka-wood, sandal-wood and elephants' tusks" and says that it sent yearly tribute to San-fo-ts'i (*ibid*:, p. 69).



Schlegel (359, p. 402) translates a passage in the *San ts'ai t'u hui*, which looks as if it is based on the *Chu Fan Chi*. It says that Fo-lo-an can be reached by sea in four days and nights from "Sembodja (Palembang)" or could be reached by land also. Sembodja, i.e. San-fo-ts'i, must clearly be an error for Ling-ya-ssi-kia as given in the *Chu Fan Chi*; and it is noticeable that Gerini in his reference to the *San ts'ai t'u hui* (46, pp: 598-599) writes that it says Fo-lo-an could be reached by sea in four days' and nights' sailing from Ling-ya-sz, as he spells the name. In the passage, as translated by Schlegel, we are told that in Fo-lo-an there were two copper divinities, which had arrived there by flying, one of them having six and the other four arms. The anniversary of their birthday took place on the 15th day of the 6th moon. Whenever strangers wished to come there in order to steal the pearls and jewels in the temple of these divinities, a violent storm and waves arose as soon as they arrived at the mouth of the river, so that their ships could not enter it.

It looks as though we have in this passage, and in the one from the *Ling wai tai ta*, what is really a reference to the effect of the NE monsoon on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, which during that wind is a complete lee shore. So much is this so that the Malays call this monsoon the *musim kuala tutup*, "season when the river-mouths are closed". Ships from China, of course, came down on this wind and there were only a few east coast anchorages open to them. Fo-lo-an evidently was not one of them.

Ma Tuan-lin does not mention Fo-lo-an at all nor apparently does the *Sung Shih*, since no sinologist has referred to it; but one would like to have all the references to Fo-lo-an gathered and translated by some expert hand.

The references to the two Buddhas are so interesting that they merit a digression. Schlegel (358, pp: 403-404) says that there is a good engraving of them in the *San ts'ai t'u hui*, which, he thinks, evidently represents the goddess Kuan-yin, whose birthday, according to de Groot, is on the 15th day of the 6th moon. Schlegel also cites de Groot for the statement that the portrayals of Kuan-yin in China "tally exactly with those of Ma-tsu-po, the Chinese patroness of the sailors, who herself is identified with *Koan-yin*, the legend of whose birth in the southern seas is thereby strikingly confirmed".

For these two goddesses the reader is referred to Bredon and Mitrophanow (45), Maspero (360) and Werner (361). The two authors first-named write (45, p. 196) "Though Kuan Yin, the Best Beloved, is the supreme and favourite goddess of those who go down to the sea in ships, and has to a certain extent supplanted all other maritime goddesses in popular favour, there are certain local patronesses of sailors such as T'ien Fei, Ma Tsü Po, and Ma Chu

(the two last-named being probably regional deifications of the same figure) who are worshipped by most of the sea-faring families of the southern coast-ports".

With regard to the name Ma Tsū Po, I note that locally it is written Ma-cho-po; and in the first account of a Chinese procession in Singapore, which occurred in 1840, an effigy of this goddess, newly arrived from China, was borne to the temple which had just been erected in her honour. The description says "She is called by the Chinese Thien-siang-sing-bo (or Ma-cho-po), being the deity commonly termed the Mother of the Heavenly sages. She is supposed to be the especial protectress of those who navigate the deep".² This temple is the well-known Hokkien temple in Teluk Ayer Street. A portion of its cost was defrayed by the owners of Chinese junks from Amoy, and from Siam and Java.³ The spacious main building in the famous Cheng Hoon Teng temple in Malacca, founded in the 17th century A.D., is dedicated to Kuan-yin and the side portion on the left to "Machoe Poh, the Queen of Heaven, as the special guardian of sailors, fishermen and voyagers on the high seas"; so Dato Tan Cheng Lock writes in his *Cheng Hoon Teng Temple*, 1949.

T'ien Fei, the Empress of Heaven, has the alternative name T'ien Hou and Maspero (360, p. 329) says that she is more familiarly called "Grandmother Ma-tsu-p'o", her cult having originated in Fukien and from there spread over the whole of China. Fukienese sailors have her image on almost all of their boats, while traders in exports and imports and oversea travellers sacrifice to her. It appears that her worship sprang up suddenly at the end of the 11th century A.D. and developed swiftly in the course of the next. Traditionally, Ma Chu was the daughter of a Fukienese sailor and was born during the Sung dynasty.

Kuan-yin was a divinity who changed sex, having originally been the male Avalokitesvara, from which the full name Kuan-shē-yin derives. It is said that the sex changed from male to female in the 12th century A.D. (45, p. 184) but in a paper in *Artibus Asiae* Benjamin Rowland Jr. claims that the deity began to assume more female aspects several centuries before then.⁴ The goddess is often called "Kuan-yin of the Southern Seas" and amongst her many legends is one that she was born in those seas.

The different attributes which the Chinese have given to their divinities have caused confusion between the sea goddesses and this confusion is added by the marked similarities of so many of their effigies, which are often portrayed with six or four arms, obviously derived originally from Indian effigies.

(2) Buckley's *Anecdotal History of Singapore*, vol. 1, pp: 345-346.

(3) *Ibid*: p. 356.

(4) *Vol: 2, No: 1, p. 29.*

According to Bredon and Mitrophanow, the 15th day of the 6th moon is not accepted as the anniversary of Kuan-yin, her festivals occurring on the 19th days of the 2nd, the 6th and the 9th moons, the first being the most popular. De Groot gives the birth day of Ma-tsu-po as the 23rd day of the 3rd moon (226, p. 69, n. 2). But it will have been noted that it is the *San t'sai t'u hui* which says that the birthday of the Fo-lo-an goddesses was the 15th day of the 6th moon: the *Chu Fan Chi* says that the Buddha's birthday was celebrated in Fo-lo-an on that day. This latter work in its notice on P'o-ni (Brunei) says that the Chinese junks had to wait there for their homeward voyage until the festival of the Buddha on the day of the full moon of the 6th moon was passed or otherwise they would meet with bad weather (226, p. 157). It may well be that the importance of the 15th day of the 6th moon was connected with the homeward SW monsoon whose full force is felt in the South China Sea in the month of July and so is the time when a speedy and safe voyage back to China could be ensured. For Fo-lo-an on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and P'o-ni on the west coast of Borneo this would be a most auspicious season. De Groot says that the 15th day of the 6th moon is celebrated in Fukien as the mid-year festival (226, p. 70, n. 2) and here again one gets the feeling of a sailors' festival since the date corresponds so exactly and the connection between Fukien and Malaysia is so marked.

It is tempting to think that the two Fo-lo-an divinities were the origin of Ma-tsu-po and of Kuan-yin as a sea goddess. We have the coincidences of the festival dates in Fo-lo-an, P'o-ni and Fukien; the mention of the celebrated Buddha in the *Ling wai tai ta*, 1178 A.D., and the two Buddhas in the *Chu Fan Chi*, 1225, A.D.; the birth of Ma Chu in Fukien in Sung times; the legend of the birth of Kuan-yin in the Southern Seas and her becoming a sea goddess in Sung times; the cult of T'ien Fei and Ma-tsu-po originating in Fukien; the six and four armed effigies of the three goddesses; and the continual passage back and forth of Fukiense sailors. But this is merely a suggestion for the consideration of those properly qualified to consider it. Fo-lo-an as a Chinese place-name appears to date only from Sung times and the matter of the flying Buddhas appears to us to be of great interest.

We pass now to the three neighbours of Fo-lo-an, whose names are written by Hirth and Rockhill as Pöng-föng, Töng-ya-nöng and Ki-lan-tan. Variant forms of the names have been collected with references by Pelliot (129, pp: 344-345, 5, 6, 1) but local sinologists should collect all the references and translate them. It may be observed here that the *Chu Fan Chi* merely names the three places but has no notice on any of them and mentions them only in two passages, the one in relation to Fo-lo-an, already noticed, and the other in the list of the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i, where each place

is named (226, p. 62.) The first notices of the three, which are available in translation, occur in the *Tao i chih lio*, 1349 A.D.

Pong-fong. The *Tao i chih lio* calls it P'eng-k'eng, as written by Rockhill (352, p. 120). It says that P'eng-k'eng had a ruler and describes it by saying "Rocky cliffs encircle it, rough and precipitous. From afar it looks like a level wall. The soil is fertile, rather good for cereals". The products are "*houang shou hsiang t'ou* (gharu-wood), *ch'en* and *su* (gharu-wood), *tapai* perfume, camphor, tin, and coarse laka-wood". Rockhill cannot say what was *ta-pai* perfume (ibid: n. 3).

The *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*, 1436 A.D., has a repetitive notice which has been translated by Rockhill (352, pp: 120-121) and also by Groeneveldt (148, pp: 257-258), while Schlegel refers to other Ming sources (174, x, pp: 40-46) but these last are too late for our purposes.

Tong-ya-nong. This place is called Ting-kia-lu, as written by Rockhill, in the *Tao i chih lio* (352, pp: 120-121). It had a ruler, who managed his affairs well, and it is described thus:—"It is a triangular islet, a bay separates it from the adjacent district and forms an important water-way. The island is high and desolate. The fields middling to poor, but the poorest people have a sufficiency of food". The products are "laka-wood, camphor, beeswax and tortoise-shell".

There is no notice in the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan* but Groeneveldt translates passages in the *Ming Shih* and the *Tung hsi yang kao*, 1618 A.D. (148, pp: 200-201). He was, however, under the misapprehension that Indragiri was meant. Schlegel, under the name Ting-ki-gi, gives a number of references which really apply to Trengganu (174, ix, pp: 293-297). But all these are too late for our present purposes.

Ki-lan-tan. The *Tao i chih lio* says "The country is extensive, the land is poor and arable soil is scarce, but the summer being hot they get in two crops" (352, p. 121). It says also "Outside (this place) there is a small bay, secluded and very deep, with salt water and splendid fish. Here tin is found" (ibid: p. 122). The place had a ruler and the products were "superior quality of *ch'en* and *su* (gharu-wood), coarse laka-wood, beeswax, turtle-shells, cranes' nests, and betel-nuts".

There is no notice in the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan* but Groeneveldt has translated a passage from the *Ming Shih* (148, pp: 257-258). After giving passages concerning Ho-lo-tan which he took to be Kelantan, Schlegel refers to Ming notices (174, x, pp: 162-163). But all these again are too late for us.

Nagarakretagama. Canto 14 of this Javanese poem of 1365 A.D. gives us the names of Langkasuka, Sai, Kalantèn, Tringgano and Pahang amongst the dependencies of Majapahit on the Malay Peninsula (111, pp: 147-8). It also gives a name Nacor, perhaps a misprint for Nagor (ibid: p. 149). It might represent Ligor, as the Dutch *Encyclopaedie* says; but Dr. Blagden pointed out difficulties. Dharmānāga appears in Canto 15 and Ligor in 1365 A.D. was tributary to Siam (ibid: p. 149).

Wu-Pei-Chih Charts. References to Ming authorities have been omitted for the most part in the preceding review of the facts but the *Wu-pei-chih* charts need to be noticed. Mr. J. V. Mills (321, pp: 28-39) studies the positions up the east coast from Pedra Branca to Singgora. We find the Pahang river given as *P'eng k'eng Chiang* (the last character meaning "river") or in Amoy Hokkien *Phe hang kang*. Mr. Mills thinks that the name may be connected with *pahang*, the Khmer word for "tin", and has a full discussion of the various views as to the Chinese name (ibid: pp: 31-32). Trengganu appears as *Ting chia hsia lu*, or in Amoy Hokkien as *Teng ka ha lo*, and Mr. Mills points out that it is clearly a transcription of the Malay name, of which as pronounced locally *Teganung* is a good phonetic rendering (ibid: p. 33). The 1948 Annual Report on Trengganu says, however, that *Trekanu* comes nearest to the local pronunciation of the name. The Kelantan River appears as *Ku lan tan Chiang*, or in Amoy Hokkien as *Ko lan tan kang*; and above it the Telubin River under its old name Sai River appears as *Hsi Chiang*, or in Amoy Hokkien *Sai kang*, the exact equivalent. Between these two rivers the mainland is marked *Ch'u Chiang Hsiang* meaning "produces *Chiang* perfume", which Mr. Mills takes to be laka-wood (ibid: pp: 35-36). Patani appears as *Lang hsi chia*, or in Amoy Hokkien *Long sai ka*, and we dealt with this in the last part of these *Notes*. The main-land between the Telubin and the Patani is marked *Ch'u Chiang Chen*, meaning "produces *Chiang Chen*", which Mr. Mills considers to be the same perfume as that produced between the Kelantan and the Telubin (ibid: p. 36). Singora is given under the name *Sun ku na*, or in Amoy Hokkien *Sng ku na*. From there to the Bangkok River no countries, towns or rivers are named (ibid: p. 37), though Bandon Bight seems to appear as the *Cheng put* shoals, using the Amoy Hokkien pronunciation (ibid: p. 38).

It is noticeable, then, that Tan-ma-ling, Fo-lo-an and Kia-lo-hi (pronounced in Amoy Hokkien *Ka lo hi*) do not appear; nor even does Ligor. The main-land lying to the south of Triple Peak in Siam is marked merely as producing sapan-wood (ibid: pp: 39, 47).

Pulau Tenggol, about 15 miles eastward of Tanjong Dungun and the mouth of the Dungun River, seems to appear as *Tou hsü* or Peck Island; and it seems to have been a Chinese navigation-mark

on the sea-route from Pulau Condor to Malaya (ibid: p. 32), during the course across to Pahang and then down the Peninsula. Off the coasts of Trengganu, Kelantan and Patani seven island-groups are shown, the identification of which is described by Mr. Mills as "a matter of considerable difficulty" (ibid: p. 33).

Identifications. We come now to the very difficult problems of identification. It seems to us that we shall be approaching certainty only if the geographical, the economic, and the historical facts are reasonably in accord: but, since we do not seem yet to have all the facts in translation, any identification can only be a tentative one.

Beginning with the geographical facts, we have seen that Ling-ya-ssī-kia was 6 days' sail from Tan-ma-ling and 4 days' sail from Fo-lo-an, and that Fo-lo-an was the adjacent country to Tan-ma-ling. It is, therefore, clear that Fo-lo-an lay between Ling-ya-ssī-kia and Tan-ma-ling: but are we sailing north or south from Ling-ya-ssī-kia? Professor Coedès locates Tan-ma-ling in the Ligor region and suggests with a query Pathalung for Fo-lo-an. For Ling-ya-ssī-kia he has nothing closer than "on the Malay Peninsula". Since Pathalung is south of the Ligor region and since he takes Tan-ma-ling as far north as the Bay of Bandon, it follows that for Professor Coedès the days' sail must be north from Ling-ya-ssī-kia: but we submit that the reverse is the real case. The key to the problem lies, it seems to us, in the statement of the *Chu Fan Chi* that Pōng-fōng, Tōng-ya-nōng and Ki-lan-tan (identified by everybody as Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan) were the neighbours of Fo-lo-an.

We have said before, and we repeat, that a tragedy of ancient geography is the necessity to express it in modern terms which are apt to convey false thoughts to the mind. Thus, when we are told that Pōng-fōng, Tōng-ya-nōng and Ki-lan-tan are Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan, we are prone at once to think of the present three States with their well-defined boundaries, whereas we ought really only to think of river-mouths. In ancient times, and even in quite modern ones, nearly all the Malay States were riverine with the river giving its name to the State. As Mr. Daly wrote in 1878, "It would appear that the Malay Peninsula would be a vast uninhabitable jungle, were it not that the interior yields rich gold and tin alluvial deposits on either side of the range of hills that form the back-bone of the country" (362, p. 194). The main high-ways into this rich interior were the rivers and Dr. Linehan (220, p. 2) writes "The ancient practice of defining territorial divisions and apportioning lands by water-sheds was due, no doubt, to the fact that the Malays had an intimate knowledge of the courses of rivers and their tributaries"; and, one feels sure, so did the predecessors of the Malays. One has only to fly over the Penin-

sula, even in its present high state of development, to appreciate the reason for what Mr. Daly wrote.

Therefore, for us the names Pōng-fōng, Tōng-ya-nōng and Ki-lan-tan indicate the respective river-mouths; and it is necessary to remember that the Pahang and the Kelantan have changed courses on several occasions within historical times. An interesting fact, however, emerges in connection with Tōng-ya-nōng. This name appears as Ting-kia-lu in the 14th century *Tao i chih lio* and as Ting-chia-hsia-lu in the 15th century *Wu-pei-chih* charts. These last attach the word *chiang*, or river, to Kelantan (*Ku-lan-tan-chiang*) and to Pahang (*P'eng-k'eng-chiang*) but not to Trengganu: and the *Tao i chih lio* speaks of Trengganu as a triangular islet, which is high and desolate and is separated from the adjacent district by a bay, forming an important water-way. One wonders, therefore, whether the Chinese did not attach the name more to Pulau Kapas than to the main-land. The *China Sea Pilot*, 1938, says that this island is reported to afford good anchorage for small vessels, with local knowledge, during the NE monsoon. That fact would make a great appeal to Chinese junk-masters and so may have made the island more important to them than the main-land or the river-mouth, which is unprotected in the NE monsoon. Pulau Kapas is 478 feet high and lies south of Kuala Trengganu about 27 miles NNW of Tanjong Dungun, 4° 48' N. However, the point is not very material and it will be safe to think of Tōng-ya-nōng in general connection with the river-mouth rather than the present State.

Obviously, in 1225 A.D. Pōng-fōng, Tōng-ya-nōng and Ki-lan-tan were of little importance since the *Chu Fan Chi* only mentions them in the list of Srivijaya's dependencies and as being neighbours of Fo-lo-an. The *Tao i chih lio* says that they had rulers; but that was 124 years later and the rulers may only have been local chieftains. To the *Chu Fan Chi* the places of real importance on the east coast were Ling-ya-ssi-kia, Tan-ma-ling and Fo-lo-an, since it gives a notice on each of them. And the remarkable lack of reference to the west coast shows that Chau Ju-kua, the Fukienses shipping official, regarded the east coast as the most important part of the Peninsula.

In the last part of these *Notes* we showed that to the Chinese Langkasuka under its different names always was primarily an east coast state but we did not locate it more precisely. The *Wu-pei-chih* charts show clearly that it lay between Singora and the Telubin (Saiburi) River; and upon the rest of the evidence it seems safe to say that the present province of Patani must always have been included in Langkasuka. We do not, however, know the boundaries and it may have included Ligor, or a part of Ligor, at various times. Mr. Hsü, for instance, con-

siders that during the Liang, Sui and T'ang dynasties Langkasuka was in Ligor (340, p. 59). Boundaries of states change with varying fortunes and probably were never well defined in ancient times. Even in 1875 "the Sultan of Trengganu and the Raja of Kelantan told Sir William Jervois they knew nothing of the interior boundaries of their States, nor even what countries they marched with."⁴ Although there is a difference in time of some 200 years, we think that the evidence of the *Wu-pei-chih* charts, which must date back a long time before the composition of the charts, can be used fairly to suggest that in 1225 A.D. Ling-ya-ssü-kiä was centred in the present Patani province. If so, it possessed an important anchorage available to the Chinese ships in both monsoons. As Skinner (64, p. 25) wrote, "The bay of Patani is formed by the projection of a narrow strip of land about 7 or 8 miles in length, which, connected with the mainland to the eastward, bends round to the North-west like a horn and protects the roadstead, so that vessels can at most seasons ride in safety; which accounts for the high estimation in which it was held by the early navigators". The present light on Tanjong Patani (Lem Tachee) is given in the *China Sea Pilot* as 6° 57' N. The Patani River falls into the roadstead.

In the last part of these *Notes* we showed that in the 7th century A.D. Chinese ships, which had sailed down the Indo-Chinese coast and cross the Gulf of Siam, made land-fall on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula at Langkasuka (Lang-chia, Lang-chia-süü). In his *Notes on the Historical Geography of Malaya*, p. 20, Dato Douglas, who identifies the Long Sai Ka of the *Wu-pei-chih* charts with Patani, writes "In the China sea directory one learns that the tidal undulations from the China sea strike the coast near Patani as at Pulau Ridang the tidal stream flows south whilst at Singgora it is setting northwest". The reader should study the *China Sea Pilot*, 1937, Vol: 1, pp: 30, 122, 125, 129, 131 and 132, which gives a good explanation of why land-fall should have been made at Patani and enforce our identification.

Singora (Songkhla) appears as Sun-ku-na in the *Wu-pei-chih* charts and as the northern limit of Langkasuka. From its entrance is made to the inland sea called Tale Sap, inshore of which, some 38 miles NW of Singora, is Pthalung, which at present can only be reached by boats. Singora lies in the shelter of Tantalam Island and there is safe anchorage in the NE monsoon. The present light at the entrance to Singora is given in the *China Sea Pilot* as 7° 13' N.

Unless Ligor was included at times in the boundaries of Langkasuka, the Chinese records make no mention of it at all and it is noticeable that it does not appear on the *Wu-pei-chih* charts.

(4) Recorded by the late Sir Frank Swettenham, J.R.A.S. (S.B.), 1880, No: 5 at p. 53.

We take, therefore, the present roadstead of Patani as the beginning of the 6 days' sail from Ling-ya-ssī-kia in the *Chu Fan Chi*: where then is Tan-ma-ling to be placed?

In the first place, a coasting voyage is obviously indicated and it must be clear that during such a voyage a junk would cover far less distance than she would on the open sea with a following monsoon. The reader is referred to Messrs: Mills and Best (321, pp: 43-44) for the pace of a junk at the time of the *Wu-pei-chih* charts. The best speed attained in the open sea seems to have been about $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles per hour and Mr. Best says that from Malacca to Raffles Light a modern junk "probably averages no better than 3-4 days". The *China Sea Pilot* gives the light on Malacca pierhead as $2^{\circ} 11' N$ and the Admiralty chart shows Raffles Light on Pulau Satumu, or Coney Islet, at about $1^{\circ} 9' N$. Mr. Mills thinks that where a Chinese record gives speed in terms of watches it is about twice as fast as where it is given in days, and suggests that the explanation may be that "where the period is expressed in days no allowance is made for the efflux of time while the vessel anchored for the night". The reader will also note the wide bend of the east coast, and the chains of islands parallel to the coast, from the mouth of Kelantan down to the mouth of the Kuantan, which we are about to locate as the southern limit of the 6 days' sail. We suggest, accordingly, that under all the circumstances the distance given in the *Chu Fan Chi* is reasonable for the limits of a voyage from Patani roadstead to Kuala Kuantan.

Schlegel says, as we have seen, that Tan-ma-ling, pronounced in Fukienese fashion, gives an exact transcription of Tembeling, which at present is a name applied to the northern headland at the entrance to the Kuantan River, to a most important tributary of the Pahang River, and to a large surrounding district with a village of the same name. Before going further we must express our great indebtedness to Dr. Linehan's *History of Pahang* (220) and particularly to chapters 1 and 2, and pp: 247-251, of that work, to which we call the reader's close attention.

South of the Tembeling district lies the Temerloh one, which is also of importance. Since it is agreed by all that Tan-mei-lieou was the older name for Tan-ma-ling, those who like finding name similarities might consider whether Tan-mei-lieou can be correlated with Temerloh.

Dr. Linehan (220, p. 251) writes "The Tembeling river was an important province, and carried a fairly numerous population in prehistoric days, witness the many neolithic and iron-age relics recently found on its banks—and that, though little search has yet been made there, and the locality is now almost deserted". We place Tan-ma-ling as the Tembeling-Kuantan area to which the

best entrance from the sea is the Kuantan mouth since, as Dr. Linehan writes (220, pp: 10, 251), it is the only safe anchorage on the Pahang coast during the NE monsoon, a fact which is corroborated by the *China Sea Pilot*, p. 3. We fix, then, the mouth of the Kuantan River as the southern limit of the 6 days' sail in the *Chu Fan Chi* and the reader will note that Tanjong Tembeling lies 3° 48' N. Accordingly, the voyage began in the Patani roadstead, the junks getting into the sea when they had rounded the headland at 6° 57' N; they then made their way down the coast and eventually reached the turn into the Kuantan river at 3° 48' N. Fo-lo-an was 4 days' sail and so roughly 2/3rds of the way down: where is it to be placed?

From the facts, Fo-lo-an clearly was entered from a river mouth and the distance from Ling-ya-ssī-kia gives us the mouth of the Dungun River with its northern headland Tanjong Dungun at 4° 48' N. Fifteen miles eastward of it is Pulau Tenggol, 930 feet high, and that island seems to appear in the *Wu-pei-chih* charts as Tou hsū, or Peck Island: but neither Fo-lo-an nor the Dungun river are shown in them. Kuala Dungun affords no protection from the NE monsoon, which would make intelligible the statements which we have recorded from Chinese records about the wind at Fo-lo-an. Having no anchorage during the NE monsoon would mean that Fo-lo-an as a port had only one season, so that goods for trade with China would have had to be stored there until the SW monsoon had set in and the junks could take them to China. The great importance of the festival in the middle of the 6th moon is thus apparent. If we accept Fo-lo-an as the Dungun mouth and area, it will be quite possible in the loose Chinese fashion to say that it was the neighbour of the Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan river-mouths and was the country adjacent to Tan-ma-ling.

The *Chu Fan Chi* tells us that land-routes connected Ling-ya-ssī-kia, Tan-ma-ling and Fo-lo-an; and there is no difficulty at all over the statement. These routes normally would follow the rivers and Dr. Linehan (220, p. 2) writes "Pahang was linked up with adjoining states by river-routes as well as by sea. The Sungai Tanum, a tributary of the Jelai, and the Sat and Sēpia, affluents of the Tembeling, led into Kelantan. The Sēpia was also used as a means of communication with Trengganu"; and he speaks (p. 3) of the valley of the Tembeling as the old main northern high-way of communication. Prehistoric relics are particularly numerous in this valley, along which are to be found ancient gold workings, as well as on the Jelai river at Selensing (ibid: p. 3). The late Mr. V. B. C. Baker, a most experienced mining engineer in Pahang, wrote "The men of Sai who colonised Pahang were miners, not sea farers—probably of stock other than Malay. They followed gold and tin up the Teluhin (Sai) and crossed over into the Pergau and thence up the Lebir and over, *via* the Sat, into the Tembeling valley....."

Some of them would take the alternative route up the Galas and over *via* Pulai into Jelai—the route followed by the railway to-day. Hence the importance of Sai, which as related by Eredia tapped so many goldfields" (363). He refers also to the chase by the late Sir Hugh Clifford of Bahman, a man of aboriginal extraction and a gold-miner at Semantan, who used the overland route up the Tembeling into Kelantan and Trengganu.

Mr. Anker Rentse, a man of the greatest experience and knowledge of the subject, writes "We are now able to establish the facts about a chain of ancient settlements along the Kelantan River and its main tributaries right up to the Perak and Pahang borders. Similarly there have been early settlements along the Pahang river, the upper reaches of which also contain gold and show traces of ancient mining. It is therefore quite probable that there was a close connection between the settlers in the upper reaches of the two main rivers, as the gold workings continue in an almost unbroken chain across the divides, some of which are less than one thousand feet above sea level. This would indicate an unbroken route from Kuala Kelantan up through the Lebir, Galas and Nenggiri Rivers, crossing the Kelantan-Pahang border into the Tembeling and Jelai Rivers down to Kuala Pahang. These routes are not known to the younger generation of Malays, but I have met many old Malays who used them before roads and railways were developed in this country" (364, p. 32). And (p. 34) he writes "The upper reaches of the Patani River, the Telubin (Sai) River and the Pergau River (a tributary to the Kelantan River) are situated in the neighbourhood of each other".

The vital fact about the land-routes from Ling-ya-ssī-kiā to Tan-ma-ling obviously is that they passed through territory that was immensely wealthy in metals. Mr. Anker Rentse (364, p. 31) writes "Kelantan was no doubt very rich in gold, and also in tin to some extent, and the same applies to the countries of Patani, Rahman, Jaring and Sai. If we draw a line from the present Raub Gold Mines in Pahang up north through Ulu Galas and Sungei Nenggiri (S. Jenera and S. Wias) in Kelantan, then bending towards the north-east, Sungei Setong and Sungei Mempelam, and from there north through the area east of Sungei Pergau (Sungei Jentiang and Sungei Sokor), next further on the north-west through the Tadoh River areas towards Tomoh in South-Thailand, the source of Sungei Telubin (Sai, Cea), and finally westwards through the upper parts of the Patani River, touching the Ulu Belom in Perak, we find traces of ancient mining everywhere in the jungle in the form of old water-supply canals along the slopes of the hill. Alluvial gold will be found in the streams almost anywhere in this extensive area; but nowadays it appears in such small quantities that only small scale *dulang* work (panning) is profitable, an indication that the great bulk of surface deposits

have been removed by the ancient miners"; and, later in this passage, "It is now tolerably evident that an extensive trade in gold (and in tin to some extent) took place in Kelantan in ancient times, and I have no doubt that further investigations would yield the same results in the jungle along the upper reaches of the Patani and Sai Rivers. This trade in gold continued on a decreasing scale to the present time. We find Sung Celadon porcelain buried in the soil of the Kelantan plain and large Ming pottery jars regarded as sacred old relics in villages from the coast to the interior". The reader should look at the archaeological map which he gives, facing p. 34.

Skinner (64, p. 51) writes "Of the mineral states Pahang is by the Malays placed first and Kelantan next to Pahang and then Patani; all these and these alone have galena as well as gold and tin"; also, "gold is found in Pahang almost exclusively in the central line of the state"; and, "the principal gold-workings of the Peninsula lie almost along a not very wide line drawn from Mounts Ophir and Segamat (the southern limit of the auriferous chain) through the very heart of the Peninsula, to the Kalian Mas, or gold diggings, of Patani and Telepin in the North". By Telepin he means, of course, Telubin. He says that the principal gold-mines of the Peninsula in 1884 were in the valley of the Pahang river at Lipis, Jelai, Semantan and Luit; and Dr. Linehan says that traces of the predecessors of the Malays have been found at Luit (220, p. 226). Reference should also be made for the gold workings and the land routes to Daly (362, pp: 195-196).

We shall elaborate later upon the metals of these parts of the Peninsula but the reader will see from what has been written already that any king who controlled Patani and the central parts of Kelantan and Pahang must have been very rich and powerful. The long historical importance of Langkasuka, centred in Patani, can be attributed to its metals, to easy transcontinental land-routes to the west coast and easy land-routes south to Kelantan and Pahang, and to the control of the Patani roadstead which formed a good port in each monsoon. The importance of Tan-ma-ling can be attributed to its command of the rich central part of Pahang and its possession of the good port at the mouth of the Kuantan River with safe anchorage in each monsoon.

So far, therefore, we are well based upon geographical, economic and historical facts, which we shall now elaborate further. Since it is agreed by all that Tan-mei-lieou and Tan-ma-ling represent the same kingdom, the economic facts concerning the two may be considered together and, since there can be no doubt that that kingdom was somewhere on the Malay Peninsula, we can reject at once *lithospermum*, which must either be a mistranslation or which is to be explained by the Chinese having applied their name for that plant

to some other Malayan plant. In a letter Professor Holtum, of the University of Malaya and head of the Singapore Botanical Gardens, writes "*Lithospermum* is a genus of the family *Boraginaceae*, and its species are all native in rather dry temperate regions. I doubt if you could keep any of them long alive in Malaya, and there are no near relatives of the genus in Malaya". This plant is not mentioned at all in Burkill (365) but it occurs in central and north China. Professor Holtum asks pertinently "Is there any chance that some other plant was confused with it?" If, as would seem certain, the first record of the plant appeared in an official Court record, one can feel fairly sure that the official who made that record wrote down the nearest, or what he thought to be the most likely, Chinese name for the Malayan plant about which he was being told.

It is the very pure gold of a deep red colour, given as a notable product of Tan-mei-lieou, which might point unerringly to Pahang and to Pahang alone. Dato F. W. Douglas, who has an unrivalled knowledge of Malaya, writes in a letter "Pahang gold is red—definitely so and easily distinguished from say Tapah gold. I mean merely the washed grains are obviously red and articles made from it are red. The gold sheaths of the *Kris Terapang* of Selangor are made from it". In his *Notes on the Historical Geography of Malaya*, 1949, p. 1, he writes "The alluvial gold of Pahang is rated at 975 fine sometimes called guinea gold and is of rich dark red colour"; and he says that South African gold is rated at 900 to 920 fine, while Kelantan gold is not as fine as that from Pahang. Dr. F. T. Ingham, however, informs us that personally he cannot confirm the statement that Pahang gold is red and easily distinguished from Tapah gold. He says that a red colour in gold is normally due to the presence of copper and pale yellow to an excess of silver. Assays carried out in the Laboratory of the Geological Survey on alluvial gold samples from Raub gave a fineness of 928 and 934, while gold from Tapah gave 926.

Mr. Harold Service, Acting Director of the Geological Service, in a letter to the writer is quite explicit that Raub gold is not in the least red and he thinks "it very unlikely that native red gold does occur". He says that "something in the order of 10% or more of copper is needed to make a gold alloy red. 'Dark red gold' is stated in one book to contain 50% Au and 50% Cu; in another book, the composition of 'dark gold' is given as 75% Au, 10.4% Ag and 14.6% Cu. Such golds from Malaya as we know of are not red, and their percentage totals for gold and silver leave no room for much copper".

Opinions, therefore, differ and the writer would welcome further information from Pahang.

Skinner (64, p. 16) recorded in 1884 that gold from the Jelai district in Pahang brought a higher price by 3 per cent than the best Australian gold. He said (p. 51) that Pahang's reputation for gold and tin was unrivalled for the metals' wide-spread yield, their quantity and their fineness, and "Pahang tin is said to be the only tin on the east coast which can rival that of Perak and Selangor in whiteness and pliancy". It is, accordingly, natural that the accounts of the products of Tan-ma-ling should refer to tin of superior quality, if we have located that place correctly.

The Chinese tells us that the people of Tan-mei-lieou bartered gold and silver for goods and that Tan-ma-ling collected gold and silver articles for tribute to Srivijaya. In modern times, so far as is known, silver has been found only as an impurity in galena and Eredia's statement that silver was found in Sungei Ujong has, accordingly, been queried. What the ancient miners found during Sung times we do not know but the remarkable abundance of their mining remains shows that they must have found plenty, amongst which certainly were gold and tin, and there is no reason why galena should not also be included. Dr. Ingham informs us that galena has been worked on the property of the Pahang Consolidated Co. and also occurs on the Sungei Luit and near Batu Balai. It is present in other States, including Kelantan, and in small amounts in Perak and Perlis, he says.

Dennys (336, pp: 265-266) writes in his account of Pahang "As regards its mineralogy, the State has always possessed a high reputation for its product of gold and tin. Though during recent periods these have been but little sought, the wonderful old gold workings which exist in its interior, discovered by Messrs. Knaggs and Gower, show that, desolate and abandoned as the greater portion of it now appears to be, it must, at some very remote time, have been well known and populated. Mr. Knaggs said, in his report to Sir Frederick Weld the then Governor of the Straits Settlements, that they found, situated in the far jungle, a hill perforated with pits to a depth of over 160 feet extending for miles, and dug so closely together that there was only room for one man to walk between them. He added: "We could not dig one of these pits for less than \$6000; and there are not only hundreds but thousands of them. It must have taken centuries to have done all this, and thousands of men; but who they were, and how they were fed in this close jungle, and what became of them, must, I fear, remain a mystery for ever". Dennys recorded that in 1894 and since then many more ancient mining sites have been discovered on the east side of the main ranges as far north as Kelantan.

As has been noted, Pahang and Patani are the only two States which have galena as well as gold and tin. Skinner records in 1884 that there was a galena mine in the Kuantan district at Sungei

Lembing. Burkill says that in Malaya galena always contains silver, averaging 20-30 oz: per ton. Cameron (72) gave a full account in 1883 of the galena mines at Banasita (Bannang Sata) on the Patani River, with a good map. He said that the no: 1 mine had the largest lode of galena ever discovered in Malaya and of first quality. There was a series of rich lodes which contained silver in proportions varying from 23 to 66 oz: per ton, the best yield of silver lying near summits of limestone formation.

It would seem, therefore, that the ancient miners of Pahang and Patani might well have mined silver; and Eredia may not have been wrong about Sungei Ujong.

The sinologists have not made up their minds about the metals called *t'ou* (*t'euo*) and *la*, which are mentioned in connection with Tan-mei-lieou. Mr. Hsü thinks them to be copper-zinc alloy and lead-tin alloy; de Saint Denys a rich ore of gold and copper and a kind of tin or alloy of tin and copper. Tin, we know, is found in Pahang; but what about zinc, copper and lead? Cameron (72) said that in the Banisita mines considerable deposits of carbonate of lead and also of phosphate of lead were found, while copper in the form of pseudo-malachite was of common occurrence. Burkill says that copper has been found with tin-ore in Kinta, Perak, and with tin-ore and gold at Batang Padang, Perak. Sulphide of copper and iron (chalcopryrite) has been worked, he says, in the Pahang Consolidated mines in the Kuantan district of Pahang, 4½ tons having been produced in 1922. Zinc or blende (zinc sulphide, zinc blende, or sphaleite) is stated by Burkill to be found in the Kuantan district of Pahang and lead carbonate (cerussite) has been found, he says, in large quantities in the basin of the Sungei Liang in Kelantan, where it is a decomposition product of galena, which itself is lead sulphide and the best known ore of lead, called by the Malays *timah hitam*, or black tin.

The *yu-shih* stone seems also to have puzzled the sinologists. The Chinese said that it was much esteemed, though inferior to jade. Perhaps some Malayan geologist will consider what this might have been. Malachite is much used by Chinese for carved figures but whether any good enough for such a purpose is found in Malaya we do not know. Dr. Ingham says that he has not seen specimens large enough for cutting. Malachite has been found, so Burkill says, in the Pahang Consolidated Company's lodes in Kuantan. It is an ore of copper. Dr. Ingham suggests that *yu-shih* might more probably be serpentine or soapstone; the former is found in Pahang. Jade schists, he says, also occur in Pahang and he thinks it possible that soapstone was found in the past.

The rest of the products of Tan-mei-lieou and Tan-ma-ling, which have been set out above, are completely appropriate to the area which we suggest.

The products of Fo-lo-an do not contain metals but show that it was an "incense" country and also an elephant country. There is nothing in these products that would be inconsistent with the Dungun area, which we have suggested as the identification of Fo-lo-an.

And, so far as the products of Langkasuka are given in Chinese records, they accord with the Patani area and that to the north of it: but they make no mention of metals, which may show that Patani was not being mined at the relevant dates.

So far, therefore, the inferences which we have drawn from the geographical facts are supported by those which we have drawn from the economic ones. We submit that our inferences are fair ones and that accordingly the facts so far may be said to be reasonably in accord: but how do the historical ones fit into the picture?

The *Chu Fan Chi* proves that in 1225 A.D. Ling-ya-ssikia, Tan-ma-ling, Fo-lo-an, Pong-fong, Tong-ya-nong, Ki-lan-tan and Kia-lo-hi were all under the suzerainty of San-fo-ts'i: but the Ch'aiya inscription of 1230 A.D. shows that Kia-lo-hi was then under the rule of Candrabhānu, King of Tambralinga, since all are agreed that Kia-lo-hi represents Grahi, which was sited where Ch'aiya is to-day. One must agree with Professor Coedès (272, p. 310) that the inscription has every appearance of being that of an independent ruler and, for ourselves, we think that the inference of Professor Majumdar (181, pp: 197-200) that "Candrabhānu had usurped the authority of his overlord by a successful rebellion" is inevitable.

In his *History of Pahang* Dr. Linehan accepts that Tambralinga must be identified with Tan-ma-ling and also accepts the identification of Tambralinga with the region of Ligor: but, recognizing the force of the facts concerning Tembeling, he suggests that the name was carried down to Pahang by the men of Ligor when they invaded the Peninsula (220, p. 10).

We shall submit that the name was carried north by Candrabhānu, the centre of whose kingdom was not in Ligor but in the Tembeling-Kuantan area: and we begin with some material facts concerning San-fo-ts'i.

Though it has been disputed, we think that the reasoning of Professor Coedès and Nilakanta Sastri is unanswerable and that San-fo-ts'i can only be identified with Srivijaya. It is, however, a Sung name. The Tang one was Che-li-fo-che or Fo-che and during the Tang dynasty, 618-907 A.D., embassies to China from that place are recorded from 670 to 742 A.D., the date of the last one.

The inscription of 775 A.D., which was discovered at the Vat Semā-muang of Ligor, proves that Srivijaya at that time was in

possession of the Ligor region. Though there has been a great deal of argument about this inscription (see, 356, pp: 41-44), there is none about the fact which we have just stated.

Srivijaya appears again in Chinese records during the Sung dynasty, 960-1279 A.D., when we get the name San-fo-ts'i. Embassies are recorded in the *Sung Shih* as having come towards the end of the Tang dynasty in 905 A.D. and thereafter in 960, 962, 971, 972, 974, 975, 980, 983, 985 and 988 A.D. The ambassador in charge of this last embassy was in Canton during 990 A.D. but in consequence of news of the invasion of his country by Cho-p'o he stayed there. In the spring of 992 A.D. he went as far as Champa but the news of his country which he received there was not reassuring. So he returned to China and asked for an Imperial decree placing San-fo-ts'i under the protection of China. There the story stops and the next embassy from San-fo-ts'i is recorded in 1003 A.D. But Ma Tuan-lin (230, pp: 499-501) records an embassy to China from Cho-p'o in 992 A.D. and, as he tells us, these envoys said that their country was often at war with San-fo-ts'i.

We have seen that in 1001 A.D. Tan-mei-lieou sent its only recorded embassy to China, so far as facts are available at present. The description and size of this embassy, and the very rich tribute which it brought, can lead only to the inference that Tan-mei-lieou acted then as an independent kingdom. Now, the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. shows that Tambralinga then was within the possessions of the king of Kaṭāha, the chief seat of whose power lay in Srivijaya: and, as we have seen, it is accepted generally that the Tambralinga mentioned in this inscription was Tan-ma-ling. But, since the name of Tan-ma-ling does not appear until a century later, it would be better to say that Tambralinga in 1030 A.D. was called by the Chinese Tan-mei-lieou rather than Tan-ma-ling, since all are agreed that the two names represent the same kingdom and nobody has yet suggested that Tan-mei-lieou was a faulty writing of Tan-ma-ling. From all this it results that Tan-mei-lieou had acted as an independent kingdom in 1001 A.D. but at the time of the Chola invasion was included in the Srivijayan empire. The explanation may be that during the invasion of Srivijaya by Cho-p'o Tan-mei-lieou felt it necessary to keep its relations with China and so sent an embassy independently.

After the embassy of 1008 A.D. the *Sung Shih* records further ones from San-fo-ts'i in 1017, 1028, 1067, 1080, 1082, 1083, during the period 1094-1097, 1156, and finally in 1178 A.D. No mention of any further embassy to China from San-fo-ts'i has yet been discovered: very possibly because the *Sung Shih* says that on the occasion of the embassy of 1178 A.D. the Emperor issued an edict directing no further envoys from San-fo-ts'i to come to Court but that they should make an establishment at Ch'üanchow in Fukien

province. This last fact might be remembered in connection with what we have written about the Fo-lo-an goddesses, whom the kings of San-fo-ts'i regularly came to worship, and with the connection of Fukien with the sea-goddesses of China. We may note here that Professor Nilakanta Sastri (356, pp: 87, 93) has assumed from a statement in the *Ming Shih* that embassies from San-fo-ts'i continued to come to China until 1279 A.D. But the statement in the *Ming Shih* is merely a general one, that San-fo-ts'i in the time of the second Sung dynasty brought tribute without interruption (148, p. 192). It gives no dates for any of these embassies and, as we have said, nobody has referred to any after 1178 A.D. If there had been one, it is fair to assume that Ma Tuan-lin would have included it in his full list (230, pp: 561-566).

Unfortunately, the *Ling wai tai ta* of 1178 A.D. has not been translated in full. It gives a list of seven places which were dependencies of Chen-la but apparently no list of the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i. Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 63, n. 1) say that the *Ling wai tai ta* applies the name of San-fo-ts'i only to an important port of call on the sea-routes of the foreigners: but, as has been seen above, it does say that the chief of Fo-lo-an was appointed from San-fo-ts'i. Therefore, in 1178 A.D. Srivijaya had at least one possession on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. Nobody has given any reference in the *Ling wai tai ta* to Tan-mie-lieou or Tan-ma-ling; and so presumably there is none. Nor apparently was Kia-lo-hi mentioned; or even Langkasuka under any Chinese equivalent. But one would feel much more comfortable if one had a complete translation of this most important Chinese work.

In 1183 A.D. we have the inscription on the pedestal of the Grahi Buddha from which it is clear that Grahi was then a province under a local governor, or *mahāsenāpati*. We accept the view of Professor Nilakanta Sastri (356, p. 92) and Professor Majumdar (181, pp: 195-197) that the king who is named in this inscription was a ruler of Srivijaya and not, as Professor Coedès (272, p. 301) would prefer, a ruler of Malayu. Upon this view, therefore, the evidence shows that in 1183 A.D. Kia-lo-hi (Grahi) was a dependency of Srivijaya.

In 1196 A.D. Tan-ma-ling sent an embassy to China; but in the passages which have been translated only a work of 1607 A.D. gives any details; and they apply merely to the tribute offered—three golden wine-jugs and a gilded parasol. However, on this meagre evidence, it does look as though Tan-ma-ling sent that embassy independently. Yet in 1225 A.D. it was a dependency of San-fo-ts'i under a local governor.

Let us now see what details are given in the *Chu Fan Chi* as to the local rulers of Ling-ya-ssi-kia, Tan-ma-ling and Fo-lo-an.

We are told that the ruler of Ling-ya-ssī-kia "wraps himself in a sarong and goes barefooted" and that this country sends yearly tribute to San-fo-ts'i. Of Fo-lo-an we are told that it sends yearly tribute to San-fo-ts'i but not a word is said about its ruler. Of 'an-ma-ling, however, we are told that it was under a ruler who was addressed as *Siang-kung* (which we would equate with *mahāse-nāpati*) and that it sent gold and silver vessels to San-fo-ts'i as tribute. From the absence of any mention of a ruler of Fo-lo-an, from the contemptuous reference to the ruler of Ling-ya-ssī-kia, and from the description of the ruler of Tan-ma-ling, it can only be inferred that the last was much the most important of the three.

This short conspectus of Srivijayan history shows a connection with the east coast of the Malay Peninsula from at least 775 A.D. and establishes that in 1225 A.D. Srivijaya had established supremacy over the whole of that coast from the Pahang River to Ch'aiya. We have thus set the stage for the entrance of a most arresting figure, Candrabhānu, king of Tambralinga, who was ruling in Kia-lo-hi (Grahi, Ch'aiya) in 1230 A.D. The inscription which records this fact says that he was of the Family of the Lotus and was a Buddhist. No particularly reason is given for the record but it is in exultant language and might have marked his victory over the country.

Scholars are agreed that the Candrabhānu of this inscription was the same person as the Candrabhānu whose wars against Ceylon are recorded in the *Cūlavamśa*, a Ceylonese history which is a continuation of the *Mahāvamśa*. The first of these wars is now dated as in 1247 A.D., and the second, probably, in 1270 or 1271 A.D. (356, p. 93). There is a discussion of the historical records relating to Candrabhānu and his two wars in a well-known paper by Professor Nilakanta Sastri (366) and in his new history of Srivijaya he sets out the facts with a full discussion (ibid: pp: 93-95). One sees that Candrabhānu is called "King of the Jāvakas", his main troops being described as Jāvakas. Professor Coedès (357, pp: 461, 463) has shown that Jāvakas was an ethnic name meaning Indonesians and having the same sense as modern Cambodian Java (pronounced *chvéa*) which applies as well to the Malays of the Peninsula as to those of the islands and to the Javanese; and he reminds us that "nothing is less precise than the names by which Eastern people designate each other". Sumatra was itself the Jāvaka country *par excellence* and the Arab Zabag was their rendering of Jāvaka: but Candrabhānu, as proved by the inscription of 1230 A.D., was a Malayan king. He is not called king of Tambralinga in the *Cūlavamśa* but king of the Jāvakas, which means king of the Malays and more particularly king of the Peninsular Malays.

It would seem that at some date prior to the first war a colony of Malays had been founded in some part of Ceylon (272, p.

310: 356, p. 94) and it is worthy of remark that the *Chu Fan Chi* (226, p. 62) places Si-lan amongst the dependencies of San-fo-ts'i and (ibid: pp: 72-73) repeats that statement in its notice on Lan-wu-li and Si-lan. There can be no doubt that Lan-wu-li was the Chinese form of Lambri, the northern part of the west coast of Sumatra from Achin Head. There would seem to be no doubt from the facts at the beginning of this notice that Si-lan was some part of the island of Ceylon: but it should be noted that Professor Coedès gives the identification with a query (272, p. 309). As translated, the notice says at the beginning that Si-lan was under the rule of Nan-p'i but at the conclusion says that it paid a yearly tribute to San-fo-ts'i. Nan-p'i was the name for the Malabar coast and one would think that the characters in this notice must be faulty, unless, as Hirth and Rockhill suggest (ibid:; p. 75, n. 10), "we suppose that these statements refer to two different periods or to different portions of the island". Masudi in 943 A.D. places Sirandib, i.e. Ceylon, amongst the possessions of the Maharaja, i.e. of Srivijaya (172, i. p. 93). The *Sung Shih* says that the king of San-fo-ts'i is styled Chan-pi (148, p. 188) and one would wonder if a mistake might have crept into the *Chu Fan Chi*: but it should be noted that the characters for the two names are quite different as given by Groeneveldt and by Hirth and Rockhill. However, this is a digression.

It would seem that Candrabhānu's first expedition to Ceylon was peaceful at the beginning but he was defeated when war broke out. Professor Nilakanta Sastri (356, p. 94) thinks that he "probably left his son behind at the head of the Jāvaka colony and himself returned to his home country". The next events in Ceylon were Pandyan incursions in 1258 and 1263 A.D. with the result that after the latter Candrabhānu's son acknowledged the Pandyan king as suzerain. Candrabhānu's final campaign followed with complete disaster to himself. His power collapsed, the Thais came down into his kingdom and by 1294 A.D. had possessed themselves of the Malay Peninsula (272, p. 343.)

Professor Coedès adduces the *Jinakālamini* in proof of his account of Candrabhānu (272, p. 310) but that work was composed more than three centuries later and Professor Nilakanta Sastri (366, p. 259) observes that "in its present form, it does not seem to be of much use to any attempt to reconstruct the history of Candrabhānu". We omit it accordingly.

It must surely be clear that for Candrabhānu to have possessed himself of Kia-lo-hi and then to have waged these two wars with Ceylon, he must have been a very rich and powerful king; and, wherever we look for the centre of his kingdom, it must be a place such as would have provided him with those riches and that power. One's mind would turn *a priori* to some place or places rich in gold and other metals.

One can only speculate as to Candrabhānu's origin, but is it too much to suggest that he might well have been the *Siang-kung* of Tan-ma-ling mentioned in the *Chu Fan Chi* of 1225 A.D.? and, proceeding from there, to suggest that he threw off his suzerain and then waged a swift campaign in which he possessed himself of all the other possessions of that suzerain?

History is full of cases where powerful, ambitious and warlike, local chieftains threw off their allegiance, seized their suzerain's possessions, and made themselves kings. If we are right in placing Tan-ma-ling in the Tembeling-Kuantan area, we give Candrabhānu the necessary wealth; and we can see that a campaign from there to the north would have been easy, both by land and sea. If his position was to be absolutely secure and, more particularly if he were ambitious and warlike, a campaign to drive his suzerain out of all its possessions would be logical enough, and such a campaign would take him right up to the beginning of Khmer power, *i.e.* to Kia-lo-hi. Srivijaya was far away and was already in serious trouble in its own country, so that its outlying possessions in Malaya would have been easy prey. It is difficult to imagine Kia-lo-hi as the solitary object of a campaign against Srivijaya but easy to imagine it as the culminating point of one. It is, above all, very difficult to imagine a king merely of Ligor and Ch'aiya being rich enough and powerful enough to go to war twice with Ceylon, but quite easy to imagine a king who held the whole east coast of the Peninsula with its rich interior and the whole of the Ligor isthmus to Ch'aiya, doing so. Such a king would have the necessary wealth, the necessary population, and the necessary ports. And such a king could truly be described as king of the Jāvakas.

It is true that we are speculating; but, if the Candrabhānu, king of Tambralinga, and the Candrabhānu, king of the Jāvakas, were one and the same, then he is an outstanding phenomenon in the history of the Malay Peninsula and a rational, convincing explanation for him must be provided. So far scholars have been content with arguing from his title that he must have been a king of Ligor and with arguing from his name and date that he must have waged the two wars against Ceylon. There the argument has stopped and nobody has considered how he could have done it. In the absence of provable facts, theory must enter, but more rationally than it has done so far. Certain it is that Tembeling is the only Malay name in the whole area from Pahang to Ch'aiya which corresponds with Tambralinga. Grahi and Nāgara Śrīdharmarāja certainly do not. Certain it is that the geographical facts place Tan-ma-ling in the south and not in the north. Finally, certain it is that Candrabhānu must have felt secure, rich and powerful, and a king merely of Ligor and Ch'aiya could not have answered those conditions. If the reader will stop to think of the logistics of a campaign

waged from the Malay Peninsula against Ceylon, he surely must admit the force of what is said in the last sentence.

Summarizing, we propose the following identifications:—

- (1) Ling-ya-ssī-kia — Langkasuka, centred in Patani:
- (2) Tan-ma-ling — Tambralinga, the Tembeling-
Kuantan area:
- (3) Fo-lo-an — mouth of the Dungun River:
- (4) Pōng-fōng — mouth of the Pahang River:
- (5) Tōng-ya-nōng — mouth of the Trengganu River,
including, perhaps, Pulau Kapas:
- (6) Ki-lan-tan — mouth of the Kelantan River.

To that we can add that Ling-ya-ssī-kia may well have included the Ligor isthmus to the southern boundary of Kia-lo-hi and that Kia-lo-hi quite possibly included the whole of the present districts of Bandon and Ch'aiya.

As Gerini (46, p. 115) points out, there is a province in Thailand north of the Kra district which is called Muang Langgya or Lanxia, and a river of that name there, while nearly opposite C'hump'hon Bay there are two small islands called Koh Langkachiu. If these names have any connection with Langkasuka, then at its greatest power it might have reached far to the north: but there is no actual evidence, and certainly it did not do so in the time of the *Chu Fan Chi*.

For a complete understanding of this paper it should be read with the two previous ones in this series of *Notes*, since the three of them really form one thesis.

(To be continued)

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Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya

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Pt: 2, pp: 1-19; Vol: XXII, Pt: 1, pp: 1-24; Vol: XXIII, Pt: 1,
pp: 1-36, Pt: 3, pp: 1-35).

8. Che-Li-Fo-Che, Mo-Lo-Yu and Ho-Ling.

This paper is concerned with three place-names used by the Chinese during the T'ang dynasty, 618-907 A.D.

Although there are some differences of opinion, the generally accepted views of scholars, with which Professor Coedès concurs, are that

(1) Che-li-fo-che is a transcription of Srivijaya, the capital of which was at or near the present Palembang in Sumatra;

(2) Mo-lo-yu is a transcription of Malayu, which was centred in the present Djambi (Jambi) district in Sumatra;

(3) Ho-ling is a transcription of Kalinga, which was centred in Middle Java.

The purpose of this paper is to submit upon the available evidence that, while the first two of these views can be accepted, the last is open to such strong criticism that it cannot be.

The real end of the T'ang dynasty came with the fall of its capital Ch'ang-an in 881 A.D., an event which had been preceded by a period of intense strife beginning in 868 A.D. The *Chiu T'ang Shu*, or Old History, was put into final form shortly after 907 A.D. but was made up in large part of material compiled by at least three hands during the dynasty (151, p. 216). According to Wylie (335, p. 21) and retaining his spelling of the names, the nucleus of the Old History was composed by Wōō King, a subject of the dynasty, who brought his account down to the beginning of the 8th century A.D. It was then re-modelled and revised by Wei Shuh, and, within half a century later, was enlarged somewhat by Hew-lēē, the official historiographer. Some slight additions were made by later hands, in which state it was found at the close of the dynasty and became the source of the final compilation. Presumably, the first version is the *T'ang Shu*, which Pelliot says was compiled in the 8th century A.D. by Wei Chou, as he writes the name, and which, he says, stopped at the period 713-741 A.D. (129, p. 324, n. 4).

In its present form the Old History must be read with two other works, each of which quotes from earlier editions of it than

any now extant and differing in many respects from the present one (336, pp: 94, 141). These two works are the *T'ang hui yao* of Wang P'u, 961 A.D., and the *Tsê fu yüan kuei* of Wang Ch'in-jo and Yang I, 1005-1013 A.D. "Because four-fifths of the *T'ang hui yao* was compiled during the T'ang period, it is as important a work as the two T'ang histories, in spite of the fact that the modern editions are not exactly the same as the original compilation. Not a little material is preserved in it which is not to be found elsewhere and it is often quoted from directly as a first-hand source" (336, p. 142).

We have, therefore, valuable first-hand evidence in the Old History and these two works; and, as we have pointed out before, we have also valuable evidence at first-hand in the *T'ung Tien* of Tu Yu, ca: 800 A.D. But none of it is available to us save in occasional short snatches or in mere references. Even the notices of the Old History concerning Che-li-fo-che and Ho-ling have not been translated in full. The only first-hand evidence to which we can go in full translation is that of I Ching (Yi-tsing, I-tsing) in his *Record* (227) and his *Memoirs* (345).

The scholars rely for their identification of Ho-ling most largely upon the *Hs'in T'ang Shu*, or New History, which was a re-writing of the Old History made at the beginning of the 11th century A.D. during the Sung dynasty; and many relevant passages from this history have been translated in contrast to the neglect of the old one. To us it seems, indeed, a strange proceeding to prefer secondary evidence to primary. Nowhere is the lamentable lack of translations more remarkable than in connection with the three important T'ang place-names which form the subject of this paper. We must emphasize again that in the present state of research it is dangerous for scholars to give us a stereotyped picture of ancient Malaysian historical geography and to keep repeating it as though it represented fact. It is also quite wrong to ignore geographical, navigational and meteorological data, ancient and modern, in favour of name similarities or fancied similarities. Moens has illustrated the perils that lie in Chinese names (241, pp: 1-7) and everybody knows that in Malaysia, both in ancient and modern times, the same names were and are given frequently to quite different places.

A close and analytical study of the present stereotyped picture, which scholars give us, reveals it as based upon insufficient data and as being too often illogical; and it shows that re-consideration and a more patient exploration of all the available facts are required.

The bare historical facts concerning the three places are as follows:—

(1) **Mo-lo-yu** is recorded in the *T'ang hui yao* and the New History as having sent an embassy to China in 644-5 A.D. (129,

p. 324). Save in I Ching, the name, so far as the sinologists inform us, then disappears until the 13th century A.D.

(2) **Che-li-fo-che** is used interchangeably with Fo-che. The New History says that it sent embassies to China from the period 670-3 A.D. up to the period 713-741 A.D. (129, p. 334). The *T'ang hui yao* says that on the 5th day of the 9th moon, 695 A.D., an Imperial edict ordered the provision of supplies for foreign envoys to be for 6 months for those from southern and northern India, Persia and Arabia; for 5 months for those from Che-li-fo-che, Chen-la, Ho-ling and other kingdoms, not named by Pelliot; and for 3 months for those from Lin-yi (ibid:). The *T'sè fu yüan kuei* gives embassies from Fo-che in 701-2 A.D. and 716 A.D. (ibid:). This last work and the New History each records that in the 7th moon of 724 A.D. the king of Che-li-fo-che sent his heir apparent as envoy to China and in a different passage each gives the king's name as Śrīndravarman (ibid: p. 335). The *T'sè fu yüan kuei* gives embassies from Fo-che in 728 A.D. and in 741-2 A.D. (ibid:).

(3) **Ho-ling** embassies are noted by Pelliot as having been sent to China in 640 or 648, 666, 767, 768, 813 or 815, and 818 A.D. (129, p. 286).

All these are bare references with no translations; and, with regard to Ho-ling, Pelliot says that they are only such as he had noted, so that there may be more. He also says that he had made no attempt to clear up his doubts as to the dates of the first and fifth embassies and excuses that fact by saying that he was not writing a monograph on Ho-ling. Nor, incidentally, has anybody else done so.

We proceed now to the first-hand evidence of I Ching and shall submit that, if the facts given by him contradict the identification of Ho-ling with central Java, no amount of secondary evidence will save it. His own travels have been pieced together ingeniously by Takakusu (227, pp: xxvii-xxxvi), but the spelling of the names is obsolete and we shall substitute modern forms. We shall give all the facts first concerning the voyages of I Ching and the other monks without any identifications of the Chinese names and, after that has been done, will endeavour to draw the correct inferences.

From an early age I Ching's imagination had been so fixed by the travels of Fa-hien (Fa-hsien) and Hsüan-chuang that he determined to emulate them. While in Canton during 671 A.D. he arranged for a passage to the south with the owner of a Po-ssu (Po-ssü) ship and sailed in the 11th moon of that year when "the first monsoon began to blow", i.e. as soon as the NE monsoon had set in. He reached Fo-che in 20 days or so and stayed there

for 6 months studying sanskrit. Then the king helped him to go to Mo-lo-yu "which is now called Che-li-fu-che"; and there he stayed for 2 months, after which he went to Chieh-ch'a (Ka-cha, Kie-tch'a). As translated by Chavannes (345, p. 119), I Ching says "I changed direction" to go to Chieh-ch'a; but Takakusu omits that important statement. In the 12th moon of that year, i.e. 672-3 A.D., I Ching re-embarked at Chieh-ch'a and "again on board the king's ship" sailed for Eastern India. "Going towards the north" after more than 10 days' sail he reached Lo-jên-kuo, which means "Country of the Naked People". As translated by Dr. Luce (229, p. 193) I Ching says "If one faces east and looks at the steep shore, one sees, stretching for more than one or two Chinese miles, only cocoonut and forests of areca palms". He gives an interesting account of the people and their customs; and concludes "I continued my journey thence for more than a half-month in a north-westerly direction, and then arrived at the kingdom of Tan-mo-li-ti, which constitutes the southern limit of eastern India" (ibid: p. 196). He says (227, p. xxxi) that he arrived in Tan-mo-li-ti on the 8th day of the 2nd moon, 673 A.D.

He remained in India until 685 A.D. and then embarked at Tan-mo-li-ti and sailed to Chieh-ch'a, where he landed and met a fellow monk. From there he sailed back to Fo-che, where he began to translate the large quantity of sanskrit texts which he had brought from India. In 689 A.D. he found himself in need of paper and ink, and also of money for hiring scribes. So he wrote a letter for all these things to China and took it on board a ship "at the mouth of the Fo-che river". "Just at that time the merchant found the wind favourable and raised the sails to their utmost height. I was in this way conveyed back. Even if I asked to stop, there would have been no means of doing so" (227, p. xxxiv). He reached Canton on the 20th day of the 7th moon, 689 A.D.

On the 1st day of the 11th moon, 689 A.D., he returned in company with another monk named Ch'eng-ku. "We set sail in the direction of Chau-po with the view of reaching Fo-che after a long voyage". "We arrived together at Chin-chou" (345, p. 181).

After his return to Fo-che I Ching began to write his two works and, when they were finished, he sent them to China by a monk named Tu-ch'in, who sailed from Fo-che on the 15th day of the 5th moon, 692 A.D.

In the mid-summer of 695 A.D. I Ching returned to China, where he stayed until his death in 713 A.D. at the age of 79.

Concerning Tan-mo-li-ti there is an important passage which Takakusu (227, p. xxxiv) translates but to which Chavannes does

not refer. It occurs in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-ekasatagarman*, Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Buddhist Books, No: 1131, book V, p. 57, and reads as follows:—

"This is the place where we embark when returning to China. Sailing from here two months in the south-east direction we come to Chieh-ch'a. By this time a ship from Fo-che will have arrived there. This is generally in the first or second month of the year. But those who go to Ceylon must sail in the south-west direction. They say that that island is 700 *yojanas* off. We stay in Chieh-ch'a till winter, then start on board ship for the south, and we come after a month to the country of Mo-lo-yu which has now become Fo-che; there are many states (under it). The time of arrival is generally in the first or second moon. We stay there till the middle of summer and we sail to the north; in about a month we reach Kuang-fu (Kuang-tung). The first half of the year will be passed by this time".

This passage also tells us that "in the fortified city of Fo-che Buddhist priests number more than 1000"; and I Ching advises that, "if a Chinese priest wishes to go to the West in order to hear (lectures) and to read (the original), he had better stay here one or two years and practise the proper rules and then proceed to Central India".

In the *Record* I Ching gives a general statement of the *chou*, or islands, of the south sea; but the reader must remember that *chou* meant not only an island in the proper sense but a continent and that, like the Arabs, the Chinese often applied the word "island" to different parts of the same island, continent or peninsula. As translated by Dr. Luce (229, pp: 203-205) the statement of the islands is as follows:—

"Counting from the west, there is first of all P'o-lu-shih *chou*; and then Mo-lo-yu *chou*, which is now the kingdom of Shih-li-foshih; Mo-ho-sin *chou*; Ho-ling *chou*; Ta-ta-*chou*; P'en-p'en *chou*; P'o-li *chou*; K'u-lun *chou*; Fo-shih-pu-lo *chou*; A-shan *chou*; and Mo-chia-man *chou*. There are some more small islands which cannot be all mentioned here. Buddhism is embraced in all these countries, and mostly the Hinayāna is adopted except in Mo-lo-yu, where there are a few who belong to the Mahāyāna. Some of these countries (or islands) are about a hundred Chinese miles round, some many hundred in circuit, or some measure about a hundred *yojanas*. Though it is difficult to calculate distance on the great ocean, yet those who are accustomed to travel in merchant ships will know the approximate size of these islands. They were generally known (to the Chinese) by the general name of the "Countries of K'un-lun", since (the people of) K'u-lun first visited Chiao and Kuang (Tonkin and Canton). The (genuine) K'un-lun are curly-

headed and of black-skin, whereas the inhabitants of the (other) islands (or kingdoms) are similar to the Chinese, (except that) it is their habit to have their legs bare and to wear the *kan-man* (sarong)".

In this list of islands, Shih-li-fo-shih is the name which we write as Che-li-fo-che; and P'o-lu-shih is written by the French as P'o-lou-che, to which spelling we shall keep, as it is the more convenient form, since the authorities whom we shall quote are French.

In the *Memoirs* (345) we get some more important navigational facts. Substituting modern spelling and noting the sections in which they appear, they are as follows:—

(1) Two monks (unnamed) left China and after a long route arrived in the south seas: they went by ship to the state of P'o-lou-che to the west of the country of Che-li-fo-che: they fell ill there and both died, ss 8 and 9;

(2) Ch'ang-min sailed in a ship 200 feet long and carrying 6-700 people: he went to the state of Ho-ling and from there embarked in a ship for the state of Mo-lo-yu, intending to go to Central India: the ship was over-loaded and sank not far from the embarkation point: Ch'ang-min was drowned, s.13;

(3) Ming-yuen arrived at Chiao-chih, was tossed on the waves, reached the state of Ho-ling and arrived at Ceylon, s. 21;

(4) I-lang, Chih-ngan and I-hsüan sailed in a merchant junk, passed Fu-nan and tied up in the country of Lang-chia, where the king of Lang-chia-shu treated them with distinction: Chih-ngan died there: the other two sailed to Ceylon, ss. 22-24;

(5) Hui-ning went by ship to Ho-ling, where he stayed for three years translating sanskrit-texts with a very wise monk of the state of Ho-ling named Jnānabhadrā: the works were sent to China by Yun-k'i, who returned to Chiao, went to the capital, presented the works, and then went back to Chiao-chih, where he preached, and then went "direct" to Ho-ling, s. 25;

(6) Yun-k'i, a native of Chiao and a disciple of Jnānabhadrā, spent ten years in the south seas: he learned to speak *K'wi-lun* perfectly and knew sanskrit well: he resided in the country of Che-li-fo-yeou (faulty for Che-li-fo-che), where "he is living to-day aged about 30", s. 26;

(7) T'an-juen went by land to Chiao-chih, where he passed the time of the monsoon, then embarked and went to the south, hoping to reach Western India, but, when he reached the country of Pu-p'en to the north of Ho-ling, he died, s. 36.

(8) Tao-lin undertook a long journey and went by sea to the south seas: he passed the Columns of Copper and arrived at the country of Lang-chia, passed the country of Ho-ling and Lo-jên-kuo: in each of the countries where he was the king received him with great courtesy and treated him very well: after several years he reached Eastern India in the kingdom of Tan-mo-li-ti, where he stayed for three years and learned sanskrit, s. 42;

(9) Wu-hing took Che-hong as his companion and "in the time of the east wind" embarked, reaching Che-li-fo-che in a month, where they stayed: then Wu-hing sailed in one of the king's ships and at the end of 15 days reached the island of Mo-lo-yu and at the end of 15 days more the country of Chieh-ch'a: when the last month of winter was come, he changed the course of his navigation and went towards the west, reaching Na-kia-po-tan-na at the end of 30 days: from there he arrived in Ceylon after 2 days on the sea, s. 52;

(10) Fa-chen, Ch'eng-u and Ch'eng-ju sailed from China, were tossed on the waves north of Ho-ling, passed successively all the islands and reached little by little the island of Chieh-ch'a where Fa-chen died: the other two then embarked and returned to the east, hoping to reach Chiao-chih: but, when they had got to Chan-po, Ch'eng-u died: so Ch'eng-ju alone returned to China, ss. 53-55;

(11) Ta-ch'in decided in 683 A.D. to leave for the south seas and followed an Imperial envoy: after more than a month's voyage he reached Che-li-fo-che, where he lived for several years and, learned *K'un-lun* and studied sanskrit: he met I Ching there and embarking on the 15th day of the 5th moon, 692 A.D., took back with him the *Record* and the *Memoirs*, sailing "direct" to China, s. 56;

(12) Ch'eng-ku was I Ching's "excellent companion": in the period 685-8 A.D. he made his way to Panjong and was there when I Ching arrived at Kuang on the 20th day of the 7th moon, 689 A.D.: the two of them embarked in a merchant vessel at Panjong and went towards Chan-po as they "proposed to reach Fo-che by a long course": they arrived together at Chin-chou, s. 57;

(13) Hoai-ye arrived by sea at the country of Fo-che, where he learned *K'un-lun* and studied sanskrit, s. 58;

(14) Tao-hong, stirred by I Ching's voyage to Chin-chou, arrived at the country of Fo-che, s. 59;

(15) Fa-lang sailed from Pan-jong and reached Fo-che at the end of a month: after some time he went to Ho-ling, where he died, s. 60.

Of the various place-names mentioned by I Ching some are absolutely certain. Pan-jong is a literary name for Canton, other names being Kuang and Kuang-fu. The Columns of Copper stood at the frontier of China and Tongking. Chiao-chih and the abbreviation Chiao represent Tongking, its principal place being where Hanoi is to-day. Chan-po means Champa and corresponds roughly to modern Annam. Fu-nan was southern Cambodia and included the basin and mouths of the Mekong and the Cochin-China of to-day. Chen-la was a later name for Fu-nan.

Chin-chou means literally "Gold Island" and is thus the exact equivalent of the sanskrit *Suvarna-dvīpa* and of Pulau Mas, the Malay name for Sumatra. *Suvarna-dvīpa* meant Sumatra, as also did Chin-chou.

Lo-jên-kuo, the Country of the Naked People, was the Nicobar group. The Tamil name *Mānakkavāram*, meaning "Great Country of the Naked", occurs in the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D.; and from the Tamil *Nakkavāram* are derived our Nicobar and Marco Polo's *Necuveram*.

Tan-mo-li-ti is the Chinese transcription of Tamralipti, the great Indian emporium of those days, represented by the modern Tamruk on the western part of the delta of the Hooghly River. Na-kia-po-tan-na is the modern Negapatam on the west coast of the Bay of Bengal in southern India.

It is also quite certain that Lang-chia, or Lang-chia-shu, was on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. In the last two parts of these *Notes* we have given the facts and the reasons for placing its centre in the Patani of to-day.

To the facts given by I Ching may be added some further ones from the sea itinerary of Chia Tan, whom Chavannes (367, p. 244) describes as "the most celebrated cartographer of the T'ang epoch". In 785 A.D. Chia Tan was ordered by the Emperor to draw up a general map of China and in 801 A.D. he completed his great work called "Map of China and the barbarian countries inside the seas" (*ibid.*: pp: 244-245). Unfortunately, his work exists no longer but in the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, or New History, two itineraries (one by land and one by sea) given by him are preserved and have formed the subject of Pelliot's famous study (129).

Chia Tan's sea-route from Canton runs past the island of Hainan to the north part of the Indo-Chinese coast and then down that coast to Phan-rang, from where after 2 days' sail it reaches Mount Kiun-t'u-nung, which Pelliot identifies with Pulau Condore (*ibid.*: p. 218). Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 11, n. 3) give the same identification; but Ferrand considers that the name should

be Kiun-t'u-lung and so identifies it with the Arab *Kundrang*, which he locates towards Cape St. Jacques (172, i, pp: 15-16; ii, p. 643). For our present purposes the exact identification is immaterial and it is sufficient to note that Chia Tan's itinerary ran down the coast of Indo-China and then to Mount Kiun-t'u-nung. As translated by Dr. Luce (229, pp: 185-186) the itinerary from that point proceeds thus:—

“Then, after five days' journey, you reach a strait called Chih by the barbarians; from south to north it is a hundred *li*. On the northern shore there is the kingdom of Lo-yüeh; on the southern shore there is the kingdom of Fo-shih. Eastwards from the kingdom of Fo-shih, sailing for four or five days, you reach the kingdom of Ho-ling; it is the largest of the islands of the south”.

Fo-shih is, of course, the same as Fo-che, in which way we prefer to write it, since the French scholars have made that spelling so familiar.

Chia Tan's statement must not be read absolutely literally. All that he means is that Lo-yüeh is to the north of Chih and Fo-che to the south of it. The passage itself occurs in a part of the itinerary which would seem to have been abbreviated in the New History and which has caused considerable trouble in interpretation: but the portion of it set out above is free from any real difficulty.

Such, then, are the facts given by I Ching and there is nothing in ancient Chinese literature, so far as it has been translated, which approximates to him for clarity and detail. These facts merit the closest attention and analysis: and we shall place before the reader now some views with regard to them.

It is obvious that I Ching gives at least two routes from Canton to Fo-che, one down the open South China Sea and the other along the coast of Indo-China. The ships used were commercial ones and governed by commercial needs. In general, it was more profitable to trade from port to port with interchanges of cargo than to make long voyages to some place and then back. Provisioning presented less of a problem under those circumstances also. The mere passenger might, therefore, find changes of ship necessary to make a long voyage and it is very clear that the Chinese pilgrims going to India had to do so. I Ching's first voyage, however, was clearly upon the open sea by direct passage to Fo-che, since the voyage took only 20 days or so, a very fast run. The other monks who made a direct sailing took a month or more. But I Ching sailed in a Po-ssu ship, a fact which is not mentioned in connection with any other of the voyages. It is taken usually that this was a Persian ship, in which case the direct run down

to Fo-che is what one would expect, as she would make for her distant home port as quickly as possible, and her superior sailing powers would be an explanation of the fast run. However, Kuwbara (179, 2, p. 54) says that the expression Po-ssu "is rather ambiguous and we see cases in which Po-ssu of the west (Persia) is often confounded with Po-ssu in the Southern Seas. For the latter see Dr. Laufer's article *The Malayan Po-ssu and its Products (Sino-Iranica)*, pp: 468-487." But Pelliot in 1923 (368, p. 197) and again in 1925 (146, p. 247, n. 1) is quite definite that in T'ang times Po-ssu had no meaning other than Persian; and we accept that accordingly.

The arrival of a 7th century Persian embassy is depicted in the famous caves at Ajantā in Aurangābād, State of Hyderabad¹. It is considered to have been an embassy from Khusrū II, King of Persia, to Pulakesin II, King of the Deccan, in 625 A.D., and the ship in which it arrived is shown, so that we can, perhaps, get an idea of the ship in which I (Ching) sailed. It was three-masted with square sails, one of which is at the bow and like the Greek artemon sail: there is an eye in the bow and the hull is junk-shaped with two long sweeps for steering. As Schoff (35, p. 248) says, if this ship was not a junk, it was manifestly influenced by that type of vessel: and that would only be natural. Hadi Hasan (308) considers that the ship must have been Sassanian Persian and not Chinese: we agree. The presence of the eye would be quite normal, for it was (and still is) used in the west, while the junk or shoe-shaped hull was equally normal. But whether that shape was carried from east to west or vice versa has not been determined yet.

It is clear that this particular ship, like all the rest in ancient times, could have made no progress against a head wind, and, indeed, would have been in danger. The ancient commercial vessels were built for favouring winds and to carry their cargo as far as possible at as cheap a cost as possible. In this they were favoured by the seasonal winds that blew all along the route from the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the rest of the seas to China, and back again.

In 717 A.D. the monk Vajrabodhi sailed from Ceylon and passed to the east more than twenty kingdoms, two of which were the Naked People and Fo-che (129, p. 336). Another text says that he sailed from Ceylon with thirty-five Po-ssu ships. "In a month he arrived at Fo-che" and by reason of adverse wind remained there for five months, resuming his voyage when "the wind was fixed". Then his ship ran into terrible storms and wandered from kingdom to kingdom for three years before reaching China in 720 A.D.

(1) See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol: 2.

Kuwabara (179, 2, p. 70) says "The Chinese ships before the T'ang era were inferior in all respects to those of the South Sea countries. But after that era the trading ships of China developed more and more, became larger, better equipped and improved in the art of navigation". Pelliot (146, pp: 255-257) says that the big ocean-going ships were called *po* in Chinese and he translates a passage from a third century work which describes them and shows them to have been very large, carrying 6-700 people and a great quantity of cargo. These ships, Pelliot says, were Persian, Indian and Chinese, but in T'ang times their personnel was principally Malay. This statement results from a passage in a work of 817 A.D. which Pelliot translates in full (*ibid*: pp: 257-260) and which shows that the big ocean-going ships at that time were called "K'un-lun ships". That name might have been derived from their run just as our East Indiamen were but it is clear that their crew were mainly *K'un-lun*, i.e. Indonesians and Malays. Here again, however, one has the parallel with the Lascar crews of our own East Indiamen.

From I Ching's facts it is clear that the king of Fo-che sent his ships up the Straits of Malacca and then to the Hooghly. These ships might have been like the tri-pod masted ones depicted in the reliefs at Boro-budur or they might have been large *prahus*. Cameron (263, p. 44) described the Malay *prahus* in the middle of last century as being of 50-60 tons burthen and having one large tri-pod mast made of three bamboos lashed together at the top but some two or three feet asunder at the bottom, with a large single sail in the shape of an English lug-sail, any headway against the wind being impossible.

Ships did not change much in ancient times and we have referred to them because, unless one has a fair idea of their nature and capabilities, the voyages of I Ching and the other pilgrims will not come to life. Torr's *Ancient Ships* is an excellent work, though unfortunately no copy is available in Singapore, and there are other works to which reference has been made in the *Introduction* and in these *Notes*: but, perhaps, the most illuminating book to which the reader can refer is the recent one by Jean Poujade (369).

Let us leave out for the moment Fo-che, Mo-lo-yu and Ho-ling, and go to the other end of the route from Chieh-ch'a to Tan-mo-li-ti.

Upon I Ching's general facts Chieh-ch'a must clearly have been an entrepot on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and I have set out already the evidence which proves it to have been the ancient settlement on the Merbau estuary in Kedah². The

(2) This Journal, vol: XXIII, Pt: 1, pp: 1-36.

Malacca Strait Pilot, 1934, p. 110, gives the light at the entrance to the River as $5^{\circ} 41' N$, $100^{\circ} 22' E$.

From there I Ching sailed to Lo-jên-kuo, the Nicobar group, *The Bay of Bengal Pilot*, 1931, p.46, gives the Nicobars as lying between the parallels of $6^{\circ} 45' N$ and $9^{\circ} 15' N$ and the meridians of $92^{\circ} 40'$ and $93^{\circ} 55' E$. The best (and completely sheltered) anchorage in the Nicobars is Nancowry Harbour, which lies between the south end of Camorta Island and the north side of Nancowry Island: but this will not fit the facts, since I Ching speaks only of one piece of land to the east of his ship. Though one must guess, Great Nicobar, the southernmost of the group, will fit very well and suits his time from Chieh-ch'a.

He sailed from Chieh-ch'a in the 12th moon and arrived at Tan-mo-li-ti on the 8th day of the following 2nd moon. Therefore, he sailed up the Bay of Bengal on the NE monsoon; when he says he saw the land to his east at Lo-jên-kuo it means that, as would be expected, his ship was anchored on the lee side of the island. From Chieh-ch'a he says that he sailed "to the north" and reached Lo-jên-kuo after more than 10 days' sail. He is not strictly accurate because he was sailing to the north-west but, as he went from $5^{\circ} 41' N$ to some place above $6^{\circ} 45' N$, it is clear that he was heading northwards. From Lo-jên-kuo he says that he sailed to the northwest and of the return journey from Tan-mo-li-ti to Chieh-ch'a he says that the ships sailed in the south-east direction. This is quite accurate. *The Bay of Bengal Pilot*, p. 228, gives Sagar roads in the Hooghly as $21^{\circ} 38' N$, $88^{\circ} 00' E$.

The NE monsoon is the fair one in the Bay of Bengal and the ships must have returned on that wind also, because I Ching says that by the time they reached Chieh-ch'a a ship from Fo-che will have arrived and that this was generally in the 1st or 2nd moon. He says that they waited in Chieh-ch'a till the winter, which would mean that they passed the time of the SW monsoon there until the wind had changed again. As they arrived at Fo-che generally in the 1st or 2nd moon, they sailed down the Straits of Malacca on the NE monsoon: and this again is the fair wind in those Straits.

At Fo-che they waited until mid-summer, which means until the SW monsoon was blowing in the South China Sea to take them back to Canton. I Ching's exact words were "we come after a month to the country of Mo-lo-yu which has now become Fo-che. We stay there till the middle of summer, etc." This statement refers really to the port of Fo-che and not the port of Mo-lo-yu. This will be clearer when the voyage of Wu-hing is examined later on. The passage, however, goes to show that the Palembang area might well have been part of the Mo-lo-yu kingdom before it was absorbed by Srivijaya.

Let us fix now the locations of Fo-che and Mo-lo-yu, which had "now" become Che-li-fo-che or Fo-che. "Now" is referable to the period 689-692 A.D. when I Ching was writing his two works in Fo-che.

It is clear from the *Memoirs*, ss. 57 and 59, that Fo-che was in Chin-chou, i.e. Sumatra; and we consider that the arguments of Professor Coedès and Nilakanta Sastri, fortified by the general opinion of scholars, have established with certainty that Che-li-fo-che or Fo-che meant Srivijaya, which had its capital at or near the present Palembang, and that opinions which have been expressed to the contrary have been refuted by them.

I Ching tells us that the port of Fo-che was at the mouth of the Fo-che river; and that will be the mouth of the Ayer Moesi (Musi) or Palembang river, which debouches between Tanjong Gedeh, 2° 20' S, 104° 56' E, and Tanjong Tjarat (Charat), 2° 17' S, 104° 55' E.

We have seen that some of the pilgrims studied the *K'un-lun* language in Fo-che and, doubtless, I Ching spoke it, for he lived there so much and says himself that he "learned the tongues of the different countries which he reached" (345, p. 193). In its restricted sense *K'un-lun* meant the Mon language (370, p. 272) but the Chinese also used the name in a wide sense to cover a whole ethnolinguistic complex which they found in the south seas. The particular *K'un-lun* spoken in Fo-che clearly must have been what is termed "Old Malay", which was a mixture of Sanskrit and Malay. This language can be studied in four celebrated inscriptions dating from 683 to 686 A.D., which have been translated and discussed by Professor Coedès (371) and by Gabriel Ferrand (372). There is also an excellent discussion of them by Professor Nilakanta Sastri with English translations (356, pp: 27-31, 113-116).

These inscriptions prove the identity of Srivijaya with the Palembang area and also the absorption of the Djambi area into the Srivijayan kingdom. Two, dated respectively 683 and 684 A.D., were found near the famous Bukit Seguntang, south-east of Palembang. The third was found at Karang Brahi on a tributary of the Batang Hari, or Djambi, river, and shows that this area was ruled by a Datu (Dato) of Srivijaya. The fourth was found at Kota Kapur on the island of Bangka and is dated 686 A.D. The body of these last two inscriptions is the same but the last which gives the date is missing from the former. Bangka was also ruled by a Datu of Srivijaya.

Professor Krom has put forward a new reading for the inscription of 683 A.D. which makes the last word of the seventh line

read as *Malayu* and Professor Nilakanta Sastri (356, pp: 28-112) accepts this reading; but Professor Coedès (272, pp: 143-144) does not appear to do so. This particular inscription is known as the Kedukan Bukit one and there has been dispute as to its exact significance. Professor Nilakanta Sastri (356, pp: 28, 29-30) considers that it records a successful expedition by Srivijaya against Malayu.

The Malayu country *par excellence* is considered by all to be the Djambi area and the undated inscription found there will, therefore, corroborate I Ching in his statement that Mo-lo-yu (Malayu) has now become Chi-li-fo-che (Srivijaya), while the 683 A.D. inscription will give us the date of the conquest, if Professor Krom's reading is correct and if it is accepted that the purpose of the inscription was to record a successful campaign waged by Srivijaya.

The general opinion is that Mo-lo-yu must be identified with the Djambi area and Professor Coedès accepts that (272, pp: 144-145). The Djambi discharges into a delta westward of Tanjong Djaboeng (Jabung), $0^{\circ} 52' S$, $104^{\circ} 22' E$, and is called the Batang Hari above the delta. Moens (241, pp: 14-17) prefers the Kampar area and points to the ruins at Muara Takus, Bangkinang, and Durian Tinggi. He places Muara Takus in latitude $0^{\circ} 21' N$. The Kampar flows out south-west of Mendol Island, $0^{\circ} 30' N$, $103^{\circ} 10' E$. It may well be that the Djambi area is too narrow a definition of the kingdom of Mo-lo-yu and that the whole area from the Djambi-Kampar districts down to Palembang was part of the kingdom of Mo-lo-yu before Srivijaya took that kingdom over. We are more concerned, however, with the port known to the Tang voyagers as Mo-lo-yu: I Ching would seem to refer at times to the port and at others to the kingdom and, when he says that Mo-lo-yu has now become Che-li-fo-che or Fo-che, it is not always easy to know to which he is referring. Several scholars hold that Palembang and the country around was Mo-lo-yu before it became Che-li-fo-che and corroboration for that view can be obtained from I Ching, as we noted above.

There is a passage in the *Record* (227, pp: 142-144) in which I Ching tells us that in the Che-li-fo-che country the shadow of a dial becomes neither short nor long in the middle of the 8th moon and that at mid-day on that day a man casts no shadow. The same thing occurs in the middle of the spring. The sun passes just above the head twice in the year. When it travels in the south, the shadow falls northward, and becomes as long as 2 or 3 *ch'ih* (Chinese feet); and, when the sun is in the north, the shadow is the same at the south side.

These statements are too vague for exact calculation and we are not told what is the exact part of the Che-li-fo-che country

of which I Ching is speaking; but the general opinion is that a place in the neighbourhood of the equator is indicated. Takakusu (227, p. 143, n. 3) says that with the help of a German professor he made a calculation which gave the neighbourhood of the equator. If all this is correct, then the part of the country concerning which the facts were recorded would have been the Djambi-Kampar area and so Mo-lo-yu, where I Ching had spent two months on his way to India; Fo-che would have been too far south. However, we place no reliance upon the passage at all and merely note it for the reader's consideration.

For ourselves we locate the port of Fo-che at the mouth of the Palembang river, the port of Mo-lo-yu at the mouth either of the Djambi or of the Kampar, and the port of Chieh-ch'a at the mouth of the Merbau river. I Ching's facts appear to support this. Of the return voyage from India he says that the passage from Chieh-ch'a to Fo-che took a month. In the *Memoirs* he tells us that Wu-hing, sailing north, took 15 days from Fo-che to Mo-lo-yu and another 15 days from Mo-lo-yu to Chieh-ch'a, after which he changed direction to go to Na-ka-po-tan-na, Negapatam. Of his own voyage to India I Ching says that from Mo-lo-yu to Chieh-ch'a he changed the direction of his route. These facts are right for the identifications made and there is no need to take the two periods of 15 days as meaning equi-distance, which many writers do. In the first place, navigation by sailing craft in the Straits of Malacca is too dependent upon wind and current for any such inference to be drawn, particularly from a single voyage. In the second place, the voyage from the mouth of the Palembang river to that of the Djambi or Kampar runs up the east coast of Sumatra and there are islands off the shore. Navigation would have to be cautious and sail by night would be most unlikely. On the other hand, the voyage from the Djambi or Kampar across the Straits to the Merbau would be mainly upon the open sea and sail by night would present no difficulty. Therefore, although the actual mileage covered is much less for the first part of the voyage than the last, the time taken by Wu-hing could well have been the same for both.

Having thus placed Fo-che, Mo-lo-yu and Chieh-ch'a, where is Ho-ling to be placed?

In his list of the eleven "islands" I Ching puts Ho-ling east of Fo-che. He is, of course, not giving an itinerary from island to island but is setting them out in what he conceives to be their meridians from west to east and he says nothing of their latitudinal relation to each other. Chia Tan is more explicit since he says that Ho-ling was four or five days' sail east of Fo-che and that it was the largest of the islands: but he was not giving an itinerary to either Fo-che or Ho-ling. His Chih means literally "strait"

and so is the exact equivalent of the Malay *selat*. The Chih was the Straits of Singapore and not the Selat Tebrau³. Lo-yueh to its north was either the Malay Peninsula generally or that part of it which is now the State of Johore. His route passed through the Chih and then up the Straits of Malacca and the mentions of Lo-yueh, Fo-che and Ho-ling are merely by way of parenthesis.

Those scholars who locate Ho-ling in central Java also locate Fo-che in Palembang. They are well fortified in the latter identification: but, if Fo-che was Palembang, then upon Chia Tan's facts Ho-ling could not have been in central Java. Sitting in a study and looking at the meridians on an atlas, it is possible to say that central Java is east of Palembang, but would any Chinese voyager or mariner have said so? And would he have said that Java was the largest of the islands?

Let us take the latter statement first. I Ching is quite definite that in his time those who were accustomed to travel in merchant ships knew the approximate size of the islands; and that would be so *a fortiori* a century later in Chia Tan's time. Moreover, from 640 or 648 A.D. to 818 A.D. Ho-ling was sending envoys to China, which meant that during that period it was in trade relations with China and, accordingly, Chinese mariners and merchants would know it well. I Ching, recording the travels of Chinese pilgrims, mentions Ho-ling several times and proves that in his time it was a familiar place. In both I Ching's and Chia Tan's time the Chinese were familiar with the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. Could they then have thought that central Java, or the whole of Java, was the largest of the "islands"?

Passing to the statement that Ho-ling was four or five days' sail east of Fo-che, the first thing to notice is that the voyage must have made with such certainty and regularity that it could be stated in the general time of four to five days. The next thing is that Ho-ling was *east* of Fo-che. Chia Tan says that Fo-che was south of the Chih and Lo-yueh north of it. There he is writing in the usual loose fashion employed by the ancient Chinese. Are we then to believe that in giving the direction of Ho-ling he became pedantically accurate and thought only in terms of exact meridians? Surely, if we look only at an atlas, we can see that, if he had been speaking of Java, he would have said that it was *south* of Palembang, or perhaps *south-east*. That "south" would have been more operative in his mind than "east" becomes more clear if we look at the Admiralty Chart 941a, Eastern Archipelago, Sheet 1, and study the facts in the *Eastern Archipelago Pilot*, 1934, vol: 1.

(3) This Journal, vol: VXII, Pt: 1, pp: 20-21, 29-32, 37-50.

Ho-ling must obviously have had a main port but the scholars who locate the state in Central Java avoid saying where they think its port to have been. The south coast of Java can be ruled out entirely because the Chinese never went there during the material periods (129, p. 298). The choice of a port must, therefore, be some place along the north coast from Cheribon to Japara. The five possible roadsteads and their positions are as follows:—

Cheribon	6° 43' S.	108° 34' E.
Tegal	6° 52' S.	109° 08' E.
Pekalongan	6° 52' S.	109° 41' E.
Semarang	6° 58' S.	110° 25' E.
Japara	6° 35' S.	110° 39' E.

The natural route from the Palembang river to any of these places is through the Strait of Bangka (Banka). Srivijaya's conquest of Bangka was, doubtless, due to the necessity of securing this Strait, just as its later absorption of Kaṭāha (Chieh-ch'a) was due to the necessity of securing the Straits of Malacca. A passage from the Palembang river to the north coast of Java by sailing outside the island of Bangka can be ruled out as unnatural and as involving useless expenditure of extra time.

The Strait of Bangka is about 120 miles long and the navigation needs such care that sail by night would have been impossible. All down the east coast of Sumatra along the strait there is a mud flat extending 2 to 7 miles off shore with depths of less than 3 fathoms in the bights. Whether that flat was there in T'ang times one cannot know but it is safe to think that the ships would have kept away from the Sumatra shore and have followed the safer passage. In the Strait along that passage there are shoals and caution is necessary all the way, while at the southern exit there are islands and the Lucipara shoal. The *Eastern Archipelago Pilot*, 1939, vol: IV, p. 8., says that, while the monsoons are often fresh in the Strait, nevertheless winds above force 5 are infrequent. Earl sailed up the Strait in January, 1833, and was held up for three days by contrary winds. During that time he saw a large Chinese junk pass south with all sails set and he says "though the breeze was strong, she went slowly through the water, and might be deemed little better than an unsteady hulk" (253, p. 130).

It must, then, be very clear that sailing by night through the Strait of Bangka would have been out of the question, that the passage through it would have depended upon conditions of wind, current and navigation, and that no certain average time could have been allotted to it. Even sailing upon the full monsoon

Mills proved that an average of 6 miles per hour was all that could be allotted to a fifteenth century junk, and that in the open sea (321, pp: 43-44, 48).

But, having passed down the Strait, the ships would still have to reach the coast of Java. The southern exit from the Strait lies between Lucipara Punt on the east coast of Sumatra, 3° 14' S, 106° 04' E, and Tanjong Langgan (Langang), the southern extremity of Bangka Island, 3° 07' S, 106° 31' E, from where the ships would have had a further 3½ or more degrees to cover to the south. We do not see how the voyage from the Palembang river to any of the five roadsteads mentioned above could possibly have been considered to take a general time of four to five days; indeed, we do not believe that any Tang junk could have done it in that time at all. Mr. Mills (321, p. 43) showed that a Ming junk of the fifteenth century averaged 2.93 miles per hour to cover the 606 miles in the sheltered waters from Samudra to Pedra Branca, whereas in open water from Pedra Branca to Pulau Aur an average of 6.25 miles per hour was attained.

Yet Chia Tan's statement is prayed in aid by many of those who identify Ho-ling with central Java, though not one of them has attempted to face the facts of an actual voyage from Palembang to that part of Java. Indeed, the complete silence of scholars with regard to navigation is one of the things that strike a student most forcibly.

But, if Ho-ling had had its principal port somewhere on the west coast of Borneo, Chia Tan's facts would have fitted admirably. That, however, is a matter which no scholar has yet considered. Indeed, the importance of that coast to the ancient historical geography of Malaysia has been ignored totally by the leading authorities and is only now becoming recognized by local specialists. The reader should bear in mind some of the principal geographical facts concerning it.

The north-west part of this coast begins at Tanjong Datu 2° 05' N, 109° 39' E, runs up to Brunai, 4° 53' N, 114° 56' E, and then to the most northerly point of Borneo, Tanjong Sampanmangio, a few minutes north of 7° N. Mount Kina Balu, 13,450 feet high, rises about 29 miles eastward of Gaya Head, 6° 07' N, 116° 05' E, and, being very conspicuous, can be seen in clear weather at a great distance. Every *a priori* piece of reasoning must tell us that the Chinese must have discovered this coast as soon as they began to sail the South China Sea: and we can be certain that by the 7th century A.D. at the very latest they were fully familiar with it.

The south-west part of the coast runs from Tanjong Sambar, 3° 00' S, 110° 18' E, to Tanjong Datu. Almost exactly on the

equator is Pontianak, $0^{\circ} 01' S$, $109^{\circ} 20' E$, with a good roadstead off the mouth of the Little Kapuas River, one of the branches of the delta of the Great Kapuas. Further north is the mouth of the Great Sambas river lying between Tanjong Bila $1^{\circ} 10' N$, $108^{\circ} 35' E$, and Tanjong Kalang Bau about 3 miles north-eastward.

Between Tanjong Datu and Tanjong Sirik, $2^{\circ} 45' N$, $110^{\circ} 21' E$, there is a large and deep V-shaped indentation in the coast line and from Tanjong Datu to Tanjong Sipang, some 43 miles east-south-eastward, the coast of Sarawak recedes to form a bay, near the eastern end of which is the Santubong entrance to the Sarawak River, a prominent land-mark being Gunong Santubong, $1^{\circ} 44' N$, $110^{\circ} 20' E$. Further east and at the head of the V-shaped indentation the Batang Lupar discharges, north of which are first the mouth of the Saribas River and then that of the Rejang, which is navigable for more than 100 miles. The importance of this deep indentation to the ancient historical geography of Malaysia cannot be exaggerated since into it pour the waters of four of the most important rivers on the north-west coast, the Sarawak, the Batang Lupar, the Saribas, and the Rejang.

Now let the reader turn to the map of minerals in Borneo given by Posewitz (246) and he will see how rich this lower part of Borneo was in gold and diamonds. He will note that between the head-waters of the Kapuas and the Koetai (Kutai), which flows out on the east coast, are the head-waters of the Barito, which discharges into the Java Sea on the south coast between Tanjong Pedada Tua and Tanjong Burung, $3^{\circ} 33' S$, $114^{\circ} 31' E$. On the left bank above the mouth of the Barito is Banjarmasin, $3^{\circ} 20' S$, $114^{\circ} 35' E$; and east of the Barito the whole south-eastern district of Borneo is marked thickly by Posewitz with gold and diamond sites. If we draw a line across Borneo from the mouth of the Saribas on the west coast to the mouth of the Koetai on the east coast and look at Posewitz's map south of that line, we can see easily what attractions might have presented themselves to foreign intruders. Just as it was in the Malay Peninsula of old, so the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*⁴ says of Borneo "The rivers play a very important part both as highways and as lines along which run the main arteries of population". Foreign intruders could have made their way from west to east and down to the south, for the Kapuas, the Koetai and the Barito are navigable by craft of light draught for hundreds of miles upstream from their mouths. As early as the 5th century A.D. there was Indianisation on the Koetai river, as evidence by the *yupa* inscriptions of Mulavarman, and Professor Krom says that the antiquities in the Kapuas area can be traced on palaeographical grounds to an even earlier time. To the archaeological evidence already known must be added the Sambas antiquities to which a previous

(4) Chicago edition, vol: 3, p. 906.

part of this Journal has been devoted⁵. Mr. Grimes and I have analysed the voyage of Fa-hien and given the reasons why his Ye-po-ti must have been some entrepot on the west coast of Borneo⁶, while I have submitted that Gunavarman's Cho-po of the 5th century A.D. was probably the same as Fa-hien's Ye-po-ti, also of that century⁷.

I have also submitted the facts and the reasons why the state of P'o-li would seem to have been somewhere on the west coast of Borneo⁸. This state appears in the *Liang Shu* as having sent embassies to China in 518 and 523 A.D., in the *Sui Shu* as having sent one in 616 A.D., and in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* as having sent a last one in 630 A.D. The *Hsin T'ang Shu* gives an embassy in 669 A.D. but this apparently is not recorded in the Old History. Ma Tuan-lin (230, pp: 457-461), as translated by de Saint Denys, gives embassies in 517, 522, the period 605-616, and an embassy from the king of Po-lo in 669 A.D. This last is clearly the embassy recorded in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* because the king's name, Chan-ta-po, is the same in both cases. The reader should note that in my paper on Sambas and Borneo⁸, at p. 4, the date is misprinted as 699 A.D. The *Hsin T'ang Shu* has evidently taken P'o-li* and Po-lo to be the same places; but that is not certain. It is safer to rely upon the Old History and the other two, and to say that P'o-li's history goes from 518 to 630 A.D. Later, in Sung times, Po-ni appears and all accept that as Brunei.

Is it too much to suggest that a strong Indianized kingdom named Ho-ling supplanted P'o-li on the west coast of Borneo and controlled or ruled over the whole of that coast for two centuries? Chia Tan's facts at all events point to the port of Ho-ling having been on that coast somewhere, and do not support an identification in central Java; indeed, contradict it. The ruling house of P'o-li was called Kaundinya; all the evidence shows a great degree of Indianisation on the west coast of Borneo and across to the east; and that a strong Kalinga (Kling) kingdom should have been formed there is completely in accord with the available facts.

That Indianisation began in Java at a very early period nobody could deny but we are dealing with Chinese records and the question is when did Java first come into Chinese knowledge. As long as they sailed and traded on the monsoons north of the equator, they had no need to go to the south below the equator and it must be remembered that the normal sea-route from China to India and the West went north of the equator. Ptolemy does not seem to mention Java at all, since his Iabadiou, though giving the sound *Java*, clearly could not have been that island upon the

(5) Vol: XXII, Pt: 4.

(6) This Journal, vol: XIX, Pt: 1, pp: 76-92, and pp: 46-58.

(7) Ibid: pp: 58-59.

(8) This Journal, vol: XXII, Pt: 4, pp: 1-15.

facts which he gives⁹. Native tradition in Java, according to Campbell (255, p. 49), says that the first intercourse of the Chinese with that island occurred about 921 A.D. when a large Chinese junk was wrecked on the north coast. Thereafter the supercargo of the junk was allowed to found an establishment at Tegal. Naturally, this is not history and no attention need be paid to the date but the kernel of the tradition is worth noting and it is that the first Chinese intercourse began by reason of accident and not of intention. Quite a lot of land has been discovered in that way and there is nothing incredible in the tradition. It differs very strongly from the native tradition as to the first intercourse of Java with India which is said to have been by the deliberate intention of an intruding Indian prince: and there can be no doubt that Indians sailed the seas of Malaysia long before the Chinese and became fully 'miliar with them at a very early period.

Let us note now the facts which I Ching gives concerning Ho-ling in his *Memoirs*. They can be summarized as follows:—

(1) Ch'ang-min, intending to go by sea from Mo-lo-yu to central India, sailed to Ho-ling and from there took ship for Mo-lo-yu but was ship-wrecked and drowned;

(2) Ming-yuen sailed from Chiao-chih (Tongking), was tossed on the waves, reached Ho-ling and arrived in Ceylon;

(3) Yun-k'i went direct from Chiao-chih to Ho-ling;

(4) T'an-juen sailed from Chiao-chih but died when he reached Pu-pen, north of Ho-ling;

(5) Tao-lin went by a long course from China to the Hooghly: he passed the Columns of Copper (frontier of China and Tongking), reached Lang-chia (east coast of Malay Peninsula round Patani), passed Ho-ling and the Nicobars, and reached his destination;

(6) Fa-chen and his companions sailed from China, were tossed on the waves north of Ho-ling, passed the islands little by little, and reached Chieh-ch'a (Merbau river, Kedah).

From these facts it is quite clear that one of the ways for going by sea from China to India or Ceylon was via Ho-ling and that that place was an entrepot. Professor Nilakanta Sastri (356, p. 31) writes "Krom has pointed out that on their way from China to India people went first to Ho-ling and then Malāyu, or first to Srivijaya and then to Malāyu, but there is no instance of both Ho-ling and Srivijaya being taken on the way". Gerini (46, p. 473) writes "I-tsing mentions only once the fact of one Buddhist having

(9) See this Journal, vol: XV, Pt: 3, pp: 107-114; vol: XIX, Pt: 1, pp: 32-43.

sailed from China, first to Ho-ling, then to Mo-lo-yu, and thence to Central India. From this Chavannes rightly argues that Ho-ling was to be found before Mo-lo-yu on the sea-route from China to India, although, as shown by the itineraries of I-tsing and Wu-hing, it was not necessarily touched at when taking that journey". The first sentence of this last passage clearly refers to Ch'ang-min but is not quite accurate since it expresses as an accomplished fact what Ch'ang-min had intended to do but failed to do owing to ship-wreck. But it is quite clear that one of the sea-routes used by the pilgrims to India was via Fo-che and Mo-lo-yu, while another was via Ho-ling; and, as the latter was used on no less than six occasions, Ho-ling must have been a place of importance visited by Chinese junks regularly.

As we have said, the normal China-India sea-route went north of the equator and it seems to us that the only reason why some of the monks went two degrees below the line to Fo-che was that they were Buddhists; and, as Grousset says (346, p. 334), Fo-che "was a kind of second India where the Chinese pilgrims made a halt on the outward journey as well as on their return, in order to perfect themselves in the study of sanskrit or to translate the text brought back from the Ganges". I Ching gives good reasons in a passage quoted above for Fo-che being an important stopping-place for the pilgrims. It is possible that the Mo-lo-yu for which Ch'ang-min was making was the Palembang and not the Djambi-Kampar port; but, whichever it was, it certainly was on the east coast of Sumatra.

If one is to accept the identification of Ho-ling with Central Java, then one has to believe that monks intending to go to India or Ceylon would have used an entrepot some six and a half degrees below the equator; and such a belief in our submission would be quite irrational. How could I Ching have said that monks sailing from China to Kedah were tossed on the waves north of Ho-ling, if that place were in Java? The normal route from China to Kedah was either down the Indo-Chinese coast, across to the Malay Peninsula and up the Straits of Malacca, or down the open South China sea and up the Straits of Malacca. If the latter route was taken by Fa-chen and his companions and if Ho-ling were on the west coast of Borneo, the statement that they were tossed on the waves north of Ho-ling is rational. Again, if Ho-ling were in central Java, then how could I Ching have said that a monk, who sailed from China to the Hooghly, went down the Indo-Chinese coast across to Lang-chia on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and then passed Java and the Nicobars? But if Ho-ling were where we have suggested and if it was an important entrepot on the China-India run, the passage across to the west coast of Borneo would be natural enough, because all the ships used by the pilgrims were undoubtedly trading ships. Again, why should a monk,

who intended to go to a place on the east coast of Sumatra and thence to central India, have changed ships on the north coast of Java? And why should a monk, who sailed from Tongking to Ceylon, have reached central Java before getting to his destination? The reader must not forget that the monsoons below the equator are not the same as those above it. These monks all sailed from China on the NE monsoon, which I Ching calls "the east wind". Below the equator that monsoon turns into a NW wind, which I Ching would have called a "west wind". Similarly, the SW monsoon upon which the pilgrims sailed back to China is the SE monsoon below the equator. The reader should also remember the navigational facility in sailing between the Indo-Chinese coast or the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and Borneo, and between Borneo and the Straits of Malacca. To Java, on the other hand, there was no such facility and to get from Java into the Straits of Malacca the Strait of Bangka would have to be negotiated in a northerly direction. Changes of ship at entrepôts were commercially more economical and speedier than through sailing and it was also the custom to put in at various places for water and wood and, perhaps, provisions. If Ho-ling were a normal entrepot on the China-India run, and the evidence shows that it was, then how could it possibly have been on the north coast of Java?

It is, therefore submitted that I Ching's facts, like those of Chia Tan, contradict an identification of Ho-ling in central Java but support an identification of some place on the west coast of Borneo.

Nothing much is deducible from I Ching's statement of the eleven "islands" because the majority of the names cannot be identified at all. It is clear that the first place P'o-lu-che was somewhere in the northern part of Sumatra. By reason of the name similarity many have taken it to be Barus on the west coast but there is no certainty and it seems a little difficult to understand why the two unnamed monks, who presumably were on their way to India or Ceylon, should have taken ship to Barus and not to some place on the east or north coast of Sumatra (see *Memoirs*, ss. 8 and 9, above). Pu-pen is said to be the same as P'en-p'en and each as P'an-p'an, which was a state somewhere on the west coast of the Gulf of Siam: but here again it is sheer guess-work. Ta-ta, on the similarity of name and the Chinese characters, is said to be Tan-tan on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula but this identification is supported by no facts. If Po-li is the same as P'o-li, then the latter was east of Ho-ling; but it is an isolated mention and Ma Tuan-lin gives two places under the name Po-li, one of which is that which we write as P'o-li.

When analysed, it will be found that the accepted opinion that Ho-ling was a state in central Java depends in reality upon

two things (1) the statement in the New T'ang History that Ho-ling was also called Cho-p'o and (2) the belief that Cho-p'o was the present island of Java. Neither stands upon any firm basis.

I Ching does not mention Cho-p'o at all and the Old T'ang History, which gives an embassy to China from Cho-p'o in 820 A.D. (129, pp: 287-288), does not say that Ho-ling was also called Cho-p'o. The statement is a pure gloss by the compilers of the New History, like their statement that P'o-li was also called Ma-li. Moreover, the New History tells us that Ho-ling "produces tortoise-shell, gold and silver, rhinoceros horns and ivory" (148, p. 139). That obviously rules out Java completely and consequently is either ignored by the Java proponents or avoided by saying that it only refers to articles traded in Ho-ling and not to its actual products. But these products of Ho-ling would fit Borneo. Again, the New History itself destroys any identification in Java by reason of a gnomon reading which it records. We translate from Pelliot (129, p. 293), substituting the Chinese expressions for his "feet" and "inches", as follows:— "If in the summer solstice one erects a gnomon of 8 *ch'ih*, the shadow to the south of the gnomon has a length of 2 *ch'ih* 4 *ts'un*". It is not stated in what part of Ho-ling the reading was taken or in what year. Gnomons were very unreliable and the Chinese *ch'ih* has varied in length at different periods. However, people have endeavoured to work this reading out mathematically, e.g. Takakusu (227, p. XLVII) 6° 8' N., Gerini (46, pp: 479-480) 6° 29' N. Barth (129, p. 293, n. 4.) 6° 18' N. But all appear to calculate with English feet and inches, which in the case of Gerini is strange, because he altered his calculation of another gnomon reading, reducing it from 5° 50' N to about 5° N, because of the difference between a foot and a *ch'ih* (46, pp: 482 and 815). It seems clear that, unless one knew the length of a *ch'ih* at the date of the reading a calculation could not be exact; and we do not even know that date. The most, therefore, that can be said is that, if the New History is to be accepted, the state of Ho-ling must have included a place several degrees north of the equator and an identification in Java is, therefore, exploded. But the proponents of the Java theory generally ignore the reading altogether. Barth provided the very simple solution of changing the solstice from summer to winter and the shadow from south to north in order to get Java! And Pelliot endeavoured to support him (129, p. 294) : but nobody else has followed them and that sort of argument will not do.

Therefore, it is submitted that the New History does not, in point of fact, support the identification at all.

So far as Cho-p'o is concerned, there is a well-known chain of ancient toponyms, each of which contains the sound *Yara*, *Jara*

or *Jaba*, and amongst which are the Chinese Tchou-po (Chu-po), Tou-po (Tu-po), Ye-po-ti, and Cho-p'o or Cho-po. The facts concerning all these names up to the 5th century A.D. were collected in the *Introduction*¹⁰ and the inferences to be drawn from the facts were submitted to the reader's judgment. It appeared to us that none of the countries was Java. Pelliot in 1904 (129) concluded that all the names did represent that island but others disputed his conclusions and particularly with regard to Cho-p'o. The result was that in 1925 (146, pp: 248, 250) he equated Cho-p'o with "Java-Sumatra" and thus broke his previous chain of reasoning.

In his recent history (272, pp: 92-93) Professor Coedès, in speaking of the refusal of some scholars to accept Yavadvīpa and Iabadiou as the present island of Java, says "But is there a sufficient reason to discard Java and to refer systematically all the evidence concerning the countries called Java, Yāva (dvīpa), Y'e-p'o-t'i, Chō-p'o not only to Sumatra, but also sometimes to Borneo or even the Malay Peninsula?" We would answer that question in the affirmative, firstly, because it is our scientific duty to do so, if the facts require it, and, secondly, because "Java" clearly was a name which applied to more than one country and which for centuries was used in a general and not a particular way. Indeed, in the last part of these *Notes* in connection with Candrabhānu, king of the Javakas, we cited Professor Coedès himself for the wide use of the name Java. We think that Gerini (46, pp: 462-463) was substantially correct when he wrote that it is a mistake "to localize the term *Java* or *Jaba*, with its variant *Sava* or *Saba*, to the present island of Java alone, since it was the common designation for the whole archipelago, or, at any rate, for those portions of it that had been settled by the *Javana* or *Yavana* race, besides being the name of several regions on the Indo-Chinese mainland. It is only by keeping this fact well in mind that we can understand how, up to the periods of Marco Polo's, Ibn Baṭūṭa's and Nicolò Conti's travels, not so much the present island of Java itself, but more particularly those of Sumatra and Borneo and parts of the Malay Peninsula, were known by the common term Java".

After discussing the name Yavadvīpa, Campbell (255, pp: 18-19) writes "*Javana* or *Savana*, or abridged *Java*, was also the name given not only to Sumatra, but also to portions of Borneo and of the Malay Peninsula (probably Pahang) besides the whole of Indo-China. One of the ancient names of *Luanq P'hrak Bang* was in fact *Java*, or *Chawa*, which name, according to Colonel Gerini, the *Lau* found on their arrival there, and which they pronounce *Sava*. The term *Java* has, however, all over the archipelago and Indo-China, never been viewed in the light of a place-name proper, but it is understood as a racial name; and even when used in a topographical sense it invariably means the country of

(10) This Journal, vol: XIX, Pt: 1, pp: 28-74.

Java or Javan race. Far from the range of this term being confined to Java, it would seem that chronologically about the latest place and geographically the furthest limit to which it extended was Java itself". And he concluded by saying that the name Java was a foreign importation and that it arose from the barley grown in the island was a myth. No barley, of course, has ever grown in Java.

It is, to us at all events, clear that, whenever we get any form of the name Java in any language, we must examine the facts and the context to ascertain exactly what place is meant. An argument whether Cho-p'o was in Java or Borneo or Sumatra seems to us to be like an argument whether Boston is in Lincolnshire or Massachusetts or Alabama. It all depends.

It is submitted, accordingly, that, even if the statement in the New History that Ho-ling was also called Cho-p'o can be accepted, it is not proof that Ho-ling was in Java.

The Old History gives us these geographical facts, which are repeated in the New History:—"The kingdom of Ho-ling is on an island in the south seas; to the east it borders on P'o-li, to the west T'o-p'o-teng; to the south, it borders the sea; to the north it is Chen-la".

I Ching, as we have seen, put P'o-li to the east of Ho-ling in his list of the "islands". P'o-li is said to be phonetically the same as Po-ni, which is agreed to be the Chinese transcription of Brunei. It is, therefore, a possibility that the old P'o-li represented more or less the same area as the Sung Po-ni and so the Brunei area. If Ho-ling did include the previous P'o-li and so the Brunei area, then the gnomon reading in the New History would not be so very far out, if we use it in a general manner. T'o-p'o-teng is a complete mystery abandoned by everybody. But when we are informed that to the north of Ho-ling is Chen-la we are on good ground because the situation of Chen-la is known with certainty as southern Cambodia including the present Cochin-China. Which is the more likely, that the Chinese would have said that Cochin-China was north of Java or that it was north of the west coast of Borneo? And, if (as Pelliot is quite certain) the Chinese had never visited the south coast of Java by T'ang times, then how could they have known that the south of Java bordered the sea? They could well have said that of Borneo, with which they must have been very familiar.

It would be wearisome to take the reader through the rest of the matters which have been considered in connection with Ho-ling, since they are highly argumentative and speculative and since so many of the names cannot be identified. It is, moreover, unnecessary to do so, if the foundation upon which the identification of

Ho-ling with Java is destroyed. If the first-hand evidence does not support it but contradicts it, no amount of secondary evidence will help; and we have discussed the available first-hand evidence. It is, however, very clear that far more research is necessary and that many more translations will have to be supplied. In truth, nobody so far has added anything of real value to what was collected by Pelliot in his *Deux Itinéraires* (129), though the question of Ho-ling has cried out for more elucidation and nearly all Pelliot's references are untranslated.

This paper concludes this series of *Notes*, in which our main purpose has been to protest against the facile repetition of insufficiently investigated identifications, and to ask from sinologists far more help than they have yet given in the construction of the ancient historical geography of Malaysia.

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**Notes on the Historical Geography of
Malaya
and
Sidelights on the Malay Annals**

by
Dato F.W. Douglas

F.W.D. 13/1/0

1870

1. *Staphylinus* *Staphylinus*

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MALAY
PENINSULA

Notes on the
Historical Geography of Malaya and Sidelights
on the Malay Annals

By F.W. DOUGLAS

Foreword

The substance of my notes on Ptolemaic geography in this Malayan region is based on Sir R. Braddells articles "Study of ancient times in Malaya" appearing in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Malayan Branch and those on the names in the Wu Pei Chi charts are based on Mr. J. V. Mills' articles in the same journal. I owe my thanks to Mr. Adkins M. C. S for the transcriptions of Chinese names in the three different dialects.

It seems to me to be definite that most of the Ptolemaic names are greek transcriptions of Indian names deriving from some form of hindustani prakrit used by sailors and some of the chinese names have a similar origin.

Generally one may assume that the Indian overlords during the first millenium A D imposed the Buddhist religion and their language as the official language in much the same way as we English have done particularly in legal matters.

Mills' statements that most of the Chinese names at any rate to the end of the Sung period are in Amoy dialect is further borne out.

Mr. Pelton's opinions on coastal changes are supported by the older maps.

In sidelights on the traditions of the Malay Annals I adopt the view which Marsden originally put forward, namely that they derive from western India Gujerat and not from the Tamil south.

It seems to me that there are reasonable grounds for believing that the Malay, Orang the man, being an islander was able to sail the eastern seas long ages before the peoples of the mainland and by such contacts achieved a higher state of civilisation: he took the products of this area Gold, Incense, spices and the Malayan Jungle fowl with him, and then the peoples of other countries came here.

F.W.D. 15.1.1949

Braddell starts his Study of ancient times in Malaya with an examination of Book VII of Ptolemy's Geographika written about 160AD. The Arabs translated this work in the 10th century on the orders of Harounalrashid. The earliest Manuscript in existence is dated about 1000AD and the earliest map as late as 1400AD so it is probable that both contain emendations. If we attempt to identify place names in the Malayan region the first to be considered is his Aurea Chersonesus, the Golden chersonese. This is his name for the Malay Peninsula and he thereby helps to identify the same name used by Flavius Josephus who wrote in his History of the Ancient Hebrews a century earlier "the command of Solomon to his pilots that they should go along with his stewards to the land which was of old called Ophir but now the Golden Chersonese, which belongs to India to fetch gold" Modern writers scoff at this name being applied to Malaya as so little gold is obtained, but the gold of Pahang and Kelantan is alluvial gold and mining men consider that nearly all has been worked out; if this is the land of Ophir then it has been worked for nearly 3000 years. Ophir is a Persian word now pronounced Wufir meaning abundance or plenty and there must be few parts of the world where nature repays the labour of man so abundantly.

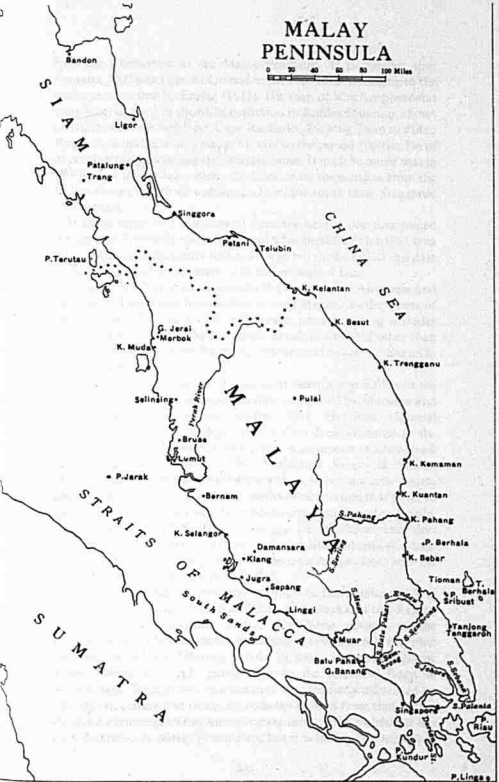
The Bible constantly refers to the purity of the gold of Ophir: I received the following figures from Mr. Pentsiller manager of Raub mine in Pahang who died in Singapore interment camp as a result of illtreatment by Japanese.

The alluvial gold of Pahang is rated at 975 fine sometimes called guinea gold and is of a rich dark red colour. Much of the gold from his own mine at Raub was in stringers and of the same fineness but his average was just below .950. Gold from this mine was being sold at 3% premium in Australia in 1883. Kelantan Gold is not as fine as that from Pahang: Gold from Aceh and the Minangkabau area in Sumatra is equally as fine as that from Pahang. Gold from Borneo averages .700 to .800. Gold from South Africa is rated at .900 to .920. Mr. Pentsiller was unable to give me any figures for Mindanao but Arabs compare the gold from the Wak-wak country appearing on their maps of 11th 12th centuries near Sofala & so probably from Zimbabwe as being very inferior to that from another Wak-wak country which Moens has located in the Philipines. Tome Pires in his Suma Oriental of 1515 mentions the excellence of the Gold from Indochina but then mentions that the best was brought there from Minangkabau and one gets the impression that it had been minted.

It would seem that the gold of Pahang and Sumatra alone agree with the Bible tradition of the purity of the gold of Ophir Josephus locates Ophir in the Golden Chersonese and Ptolemy a century later

MALAY PENINSULA

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MALAYA
PENINSULA



fixes the Chersonese at the Malay Peninsula. It is possible that Sumatra 3000 years ago was joined to the Peninsula according to the tradition recorded by Eredia (1615). His map of which a photostat copy is serial no. 3 in the Mills collection in Raffles Museum, shows an isthmus connecting from Cape Rachado, Tanjong Tuan to Pulau Rupert in Sumatra, and is meant to refer to the period 1000bc. He of course is merely recording the local tradition. It must be noted that in this part of the Malacca Strait the tides, from the north ie from the Indian Ocean and those coming up from the south thro' Singapore Strait, meet.

Wallace states that Borneo and Sumatra were at one time joined through the Peninsula and he mentions a Javanese tradition that Java was joined to Sumatra only 1000 years ago but tho he rejects this date as being impossible he agrees with the geological fact.

In the Kebra Nagat which records the traditions of Abyssinia and the decent of the Kings from Solomon's son Menelik by the Queen of Saba (Sheba) there is a tale of Solomon commissioning a trader Tamrin to fetch Red Gold and Black wood. Is any gold other than that from Pahang known for its red colour? and its purity? Sheba in Persian means gold.

There is however a link with very early Semitic civilisation in the Rejang script recorded on bamboo slips mentioned by Marsden and now in the India Office library. Park Harrison (Journal Anthropological Institute April 1875 vol iv) drew attention to the resemblance with Phoenician characters. Lacouperie criticised and rejected this view. But in 1896 Professors Sayers & Renou (Archeologica Oxoniensis pt vi) declare them to be "not only clearly phoenisian in form but presenting marks of adaptation that point to Greek influence such as might have been exerted on Tyrian epigraphy during the course of Nearchus's voyage. Dr. Neubauer considers "the shape of the letters to be those of the 5th/4th centuries bc which would synchronise closely with the destruction of Tyre and the deportation of Tyrian sailors to India".

Braddell has kindly drawn my attention to the opinion of R C Majumdar (a very high Indian authority) who says that this Rejang script has a Javan-Hindu origin. The latest edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica printed in Chicago has apparently accepted this view as follows—"Rejang; a tribe of proto-malayan origin or mixed Indonesian stock, partly akin to the Achinese Bugis & Mangkasars. Though now moslem they were formerly influenced by Indo-Javan culture and retain an alphabet derived from that source speaking a language of the Austro-nesian family. Their alphabet has been described as purely phoenician, but it is intimately related to

others derived from Indo-Javan culture"—They are a turbulent race & work the gold mines: in this being a prototype of all alluvial gold miners. Braddell thinks that this has exploded the opinions of Professors Sayers, Renou and Neubauer recorded above. I would prefer to say it is an alternative view. Indian scholars have a natural tendency to trace all early Malay culture to early Hindu immigrants. In the area of Central India comprising Orissa, Bihar, Bundelkand as far west as Allahabad, the sacred junction of the Jumna and the Ganges, there are still traces of the Munda-Mali race which gave a predravidian civilisation to India. Gaya where the Lord Buddha received enlightenment lies in this area. The Liang annals 502-556 say that the people of Poli claimed to come from the land of Buddha. There must have been an earlier migration from the southeast by land and sea, leading to intercourse and higher civilisation.

These islanders had gold silver spices and incense in abundance all articles which the ancient world valued highly. They had abundance of food. All this would create a high standard of civilisation. They could move by sea and so would more quickly contact other races than migration by land.

Brahmi script used by Asoka is acknowledged to be derived from Sabeen. One must however mention the Rejang an astrological term used by Javanese as a means of divining lucky days and described by Skeat in his Malay magic. In one respect these resemble the Hindu Nakshatras as the first Rejang is always a horse but none of the other Malay names agree with the Hindu names. Skeat quotes Newbould as saying that the Malays probably got the system from the Hindus and not from the arabic Awana system. Hewitt in his primitive traditional history associates the worship of the horse with very remote cultures in India when the Pleiades gave the date for the new year and the year was divided into 72 weeks of five days. In Java the five day week still survives.

In the Rejang country there are slab graves very similar to the peninsula type I first suggested that the builders of the Slab graves in western Malaya might possibly be Indians because the beads found therein were stated to be similar to those found at Selinsing which had been accepted as Indian; but now Q. Wales says they are local Indonesian work. If so then the whole slab grave culture may be Malay. The granite slabs at Slim and Changkat Mentri certainly were obtained from the Bil river which joins the Slim opposite the slab grave site. About two miles south of Slim village where the Bil crosses the main trunk road one can see in the river huge boulders from which slabs have been flaked off. Who knows perhaps some knocked off two thousand years ago by these experts in stone.

There remain the iron socketted tools. So far the iron has not been tested to see whether it is local. It would seem possible that it is some special iron as the makers of Kris Majapahit apparently endeavoured to get these old tools, to work up. This form of Kris had magic properties.

But they must be the work of local Malay blacksmiths as nowhere else have similar tools been recorded yet. The Encyclopedia Britannica says that the distribution of tribes in the malayan region 150BC was very much the same as today and that they already knew the art of smelting iron.

Hewitt in his Primitive Traditional History writes about the aboriginal races of Bihar Orissa and western Bengal. He was Commissioner of Chota Nagpur and his knowledge of these peoples traditions and customs is clearly reliable.

There is a tribe "named the Oraons sons of the Malay orang meaning man". Their village accountant is the Mahto (? the title of the Bugis Chief of Luwu the Matua). Their priest was the Pahan (the Malay Pawang?). They mixed with a northern Turanian race and the descendants became the ruling race of Chota Nagpur".

He then expands his views but here perhaps treads on controversial matters "There was a prevedic migration to the Persian Gulf and story of their arrival in the Euphratean Delta is told in the legends and institutions of the Sumero-Akkadians — the first civilisers of the country were the people led by the god Ia-khan or Ia the fish (? Malay ikan) — these people with whom the eastern Munda or Malay sun worshippers were intermingled settled as the race known as Sumerians on the coast of the Euphratean Delta and of the Persian Gulf and south eastern shores of Arabia — The modern representatives are the Sabaeen Mandaites — they are now artisans and traders in Mesopotamia, but the Sabaeen race to which they belong were once the Rulers of southern Arabia called Saba". Such a view makes one feel that CN Maxwell was right in his claim that one finds the root of many sanskrit words in malay which he claims to be one of the oldest languages. It was a thousand pities that the Mss of his unpublished book was lost when Singapore fell.

The authors of the History of the Orient (American and Phillipino professors) are most emphatic that the people of Ancient Saba were trading in the Far east long prior to the Xtian era.

Johnstone in his study of the Oceans writes "The Arabs systematised the trade between China & the west in the 3rd century B C and trade with Ceylon in 2nd century B C was wholly in their hands."

In the Tufat al nafis written by Raja Ali Haji in 1860, he records the

tradition that the Rulers (Bugis) of ancient Luwu in the bay of Boni in Celebes claim descent from the Queen of Saba perhaps a transfer of the Abyssinian tradition. These Luwu rulers were certainly immigrants, as yearly they would repair to Pamono where there were stone altars on which they laid offerings of gold dust parched rice beads etc in payment, to the aboriginal Toraja tribes, whom they had driven into the hills, for the land which the Bugis occupied on the coast. The royal family of Selangor are descendants of these Luwu rulers.

Ptolemaic names on the Malay Peninsula.

Braddell in vol. XIV JRASMB bases his comments on Renou's book. A place named Sabana appears at the southern tip of the peninsula. Ungku Aziz of Johor in a note printed by Braddell at the end of his chapter points out that there is a small river and hill of this name in Johor opposite Pulau Tekong Besar in Johor strait. Flinders Petrie comparing names appearing in the Amarna letters of 1400BC, with modern names in Palestine and Syria says "When we see names-lasting with no change — or only small variation in the vowels it needs no further proof that ancient names may be safely sought in the modern map. "The mouth of this Sabana river lies in latitude 1.25"N, whereas the Ptolemaic Sabana is placed 3.S. But even Cotinho in his map of 1540, places Malaka 14"S. instead of the correct 2.13"N.

If we accept this Sabana as a survival of the ancient Ptolemaic name & use the distances of latitude quoted from Renou by Braddell and the Ptolemaic degree of 500 Stadia we get results which connect many names with places which we know have a story of ancient occupation by man and so a possible identification of his positions:

Ptolemy West Coast	Ptolemaic by Renou	Corrected	Modern Place names	latitude
Sabana	3 S	1.25N	Sabana river & hill	1.25
Palandas river	2's	2°15'N	Muar river	2 05
			Linggi river	2 20
Palanda town	1 S	2.45N	Jugra	2.50
			Klang	3.02
Khrysoanas river	1°N	4.45N	Mouth of Bruas & Jeram	c.4.35
			Mas rivers	
Tharra	1.20N	5.05N	Krian swamp area	c.5. N
			Selensing	

Ptolemy West Coast	Ptolemaic by Renou	Corrected	Modern Place names	latitude
Kokonagara	2. N	5.35N	Mouths of the Muda & Merbok rivers	5.35
Promontory	2.20N	5.50N	Kedah peak	5.50
Takola	4.35N	7.20N	Trang	7.20
Promontory	4.30	7.45N	Southern tip of Pulau Salang	7.45
East Coast				
Cape Maleikolon	2. S	2.15N	Tanjong Tengarok	2.15
Attabas river	1 S	3.05N	Bebar river	3.05
			Pahang river	3.30
Kole	equator	3.55N	Kuantan river	3.48
			Kemaman river	4.13
Kalongka	1°20N	5.05N	Pulai area Kelantan	4.50
Perimula	2°20N	5.55N	Besut or Great Redang Island	5.50
Perimulikos Gulf	4°15N	7.20N	Singgora at entrance to inland sea Tale Sap	7.13

Palandas River. The choice lies between the Muar and Linggi rivers. Up the Linggi river near Alor Gajah there are stone alignments and at the mouth some menhir which are believed to have been brought down from Alor Gajah area. This is definite proof of ancient occupation by man whereas there is no such evidence on the Muar. In addition there was a tribe of aborigines named Belandas who may have either given their name to or been named from the river.

Palanda town. Either Jugra or Klang. Jugra is marked on Portuguese maps as an island and also on the Wu Pei Chi charts which are dated around the beginning of the 15th or end of 14th century & also on Jeffery's map of c 1790. the hill stands up from the surrounding flats and is the leading mark for ships sailing down the coast to avoid the dangers of South Sands. In Ms 18 of the Malay Annals (romanised) the name appears as Jongkra. Possibly this should be Jongkar meaning outstanding prominent in Malay. There are many legends about the hill, of a were tiger which carried the fairy Princess of Gunong Ledang to Jugra for safety when Malaka was conquered by the Portuguese.

In a Malay poem written about 1850 addressed to Raja (later Sultan) Abdul Samad describing his voyage from Malaka to Klang, the Malay sailors on passing the hill asked the Dato' for a favourable wind. This might be the origin of the name Parcellar appearing on Portuguese maps. Par great & Salar chief in both hindustani & Persian. The burden of the poem is a proposal that the Rawa Malays then working the gold in Ulu Pahang should bring it down the Langat

valley where the Raja lived instead of to Malaka. These would seem to be comparatively recent traditions.

At Klang however have been found the iron socketted tools and a bronze bell a proof of ancient occupation by man. Gold has been worked in the Klang valley and is still being found at Petaling. C N Maxwell suggests that the name derives from Landa melanda to pan for gold, or tin ore. Ten miles east of Klang the Damansara river joins it. Daman in hindustani means the foothills, a very correct description of the area. Sara in sanskrit means water, & in hindustani a mansion or wealth.

There has been an ancient kampong here with a tale of an old couple whose son went off to seek his fortune and returned in his own ship but when he saw his old mother still living as an aboriginal without clothes he was ashamed and denied his relationship tho' his mother recognised him. She then cursed him & he and his ship were turned into stone. This is a common tradition along the west coast and probably records the arrival of strangers who later faded out owing to malaria. At the source of the river is the stream Palampas which bears a faint resemblance to Palandas.

In my location of Ptolemaic sites I placed Palanda town at Klang. pelandas in Malay means an anvil and tho' no proof of any smelting has been found yet it cannot be discarded entirely, the whole of the top of the hill at Bukit Jati shewed signs of charcoal.

Khrysoanas river The latitude fixes it at the Bruas River & the Jarum Mas now a tidal estuary. All maps shew the Bruas as a mouth of the Perak river down to Rennels map as late as the end of the 18th century and this confirms the Perak tradition that the rice fields of Bruas were formerly a harbour. the name may derive from Kherna to flow and sonasa golden from the peaty colour of the water and doubtless connected with it being one route leading up to the gold mines at Bidor and Ulu Pahang. The 5th century Fu nan Chi mentions the Chin Lin meaning torrent of Gold. Does this connect with the name Jarum Mas. Jarum meaning a needle & Jeram meaning a torrent are written the same in Jawi. Jeram Mas the torrent of gold, and the Khrysoanas the golden river.

Tharra. The position agrees with the Krian swamp area and so may derive from Tarai a swamp in hindustani. At Selinsing we have the remains of 4th/5th century settlement but this does not preclude an earlier foundation in the neighbour-hood.

Braddell says there are many positions given for Tharra. Malaya is a land of swamps & so the name would be applied to different sites.

Kokko Nagara or Konko Nagara. The former might be the Malay Kukoh Negri, the strong or fortified city and the latter Gangga Negri

the wonderful or fabulous city. The position is about the Merbok or Muda rivers in Kedah. The Kedah annals fix the Malay Langkasuka here. The point at the merbok is Tanjong Dawei the cape of the gods and up the Merbok Q Wales has excavated Buddhist and saivite shrines but all dated later than the 4th century AD. Both the Chinese annals & the Mohit locate Langkasuka at Patani on the east coast but close to the Merbok river in Kedah we have the Sungei Patani thus connecting the name with both coasts. Patan means a mart and we know that there was a cross peninsula trade where goods from the east would be exchanged for those from India between the periods of the N E and S W monsoons. So we must visualise a state controlling both coasts.

Promontory. The latitude agrees with Kedah Peak, Gunong Jerai. The Kedai annals record the tradition that when the legendary founder of the State came from Gumrun in Persia, Kedah Peak was pointed out to him "as just being joined to the mainland" & other islands as having become hills,—due to the rise of land. Gambrun is marked on maps of the 18th century on the mainland of Persia behind the island of Ormuz at the entrance to the Persian Gulf. But Yule in his edition of Marco Polo names it Jerun. Perhaps Gurun a village at the eastern end of Kedah Peak may derive from this name. The Malay letter jim is pronounced as a hard 'G' in Egyptian Arabic.

Takola. Trang now some miles inland but the present coast is mangrove mud and so recent. There is a well known track, dividing half way across the peninsula one leading to Ligor the other to Patalung. Also it is possible to travel up the Trang river and then with a short portage to descend the Girirat river to Bandon. The name Trang may derive from Taran in Hindustani meaning a crossing. Tom Pires actually writes Teram.

Promontory. The latitude agrees with the southern tip of Pulau Salang, named in English maps Junk Selung, evidently a corruption of the Malay Ujong Salang but the cape so named on the island is at the NW corner not the southern tip.

Up the east coast of the Peninsula.

Cape Maleoukolon. Braddell also records Maleu Kolon & Malaiokolon. One would imagine this to be a name recording a Malay colony. The latitude agrees with Tanjong Tenggarok which is a definite mark requiring a lighthouse today. There is a shallow bay sheltered from the N E monsoon by the cape and also by the islands Pulau Tinggi & Sibu to the east. On lake & Kelsall's map in JRAS (SB) 1894 the legend Berhala Kling or Indian Idol appears just north of the cape. This name Berhala appears also for the cape at the southern end of Tioman and for the small island north of it.

Sribuat island may be a corruption of Sri Bhut hindustani meaning Illustrious Idol. Pulau Aur lying further east is named by the Chinese the islands of India. The existence of shrines postulates a civilisation. The Berhala Kling north of Tenggaraok may be the extraordinary rock rising straight out of the sea which might well be accepted by Hindus as a huge phallic symbol of Siva.

Attabas River. This must be the Pahang river but the position is 30 miles south of the present mouth where the present Bebar river enters the sea. The whole coast from Rompin to Kuantan for some depth inland is swamp with old beaches. One source of the Bebar is only some five miles from the Pahang river. The name must derive from the sanskrit At-apas meaning great waters a reference to the tremendous floods which occur at intervals. At Pekan which is only some 8 miles from the sea there has been a rise of 20 ft. with the river nearly two miles wide. At Temerloh about 100 miles up stream the rise has been over 100 ft. so the name is well deserved. Both the Ptolemaic maps reproduced by Braddell give a decided twist South for the lower reaches of the river.

Kole. either the Kuantan or Kemaman rivers provide the harbours safe from the NE monsoon which a town would require. Kol in hindustani means harbour.

Kalongka. an inland town might be the gold mining area of Kelantan. C. Maxwell derives this name from the Malay kalong meaning shallow alluvial workings the position is only a few miles north of Pulau where Chinese were working gold some 500 years ago. The name might be the origin of the Klang Kiu appearing in the Malay annals.

Perimula and Perimulikos gulf One has to consider these two names together on account of their resemblance. Perimula lies in the latitude of Besut & the great Redang island. Perimulikos gulf agrees with Singgora at the entrance to the Tale Sap or inland sea.

If Perimula was an island it is possible to find a simple meaning for the name. At the Great Redang island one has to veer NW going up the coast. The Malay would be Perai Mola to commence to tack. Mills has identified the Chinese island Kak oan in the Wu Pei Chi charts as Great Redang. It means Corner round island. In hindustani one would get the same meaning with Pher Mula turning corner.

This derivation however cannot be fitted to the name of the Gulf such as the present day inland sea must have been formerly. Even within recent years the waterway from Ligor has been closed also the opening at the northern end of Tantalum island, Ligor which was on the sea is now 8 miles inland.

The Wu Pei Chi charts which Phillips says were certainly compiled from local maps may provide the origin of these names. Between Kelantan and Patani appear two legends "produces Chiang Perfume".

Perimal in hindustani means perfume and Khush applied to perfume means fragrant, sweet smelling.

The earliest copy of a Ptolemaic map we have is dated 1400AD about the same date as the Chinese charts, so it is quite probable that the latter are based on Ptolemaic information.

Incense was required by the earliest Egyptian religious ceremonies & in India and no doubt was used by the earliest Malays.

Malaya produces four kinds.

Gaharu from Aquilaria which I deal with under Iabadiou.

Benzoin from Styrax. The gum benjamin of Europe. The Kemenian of the Malays also named Kemeyan. In northern Siam as Kumyan, in Laos as Kamnhan, as Burkhill lists the names. He considers they all derive from the Malay. The Arabs named it Luban Jawi. Luban being their name for frankincense obtained chiefly from Yemen and Somali land and Jawi means Malay. Burkhill is unable to suggest a date for the beginning of the trade. Crawford suggested that it is the malabathrum of the ancients: Arabs valued imported Benzoin at a hundred times that of their local product. Malays use it in their rice reaping ceremonies as well as a medicine.

Laka wood obtained from *Dalbergia parviflora* a large climbing liane, the heart wood of the stem near the ground is scented. Formerly this was cut into billets and buried in wet ground till the sapwood had rotted. The heart wood had the appearance of congealed blood and was one of the sources of the Chinese Dragons Blood about which they had many fanciful tales in order to enhance its value. This is the perfume which the Chinese names in the Wupeichi charts shew as being produced in the Patani area.

Dragons Blood from Rotan Jernang. *Daemonorhops*. The fruit when ripe is shaken in a basket with cockle shells, causing the resin to fall off and when heated gives off benzoic acid. The Chinese name for Dragons Blood is Hiet Kiet which means blood born as fruit so although they said it was the congealed blood of dragons or that of victims of justice (I was told the tale that it came from the execution grounds in China ten years ago by a Chinese pharmacy in Klang) they knew that it was from the fruit of a plant. Pliny mentions the name dragons blood. The arabs named a similar product from *Dracaena dumm* (blood) al akhawein (of dragons).

In arriving at the above identifications I have given the fullest value to the Ptolemaic latitudes quoted by Braddell from Renou but of

course bringing Sabana and the whole of the Peninsula up north of the equator. Accepting the name of the small Johore river as a survival of the Ptolemaic name it is surprising how closely the positions agree with places which have a long history on the peninsula.

There are three names which must be considered, as raising a doubt. At the head of the Pak Chan the fiord of the Kra Isthmus there is a village named Tak Lee. Can this be Takola?

Up the Sabana river is a small stream and village bearing the name Palanta, so very close to Palanda. But Ptolemy's town Palanda is 30 minutes north of his river Palandas.

Why did the Portugese name Kundur island Sabon. Was it a relic of Sabana? I accept his Sabana as being on the peninsula.

There are three groups of islands west south and east of the peninsula. All have to be pulled round east and north in order to fit facts.

The Barrousaë. Barus is the name of the port on the west coast of Sumatra which has given its name to Sumatran camphor. Dryobalanops Aromatica. Burkhill says that Moses prescribed the use of camphor in the ritual of the tabernacle but that the arabs first brought commercial camphor as a medicine towards the mediterranean about the time of Christ, and that it was this camphor which was known in India in sanskritic times. It is much more valuable than camphor from Blumea (also a Malay plant called Chapa or Sembong) or that from Cinnamomum camphora obtained from Japan, Mideast China, Formosa, and Tonkin.

It seems reasonable to accept Barrousaë as the people of Barus Sumatra.

Sindae. The people of Sunda i e western Java. The Sindon of the Arabs Moens points out that Java was considered to be two islands divided by the Rawah Besar whereby a small boat could be taken at high water across the island from Jawana on the north coast.

Sabadibae. The islands of Saba and Sabah is still the name for northeastern Borneo. Sabah in Hindustani means daybreak, dawn. There can be few more wonderful experiences than to be lying out in a small boat between Labuan and Brunei Bay in the early dawn. Suddenly the light of day appears on the mountains of Brunei but one is still lying in the dark of the shadow of Mount Kinabalu rising 13000 feet sheer out of the plain 150 miles away in North Borneo. Then the shadow races towards one from the west and in a few seconds the sun has topped the mountain and the shadow races away to the east. This might be the origin of the name Sabah in north Borneo the island of the dawn.

The alternative would be from Saba meaning the east wind i.e. the N E monsoon.

Iabadiou. Gerini quotes the greek of Ptolemy as reading "Iabadiou or Sabadios which signifies the island of Barley". Clearly there must have been some interpolation since Yavadiu could have such a meaning yet Sabadios cannot possibly do so. Yava in Sanskrit means barley written YV with both vowels short. The name raises a difficulty as there is no barley anywhere in the malayan region, so Wilkinson offered the explanation that millet is meant and says that Jawawut is a Javanese name for a millet. But Jawa is hindustani for barley. Would it not be simpler to argue that Indians met the local name Jawa and transcribed it in Sanskrit as their Yava? Yule writes "the terms Jawa Jawi were applied by the Arabs to the islands and products of the Archipelago generally; Sumatra is named Jawa by Abulfida and Ibn Batuta. Jawa & Dawa are still applied by the Batak and Nias to Malays whilst the Singalese named them Javaka. In Siamese the Malay language is Chawa".

Further confusion has arisen from the name in the Bombay recension of the Ramayana of an island. It is usual to say this is Yavadvipa but Wilkinson says the actual word is Yvadiu which he says is a prakrit form of Yavadvipa, so it is clearly inaccurate to say the Ramayana mentions Yavadvipa as the name we have to correlate is Yvadiu and that is certainly close to Iabadiou. In the Calcutta recension the name is Jaladvipa which might mean the burning island, a volcanic island, and might apply to many in the archipelago. In the Puranas the name appears as Yamadvipa which drew from Nilakanta Sastri a footnote in his translation "this must surely be meant for Yavadvipa". As Braddell remarks, once an idea becomes implanted in the minds of learned, men it is very hard to dislodge. Gerini says that the name Yavadvipa does not appear in Indian literature until the 11th century.

This island, Ptolemy says, had many gold mines and at its western extremity was a city named Argyre.

Mindanao lies east of Borneo (Sabadibae above) and gold is still being worked there. Pigafetta recorded the great wealth of gold owned by the chiefs who eat off gold plates and had plaques of the precious metal hanging on their walls. At the western end lies the city of Zamboanga. In Jeffrys map 1768 this name is given its Malay form Sambo-agan.

Sambhu is a name for Shiva the auspicious one whilst agan means death without sign of death and so would cover a statue. Angga means in sanskrit the body & also the phallic symbol of Shiva. This leads one to connect the name with the worship of Shiva. Aghor in

Hindustani is a name for Shiva from which Ptolemy might make his transcription.

Braddell quotes from the Hou Han Shu of the 5th century a record of an embassy for the year 132 AD from a place which he calls Yetiao but the characters printed sound in Amoy Yaptiau which might well be a transcription of Yvadiu. The King had a name which has been held to be a transcription of Devavarman tho' there seems to be some doubt, but anyway it would seem that in the second century there was a King with an Indian name who was probably a worshipper of Shiva like his compatriot rulers in Champa on the mainland.

Hewitt in his Primitive Traditional History p 566 however opens up an alternative origin of these names Iabadiou and Argyre.

"Yavadiya the flying black barley mare of Guga who in hindu legend is the chief of the fives pirs worshipped all over northern India and especially by the Telis who represent the original five days week. He is the God of Gugal or aromatic resin yielded by the eagle wood of the Chams which was as we have seen the original sacred resin of northeastern India, the worshippers of which were ruled by the Naga Snake King of Agroha in Rajputana. This was the birthplace of the great commercial caste of the Aguruwala whose name apparently derives from the incense resin tree called in Sanskrit aguru".

Burkhill under Aquillaria aloes wood says "the word garu in sanskrit means heavy. The Chinese name Tim Hiu'n mean's sinking incense; the best qualities will not float. Aloes wood is mentioned in the Bible in connection with David & Solomon and also in the Pentateuch. The Hebrew name is Ahaloth. Dioscorides in the first century called it agallochum. Almost invariably it is primitive jungle folk who search for it". Surely a very clear proof that it was used from very early times in the malayan region and a trade created through this commercial caste at a remote period. The sanskrit name is clearly taken from the Malay gaharu. Moens writes that the old rulers of Sri Vijaya were connected with the Naga rulers of the Dekkan and sees in these the early Pallava who by way of Kaundinya via the isthmus Camboja and perhaps Kelantan hinduised where the naga constitutes an inseparable part of Khmer architecture. I would interpolate here a comment on the name Pallava. I asked Mr. Heywood Waddington about this people. He queried, "do you mean the Pallavas of southern Tamil India, or the Pahlavas of the Telegu part of the Deccan?" The latter name would at once connect across to Gujerat with its early Persian satraps and explain the close resemblance of specimens of script called Pallava in Malaya and that in Malwa as pointed out by N. Sastri.

Under the origin of incense worship Hewitt writes p 378/9 "we turn

to the Far East where it still survives among the combodians (this is a slip as he later mentioned only the Chams). The incense they worship is not the Indian Salai tree (*Boswellia* which grows on the mountains of Central India and produces gum *Olibanum* or frankincense) but the eagle wood *Aguru* in sanskrit, *Agur* in Hindi. It is named in the Arabian Nights as an ingredient of the costly ointment Nudd said to have come from Sumatra (?) — the ritualistic history of the Chams proves that this aloe tree was adopted at a very early date as the holy national incense — when the gods, in whose worship the incense was used, were the second form of shiva as the dancing god of the Linga (cf Anker Rentse on the Kelantan shadow play. Shiva the nataraja Lord of dancers vol xiv JRASMB) the Naga snake, and Rama as the god of the cycle year”.

These names Yavadiya, Agroha, seem to provide better origins for the name of the island Iabadiou and its city Argyre.

The names are connected with a trading caste & their form of religious worship. There is a Town Agar just north of Ujjain which may be the former Agroha-Agar in hindustani means Aloes wood. The use of the name Yava in Malaya later is discussed in chapter II.

The alternative name Sabadios might well be a transcription of Sabadisha, Saba meaning the east wind and disha the quarter or region and referring to the NE monsoon. The compass had not been invented and the directions used referred to the winds. In Brunei in 1913 the NE Monsoon was called the Angin Utara or north wind whilst the wind coming up the coast was named Angin Selatan or south wind but really the SW monsoon.

The dual names for this island may be due to periods when either the northern people of the Phillipines and Sulu were superior in authority or when Brunei to the south was the stronger power.

Brunei may be a very ancient name as Menander is said by Apolodotus to have extended his authority (? traded) as far as the Seres (ie China) and Phryne which must surely be a greek transcription of Brunei.

Later history may provide the solution.

(A) When Baron Overbeck obtained a concession in north Berneo in 1877AD he had to obtain one from the Sultan of Sulu for which he had to pay a rental of \$5000 a year and another from the Sultan of Brunei for which he had to pay \$15000 a year*. Both were for the

* This rental was reduced to \$7500 pa in the case of Brunei but there is a deed now in the Colonial Office whereby the British North Borneo Company under-took to restore the rental to the original value after a period and further to pay up all arrears. It bore the signatures of Sir Alfred Dent Chairman of the Company Sir William Treacher the then Governor (who admitted the genuiness of the deed) and another officer of the company and was signed in London.

same area known as Sabah ie from Kimanis on the NW coast round to the Dutch Borneo boundary. He received from both the title of Maharaja of Sabah. Brunei seems to have had the superior title.

(B) When I was British Resident in Brunei in 1913 I found in the possession of a Chinese in Singapore a Malay deed signed and sealed by the Sultan of Sulu dated 1778, in which he declared that the tulin (ownership of land) of the island of Palawan was the property of the Sultan of Brunei. Jefferys map dated 1768 has the legend Bornean Fort at the southern end of Palawan. This shews that Sulu was the overlord of Brunei in this island. The deed bore the initials and chop of the American consul and had probably been extracted from his files but the ownership of palawan had been settled by a convention about 1870 so the deed was no longer of any value. I sent it to the Colonial Secretary Singapore.

(C) The Malay history of Brunei mentions a Bendahara Sakam who attacked Manila in the 16th century and an attack by the Spaniards on Brunei. To meet this attack Brunei partly closed the entrance to the river by a barrier of stones which forced ships to come close to Pulau Chermin and so within range of their guns. The Spaniards were driven off. The Chinese annals of 1618 mention this barrier which was made from the stone wall of the city: The P W Dept has recently removed part of the barrier and used the stone for roads. There is no record of anything having been found whilst this was being done but perhaps no care was taken to search.

The same history also relates a civil war between the two sections of the royal family one known as the Pulau Raja who had close family connection with Sulu.

(D) The Ming annals 1368 to 1643 relate that Sulu attacked Brunei in 1368 and made a large booty but retired when Java ie Majapahit, sent troops to assist Brunei.

In 1417 there were three kings, that of the east, Mindanao that of the west, Brunei, and that of the Mountain certainly Kinabalu and so the Sabah area.

All three Kings went to China to pay tribute as the Chinese always say but really a trading mission. To be a King then one had to be a successful trader ie pirate. The eastern King died in China on this trip. The annals dated 1618 say that the eastern king was the first, the western King the second, and the Mountain King the third in importance. It would seem that the three Rulers had achieved a sort of Federation but Mindanao was the premier state. They could certainly be connected by marriage. Ivor Evans states that the local name of the Mountain is Nabalu not Kinabalu.

(E) Manuscripts found at Panay Island north of Mindanao relate

the arrival of an expedition under a Dato' Patih who brought with him nine other Dato' who had been banished from Brunei. They bought an area of land from the local inhabitants and paid for it with a chain of gold beads so long that it touched the ground when worn, a salukut (hat) covered with gold, beads combs pieces of cloth and decorated weapons: they sacrificed to the local gods and on an old tomb at Bicol the names of these gods appear. The site was found unsuitable: perhaps they were moved on as undesirable and they moved to Mindoro and Taal in Luzon. The date of the settlements referred to in the Ms is placed in the first half of the 13th century History of the Orient. Brunei would seem to have been in the ascendant.

The above five records shew that for 700 years from 1250 to 1870 this area of Borneo and the southern islands of the Phillipines was under the control of either the northern or southern rulers. May we not surmise that such had been the case from the earliest times.

It seems that Mindanau fulfils all the information given by Ptolemy Moens identifies Mindanau with the Zabag and Janaga of the Arabs 9th & 10th century American writers say the name Bisaya derives from Vijaya.

If the names Sabana in Johore Sabadibae for Borneo and Sabadios for Mindanau derive from Saba then we have an area resembling our Far East. Sabana may be a transcription of Saba Nar the city of the Far East: Nar being a diminutive of Nagar.

The find of numbers of Roman Beads at Kota Tinggi would indicate a centre of trade, the Emporium of Ptolemy Sabana.

Since writing the foregoing notes Braddell has published in vol xx JRASMB his researches on ancient Sabeian and Arab history.

He quotes the statement of Josephus about the land of Ophir now being named the Golden Chersonese and then comments "but can this passage be accepted as original and not a later interpolation".

Josephus was until comparatively recently looked upon with suspicion because his account of the Exodus and oppression of the Jews did not agree with the Bible tradition, but now his version is accepted as correct by the Higher criticism of the Bible. Can we afford to treat his statements so lightly? He wrote in 60 AD and Marinas of Tyre wrote in 75AD so practically contemporaneous; The work of the latter has been lost but we know that Ptolemy based much of his Geographika on it. The History of the Orient claims that Marinas had reached China by sea, so he must have known of the Peninsula and its name then "the Golden Chersonese" and it is reasonable to assume that Ptolemy followed him.

Braddell does not quote any authority for his comment. It is

doubtless the only one which has to be made by anyone who locates the land of Ophir anywhere else than the Malay Peninsula. He relates that various authorities choose Arabia, Persia, India, Java and even America, and that the products ivory apes and peacocks bear Indian names; many Ptolemaic names are Indian. But all the products are obtainable in the peninsula and Josephus definitely says that the Golden Chersonese belonged to India. It would seem that Indians had imposed their authority here and used their names in much the same way that English names have been scattered about Malaya during the last hundred years.

II Some later Toponyms.

The Wu Pei Chi charts of the 15th century record the names of places on the voyage through the Straits of Malacca from the West and thence up the East coast. Mills discusses the evidence and identifies the Chinese names for places in vol. xv pt. iii of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Malayan Branch 1937. The charts are of such a different character to ordinary Chinese charts that it is accepted that they are based on the nautical charts of the Arabs. Mills also agrees that they were prepared for Cheng Ho the great Chinese leader and envoy known to Malaya as Ong Sam Po, who raised Malacca to the status of a city in 1409. He was a Muslim and son of a Haji and undoubtedly he helped to free the peninsula from the domination of Siam thus leading to the rise of Muslim states and the more efficient hold of Islam over the whole area. Whilst the original charts of the east were certainly Arab work yet I think that some of the names indicate that Hindustani speaking sailors had imposed their names on the original Arab charts, and when one considers the high state of Indian civilisation at the time one may safely assume that the control of the trade in the Indian ocean was really in the hands of Indians and largely those from Gujerat, not those from the Tamil speaking south.

A few of Mills' identifications may I think have alternatives and he omitted some islands appearing on the chart lying to the south of Singapore.

(1) **Kampeï Chiang.** Mills suggests this may be Perlak river but the China Sea Directory mentions Kampei strait and island as lying in Aru Bay on the NE coast of Sumatra.

(2) **Ku lat yu Putang.** Pu tang Mills agrees is the Butang islands which the Arab chart Mohit marks as the starting point of their voyage going west from the peninsula but Ku lat yu Mills does not

Names from Wu Pei Chi Charts
in Vol XV

Journal Royal Asiatic Society Malayan Branch.

古力由不洞	<i>Ku li yu pu tung</i>	Butang Islands
龍牙交椅	<i>Lung ya chiao i</i>	Pulau Langkawi
吉達港	<i>Chita chiang</i>	Merbok River
檳榔嶼	<i>Pin lang hsu</i>	Penang Island
陳公嶼	<i>Ch'en kung hsu</i>	Pulau Jarak
九州小	<i>Chiu chou hsiao</i>	Sembilan Islands
吉那大山	<i>Chi na ta shan</i>	False parcelar
吉令港	<i>Chi ling chiang</i>	Klang River
雞骨嶼	<i>Chi ku hsu</i>	Aroa Islands
棉花淺	<i>Mien hua ch'ien</i>	South Sands
棉花嶼	<i>Mien hua hsu</i>	Parcelar Hill
假五嶼	<i>Chia wu hsu</i>	Cape Rachado
官廠	<i>Kuan ch'ang</i>	Official Building
滿刺加	<i>Man la chia</i>	Malacca
射箭山	<i>She chien shan</i>	Gunong Banang
毗宋嶼	<i>P'i sung hsu</i>	Pulau Pisang
平州	<i>P'ing chou</i>	The Brothers
吉利門	<i>Chi li men</i>	Kerimun Islands
沙糖淺	<i>Sha t'ang ch'ien</i>	Rocks to the north-west of Tree Islands
長腰嶼	<i>Ch'ang yao hsu</i>	Coney Islet
涼傘嶼	<i>Liang san hsu</i>	Pulau Labon
牛屎礁	<i>Niu shih chiao</i>	Buffalo Rock
淡馬錫	<i>T'an ma hsi</i>	Singapore
琵琶嶼	<i>P'i p'a hsu</i>	St. John's Island
琵琶嶼	<i>P'a nao hsu</i>	Anak Sambo
馬鞍山	<i>Ma an shan</i>	Tanjong Burong
官嶼	<i>Kuan hsu</i>	Pengerang
答那溪嶼	<i>Ta na ch'i hsu</i>	Barbukit

白礁	<i>Pai chiao</i>	Pedra Branca
將軍帽	<i>Chiang chun mao</i>	Pulau Tinggi
西竹山	<i>Hsi chu shan</i>	} Pulau Aur
東竹山	<i>Tung chu shan</i>	
芋麻山	<i>Ch'u ma shan</i>	Pulau Tioman
石礁	<i>Shih chiao</i>	Pulau Siribuat
彭抗港	<i>P'eng k'eng chiang</i>	Pahang River
斗嶼	<i>Tou hsu</i>	Pulau Tenggol
丁加下路	<i>Ting chia hsia lu</i>	Trengganu
土貝嶼	<i>T'u yuan hsu</i>	<i>Pulau Bidong Laut</i>
石山	<i>Shih shan</i>	Pulau Lang Tengah
昆下池	<i>K'un hsia ch'ih</i>	Turtle Back Island
角貝	<i>Chio yuan</i>	Pulau Redang
羊嶼	<i>Yang hsu</i>	Perhentian island (east)
三角嶼	<i>San chio hsu</i>	Perhentian Island (west)
煙墩嶼	<i>Yen tun hsu</i>	Pulau Susu Darah
古蘭丹港	<i>Ku lan tan chiang</i>	Kelantan River
出降香	<i>Ch'u chiang hsiang</i>	"Produces laka-wood"
西港	<i>Hsi chiang</i>	Telubin River
出降真	<i>Ch'u chiang chen</i>	"Produces laka-wood"
狼西加	<i>Lang hsi chia</i>	Patani
貓鼠嶼	<i>Mao shu hsu</i>	Koh Mu and Koh Gnu
孫姑那	<i>Sun ku na</i>	Singgora

identify. I think it is certainly the Chinese transcription of the name of Terutau island just north of Langkawi now under Siam. The name Butang may have applied generally to the whole group of islands off the west coast which would appear to have formed a state in the time of Kublai Khans expedition 1293 since it was thought necessary to send envoys there to call them into submission.

(3) **Ch'en Kung Hsu.** Master Ch'en's island. Mills is at a loss to explain this name for Pulau Jarak lying due west of the Perak river about mid-channel. I think the Ming annals provide the clue. Groeneveldt's translation relates that there were two rival gangs of pirates consisting of several thousand men from Fukien and Canton who had roamed the seas for many years. Ch'en Tsu was the chief of one with his headquarters at Palembang (Kukang) and his rival was Tau Ming. In 1405 Tau Ming was summoned to Court. Evidently he had amassed considerable wealth so he sent large presents. In 1406 Ch'en Tsu did the same sending his son to take them but he carried on his piracy without discrimination as he attacked envoys taking presents to the Chinese Emperor. Cheng Ho came and took him captive back to China where he met his fate. This island lying midway in the straits must have been a strategic point for intercepting shipping passing through. Jarak in Malay means intervening space. The name used by Chinese fishermen now is Pak Ku or the northern turtle. No explanation for this could be discovered but the memory of Master Ch'en has gone.

(4) **Klet Na Toa Shan.** (A) I suggested to Mills that this was a transcription of the Malay name Bukit Cherakah but he thought it would be the hill which on later maps appears as False Parcellar (the true Parcellar being Jugra hill) and consequently that would be the highest hill in the range Bukit Panjang. But Rennels map now reproduced shews that False Parcellar was close to the sea and the Malay name was Tanjong Awat; I think there can be little doubt that the hill at Kuala Selangor is the false parcellar of the modern charts as it resembles Jugra in the manner in which it stands up from the surrounding flats. Consequently this Chinese name must be Cherakah.

(5) **Chi Ku Hsu.** The Aru islands. The China Sea Directory states that they form a group of six and Chakka in Hindustani means a group of six.

(6) **Min Hua Ch'ien or Mi Hoe Kim** (A), meaning cotton shoals and identified by Mills as South sands lying on the Sumatra side of the Straits due west of Jugra Hill. It is interesting to find that this name is

(4) 吉那大山

(5) 雞骨嶼

(6) 綿花淺

still known amongst the local Chinese fishermen. When asked why cotton shoals they replied that the area was very shallow and the sea was continually breaking resulting in continuous froth or foam. The tides from the north and those coming up from the south meet here. Mills says that the arabs called it Kafasi but that would not be derived from their name for cotton which is Kutn. So they must have adopted an Indian name. Kafasi in Hindustani means light green and so might imply shallow water but Kap means froth or foam and we find Passe in malagasy as a variant for pasir sands in Malay. Jugra hill is named similarly Mi Hoe Hsu or cotton hill presumably because it is the leading mark coming down the straits for avoiding the shoals.

(7) **Sia Chian San.** Identified by Mills very definitely as Banang hill at the mouth of the Batu Pahat river and meaning shoot arrows mountain. Now in Hindustani Ban means an arrow and ankh means observation. I think that when they drew a beam of this hill they set up a couple of arrows and took their sight and set a course for Pulau Pisang. Best mentions how important it is to fix your position here otherwise one might lose a tide going south.

(8) **Tam ma sek.** This is certainly as Mills says the Tumasik or Singapore which we hear of in the Malay annals and also mentioned, by Marco Polo as Chiamassie in 1292, by Wong Ta Yuen 1349, and in the nagarakrtanagara of Java 1365. The last character of the Chinese means tin and Tanma is a regular Chinese transcription for the Malay tanah. Perhaps they connected the name with Bukit Timah or was Singapore already a market for the sale of tin.

(9) **Long Sai Ka.** Patani. In the China sea directory one learns that the tidal undulations from the China sea strike the coast near Patani as at Pulau Ridang the tidal stream flows south whilst at Singgora it is setting northwest. This accounts for the sand spit at Patani which provides shelter for small vessels in the NE monsoon. The point is named by Tome Pires Tanjong Bruas shewing how persistently that name meaning sand bank has been transferred from Broach up the Gulf of Cambay.

There are four islands shewn on the chart south of Singapore which Mills does not attempt to identify. They may help to identify places in the Chinese annals.

(10) **Zanggi Tian.** The Zanggi stone. The position of this island SE of the Karimun identifies it as Kundur. The China Sea Directory notes that lying two cables west of the southern tip of Kundur there is a curious stone standing up out of the sea named by Malays Batu

(7) 射箭山 (8) 淡馬錫 (9) 狼西加 (10) 仁義礁

Janggi. Groeneveldt notes that Janggi was a regular name for negroes and in the Chinese annals dated 813 there is mention of Sang chi nu meaning Sangchi slaves, later it became a name for servants. But the name indicates a slave trade brought by Malays from Madagascar. In other annals the name Kun lun nu occurs and this has been accepted as referring to Pulau Condor off Cambodia but it would seem also to apply to this Kundur near Singapore. Braddell in an unpublished article lent to me by Raffles museum discusses a State Chek Tho mentioned in the Sui annals 6th-7th centuries with a capital Sang Chi: Perhaps Kundur. Chhek Tho means Red Earth. There is a Tanah Merah on the west coast of Kundur.

(11) **Kampa Men.** Kampar strait. From the position it would seem to agree with Durian Straits; an older name, used by Tome Pires p.223.

(12) **Tung Kiet Shah.** No hill with a name resembling this appears on maps I think it must be a transcription of Tinggi Shan meaning High Hill and this would surely apply to Lingga Hill described in the China Sea Directory as "a remarkable hill attaining 3957 feet and split in two which Horsburgh describes as two peaks rising like twin spires from the summit of the mountain" but in Downtons voyage rather contemptuously as "Lingga with its asses ears."

(13) **Ngau Yi Shan.** Certainly a transcription for Riau hill now known as Bintang Hill 1253 ft. In the china sea directory recorded as a good mark for ships approaching Singapore straits from the N E.

(14) **Lung Ge Men.** Meaning dragon tooth strait. Mills suggests that this is Lingga strait but there is no such strait mentioned in any annals or the China sea directory. The open sea between Lingga and western Borneo is much too wide ever to have been named a strait and none of the channels round Lingga bear this name. The name appears twice in the directions for the course through Singapore strait and so this legend must be merely a warning notice that coming from the east this is the opening of the Singapore strait named the dragon toothed strait owing to the currents and rocks which made its passage so dangerous for sailing ships in those days.

Some other Toponyms

The transpeninsula river appears on all maps from that of Desceliers of 1536 up to that of Sanctes of 1623 and of course the Ptolemaic maps shew it. Mills gives all the details in vol xiv Jrasmb p61. It is generally accepted as being the Muar river with its short

- (11) 甘巴門 (12) 東吉山 (13) 龍魚山 (14) 龍門牙

portage to the Ulu Serting in Pahang.

Two maps by Lodewycksz dated 1596/8 name this transpeninsula river Rio Formoso as well as Rio Muar. Formoso was the Portuguese name for the Batu Pahat river. In 1894 two surveyors Messrs Lake and Kelsall travelled up the Endau river on the east coast of Johore and its tributary to Sembrong, a very significant name meaning the crossing. Thence up the Melitor and Panggang which they discovered flowed west also into the Kelambu a tributary of the Batu Pahat Simpang Kiri, thereby establishing that there was a waterway across the Peninsula. In our most recent topographical maps the name Sembrong is also given to this source of the Batu Pahat river. Their account appears in the journal R.A.S.S.B. of 1894.

It is an interesting fact that the Johore river rises close to the sources of this Twin Sembrong river so that for those who wish to ignore Ptolemaic latitudes entirely and site his names wherever they feel inclined here is the cross peninsula river with another running south as they appear on the maps.

Adea. mentioned in a letter from the King of Pahang who sent from "Adea" a beautiful piece of gold stone two & a half yards in length as a present for the Governor of Malaka in 1586. I suggest this Adea is not the name of a place but merely the polite Malay "adinda", meaning younger brother, form of address. One may speculate whether this long piece of stone was not an ancient linga no longer valued in Mahomeddan Pahang. Perhaps the state of Tambralinga the Tan Ma Ling of the Chinese annals was named after a real copper coloured Linga.

Manjong. Tom Pires clears up the position of this State which was conquered by Malaka at the end of the 15th century and placed under the control of Bruas whose Raja moved there; perhaps an indication that the Bruas channel connecting with the Perak was beginning to close up. Pires says "one ship comes from Gujerat — and takes tin from Bruas Selangor and Mjmjam". The translator identifies Mjmjam with Mehegan point at the southern side of the Dinding river entrance but this is I think a name given by a survey ship like Motts point on the northern side. The Malay name for Mehegan pt. is Tanjung Batu Puteh. Modern Lumut is I think the correct site of Manjong and perhaps the ancient Gangga Nagara of the Malay Annals. Lumut is a name given by Sir W Maxwell in the eighties when Penang decided to open a district office, there so Berkeley told me.

Pires says that there were some 500 philipinos living there who wanted to move to Malaka but the Malays would not let them because they, the Malays, had declared their allegiance to the former King of Malaka. The Malay Annals M.S. 18 relate this happening

when the Raja of Bruas made his submission to Sultan Mahmud at Bentan.

Malaiur. The name first appears on an inscription in Tanjore celebrating the conquests of Rajendra Cola 1030AD in his raid over the malayan regio.

Next Marco Polo mentions it in 1292. It appears in the Yuan annals 1295 as Maliyuel. Winstedt in his *History of Malaya* 1935 writes "attempts to connect Marco Polo's Malaiur with Singapore have not hitherto been accepted". He quotes the Ramusio version of Marco Polo but omits the important sentence "Chiamassie la citta de Malaiur e cose l'isola de Malaiur". No one seems to have noticed that Chiamassie is certainly a transcription of the Malay Tumasik the old name for Singapore island in the Malay Annals. Marco Polo's description would therefore read "Not far from Bintang island there are two other islands — proceed between these two islands for 60 miles. The water is only about four paces deep and big ships when they pass through must haul up their rudders because they draw nearly four paces of water. After these 60 miles one sails to the south-east for some thirty miles. Then one reaches a kingdom Tumasik the city of Malayur and thus the island of Malayur. They have a King and language of their own. The city is very large and noble".

Yule rightly says this is a description of the voyage from Bintang, then through the Johore Straits (Selat Tebrau), but he does not attempt to define the position of Chiamassie or translate the Ramusio version referring to it.

The China Sea Pilot confirms the narrowness of the deep channel in Selat Tebrau after leaving Johor Bharu going west, and further between Tanjong Bulus in Johor and Tanjong Gul on Singapore island there is only two fathoms depth.

After emerging from this strait one turns south-east for some thirty miles so bringing one to modern Singapore roads. The China Sea Pilot helps us again as it mentions "Malay point composed of low red cliffs at the southwest limit of Singapore road being nearly a mile south of Singapore river. Tanjong Pagar village lies on the western side of it. From quarter of a mile north ward of Malay point the mudflats have been reclaimed and a substantial quay named Telok Ayer extends up to Clifford Pier".

Malay point must therefore be the Yacht Club. The low red cliffs, with the exception of Kramat Habib Nor, have been levelled to fill in Telok Ayer quay. The name Malayur may be from Malai-ar (H) meaning Malay fence or palisade but Mala has a meaning of a chain and so might refer to the record of the Malay annals. Badang the strong man of Singapore & Banderang the champion of Perlak

instead of competing in contest were ordered to stretch a chain across the landing place of Sri Rama. The existence of this chain is specifically referred to by Chau Ju Kua 1225—"Of old the people of Sam Put Tsai stretched a chain across the entrance of their harbour in order to prevent pirates entering". So the correctness of the tradition in the Malay Annals is confirmed. Selat Sengke, the strait of the obstruction, was the Malay name for Keppel Harbour and the name still appears on the charts as the western entrance thereto and again for the narrow channel between Pulau Brani and Blakang Mati. One would imagine that the narrow western entrance was the site where the chain was stretched across. There must have been good blacksmiths in those days.

Kandoli. Kantoli (A) mentioned in the Liang and First Sung annals 5th-6th centuries. Quaritch Wales suggests that this may be in the Perak watershed where we have the Kinta river near which statuettes of Buddha have been found. But the Chinese account mentions horses. Pires shews Andelas as the southwestern portion of Sumatra from Sunda straits up to Padang covering the sources of the Palembang and Jambi rivers. The Malay annals say "there is a State in the land of Andelas by name Perlembang". And there is a Malay tradition that Negri Andelas rose from the sea. On the Palembang coast Pires marks Tanah Malayu saying that it was from here that Parameswara came to found ancient Singapore.

I think that Andelas was this Kantoli and probably covered the whole of the west coast of Sumatra perhaps named by the Arbas living there, 6th century.

Kedah. pronounced Gedda'. I suggest this name derives from Khadar (H) meaning alluvial land fit for wet rice cultivation. Kidara in sanskrit has the same meaning. The Kietcha of I Tsing 7th century. Another name for Kedah is Kala in Persian meaning a fort. The second legendary Ruler of Kedah is said to have built a fort at Serokam. Sara (H) means a house or mansion and Kam (H) means business intercourse Q Wales says the finds at Serokam indicate a date subsequent to 1300 but forts usually occupy a strategic position and later construction may well have destroyed traces of earlier occupation. Sykes in his history of Persia says the voyages to the east of the 9th cent started from Siraf on the Persian gulf thence to Muskat, Kolam & the Nicobar Island to Kala on the Peninsula whence it was about a months journey to Canton. Incidentally he made the interesting statement that Islam was being preached in Canton between 611 and 626AD i.e. before the Hijra.

Kantoli 干拖利

Kietcha 揭茶

A Javanese chart of the xv th century

The editor of the translation of the *Suma Oriental* of Tome Pires and the *Book of Rodrigues* published for the Hakluyt Society vol. 89 mentions on p. lxxvii the copy of a wellknown chart obtained by Albuquerque from a javanese pilot in which appear the Cape of Good Hope, Brazil, Portugal, the red sea & persian gulf, the clove islands and the navigation of the Chinese and Gores (Formosans). The original had been sent by Albuquerque in the *flor del Mar* which was wrecked off the coast of Rokan in Sumatra. Rodrigues who as a young man had always been in India as a pilot had made a copy, in which however he omitted the islands lying south of the peninsula and this copy was sent to Portugal by Albuquerque as mentioned in his letter of 1/4/1512.

The editor in a footnote says he had discussed this map in his *Cartographia* but Mr J V Mills, whom we have to thank for the excellent collection of photogravure reproductions of ancient maps in the Raffles Museum, kindly looked up the reference at the British Museum, and advised me to read the comments by Ferrand published in the *Journal Asiatique* 1918. Ferrand gives the letter in Portugese and a translation.

From this we learn the map shewed much detail. The names were written in javanese; it shewed the route to the spice islands; the situation of the gold mines, the country of Siam and the cape beyond where the coast turns up to China & the boundaries of countries are shewn.

Albuquerque ends his letter "this fragment is an authentic document & well known because it shews the routes used by the javanese". He left Malaka on 1 12.1511 accompanied by a junk (javanese Jong) entirely manned "by Javanese (60) including carpenters, machinists and their women and children since he held these javanese in the highest esteem on account of their knowledge of the sea". But the crew mutinied and cleared off with their ship. Ferrand quotes from Suleiman xvth century, that naval experts divide the circumference of the earth into 32 parts as followed by the pilots of the indian ocean who are arabs, people of Hormuz (at the entrance to the persian gulf), India, the Colas and Zanjs (Zanzibar coast) as also do the pilots of the west, the Moors & Franks (this term includes French Italians & Portugese) and Byzantines whereas the Javanese and Chinese divide it into 24 parts.

Ferrand also quotes from Ibn Majid an arab who was the third generation of a family of pilots sailing the western Indian ocean, the red sea & Persian gulf. He wrote in 1462 "South of Sofala the land is

interrupted and turns to the Northwest and there exists a route by which one can arrive at the Mediterranean and continues "there is a tradition that the Frank ships in ancient times arrived at Madagascar and so along the coast of Zanj and India occidental".

We know that the Malays reached Madagascar according to Van der Tunk on linguistic grounds, after Indian civilisation had reached the Malayan region say circa 2nd century of our era though Winstedt says this does not preclude an earlier migration. Having arrived there it is unlikely that they would not explore the Cape and even up the west coast of Africa. Ferrand comments "India and the Far east have played a greater part than we suppose in the development of what we call civilisation, restricted in our opinion to Greek-Latin civilisation — one is less surprised to find the Franks knew the Indian ocean in the 13th century and to find the name of Brazil marked on a javanese chart of the xvth century."

MKG Jayne in his Vasco de Gama wrote "quite apart from this exploration of the African coast it has been suggested that Brazil was accidentally discovered by a Portugese ship in 1447/8."

The tradition of ancient voyages by Franks appears in the Hawayia a poem written in September 1462 at Djulfar. Ferrand comments that the expression "ancient times" is sadly unprecise like the Malay zaman dahulu which may mean fifty years ago or even centuries, It may be a reproduction of the tradition that Hanno the Carthaginian circumnavigated Africa or at its highest value the Indian ocean tradition of that voyage.

To us in Malaya however it clearly indicates that people of Malay race had charts of the Indian ocean at a very early date and so the ships capable of long voyages.

The author of the Periplus 1st century AD (Braddell vol xiv-JRASMB) says that the ships which sailed to Chryse were called colandia and were very large. Colandia might be from Kol a ship & Ladna to load (H) and so meant cargo ships.

Braddell discussing Fah Hiens voyage in 413 AD to China says "he does not tell us what kind of ship he used except that it carried 200 men but it would seem that it was not a Chinese ship but a foreign one; whether Indian or Chinese or Persian or Ceylonese; "but Braddell omits any idea that it might be a Malay ship; yet he quotes Pelliot that "in the 3rd century (if correct in his dating) the foreign ships which went to China were very large carrying 600 to 700 persons and 1000 tons of cargo" and Kuwubara who says that "the Chinese trading ships before the Tang era (618 AD) were inferior in all respects to those of the southsea countries".

It is sad to think that Albuquerque's treasures from Malaya

suffered the same fate as those collected by Raffles four hundred years later.

Yava. Braddell writes vol. xv JRASMB "consideration of the facts about these places Yeopti (Iapothē A) and Chopo (Siapo A) is of paramount importance to the ancient geography of Malaya and leads to the consideration of the sounds Java or Yava. Many readers do not realise that in Dutch these two words sound the same.

Subsequent to Ptolemy's Iabadiou Yava appears only 9 times, as follows:

413AD Fah Hiens Iapothē which Braddell equates with Yavadvipa of the Ramayana (but of course it should be Yvadiu) and locates in Borneo at Sarawak. A most interesting paper by A Grimes shewing the prevailing winds during each month of the year supports Braddell. But I would hang two question marks thereon. First what proof have we that Iapothē is a transcription of Iabadiou? Braddell says it is accepted. We have this much better Chinese transcription Yaptiau, which is definitely contemporary. Why did not Fah Hien use it? The other question is based on Mills proof that the average sailing time of a junk through the straits of Malaka is just under 3 miles per hour. To this must be added the period when she would be anchored against the tide. But in the open sea a speed of 6 miles per hour is recorded. If we reduce this to an average of one and a half miles per hour all over then Fah Hiens statement that after leaving the island (probably the Andamans) they sailed for 90 days would give a total mileage of 3000 miles, against actual distance of some 1700.

The next occurrence of Yava appears in two Indian works as "Yavakoti" meaning the Point of Yava. Aryabhata an astronomer born in 476, says that when the sun rises in Ceylon it sets in the Fortunate land i.e. Ferro in the Canaries and it is midday at the point of Yava and midnight in the country of the Romans. Actually Ceylon is only some six & a half hours east of Ferro and Yava would have to be out in the middle of the Pacific to be 12 hours away from Rome which was then Constantinople. The writer was evidently repeating a statement not a calculation. If we accept the actual difference in Time about Ceylon & Ferro then Mindanao which is just over six hours east of Constantinople is fairly close. The other comment is in the Surya-Siddantha which speaks of "Yavakoti" with golden walls and ramparts. The practice of hanging gold plaques on the walls by the chiefs of Mindanao is recorded by Pigafetta.

Next we get the inscription at Pagar Ruyong the Minangkabau capital in Sumatra mentioned by Yule dated 656 AD "Pramatha

Iapothē 耶婆提 Siapo 社婆 Yaptiau 葉調

Yava Bhū". The principal Yava country. By this date there were Arabs living on the west coast of Sumatra under their own princes and we know they used the word Jawa to mean Malay so it is probable that Yava here is merely a Sanskrit transcription of Jawa.

Next comes the inscription at Kedukan Bukit in Palembang "Yan Bhumi java tiada Bakhti ka Sri Vijaya". This is a Dutch transcription so Java would be pronounced Yava. The sources of the Palembang river adjoin the Minangkabau country and the inscription records a victory by Sri Vijaya over the Jawa.

Both the above apply the name Yava to Sumatra. There is another Sanskrit word Yava with the first syllable, long A, meaning Lac the red animal dye. Sumatra was the principal source of Dragons blood a resin produced from the fruit of Rotan Jernang which provides both a dye and also an incense benzoic acid.

The next use of Yava appears in Sanjaya's inscription at Changgal in Java dated 732 AD. Braddell gives a translation in vol xix Jrasmb but he again uses the name Yavadvipa in his comments though Yava only appears in the inscription. It is now accepted that Sanjaya was referring to a place Yava where his forbears ruled and not to the island of Java where he was ruling. Moens says his forbears came from India to the Kedah area in 627 but that after 40 years they were driven out via the east coast and heard of as fighting against Sri Vijaya (then Kelantan), Champa and Cambodia where a Khmer King was decapitated by a King of Jawaga but, eventually being defeated, the family moved to Java. One most interesting statement is made by Moens namely that Sanjaya's father was a Malay thus shewing that the Malays were gradually absorbing the Indian immigrants. One member of his family Queen Sima ruled very long successfully in a country where there was gold and gold left on the ground was not touched & the Arab prince was afraid to attack her. It would seem that the family was also ruling in Sumatra where the Arabs were. Perhaps there was closer connection between northern Sumatra and northern Malaya as happened again later in the 14th century as witnessed by the grave of a Kedah Princess at Pasai and when Aceh dominated it in the 16th.

In the 9th century there is mention of a Ruler of Suvarnadvipa named Yavabhumi-pala who founded a monastery at Nalanda in Bihar. Moens usually defines Suvarnadvipa as the peninsula & Yavabhumi seems to apply to Sumatra. It was a Pala period in Bengal.

Then we finally get the name Yavadvipa applied definitely to Java. Moens says Balitung prince of Java, as heir of Sanjaya, 898-910 names the island Yavadvipa and his successors ending in Erlangga 1042

are named Yavapati, Yavadvipa and Yavadviparaja. Now it is in this very period 1011-1023 that Dipankara Crijnana was studying in Suvarnadvipa headquarters of Buddhism in the Far East before going to Tibet and the name Yavadvipa first makes its appearance in Indian Literature in the Tibetan Manuscript at Cambridge and dated then, as Gerini shews. Perhaps this monk took the name with him. **Chopo.** in Amoy dialect the characters give the name Siapo. Moens locates this in northern Malaya and says it was applied after 900 to Java. As seen above it was at this time that the rulers in Java commenced to use the sanskrit name Yava for themselves. Von der Tunk suggested that the area was known as Zarbad meaning the area below the wind. Hewitt suggests that the malai Oraons of Orissa migrated to Mesopotamia and their descendants were the ancient Sabacans. If so then there would be no difficulty in accepting Saba as a name for the area where the east winds blow: to change Saba to Jaba would be natural for Malays who dislike the S sound and the transition to Jawa would also be natural as ubi to Uwi etc. All this is of course pure speculation but the under lying fact remains that Malay is a very old language as claimed by C.N. Maxwell.

A French chart dated 1755. This chart is useful as it clears up definitely which was the New strait of the Portugese.

The chart is drawn by the Ministry of Marine from the records and manuscript map of a Pilot of the French India Company named Dauge.

It shews the track of a ship named Oiseau dated 1687. Soundings are shewn all along the coast from K. Selangor to just south of the Pahang river.

Klang straits appear as a mass of islands extending down to Jugra and a long way inland.

South of the entrance to the strait of Johor the track divides. One going through the Main Singapore strait named *Detroit du Gouvernour* with *Bancs des arbres* and *Isle Rouge* to starboard and *Isle Violle* and *St Jean* to port so definitely the Main strait.

Another track is shewn making for Singapore island and clearly *Selat Singke* through *Keppel Harbour* after which it rejoins the main strait south of *Changi*. This is marked *Nouveau detroit de Sincapour*. *Blakan Mati* island is not named.

Singapore island is named *Pulau Panjang* evidently another error made in Paris for the coast *Pasir Panjang* as one enters *Keppel Harbour*.

The Johor strait is named *Vieux Detroit de Sincapour* or the old

strait. Pulau Ubin appears very much longer and distorted with the name Selat Burok for the channel on the north. This is possibly an error made in Paris for Selat Tebrau. Pulau Tekong appears as Joor.

Soundings are shewn for Siak river, Brouwer strait. Sabon strait Durion strait and Riau strait.

Penggeram is marked as Barbucit but the panoramic view shews it as a single range of hills. Tree island would seem to have had many more trees than today.

The original chart is the property of Mr Humphry Brooke who has given permission for it to be photographed and a copy sent to Raffles Museum.

It will be noticed that Sincapour is not spelt as if the name derived from Singa a lion.

The year of the voyage of the Oiseau 1687 saw Johor pass again under the control of the Bendahara instead of the Laxamana, to end in the extinction of the Malaka royal family in 1699.

III Coastal changes

Surveys carried out by the Drainage & Irrigation Department over the area of swamp land between the Selangor & Bernam rivers have shewn that under the peat which is nowhere more than 25 feet deep there is a bed of clay which Mr. Pelton who carried out the surveys is satisfied was laid down under deep sea conditions & is still saline. He holds that this bed of clay has been elevated within historical times, perhaps by volcanic action.

Running south from Changkat Mentri on the Bernam he traced in the clay the wide bed of a river as far as the Tengeh (about midway), and later surveys have shewn that it continued towards the Selangor river. Anderson in his Considerations (1827) mentions a Tengeh as a tributary of the Selangor river, perhaps a survival of the name when that river ran south.

Along the coast this clay appears as a bank two to three miles wide from Tanjong Karang up to the Bernam. It reappears crossing the Rungkup peninsula on Flemington estate and then appears in the form of Permatang leading up towards Bruas which is mentioned in the Malay Annals as Bruas Ujong Karang, "the end the bank." Other surveys in this area north of the Perak river shew a bank running at right angles across from Kota Stia to Kampong Gajah on the Perak river with several openings therein.

Mr. Pelton holds that the Perak and Bernam rivers formerly had a single outlet running south into the sea towards the Selangor river

M. A. G.

1877

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and that when the land was elevated they were forced to turn west. He also considers that the Klang and Langat river formerly ran south towards Sepang where ancient potsherds have been found. Indications of volcanic action are apparent in a bed of volcanic ash from Enggor (north of Kuala Kangsar) up to Lenggong, some 16 miles long. The ash here has been identified by the British Museum as recent rhyolitic ash containing freshwater sponge spicules and Scrivenor the Government Geologist suggested that it may have come from the extinct volcano now forming Tobameer in Sumatra. Under this bed of ash a stone age site has been found. It seems possible that the fall of this ash may be recorded in the Semang Negrito tradition of Upper Perak mentioned by Ivor Evans. The King of the Brok monkeys (macacus) split a coconut which started a fire. They all fled but those fleeing upstream were so nearly caught by the flames that their hair has singed and they were the ancestors of the Semang whose hair became frizzled whilst those who fled downstream became the Malays. An early version of the Darwinian theory. Off the east coast of Sumatra due west of Selangor the China Sea Directory reports the Mati bank as providing good anchorage being formed chiefly of volcanic ash.

I have recently obtained three early maps of the malayan region which shew the area of the Perak river as it was conceived at the time. The earliest is one published by Covens & Mortier undated but Mr. J. V. Mills, whom we have to thank for the Mills collection of old maps in Raffles Museum ascertained that the only copy in England at the British Museum appears in an atlas dated by the authorities there as 1740. The Dutch have always been great cartographers. The Perak river has two mouths one at Bruas and the other apparently the present mouth. The island enclosed between these is named Perak island. The Bernam does not appear. The second is dated 1751 and is produced by the geographer to the King of France S. Robert. The same delta of the Perak appears only rather more exaggerated with large islands in the mouth of the river, and the island is named Isle Perach; but curiously Solongor appears on this island. On both Parcellar islands appear and on the french map Mount Parcellar i.e. Jugra is shewn. Clearly the area south of Klang was a mass of islands and the little hills lying in the peaty area there are still named Pulau by the Sakai.

The third map has been reproduced by the survey department. It is based on an original map by Jefferys geographer to the King of England dated 1768 but "with additions and amendations from the actual surveys by Major Rennels Surveyor General to the Hon. East India Company". It is undated but is after 1786 as Penang appears as

Prince of Wales' island and it shews so much new detail of this Perak river area, that we may confidently assert that he carried out surveys there. It would be natural he should, as Penang was greatly interested in the tin from Perak & Selangor in competition with Dutch Malaka.

The same island marked Perac appears enclosed by Sungei Bruas and the Perak but with some rivers running south from the Bruas thro what is now known as the Blanja swamp and confirming the recent surveys of a bank across from Kota Stia with several breaks in it. The Bernam and Selangor rivers appear with connecting waterways and False Parcellar named also Tanjong Awat on the south of the Selangor river and so obviously this must be the hill at K. Selangor, but false in the fact that if you are so close in shore as to mistake it for the real hill Jugra you are in amongst the dangers of small islets and rocks on the coast here.

That these inland waterways were in constant use is evidenced by Governor Borts report on Malaka for the year 1678 when he instructed the agent at Pangkor to inspect the Bruas and Bernam rivers at spring tides. It shews that these waterways could be used then by seagoing boats whereby the blockade, whose object was to compel all Perak tin to proceed to Malaka, could be evaded.

In 1806 Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor conquered Perak and drove out the Siamese agents from Kedah. He demanded and obtained the whole coast from Kurau to the mouth of the Perak river. Upstream he demanded both sides of the river as far as S. Trus which the late Sultan of Perak told me was above Bandar but when Perak objected he contented himself with stationing an agent at Kuala Bidor to collect the tin royalty, of which he took half, and thereby had an inland waterway to Selangor. Anderson mentions this inland waterway in his report after negotiating treaties with Perak & Selangor in 1818.

In 1884 Berkeley used this channel to the Bernam and Swettenham used it on his way over to Pahang via the Slim river the following year. Berkeley told me that he was able to travel from the Dinding river across to the Bruas about the same time. Now these are practically closed tho' during the great flood in 1926 the Perak river found a way out to sea across the Blanja swamp into Dinding river.

An interesting name appears on this map for the eastern mouth of the Mekong river — Japanese river — shewing that these enterprising people had been south before. Labuan is named Isla Victoria on the 1740 map, a name revived by Raja Brooke in 1847 though he did so in honour of Queen Victoria, perhaps not knowing the older spanish name. Sandakan bay is marked as Santa Anna bay.

Generally one can say that Mr. Pelton's views are supported by

these maps. Historically there is the record that during the reign of Sultan Alaidin of Acheh 1577-1585 the then Sultan of Perak who was subject to Acheh had to move his capital from Julang to Geronggong owing to floods. This would only happen if the area were permanently flooded.

Sometime during the 7th century the State of Sri Vijaya removed its headquarters from Kelantan on the east coast to Sumatra and the system of transferring goods across the peninsula near Kedah was changed for through traffic by sea. Had there been an upheaval which made the Strait of Malaka dangerous before this, followed by its disappearance? Such speculations are not profitable but Eredia recorded such a tradition.

Sidelights on the Malay Annals.

The earliest record of the Malay Annals by another pen appears in the *Bustan a's Selatin* whose author was a Gujerati writing in Malay at Acheh in 1638. He says that he met there Tun Muhamad nicknamed Sri Lanang the Bendahara of Johor and author editor of these annals who had been taken captive when Mahkota Alam conquered Johor in May 1613. His Sultan & thousands of Malays were removed to Acheh and left to starve in the streets. Amongst the loot was the large brass cannon now on the Penang esplanade, named Si Rambai, and bearing a silver plate let in by Mahkota Alam's orders recording its capture.

Sri Lanang (his nickname means man, manly) would seem to have thrown in his lot with his captors since his son Tun Rembau became Sri Paduka Tuan at Acheh and married a daughter of Tun Mai Bendahara of Perak and a fellow captive there. Their eldest son became Bendahara of Acheh. So Sri Lanang must have enjoyed a serene old age, but would probably be surprised to find that 300 years later Malay schoolboys were reading his history as an example of good Malay and a record of life in Malaka during its greatest glory.

In the *Bustan* the author states that he consulted Sri Lanang about the Annals and was told by him that he wrote what he had heard from his forbears of the Rulers of Malaka Johor & Pahang and their descent from Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain. There is however little doubt that there were existing written stories in 1511 which the Portuguese collected e.g. Tome Pires. The author of the *Bustan* was particularly interested in the descent of his patron Iskandar Thani Ruler of Acheh and descendant of the Pahang branch.

The next record comes from a European pen in a Ms note by a

Dutchman Petrus van der Worm under date 1677 in a copy of Gueyniers vocabulary in the possession of the Royal Batavia Society. The secretary courteously supplied me with a copy. He "recommended that the Malay Annals and the Bustan be read not only on account of the language but also because they give a recital of the origin of the Malay kingdoms and lands up to the date of the arrival of the Portugese" i.e. 1511.

Winstedt lists 8. Mss in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society London; one in the school of Oriental studies there; 5 at Leiden, one at the Hague, and one in Batavia.

I had two Mss. One specifically stated that it had been copied by an arab in 1835 from that in the possession of the then Sultan of Riau-Lingga for Bartje Westerhout of Malaka a Dutchman who stayed on and took service with the British when Malaka was finally handed over. I gave this copy to the Selangor Museum since its provenance was so definite. I purchased it in Klang from a descendant of Raja Jafar YTM Riau.

The second Mss came from Riau obtained by Tengku Musa eddin el Haji, Tengku Klana Jaya Petra Selangor. It had been copied by a Malay who held the appointment of Maharaja Lela there and so a Court Official, in 1808 and the name of Raja Jafar who was 6th YTM Riau between 1805-1830 appeared on a fly leaf and so it was probably made for him. It also bore the names of Tengku Besar Mahomed and Tengku Omar.

I deposited all my Mss in the Selangor Museum in December/41 for safety but the Museum was hit by a bomb meant for the railway yards near by in 1945 and both these Mss disappeared though some others were saved.

These Mss were largely identical and generally agreed with the Ms A which Dulaurier used in his unfinished comparison with the Singapore text compiled by Munshi Abdullah about 1835 from several Mss. Shellabear says he used this Singapore text as the basis of his work. Ms A is said to have been the best Ms in Leiden.

According to my two Mss and the Farquhar Ms 5 and Maxwell Ms 26 in London the year of the compilation was 1020AH (1611AD) but nearly all the other Mss are dated 1021AH (1612AD) so there must have been two editions of perhaps four or five copies each. The day of the month is always 12th Rabialawal, the day on which the birth and death of the Prophet Mahomed is honoured by all Muslims, and so a conventional one. The equivalent date in the English calendar old style in 1611 is 13th May and in 1612 is 2nd May. Winstedt converts to other dates but he follows the earlier gregorian calendar adopted on the continent.

The 1611 edition says that the compilation was undertaken at Pekan Tukh (also written Tuj). This might be an error for Tauhid. My Mss mention a place Pekan Tu to which Sultan Mahmud went, after leaving Pahang in 1511/12, in Johore before going to Bentan, but gives no indication where it was except that it was a long way from the sea. The Ms at the Hague says Pekan Tua. The 1612 editions say Pasar Raja & all agree that Sri Lanang's Sultan moved from Makam Tauhid to Pasar Raja, so the name of the place where the editions were written follows the actual movements of the Court. Linehan considers that the Shellabear text which mentions Pasai is a corruption, but Ms A. says Pasai. Perhaps a polite fiction to hide the fact that the Sultan of Johor was a captive in Aceh.

Five London Mss say that the story was brought by an Orang Kaya Sogoh (Sogeh or Siugah) from Goa. Hitherto it has usually been accepted that this was the Goa in India, headquarters of the Portugese. Linehan has now suggested that it might be Gua a kampong on the Jelai north of K. Lipis or else the Gua (caves) at Kota Glanggi near Pulau Tawar. One might ask why any Malaka or Johor Orang Kaya should go to such out of the way places.

Both my Mss give the full pedigree of this man. A direct descendant of Tun Perak the great Bendahara of Malaka of the xvth century through his eldest son Tun Zainalabidin who left the Court and settled at Lubok China. In a short vivid incident of the Malaka fight this man helps his grandfather Tun Salehudin to gird on the fighting belt of their famous ancestor Tun Perak and the young man urges the old one to so bear himself in the fight as not to disgrace their ancestor. They sally forth together but a spear thrust from a Portugese kills the old man. Tun Sogoh must have been a stripling at the time.

It is evident that he escaped and might have taken some of the family possessions with him such as a hikayat. Marsden mentions that thousands of Malays fled, after the fall of Malaka, to Goa near Makasar at the southern tip of Celebes. Later they were allowed to build their own mosque whilst the Bugis who at first were inclined to accept the teachings of the Portugese priests (Eredia's mother was a Bugis princess) suddenly accepted Islam in an extraordinary wholesale conversion. I suggest that this is the Goa whence O K Sogoh brought the story.

Winstedt published in *JRASMB* vol xvi pt iii. a romanised copy of Ms 18 from the London library RAS. He points out that there is nothing mentioned therein later than 1535 and consequently claims that it is the oldest version of the annals. But at the end appear the words "written by Raja Bongsu". Winstedt says this must be the famous Raja Bongsu later Sultan Abdullah the patron of the 1611/12 editions.

Blagden however points out that there are indications that this Ms was written in northern Malaya. Amongst the captives at Aceh taken by Iskandar Muda were two brothers Tengku Tua and Raja Bongsu of the Perak royal family, and the latter became Sultan of Perak c 1630. Now this Ms alone has the full correct pedigree of the Perak royal family. What more natural than that this Raja should obtain the true facts about his family. Sri Lanang was alive still and most of the Malaka-Johor royal family were at Aceh as captives together with those from Pahang and Perak. Surely an opportunity for talks of the past. If my surmise is correct there are no inconsistencies & absurdities to explain away, as Winstedt indicates on p 3 vol. xvi JRASMB. Winstedt suggests that the Johor branch did not like the Perak branch but Portugese accounts relate the visit of the Johore Bendahara to Perak in 1535 in order to remove his cousin who had become the first Bendahara of Perak and in order to help the new Sultan.

I confess I find it difficult to accept Winstedt's strictures on the editors of the 1611/12 editions.

Winstedt even accuses the copyist of cribbing the preface from the Bustan though the latter was written 27 years after the Annals and the writer thereof records that he went to discuss the Annals with Sri Lanang at Aceh, Winstedt bases his assertion on the, in his view, more scholarly attainments of the author of the Bustan. But van der Worm does not see any such distinction between the two works, & the writer of the Bustan was not a Malay.

The Malay Annals commence their tale by creating a pedigree from Alexander the Great, the eastern story of Iskandar Zulkarnain, Alexander with the twin horns. In the pedigree the names do not agree with known history until we reach Ardeshir Babegan 224 AD. the Artaxerxes of the Greeks and founder of the Sassanian dynasty. The total length of reigns given is 659 years tho' in actual fact the period is only 549 years but one need not be surprised at that since no written contemporary history exists.

Then Nushirwan Adil appears, his daughter marrying Ardeshir, though of course the date of the former is in fact three centuries later; a simple method of shortening the tale. Then follow four names to a Tarsi Berderas who marries the daughter of a Raja Sulan ruler of Amdan Nagara which is held to be a synonym for Gujerat (asiatic researches vol. xx. All countries below the wind, i.e. the malayan region, are subject to him; semua negeri dibawah angin taalok. Was this a Gupta period?

Ms 18 carries on the traditional pedigree to Yezdegird whose correct date is 640 AD.

Now we find that this tradition still exists in Gujerat-Rajputana as recorded by Colonel Tod in his annals of Rajsthan "the Sissodia clan of Rajputs, the Ranas of Mewar and Udaipur, traces its descent from the Valabhi, rulers of Gujerat 490-770, who are of the seed of Nushirwan the Just. There is no direct evidence in support but the marriage between Mahabanu daughter of a defeated Yezdegird and a Valabhi is not impossible and the alternative tradition that Naushizad who fled from his father Nushirwan in 570 AD and took refuge at Balapatam in Gujerat is related by Procopius".

Sivaji the founder of the Maharatta Empire in the 18th century claimed a similar descent from Alexander the Great through his mother a Rajput.

It will be seen that the Malay Annals mention in one version descent from Nushirwan and in the other from Yezdegird. Can we doubt that this Malay tale relates a tradition of the arrival of a chief with a Parthian origin as described in the Sissodia clan pedigree.

Raffles records the Java tradition that in the year 603AD an expedition came from Gujerat under their chief Suwela Chela via Mataram i.e. through south Java, bringing the Hindu religion. Perhaps from Somnath, the great Siva Shrine on the coast. But we have definite proof of a Parthian ruler in the recent discovery at Oc-Eo on the coast of Cambodia of a large cabochon in plate de verre with a face in profile of a bearded man with braided hair wearing a scythian cap. As Braddell remarks this is clearly a Sassanian effigy of about the ivth century when a King of Iranian stock was reigning in Funan (vol xx JRASMB).

The Chinese annals say that the first civilisers of Funan came from the south. Funan means Defender of the South. Would not this man come via the peninsula?

Both Marsden and Maxwell held that an early Indian civilisation was brought to the malayan region from Gujerat and not from southern India as Leyden, Crawford and more recently Winstedt indicate. Maxwell drew attention to the similarity of the tale of the founding of Malaka and that of Patan in Gujerat where a white hare fought with a dog; also the similarity of Kawi script and that found on copper plates in Gujerat and the duties of Bath at coronations and weddings were the duties of a tribe in Gujerat. N. Sastri has recently drawn attention to the very close resemblance of Sanskrit letters on the B. Miriam stone to these on a stone found at Ujjain.

The Rajput title of Rana appears in that of the legendary third King of Singapore.

The Kedah annals say that these Parthians after establishing themselves at Langkasuka on the Merbok river went north east and south to create kingdoms. Was Langkasuka part of Funan? Linehan has recently suggested this name derives from Lanka island and Asoka the only ruler of all India before the British. But is there any record of a town named after him in India? I prefer Wilkinsons derivation from Malay (A) langkasuka the place of all delights, where the tolerant Buddhist religion was dominant & food plentiful. Q Wales's researches in this area clearly shew that there must have been a high standard of civilized life in this region of Malaya. Huin Tsang the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim after leaving Malaya went to Valabhi in 640AD and reported it as a centre of the Hinayana school of Buddhism. Later I Tsing passed through Sri Vijaya in Malaya 671AD on his way to India where he mentions Valabhi and Nalanda as the two places in India, at that date, which compare with the most famous centres of learning in China. Sri Vijaya must have been equally famous since he returned there from India to copy texts and then went to China and brought back scholars who remained seven years 685-692 copying texts. He also mentions that Hwui Ning in 664/5 and again 667/8 copied texts here with the help of Jnanabhadra a Sumatran sage. One can thus assume that Sri Vijaya had texts which could not be found in India since by the end of the 7th century Buddhism had been largely absorbed by Hinduism, in India.

Sculpture found at Prapatom south of Bangkok gives us some insight to the high state of civilisation existing. A Salmoney in his book "Sculpture in Siam" is moved to the following praise of Malay work dating before 700AD.

"The tenderness of modelling far exceeds the most pronounced examples of refined delicacy of southern India. The Malay type shews a more free dancing quality of movement, surrendering itself with greater abandon to the play of the limbs. Prapatom makes us acquainted with the earliest form of art practised on (what later became) Siamese soil and puts the Kingdom of Sri Vijaya at the head of those series of factors which in the course of centuries produced works of art in the Menan valley. These early efforts shew what stage of attainment had been achieved before the great monuments of Java (Borobudur 700AD). The political solidarity of Java Borneo Malaya Sumatra and Siam inferred by Coedes become a geographical and artistic unity by virtue of the Prapatom discoveries. The sculpture of Malaya is contemporary with the Gupta period of India (320-480), the Wei & Tang period in China. It is the handmaid of Buddhism and it remained free from Graeco-Buddhist influences. The graceful delicacy of line, the facile elegance of arrangement in flat specimens,

the lively rythm of the modelling are distinct from the Indian type — the instinctive certainty with which the Malay peoples originated an art bears witness to the creative vigour of that race.”

This artist who was an officer of the Cologne Museum must surely have had a glimpse of the vision glorious to have been so moved. Yet he may see further into the heart of things than the mere historian grubbing amongst the very limited supply of facts.

The old Tang Annals writing of Holing which Moens reads as Kaling say “they have letters and know a little astronomy “In the New Tang, Kaling is also named Chopo (Siapo A).

The story is now transferred to Malaya. In the 1611/12 editions the hero is a Parthian a son of the marriage of Tarsi Berderas to the daughter of the Ruler of Amdan Nagara i.e. Gujerat (Asiatic Researches vol xx).

Ms 18 however alone says he was the ruler of Nagapatam and so a Tamil and probably a Chola but even he claims descent from Nushirwan Adil the Parthian; so one may assume it was a version prepared to honour the Chola Kings but no Chola ever claimed Parthian descent.

The tale covers several centuries.

A Raja Suran conquers a place named Gangga Nagara which has a fort situated to the landward side of the Dinding towards Perak.

B Raja Suran conquers a place named Ganggayu. This name is said to be a Malay corruption of Siamese word Klang Kio. His warriors are stated to be Klings and the enemy Siamese except in Ms 18 where there is no mention of Siamese.

C Raja Suran proceeds to Tumasek, no mention of any fighting

D Raja Suran goes under the sea in a glass box. He is welcomed by the King of the underworld marries his daughter named Mahbatu begets a family & then leaving them there returns to Tumasik where he sets up a stone recording his exploits “in the language of Hindustan” and then returns to India.

E A Sumatran tale. The sons from under the sea arrive on the mountains of Palembang in the land of Andelas. One son Sang Superba becomes Ruler of Palembang after marrying the daughter of the local chief. Their descent from Iskandar Zulkarnein is so famous that even the emperor of China sends a mission to obtain a daughter in marriage. Not content with his kingdom Sang Superba sets out and arrives at Tanjong Pura. A son of his marries the daughter of the Ruler there and

apparently ousts his father-in-law. The ruler of Majapahit then hears of their arrival and demands and obtains the remaining daughter in marriage.

F Sang Superba then proceeds with his remaining son to Bintang where he marries him to the daughter of the Queen of that island and then sails on to the Kuantan (Indragiri) river in Sumatra ascends it till he arrives at the land of the Minangkabau where after trial he is made Ruler.

G The son left at Bintang crosses over to Tumasik and founds Singapore.

Can we wed these traditions to factual history.

A The existence of a State somewhere in the delta of the Perak river is proved by the record by Q Wales of Buddha statuettes in the Kinta valley which he dates as Gupta Period 320-480 and then others in the Bidor valley which he dates 750-900 shewing Pala influence from Bengal. The Tang annals covering 618-900 say that the forbear of the ruler of Holing lived at Polukasi. This would seem to refer to someone living before these dates Polukasi is accepted as being Bruas for which the Portuguese name was Barruaz the same as their name for Broach in the Gulf of Cambay, the Bharakachha of Periplus.

The Kedah annals relate that parthians came from Gamberum in Persia and after founding a kingdom sent the next generation out to found other kingdoms. Perak & Patani are specifically mentioned.

The find of this cabochon shewing the head of a Parthian and dated 4th century at Oc-Eo on the coast of Cambodia is proof that Parthians were also taking a hand in exploring the Malayan region. The Funan kingdom was founded by a man who came from the south. His name Houen Tien as given by Braddell is accepted as Kaundinya & so an Indian though the transcription of name of the same family in Palembang is Kiau Tan Ju.

The Gangga Nagara of Ptolemy according to my calculations is sited in Kedah on the Merbok. But possibly a state was founded in Perak by the son of the Kedah dynasty who may have taken the name with him. Another simple alternative would be that the compiler of the story of the annals just took the name from a ptolemaic map in order to provide a location.

We have not been able to find the site of this Gangga Nagara. If it ever existed as the name of a town then it might be as far inland as Changkat Jong or even Changkat Mentri.

Bolukasi 婆露伽斯

B Raja Suran conquers a place named Ganggayu which is said to be a Siamese name mispronounced in Malay. In some Mss the name is written Lenggü a tributary of the Johor river but in the next sentence all Mss revert to Klenggui or something very close to it. The fact that Raja Suran's warriors are named Klings would mean that he was a Kling so it is a tradition of the arrival of Klings and as Ms 18 makes Raja Sulan the hero of these exploits we may accept him as a Chola from Nagapatam date 1023 or 1066. This would create a difficulty since the Siamese did not arrive at Ligor until the end of the 13th century but we know that Malays habitually name places or mines as Siamese which are known to have existed long prior to their arrival and so must mean the people who occupied the territory later occupied by the Siamese and thus at the period of the Chola raids, the Khmer. We also know that the Khmer must have controlled the east coast for a long time since the numbers used by the Temiar and Senoi aborigines are Khmer; one set only covering up to three (I found this amongst the Senoi at Ulu Slim in 1896) and others up to ten. It is thought that the latter set of numbers was brought in by a second wave of immigrants of higher culture.

This tradition is certainly factual history. The name Kalongka on the ptolemaic map may have been seized on by the compiler of the story to locate his tradition.

I can see no reason why a state should have its capital at Kota Glanggi in central Pahang. It is not on any through route from the Tembeling and well off the Pahang river. No name like Ganggayu or Kalongka appears on the inscription at Nagapatam 1034 recording the exploits of Rajendra Cola.

C Raja Suran proceeds to Tumasik which we first hear of from Marco Polo 1292 as being the city of the island of Malaiar and thus used for that island. Malai-ar appears on the Nagapatam inscription of Rajendra Cola. Now the second Cola raid in 1066 ended in their defeat by the state named by the Chinese, Sam Put Tsai which was ruled by a Sailendra dynasty and the Chinese annals relate that the Chola country was subject to this state in Malaya. Moens locates this State in Johor but Chao Ju Kua's story of the chains across the harbour would suggest Singapore as the locus.

Raja Suran decides to give up the idea of going on to conquer China and is then addressed by his ministers as Sri Maharaja a title which Winstedt says was used by the Sailendra family. So it would seem that Raja Suran is no longer a Chola but a

- Sailendra ruler of Sam Put Tsai and this is borne out by the fact that he did not have to fight anyone when he reached Tumasik.
- D The story teller then removes Raja Suran from the scene and using an episode from the story of Iskandar Zulkarnain, he goes under the sea in a glass box. There he marries the daughter of the king of the underworld whose name Mahbatu might be reminiscent of Mahbanu daughter of Yezdegird. He has a family and leaves them behind to return to Tumasik and thence to India. But before doing so sets up a stone with the record of his exploits "in the language of Hindustan". Here of course we have the definite fact that a stone existed a century ago at the mouth of the Singapore river but was blown up to provide a gun site for Fort Fullerton. Abdullah munshi relates the efforts made to preserve it "as who knows what ancient history it recorded of Singapore." But the vandals could not be restrained and so we only have a fragment which is undecipherable but said by Kern to be in Kawi script. This would imply a javanese inscription unless Maxwell is right and Kawi writing derives from Gujerat. Kertanagara is said to have conquered Pahang and so may have conquered Singapore his date is round 1275. But the State of Sam Put Tsai collapsed before that in 1183 and control of the Straits moved to Malayu in Sumatra. State of Sam Put Tsai (1) appears at times to have controlled the whole of Java and always western Java Sunda. Perhaps the stone was set up to celebrate a victory over Java certainly more likely than a victory by Javanese over Singapore. The destruction of Singapore by Hyam Wuruk in 1365 did not seem to result in occupation. I suggest this stone dated from the period of Sam Put Tsai 900-1180. The Malaiar and Tumasik.
- E Raja Suran having passed from the scene the story teller brings his sons from under the sea and we get the Sailendra dynasty established in Palembang. The Chinese annals relate that in 517 the King was named Pek Cheng Ong (2) or the pale faced King and his family name was Kiau Tan Ju ie Kaundinya, Moens says this Kaundinya family were of pure Brahmin blood so much so that they were related to most of the ruling houses in southern India. They ruled in Palembang until driven out by Sri Vijaya from Kelantan in 683 when they moved to Java where they set up the wonderful monuments to their Buddhist faith the Borobudur stupa dated 700AD and others later. Thence they were driven out by Sanjaya about 860 and are not heard of till

Sam Put Isa 三佛齊 Kaundinya 觀陳如 Pek Cheng Ong 白淨王

890 when they appear as rulers of Sam Put Tsai.

Curiously Moens says "this stage of the Sailendra emigration to the archipelago has been entirely obliterated in Malay tradition". Stutterheim claims that the Sailendra dynasty of central Java was purely javanese and it seems to me that the Malay Annals may reconcile these two points of view.

The Kaundinya daughters would be sought in marriage for their pure Brahmin blood. The Malay annals transfer this to their descent from Iskandar Zulkarnein. The ruler of China even demands one and China did not make Buddhism the official religion till the 4th century. Before the Tang period China was a number of states; it is just possible that marriage to pure Brahmin blood might be a political move since Malaya was the headquarters of Buddhism.

The Annals say Sang Superba the mythical ruler of Palembang leaves or is forced to leave there and goes to Tanjong Pura the town which is marked at the mouth of the Pontianak river, famous for diamonds & gold & camphor. His son marries the daughter of the ruler there and then replaces him. Whilst there the Ruler of Majapahit comes and demands a daughter in marriage. Should Majapahit* merely mean the ruler of central or eastern Java? If so then the tale would reconcile the view of Moens and Stutterheim. Descent by blood was clearly carried through the women whose children were often those of Brahmin priests (reputedly by the god). This marriage might well create the revival of Buddhism which found expression in their monuments.

I venture to suggest that both Moens and Stutterheim attribute these traditions to a much later period than is warranted. As shewn above they may fit in with history.

F Sang Superba sails from Bintang leaving his son Nila Utama behind and arrives off the mouth of the Indragiri (Kuantan) river in Sumatra. Names mentioned Ruku, Balang, Muara Sepat can still be found on the map. The incident when he magically provided fresh water for the crew by placing his feet in a circlet of rotan floating in the salt water is recorded by the name Perigi Raja then probably a fresh water spring on the coast but now some miles up the river.

He proceeds up the river till he arrives at the Minangkabau country, which is the hill country along the Barisan range of mountains the source of much gold, of the existence of which

* in a book The Alphabet published 1947 we read of "a period 900-1400 — centralized empire known a Majapahit.

the British administrators of the East India Company were completely ignorant when we still held Benkulen. He orders one of his captains to slay the serpent Saktimuna with his magic sword Si Manding Kini, the name of an avatar of Ujain and then is accepted as ruler at Pagar Ruyong. It is obvious that we are back again in the dim past perhaps even as early as the date 656 of the inscription mentioned by Yule.

In 1347 Adityavarman who had been employed as an envoy to China by Majapahit set himself up as Ruler at Pagar Ruyong and appears to have been an extremist member of the Bhairava cult; but this date would be too late for the following events of the foundation of Singapore, according to Linchan.

- G Nila Utama leaves Riau & crosses over the Strait of Singapore, the Selat of the Malays & the Lung Ya Men the Dragon Tooth strait of the Chinese. He proceeds into Keppel harbour the Selat Sengki of the Malays the New Strait of the Portugese at the eastern end of which was the Malaiar mentioned in the Nagapatam inscription of 1034. The actual landing was at Telok Blanga about midway up the strait. He proceeds to the padang of Tumasik i.e. the esplanade of Singapore but mentioned by Marco Polo as the site of the city of Malaiar, whose name had apparently even then replaced the older name Malaiar which changed to Tanjong Pagar and (Malai point) Tanjong Malai.

He sees an animal about the size of a large old he-goat (Randok) and one of his ignorant entourage says he has been told that a lion is like that. Randok is a taboo name for a tiger and Singa was probably used in the same manner. The belief in the were tiger and of certain Malay tribes having the power to assume the shape of a tiger and roam the country at night is as Wilkinson shews still vivid amongst Malays. The people of Chinaku up the Kuantan river being especially credited with the power, it is interesting to note that Raja Aji the noted warrior of the 18th century and younger brother of the first Sultan of Selangor went there to live & study the art and received the title of Sutan Bijaya surely a relic of the Sri Vijaya of the 8th century. Harimau would therefore be an unlucky name for a city and a discourtesy to my lord the Tiger the King of the Forests so the new city is given the name of the Lion City thus preserving the older indian name perhaps of the Sengki Pura of Keppel Harbour, by a small change of sound, but the older name was obviously in use after the europeans had reached Malaya as the French chart shews and other later maps of the 18th century.

Linehan has in vol xx pt ii JRASMB set out the chronology of the Rulers of Singapore from Nila Utama down to Iskandar giving them dates from 1299 to 1391 when the last moved to Malaka. It seems to me that there still remains a doubt about the first three. Their reigns are related in annals three to six and in the last one we have the story in which Badang the strong man from Johor with the help of the strong man from Perlak in northern Sumatra stretched a chain across the harbour of Sri Rama in Singapore (Keppel Harbour) to obstruct the attack of enemies. This tale is however told by Chao Ju Kua writing in 1225 of Sam Put Tsai. Have the compilers merely introduced an old tradition or are the three Kings part of the old tradition.

This Chinese name Sam Put Tsai is usually accepted as a transcription of the Sri Vijaya which as Coodes points out ended in the 8th century and was named by the Chinese as Chelifoche, and he accepted with some reservation the view that Sam Put Tsai meant Sri Vijaya.

Moens shews clearly that the Sailendra dynasty had no connection with the old Sri Vijaya but that they were the Rulers of the state Sam Put Tsai sited in southern Malaya which lasted from circa 900 to 1200AD.

Moens traces this family through the Kaundinyas to the Kandara dynasty which ruled on the Kistna river and says that they were members of the ananda-gotra, worshippers of the Samyak-Sambuddha the truly enlightened.

I suggest that Sam Put Tsai is a transcription of Sambuddha and that this was the title of the ruler of a theocratic Buddhist state; like the Dalai Lama of Tibet he was the earthly incarnation of the truly enlightened one. The arabs used a name Sri Buza meaning the glorious Buddha and so the same. The place where this theocratic ruler lived would shift from time to time when the death of the ruler necessitated the discovery of a new incarnation. Moens hints at direct connection with Tibet as a result of the work of the monk Dipankara Crijnana 1011 to 1023. Chao Ju Kua relates that these rulers were buried as Buddhas. If I am right here, then one can understand the Javanese objection to any of the rulers of the south east coast of Sumatra using such a title.

Linehan's article does not mention the record of Tome Pires and so was probably written before the Hakluyt Society published these extraordinarily interesting volumes which seem to be so much more accurate, perhaps partly because he wrote in Malaka in 1515 whereas most of the other Portuguese writers did not write in Malaka and of course all many years later, when memories of actual participants were difficult to obtain and in any case would not be so accurate.

Pires says there were three Kings titled Sang Aji, Holy King; one at Palembang, one at Pontianak and the third at Singapore. All were vassals of Batara Tumaril of Java but that of Singapore was related by marriage to Siam or Siam's relative in Patani, whereas the other two were related by marriage to the Batara of Java.

The mention of Pontianak brings him into the line with the Malay annals.

On the death of Sang Aji of Palembang his son succeeds but does not obtain the title Sang Aji but that of Parameswara. The Malay annals name the son of Sri Rana Wira Kerma, Dasia Raja which in Hindustani means son by a slave mother, the anak gundek of the Malays, thus confirming the general impression that this Parameswara was of inferior rank.

At the end of the sixth annal, this anak gundek succeeds his father but adopts the Malay title of Paduka Sri Maharaja in the same short paragraph his son is born but the midwife distorts his head so that it bulges out on each side. A surgeon suggested that this might be a case of hydrocephalitis but against that is the fact that such cases are usually idiots whereas this man grew up to be an exceptional Ruler; was able to leave his kingdom for some years, go to China and on his return introduce a tin currency. Owing to the bulges on his head he receives the name Iskandar Dzu'l-karnein the twin horned Alexander. His queer head might be the origin of the Chinese name which Groeneveldt transcribes Muk an sau tir sha which in Hindustani would be Mukh-face An-with Saut-twin, Sir-head, Shah-King. He had another name according to Portugese writers, Raja Sabu. Sabu means sago in hindustani and sago from the east coast of Sumatra was according to Burkhill the best until the Chinese of Singapore produced pearl sago during the last century.

The author of the Bustan recorded that Sri Lanang said he wrote what he had heard of the descent of the rulers of Malaka from Sri Sultan Iskandar Dzu'l-karnein. So it is from this man that the Malay author begins to record his real history. All before this is tradition. One must not overlook the probability that there were Malays who could read and write Chinese as well as hindustani and that they might even cull bits from the Chinese annals as well as from the Hikayat Iskandar.

The use of the title Sultan would indicate that he was a Muslim and the fact that his son was named Rajah Ahmad and married the daughter of Raja Suleiman of Kota Mahligai (usually accepted as Patani) confirms this. In the tenth annal (new edition) we have the story of a Muslim Tun Jana Khatib who was an Indian but came from Pasai.

To revert to Tome Pires the Parameswara revolts against the Batara of Java but is defeated and sails for Singapore. There he is said to be courteously received by the Sang Aji (other Portugese writers say Tamagi but Pires is obviously right) but for some reason murders him and establishes himself in his place. Pires obtained much of the record from the Javanese who would naturally be biased against the rebel. Probably the Batara urged his vassal the Sang Aji to get rid of the uninvited guest. The Parameswara however has to leave Singapore when Siam sent a force to avenge the murder of their relative Sang Aji of Singapore, and flees to Malaka ultimately.

The tenth annal records the various attacks on Singapore and it would seem that Islam was successful for a time until Java sent a force which overwhelmed the island. It would seem that Majapahit was fighting to uphold the Hindu religion against Islam.

In the eleventh annal his son takes the title Raja Besar Muda but the next generation all have the Javanese title of Radin so indicating a period of Javanese domination.

Pires helps to clear up this matter of Tun Jana Khatib. In Pasai they had accepted men of the Bengali caste as Rulers and by that we must understand the Afghan rulers of Bengal who were finally subdued by the Moguls when Sultan Shuja fled with all his treasure first to Arakan then to Pegu where he was killed and his treasure seized and according to one story it was from this treasure that the golden topped Pagoda was built. This record also explains the much later Malaka history of the marriage of Sultan Mahomed to the daughter of the Raja of Rekan who was related to Sultan Sidi said to be a brother of Sultan Shuja.

One must now revert to Annals number seven to nine which are an excerpt from the Pasai annals but which help us to understand peninsula history.

The first Muslim ruler died in 1297^{AD} (697^{AH}) according to his grave stone which was brought from Cambay a port of Gujerat.

When the two brothers quarrel one is banished to Manjong which we know was in the Dinding area of Perak, thus indicating close connection between northern Sumatra & northern Malaya which revived again when Aceh rose to dominate the whole area.

Also the grave stones at Bruas which are not a local stone and are engraved in Nashk script which might be from Gujerat where it was used to a great extent.

There is mention of Perlak being defeated by enemies from Sebrang a term which is in common use here in Selangor as meaning Sumatra ie across the water and so used in the reverse sense meaning the peninsula. Later we find the grave of a Kedah princess at Pasai

(dated 1380) where her family was ruling.

The 12th annal introduces Mani Purindam whom Winstedt says was a tamil trader but on what grounds it is difficult to understand. He is stated to be the eldest son of Nltlamu'IMuluk which is clearly the title of many Governors of provinces in India Nizam. The place is named Pahili. Perhaps this is the name of the last independent rulers of Gujerat the Vaghela dynasty 1222-1298 which was subdued by the Kalji and Tugluq Sultans of Delhi 1298 who appointed their own governors, until 1407. There was a Nizam ul Muluk there in 1363. The name Mani Purindam would seem to be a nickname for a son by a commoner mother since the younger brother succeeds and is named Raja Akbar.

Mani Purindam on the death of his father leaves for Malaka but is wrecked off Pasai returns home and sets out again, reaches Malaka and is welcomed and addressed as Baginda. That he was a trader also is probable as all Kings were traders in these days; he was definitely a Muslim and quite possibly a man from Gujerat, so there can be no question of caste as Winstedt suggests. His Penghulu Lashkar or Captain General bears the title Khoja. Ali and nearly all the Khojas now live in Bombay but were first in Gujerat.

We may now leave the traditions of the Malay Annals as we have reached historical times.

Iron Tools or weapons found at Klang in 1905/6/7

Models were made by L Wray then Director of Museum F.M.S. & kept in the Taiping Museum.

The Malay name for these is Tulang Mawas or the bones of the Orang Utan Ape. There is a legend that they were used by a race with an iron forearm.

There is no record as to where they were found in Klang and in the Museum records, merely that the models were made from the originals in the Selangor Museum.

Recently another find was made on the top of Bukit Jati which is the site for bungalows of the new Power Station. Mr. H.B. Collings the Archeologist of Raffles Museum came up and inspected the site. As a result of this a Malay told me that he remembers hearing that some Tulang Mawas were found on Bukit Badak long ago and given

to Dato Dagang. Bukit Jati is about quarter of a mile down stream from Bukit Badak so it would seem probable that Bukit Badak is the site where these earlier tools were found.

The models made of papier mache consist of

A no 2926/05 a spearhead waisted.

B no 2925/05 a round curved tool 29 cm long with a socket 125 cm diameter. The end forming the blade splays out but the edge is broken off or rusted off.

C no 1087/07 an oblong blade 14 x 6 cm with a handle 16 cm long at one corner set at an angle to the blade.

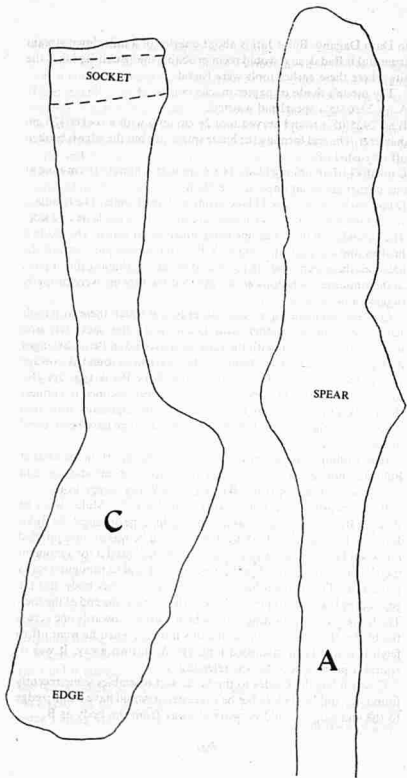
D no 1/06 has a two edged blade in line with the handle. The handle is 18 cm long measured to the higher shoulder of the blade on one side. The shoulder on the other side being much lower down. The blade is broken and only 10 cm remain. V.B.C. Baker has put forward the idea that these were shaping tools used by men in shaping the timbers in their mining operations as he says that the timbers were properly toggled and jointed.

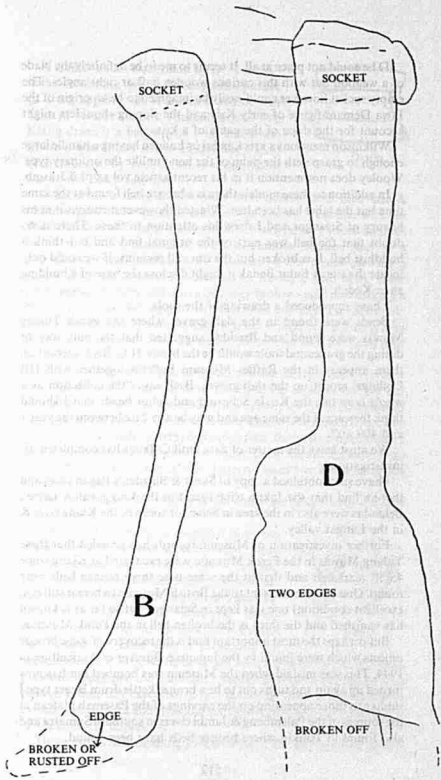
Q Wales commenting on the slab graves in which these iron tools have been found together with beads said "the socketted iron implements associated with the slab graves found in Perak Selangor & Pahang are unknown in India — They have been found at iron age sites in the Phillipines where slab graves of the Perak type are also found — tho dating evidence is lacking one feels inclined to connect the Perak graves with an Indonesian culture especially now that innumerable glass beads of the Kuala Selinsing type have been found in them".

H.B. Collings has not yet written his detailed report on the finds at Bukit Jati but he feels sure that they are weapons spears and axes and so he does not accept either Baker's or Q Wales' suggestions.

Before hearing from him however I had asked a Malay what he thought B could be. There was not one of this type amongst the Bukit Jati find. Picking it up thinking it was of iron he was at once puzzled but when I explained it was a model only he balanced it for a moment then laid it along the inside of his forearm and said he thought it was a pisau raut. The wooden haft would rest against ones body and the edge of the blade was on the outside of the curve at the end of the tool. The tool is used for splitting rotan which is drawn towards one across the blade. His father had one like this but alas when he went off to fetch it it had been discarded long ago & thrown away. It was of course a modern tool he was referring to.

C which has thick sides to the blade and resembles some recently found, he could not place but he suggested it would have a sharp edge to the end side & could be worked away from the body as B.





SOCKET

SOCKET

B

D

TWO EDGES

EDGE

**BROKEN OR
RUSTED OFF**

BROKEN OFF

He could not place it at all. It seems to me to be definitely the blade of a weapon but with this curious wooden haft at right angles. The empty socket however could easily be imagined to be an origin of the Jawa Demam figure of early Kris and the sloping shoulders might account for the slope of the ganja of a kris.

Wilkinson mentions a kris Landai or Landen having a handle large enough to grasp with the palm of the hand unlike the ordinary type. Wooley does not mention it in his recent article vol xx pt ii Jrasmb.

In addition to these models there is a bronze bell found at the same time but the label has been lost. Winstedt however mentions it in his history of Selangor and I drew his attention to these. There is no doubt that the bell was part of the original find and is I think a buddhist bell. It is broken but the rim still remains. If we could only locate the site at Bukit Badak it might disclose the base of a building as in Kedah.

I have reproduced a drawing of the tools.

Beads were found in the slab graves where the Perak Tulang Mawas were found and Braddell suggested that the only way of dating the graves and tools would be the beads. H.C. Beck's report on them appears in the Raffles Museum Bulletin together with HB Collings' report on the slab graves. Beck says "the collection as a whole is so like the Kuala Selinsing and Johor beads that I should think they are of the same age and may be any date between the year 1 and 400 AD".

We must leave the matter of date until Collings has completed his investigations.

I have since obtained a copy of Skeat & Blagden's Pagan races and therein find that the Jakun tribe found in the Linggi valley named Belandas were also in the area in Selangor south of the Klang river & in the Langat valley.

Further investigation of Museum records has revealed that these Tulang Mawas in the Perak Museum were excavated at Klang some 45/50 years ago and that at the same time three bronze bells were found. One of these was sent to the British Museum (where it still is in excellent condition) one was kept in Selangor but so far as is known has vanished and the third is the broken bell in the Perak Museum.

But perhaps the most important find is the recovery of some bronze objects which were found by the Japanese Director of Agriculture in 1944. This was mislaid when the Museum was bombed but has now turned up again and turns out to be a bronze kettle drum Heger type I similar to those appearing on the carvings of the Pasemah plateau at the sources of the Palembang & Jambi rivers in southern Sumatra and also found in Tonkin where bronze bells have been found.

A similar drum was found by Dr. Linehan in the Tembeling river in Pahang and a picture of that appears in Winstedt's History of Malaya volume xiii pt 1. Journal MB.RAS. The Klang drum is a better type. The actual site where it was found is not known but I have been informed by Tengku Musa-eddin that it was in the Bukit Jati area.



Drum

D Linehan is satisfied that both these drums from their size & ornamentation, are the most ancient type known. Together with the Bukit Jati find of Tulang Mawas is some black pottery which analysis shews to have a coating of some bitumastic solution and so a probable connection with south Sumatra, a few pieces shewing a yellow glaze which analysis discloses as having a lead basis, some cord-marked pottery and also a quantity broken small and making a heap some seven feet long by two feet wide and about a foot thick. This one might fairly assume to be a grave similar to the slab-graves further north but pottery was used as there is no suitable stone near by in Klang.

We can now definitely date the occupation of this Bukit Jati area near Klang and connect it with the Pasemah culture. As van der Hoop says this has been too little studied partly owing to the splendid products of the Hindu-Javanese culture which have tended to act like the moon whose light causes the stars to pale. In the Korinchi country at the source of the Jambi river where these megaliths have been found there was a piece of Han pottery dated the 4th year of the Emperor Yuan Ti (B C 45).

The drawing of the head and the drum are taken from van der Hoop's book.

Who would ever have expected that we should be able to see actually what these people looked like. They wore a copper helmet which fitted the head closely so that no hair is visible. the edge of the helmet runs in a straight line above the forehead, bends downwards just before the ears, then sweeps out behind the head with a projection to protect the neck. Above the nose and ears it is provided with round plates to strengthen the material. "Along the edge of the helmet is a pattern beautifully executed, in fact the whole head is executed with extraordinary force and style and the plastic power of the countenance is extremely impressive."



Head

These artists distorted the proportions of the elephants or horses

with which their men are associated, making them just small attributes to the whole piece. They sought a piece of stone whose natural form would suggest the image they intended to shape, so that only comparatively little material had to be hewn away. All round the stone "en relief" work has been added, but this embraces the stone so closely that the effect of free sculpture has, as it were been attained. The images usually wear just a loin cloth hanging down in front and behind, with a belt through which a short broad-sword is thrust. This has knobs on its sheath to prevent it slipping. At Batu Gajah there is one such carving showing two men on either side of an elephant, the man on the right side has a drum on his back carried by a strap through the side rings. This helps enormously in dating the images.

The drums have been found in several places in Java, and in Bali a mould, in which they were cast in two pieces vertically and then soldered together, turned up. One was found in the island of Rotti, near Timor and was wellknown to the peoples of the Alor and Solor islands, who when they saw it in the possession of a Dutchman offered a considerable sum to re-acquire it. They called it moko-Malei, surely an indication of its use by proto-Malays, probably Malayo-Polynesians. Many of these are of a later, local type.

Van der Hoop concludes that these peoples were neither Indian nor mongoloid nor negroid, and he saw many of the present inhabitants who might have sat as models for the images.

The Pasemah area lies on the plateau at about 2,000 feet around the volcano Gunung Dempo, nearly 10,000 feet high, and the centre from which all the Malay traditions derive. This volcano used to erupt towards the north, where there are few images still to be found. All the names in the area appear to be Malay. Pagaralam is the chief town of the Pasemah people, who were nominally under the Sultan of Palembang, but were really independent and known as the orang *sinding merdeka*, the free people until the Dutch brought them under control in 1866.

To the north lies the Rejang area. These people used a script recorded on bamboo slips, which Renou and Sayers and Neubauer all pronounced to have a Phoenician origin, though an Indian Professor, Majumdar, would attribute this to India. He, however, cannot have known of this area being the centre of a proto-Malay culture. Further north, at the sources of the Jambi River, more megaliths are found beyond the destructive efforts of the eruptions of Mount Dempo.

A further connection between this south Sumatran culture and Malaya is found in the slab graves though those in Sumatra are made from andesite stone and so easier to shape.

Ours in Malaya are of granite, in one case a number of smallish stones heaped together.

The iron Tulang Mawas are entirely a local peninsula product as nowhere else have similar tools been found. They must all be dated back to the same period now that the bronze bells with which they were dug up are shewn to be similar to those found at Dongson. I consider that it is becoming increasingly evident that they were tools and not axes. Analysis shews that they contain .02% of manganese and manganese is found on the site.

Analysis of average wrought iron shews .03% of manganese.

We must clearly revise our ideas of Peninsula history before the Indians came.

v. d. Hoop shews that although there is no tin in Bali yet we have proof that the art of casting in bronze was exercised there. These people must have sailed the seas and carried trade with them. The Klang drum may have been cast in Sumatra since we have no copper but as we had smiths expert enough to cast the iron tools there is no reason why copper should not have been brought from Sumatra. The presence of manganese in the iron tools explains the desire of the later makers of the Kris to get these old tools to mix with their metal and in the usual way they attributed magic to the better steel they obtained.

v.d. Hoop comments "when one stands before one of these great images of the Pasemah, sculptured with so much care and devotion, and attempts to imagine how much labour and how much time it must have cost to erect and complete such a colossus, the impression received is that these images were used for the purposes of worship."

Again traditions have proved to be based on fact. The peninsula Malay traditions that they came originally from Sumatra clearly have a basis of truth though the story tellers, who were the only historians, used them for sometimes mythical or much later happenings. The efforts of some recent political writers to argue that the Malays are recent comers and consequently have no right to claim this as their own land are shewn to be wishful thinking. And I think there can be little doubt that Klang was the site of Ptolemy's Palanda town.

sinding*

This is v.d. Hoop's word which means 'leaning over' and does not make much sense.