A HISTORY OF MALAYA AND HER NEIGHBOURS

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AND HER
NEIGHBOURS

VOLUME ONE

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PREFACE

THIS book is intended primarily as an introduction to the history of Malaya. Its concern with the history of her neighbours is confined to the part they have played in influencing her development. The term "Neighbours" has been taken in a wide sense to include not only certain South East Asian countries like Sumatra, Java or Siam; but also those greater "neighbours" India, China and Europe whose cultural and economic effects on her fortunes have been profound.

In the present volume, however, more space has been given to the history of these neighbours than to that of Malaya itself. This is due partly, of course, to the meagreness of the sources for early Malayan history; and partly to the fact that Malaya did not begin to exist as a separate entity until the fifteenth century. But the essential reason is that Malaya derived what importance she had during the previous centuries—and indeed for long after—from her proximity to the Straits of Malacca (a vital link in the sea route between east and west), and from the strategic and economic significance this gave her in the eyes of her neighbours. To these factors she owed the rise of her entrepôt trade in ports like Kedah and Malacca; her domination by successive sea powers; and a considerable part of her cultural heritage. I have therefore tried to show Malaya in her context of South East Asian and World history, because it seems to me that only thus can she be understood.

I should like to acknowledge the great debt I owe in the writing of this book to the works of Professor G. Coedes, Sir Richard Winstedt, K.B.E., Dato Sir Roland Braddell, Professor D. G. E. Hall and other scholars. For a select list of these works, the reader is referred to the bibliography.

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PART ONE

MALAYA AND HER NEIGHBOURS TO 1511

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION— THE GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

1. *The Indo-Pacific Peninsula*

SOUTH-EAST ASIA is composed of the countries of the Indo-Pacific Peninsula, together with those of the Indonesian and Philippine Archipelagos. In this history, we shall be concerned very little with the Philippines. Our main interest will be focused on Malaya and Indonesia and on those parts of the Indo-Pacific Peninsula which have most affected the story of Malaya.

The countries that make up the Indo-Pacific Peninsula are: *Vietnam* (Tongking, Annam, Cochin China); *Cambodia* and *Laos*; *Thailand*; *Burma*; and the *Malay Peninsula*. Generally speaking, the Indo-Pacific Peninsula is the child of its great rivers—the Red river, the Mekong, the Menam and the Irrawaddy; and it is in the lower courses of these rivers that the countries mentioned above have their hearts and centres.

The lands of Indo-China have played important parts in South-East Asian history—Tongking, chiefly because of its capital Hanoi, which at least as early as A.D. 150 was the terminus of the ancient sea-route from the Red Sea, and which continued to be important long after Canton in the third century A.D. captured that position from it; Annam, because, together with Tongking, which it ruled over for long periods, it was the only place in the Peninsula which favoured Chinese in preference to Indian culture; Cochin China, because the fertility of the Mekong delta made it the obvious centre of the earliest empire of S.E. Asia, Funan (which included Malaya under its rule); Cambodia, because, in its rich saucer-shaped basin there flourished in later times the famous Khmer Empire.

Thailand (the heart of which lies in the fertile south on the valley of the Menam) did not make its appearance on the South-East Asian scene until the thirteenth century. This

appearance had decisive results. It led to the destruction of the empires of Sri Vijaya and Cambodia, and to the beginnings of those claims to sovereignty over all or parts of the Malay Peninsula which she claimed to exercise right down to the early years of this century. Thailand also at times quarrelled fiercely with Burma, a country very similar to it in area, population and topographical layout. It is noticeable that in Burma's case too, as in that of Thailand, the main centres of population lie in the delta and valley of a great river—the Irawaddy.

South of Thailand and the narrow isthmus of Kra lies Malaya. The mountains from the north, which sink to low foothills in the Kra isthmus, rise again in Malaya to form the backbone of the country. Near the centre, they rise to over 7000 feet, but farther southward they lose height until they break off altogether at the southern tip of the Peninsula. This break with the Asiatic mainland is of the greatest importance in the history of Malaya, and is of fundamental importance today.

From time immemorial, highland and lowland alike have been covered by dense tropical forests, such as always flourish where the climate is hot and the rainfall heavy. Extensive belts of marsh, as on the west central coast, and of fresh water swamp forest, are also to be found. The plains bordering the rivers and the coasts scarcely rise above sea-level. It was on these, rather than in the forbidding hinterland of jungle and swamp that the earliest settlements were made; here, especially on the plains of the north-west and north-east, could rice be readily grown in irrigated rice fields; and where the rivers and the coasts met there grew up the villages which were to be the ports and capitals of little states. These states were self-contained and self-supporting; they did not worry about political boundaries. The population was small, and as late as 1800 did not number more than a quarter of a million.

The European settlers were as much repelled by the formidable interior as the early inhabitants had been. Thus the Portuguese and Dutch established themselves on the coast at Malacca; so too the British made their settlements at Penang and Singapore.

Yet Malaya in spite of all these difficulties had many attractions for outsiders. Its rich gold and tin deposits drew adventurers and colonists to its shores from very early times and the

Straits of Malacca have always been one of the world's great international highways.

2. *Indonesia*

South of the Malay Peninsula and inextricably caught up with its history and development are the islands of Indonesia. These include Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, and the "Great East"—a group of islands comprising Celebes, Halmahera, and the Moluccas. We will add New Guinea to this list, though some authorities say it should be regarded as a part of Australia. From the western tip of Sumatra to the east of New Guinea the distance is 3,000 miles. The total area of this great mass of land and water is four million square miles, and the sea is at once a barrier and a means of communication between the islands. The various peoples have reached different levels of development, some, as in Java, being highly civilised, whilst others, as in Borneo and parts of Sumatra are very backward. The area is one of the most volcanic in the world, the line of volcanoes stretching through Sumatra, Java, Celebes to the Philippines. This explains why the area contains such extremely fertile tracts of land. The lava spread by volcanic eruptions was soon turned under the action of the heavy rains into a very rich loamy soil.

Sumatra, the sixth largest island in the world, is about 1,600 miles long and roughly half of it lies north of the Equator. A great series of mountains, the Bukit Barisan, runs for 1,000 miles along its western coast, forming a great mountain wall, cut by rapid rivers. Thus the western coast has proved a forbidding one to traders throughout history, and its development has consequently been hindered. The main rivers all run eastward. The east coast is made up mostly of plains, which near the sea change to swamps and marshes, which cover no less than two-thirds of the coast. In the past they have acted as a barrier to entrance from Malaya into Sumatra. Towards the south are the ports of Jambi, or Malayu, on the Batang Hari river, and Palembang, on the fertile valley of the Moesi. These ports, especially the latter, have played an important part in the history of the area; and today Palembang is still used as a port of call for ocean-going ships, and has gained new importance from its nearness to the oil wells and refineries.

With Malaya, Sumatra forms the Straits of Malacca, and its great extent shelters them from the full force of the S.W. monsoon. Even so, the squally winds, known as "Sumatras" could prove dangerous to sailing ships in the Straits. As with Malaya, Sumatra's position on the Straits is the most important factor in her history.

Separated from Sumatra by the narrow Sunda Strait, which at some parts is only 20 miles wide, lies the fertile island of Java. It is 600 miles long, and in the centre (from Cheribon to Semarang) its width is scarcely 60 miles. East and west of this "waist", however, the island widens to about 100 miles. The chief feature of the landscape is the line of volcanoes which crosses it. Many of these are still active, and it is their lava which has made the soil of Java fertile. In the past, strong states have grown up round these fertile zones; and in like manner, the rich plains in the north, west of Semarang, have made possible the rise of powerful states on the coast. Java has, in fact, played a leading part in the history of Indonesia. It saw the rise to power of the Sailendra dynasty and of Majapahit, and in later times it provided in Batavia the centre of Dutch power in the Indies. Adjoining Java in the east is the lovely and fertile island of Bali. Its history is closely linked with that of Java; and it is the only place in the islands where the old Hindu influence is still predominant.

North of Java, much larger though much more backward, is the great island of Borneo. Nine-tenths of it are still covered with jungle, whereas Java is almost entirely under cultivation. It has been said that Borneo provides us, in the twentieth century, with a picture of what the Archipelago looked like four or five hundred years ago. In ancient days, however, it was well known to be rich in gold and diamonds. There are indications of several Indianised settlements there, and very recently large quantities of Chinese pottery, dating back to the seventh century, have been found on the Sungei Jaong in Sarawak. "These finds suggest that Borneo was an important trading area" (Harrison) on the main route between China and the west.

At the extreme east of the Archipelago lies New Guinea. Though it is the second largest island in the world, it is also one of the most backward and least civilised. Between Borneo and New Guinea lie the "Great East". Of these islands, the most

famous are the Moluccas. For centuries they exercised a profound fascination over the west, and it was to gain their treasures of clove and nutmeg that the Indians, Persians, Arabs, and finally Europeans, embarked on their daring voyages.

3. *The lessons of Geography*

The most striking fact about South-East Asia is its "fragmentation". It presents a broken and patchwork appearance; the mainland is irregularly shaped and divided by steep ridges and the islands are widely separated. This fragmentation, geologists tell us, was caused centuries ago by great convulsions on the earth's surface and also by the melting of the ice cap, whose torrential waters filled up narrow valleys like those between Malaya and Sumatra, or Java and Sumatra, and thus formed the Straits of Malacca and of Sunda respectively. These facts help us to understand why the most fertile lands are so widely separated from each other by sea, marsh, mountain or stretches of laterite; why they are to be found on the perimeter of the area; and consequently why the settlements are so cut off from each other.

(a) *Communications.* Though South-East Asia has provided, from the earliest times, a land bridge between Asia and Australasia for immigrant peoples, the difficulties presented by mountains and malarial jungle made it a difficult bridge to cross. This may explain why, in comparison with the populous countries of India and China, South-East Asia was, until quite recent times, very sparsely populated. Moreover, the Indo-Pacific Peninsula was itself a barrier between east and west, and the need to sail right round this barrier lengthened the voyage between India and China by many hundreds of miles. It was to avoid this that a number of "short cuts" were developed across the narrow northern part of the Malay Peninsula, which thus became a springboard and not an obstacle, to the spread of culture and trade. Again, we must note that the difficulties of the terrain made rivers the chief means of internal communication right down to the nineteenth century. As for Indonesia, whilst, obviously, in one way the sea was in itself a barrier to communication, it did not present so formidable an obstacle as the land communications, since over a great

part of the year, it was easy to sail on, especially for a seafaring people as the Malays then were.

(b) *The absence of a strong centre.* As we have seen, the most fertile lands have been spread by nature round the fringes of South-East Asia—round the deltas of rivers like the Mekong or Irrawaddy, or on the mouths of the smaller ones like the Bujong, or in islands like Java. At first sight, it would seem that Malaya (or Sumatra) was the obvious country to provide the basis of a great centralising power which would give cohesion to this fragmented area; and it is true that many attempts have been made in the past to establish an empire near the southern parts of the Straits. None of these attempts (e.g. by Sri Vijaya, Portugal or Holland) succeeded in the long run, perhaps because neither Malaya, with its laterite soil, nor Sumatra with its wide mangrove swamps, was fertile enough to support them. The future alone will tell us whether Singapore with all its advantages of position, will provide a suitable centre. Meanwhile, the lack of a strong centre explains why throughout its history South-East Asia has been a colonial area.

(c) *Advantages.* In spite of the drawbacks we have just mentioned, there are few places in the world which have such remarkable advantages as South-East Asia. Many parts of it, thanks to volcanic eruptions, are exceptionally fertile; and, again as a result of the volcanic upheavals of earlier ages, other parts have been endowed with valuable deposits of certain minerals, which are easily accessible. In ancient days, gold (then very scarce and consequently more valuable) was found in Malaya, Burma, Sumatra and Borneo. Most of the world supply of tin and tungsten is to be found in the Indo-Malayan mountain system, and tin has for centuries been one of South-East Asia's most important exports. In recent times, mineral oil has been found in Burma, Sumatra and Borneo; and though between them these countries account for only 3·6 per cent of the world supply, these deposits are very important because of the absence of petroleum in the rest of the monsoon lands. Finally, bauxite is found in the Rhio-Johore area; and on the east coast of Malaya are a number of small scattered deposits of high-grade iron ore.

(d) *The importance of the Malay Peninsula.* At the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula, in Singapore, we find a break in the

Asiatic land mass. This fact is of crucial importance for Malaya and her neighbours, and indeed for the world; because here is to be found the chief turning point of the great trade route between the west and the Far East. Its position may be compared with that of the Panama Canal on the opposite shore of the ocean, which also provides one of the great breaks in the land surface of the globe, and is also a meeting place of world trade routes. The importance of the Malay Peninsula lies in the fact that along the narrow and shallow waters of the adjoining Straits all the shipping between the west and China had to pass. The route via the Sunda Strait was rarely used until the time of the Portuguese; and to our own day the Straits of Malacca have retained their role as an international highway. It is no exaggeration, then, to say with Sir Roland Braddell that "the history of Malaya is the history of the Straits of Malacca".

CHAPTER II

THE ANCIENT SEA ROUTE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE WEST

THERE were two main trade routes between East and West—the first, the overland or Silk route; the second, the sea route running through the Straits of Malacca. At first sight, it would seem that the Silk route, running as it did through the deserts and mountain passes of Central Asia, would affect the history of Malaya very little. In actual fact, because it provided an *alternative* to the sea route, it played a very important though indirect part in that history. When the Chinese were too weak to control the fierce nomads who roamed Central Asia, they concentrated their attention on the sea route; when the Empire was powerful and the tribes were peaceful, they favoured the land route. The volume of trade through the Straits, therefore, depended very much on the strength or weakness of the Chinese Empire. As time went on it became clear that the sea route had more advantages than its rival. When the silk was taken overland, its price was increased tremendously by the length and dangers of the way, and by the taxations of petty chieftains, whose price for protection was high. The sea route, on the contrary, was much cheaper, and though not without its dangers from piracy and shipwreck, on the whole safer. Above all, it provided a direct route between East and West, which the land route never did; the wily Parthians, through whose country the route passed, seized for themselves the position of "middlemen" for the sale of silk between Rome and China, and effectually prevented the two countries from trading directly with each other.

4. *The key between East and West*

For many centuries before the Silk route was opened, eastern merchants had sailed round the Indian coast to the Persian Gulf. There as early as 3000 B.C. they sold their goods to powerful empires that had their seat of power in the rich valley

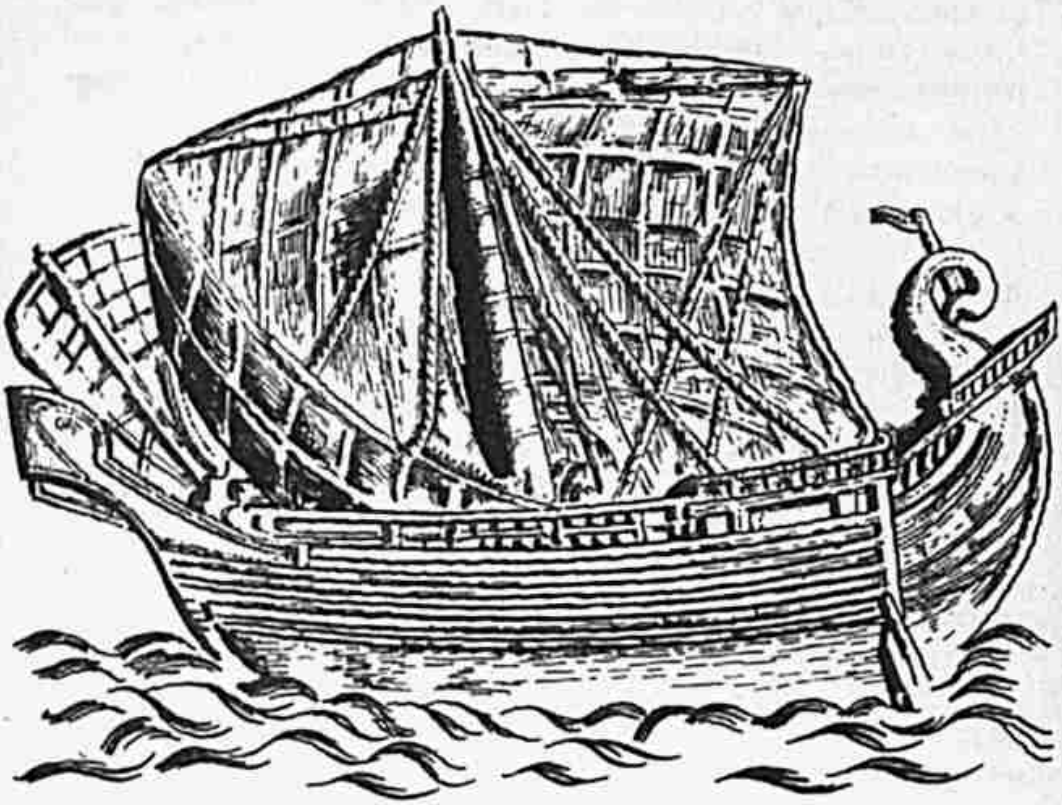
of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates. The rulers of these empires sent the goods in caravans overland to the great port of Tyre and the delta of the Nile. Their profits were very great, and it soon became clear that this area—bounded by the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates on the one side, and the eastern Mediterranean on the other—was of key importance. The ruler who controlled this space, roughly shaped like a four-sided figure, controlled all trade between east and west. For this key many peoples fought—the Assyrians were driven out by the Babylonians; the Babylonians by the Persians; and the Persians by the Macedonians, led by Alexander the Great (326 B.C.). Alexander decided to make Egypt and the Red Sea the terminus of eastern trade, and hence he founded the great city of Alexandria, which soon became the greatest port in the ancient world. From here, goods from the west were sent to the ports of Myos Hormos (or "Mussel Harbour") and Berenice on the African side of the Red Sea; and thence they were taken to the port of Ocelis on the gulf of Aden. There the Greek and Egyptian traders met merchants from India, and exchanged their goods for the spices, drugs, ivories and pearls of the east. Probably the Indian and Arab sailors sailed across the ocean on the monsoon; but they kept their knowledge of these periodic winds a closely guarded secret. When, however, the Romans conquered Egypt and thereby gained control of the key to eastern trade, it was not long before they discovered this secret for themselves.

5. *The monsoon route*

At a date still undecided by scholars,[1] a certain half-mythical Roman sea-captain, named Hippalus,[2] is said to have sailed to India on the monsoon, which he thus "discovered". This "discovery" gave a great impetus to the trade of the Roman Republic. A ship could now leave Egypt early in July and reach the Gulf of Aden in time to catch the late S.W. monsoon. Wafted by this, it would reach the coast of India in

[1] The dates suggested range from B.C. 100 and B.C. 80 (e.g. by J. H. Thiel and W. W. Tarn) to A.D. 40–41 (by E. H. Warmington). Sir Mortimer Wheeler says that "the monsoon may be assumed to have been in full and undisguised use" by A.D. 14.

[2] Both the "Periplus" and Pliny "imply that he was a historical figure". Wheeler).



Roman sailing ship

September, calling at Muziris (the modern Cranganore) on the Malabar coast, or Barygaza (Broach) in the north. In the former port (one of the first to trade with them and where they built a temple to Augustus), they took aboard cargoes of pearls, beryls, diamonds and spices; in the latter, they obtained fine cottons, rice, pepper, and silk that had been brought overland from China. After spending two months in one or other of these ports, the ships would return on the N.E. monsoon to Aden. From there they would sail to Myos Hormos, and by February their cargoes would be on sale in Alexandria.

So for the first time, a great *direct* trade sprang up between the eastern Mediterranean and India. Voyages became regular. As early as A.D. 20, according to the Roman geographer, Strabo, no fewer than 120 ships made the voyage from Myos Hormos to India each year. So the Romans were able to eliminate the Parthian "middlemen" who had helped to make silk so expensive; and they were also able to meet the growing

demand for spices and incense (for food and ceremonial purposes) much more cheaply. By the early part of the second century A.D. (at the latest) the Romans had discovered the Straits of Malacca; and at last it was possible for their ships to trade directly with "Thin", as Southern China was called. This trade, however, was shortlived.

6. "*The Voyage Round the Indian Ocean*"

We owe much of our knowledge of this trade with India during the first century A.D. to a book written between A.D. 60–80 called the "Voyage Round the Indian Ocean" (the "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea"). The author, whose name is unknown, was an Egyptian Greek merchant who lived in Berenice. He is notable for having written the first record of organised trading between East and West. He knew, however, only by hearsay of the lands lying south-east of India. He talks about "Chryse" or the "Golden Land" (which some authorities identify with Lower Burma), saying 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 has the best tortoiseshell of all the places in the Erythraean sea." Very large ships, called "colandia", he says, sailed to it. He continues: "Behind Chryse, the sea comes to an end somewhere in Thin; and in the interior of that country, somewhat to the North, there is a great city called Thinae, from which raw silk and silk thread and silk stuffs are brought overland through Bactria to Barygaza (Broach) in the Gulf of Cambay, as they are, on the other hand by the Ganges River to the Coromandel Coast. It is not easy, however, to reach Thin, and few and far between are those who come from it."

7. *Ptolemy's "Geography"*

But this vague information which does not mention the Malay Peninsula as such and mentions only the land routes to China, was to be supplemented about the year A.D. 150 by a book of very great importance to the history of the Malay Peninsula. This was the "Geographike Syntaxis" of Ptolemy, the first definite account written by a Westerner of the lands that lie beyond India. Ptolemy was an Alexandrian Greek,

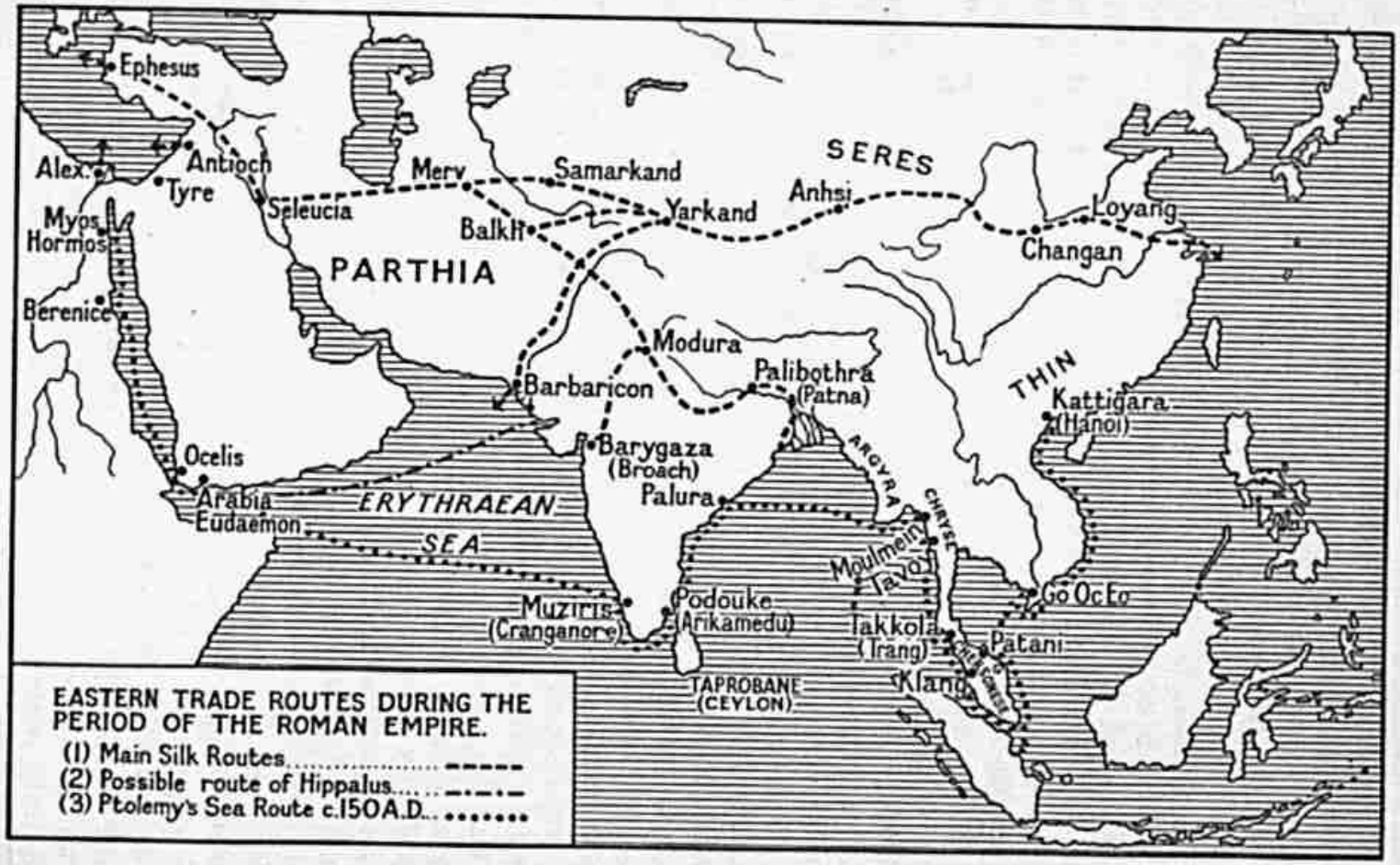
who wrote a complete geography of the world as it was then known. He made many mistakes (e.g. he made the Indian Ocean a land-locked sea); yet in spite of these, his work, as modern scholars have shown, is substantially correct.

Ptolemy tells us that the Roman ships called first of all at one of the ports on the west coast of India, such as Broach, Sopara, or Cranganore. Then they sailed due south, rounded Cape Comorin and reached a port on the east coast, which he called Podouke. This has now been identified with Arikamedu, a village two miles south of Pondicherry. Archaeologists have now shown that Podouke or Arikamedu was a Roman settlement that flourished between the years 23 B.C. to A.D. 200. From this point the ships sailed north to Palura (near Chicacole) and thence across the Bay of Bengal on the monsoon to a place called "Argyra"—the "Silver Country"—now identified with South Arakan. From there they went south along the coast to the delta of the Irawaddy, and then turned into the Gulf of Martaban. Going south from "Chryse" (Lower Burma?), they called at a port on the great estuary of the Tavoy river. Then they passed a large promontory—probably "Junk Ceylon"—and by this time were heading for the Straits of Malacca. They had now reached the "Golden Chersonese", i.e. the Malay Peninsula. Near the promontory, the ships called at a trading station called "Takkola", identified now as Trang. This port was later described by the Chinese as the chief port of "Tien-hsun" (their name for the Malay Peninsula); and there can be little doubt that it had much to recommend it, not only as a port of call but as a place for settlement. In the country around Trang there was good land for rice growing, and good cross-country routes linked it with the east coast. From Takkola the ships went to another port, farther south, which may well have been Klang, on the site of the present Port Swettenham. At all events it is clear that Ptolemy recognises two ports in the Straits of Malacca—one in the north and one in the south. This has always been the case in the Straits, and remains so to our own day (viz. Penang and Singapore). Ptolemy's ships then rounded the Peninsula, and sailed north along the east coast to a place that looks very like Patani. This port, thanks to a narrow strip of land seven or eight miles long which protects it from the stormy China Sea, provides a safe anchorage,

even during bad weather. It was therefore an obvious port of call. From here the ships sailed along the coast of Siam or straight across the China Sea, calling (very probably) at the port of Go Oc Eo, just north of Rachgia, opposite to Kelantan. This port (the existence of which has only recently been proved) was flourishing in the first century A.D., and was the main port of the Funan Empire, until it was destroyed by a great flood from the Mekong during the sixth century A.D. From here the ships sailed east and north along the coast of the Indo-Pacific Peninsula, until they reached "Kattigara", their final port of call. "Kattigara" was almost certainly in Tongking, and was probably Hanoi.

Such then is Ptolemy's account of the route from the west to China via the "Golden Peninsula". Doubtless this route was already well known during the first century A.D., since many of the ports he mentions were definitely in existence at that period. No European writer right down to the sixteenth century will give us a clearer account of Malaya. We pause for a moment to consider how the course of history might have been altered if the Roman ships had for long continued to use this route. There is a fair amount of evidence of their presence in parts of South-East Asia, and even of occasional embassies to Southern China. Roman glass beads have been found in Johore; a Roman lamp has been found in Siam; and in Go Oc Eo numerous finds of Roman remains have been made. As for embassies to China, one is reported to have sailed in A.D. 120 with a party of jugglers from "Ta-Chin" (the eastern part of the Roman Empire), and to have landed at one of the southern states of China, whence it was sent overland by the Governor to Loyang. In A.D. 166 another embassy, apparently sent by Marcus Aurelius, arrived by sea at Tongking, and was also conducted to see the Emperor, to whom it presented gifts of ivory, tortoise-shell, etc. So for a short while, it would seem that it was not impossible for Roman ships to sail to China, though it may be doubted if, in fact, many of them did so.

From other sources we learn the names of other ports on the sea route. Kamara and Sopatma on the Coromandel coast were important. So also was Puhar, the port of the Chola Kings who, during the second and third centuries, controlled the carrying trade between the Malay Peninsula and India.


Ephesus
Alex.
Antioch
Tyre
Seleucia
Mery
Samarkand
SERES
Anhsi
Loyang
Changan
Myos Hormos
Balkh
Yarkand
PARTHIA
Berenice
Modura
Barbaricon
Palibothra (Patna)
THIN
Kattigara (Hanoi)
Ocelis
Barygaza (Broach)
ARGYRA
Arabia Eudaemon
ERYTHRAEAN SEA
Palura
CHRYSE
Moulmein
Tavoy
Go Oc Eo
Muziris (Cranganore)
Podouke (Arikamedu)
Takkola (Trang)
Patani
Klang
TAPROBANE (CEYLON)
EASTERN TRADE ROUTES DURING THE PERIOD OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.
(1) Main Silk Routes.....
(2) Possible route of Hippalus.....
(3) Ptolemy's Sea Route c.150A.D.....

There was another port, Koddura, at the mouth of the Godavari; and one very famous one, Tamluk (Tamralipti) west of the Ganges delta. With regard to ports in South-East Asia, it would appear from the evidence of a stone Buddha (A.D. 150) found in Palembang, that this port was visited by ships from India in the second century. By the third century, Kedah was proving a serious rival to Trang; and later, in the fifth century, Takua Pa, to the north of Trang, became of considerable importance. Evidence of the existence of ports of call in the fifth century on the west coast of Java and in east Borneo is afforded by the presence of Indianised kingdoms in these areas, in Taruma and Muara Kaman respectively. Still farther east, there was a settlement at Sempaga in Celebes. Beyond this the Indian traders did not go, though doubtless their influence extended over the neighbouring islands.

8. *The breakdown of the route between China and the West*

The Romans were, as Ptolemy tells us, the first European people to reach Malaya and Southern China on an all-sea route; but just as China had failed to make an all-land route between herself and Rome, so Rome failed to keep open the sea route to China. One reason for this was the collapse of her purchasing power. She was the greatest customer for eastern wares; but her demand for these became so extravagant, and the drain of gold bullion to pay for them so serious that she was faced by a grave economic crisis. So long as she could pay in gold all was well; for eastern nations had no wish to import western products, apart from the highly esteemed Roman beads and glassware; but when they found that she could not get enough gold to pay her debts and began to debase the coinage, then her credit fell to nothing. By A.D. 215 her trade with the east had seriously declined. Soon afterwards the Empire was torn by civil wars and barbarian invasions; but long before its final collapse in A.D. 475 the all-sea route had become a legend.

Another reason for the collapse of the sea route was the political condition of China. By A.D. 220 the great Han Empire, the counterpart of the Roman Empire in the east, had disappeared; and for the next four centuries China was distracted by civil wars. From this chaos it did not emerge completely until the rise of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–907). Thus the western

end of the trade route (the customer for eastern wares) and the eastern end (the supplier) were both eliminated, and the sea route broke down. This explains why it was that from the first to the seventh centuries A.D. Indian and South-East Asian sailors were able to sail unchallenged (except by pirates) over that part of the sea route that lay between India and China. During this period the great expansion of Indian culture took place. The Indo-Pacific Peninsula and Indonesia saw the rise of little Indianised states, and one powerful empire, Funan; and the Malay Peninsula was one of the first areas to come under their influence.

As for the great trade routes, darkness fell upon them as far as Europe was concerned, for many centuries. The Silk route was blocked by the nomads; and the rise of Islam completely cut off the west from direct trade with the east by sea. The memory of the land of silk or "Cathay" was, however, never lost in Europe. It was that which inspired the journey of Marco Polo and the voyage of Columbus; and in the sixteenth century the search for it and the fabled spice islands of the Moluccas led to the great Portuguese discoveries which had so fateful an effect on the history of Malaya and her neighbours.

CHAPTER III

MALAYA—THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE BY THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

THE work of natural forces like wind, water and sun, together with the works of man such as irrigation, drainage and the building of towns and cities, can during the centuries completely alter the appearance of a country. Malaya is no exception to this rule of change, though it is during the last eighty years or so that the most spectacular changes have taken place. In his *Geography of the Malay Peninsula* published in 1884, a Mr. Skinner (a civil servant who was the first inspector of schools in the country) writes that the Peninsula "still remains one of the least known lands in Asia and one of the few regions of which the greater portion can be said to have been unvisited by civilised man". Seventy years ago there were no fine roads; no railways; no clear boundaries between states; no rubber plantations. States like Selangor could not show even a village of any size in 1878. The Singapore that Raffles had founded was only sixty years old or so, and Penang scarcely one hundred. Only Malacca could claim to be an ancient city, dating as it did from the early fifteenth century; but ports once famous like Kedah and Patani had long since forgotten their ancient glories. Truly, a Malayan, who like Rip van Winkle in the story, had fallen asleep in 1884 and awakened in 1955, could be excused if he were to think that he was living in a different country.

The Malaya of 1884 must have resembled the Malaya of the first century much more strongly than the Malaya of today; yet even so, there had been many changes. Many of the rivers had changed their courses, for example, or had increased or decreased in size. The Kedah river has quite recently "captured" several smaller streams, and has grown larger; the estuary of the Merbok was once much wider than it is now. The Perak river, almost within living memory, ran into the sea at an inlet called S. Dinding, much farther north than at present.

It has since "captured" the smaller rivers, the Kinta, Bidor and Sungkai from the Bernam, which was consequently much reduced in volume. The mouth of the Malacca river has been silted up within the last four centuries, so that big ships can no longer call there. The Pahang river ran much farther south than it does today. When we recall that all early settlements were made near the mouths or along the banks of rivers, we need not be astonished that so few traces of them remain. If we remember, for example, that the Kelantan river overflows its banks at every monsoon and spreads silt along the plain every time it does so, we can easily see that any settlements on those banks would have long since been destroyed.

Rivers have also helped to reclaim land from the sea by bringing down with them soil and silt from the uplands in the interior. In the first century A.D. the mountain now called Gunong Jĕrai (Kedah Peak) was almost certainly part of a peninsula, and much of the land north and south of it was still under water. The early Indian sailors thought that the west coast of Kedah was a string of islands. It is only quite recently that much of the land has been reclaimed for rice growing. Similarly, it is probable that the coast of Kelantan has increased at the expense of the sea, so that if there were any ancient settlements in the state, their sites must now be far inland.

These significant facts help us to realise that the Malaya of the first century A.D. (and indeed of the first nineteen centuries A.D.) was a country unrecognisable to modern eyes. She did not achieve an independent existence until the fifteenth century. Kelantan and Trengganu even then were little more than names; Negri Sembilan did not exist; Johore and indeed the southern part of Malaya did not become important until after the Portuguese conquest of 1511, and Malacca was not founded until 1403. The population was very small, and confined chiefly to the coasts and river banks of the north-west and north-east coasts; and these little river states were hardly more than clearings in a jungle that covered far more of the land than it does today. Yet even so they were not without their culture and their history, though after the first century these were to be enriched by the influence of civilisations whose people visited Malaya because of her natural wealth and important strategic position.

9. *The people*

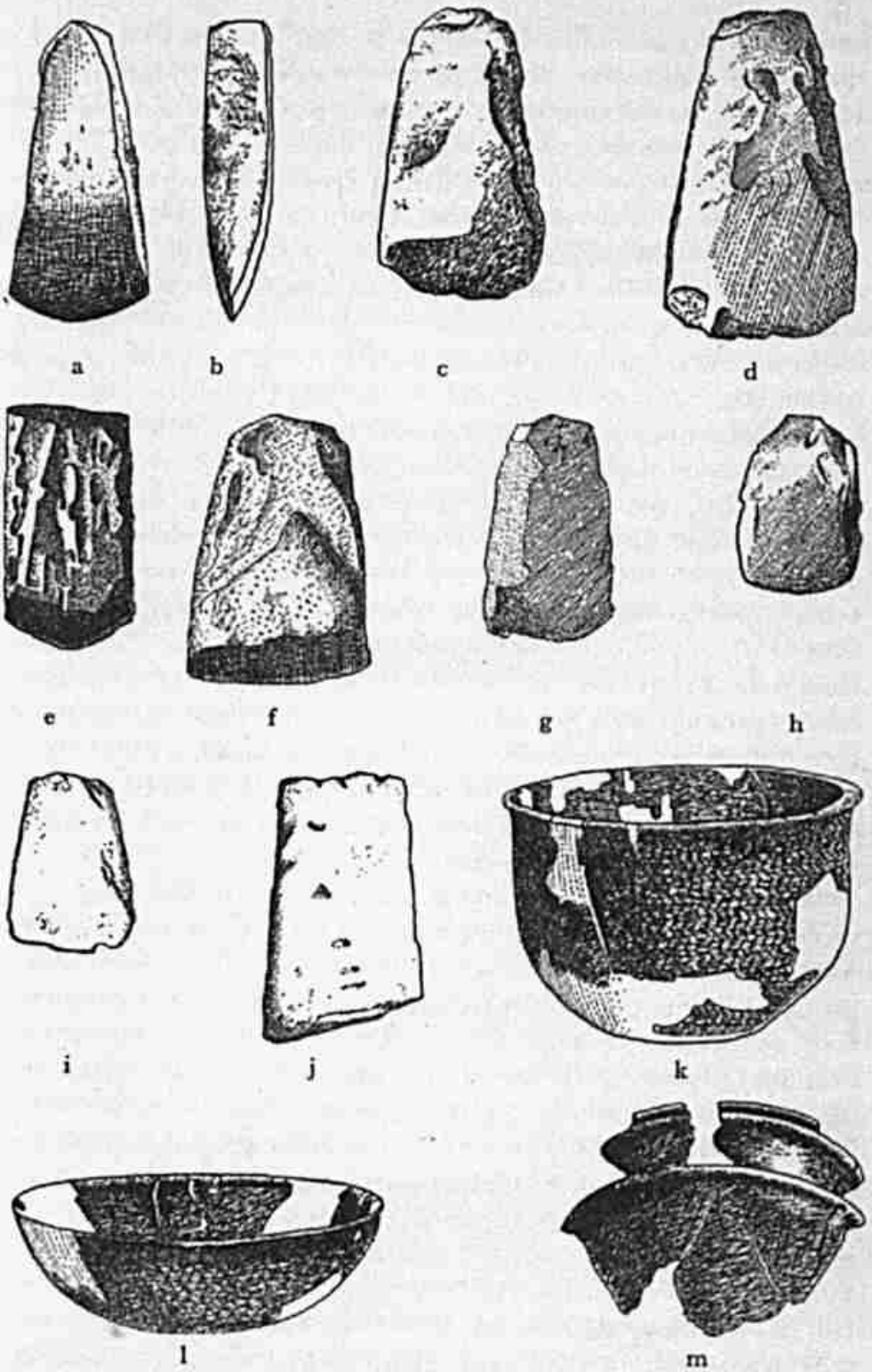
Who were the people living in the country before the Indians arrived in the first century A.D.? This is a difficult question, and no final answer has yet been given to it. In his *Geography*, Ptolemy (*c.* A.D. 150) tells us a little about the peoples of South-East Asia in general. According to him, the islands around the Malay peninsula were inhabited by cannibals and by dwarfs with white complexions and shaggy hair: fierce pirates preyed on ships in the Gulf of Siam. They wore skins that were so tough that the arrows of their enemies simply glanced off them. Later, Chinese chronicles speaking of the "K'un l'un" people at the end of the eighth century describe them as "ferocious, pitiless, dark coloured people, whose food was more horrible than vampires' ". These are the merest hints which tell us little about the people of Malaya or South-East Asia, and their probable origin. Modern scholars have been able to tell us a good deal more about them. It would appear that many thousands of years ago, when South-East Asia and Australia formed one mass of solid land, the area was peopled by a race, dark-skinned and short in stature, called Negritos. When the Ice cap melted, and the South China and Java seas were formed as a result of the rising waters, the great land mass was divided into many islands; and the Negritos found themselves cut off in little pockets in Malaya, Melanesia and Australia. There are several tribes of the descendants of these early people to be found today in the Malay peninsula. The Senoi, the largest of the tribes, are still primitive, but the other tribes are more advanced.

As the centuries passed groups of peoples moved from the interior of Asia through the Indo-Pacific Peninsula and Malaya and beyond into the islands of the Pacific. Of these groups we have clear evidence of two. The first of these, it is thought, came from the neighbourhood of Yunnan about the year 3000 B.C. These people were Tibeto-Mongoloid in race, and are known as the Proto-Malays. Their advance is not to be thought of as an invasion, or as a series of invasions; but as a slow and steady stream of immigration which took centuries to move, irresistiably, towards the south. Perhaps a migratory clan moving down one of the great rivers of the Indo-Pacific Peninsula would stay for many years in a particularly fertile spot. Then

perhaps a group of the younger and more adventurous ones, wishing to find a new valley or a new plain, would leave the parent clan and resume their wanderings. The south drew them like a magnet. Like the much later "pioneers" who peopled the Middle and Far West of America, they trekked onwards, made new settlements and sent off new pioneers, until they reached the ocean. Not content with this, they built canoes or boats for themselves and sailed onwards to the islands. Naturally, during their wanderings they preferred to settle on the fertile coastal plains and on the banks of the rivers, and they soon drove the primitive Negritos into the jungle and the hills. There the descendants of these latter remain to this day. Parallel migrations may also have taken place farther east via the Philippines towards the eastern part of the Archipelago, and these may have then moved westwards to settle in Sumatra, Laos and Cambodia. Certainly there is evidence that these countries were invaded by a tall and fairer people from the sea. These are called "Indonesians" by the Dutch scholar Kern; but he tells us that they originally came from Asia. Were these the people who made those queer gigantic statues in Sumatra which look so much like the mysterious giants of Easter Island? Certainly they seem to have made great voyages, for they were intrepid sailors. From Madagascar on the west to Easter Island; from Formosa to New Guinea, these were the distances they covered.

The Proto-Malays probably brought with them into the Peninsula the new Stone Age Culture, with their stone buildings and stone axes. Perhaps it was they who dug for gold near Mount Ophir; or left behind in the old mines of Selinsing in Pahang or those in Belum on the Upper Perak river their old stone implements for us to guess their origins. The descendants of these Proto-Malays are the present-day Jakun; but indeed all peoples from Madagascar to the furthest east of the Pacific may be said to be related to them.

The year 300 B.C. saw the beginnings of a new advance of immigrants from the neighbourhood of Yunnan. These are called the "Deutero-Malays" and they were stronger and more powerful than their predecessors. They brought with them iron weapons, for which the stone weapons of the Proto-Malays were no match; so they drove the latter into the hills and in



(a) Neolithic adze, found in small cave at Gua Madu (b) (c) (d) Neolithic implements with sharp cutting edges (e) (f) (g) (h) 4 small adzes (i) and (j) Broken implements (k) Large bowl, coarsely cordmarked to within 2 cm. of the rim (l) Small black bowl (m) Small bowl with two additional rims superimposed on the first

their turn occupied the fertile plains and valleys. These they cultivated with their iron implements. Nevertheless, as they were of the same basic race, there was probably intermarriage between the two groups. From them most of the native inhabitants of Malaya and in general, South-East Asia, have descended. This is a fact that was recognised very early by the Chinese, who, seeing that all these peoples seemed to follow the same way of life, described them all by one name, the "K'un l'un".

In the course of time, however, other peoples entered the Peninsula and the islands, and intermarried with the original population. At least as early as the sixth century B.C., it is said, India traded with the islands; and during the course of the last two thousand years, millions of Indians, Chinese, Arabs, Persians, T'ais and finally Europeans have settled in the area. The Malays, properly so called, are immigrants from Sumatra and Java, though, of course, they also trace their descent from the populations who came originally from the north. Meanwhile one of the most striking things about South-East Asia is that there is scarcely an island where a great mixture of population is not to be found. In the same place can be seen dwarfs or pigmies and people of normal size; some with an almost Persian cast of features and others unmistakably Negroid. The area has for centuries been a colonial area, and continues to be so, down to our own day.

We should naturally expect to find many different languages spoken in an area where so many different races have met. Malay and Javanese belong to what is called the Indonesian group of languages, which includes 150 others. There is therefore a veritable babel of languages spoken throughout the islands. Malay has however become to a certain extent the *lingua franca* throughout the Archipelago owing to an accident. This was the rise of Malacca in the fifteenth century to the position of a great port, and to its position as the centre of the Portuguese Empire during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

10. *The culture of the early people*

It is quite clear that the Deutero-Malays were not barbarians. They were not mere wanderers or food gatherers but lived in settled societies with a definite social organisation and

definite religious views of their own. When they formed their settlements at the mouth of a river or on some rich delta, they did not forget their old customs and the arts of agriculture which they had practised in their original homes. So it is that wherever we find these settlements—whether in the delta of the Mekong, in Malaya, Sumatra or Java—we find similar organisations and a similar way of life. Naturally they prospered most in the most fertile surroundings, such as in Java or on the Mekong. There, as we should expect, we find flourishing civilisations. In other places less fertile, they had to burn down the trees and form *ladangs* or patches of fields for rice growing. Then they would move on when the soil was exhausted. Under these more difficult circumstances, life would be harder and their civilisation consequently less advanced.

The heart of their social life was the *kampong* or village, or, as the Javanese termed it, the *desa*. There, near the river, would be a cluster of houses made of bamboo or some other kind of wood, each hut raised on posts to be beyond the reach of possible floods or prowling beasts. Perhaps in building their houses like this, the natives had learned from the mangrove trees that lined the mudbanks of their rivers. These trees rose straight, as it were, from a scaffolding of roots submerged by the river so that their trunks seemed to float upon the surface. Each atap-thatched house had its garden and was surrounded by trees, and a rough fence with primitive gates encircled the whole village. From a distance, the kampong, flanked by tall palm trees, would look like a part of the jungle. Their staple foods were rice and fish. The latter they found in plenty in the streams and rivers, for these people, like their descendants today, were always keen fishermen. They grew their rice in irrigated rice fields. This fact alone proves that they must have had a definitely organised way of life, for this form of food raising demands the co-operation of all the settlers since the crop needs unceasing attention. Their chief domestic animals were the ox and the buffalo.

Each kampong was ruled by a headman. He was not, of course, elected to this position by popular vote; but was chosen by his fellow villagers because of his outstanding personality—because he was wise in council; able and brave; and above all because, in their eyes, he was the best guardian of the ancient

ways and customs of the people. All the land belonged originally to the clansmen; though in time parts might be acknowledged as the property of individuals, such as the headman himself. It was his responsibility to keep law and order in his village. If a crime was committed, and the criminal could not be discovered, then the village as a whole accepted responsibility for it, and paid compensation to the injured man or his family. On the other hand, the villagers took care to help any of their members who were in distress. The government of these villages, then, was democratic; for other forms of government arise only when there are distinctions between classes, and among primitive communities there is no such distinction. One other extraordinary feature of this society must be noted. The Chinese remarked with surprise that in these communities the mother was the head of the family, and that descent and relationship were reckoned through mothers. In other words, matriarchy flourished. In this respect they differed very much from both China and India where male ascendancy was the rule.

They had views about religion. Like all primitive people they were animists, i.e. they regarded woods and streams, trees and animals as being peopled by spirits, mostly malevolent, whom it was necessary to placate at every turn. So the Sakai to this day when seeking camphor apologise to the spirits of the trees to avert their anger beforehand. The tribesmen believed that each of them had a soul, and that when they died, their souls did not cease to exist. Rather did these spirits, they thought, return to their kampong to listen to the counsels of the elders and to see that the tribe did not depart from the customs of the ancestors. Change, therefore, was not welcome, since they believed that what was good enough for the ancestors was good enough for them. They also thought that every person had a certain amount of "soul energy" or "life force", some having more than others. This belief explains the cannibalism of the Bataks of Sumatra and the head-hunting of the natives of Borneo; for they thought that by eating criminals or enemies captured in battle, or by collecting their heads, they would acquire the "soul energy" of these people, and thus become more powerful. Some of the tribes would even eat their grandfathers, so that the good qualities of the latter might not be lost to the family! It is interesting to note that these people left no

temples behind them, because the gods they worshipped—especially the Sun God—were to be worshipped out-of-doors, and they worshipped out-of-doors accordingly. They regarded mountains as sacred, and often established their settlements near them. They buried their dead in jars or dolmens, and in the case of the chiefs would build a *menhir* such as those found in Java or Sumatra.

At the dawn of the Christian era, then, we find scattered over South-East Asia communities which were not barbarous, but which had a definite—if limited—culture of their own. They had a form of civilisation not unlike that which flourished in India before the arrival of the Aryans in that country (*c.* 2000 B.C.). This has led some scholars to say that either this culture was brought to South-East Asia from India or that South-East Asian traders visited India, observed its culture, and with the enthusiasm of converts, brought back Indian ideas and spread them in their own lands. Whatever the explanation, it is certain that the early peoples had much in common with the ancient Indians. It appears that as early as the sixth century B.C. trade flourished between them. This is proved by the great quantity of glass beads imported from India, and by the fact that long before the first century A.D. there were in Perak and Johore centres of this bead trade. This fact helps to explain the comparative ease with which Indian culture spread throughout South-East Asia from the first century A.D. onwards.

CHAPTER IV

THE INFLUENCE OF INDIA AND CHINA ON SOUTH-EAST ASIA

INDIA and China have played a very important part in the fortunes of South-East Asia, though the influence of each has shown itself in different ways. That of India, which was especially strong during the first eight centuries A.D. was chiefly cultural and religious; that of China mostly economic and political. In this chapter we shall glance briefly at India's ancient culture, which was exported to South-East Asia (though naturally it suffered a sea change in the process); and also at some of those factors which made China's influence so important.

11. *Indian culture*

We can form some idea of this culture, as it had grown by the first century A.D., by considering it under certain aspects, i.e. Religion, Literature, Art and Government; for the way of life of a people is profoundly affected by these things.

(a) *The religions of India.* The earliest religion of India was Brahmanism, which was marked by several main features, such as the importance of the priestly class, the veneration of the cow and the idea of the "transmigration of souls". In accordance with this last idea they believed that every human being had to undergo a series of lives, deaths, and rebirths; and on his *karma*, or deeds performed in this present life, depended the form he would take in his next reincarnation. It was felt that existence was an evil, and that the object of a wise man should be to throw off this endless cycle of birth and rebirth. To this end some practised self-mortification to an extraordinary extent; the great majority, however, found this too difficult and were content to worship the many gods such as Brahma, Vishnu and Siva.

In the middle of the sixth century B.C. a reaction grew up

against Brahmanism and the long and elaborate ceremonies that accompanied its observance. One of the most famous leaders of this reaction was Gautama (563–483 B.C.), the founder of Buddhism. This creed, whilst agreeing with its rival that life was an evil, taught that escape from the endless cycle into *Nirvana* (or Nothingness) could be achieved by the extinction of all desire. Though the Buddha's teaching was atheistic ("After this life there is no beyond"), he did not prevent his followers from believing in the gods or offering sacrifices to them. Hence the gods play a considerable part in the beliefs and legends of Buddhism. Nevertheless, his ignoring of caste and his opposition to animal sacrifices soon led to trouble with the Brahmins. This led to the eventual extinction of his creed in India; but long before that happened Buddhism—a missionary religion—had taken firm root in China and South East Asia.

In the course of time Buddhism split up into two main sects —the Hinayana (or "Lesser Vehicle") and the Mahayana (or "Greater Vehicle"). The chief difference between them is that the former respected Gautama as a great human being; whilst the latter, dropping the original atheism, made him a god, and included in its worship many of the gods and religious views of the Brahmins. This school also developed the ideal of the *Bodhisattva*, i.e. he who is on his way to becoming a Buddha. The ideal of the Bodhisattvas was that they should refrain from taking the final step to Nirvana, until they had helped others to attain it. Later on, a new and decadent form of Buddhism arose in Tibet, known as Tantric Buddhism. All these forms of Buddhism were to find their way into South-East Asia, and in Java a new synthetic religion arose, called Shaiva-Buddhism, in which elements of Brahminism and Buddhism were mixed with Tantrism.

(b) *Indian literature.* The two great epics of India are the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, both written in the learned language of India, Sanskrit. The former tells the story of the banishment of Rama from his father's kingdom, and of the adventures which befell him and his wife Sita and his brother Lakshman who accompanied him on his wanderings. The second epic tells of the quarrel between the two branches of the descendants of the Bharata; of the terrible battle that they fought, lasting for eighteen days, near Thanesar; and of the

utter destruction of the opposing armies. These poems were inspired by the religious beliefs of Brahminism. Rama was regarded as the seventh incarnation of the god Vishnu, and his exploits show him as a hero, a slayer of monsters and a bringer of joy. The Mahabharata has been described as an "Encyclopaedia of Hindu history, legend and mythology". Both early obtained popularity in South-East Asia. Scenes from these poems inspired many of the bas-reliefs on famous temples; the first compositions in Malay and Old Javanese were translations of extracts from them; and to this day stories from the Ramayana are portrayed in the *wayang* or shadow theatre in the villages of Patani and Kelantan.

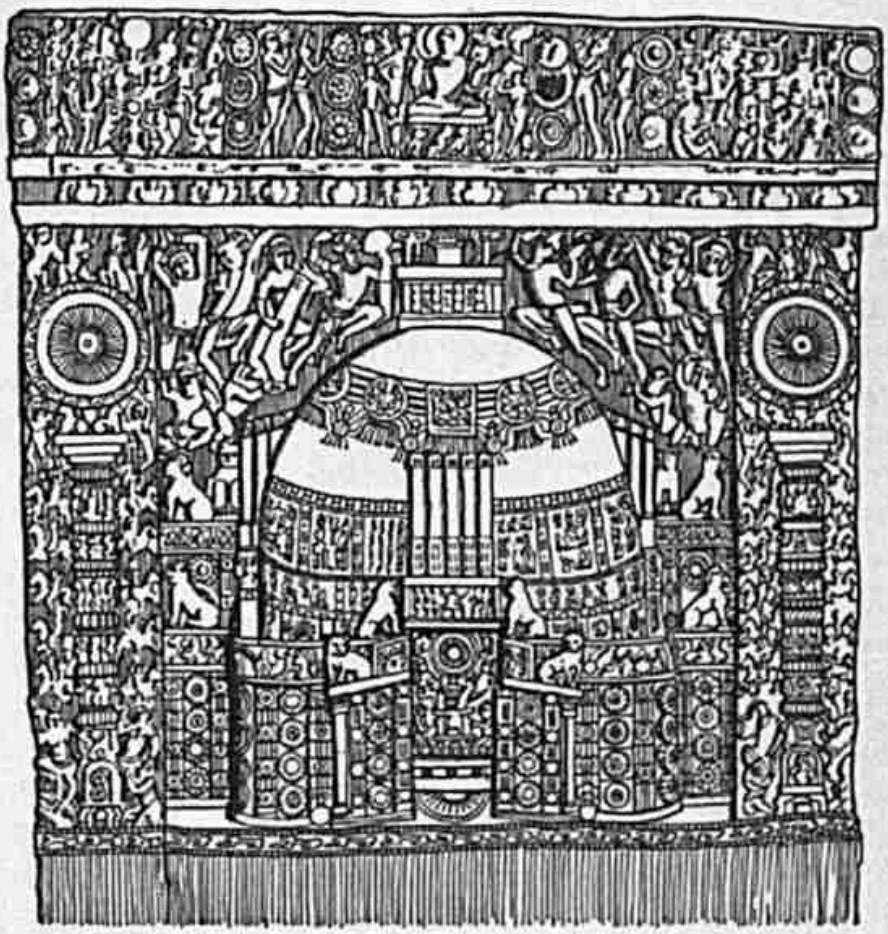
Finally, many of the *Jataka* or birth stories of the Buddha, with their subjects drawn from animal and forest life provided inspiration for the artists of South East Asia.

(c) *Indian Art.* Among the Indian schools of Art which have most affected South-East Asia, those of Amaravati and the Guptas are outstanding. Amaravati was a city of the Eastern Deccan, situated between the Godavari and the Kistna, and for a time it was the capital of the strong Andhra kingdom. The products and the craftsmen of this famous school spread far and wide over South-East Asia. The statues of the Buddha, seated or standing with flowing robes and marked clearly by Greek influence, were either brought to South-East Asia, or made by Indian craftsmen who had settled there. The Amaravati Buddha was often called the Buddha Dipankara, or Protector

Head of Buddha from Amaravati

of the Seas, and these images consequently appealed strongly to the sailors and early merchants. These statues provide us with evidence of the spread of Indian culture, as they have been found as far afield as at Palembang, and at Pong T'uk in Siam.

The Amaravati School forms a link between the ancient schools and the art of the Guptas (A.D. 320–600). The Buddha figure of the latter is now the classical type, and from now on is copied in and outside India (see the illustration of the Perak Buddha of the eighth century, p. 61). "The Art of . . . Farther India and the Malay Archipelago", says Grousset, "is akin to the art of Amaravati and the Gupta art of the Ganges." It is akin but no mere slavish imitation. The Borobudur and the Angkor Wat are respectively Javanese and Khmer in design and workmanship, though both bear witness to the inspiration of Indian art and religion.



Relief representing a Stupa (*Amaravati School*)

(d) *The Indian idea of kingship.* The Laws of Manu (100 B.C. or later) lay down a clear statement of the power and position of the king. "Kings are vastly superior to other created beings, because they are made of the essences of the gods." "They are gods in human form, and therefore they who wish to be prosperous, must worship the gods as they would Indra." Again, "No one can disobey with impunity the behests of the king for the lord of all being is on his side." Nothing could be farther removed from this conception of kingly power than the primitive democracy of the Deutero-Malays, which the former was to replace. Generally speaking, the government of Indian (as later of South-East Asian) kings was an absolute despotism. It is interesting to see in Eastern Java of the eleventh century that the king Airlangga was worshipped as a god, and his successor, Kertanagara, after his death was worshipped as Siva-Buddha. The Javanese poem the *Nagarakertagama* emphasises the status and power of the king as compared with lesser beings.

Buddha from Pangkalen Perak, 8th Century

(e) *Worship of mountains.* The ancient Indians declared that the world was flat and circular, with a circumference of 22,500 miles. In the centre was a great mountain—Mount Meru—600,000 feet high with three peaks of gold, silver and iron on which the gods dwelt. Mountains had great significance for them as the abode of the gods; and we cannot doubt that many of the places they settled in South-East Asia were chosen because they were near mountains. As the natives also shared this belief in the sacredness of mountains, we may guess that many of their settlements would already be located near them; and the possibility of trading with such settlements would provide an additional inducement to the Indians to visit such sites. Thus the plains at the foot of Ba Phnom in Funan, of Mount Seguntang in Palembang and of Kedah Peak were among the earliest places to be affected by Indian influence. Nor need we wonder that two of the most famous dynasties of South-East Asia called

themselves Funan and Sailendra respectively, i.e. "the Kings of the Mountain".

12. *The Process of Indianisation*

We commonly find in accounts of the early history of South-East Asia the assumption that, during the first eight centuries waves of Indian colonists went out to colonise—on the whole peacefully—the lands of gold, spices and tin. As a result, it is said, the colonial empire of "Farther India" was founded, and this was attached to the Mother country, not by force, but by ties of affection and esteem. To explain this "colonisation" these accounts declare that on at least four occasions political conditions in India led great numbers of emigrants and refugees to seek new homes in South-East Asia. These four occasions were: the devastation of Orissa by Asoka in the third century B.C.; the conquest of Northern India by the Kushans about A.D. 50; the defeat of the Kushans and the establishment of the Gupta empire by Samudragupta (A.D. 330–75); and the conquest of Kalinga by Pulakesin II and Harsha during the seventh century.

Against this plausible theory, there are, however, serious objections. First, there is no evidence to prove that these "waves of emigration" ever in fact took place. Secondly, had they done so they would have led to the rise of a new ethnic type as a result of the racial mixture following upon intermarriage with the native population. This has not happened. Again it is obvious that the Indian settlers must have been comparatively few, or else they would have imposed their own languages on the native ones, as for example, the Normans imposed theirs on the Anglo-Saxons. Malay, Javanese, etc., however, survived (enriched, it is true, by many "loan words"). Finally, our information about South-East Asian states (e.g. Funan) comes, not from Indian sources (as we should expect if the "colonisation theory" were true), but from the Chinese. In short, it is one thing to talk about "colonisation"; and an entirely different thing to talk about the spread of a culture. Rome did not become a Greek colony, though it accepted Greek culture wholeheartedly; nor did South-East Asia become an Arab colony though many of her peoples accepted Islam. Similarly, South-East Asia in the first seven centuries A.D. did

not become an Indian colony, though Indian culture profoundly affected it.

13. *"Indianisation" the result of "two-way" traffic*

Modern scholars stress that Indian ideas in art, law, politics and religion were not necessarily spread by the Indians alone. The Malays, who spread their new culture as far west as Madagascar, were themselves notable sailors. No less than the Indians they knew the secrets of the monsoons, and it is most likely that they would visit Indian ports as they visited Kattigara and Canton. We know for instance that an embassy from Funan visited Northern India; and if Chinese Buddhist pilgrims like Fa Hsien and I-Ching could visit India, why could not the natives of Palembang, also Buddhists, visit the Mahayana Buddhist monastery of Nalanda by which their creed was so strongly influenced, or the temple in Negapatam which one of their kings founded? In the case of Java, it has recently been shown that in the reign of Dharmavamca (A.D. 991–1007) a number of Javanese scholars brought back from India with them many of the old Sanskrit texts (including a version of the *Mahabharata*), which they translated into Old Javanese, and these translations mark the beginnings of Javanese Literature. We must be prepared then to accept the possibility of a two-way traffic between India and South-East Asia, and recognise, as Coedes suggests, that perhaps the most efficient ambassadors of Indian culture were not so much the Indians themselves, as the natives of South-East Asia who visited India, absorbed her culture, and returned eager to spread it in their own lands and in their own way.

Why did Indians go to South-East Asia? One reason put forward is that it was the missionary zeal of Buddhism which led many to cross the seas to spread their faith, like a certain Gunavarman, who is said to have visited Java and Sumatra about A.D. 420, and converted many of the rulers to Buddhism. Their example encouraged the Brahmins to follow, and they overcame their fear of loss of caste through meeting the *Mleccha* or barbarian peoples, by employing their rites to raise the native princes to the rank of Ksatriya and by accepting the native gods as avatars of their own. Another reason was, of course, trade. Tin, scented woods and all the spices of the east,

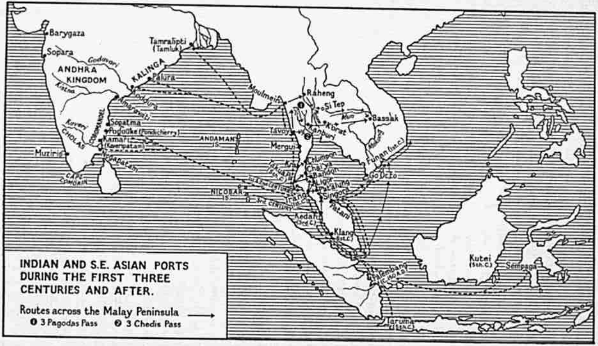
which could make food palatable or which could be used as medicines, were in great demand by their chief customers—the peoples of the Roman Empire—and of all these things South-East Asia was a great source of supply. Moreover, there was gold, which to the Indians had a deep religious significance and for which the loss of their old source of supply, the Siberian mines, as a result of barbarian attacks, made the discovery of a new source imperative.

We may note in passing that gold, which is now to be found in Malaya only in a few places like Raub, and Batang Padang in Kedah, was in those days fairly widely distributed along a narrow line going from Mount Ophir and Segamat through Pahang and Kelantan to Patani and Telepin in the north. Traces of ancient mines have been found along this line; the Malacca Sultans got much gold from Pahang and Patani; and as late as the early seventeenth century Eredia tells us that "large gold mines have been discovered . . . along the course of the Telubin river". Much gold was also mined in the Menangkabau kingdom in Sumatra.

The Indians who did settle in South East Asia would be, of course the conscious representatives of the Indian culture, already described, who in the new lands which they helped to Indianise, formed an élite, superior to the natives in culture, and in the arts of government and war. Nevertheless many of the states continued to be ruled by native princes, who had been converted to one or other of the Indian religions, had adopted Indian names, and had been admitted to the rank of Ksatriya. This seems to have been the case in East Borneo where the king, Gunavarman (*c.* A.D. 400) is known to have been the grandson of a ruler with the obviously native name of Kundungga. A second example is provided in the case of Java, where in the eighth century the king, Sanjaya, was the nephew of a native king whose name was Sannaha.

14. *Lines of communication*

One important reason why the Indo-Pacific Peninsula was so completely Indianised was the existence of "cross-country" routes, which were developed in order to cut out the long journey down the Straits (which was also made dangerous by pirates); to develop internal trade; and to shorten the journey


Barygaza
Sopara
Godavari
ANDHRA KINGDOM
Kistna
KALINGA
Palura
Tamralipti (Tamluk)
Amaravati
Kaveri
CHOLAS
COROMANDEL
Sopatma
Podouke (Pondicherry)
Kamara (Kaveripatam)
Nagapatam
Muziris
CAPE COMORIN
ANDAMAN IS.
NICOBAR IS.
Moulmein
Raheng
Si Tep
Basak
K'orat
Tavoy
Mergui
Chumpon
Chaiya
Bandon
Ligor
Patalung
Singora
Patani
Kedah (3rd C.)
Klang (1st C.)
Funan (1st C.)
Oc Eo
Palembang (C.150 A.D.)
Kutei (5th C.)
Sempaga
Taruma (5th C.)
3rd CENTURY

INDIAN AND S.E. ASIAN PORTS DURING THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES AND AFTER.

Routes across the Malay Peninsula ⟶
❶ 3 Pagodas Pass ❷ 3 Chedis Pass

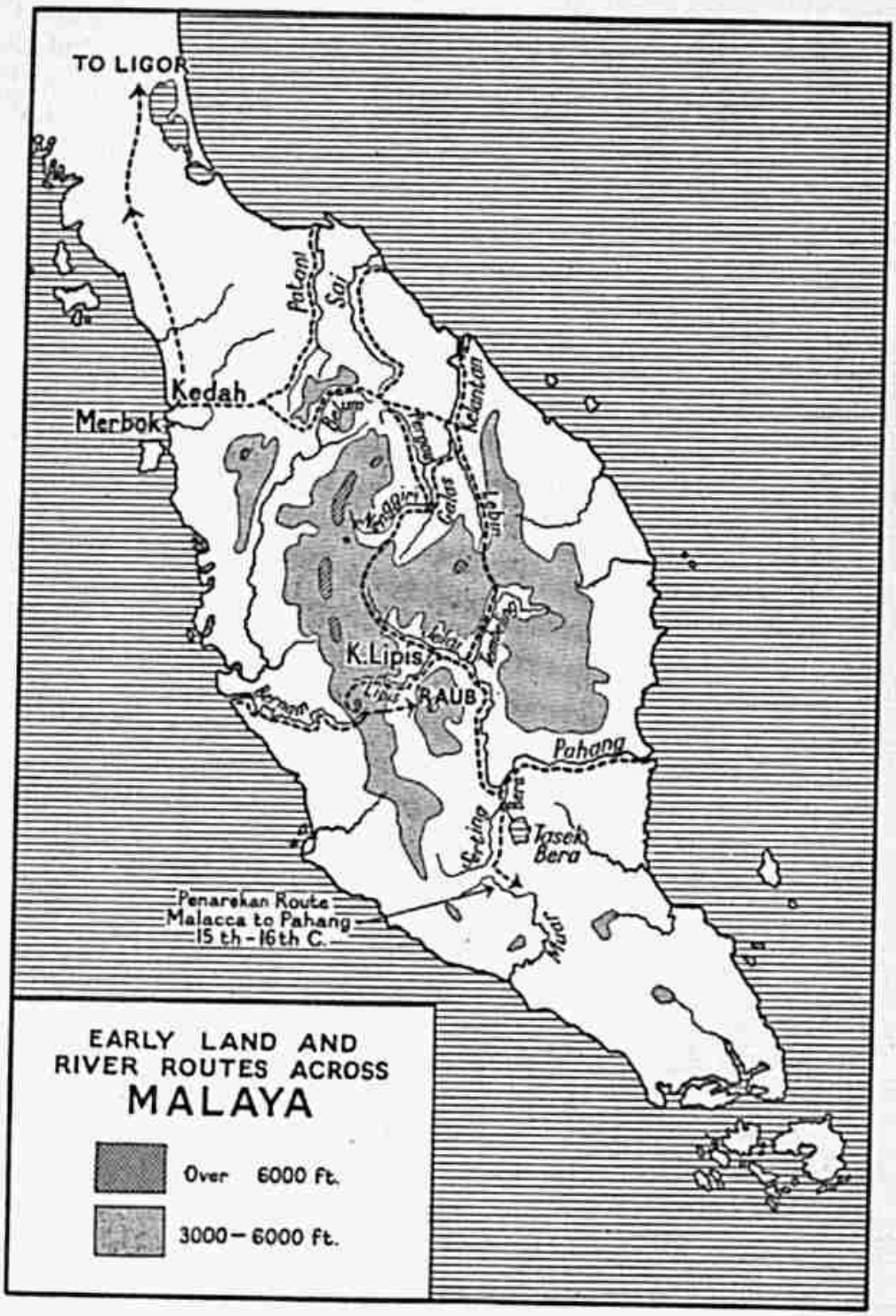
to China. The main routes were as follows. First, the route from the port of Moulmein to Raheng which gave access to the basin of the Menam. Then, farther south, there was a route from Tavoy which crossed the mountains from the Three Pagodas Pass, and then descended to the Menam via the Kanburi river. A more direct route was from Tavoy through the Three Chedis Pass to the east coast of the Kra isthmus. From Mergui, the port of Tenasserim, to Seam; from Kra to Ch'umpon; and from Takua Pa to Chaiya on the Bay of Bandon ran well-known and easy routes. Trang was linked to P'at'alung, Ligor and Bandon. Finally, a most important route has been postulated joining the Menam to the Mekong by the plateau of K'orat, via Si Tep, and then onwards to the valley of the Mun. This route ended near Bassak, the original home of the Chen-la, who were later to overthrow Funan, and establish the famous kingdom of Cambodia.

As for Malaya itself, there was a network of communications linking various parts to each other, chiefly by river, but partly by elephant tracks. All these routes played a part in Malaya's history down to the nineteenth century, when roads and railways were built. There was first a route from Kedah to Ligor, following the line of the present railway. From Kedah there was also a land route due east across the upper reaches of the Patani, Belum, Sai and Pergau rivers. Between Upper Perak and Patani there was an old and much-used track to the gold fields of Pahang. From Ophir there was the well-known "Pĕnarekan"[1] route along the Muar-Serting-Pahang rivers, which became most important after the Sultanate of Malacca was established at the beginning of the fifteenth century. From Pahang there was a route via the Pahang-Tembeling-Jelai-Nenggiri-Galas-Lebir rivers which went through the very heart of the gold country. "The lower Tembeling was a highway of communication between Pahang and the north." (See map.) of deep-sea ships, some of which, it is said, were capable of carrying between 600–700 passengers. The finely rigged ship

15. *The voyage of Fa Hsien*, A.D. *414*

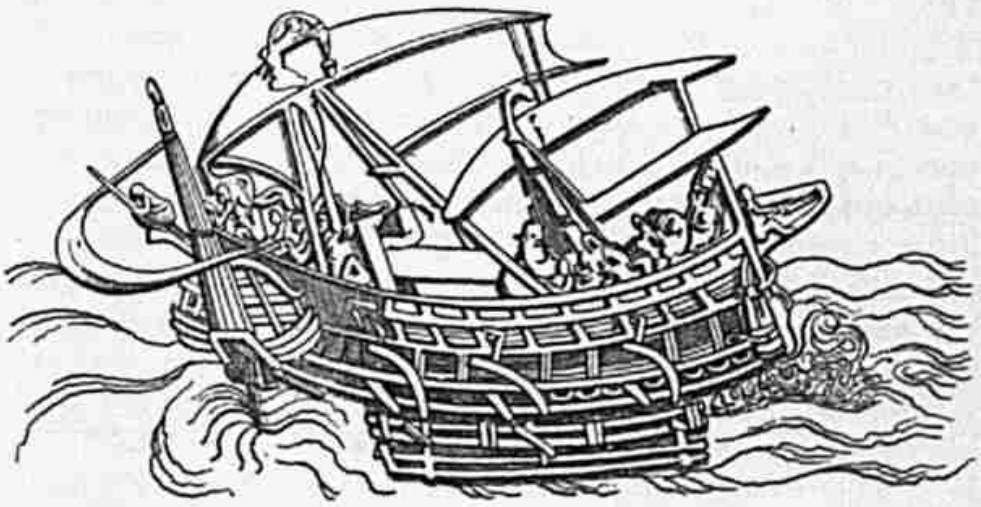
One other factor which made the expansion of Indian influence possible was the great advance made in the construction

[1] A Malay word meaning "portage." The boats had to be dragged over a stretch of swamp between the Jumpol and the Serting rivers.


TO LIGOR
Patani
Sai
Kedah
Merbok
Kelantan
Lebir
K.Lipis
RAUB
Pahang
Tembeling
Tasek Bera
Penarekan Route
Malacca to Pahang
15 th - 16th C.
EARLY LAND AND
RIVER ROUTES ACROSS
MALAYA
Over 6000 ft.
3000 – 6000 ft.

shown in the illustration from Borobudur may well have been the type of vessel used in the early centuries. From the voyage undertaken by a Buddhist monk, Fa Hsien, in A.D. 414, from Ceylon to China, we can learn several interesting things about the conditions of sailing at that time. First, it helps us to appreciate the importance of the monsoons which determined all maritime operations in the Bay of Bengal down to the nineteenth century. From October to April each year the ships sailed from India on the N.E. monsoon. They could proceed through the Straits on either monsoon; but the period of the N.E. monsoon was the more favourable one, since during April to October (when the S.W. monsoon prevailed) the Sumatras and the North Westerlies frequently caused stormy weather in the Straits. Having rounded the Peninsula, the ships would sail northwards to China on the S.W. monsoon. On the other hand, ships leaving China would sail to the Straits on the N.E. monsoon, and up the Straits in time for the next N.E. monsoon to waft them over to India.

It is clear that ships from India would require a port at the northern end of the Straits where they could take aboard fresh supplies and wait for the favourable N.E. monsoon to take them down the Straits. Hence the importance of ports like Trang, Kedah, and later Acheh and Penang. Similarly, ships from China would require ports near the southern end of the Straits, e.g. Klang or later Palembang or Malayu; or on the



South East Asian ship from Borobudur

east coast, e.g. Patani. We must note, however, that owing to a storm, Fa Hsien was unable to call at any port on the Straits, and had to call at a port in Borneo. From his narrative it is clear that the route from Borneo to Canton was a well-known one, and could be done in fifty days.

It can be seen that the monsoons positively encouraged the growth of cross-country routes. Indian ships could unload their goods at Trang (or, after the third century, Kedah), whence they could be carried overland to Singora or Patani, and from there transhipped in other vessels to Hanoi or Canton. The reverse process would take place in the case of goods sent from China.

Finally, Fa Hsien's voyage helps us to realise the hazards of the sea-way—the perils from typhoons and sudden squalls, particularly dangerous in the case of ships hopelessly over-crowded as these commonly were; the fear of attack from the pirates who lay in wait for their prey in the mangrove-covered inlets along the Straits; and perhaps not least terrifying, the dread of sea monsters and other prodigies with which their imaginations peopled the vast and boundless deep.

16. *China and South-East Asia*

It is clear therefore that Indian culture has affected South-East Asia deeply, and we shall see more of this as we proceed. What of China? This country has also a splendid culture of her own—a culture which was contemporary with those of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and one which (unlike all others) has continued, fundamentally unchanged, down almost to our own day. China, like India and Europe, developed a great literature and a noble Art. The philosophical or moral teaching of Confucius, and to a lesser extent the teachings of Lao Tzu, Mo-Ti and of Buddhism helped to mould the religious outlook of the people. Poetry, sculpture (influenced strongly by Buddhism), and painting flourished greatly under the Han, but especially under the T'ang dynasty. Yet, surprisingly enough, this noble culture seems to have affected South-East Asia very little. Indian ideas (if only superficially) spread all over the Indo-Pacific Peninsula and Indonesia and as far east as Celebes; but the direct influence of Chinese culture stopped north of Hué in Northern Annan, which alone of the states of the Indo-Pacific Peninsula became to any extent sinicised.

Yet China's influence on South-East Asia as a whole has always been considerable, and at times immense; but that influence has been chiefly political and economic.

(a) *China's political influence.* To the Chinese, the basis and pattern of Society has always been the family, and its larger unit, the Clan. In the course of centuries, the clans gradually expanded into the State, and the Chinese came to consider that there was no reason why this expansion should not continue indefinitely. At first it was designed to secure round China's frontiers a group of subject peoples who would insulate her from attacks by more distant enemies; but soon it seemed to them inevitable that "the social order was destined to expand until it reached the final goal of the Ta-Tung—the Grand Harmony of mankind into which all races would be absorbed". This idea of expansion was a fundamental one with the Chinese; and it presupposed, first, that Chinese civilisation was superior to every other; and, secondly, that other races must recognise this superiority and be prepared to accept it in all humility. Until they did so they were regarded as "barbarians" and were allowed to trade only on sufferance, and on condition of accepting the Chinese Emperor as the overlord.

The expansion, during historical times, was attempted in two ways—either by direct conquest (as in the case of the Han dynasty 202 B.C.–A.D. 220); or by a policy which may be best described as one of "attack and fragmentation" (as in the case of the Mongol expansion of the thirteenth century). In periods of weakness (e.g. after the fall of the Han dynasty, A.D. 220–618) China withdrew her attention from the outside world, preoccupied, as she was so often, with Civil Wars. It is instructive to note that it was during this very period of weakness that India's culture was able to penetrate peacefully throughout South-East Asia. Yet, even so, the Indianised states did not fail to send embassies, since they all alike looked to the Middle Kingdom as the chief star in their firmament. She was still to them the fountain head of civilisation. "The Chinese Emperor", says Majumdar, "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 political influence upon them all." When China became strong again under the Mongols and the policy of

"fragmentation" was adopted, one of the most striking consequences was the downfall of the old Indianised states of South East Asia.

(b) *China's economic influence.* "Our celestial Empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product within her borders. There is therefore no need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians for our own products." These words of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung addressed to Lord Macartney in 1793 could have been said with equal truth by any previous Chinese Emperor. It was not a mere boast that "China lacked no product within her borders"; and for many centuries other countries, less rich, were anxious to trade with her. As we noted above, the states of South-East Asia sent embassies frequently to China; but these were as much economic as political in their aims. It was even worthwhile for them to send costly presents—usually consisting of the products of their country—to the Emperor and to declare themselves his vassals; since an acknowledgment of his overlordship meant (until the time of the Mongol dynasty) in practice no lessening of their independence, but led to a return of far costlier presents and to favoured treatment in trade. Moreover, the fact that South-East Asia lay on the direct trade route between the West and China enabled her to benefit immensely from the great trade revivals, like those for example which followed the rise of the T'ang, Yüan [Mongol] and Ming dynasties. Finally, we must note that if there was not, as in the case of India, any large assimilation by foreign countries of Chinese culture, the objects of her trade had a civilising and refining influence on the tastes of the peoples who bought them. China exported objects of beauty, and her silks and porcelain were sought as eagerly by Borneo, Java and the Malay Peninsula as they were by Indians, Arabs or Romans.

India and China therefore affected South-East Asia in different ways, but each with considerable effect. We must remember however, that neither succeeded in destroying the native cultures which persisted with remarkable tenacity throughout the centuries.

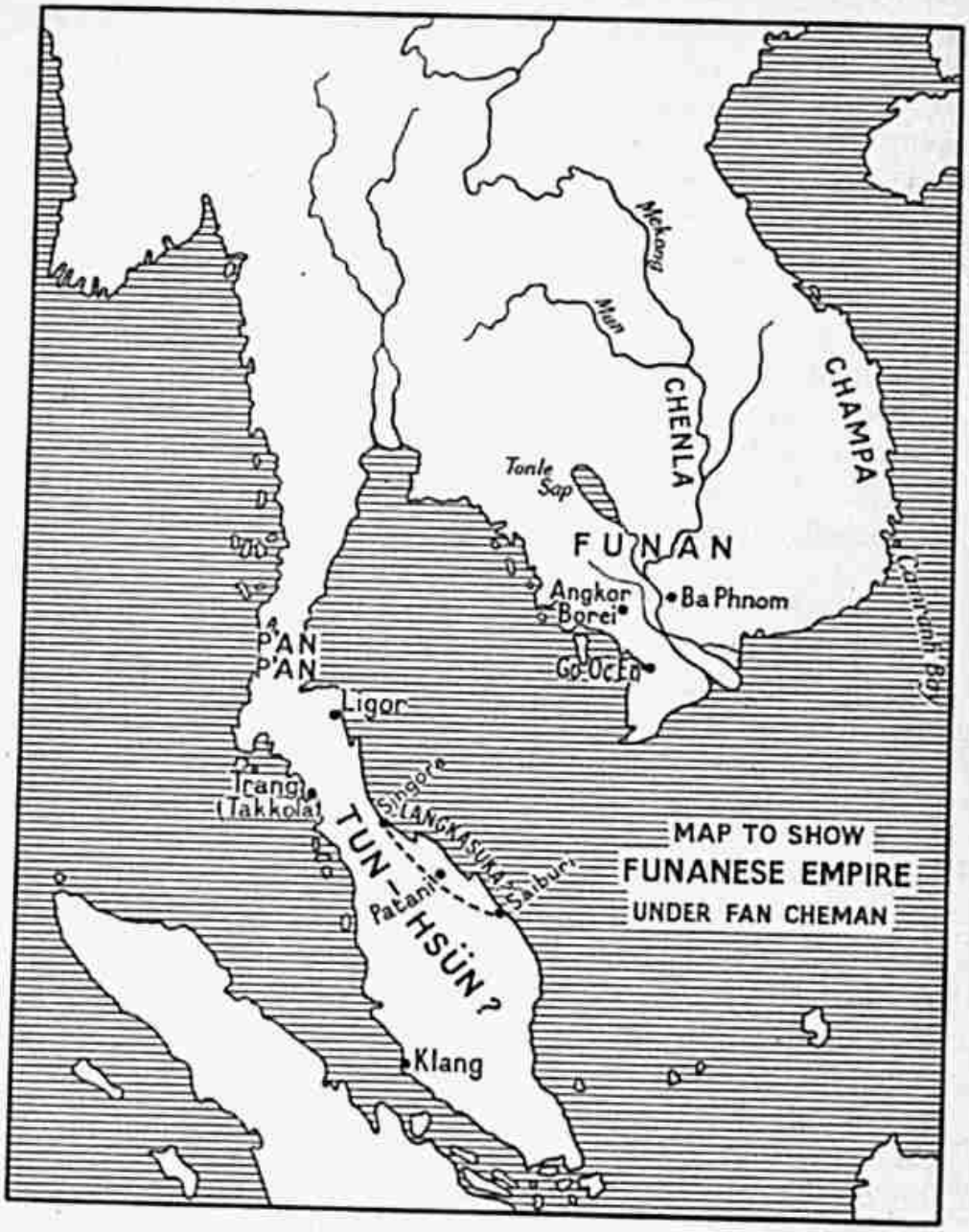
CHAPTER V

THE EMPIRE OF FUNAN AND OTHER INDIANISED STATES
(FIRST CENTURY A.D. TO A.D. 627)

17. *The beginnings of Funan*

THE most powerful of the early Indianised states of South-East Asia is to be found, not in Malaya or the Archipelago, but on the delta of the Mekong. This was the empire of Funan which was founded during the first century A.D. and which lasted until A.D. 627. It really seems to have merited the name of an Empire, and all the states on the Peninsula, including probably those in Malaya, came under its rule. Its cradle was the rich delta of the Mekong, which provided inexhaustible supplies of fish and from the nearby flat, swampy fields abundant supplies of rice to support a much larger population than that of the Khmer-speaking people who then lived in the area. These people in culture and outlook were not unlike those who inhabited the rest of the Peninsula at this time.

According to an old legend that the Chinese have handed down to us, the little state was ruled over, sometime during the first century by a Queen, Liu-Yeh or "Willow-Leaf", who was "famous for her exploits". The peace of this small matriarchal kingdom was, however, rudely shattered by an invasion from the country of "Mo-fu" (perhaps India or the Malay Peninsula). The invasion was led by a certain Houen-Chen or Kaundinya, who, as a reward for his devotion to a certain genie, had been given a "divine bow" by the latter and told to leave his native land in a large merchant vessel which the genie "by directing the wind" had caused to land at Funan. Willow-Leaf wished "to pillage the ship and take possession of it"; but when Kaundinya shot an arrow from his magic bow which pierced her boat from side to side, she was so frightened that she and her troops surrendered. "Thus Kaundinya became king of Funan." It is quite possible that the legend is describing an



actual occurrence. We know that matriarchy flourished in these small communities; and the legendary Kaundinya could easily have been one of the Indian adventurers seeking a settlement. The "wind" of the genie could be taken as the monsoon, and the "divine bow" might simply refer to his superior weapons. Doubtless many of the newcomers would have a short sharp

fight with the native inhabitants, and after the victory would marry native princesses and thus gain titles to the rule of the country. That the new kingdom began in the first century A.D. is beyond doubt, because in the second century there were definitely rulers in the delta calling themselves by the family name of Kaundinya; and indeed all following rulers of Funan claimed descent from the legendary pair, Kaundinya and Willow-Leaf (or Soma, as she was called in later times).

18. *Its expansion*

At first the kingdom consisted of a number of towns lying between Chaudoc and Phnom Penh, the capital, Vyadhapura ("the city of hunters") being situated at the foot of Ba Phnom. During the second century it seems to have grown steadily, if not altogether peacefully, until at the beginning of the third century the king, P'an P'an, handed over the government to his famous general, Fan Che Man. It was this ruler who made Funan into a great state. According to the Chinese, "he attacked and conquered the neighbouring kingdoms. . . . All recognised themselves as his vassals. He took the title of the 'Great king of Funan'. Then he had great ships built, and crossing the immense sea, he attacked more than ten kingdoms, including . . . Tun-hsün" (probably the Malay Peninsula). "He extended his kingdom more than 5000 or 6000 li" (about 1,250 or 1,500 miles). "Then he wished to subdue the country of the Golden Frontier" (possibly Burma); "but he fell ill" and died (*c.* 225).

So Funan under the first of the "Fan" rulers had in less than two centuries expanded from being a small settlement to an empire 1,500 miles in length. It reached as far as Tongking on the north and the Indian Ocean on the west, and probably had control over the small states that had established themselves in the Malay Peninsula in the south. It also seems to have included at first the state of Champa, which had made its first appearance as an organised state in A.D. 192. This state, however, soon gained its independence, but on the whole, it remained friendly with Funan, whose help it sought occasionally against its great enemy the Chinese.

19. *Friendship with India and China*

It was during the reign of Fan Che Man's nephew, the usurper Fan Chan, that the existence and importance of Funan were recognised by her great neighbours, India and China. A certain trader from a country west of India arrived in Funan about A.D. 240, and told the astonished king of the marvels that India could show. Fan Chan accordingly despatched an embassy (which sailed from Trang) to pay his respects to the Kushan king. The latter, equally surprised to learn of this new state, welcomed the strangers, and sent back with them an ambassador, as well as gifts, to the court of Funan.

Almost at the same time diplomatic relations were established with China; Fan Chan had in A.D. 243 sent an embassy to China with presents of the products of the country, and a party of musicians. In return, the Chinese sent two ambassadors to make a report on Funan and the countries of the south. The ambassadors were welcomed by a new king, Fan Hsun (for Fan Chan had been murdered *c.* A.D. 245), and they lost no opportunity of finding out all about this new and important state. On their return one of them wrote a detailed account of Funan and the neighbouring countries; the other wrote an account of India based on what he had learnt from the Indian ambassador whom he had met at the Funan court. Though both these accounts have been lost, extracts from them have been preserved in the Chinese Encyclopaedias, and it is to these that we owe our information about Funan. In spite of the embassy of A.D. 245, Fan Hsun pursued a hostile policy towards China *c.* A.D. 270–80, when he helped Champa to attack the Chinese in Annam. Towards the end of his long reign however, peace was made (in A.D. 280), and he sent an embassy to China soon after. After this, we hear no more of Funan until the middle of the fourth century, when it appears to have been in a very unsettled condition. As a result of unknown conditions the last of the Funan kings seems to have been deposed, and a usurper from India, Chandana by name, took his place. Very little is known about him, however, and the story of Funan until the beginning of the fifth century is almost a complete blank.

We shall leave Funan for the moment, and glance at the small Indianised states that were in existence in the Peninsula and the Archipelago at this time.

20. "*Tun-hsün*"

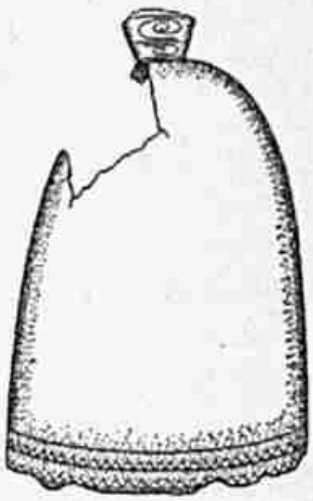
Among the conquests of the great Funanese general and admiral Fan Che Man was a place called by the Chinese Tun-hsün (or Tien-Souen) which has been regarded either as a place on the Peninsula or as the Peninsula itself. "It was originally a separate kingdom," says a Chinese chronicle. "Fan Man subdued it. . . . At present (third century A.D.) Tun-hsün is a dependency of Funan." According to the "Leang Shu" chronicle, Tun-hsün was located to the west of China, and was 3,000 li south of Funan. It had a precipitous shore. "There are five kings. All are vassals of Funan. The eastern territory puts it into relation with Tongking; its western territory is in communication with India, Parthia and the furthest kingdoms beyond. Merchants go there in great numbers to barter. . . . The market is a meeting place for East and West, and 10,000 people resort to it daily. Rare articles, precious merchandise—there is nothing that cannot be found there." This market, therefore, the chief town of Tun-hsün, was a great emporium that was fed by both the N.E. and S.W. monsoons. If indeed, Tun-hsün was the Malay Peninsula, composed of five kingdoms, then this great port may well have been Kedah, or possibly Klang, which itself may possibly have been the capital of one of the Kingdoms. Recent finds of bronze and iron implements seem to show that Klang was directly influenced by Funan during the period from the first century to the middle of the third century; and, according to Dr. Linehan, the knowledge of the working of metals—gold, iron and tin—may well have been introduced there by their Funanese conquerors (see illustration of the bronze drum). As for its site, "the present day port of Klang, Port Swettenham, is one of the best harbours, if not the best, on the west coast of Malaya" (Linehan).

The two most important Indianised States in Malaya, however, were Langkasuka and Kedah.[1] Langkasuka is a kingdom whose memory has been kept green in Malayan folklore as a kind of fairy country or "Never Never Land", and tradition has long associated it with Kedah. The truth seems to be,

[1] One of the difficulties in following the history of these two places is the bewildering variety of names given to each at different times. Thus for Kedah we have Kataha, Kalah, Kalagam, Kalabar, Chieh'cha, etc.: for Langkasuka, Langchia, Lochac, etc.

however, that it was an east-coast state, stretching from Singora to Saiburi. It may well at times have included the Ligor isthmus to the southern boundary of present Bandon and Chaiya. Its capital was possibly the great port of Patani, which like Kuantan on the Pahang, was one of the few ports on the East coast which provided good shelter for ships during the monsoons. The power controlling this port would, therefore, doubtless have a considerable share in the coastal trade with Funan and China and upon this a good part of its prosperity

Bronze elephant bell from Klang



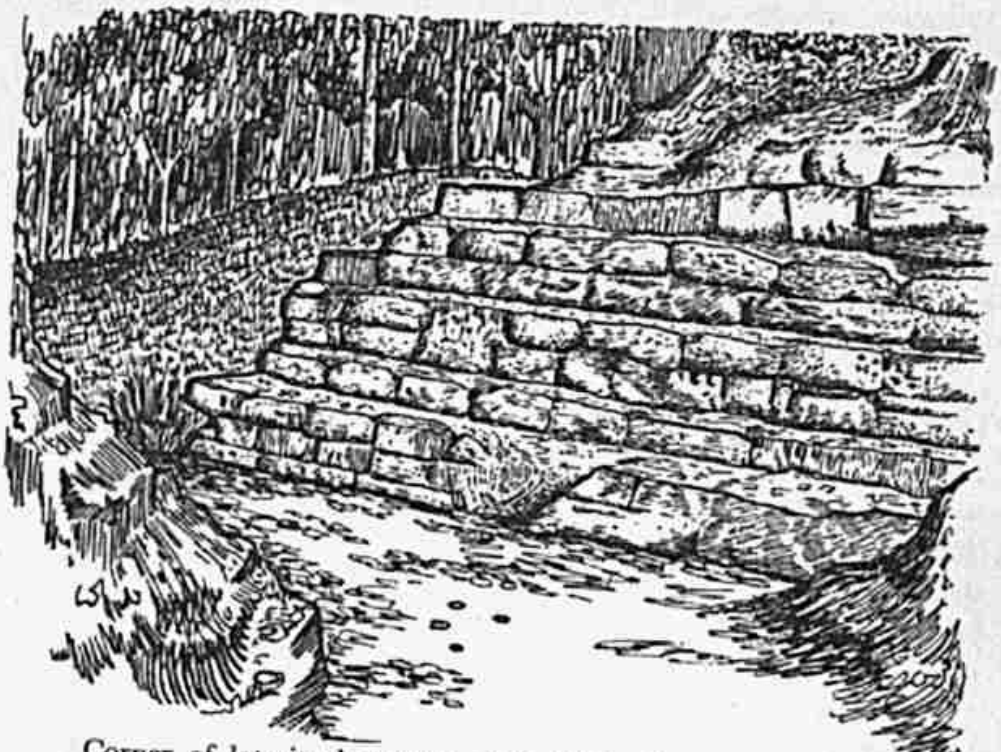
Bronze ceremonial drum from Klang

would be based. There can be little doubt, too, that this state controlled one of the routes going across the Peninsula; but perhaps the chief reason for its wealth and power was the fact that it was linked by easy routes to Kelantan and Pahang, where lay the great gold producing area of Malaya. Langkasuka is one of the earliest of the Malay states, because, according to the Chinese chronicle of the "Leang Shu" (A.D. 515) it was in existence at the end of the first century. The capital, continues the chronicler, "was surrounded by brick walls, and among its products were aloe wood and camphor oil. The houses have two swing doors and pavilions surmounted by terraces. The King Bhagadatta goes abroad seated on an elephant and sheltered by a white howdah, and is preceded by drums and flags, and is preceded by soldiers of a fierce aspect."

21. *Kedah*

The most important settlement (after the third century A.D.) on the west coast of Malaya was Kedah. Its port was situated, not on the Kedah river which was a quite insignificant stream in those days, but on the river Merbok. The mouth of this river afforded a safe and excellent anchorage on a part of the coast made difficult for shipping by the S.W. monsoon. It was also situated near the mountain near Kedah Peak, that great landmark which could be seen thirty miles out at sea. This also, like Ba Phnom, would appeal to the superstitions of the Indians, recalling as it did their ideas about Mount Meru. The Merbok at that time was probably linked with the Muda river which carried a great deal of the exports of the new settlement. The original site of the settlement was on a small tributary of the Merbok—the Bujang, which was sufficiently far away from the mangrove swamps and the mouth of the river to protect it from the possibility of a surprise attack; and the gently rising ground along its banks made it suitable for the building of houses and temples. Food presented no difficulty, for rice could easily be grown on the surrounding swampy ground. A number of mounds indicating the remains of Buddhist and Shaivite temples have been found in the neighbourhood, and it is possible that Brahminist shrines were built on the summit of Gunong Jĕrai (Kedah Peak) itself. The passing of time, however, the depredations of treasure seekers, the destruction of temples and images by the Malays after their conversion to Islam, and perhaps above all the fact that these old buildings were made of perishable materials have left comparatively few remnants of what was once undoubtedly a famous settlement.

That it was a great port from the third or fourth century onwards seems unquestionable. It is mentioned as such in a Tamil poem of the third century. It was in constant trade with Kaveripattinam, the port of the early Chola kings, and with Tamralipti, the great port on the West Ganges delta. Its ships sailed to Ceylon, the Nicobars, N.W. and S.E. Sumatra, and possibly to Borneo. It was capable of providing food for a large population, because at its greatest extent it seems to have covered the plain of Perlis and extended as far north as Trang. Tomé Pires, writing admittedly in the sixteenth century, says its southern boundaries were "at the end of the Kingdom of



Corner of laterite basement of Buddhist Stupa Kedah

A stone in this temple inscribed on three faces with the Buddhist Credo

Malacca and Bruas". It included therefore the broad plains of Kedah and Perlis, and was obviously self supporting. In the seventh century its importance was attested by the Chinese pilgrim, I-Ching, and in the ninth century the Arab chroniclers make it appear as the most important entrepôt between India and China.

We may note here, in passing, the discovery of two inscriptions in Kedah and Province Wellesley, one of which illustrates the presence of Buddhism in the area as early as the fourth century A.D. The first inscription is written in Sanskrit but with the oldest Pallava alphabet; the second, found near the ruins of an old Buddhist temple in Province Wellesley and inscribed on a stone slab, is also written in Sanskrit with a South Indian alphabet of the fifth century. It records the success of a voyage undertaken by a sea captain called Buddhagupta "whose abode was the country of the Red Earth" (perhaps Singora, or some other province of Langkasuka).

There were several other states in the Peninsula and the Kra isthmus whose names we will mention briefly, as little is known about them at present. There was possibly a little kingdom in the Tembeling region of Pahang, having Kuantan as its port; in the region of Ligor, there was another state whose existence has been traced back to the second century A.D.; and farther north, running across the isthmus, there was the realm of P'an P'an (called perhaps after the Funanese king of that name) where "at the royal court many Brahmins from India profit from the King's generosity".

22. *The Indianised States of the Archipelago*

We already know of the existence of states in Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Celebes. The oldest inscriptions have been found in East Borneo, where about A.D. 400 an Indonesian kingdom was in existence ruled over by a King with an obvious Indian name, Mulavarman, though it is possible that he was a native who had accepted the Indian civilisation, and was not a Hindu by birth. The religion was chiefly Brahminist, though as elsewhere in South-East Asia Buddhism also existed there. It is probable that there were small Indianised states on the N.W. coast on the main sea route to China and we know that Fa Hsien called at one of these. The earliest of all Indianised

settlements in Java was the Kingdom of Taruma, in the west, a place well situated for the control of the Sunda Straits and within easy reach of the Indianised states of Southern Sumatra. Its ruler was a Brahminist king Purnavarman, of whom little is known apart from the fact that he built a canal seven miles long in twenty-one days. Finally, there was the little state in Palembang, dating back at least to *c.* A.D. 150 and destined in the last part of the seventh century to be the chief power in South East Asia after the overthrow of Funan.

We have no evidence that Funan had anything to do with these island states.

23. *The Second Kaundinya dynasty in Funan* (A.D. *400–550*)

In A.D. 400 a new claimant for the throne, a Brahmin, calling himself "Kaundinya" took advantage of the misgovernment of Chandana's successor to seize the throne of Funan. Whether he was in truth a descendant of the old Kaundinya dynasty, or whether he adopted the name of the great family of South-East Asia because he knew it was one to conjure with, will never be known. At all events, he too claimed supernatural aid, for according to the Chinese chronicle "A supernatural voice said to him 'You must go and reign at Funan.' . . . The people of Funan heard of him. The whole kingdom rose with joy." They went to P'an P'an, where he was staying, and "chose him king. He changed all the rules according to the customs of India." Thus a new Indian dynasty, possibly related to the first, arose in Funan, and set about a thorough-going Indianisation of the whole country.

Like his predecessors, Kaundinya II sent ambassadors to China, perhaps to gain recognition from the Emperor for his title of king, but also, no doubt to gain trade concessions. This friendly policy towards China was pursued by his successors, of whom the best known is Jayavarman (*c.* A.D. 478–514). This king, indeed, asked the Emperor to take sides with him in a dispute with his son; and though at first the Emperor, following the policy of "fragmentation", took the side of the son, he eventually granted recognition to Jayavarman, awarding him in A.D. 503 the high-sounding title of "General of the Pacified South". So when he died in A.D. 514 Funan seemed an important power to reckon with. It was, in fact, however, on

the eve of its downfall; and as in the case of most Oriental empires, the cause was a disputed succession to the throne.

Jayavarman's heir was his son Gunavarman; but he was murdered by his elder brother, Rudravarman, who was destined to be the last king of an independent Funan. We know little about him, except that he sent embassies to China, the last of which was in A.D. 539. On his death there was a great deal of unrest in the provinces of the Mekong, and one of these now made a bid for the supreme power. This was Chenla, which had its centre in Bassak on the Mekong in what is now S.E. Laos. It was a rich country, having at its disposal much mineral wealth, and by the fifth century it had become the most powerful of the vassals of the old empire. In *c.* A.D. 540 its young ruler Bharvavarman advanced on the capital with a large army (commanded by his brother Sitrasena), took all the other claimants by surprise and seized the throne for himself. But though he had reduced Funan to a state of vassalage, he pretended that nothing had changed; and even claimed descent from Kaundinya I and Soma in order to make his accession appear lawful. For a few years longer Funan under Bharvavarman and his brother Sitrasena (who succeeded him in A.D. 598) continued to exist under its own name, but only as a mere province of the new state and out of regard for its former greatness. Its territories had shrunk to a small area extending (perhaps) from its new capital at Ba Phnom along the coast as far east as Camranh Bay. At last, in A.D. 627, Sitrasena's son and successor, Isanavarman, annexed this last fragment of Funan, and welded it into his kingdom of Chenla. From this time, apart from a few fruitless embassies to China begging vainly for assistance, we hear no more of Funan, and even its very name was forgotten in the lapse of time.

24. *The importance of Funan*

The first period of the Indianisation of South-East Asia ended about A.D. 550, and of this movement the empire of Funan was the greatest achievement. For the first seven centuries no other power in the area could compare with her in extent and influence. The basis of her power was the command of the sea. She learnt very early that the command of the Straits of Malacca was all important, and established control of it by her capture

of the port of Trang in the north and of Klang in the south. As early as the third century A.D. she built a great fleet, and imposed her rule on scattered territories that only sea-power could unite. She thus provided a model to all her successors—Sri Vijaya, the Malacca Sultanate, the Portuguese, Dutch and British—which they consciously or unconsciously followed.

As a result of being a great sea power, Funan was able to dominate a part of the sea route between India and China. She was indeed the essential "middleman" between the two countries. "There is no power", says Pelliot, "which during the first centuries of our era played for the Chinese a greater role than Funan. From the third to the seventh century . . . it seems to have been an almost obligatory stop between India and China."

Like the Roman Empire in Europe, though of course on a far smaller scale, the achievement of Funan captivated the imagination of succeeding South-East Asian states. On the site which had seen its greatness was to arise the famous kingdom of Cambodia; and far to the south, in Java, descendants of the old Funan kings were, first, to establish the celebrated kingdom of the "Sailendras" (which like Funan, means "the kings of the Mountain"); and later were to become the rulers of Sri Vijaya.

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF SRI VIJAYA, AND THE SAILENDRA DYNASTY IN JAVA

25. *The successor states*

When Funan went down, there was at first no power strong enough to take her place. Most of her former vassals in the Malay Peninsula hastened to assert their independence, Langkasuka, for instance, on her own behalf, sending an embassy to China in A.D. 568. After a century of confusion the Khmer kingdom of the Chenla gave place to the new kingdom of Cambodia (A.D. 802), but this was essentially a land power. The state which was to succeed to Funan's role of sea power and controller of the Straits was Sri Vijaya, whose capital was Palembang. The smaller states of the Peninsula were soon brought into the orbit of one or other of these two powers.

I

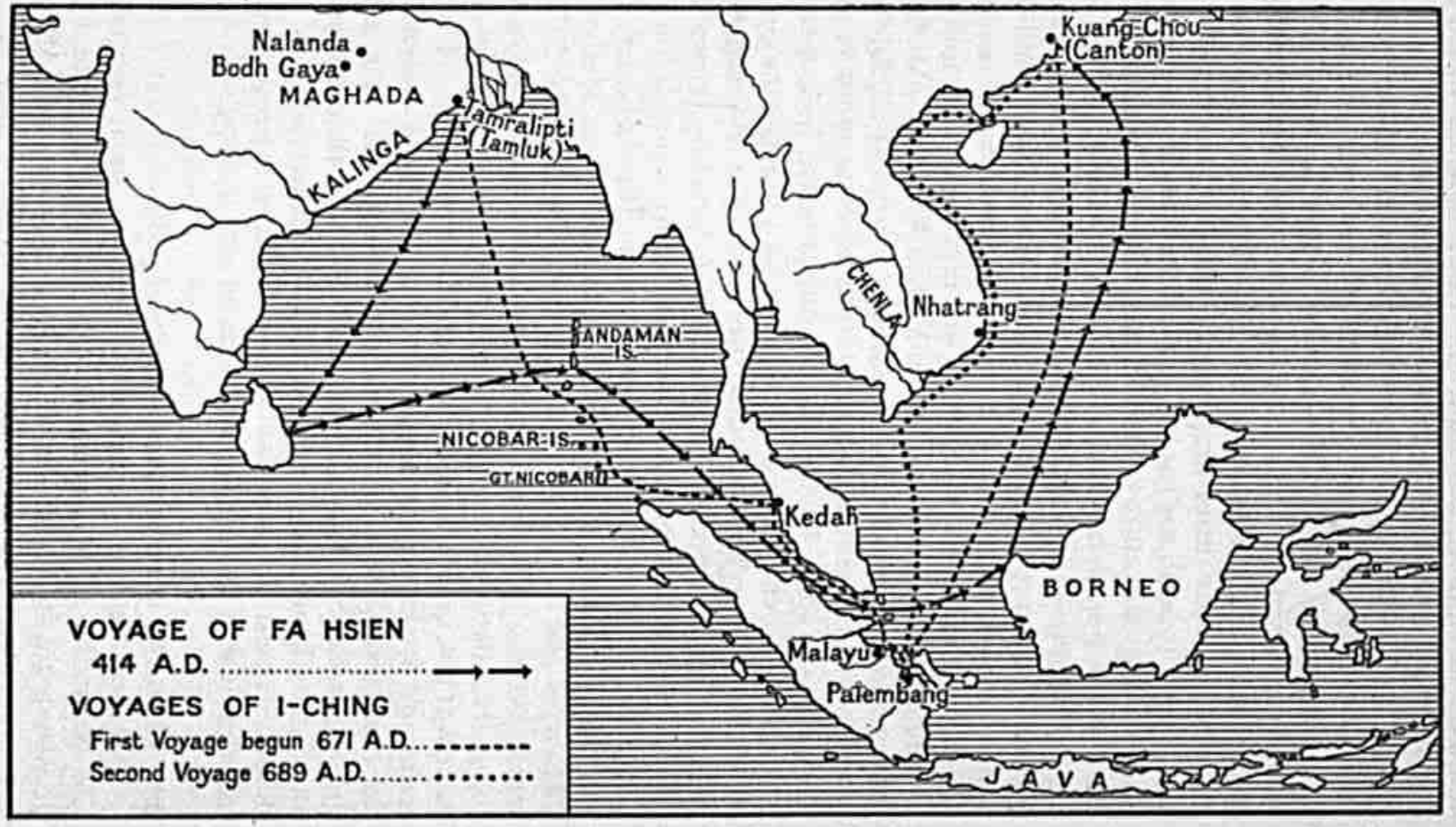
The Origins of Sri Vijaya

During the troubled times following the decline of Funan we hear nothing of the little states of Indonesia; but in the middle of the seventh century several of these began to show signs of renewed activity. Malayu, on the river of Jambi, in Sumatra, sent an embassy to China in A.D. 644–5. This state seems to have included the whole area from the Jambi-Kampar district to Palembang, and its port was either at the mouth of the Jambi or the Kampar. About the same time Taruma, in West Java, reappears, and we hear also of a new state, called Ho-ling, which sent an embassy to China in A.D. 640. There is a conflict of opinion as to whether this state was in Central Java or in Borneo. It is certain however that by A.D. 732 there was well established in Central Java an Indianised kingdom whose king was called Sanjaya, and whose religion was Brahminist. The

most ambitious of these states was Palembang, which we learn sent an embassy to China in A.D. 670–73. It was, however, in A.D. 683 that this state began its career of conquest.

26. *The testimony of the inscriptions*

(a) *The inscriptions.* Four inscriptions dated A.D. 683–86 have been found (three in Southern Sumatra in or near Palembang, and one in the island of Bangka), all written in Old Malay, which help us to reconstruct the origin of this state. A certain king, according to the oldest of these inscriptions, found at the foot of Mount Seguntang, got into a boat on 13 April, A.D. 683 and went in search of magic power which would help him to obtain success in a military enterprise against his enemies. On 8th May he left the estuary of the Moesi river with an army of 20,000 men on an expedition against his enemies, which was successful because thereby he conferred on the realm of Sri Vijaya (i.e. Palembang) "victory, power and wealth". It is thought that these enemies were Malayu to the north and the island of Bangka (which owing to its geographical position could, if held by an enemy, be a serious danger to any power situated in Palembang). Proof of this theory is given in two of the inscriptions (one of which was dated 686) which "pronounce threats and maledictions" against Malayu and Bangka, because of acts of insubordination against King Jayanasa and his officers, which looks as if these two places had made a vain bid to win their independence. The Bangka inscription mentions a third foe that the king was proposing to subdue. This was probably the ancient Kingdom of Taruma, which constituted a threat to the budding Empire because of its control of the Sunda Straits. Another inscription, the second of the four and dated 684, mentions the foundation of a public park, and accompanies this with a prayer which is clearly of Buddhist inspiration. The inscriptions therefore tell us that during the years 683–86 a new and powerful Buddhist state, centred on Palembang and called Sri Vijaya, had set about controlling the Southern part of the Straits of Malacca—first, by conquering Bangka, an obvious threat to her own safety, then by absorbing her only powerful rival on the mainland, Malayu; and finally by attacking Taruma which might have launched attacks across the Sunda Straits on Southern Sumatra. Thanks


Nalanda
Bodh Gaya
MAGHADA
Tamralipti
(Tamluk)
KALINGA
Kuang-Chou
(Canton)
CHENLA
Nhatrang
ANDAMAN
IS.
NICOBAR IS.
GT. NICOBAR
Kedah
BORNEO
Malayu
Palembang
JAVA
VOYAGE OF FA HSIEN
414 A.D.
VOYAGES OF I-CHING
First Voyage begun 671 A.D.
Second Voyage 689 A.D.

to these inscriptions, we know the exact date on which Sri Vijaya began her victorious career of expansion.

(b) *The testimony of I-Ching.* The testimony of the inscriptions is not the only one on which we base our conclusions. We have also the witness of the famous Chinese pilgrim, I-Ching, who actually visited Sumatra at this time, and, like his fellow-countryman, Fa Hsien before him, has left us a record of his travels. We learn from him that in A.D. 671, the date of his first visit to Palembang (or "Che-li-fo-che", as he calls it), this state was a great centre of Buddhism. "Many kings and chieftains of the Southern Ocean", he says, "admire and believe (in Buddhism) and their hearts are set on accumulating good actions. In the fortified city of Foche (Palembang) Buddhist priests number more than one thousand whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in the Middle Kingdom (Madhyadesa in India); the rules and ceremonies are not at all different. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to the West in order to hear [lectures] and study [the original Buddhist texts], he had better stay here at Fo-che for one or two years and practise the proper rules and then proceed to India." From Fo-che, I-Ching went to India; stayed there for ten years and in A.D. 685 returned to Fo-che, where he remained for another four years; but it was about A.D. 689, after he had made a short trip to China, that he made the following very significant note in his "Memoirs". "Malayu", he says, "is now a country of Che-li-fo-che." If we remember that the four inscriptions tell us that Malayu was conquered between A.D. 683 and A.D. 686 and that Fo-che's ruler was favourable to Buddhism, then it is clear that I-Ching's testimony strikingly confirms the truth of these statements, since, according to him, Malayu was independent in A.D. 671 but a vassal of Sri Vijaya in A.D. 689. We may then accept the date A.D. 683 as the beginning of the empire of Sri Vijaya though its existence as a state before that time is proved by the fact that it sent an embassy to China in A.D. 670–73.

27. *The revival of world trade between east and west*

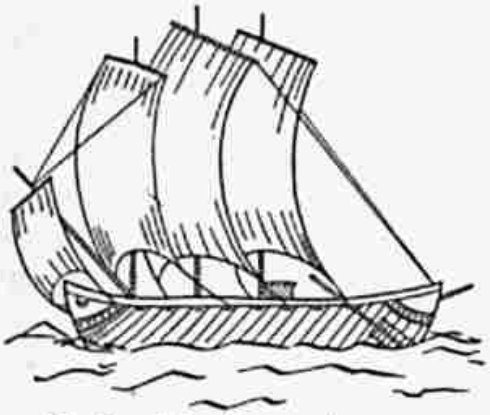
Fortune favoured the new state from the start; because its rise coincided with a great expansion of world trade. The disastrous trade depression which had followed the decline of

the Han and Roman empires had already begun to lift towards the end of the fifth century. In the west a new power had arisen on the Persian Gulf—the Sassanid dynasty of Persia (A.D. 225–637)—which having seized control of the "key between east and west" had begun gradually to pick up the threads of eastern trade. They had two main reasons for doing so—first, because of the fierce competition of the pearl fisheries of Ceylon, which threatened the profits of their own pearl industry in the Gulf; and secondly, because frequent periods of drought had almost destroyed their trade in spices, at the very moment when the demand for these (for food and ceremonial purposes) was increasing. Hence they began to trade with India and South-East Asia; and their ventures were so successful that by the seventh century A.D. they (and later their Arab Muslim conquerors, the Khalifs of Baghdad) had become "the carriers" of this trade. Soon they reached China, and so famous did they become that in the Chinese annals all the products of the states of South-East Asia, Ceylon, India and East Africa were termed products of "Posse", i.e. of Persia, whose ships brought these goods to China.

Meanwhile, the civil wars which had for so long harassed China were ended when in A.D. 618 that country was reunited by the T'ang dynasty. The new Emperors were most anxious to develop the sea trade, because they found it exceedingly difficult to keep the land route free from the attacks of the Huns. They therefore built large ocean-going ships, and sent them on voyages to India and Ceylon, and even as far afield as Ormuz, Baghdad and Aden. This enterprise on the part of China in exploring western seas showed itself at the very moment when Arab and Persian ships were advancing towards her own coasts. These latter were made very welcome by the Chinese, and offered every facility in the way of trade. So it was that a new era in trade and cultural relations between east and west was begun.

We have of course no detailed knowledge of the volume of trade carried in Persian or Chinese ships, and can only guess that it must have been very considerable. The most important Chinese commodities were silk, iron and porcelain. China's silk was always much sought after, though by the sixth century she had lost the monopoly of manufacturing it. Her iron was

highly prized as it had been earlier by the Romans. Her porcelain, manufactured first about A.D. 600 was soon exported in great quantities, and had a very large market in India and the west, and not least in South-East Asia. Thus in Borneo, great jars of Chinese porcelain were used for the burial of the chiefs and important people, and considerable quantities of porcelain have since been discovered here and elsewhere in the islands.



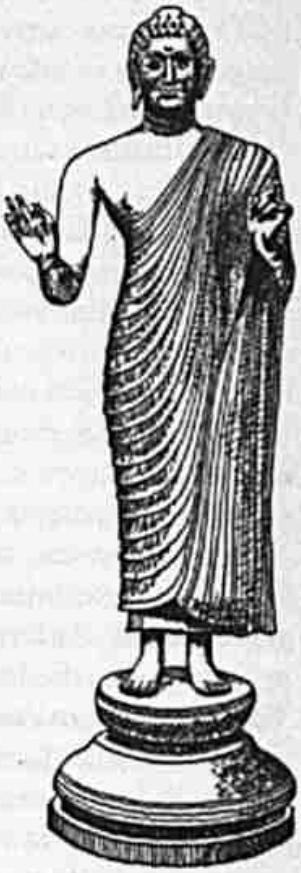
Persian ship of seventh century

As China was self-supporting, her imports from other countries consisted of luxury goods. The Arabs imported pearls and precious stones; objects made of gold and silver; ivory from East Africa; musk from Tibet; amber from the Indian Ocean, and many kinds of coloured glassware from Syria. This last was indeed one of the few western articles that was in demand in the east. They also imported slaves whom they had captured in East Africa or South-East Asia. From this last place, spices were of course the main export both to east and west; and the demand for them increased as the Middle Ages advanced, for they were needed not only for ceremonial and religious purposes, but also for making palatable those foods which only heavy salting could preserve. Other exports included various kinds of scented woods, jungle produce and above all tin. During this period, the world supply of tin came from this region and for many centuries its chief port of export was Kedah.

28. *The revival of trade and Sri Vijaya*

There can be no doubt that shortly after A.D. 686 Sri Vijaya had gained control of the southern part of the Straits. She established friendly relations with China by sending an embassy there in A.D. 695 and she maintained this friendship by sending embassies in subsequent years. Her ambition was to dominate the Straits completely and thus gain command of the route to India. We do not know what steps she took in this process, but

we do know that by A.D. 775 she was in control of Ligor in the north of the Peninsula, for the king in that year ordered the building of several Buddhist temples there. It is very probable that by this time the small states of Malaya had come under the control of the new empire. Kedah, in fact, became its "northern capital"; and Sri Vijaya had now achieved the first aim it had set itself—a port at the northern and a port at the southern end of the Straits. All shipping passing between India and China, or vice versa, could do so only by courtesy of Palembang.



Buddha found in Dong Duong

It is obvious that all countries and ports lying along the sea route must have benefited by the revival of trade, and the small ambitious state of Sri Vijaya in particular, because she found herself almost by accident holding the key to this route. Soon her ports Kedah in the north and Malayu and Palembang in the south became prosperous, Kedah indeed in the second half of the ninth century even replacing Canton as the entrepôt to which the Arab merchants took their wares. Her control of Northern Malaya, and consequently of several of the transpeninsular routes meant that the sea trade and the cross country trade which linked up with Chenla, Champa and China were also under her control. Her prestige grew steadily, and as I-Ching tells us, she became a centre of Mahayanist Buddhism, second perhaps only to the University of Nalanda. Once more there was a marked advance in the Indianisation of South-East Asia; trade increased; piracy was suppressed. No other power could seriously rival her supremacy. Chenla was a land power; Central Java was far from the main trade route, and in any case, at this time, was disposed to be friendly towards her. The mantle of Funan had fallen on the shoulders of Sri Vijaya, and she was to dominate the Straits for the next three or four centuries.

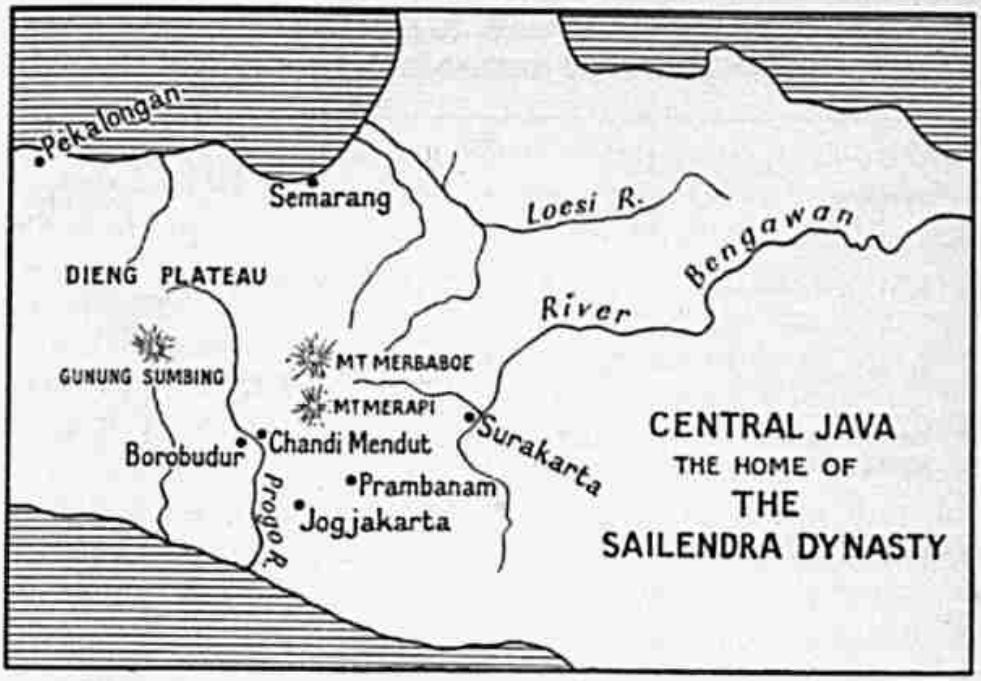
II

The Rise of the Sailendra Dynasty in Central Java

29. We know already that in A.D. 732 there was a flourishing kingdom in Central Java ruled over by a king called Sanjaya. Now the religion of Sanjaya was Shaivism, one of the two forms of Brahminism, and temples have been found, largely Indian in inspiration, on the Dieng plateau which may be regarded as the holy place of Central Java. Within a few years, however, a surprising change took place in this country, a change which has been described as an "event of capital international importance". This was the accession to power of a new dynasty—the Sailendra which was not Shaivite, but Buddhist (of the Mahayanist school) in religion, and which was to become the greatest dynasty Java ever had (*c.* A.D. 750–?832), and after A.D. 832 the ruling house of Sri Vijaya.

Who were the Sailendras? Several theories have been put forward to explain their origin. Some say that they were emigrants from Kalinga or from Southern India: but there is no proof of this. Others say they may have been natives of Java. The most plausible theory, however (advanced originally by Coedes) is that these kings were descendants of the old dynasty of Funan; that after the conquest of the latter by Chenla in the middle of the sixth century they had fled southwards (perhaps via the Bandon region) to Java; and that there they had bided their time until an opportunity occurred to seize the throne of Central Java from the Shaivite native Kings. They then, it is argued, revived the old and famous title of Funan and called themselves "Sailendras"—"the Kings of the Mountain".

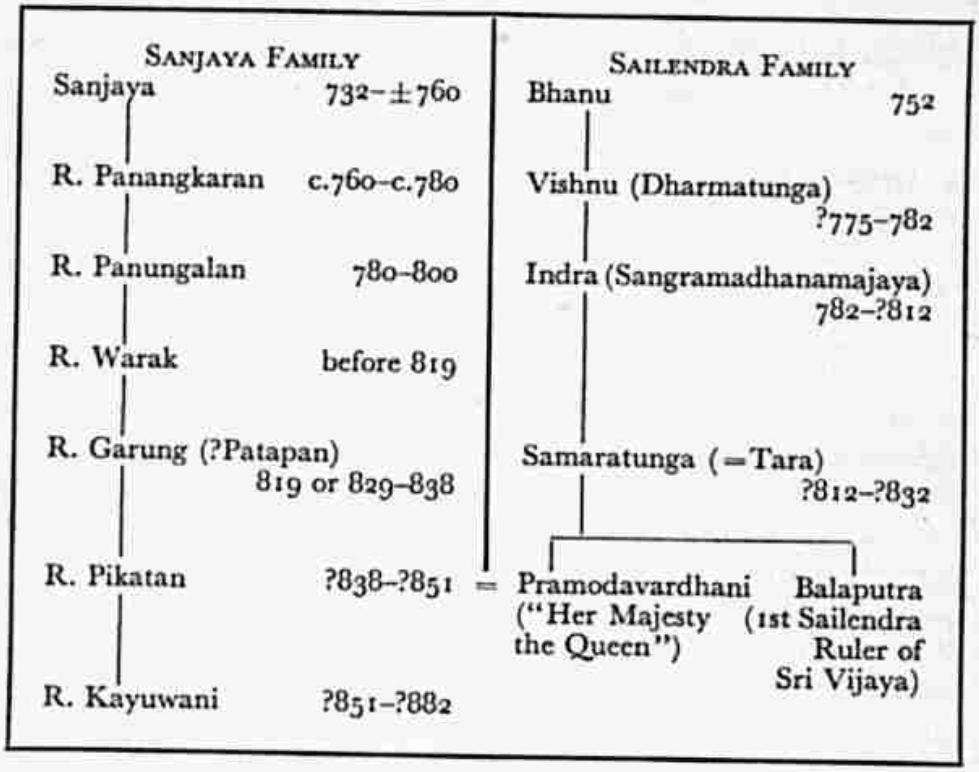
This theory has recently received striking confirmation as a result of the brilliant re-interpretation of certain Central Javanese inscriptions by the Dutch scholar, Dr. de Casparis. The main objection to it up to now, of course, has been the difficulty of explaining why, if the Sailendras really did come from Funan (which fell in the sixth century) we do not have any record of a Sailendra king in Java until the year A.D. 752. De Casparis provides a convincing answer. In his interpretation of the three Buddhist temples—Chandi Mendut, Chandi Pawon and Chandi Borobudur (which we shall discuss in more



detail later)—he shows that before the Sailendra king Indra began to rule in Java (A.D. ?782–?812) there were nine previous rulers. If we give these an average of eighteen years each, this would mean that the ancestor of the Sailendras reached Java soon after the fall of Funan; and the gap in the dates would therefore be closed. Apart from this argument we can see at once that there is much circumstantial evidence in favour of the theory. The name "Kings of the Mountain" is, of course, a valuable pointer; so too are the allusions in the Kellurah and Plaosan inscriptions to the last name of the Funan capital (Naravaranagara). More striking still is the aggressive foreign policy[1] which the Sailendras during the second half of the eighth century adopted towards the Indo-Pacific Peninsula, and in particular towards Chenla itself, which they conquered for a time. If indeed the Sailendras were descendants of the old Funan dynasty, what more probable than that they would seek their revenge on those who had been responsible for its overthrow? In view of these considerations, we shall therefore assume that Funan was the original home of the Sailendra princes.

[1] See below, p. 67.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE
SANJAYA AND SAILENDRA FAMILIES



30. *The Sailendra kings and the Sanjaya Dynasty*

One fact of great importance emerges at once from de Caspari's re-interpretation of the Sailendra inscriptions. This is that the Sailendra kings conquered the princes of the house of Sanjaya, and reduced them to the position of vassal kings.[1] They did not drive them out from their territories (which were situated along the north coast of Java from beyond the Dieng plateau as far eastwards as Semarang), nor did they establish any direct administrative control over them; but they contented themselves with exacting tribute and with the exercise of general overlordship. The two dynasties existed side by side therefore in the position of ruler and ruled until the end of Sailendra rule in Java (some time between A.D. 824 and A.D. 832).

The second important fact which we learn from the Sailendra inscriptions and temples is that the Sailendras professed the

[1] See the inscription of Ratubaka (A.D. 778) and particularly the Karangtenah inscription of A.D. 824.

creed of Mahayana Buddhism. The very first king of whom we have direct evidence—Bhanu—engraved in A.D. 752 a Sanskrit inscription on a large rock in the village of Plumpunan, near Salatiga, in which he recorded the building of a Buddhist foundation. That the Buddhism of the Sailendras was of the orthodox Mahayana school, and as yet untinged by Tantrism, is proved not only in the Sanskrit part of the Karangtenah inscription[1]—in which the king Samaratunga (?812–?832) exalts the Sailendra dynasty, the Buddhist temples and the doctrines of the Mahayanah—but also by the system of Buddhism disclosed in the Borobudur itself. Yet in addition to this doctrine we find in the temples and the inscriptions, an underlying theme which emphasises the old Indonesian beliefs concerning the residence of the gods on the tops of mountains and the worship of ancestors. Only in the light of these beliefs can the Borobudur and its subsidiary temples be understood.

Keeping in mind these general considerations, we will now pass to a short review of the history of the four Sailendra kings of whom we have record at the present time.

31. *The rule of King Vishnu* (A.D. ?775–82)

King Bhanu (the author of the inscription of A.D. 752) was succeeded by his son Vishnu (or Dharmatunga) who was the overlord of Sanjaya's son, Panangkaran. As it was almost certainly this King who is referred to in the well-known Ligor stele, we may pause here to see what light this throws on the relations between the Sailendra dynasty and Sri Vijaya at this time.

(a) *The problem of the Ligor stele*, A.D. 775

We have briefly noted above[2] that by A.D. 775 Sri Vijaya had expanded northwards to include Ligor under its rule. This is attested by the Ligor stele which was set up at the instance of the ruler of Sri Vijaya in that year, and which records on one side the building of three brick shrines in honour of Buddhist deities. This Sri Vijayan inscription is now known as "Inscription A" to distinguish it from another much shorter and obviously incomplete inscription on the obverse side ("Inscription B"). This Inscription B refers to the Sailendra King as the

[1] Buddhism is also exalted in the Ratubaka inscription of 778 in which the name of Dharmatungadeva (Vishnu) is mentioned.

[2] See above, p. 61.

King "who bears the aspect of Vishnu in his capacity to humble the pride of all enemies, and is unrivalled in his powers", and he is called "Sri Maharajah on account of his origin from the Sailendra family".

This stele raises an interesting problem. Does it prove that the Sailendras were ruling in Sri Vijaya as early as the eighth century? The answer is that the inscriptions on either side of the stele are independent of one another, and "there is nothing to prove that the king of Sri Vijaya belonged to the Sailendra dynasty" at this time (R. C. Majumdar). But why did Vishnu write his inscription on the reverse of the stone already inscribed upon by the Sri Vijayan king? For we must remember that once an inscription was set up, it became a crime for anyone else to deface it or add to it in any way. We can only assume with de Casparis that the two great Mahayanist Buddhist kingdoms of South-East Asia—the Sri Vijaya family of Palembang and the Sailendras of Java—had formed an alliance, perhaps by means of a dynastic marriage, and that the Sailendra "Inscription B" was added to the Ligor stele as a token of their friendship.

(b) *Vishnu as temple builder.* In A.D. 778 the construction of the temple of Kalasan is recorded in an inscription[1] drawn up in Vishnu's reign. The temple was built in honour of the Buddhist goddess Tara "in the prosperous kingdom of the prince who is the ornament of the Sailendra dynasty" (verse 5). It is interesting to note that the work of building the temple was carried out by the subordinate Shaivite king, Panangkaran, "after the gurus of the Sailendra prince had persuaded" this "great king" (verse 2). The inscription goes on to say that "the village of Kalasa is presented to the congregation of Buddhist monks", to enable them to support the foundation (verse 7).

It was during Vishnu's reign that the building of the Borobudur was begun (*c.* A.D. 775), though it will be readily understood that it took many years to complete the construction of this enormous monument. As we shall see later, it was designed

[1] This inscription and those of Ratubaka (A.D. 782) and Kelurak (A.D. 782) are written in the same script—pre-Nagari, a new North Indian script which however occurs only rarely in Java, and then only at this period and in this place (the Prambanan plain). The Kelurak inscription praises a certain Dharanindra, also "an ornament of the Sailendra dynasty".

as a Kamulan, i.e. a building set up to commemorate the founding of a dynasty, and for this purpose, Vishnu (the "Sailendra") chose a mountain as its site. This mountain was to be shaped in the form of a stupa, and was designed to be the temple tomb of his ancestors and himself.

32. *King Indra and the conquest of maritime Chenla* (*c.* A.D. 782)

When Vishnu died in 782 he was succeeded by Indra (782–?812) (Sangramadhanamajaya) who continued his father's policy of temple building, and among others built the two Chandis, Mendut and Pawon, whose significance in relation to the Borobudur we shall discuss later. Of special interest during this reign are the persistent stories of an actual conquest of Chenla, the sequel to a series of attacks on the Indo-Pacific Peninsula which occurred during the second half of the eighth century. It so happened that just about the time when the Sailendras began to make their influence felt in Central Java, the whole of the Malay world was in a state of considerable commotion. The Sailendras seem to have adopted almost at once an aggressive foreign policy. Attacks were launched on the coasts of Annam and Champa by seafaring people from "Java".[1] These people seem to have captured the island of Pulo Condor, south of the Chenla coast, whence they launched their operations. Thus in A.D. 767 they invaded Tongking and were driven out by the Chinese governor only after a hard struggle. Again in A.D. 774 some men "born in other lands . . . ferocious, pitiless, dark-coloured people whose food was more horrible than vampires" burnt the temple at Nhatrang. Though pursued and defeated at sea by the Cham ships, this did not prevent them from making another attack in A.D. 778. It may be that as a result of these "plundering raids" as they have been called, the Javanese conquered and ruled for a few years some parts of the Indo-Pacific Peninsula. It certainly looks as if the Sailendras had a particular dislike for Chenla, which at this time was in a state of dire confusion. If indeed they were descendants of the old Funan dynasty, what more probable than that they would seek their revenge on those who had been responsible for their overthrow? A curious story, picked up by

[1] This could mean Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Java proper, or all of them together.

the merchant Sulayman seventy years later, and which he says was according to the annals of "Zabag", relates that a certain king of the Khmers who had foolishly expressed the wish "to see before him on a plate the head of the Maharajah, king of Zabag"[1] paid for his rashness by the loss of his own head, whilst his kingdom became a vassal of the Maharajah. Whether this is true or not, we do know that a successor of the beheaded prince paid a visit to Java some time before A.D. 800 to swear homage to his overlord. In A.D. 802 this same king, Jayavarman II, declared his independence of Java, proclaimed himself king of Cambodia and established his capital near Angkor. From this time, until A.D. 1432 we speak no more of Chenla, but of Cambodia. It appears then, that about A.D. 782 king Indra conquered Maritime Chenla.

33. *The Sailendra temples*

The Sailendras were Buddhists of the Mahayanist school; and their rise to power coincided with a great expansion of this form of Buddhism throughout South-East Asia, thanks largely to the influence of the Buddhist Palas of Bengal and of the University of Nalanda. They built several temples in Central Java, which clearly owed part of their inspiration to Buddhism.

The Sailendras (and indeed the Khmers and other peoples of South-East Asia) did not build temples on the principle of "Art for Art's sake": they built them as tombs for the reception of the ashes of their dead kings and as temples where these kings could be worshipped, for they were believers in the idea of the "Royal God". A king during his lifetime was, in accordance with the laws of Manu, regarded as "being composed of the essences of the gods". He was considered, if a Hindu, to be an incarnation of one of the gods—Vishnu or Siva, or if a Buddhist of the Bodhisattva Lokesvara. So when he died, and his ashes were buried, a statue was made of him in the likeness of the god who was supposed to have been his protector during life. This statue was supposed to contain his essence—his vital principle—and a temple was built round it, like an architectural body to house his soul. This temple ensured his immortality, or

[1] ZABAG is the Arab name for the Archipelago (including probably the Malay Peninsula). We must remember that Sulaiman was writing seventy years after the event described when the former Maharajahs of Java were actually rulers of Sri Vijaja (= Zabag).

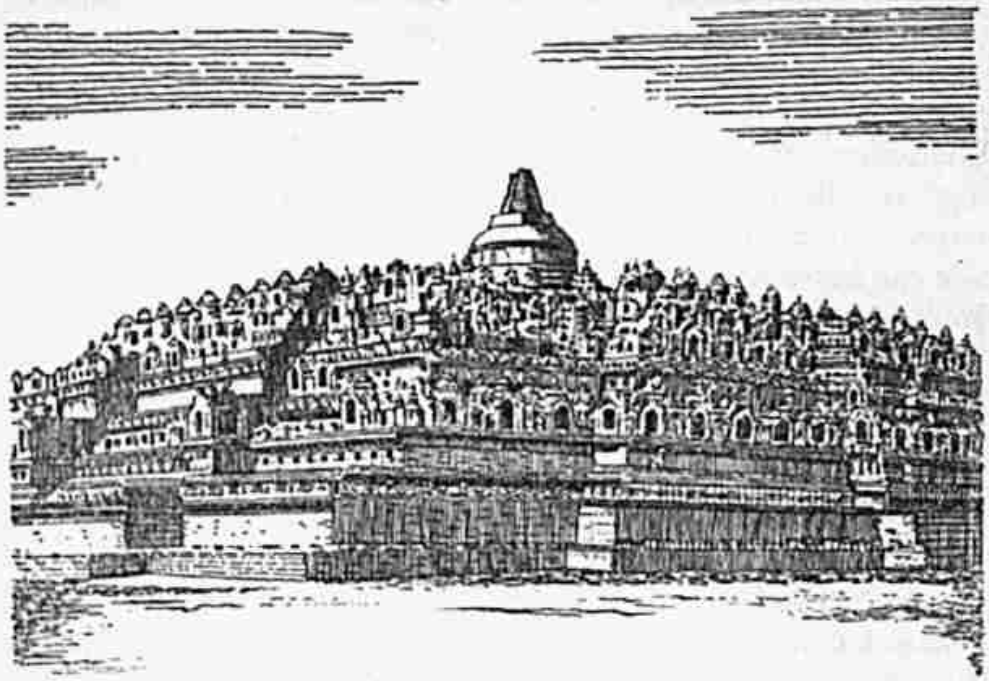
proclaimed him as having achieved the rank of Bodhisattva, i.e. one who is on his way to attaining Buddhahood or "Nirvana".

The three temples—Chandi Pawon, Chandi Mendut and Chandi Borobudur—have to be considered together, for they represented for the Sailendras the Mahayanist path towards Bodhisattvahood: but they had, in addition, a "hidden meaning" for them. Though the old Indian religions provided the basis of the beliefs of the Sailendras (and those of other peoples, like the Khmers) and though their ritual was often taken from Indian texts, yet these religions were strongly influenced by the ancient beliefs of the South-East Asian peoples. The cult of the "god-king" for example was given an expression in South-East Asia utterly unlike anything to be discerned in India itself; and Ancestor worship and the belief in the sacredness of mountains became inextricably mingled with the doctrines of Mahayana Buddhism.

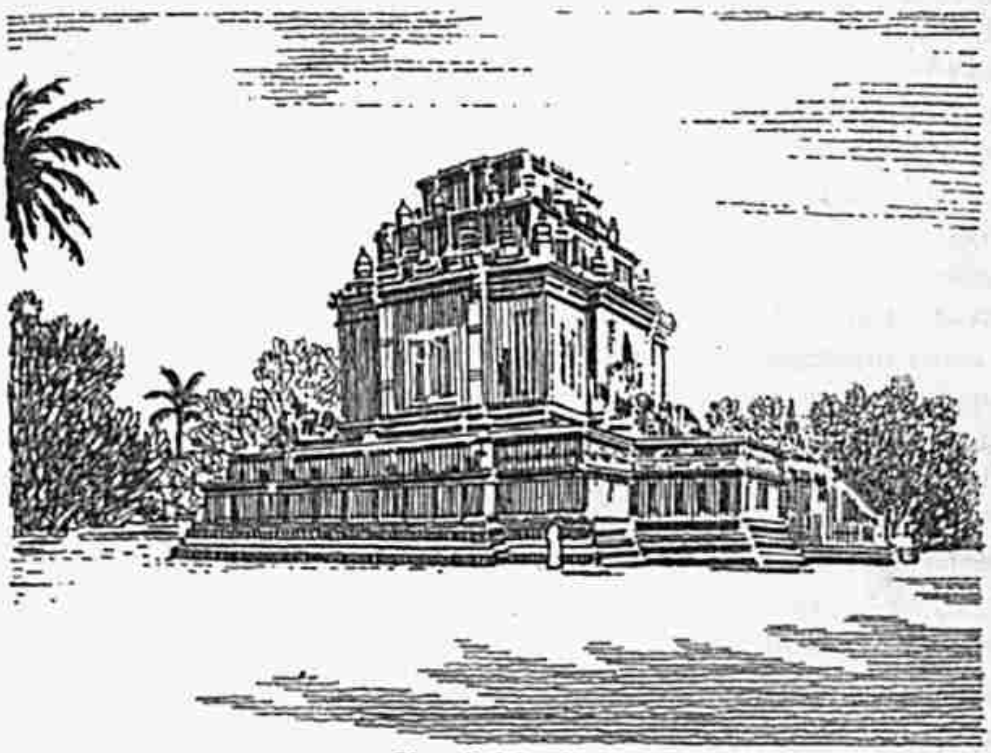
The belief in the importance of the mountain has been often referred to as common to Indian and South-East Asian religions. The educated Sailendra aristocracy, brought up on the old Indian creeds, identified the myth of Mount Meru with their own ancient idea of the sacred mountain. For them, as for the Indians, it was the centre of the Universe and formed the axis of the world, for its base extended as far beneath the surface of the earth as its five summits rose above it. On these five summits, they believed, dwelt the most important gods. Now by all these peoples it was considered essential to imitate the order of the cosmos by reproducing it in miniature; so each people selected a mountain to represent Mount Meru, and in imitation of the heavenly world of stars and gods they built their palaces, temples and cities round it, at the correct points of the compass. By magic practices they did their best to ensure that there was an exact agreement between this little world—this model cosmos—and the great cosmos which they were imitating. Only by so doing, they thought, could they ensure prosperity for their state and avoid ruin and destruction.

The Sailendra Vishnu therefore selected Mount Borobudur as his "Mount Meru" and that is why he is called in the Karangtenah inscription the "lord of the Mountain" and why his successors adopted this title.

But the Borobudur was not only the centre of this model



Chandi Borobudur



Chandi Mendut

cosmos and a Buddhist temple; it was also a tomb. Here again the two smaller temples play an important part. The older of these was built by Indra and was called Chandi Mendut. The word Chandi is derived from *Chandigriha* = the house of Chandi, which was the name of the goddess of death; and it was therefore a funeral temple designed to hold the ashes of the king. This temple is of great architectural beauty and is notable for the fine statue of the Buddha and the two Bodhisattvas on either side, which with the deer and the wheel of the law recall the Buddha's first sermon at Benares. On the outside of the temple, Indra had caused to be sculptured nine figures which until recently were thought simply to be Bodhisattvas: but it is now known that they represented his nine ancestors—in the guise of Bodhisattvas—the first being the founder of the dynasty. So we realise now that a new element has been introduced into the Sailendra monuments—the element of ancestor worship. The Chandi Pawon, which in modern Javanese means "kitchen", was in fact the place where Indra on his death was cremated, and the ceremonies were performed by which it was hoped he would be released from the burden of reincarnation. After this his ashes were placed in a reliquary, whence at some later time they were to be taken and deposited in the lowest stage of the Borobudur. This final burial did not in fact take place.

The Borobudur was itself the tomb of the Sailendra kings. It was designed as a monument to the ancestors by Indra, the founder of the dynasty being represented as having reached the topmost stage of the "temple-mountain" and about to enter Nirvana; whilst his eight successors took their places below him at appropriate stages. The last stage of all—that reserved for Indra himself—though decorated like the others with statues and bas-reliefs, was covered up against the day when he too had died, and could be declared to have become a Bodhisattva. This bottom stage was uncovered by the Japanese during the last war, and it was then found after the earth and stones had been cleared away, to be decorated like the stages above it.

Thus is explained the significance of the Borobudur, the real meaning of which we learn from the inscription put up by "Her Majesty the Queen" Pramodavardhani in A.D. 842. She calls it *Bhumisambharabhudara*[1] which means "the Mountain of the

[1] Whence is derived the name Borobudur.

Accumulation of Virtue on the ten stages upwards of the Bodhisattva" (towards Buddhahood). Once again we realise the importance of the temple as a tomb designed to perpetuate the immortality of the nine ancestors of Indra (already, as we have seen, represented on the outside of Chandi Mendut). In the Borobudur, however, *ten* stages are mentioned. The tenth was reserved for Indra himself, but, for reasons unknown, it would appear that his ashes were never deposited in the lowest stage of the great monument. This, as we have seen, remained covered up until the advent of the Japanese. The last of the Sailendras had been driven out by the subordinate king Patapan before he could perform this last pious duty to his father's memory.

It must be understood that there was an obligation on the successors of dead kings to "defend the dharma" of the great temple. "Dharma" meant "the well established kingly order" which the builder had set up in imitation of the great world of stars and gods, and at the same time it recalled the foundation of the dynasty. This explains the note of appeal in the inscriptions to posterity to look after the upkeep of the temple-tomb, and why it was that "Her Majesty the Queen" (though married to a Shaivite king) made presents of ricefields to Borobudur in A.D. 842 in order that it might not fall into decay, and her ancestors might not lose their hope of attaining Nirvana.

34. *The end of the Sailendra dynasty in Java (? 824/832)*

(a) *The inscription of Karangtenah*, A.D. *824*. The date of Indra's death is uncertain and may have been either A.D. 812 or 824. He was succeeded by his son Samaratunga who was the last of the Sailendra kings to reign in Java. In his reign (if indeed he reigned so long), probably in A.D. 824, the Borobudur was at last completed; and if we may judge from the tone of the Karangtenah inscription (drawn up also in A.D. 824) the king considered that the fortunes of his dynasty were at their height. This inscription is indeed a very important one, for it provides one of the most valuable pieces of evidence to show that the native Sanjaya rulers were subordinate to the Sailendras. It is bilingual—a thing which is most rare in Javanese inscriptions, and therefore serves to mark the special importance of the occasion. The first part, which is in Sanskrit verse, praises the Sailendra

kings, the Buddhist temples and the Mahayanist doctrine. The second part, which is in Old Javanese prose and is issued by the subordinate ruler Patapan, records that the latter has ceded a number of domains to the Buddhist foundations already recorded in Part I. When we recall that Patapan (a descendant of Sanjaya) was a Shaivite, we cannot fail to note the significance of his gifts to Buddhist shrines.

In this same inscription we hear for the first time of Samaratunga's daughter, Pramodavardhani, who is the king's heir, and who is also recorded as playing an important part in founding these sanctuaries.

(b) *The Triumph of Patapan.* Nevertheless, this was the last occasion on which the Sailendra Kings exercised their powers of overlordship by compelling their subordinate rulers to make gifts to Buddhist shrines. The triumphant inscription of Karengtenah was, ironically, their last. We do not know what happened in the next few years; but we do know that by A.D. 832 the native Sanjaya dynasty had made themselves supreme at the expense of the Sailendras. In that year Patapan proclaimed (in the inscription of Gandasuli) his authority "over a vast Empire extending in all directions", by which he meant Central Java. In A.D. 832 Samaratunga was dead; and his daughter Pramodavardhani, the Sailendra princess who as "the only child of the Queen" was the heir to the Sailendra kingdom, was already married to Patapan's son, Pikatan. As a result of this dynastic marriage, therefore, the Sanjaya kings ceased to be subordinate, and henceforward they became the ruling dynasty in Java. Until his death in A.D. ?838 Patapan ruled supreme; and in place of Mahayana Buddhism he re-established the Shaivite religion of his ancestors. On his death, his son Pikatan succeeded him (A.D. ?838–?851). His wife, the former Sailendra princess (who was now known as Sri Kahulunnan or "Her Majesty the Queen") did not abandon the religion of her ancestors, however, for in A.D. 842 we find her donating a number of ricefields to the Borobudur, clearly in order to guarantee the future independence of the stupa. The inscriptions announcing this gift provide further proof, if further proof is needed, of the end of Sailendra power in Java; for it was only on very rare occasions that a Queen made gifts, and then only when extraordinary dynastic changes had taken place.

We may note in passing that apart from its announcement of the triumph of the Sanjaya dynasty, two things make the Gandasuli inscription of A.D. 832 memorable. The first is that it was written in Old Malay, a language of which the four inscriptions[1] announcing the beginnings of the Sri Vijaya Empire in A.D. 683–86 are the only other surviving examples. The second is that it was placed at the village of Gandasuli, the gate to the fertile plains of Kedu, perhaps by way of a demonstration to Sri Vijaya's province, Taruma, in West Java.

35. *The first Sailendra king of Sri Vijaya*

Although the Sailendra princess Pramodavardhani was described as "the only child of the Queen", her father Samaratunga had in fact another child, a son, Balaputra. This name means "younger son" or "young son", and Balaputra was probably a mere child when his sister married the Sanjaya prince Pikatan, and when Patapan became the paramount prince of Central Java. Balaputra accordingly fled to Sri Vijaya, where by A.D. 850 he had succeeded to the throne.

Our information concerning Balaputra is derived from the so-called "Nalanda Charter" of A.D. 850. In that year a Pala king of Bengal issued an edict recording the gift of five villages to a vihara or temple founded at Nalanda by the "Maharajah of Suvarnadvipa" (i.e. Sumatra), "Balaputradeva". In this charter, two Sailendra kings are mentioned, the first as the grandfather, the second as the father of "Balaputradeva". De Casparis identifies these two kings as Indra and Samaratunga respectively. Moreover, we learn from the charter that Samaratunga had married a lady named Tara, and it has been suggested, with much probability, that Tara was the daughter of the king of Sri Vijaya, a certain Dharmasetu. Now although unfortunately we know little about Sri Vijaya during the period A.D. 775–860 everything points to the fact that Sri Vijaya and Java were friendly to each other during the Sailendra period. A dynastic marriage between a son of the Sailendra house and a daughter of the Sri Vijayan house would have made the friendship between the two countries more secure, and it is reasonable to assume that Balaputra, the son of this marriage, succeeded to the Sri Vijayan throne because there were no other

[1] See above, p. 56.

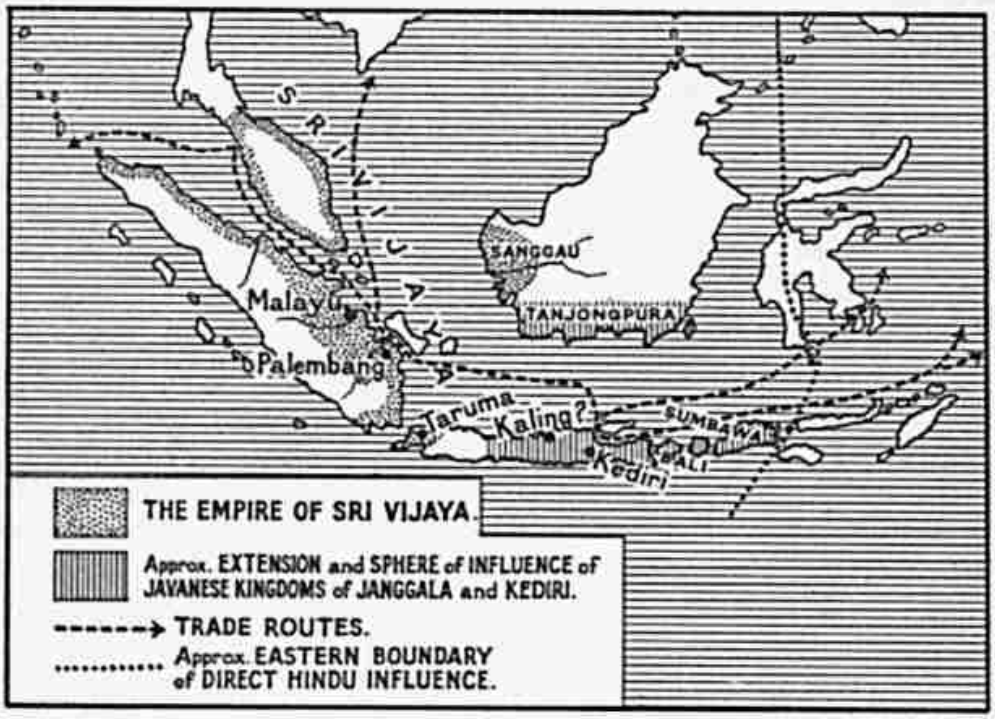
heirs to challenge his claim. This would provide us with a convincing explanation about the accession to power of the first Sailendra king of Sri Vijaya. The Sailendras in Palembang, however, did not seek to emulate their predecessors in Java by putting up great temples. There are indeed very few monuments of artistic merit in Sumatra. Instead, they concentrated on the task of building up the strength and resources of the new Empire they had inherited, and they paid attention only to trade and commerce.

This was not the case in Java, however. There, about the year A.D. 900 the Shaivite king embarked on the building of a great number of temples near Prambanan, the very heart of the old Sailendra territory. There, in rivalry to Borobudur and the other Buddhist temples they set up the great complex of buildings known as the "Lara Djonggrang" or "Slender Maiden" (so called after a statue near the Buddhist temples representing the consort of Siva). An outer wall surrounded two squares, one inside the other; and in the inner square were three large temples dedicated to Siva, Vishnu and Brahma. Arranged at intervals along the terraces were a great number of smaller temples, 190 in all. The "Lara Djonggrang" constituted in fact a great burial ground, the main temple of Siva being reserved as a mausoleum for the king; and the lesser ones as tombs for the great nobles and magnates of the realm. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this great series of temples was set up as a conclusive demonstration to show that as far as Java was concerned Sailendra rule and the Mahayanist Buddhism which it had favoured were ended for ever.

36. *Sri Vijaya as a great power*

That Sri Vijaya was already a great power by the middle of the ninth century is clearly attested by the Arab chroniclers who declare it to be the uncontested master of the Straits. Sulaiman (*c.* A.D. 850) tells us "The town of Zabag is situated opposite China. The distance between them is a month by the sea route and less if the winds are favourable. The king of this town is known by the name of the Maharajah. . . . The king is at the same time the ruler of a great number of islands. . . . Among the states over which he rules are Sribuza (Sumatra) an isle called Rami (Acheh in northern Sumatra) . . . also the

maritime country of Kalah (Kedah) which is situated half-way between China and Arabia. It is to this port that the ships of Oman sail and from this port they depart for Oman. The authority of the Maharajah is exercised over these islands. His island on which he resides is as fertile as a land can be and settlements follow each other without interruption."



Another Arab, Masudi (A.D. 943), whose testimony is the more valuable because he speaks as an eye-witness tells in glowing terms of "the realm of the Maharajah, the King of the Islands of Zabag, amongst which are Kalah and Sumatra and other islands in the sea of China. This empire of the Maharajah's has an enormous population and innumerable troops; voyaging in the most rapid vessel, one cannot go round these isles in two years and they are all inhabited. The King (of these islands) possesses more varieties of perfumes and aromatics than any other ruler. His lands produce camphor, aloes, cloves, sandal, nutmeg, cardamoms, cubeb etc."

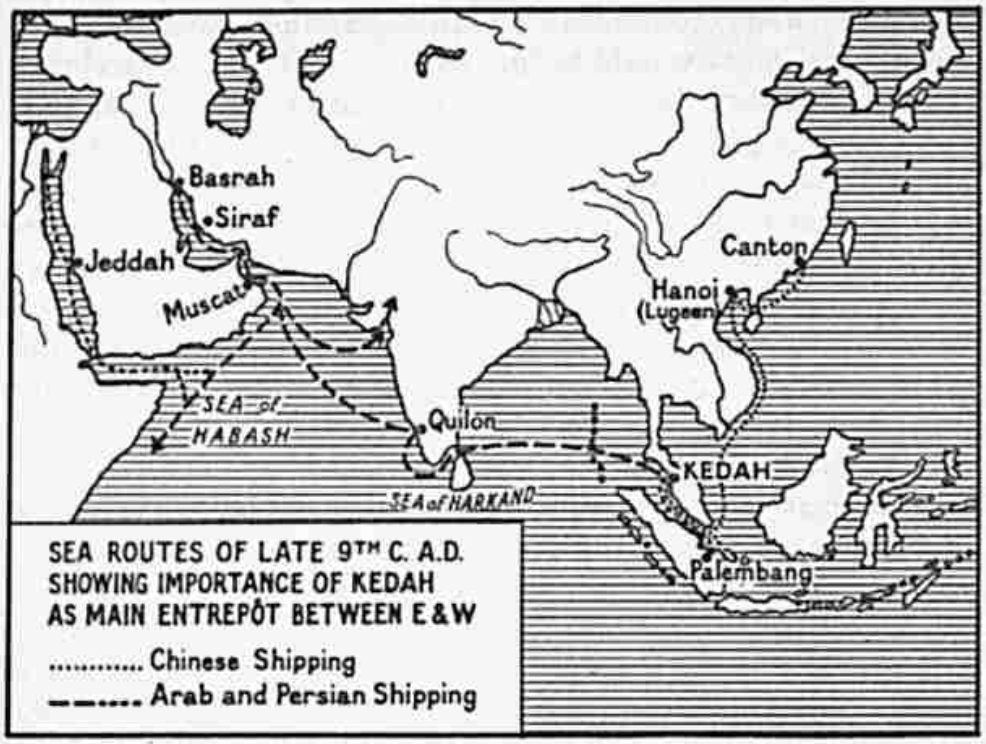
The great wealth of the kings of Sri Vijaya in the ninth century is illustrated by a story of Sulaiman about the King's "treasury". He relates that "an old king of the isle who bore

the title of the Maharajah built his palace facing a lake that communicated with the sea by means of a canal. Every morning a gold brick was brought to him by one of his officers, and then thrown into the lake. None of these was ever taken out until the King died, when his successor drew them out, counted them and divided them between members of the royal family, the ministers and the generals according to their ranks; he gave what was left over to the poor. The number of ingots and their weight were then officially inscribed. The longer a king reigned, therefore, the more glory he acquired because the more gold ingots he left behind to be divided." If we remember that both Sumatra and Malaya were rich in gold, this story will not surprise us very much.

Embassies to China were sent regularly between A.D. 960 and 1178, bearing "tribute" in the form of products of the country and receiving in return even more expensive presents. With Northern India, Sri Vijaya established a strong friendship. This is proved by the Nalanda Charter, which tells of Balaputra's foundation and endowment of a monastery near the great University of Nalanda, then at the height of its fame. This was obviously intended for the use of visiting monks and scholars from Sri Vijaya, and the Pala king of Bengal very graciously allowed the produce of five villages to be set aside for its maintenance.

37. *The importance of Kedah in the ninth and early tenth centuries*

The later T'ang became suspicious about the activities of Western traders, and in the late ninth century (after their persecutions of foreign creeds), they forbade the export of precious and rare articles. Disturbances in Southern China which followed the decline of the dynasty led to the usual troubles—small rival dynasties were established in the South and became virtually independent; whilst piracy once more became a menace to foreign shipping. In A.D. 925 the few foreign merchants still trading in China were forbidden to exercise their calling. The Arab Masudi (A.D. 943) tells us that as a result of these disturbances the great trade entrepôt was changed from Canton to Kedah. "In the neighbourhood of Kedah", he says, "are mines of gold and silver; today this town is the general rendezvous for Mussalman ships from Siraf and Oman which



meet there the fleets of China, but it was not so before. The Chinese ships went then to Oman, Siraf etc. and those from these countries sailed in their turn to China." Earlier (A.D. 940) Abu Dulaf had referred to Kedah as "the beginning of India and the last point reached by the [Perso-Arab] ships". He described it as a very large city, surrounded by big walls with many gardens and streams of water. Surrounding the town there was a series of other towns, small market towns and gatherings of houses. It is interesting to note that he says there was a mine of tin there such as existed in no other place. He and other chroniclers praise the swords made there as the best Indian swords, and better than any others in the whole world. Abu Zayd (A.D. 916) says it was the centre of the trade in aloes, camphor, sandal, ivory, tin, ebony, Brazil wood, spices of all kinds and very many other things.

Kedah, therefore, in the late ninth and early tenth centuries A.D. had become the great port of call for the Arab ships; but her King was also very interested in maintaining the trade with China. So keen was he on this, that Abu Dulaf in A.D. 940 tells

us he regarded himself as a vassal of the Emperor. "The King of Kalah was dependent upon the sovereign of China; he made the *Khutbah* (prayer) in his name." A great direct trade developed between China on the one hand and Kedah and Palembang on the other. In fact, one of the most important results of the elimination of the Arab ships from Chinese ports was the fact that the Chinese once more began to sail the seas themselves. At the time we are speaking of they did not go beyond Kedah; but by these voyages, they gained valuable experience in sailing and navigation; and under the Sung and especially the Ming dynasties, their ships were to undertake long and far-flung voyages.

By the beginning of the eleventh century Sri Vijaya was at the height of her power. No longer were its kings interested in building monuments like Borobudur or Chandi Mendut. They were interested only in getting as much profit as possible from the continuous stream of trade that passed their ports. Like the Portuguese and the Dutch who followed them long afterwards, they sought a monopoly of trade; and doubtless they waxed fat on oppressive customs duties. It is not surprising that this policy made them many enemies. The first of these was the kingdom of East Java.

CHAPTER VII

SRI VIJAYA AND EAST JAVA
(TO *c.* A.D. 1270)

38. *The quarrel with East Java*

After seizing power from the Sailendras, Patapan and his descendants continued to rule as paramount lords over the old Sailendra territories in Central Java. In A.D. 929 however, for reasons unknown, King Sindok decided to move his capital to the east, and soon this new kingdom of East Java began to grow in power and importance. Like its neighbour in Sumatra, it profited by the revival of world trade which had followed the rise of the T'ang dynasty in China; and it paid particular attention to the spice trade with the Moluccas whose products were in great demand. It also traded with Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula; but doubtless it very soon began to feel aggrieved at the vexatious policy of monopoly carried out by the former country.

The power of East Java during A.D. 991–1006 continued to increase steadily. The king brought Bali under his sphere of influence and secured a foothold on the west coast of Borneo, where he compelled the ruling principality to acknowledge itself as his vassal. Very soon trouble broke out between him and the Buddhist rulers of Sumatra; and about A.D. 990 the Eastern Javanese launched an attack against their rivals, probably with the aid of their dependency in Borneo. The attack seems to have resulted in a certain amount of success for this fearless state. Sri Vijaya appealed to China asking for the Emperor to intervene, and Java also sent an embassy (A.D. 992) declaring that their country was continually at war with Palembang. Doubtless they too hoped that China would favour their side; but whether the latter did anything about these appeals we do not know. The surprising thing is that, in spite of its great resources, Sri Vijaya did not immediately strike back at her opponent, perhaps because she was uncertain

of the attitude that China or India might adopt if she proceeded to take really harsh measures. She certainly seems to have done her utmost to win these two powers to her side. After A.D. 993 she continued to send embassies to China, and in 1003 built a Buddhist temple wherein (as she tactfully announced to the Chinese Emperor) prayers were to be offered for his welfare. As for India, a new and possibly dangerous sea power had arisen in the south, viz. the Cholas who by the middle of the ninth century had defeated the Pallavas and made themselves the masters of Southern India. Friendly relations were established with this power also, as is proved by the establishment by a Sri Vijayan King of a Buddhist temple in Negapatam, for the support of which the Chola King granted the revenues of an entire village. Sure now that neither China nor the Cholas would intervene, Sri Vijaya decided to avenge the attacks of East Java, and to put an end once for all to this dangerous rival. In 1006, therefore, she launched a great attack on that country, captured the capital, burnt the royal palace and took a merciless revenge. It looked as if East Java would never rise again from its ruins; petty rulers quarrelled with each other over the remnants of this once powerful state; and it seemed that Sri Vijaya was once more supreme. There was, apparently, no other power to challenge her supremacy: her prestige was high, and she now became the headquarters of Buddhism. This religion, indeed, had fallen into disfavour in China; and in India it had already lost the long drawn out struggle with Hinduism. Only in Palembang did Buddhism find a place of security, and in this hospitable city students from many parts of Asia sought refuge. At this time Sri Vijaya has reached the very height of her power, and to all appearances was completely secure.

39. *The Chola raid, 1026*

And you all know, security
Is mortal's chiefest enemy

as Hecate says in *Macbeth*; and Sri Vijaya's security was soon to be rudely shattered. Now that East Java was destroyed she continued her exactions in trade in just the same way as before. There was no need, she thought, to conciliate the Cholas

any more. The latter, however, a formidable sea power (whose King, as early as 1007 had boasted of his conquest of 12,000 islands—the Maldives) resented the policy of Sri Vijaya as much as East Java had done; and without warning they launched in 1025 a deadly attack on the Sumatran Empire. They sent "numerous ships in the midst of the moving sea", and having captured "the King of Kedah"[1] they seized Palembang, looted the royal treasures and captured his elephants. In rapid succession they captured and sacked many of the dependencies of the Empire—Malayu and Pane in Sumatra; the Malay Peninsula, including Langkasuka, Trang, Tambralinga (with its centre at Ligor) and Kedah on the Peninsula; and on their way home they seized Lamuri (Acheh) and the Nicobars. This was indeed a heavy blow to Sri Vijaya—the King a prisoner, all his treasures seized, and every part of the Empire laid low. Where now was their boasted control of the Straits? Fortunately for Sri Vijaya, the Cholas seemed to be content with their loot and with the realisation that they had taught their enemy a lesson. They did not follow up their conquests and the Empire, though shaken to its foundations, began painfully to pull itself together. A new king was chosen in 1028, and one of his first deeds was to send an embassy to seek the protection of China. Slowly he reasserted his authority, and though it is doubtful if ever again Sri Vijaya reached quite the peak of glory it had attained just before 1025, after some years it became once more a formidable power. Meanwhile, Sri Vijaya's weakness was East Java's opportunity. The latter too began to revive; and the old enemies buried their enmity for the time being and agreed to an alliance which was confirmed by a dynastic marriage.

40. *The revival of East Java*

After the destruction of the kingdom of East Java in 1006, that realm passed through a period of chaos and civil war which lasted for many years. Its eventual recovery was the result partly of the weakening of Sri Vijaya by the Chola raid of 1026, and partly of the skill and statesmenship of an East Javanese

[1] This does not mean that Kedah was a Kingdom separate from Palembang. Kedah was the Northern capital of the Kingdom, and a place much more familiar to the Indians on account of its position than any other place in Sri Vijaya; hence they called the King of Sri Vijaya "the King of Kedah".

prince named Airlangga.[1] Airlangga was the son of a Balinese prince who had married a daughter of the King of East Java; and he had actually been in the latter country when Sri Vijaya launched the fatal attack of A.D. 1006. He fled to Mount Vanagiri and took refuge with some hermits who lived there; but after four years, Brahmins and nobles of the fallen state sought him out and begged him to become king. Airlangga accepted the offer (A.D. 1010), and after a long struggle against the petty princelings, he was officially crowned in A.D. 1019. It was, however, the Chola raid of 1026 and the consequent weakening of Sri Vijaya that gave him his opportunity. He launched attack after attack against his Javanese rivals (1028–37) and eventually defeated them all and reunited the kingdom. He had no wish to renew the quarrel with Sri Vijaya, because he realised that a policy of friendship with that empire was more advantageous to his country. Sri Vijaya itself was still recovering from the Chola raid, and was willing to forget old differences. So in 1030 a marriage was arranged between Airlangga and a princess of Sumatra and a period of peace was inaugurated between the two realms.[2] A tacit agreement was reached between them by which the western part of the Archipelago was regarded as the province of Sri Vijaya, whilst the eastern part was under the influence of East Java (though the latter's trade extended also to the west). Both countries then profited greatly from trade, at that time flourishing greatly, and for a time all went smoothly between them.

Airlangga was a wise and astute monarch, and he made sure that his authority in East Java would be challenged by no one. The two religious bodies—Brahmins and Buddhists—had by now acquired tremendous power and influence in the country. Whole villages had been set aside for the maintenance of their temples; their property was free from taxation; and their wealth was very considerable. It was possible for them to threaten the very existence of the new-formed kingdom; and to prevent this Airlangga became a monk—he was called "His Majesty the Most Reverend"—and thereby gained complete control over the two Churches. Thus he gave his kingdom peace; and

[1] This name means "he who crossed the water" (from Bali to Java).

[2] Shortly after his marriage a poem the "Arjunavihaha" was composed in celebration of the event by the poet Kanva. It was based on an episode from the *Mahabharata*.

kept a kingly state which earned him considerable fame. This king, however, who was so concerned about the unity of his kingdom, before his death in 1042 divided it into two parts[1]—Kediri and Janggala—and thus undid the work of a lifetime. We can only guess why he did this remarkable thing—perhaps because he had no heir and was anxious to prevent a conflict between two heirs with equal rights (as Coedes suggests)—but in the event, this fatal division was to cost East Java dear.

Meanwhile, we hear little about events in Sri Vijaya until 1068, when, once again, the Cholas make their appearance on the Peninsula. This time, however, they appear as friends; because their king "conquered Kedah on behalf of the king [of Sri Vijaya] who had gone to ask him for aid and protection; he then handed back the conquered kingdom" to Sri Vijaya. Probably there had been trouble in the latter country owing, it may be, to a disputed succession; and the heir had sought protection and help from the Chola king, whom, in 1026, Sri Vijaya had acknowledged (if only for a time) as her overlord. From this time on relations between the Cholas and Sri Vijaya were friendly.

41. *The prosperity of Sri Vijaya and East Java (eleventh to thirteenth centuries)*

During the years between the fall of the T'ang and the rise of the Sung dynasties (A.D. 906–60) China was in a state of considerable disorder, and the sea trade was naturally affected. The Sung Emperors, however, from the first showed themselves keenly interested in the sea route (chiefly because they had no control over the land route); and, claiming for themselves a monopoly of the trade, they did their best to encourage "the foreign traders of the South Sea and those who went to foreign lands beyond the sea for trade" to go to China, where they promised special licences to import goods.[2] As a result of this new policy and the security it afforded to foreign traders, a remarkable new development in world trade followed. Chinese ships took an ever increasing part in this, going as far as Malabar and halting during the winter in the ports of Sri Vijaya, especially Lamuri (Acheh). Consequently these ports (as well as

[1] It is understood that the "division theory" has recently been seriously questioned by C. C. Berg.

[2] Chinese embassy of A.D. 984–988.

those of East Java) prospered greatly. From 1078 to 1178 the Chinese Chronicles report frequent embassies from Sri Vijaya, and these indicate that there were unbroken trade relations between the two countries during that time. These "tribute-bearing embassies" were in reality, of course, trade missions, though it was obviously a wise course for a king of Sri Vijaya to obtain recognition as king by the Chinese Emperor, and receive an investiture from him confirming him in all his titles (as did a king in 1176). It seems, however, that the Chinese began to find these "embassies" rather expensive, because in 1178 the Emperor ordered that they should not go to court any more but make an establishment at Chu'an-Chou in the province of Fu-Kien, and trade there in the ordinary way. Nevertheless, in spite of these prohibitions we learn (from the Ming Annals) that embassies continued to arrive down to 1279.

It is interesting to note also that in A.D. 1154 Idrisi tells us that there was an animated trade between the East Coast of Africa and Sri Vijaya, and that Chinese and other foreigners settled in the latter place for the purposes of trade. Both Arab and Chinese chroniclers refer to the continued importance of "San-fo-ts'i" (Palembang) in world trade. "Owing to this country being an important thoroughfare for the traffic of all foreign nations," says a Chinese in 1225,[1] "the produce of all other countries is intercepted and kept in store there for the trade of foreign ships", and he tells us that the products of the country include tortoise-shell, camphor, varieties of gharu-wood, cloves, sandal wood and cardamoms. Arab traders brought pearls, frankincense, rose-water, gardenia flowers, myrrh, aloes, asafoetida, putchuk . . . elephants tusks, amber, foreign cotton stuffs and sword blades. All these products, native and foreign, were exchanged for gold, silver, porcelain ware, silk brocades, skeins of silk, silk gauzes, sugar, camphor, etc. (Sastri).

Nevertheless, it is clear that by A.D. 1178 East Java was already regarded as a more important place than Sri Vijaya. According to a Chinese Chronicle of 1178 we read: "Of all the wealthy foreign lands which have great store of precious and varied goods, none surpass the realm of the Arabs. Next to them comes Java; the third is Palembang. Many others come in the

[1] Chau Ju-kua.

next rank." Airlangga's policy was already beginning to bear fruit. Though he had divided his kingdom, it appears that very soon Kediri took the lead, whilst Janggala ceased to be of any importance. The former became a considerable sea power, controlling Bali, several of the Lesser Sunda islands, the south-west coast of Borneo and South Celebes, and it controlled the spice trade of the Moluccas. Even as early as Airlangga's time merchants from Kalinga, Bengal, Ceylon, Champa and Cambodia had visited the Javanese ports, and in the twelfth century Gujaratis carried the spices to Egypt, whence they were exported by Venice to Europe.

42. *The foundation of the Javanese kingdom of Singosari, 1222*

The kingdom of Kediri continued to flourish until 1222, when a new personality appeared who was to overthrow it and then unite East Java for the second time. This was a man called Angrok (= "He who upsets everything"), a native of the small village of Singosari, who claimed that he was an incarnation of Vishnu. He soon gained the powerful support of the priesthood, murdered the king and married his queen Dedes. Then he took care to confirm the priests in their privileges, doubtless as a reward for their support. Meanwhile, the King of Kediri, Kertajaya, found himself faced by a quarrel with the priesthood in his realm. He tried to compel them to submit; whereupon they called to their aid Angrok, who was only too ready to take advantage of the situation. After a battle Angrok defeated his rival, and for the first time since the death of Airlangga, reunited the kingdom of East Java into a new realm called after his birthplace—the Kingdom of Singosari.

The famous Javanese chronicle which narrates these events—the *Pararaton* or "Book of Kings"—tells, in dramatic language how Angrok murdered the smith who made the magic sword with which Angrok later slew the Kediri king; and how, before his death, the smith prophesied that "seven kings shall die by this single sword". The *Pararaton* was composed later than these events,[1] and the chronicler is speaking years after the event; but it is true enough that most of the kings of this dynasty came to violent ends. The last and most famous of them was Kertanagara (1268–92).

[1] Parts were written in mid-14th century and the whole after 1481.

43. *The beginning of the end of Sri Vijaya, c. 1225–70*

The Chinese Chau Ju-kua, writing in 1225, gives us a list of fifteen states which owe allegiance to Sri Vijaya; he is obviously impressed by her power and importance; and no doubt he would have been very surprised if he could have foreseen that, at the end of another fifty years or so the Empire was to be rent asunder and all these dependencies lost to her for ever. Yet this is precisely what happened, and we must now consider the causes of this fall.

The fifteen dependencies of Chau Ju-kua are as follows: Pahang, Trengganu, Langkasuka, Kelantan, P'at'alung (south of Ligor), South Selangor, Jelutong (in the Malay Peninsula), Semang, Batak (in Sumatra), Tambralinga (in the region of Ligor), Grahi (on the Bay of Bandon), Palembang, Kampar (on the east coast of Sumatra; Lamuri (Acheh); Ceylon; and Sunda (West Java). Yet this list was inexact, even in 1225, because it refers to the extent of the Empire at a period earlier than that year. Kampar, for instance, had already gained its independence at the end of the eleventh century, for we learn elsewhere "that it was heretofore a dependency of San-fo-t'si (Palembang); but after a fight, it set up a king of its own". The reference to Ceylon, too, is puzzling, though it is quite possible that a part of the island belonged to Sri Vijaya, and this might easily explain the attacks made on it by the Malays in 1247 and 1270. It is, however, significant that Malayu is not mentioned in this list; and we know from other sources that she too, at the end of the eleventh century, had declared her independence. The plain fact is that by A.D. 1225 Sri Vijaya was already beginning to decline, and the examples of Malayu and Kampar were soon to be followed by her other dependencies. The most important revolt and the one most deadly in its results, was that which took place in the Malay Peninsula.

44. *The revolt of Tambralinga*

Tambralinga was the most powerful of Sri Vijaya's vassals in the Peninsula. In A.D. 1230 its ruler, Chandrabhanu, seized Grahi, another vassal state of Sri Vijaya's on the bay of Bandon, and began to act in a fashion like that of a completely independent king. It may be that he conquered other dependencies of the Empire in the Malay Peninsula, perhaps as far south as the

Tembeling-Kuantan area, which included the main gold deposits of the country: because otherwise it is difficult to see how he could have carried out his bold and daring exploits against Ceylon. At all events, it is clear that between 1230–70 he was able to defy the power of his former overlord with impunity. We have seen that Ceylon has been mentioned as a dependency of Sri Vijaya in 1225. This could only mean that a part of the island had been conquered; and we know that some time before A.D. 1247 a colony of "Javakas" or Peninsular Malays had settled there. In A.D. 1247 Chandrabhanu made a determined attempt to seize the island for himself. He was a Hinayanist Buddhist, and pretended that he was anxious to acquire some Buddhist relics, but the suspicions of the Sinhalese were awakened, and "a great fight developed, during which the wicked Javaka soldiers . . . with their poisoned arrows . . . laid waste, raging in their fury, all Lanka". Chandrabhanu, however, was eventually defeated, and returned home, leaving behind his son as head of the Javaka colony in Ceylon. The latter, however, was compelled in 1263 to acknowledge as overlord a Pandyan king from Southern India who had meanwhile conquered a considerable part of the island. In A.D. 1270 Chandrabhanu launched another invasion against Ceylon but was even more heavily defeated than before and compelled to retire.

The significance of these incidents is clear. Chandrabhanu, a Buddhist of the Hinayanist school, was the leader of a revolt against the authority of Sri Vijaya, a great Mahayanist power, and he tried to wrest from the latter her possessions in Malaya and in Ceylon. He was no doubt aware of the growing weakness of the Empire, and traded on the fact that the capital was far away. Though we know little of the course of the rebellion, we know that it was not Tambralinga that gained the ultimate advantage from it. That state was the northernmost province of Sri Vijaya, and its frontiers marched with those of the recently formed Thai kingdom of Sukhothai. This kingdom (in relation to which Tambralinga should have played the role of a buffer-state) also professed the creed of Hinayanist Buddhism; and it is more than probable that she encouraged her co-religionists in their rebellion against Mahayanist Sri Vijaya, whose general weakness she was not slow to see. Twenty-two years later she

conquered Tambralinga, and all the other dependencies of the old Empire in the Malay Peninsula.

By the year 1270 the days of Sri Vijaya were already numbered. Her trade policy, which aimed at keeping out all competitors, had made her many enemies. All passing ships had, willy nilly, to call at her ports, where doubtless they were compelled to pay heavy dues. A Chinese writing in 1175 tells us, "If some foreign ship, passing this place, should not enter here, an armed party would certainly come out and kill them to the last"; and Chau Ju-kua repeats this in 1225: "If a merchant ship passes by without entering, their boats go forth to make a combined attack and all are ready to die [in the attempt]. This is the reason why this country is a great shipping centre." It was also the reason why she was hated and feared; and it was one of the main causes for the attacks on her which led to her destruction.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MONGOL INVASIONS AND THE FALL OF SRI VIJAYA

I

BEFORE we describe the great attacks that led to the overthrow of Sri Vijaya, we must pause to look at certain events of vast importance that had recently taken place in China. As we know, changes in the political situation in China have always had an effect on the political situation in South-East Asia; but the changes we are about to describe were of so tremendous a nature that they affected not only South-East Asia, but the whole of Asia, and indeed Europe itself. These changes, which amounted to one of the greatest revolutions in the history of the world, were effected by the great Mongol Conquests which started at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

45. *The Mongol conquests*

The great plain of the north, which extends from the Yellow Sea to the Baltic and the Atlantic, has, for thousands of years, been the home of fierce wandering tribes, who, from time to time, have sallied forth from their icy, desolate lands to plunder and destroy the rich countries of the south. Goths, Vandals, Huns, Tartars and Mongols, and many other tribes have, in their turn, destroyed rich and flourishing civilisations; but none of them wrought more terrible havoc, or more richly deserved the title of the "Scourge of God" than the Mongols, who, starting off from their remote and obscure homeland near Lake Baikal in the eastern part of Central Asia, spread their rule from China in the East to Russia, Persia and on to Poland and Hungary in the west. The foundation of this enormous Empire, which makes that of ancient Rome look insignificant, were laid by the most terrible warrior in history—Chenghiz Khan—who fought with superb skill and most ferocious cruelty; who laid

waste whole countries and wiped out the populations of great cities like Bokhara, Merv, Samarkand, Balkh, and Tashkent; and left behind him, in each of the smouldering ruins, huge mounds of skulls as terrible warnings to any who would dare to resist his victorious advance. Over all this immense area the Mongols ruled, giving to their new subjects peace and order. For the first time since the days of the Han Empire, caravans could travel along the ancient and romantic Silk route without fear of attack by roving nomad hordes. "The road you travel from Tana to Cathay", says Pegalotti, a merchant of the great Florentine banking house of Bardi as late as 1340, "is perfectly safe, whether by night or day, according to what merchants say who have used it." Now at last it was possible for Europe to discover Asia, more especially as the Moslem world, which had for so long controlled the trade routes to the East, had been plunged into disunion by the Mongol conquest of Kharesmia and the destruction of Baghdad by Hulagu in 1258. "The Tartar conquest of Persia opened (for Europe) the road to India, and its conquest of Russia opened the road to China." It was along this latter route that Marco Polo made his famous journey; and the book he wrote to describe his adventures so captivated the mind of Europe that, even when the Mongol power was broken and the land routes again became unsafe, the men of the West were led to find alternative routes to the fabulous countries of the East. It is scarcely too much to say that the Mongol conquests had, as one of their unforeseen results, the discovery of America by Columbus and the discovery of the sea route to India by Vasco da Gama.

46. *The Mongol impact on South-East Asia*

The effect of the Mongol impact on South-East Asia was, though on a smaller scale, equally shattering; for their attacks were one of the most important causes of the downfall of a number of the ancient Indianised kingdoms in that area. One of the first countries that Chenghiz had attacked was Northern China; and under his grandson Kublai the weak Sung dynasty was driven out, and the whole of China came under Mongol rule. Kublai, who became the Great Khan to whom all Mongols owed ultimate allegiance, was a very different man from his grandfather or his bloodthirsty brothers. He was not

interested in bloodshed and massacre for their own sakes, as they were; but was a wise and humane monarch, who readily adapted himself to the culture of China, and tried to rule his new country peacefully and benevolently. He was, however, like all the Mongols, a warrior; and he was determined to strengthen the rule of China over all the neighbouring countries. He was not content, as previous Chinese Emperors had been, with "tribute-bearing embassies" from these countries, which acknowledged the authority of the Empire, simply with the intention of gaining profitable trading advantages. He now required from them the definite obedience which subject peoples pay to their overlord, and to obtain this he sent his armies far afield. As far as South-East Asia was concerned he pursued a deliberate policy of fragmentation. His aim was "to divide and rule". He conquered Korea; attempted to invade Japan; conquered and devastated Upper and Central Burma; overran Indo-China; and demanded obedience from Java. We shall see the strange sequel that followed his Javanese expedition in our next chapter, but meanwhile we must note how his invasions were, indirectly, to help in the overthrow of Sri Vijaya.

47. *The Mongols and the rise of the Thais*

In his designs against the Indo-Pacific Peninsula, Kublai was well served by the restless ambitions of a people called the Thais. These people had for centuries lived in Yunnan, on the outskirts of the Chinese Empire; and, as they were great imitators, they had picked up and assimilated many Chinese customs. As early as the eighth century A.D. they had founded in Yunnan the realm of Nan-Chao; but, like the Proto- and Deutero-Malays long before,[1] many of them, during the centuries, had migrated into Indo-China, followed the call of the south. They had settled in the river valleys adjoining the Indianised states of Burma, Dvaravati (or Louvo), and Cambodia. "This singular race", says Finot, "had spread itself like an immense tablecloth over Southern China, Ton Kin, Laos, even to Burma and Siam." Wherever they went they formed small independent states; and whilst they kept their own identity and language, they learnt much, both in the realm of culture and of the art of Government, from the neighbouring Indianised

[1] See above, pp. 21 ff.

States. Above all, they became converts of the "Little Vehicle" of Buddhism, unlike the inhabitants of Sri Vijaya who remained faithful to the beliefs of the "Greater Vehicle". Presently they acquired a consciousness of their own independence and importance. They were profoundly impressed by the astounding victories of the great Mongol chiefs; and fate helped them to play a part similar to the Mongols, though, of course, on a very much smaller scale. They themselves were among the very first peoples of South-East Asia to suffer defeat at the hands of the Mongols. In 1253 Kublai captured Nan-Chao. Many of the Thais fled southwards to join the armies of Thai chiefs like Rama Khamheng or Mangrai; and thus helped to make these chiefs more formidable.

Kublai, however, realised that the Thais would be very helpful allies against the Indianised states of Indo-China; and he accordingly set up a Thai kingdom in Yunnan, instructing the new dynasty to enlist the support of the Thai Chieftains in the south against their common enemies. He decided to deal with the latter separately and in detail. First, he conquered Pagan in 1287 and thus put an end to the famous old independent Burmese Kingdom. He established two realms—one in the north and one in the south; but these soon fell under the control of the three famous Shan brothers who in 1300 successfully beat off a Mongol attempt to dislodge them, and by 1303 firmly planted Thai power in the area. Though his armies had little success against Annam and Champa, by the end of the thirteenth century the rest of Indo-China (with the exception of a very much reduced Cambodia) had submitted to his supremacy. Even Champa which had inflicted a great defeat on his armies in 1280 sent tribute to avert his anger. Meanwhile, the Thais had played the jackal to the Mongol lion, reaping the rewards of the Mongol attacks. They overthrew the Mon dynasty in the basin of the Menam, and established a new state called Chieng Mai. In Siam they succeeded in building up a great state, the kingdom of Sukhothai, which they carved out at the expense of the Kingdom of Cambodia. On all these usurpations, the Mongols looked with an indulgent eye; for pursuing their policy of "fragmentation" they thought that it was much better for the area to be under the control of their Thai vassals than under that of the Indianised States which

clung so tenaciously to their independence. Thus it was that the Mongol earthquake which had shaken the Muslim power in Western Asia, had also shaken all the ancient kingdoms of South-East Asia to their foundations. The Thais were to help to complete their ruin.

As far as Sri Vijaya was concerned, the Thais constituted a menace as early as the reign of Chandrabhanu of Tambralinga. This king, indeed, may well have made his revolt against his Sumatran overlord with the help of the Thais, for like them, he was probably a follower of the "Little Vehicle" of Buddhism. What is certain is that his expeditions against Ceylon had proved such expensive failures that Tambralinga was no longer able to act as Sri Vijaya's buffer state in the north of the Peninsula. In 1283 a new Thai king, Rama Khamheng, succeeded to the throne of Sukhothai, the first Thai kingdom of Siam. He was a soldier and statesman of ability; and soon most of the Thai tribes acknowledged him as their leader. He was bitterly hostile to the Khmer kingdom of Cambodia, and in 1296 wrested from it all its possessions in the basin of the Menam; but a few years before this, events in Sri Vijaya had encouraged him to attack its provinces in the North of the Peninsula.

II

The End of Sri Vijaya

48. Whilst these great events had been taking place in Indo-China the position of Sri Vijaya had been growing steadily weaker. Two great powers threatened her existence—the Thais (who, though vassals of the Mongols, sought, above all, their own interest); and Java (since before 1225 the strongest power in Malaysia). At the same time, her own dependencies showed even more determined signs of rebellion; and Palembang itself had ceased to be the chief city of the Empire, having now given place to her old rival, Malayu. This new power, however, like the old one, blind to her obvious fate, tried vainly to assert her old vexatious policy of monopoly. Still the leading power in the Mahayana Buddhist world of South-East Asia, she did not realise the tremendous disintegrating power of the rival Hinayanist creed which, gaining new momentum from Ceylon, had converted the Thais and was already undermining

the foundations of Cambodia. This creed made a great appeal to people of Mahayana Buddhist and Hindu beliefs by offering to free them from the exactions of the "greedy gods", the upkeep of whose temples demanded the slave labour and entire resources of thousands of villages. So it was that, when the great expansion of Java began during the last quarter of the thirteenth century, Sri Vijaya was without friends and without internal unity.

49. (a) *The expansion of East Java, 1275–92.* What part did East Java actually play in the downfall of Sri Vijaya? This is a difficult question to answer, because two different and opposed theories have been put forward to account for it. We must glance at these theories, which hinge on different views as to the character and aims of Kertanagara, the ruler of East Java at this time.

Kertanagara, indeed, was a strange figure. The Javanese chronicle, *The Book of Kings*, and Prapanca's poem, the "Nagarakertagama" give us entirely conflicting reports about him. According to the former, he was a poor character, given to a peculiar fondness for palm wine; and it shows him, when death overtook him, indulging in a drunken orgy at the very moment when a rebellious army was challenging his rule. On the other hand, the "Nagarakertagama" talks about him with almost extravagant praise, admitting that the stories of his drinking were not unfounded, but pointing out that he drank out of a sense of duty to his country. The truth seems to be that he was a devotee of a degraded form of Buddhism—Tantric Buddhism —which saw in drunkenness and various excesses a short cut to Nirvana. This degraded Buddhism paid attention to the acquisition of magic power, by means of certain spells; and on his possession of this power Kertanagara prided himself. He really seems to have believed that by means of this magic power he would be able to overcome the dangers threatening his kingdom. These dangers were twofold—first, the immediate danger from disunity in Eastern Java; and, secondly, the more remote possibility of an invasion of his country by the Mongols who were already harrying the kingdoms of Indo-China.

With regard to the first danger, the history of Eastern Java since the death of Airlangga afforded plenty of evidence of a

serious tendency to division. Airlangga, as we know, had instructed his minister to divide the realm into the two states—Jangala and Kediri; and this division had continued for over 170 years. The achievement of Angrok in reuniting the two realms into the kingdom of Singosari in 1222 had been a triumph over this "demon of division"; but, in Kertanagara's view, this demon had to be expelled once and for all. He set about this task by going through certain ceremonies to get rid of it; and he put up his own statue in the guise of a meditating Buddha on the very place where Airlangga's minister, who had drawn up the boundaries between the two kingdoms, had lived. This he considered to be a successful challenge to the demon of division, and he now set about destroying all local opposition in East Java.

He next turned his attention to the carrying out of a plan of extending Javanese power over all the islands of the Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula. The main stages of this plan were as follows:

Starting off with East Java as the basis of his operations, he hoped, first, to win over the whole of Java (including Sunda, on the west coast, a dependency of Sri Vijaya); then he planned to secure his eastern flank by gaining the adherence to his cause of the strategically important islands of Madura and Bali; next he determined to make an alliance with Champa (which had inflicted a severe defeat on a Mongol army in A.D. 1285, and whose coast a Chinese fleet would have to pass on its way to invade Java); and finally he aimed at winning over Sri Vijaya. He actually carried this plan into execution, and by 1292 no doubt thought that he and his allies would be able to offer successful resistance to the power of Kublai Khan.

How, in fact, did he carry out this great plan? There are two theories on this matter. The first says quite simply—by a policy of conquest; the second says, on the contrary, by a policy of diplomacy, aimed at persuading the neighbouring states (including Sri Vijaya) to join in a sacred confederation against the Mongols.

According to the first theory, in 1275 Kertanagara embarked on his policy of conquest. He soon conquered the whole of Java, and in 1284 captured Bali. Then in 1292 he turned his attention to his main enemy—Sri Vijaya—now old, self-satisfied

and weak, but still famous for her great past. He was anxious to be the heir of this decrepit old Empire—not unmindful perhaps of ancient Javanese grievances against the Sailendras and the destructive raid of 1006; and, above all, irritated by its policy of monopoly and the piratical methods of its fleets. Consequently, he launched an attack against Malayu—now the chief province of his enemy—and made it into a vassal state. Soon all Sumatra acknowledged his power, as did also all Sri Vijaya's possessions on the Malay Peninsula. These conquests gave him the all-important control of the Straits of Malacca, which, with the control of the Sunda Strait, had enabled Sri Vijaya to become great. In this way, he dealt the real death blow to the Empire, robbing her of all her island dependencies whilst the Thais merely completed the job by seizing her land possessions on the northern part of the Peninsula.

The second theory, however, says that Kertanagara persuaded all these states to see that it was their common interest to unite against the Mongol peril; and that he persuaded them to join a confederacy based on magic power. He had heard that Kublai Khan had been dedicated as a Jina Buddha with the special task of conquering many countries, including South East Asia. He himself then was dedicated as a Bhairava Buddha with the special task of saving South-East Asia from her fate. As he saw it, the struggle was between supernatural powers; magic force could be mobilised on his side; and he believed that the outcome of the struggle would be decided on this supernatural plane. Once the spiritual powers supporting Kublai had been defeated, then it would be easy to defeat his troops by land and sea. Thus, in effect, says this theory, Kertanagara, by means of these arguments, led the various states to join a "Grand Alliance" under his leadership and of this alliance Sri Vijaya was a member. This "Alliance", however, fell to pieces on the death of Kertanagara in 1292 as we shall see in our next chapter.

50. (b) *The Thai attack.* If this second theory is correct (and it must be confessed that the weight of evidence is in its favour)[1] then we must revise our ideas about the fall of Sri Vijaya. It was not brought about, as the first theory suggests, by "a

[1] There is no evidence, for example, that Kertanagare attacked Malayu in 1275.

simultaneous if not concerted attack" by Java and the Thais; but by the Thais and the failure of Kertanagara's confederacy. The latter, had it continued, might have prolonged Sri Vijaya's existence; but without its support, Sri Vijaya was definitely doomed. For years past "the Siamese and the people of Malayu had been engaged in killing each other",[1] and a war of this kind must have been a great drain on the resources of the old Empire. In 1292 the Siamese took definite control of Ligor and the adjoining coastal districts which had formerly acknowledged the rule of Chandrabhanu; and now that Kertanagara's confederation had collapsed, the rest of Malaya was at their mercy. In 1295 Malayu sent a despairing appeal to the Chinese Emperor himself for protection. The latter thereupon told Siam "to do no further harm to the Malays in order to keep their promise". Siam, however, does not appear to have obeyed this instruction for any length of time.

So it was—as we shall see in a moment from Marco Polo's account of Sumatra in 1292—that by that year Sri Vijaya had ceased to exist. Her power, indeed, had been steadily declining since long before the beginning of the thirteenth century, when one after another many of her vassals had declared their independence. During her heyday she had indulged in large-scale piracy and brigandage; and when her power declined the Straits themselves became a haunt of pirates who had learnt the lesson she had taught only too well. Thus, for example, a new state sprang up in Tumasik (old Singapore) *c.* 1292, and we can get no more vivid account of the dangers threatening the sea route than in that given by Wang Ta Yuan (1349). "When the Chinese junks go to the Western seas," he says, "these people [who included a number of Chinese] let them pass unmolested; but when on the way back they reach the Carimon islands, then the crew of the junks get out their armour and their padded screens to protect themselves against arrow fire; for it was certain that two or three hundred pirate ships would attack them."

This piracy persisted, and it seems clear that by 1292 Sri Vijaya had lost through it that control of the Straits which was the basis of her power. The relentless attacks of the Thais, culminating in the great advance of 1292, had lost her her land

[1] History of the Yuan, 1295.

possessions on the Peninsula; and in Sumatra itself, as we shall now see, a number of little states had made their appearance, and the authority of the Maharajah was no longer recognised. The final extinction of Malayu in 1377 and the growth of Islam completed her ruin.

51. *Marco Polo's account of Sumatra, 1292*

We are able to form some sort of picture of Sumatra just after the fall of the old Empire, thanks to a brief survey of the island given to us in 1292 by one of the world's greatest travellers and most acute observers, the celebrated Marco Polo. This is not the place to tell again the story of Marco's great trek across Central Asia to the Court of the Great Khan; though we may note in passing that it was the Mongol conquests which made his journey possible. We are concerned only with the last stage of his journey when he was returning home after seventeen years stay in China. The Polos were entrusted with the task of taking a Mongol princess, Cocachin, to Persia where she was to marry the Ilkhan, Argun, a nephew of the Great Khan. Because of disturbances along the land route, Marco took the longer, but safer, route by sea. He set out with a party of

Marco Polo

1,400 in fourteen great ships from the port of Zaytoun or Chu'an-Chou, having received from Kublai two golden tablets as passports to facilitate his journey. After a voyage of two months the party reached Champa, famous, Marco tells us, for its elephants, its eagle-wood and ebony. After a brief stop at the island of Pulo Condor, off the Mekong, a famous port of call (without paying a visit, however, to Cambodia of which and of its great capital he knew nothing) he sailed due west to Langkasuka which he calls "Lochac". It was, he says, "A good country and rich; it is on the mainland, and has a King of its own. The people are idolaters and have a peculiar language; and pay tribute to nobody, for their country is so situated that no one can enter it to do them ill." The land "yielded brasil in much plenty; and they also have gold in much quantity. They also have elephants and much game. In this kingdom are gathered all the porcelain shells which are used for small change in these regions." Thus we learn that this former vassal of Sri Vijaya was now an independent kingdom, soon perhaps to be under the control of the T'ais. From Langkasuka Marco sailed along the east coast of the Peninsula, "500 miles to the South", and reached the island of Bintang, opposite Singapore, "a very wild place", he tells us, with trees of scented wood. He passed through the Strait merely remarking on its shallowness, saying that his ship had to lift its rudder to clear the bottom, for the Strait was only two fathoms deep. He tells us that if one went from here on a north-west course, one would reach "an island which forms a Kingdom, and is called Malaiur. The people have a king of their own, and a peculiar language. The city is a fine and noble one, and there is great trade carried on there in spices and all other necessaries of life." It is possible that Marco confused Malaiur (which in fact he did not himself visit) with Malayu in Sumatra. Some think, however, that his "island of Malaiur" was Tumasik (Singapore), which present evidence suggests was founded about this time.

Nothing could be more eloquent about the fate of Sri Vijaya, which only a few years before had been so great and powerful, than Marco's description of Sumatra at this time. The island, he tells us, has eight small principalities, grouped chiefly towards the north of it; and he gives us brief notices about six of these. Did he realise that these (and Malayu) were all that was


MONGOL DYNASTY IN CHINA
LAN-NA
Chieng Mai
Sukhothai
THAIS
SUKHOTHAI
ANNAM
Hué
CHAMPA
CAMBODIA
Phanrang
Tambralinga
PULO CONDOR
LOCHAC
LAMBRI
SAMUDRA
PASAI
PERLAK
DAGROIAN ?
(FANSUR)
BAROS
BINTANG
Malayu
Palembang
Tuban
SUMATRA
ON THE OCCASION OF
MARCO POLOS VISIT 1292
The Confederation against the Mongols

left of the great Empire of the Maharajah which for six centuries had been the greatest power in the Southern Seas and dominated a vital part of the great trade route with India and the west? These little states must have compared poorly indeed with the great provinces and cities of China. There was, for instance, the little state of Perlak, surrounded by tribes "that having no religion are such as beasts are". There was the state of Samudra where he and his party stayed for five months waiting for the S.W. monsoon to blow itself out so that they could make the 1,000-miles crossing to Ceylon when the wind changed. In this place he caused to be made "five towers or castles of beams and logs", where his party took refuge; and "towards the island I caused great ditches to be dug round us, of which the ends finished on either side of the shores of the sea for fear of beasts and beastlike men who gladly catch and kill and eat men". He is speaking, of course, of the savage Bataks who were ritual cannibals, and ate close relatives or foreigners, and of whom he had good cause therefore to be afraid. About a third Kingdom, Pasai, he tells us that "the people were without law and were like beasts. They declared themselves for the Great Khan", but paid no regular tribute "because they were so far away that the people of the Great Khan cannot go there". Of Dagroian (modern Tamiang, between Deli and Acheh) he tells us the natives were in the habit of devouring their sick relatives, when their medicine men had pronounced them beyond hope of recovery. Of Lambri or Lamuri on the northern borders of Acheh, and Fansur (Baros, the only kingdom he visited on the west coast) he has little of interest to say apart from the fact that in the former the natives cultivated brasil and had "plenty of camphor and all sorts of spices".

This, then, is all he can tell us about the great Empire of the Maharajah.

52. *The first appearance of Islam in Sumatra*

One fact, however, of great importance emerges from Marco's picture of this wild northern part of Sumatra with its tiny Indianised states surrounded by wild savages. This is that Islam had already made its appearance in the island. We know that for some centuries Muslim Persian and Arab sailors had been sailing to the ports of Sri Vijaya; but these seem to have had

"Kublai Khan"

The Ajanta Ship

Carvings from the Bayon Temple at Angkor. 1200 A.D.

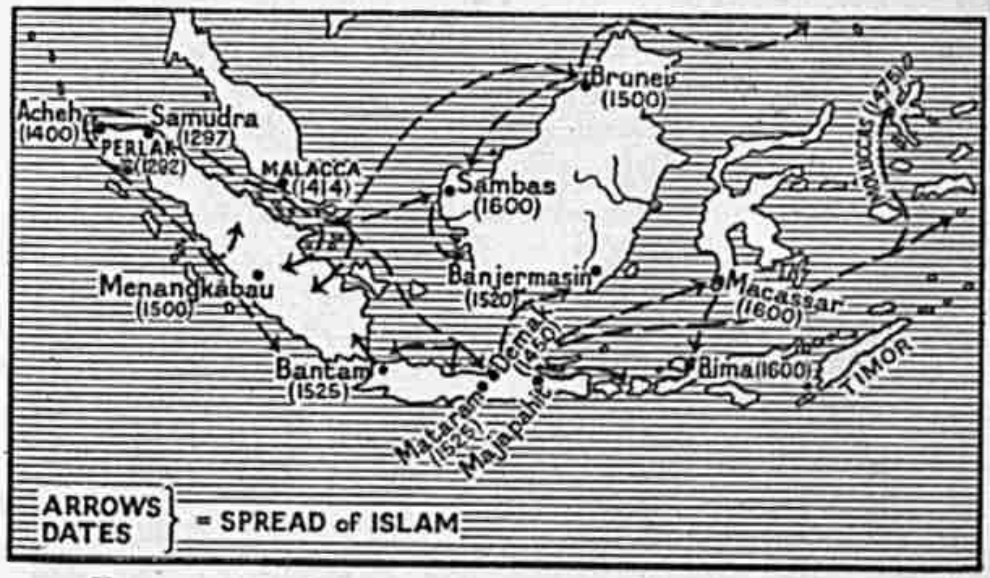
(a) Shows a type of boat similar to that probably used by the people of Funan earlier

(b) Shows a cockfight between birds belonging to Khmers (left) and the owners of the boat shown in (a) who are probably descendants of the Funanese

"Chandi Kalasan" Central Java

little success in converting the Indianised states to the new creed. It was only after the Muslim conquests in northern India during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that Islam took root in India herself; and presently it found converts among the Indian traders (chiefly Gujaratis) who in their turn spread it to Sumatra. It is significant to note that as early as 1281 Malayu had sent two Muslim emissaries to China—Sulaiman and Chams'ud-din; but thanks to Marco Polo, we now know for certain the very first place in South-East Asia which accepted Islam as the state religion. This was Perlak about which he tells us, "By reason of the many Saracen merchants who frequent there with their ships, who all keep the law of Mahomet, they have converted them all" (i.e. the people of Perlak). Five years later (1297) we hear of the presence of Islam in Samudra, thanks to the discovery of a tombstone inscribed to Sultan-Malik-al-Saleh, the first Muslim ruler of that state, who died in that year. Soon Pasai was converted, and it was from here that at the beginning of the fifteenth century Islam was introduced into Malacca on the marriage of a Pasai princess with the first ruler of that great port.

Marco's visit, therefore, in spite of the little space he devotes to South-East Asia, gives us a valuable glimpse of the political and religious situation in Malaysia just after the fall of Sri Vijaya. Though he does not know it, he is describing a society



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which is already undergoing great changes. Already two of the factors which are to play a part in the new order have made a small but significant appearance—the presence of Islam and the advent of the European, as witnessed by Marco himself and by the arrival, thirty years later, of the first Christian missionary in South-East Asia, the Franciscan monk, Fra Odorico di Pordenone.

Indian culture, however, though profoundly modified by the new political conditions and the growing self-consciousness of the states of South-East Asia, did not cease to affect their fortunes. During the fifteenth century the Malay state of Malacca and the Javanese and Mon states continued to be influenced by it; and Burma also during the sixteenth century owed much to its inspiration.

CHAPTER IX

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE "EMPIRE" OF MAJAPAHIT (1292–1403)

53. *The Mongol attack on Java*

THE Mongol attack on Java constitutes an extraordinary episode in the history of South-East Asia which is not without its amusing side. Whilst pursuing his aim of making the states of Indo-China accept his political overlordship, Kublai had been annoyed to learn that Kertanagara had been rash enough to make an alliance with Champa against him; and he had sent an embassy to Java summoning Kertanagara to China to offer an explanation for his insolent conduct. Kertanagara kept the ambassadors waiting for some years before he replied; and at last, in 1289, he sent them back to their Emperor with their faces mutilated. This was, of course, an insult of the first magnitude, and Kublai regarded it as such. In 1292 he sent an expedition to punish the foolish kinglet who had dared to defy the grandson of the greatest conqueror on earth.

Kertanagara was not unduly worried by the prospect of a Chinese invasion of his kingdom. To begin with, China was far away; and he was probably aware that the Mongols, in spite of their great reputation in warfare, had not been particularly successful in their naval expeditions—that against Japan, for instance, in 1281, having proved a complete failure. Had not one of their armies, moreover, been wiped out in recent years by his ally Champa? He probably reflected also that, in view of the strong confederation, or "Grand Alliance" as we called it, of island states that he had built up, his was a power to be reckoned with. Above all, he probably trusted in his superior knowledge of magic to drive the great Khan's army into the sea.

In 1292, then, Kublai sent a great expedition of 1,000 ships and 20,000 men to Java—not, as he said, to conquer that country, but to punish Kertanagara for his impertinence. But, before this Armada landed on the coast of Java, great changes

had taken place in the island. In 1292 Kertanagara was murdered. Once more the old spirit of disunion, which he thought he had laid for ever, had made itself apparent. The Viceroy of Kediri (perhaps a descendant of that prince whom Angrok had murdered years before), had risen in rebellion against him, and with the aid of other rebels had succeeded in capturing the capital and slaying the king. Kertanagara's magic power had availed him nothing, after all, and the confederation he had built up collapsed completely. Kertanagara's son-in-law and heir, Vijaya, fled to the island of Madura, leaving the Kediri prince Jayakatwang, in possession of the kingdom.

After a short time Vijaya sent a message to Jayakatwang, offering to acknowledge the latter as the rightful king if he would allow him to return to Java. Jayakatwang agreed, and allotted him a small village on the river Brantas for the maintenance of himself and his followers. One of these latter, so the story goes, picked a fruit whilst working, and began to eat it, but, presently, he threw it away, exclaiming "Majapahit!" (= "bitter fruit") and so gave the name to what was destined to be the capital of the last great Indianised state of the Archipelago. Meanwhile, in December 1292, Kublai's fleet arrived only to find that Kertanagara was dead; his kingdom in the possession of a rebel prince; and the rightful heir dispossessed of the throne. The fleet which Kertanagara had assembled to meet them had gone off to Malayu on an expedition, perhaps, to gain fresh reinforcements against them. The arrival of the Chinese at the island therefore was unchallenged.

The Chinese were naturally disconcerted at the change affairs had taken, for their instructions were to punish Kertanagara, and Kertanagara was dead. Vijaya, however, was an astute young man, and saw that, with Chinese help, he might regain the throne. He therefore entered into negotiations with the Chinese, promising that he would accept the Emperor's authority if they would help him to drive out the usurper. This seemed a reasonable course to the Chinese admirals, and they accordingly helped Vijaya to defeat his rival and he was duly proclaimed king. Vijaya, however, now that he had gained his objective, treacherously turned upon his Chinese allies, who had not dreamed of such ingratitude; drove them to their ships; and compelled them to retire from Java altogether. By

a strange irony of fate, the Chinese, who had come to punish Kertanagara had simply succeeded in placing the rightful heir on the throne. There is no record that they ever made any effort to avenge this second and greater insult, and it looked as if Kertanagara had triumphed after all. Such, however, was not the case. In spite of their apparent defeat, the Chinese had really achieved their aim. They had succeeded in their policy of "fragmentation".

Kertanagara's Empire based on a confederation of the island states had collapsed, and Java itself for the next forty years was chronically divided, and the scene of a series of civil wars.

54. *The reign of Raden Vijaya (1293–1309)*

Raden Vijaya (or Kritarajasa, as he was now called) was the founder of a new kingdom, famous in Javanese history, which is known as the "Empire" of Majapahit. Older historians like Krom have claimed that this Empire was the greatest of all the Indianised states of Malaysia, and have declared that for the first time in history the whole of Indonesia and a great part of the Malay Peninsula were brought directly under its rule. This, they say, was a feat that was not repeated until the conquest of the same area centuries later by the Dutch. Recently, however, Professor C. C. Berg has shown, as a result of his exhaustive researches into the Javanese and Balinese chronicles, that the Majapahit "Empire" was as he calls it, a "myth", based largely on the list of territories mentioned in Prapanca's poem, a list which he dismisses as a "geographical exercise". The so-called "Empire", he shows, even at the height of its power, included no more than the islands of Bali and Madura.

Though he had succeeded in getting rid so neatly of the Chinese, Raden Vijaya very soon found himself attacked by some of those very allies who had helped him against Kediri and the Chinese. The reason for this was that they had already shown themselves to be strongly opposed to Kertanagara's plan of building up a confederation of Indonesian states under his leadership, and when they saw that Vijaya was determined to continue this policy, they started a series of rebellions against him.

Vijaya indeed sought to continue the "Pan-Indonesian" policy of his predecessor by means of "magic power" based on

the rites of Bhairava Buddhism. By a series of what may be termed "dynastic marriages", he arranged marriages between four ladies (who were supposed to be daughters of Kertanagara) and the four rulers of Malayu, Bali, Madura and Tanjongpura (Borneo), and thus re-established a confederation between these states and East Java. He himself married also a princess from Malayu (Dara Pettak) and a princess from Champa (Gayatri). In 1295 he proclaimed his infant son, Jayanagara, whose mother was Dara Pettak, as the prince of Kediri. This infuriated many of the nobles, for it was equivalent to proclaiming as his heir the child of a Sumatran (and therefore a foreign) mother, and these nobles resented the prospect of being ruled over by a future king who was not completely Javanese. Their anger was increased still further when they saw that Dara Pettak and her retinue of Sumatrans soon began to wield more and more influence in the government, as a result of an illness which tended to incapacitate her husband, Vijaya (and from which he subsequently died). Thus, in 1295—as a protest against Vijaya's Pan-Indonesian policy and the increasing Sumatran influence—a rebellion broke out led by a noble called Ranga-Lawe. This was followed by five other major revolts,[1] which the king, though with great difficulty, managed to suppress; but when he died in 1309, the troubles of the kingdom were by no means at an end. The prospect of an Indonesian confederation was as far off as ever.

55. *The rule of Jayanagara (1309–28)*

By the time the new king ascended the throne several of his father's old enemies had died; but he had hardly begun to congratulate himself on their removal from the political scene when a new and even more serious revolt broke out. This revolt lasted from 1309 to 1327, and was led by Nandi, a son of that Viraraja who had led the first revolt in Vijaya's reign. The fundamental cause of this prolonged struggle was the refusal of the princes of East Java beyond the Brantas river to submit to the rule of the Majapahit king. This region had always shown itself fiercely independent, and continued to do so long after the fall of Majapahit, for it was one of the last places to

[1] Led respectively by Viraraja of Madura; Sora; Juru-Demang; Gajah Biru; Manda and Wagal.

be conquered by the Muslim kingdom of Mataram in the seventeenth century. Meanwhile another revolt broke out under a certain noble called Lasem (or Senu): but this was suppressed. In 1327 the war with East Java was also ended for a time, but this was followed almost immediately by a revolt of so serious a nature (led by Kuti) that the king was compelled to fly from the capital, leaving the victorious rebels in possession.

On his flight from the city, the king was accompanied by a young officer of the royal household, in command of a squad of twenty-five soldiers. Doubtless this weakling second king of Majapahit thought that all was lost, but if so he had not appreciated the courage and resource of the young officer, whose name was Gajah Mada. The latter returned in secret to the capital to study the situation created by the king's flight; and deciding that his enemies had still not made up their minds about the future organisation of the kingdom, he organised a counter revolt and restored the fugitive king to his throne. For this great service, he was granted a high position in the state by his grateful master. Trouble, however, soon broke out between the two; and Gajah Mada himself instigated a certain Tanca, the royal physician, to murder the king. Immediately afterwards he ordered Tanca to be executed, so as to avoid any accusation of complicity in his crime. He was now the most powerful person in the kingdom.

56. *Gajah Mada as Prime Minister (1331–64)*

The next heir to the throne was that Cham princess, Rajapatni Gayatri, who had been one of the wives of Vijaya. As a foreigner, however, she was not allowed to become Queen, and a regency was established under her daughter Tribu until her death in 1350, when her grandson Hyam Wuruk became king. Meanwhile, the regency had given Gajah Mada his chance; he had learnt much about statecraft and the art of government, and after holding several high offices, he was finally in 1331 given the post of *pati* or all-powerful Prime Minister. He found that the power of Java had been gravely weakened during the years of trouble and disturbance since the death of Kertanagara in 1292.

The results of the efforts of Kertanagara and Vijaya to form an Indonesian confederation had been almost entirely dissipated. Bali, which Kertanagara had first persuaded to join the

Alliance in 1284, had declared its independence; the little states in the north of Sumatra had also broken away; and Malayu, now the last Indianised state of any importance in the island, was making valiant efforts to recapture her former greatness. The Straits of Malacca were now a haunt of pirates. As for the Malay Peninsula, it would seem that the Thais had overrun almost the whole of it, in spite of the stern warning from their overlord, the Chinese Emperor, in 1295, "to do no further harm to the Malays". The newly founded state of Tumasik (1299) was one of the very few to resist the advance of the Thais, whom Wang Ta Yuan, a trader writing in 1349, also accuses of piracy. "These people," he wrote, "who are given to piracy", attacked Tumasik some years before that date. The town, however, put up a spirited resistance, "closing its gates and organising its defence; and the Siamese did not dare to attack it. It happened just then that an Imperial envoy was passing by the island, so the Siamese drew off and hid." In the years after the fall of Sri Vijaya the great trade route through the Straits was beset with perils.

As for Java itself, the kingdom of Sunda was once more independent, and in the east of the island the royal authority was scarcely recognised. Of the great confederation of Kertanagara South-West Borneo alone still acknowledged the overlordship of the Majapahit king.

57. *Gajah Mada and the Sadeng War (1331–51)*

Such was the state of affairs in Malaysia when Gajah Mada became Prime Minister in 1331, and indeed things remained serious whilst the Prime Minister devoted his attention to the internal affairs of Majapahit, made still more grave by the fact that the young king was a minor and the regent was a woman. Gajah Mada, however, was a man of vision and determination. He dreamed of continuing the policy of expansion and empire-building begun by Kertanagara sixty years before. Like him, he saw clearly the danger of a disunited kingdom; and like him he was a firm believer in the effectiveness of magic power. He differed from Kertanagara, however, in the means he pursued to achieve this aim. He saw clearly that the method of uniting the Archipelago by confederation had failed. He decided, therefore, to try the method of conquest.

During the period 1331–51 he set himself the task of compelling not only Java, but all the islands of the Archipelago—"Nusantara"—to acknowledge the supremacy of the Majapahit king. In 1331 after he had secured a victory against a number of Javanese rebels, he swore an oath to this effect; but as this met with the mockery of the courtiers, and the magnates, he obtained "the support of the Regent Tribu and pushed his opponents out of the way". He then embarked on his programme, and it was during the next twenty years that he was supposed to have conquered Madura, Bali, Sumatra, Tumasik, "Pahang" (then a word used by the Javanese to describe the whole Peninsula as well as modern Pahang), Borneo, and, in short, the whole of Indonesia; but these conquests were really fragments of Prapanca's imagination, for the latter, in his "Nagarakertagama", was writing a court poem justifying the regime, almost certainly with the approval of the all-powerful Prime Minister. It is true that Gajah Mada conquered Madura; but the real enemy whose defeat occupied all the resources of the kingdom for the next twenty years was Sadeng, which Berg identifies with Bali. Like East Java, this was an extremely difficult place to conquer, as Mataram was later on to discover. Eventually he did succeed in capturing Bali and destroying the ruling family; and then he began that process of "'Javanisation' in that island which was to be so much intensified under the rule of Hyam Wuruk". One of the leaders of the Majapahit armies in this long war was Adityavarman, who may have been the son of a Javanese princess, Dara Zingga, and the King of Malayu. This prince, at all events, succeeded to the rule of Malayu, but later on moved his capital inland towards the hilly country of Menangkabau in order not to be too easily accessible to Javanese attacks. There he ruled as a virtually independent prince, and became the first ruler of the kingdom of Menangkabau.

58. *The "Bloodbath of Bubat" (1350)*

So by 1351 the long and costly campaigns had gained for Majapahit rule over East Java, Madura and Bali only.

Gajah Mada now tried to carry out the next part of his programme, which was to conquer the little Sunda kingdom of Pajajaran. He aimed at doing this by a stratagem, which shows

the essential ruthlessness of his character. An embassy was sent by the young King of Majahapit to the king of Sunda asking him for the hand of his daughter in marriage. To this request after some negotiations the king agreed; believing that this marriage would be the beginning of a friendly alliance between the two kingdoms. He accordingly accepted an invitation to go to Majahapit with his daughter; and a large field to the north of the city was placed at his disposal and that of the large retinue he had brought with him. At this stage Gajah Mada stepped in, and made it clear that the young princess was not to be the chief wife of Majapahit's ruler and that the king of Sunda was to regard himself as a vassal of Majapahit. The Sunda king, who prided himself on his independence, utterly refused to consider these terms; whereupon the astute Prime Minister, who had carefully thought out the whole matter in advance, ordered the Sundanese camp to be completely surrounded by a vastly superior army. Though it was clear that resistance was hopeless, the Sundanese, "preferring death to dishonour", fought with stubborn courage against their treacherous foe; but after an heroic resistance they were cut to pieces. Not one escaped, the king himself fighting to the end against three of Java's foremost champions. The poor little princess, so the story goes, slew herself on the battlefield near her father's dead body. This "bloodbath of Bubat" as it was called, however, did not achieve the aims of the unscrupulous Prime Minister. Sunda refused to accept Majapahit rule, and in fact retained its independence right down to the early years of the sixteenth century.

By this time it was clear to all that the policy of "blood and iron" had gained little more success than the previous policy of confederation as far as building up an Indonesian Empire was concerned. Still, Gajah Mada had put an end, for the time being, to the rebellions which had harassed the kingdom from its foundation, and he had established firm rule over the unruly land east of the Brantas, and over Madura and Bali. The kingdom, though small, was at least unified, and by the year 1364, when Gajah Mada died, Majahapit had already begun to take a considerable share in the trade for spices, which the continually growing demand from the West made more and more profitable. The ports of her northern seaboard were essential

stops for foreign traders on the way to the Moluccas, and so Majapahit may be said to have had a virtual monopoly of the trade of the area. It certainly seemed as if the new state had a long and brilliant future before it. If in 1322 the Franciscan friar Odorico di Pordenone had (rather mysteriously) described Java as the "second best island that exists" his praise was more

St. Odorico di Pordenone

strongly echoed by Wang Ta Yuan who writing in 1350 describes Java as a "prosperous and fertile country", whose very numerous and peaceful population were the "first amongst the barbarians of the Eastern seas". Majapahit's glory, however, was to be very brief. This last of the Indianised kingdoms of South-East Asia was to become insignificant within a few years after Gajah Mada's death, and to linger on in a painful decline until Islam put an end to its existence somewhere about the year 1520.

59. *The extinction of Malayu (1377)*

The removal of the ruthless Prime Minister from the scene may perhaps have encouraged the three little kingdoms of

South-Eastern Sumatra, which (after Adityavarman's retreat to the Menangkabau country) divided between them the remnants of Sri Vijaya in Palembang and Malayu, to make a last despairing bid for survival against their Javanese overlords. In 1377 the ruler of Malayu, still pathetically calling himself by the famous Sailendra title of "Maharajah", succeeded in gaining from the Chinese Emperor the old title of "King of San-fo-ts'i" (Sri Vijaya) [but says the *History of the Ming*, "At this period, San-fo-ts'i was already conquered by Java",] and when the king of Majapahit heard this he was extremely annoyed. His troops waylaid the Imperial envoys and assassinated them before they had a chance of presenting the seal to the ambitious but unfortunate ruler of Malayu. This time there was no mistake. The Javanese finally put an end to the pretensions of their ancient rival, and the Emperor thought it impolitic to attempt to punish the powerful ruler whose ancestor, Kertanagara, had successfully defied the power of the mighty Kublai Khan. "San-fo-ts'i" was completely impoverished; she sent no more tribute to China. Her long-drawn death agony was over. In a short time her name was forgotten; and Palembang became a nest of Chinese pirates. "When San-fo-t'si went down the whole country was disturbed and the Javanese could not keep all the land. For this reason the Chinese who were established there, stood up for themselves, and a man from Namhoi in Canton, called Liang Tan-ming, who had lived there for a long time and roamed over the sea, followed by several thousand men from Fukien and Canton, was taken by them as their chief." Palembang remained under the control of the descendants of this band for nearly two hundred years.

60. *The decline of Majapahit*

After the death of Gajah Mada in 1364 the King Hyam Wuruk (1350–89) appointed a Council of five ministers to rule over the Empire. These were assisted by a great crowd of officials, but the principal offices were given to the king's closest relatives. The king himself was the centre of the whole administrative edifice; he was regarded as the incarnation of Siva, and it was his job to placate the supernatural forces by going on tour round the various shrines to see that they were well maintained and that the gods were duly worshipped. He

kept a truly kingly state in the capital which had now grown from the tiny obscure village it had been in the days of its first king, to an important city.

The tendency towards division, however, which so strongly marks the history of East Java, and of which both Kertanagara and Gajah Mada were so afraid, made itself apparent once more even during the reign of Hyam Wuruk himself. Indeed, he seems to have encouraged it, because he allowed his uncle, during his own lifetime, to rule as his viceroy, with full power, in the east and in Bali. As if this were not enough, like Airlangga before him, before his death, he deliberately divided his kingdom between his daughter, who was the rightful heir, and one of his sons, the latter taking the place of the uncle who was ruling in the east. From 1389 to 1401 the trouble grew steadily between the two parties, and eventually in 1401 it broke out into open war. This disastrous war lasted till 1406, when Hyam Wuruk's son, the leader of the revolt against the rightful heir, died, but there was no chance of repairing the damage done by the division of the kingdom. Civil wars continued, and famine completed the damage, until eventually the kingdom fell to pieces. Two events accelerated its end; the rise of Malacca, which was an indirect result of the war of 1401–6, and the expansion of Islam. As Majapahit became weaker, and lost the power to keep her subjects obedient, a number of little states were formed in the island, particularly along the northern seaboard. Many of the needy princes of these states married the daughters of wealthy Muslim traders who called there from Malacca (which after 1414 became the centre of Islam in Malaysia). These princes were in their turn converted, and by 1520 they had completely destroyed the old Shaiva-Buddhist state of Majapahit. Only Bali now remained as the last stronghold of the ancient Hindu religion, and such she has remained to this day.

CHAPTER X

MALACCA—ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT (1403–44)

61. *The Site of Malacca*

THE sharp decline in the fortunes of Majapahit which took place in the years following the death of Hyam Wuruk, and more especially the outbreak of the civil war of 1401, removed from Malaysia the one power which had made a serious attempt to defeat the Chinese policy of "fragmentation". The other states had been reduced to insignificance. Malaya now found itself subjected once more to a Siamese invasion. The Thais indeed were now a great power in Indo-China. Already masters of Burma and the upper valley of the Menam (controlled by their realms of Sukhothai and Lan-na), they had also established the kingdom of Lan Ch'ang in Laos. Their most powerful kingdom was that of Ayuthia which soon absorbed its northern neighbour, Sukhothai, and continued the relentless attacks against Cambodia which were to lead to the overthrow of that kingdom in the middle of the fifteenth century. It would seem that by 1401, the whole of the Malay Peninsula, including Tumasik (Old Singapore) had been compelled to acknowledge the overlordship of the Siamese king. It may be that among the new Siamese possessions there was a small obscure settlement on the present site of Malacca, where twenty or thirty persons made a living by fishing and, perhaps, by piracy. "Its old name", says Ma Huan[1] in 1425, "was 'Five Islets' on account of there being that number of islands in the sea thereabout. . . . The soil is barren and saline; the crops are poor so that agriculture is not in favour. . . . The country was under the rule of Siam." This was the place that was to be the site of the famous city of Malacca.

It seems quite clear that at this period there was no cultivation of rice in this part of Malaya. In Kedah and Kelantan,

[1] A Chinese Muslim interpreter to the Ming Admiral Cheng-ho.

where immigrants, Indian and otherwise, had been settling for centuries, the art of cultivating rice in irrigated rice fields had long been known; and when, in later times, these lands were brought under the rule of the Thais the new masters were also expert at this difficult art. "It must have been for want of rice plains", says Sir R. Winstedt, "that, until the rise of Malacca in the fifteenth century, Southern Malaya remained almost uninhabited except for a few ports for the collection of tin and jungle produce. Then the founding of Malacca brought the Menangkabaus, again expert planters, to Negri Sembilan and to Jelai in Pahang." The few people, then, who inhabited this part of the coast in 1400 must have been fishermen who had not yet learnt the art of planting wet rice (an art which requires the concerted labour of many people). Indeed, they probably preferred a fish diet to rice, living chiefly on shrimp paste, salt fish, prawns, etc., which to this day form a great part of the Malay fisherman's daily food. They were quite primitive. "The boats in which they go to sea and fish", Ma Huan tells us, "are dug out of logs of wood", and no doubt they used these to eke out their meagre livelihood with a certain amount of piracy. This settlement must have been indistinguishable from many similar settlements that lurked behind the mangrove swamps on either side of the Straits. Malacca, as we know it, had not yet come into existence; and we are not surprised to learn that none of the great travellers—Marco Polo, Fra Odorico or Ibn Battuta—mention it.

62. *The beginnings of Malacca (1402/3)*

It was the civil war that broke out in Majapahit in 1401 that led indirectly to the rise of Malacca. It appears that in that year a certain Sumatran (or less probably, Javanese) nobleman, was compelled to fly from Sumatra for his life; and with a few followers he took refuge from his enemies in Tumasik (Old Singapore). This man had married a princess of the house of Majapahit, as his name, Parameswara[1]—which means "Prince Consort"—indicates. He was offered hospitality by the ruler of Tumasik; but, perhaps because he thought that Tumasik belonged by right to Majapahit, or perhaps because he was

[1] T. Pires says that in the Palembang-Javanese tongue it means "the bravest man".

cruel and treacherous, after a few days' stay he murdered his host and seized his throne. "And he was lord of all and governed the channel and the islands." Now Tumasik was a vassal of Siam; and the king of that country ordered one of his other vassals (either the ruler of Pahang or of Patani) to drive the usurper from the island. Parameswara thereupon fled from Tumasik, and guided by some Celates or sea gypsies, made his way up the Muar river. "There", says Pires, "he began to cut down the jungle and make fields, to plant trees and make farms . . . to support them"; but presently hearing from the sea gypsies of the settlement we have described above, he moved his settlement there. He was pleased with this "large and spacious place with large fields and lovely waters", especially when he saw "how well it was adapted for a large town. There is no doubt", continues Pires, who of course is speaking over 100 years after the event he describes, "that it is not easy to find a beautiful plain like this extending three or four leagues and now greatly cultivated." In this pleasant place Parameswara settled as a petty chief, planting (in the absence of irrigated rice fields) quick-growing plants like sugar-cane, and earning a livelihood by fishing and preying on passing ships. Of course, he had to acknowledge Siam as his overlord, with whom somehow he made peace. At this time "There was no king in the country and it was not called a kingdom, but it belonged to Siam to which it paid an annual tribute of 40 taels of gold". Ma Huan tells us that if it had failed to pay this tribute "it would have suffered an attack".

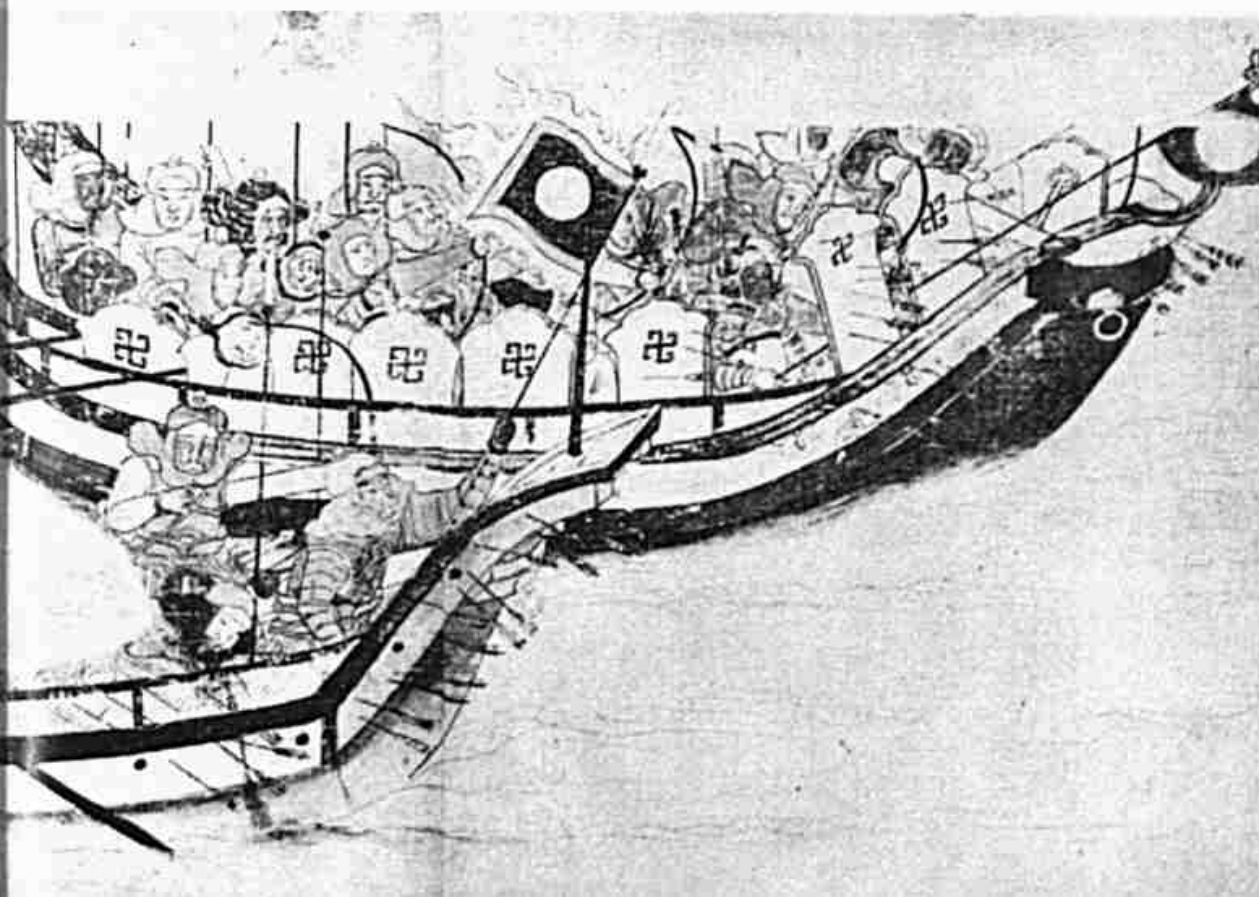
At this small insignificant settlement there called in 1403 a Chinese fleet, and from that moment the fortune of the place was made.

63. *Factors responsible for Malacca's growth*

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the development of this small settlement into a great state was largely a matter of luck. Why, we may ask, had not its possibilities been realised long before the beginning of the fifteenth century? It was not consciously selected because of its future possibilities as a great port, as Singapore was in the early nineteenth century. Its lack of rice fields gave little hope in 1400 that it would develop into a great emporium like Kedah. In fact, even

Mongol Archers

Mongol troops in sampans about to land in Japan



Prince Henry the Navigator as a Knight of the Garter

A cross (Padrão) set up by Bartholomew Diaz on the South African Coast

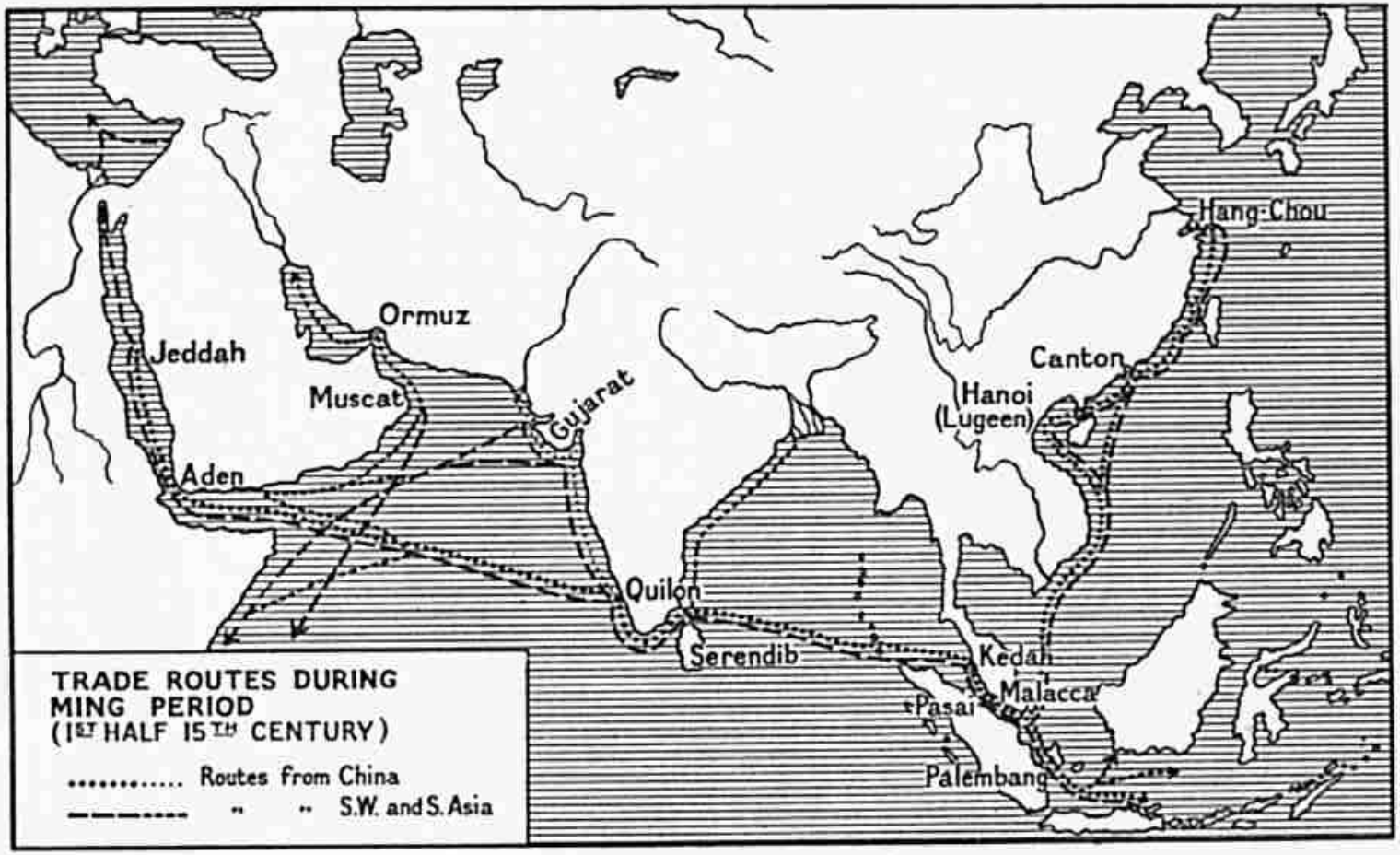
Linschoten

under Portuguese rule, it was never self supporting, but had to continue the practice begun by the Malacca Sultans of importing its rice from Sumatra and Java. Finally, its excellent geographical position as a port near the southern end of the Straits was not at first realised by ships plying between India and China. The plain fact is that it happened to be a convenient place of refuge for a hunted fugitive fleeing in 1401 from Siamese vengeance, who managed to make peace with his enemy by accepting the king as his overlord and by paying an annual tribute. His possession of the land was precarious in the extreme, for it depended entirely on the whim of the subtle T'ais who could have crushed his settlement at a moment's notice.

Certain outside factors, however, came to the aid of the harassed prince, and here again we note the large element of luck in the development of the State of Malacca. It so happened that China at this moment was once more a power to be reckoned with; and the determination of the new Ming dynasty to bring all South-East Asia under their rule led China to act as the friend and protector of Malacca against Siam. Nor was this all. The Ming expansion was followed by a great increase in trade, and Malacca was able to profit greatly by this. Finally, in 1414 Parameswara was converted to Islam, and Malacca became the headquarters of the powerful and wealthy Muslim merchants who soon discovered the geographical advantages of Malacca's position, and by their trading activities eventually made the city the greatest Emporium in South-East Asia. These two unforeseen factors in the rise of Malacca—the Ming expansion and Muslim patronage—we must now proceed to examine in a little more detail.

64. *The expansion of China under the Mings*

Though the Mongol dynasty did not rule very long in China (A.D. 1260–1368), they nevertheless kept up the interest in the sea route begun during the rule of the preceding Sung dynasty. Owing to the great revenue brought in by the customs, the demand by foreign countries for porcelain exports from Fu-Kien, the needs of the Imperial Court and their anxiety to maintain relations with Persia, they continued to encourage their sailors to sail far and wide, and during their rule Chinese


Hang-Chou
Ormuz
Jeddah
Canton
Muscat
Hanoi
(Lugeen)
Gujarat
Aden
Quilon
Serendib
Kedah
Malacca
Pasai
Palembang
TRADE ROUTES DURING
MING PERIOD
(1ST HALF 15TH CENTURY)
..... Routes from China
——— " " S.W. and S. Asia

ships sailed as far as the coast of Malabar. They rebuilt old ports and established new ones. Chu'an-Chou (Marco's Zaytoun) became the greatest port on the Chinese coast, and was perhaps without a rival in the whole world. Canton, though not quite so important, was "as big as three Venices" and "indeed all Italy hath not the amount of craft that this one city hath" (Fra Odorico). The third port in size and importance was Hang-Chou (Quinsay)—according to Marco Polo, "the most noble city in the world"—from which silk and bamboo wares were exported to India and the Muslim countries of the west. When the Ming dynasty drove out the last of the Mongols, therefore, China's fleets and sea power were already very considerable.

In the early years of the fifteenth century another remarkable expansion of Chinese trade took place which began a new (though brief) phase in the relations between East and West. Once more trouble had broken out in the great Northlands, and the Tartar hordes of Tamerlane had cut the great silk route to the West. Consequently the sea route assumed tremendous importance to the new dynasty, for only by sea could they now develop their trade. We learn from the Ming Chronicle that vast expeditions were sent to impress on foreign countries the might and power of China, and to attract foreign trade to China's ports. The third Emperor, on the pretext of pursuing his predecessor who "might have fled to countries beyond the sea, commissioned Cheng-ho, Wang King-ho and others to pursue his traces. Bearing vast amounts of gold and other valuables, and with a force of 37,000 soldiers under their command, they built great ships—sixty-two in number—and set sail on voyages throughout the western seas. Here they made known the manifestos of the Son of Heaven. . . . They bestowed gifts upon the kings and rulers; and those who refused submission they overawed by force. Every country became obedient to the imperial command; and when Cheng-Ho turned homewards, they sent envoys in his train to offer tribute. The Emperor was highly gladdened, and after no long time commanded Ho to go once more and scatter largesse among the different states. On this the number of those who presented themselves before the throne became even greater. Cheng-ho was commissioned on no less than seven embassies; and thrice

he captured and brought back prisoners of foreign chiefs. . . . At the same time the different peoples, attracted by the profit of the Chinese merchandise, enlarged their mutual intercourse for purposes of trade and there was uninterrupted going to and fro."

These remarkable journeys of the Chinese navy, under the Ming, led to a great increase in trade between East and West. Arabia, Medina, Aden, Mogadishu, Ormuz and other states hastened to send embassies to China in return; but, after all these centuries, it was Egypt, not Arabia or Persia, that benefited most of all. In 1431–32 the Arab Maqrizi tells us the Chinese fleets reached Jeddah—the westernmost port they ever reached; and this port of the Mamelukes of Egypt began to thrive at the expense of Aden which fell into decay. Meanwhile, just as the revival of trade in the seventh century had made the fortune of Sri Vijaya, so did the trade revival of the early fifteenth century make that of Malacca.

The Ming Emperors were not only interested in trade; they were determined to follow the policy of Kublai Khan and bring South-East Asia under their direct rule. Their task was made all the easier by the political weakness of these states, many of which sent embassies to China asking for protection and receiving expensive presents in return. Indo-China, the islands, Java herself and the Peninsula were visited by the war fleets, whose mere presence effectively backed up the demand for submission.

65. *The Chinese fleet visits Malacca*

It was in the year 1403 that a Chinese fleet under its admiral, Yin Ching, arrived at the little settlement on the Malacca river. Doubtless, Parameswara was delighted when the Chinese, having spoken of the power and rank of China and brought "presents of silk woven with golden flowers, curtains adorned with gold and other things" asked him to pay tribute to the Emperor. He saw here a powerful protector against Siam, and accordingly sent envoys with tribute which arrived in China in 1405. "The Emperor spoke in praise of their master, appointed him King of the country and sent him a commission, a seal, a suit of silk clothes and a yellow umbrella", which were delivered to Parameswara in 1406. By a great piece of

good fortune Parameswara had now received from the ruler of the most powerful country in Asia the title and status of king. He and his successors, who had every reason to fear Siam, henceforth made it the chief plank of their policy to retain Chinese support. The wisdom of this policy was to be proved time and again during the next hundred years. A short time after, the greatest of the Chinese admirals, Cheng-ho, with the vast fleet above mentioned, visited Champa, Java and Palembang. In this last place he found a Chinese pirate chief, Cheng Tsu-i, whom he took back to China for execution. On his next voyage (1409) he called at Malacca where in the Emperor's name, he proclaimed the mart a City and a Kingdom, "and left behind a load of tiles for roofing the royal palace". Ma Huan tells us that "after this Malacca ceased to be a dependency of Siam". On his return from Ceylon he conveyed Parameswara and members of his family—540 people in all—to China, where they were received in person by the Emperor and loaded with costly presents. The hunted fugitive from Palembang now took his place with the king of Ceylon and the rulers of seventeen other countries whom Cheng-ho took to pay homage to the Emperor. This clearly meant a tremendous increase in his power and prestige.

66. *The Muslim influence*

The new kingdom depended for its supplies of rice chiefly on the kingdoms of Pedir and Pasai in north-east Sumatra. These little kingdoms had indeed grown powerful and famous since the end of the thirteenth century, because they had become the chief ports of call of the Arab traders who were now "the real heirs of Sri Vijaya" and who held the monopoly of the spice trade. Their geographical position at the head of the Straits favoured their rise, and indeed Pasai had now taken the place formerly held by Kedah as a commercial centre. As the Arabs were the virtual masters of these kingdoms, it is not surprising that by the beginning of the fifteenth century their rulers had been converted to Islam. As a result of the growing trade of the new port of Malacca, Islam crossed the Straits. Parameswara married the daughter of the Sultan of Pasai, newly converted to Islam, and thus became a Muslim with the title of Megat Iskandar Shah (1414). The Arabs had now a new port of call, with obviously

great possibilities of expansion of commerce, and the trade of Malacca became still greater. Still relying on the protection of China (the other end of the great sea route), Parameswara visited the capital in 1414 and was given new rich presents of gold and silks and doubtless was confirmed in his titles. Meanwhile, Siam remained his inveterate enemy, becoming more anxious to get control of this new and potentially powerful state; but Parameswara again went to China in 1419 to gain help, and obtained from his powerful protector an "order to Siam which it obeyed".

67. *The rule of Sri Maharajah (1424–44)*

Parameswara died in 1424 and was succeeded by a son who called himself "Sri Maharajah" and whose first action was to hurry to China to receive recognition of his title and to offer tribute. The title of Maharajah is significant, for it was that of the old ruler of Sri Vijaya. Was he trying to revive the old Empire with a new capital? (We know that his father had already—falsely—laid claim to the territory of Palembang). Though he was married to a half-caste Muslim lady was he perhaps the leader of a Hindu reaction against the supremacy of Islam? Later events seem to indicate that this was the case.

Still the danger from Siam threatened; in 1431 once more a Siamese attack was impending, and the ruler sent for aid to China, saying that he dared not leave his kingdom to pay tribute. Again the Emperor sent a decree to Siam: "ordering the King to live in good harmony with his neighbours and not to act against the orders of the Imperial Court". As the decree was delivered by the redoubtable Cheng-ho, the Siamese sullenly acquiesced in the order, and two years later Sri Maharajah went in person to China to pay his respects to the Emperor. He died in 1444.

The forty-one years which had passed since the founding of the new port had seen great changes. Both rulers had had long reigns, and this made for stability; both had made friendship with China their chief aim, and this friendship had saved the rising port from absorption (or perhaps destruction) by her enemy Siam. Meanwhile, trade had steadily prospered. The Arab and other foreign traders, realising the superior advantages of Malacca to Pasai and Pedir, visited the place in

increasing numbers. The port became famous. All foreign ships on entry to the river had first to pay duty to the customs; and then the merchants, having landed and passed through the outer township where most people lived, went into the bazaar (which was surrounded by a stockade), where the haggling and trading was done. To impress visitors troops were stationed at key points, and watchmen with bells kept a look-out for thieves. Malacca was an emporium where goods were brought from foreign countries and exchanged with the goods of others; she herself had few exports, apart from tin (which belonged to the state), and the goods brought down the Bernam river by canoes from the neighbouring hamlets (such as lignum, aloes, camphor, pearl shell, fragrant woods, rhinoceros horn, bezoars, ivory, incense, and perhaps pepper). Though T. Pires later describes Malacca as "a land of such freshness, of such fertility and of such good living as anyone who comes to Malacca today can see", yet it was to a great extent dependent on imports from abroad—especially rice, which was needed to feed her rapidly growing population.

68. *The constitution of Malacca*

(a) *The ruler.* Meanwhile, it was the chiefs who made most profit from the growing trade, and soon they decided to maintain a state befitting rulers who were received in audience by the Emperor himself. The second ruler is credited with the establishment of a court ritual which reflected that of the great days of Sri Vijaya and is in force in Malaya today. In essentials, this ritual was Hindu. The "Raja" or "Yang di pertuan" ("he who is made lord") or as he was called later, the Sultan, was head of the state. The old kings of Cambodia and Majapahit had been regarded as incarnations of a Hindu god, especially of Vishnu; but in Muslim Malacca this was not accepted. Nevertheless, great dignity surrounded the throne, and this was emphasised particularly by the Coronation ceremonies (which were purely Hindu); by the rigid etiquette obtaining in all receptions, banquets, levees and all state ceremonies; by the building of a palace roofed with tiles left behind by Cheng-ho; by the state observed in royal processions when the ruler, mounted on an elephant or carried in a hammock supported by his most important ministers, went abroad, pre-

ceded by his gongs, drums and fifes and followed by Chamberlains, standard bearers, swordsmen and spearmen. No one else could carry a white umbrella, or wear yellow or (without special permission) ride in a litter, or wear a kris in the royal presence. To the ruler belonged the power of bestowing honours and awards of rank and title. The rapidly increasing wealth of Malacca enabled the kings easily to support this state. He himself took part in trade; received a great proportion of the customs duties; the greater part of fines imposed in the law courts; tolls on goods brought from the inland villages to the city; and annual tributes of tin from the great lords who ruled over places like Klang, Selangor, Bernam, in the neighbourhood of Malacca. Any offences against the ruler met with heavy penalties.

(b) *The chief ministers.* The Constitution was similar to those of other Indianised states like Java, Cambodia and Siam. It was based on the Indian idea of the state "as an image of the heavenly world of stars and gods". There were four chief ministers (representing the guardian gods of the cardinal points); eight ministers of middle rank; sixteen of lower rank; and thirty-two lesser officials. Of these officers, the inner Council of Four were the most important. The leader of this Council, the Bendahara,[1] though not of royal blood was at once the Prime Minister, the First Lord of the Treasury, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Lord Chief Justice, and had control over all other nobles and officers of state. It was his family that in many cases chose the next Sultan; he could order executions not only on his own estates, but anywhere in the state if the Sultan were absent. This man had most to say in the direction of foreign policy and in matters of trade, and he and his family gained great wealth from tolls, fines and presents. So great, for example, was the wealth of "Bendahara" Mutahir of Malacca that, as the *Malay Annals* tell, he gave his children gold dust to play with, and he had so many slaves who were so well dressed that he himself often mistook them for important guests!

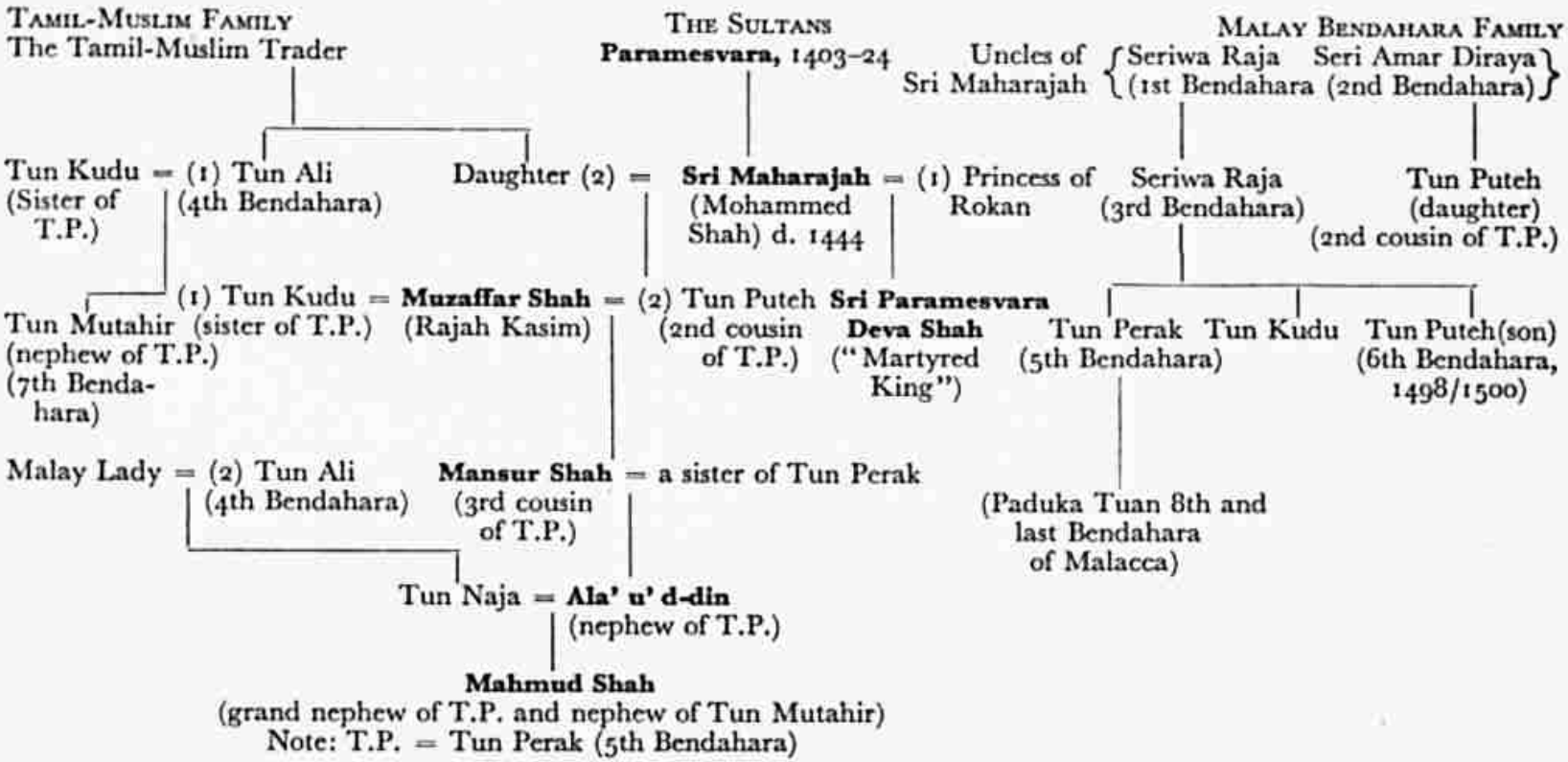
Another important member of the Inner Council was the Temenggong (usually a member of the Bendahara family) who, acting as the Commissioner of Police, had to build and main-

[1] This was an Indian title (Sanskrit).

tain prisons, arrest criminals and, generally, to keep the peace. Every night he went round the city with the watch, and he could slay anyone not carrying a torch or who resisted arrest. He supervised weights and measures and received dues on merchandise. A third member, the Bendahari (Sri Naradiraja) acted as Secretary and Treasurer to the King. Lower in rank (because they were members of "the Eight") were the Admiral of the Fleet and Warden of the Coast, the Laksamana, and the Shahbandar, an officer whose Persian title was doubtless derived from the Persian sailors who visited the port. His job was to superintend trade, look after the interest of immigrants and supervise all matters concerning the harbour and the collection of customs. Apart from these important officials there were many others whose duty it was to carry out the instructions of their superiors.

Such then in outline was the organisation of the new state, though as time went on, it became more complicated. Though the power of the Sultan was very great, he never signed important treaties without the consent of his chief ministers and he delegated much of his authority to territorial chiefs. A great deal, however, depended on the character of the Sultan. If he were strong, he could keep the power of the great Ministers in check; but should he prove to be weak, then the Bendahara, whose power was already so great, was in a position to make himself all powerful.

GENEALOGICAL TREE
SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SULTANS AND BENDAHARAS OF MALACCA, 1403–1511



CHAPTER XI

THE MALACCAN SULTANATE TO THE EVE OF ITS FALL (1444–1511)

69. *The triumph of the Tamil-Muslim faction*

On the death of Sri Maharajah a situation arose which showed clearly how great the power of a Bendahara could be. The holder of the office at that time was an old man, belonging to a Malay family which his nephew, Tun Perak, was later to make very famous. The old Bendahara declared that the heir to the throne was the child, Sri Parameswara Deva Shah, the son of Sri Maharajah and a royal wife, the Princess of Rokan. This was perfectly in accord with Malacca custom, which laid down that the first candidate for the Sultanate should not be the son of a commoner mother. The choice of the new Sultan, however, did not find favour with a powerful group of foreigners who now intervened to secure the selection of their own nominees for the offices of Sultan and of Bendahara—the chief offices in the state. This led to a short but sharp struggle for power, which (for a time) the foreign faction won.

To understand this struggle, we must go back a few years before this to the little kingdom of Pasai. There a certain Tamil-Muslim trader of great wealth had settled, and, like so many of his kind in Java in the later years of the fifteenth century who married the daughters of needy princes, he had consolidated his position by marrying the daughter of the ruler. He had two children, a daughter who became a wife of Sri Maharajah of Malacca, and a son, Tun Ali, who by 1444 had become the leader of the Tamil Muslim faction in opposition to the Malay faction headed by the old Bendahara. Now the son of Tun Ali's sister and Sri Maharajah was a young man named Raja Kasim, but he had not been considered for the office of Sultan by the old Bendahara on the ground that his mother was a commoner, and he had accordingly been passed over in favour of his infant step-brother. Tun Ali, however,

was most anxious that his sister's son, Raja Kasim, should become the ruler of Malacca; and that he himself should become the Bendahara. He hoped by this means not only to advance his own private fortune and make his own faction supreme, but also to arrest the reaction towards Hinduism of which we have noticed some signs during the preceding reign. Meanwhile the child king had been placed under the guardianship of his uncle, the ruler of Rokan; and this prince now proceeded to show his dislike of the Tamil Muslim faction by increasing taxes and tolls on shipping from the Coromandel coast. His triumph, however, was short-lived. Tun Ali decided to act. He made a plot to overthrow the rightful king and his uncle, and to this end enlisted the aid of a Moorish sea captain. He captured the aged Bendahara, Seri Amar Diraya; and, hastening to the palace, he and his men slew the ruler of Rokan, murdered the little ruler (who was known afterwards as the "Martyred King") and proclaimed his nephew, Raja Kasim, as the new king. The old Bendahara, who had played none too courageous a part in this episode, presently died, and his nephew Seriwa Raja who succeeded him soon after, poisoned himself; whereupon Tun Ali was proclaimed Bendahara. The Tamil Muslim faction had for the time being triumphed (1445–6). The Hindu reaction had been checked; and henceforth Malacca was to be a Muslim state.

The new ruler, Raja Kasim, took the title of Muzaffar Shah, and presently married Tun Kudu, the daughter of the Bendahara who had recently committed suicide. Perhaps by this alliance he hoped to placate the family of the dead man, who had by no means reconciled themselves to the sudden change in their fortunes. In particular, Tun Kudu's brother, the celebrated Tun Perak, was deeply disappointed, because he had expected to succeed his father in the great office of Bendahara. Perhaps it was to get him out of the way that he was given an appointment in Klang.

70. *The attacks by Siam (1445–56)*

Meanwhile, peoples' minds were distracted from the palace revolution that had just taken place, by a new and serious attack from the old enemy Siam. The latter was jealous of this new power which had grown so strong under Chinese protec-

tion; and its ever-increasing wealth made it a prize worth conquering. The attack took place at the very beginning of Muzaffar's reign (1445). The Siamese marched overland to the domain of their vassal Pahang via the ancient Tembeling route and then launched an overland attack on Malacca. "The forces of Siam", say the *Malay Annals*, "came and fought against those of Malacca. After a long struggle, many of the troops of the King of Siam were killed but Malacca was not defeated by Siam. The Siamese retreated." Tun Perak took part in this engagement which apparently took place near Muar. Doubtless the natural difficulties of mountain and river had proved too much for the Siamese on this occasion; but it was obvious that they would try to make good their failure, and sooner or later make an all-out bid for victory. Under the shadow of impending attack the city remained in constant fear; but the second campaign was not launched until eleven years later (1456).

During this trying interval, when the safety of the state was so dangerously threatened from the outside and when, consequently, it was absolutely necessary for Malacca to show a united front to the common enemy, the rivalry between the Tamil Muslim faction and the Malay faction threatened to tear the state in pieces. Muzaffar became seriously alarmed by their increasing hostility to each other; and it did not take him long to discover that the basic cause of it was the growing unpopularity of Tun Ali. The Malays did not take kindly to the fact that a man of humble birth and a foreigner at that, had seized the position of Bendahara left vacant by the death of Tun Perak's father, whose suicide they believed to have been caused by the slights and insults the Tamil "usurper" had shown him. This suicide had deeply shocked the whole of Malacca, for it was without parallel in the history of the kingdom. Malay opinion was decidedly in favour of Tun Perak, a member of a famous Malay family, who had distinguished himself in the Siamese campaign of 1445–6. Perhaps it was out of regard to this unmistakable attitude of the Malays that Muzaffar decided to promote Tun Perak to the rank of Dato' Paduka Raja; but this promotion did nothing to allay the bitterness between the two parties. The feud became so bitter that Muzaffar began to fear that civil war might break

out. "If the Chiefs fall out," he said, "the country perishes." Widespread rumours of an impending Siamese invasion perturbed him greatly; for this time it was to be an invasion by sea, and the chances of success would be greater, since there were no great natural obstacles to overcome. He therefore deemed it prudent to persuade his uncle, Tun Ali, to resign the office of Bendahara in favour of his wife's brother, Tun Perak. After some hesitation, Tun Ali agreed to do so, but only on condition that the Sultan should divorce Tun Kudu (Tun Perak's sister) and that he should be allowed to marry her. The condition was accepted, and Tun Perak became the Bendahara.

It would appear that it was just at the moment when the Malay faction came to terms with its rivals, that the long-expected Siamese attack was launched (1456). This time it really looks as if the Siamese scored an initial success. "The town was captured," says Wood, the historian of Siam, quoting a Siamese chronicle, "but subsequent events go to show that Siamese control was not effective for long." The *Malay Annals* tell us that the Sultan "ordered Tun Perak to prepare to expel the Siamese". Gathering his fleet together, Tun Perak met and defeated the Siamese fleet off Batu Pahat; and he pursued the retreating ships as far south as the Singapore Straits. Thus Malacca was saved. The Siamese talked of sending a third expedition, but on the death of the king's son, who was to have led it, the idea was dropped; and once more an uneasy peace was established.

71. *The rule of Tun Perak (1456–98)*

This man was to play a part in Malaccan history similar to that played in Java by Gajah Mada, and indeed the author of the *Malay Annals* called these two of the greatest men of their time. He was, in truth, the all-powerful minister during three reigns, a real king-maker who ensured that a relative of his own should be nominated as Sultan in each case. Having firmly entrenched himself in power, he followed with single-minded devotion a policy which led to the creation of the Malacca Empire and the aggrandisement of his house.

During the rule of Bendahara Tun Ali, no attempt, apparently, had been made to secure recognition of the Sultan's status by the Chinese Emperor. Perhaps Muzaffar Shah had been too

concerned with internal troubles and the constant threat of Siamese invasion; or perhaps he had a guilty conscience on account of the murder of "the Martyred King", his infant half-brother, and feared that the Emperor would not recognise him because of this. Tun Perak returned to the policy of his father and the first two rulers, and in 1456 he persuaded Muzaffar to send tribute and a request to be "invested as King". In spite of the recent victory, it was deemed wise to adopt a policy of conciliation towards Siam, and Muzaffar sent a letter to the king saying "we sincerely hope for your mercy and favour". Obviously, he was still very anxious about the future. Though the Siamese king's reply was not promising—he addressed the Sultan as his "Viceroy"—there was no further fighting during the next three years; but nevertheless, care was taken to keep up the new friendship with China by sending another embassy there in 1458.

72. *Reign of Mansur Shah (1459–77)*

In 1459 Muzaffar Shah died, and he was succeeded by his young son, Mansur Shah. This last was a third cousin of Tun Perak, later married to one of the Bendahara's sisters. An embassy was sent to China in that year to offer tribute, and the Emperor sent back officers shortly after to "invest the new ruler as King". Tun Perak now felt that Malacca was strong enough to take the offensive against Siam, and he persuaded his young cousin to agree to send an expedition of 200 ships against Siam's vassal, Pahang. The campaign was completely successful: the ruler of Pahang was captured; and Tun Perak's chief assistant in the campaign was made Viceroy, ruling over this rich gold country in peace for the next ten years. Pahang, therefore, was now a buffer state between Siam and Malacca, and its possession gave the latter control over the land route to the north.

The expansion of Malacca had begun. Soon Johore, Benkalis, the Carimon islands, Bintang and Muar were made part of the growing Empire. Then it was decided to conquer several of the Sumatran coastal kingdoms, doubtless to get full control over the Straits and over the trade which had made these kingdoms prosperous. Kampar, a state to which the gold and pepper of the inland kingdom of Menangkabau were sent, was

the first victim; and was presently followed by Siak, Rokan and Indragiri, which were also commercially important. An expedition to make Pasai a vassal state was, however, a failure.

The great power of the Bendahara is illustrated by the fact that when the heir to the throne murdered Tun Perak's son, who had accidentally knocked off the heir's headdress whilst playing football, Tun Perak simply informed Mansur Shah that the latter's son could not become the ruler of Malacca. Mansur accordingly exiled his son to Pahang. Though Mansur's reign is regarded as the most glorious in Malay history because of the conquests and the splendour of his court, yet he himself was a "man of little force of character, colourless and unwarlike". The chief credit for the achievements of his reign must go to Tun Perak. Malacca was now a state of the first importance; and its ruler was so wealthy that his fortune was reckoned at 140 quintals of gold. Its population numbered 40,000 including peoples of many nations; and the Empire covered Pahang, Siak, Kampar, Rokan, Indragiri, Trengganu, Johore, and the Rhio-Linga Archipelago.

73. *The reign of 'Ala'u'd-din (1477–88)*

On the death of Mansur (1477) Tun Perak secured the accession of the younger son, 'Ala'u'd-din, who was his nephew. The rightful heir, Raja Mohammed, was thus passed over; and in high dudgeon, he left Malacca and went to Pahang, where he became Sultan. Bitter enmity persisted between the two brothers until 'Ala'u'd-din's death, which according to one rumour, was caused by poison administered to him by his brother and the ruler of Indragiri. It would seem that of all the Malacca Sultans, 'Ala'u'd-din was the ablest and the most strong-minded. He appears to have tried to govern the country himself, and to have made several attempts to cut down the power of his minsters. He thereby almost certainly made enemies. Thus, for example, he publicly rebuked Tun Mutahir (a son of Tun Ali, and therefore a member of the Tamil Muslim family) for neglecting his duties as Temenggong (Chief Commissioner of Police). He called the Sultan of Siak to heel when the latter neglected to secure his sanction for the awarding of the death penalty—one of his rights as Siak's overlord. He administered a sharp lesson to Aru, which had threatened

Malacca, by defeating its fleet and making it sue for peace. Perhaps this attempt to assert his independence may also have annoyed Tun Perak. We shall never know. All we do know is that the Sultan died under very mysterious circumstances, and whether he was murdered by his brother or one of the high officers of state remains a mystery. It is not without significance that some time before his death the next heir to the throne had been sent to Kampar as its Sultan, ostensibly to gain experience in the art of government; but on his father's sudden death, he was not summoned to Malacca to succeed to the throne.

74. *Accession of Mahmud Shah (1488)*

Instead, the great officers nominated as the next Sultan his younger brother, Mahmud, a mere child; but he happened to be the great nephew of Tun Perak and a nephew of Tun Mutahir. Was the elder son perhaps, showing signs of independent judgment, like his father? At all events Tun Perak had once more shown that he was a "king-maker".

It was, however, the last triumph of his long career. In 1498 he died, having been in charge of the fortunes of the state for forty-two years. He left behind a strong centralised state enlarged by many conquests, powerful because of its control of the Straits, and with less to fear from the aggression of Siam than at any time during its history. Now indeed Malacca was the greatest port in South-East Asia, with ships of all nations in its harbour and its bazaars full of rich and profitable merchandise. Much of the credit for this great achievement must go to Tun Perak, the king-maker, the greatest of Malacca Bendaharas, who pursued his two aims—the expansion of Malacca and the aggrandisement of his family—with unremitting determination. Always content to be the power behind the throne and careful never to court disaster by borrowing the trappings of royalty, he had with considerable tact made friends of the Tamil-Muslim faction and ensured that every Sultan who succeeded during his period of power was a relative of his own. It is noteworthy that on their accession each of the three rulers was a mere child, who could not dispute his power. Those who might have done so were not nominated; or like 'Ala'u'd-din and his son Raja Mohammed—were eliminated from the political scene altogether.

75. *The rule of Tun Mutahir (1500–10)*

The great Bendahara was succeeded by his brother, Tun Puteh, who continued his policy of expansion and added Manjong, Bruas and Kelantan to Malacca's territory. He was, however, already an old man and died after only a brief tenure of power (1500). The great question now was—who was to succeed him? Ten claimants applied for the great office, and it was widely believed that Tun Perak's eldest son would be offered the post. Now it was, however, that the Tamil-Muslim faction made a last successful bid for power. During the rule of Tun Perak, the old feud had been settled. Tun Ali, it will be remembered, had married Tun Perak's sister; and one of their sons, Tun Mutahir, was given the office of Temenggong. On Tun Kudu's death, Tun Ali married again, and his daughter by this second marriage. Tun Naja, married the Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din, probably with Tun Perak's agreement, since the Sultan was also his nephew. Now the child king was the son of Tun Naja, and the latter persuaded him to appoint her stepbrother, Tun Mutahir, as Bendahara. From now on until 1510 "Uncle Mutahir" was the real ruler of Malacca, and his nephew, Mahmud, was a mere figurehead.

It is indeed difficult to say very much about the character and ability of this last Sultan of Malacca, because he has been very unlucky in his biographers. The Portuguese chroniclers had small reason for liking him, because it was during his rule that the first Portuguese expedition to Malacca was launched and the treacherous attack took place that led to the capture of Ruy d'Araujo and his companions. On the other hand, the author of the *Malay Annals* had every reason to hate him, since Mahmud just after the arrival of the Portuguese ordered the execution of Tun Mutahir for high treason. Now the author of the *Annals* was the nephew of Tun Mutahir, and naturally did his best to heighten the fame of his uncle, whom he declares to have been the greatest Bendahara Malacca ever had. Consequently, he gives us a most unflattering picture of Mahmud, whom he pictures as a poor creature, cruel and tyrannical, without the slightest gratitude to his great minister. The truth seems to be that Mahmud was a "clever weakling" who was not allowed to take much part in affairs of state; until 1510, at least, he seems to have had very little influence on politics

and devoted himself to pursuits like the study of Muslim mysticism. The Portuguese say he took opium.

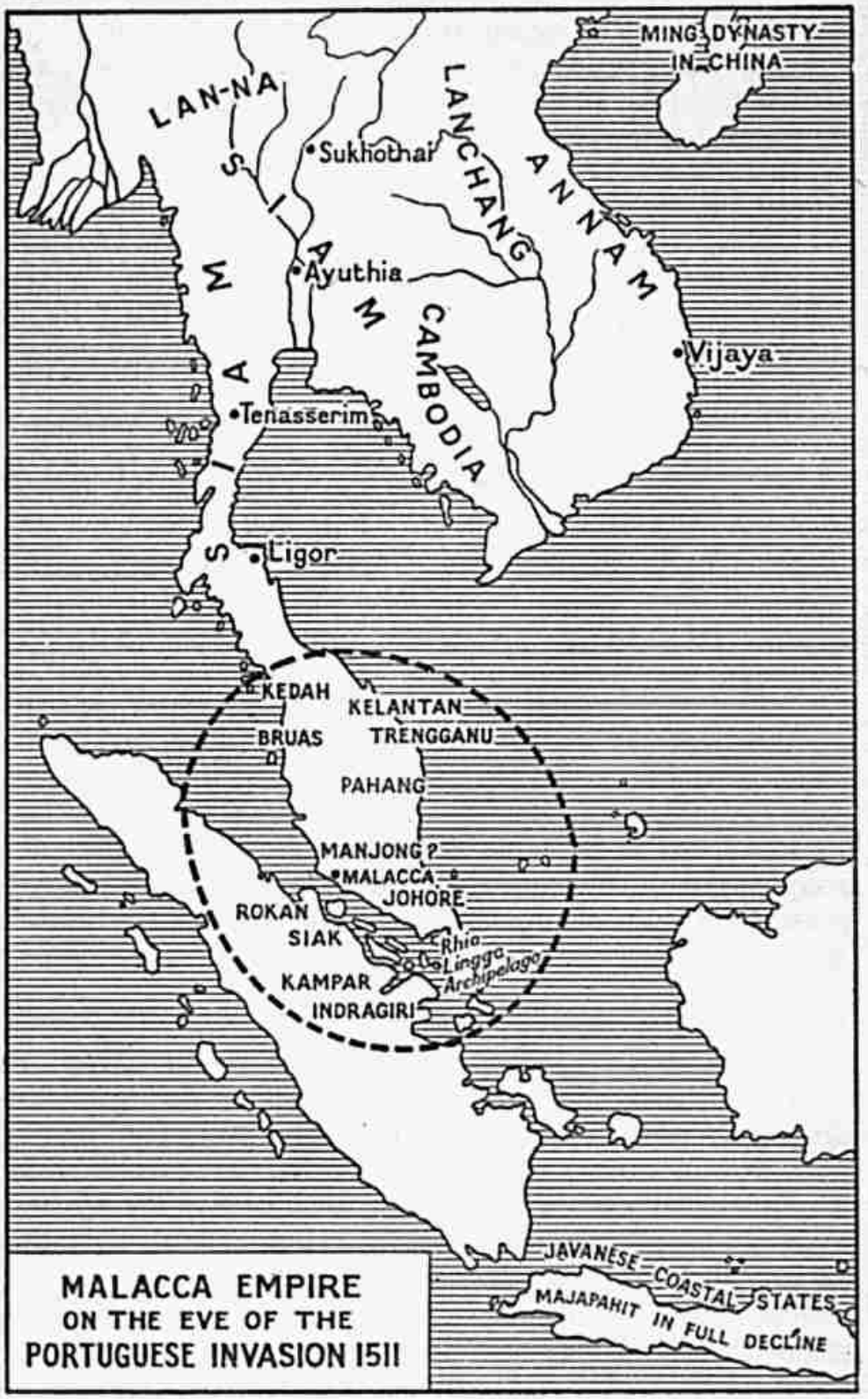
As for Tun Mutahir, he was a "conceited fop", who made himself hated by all classes by his discourtesy and arrogance. He completely antagonised the family of Tun Perak by excluding them from all high offices, and by dividing these between himself, his son and his brother; he was disliked by the rest of the Malays because he was a foreigner of lowly origin who had, like his father before him, usurped the office that should in their opinion have gone to Tun Perak's son; he was detested by his fellow traders because of the insufferable contempt he showed them, and by the ordinary citizens because of the oppressions of his followers which he did nothing to restrain. It was known too that he took bribes, and that he could not be expected to administer justice fairly. Finally, his great wealth, derived from trading ventures which always prospered (because, after all, he controlled the port), made him an object of envy, and his treatment of the Sultan earned him the hatred of that rather helpless and shadowy character.

In spite of his general unpopularity, however, the fame of Malacca grew. Though once more Siam attacked it by sea and land, her attacks were beaten off; and Siam's vassal Ligor, which had attacked Pahang, was put to flight. The usurper king of Patani sought Malacca's help against Siam, and became her vassal, a clear indication of her prestige. Kedah, which had been Muslim since 1474, followed suit, and Malacca could now boast of being the champion state of Islam against the heathen Siamese.

76. *The end of the Malacca Sultanate*

It seems fairly certain that great changes would have taken place in the government of Malacca even if the Portuguese had never gone there at all. People, especially the foreign traders, were growing tired of the endless exactions of the ruling clique who ordered everything to their own advantage. "The Malacca Malays", says Wilkinson, "were a ruling class living rather parasitically on a community of alien traders." The arrival of the Portuguese was to sweep away for ever this ruling class, and to substitute a Portuguese ruling class in its stead.

Before de Sequeira left Goa he had been warned that his


MING DYNASTY IN CHINA
LAN-NA
SIAM
Sukhothai
Ayuthia
LANCHANG
ANNAM
CAMBODIA
Vijaya
Tenasserim
Ligor
KEDAH
KELANTAN
BRUAS
TRENGGANU
PAHANG
MANJONG ?
MALACCA
JOHORE
ROKAN
SIAK
Rhio Lingga Archipelago
KAMPAR
INDRAGIRI
JAVANESE COASTAL STATES
MAJAPAHIT IN FULL DECLINE
MALACCA EMPIRE
ON THE EVE OF THE
PORTUGUESE INVASION 1511

aim in going to Malacca was trade, not conquest. On his arrival in Malacca harbour in 1509, he was at first welcomed; and, whilst it is probable that the Portuguese would have conquered Malacca sooner or later in any case, it is interesting to speculate what would have happened if this friendly welcome had been maintained. This was not to be. Tun Mutahir did not welcome competition; and he listened to the advice of the Moorish merchants that he should seize the Portuguese fleet and thereby once and for all remove these alien competitors from interfering in the trade of Malacca. It was not a wise thing for him to attempt to carry this advice into practice; for though he succeeded in capturing Ruy d'Araujo and twenty of his followers, the rest of the fleet got away and returned to give their report to the redoubtable d'Albuquerque. We shall deal in a later chapter with the vast consequences that followed.

In the meanwhile Tun Mutahir would seem to have made plans to get rid of the Sultan and seize the throne for himself. The Sultan, however, bitterly angry at one further insult paid him by his Bendahara, and aware of the support of Tun Perak's family, struck first. A brief but fierce struggle ensued; the Bendahara, his son and brother, and nearly all his family were slain; and once more the Malay family were given the highest offices in the state. The Paduka Tuan, the aged son of Tun Perak, was made Bendahara; but his term of office was very brief indeed. In 1511 d'Albuquerque's fleet anchored in Malacca roads.

CHAPTER XII

TRADE AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN MALACCA BEFORE 1511

77. *Trade*

THE Portuguese, after the conquest of Malacca in 1511, spoke of its wealth in glowing terms. "Malacca is the richest sea port with the greatest number of wholesale merchants and abundance of shipping that can be found in the whole world," says Duarte Barbosa, writing in A.D. 1518. Tomé Pires declares that, "Malacca is of such importance and profit that it seems to me that it has no equal in the world. . . . It is a city made for merchandise fitter than any other in the world. . . . The smallest merchandise here is gold which is least prized. . . . In Malacca they prize onions and garlic more than musk, benzoin and other precious things." These tributes to its wealth were deserved; and there is no doubt that by the end of the fifteenth century Malacca had become a power of great importance in South-East Asia. She had little to fear from neighbouring powers. Majapahit was in full decline, and Siam had been taught to respect her power; so that there was now little need of the protection of China, which in any case was beginning to withdraw her interest from the outside world, and concentrate on her own internal affairs. With the whole of Malaya and several of the Sumatran states acknowledging her supremacy, Malacca had full control over the Straits, and consequently over a vital part of the great sea route. So it was that ships of all nations visited the port, and it became the great centre of commerce for Moors from Cairo, Mecca and Aden; Parsees, Gujaratis, Goanese, Malabaris, Klings from the Coromandel coast; merchants from Siam, Arakan, Java, Banda, the Moluccas, Cambodia, Champa and China. It became, in truth, a cosmopolitan port where T. Pires tells us, "very often 84 languages have been found spoken, every one distinct". The wealthiest traders of Arabia and India made it their head-

quarters. "They were great wholesale merchants," he continues, "of great estates and owning many great ships"; and Barbosa tells us of one of them who could "discharge three or four ships laden with every kind of valuable goods, and re-load them alone from his own stock". Arms, coloured woollen cloths, golden glassware, copper, were brought from Venice; opium from Mecca, thirty kinds of cloths and forty kinds of merchandise from Cambay and Aden; silver from Pegu; silks and porcelain from China; pepper and gold from Sumatra; rice, beef, swine, onions and garlic and many kinds of weapons from Java; cloves and nutmeg from the Moluccas and the Banda Isles. So many ships visited the harbour that at times we are told it looked like a floating town. As for the town itself, the scene of all this great trading activity, it had grown beyond recognition in the past hundred years. The river, spanned by its bridge, split the town in two; and whilst it was navigable by light craft (as long as their masts could get under the bridge) the bigger ships had to lie out in the harbour (no great hardship in the Straits, which were generally quite calm). The Palace, the Treasury and the Military Headquarters were farther inland, and thus not easy to attack. The Malay nobles "have mosques; they live in large houses outside the city with many orchards, gardens and tanks, where they lead a pleasant life. They have houses for their trade within the city; they have many slaves with wives and children who live apart and obey all their orders." "Within Malacca's limits there were 1,500 farms, some with palm groves, some with fruits of various kinds." The houses were built of timber and thatched with palm leaves; and were encircled by roomy compounds. To prevent danger from fire, they were spaced wide apart. Coconut groves, in which goats and cattle browsed, covered the spaces between the houses so that from a distance Malacca must have looked like a real country town. The merchants of different countries had parts of the city allocated to them; and to look after their interests four Shahbandars or "port officials" were appointed—one for the Gujaratis; one for the Bengalis and the men of Pegu and Pasai; one for the Javanese and traders from the Moluccas, Banda and Palembang; and one for the Chams and the Chinese. It was the duty of these officials (none of whom were Malays) to look after the interests of their fellow

countrymen on their arrival; to present them to the Bendahara; to allot them warehouses and to give orders for elephant transport.

78. *The ruling class and general social conditions*

Whilst many foreign merchants made fortunes from trade in this famous emporium, the economic system was to a large extent arranged to advance the interests of the ruler and the great chiefs of Malacca. These indeed derived great profits from the foreign trade. Most foreign ships paid a duty of 6 per cent on their cargo, and in addition made presents to the ruler, the Bendahara, the Temenggong and the Shahbandar of the nation concerned. Native traders paid dues of 3 per cent. The eastern countries—Java, the Moluccas, China—made presents which were estimated by officials appointed for that purpose. "The presents of China were larger than the others. . . ." Altogether "these presents amounted to a great deal because the number of traders was very considerable". Very often presents were made not only on arrival, but also on the unloading of cargoes, and even on the unloading of each bale.

Not only did the ruling class levy taxes on all goods brought by sea, but they also taxed the produce brought into the city by peasants in their small praus from the hinterland—tin and rice, chickens, goats, pigs, sugar-cane and areca nuts. There was no Malay middle class in existence which could have distributed these goods. Only the rulers (or their agents) and street vendors were allowed to sell by retail. "At the beginning of the 16th Century, Malacca had so much a month from the women street sellers, and this was given to the mandarins. . . . In Malacca they sell in every street. And as a great favour an inhabitant was allowed to have in front of his door a stall for selling and hiring. They also pay dues on the fruit and fish: this was a trifle." To deal with this trade a coinage was introduced, in the shape of rather clumsy pieces of tin, but very small gold coins were also used. Clearly, this coinage helped to make trading easier; but it also "added to the ranks of the debt slaves" and ensured that really big transactions could only be dealt in by the chiefs, who alone could dispose of sufficient capital to engage in profitable trading ventures.

The ruler not only derived a great income from foreign and

internal trade, but he also received annual tributes from the dependencies of the Empire. The Mandulikas, or great territorial chiefs, who ruled over various parts of Malaya to the north of the settlement, paid annual tribute in the form of calains of tin. Thus Selangor and Bruas paid 6,000 calains; Sungei Ujong and Perak 8,000, Klang and Bernam 4,000 each. These were worth double the value in Malacca itself. The rulers of Kampar, Indragiri and Pahang paid 5½ lb. of gold per year.

Another means of enrichment for the ruler and the great chiefs was private trade, which, following the Hindu custom, they did not disdain to indulge in. They had a share in the cargo of every junk leaving the port. "The Sultan Muzaffar Shah", Pires tells us, "bought and built junks and sent them out with merchants." In the very profitable China trade the ruler had shares, "and derived great profit from it. For anyone with capital this trade was very important, because Malacca sends out junks, and others come in and they are so numerous that the King could not help but be rich." No wonder that Bendahara Tun Mutahir, with his five quintals of gold and gorgeous jewels, whose trading ventures always succeeded, was richer than the wealthiest of the Tamil traders there.

No means of raising money was overlooked. If a person died without making a will then all his property went to the Crown; if he had left a will, then half of his property went to the legatee and half to the Crown.

The gold which was brought in from Brunei, Pahang and Menangkabau was assayed by an official who paid the Sultan half a catty a year for the monopoly. Land holdings provided another source of income for the ruler. The Malay inhabitants were still nomads by instinct, still fishermen who indulged in agriculture only when compelled to. The typical Malay holding was a clearing in the forest, made either by the settler himself or taken over from a previous occupant who had abandoned it. There was no question of the settler owning the soil as such; he simply had the right to the produce of the soil and the buildings on it. No one could sell a house or garden without licence of the king or the Bendahara, and for this licence a present was demanded. In addition, the tenant had to pay one tenth of the produce to the ruler, though the latter found this payment

difficult to enforce. He had, however, the right to exact forced labour and various forms of feudal service such as that which compelled the peasants to cultivate the royal lands as well as their own. Perhaps this oppressive land policy may be one reason why Malacca was always compelled to import rice from abroad, and why agriculture (apart from the cultivation of rice and coconuts for immediate consumption) was never an important industry in Malaya till 1877 when rubber planting began. The tenure of the land was too insecure and the peasant had no incentive to produce more food than he and his family required.

The most important form of property was the ownership of slaves. Such ownership was the mark of a man of rank, wealth and influence; and the slaves of the ruler and his chief ministers were very numerous. Heavy penalties safeguarded the ruler's slaves from kidnapping by other persons. This institution of slavery was one of the worst features of life in old Malacca. It had existed in South-East Asia long before the arrival of the Hindus, and was to persist right down to the nineteenth century. "Malay law looked on the slave not as a human being but as a chattel." These unfortunates included prisoners of war, Bataks, Sakais and other primitive peoples who were pursued and hunted down.

The administration of justice was made the means of increasing respect for the ruler's position, and at the same time of providing another source for increasing his wealth and that of his chief ministers. "They cannot demand justice without the complainant taking something to the judge, according to the nature of what is demanded. From this, the Bendaharas are very rich" (Tomé Pires). In the Malacca Digest (compiled, doubtless from traditional sources, for the last Sultan Mahmud when in exile in 1523) the penalty of death was laid down for any who dared to wear royal yellow or pay homage to anyone but the ruler. (We may note that even Tun Perak did not dare to wear any of the trappings of royalty, and never availed himself of the right granted him by the Sultan to ride in a litter.) The administration of justice was "savage and deterrent", having as its object the cowing of the motley cosmopolitan crowds that thronged Malacca's streets. An arrested person was often subjected to the old Hindu system of trial by ordeal,

being required to dive into boiling water, or plunge a hand into molten tin. Circumstantial evidence was admitted to weigh against the accused during a trial; and the judges (i.e. the great ministers) were commonly known to take bribes. A striking example of this is to be seen in the case of Raja Mudeliar, the richest Tamil merchant in Malacca. He was sued by another merchant, who bribed the Bendahara Tun Mutahir, who was to judge the case, to give the verdict in his favour. In his terror, Raja Mudeliar lodged information with Sultan Mahmud that the Bendahara was planning to seize the throne; and thus hastened the crisis which led to the overthrow and death of Tun Mutahir.

Following the example of Hindu law, it was laid down that ten offences were to be visited with the death penalty. These were murder, stabbing and hacking, striking, robbery, theft, bringing false witness, perjury before a judge, betraying or opposing royal commands. Generally speaking, the greater the person the greater the offence; but if a person of high rank were convicted of treason, he had the privilege of selecting a death without torture. For lesser persons, the penalty for this offence included impalement and burning alive. Mutilation and capital punishment were the normal penalties for crime; but fines also were regularly imposed and these went to fill the coffers of the ruler and his ministers. A police force under the command of the Temenggong patrolled the streets at night; and the miserable prisons where starved, mutilated and tortured wretches lay, provided an awful warning to intending evil doers.

79. *Religion*

Though since the days of the first ruler, Islam had become the religion of the Malays, many traces survived of the old Indian religions. The most notable of these were the typical Indian idea of the state being "an image of the heavenly world of stars and gods"; the enthronement ceremonies of the kings; and the marked popularity of the "Shadow Play" ("Both men and women are fond of mimes after the fashion of Java")—and this entertainment competed in popularity with cock fights. In these mimes, sacrifices and invocations markedly Hindu in character were offered before stories from the Ramayana were enacted. The master of the play claimed to be an incarnation

of Vishnu. Hindu magic continued to be practised, and the Shaman still called on Siva to bid his followers leave off harassing a sick man, or begged him to turn away the anger of the soul of a slain animal. Hindu ascetics still wandered in the streets, and so far from being persecuted by the authorities, were given alms.[1] Hindu forms of marriage still continued, though the Muslim marriage law was adopted in Malacca. The newly wed couple sat in state on their wedding day dressed as prince and princess, giving rice to each other in the presence of the neighbours. The Malays often followed the Hindu custom of burning their dead. If many of the religious ideas and customs of Buddhism and Hinduism lingered among the upper classes, amongst the lower animism and ancestor worship still persisted. Nevertheless, Malacca was the headquarters of Islam in South-East Asia, and from here it spread throughout the whole area.

To sum up, external trade, internal trade, justice, ownership of the produce of the earth down to the peddling of wares in the streets—all made their contribution to the royal treasury and the coffers of the most important ministers. The Malay upper class arranged everything for their own interests. None of the wealth they gathered went to provide any form of social welfare. The peasant class were not encouraged to work to improve their condition in life—it was only too clear that any improvements they made would be turned to the advantage of their rulers. There was no middle class of Malays which could engage in retail trade and develop a sturdy independence that would have put a limit to the power of the rulers. As for the great foreign wholesale merchants, their chief concern doubtless was that law and order should be maintained, so that business could continue as usual. If we may judge by the Kedah laws (1650) the ordinary trader was hopelessly fleeced from the time he arrived to the time he sailed away. At the very bottom of the social order were the slaves whose dumb misery none attempted to relieve.

[1] In Java in 1512 no fewer than 50,000 were reported.

Conclusion

80. When we survey the history of Malaya and her neighbours (and indeed of South-East Asia as a whole) during these 1,500 years, we cannot fail to notice the important part played, during this period by four (often conflicting) factors. The first is the cultural influence of India which led to the rise of the Indianised states; the second is the attempt on the part of one or other of these states to achieve political supremacy over the rest; the third is the political and economic influence of China; and the fourth is the rise of Islam.

The contribution of India to the development of these states has been very significant. "India", says Grousset, "has civilised Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago; has organised them; and awakened them to thought and art." All these states were deeply affected by Indian ideas of kingship and government; as well as by Indian literature, justice, religion, and religious customs and observances. Nevertheless, as has been well said, the Indians covered the native culture with a veneer of their own; their influence affected chiefly the ruling classes, and when these were overthrown (as in Cambodia) or converted to an alien faith (as in Malacca), then Indian culture ceased to have any obvious effect on the destinies of these countries. Instead, the culture of the native peoples tended to reassert itself, and perhaps it would have succeeded in doing so if new outside influences had not intervened. How profoundly all memory of the greatness of the Indianised empires was wiped out from the minds of men may be easily realised from the fact that the names and very existence of two of the greatest of them —Funan and Sri Vijaya—were forgotten until this century dawned. Great though they were, their culture was derivative, and therefore lacked the very condition of survival. To quote Professor Coedes: "The revolutions of which Further India has been the theatre have had no noticeable repercussion on the history of the world, and save in the domain of the Arts, have not enriched the intellectual patrimony of humanity by any masterpiece."

With regard to the second factor, we have seen how, first, Funan, and then Sri Vijaya, tried and failed to establish perma-

nent empires. We have seen too how Javanese attempts at confederation, led by Kertanagara and his successor, met with as little success as did the "blood and iron" policy of Gajah Mada. Finally, we have observed that, though the Malacca Sultanate achieved a limited success by uniting Malaya for the first time in its history into a single state, its internal difficulties and the growing self-consciousness of neighbouring states would have prevented her (even if the Portuguese had not done so) from maintaining a dominating position in Malaysia.

As for the influence of China, it is clear that Funan and Sri Vijaya owed their prosperity to the China trade and both these states sent frequent embassies to ensure the goodwill of their powerful neighbour. So, too, did their successors. The states of the Indo-Pacific Peninsula, Sri Vijaya and Java were overwhelmed by the "fragmentation" policy of the Mongol dynasty. Thailand, on the other hand, owed her rise to this same policy; whilst Malacca in the critical stages of her rise and growth to power, owed her preservation to the intervention of the Ming dynasty. Moreover, we may note that one important reason for the rise of the Portuguese Empire in South-East Asia was that by 1511 China had turned her face away from overseas expansion, and so left the field clear to the new influences from Europe.

Finally, the appearance of Islam is one of the most important factors which mark the end of the old and the beginning of a new period in South-East Asian history. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, Islam (itself imported from India) was already changing the religious outlook of the area. The Muslim merchants had the monopoly of the spice trade from the Moluccas to Egypt; and the powers of Western Europe were beginning to be discontented with this monopoly which allowed them only the crumbs of this vast trade. The stage was set for the entry of the new vigorous powers from the West; and for the first time a fourth great Culture was to begin to show a marked influence on Malaya and her neighbours.

PART TWO

THE PORTUGUESE IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA (1511–1641)

CHAPTER XIII

D'ALBUQUERQUE AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE IN THE EAST

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the control of the Red Sea route, the Persian Gulf, the trade with India and South-East Asia, and above all, the trade with China, were monopolised by Muslim powers. The Mediterranean itself was under the control of the Turks; and the vast wealth they derived from eastern trade made them a serious menace to Europe itself. No European power was allowed to share their monopoly, apart from Venice and Genoa, which on payment of heavy dues were allowed to trade with Alexandria, and distribute thence throughout Europe the spices and other products of the East.

This monopoly was ended by the Portuguese, then a small nation of not more than one and a half million people. As a result of the genius of Prince Henry the Navigator and the epoch-making voyages of Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese found the "back-door" to the east, and it was no longer of any importance that the "front door" through the Mediterranean was so tightly closed against them. After a series of brilliant actions in the Indian Ocean, they defeated the combined Egyptian and Indian fleets at Diu (1509). This was one of the decisive battles of the world, for by her victory Portugal gained command of the Indian Ocean, and inflicted on the Moors a defeat from which they never recovered.

81. *Afonso d'Albuquerque*

It was reserved for the greatest of the Portuguese "conquistadores" to lay firmly the foundations of the Portuguese Empire in the East. Afonso d'Albuquerque was a Portuguese nobleman of medium height, spare frame, with a long nose and brooding countenance. He was a man of tireless energy; a stern

disciplinarian (badly needed in the Portuguese fleets, whose officers were very often insubordinate); a brilliant soldier and sailor, and above all, a far-seeing statesman. Unlike many of his countrymen in later years, he did not seek personal wealth, but aimed patiently at building up a great Portuguese Empire in the East on firm and secure foundations. To this end he devoted his whole energies and sacrificed his health; and like so many great men before and since, met with treachery from some of his comrades and ingratitude from his royal master. He was absolutely fearless, and in his letters to the king expressed what was in his mind quite openly. "If you look at your regulations and orders," he wrote on one occasion, "you will find one contradicting another. Each year you change them." His reputation for bravery, his outstanding courage and amazing powers of leadership were the real secrets of his success, and won for him the respect even of his enemies, who with his friends, lamented his death. "Our enemies trust me so much," he was able to say, "that without a safe conduct they know that if they come where I am, I will keep it, as if it were signed by me. My word is greatly esteemed in India . . . they know I never did a base thing, nor broke my word, nor safe conduct."

His predecessor d'Almeida had achieved great things. He had gained the resounding victory of Diu; he had conquered Ceylon; established two or three fortified bases at strategic places; and above all, had gained for Portugal supremacy in the Indian Ocean. Already Venice[1] was beginning like the Moors to realise that the control of the spice trade was in other hands. With his capital at Cochin, 5,000 miles from Lisbon, d'Almeida had shown that the foundation of a Portuguese Empire in the East was no longer a mere idle dream.

82. *D'Albuquerque's policy*

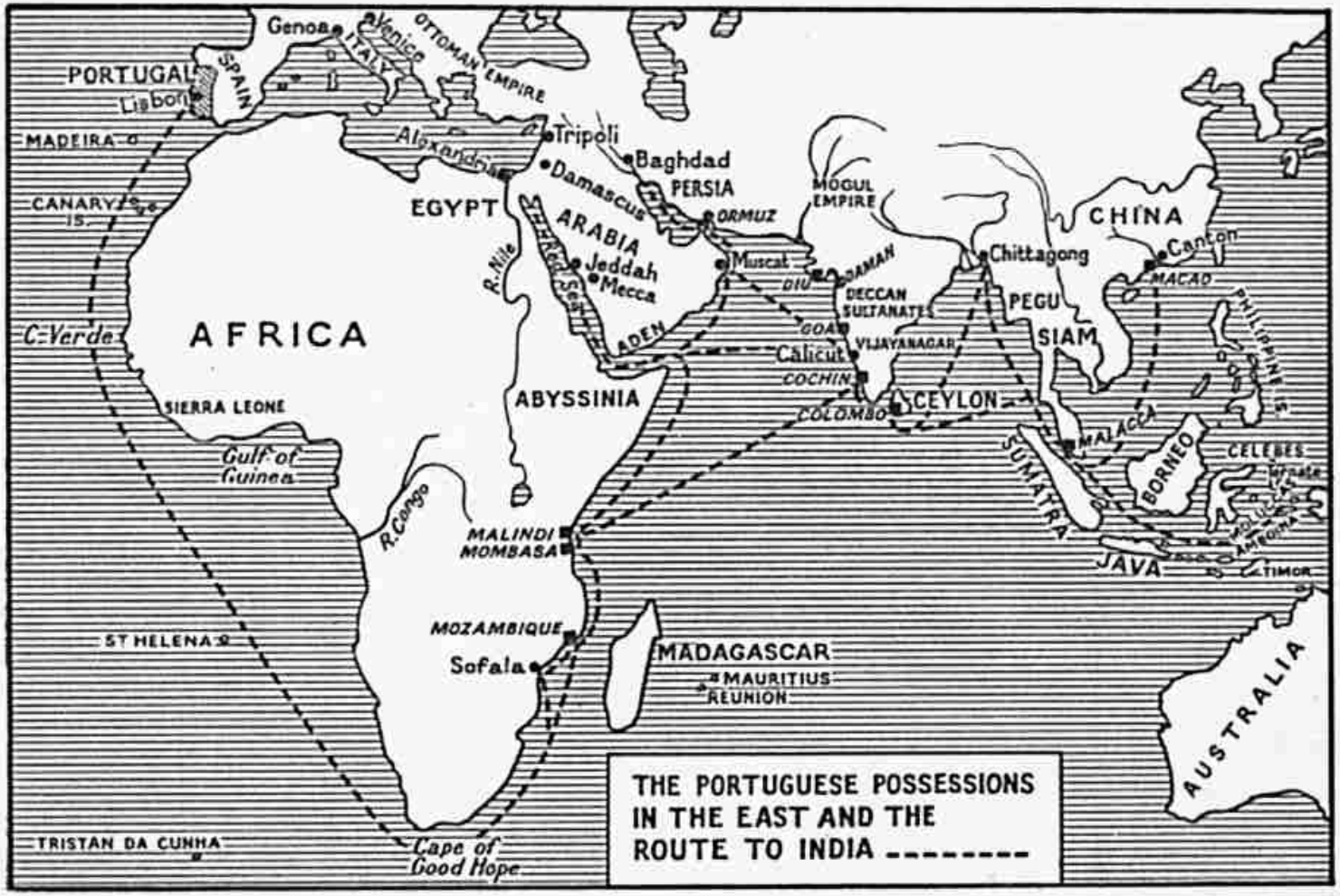
D'Albuquerque, however, grasped the essential fact that this possible Empire could be realised only if two essential things were done. First, he was convinced that in one important respect d'Almeida's policy was inadequate. The latter had

[1] As early as 1504, the Venetians could purchase no spices at Alexandria and Beirut. They and the Genoese would pay as much as £300,000 in customs duties —which gives us an idea of the enormous value of their trade.

Afonso d'Albuquerque

written to the King of Portugal, "The greater number of fortresses you hold, the weaker will be your power. Let all your force be on the sea, because if we should not be powerful at sea, everything will be against us. . . . As long as you are powerful at sea, you will hold India as yours, and if you do not possess this power, a fortress on shore will avail you little."

Whilst, of course, d'Albuquerque agreed that command of the sea was essential, he also maintained that it was equally important to have a series of bases at strategic points along the coasts of the Indian Ocean and beyond, guarded by strong


Genoa
Venice
ITALY
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
SPAIN
MADEIRA
CANARY IS.
C. Verde
Alexandria
Tripoli
Baghdad
Damascus
PERSIA
EGYPT
ARABIA
ORMUZ
MOGUL EMPIRE
CHINA
Chittagong
Canton
MACAO
R. Nile
Red Sea
Jeddah
Mecca
Muscat
DIU
DAMAN
DECCAN SULTANATES
PEGU
SIAM
AFRICA
GOA
VIJAYANAGAR
ADEN
Calicut
COCHIN
COLOMBO
CEYLON
ABYSSINIA
SIERRA LEONE
Gulf of Guinea
MALACCA
SUMATRA
BORNEO
CELEBES
PHILIPPINES
R. Congo
MALINDI
MOMBASA
JAVA
TIMOR
MOZAMBIQUE
ST HELENA
Sofala
MADAGASCAR
MAURITIUS
REUNION
AUSTRALIA
TRISTAN DA CUNHA
Cape of Good Hope
THE PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS IN THE EAST AND THE ROUTE TO INDIA --------

fortresses. He pointed out that without these it was impossible for ships to shelter during the S.W. monsoon, when, in any case, no attempt could be made by enemies to seize command of the sea. Besides, if ships were at sea all the time, the health of the crews would suffer from lack of fresh food; and the cost of keeping even a small fleet afloat all the time would be prohibitive. He had no trust in treaties with native powers, pointing out that if the Portuguese were weak these treaties would not be respected by natives; and if they were strong they would not need them. Certain territories, then, would have to be acquired for Portugal if her position was to be in any way secure. Secondly, d'Albuquerque grasped the fact that the Portuguese would have to seize the main exits from the Indian Ocean. The Cape of Good Hope they already held: but they must capture Aden (the key to the Red Sea), Ormuz (the key to the Persian Gulf) and Malacca (the great centre of trade and the key to the spice trade and the Far East). He based his policy on these two main ideas.

83. *The founding of the Portuguese Empire*

On his way out he had already captured Socotra, which however proved useless to prevent Moors from sailing up or down the Red Sea. Deciding that Cochin was too far south to be valuable as a headquarters, he sailed north and captured Goa, an important trading centre half-way up the coast of India. He then smashed the League formed by Turkey, Cambay, Calicut and Goa to drive the Portuguese from India, and from then on Goa became and remained for well over a century, the capital of the Empire. It was the most beautiful city ever built by Europeans in India and was well called "The Golden". Meanwhile, his ships had failed to take Aden, though the bravery with which they fought so impressed the Moors that henceforth the latter remained on the defensive, and caused d'Albuquerque no further trouble. He made two attempts to capture Ormuz, but failed chiefly because of the fewness of his troops and the insubordination of some of his officers. It was then that he turned his attention to Malacca, having heard of the failure of de Sequiera's expedition and received a letter from the captive Ruy d'Araujo begging him to go and attack this rich city with all his might. We shall describe his expedi-

tion and the capture of Malacca in our next chapter. On his return from Malacca he found that during his absence things were in a bad way. Cochin was almost lost thanks to treachery and attacks of the enemy. But in a short while d'Albuquerque, acting with his usual energy and skill, righted the situation, seized Calicut and built a fortress there (the strongest in the Indian Ocean), and thus completely secured the control of the Malabar coast. Then in 1512 he captured Ormuz, described by the Moors as the "richest jewel set in the ring of the world".

His task was almost completed. Portugal was now supreme in the Indian Ocean; she controlled Malacca and the spice trade and the route to China. Portuguese could travel where they would, and no Moorish ship could trade without a Portuguese passport. The prestige and power of Portugal were never to be higher, and all this immense achievement had been made in barely a dozen years. From this time on the Moors were not to regain their supremacy in eastern seas; the threat of the Turks to Europe was to become less and less; and Venice was to fall into a decline from which she never recovered. For the first time since the days of Ptolemy, Europe was able to trade once more directly with the East; and the modern history of Asia, as of Europe, had begun.

D'Albuquerque did not live long enough to see the results of his amazing conquests. Worn out by his tremendous burden of work and anxiety, weakened by dysentery and worried by the attacks of his enemies in Lisbon, he died as he was passing Goa on his return home to Portugal whither he had been recalled by a king who did not realise his great services. "His death was mourned by men of all creeds, including Islam. As for the Hindus, whom he had favoured, when they saw him brought ashore in a sitting posture, with his long beard reaching to his waist and his eyes half open, they said he could not be dead but that God having need of him for some war, had sent for him. It was widely believed that as long as his bones rested in Goa, the Portuguese dominions were safe" (Prestage). In 1565 they were taken home. By that time the Empire he had founded was already beginning to show signs of decline.

CHAPTER XIV

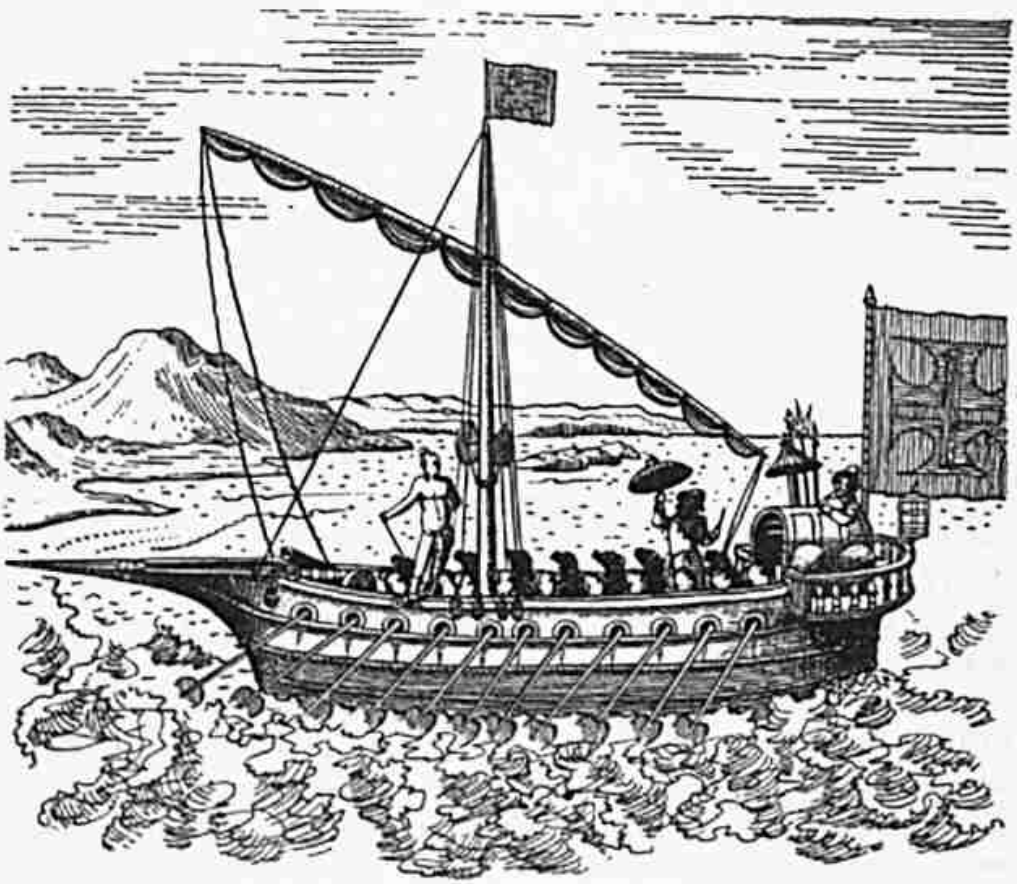
D'ALBUQUERQUE SETS SAIL FOR MALACCA

84. *Ruy d'Araujo's letter (1510)*

THE failure of de Sequiera's expedition and the capture of Ruy d'Araujo and his comrades had not gone unnoticed either by d'Albuquerque or the King of Portugal. The former was, however, too busily occupied at first in conquering Goa to go to the aid of his fellow countrymen; and the latter, though quite ignorant of the strength of Malacca's fortifications, sent a very small and inadequate expedition under de Vasconcellos to subdue the city. When this expedition reached India, d'Albuquerque refused to allow it to proceed on its journey as he considered it to be too small and ill equipped for its great task. He had by now (1510) acquired first-hand information of the strength of Malacca; for he had received a letter (smuggled out of the city by a friendly Moor) from Ruy d'Araujo himself. D'Araujo sent a description of the city, emphasising its military and commercial strength. He complained bitterly of the treatment he and his fellow-captives had received, saying that for long periods the prisoners had been confined, loaded with chains, in a dark and narrow room, and alternately starved and tortured in a vain attempt to make them renounce their faith. When, however, he continued, the monsoon changed, and there was a chance that ships going to India might give news of their harsh treatment, they were treated with a certain leniency, and were allowed to receive visitors. One of these was a certain Hindu merchant, called Ninachatu, who was the leader of all non-Muslims in the city and who, d'Araujo gratefully recorded, had befriended and helped them. It was on one of the periods of comparative freedom that he had been able to write the letter and entrust it to a friendly messenger. He concluded that if d'Albuquerque wished to conquer the city he would have to go there with as large a fleet as possible.

D'Albuquerque therefore persuaded de Vasconcellos (much

against the latter's will) not to proceed to Malacca but to help him in the attack on Goa; but soon after that famous port had been captured (25 November 1510) Vasconcellos slipped away without the Governor's knowledge, obstinately determined to carry out the king's ill-advised orders. D'Albuquerque thereupon sent a fleet in pursuit of him. He was brought back, severely reprimanded, and sent home in disgrace. The Governor's enemies said that d'Albuquerque behaved most high handedly in this matter, because he could not bear anyone but himself to have the honour of taking Malacca. The real fault, however, lay with the King of Portugal, who was too far away to understand the difficulties of the situation and who should never have sent out de Vasconcellos' expedition at all. In any case d'Albuquerque decided, in spite of the many pressing problems facing him in India, to lead this important expedition himself.



Ship used by Portuguese—early sixteenth century

85. *D'Albuquerque sets sail*

Accordingly, on 20 April 1511, he set out with a fleet of eighteen ships and a force of 800 Portuguese soldiers and 600[1] Malabar auxiliary troops. With the help of the pilot of a Gujarati ship which he captured on the way, he reached Pedir, with whose ruler he made a treaty. In that state he found eight Portuguese who had managed to escape from captivity in Malacca. Whilst crossing the Straits, he captured three trading vessels, but let several other ships go, after first giving them safe conducts to show them that the Portuguese were now masters of the sea route. He also captured and killed the Indian Noadabegea (Naina Mudeliar), who, he learnt from the rescued captives, had been responsible, together with Tun Mutahir, for the attack on de Sequeira's ships. Then on 1 July 1511 his ships sailed into Malacca harbour, where they cast anchor to the sound of trumpets and a salvo of guns which lasted for half an hour. The Malays, of course, by this time had had warning of his approach; and doubtless tension was high in the city on the arrival of so great a warrior, whose fame had already preceded him. Some ships, foreseeing trouble, made an attempt to leave the harbour, but they were curtly bidden to stay where they were.

86. *The strength of Malacca's position*

(a) Yet the consternation produced by his arrival did not last long. The Malays could not help noticing the smallness of his fleet, and it was not long before they knew the exact numbers of their enemy. "Believe me, your Highness," wrote d'Albuquerque to the king, "they were not three men out." Though the ships made a brave sight, the Malays, excellent seamen as they were, could not fail to discover that several of them were in bad condition. The *Flor de la Mar*, for instance, the Admiral's flagship, though large and roomy, was in a rotten condition after nine years of hard work in the Indian Ocean, and two or three other ships were fit only for the scrap heap. Moreover, the Sultan was led by the Gujarati merchants in Malacca to believe that the siege was bound in any case to be a very short one, as d'Albuquerque would have to leave on the next monsoon to return to India. Again, the Malays had taken

[1] Some authorities say 200.

every precaution, not only to withstand if necessary a long siege, but also to defeat the invaders by force of arms. According to a report made to d'Albuquerque by some Chinese merchants who were in the harbour and whose five junks had been commandeered by the Sultan, there were no fewer than 20,000 soldiers in the city. These included the Malays and their vassals,[1] a large number of Javanese mercenaries and 600 Turkish mercenaries. These last were provided by the Gujarati merchants and they were very formidable as they were accustomed to European methods of warfare. All these troops were well armed with matchlocks, bows and arrows, spears and lances; many had poisoned darts, in the use of which they were expert. They had also artillery in abundance, for we learn that among the spoils taken after the siege were fifty large bombards and three thousand cannon, of which two thousand were made in bronze. "The gun founders in Malacca", said the Governor, "were as good as those of Germany."

(b) *The defences.* The approach to the city from the sea was heavily defended by strong wooden palisades. At that time the river turned sharp right as it reached the sea, and though it scooped out for itself a fairly deep channel where ships of light draught like those of the Portuguese could anchor close inshore, it also threw up deep mud banks along the water's edge. These made it very difficult for an attacking party to make a landing, particularly on the northern shore, where the mud banks were now reinforced by palisades. The only really good landing place was near the bridge,[2] which was therefore the key to the defence, more especially as it kept open the communications between the two parts of the city. The bridge was consequently very heavily defended by guns on either side of it (which could control all attempts to reach the landing place) and with palisades across it. Its defence was entrusted to an Indian mercenary named Tuan Bandam and a picked force of men; and it was also strongly supported by artillery from the hill which was the headquarters of the defenders. If in spite of all these obstacles the invaders succeeded in making a landing, the Malays were prepared to continue the battle in the city itself,

[1] Amongst these were the troops of the Sultan of Pahang. The latter had arrived in Malacca a short time before to marry one of Mahmud's daughters.

[2] Then farther up the river than the present one.

where barricades had been put up and hidden pitfalls dug, filled with gunpowder.

(c) *The support of foreign traders.* Apart from these strong defences, the Sultan believed that he could rely on the absolute support of the foreign merchants. This support, as we shall see, was in the event to prove unreliable; but there can be little doubt that it was the merchants' threat to remove their trade and custom from the city if he did not strongly defend it, which led him to adopt an uncompromising attitude towards the "white Bengalis". These men were most anxious to prevent Malacca from falling into Portuguese power because they had heard from their fellow countrymen and traders in India of the Portuguese successes in sweeping them from the Indian Ocean. The Javanese traders were also afraid that their trade would be undermined by the Portuguese. The traders from Gresik, who lived in Banda Hilir; and those from Japara, the rice port, and from the Sunda kingdom who lived in Upeh, rallied round their leader, Utimutiraja, in support of the Sultan. This Utimutiraja was an extremely wealthy and influential man, with hundreds of slaves, who had lived in Malacca for fifty years and whose power was second only to that of the Sultan himself. Though he was now an old man of over eighty, he was still strong and active, and his word was law with the Javanese. His support, therefore, was invaluable to the defence.

The city indeed seemed impregnable. The only real danger, it appeared, was from famine; and this was remote, for great stores of rice had been imported from Java. The Chinese merchants were very gloomy about the prospects of a Portuguese victory. "Unless the city were taken by starvation," they said, "by stopping the supplies which came to them from Java, they thought it very doubtful if any victory could be obtained against her."

87. *The weakness of the Malay position*

Beneath the surface of this seeming invincibility, however, there were grave tensions, mostly of a political nature. The attempt by Tun Mutahir to seize the throne in 1510, though it had ended with the death of the Bendahara, had shown clearly that all was not well in the state of Malacca. At least one foreign merchant, the Indian Noadabegea, had been implicated

in this plot;[1] and as we know, many others were discontented with the treatment meted out to them by the Malay ruling class. The Javanese king hated Mahmud for his treatment of Javanese merchants; and Utimutiraja, though persuaded by the Portuguese menace to throw in his lot with the Malays, had already been suspected of designs to seize power in Malacca. He was soon to show himself a treacherous ally. No love, therefore, was lost between the Malays and the Javanese. As for the Chinese traders they were so disgusted with the exactions levied on them by the Malays that, as we have seen, they openly favoured the Portuguese. They told d'Albuquerque that in the (to them, unlikely) prospect of a Portuguese victory, one hundred Chinese junks would visit the port for trade in the following year. Finally, amongst the foreign merchants themselves there was considerable friction, the Muslim faction under Utimutiraja being strongly opposed by the non-Muslim faction headed by the Hindu Ninachatu, who, as we have seen, had befriended Ruy d'Araujo and his companions. Should the invaders not be quickly beaten, therefore, it was inevitable that their internal disunity would prove fatal to the defence.

88. *The Portuguese position*

The Portuguese, in the meanwhile, were thousands of miles from their base; surrounded by enemies and outnumbered by those in Malacca by twenty to one. Add to this a tendency to insubordination on the part of their officers which even this crisis did not altogether overcome. They had two great advantages, however. Their artillery had a longer range than that of their enemies; and they had in their leader, d'Albuquerque, a brilliant general, a man of unswerving purpose and unconquerable will. To the Chinese who warned him sadly that Malacca could not be taken, he replied by offering them a favoured position during the impending battle where they could see for themselves how Portuguese could fight.

89. *Fair Words*

He had, however, not as yet given up all hope of settling the dispute by peaceful means, both because he feared that an

[1] Hence his flight to Pasai. See above, p. 159.

attack would imperil the lives of the prisoners and because he did not wish to appear in the eyes of neighbouring peoples as a mere aggressor. He therefore sent a courteous request to the Sultan for the return of the prisoners and their merchandise. The Sultan, however, believing that d'Albuquerque would have to return to India on the next monsoon, decided to play a waiting game. He now knew to a man the number of his opponents' force, and "took it for granted that we were lost and in his power". In a polite reply, he completely ignored d'Albuquerque's request; and when the latter threatened to ransom the prisoners by "fire and blood", still paid no heed. "He has no intention of giving us up", said d'Araujo in another letter to his chief. "Never mind us. Attack before the town is too strong. If he kills us, it is no more than we have been expecting this long time." With this advice d'Albuquerque's captains, weary of the negotiations, agreed. He therefore sent an ultimatum, demanding not only the return of the prisoners, but also the right to build a fortress in Malacca so that merchants might be able to trade in safety there in future. The usual non-committal answer was returned, whereupon d'Albuquerque burnt all the houses along the beach in Upeh and all the Gujarati ships lying at anchor in the bay. The Sultan at last returned the prisoners, promised permission for the fort and —intensified his preparations for war. D'Albuquerque at last believing that "the king was so blind as not to perceive the danger he was in" decided to attack in force.

CHAPTER XV

D'ALBUQUERQUE'S CONQUEST OF MALACCA (1511–12)

I
The Conquest

90. *The first attack*

Ruy d'Araujo had informed d'Albuquerque that "the occupation of the bridge . . . might decide victory or at least deal a heavy blow at the enemy". The bridge was obviously the key to the situation, for its capture would cut the Sultan's army in two, and so make its final defeat easier. D'Albuquerque decided, therefore, to capture it by a pincer movement, and divided his meagre forces into halves. The first, led by himself, was to make a landing in Upeh and capture the northern end of the bridge; the second was to land near the royal palace and the mosque, and capture its southern end. He chose 25 July for the attack as that was the feast of St. James, to whom he had a special devotion.

Accordingly, two hours before dawn on that day, captains and men assembled on board the large and roomy flagship, *Flor de la Mar*, and as dawn was breaking, their little boats full of troops crept towards the beaches. Their approach was soon observed, and a furious artillery fire greeted them. When this was finished the boats drew nearer inshore, made a landing, and soon engaged in a fierce battle with the defenders. The Malays put up a brave resistance, but after some hours of continuous fighting the Portuguese succeeding in capturing both ends of the bridge. As the wind freshened from the sea, they set fire to houses on both banks of the river, so that in a short while a great part of the city itself was in flames and the royal palace and many of the royal houses had been gutted.[1]

[1] During the fire a chariot lined with silk and inlaid with gold, on thirty wheels each as high as a room, was burnt. It had been intended for the wedding of Mahmud's daughter with the Sultan of Pahang.

It was now 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The Portuguese had been fighting continuously since dawn. They had no food, and no men could be spared to go back to the ships to bring supplies. It was agonising to hold the bridge in the burning heat of the day, under continuous fire from the enemy, with seventy men wounded, some by poisoned arrows (from which all save one died). Towards nightfall, finding it impossible to complete the stockade on the bridge, d'Albuquerque gave the order to withdraw. As the troops returned in relays to the ships they were subjected to a harassing fire of bullets and poisoned darts and arrows by the defenders; but they nevertheless took with them a great deal of captured material, including fifty bombards from the bridge.

91. *A breathing space*

This first attack had only a limited success for the Portuguese, since although they had captured the bridge they had not been strong enough to hold it. It was, however, a victory, and d'Albuquerque believed that the city, having suffered heavy losses in troops and by fire, would hasten to surrender. The Sultan, however, showed an unexpected obstinacy,[1] and whilst continuing to make vague promises of friendship utterly refused to become a vassal of the King of Portugal. Many of the merchants, however, who cared more for their goods than for Malacca, now began to press for peace with the Portuguese. They were afraid the Portuguese would win and would sack the city. Utimutiraja, for instance, sent a present of sandalwood to d'Albuquerque, though, at the same time, he sent his people to help the defenders to build new palisades and barricades. It was considered a wise precaution to keep friendly with both sides.

The Malays, therefore, continued to push on with the fortifications in expectation of a new attack. At least one hundred bombards were now mounted on the bridge, which was now even more heavily defended by palisades. On the north and south sides of the bridge guns were once more mounted to command the approaches from Upeh and the mosque respectively. D'Albuquerque therefore realised that nothing less than

[1] Or else made no decision, leaving the Portuguese and the Malay chiefs to fight it out.

an overwhelming victory would give him the control of the city. He decided therefore on an all-out attack: but here he had to face a new difficulty. His captains, tired of the endless delays, began to advocate a return to India. They had lost much of their enthusiasm for the final attack, because d'Albuquerque insisted that they would have to build a fort when the town was captured, and the prospect did not appeal to them. D'Albuquerque, however, called them all to a council on his flagship. He showed them that the conquest of Malacca was absolutely necessary, since this alone would give them a complete monopoly of the pepper trade. As things were, Arab traders were able to take vast quantities of pepper and spices to Cairo, Alexandria and Venice, from Malacca via Bab-el-Mandeb, dodging the Portuguese Indian fleet on the way. He pointed out that the capture of Malacca would be a great blow to their enemies the Moors, and that it was a prize of great worth. As a result—"Cairo and Mecca would be entirely ruined and to Venice no spiceries will be conveyed except that which her merchants go and buy in Portugal." "I am certain", he added, "when they begin to like our justice and straight dealing, all merchants will go and reside there and make walls of gold." These arguments finally decided the captains to make a second and much more formidable attack. This time they were determined to achieve success.

92. *The second attack, 10 August 1511*

As in the first attack, the main object of the Portuguese was to capture the bridge; but this time d'Albuquerque meant to hold it. Some days before his conference with the officers he had thought out a new idea. This was to use an exceptionally tall junk as a kind of fortified siege ladder which could be floated towards the bridge, and grappled to it. It would overtower the bridge, and from its commanding position the attackers could rake the bridge from end to end with their gunfire and stones, and make it completely untenable. Unfortunately at first for his plan, the junk was found to have too great a draught for the shallow waters of the river. The attack had to be postponed until the spring tide, which would refloat the junk and carry it down towards the bridge. Meanwhile the Malays, guessing his intention, did their best to set fire to

the craft by sending towards it on the falling tide blazing boats and barges: but all their efforts were foiled by the Portuguese.

At last the junk was refloated. The Portuguese bombarded the city during the night of 9 August, and on the next day the attack began. D'Albuquerque, having posted gun-boats on either flank of the attacking boats, made his way to the north part of the city where, after a brief but fierce struggle he succeeded in effecting a landing. Meanwhile Antonio d'Abreu, in face of furious fire from the bridge, which he relentlessly returned, had succeeded in grappling the junk to the bridge, and by a heavy fire, swept the defenders from it. These took up a position behind palisades lying between the bridge and the mosque; but fire from the gunboats in the harbour compelled them to retire to the mosque. D'Albuquerque now gave orders for the mosque to be captured. The Malays thereupon evacuated it, and were followed in swift pursuit by a detachment under de Lima. Suddenly the latter's troops found themselves face to face with fresh reinforcements under the command of the Sultan and his son Ahmad. In the van were twenty fighting elephants which now charged the Portuguese. Undismayed de Lima pierced the leading elephant in the eye with his spear: and the maddened brute turned in the narrow road and fled, scattering the Malays, and infecting the other animals with its rage and terror.

When darkness fell, the Portuguese took up their position on the bridge, which they now heavily defended with strong barricades at both ends, built up with barrels of sand and wood from two of their ships which they had broken up for this purpose. Above their heads they placed a great sail, firmly tied down at each end to ward off the heat of the sun during the day. All night long their guns bombarded the city, keeping the roads clear from concentrations of enemy troops. D'Albuquerque spent the night visiting and encouraging the wounded, of whom there were many. During the battle twenty-eight of his men had been killed.

For some days d'Albuquerque waited before giving orders for the final attack. He was concerned about the wounded, but was also ready even at this stage to negotiate with Mahmud. He simply asked that permission should be given for the building of a fortress and that his men should receive reasonable

booty for their victory. The Malay war party however was in no mood to negotiate; though many of the traders[1] asked for protection during the sack of the city which all expected hourly.

93. *The capture of the city, 24 August 1511*

The final attack, however, did not take place until some days later. Then on 24 August d'Albuquerque's troops, marching six abreast through the streets, swept aside all resistance, slaying all who tried to oppose them. The governor then gave orders for the city to be sacked: but the operation was carried out with amazing regularity. There was no wild snatching for booty. First the sailors, whose job was so vital, were allowed to get their share; then other troops went in succession, each bringing his booty back to the beach near the spot where the Commander stood. The whole operation took one day. Amazing treasures were accumulated, including "bars of gold, jars of gold dust, jewels, priceless silks, rare perfumes and scented woods"—but it was estimated that two-thirds of the great city's wealth still remained. Some of the officers were in favour of despoiling the city completely and returning to India; but this was no part of d'Albuquerque's plan. He was anxious for his troops to reap a fair reward for their valour; but at the same time he saw the vital importance of Malacca to Portugal's Empire. He did not wish it to be ruined; but instead was most anxious to re-establish its trade as soon as possible. As for himself, the only things he acquired from the Malacca expedition were Noadabegea's bracelet and six large bronze lions for his own tomb.

No further resistance took place in the city. The Peguans[2] were the first to ask for—and receive—pardon. They were soon followed by the Javanese and Hindus. As for the Sultan, he and his son 'Ala'u'd-din who had taken a notable part in the defence, fled inland. 'Ala'u'd-din tried to make a stand at Pagoh; but was driven out by the brothers Andrade and some Javanese, and fled with his father to Pahang, whither the Sultan of Pahang had long since preceded them. Only a few Malays under the redoubtable Laksamanah, Hang Tuah, kept up a series of harassing attacks on the hated enemy. After a time, Mahmud and his

[1] Ninachatu was among these and was given flags to put outside his house to help Portuguese soldiers to identify it.

[2] Mons from the kingdom of Pegu in Burma.

son, gathering confidence, moved from Pahang, first to a settlement far up the Johore river, and then to the Island of Bintang, the Sultan at Teking Tinggi and the Prince at Batu Pelabohan.

II
The Settlement of Malacca

94. *The building of "A Famosa"*

In accordance with his policy of building a line of forts to serve as ports of call throughout the vast Empire of Portugal, d'Albuquerque now set about his cherished plan of building a fortress in Malacca. The site he chose was where the mosque and the royal town had stood before, that is, on the left bank of the river near its mouth.

Almost at once, however, a grave difficulty presented itself. Whence were the building materials to be obtained? Ruy d'Araujo, who claimed to know Malacca, having been a prisoner there for two years, informed him that there were no stones available to build it with. D'Albuquerque therefore consumed with anxiety to return to India and afraid of possible counter-attacks by the defeated Malays, ordered a stronghold to be made of palisades. Some Indians, however, living in the city, told him that if he opened the quarry in the side of the hill where lay the tombs of the old kings of Malacca he would find plenty of free stone for this purpose. This he did, and discovered at the same time a kind of stone which turned out to be very useful in making lime. Further quantities of iron-stone were also discovered on the small island off the north bank of the river, which henceforth came to be known as the "Ilha das Pedras" or "Isle of Stones".

The Governor pushed on the work with the utmost speed, but very soon lack of food and the unhealthy climate began to imperil its progress. Mahmud's war boats from Bintang had already started to intercept the food supplies from Java and elsewhere; and soon their rations were reduced to rotten biscuits and rice with butter. "People began to fall ill and die of fever", and in a short time every one of the Portuguese, including d'Albuquerque himself, went down with malaria. The work, however, went irresistibly on; for the governor, finding that

his own people could not complete the work unaided, employed the captured royal slaves to help them. "Believe me, Senhor," wrote one of the builders, Pero de Faria to the king, "the men who were at Malacca deserved well of your Highness. Believe me, your Highness, the labour of building the fort was very great for the stones had to be fetched from a long distance. Also work was got through in one month that should have taken three, for it could not have been finished any other way and the Captain Mor, burning to get back to his other fortresses, hurried us so that we worked day and night."

On the same day that he laid the foundation stone of the fortress, the governor who, says his son Bras "was very much devoted to Our Lady", ordered that a Church should be built near it, dedicated to Our Lady of the Annunciation (the "Annunciada"). This church was not actually completed until 1515,[1] and shortly after, its name was changed to that of "Our Lady of the Assumption" ("A Se"). This, the oldest church in Malacca, became the Cathedral Church of the city when it became a bishopric in 1557. D'Albuquerque also ordered that a hospital for the poor should be built at the foot of the hill where the quarry was.

95. *The re-establishment of trade*

Meanwhile, d'Albuquerque did his utmost to restore Malacca to her position as a great trade emporium and to heal the damage done by the siege and the capture of the city. He dismissed the Peguans with a safe conduct and a hope that they would soon restart trade with the city; he gave Hindus the opportunity to return to India in his own ships; and he sent an embassy to Siam and a friendly message to China. The result of this wise dealing was a rapid revival of Malacca to its former greatness. The Peguans continued to trade; the Hindus returned to a place where they received friendly treatment; the Chinese, led by the favourable reports of the junk captains who had helped d'Albuquerque at the siege, soon started to trade and turned a deaf ear to Mahmud's pleas for assistance against a conqueror who seemed to be much more reasonable than himself. Very soon embassies from neighbouring states began to arrive to offer friendship to the Portuguese. Amongst these

[1] In that year its first Parish priest Afonso Martins arrived to take up his duties.

was the Sultan of Kampar, who, though a son-in-law and a vassal of Mahmud, arrived at Muar with a small fleet and begged to become a vassal of Portugal. The request was granted. The King of Siam also sent a friendly message with presents for the King of Portugal; d'Albuquerque in return sent back an ambassador whom he instructed to find out all he could about the country and write it down in a book. The King of Java, who, as we have seen, hated Mahmud because of his treatment of Javanese merchants, also sent friendly greetings, an offer of supplies and of troops, and some rich presents, which included a portrait of himself and a most extraordinary map. This, says d'Albuquerque, in a letter to the king, "showed the Cape of Good Hope, Portugal, the land of Brazil, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Spice Islands and the navigation of the Chinese and the Gores with the courses followed by their ships. . . . It seemed to me, Senhor, the best thing I have ever seen, and your Highness would have been delighted with it. The names were marked in Javanese lettering." Unfortunately, this map, together with the Siamese chronicle and many other precious things, was lost in the wreck, a few weeks later, of the *Flor de la Mar*.

96. *The expedition to the Spice Islands*

D'Albuquerque was particularly anxious to discover the source of the fabled spices of the East; and no doubt he studied the sea routes shown on the Javanese map with the greatest interest. Towards the end of December 1511 he sent an expedition under Antonio d'Abreu, with Francisco Serrao as second-in-command, to obtain cloves at the Moluccas and nutmegs at Banda. He strictly commanded them to avoid all conflicts and to make friendly arrangements for trade with the natives. A trading junk under a Malay called Ismail was sent on in advance to prepare the way and collect cargoes of spices; and so it was that the first Europeans crossed the perilous beautiful waters between the Java and the Banda Seas, and at last set foot on the Moluccas which had been for so long the object of their search. In five tiny islands of this group, and nowhere else in the world at that time, grew the clove, which has played so great a part in world history.

This expedition, though it started off disastrously, ultimately

succeeded in its object. One of d'Abreu's ships was wrecked between Java and the Banda islands, the home of nutmegs; the second, under his own command, returned to Malacca with a cargo of spices; the third, under Francisco Serrao was separated from the rest by a thunderstorm and was eventually wrecked off Amboina (1512). Serrao himself managed to get ashore; and there he achieved such fame as a warrior whilst helping the islanders in their fights with one another that the Sultan of Ternate heard of him and sent a ship to bring him to the island. As Ternate was (apart from its rival Tidore) the most powerful of the Molucca islands, Serrao was able to open up the trade in spices with its despotic ruler. Thus he fulfilled d'Albuquerque's ambition to close the Moluccas to Turkey and Venice. Serrao stayed in Ternate, but sent a detailed account of the Spice Islands by a returning ship to his friend Ferdinand Magellan who like himself had taken part in the siege of Malacca. This letter probably inspired Magellan to undertake his great voyage, and to discover (though on behalf of Spain) the route to the Moluccas from the West. Magellan himself was killed in the Philippines, and it was left to one of his captains to continue the voyage round the world.

97. *Trouble in Malacca*

Whilst Serrao was making his historic discoveries, d'Albuquerque was doing his utmost to complete the fortress and at the same time to restore Malacca to normal once more. On the advice of Ninachatu, he replaced Mahmud's inadequate tin coinage by a new one consisting of three values—tin, silver (from Siam) and gold (from Pahang and Menangkabau); and to accustom the people to the new coinage, he had them distributed as largesse throughout the city. It was not long, however, before he discovered that serious trouble was brewing. The leader of the Javanese merchants and of the whole Moorish community—Utimutiraja—had, like everybody else—at first accepted defeat and made his submission to the conquerors. After the battle was over, however, "he had the (Portuguese) graves counted, and sent round to the houses to find the number of the sick; and when he realised how few we were, he grew restive at once". He now wrote to the Sultan, saying that the Portuguese garrison was insignificant and that he would gladly

help him to destroy it. His rival, Ninachatu, however, intercepted the letters and passed them on to d'Albuquerque who decided to await further developments. Utimutiraja did his best to hamper the new administration. He tried to wreck the new coinage; he intimidated the Hindu traders who were friendly with the Portuguese; and, above all, he made an attempt to corner the rice imports and thereby reduce the city to starvation. This man who had proved such a menace to the Sultan before d'Albuquerque's arrival, and who had made treacherous overtures to the Portuguese during the siege, now began to act in so tyrannical a fashion that even his fellow Muslims began to complain to the governor about him. At last, when the fortress was about two storeys high, d'Albuquerque decided to act. He arrested Utimuti and the chief members of his family and had them executed. The trouble did not end there, however. Utimuti had been the leader of the Javanese in the city, and these merchants who controlled the trade from Java in rice and other foodstuffs were bitterly hostile to the new rulers. Under the leadership of Patih Kadir they rose in revolt, and though this was suppressed and Pitah Kadir was taken back into favour, they soon revolted again. After a second defeat many Javanese fled to Java, with the result that the food supply of the city threatened to break down for a time.

98. *The completion of the fortress*

These troubles, however, did not unduly disturb d'Albuquerque. By the beginning of January to his great relief the great fortress, known henceforward as "A Famosa"—the famous—was completed. It had been built in record time under great difficulties, and was, during the next 130 years of its existence richly to deserve its title. The fortress was surrounded by a big stone wall, eight feet thick, and at one of the corners near the bridge leading to Upeh, a strong square tower was built right on the sea; so that, if necessary, reinforcements could be landed in time of war. This was made possible by the fact that on the first and fifteenth of every month, when it was high water, it was possible for a ship of 200 tons to go alongside the tower. This precaution did credit to d'Albuquerque's foresight, and at least once during the many sieges it endured—that of

Matelief in 1606—it enabled the sorely-pressed garrison to be reinforced. To forestall attacks from the hill two towers were built at either end of the fortress wall that faced it, and in these bombards were mounted. Inside the fortress were two wells of excellent drinking water, so that the garrison would at least be spared the horrors of thirst during a long siege.

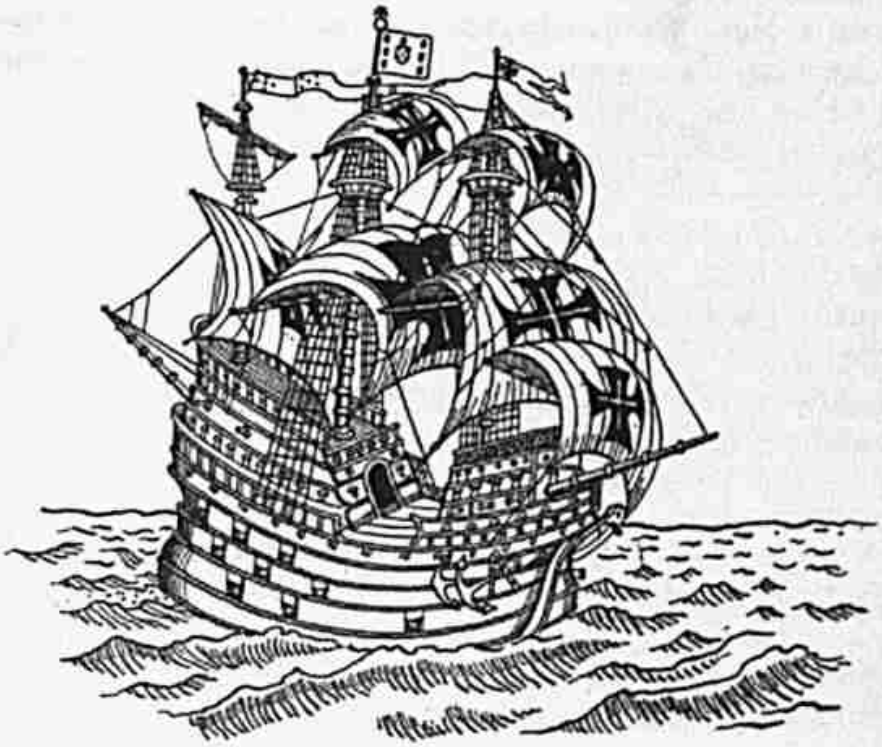
D'Albuquerque was justifiably proud of this, and of the other fortresses he had built. "You need never worry", he once wrote to the king, "about your fortresses in these parts . . . even if you hear they are besieged . . . once or twice or ten times. Whilst there are Portuguese on the battlements with helmets on their heads . . . they will never be taken." "Everything he did he wished to last forever," says Correa. "The governor desired to make Malacca immortal, but always beneath the rule of Portugal." To mark his appreciation of the valour of his captains, he had their names inscribed on a stone which he wished to place over the gateway of the fortress as a memorial to their valour. The captains, however, quarrelled about the order in which their names appeared; so d'Albuquerque had the stone turned to the wall face inwards and inscribed on it, "The stone which the builders rejected".

The fortress certainly impressed the Malays. "After the fortress had been finished and stood complete with its artillery and garrison of soldiers," says Eredia, writing one hundred years later, "it created amongst the Malayos a feeling of intense dread and astonishment, which lasted permanently to the great credit and honour of the Crown of Portugal, for though the fortress was attacked time and time again by the Malayos and the neighbouring peoples, it always proved victorious." It remained so until its final capture by the Dutch in 1641.

99. *D'Albuquerque's departure*

D'Albuquerque's work in Malacca was now nearly completed, and he decided to return on the next monsoon to Goa, about whose fate he was very anxious. Summoning his officers, he discussed with them the form of government to be adopted in Malacca, and the number of the garrison that should be left to defend it. In consultation with them, he decided to appoint a Captain of the Fortress to the supreme command with a Captain of the Fleet as his second-in-command. Refusing to

break with Malay custom, he appointed a "Shahbandar" from each race to watch over the interests of his particular people. Ninachatu, for instance, was made headman of the Hindus and a certain Regunecerage, headman of the Javanese in Upeh. As for the garrison, three hundred of the healthiest men were left behind to defend the fortress, and two hundred more, with eight of his soundest ships, were detailed to patrol the coast. Then, with the remaining three ships[1] and all the invalids, d'Albuquerque prepared to leave.



Flor de la Mar

Great sorrow was expressed by the merchants of Malacca at his departure, for they could not understand why he should wish to leave so prosperous a place; but d'Albuquerque would brook no further delay. Most of the treasure was embarked in the flag-ship, the *Flor de la Mar*—a ship recognised by all to be so old and unseaworthy that no one would embark on it until the governor himself set the example. In a sudden storm

[1] Of the original eighteen, two had gone down in the outward voyage off Ceylon; two had been broken up in Malacca; three had been sent to the Moluccas; eight remained in Malacca; three left for Goa; but only two reached that port.

off the Sumatran coast, near Aru, the great ship was driven on to a shoal. In spite of the labours of sixty slaves who worked day and night at the pumps, she gradually drifted shorewards, so that the order was given to abandon her. The invalids were put in the ship's boats, and the rest, including d'Alberquerque and a baby slave girl he had rescued, kept themselves afloat on rafts. The other ships, discovering their plight, hastened to rescue them; but nothing could be done to save the *Flor de la Mar*, which went down with all the spoils and treasures of Malacca. So it was that d'Albuquerque returned to India with two ships and a few troops, in appearance more like a hunted fugitive than the conqueror of the richest port between India and China.

CHAPTER XVI

THE FORTRESS AND SETTLEMENT OF MALACCA DURING THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD (1511–1641)

MALACCA was destined to become the headquarters of the Portuguese in South-East Asia, and as such was subjected from the beginning to incessant attacks by the many enemies who surrounded her. During the years after the conquest, the system of fortifications was greatly extended and strengthened. D'Albuquerque himself had advocated the building of a fortified city, having "A Famosa" as its pivot, with a moat running "from the river all around the mount into the sea, which is a short distance". By the end of the century his dreams had been realised, and a beautiful and strongly defended city had been built, as we can see from the map and plan of the fortress drawn up by Godhino de Eredia, one of the maintenance engineers, in 1613.

100. *The fortifications*

The main harbour of Malacca was the horse-shoe shaped "Ilha das Naos" or "Ships' Island" (now Pulau Java), where the great trading ships, which had just returned from, or were about to return to, China or Japan lay at anchor. Strangely enough, this island was never fortified, though it was out of reach of the guns of the fortress. From here travellers would disembark in small boats which would take them to the "Little Harbour" that lay between the "A Famosa" and the Cathedral. They entered the fortress through the Customs House Gate or St. Anthony's Gate, which were the only ones used in Eredia's time. The observant would see that the river, on the left bank of which the fortress was situated, was in itself a formidable line of defence.[1] Though it narrowed at a little distance from its mouth, its depth was three or four fathoms, and says de

[1] The Malacca river was navigable as far as Pengkalan Naning (near the present Alor Gajah).

Resende (1638): "there are many large carnivorous alligators (i.e. crocodiles), for which reason and because of the mud it cannot be forded." The Dutch writer, Valentyn, also declared that the river was difficult to cross. The bridge was high and narrow, strongly built of stone and mortar and with strong wooden planks across it which could be cut down by the defence if they were hard pressed.

The fortifications, of which the heart and centre was "A Famosa", were immensely strong. The walls enclosing the city to the south of the river began where the land juts into the sea on the west of the hill, near the Padrao (the stone pillar engraved with the arms of Portugal and surmounted by a cross which the Portuguese always built near the places they had taken). Near this point were the two hospitals—the Pauper and the Royal Hospitals, and from here the wall ran northwards to the bastion of St. Peter[1] ("the cuirass" or breastplate) at the river mouth; whilst another ran eastwards to the gate and bastion of St. James. From the bastion of St. Peter, there ran another rampart along the river to the northeast, to St. Dominic bastion, and from here an earth rampart extended to that of the "Madre de Deus". Between the San Antonio gate and Santiago was another wall, defended by the bastion of "the Eleven Thousand Virgins".

In the defence of the city a very great part was played by the hill, now known as St. Paul's hill, but by the Portuguese always called "Our Lady's Hill" after the famous Church of Our Lady of the Annunciation which crowned its summit. "From this hill", says the Dutch Admiral Matelief, writing in 1606, "all the surrounding country can be shelled. . . . From the summit, the besieged could observe everything that happened in the trenches of the enemy unless their palisades were extremely high," and attempts to bring siege works towards the bastion of the "Eleven Thousand Virgins" could be easily forestalled.

Two other defensive positions outside the fortress were provided by the hills Bukit Pipi (St. John's Hill) and Bukit China. If these were controlled by an enemy they could be a source of great anxiety to the defence. Thus, for example, in 1629, the Achinese, having seized St. John's hill, proceeded to bombard the city from its summit. They suffered heavy

[1] On the site now occupied by the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank.

casualties, however, from a bombardment mounted by a Portuguese detachment on Bukit China, and though the latter eventually had to retreat in face of superior numbers, the Achinese were disheartened, and soon gave up the siege. Apart from its defensive value, Bukit China was important because of the "Pĕrigi Rajah" or King's Well,[1] at its foot, which, according to Bort, provided "the best drinking water" in Malacca, and thus supplemented the two excellent wells inside the fortress itself.

101. *The weaknesses of the fortifications*

The two bastions, St. Dominic and the "Madre de Deus", were the weak links in the system of fortifications. As Bort says of the former, "its faces lie nearest to the foe, and cannot defend themselves, but must get protection from the nearest flanks". It was on the capture of this bastion that the Dutch concentrated in 1641, and when it fell they met with but little resistance from the neighbouring "Madre de Deus" bastion. A second major weakness was that the wall between St. Dominic and Santiago was simply an earthen rampart supported by wooden palisades. The ease with which the Portuguese repelled repeated attacks on this rampart made them forgetful of the real need of replacing it by a stone and mortar wall. Philip II of Spain, who became the ruler of Portugal in 1580, ordered a "new trace" or plan of the fort to be drawn up, so that this and other defects should be remedied; but though the plan was drawn up, it was never put into effect, perhaps because of the carelessness of the captains or the meagreness of the garrison in later days. Until the arrival of the Dutch, these defects were of no great seriousness, because the Portuguese artillery was superior to that of their native enemies. The Dutch artillery, however, was better still, and it wrought havoc on these weak defensive links.

102. *The danger of famine*

There was one weakness of Portuguese Malacca which cannot be attributed to the defensive system. This was the ever-

[1] This well is known to the Chinese as Sampo Cheng after the famous admiral Cheng-ho who visited it in 1416. After his death he was regarded by the Chinese as a minor deity. Bukit China is famous for the numerous tombs of Chinese there, the earliest of which dates from the Ming dynasty.

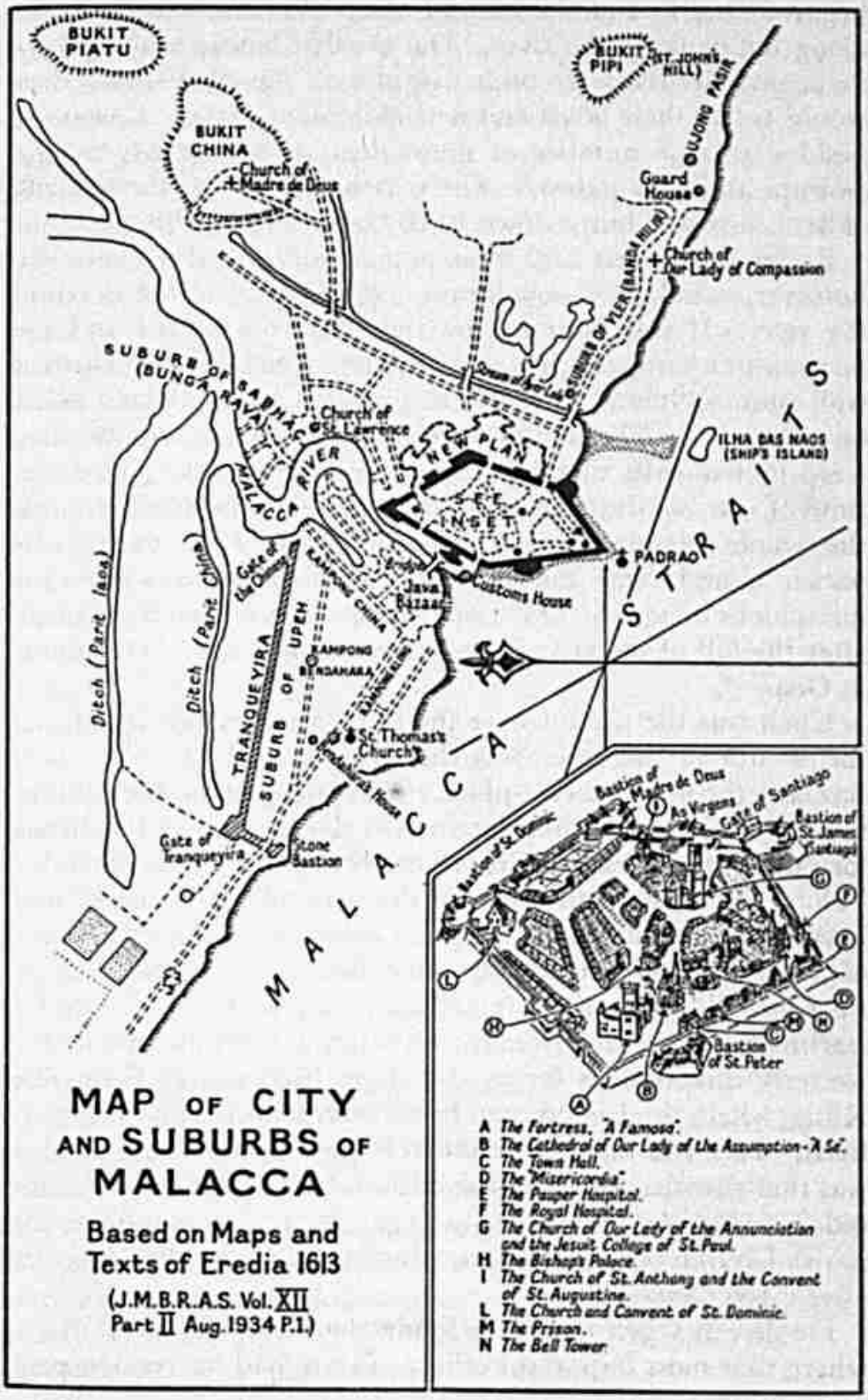
present danger of famine, which more than once brought the city to the verge of surrender. Java, as we know, had for long been the "granary of the Archipelago", and it was on its supplies of rice from ports like Japara and Demak (and to a lesser extent from the Sumatran ports of the east coast) that Malacca depended for its very existence. When, however (as often happened), the rulers of these ports attacked Malacca, or when Acheh or Johore blockaded it, then the garrison and the suburbs suffered the appalling agony of starvation. Why, then, did not the Portuguese, who must surely have learnt very quickly the danger of famine as a result of Mahmud's repeated blockades (1512–26), take steps to ensure that rice was grown in the fertile hinterland of the city itself? The answer, perhaps, is that for long periods Malacca was in a state of siege; that frequent overland attacks from Johore and lightning guerrilla attacks made life in outlying farms untenable for Portuguese settlers or those who worked on their behalf; and, finally, that as long as they retained command of the sea, they knew they could break any native blockade, however severe. Moreover, they rightly reckoned that the Javanese, in spite of their occasional hostile attacks, would continue to supply Malacca for fear of losing so profitable a market.

It remains true that the loss of the command of the sea and the famine which inevitably followed it were the chief reasons for the capture of the fortress by the Dutch in 1641.

II

The Suburbs of the City

103. The population of the city was not concentrated inside the fortress which we have just described (except in time of siege), but was dispersed amongst the three suburbs, Yler, Sabhac and Upeh. Yler (now Banda Hilir) was on the same side of the river as the fortress, and stretched from the long-vanished stream, Ayer Leleh, to Ujong Pasir, including in its area St. John's hill. This and a guardhouse provided its only defence. Its parish church was the Church of "Our Lady of Compassion", to which a road led from the fortress via the gate of Santiago. The second suburb, Sabhac (now Bunga Raya),



MAP OF CITY AND SUBURBS OF MALACCA

Based on Maps and Texts of Eredia 1613

(J.M.B.R.A.S. Vol. XII Part II Aug. 1934 P.1.)

began at the foot of the bastion of St. Dominic and then ran along the banks of the river. The wooden houses of the fishermen, says Eredia, were built "right over the river", and they would tie up their boats and nets alongside. "1,400 Catholics, besides a large number of non-Christian people live in the swamps and nipa palms." The parish church was the Church of St. Lawrence, burnt down in 1630, but subsequently rebuilt.

By far the largest and most populous of the three suburbs, however, was Upeh (now Tranqueyira), lying to the north of the river. It was bounded by the river, the Straits and the *tranqueira* or rampart (hence its name), which was an earthen wall running inland as far as Kampong China, "which abuts on the river". The houses were made of timber, though they were roofed with tiles to ensure against the risk of fire. In time of war, as the area was not easy to defend from the sea, the whole population was evacuated into the fortress. Its parish church was the Church of St. Stephen where the miraculous image of "Our Lady of Cures" was venerated until, after the fall of the city, it was taken to the care of the Jesuits in Goa.

Upeh was the place where the foreign merchants dwelt. At the mouth of the river was the "Bazar de Iaos" (the Java Bazaar), the main market-place. "Every day at daybreak every variety of rice and edible grain was discharged on the beach for sale in the market." From here Kampong China extended "along the bank of the river to the Gate of the Chinese" and beyond the marshes to "the palm swamps besides the stream of Parit China. In this quarter live the Chinese" (from Fu-Kien) "and stranger merchants and fishermen". Again starting from the Java Bazaar, but running this time in a north-westerly direction as far as the stone bastion was Kampong Kling, where the Indian merchants from the Coromandel coast lived. This was one of the danger spots in Upeh, for here it was that enemies often tried to effect a landing, as the Achinese did, for example, in the famous siege of 1547. Here too was the parish Church of San Thomas, which with St. Stephen's looked after 2,500 Catholics.

Finally, in Upeh was to be found the Kampong Bendahara, where that most important officer of state had his residence.

III
The Chief Buildings

104. *The Church of "Our Lady of the Assumption"*

D'Albuquerque had built a church near "A Famosa" which was called at first "Our Lady of the Annunciation", but later "Our Lady of the Assumption". In 1557, when as a result of the great missionary activity of the Catholic Church in the east, Goa was raised by the Pope to be an Archbishopric, Malacca was made a bishopric, and this church became the cathedral.[1] "It was a beautiful cross-built church, situated at the foot of the hill, on a raised ground at one end of the castle." The other building begun by d'Albuquerque was the Pauper hospital, where St. Francis Xavier stayed in 1545. After 1613 it was moved to the riverside, and later it was converted by the Dutch into the bastion called "Ernestus Casimir".[2]

105. *"The Royal Hospital"*

After d'Albuquerque's time many more buildings were put up. These included the "Royal Hospital", not far from the Pauper hospital, which was reserved for the Portuguese. Linschoten tells us that the death-rate among them from "burning agues" was very high. It was, he says, a very unwholesome country for both natives and foreigners, and was consequently much shunned. "Any Europeans", said another Dutchman, "who survive must thank Our Lord for such a miracle."

No description which leaves out of account the appalling dangers to health from malaria, tuberculosis, typhus and other tropical diseases can adequately portray the perils or explain the state of mind of the Portuguese (and other Europeans who followed them) in South-East Asia. Nor can it explain why until quite recent times, Malaya and other countries were comparatively empty lands.

[1] It was also known as "A Se".
[2] On the site now occupied by the Post Office in front of Blacksmiths Street.

106. *The Town Hall—Portuguese administration*

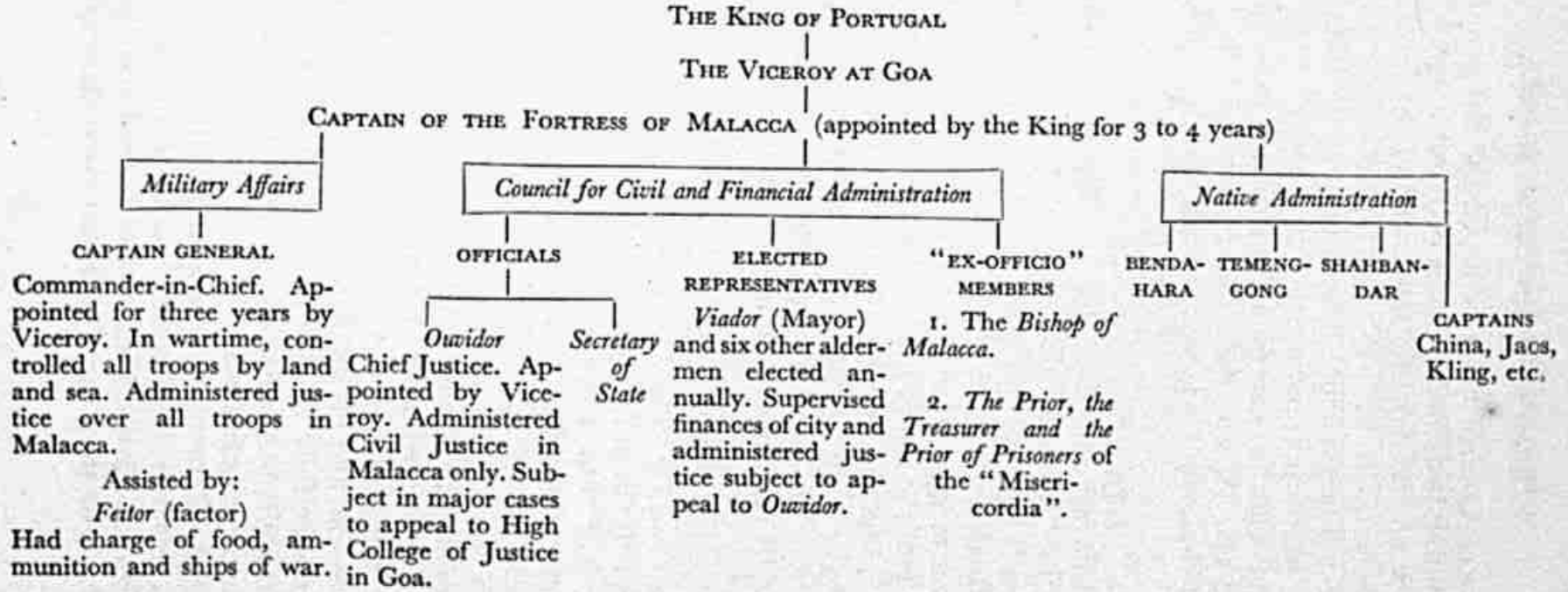
Not far from the Cathedral was the Town Hall, where the meetings of the Council were held. This was the administrative centre of the city. The chief official was the Captain of the Fortress of Malacca, whose title after 1571 was changed to that of "Governor of the South" (i.e. all countries beyond Malacca). This man was appointed by the King of Portugal usually (at least in the early years of Portuguese rule), as a reward for distinguished services. His term of office was for three, or sometimes four years. Though in theory subordinate to the Viceroy at Goa, his power was virtually absolute.[1] In the general administration of the city, he was helped by the officers of the Municipal Council, some of whom were appointed by the Government, whilst others were elected, or became members by virtue of their office. In the first group were the Chief Justice (Ouvidor) and the Secretary of State. In the second were seven aldermen, elected each year by their fellow citizens. Their duties were to assist in the deliberations of the Council, to act as magistrates under the direction of the Chief Justice, and to supervise the distribution of the income of the city. It is probable that from one of these elected representatives the Viador or Mayor was elected. In the third category was the Bishop of Malacca and the Ministers of the House of Mercy.

The Portuguese took care to preserve some of the offices of the old Malay administration. For example, they retained the office of Bendahara, and this official was always a native of the city appointed by the king for life. This man "had authority over all non-Christians and strangers". A Temenggong was appointed to control the Menangkabaus and Malays in Naning and Ringy; a Shahbandar or Port Officer was appointed to control the Customs and foreign shipping, receive foreign envoys and in general act as assistant to the Bendahara. He would therefore take a definite interest in the activities at the Alfandeca or Customs House. In addition, each important foreign community had its Captain—Captain China, Captain Jaos (Javanese), Captain Kling—to act as its representative and its mouthpiece.

There was therefore some attempt made to consider the views and interests of the different sections of the population; though

[1] Consider the behaviour of the Captain Dom Alvaro, below, p. 216.

PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION IN MALACCA



the Malacca Council never achieved the independence of the corresponding body in Macao, which "often acted as an effective check on the despotic tendencies of the local governor" (C. R. Boxer).

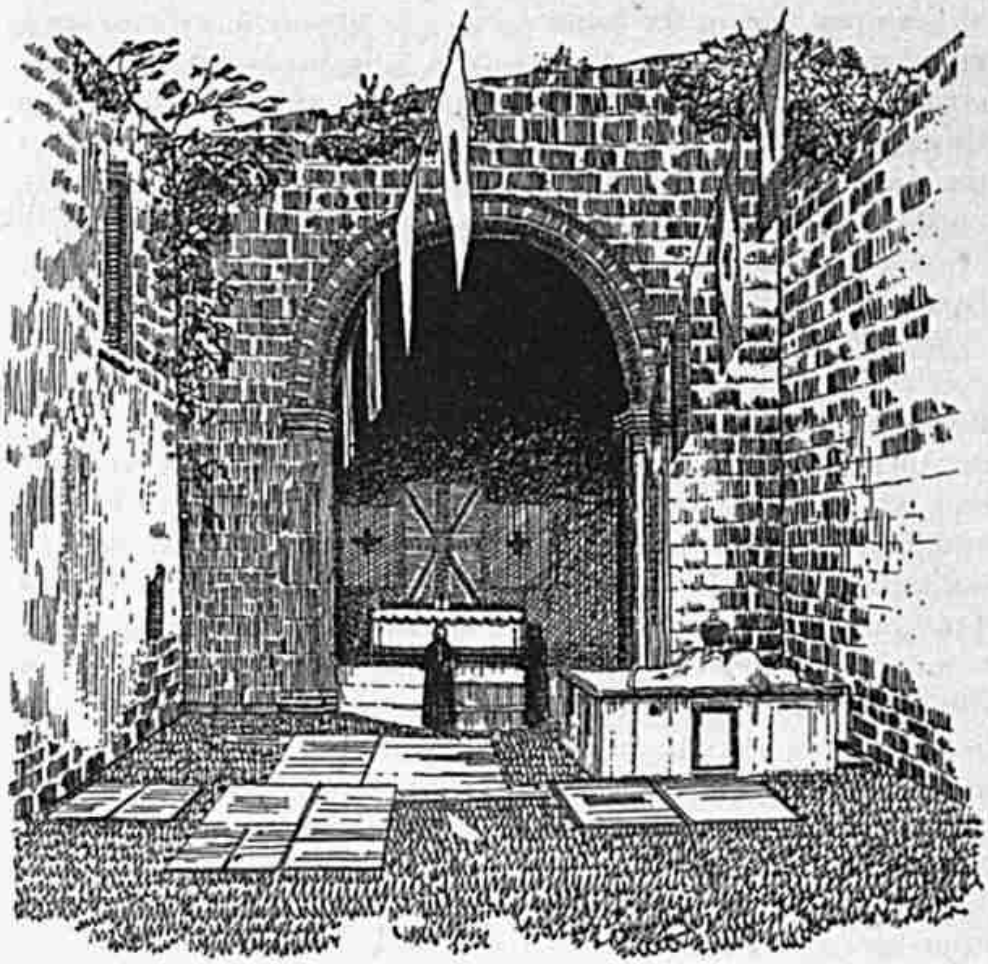
As for military affairs, these were entrusted to a Captain General, who was appointed for three years by the Viceroy of India and who, in war time, had control over all troops by land and sea. Among his assistants was the Feitor or Factor, who had charge of food, ammunition and ships of war.

107. *The "Misericordia"*

It will have been noted that the Ministers of the House of Mercy (the "Misericordia" or Church of "Our Lady of the Visitation") had seats on the Council. In all their settlements, the Portuguese established a Confraternity of Mercy, whose object was to give alms to the poor; provide for orphans and widows; visit the imprisoned and make petitions for their relief. "It was", says the Rev. Fr. Cardon, "the ambition of all good citizens to be admitted into this", and the three leading officials —the Prior, the Treasurer and the Prior of Prisoners—were very highly respected and important members of the community.

108. *The Church of "Our Lady of the Annunciation"*

Perhaps the most famous of all the churches in Malacca was the church of "Our Lady of the Annunciation" which crowned the summit of the hill, now known as St. Paul's Hill, but by the Portuguese always referred to as "Our Lady's Hill". It was originally built by Duarte Coelho in 1521 in thanksgiving for his escape in 1519 from an attack by the Chinese. The latter had been infuriated by the piratical behaviour of a Portuguese captain, Simao Peres d'Andrade; and with fifty ships had blockaded him and his three ships in Canton harbour. Coelho, who was peacefully trading there, was involved in this unfortunate struggle; but calling on the help of Our Lady, he decided to break the blockade; and helped by a fierce storm, which scattered the Chinese fleet, he managed to escape and reached Malacca in safety. "In remembrance of this," says the Portuguese historian Barros, "Duarte Coelho built a chapel in honour of Our Lady on the summit of the hill commanding the fortress.



Ruins of the Church of Our Lady of the Annunciation

The hill was thenceforth called the 'Hill of Our Lady' in commemoration of the miracle which the Holy Virgin had wrought in his favour."

As time went on, the little wooden *ermida* began to decay. "It is highly venerated," said a Jesuit missionary in 1566, "because it is very ancient. It is a very little chapel, and is falling into ruins little by little. Therefore we ought to build a new one." Repairs, he said, had already begun; and as Malacca was for a brief time free from sieges, the work of building a new church was pushed on apace. The church, however, owing to the great series of sieges that took place after the brief interval of peace (1551–68) was not finally completed until 1590. "It is not only very great," says an eye-witness, "but also very beautiful, both the building and its situation, for it is in the midst

of the town and in the highest place from which one can see a great part of the sea and land." The great tower[1] which crowned the church was the highest point in Malacca, and in times of siege served as a watch-tower for the defenders. Near this church the Jesuits built a house as a headquarters for the missionaries en route to the Moluccas, China or Japan. They also established the school of St. Paul where, as we have noted, Eredia was educated.

Because of its extraordinarily fine strategic position, it was inevitable that the church would become one of the main targets of enemy attacks. In the siege of 1606 by Matelief for instance, it must have suffered severe damage. The Portuguese had put up batteries in the cemetery of the adjoining College; and in 1641 they once again made use of the commanding position of the hill to devastate the whole of Dutch-occupied Tranqueyira. After the fall of Malacca the Dutch changed the name of the church to St. Paul's, and used it as a place of worship until 1753, when they built Christ Church near the Stadthuys. Then the old church was abandoned to the wind and weather. The roof fell in, and the jungle covered the cemetery and the College, which had disappeared before 1730. Now only a few ruins of the famous church are left.

This, then, was the Malacca of the Portuguese, with its three suburbs and its walled settlement, with its fine churches and buildings guarded by the famous fortress. It was a city of very mixed population, of perhaps some 20,000 (30,000?), of whom 7,400 were Christians. All the races of the East were represented there. Malays, Javanese, Indians, Chinese, Moors and Turks wandered through its streets, passing Portuguese captains and men-at-arms, German artillerymen and even an occasional Englishman.[2] Many different languages were spoken, though Malay (and to some extent, perhaps, Portuguese) was the *lingua franca*. It was in truth a cosmopolitan city, controlled by a small but determined garrison of 300 men, and with an administrative system that, with fair-minded men to work it, could be reasonable and enlightened. That it could gain the loyalty of the non-European people is proved by the com-

[1] Its clock became famous. "When passing by the town," says the Dutch van der Broech in 1618, "we anchored near enough to be able to tell the time by the clock dial."

[2] An Englishman was the Constable or Master Gunner at Malacca in 1639.

plete failure of the Achinese in 1568 to turn them against their allegiance to the Portuguese. Nevertheless, Malacca, with its unhealthy climate must have been a strange place for Europeans to live in. It was a place of danger and gossip and sudden fears; with divided loyalties, treachery, intrigues, plots and counter-plots; and over all an atmosphere of never-ending danger—of fear of sudden raids on the orchards and fruit gardens by the Malays of Johore; and, above all, of the peril from the sea, with its ever-present threat of siege and famine.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PORTUGUESE AND THEIR NATIVE ENEMIES (1513–80)

I

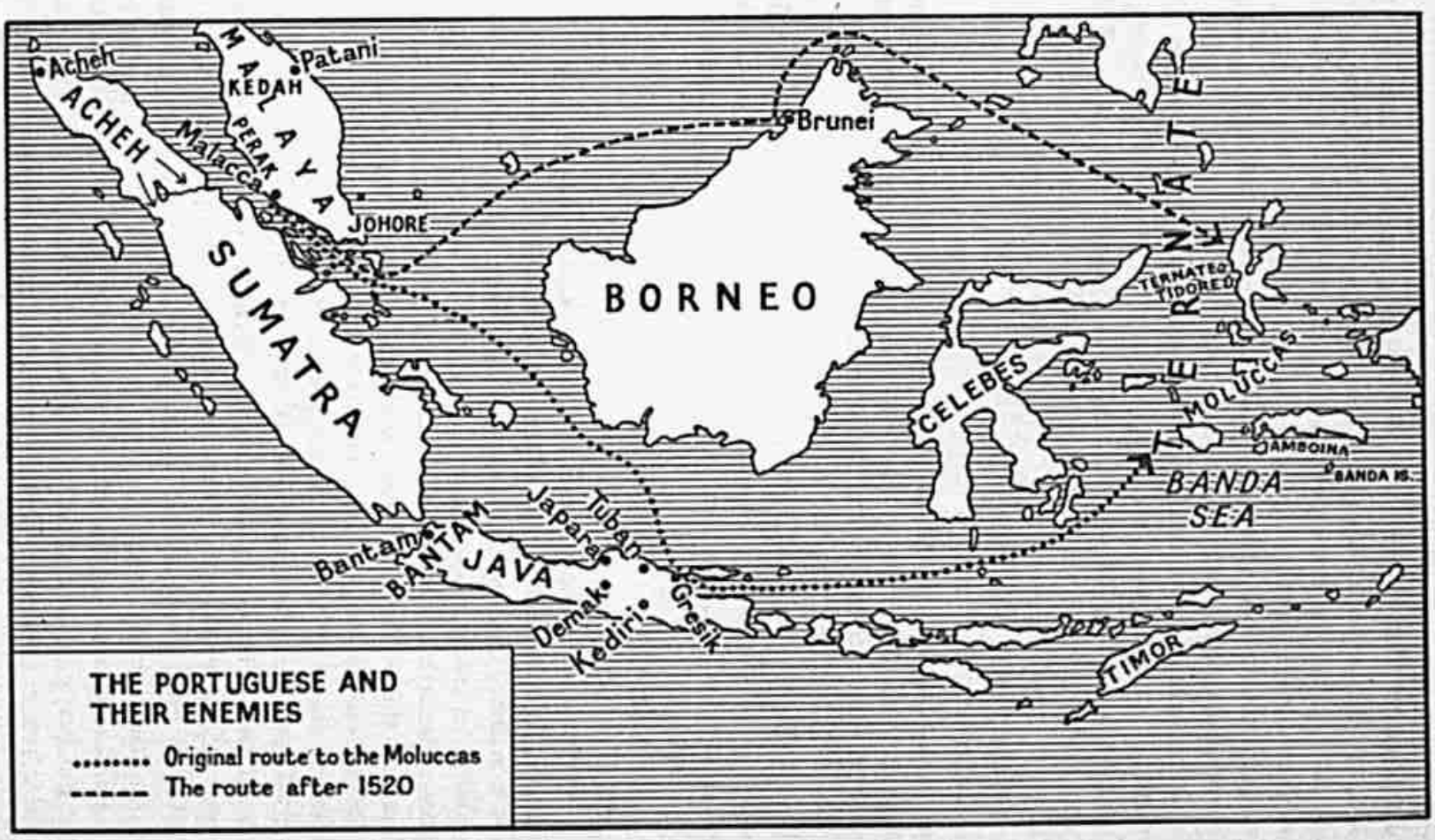
FROM 1513–28

109. *The Javanese Blockade, 1513*

SCARCELY had d'Albuquerque left the city than the garrison had to face a formidable attack from the Javanese of Japara and Palembang who sailed to the support of Patih Kadir, of whose defeat they were ignorant. Under the leadership of Patih Unus they intercepted Javanese ships bringing food to the fortress, and with 100 ships and 10,000 men began the first major blockade of the city. This attack was remarkable for the fact that the Javanese flagship was a huge junk, carrying over 1,000 fighting men, on which the Portuguese artillery had no effect at all. Soon the town was reduced to dire straits. People were reduced to one meal a day, and this consisted of a very small quantity of rice boiled in water; many died of famine. The siege was at last raised when d'Andrade sallied out with only thirteen ships, though with superior artillery, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Javanese fleet. Patih Unus returned to Java, declaring that he had been defeated by the bravest men in the world.

110. *Blockades by Mahmud, 1513–28*

No sooner had this grave menace been removed than the vital food supplies were again threatened by an incident which led to the flight of another crowd of Javanese and Malays—also engaged in the rice trade—from the city. This was the arrest and execution of Abdullah, the Sultan of Kampar, on information lodged with them by Mahmud, the exiled Sultan of Malacca. Abdullah had made peace with the Portuguese in 1512, in spite of the anger of Mahmud, his overlord; and the


Acheh
Patani
KEDAH
ACHEH
MALAYA
PERAK
Malacca
JOHORE
Brunei
SUMATRA
BORNEO
TERNATE
TIDORE
MOLUCCAS
CELEBES
AMBOINA
BANDA IS.
BANDA SEA
Bantam
BANTAM
JAVA
Japara
Tuban
Demak
Kediri
Gresik
TIMOR
THE PORTUGUESE AND THEIR ENEMIES
..... Original route to the Moluccas
----- The route after 1520

Portuguese had made him Bendahara on the death of the Hindu, Ninachatu, who had committed suicide. There seems no doubt that the Portuguese acted unjustly in paying attention to Mahmud's spiteful accusations. At all events, the execution caused much bitterness, and for a time neighbouring states stopped bringing provisions as a result of it.

Meanwhile, Mahmud's troops continued to harry the city both by sea and land. In 1515, taking advantage of the hostility caused by Kampar's execution, he launched an attack which was foiled only by the timely arrival of food supplies from Siak. In 1516, and again in 1519, he laid siege to Malacca, reducing it to the verge of famine; and although in 1519 the Portuguese counter-attacked and destroyed his fortress at Pagoh, he returned again to the offensive in 1523 and 1524. His blockade was in the latter year so effective that the price of a single fowl rose to fifty ducats. Pedro Mascarenhas who relieved the city, now decided once for all to deal with Mahmud. He captured Bengkalis, a vassal of Johore, and finally took Kopak, the capital of Bintang. Mahmud fled to Kampar, where he died in 1528; but Johore continued to be a bitter enemy of Portugal.

111. *The Moors boycott Malacca*

Nor was she the only enemy the Portuguese had to face. The Moors, furious at the loss of the trade monopoly they had held for centuries and at the repeated sinkings of their ships, now refused to trade with Malacca (where in any case the Portuguese made the mistake of charging high customs duties). Instead they shipped their goods to a new port, Acheh, that was now beginning to arise on the north-east coast of Sumatra. Her excellent geographical position at the northern end of the Straits and its nearness to the West commended it to the astute merchants from India and the Red Sea; and from an insignificant agricultural state, it soon became the chief Muslim stronghold in the west of the Archipelago, and Malacca's most dangerous enemy.

Similarly, and for the same reasons, the Muslims of Java and the eastern part of the Archipelago, began to boycott Malacca, and to resort instead to Brunei on the north-west coast of Borneo. The ruler of that country was converted to Islam in 1521, and

Malacca in the sixteenth century

began to spread his faith furiously over the rest of Borneo and as far north as the Sulu islands. To this port and to Patani, and not to Malacca, the Chinese repaired after their breach with the Portuguese in the harbour of Canton in 1519.[1]

112. *The hostility of Java*

Amongst the Javanese the Portuguese also failed to find friends. Java was at this time divided into a number of petty states, the rulers of which by 1520 had all been converted to Islam. They bitterly resented the attempt of the Portuguese to wrest from them the monopoly of the spice trade, for which they had been the chief middlemen for centuries. The most important of these states was Demak which ruled the northern coastal plains from Japara to Gresik, and had some influence over western Java and southern Sumatra. As it controlled Gresik, the successor to Tuban as the chief port of call for the Moluccas, they prevented Portuguese ships from calling there; and that is why the Portuguese were compelled to find a new route to the east via Kutei and Celebes, which they thus "discovered". Though the Portuguese had secured the monopoly of the clove trade by their treaty with Ternate in 1521, they could not prevent the islands of Buru and Amboina (which were now growing cloves in quantity to meet the growing demand) from selling them to their Javanese rivals. As for

[1] Page 207.

nutmeg, the Banda islands utterly refused to give them a monopoly, and the Portuguese had to deal with them on the same terms as other nations.

In the west of Java, the prosperous port of Bantam, which exported every year $3\frac{1}{4}$ million pounds of pepper to India and China, refused from the first to trade with Portugal. Like Demak, it was a stronghold of Islam; and these two states continued to spread Islam throughout the Archipelago—Bantam to Southern Sumatra and Demak to Southern Borneo. They also established friendly relations with their co-religionists in the Bandas and Amboina.

So it was that during the years 1512–28 Portugal soon discovered that she was ringed round by enemies. Islam had preceded their arrival in Malacca by 100 years; and thence had spread throughout the islands till by 1535 Bali, of all the Indianised states, alone remained Hindu. The whole of Sumatra (including Acheh, the leading power); the whole of Java; all the islands (save Bali), including the Moluccas, were Muslim. All consequently shared the hostility against the Portuguese on religious grounds; whilst on commercial grounds they sympathised with their Indian, Turkish and Egyptian co-religionists for the loss of their ancient trade monopoly. The Portuguese had only two footholds in South-East Asia—Malacca, the heart of their Empire in that area; and their fortress on Ternate, which commercial considerations only had led the Muslim ruler to let them build. Their continued supremacy in South-East Asia depended on their continued control of these two fortresses and on their command of the sea. "Drive the Portuguese from the sea," said a wise old Chinaman, "and they will die like fish out of water." This was a truth which Portugal's enemies very soon learnt; and that is why they did their utmost, time and again, to capture their chief base in Malacca.

113. *The first Europeans*

In these early years of her Eastern Empire, an omen of a new and formidable enemy was given by the arrival of a Spanish ship, the *Victoria*, in the Moluccas. By the Treaty of Tordesillas, 1494, a boundary line had been drawn to mark off the spheres of influence of the Portuguese and Spaniards respec-

tively.[1] This treaty declared that all discoveries made to the westward of this line should belong to the Spaniards; and all to the eastward of it should belong to the Portuguese. The settlement was an attempt to prevent them from fighting each other by making it impossible for their ships to meet, but it did not preclude other states from exploration so long as they did not poach on Spanish or Portuguese preserves. But geographical knowledge was very inadequate in those days; and it was found impossible to draw up an accurate line of demarcation. The result was that the Spaniards and Portuguese now began to fight each other in the Moluccas; and though the former eventually retired to the Philippines, they presented still another danger to the Portuguese on the east of the Archipelago, a danger that was to become overwhelming in the later years of the century.

II

The Struggle in the West of the Archipelago. From 1528–87

114. *The danger from Johore and Acheh*

Mahmud had three sons—Sultan Ahmad, who was poisoned (some say by his father); Raja Muda, who became Sultan Mudzafar Shah of Perak, from whom the present Sultan claims descent; and Raja Kechil Besar, a son of Tun Fatimah, Tun Mutahir's daughter. This last, thanks to the influence of the Bendahara family, was made Sultan at the expense of Sultan Mudzaffar Shah, and took the title of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Riayat Shah II of Johore.

After Mahmud's death, Ala'u'd-din and his Johore Malays continued to attack Portuguese shipping from their new base on the Johore river; and in 1533 they launched a new attack on Malacca based on Muar. This attack was beaten off with heavy losses, the fort at Sunga Telor was destroyed, and the Portuguese established a factory at Patani (1536). But now Acheh

[1] The line ran from the North to the South Pole, 370 miles west of the Cape Verde Islands. The Treaty modified the suggestions made in the Papal Bull of 1493 that it should run 100 miles to the west of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands.

began to play a formidable part in the war against the Portuguese. Already from 1519 master of the pepper ports of Pasai and Pedir and herself the great port of call for merchants from India and the Red Sea, she was now very wealthy and powerful. In 1537 she launched a surprise attack on Malacca—but the attack was beaten off with heavy losses. Acheh's intervention, however, proved a blessing in disguise to the Portuguese; for the rapid growth of her power had earned the fear and hatred not only of Johore, Perak and Pahang and Johore's vassal states in Sumatra, but also of the Javanese states, particularly Demak. Acheh was making a firm bid to conquer the whole of Sumatra; in addition to Pasai and Pedir she had conquered the states on the north-west coast, including the old kingdom of Menangkabau.

When therefore she conquered Aru, a vassal of Johore, in 1539, the latter forgot their dislike of the Portuguese and in combination with Siak and Perak inflicted a crushing naval defeat on this new enemy the first victory won by Johore since 1511, but one which earned for her the lasting hatred of Acheh. This new development gave the Portuguese a short breathing space; they made (at long last) a treaty with Bantam that gave them a share in the pepper trade of that port, and also with Brunei, which safeguarded their new route to the Moluccas round the North of Borneo. They were also able to eliminate the Spaniards from a fortress they had built at Timor. It was at this time that St. Francis Xavier landed at Malacca, and he made many converts to Christianity.

115. *Achinese besiege Malacca, 1547*

In 1547, however, the Achinese put an end to this brief period of peace by another formidable attack on Malacca. They made a landing by night on Kampong Kling,[1] which continually had to face such attacks because it was situated so near the sea shore. The Klings were struck with fear and dismay; the garrison roused by the cackling of some geese stolen by the Achinese, stood ready for the attack. The Achinese burnt two Portuguese ships in the harbour, and sent a challenge to the Commander Simao de Mello written in the blood of seven fishermen whom they had captured and mutilated. De Mello,

[1] Kling was the local name for South Indians.

however, dared not accept this challenge because his troops were too few; and the Achinese sailed northwards to Perlis, where they proceeded to build a fort from which they could attack all ships from Goa, Bengal, Siam or Pegu, bearing food and reinforcements for the beleaguered city. Their object, in short, was to close completely the northern entrance of the Straits to Portuguese shipping, and by this long distance blockade, to starve their great rival to death.

116. "*The Miracle of the Achens*"

On the advice of St. Francis Xavier, who had prophesied the arrival of two reinforcing ships from Patani (which duly appeared), a small fleet was sent in pursuit of the Achinese to the Perlis river, in spite of the misgivings of the Captain of the small garrison, who noted that 300 ships and 8,000 men of the combined fleets of Johore, Perak and Pahang had now arrived and were lying at anchor in the harbour of Malacca. If this desperate venture failed, he asked, what was there to prevent the capture of the city by these self-styled allies whose intentions were, to say the least, highly suspicious? The Portuguese fleet, however, soundly defeated the Achinese in the Perlis river, capturing twenty of their largest ships. This victory was related by St. Francis Xavier to the agonised Portuguese in Malacca, waiting in dread for news of the outcome of the battle, on the day it took place, first in the morning at the "Church of the Assumption" and later in the evening, with fuller details, in the little chapel of "Our Lady of the Annunciation". His prophecy was called by Pinto "the miracle of the Achens". The watching fleet of Johore and its allies sailed away on learning of this great victory, and the fortress was again saved.

117. *The defeat of Johore, 1551*

Four years later, however (1551) the three returned again (accompanied by the Queen of Japara and her fleet because of the damage inflicted by the Portuguese on her trade). They pretended that their object was to gain Malacca's aid against Acheh; but this was a mere pretext to get alongside the fortress. This attack also was defeated, the three allies, Johore, Perak and Pahang abandoning the siege, and leaving Japara to be utterly defeated.

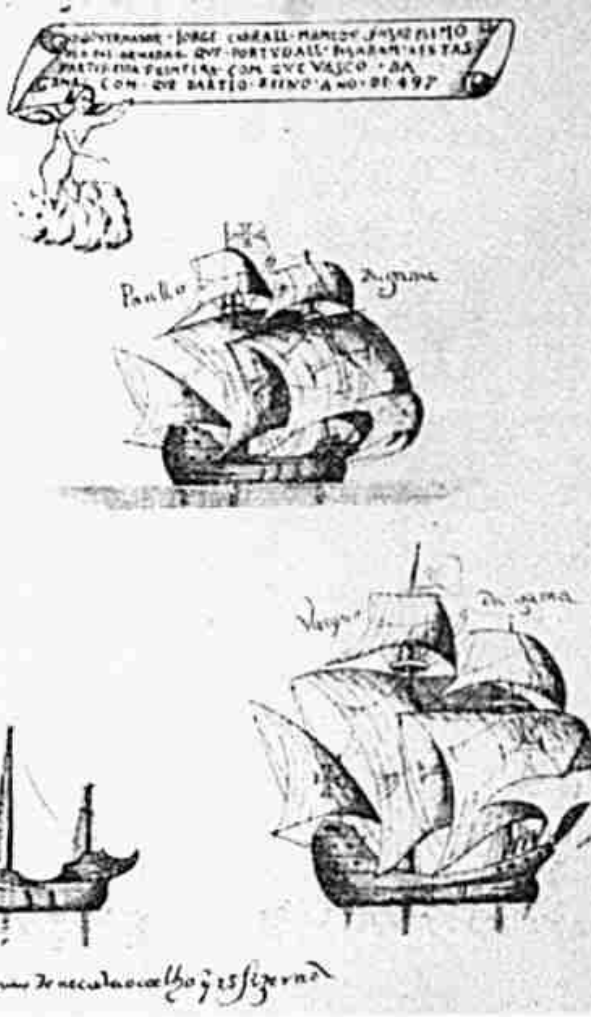
118. *Acheh's attacks on Malacca, 1558–75*

Meanwhile, the bitter hatred between Acheh and Johore continued: and in 1564 Acheh, who had never forgiven her defeat by Johore in 1539, suddenly attacked and captured Aru, sailed to Johore, sacked the fort at Johore Lama and carried the Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din into exile, where he died, perhaps poisoned. In the same year she formed a League[1] of Indian princes (in which Turkey joined) against the Portuguese, and in 1568 launched her third great attack on Malacca with a great fleet and an army of 20,000 men, which included 400 Turkish mercenaries. They did their best to win to their support the Javanese and Tamil settlers in Malacca, but these, like the people of Johore and Demak, preferred the Portuguese to the Achinese "pirates", and rallied to the support of the former. These sent also for aid to Johore and Kedah. In spite of the aid of the Turkish mercenaries and a heavy bombardment from 480 cannon, this attack also was beaten off by the small garrison of 200 Portuguese and 1,300 native troops, without any assistance from the fleets of Johore and Kedah which arrived when the battle was ending. Again in 1574 and 1575 Acheh attacked the city, but on both occasions she was beaten off. She scored, however, a signal success by her capture of Perak in 1575. This made her wealthier and more dangerous than ever, for in addition to her monopoly of the pepper trade, she had also that of the tin trade. She was now (1580) Portugal's most dangerous enemy in the west of the Archipelago; but the hatred felt for her by Johore and Demak continued to give the Portuguese of Malacca reason to hope that they could continue to play their enemies off one against the other.

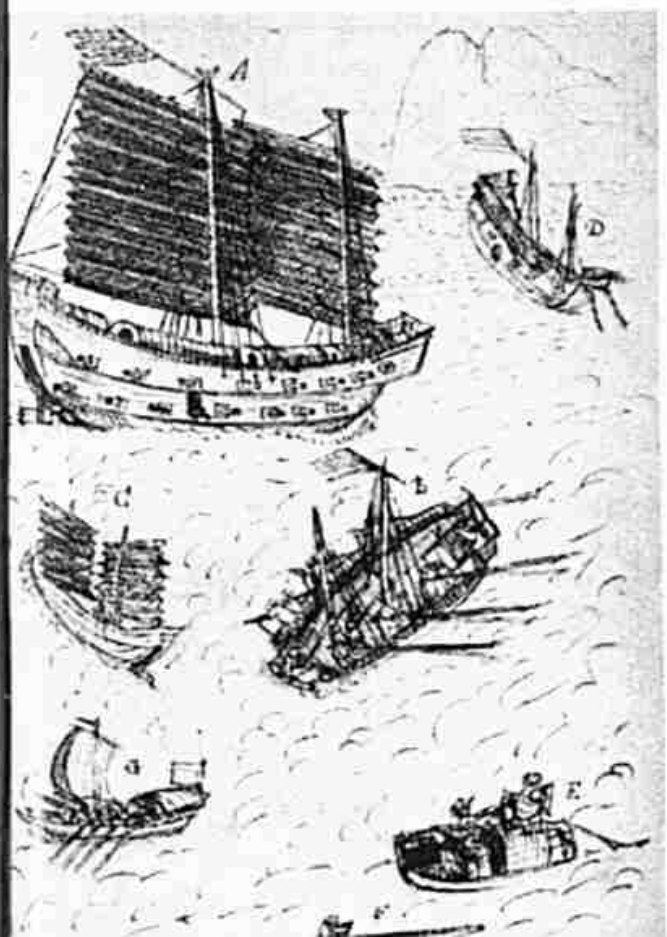
119. *The Portuguese sack Johore Lama, 1587*

So in Malacca the Portuguese still held out with grim and relentless determination. In 1582 they had helped their old enemy Johore against a bitter attack launched against them by Acheh, and had once again defeated the Achinese. Forgetful of this service, Johore launched a deadly attack against Malacca in 1587 by land and sea, and when this failed a still more deadly one later in the year. They blockaded the port so closely that it was impossible for ships from India or China to reach it.

[1] Demak (through fear of Acheh) did not join the league.



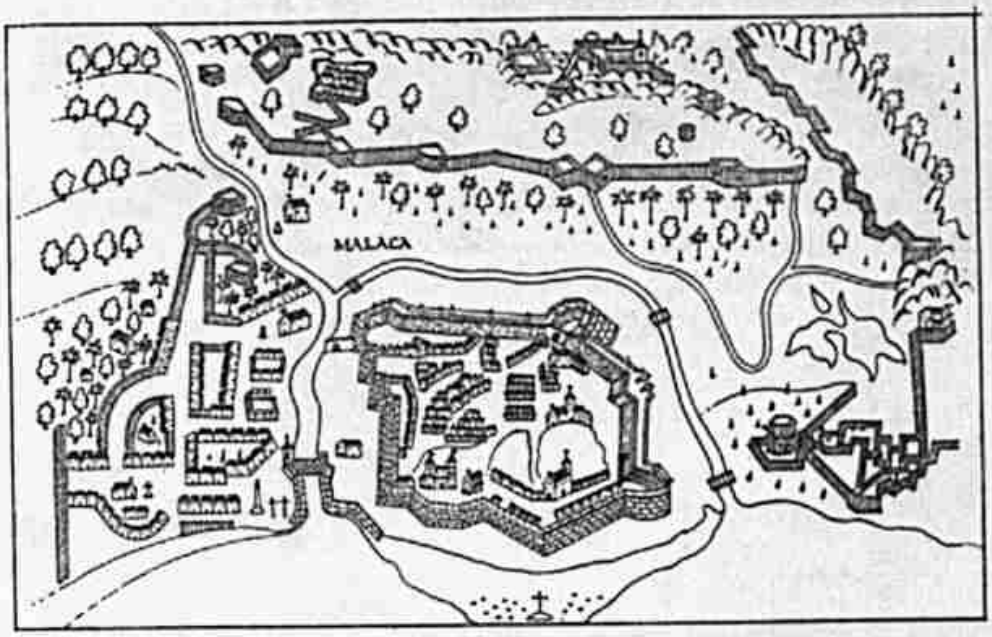
Ships of Vasco da Gama



Ming Men o' War Junks

A portrait of Emmanuel Godhino de Eredia

Godhino de Eredia's Map 1604

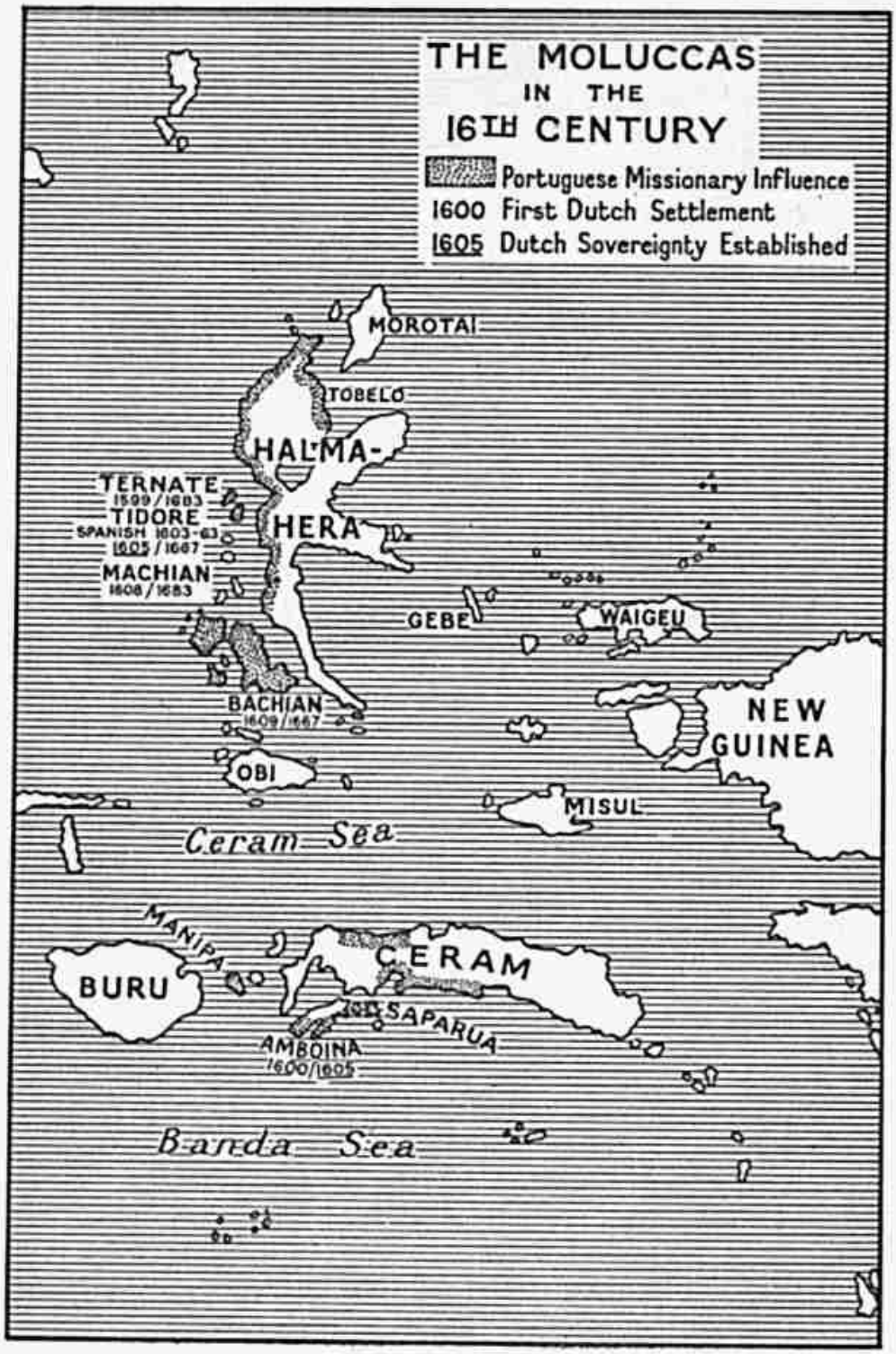


Plan of Malacca, probably used by the Achinese during the siege of 1587

The King of Johore, "Rajale", as the English called him (Ali Jalla Abdu'l or Jalil Riayat Shah) in 1585 landed at Pulo Upeh (Ilha des Pedras) and in 1587 laid siege in force. The Portuguese, however, inflicted a crushing defeat on his troops, and the reinforcements from Goa under Dom Paulo de Lima Pereira then went over to the attack and destroyed Johore Lama. The fort, though defended by 10,000 men from Menangkabau, Java, Trengganu, Indragiri and Kampar could not repel the attack; and the Malays lost 2,000 large and small ships, 1,000 (mostly small) guns and 1,500 muskets. The Portuguese lost eighty killed. Impressed by this victory, Acheh sent her congratulations, and for the time being ceased to hinder trade.

120. *Conclusion*

These years in the west of the Archipelago had been years of great difficulty for the Portuguese of Malacca. Time and again they had been besieged by their enemies—by Acheh; or by Johore, Perak, Pahang, Japara and Demak—these last often in combination. Nevertheless, the always inadequate garrison, thanks to their own bravery and d'Albuquerque's


THE MOLUCCAS
IN THE
16TH CENTURY
Portuguese Missionary Influence
1600 First Dutch Settlement
1605 Dutch Sovereignty Established
MOROTAI
TOBELO
HALMA-
HERA
TERNATE
1509/1683
TIDORE
SPANISH 1603-63
1605/1667
MACHIAN
1608/1683
GEBE
WAIGEU
NEW
GUINEA
BACHIAN
1609/1667
OBI
MISUL
Ceram Sea
MANIPA
BURU
CERAM
SAPARUA
AMBOINA
1600/1605
Banda Sea

and their converts, without any protest being raised by the officials who, as the missionaries complained, thought more of enriching themselves than of serving God. By 1565 Ternate had become a really powerful state, controlling the islands from Mindanao to Amboina, and the missions had been almost ruined. The missionaries appealed to Goa, which sent a powerful fleet to restore the situation. This was done. The long-awaited fortress was at last built in Amboina, and it seemed that the Portuguese had at last secured adequate protection.

123. *The loss of Ternate, 1574*

Everything, however, was ruined by the greed of the Portuguese Governor. In 1570 he murdered the Sultan Hairun rather than give him his agreed share of the profits of the spice trade. Instantly there was uproar throughout the islands. The Sultan's son, Baabullah, swore that he would not rest until the last Portuguese was driven from the Archipelago. Thus the courage and self-sacrifice of many Portuguese missionaries and of noble officials like Antonio Galvao were thrown away as the result of the greed and cruelty of some of their countrymen. For five years the fortress on Ternate was besieged, and during that time no help from Goa reached the beleaguered few. In 1574 the fortress fell. Its loss dealt a resounding blow to Portuguese prestige; it ruined the missions and destroyed the legend of Portuguese invincibility. The Portuguese in 1578 built a fort on Tidore, vainly trying to balance the situation by making friends with Ternate's ancient enemy, and though the death of Baabullah in 1586 gave them some respite, their real power in the East was henceforth doomed.

124. *Philip of Spain conquers Portugal, 1580*

Meanwhile new enemies from Europe were beginning to appear. Spain became increasingly active in the Philippines, and it was obvious that she would soon conquer the Portuguese remnants in the Moluccas. In 1579 Drake took aboard a cargo of spices in the islands where he had stopped on his voyage round the world; and on his return home he reported to his fellow countrymen that they could trade in the islands without any fear of being stopped by Portugal. Meanwhile, in 1580 had occurred an event which was to have the most fateful results for

Portugal, and which was to cost her her Empire in the East. Philip II of Spain annexed Portugal to his dominions in that year; thus making the inevitable Spanish victory in the Moluccas unnecessary. True, he issued instructions to Spaniards not to intervene in the Moluccas unless they were asked to, and he confirmed his new Portuguese subjects in all their privileges; but nevertheless the consequences for Portugal were disastrous. Spain was the sworn enemy of the Dutch and of the English. These latter now regarded Portugal as their enemy (since she was now a part of Spain) and considered her possessions in the East as fair game for their attacks. Portugal, therefore, after seventy years of continual fighting in the East, which had cost her so much in blood and treasure, found herself, in addition to her old enemies, faced by new and more formidable ones. These enemies were superior to her in the quality of their ships, their navigation and their artillery. They were comparatively fresh; she was weary and battle-scarred; with ships that were too often rotten hulks; with many of her officials disloyal and intent only on their own interests; with far too few troops and sailors to keep up the maintenance of her vast Empire (which included Brazil); and with enemies exasperated by her claims at monopoly, and by the exactions of many of her officials. To the newcomers from Europe, the states of South-East Asia turned eagerly, looking forward, not only to their support against Portugal, but also to the larger profits which their increasing competition for spices might be expected to bring.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE TRADE AND MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES OF THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

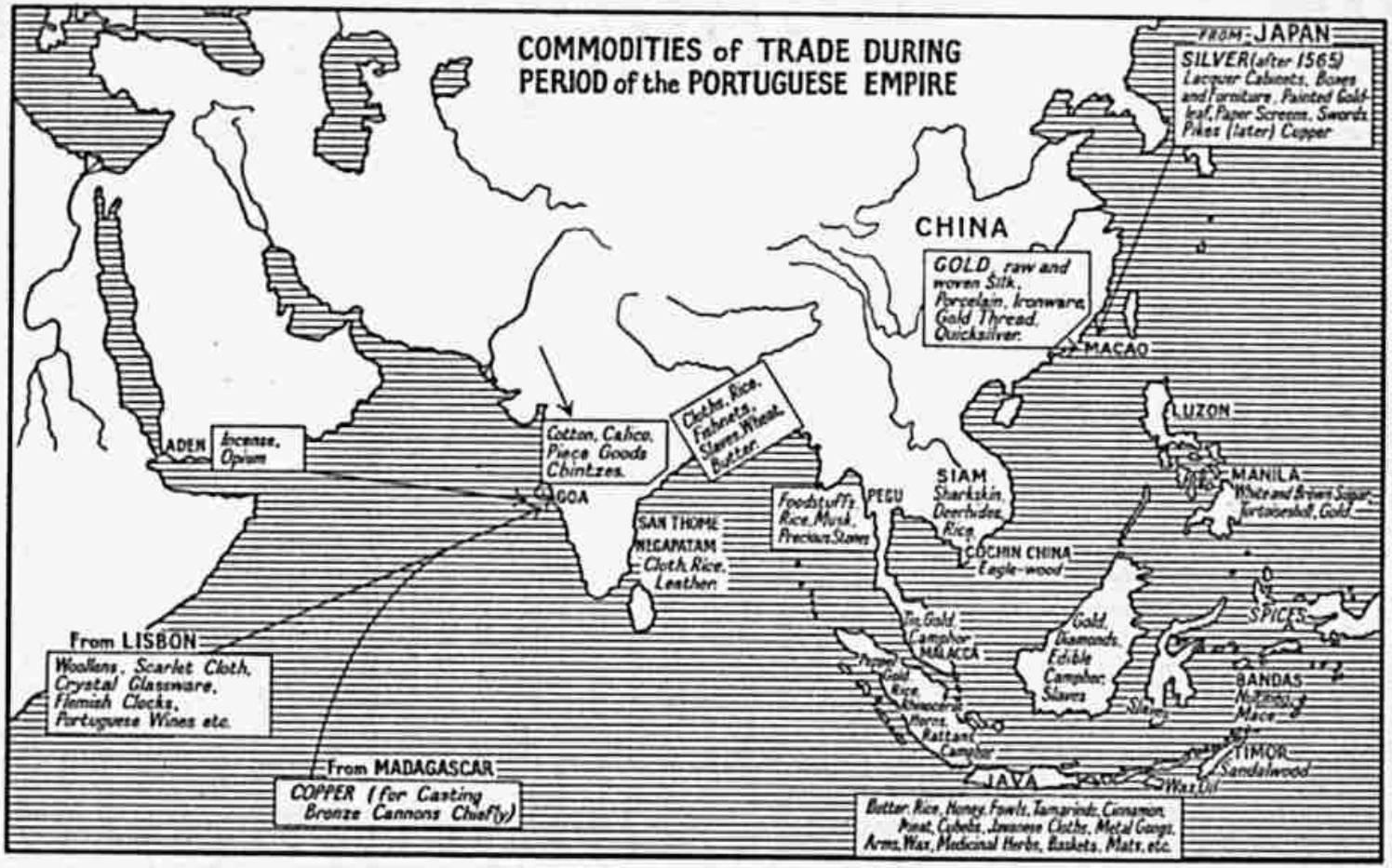
I

Trade

125. *Portuguese control of the Indian trade*

After the Portuguese had gained command of the Indian Ocean and the Straits beyond it, no Arab or Gujarati trader made the voyage to China, and their flourishing settlements at Canton and Chu'an-Chou declined rapidly. True, some of them still made voyages to the islands of Indonesia between Java and the Moluccas, but unless they were downright smugglers they did so only after obtaining passes from the Portuguese authorities in Malacca authorising them to do so. In 1524 heavy penalties were imposed on all those who failed to provide themselves with such passes in the Straits.

The result of their control of the Indian Ocean was that the Portuguese had now the monopoly of the export trade in cotton and calico textiles in the ports of Gujarat and the Coromandel coast. These goods found a ready market in East Africa (where they were exchanged for gold and ivory); and in Indonesia, where there has always been (and still is) a great demand for them. In exchange for them, the islands sent their own products —spices from the Moluccas and the Banda Isles; camphor and gold from Borneo; sandalwood from Timor; rice, arms and many kinds of foodstuffs from Java; gold, pepper, rice from Sumatra; tin, camphor and gold from the hinterland of Malaya. These and many other products were sent in the first instance to Malacca, which thus became the great emporium at which the cottons of India and the "country produce" of South East Asia were exchanged. Malacca therefore enjoyed remarkable prosperity as a result of this trade. Yet Portugal, though she retained the monopoly of the Indian trade found it increasingly


COMMODITIES of TRADE DURING PERIOD of the PORTUGUESE EMPIRE
FROM: JAPAN
SILVER (after 1565) Lacquer Cabinets, Boxes and Furniture, Painted Gold-leaf, Paper Screens, Swords, Pikes (later) Copper
CHINA
GOLD, raw and woven Silk, Porcelain, Ironware, Gold Thread, Quicksilver.
MACAO
LUZON
MANILA
White and Brown Sugar, Tortoiseshell, Gold
ADEN
Incense, Opium
GOA
Cotton, Calico, Piece Goods, Chintzes.
Cloths, Rice, Fabrics, Slaves, Wheat, Butter.
SIAM
Sharkskin, Deerhides, Rice
PEGU
Foodstuffs, Rice, Musk, Precious Stones
SAN THOME
NEGAPATAM
Cloth, Rice, Leather
COCHIN CHINA
Eagle-wood
SPICES
Tin, Gold, Camphor
MALACCA
Gold, Diamonds, Edible Camphor, Slaves
BANDAS
Nutmegs, Mace
From LISBON
Woollens, Scarlet Cloth, Crystal Glassware, Flemish Clocks, Portuguese Wines etc.
Pepper, Gold, Rice, Rhinoceros Horns, Rattans, Camphor
TIMOR
Sandalwood
From MADAGASCAR
COPPER (for Casting Bronze Cannons Chiefly)
JAVA
Wax, Oil
Butter, Rice, Honey, Fowls, Tamarinds, Cinnamon, Meat, Cubebs, Javanese Cloths, Metal Gongs, Arms, Wax, Medicinal Herbs, Baskets, Mats, etc.

difficult, in face of Javanese competition and Bandanese determination to preserve free trade, to secure a monopoly of the trade in nutmegs and spices. She was more than compensated for this, however, by the development of her trade with the Far East, the profits from which, by the middle of the sixteenth century, made those gained from the cloth and spice trade look negligible.

126. *The breach with China, 1519–50*

It will be remembered that d'Albuquerque had made friends with the Chinese whom he had found in Malacca on his arrival in 1511; and that these had been very much impressed by his victory and by his friendly attitude towards themselves. On their return they spoke highly of the conquerors to their rulers in China; and a number of Portuguese ships which went to the Pearl River delta during 1513–15 were accordingly made welcome. In 1517 an official expedition was sent to Canton from Malacca under the command of Fernao Peres d'Andrade, and its reception was so cordial that the Portuguese entertained the highest hopes of starting a really profitable trade with China. These hopes, however, were completely wrecked by the haughty pretensions and piratical behaviour of Simao d'Andrade, Fernao's brother, who visited the Pearl river in 1519. His foolishness led to a complete rupture between the Portuguese and the Chinese, who now completely excluded the former from trading with any of their ports. Though the Portuguese made attempts to heal the breach, they continued to be excluded from all official trade with China for more than thirty years.

This was indeed a setback to Portuguese hopes of sharing in the highly profitable Chinese trade. They were all the more disappointed since they knew they would have had little to fear in the way of competition in the Indian Ocean from Chinese traders themselves, for these since 1498 had limited their voyages to the Straits, and especially the great port of Malacca. Now, after 1519, apart from sending an occasional junk, they went no more to Malacca, but visited Patani and a few of the more important island ports instead. It appeared that a golden opportunity for trade had been lost by the irresponsible behaviour of one of the Portuguese captains.

127. *The healing of the breach, 1550*

Fortune, however, favoured the Portuguese. It so happened that there was bitter enmity between China and Japan, resulting from the repeated attacks on the Chinese coast by Japanese pirates whom their own government, as a result of murderous civil wars, could not control. As early as 1480 the Ming Emperor had expressly forbidden any of his subjects to trade with the Japanese; but this embargo put the Chinese and Japanese traders in a difficult position. The former were very anxious to get silver from Japan; the latter were very anxious to get the raw and wrought silk (which they prized more highly than their own) from China. It was inevitable that a certain amount of smuggling would take place between the two countries, and in this the Portuguese presently joined. When about 1550 a treaty was signed between China and Portugal allowing trade once more to be resumed, the Portuguese found themselves in an immensely strong position. The Chinese could trade with Japan only through the medium of the Portuguese. The Japanese depended on the Portuguese not only for supplies of Chinese silk, but also (at least till about 1600) for all other supplies from India and Europe. The result was that the Portuguese became the indispensable middlemen in the Sino-Japanese trade, which meant that they had the monopoly of the silk and silver trade in the Far East. To cope with this trade they made their famous settlement in Macao (1554–5), which now became the most important port in the eastern part of their Empire.

How immense were the profits of this trade may be seen from the evidence of the historian Couto who tells us that "the silver which comes from Japan every year in our great ship of commerce (*Nao de Trato*) which goes there, is all exchanged for silver bullion which is worth more than a million in gold"; and Linschoten tells us that the Captain of the China Voyage could expect to make 150,000 or 200,000 ducats as his own perquisites.

128. *Portugal's Inter-Asiatic Trade*

We are now in a position to take a bird's-eye view of Portuguese trade as a whole. Portuguese ships, laden with European goods and Indian cloths, would sail from Goa to Malacca. There they would dispose of some of their cloths (to be sold to

SILK in great demand in Japan, India and Europe – exchanged for Japanese Silver.
GOLD in great demand in India – exchanged for Japanese Silk, Spices and European Goods.
JAPAN
SILVER in great demand in China – exchanged for Chinese Silk (Lacquer, Curios, etc. in great demand in Europe)
MACAO
CLOTHS in great demand in S.E. Asia – exchanged for Gold which was in great demand in India
GOA
SPICES in great demand in India, China and Europe – exchanged for Indian Cloths, Chinese Silks etc.
MALACCA
Spices, Silk, Porcelain Japanese Curios etc. in great demand in Europe where the Portuguese had the monopoly of Eastern trade
To LISBON
THE "INTERLOCKING SYSTEM" of PORTUGUESE TRADE c.A.D.1580

Indonesia and elsewhere in South-East Asia) and take aboard spices for the Far East. With spices and Indian silver they would buy the Chinese silks, which they would then take to Japan. In exchange for these silks (very much in demand and therefore expensive) and for the European goods, spices and Indian commodities the Japanese would pay in silver. They would also sell to the Portuguese goods like lacquer cabinets, boxes and furniture, painted gold-leaf paper screens, swords, pikes and (later) copper. These goods commanded high prices in Europe. The ships would then return to Macao, and with the Japanese silver (very much in demand in China and therefore with very favourable rates of exchange) buy silks from that country for the next year's trade to Japan. They would also purchase silks, pearls, ivory and porcelain for Malacca, Goa and the European market. On the return journey to India they would load up at Malacca with spices; and on their arrival in India would buy with their Chinese and Malacca gold the cloths of Gujarat and Coromandel. Now gold was more highly prized in India than in either China or Japan; and therefore the rate of exchange for the precious metal was again in favour of the Portuguese. From Goa would be sent to Lisbon the goods destined for European consumption—spices, silks, porcelains and Javanese ornamental goods, and here they would fetch high prices.

Such, then, was the "interlocking system" of Portuguese trade, a system which the Dutch were later to imitate on the advice of Jan Pieterson Coen. Over this immense system the Portuguese, until the end of the sixteenth century, held a monopoly. In this they acted in accordance with the political and economic ideas of their age. It was they who began a system of direct trade between Europe and China, based on the key ports, Goa in the West and Macao in the East, with Malacca playing a most important role in between. This great revival of trade between East and West reminds us forcibly of the revival of the seventh century which made the fortune of Sri Vijaya, and that of the twelfth century which buttressed the decaying old Empire and made possible the great growth in prosperity of Eastern Java. Once again the importance of the Straits was illustrated, only this time it was Malacca which benefited.

We can understand that the existence of this trade would cause much envy, not only among the native states but also among the states of European powers and that its continuation was only possible so long as Portugal kept the command of the sea.

II

The Economic Policy of the Portuguese in Malacca

129. *Monopoly*

In adopting a policy of monopoly the Portuguese were very much the children of their age; and indeed this same policy had been pursued in the past by Sri Vijaya and by the Arab and Persian traders; and the Dutch were to pursue it in later times. As early as 1524 the second Viceroy at Goa, da Gama (a son of the famous navigator) imposed the death penalty and loss of property on the owners of all ships in the Straits who refused to obtain a pass from the Portuguese authorities in Malacca.[1] In this he was but continuing d'Albuquerque's policy, which was designed to make everyone realise that Portugal was the mistress of the seas. Baretto de Resende, writing as late as 1638, tells us that "It is a law of Malacca that no boat coming from the region of the Straits shall pass without putting in at Malacca and paying duties on all the cargo."

130. *High customs duties*

It was soon realised that the results of this Customs policy were bad for Malacca's trade. By 1544 the import duties levied by some Captains of the Fortress were so high that foreign merchant ships preferred to trade with other ports like Johore, Deli, Perak, Acheh and Bantam, and the revenue of the port shrank to an annual sum of 12,000 or 15,000 ducats. Moreover, disgruntled native traders took to pirating Portuguese vessels to help them to recover their losses at Malacca. It is very significant that when in 1544 reforms were introduced which levied a flat rate of 6 per cent[2] on all goods, save foodstuffs (no matter what their country of origin), the revenue

[1] Compare Sri Vijaya's policy. See above, p. 89.

[2] This was increased in 1547 to 8 per cent on goods from Bengal and 10 per cent on goods from China.

increased in one year to 27,500 ducats. By 1600 it had increased to 80,000 ducats. Doubtless the receipts could have been much higher if a more enlightened financial policy had been adopted. Nevertheless, by the end of the sixteenth century, in spite of frequent enemy attacks, the prosperity of the port was never higher. In 1638, however, when trade, owing to the Dutch blockade, had dwindled almost to nothing, the customs rate was still 10 per cent, and a further 2 per cent for the fortifications and artillery.

131. *Private trading*

Private trading by the Captains of the Fortress and by others in authority did much damage to the credit of the Portuguese and caused great harm to Malacca's trade. "The captains buy merchandise at a price much lower than the current price of the country and also compel traders to accept their money; a thing which is very usual in all the towns and fortresses of the Portuguese state, and which causes as much misery as the Dutch themselves. To such an extent is the abuse carried that even when Christians come to these ports of Malacca to trade in certain kinds of merchandise, the captain seizes their wares, assessing them at a price below their real value and using much abuse, and for this reason some merchants bring their wares to the custom house at night time in order to pay duty to the customs official in secret. All this is the cause of great losses in Malacca" (B. de Resende, 1638).

The Captains sent their goods in the king's ships free of charge to India, Manila and Macao, making huge profits. Every ship entering the harbour had to give a large present before getting a pass, though this practice was forbidden under pain of excommunication. Captains, factors and other officials dodged the payment of taxes, made their own monopolies and diverted the king's money into their own businesses. Perak tin, the profits from which were to be divided equally between the king and captain, went nearly all of it to the captain, who in three years of office expected to make 10,000 cruzados as emoluments in addition to his pay. "Really," said St. Francis Xavier, "they are under obligation to restore much to many." Private trading was not confined to the Captains, however. The Dutch van Diemen said in 1612: "There are private Portuguese captains

who think no more of Portugal, but sustain and enrich themselves with the advantages of India as if they were natives and had no other fatherland." The greed of many of these officials blinded them to everything save their own interests; caused them (as in Ternate) to imperil the success of the missions; and incurred for them the righteous anger of St. Francis Xavier.

III

St. Francis Xavier and Missionary Activities

132. Unlike the Dutch who followed them, the Portuguese were never interested in trade alone. "First pepper, then souls", was the saying current in India during the sixteenth century. Once the Colonial Empire had been founded missionary activities were undertaken. In this respect the Portuguese were nobler, because more disinterested than their successors. At first these activities, sponsored by the authorities in Lisbon, were carried on with zeal and devotion. The early missionaries, however, could do little more than attend to the needs of the soldiers, and it was not until St. Francis Xavier went out that great successes were achieved. Then a chain of dioceses was built up at Goa, Malacca and other important towns; churches, schools and seminaries were built; and "natives who embraced the Christian faith became in fact and not only in theory the equals of their white brethren, since they were eligible for many government posts" (Prestage). Yet the missionaries had to work under conditions of great hardship. Portugal's aim was to keep control over ports and harbours, and nowhere did she attempt to build up a land Empire. The missionaries, therefore, often working far from Portuguese bases, were at the mercy of local potentates; and the missions were dependent on Portugal's friendship with other countries. When this was lacking they and their converts were subject to grave dangers and persecutions. They found inspiration and comfort, however, from the example of St. Francis Xavier.

133. *St. Francis Xavier*

During its brief tumultuous history many famous men visited Malacca. Among these were Magellan, who took part in the

St. Francis Xavier

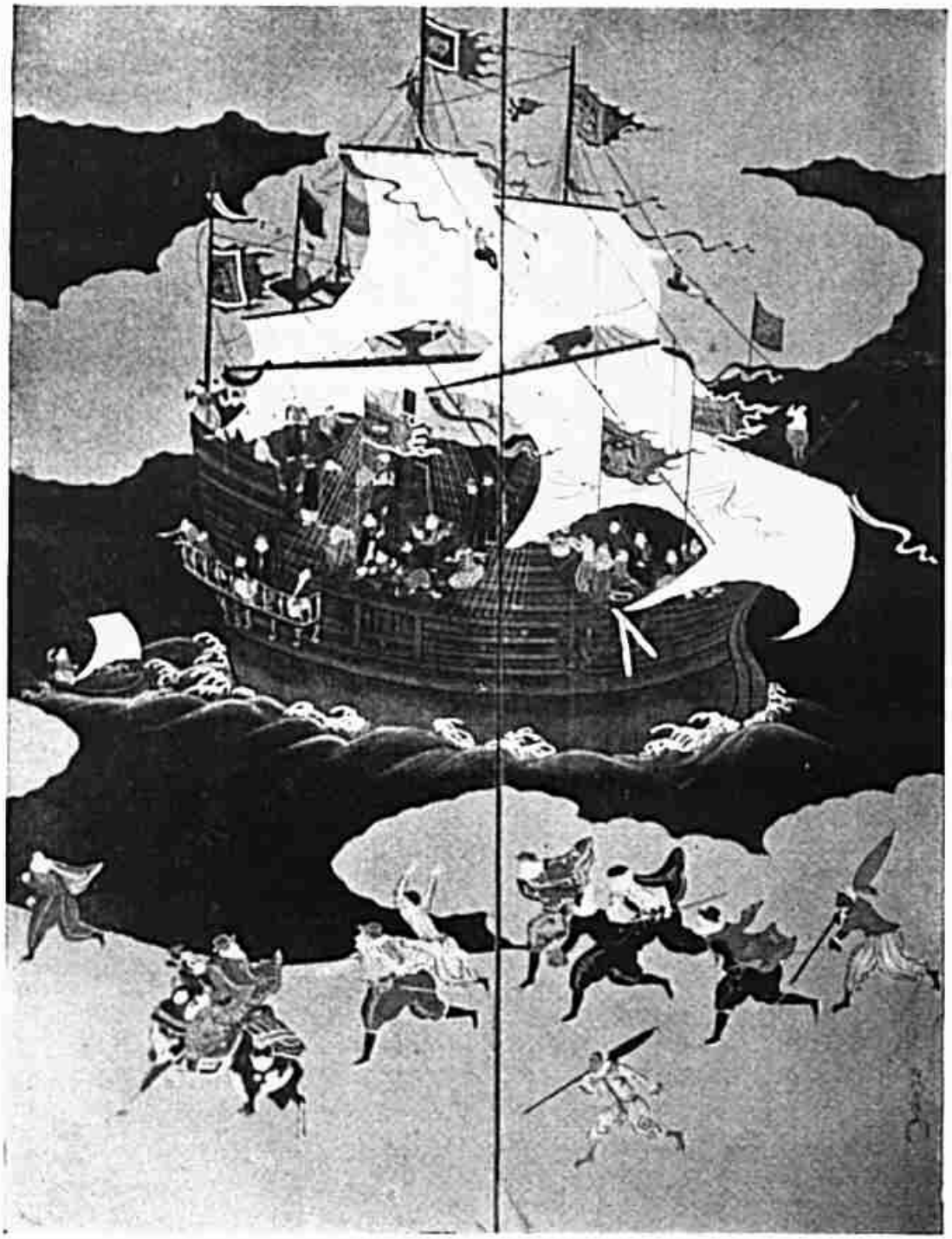
siege of 1511; Camoens, the author of the great Portuguese epic, the "Lusiads"; Fernao Mendez Pinto, the author of a famous travel book, the *Peregrination*; and chroniclers like Vartema, Barbosa and Tomé Pires, who sang its praises in their histories. None of these, however, has so much captured the imagination of the East or won such an enduring fame as St. Francis Xavier, who visited Malacca on three separate occasions—in 1545, 1550 and 1553, when on his way to the Moluccas, Japan and China respectively. Though Malacca was to him only a stage on his missionary journeys, he found much to occupy him there, and his letters throw a piercing light on the conditions obtaining in that city under Portuguese rule.

Like his friend St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, Francis Xavier was a Basque nobleman who had abandoned a worldly life to devote himself to the service of God. At the invitation of Ignatius he set out for India (7 April

Javanese Arquebusier

Javanese Spearman

A Map of 1623 showing a river crossing the Peninsula



A Não or Portuguese Carrack

1541) to make a survey of Christian settlements already in existence and to draw up a plan for the future development of the missions. For the remaining ten years of his life the Saint made long and dangerous journeys to accomplish his mission. From Goa he went to the Malabar coast, Malacca, Amboina, Ternate and other islands, "where he was exposed to deadly peril in many forms" including shipwreck and the poisoned darts of savage cannibal tribes. He was the first European to reach the famous Japanese city of Miako; but his main ambition (which he did not fulfil) was to preach the Christian Gospel in China.

In the course of his journey to the Moluccas St. Francis stayed in Malacca, and the Church of that city became in consequence the leading one in South-East Asia. At the request of the inhabitants he agreed to establish a residence for Jesuit missionaries en route for the Far East on the summit of "Our Lady's Hill" near the little chapel built by Duarte Coelho. Of this chapel he was very fond, and it was here that he gave his second sermon confirming his prophecy of the Portuguese victory over the Achinese off Perlis (Sunday, 6 December 1547). In later years the Bishop of Malacca entrusted this chapel to the care of the Jesuits. St. Francis also agreed to start a school which, situated at first near the "Misericordia" was later removed to the top of the hill. It was called "St. Paul's", and this name was later applied by the Dutch to the hill itself when they changed its name after 1641. During his stay in Malacca he had the Commandments and several of the Christian prayers translated into Malay. "Every Sunday", he wrote to his brethren in Europe, "I preach at the principal Church, 'Our Lady of the Assumption', but am not as satisfied with my sermons as are my audience, judging by the patient way they listen to me. I teach the children the prayers for an hour or more every day. At the hospital, where I have a room, I hear the confessions of the poor sick people, say Mass for them and give them Holy Communion."

134. *His attitude to Portuguese officialdom*

On his first visit to the city a large crowd had flocked to meet the "Holy Father", of whom they had heard wonderful things. Yet St. Francis was not pleased with Malacca. Like so many

international ports it was a wicked place, and was indeed in great need of the ministrations of the Saint. He had great difficulty in getting many of the Portuguese to mend their lives, but by his sincerity and gentleness, he did succeed in reforming many. Yet though gentle with sinners, he denounced their sins mercilessly. He was particularly angered by the greed and injustice of certain Portuguese officials, and in his letters to the King of Portugal, he denounced these evils with the utmost sternness. He wrote to a friend, warning him not to allow any friend of his to become an office holder in the East. "All go the same road of 'I plunder, thou plunderest', and it terrifies me to witness how many moods and tenses and participles of that miserable word 'rapio' (I plunder) those who come to India discover." The greed of many officials in Malacca equally merited his denunciations.

It must be said in fairness that not all Portuguese administrators were bad. Many, like Antonio Galvao, Governor of Ternate (whom St. Francis never met) were upright and noble men. Indeed, Galvao gave the Spice Islands, for the brief space of his governorship, the only just rule they had ever known. Because of his great services to the Moluccas, says Hakluyt, the people were "so affectioned to the Portugals that they would venture for them their lives, wives, children and goods." He left the Moluccas as poor as when he reached them, and died penniless in a charitable institution, another example of royal ingratitude.

135. *St. Francis' last visit to Malacca, 1553*

Nevertheless, it was one of these officials whose greed and jealousy wrecked the Saint's plans to introduce his missionary work into China. The Captain of the Fortress, Pedro da Silva da Gama, a son of the great navigator, was his good friend. His term of office, however, was near its end; and his younger brother, Dom Alvaro de Ataide da Gama, who had been appointed as Captain General with the right to succeed in three months, was a man of few principles and of unbridled ambition. He refused to recognise the appointment of Diogo Pereira, a friend of the Saint, to the position of Ambassador to China, because he wanted this important and lucrative office for himself; and at the same time he refused to recognise the powers of a Papal Nuncio bestowed on St. Francis by the Pope. This atti-

tude ruined in advance the Saint's plans to enter China, for only as a member of the Ambassador's suite would he be allowed to enter that country. Dom Alvaro da Gama soon gained a large following amongst the merchants and mob of Malacca, who realised that he would soon be in charge of the city as Captain of the Fortress. When threatened with the crime of high treason and with excommunication, he paid no attention, because Portugal and India were far away and he thought himself strong enough to ignore them. Instead he incited the mob to insult the Saint publicly in the streets. His adherents waited for St. Francis, shouting names after him, so that he hardly dared to stir abroad, so violent had the feeling against him become. At last, Dom Alvaro da Gama, perhaps realising he had gone too far—"he had spoiled the whole expedition arranged by the Senhor Viceroy"—allowed him to sail on the *Santa Cruz*. The Saint went down to the Little Harbour, near the church and the "A Famosa", and facing the main door of the church, he knelt down and prayed for his enemies. "Then rising, he took off his shoes and struck them against a stone as if shaking off the dust. Then he got into his boat which took him to the 'Santa Cruz' lying in the main port of 'Ilha das Naos'. The Saint's gesture", continues Fr. Cardon, "has rightly been considered as an appeal to Divine Justice not only against Don Alvaro, but also against the Portuguese city which had been turned into a Babylon of the Orient by the profligate inhabitants." On 21 October, when he had reached Sancian, where he was so soon to die, he wrote to Fr. Peres in Malacca telling him to depart from the city and leave the little church in the charge of a friendly layman. "You must not continue", he wrote, "wasting your labours, which as things are may be far better employed elsewhere, on a town so ungrateful and unworthy of your help as has for some time been the case."

136. *Death of St. Francis*

St. Francis died a lonely death on the island of Sancian on 3 September 1553, almost in sight of that China he had so much longed to see. His incorrupt body[1] was brought to

[1] In 1953, on the occasion of the fourth centenary of his death, the Saint's body, still free from the usual corruption that follows death, was shown for public veneration, in Goa, where it was seen by thousands of pilgrims from all over the world.

Malacca (22 March 1553), where the inhabitants, anxious to make amends for their ill-treatment of the Saint during his lifetime, met it as a boat brought it to the Little Harbour. They then formed a huge procession—Christians and non-Christians alike—and conducted the coffin to the top of Our Lady's Hill—"never before had such a multitude been seen in Malacca" it was said. The coffin was opened and all marvelled at seeing that the body was incorrupt. Shortly afterwards it was taken by his faithful friend, Diogo Pereira, to Goa, where it still remains. As for Dom Alvaro da Gama, he was arrested for his many injustices and though many disorders followed, was cast into prison. There he was stricken with leprosy, and when later he was removed to Portugal, he died wretchedly of that disease. The Jesuits returned to Malacca in 1556, and the interdict was raised, much to the joy of the people on whose minds the death of the Saint had weighed heavily. Then began the work of building the new church of "Our Lady of the Annunciation" to replace the now rapidly decaying *ermida*.

St. Francis Xavier has been compared with St. Paul as a great Christian missionary. He discovered the best ways of spreading Christianity in the most important cities of the Far East, and his letters, full of the fervour and daring of an Apostle, spread enthusiasm in the West and led to a great increase in missionary fervour there. During the next two centuries, his plans—those of a born pioneer—developed amid incredible hardships, until as a result of the difficulties of communication across desert, mountain and sea, and the opposition of human enemies, they met with failure. Later, missionary activities revived, and they owed much of their success to the inspiration of his burning zeal.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PORTUGUESE AND THEIR ENEMIES (CONTINUED) (1580–1641)

I

EARLY ENGLISH ADVENTURERS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

137. *Drake*

THE "Line" drawn by the Pope in 1493 had as its object the prevention of disputes between the sailors of the two powers, Spain and Portugal, for there was grave danger that these disputes would lead to war between them. By 1547, however, these two powers had come to regard the line as dividing the globe into a Spanish hemisphere and a Portuguese. In this contention, the other European powers acquiesced; and it was not until the success of Drake's exploits against Spanish ships in the isthmus of Darien (1572), and in particular in his famous voyage of circumnavigation (1577–80) that the division of the world between Spain and Portugal was seriously challenged. Drake's appearance in the Moluccas had serious consequences for the Portuguese. He was well received by the Sultan of Ternate, who regarded him as a potential ally against them, and who in any case welcomed European competition in the spice trade. Even since 1511 the price of spices had risen threefold; and the Sultan hoped that the newcomers would cause the price to rise still higher. When Drake returned to England, his rich cargo of spices proved conclusively to the English merchants, who were chafing at a new rise in the price of pepper, that direct trade with the Spice islands was not only possible but comparatively easy. Drake's capture of the *San Filippe* in 1587 clearly demonstrated the superiority of the English warships over the Portuguese. The capture of this ship, one of those great vessels on which the Portuguese power in the Indian Ocean depended, struck a great blow at Portuguese prestige, and showed that her claim to an exclusive monopoly could be successfully chal-

lenged. From this time, no Portuguese ships were safe from attack.

138. *Voyages of Cavendish (1586–8) and Fitch (1583–91)*

In 1586–8 Sir Thomas Cavendish sailed via the Straits of Magellan to the Philippines, and thence to the Straits of Macassar, Java and Bali, and so home via the Cape of Good Hope. His attacks on Spanish shipping provided him with handsome profits. Much more important, however, was the narrative of the travels of Ralph Fitch in India and South-East Asia, which he published on his return to England. The clear matter-of-fact account of the best markets to visit and the profits to be made finally convinced the hard-headed London merchants of the great possibilities of trade in the East. The book appeared at the psychological moment. The superiority of English ships over Spanish galleons had recently been shown by the defeat of the Armada; and the discovery of certain bills of lading and other papers in two carracks captured in 1589 and 1592 gave vital information about the wealth of the Indian trade and many of its commercial secrets. The London merchants, much concerned at the decline of their "trade of clotheinge" and other commodities resulting from the war with Spain, now looked to the East in the hope of gaining fresh markets.

139. *Voyages of Lancaster (1591) and Wood (1596)*

On 10 April 1591 a fleet of three ships set out from Plymouth under the command of Edward Lancaster. Only one of these reached Malayan waters, spending the winter of 1592 refitting off the desert island of Penang—"a very good harborough", though "our refreshing in the place was very small". Lancaster was concerned more with booty than with trade, and captured several ships in the Straits. On the way home his own ship was wrecked and all her booty and the hoped-for profit of her shareholders were lost.

Wood's expedition was equally unsuccessful from a commercial point of view. One ship was lost off the Cape; the other two sailed on to prey on Portuguese shipping off Goa and in the Straits. Wood retired to "old Kedah" to refit, burnt one of his ships because he had too few sailors to man her, and with the other sailed north to Martaban. There the ship went down.

These two expeditions gained for the English a reputation for piracy. They had, however, given clear warning to the Portuguese that from now on they might expect many more attacks on their ships by this new enemy in eastern waters.

140. *The East India Company and Lancaster's expedition, 1601–3*

The English merchants now decided to develop the trade with the Spice Islands on a large scale, and to this end they obtained from Queen Elizabeth a charter constituting the East India Company on 31 December 1600. The formation of the Company was a definite challenge to Portuguese supremacy in the East, and no time was lost in carrying it out. In 1601 an expedition under the command of Sir James Lancaster reached Acheh and Bantam, where the ships loaded up with pepper and other spices. At Bantam a factor was left behind to arrange for future cargoes; and on the way home the fleet captured a Portuguese carrack, the plunder of which added to the profits of the expedition. During the years 1604–12 no less than seven voyages were undertaken. The second which set out in 1604 under the command of Sir Henry Middleton, reached the Moluccas and established a factory at Amboina. The third and fifth were extremely successful bringing home a profit of 234 per cent. Though not all of these voyages were successful (the fourth, for example, being a total loss), yet the net results were distinctly favourable for English trade.

141. *Effects of English intervention*

Up to the year 1613 the English and Dutch adventurers, because of their common hostility to the Portuguese, remained friendly to each other; but, as we shall see in our next volume, quarrels arose between them after that year, and by 1623 the English had been driven out almost completely from Malayan waters. This, however, did not make them any less formidable to the Portuguese, whose bases in India they continued to attack with even greater determination. In 1612 they had defeated them in a naval victory of supreme importance at Swally Roads, the anchorage at Surat, and organised the first English factory in India with the permission of the Great Mogul. Though in 1617 the Portuguese made a final effort to drive the English from Western India, they were once again

defeated at Swally Roads and the English control of Surat was confirmed. In 1622 the English dealt the Portuguese a very heavy blow by capturing Ormuz, which gave them a large share of the trade with Persia. From this time the power of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean declined. In 1635 the Portuguese, after a number of naval defeats, agreed by the Convention of Goa that the English had the right to trade in their Western Indian ports.

It is clear, therefore, that the English played a considerable part in bringing about the downfall of the Portuguese Empire in the East. Their attacks, particularly on Portuguese bases in India, added to Portuguese troubles by making it increasingly difficult for them to send reinforcements to Malacca and elsewhere, and to keep up communications with Europe.

II

The Arrival of the Dutch

142. Much more formidable than the English, however, as rivals to the Portuguese in Malaysia were the Dutch, who made their appearance on the scene in 1595. They were hard-headed business men to whom "trade was almost a religion", and they followed it with single-minded devotion, untroubled by the crusading ideals of their rivals. Many of their navigators had learnt their trade in the service of the Portuguese, who because of their shortage of sailors, not infrequently employed foreigners in their ships. Moreover, the publication of Linschoten's famous book, the *Itinerario*, placed at their disposal detailed information about routes and navigational conditions in eastern waters which the author had carefully compiled from Portuguese sources during his stay in Goa (1583–92). The way to the East was now open to all who could read, more especially now that Portugal's weakness had been exposed by England, Spain and the Netherlands. When, however, their hated enemy, Philip II of Spain, conquered Portugal in 1580, and in 1594 closed the port of Lisbon to Dutch and English sailors, these latter no longer felt any scruple about attacking the Portuguese possessions in the East. In 1595 a small Dutch expedition, under the command of Cornelius van Houtman, sailed to the

Straits of Malacca, called at Acheh and then went south to the port of Bantam. There they were welcomed by the natives and a few Portuguese renegades, the latter "showing them all politeness and explaining the conditions of Java to them and exalting the great fertility and wealth of the island". With good cargoes aboard, they sailed East to Madura and Bali, and thence returned home. Though the venture did not make great profits and van Houtman's overbearing manner had made enemies for the Dutch in Acheh and Madura, it was nevertheless a resounding success, since it showed that voyages to the East could be made quite easily, and that there was plenty of scope for Dutch enterprise and commerce. Between 1595 and 1601 no fewer than sixty-five Dutch ships in twenty-two fleets set sail for the East, and one of these, under Oliver van Noort made a complete circumnavigation of the globe, sailing through the Straits of Magellan.

143. *The Spanish reaction*

Philip II viewed this new development with great anger. He ordered the seizure of all Dutch shipping in Spanish waters, confiscated all Dutch property throughout his territories, and commanded the Viceroy at Goa to "extinguish and destroy the novelty of this navigation so prejudicial to our service" (1598). In pursuance of these instructions, the Portuguese made several attempts to drive out the Dutch interlopers. They realised only too well that in these they had to face not merely new trade rivals, but enemies who would do their best to drive them from their settlements in the East. They did not succeed, however, in expelling them. Their first attempt (1595), indeed, was a dismal failure. The Viceroy instructed the Admiral of the expedition, Lorenzo de Brito, to seize van Houtman's ships and so demonstrate the impossibility of similar expeditions in the future. By the time de Brito reached Bantam, however, van Houtman was already on his way home; and the Admiral, in defiance of the Viceroy's instructions, who had warned him not to antagonise the Javanese, proceeded to teach them a lesson for receiving the Dutch so favourably. The Javanese, however, defeated him and compelled him to retire. This defeat heavily damaged Portuguese prestige and encouraged the Javanese to favour the Dutch. A second attempt to drive out

the Dutch in 1601 met with a similar result. The Portuguese admiral de Mendoza, with a fleet of thirty ships, attacked the five Dutch ships in the roadstead of Bantam; he was driven off with the loss of two ships, and henceforth the reputation of the Dutch in this area was firmly established.

144. *The Native states welcome the Dutch*

In defiance of the Portuguese, therefore, the Dutch had now obtained a footing in Java. At this stage, however, they were more anxious to build up their trade than to engage in a full-scale war with the Portuguese. They preferred to undermine the position of the latter by winning the friendship of the native states. In this they were well supported by the native states themselves, which welcomed any rivals to the Portuguese, not only because they were their enemies, but also because the rivalry of the Europeans increased the demand for spices. Consequently, wherever they went the Dutch were welcomed. In 1602 a Dutch trader, van Heemskirk, visited Kedah, and thus began the Dutch relationship with Malaya which lasted till 1824. Another Dutchman, Jacob Buizsen, visited Johore, established a factory there, and persuaded the Sultan to send two Johore Malays as Ambassadors to the Netherlands. Even Acheh, which had been infuriated by van Houtman's tactlessness, made an agreement with the newcomers, and sent ambassadors to the Netherlands. In the Moluccas the Dutch received an overwhelming reception. In 1601, led by van Neck, their ships reached the Banda Islands, and soon they were doing a roaring trade there. The Sultan of Ternate also gave them a cordial reception, as did Amboina, where they established a trading post. These islands began to look forward to an even greater prosperity. The prices of nutmeg and cloves had now doubled as a result of the new competition, and every month the port duties were raised. To this the Dutch, in a hurry to increase their trade, at first made no objection.

145. *The foundation of the Dutch East India Company, 1602*

They soon realised, however, that the shrewd merchants of Acheh and the Moluccas were steadily increasing the price of spices by playing off one Dutch fleet against another; so they decided to forbid independent trading expeditions, and concen-

trate all their activities under the direction of a single company, to be known as the East India Company. Henceforth there was to be one price and one price only for Dutch merchants to pay. The Company was, however, much more than a mere trading company. It was made the representative of the Netherlands Government with full power to act on its behalf. It was given power to establish colonies; to make war or peace; to draw up treaties with native princes; and to build fortresses wherever these were deemed to be necessary. The whole power of the Netherlands was behind it; and the unheard of sum of 6½ million guilders (about £538,000) was put at the Company's disposal as its capital. Compared with the resources of this powerful and rich institution, those of the English East India Company were negligible. The latter had little capital; their financial organisation was weak; and above all, they did not have behind them the wholehearted backing of the Mother Country. So it was that from this time on the Dutch became the most formidable enemy of the Portuguese. They attacked the latter throughout the whole extent of their vast Empire from Ormuz to Japan. In 1603 a fleet under S. van der Hagen was sent out to destroy the trade of the Portuguese in India, or at the least to make it unprofitable. They made friends with rulers like those of Cochin and Calicut who had long been enemies of Portugal; and at the same time proceeded more energetically to undermine the Portuguese power in Malaysia.

146. *The Company and the native states*

The Company now took over all the factories already established by their predecessors in this area—namely Banda, Ternate, Patani, Johore, Gresik, Bantam and Acheh. They drove out the Portuguese from Johore, and captured the fortress of Amboina without, to their surprise, meeting any real resistance from the garrison. The island of Amboina gave the Company its first territorial foothold in the archipelago; and van der Hagen concluded a treaty with the villagers of the island by which these latter recognised the overlordship of the Netherlands and granted the Dutch a monopoly of trade. Meanwhile, they also captured the fortress of Tidore. As they had already gained the monopoly of trade with the Banda islands, they were therefore in a fair way of gaining the monopoly of both clove

and nutmeg in the Moluccas. Attacks by the Spaniards, however, which began in 1606, and led to a long-drawn-out guerrilla war, prevented them for some time from consolidating this monopoly; but the Spanish counter-attack of 1606 did them one great service. It broke for ever the political power of Ternate which had caused the Portuguese so much trouble; and it led the ruler of that island to make a treaty of alliance with the Dutch (1607), by which he agreed to recognise the States General of the Dutch Republic as his protectors, and to pay all the expenses of the war after he had been restored to his former position. This treaty, together with the similar treaty made earlier with Amboina, made the Dutch virtually the paramount power in the Moluccas.

In 1602–3 the Dutch had blockaded the fortress of Malacca, and they very soon realised that its major weakness was the ease by which it could be reduced to famine. This attack caused consternation in the city. "The fortress of Malacca", said a report of merchants of the Chamber of Commerce in Goa in 1603 in its annual letter to the king, "is without provisions nor can it obtain any, because the Hollanders stopped those that the Javanese were bringing." The people were dying of famine, and it was essential to relieve the city since "without the south there is no India". Dutch prospects of taking the city seemed to be rosy; but for this they deemed the support of Johore to be essential.

147. *The Dutch and Johore*

The factory established in 1603 by the Dutch at Batu Sawar under the direction of Jacob Buizsen, soon turned this insignificant fishing village into an important trading and political centre. The Dutch laid great store by the support of this state, though they declared themselves disappointed with the Sultan, 'Ala'u'd-din Riayat Shah III, the successor of "Rajale". 'Ala'u'd-din, they said, was a drunkard, who took no real interest in the affairs of his state, but was prepared to sacrifice its welfare to his own whims and hates. Of his three brothers, two also were drunkards, Raja Laut "being the greatest drunkard, murderer and scoundrel of the whole family". Only one of them, Raja Abdullah, was sober, prudent and responsible; but even he, as he explained to the Dutch, whose

cause he favoured, was an *orang miskin*, a person of little wealth and importance who had no real influence on the conduct of affairs. Nevertheless, the Dutch were most anxious to gain the support of the irresponsible Sultan in the attack they now contemplated on Malacca.

148. *The Treaty with Johore, 17 May 1606*

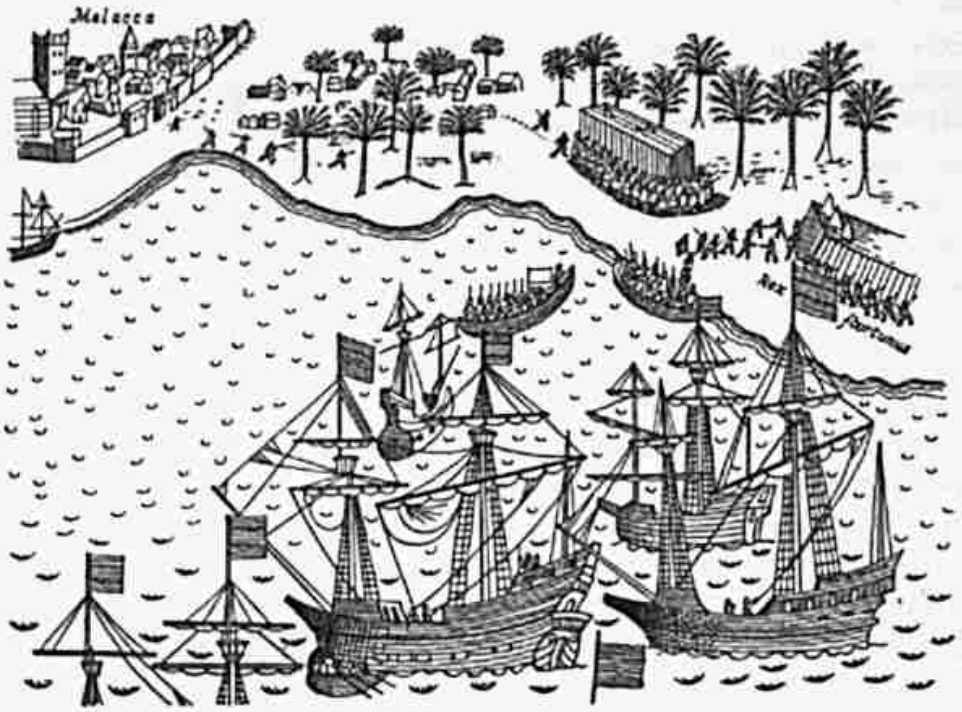
Consequently, on 17 May 1606 the Dutch Admiral, Matelief, concluded a defensive and offensive treaty of alliance with this inveterate enemy of Portugal. By this treaty Johore was to help the Dutch to capture Malacca. When this was done the Portuguese city was to be handed over to the Dutch, and the adjoining territories to the Malays, though the Dutch were to be given the right of taking timber from the jungles in these territories for shipping and defensive purposes. The Dutch were to be granted a monopoly of trade with Johore, and their merchandise was to be free of duty. Each side agreed not to make peace with Spain without the other's consent: and although the Dutch refused to support their ally in his wars against any other enemy, they promised to use their good offices to negotiate peace if Johore were attacked by Acheh.

As the fulfilment of the terms of this treaty depended on the capture of Malacca, Matelief now led the combined force of the Netherlands and Johore to lay siege to the city.

149. *The siege of Malacca, 1606*

This siege was a highly critical one for the Portuguese. The garrison numbered only eighty Portuguese, a few Japanese mercenaries and 3,000 slaves and Malays, who proved to be of little help in the fighting. Matelief, the Dutch commander, pressed home the siege with marked skill and ability. He at once realised the failure of the Portuguese to fortify the Ilha das Naos (Ships' Island), and having seized this strategic position, he raised a battery on it and proceeded to bombard the fortress at close quarters, as well as from his ships. The bombardment caused heavy damage. Malacca, especially the part south of the fortress, suffered miserably. The Cathedral was so badly hit that it threatened to collapse: and the church of "Our Lady of the Annunciation" was also badly damaged.

The Portuguese replied steadily to the bombardment, and



Matelief's landing at Malacca 1606

built a battery in the cemetery of the Jesuit College next to the Church on the top of the hill. Thanks to d'Albuquerque's foresight when he built the keep right at the mouth of the river, two small relief vessels managed to land three hundred fresh troops under the noses of the attackers, and thus saved the city. On hearing of the approach of a strong relief fleet from Goa the Dutch withdrew after a siege which had lasted for three months and nineteen days. Nevertheless, later in the year Matelief inflicted a severe defeat on the Portuguese galleons, which gained for the Dutch the vital command of the sea. Henceforth it became increasingly difficult for the Portuguese to trade with Patani, Bantam and the Moluccas. It was only a question of time now before they would be driven out completely from the Archipelago.

The Portuguese were now everywhere on the defensive; and their resources were strained to the uttermost. They had now not only to defend their widely flung territories in the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal and the Straits of Malacca, but to provide convoys for their merchantmen which were continually being attacked by Dutch and English. Again

in 1607 the Dutch besieged Malacca: but though they again failed to capture it, they were so confident of success that they now put no limit to their ambitions. "The commerce in the Moluccas, Amboina and Banda should belong to the Company, and no other nation in the world should have the least part." Such were the instructions issued by the Dutch East India Company to their first Governor General, Pieter Both, appointed in 1609. It was clearly war to the death.

150. *Johore changes sides, 1610*

The Portuguese, recognising the seriousness of the situation in the Straits resulting from their loss of the command of the sea, now sought an alliance with Johore. Though the Dutch, after their failure to capture Malacca, had been granted a small strip of territory in Johore for use as a trading station, they soon found this untenable, and their factor had to flee to Java. In vain did Matelief try to persuade the Sultan to remain an ally of the Dutch, even though in a new treaty he promised Johore protection against the Portuguese by agreeing to build a fort and to station two gunboats in the estuary. As always, 'Ala'u'd-din continued to pursue his own fickle policy; and when in 1610 his eldest son married the daughter of Portugal's ally the Raja of Siak he abandoned the Dutch alliance and made friends with the Portuguese. Once more Matelief might have written, as he wrote in 1608: "the king drinks more than ever; the chiefs are on the side of the Portuguese; the Raja Abdullah has no power." The Portuguese, however, found their new ally as unhelpful as the Dutch had done. By 1615 the power of Johore was broken by Acheh and they themselves had to meet a new and more formidable threat from this kingdom, which, under a new and able ruler, aimed at the complete mastery of the Straits and of the West of the Archipelago.

III

The Danger from Acheh

151. *The Achinese conquer Malaya*

In 1612 Mahkota Alam (1612–36) succeeded to the throne of Acheh, and began at once that series of conquests which

has caused him to be regarded as one of the greatest of the Achinese Sultans. His main enemy was the Portuguese, but first he wished to teach a lesson to Johore. In 1612 he recaptured Aru, which Johore had won back from Acheh at the beginning of the century; and which, it will be remembered, had been a bone of contention between the two powers since 1540.

In 1613 he sent a raiding fleet to Batu Sawar, which captured the capital and took the old Sultan and his family back to Acheh as prisoners. A reconciliation was affected, and 'Ala'u'd-din was restored to his throne, doubtless having given Acheh a promise to help in the war against Malacca. When, however, he once again made peace with the Portuguese in 1615, Mahkota Alam sent a fleet of 300 ships and 30,000 men to raze Batu Sawar to the ground. This they did, and though the Sultan fled to Bintang, he was soon taken prisoner, and died shortly after. It is said that he was put to death by the Achinese. The new Sultan, Raja Abdullah (Sultan Abdu'l Maayat Shah), though he was the brother-in-law of Mahkota Alam and had always been a firm friend of the Dutch, was never able to obtain recognition as Sultan. In 1618–1620, Mahkota Alam conquered Pahang, Perak and Johore, and later in the latter year captured Kedah, destroying its pepper plantations so that they should not continue to rival his own. The unfortunate Abdullah—a mere "pretender king"—took refuge in the island of Lingga, but was driven out of the island in 1623, and spent the rest of his days a hunted fugitive. He died in 1637 on Great Tambelan Island.

The conquests of Mahkota Alam presented a serious threat to the Portuguese. Malacca was now surrounded on land by his vassals, and at sea she was constantly menaced by his fleets. During the years 1627–29 he intensified his blockade of the city; and at last in 1629 decided that the time had arrived to deal Malacca its death-blow. He was most anxious to prevent this great prize from falling into the hands of the Dutch, whose growing power threatened to eclipse his own.

152. *The Achinese siege of Malacca, 1629*

Sailing with a fleet of 236 ships and 20,000 men, Mahkota Alam succeeded in making a landing at the mouth of the

Sungai Pongor in Yler. After a severe skirmish with the Governor of Yler, who inflicted many casualties on his troops, the Achinese captured St. John's Hill, and from here they began a heavy bombardment of the town. They had, however, reckoned without the Portuguese detachment of 200 men commanded by D. L. de Fonseca, who from near the Franciscan Church of the "Madre de Deus" on Bukit China, heavily bombarded them, causing heavy casualties. Eventually the Achinese took the hill with 3,000 men, de Fonseca having levelled the buildings and retreated to the fortifications. At this moment reinforcements arrived from Pahang and San Thomé; the garrison launched a counter attack, and after a desperate fight, they succeeded in wiping out the fleet and army of the Achinese.

Once again the Portuguese had triumphed over very great odds.

IV

The Dutch Capture Malacca

153. It was obvious, however, that the days of the Portuguese in the East were numbered. They had lost their foothold in the Moluccas and the attacks of the English and Dutch on their bases in the Indian Ocean, like Ormuz, Mauritius, Ceylon and the Cape, showed clearly that they had lost command of the sea. Constant blockades of Goa made any chance of reinforcements from the capital of the Empire negligible; Dutch gunboats patrolled the Straits; and Malacca, completely isolated and without hope of succour, waited grimly for the inevitable end.

As for Malacca herself, it was clear that she was merely the symbol of an Empire that was already dead. The city was the last remaining outpost of Portugal in Malaysia, and it continued to refuse the ignominy of surrender; but it was devoid of all real significance. Already by 1630 its place had been taken by a new port which the Dutch had founded (1617) and consciously developed as its rival. The foundation of Batavia was, of all the blows levelled by the Dutch at the old city, the most subtle and the most telling.

154. *The port of Batavia, 1618*

We shall tell elsewhere the story of its origins; but here we wish only to point out the disastrous effect its rise had on Malacca. The Dutch noted very early its ideal situation, lying as it did in the line of the permanent trade winds, and so outside the changeable monsoons. Their ships could sail via the Straits of Sunda direct to the Cape of Good Hope, and completely by-pass the Straits of Malacca. Ships sailing from Europe could sail south into high latitudes, and then get well to windward and so sail north to the Straits of Sunda. Conditions for patrolling the Straits from the port were easy, and the Moluccas, China and Japan were readily accessible. As for the port itself, it was a good deep-water port, capable of taking the deep-draughted Dutch ships. The Dutch therefore concentrated their attention on building up this port to make it the main centre of their trading activities, and by 1630 it was already well established. In this way they completely by-passed Malacca; though it remained a thorn in their side, and as time went on, it became desirable from reasons of prestige to capture it. Direct attacks having failed to take it, they concentrated on blockading it. By 1636 no trade reached Malacca at all. The Indian trade and the Spice trade were diverted to other ports—Jambi, Acheh, Macassar, and above all, Batavia. As early as 1631 Antonio Bocarro, the last great chronicler of the Indies, took a melancholy pride in the fact that the "Portuguese were fighting with their backs to the wall against native and European foes to maintain the standard of the Cross, and no longer for worldly gain since their trade had been by then almost extinguished" (Prestage). They still refused dourly to admit defeat.

155. *The Dutch alliance with Johore, 1639*

In making their preparations for the final attack, the Dutch decided to enlist the aid of Johore. That state as we have seen had been reduced to vassaldom by the Achinese (1615–36), but when Mahkota Alam died in 1636 the new Sultan of Johore,[1] Abdu'l Jalil Shah II, asserted his independence. In this he was helped by the marked decline in Acheh's power which followed Mahkota Alam's death, a decline which gave a new lease of

[1] Son of 'Ala'u'd-din who had died in Acheh, and the nephew of the "pretender king" Abdullah.

life to Pahang and Perak, as well as to Johore. In 1639 the Dutch made an agreement with Johore. Though they held the command of the sea they wished Malay auxiliaries to help them to invest Malacca by land, as well as to help them with transport and food. Then, in 1640, whilst their comrades in the Indian Ocean were attacking Goa, doubtless to prevent her from sending reinforcements, the Governor General at Batavia, Antonio van Diemen, ordered Sergeant Major Antonissoon to undertake the siege of "A Famosa".

156. *The last siege of Malacca, June 1640–14 January 1641*

In June 1640 Antonissoon took up his position before Malacca, and cut off all supplies from the beleaguered city. For nearly a month his ships intermittently bombarded it; and at the end of July they were reinforced by a fleet of forty ships from Johore with 1,400 or 1,500 men aboard. This new fleet helped to intensify the blockade, and kept a close watch in case reinforcements should be sent to the besieged. At length the Dutch commander on 2 August 1640 gave the order to make a landing about one-third of a mile north of Upeh. They soon occupied this suburb, and the defenders took refuge in the fortress. The Dutch then "within pistol shot of 'A Famosa' ", put up two batteries with which they pounded the walls and destroyed or damaged many of the public buildings of the town. The garrison returned their fire with undiminished courage, and their batteries, particularly that on "Our Lady's Hill", levelled all the houses in Tranqueirah.

Meanwhile, the defenders began to suffer greatly from the famine which resulted from the blockade. "The famine was so severe and food such a price that it was found necessary to send all the women and children out of the town to reduce the numbers dependent on the available supplies" (Danvers). To add to the miseries of the defenders plague broke out in the city; and it was estimated by the Dutch that out of a total population of 20,000 only 3,000 were left. Deserters reported that the garrison had been heavily reduced by plague and hunger, and that only 200 Europeans remained alive. The besiegers themselves were in no better case. They, too, were afflicted by plague, malaria and dysentery, from which they suffered more than from the Portuguese guns. No fewer than

1,500 Dutchmen, including three of their Commanders, perished. The sufferings of the garrison were terrible; but they rejected all idea of surrender. At last, on 14 January 1641, the Dutch under Willemsoon Kartekoe, the successor of Antonissoon, who had died of plague, ordered one last desperate attack. "All our healthy troops,"[1] says Valentyn, "both soldiers and sailors . . . marched towards the bastion of San Domingo" (which was one of the weak spots of the fortifications) "and shouting the war-cry 'Help us, God' they stormed that part of the town with irresistible courage." The Portuguese, however, "offered a brave and unexpected resistance"; a fierce hand-to-hand fight took place; but at last they had to withdraw to the bastion of the "Madre de Deus". They were not able to stay here long; and retreated, still fighting, to "As Virgens". This, too, fell and was followed by the capture of Santiago, Curassa and the Baluarte hospital. When, however, the Dutch reached the "Old Fortress" they were met with so furious a reception that they had to retreat to the Baluarte Hospital. The Dutch Commander now offered the Portuguese Commander Don Manuel de Souza Cothino honourable terms of surrender. Dom Manuel, who was already dying, accepted these terms; the remnant of the Portuguese garrison laid down their arms and the Dutch took possession of the town. The principal citizens, including the priests, were allowed to sail in a Dutch ship for Negapatam; the troops were sent as prisoners to Batavia; gold, silver and money were taken by the citizens to the Church of "Our Lady of the Hill." Two days after the siege the gallant defender Dom Manuel died, and was buried by the Dutch with full military honours. The siege had lasted five months and twelve days.

Thus fell the great fortress, which during the 130 years of its existence had withstood so many sieges and so many famines; which to the last fought gloriously without hope of reinforcement, in spite of plague and famine, and a most determined enemy. During the years of the Dutch occupation it was to decline sadly. "I was grieved to the heart," says a Jesuit priest, Fr. Alexandre de Rhodes, who passed through the city five years after its fall, "thinking of the beautiful town it was when I saw it 23 years ago, when I stayed for 9 months in our College

[1] 650 in number.

on its pleasant hill, and contrasted it with this terribly changed city." By their capture of Malacca the Dutch had removed the last stronghold of their enemy; but they had little need of the city. Their capital was the city of Batavia, and Malacca in course of time was left in peace to dream of its great days.

Conclusion

157. *The causes of the fall of the Portuguese Empire*

Though its population never exceeded, even at its zenith, one and a half million people, Portugal founded two vast empires—one in Brazil (which lasted for several centuries) and one in the east (which lasted for over 130 years). The vast extent of this Empire; the irreplaceable losses of her best men through shipwreck, battle and tropical disease, and the substitution for these of fortune hunters, vagrants and convicts; the immensely long lines of communication; the endless delays caused by storm and monsoon (which hampered administration, impeded the sending of vital reinforcements and made effective supervision over the remoter parts of the Empire impossible)—all these things would be sufficient to explain the decline and fall of the Portuguese Empire. To these must be added, however, the unremitting hostility, first, of the native powers and then of these and the European powers in combination. The first, alien to the Portuguese in religion, never forgave them for wresting from them their centuries' old monopoly of the eastern trade; the second, influenced in their different ways by such events as the Spanish annexation of Portugal; the Armada, 1588; the closure of the port of Lisbon to the Dutch ,1594; the publication of Linschoten's *Itinerario*—had little difficulty in defeating with their better ships and better guns an enemy weary after her century of unending warfare. The end was inevitable when, as happened at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Portugal lost command of the sea. The wonder is not that her Empire collapsed when it did, but that it survived so long.

158. *The achievement of Portugal*

Four things have gained for Portugal her place in world history—first, her great voyages of discovery; secondly, her

success in building up, with such slender resources, her eastern Empire; thirdly, her missionary enterprise; and fourthly, her colonisation of Brazil. Of these achievements, the most spectacular were the first two. The voyages of Vasco da Gama and Bartholomew Diaz helped to change the course of world history. They established the sea route between Europe and the Far East, and so realised a dream that had haunted men's minds since the days of Ptolemy. They led on the one side to the rise to the rank of great naval powers of those lands which have their seaboards on the Atlantic; and on the other, to the decline of those countries in the Eastern Mediterranean whose past prosperity had resulted from their control of "the key between east and west".

The Portuguese established the first European Empire in the East in modern times. Though in the beginning they had not intended to found a political empire, but had aimed at securing trade and promoting missionary activities, they soon found (as did the Dutch and English after them) that empire was thrust upon them. In building this up they thereby set a model which was later copied by other powers, though none of these adopted their Crusading ideals. These other powers profited by her mistakes, realising that simple reliance on a few key fortresses like Goa or Malacca (without an adequate establishment or organisation to supervise the native governments that were beyond the reach of their ships and guns), was totally inadequate to keep so vast and far-flung an empire together.

In her epic struggles she did much that was noble and much that was base. At her best she showed (as we read in such chronicles as the *Tragical History of the Sea*) outstanding qualities of endurance and self-sacrifice. At her worst she showed herself cruel and grasping, though it is but fair to remember that she was surrounded by cruel and rapacious enemies. Of the courage and tenacity of her people, none can doubt; yet she paid a heavy price for her brief period of glory. As Antonio Vieira wrote, "God gave the Portuguese a small country to be born in; but all the world to die in."

TIME CHART SHOWING RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND INDIA AND CHINA TO THE FALL OF FUNAN
(FIRST CENTURY TO A.D. 627)

	India		South-East Asia			China
	North	*South*	*I.P. Peninsula*		*The Archipelago*	
First Century A.D. 100	–50 Kushan Dynasty in	Cholas	Foundation of Funan by 1st Kaundinya Dynasty *c.* 100. Foundation of Langkasuka.	1st K A		A.D. 25 "Later" Han Dynasty in China: Trade between China and the Roman Empire conducted along (*a*) Silk route, (*b*) Sea route (described by Ptolemy *c.* 150 A.D.)
Second Century A.D. 200	the North – 162 Death of Kanishka Kushan Empire split into small Principalities	Take part in carrying trade to South-East Asia Pallavas conquer Cholas	Kings of Funan P'an Houang Foundation of Champa P'an P'an Fan Che Man 192	U N D I N Y A	Embassy to China from "Yavadvipa" (132) Amaravati statue in Palembang (150)	
Third Century			Expansion of the Empire of Funan 225 Death of Fan Che Man 240 Fan Chan sends embassies to – (*a*) India; (*b*) China	D Y N A S T Y		A.D. 220 Fall of the Han (1) Collapse of trade with the West (2) India and Funan become the leading sea powers in S.E. Asia, trading with S. China
A.D. 300			245 Accession of Fan Hsiun 289 Death of Fan Hsiun Unsettlement			
Fourth Century A.D. 400	Samudragupta overthrows (*a*) Kushans (*b*) Pallavas (for a time)		in Funan 357 Chandana usurps throne of Funan. Unsettlement ended by Foundation of 2nd Kaundinya Dynasty 400		1st evidence of Indianised Kingdom in E. Borneo	China torn
Fifth Century	Gupta Art deeply affects art of South-East Asia	Pallavas reassert independence Art and culture deeply affect S.E. Asia		2nd 414 415 K A U N D I N Y A	Fa-Hsien reports Brahminism in N.W. Borneo Mention of Taruma in W. Java Piracy in the Straits of Malacca makes navigation difficult. Consequent in-	by Civil
A.D. 500			478 Accession of Jayavarman			
Sixth Century A.D. 600			514 Accession of Rudravarman 540 Death of Rudravarman. Bharavavarman of Chenla conquers Funan 598 Dies. Succeeded by Mahendravarman (Sitrasena)	D Y N A S T Y	crease in the use of the transpeninsular routes	Wars A.D. 581. Rise of Sui Dynasty. Chinese interest in sea trade revives
Seventh Century			611 Accession of Isanavarman 627 End of Funan			A.D. 618. Rise of T'ang Dynasty. End of chaos in China. Beginning of great revival of trade with Persia and Arabia. This revival makes the fortune of Sri Vijaya
A.D. 640	Conquests of Harsha and Pulakesin II in Kalinga		635 Death of Isanavarman		Appearance of settlements in (*a*) Malayu; (*b*) Palembang; (*c*) Taruma; (*d*) Central Java; (*e*) Borneo? Sri Vijaya sends an embassy to China	
				670		

TIME CHART SHOWING EMPIRE OF SRI VIJAYA, THE KINGDOMS OF JAVA AND "EMPIRE" OF MAJAPAHIT 683 A.D. – 1403 A.D.

683 –	SRI VIJAYA	JAVA	CHINA 1403
681	Great revival of trade between the West and China benefits all the countries on the Great Sea Route		
683	Beginnings of Sri Vijaya as a Great Power.	Shivaite Kingdom in Central Java	Tang Dynasty rules re-united China
685 689 692	Visits of I-Ching		
		Sailendras occupy Central Java (1) Mahayana Buddhism introduced e.g., Borobudur (2) Aggressive foreign policy against Indo-China	Shivaite Kingdom reduced to vassaldom
750			
775	Capture of Ligor Sri Vijaya controls both sides of Straits of Malacca		
824		A.D. 824	
850	Rise of the Chola Power in India — Sailendras take control of Sri Vijaya.	Shivaite Kingdom supreme in Central Java but abandons centre to settle finally in the east –929	
	Steady growth in power and wealth.		–907 Decline of Tang. Chaos in China
960	Kedah becomes great port.		–960 Rise of Sung
	Growing hostility		dynasty begins
992	←	Attack against Sri Vijaya	
1006	Launches overwhelming Sri Vijaya at height of power (Mahayana Buddhist)	attack on East Java. Chaos results	new
1026	→ Chola Raid leads to temporary weakness	Order re-established by 1029 Airlangga	great
	Equilibrium effected Both benefit by great trade revival		expansion
		1049 Death of Airlangga and division of East Java	of trade
1100	Beginning of decline of Sri Vijaya (1) Kampar (2) Malayu } Independent	Jangala / Kediri	between E. and W.
1230	(3) Revolt of Candrabhanu	1222 Ended by foundation of Singosari	
1270	Capture of his Kingdom by T'ais	E. Java now greatest power in Archipelago.	–1265 Rise of
1275	T'ais wage war against Malayu T'ai attack on Malay Peninsula	Kertanagara tries to build up confederacy against Mongols	Mongol dynasty starts
	Sumatra divided into eight petty states. Appearance of Islam		
1292	End of Sri Vijaya	1292 Death of Kertanagara	policy of
		Beginnings of Majapahit	
1295	Malayu appeals to China	1293 Vijaya 1st King	marked by division and disunion
1299	T'ais lay claim to Malay Peninsula Founding of Tumasik (Singapore)	1309 Vijaya dies Jayanagara succeeds	fragmentation in
		1328 Jayanagara dies	The
	Piracy in the Straits of Malacca	–1331 Gajah Mada, Prime Minister tries to effect unification	S a d e n g W a r
1343	Failure of T'ai attack on Tumasik	1343 of East Java	S.E. Asia
		1350 Accession of Hyam Wuruk Conquest of Bali and Madura	
1351	Adityavarman becomes ruler of Menangkabau	1350 "The Bloodbath of Bubat" Majapahit gains considerable share in spice trade	
1364		1364 Death of Gajah Mada	
1377	Extinction of Malayu by Java		–1368 Rise of Ming Dynasty
		1389 Death of Hyam Wuruk Division of East Java	
1401		Outbreak of civil war in Java	
	T'ais conquer Malay Peninsula (including Tumasik)	Virtual end of Majapahit accelerated by Chinese policy and spread of Islam	Ming expansion favours rise of Malacca
1403	Founding of Malacca		

TIME CHART OF THE MALACCA SULTANATE, 1403–1511

	Parameswara		Sri Maharaja		The "Martyred King"		Tun Ali Bendahara (Tamil-Muslim)	The Rule of Bendahara/Tun Perak 1456–1498				Tun Puteh Bendahara	Tun Mutahir Bendahara (Tamil-Muslim)
							Muzaffar Shah	Mansur Shah	Al'a'ud-din	Mahmud Shah I			
1403	Reaches small settlement at mouth of Malacca River. Pays tribute to Siam	1424	Pays visit to China to secure recognition of title	1444	Murder of the ruler and his uncle by the Tamil-Muslim faction, a *coup d'état*	1445	Attack on Malacca by Siam—it failed	1459	Embassy sent to China to secure recognition of title	1477	No mention of embassies to China during this reign, doubtless because of growing power and wealth of the new Empire	1488	1498 Malacca now the greatest port in S.E. Asia
1405	Admiral Yin Ching visits Malacca. P. sends embassy to China and is appointed King		Continual danger of attack from Siam throughout the reign				Constant fear of further Siamese attack		Conquest of: Pahang Trengganu Johore Rhio-Linga Archipelago Siak Kampar Rokan Indragiri			1498	Death of Tun Perak
1409	Visit of Admiral Cheng-Ho to Malacca which is proclaimed once more a Kingdom	1431	Sends embassy to China for aid against Siam Emperor sends Cheng-Ho to Siam with a warning			1455	Tun Perak replaces Tun Ali as Bendahara					1499	Conquest of Manjong Bruas Kelantan
1411	P. and his family pay second visit to China	1433	Pays visit to China			1456	Second Siamese attack launched					1500	Attack by Siam beaten off
1413	Marriage of P. to the daughter of the Sultan of Pasai. He is converted to Islam	1435	Sends another embassy				Siamese defeated at Batu Pahit					1509	Patani and Kedah added to Empire de Sequiera's fleet visits Malacca
1414	P's third visit to China		During this reign the Constitution of Malacca was drawn up				Embassy to China to secure recognition of ruler's title					1510	Tun Mutahir executed
1419	P's fourth visit to China to seek aid against Siam					1458 1459	Second embassy to China Death					1511	d'Albuquerque conquers Malacca
1424	Death of P.												

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