

**For O. W. Wolters
1915-2000
Scholar of Malaya and Its Annals**



John C. Leyden, from a portrait by Sir David Wilkie, in Demetrius Charles Boulger, *The Life of Sir Stamford Raffles*, London: Horace Marshall & Son, 1897. On p. xiii of the Introduction to *The Life of Sir Stamford Raffles*, Boulger notes that this portrait of Leyden was owned by John Blair of Edinburgh and was 'from a portrait of Sir David Wilkie's painting'. The print used by Boulger was supplied by George G. Napier, Esquire, of Orchard, West Kilbride. A search of the standard catalogue of Wilkie's paintings (Allan Cunningham, *Life of Sir David Wilkie*, London: John Murray, 1843) has no mention of this portrait. The authenticity of the portrait is thus not fully established.

JOHN LEYDEN'S MALAY ANNALS

With an Introductory Essay
by

Virginia Matheson Hooker
and
M. B. Hooker

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Note to Readers

The complete text of John Leyden's *Malay Annals* has been reset,
keeping strictly to the original pagination, and the author's at times
inconsistent spelling. The current reprint also reproduces exactly
the original binder's numbers at the foot of the relevant pages.

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Frontispiece John C. Leyden, from a portrait by Sir David Wilkie.

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1. Frontispiece to *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, 1875.
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3. Leyden's monument at Denholm, inaugurated in 1861.
4. "Facsimile of the Last page of the M.S. of 'Scenes of Infancy'".
5. Leyden's grave in Taman Prasasti cemetery, Jakarta.
6. The graves of Olivia Mariamne Raffles and John Leyden in Taman Prasasti cemetery, Jakarta.
- 7 & 8. Raffles's memorial to his first wife Olivia in the Botanical Gardens, Bogor.

Preface and Acknowledgements

SOMETIME in the 1890s, W. M. Sandison, an Englishman travelling in the East with an interest in Sir Stamford Raffles, spent a little of his leisure time in Batavia searching for the graves of Olivia Raffles and John Leyden. A century later, not realizing Sandison had already succeeded, we too tried to locate the two graves. Kind friends in Jakarta took us to various cemeteries where Europeans were buried (and in this way we visited the moving and beautifully maintained war cemetery at Menteng Pulo), but the graves we sought were not to be found. On a visit to Fatihillah Museum, which was actually closed for renovations, a helpful Indonesian student who worked as a part-time guide let us in and showed us around. On seeing the portrait of Olivia Mariamne Raffles, which still hangs there, we asked the question which for us had become routine: do you know where she is buried? Indeed he did, and directed us to Taman Prasasti (Garden of Inscriptions) in Tanah Abang, which is where Sandison had also headed so many years before us. We were led straight to the graves of John Leyden and Olivia Raffles by one of the attendants who knew exactly where to go,¹ but Sandison had to find his own way. He describes his experience as follows:

I then went to the large cemetery of Tanabang, still in use, and spent some hours strolling amongst the thousands of tombs, but without success, until, being tired out with the search and the strong heat, I sat down on the nearest flat tombstone for a smoke. In striking my first match the head came off, and with the second one I looked at the part of the stone when I was striking it and found it to be on the word Teviotdale, which at once apprised me that I had unconsciously come to the stone I had been hunting for, and looking round about I noticed Olivia Raffles's tomb as well²

¹ See Plates 5 and 6.

² Quoted by Demetrius Charles Boulger, *The Life of Sir Stamford Raffles*, London: Horace Marshall & Son, 1897, p. xiv.

The coincidences which led Sandison and us to the graves we sought would have been appreciated by John Leyden, who was by all accounts a man of lively wit and earthy humour. Further coincidences have led to this reissuing of his translation of *Malay Annals*. The reissue was made possible through two purchases from secondhand book dealers made by M. B. Hooker. A copy of the original printing of the work itself was purchased in England in the late 1970s, while the copy of the memorial volume, *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*,³ was purchased from a different English dealer a decade later. The latter volume was sold as a collection of Leyden's poetry, but it contains a vast amount of biographical material written by Leyden's friend, Sir Walter Scott, and by later admirers. Much of the biographical material in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.* has not appeared elsewhere and it will form an important part of the introductory essay which follows.

Inside the front cover of the copy of *Malay Annals* is pasted a cut-out picture of a sailing ship battling heavy seas below a craggy cliff. The scene seems to be used as an ex-libris notice and carries the name Francis Marion Crawford, who must have owned this copy of *Malay Annals* at some time. The name 'Crawfurd' is famous in Malay studies, but this spelling suggests Francis Marion was not from the family of John Crawfurd, contemporary of Raffles. Research has turned up only one Francis Marion Crawford (1854–1909), who was known as a writer and dramatist.⁴ By (yet another) coincidence, a Lieutenant Crawford, of the Bombay Marine, commanded one of the ships which accompanied Raffles when he landed at Singapore in 1819 and wrote one of only two eyewitness accounts of the 'founding' of Singapore. Some of Lieutenant (later Captain) Crawford's papers passed to a descendant, Rev. J. R. Crawford, and it is possible a copy of *Malay Annals* was among them and that this came to Francis Marion.⁵

³ *Scenes of Infancy Etc: Poems and Ballads by Dr John Leyden with A Biographical Memoir of the Author by Sir Walter Scott, Bart., and Supplementary Memoir*, Kelso: J. & J. H. Rutherford, 1875.

⁴ See British Biographical Archive, London: Saur, 1990, fiche 281.

⁵ Information on Lieutenant Crawford comes from Hugh Edward Egerton, *Sir Stamford Raffles: England in the Far East*, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1897, p. xiii, and from A. H. Hill (ed. and trans.), *The*

The year 1875 marked the centenary of Leyden's birth, and this was commemorated in the Scottish Borders by a well-planned event whose speeches are recorded as an Appendix in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.* The year 2000 marks 225 years since Leyden's birth, and it seems appropriate (rather than merely coincidental) that we mark the occasion with an appreciation of Leyden the man and Leyden the pioneer of Malay studies in English.

We should admit that our interest in the Leyden translation began as a personal one, where we saw the opportunity to try and establish a firmer picture of Leyden and the Scottish influences that clearly inspired him. But as is so often the case in Malay studies, the project gathered its own momentum and led us in directions we had not anticipated. As we established the identity of the scribe who worked with him on the translation, as we pondered on the timing of Raffles's publication of the translation, and as we reread some of the existing scholarship on *Sejarah Melayu*, we realized that the topic raised very basic questions about the influence of contemporary European interests on the selection, adaptation and reformulation of indigenous texts.

This reissue of Leyden's *Malay Annals*, now a very rare book, was made possible through the support of Henry Barlow and Cheah Boon Kheng. They saw the project as one further contribution by the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society to a better understanding of *Sejarah Melayu*, one of the key texts for Malay history, historiography, and political culture. The Society recently published a romanized edition of Raja Bungsu's version of *Sejarah Melayu*, well known through its Raffles 18 manuscript, together with supporting essays,⁶ and we see Leyden's translation as a companion volume. We would also like to acknowledge the comments and suggestions of Professor Anthony Milner and to thank Diana Carroll, who is engaged in her own detailed research

Hikayat Abdullah, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 4.

⁶ Published as *Sejarah Melayu: The Malay Annals, Ms. Raffles No. 18*, new romanised edn, compiled by Cheah Boon Kheng and transcribed by Abdul Rahman Haji Ismail, Reprint No. 17, Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1998.

into John Leyden's contributions to Malay studies, for several references.

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I

John Leyden: Biography

THE name of John Leyden (see Frontispiece and Plate 1) is now inextricably associated with that of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, celebrated as the founder of modern Singapore. Because Leyden predeceased Raffles, however, the fame of the latter has much overshadowed the achievements of Leyden. He was a famous scholar in his day and, as Raffles himself publicly acknowledged, he exerted a profound influence on his own thinking. Leyden had an established reputation when he met Raffles and was his senior by six years – in terms of life expectancy in those days this was almost a generational difference – and Raffles greatly respected him. As the testimonials in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.* and other nineteenth-century works make clear, Leyden had already made his name in Edinburgh as an impressive scholar, and news of his achievements and connections preceded him to India. Until Leyden brought Raffles to the attention of Lord Minto, it might be said that he was just one of many employees of the East India Company. It is time, therefore, to acknowledge the influence of this feisty, eccentric and talented young Scot on the course and nature of British imperialism in the Malay World.

This introductory essay to the reissue of Leyden's rendering of *Malay Annals* falls into four parts. The first presents a brief biography which describes his Scottish background, his work with Walter Scott and his interest in Scottish legends and literature, as well as his experiences in the East. The second looks briefly at the general nature of his scholarship after he went to India. The third is devoted to assessing the impact of his translation of *Sejarah Melayu* with some comments about the text on which he based it. In the final section, we return to Leyden's Scottish roots and draw on nineteenth-century material published in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.* to commemorate the centenary of his birth and celebrate his achievements.

Leyden as the 'Bard of Teviotdale' (1775–1802)

John Leyden was born on 8 September 1775 in the small village of Denholm in Roxburghshire on the Scottish Borders to the tenant farmer John Leyden and his wife Isabella Scott (see Plate 2)⁷. His grandmother was his first teacher, and it was she who introduced him to the Bible and to the old songs and legends of Teviotdale. While still a boy, he read voraciously (Scottish history, Milton, Homer in translation), and Sir Walter Scott recounts the lengths to which he would go to get a book that he wanted. On one occasion he even pursued the owner of a volume of *The Arabian Nights' Entertainment* through the snow for miles and waited all day until he would agree to lend it. The owner was so impressed with the boy's persistence, that he actually gave it to him.

The young John Leyden learned Latin and Greek from the local clergyman before becoming a student at Edinburgh University from 1790 to 1797 where he studied eclectically, reading mathematics, philosophy and theology during term time and natural science and Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and Scandinavian languages during the vacations. He mixed with the outstanding scholars and writers of his time and place, including Mr Brougham, Dr Birbeck (the Founder and President of the London Mechanics' Institution), the Rev. Sydney Smith, Mr Jeffrey, Mr Horner, and the moral philosopher Dr Thomas Brown. This group met for two years under the name of the 'Academy of Physics', and besides heated discussions they wrote reviews of new works of science. It was an extension of this group and its aims which led to the establishment of the *Edinburgh Review*.

In 1798, Leyden was licensed as a preacher, but despite the brilliance of his sermons, he was not a success, perhaps due to the fact that he had an unusually loud and raucous voice. While still a

⁷ Biographical details are taken from L. Stephen and S. Lee (eds.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, London: Clarendon Press, Vol. 11, 1917, pp. 1094–5; from Sir Walter Scott's obituary published in the *Edinburgh Annual Register*, Vol. 4, 1811 and reprinted as a 'Biographical Memoir' in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, as well as the 'Supplementary Memoir' originally written in 1819 by Rev. James Morton and revised by Robert White which also appears in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*

student, he wrote original pieces and prepared translations of poetry from Eastern and European languages for the *Edinburgh Literary Magazine*, and in 1799 he published *A Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries and Settlements of the Europeans in Northern and Western Africa at the Close of the Eighteenth Century*.⁸ Leyden had no private means and lived from occasional tutoring work and from his writing, which increasingly drew on Scottish material. He published a Scottish ballad in 1801 and edited the sixteenth-century political treatise, *Complaynt of Scotland*, for book dealer and publisher Archibald Constable. The *Complaynt* (composed in 1548) is one of the earliest examples of Scottish prose, and Leyden's extensive introduction to the edition stimulated interest in the study of older Scottish literature and his scholarship – although not perfect – was impressive. Leyden's introductory remarks to the text note that only four copies of the *Complaynt* are known but that 'in the general wreck of our literary history, it ought not to excite our surprise, that few notices should remain, concerning a political work adapted to a particular period, and in which all the Three Estates of Commons, Nobility, and Clergy, are severely censured'.⁹ The 'Preliminary Dissertation' and Glossary, which contain extensive notes on archaic forms of language, folk traditions, rare plants, Scottish writers and classical allusions, are remarkable, and as Sir Walter Scott later noted, 'it gave Leyden an opportunity of pouring forth such a profusion of antiquarian knowledge ... as one would have thought could hardly have been accumulated in so short a life, dedicated, too, to so many and varied studies'. In Scott's view, the organization, extent of research and 'facility of recollection' remained unequalled in that field.¹⁰ Leyden was to display the same qualities in his later writings about the East.

⁸ Later enlarged to two volumes and published posthumously by Hugh Murray in 1817.

⁹ John Leyden, *The Complaynt of Scotland*, Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1801; copy held in the National Library of Australia. Leyden dedicates the book to Richard Heber.

¹⁰ Scott's 'Biographical Memoir', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii.

It was the publication of the *Complaynt* as well as his friendship with the leading literati of Edinburgh which made him a well-known figure in the educated circles of that city. The English MP and rich bibliophile, Richard Heber, visiting Edinburgh in search of rare books, encountered Leyden and was impressed with his knowledge of Scottish literature and history. He introduced Leyden to Walter Scott, who was also collecting medieval ballads and romances. The relationship which developed between them of friendship and scholarship, fed by common interests, prefigures the kind of relationship he later had with Raffles. Even Leyden's regard for Scott's wife, Charlotte, has later parallels in the affection he developed for Raffles's wife, Olivia. As with Raffles also, during his brief lifetime Leyden was regarded more highly in his circle than Scott, though in the years after his death both overtook him in the public mind. As a contemporary noted, 'So far as massive intelligence is concerned, Leyden's promise was greatly higher than Scott's realisation.'¹¹

Leyden's association with Scott, a fellow Borderer, was to be significant for three aspects of his life in the East. First, he honed his skills of philology and manuscript codicology by working with Scott on manuscripts in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, to which Scott's profession gave them access.¹² Secondly, he travelled through the Border country with Scott, writing down the ballads and tales recited for them by old men and women. Leyden became adept at taking notes from oral delivery and transcribing extended narratives as they were performed, which he was later to do in the East. And thirdly, he and Scott began to write their own imitations of the old ballads – Leyden producing one on the Cout of Keilder and one on the death of Lord Soulis. Indeed, for them imitation was the sincerest form of flattery and they became adept at fashioning verse which mirrored the style and conventions of the ballads. There is little doubt that Leyden drew on this facility to reproduce older forms and styles when he prepared his translations of Eastern

¹¹ Quoted in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, p. lxx, from Professor Veitch's *The Tweed*, p. 222.

¹² See further, Edgar Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown*, London: Hamish Hamilton, 1970, p. 180.

works. Leyden's contemporaries also noted how quickly and easily he composed verse. He wrote the ballad 'Lord Soulis', for example, in a single night and Scott was with him when he composed 'twenty or thirty couplets [of *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*] in as many minutes' before reading them to Scott and editing them severely until they were greatly reduced in number.¹³ This may well have been Leyden's general way of working, and indicates that those of his works published posthumously may have been rather different if they had benefited from his own editing.

Early in 1802, the first two volumes of Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* were published and sold out within six months. Scott acknowledged Leyden's collaboration and contributions both to the *Minstrelsy* (five poems in Volume One) and to his essay 'On the Fairies of Popular Superstition' (in Volume Two), which owed much to material originally compiled by Leyden. As well, two volumes of Leyden's own work were published at this time – *Scottish Descriptive Poems* and *Scenes of Infancy: Descriptive of Teviotdale*, which appeared in 1803.¹⁴ In both these works, Leyden is clearly inspired by the lost past of Scotland and dedicated to 'rescuing from oblivion unedited and scarce Poems which merited a better fate'.¹⁵ Leyden and Scott were celebrated at parties organized by leading notables and when Leyden made it known that he wished to become an adventurer and traveller his friends sought an appointment for him with the East India Company to divert him from his stated intention of exploring the African interior. He was offered the post of surgeon's assistant in Madras, and having earlier studied some medicine he began in earnest to work for his diploma in surgery which he was awarded in a record six months. His MD was conferred on him by St Andrews shortly afterwards, and he made preparations to leave for India.

¹³ 'Supplementary Memoir', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, p. xciv.

¹⁴ John Leyden, *Scottish Descriptive Poems with Some Illustrations of Scottish Literary Antiquities*, Edinburgh: Mundell & Son, 1803, and John Leyden, *Scenes of Infancy: Descriptive of Teviotdale*, Edinburgh: James Ballantyne, 1803. Both are held as rare books in the National Library of Australia.

¹⁵ Leyden, *Scottish Descriptive Poems*, 'Preface'.

Leyden left Scotland when he was in his twenty-eighth year and did not return. Although he was fiercely proud of his Scottish heritage, a note in the 'Preface' of his *Scottish Descriptive Poems* makes it clear that he planned to move to new fields of endeavour.¹⁶ His primary biographers had no first-hand knowledge of his life in the East and Scott's influential memoir presents a picture of him which is almost wholly concentrated on the achievements of his life before he went to India. It is also an account which is closely focussed on the nature and character of Leyden's personality. As a man of his time, Scott was a believer in the theory that one's surroundings are important influences in the formation of character. With reference to Leyden, he claims that the tales and ballads of Teviotdale and generally the Border country '... gave an eccentric and romantic tincture to [Leyden's] mind'. Scott further proposes, partly in jest, that Leyden was much influenced by local superstitions, and he illustrates this with a quotation from *Scenes of Infancy Etc.* The picture being drawn for us here is of a romantic man, a poet, whose sensitivities derive from a localized and specific culture – the Scottish Borders at the end of the eighteenth century. He was a child, therefore, of eighteenth-century Romanticism, the Scottish Enlightenment, the Revolution in France, and the approaching zenith of British imperialism in India and the Malayan Peninsula.

Leyden as 'A Perfect Malay'¹⁷ (1803–1811)

When Leyden left Britain, he had an established reputation for the breadth of his knowledge and quickness of learning, for physical and mental energy, and a personality which one of his contemporaries described as 'eccentric'. The *New Scots Magazine* of 1828 noted that when he embarked for Madras he had mastered over seventeen different languages and possessed a store of 'more varied and greater intelligence in science and literature than

¹⁶ Leyden writes that he is 'bidding adieu to the investigation of Scottish literary antiquities, a subject which he can never expect to resume', *Scottish Descriptive Poems*, 'Preface', December 1802.

¹⁷ Lord Minto's description of Leyden on the eve of the Java campaign, quoted in C. E. Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1954, p. 131.

perhaps any other individual ever bore along with him to that rich and extensive portion of the British dominions'. Clearly his scholarship was exceptional.

Leyden reached Madras in August 1803 and was placed in charge of the general hospital. In January of the following year, he was appointed Surgeon and Naturalist to the Commissioners of the East India Company who travelled through the Mysore provinces to survey the territories won from Tippoo Sultan. Leyden prepared reports on the geology, diseases, crops and languages of the districts they visited. In November he was seriously ill with a fever and had to stay at Seringapatam to recover. He used this time, as was to become his custom when ill, to study and write. Thus, he studied Sanskrit and translated works from Persian and Hindustani.¹⁸ Leyden's health was still fragile, so he was advised to travel to Penang which was considered to have a healthy climate. He arrived in October 1805, and was invited by Stamford Raffles, recently appointed Assistant Secretary to the Government of Penang, to stay with him and his wife Olivia. It is not clear exactly why Raffles issued this invitation, but the meeting has been described as 'the most important event in the first few months of Raffles's life at Penang', because not only did it stimulate Raffles's interest in intensifying his study of the region, it assured him of 'a friend and advocate at the seat of the Supreme Government [in India].'¹⁹

Leyden was for much of the time of his three months' stay confined to the house and nursed by Olivia Raffles, who earned his lifelong admiration and gratitude. Raffles became his companion in study, and together they studied Malay and discussed what Raffles later described as 'extensive plans for the elucidation and improvement of the various interests in the Eastern Archipelago'.²⁰ Because Penang is so close to the northern coast of Sumatra, Leyden was able to visit Aceh and places on the coast of the Malay

¹⁸ There is considerable detailed information about this period of his life in the 'Supplementary Memoir', in Leyden, *Scenes of Infancy Etc.* pp. cii-cv.

¹⁹ Boulger, *The Life of Sir Stamford Raffles*, p. 36.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Peninsula, collecting material on local languages and traditions. When he left in January 1806, he had completed at least the draft of his dissertation 'On the Language and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations', and in the following month Raffles reported to the Governor in Council that he felt his own knowledge of Malay to be sufficiently competent to enable him to detect 'any error or misrepresentation made in translating or transcribing letters from the English into the Malayee' and when necessary to translate or transcribe letters himself.²¹ It is important to note that at this time Raffles reported to his superiors that he had been maintaining at his own expense six local scribes who were engaged in copying 'several old and valuable manuscripts from the Malayee, the chief of which are now completed'.²²

When he returned to India from Penang, Leyden revised his lengthy article on the languages and literatures of the Indo-Chinese nations and submitted it to the government. As a result, he was elected a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and appointed Professor of Hindustani at the College of Fort William at Calcutta. In the middle of 1807, Lord Minto arrived as Governor and adopted Leyden as his protégé. This was in part due to Scottish connections they had in common (Lord Minto was chief of the Elliots of Teviotdale, whom Leyden knew well) and Lord Minto was aware of Leyden's reputation as a scholar in Edinburgh. He appointed Leyden Judge of the Twenty-four Pargunnah's of Calcutta, a position he held for a year, before being appointed in 1809 as Commissioner of the Court of Requests. Only one year later he was appointed to the less onerous and even better paid position as Assay Master at the Calcutta Mint.²³ These prestigious positions allowed him not only more time for his researches and writing but also greater access to Lord Minto and the opportunity to promote the interests of his friend and colleague, Stamford Raffles.

Raffles sent copies of ideas for the development of Company interests in the Malayo-Java region as well as his scholarly writings

²¹ Ibid., p. 42.

²² Ibid., p. 43.

²³ Ibid., p. 41.

to Leyden who, in turn, brought them to the attention of Lord Minto. Raffles's interest in detaching Java from Dutch and French interests accorded with Minto's own strategic plans, and he encouraged Raffles to develop his thinking about how this could be done.²⁴ Raffles visited Calcutta in 1810 and divided his time between discussions with Lord Minto, planning details of the capture and administration of Java with Leyden, and preparing his paper 'On the Melayu Nation' for delivery to the Asiatic Society.²⁵ This article, published in *Asiatic Researches* in 1810, develops Leyden's ideas on the 'Malay' peoples as belonging to one widely spread group. Raffles also included a translation of some of the Malay maritime codes.

To expedite the take-over of Java, Lord Minto appointed Raffles 'Agent to the Governor-General', and Raffles moved to Malacca using it as a base to make contact with neighbouring rulers and collect information which would assist them with the conquest.²⁶ Raffles sent a stream of information back to Calcutta, and Leyden continued to serve as an intermediary between his friend and Lord Minto. In a private letter of 27 January 1811, the Governor-General's military secretary described Leyden as follows: 'Mr Leyden, a friend of Raffles and protégé of Lord M., has been a very useful channel of communication owing to his knowledge of Malay. Leyden is a curious mixture of apothecary, poet and scholar.... He is to accompany us on the expedition as interpreter and general adviser and will work well with Mr Raffles, whom we meet at Malacca.'²⁷

Lord Minto astounded his government by announcing, in March 1811, that he would personally be accompanying the expedition to Java. He left Calcutta on 11 March, taking with him a small group of hand-picked advisers, including Leyden, whom he described to his wife as 'a perfect Malay'.²⁸ Raffles had informed Lord Minto that he planned a senior post for Leyden in the

²⁴ Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, pp. 100-1.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

²⁶ Boulger, *The Life of Sir Stamford Raffles*, p. 89ff.

²⁷ Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, p. 122.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

administration of Java after the take-over, and that when Raffles became Governor, Leyden would be his private secretary.²⁹ Leyden indicates in a letter to Raffles from this time that he has been working to persuade the Governor-General that 'the Malays must neither have independence, nor yet be very dependent'. Leyden's dream was that the administration of Java should resemble the 'Amphictyonic Council of the Greeks' or the 'old Ban of Burgundy' where there would be a general 'Malay league in which all the Rajahs must be united'.³⁰ In this he was to prefigure the concept of 'Melayu Raya' (Greater Malaydom) which was the compelling vision of nationalists in the Archipelago between the 1930s and 1960s. While Raffles was to indicate that he planned to have Leyden stay with him on Java (and indeed he may have succeeded in persuading him to do so), Leyden wrote otherwise to his father. Before leaving for Malacca, in a letter of March 1811, Leyden assured his father that he planned to return to India and continue in his position at the Mint.³¹

When Lord Minto's fleet arrived at Malacca, Leyden assisted with the interpretation of material arriving from numerous agents around the Archipelago, but also journeyed inland to Naning which he considered had been allowed too much independence under Dutch administration and was 'as nearly as possible in an open state of rebellion' with support from Minangkabau.³² In June, Raffles and Lord Minto left Malacca with a fleet of 100 vessels bound for Batavia. Leyden was occupied during the seven weeks of the voyage translating the letters received from the various Malay rulers, and in dictating letters to send ahead to rulers whose territory they were approaching.³³ He was also collecting material for a brief description of Borneo which Raffles later published in 1814 in the seventh volume of the Batavian Literary Society.³⁴

²⁹ Boulger, *The Life of Sir Stamford Raffles*, p. 30.

³⁰ Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, p. 130.

³¹ 'Supplementary Memoir', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, p. cx.

³² Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, p. 142.

³³ E. W. Brayley, 'Some Account of the Life and Writings, and Contributions to Science, of the late Sir T. Stamford Raffles', *The Zoological Journal*, 3(9), 1827, p. 34.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

While in Malacca, Raffles had assembled a vast amount of information about the organization of the Dutch administration of Batavia, at that time under Marshal Daendels. He knew, for example, that Daendels had moved the centre of Dutch administration from the port of Batavia to Weltevreden, and that the first fortifications were at Cornelis, about 5 miles inland from Batavia.³⁵ Raffles, therefore, landed the British forces at Cilincing on 4 August 1811, about 10 miles east of Batavia, and was unopposed. An eyewitness wrote that John Leyden was first ashore dressed as a pirate,³⁶ and this account of his bravado has lived on in all his biographies. Less well known are the details of his activities after the landing. During the days the British forces travelled from Cilincing to Batavia, Leyden followed close behind to gain access to any Dutch records which might have been left by Daendels. It was his intention to incorporate any useful information in his suggestions to Raffles for reforms to administrative practices on Java.³⁷ His searches included an old Dutch building in which he discovered a locked room containing Dutch papers. Leyden gained entry, and spent some time in the enclosed space examining the documents, so that when he emerged either the change in temperature or some virus or disease in the room affected him.³⁸ He had a severe fever (possibly malaria), and died after three days, on 28 August, with Raffles at his bedside. In the Introduction to his *History of Java*, published six years later, Raffles wrote 'the bard of Teviotdale ... expired in my arms a few days after the landing of the troops'.³⁹ He was buried by Raffles and Lord Minto in the European cemetery at Tanah Abang⁴⁰ (see Plate 5), with two plaques on his tomb inscribed as follows:

³⁵ Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, p. 144.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 162. The eyewitness added that Leyden bore the brunt of the attack 'which came from a flock of barn-door fowls headed by an aggressive rooster'.

³⁷ Boulger, *The Life of Sir Stamford Raffles*, p. 131.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ T. S. Raffles, *The History of Java*, London: John Murray, 1817, Vol. I, p. x; reprinted Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1965 and 1988.

⁴⁰ The cemetery was formerly known as Kebon Jahe Kober, and was the burial ground for Christians from the late eighteenth century until it

Sacred to the memory of John Casper Leyden MD born at Teviotdale in Scotland and who died in the prime of life at Molenvliet near Batavia on 28 August 1811 Two days after the fall of Cornelis.

The poetical talents and superior literary
Attainments of Dr Leyden rendered him an
Ornament of the age in which he lived.
His ardent spirit and insatiable thirst after
Knowledge was perhaps unequalled
And the friends of science must ever
Deplore his untimely fate
His principles as a man were pure and spotless
And as a friend he was firm and sincere
Few passed through this life with fewer vices or with
A greater prospect of happiness in the next

Next to Leyden's tomb is that of Olivia, Lady Raffles, who died on 26 November 1814, while Raffles was Lieutenant Governor of Java (see Plate 6). It is a mark of Raffles's esteem for his friend John Leyden that he chose to bury his wife next to him. Raffles also erected a rotunda and monument to Olivia in the gardens of his official residence at Buitenzorg (Bogor) (see Plates 7 and 8). The monument still stands (near the entrance gates to the Bogor Botanical gardens), and again Leyden seems to have been on his mind as he chose to honour Olivia's memory by placing on the monument the first verse of a poem she had sent to Leyden in 1808:

Oh thou whom ne'er my constant heart
One moment hath forgot
Tho' Fate severe hath bid us part
Yet still forget me not.⁴¹

was finally closed for burials in 1975. It is now preserved as part of the National Museum, and contains some gravestones removed there for safekeeping from old churches in Batavia. Many prominent names (including Brandes and Stutterheim) are represented. It also shelters the coffin in which former President Sukarno was taken from his home to a hospital to await his funeral.

⁴¹ Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, p. 363.

When Leyden left Scotland in 1803, he was engaged to Janet Brown (sister to Dr Thomas Brown), but years had passed since then and his many references to Olivia in letters and poems indicate the affection and high regard in which he held her. She was much closer in age to Leyden than to Raffles, and in one of her letters to Leyden she wrote, 'I feel an affection for you such as I feel for my only and beloved Brother'.⁴² By coincidence, Olivia's first husband had held the position of Assistant Surgeon in Madras before his death there in 1800.⁴³ There is a strong possibility that it was his death which created the vacancy which Leyden was offered. Olivia would probably have known this and it may have created a special bond between them.

After Leyden's death many obituaries and eulogies were written to honour him. One of the first, by his friend and literary executor William Erskine, was delivered to the Literary Society of Bombay and described his achievements as follows:

With a skill peculiar to himself, with a superiority truly philosophical, he seized the grand features of the Oriental languages, and classed them with an accuracy altogether unequalled. He left to others – some of whom were unable even to see his aim, while others did see, and admired – the humble, though useful, task of explaining the principles and structure of each separate tongue. It forms his highest and peculiar eulogium to remember that, in the course of eight years' residence in India, pursued by ill health, burdened by official duties, and distracted by diversity of pursuits, he nearly effected for Asia what, to this hour, and after the lapse of centuries, all the talents, and research, and labour, and literary quiet of all the learned men and literary bodies of Europe have but very imperfectly accomplished for that quarter of the world – a classification of its various languages and their kindred dialects.⁴⁴

Erskine continued that, in his opinion, Leyden had 'by the originality of his researches and discoveries, formed an era in Oriental literature, and thereby lived long enough to attain one object of his noble ambition, and to leave behind him a name that

⁴² Ibid., p. 66.

⁴³ Boulger, *The Life of Sir Stamford Raffles*, p. 15.

⁴⁴ 'Supplementary Memoir', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, p. cxvii.

will never die'.⁴⁵ Yet, as we have noted above, although his name did not die, Leyden is better known to the modern world as a contemporary of Walter Scott or Stamford Raffles than as a scholar whose achievements were lauded at the time of his death. To better appreciate the knowledge he brought to his translation of *Sejarah Melayu*, and to appreciate why he was credited with forming 'an era in Oriental literature', we turn now to consider some of the work he undertook during his eight years in the East.

II

The 'Furious Orientalist'

Leyden himself has left an account of his motivation in going to India and the situation he found when he began to work in the Hospital in Madras. In a letter written from Penang in October 1805 to a friend in Scotland, he explained:

As to the members of my own profession, I found them in a complete state of depression; so much so, that the Commander-in-Chief had assumed all the powers of the Medical Board, over whom a court-martial was at that very time impending. The medical line had been, from time immemorial, shut out from every appointment, except professional, and the emoluments of these had been greatly diminished just before my arrival.... I saw clearly that there were only two routes in a person's choice; first to sink into a mere professional drudge, and, by strict economy, endeavour to collect a few thousand pounds in the course of twenty years; or, secondly, to aspire a little beyond it, and by a superior knowledge of India, its laws, relations, politics, and languages, to claim a situation somewhat more respectable, in addition to those of the line itself. You know when I left Scotland, I had determined, at all events, to become a furious orientalist, *nemini secundus*, but I was not aware of the difficulty.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. cxviii.

⁴⁶ 'Biographical Memoir', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, p. liv.

Leyden, it is clear, had left Scotland with the ambition to study the East as he had studied the West. He had surveyed the opportunities available to someone in his position and decided the medical profession would not offer him the kind of advancement he needed. He therefore considered himself fortunate, he told his friend, to secure the position of medical assistant to the Mysore survey team, even though the work he had to undertake in a field hospital was 'disgusting,' the travel extremely arduous, and the local conditions extreme. At the time of writing this letter, Leyden had been in India only two years but he boasted to his friend, 'I have now acquired a pretty correct idea of India in all its departments, which increases in geometrical progression as I advance in the languages'. He then enumerates what they are:

The languages that have attracted my attention since my arrival have been Arabic, Persic, Hindostani, Mahratta, Tamal, Telinga, Canara, Sanscrit, Malayalam, Malay and Armenian ... and in all of these, I flatter myself, I have made considerable progress.⁴⁷

Although Leyden stated he had made progress, he admitted to his friend that it had been extremely expensive. His method of study was to learn from 'native teachers' whom he had to pay, and he believed he could only master a language if he also had access to manuscripts in that language. 'It was necessary', he explained, 'to form a library of MSS at a most terrible expense in every language in which I should apply, if I intended to proceed beyond a mere smattering.'⁴⁸

Before proceeding further, it is important to remember the context in which Leyden was working. He was educated in Edinburgh at a time when the main impulses of Enlightenment thinking were being applied by inspired and gifted minds. The scholarship resulting from the application of Enlightenment ideals aimed to analyse data assembled from experience and observation in an orderly, rational and deductive manner.⁴⁹ Leyden worked in

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. lv.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. liv.

⁴⁹ As described in greater detail by Franklin L. Ford, 'The Enlightenment: Towards a Useful Redefinition', in R. F. Brissenden (ed.), *Studies in the Eighteenth Century: Papers Presented at the*

this way in his collection of Border ballads and traditions and in his presentation of *The Complaynt of Scotland*. Lord Minto recognized the task Leyden had set himself in the East, and described his achievements in terms of the ordering of knowledge characteristic of the Enlightenment. Leyden, he claimed, had been:

[M]ethodising and reducing into system the classification of the various languages spoken on the continent intermediate between India and China – the various kingdoms and districts of which, as they recede from each of these extreme points, appear, with some relation to their local approximation or to historical affinities, gradually to have blended and assimilated their respective languages into compound dialects, partaking of both the distinct and primitive tongues. In like manner, Dr Leyden proposed to establish some principle – already, perhaps, conceived in his mind – for governing his investigation of the numerous tongues and dialects of the Eastern Archipelago.⁵⁰

In this kind of work, Leyden was following directly in the footsteps of Sir William Jones, and two of his important papers were published in *Asiatic Researches*, the journal founded by Sir William in 1784. Written in the spirit of late eighteenth-century scientific enquiry, it described its scope as: 'The bounds of its investigations will be the geographical limits of Asia, and within these limits its enquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by Man or produced by Nature.'

In his inaugural address as President of the newly founded Asiatic Society of Bengal, Sir William urged his fellow countrymen to explore the extensive field of Asia which was 'abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions of men'.⁵¹ He felt it was his duty to introduce 'Eastern' knowledge to the West, and was probably the first Englishman to study Sanskrit seriously. When he died in 1794, he had published a diverse array

David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar Canberra 1966, Canberra: The Australian National University Press, 1968, p. 25.

⁵⁰ 'Supplementary Memoir', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, pp. cxviii–cxix.

⁵¹ Sir William Jones, 'Inaugural Address', *Asiatic Researches*, 1, 1788, p. vii.

of articles which ranged from Sanskrit and Arabic translations to papers on botany, zoology, Hindu and Muslim laws, and a grammar of Persian.

Looking back now, over 200 years, we notice one quite striking feature – the unity of knowledge and of scientific investigation evident in Sir William's own work as well as in the journal he founded. In most of its twenty-two volumes spanning the period 1788–1839, we find papers on geology, antiquities, history, religions, ethnography, economics, chemistry, literature, astronomy, zoology and botany. These divisions and specializations, to which we are now accustomed, are the categories of a twentieth-century editor, not those of the original contributors. We remember also that Leyden was himself qualified in natural science, in medicine and, by his own efforts, in an impressive number of languages. One may question the *depth* of knowledge but certainly not its breadth and the effort to come to scientific and rational 'principles' of general explanation. This is as true for Leyden as an individual as it is for the Journals of his time. A great explosion in knowledge in all areas was taking place, and the 'East' was a major source of the increases, and one which both challenged and stimulated the new scientific method.

Leyden's specific interest in acquiring as many languages as he could was fuelled by his ambition to 'order' them in relation to each other, but also by a desire to learn more about the cultures and civilizations which they represented. His method of working with 'native teachers', as described in his letter quoted above, is expanded by General Sir John Malcolm, who knew him when he first arrived in India.

When he read a lesson in Persian, a person near him, whom he had taught, wrote down each word on a long slip of paper, which was afterwards divided into as many pieces as there were words, and pasted in alphabetical order under different heads of verbs, nouns, etc., into a blank book that formed a vocabulary of each day's lesson. All this he had in a few hours instructed a very ignorant native to do; and this man he used in his broad accent to call 'one of his mechanical aids'.⁵²

⁵² 'Biographical Memoir', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, p. lxi.

Leyden's book, *A Comparative Vocabulary of the Barma, Malayu and T'Hai Languages*, is an example of how he used the material he collected with the help of his assistants.³³ The book, he explains, extends the method recommended by the Council of the College of Fort William, to provide comparative vocabularies of all the provincial languages and dialects of India. That he included Malay, Burmese and Thai indicates his understanding of the term 'India'. One of its purposes is to 'illustrate the history of the Eastern tribes' and for this reason, he notes, he has preferred a 'native term' to a more polite one if that is of foreign origin.³⁴ Much of the material in this book was abstracted from his earlier and much larger comparative language study 'On the Languages and Literatures of the Indo-Chinese Nations', which was published in *Asiatic Researches*, and which we discuss in more detail below.

Leyden was an active figure in Indian scholarship from his arrival in 1803, and indeed it was part of his official duty to contribute to the general knowledge required for Company governments. By 1800, the administrative and legal systems had become extremely complex,³⁵ a complexity matched only by the complexities of Indian cultures with which the Company had to deal. Leyden's contribution to Indian scholarship was primarily in translation, in this instance from Pashtu and Persian, with some Arabic. The 'Supplementary Memoir' in *Scenes of Infancy* is at pains to emphasize that insufficient attention has been paid to the translations which Leyden did from English into Eastern languages.³⁶ In 1811, the British and Foreign Bible Society reported that Dr Leyden had submitted plans to them for translating parts of the Gospels into a variety of Asian languages, and one year later (i.e. after his death) they were able to report that he had

³³ John Leyden, *A Comparative Vocabulary of the Barma, Malayu and T'Hai Languages*, Serampore Mission Press, 1810; catalogued as 12904 cc12 in the British Library. It has notes to indicate it was received into the collection of the East India Company Library on 30 April 1811.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. v.

³⁵ M. B. Hooker, 'East India Company and the Crown 1773-1858', *Malaya Law Review*, 11(1), 1969, pp. 1-37.

³⁶ 'Supplementary Memoir', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, pp. cxxv-cxxvi.

submitted to them draft versions of the following: the Gospels of Matthew and Mark into Pushtu; the four Gospels into Maldivian; Mark's Gospel into Baloch, Makassarese and Buginese. The 'Supplementary Memoir' does not record what became of Leyden's translations of the nine books but emphasizes that it is remarkable that he was able to complete all these translations on top of his official duties and other research work.

It is time to look more closely at just a few of Leyden's publications. We have selected three which provide some indication of his approach to 'Eastern' materials and his method of working. They also provide a background for understanding how he approached *Malay Annals*, which is discussed in more detail in section III. They are (1) 'The Rosheniah Sect'; (2) 'Commentaries of Baber'; and (3) 'On the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations'.

The first two are not directly germane to Leyden's Malay work but some little attention needs to be directed to them because they show him as a scholar of history and as a textual analyst.

'The Rosheniah Sect'⁵⁷

This is a long paper, probably written in 1807-8. By this time, the Company had been the effective sovereign in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa since the grant of Diwan in 1765.⁵⁸ It had become apparent early that a knowledge of Eastern languages, literature and laws was necessary for any sort of administration, and this is one of the main impulses for the flowering of late eighteenth-century scholarship on Indian matters. This was particularly the case after Hastings' regulation of 1781, which required the Company's administration to respect the 'religions, manners and customs' of the native inhabitants, including Muslim law,⁵⁹ and the religion of Islam.

⁵⁷ John Leyden, 'The Rosheniah Sect', *Asiatic Researches*, 11, 1810. This movement was apparently an Afghan version of Ismaili doctrine, for which see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edn, Leiden: Brill, Vol. 4, fasc. 63, pp. 198-206.

⁵⁸ See Hooker, 'East India Company', for sources.

⁵⁹ See J. Duncan M. Derrett, *Religion, Law and the State in India*, London: Faber & Faber, 1968.

Leyden's 'Rosheniah' is linguistically complex, and it may be taken as an example of the more general complexities of Indian Islam. For our purposes, one can summarize these as follows. First, Islam was (and is) a minority religion in India, although the minority has always been a substantial one. Secondly, India was ruled by Muslim Emperors (Moguls) from 1525 (Baber) to 1857 when Muhammad Bahadur Shah, the seventeenth and last Emperor (then only a nominal figure), was banished to Rangoon for complicity in the Mutiny of 1857. In Leyden's time, the late eighteenth century and the opening decades of the nineteenth century, the Emperors were either pensioners of the British or under British 'protection'. Their position was nominal but constitutionally and legally guaranteed. Thirdly, within Indian Islam itself there were Sunni and Shi'a adherents, different racial and language groups, and different systems of law and custom. These are the contexts within which Leyden had to work, and in his time these complexities were only just beginning to be appreciated.

Leyden's study of the 'Rosheniah' is his contribution to the third aspect of Indian Islam mentioned above, that is, the theological distinctions between Sunni and Shi'a and the complexities of language which this involved. Here we wish only to indicate what seems to us to be Leyden's assumptions and methods of work. He begins with a general outline of the Rosheniah (the 'Illuminated') and its founder, whom he gives as 'Bayezid', an Afghan of dubious origins. Leyden describes the sect as 'heretical', a matter of some importance to the Company, which also had to cope with extreme manifestations of Islam in its own day. Leyden's understanding was that the sect was, with some minor variants of doctrine, Ismaili. He dates its foundation to 'that dark, turbulent and sanguinary period' immediately preceding the accession of Akbar (r. 1556-1605) to the throne of India. The suggestion is that such periods give rise to religious extremism. Vigorous attempts, finally successful, were made to suppress it during the reigns of Akbar and Shah-Jehan (r. 1628-58), though not before it had attained considerable political power.

The text Leyden uses in his account is the 'Makhzan Afghani', which he described as 'rancorous and hostile' to the sect.⁶⁰ The interesting feature for us is Leyden's description of how he uses the various rather different versions of the text. He begins by describing the material as a 'miscellaneous compilation ... of a very loose and unconnected nature'. This, he notes, has resulted in a variety of readings in Pashtu and Persian, the latter 'crude and inelegant'. Leyden proceeded, therefore, firstly to collate the manuscripts and thus arrive at an 'original'. Unfortunately, he does not explain the principles upon which he acted. Secondly, he then gathered material from 'native authorities' so as to establish 'those local and historical elucidations which the subject seemed to require'. Again, he gives no further details. However, it is clear that Leyden is aware of the problems involved in editing manuscripts from a variety of provenances, and in this respect he was in advance of a lot of later work where these issues were not always sufficiently, if at all, addressed.⁶¹

Leyden concludes his translation or, we suspect, his abstract, by giving a brief description of the Ismaili doctrine. His purpose was to demonstrate that the Rosheniah were but a rather more extreme version of Ismaili. He does this by taking seven fundamental principles of dogma and practice and comparing their respective treatments. We leave it to those qualified in this subject to assess the success or otherwise of this exercise. It is undeniable, however, that Leyden does demonstrate a considerable familiarity with Ismaili material.

Leyden's article on the Rosheniah provides some evidence that in India he continued the approach he had developed in Scotland when gathering material about old Scottish traditions. He respected local authorities, believing they were living witnesses of much older traditions. And as with his 'hunting and gathering' approach in Scotland, he recorded the names of informants. He specifically

⁶⁰ He also mentions a 'Dabistan-i-Mazahib', which is an apologia for the sect, but does not discuss it.

⁶¹ For example, nineteenth-century work on the Malay law texts and even later interpretations well into the 1960s has been barely dealt with.

refers, for example, to 'Amir Muhammed, a native of Paishawer' who provided information on the author of the text.⁶²

'Commentaries of Baber'⁶³

There are several English translations of the *Babur-nama* or *nameh* (the memoirs of the first of the great Moghul Emperors, who lived 1483–1530). The work was unfinished at the time of Leyden's death, and was completed and published in 1826 by his literary executor, William Erskine (referred to above). Leyden's version provided the basis for several later accounts in much the same way as his *Malay Annals* became the starting point for much later commentary.⁶⁴ Leyden's approach to the subject of a great Eastern ruler reveals much about his postulated audience, contemporary British expectations of the East, and 'the great man' approach to the writing of history. We take each point in turn.

First, the postulated audience. The subject of Baber did not have any contemporary relevance for the East India Company at the time when Leyden was preparing his version. He was writing not for the Company but for a wider, educated audience in English. This audience was late eighteenth century in education and taste. Its background was in the classics and its 'abroad' was the Mediterranean. But the East had been impinging for a half a century or so – the 'mystic East' which had engaged the minds and imaginations of men such as Sir William Jones. This educated audience knew something of Hebrew and Sanskrit and of the lands from which these languages came. This was taken very seriously, especially in Scotland, which was, at that time, far in advance of the English intellectual establishment. Leyden was writing for the

⁶² Leyden, 'The Rosheniah Sect', p. 363.

⁶³ John Leyden, 'Commentaries of Baber', *Asiatic Researches*, 1826. An early nineteenth-century version, also based on Leyden, is in R. M. Caldecott, *The Life of Babar, Emperor of Hindostan*, London: James Darling, Clerical Library, 1844.

⁶⁴ Besides Caldecott, there is also F. G. Talbot's abridged version published under the title *Memoirs of Baber, Emperor of India: First of the Great Moghuls*, London: Arthur Humphreys, 1909. Talbot notes in his Preface that he has prepared his version of the Memoir because the Leyden-Erskine edition has been out of print 'for many years'.

Edinburgh of the 1790s, the world of his university and of his Scottish patrons in India.

The main characteristic of this audience can be summed up in *Sense and Sensibility*. The reference to Jane Austen, who was born in the same year as Leyden, is deliberate. It means here the tension between science and art, or romanticism and rationality. Perhaps the meeting point of these is in the late eighteenth-century fascination with melancholy in which Leyden and his contemporaries often steeped their work. Baber is a perfect subject, because his *Babur-nameh* has all the elements of doomed greatness. His moral character was of especial significance. Leyden was, after all, a poet with his sensitivity to 'delicious regret', but at the same time he had an understanding of the condition of the Ruler. These were not negative emotions; one could draw lessons. A simultaneous admiration and pity were possible. From the greatness of Baber to the pathetic situation of his last successors was a perfect theme for his audience who themselves, on the Scots side, had a complete understanding of this condition. We tend to forget that Leyden's contemporaries, Scott and a little later Dickens, had their imaginations formed like this. In the case of Dickens, a later Gothic predominated, but this should not be allowed to overshadow the sense of moral melancholia among Leyden's readership.⁶⁵

We turn to the next feature, the expectations of the East as they were conceived in the late eighteenth century. Baber epitomizes one form of this – power, romanticism, the exotic and also as a human being with wit, daring and intelligence as well as all his faults (rage, alcohol, gambling). The paradigm of the East at that

⁶⁵ John Brewer's study of late eighteenth-century taste in poetry makes the same point. The poet, he notes, was portrayed 'as an original genius of heightened sensibility, a person of greater sensitivity to joy and pain than ordinary men'. He was also 'often melancholic, pre-occupied with death and the transitory nature of human pleasures...', and Brewer emphasizes that there was also a strong concern by poets to use these emotions to provoke the reader's sense of social and moral responsibility. See John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1997, pp. 578–80.

time was the *Arabian Nights*,⁶⁶ a copy of which Leyden went to immense pains as a boy to acquire (as described above). One can see his attraction to Baber and the general fascination of the time with this historical figure. His life, as described in the *Babur-nameh*, does in fact read like something out of the *Arabian Nights*. He was only twelve when his father died, and thus became heir to Ferghana (Khokand), a small kingdom on the eastern border of Persia, in the area previously known as Transoxania. The following passages from the Talbot edition give an excellent impression of him as he was seen by Leyden and later scholars as the epitome of an Eastern hero.

The most romantic figure, and, perhaps, the most complex character in Indian history stands revealed in these memoirs. Soldier, statesman, philosopher, a hunter of big game, Baber was also a Persian poet of no mean order, and in his native Turki a master of prose and verse, and his descriptions of his country and of the people who composed his father's court are those of a born artist....

All through his life of adventure his chief delight was gardening, and curiously interspersed with records of fighting we find such entries as, 'I have now seen thirty-four different kinds of tulip in India'.⁶⁷

For scholars of Leyden's day, the importance of imagination, indeed its extravagance, was a given, quite different from the way in which we approach these texts today. The accounts which we typically read in eighteenth-century literature may or may not be 'accurate' in our sense but they are certainly much more 'imaginative'. For Leyden, it was the incorporation of *alien* material into his own and the audience's late eighteenth-century imagination which was important.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ This was also a favourite book of Dickens. See Peter Ackroyd, *Dickens*, London: Minerva, 1990, pp. 48–9.

⁶⁷ Talbot, *Memoirs of Baber*, p. x.

⁶⁸ Writing about the effect of powerfully evoked images on readers of the period, Brewer quotes the poet Anna Seward (1742–1809), who refers to the 'poignant thrill of pensive transport' she feels when reading such writing. See Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp. 582–3.

Finally, the trope of 'the great man'. We are all familiar with the great man theory of history which, in the mid- to later nineteenth century, particularly in Thomas Carlyle (another Borderman), came to dominate historical writing.⁶⁹ Baber was a perfect subject for the 'romance' of history,⁷⁰ and it was in this context that he was seen by Leyden and his contemporaries. 'The most romantic figure ... in Indian history stands revealed in these Memoirs.'

It is not difficult to see the attraction of such a figure. He founded a dynasty and changed Indian history. The world of Leyden's time was also undergoing immense change, and the British in India were engaged in redefining Indian history. This was perfectly apparent to Leyden and his contemporaries. Their world was one where all was possible. It was no longer an enclosed world, but one where the West was bursting its boundaries, where the spirit of adventure was taken for granted, and where its power was unrestrained. There were powerful parallels with the sixteenth century of Baber's time. Perhaps the most decisive factor in explaining Leyden's fascination with Baber, and the romance of Baber, is the universal and constant fascination with power. This is the essence of the great man approach – that one individual not only exemplifies the exercise of power but is, in a real sense, power itself. The best European examples of this (and one highly relevant to Leyden's contemporaries) can be found in any French history of Napoleon where the tyrant is read as an embodiment of power. Such a reading entails stripping the tyrant of his responsibility for the massive bloodshed and destruction on which he was engaged in Leyden's time. One must also read the contemporary 'sense' and 'sensitivity' in the same way.

Happily, Baber's exploits were 200 years before Leyden, and time had obliterated his barbarism, leaving only the resonance of

⁶⁹ In 1840, for example, Carlyle wrote: 'In all the epochs of the world's history, we shall find the Great Man to have been the indispensable saviour of his epoch.... The History of the World ... was the Biography of Great Men.' See Thomas Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, London: Cassell & Co., 1901, p. 18.

⁷⁰ See Stephen Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History*, New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995.

the great man and so purifying the accession to and exercise of power. All history is hindsight and reflects the time of the writer rather than the 'facts' which are, in any case, selected. Baber's Memoir is self-selected, which does not necessarily make it less 'true'. For Leyden, it was a true 'Border' romance. Modern historians of the school of subaltern studies⁷¹ would, of course, offer a different perspective and reading of the Memoir, but this was not Leyden's perception or the perception of the time.

'On the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations'

This long paper was first read to the Asiatic Society in 1808 and then printed in the tenth volume of *Asiatic Researches* (1808). Later commentators on this paper credited him with developing Comparative Philology as 'an *applied* [sic] science' based on Leyden's claim that 'when applied on an extensive scale, is always the surest clue for developing the origin of a nation, and indicting the revolutions to which it may have been subjected by either foreign conquest or colonization!'⁷²

Leyden begins the paper by explaining that he collected the linguistic material during his stay in Penang in 1805 to recover his health. He took the opportunity to interview local traders, to travel the short distance between Penang and Sumatra, and Penang and the Malay Peninsula to collect material, but he notes that because of the state of his health and the imperfect nature of his sources of information the results of his work are still preliminary.⁷³

Leyden claims that his objective is to 'introduce order and arrangement into a subject at once so extensive and intricate, and to disentangle it from a degree of confusion which seemed almost inextricable, may not be altogether without its use; but may, even where I have failed, serve to point out the proper method of investigation'.⁷⁴ Leyden establishes clearly that he is as concerned

⁷¹ See Ranajit Guha (gen. ed.), *Subaltern Studies*, 6 vols., New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982-92.

⁷² 'Supplementary Memoir', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, pp. cxxi-cxxii.

⁷³ John Leyden, 'On the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations', *Asiatic Researches*, 10, 1808, p. 159.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60.

with his method as with his material. His desire to order the material can, of course, be seen as a way of controlling⁷⁵ it or of 'scientific' analysis. But from the point of view of the time, the following from Leyden himself is highly suggestive:

In the paucity of existing monuments, relative to the *Indo-Chinese* nations, no better method presented itself, either for classing their tribes, or laying a foundation for historical researches, than by examining the mutual relation of several languages which are current among them.... After the relations of the language itself, the ancient monuments and compositions, preserved in it, claim our regard; and I have therefore noted, under their respective heads, such as have come to my knowledge; premising that my opportunities of procuring this species of information have been very unfavourable, and of examining them, very limited.⁷⁶

This sort of proposition reminds us of Marsden's schemata in his Sumatran history, and of his insistence that the '... abstract terms in their language' is a gauge of civilization. Leyden is not studying the language(s) for its own sake, but as a demonstration of the achievement of a stage in human progression. He makes this quite clear in other parts of his papers. Indeed, he is prepared to classify languages and stages of civilization on the basis of religious adherence (Hindu, Buddhism, Islam) because these classes are, in some way, determinants of the language and, hence, of civilization.

Leyden also introduces a quite early version of the 'Great Tradition' versus 'Little Tradition' argument. This is well known in Southeast Asian literature,⁷⁷ most often because the 'little' version of whatever text was being discussed had to be a 'corruption' of material from the 'great' tradition. Leyden assumes this to be the case, and does not discuss the matter further. The whole of the

⁷⁵ See Bernard S. Cohn, 'The Command of Language and the Language of Command', in R. Guha (gen. ed.), *Subaltern Studies*, Vol. 4, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 310.

⁷⁶ Leyden, 'On the Languages', p. 162.

⁷⁷ See O. W. Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*, revd edn, Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Cornell University, 1999, Ch. 3.

language description is written from this perspective. The inevitable result of this bias is that the material is often put forward so as to 'prove' the originality of one language or, conversely, to 'prove' a derivation from some other original. In these exercises, Leyden considers kinship terms, numbers, religious terminologies and a variety of sound shifts both in consonants (l/n, p/d, h/d) and in vowels.

We have space here only for Leyden's comments on Malay (about 12 per cent or so of the whole paper). In his opening remarks, he states that the spread of the *Malayu* language is such that it is necessary to examine 'the history of the nation' as well as the structure and composition of the language itself'. However, he notes, the history is still obscure not for want of material, but from 'want of investigation'.⁷⁸ Leyden recognizes the differences between written and spoken Malay, and chooses to take the written form as his standard for comparison. He refers to this form as 'Basa Jawi', and explains that it has three component parts: an original; a Sanskrit; and an Arabic. Leyden specifically compares Malay to Sanskrit in that both languages historically exerted a 'modifying influence', by which he means imposing some sort of standard grammar. This leads him to a critique of William Marsden's description of Malay. The argument of the time was whether the Malay was original or 'indebted to foreign sources' (Sanskrit and Arabic). In favour of the former is the widespread use of the language, a point relied on by Marsden. On the other hand, and relying on the authority of Sir William Jones, Leyden isolates Sanskrit and Arabic as essentially sources of higher concepts. In trying to fix the most 'pure' kind of spoken Malay, Leyden identifies the Malay of the northern Peninsular states as more pure than that spoken further east. In his opinion, the Malay spoken in Sumatra was mixed with other languages such as Batak and Javanese. He concludes his extended remarks about Malay with the comment that 'the beauty and elegance of the *Malayu* is its simplicity' and that it is this feature which may be used to determine the 'purity' of 'minor dialects'.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Leyden, 'On the Languages', p. 164.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

Leyden has little positive to say about Malay literature, finding it unoriginal and monotonous. His references are to *pantun*, *syair* and *hikayat*. The only point of interest for us to notice is Leyden's constant demonstration (to his own satisfaction, at least) of the Great Tradition origin (Persian, Sanskrit, Arabic, Javanese) for the 'sources' of Malay legends. All this actually demonstrates is the fashion of Leyden's time.

It is all the more surprising, therefore, that Leyden recognizes an 'historical' category among Malay writings. He notes that these are not as numerous as other forms of composition but that there are still a great number of them. 'Indeed', he notes, 'there is reason to believe that there is one of every state or tribe; and though occasionally embellished by fiction, it is only from them that we can obtain any outline of the *Malay* history, and of the progress of the nation.'⁸⁰ In the context of this paper, we refer to those he lists which are related to the history of Melaka. Two of these are texts whose titles are not familiar to Malay scholars, but whose contents overlap with those of *Malay Annals*. He talks, for example, of a *Hikaia Raja-bangsu* – which he says he has not seen – but which was described to him as 'a genealogical history of *Malay RAJAHS*'; a *Hikaia Malaka* which describes the founding of Melaka by a Javanese adventurer, the arrival of the Portuguese and the Malay battles with d'Albuquerque. He refers also to a *Hikaia Pitrajaya-Putti* – the history of an ancient ruler of Melaka, the *Hikaia Achi* and the *Hikaia Hang-Tuha* – the adventures of a Malay chief during the reign of the last ruler of Melaka.⁸¹ In a postscript to his article, Leyden appends a further 55 Malay 'compositions' which, he says, he had omitted to include. The majority are texts of an Islamic nature, but the text listed as number 37 is entitled the *Silsilitu'l Salatin* or *Penurunan segala Raja*.⁸² Two points may be made here before we turn to a closer examination of his translation of *Malay Annals*. The first is that although Leyden was aware that there were many 'historical narratives', the ones he offers comments on are connected in some

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 180.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid., p. 288.

way with Melaka. This indicates either a bias on his part towards Melaka (understandable in the light of British interests in that town), or that indeed the majority of manuscripts available in the early nineteenth century were in some way concerned with Melaka. In the light of current opinion that it was the British colonial education system which gave undue prominence to the history of Melaka as the Malay golden age, it is relevant to try and understand how, and on what grounds, so much attention was paid to Melaka as the highpoint of Malay achievement.

The second point to note is that Leyden's appended list of texts includes the *Sulalatu'l-Salatin*, the 'correct' title of *Sejarah Melayu*. In the light of Leyden's close association with this text, and in the light of his comments about other texts concerning Melaka, it is very strange that he does not describe it in his paper. One explanation seems very probable: that at the time he wrote his paper on the languages and literature of the 'Indo-Chinese nations' (1807-8), he had not yet translated *Malay Annals*. Information to support this is provided in the next section where we turn to a more detailed discussion of the text.

III

Opening the Annals

A Translation of Influence

The narrative, now widely known by the name *Sejarah Melayu* (*SM*), has always been *the* text, the 'spirit text', in Malayan historiography. Leyden and his successor translators and commentators certainly believed this, and this belief is still a fundamental part of Malay intellectual history. The history of this narrative in a modern Malaysian context, that is, from 1800 or so to the present, is quite complicated. Our references to the past are one thing, but the current resonances in modern Malaysia are quite another. The views and approaches to *SM* over 200 years are not consistent, nor are the significances attached to them consistent or, in some cases, all that coherent. This is to be expected from a

narrative which is now an icon of identity and a source for national pride. As well, as has been argued elsewhere, *SM* has been viewed by a range of local power centres on both sides of the Strait of Melaka, as a framework for establishing the legitimacy of local Malay ruling families.⁸³

The text that we know as *Sejarah Melayu* does not seem to have been widely known in Leyden's time. As we have noted above, he does refer to a text called *Sulalatu'l-Salatin* in an addendum to his paper on 'Indo-Chinese' languages, but he does not include a description of it in the paper. The Melaka-related texts he lists, whose contents overlap with those of *SM*, are not titles found in twentieth-century catalogues of Malay manuscripts, and it is very difficult to establish their exact relationship to *SM*.⁸⁴ We might conjecture on the basis of Leyden's comments about their subject matter that they form part of a corpus of narratives in existence in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries which concerned the genealogy of Malay rulers and the founding of Melaka. In 1808, when Raffles had travelled to Melaka to recover his health, he became very concerned about plans to dismantle the old city and remove it as a rival to the development of Penang. His report on the historical and strategic importance of Melaka convinced the Governor-General to abandon the policy, and the decision to demolish Melaka was reversed. Raffles's thinking may have been influenced by material he read in the old texts which we know he was collecting there.⁸⁵ And when Raffles persisted with his ideas for the British 'conquest' of Java, the pursuit of information about the region became even more serious as we shall describe below.

⁸³ Virginia Matheson (Hooker), 'Strategies of Survival: The Malay Royal Line of Lingga-Riau', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 17(1), 1986, pp. 5-39.

⁸⁴ A possible exception is the text Leyden refers to as 'Hikayat Rajah-bangsu', which just might refer to the text of the version of *SM* commonly referred to as 'Raffles MS 18'. This text has recently been renamed 'Raja Bungsu's manuscript'. See the articles by Abdul Rahman Haji Ismail in Cheah, *Sejarah Melayu*.

⁸⁵ Boulger, *The Life of Sir Stamford Raffles*, p. 78.

Raffles, as is evident from his own correspondence with officials of the East India Company (EIC) in Calcutta, had been collecting copies of Malay texts since at least 1805. He wrote several times requesting the Company to reimburse him for the money he had paid to six scribes, 'four Malays, one native of Mecca, and one native of the Coromandel coast', for copying 'several old and valuable manuscripts from the Malayee ...'.⁸⁶ It is extremely likely that Raffles would have shown these works to Leyden while he was staying with him in Penang, and among them may have been some of the titles quoted by Leyden in his 'Indo-China' paper. However, after Raffles's stay in Melaka, his interest in finding information which would increase his understanding of the nature of power and alliances in the Malay World grew even stronger. His paper on the Malayu nation was sent to Leyden in Calcutta in 1809, read before the Asiatic Society there, and made an excellent impression.⁸⁷ In a letter of October 1809, Leyden congratulated Raffles and begged his friend to send him copies of 'the best Malay MSS'.⁸⁸ Lord Minto was impressed, and urged Leyden to bring him any material Raffles was writing on the Eastern possessions. Impatient to move against growing French activity in the region, Raffles decided to go to Calcutta himself, and in June 1810 he met Lord Minto and persuaded him to consider an annexation of Java. Lord Minto appointed him 'Agent to the Governor-General with the Malay States', and he began planning for a campaign against the Dutch forces there.

Raffles was in Calcutta between July and October 1810 and spent considerable time with Leyden. During this period, one of the scribes and translators from Penang also visited Calcutta, and accompanied Leyden to a 'Public Disputation' of Asian language skills by the EIC cadets, held at Government House in September 1810. The scribe was called 'Ibrahim, son of Candu [Kanduj]', and he wrote an account of his impressions of the event. Leyden translated the account and sent a version to Mrs Maria Graham – one of the English ladies of Calcutta – who was sufficiently

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 43.

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 78–9.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 79.

impressed with it to later include it as an appendix to her book, *Journal of a Residence in India*.⁸⁹ Mrs Graham describes Ibrahim as a 'singular figure' who was taken to the event by Dr Leyden. It was this Ibrahim who brought with him to Calcutta a copy of *Sulalatu'l-Salatin*, which Leyden used as the basis for his translation of *Malay Annals*. We know this from a note made nearly forty years later by James Low, who used Leyden's translation for his own researches. Low checked Leyden's work against a Jawi copy of *SM* which he also owned, but which had previously belonged to 'some English orientalist' (identified by Cyril Skinner as John Crawford).⁹⁰ Low wrote as follows:

I have for convenience sake used Leyden's Translation of these Annals where it gives the whole of the original (passage) but have reverted to the latter where that is not the case. The copy in the Arabic character in my possession, which was purchased from a shop-keeper, seems to have been made about twenty years ago and to have been in the possession of some English orientalist, as it has marginal annotations where he thought the sense obscure. He states in a note that 'this [Leyden's] translation is merely a free rendering of some of the principal incidents it contains. Ibrahim the Moonshee made a copy of the Salelata Salatin (Malay Annals) at Malacca, and took it with him to Bengal, where he was in the service of Dr. Leyden. Ibrahim read the book to the Doctor and explained the meaning to him, and he wrote down what he seems to have considered as worthy of notice. This is the account which Ibrahim gives me. It would indeed be tedious to translate all the prolixity and repetitions of a Malayan author, but this translation is tolerably faithful. There is considerable variation in the Malayan copies'. These remarks seem to me quite justifiable.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Detective work accomplished by Cyril Skinner in his 'The Author of the *Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala*', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 132(2/3), 1976, pp. 200-1. Further information about Mrs Graham's life is given in Rosamund Brunel Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, London: John Murray, 1937.

⁹⁰ See Skinner, 'The Author', p. 204, fn. 31.

⁹¹ Original in James Low, 'A Translation of the Keddah Annals Termed Marong Mahawangsa and Sketches of the Ancient Condition of Some of the Nations of Eastern Asia, with Reference to the Malays', *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, 3(1), 1849, p. 19.

The late Professor Skinner has written on this Ibrahim Munshi whom he identifies as the younger brother of Ahmad Rijaluddin, also a scribe, and the author of one of the earliest surviving travelogues in Malay, *Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala*.⁹² Skinner deduces from Ibrahim's name, 'Candu' or Kandu, that he was a member of the Chulia community in Penang, Tamil Muslims originally from the Coromandel coast who had long-established trading links with the west coast ports of the Malay Peninsula. Both Ibrahim and his brother, Ahmad Rijaluddin, had connections with the family of the English trader Captain William Scott. It was the voyage to Calcutta with Captain Scott's son in 1810 (the same year as the visit of his younger brother Ibrahim) that he describes in his *Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala*.⁹³ We shall return to Ibrahim's text in the following subsection, but his career as a scribe and translator continued after his visit to Calcutta. Possibly bolstered by a recommendation from Leyden, Ibrahim was employed by Raffles later in 1810, and taken with Raffles to Melaka to prepare for the assault on Java. Skinner refers to this as Raffles's 'Intelligence Department', and quotes Abdullah Munshi's account of his first meeting with Ibrahim: 'Mr Raffles came to Melaka with his wife.... There was also a Malay copyist called Ibrahim, a Chulia from Penang.... The next day Ibrahim came again and requested a sample of my handwriting....'⁹⁴ Although Abdullah was only 15 years old at this time, the meeting left an impression, and we shall argue that there may have been continuing links between the two men. Ibrahim continued to work for Raffles after the Java campaign, because one of the texts of *SM* which he copied later for Raffles (and it contains the words 'katibuhu ... Ibrahim bin Kandu Saudagar') is dated March 1812.⁹⁵ To our knowledge, no further information is available about him after this date except for the reference in Low's note to Ibrahim being the source of information about the way he read the manuscript to Leyden.

⁹² See C. Skinner, 'Ahmad Rijaluddin's *Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala*,' *Bibliotheca Indonesica*, 22, 1982, pp. 8–9.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 10.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 19, note 3 under 'The Author'.

Based on James Low's note on Leyden's text and Crawford's comments about Ibrahim, it appears that Leyden followed his usual 'research methods' when translating the text. That is to say, he continued the practice he began in Scotland when collecting ballads and refined in India when working on texts such as the Memoir of Baber, of working closely with 'learned natives' and transcribing his version directly from the oral rendering provided by his informant. The accounts of Leyden's work in Selkirk with Walter Scott describe the speed with which Leyden was able to copy down the words of old shepherds, and several other accounts marvel at his prodigious memory.⁹⁶ Clearly Leyden's method of translating the Malay as Ibrahim read it to him was one he was well accustomed to employing.

We turn now to the title which Leyden chose for his translation. The term '*Sajarah Malayu*' appears as the heading to the first chapter in his translation,⁹⁷ even though on the third page of that chapter he notes that the author 'composed the present work under the title of Silla-leteh-al-salatin, in Arabic, and Sala-silah peratoran Segala Raja Raja'. Ten years after Leyden's translation was published, Munshi Abdullah printed a Malay (Jawi) version of the narrative (in about 1831), and also used the title '*Sejarah Melayu*'. Abdullah implies that the text was a well-known one among Malays, and he had chosen it for publication because there was a shortage of suitable Malay language texts for teaching Malay in Singapore.⁹⁸ Perhaps *Sejarah Melayu* was the popular name for the narrative in Melaka and was formalized through the published

⁹⁶ Johnson on Scott in *Sir Walter Scott*, Vol. 1, p. 190, and 'Biographical Memoir', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, pp. lxi and lxii.

⁹⁷ Because Leyden's translation is a rare book, few commentators have had the opportunity to actually read it and observe that *Sejarah Malayu* appears as a title to the translation on Leyden's first page of text.

⁹⁸ T. D. Situmorang and A. Teeuw (eds.), *Sedjarah Melayu menurut terbitan Abdullah*, Djakarta: Djambatan, 1952, p. xxi. The missionary Thomsen, who employed Abdullah as an assistant, prepared *Sejarah Melayu* and *Pelanduk Jenaka* as books for students to study in Singapore. See A. C. Milner, 'A Missionary Source for a Biography of Munshi Abdullah', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 53(1), 1980, p. 113.

texts of Leyden and Abdullah. Leyden would have been aware that the author's own title of *Sulalatu'l-Salatin* means 'Genealogy of the Sultans', but he chose instead to use the '*Sejarah Melayu*' epithet. By choosing to translate the word '*sejarah*' (genealogy) with the English 'annals', he may have been influenced by Sir William Jones, for Sir William had used it in his inaugural address as President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1788. In the address, reprinted in the first volume of the Society's journal, *Asiatic Researches*, he urges British scholars to 'investigate whatever is rare in the stupendous fabric of nature', to 'correct the geography of *Asia* by new observations and discoveries', and to 'trace the annals, and even traditions, of those nations, who from time to time have peopled or desolated it; and will bring to light their various forms of government, with their institutions civil and religious...'.⁹⁹ In the context of Sir William's words, the title 'Annals' was appropriate for the contents of a narrative which recounted the origins of rulers, the founding of kingdoms and the establishment of religions, laws, and government.

When we remember that one of Leyden's earliest experiences of manuscript work concerned the old Scottish text, *The Complaynt of Scotland*, which was also a historical narrative of origins and of statecraft, we should consider that it may have influenced his approach to his *Malay Annals*. Unlike later British scholars who were rather scathing about the narrative's content, he was certainly more tolerant and appreciative in having a real respect for 'ancient' myths, such as the Celtic myth of Ossian, which he had pursued in the Scottish Highlands just a decade earlier.¹⁰⁰ We suggest that

⁹⁹ Jones, 'A Discourse on the Institution of a Society', p. x.

¹⁰⁰ 'Supplementary Memoir', in *Scenes from Infancy Etc.*, p. xci. Scott also brings up Leyden's interest in and knowledge of Celtic tradition, and reports Leyden as being rather more impressed with the validity of the claim to an Ossian than was usual. He mentions, in particular, a journey Leyden made into the Highlands in late 1800. His account of this journey is apparently lost, but two of his poems ('Macphail' and 'The Mermaid') have Highland themes. The whole enterprise was an exercise in the literary sensibility of antiquity and quite in keeping with the age. See further, Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp. 658-9.

Leyden's respect for the antiquities of Scotland, his belief in the importance of oral tales and legends and myths, which he developed when working with Constable, Heber, and with Scott in Edinburgh, shaped his attitude to the Malay material. It is particularly evident in his approach to his translation where he accords due respect to material of a 'wondrous' nature. This is supported by a comment made by Raffles in his 'Introduction' to the *Annals*, when he refers to Leyden's belief that 'in the wild traditions of the Malays, he thought he sometimes discovered a glimmering of light, which might, perhaps, serve to illustrate an earlier period'.¹⁰¹ It was these 'glimmerings', Raffles continued, which inspired Leyden to undertake the translation so that the 'institutions and customs' of the people might be better understood. Raffles also tells us that Leyden had intended the translation to be accompanied by notes and references (we remember that he had supplied these also for his edition of *The Complaynt of Scotland* and for his own poems 'Scenes of Infancy'), and that he had planned to supply the annals of other states in the Archipelago as appendices.¹⁰²

Although Leyden prepared his translation with Ibrahim Kandu in 1810, it remained unknown until Raffles published it in 1821. And then it made a lasting impression on those British officials who were interested in the 'Eastern Archipelago'. It was through Leyden's translation, rather than the original Malay text, that British impressions of Malay 'history' were developed. As Professor Henk Maier notes, 'In describing a great number of events – loosely connected particulars – in a comparatively simple and perspicuous language, this narrative on the history of Malacca evoked a reality in a manner that was fairly familiar to dominant British concepts of historiography.'¹⁰³ It became *the* reference for Malay 'native' histories, and was absorbed immediately into the

¹⁰¹ 'Introduction' to John Leyden, *Malay Annals: Translated from the Malay Language by the Late Dr John Leyden, with an Introduction by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, FRS &c. &c.*, London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821, p. vi.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. vi–vii.

¹⁰³ Hendrik M. J. Maier, *In the Center of Authority*, Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1988, p. 42.

accounts and reports of British officials of the day, becoming a reference for John Anderson in 1824, for T. J. Newbold in 1839, and for James Low in 1842 and 1849. References to it were also included in J. Crawford's *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries*, published in 1856. It would not be an exaggeration to compare the influence of Leyden's translation of *Sejarah Melayu* during the nineteenth century with that of C. C. Brown during the twentieth century.¹⁰⁴ Brown's translation of a version of *SM*, which was different from Leyden's text but maintained his titles and refers to some of Leyden's translations in the annotations, has of course succeeded the 1821 version as the translation of first resource.

However, because Leyden's version had such an impact on the earliest British scholar-administrators, and was used later in the training of British colonial officers, we consider it very important that the 1821 translation be made available once again. It should also be remembered that Leyden's translation was referred to by Shellabear during the compilation of his version of *SM*, and that Brown used it as one of his sources. The reprinting of Leyden's text is overdue.

The Texts of Two Munshis

Considerable thought has been devoted to the origins of the narrative of *Sejarah Melayu*. Most attention has been focussed on extant manuscripts of the narrative, which at latest count numbered 32.¹⁰⁵ The most complex aspect of the investigations into the constellation of texts which are recognized as belonging to the '*Sejarah Melayu* group', is the 'hybrid' nature of most of the narratives. By this we mean that while many of the narratives have some elements in common, others have material which is not shared. In 1968, Professor J. J. Ras published a most elegant appraisal of previous studies of *Sejarah Melayu*, and brought to the

¹⁰⁴ C. C. Brown (trans.), *Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals*, *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 25(2 & 3), 1953; reissued Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1970; reprinted 1976.

¹⁰⁵ See Cheah, *Sejarah Melayu*, p. vii.

attention of English audiences the comments of Snouck Hurgronje on the nature and importance of local traditions of historiography in the Malay World.¹⁰⁶ He also highlighted the research of Professor A. Teeuw, which suggested that texts such as *SM* might be the work of several authors, writing at different points in time, and for different purposes.

In 1967, another Dutch scholar, Professor R. Roolvink, published the findings of his research into a number of manuscripts of *SM*. He was interested in the development of *SM* from a philological perspective rather than a historiographical perspective, which Ras had adopted. Roolvink's work has had more impact than that of other scholars, largely because it became easily accessible when it was republished as a kind of preface to the C. C. Brown English translation which appeared in book form in 1970.¹⁰⁷ Basing his arguments on the nature of the extant manuscripts containing references to the rulers of Melaka, Roolvink argued that *SM* had evolved from the skeleton of a king-list to various more substantial texts which had been fleshed out with added narrative material. His argument thus went from the smaller text to larger ones.

Only a few years later, Roolvink's reasoning was challenged by the late Professor O. W. Wolters in an appendix to his *The Fall of Srivijaya in Malay History*, a detailed and closely argued study of the origins of the first ruler of Melaka.¹⁰⁸ Using internal narrative evidence, Wolters suggested a different relationship between the texts. Rather than evolving from the shorter to the longer, he believed some versions are abbreviations of the longer.¹⁰⁹ In their approach to *SM*, both Ras and Wolters considered the possible functions of the text in particular and specific contexts. In a recently published analysis of the charisma

¹⁰⁶ J. J. Ras, *Hikajat Banjar: A Study in Malay Historiography*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968.

¹⁰⁷ R. Roolvink, 'The Variant Versions', in C. C. Brown (trans.), *Sejarah Melayu or The Malay Annals, Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 25(2 & 3), 1953; reissued Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1970; reprinted 1976.

¹⁰⁸ O. W. Wolters, *The Fall of Srivijaya in Malay History*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1970.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-6.

of the traditional rulers of Minangkabau, Dr Jane Drakard has also drawn on elements of *SM*.¹¹⁰ Like Ras and Wolters, she stresses that an appreciation of local context is crucial to an understanding of the emphases, silences, and doppelganger effects in texts of legitimation. This was also demonstrated in Virginia Hooker's comparison of local histories from the Riau-Lingga and East Sumatra region, which were compiled in the 1930s and 1950s and which draw on figures and motifs also found in *SM* to bolster their own local interests.¹¹¹ There are thus strong grounds for believing that at various times, and in a number of places, elements of the *SM* narrative were selected for incorporation into other narratives and 'localized'.¹¹² The ease with which this could be done, and was in fact achieved, raises the very basic question of the 'shape' of *SM* itself. Considering the fluidity of component parts of the narrative, and the wide distribution of many elements, it may be more accurate to develop further the notion of a large corpus of narratives, each of which is aligned with some basic tenets of the *SM* tradition, but which add their own local inputs. The work of Ras, Wolters, and Drakard would provide a strong starting point for such a study.

We suggest that the Leyden translation might provide some evidence for a Straits localization process. Although we are not able to develop the arguments in detail here, we believe that the cluster of copies of *SM* which appeared in the early nineteenth century in the Melaka area, may reflect particular Straits interests. We shall argue below that they certainly reflect particular colonial interests. Our evidence is based on four copies of *SM*-like texts apparently made in the Melaka area, and although we cannot prove that the originals of the copies came from Melaka, it does seem likely that they came from there or from nearby areas. The manuscripts are: (1) The Malay text copied in Melaka by Ibrahim Munshi for Leyden and taken to Bengal for translation in 1810; (2)

¹¹⁰ Jane Drakard, *A Kingdom of Words: Language and Power in Sumatra*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1999.

¹¹¹ Matheson, 'Strategies of Survival', pp. 5–39.

¹¹² For an exploration of the concept of 'localization', see Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region*, pp. 55–7 and Ch. 4.

Raffles Malay No. 35, dated January 1808, and including the words 'wa katibuhu Ibrahim'; (3) Raffles Malay No. 39, dated March 1812, and including the words 'katibuhu ... Ibrahim bin Kandu Saudagar',¹¹³ and (4) the text published by Abdullah bin Abdulkadir in Singapore in 1831.

Each of these texts is connected to Raffles through the scribes Ibrahim and Abdullah whom we know he employed. From Abdullah's own account in his *Hikayat Abdullah*, we know that he was younger than Ibrahim and that the latter probably employed him on behalf of Raffles. There are, therefore, strong grounds for assuming that they would each have been aware of the manuscripts the other was employed to copy. This is circumstantial evidence for looking for links between Abdullah's text of *Sejarah Melayu* ((4) above) and that copied by Ibrahim for Leyden to work on ((1) above). Professor Roolvink, in an article in Malay which he wrote in 1981 (and which was subsequently published in 1998),¹¹⁴ has made a brief comparison of Leyden's translation and Abdullah's text and concludes they are basically the same version of *SM*. He continues to say that because this version was circulated early in the nineteenth century – through Leyden's English translation and through the books published by Abdullah for use as a teaching text – it is the version which became regarded as the 'standard text'.¹¹⁵ Roolvink had earlier characterized this version as the 'short version' of *SM* because it ends with the death of Tun Ali Hati.¹¹⁶

While the Leyden and Abdullah versions of *SM* seem to be part of the same group of *SM* narratives, even a cursory comparison reveals interesting variations between Leyden and Abdullah. There are differences, for example, in the vowelization of some proper names (and if Ibrahim Munshi was reading to Leyden the

¹¹³ Both (2) and (3) came to our notice through the work of Cyril Skinner. See 'Ahmad Rijaluddin's *Hikayat*', pp. 8 and 19 under 'The Author', note 3.

¹¹⁴ See R. Roolvink, in Cheah Boon Kheng (comp.), 'Sejarah Melayu: Masalah Versi-Versi Lain', in *Sejarah Melayu: The Malay Annals, Ms. Raffles No. 18*, new romanised edn, Reprint No. 17, Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1998, pp. 21–35.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹¹⁶ Roolvink, 'The Variant Versions', p. xxvi.

vowelizations would have been his, rather than Leyden's). Concerning matters of detail, there are some instances where Leyden's text is more detailed than Abdullah's, and in other places it is the other way round.¹¹⁷ Towards the end of the narrative, there appears to be a lacuna in Leyden's account. At p. 327 of Leyden (Abdullah, p. 271), the story moves from the rout of the Portuguese from Melaka to the middle of the story of the teacher from Jeddah, Sadar Jahan, who was mocked because he could not pronounce Malay.

It is also critical to remember the particular 'inputs' which may have been made to the texts that Leyden and Abdullah prepared. Leyden, for example, was guided through *SM* by Munshi Ibrahim, and Abdullah was working with the Singapore missionary C. H. Thomsen. Professor Anthony Milner has found a report by Thomsen, written in October 1829, in which he says that when preparing *SM* and another Malay text for printing, 'what was superficial has been expunged and that which was deficient has been supplied....'¹¹⁸ There is no doubt that the reprinting of Leyden's translation will facilitate and, we hope, invite a detailed comparison of the two texts.

Bearing in mind the link between the Leyden and Abdullah versions, we suggest it is important that a reexamination be made of the other two manuscripts ((2) above) and ((3) above) copied for Raffles by Ibrahim, and now held in the Royal Asiatic Society London. Professor Roolvink did not describe them in detail because he regarded them as 'incomplete' and 'fragmentary'.¹¹⁹ It is this very description which is interesting as to the possibility of a localized version of *SM*. While these manuscripts may be 'incomplete' in comparison with the Raffles 18 manuscript, they

¹¹⁷ Examples of more detail in Leyden occur at Leyden p. 359 and Abdullah (as in the Situmorang-Teeuw edition, p. 300), and for an example of more detail in Abdullah, see Leyden p. 360 and Abdullah p. 301.

¹¹⁸ See Milner, 'A Missionary Source', p. 113. Although Thomsen's note was written in 1829 and Abdullah's *SM* appeared in 1831, there is undoubtedly a close connection between Thomsen's work and that of Abdullah.

¹¹⁹ Roolvink, 'The Variant Versions', p. xxii.

may contain all the information necessary for some other, quite different purpose. As we have not been able to consult these manuscripts ourselves, we urge others to do so; but based on external evidence about Raffles and his scribe Ibrahim, we can conjecture that regardless of the original provenance of the exemplars for Ibrahim's copies, Raffles would have read them with his own focussed and specific interests in mind. It is to these we now turn.

Raffles's 'Introduction' and Considerations of Commerce

Leyden's *Malay Annals* would have remained unpublished and unknown if Raffles had not initiated their printing. The firm of Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, of Paternoster-Row, presented the work, with 'An Introduction by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, F.R.S. &c. &c.', in 1821. Why had Raffles waited for ten years after Leyden's death before publishing the work? The explanation that Raffles was preoccupied with other matters is not convincing when we remember that while he was Governor of Java he had organized the publication of Leyden's 'Sketch of the Island of Borneo' in the seventh volume of *Transactions of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences* in 1814. It is more likely that there was a strategic reason for bringing the translation out in 1821 – or, in Raffles's words, 'presenting this work to the Public'. His own *History of Java* had appeared in 1817, and contained his views on the effect of Dutch commercial policies and the 'short-sighted tyranny' of their implementation of a policy of monopolies on indigenous emporia.¹²⁰ The following year he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, and before leaving England he prepared a much more detailed case for establishing British commercial interests in the Archipelago in a paper given to George Canning and entitled 'Our Interests in the Eastern Archipelago'. In it he claims that Dutch animosity towards the British and their commercial ambition had never been greater.¹²¹ To counter Dutch policies and to maintain British interests, he strongly urged the

¹²⁰ Raffles, *The History of Java*, Vol. 1, pp. 189–94.

¹²¹ The full paper is given in Boulger, *The Life of Sir Stamford Raffles*, p. 268ff.

British to establish a station on one of the islands in the Riau group because of their extremely strategic location for vessels on the China trade route.¹²² In the latter part of 1818, Raffles received permission to begin choosing a suitable site in the Riau area for a permanent British presence. In December 1819, he wrote to William Marsden:

We are now on our way to the eastward, in the hope of doing something, but I much fear the Dutch have hardly left us an inch of ground to stand upon. My attention is principally turned to Johore, and you must not be surprised if my next letter to you is dated from the site of the ancient city of Singapura.¹²³

In Raffles's mind, there was a clear connection between the strategic interests of the present and the picture of the ancient past as related in indigenous accounts – and the principal account of 'the ancient city of Singapore' was *Sejarah Melayu*. In fact, Lady Raffles later claimed it was the specific account of the founding of Singapore in the third chapter of the *Annals* which first gave her husband the idea for an 'Eastern settlement' on the same site.¹²⁴ Thus, on 29 January 1819, having ascertained the previous day that there was no Dutch presence on the island, Raffles hoisted the Union Jack on Singapore. Several of Raffles's letters written at this time refer to 'Singapura' as 'the site of the ancient maritime capital of the Malays',¹²⁵ and in one of them he specifically cites his 'Malay studies' as the inspiration for his choice of settlement:

I shall say nothing of the importance which I attach to the permanence of the position I have taken up at Singapore; it is a child of my own. But for my Malay studies I should hardly have

¹²² Ibid., p. 271.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 303.

¹²⁴ The reference is to Lady Raffles's *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles*, London: John Murray, 1830, but this was quoted in connection with *Malay Annals* by T. Braddell, 'Abstract of the *Sijara Malayu...*', *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, 5(1 and 2), p. 245, note 11.

¹²⁵ See, for example, letters reproduced in Boulger, *The Life of Sir Stamford Raffles*, pp. 308–11.

known that such a place existed: not only the European, but the Indian world was also ignorant of it....¹²⁶

Raffles's plans for Singapore as the British emporium in the East did not meet with immediate support from all quarters; the officials of Penang felt their position would be jeopardized by a rival centre, and the Dutch also protested. Raffles had to continue his crusade, and it is in this context that he organized the publication of Leyden's *Malay Annals*. If indeed, as he stated, Singapore was unknown in India and Europe, the availability of an ancient 'history' of the region, which demonstrated that Singapore had once been a famous and prosperous trading centre, could add considerable weight to his case.

In his 'Introduction' to *Malay Annals*, Raffles repeats the arguments he had set out in 1817 in his paper for Canning, 'Our Interests in the Eastern Archipelago'. But whereas in that paper he had devoted most attention to listing the negative effects of Dutch commercial policy, in the 'Introduction' he moves on to extol the virtues of the peoples of the region as industrious and with 'a spirit of enterprise and freedom'. Of the Malays specifically, he writes that they are 'addicted to commerce' and that:

In the spirit of personal independence which distinguishes these people, their high sense of honour, and the habits of reasoning and reflection to which they are accustomed from their infancy, are to be found the rudiments of improvement, and the basis on which a better order of society may be established.¹²⁷

As if to push home the representation of the Malays as being a 'special' kind of Asian people, and of particular interest to his fellows, Raffles wrote:

[N]otwithstanding their piracies, and the vices usually attributed to them in their present state, there is something in the Malayan character which is congenial to British minds, and which leaves an impression, very opposite to that which a much longer intercourse has given of the more subdued and cultivated natives of Hindostan'.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 309.

¹²⁷ Raffles's 'Introduction' to Leyden, *Malay Annals*, pp. xiv-xv.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. xv.

Raffles is setting the scene for readers of Leyden's text by introducing the Malays, the main actors, as a people whom the British will like and who are ready to do business with them.¹²⁹ These people, he assures the readership, are skilled traders of old, and he implies, for those alert to his activities in the region, that Singapore will once again be the major emporium that it was in the early parts of the *Annals*.

The tendency of Raffles to write about the distant past of Java with nostalgia for a lost golden age has already been noted.¹³⁰ In Java, as in Sumatra, he was inspired by visible remains of inscriptions, temples and monuments to try and imagine the former condition of the native inhabitants. For Melaka and Singapore, his impression of former glory was shaped not by physical remains but by the accounts in indigenous manuscripts. His interest in the *Sejarah Melayu* group of texts is demonstrated by the multiple copies made for him, and by his publication of the Leyden translation. When we examine the dates of those copies, and the date of the publication of the Leyden text, we can establish links between the contents of the texts and Raffles's plans for administrative and/or commercial policy and practice. While he may have been inspired by the romantic associations of the glorious past of Melaka and Singapore, the plans he developed for the future of both ports were based on business rationales and with an eye to the balance sheet. While his attitude to the use of indigenous records as 'serious' accounts about the past may have been shaped by Leyden, his focussed use of them was shaped by

¹²⁹ In his *The History of Java*, Raffles had also been concerned to impress his British readers with the attractiveness of the Javanese who were 'different of course but fundamentally civilised and nice'. Professor Anthony Forge has shown how Raffles had the illustrations for *The History of Java* altered to achieve this end. We thank Professor Milner for this reference. See Anthony Forge, 'Raffles and Daniell: Making the Image Fit', in Anthony Milner and C. Andrew Gerstle (eds.), *Recovering the Orient: Artists, Scholars, Appropriations*, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1994, pp. 109–50, especially p. 147.

¹³⁰ See Mary Catherine Quilty, *Textual Empires: A Reading of Early British Histories of Southeast Asia*, Clayton, Victoria: Monash Asia Institute, Monash University, 1998, p. 63ff.

his ambitions for a permanent British emporium in the Eastern Archipelago. Unfortunately, it is not possible (at least at present) to determine whether the two *SM* manuscripts copied in 1810 and 1812 by Ibrahim Munshi for Raffles were based on exemplars which were 'incomplete' (in Roolvink's estimation), or whether they are 'complete' narratives and were written for a specific purpose, or whether Raffles requested that only certain parts of *SM* be copied for his own interest. We do know that manuscripts copied specifically for European patrons very often shaped the material to meet their expectations and interests.¹³¹

Braddell's Corrections and Later Evaluations

The first commentary in English on Leyden's translation is Thomas Braddell's¹³² 'Abstract of the *Sijara Melayu* or Malayan Annals, with Notes ...', published in 1851 and 1852.¹³³ Braddell clearly regarded Leyden's translation as essential reading for British scholars and officials, and as such he was concerned that it be as accurate a version as possible. He was, therefore, providing a summary of its contents, using the Leyden translation, but checking it against the version 'lately printed in Singapore'. He explained to his readers: 'The whole is intended as a preliminary to assist in further investigation into the origin of the civilization and literature of the Malays: as well as into the general history of that interesting people.'¹³⁴

We can assume that the version of *SM* 'lately printed in Singapore' was Abdullah Munshi's text, which adds further weight to the proposition that it is close to the Malay text provided by Ibrahim for Leyden. Braddell says he accepts James Low's account

¹³¹ As in the production of legal texts for European administrators, see further M. B. Hooker, 'The Law Texts of Muslim South-East Asia', in *Laws of South-East Asia*, Vol. 1, *The Pre-Modern Texts*, Singapore: Butterworth, 1986, p. 372ff.

¹³² He was the founder of a noted dynasty of Malayan scholar administrators.

¹³³ Published in J. R. Logan's *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, Vols. 5 and 6, 1851 and 1852. Braddell's 'abstracts' with notes appear in nine separate articles spread through the *Journal*.

¹³⁴ Braddell, 'Abstract of the *Sijara Melayu*', Vol. 5, p. 125.

of how Leyden and Ibrahim produced the translation. He is referring to Low's reference in his study of the *Kedah Annals* published in 1849 (see our quotation in Section III, above), where Low explains that Crawford was told by Ibrahim that he 'read the book to the Doctor and explained the meaning to him, and he wrote down what he seems to have considered worthy of notice'.¹³⁵ Braddell noted that because Leyden had been working from an oral version, some errors 'have crept in', adding 'as might be expected'.¹³⁶

It would seem that Braddell tried to shield Leyden from criticism about his translation on the basis of differences between the printed *SM* prepared by Abdullah and the English translation of Leyden. In one of his notes Braddell writes, 'The task of pointing out the errors noted here is invidious and the writer has contented himself with supplying defects to the best of his ability without in each case pointing out the deficiency'.¹³⁷ There are two points to be made here. First, that while there do seem to be slips in Leyden's work, as Braddell indicates in several of his notes, some of the variations between Leyden and Abdullah may equally well be differences due to the texts they used. We have postulated that the texts of Ibrahim and Abdullah were close, but they were unlikely to be identical. Variation is a feature of Malay manuscripts, and as James Low quotes Crawford as saying of *Sejarah Melayu*: 'There is considerable variation in the Malayan copies'.¹³⁸ Secondly, Braddell implies that because Leyden was working from an oral rendering, he may have made mistakes as he worked, due perhaps to speed, mishearing, or lack of understanding. However, we know that Leyden was used to working in this manner, and was already adept at it before he left Scotland, and his years of working in this manner with scribes and clerks in India would have made him almost a-master of the art. This is not to deny that errors due to a lack of understanding of the material might have occurred.

¹³⁵ James Low, 'A Translation of the Keddah Annals', p. 19.

¹³⁶ Braddell, 'Abstract of the Sijara Malayu', Vol. 5, p. 125.

¹³⁷ Braddell, 'Abstract of the Sijara Melayu', Vol. 6, p. 46, note 8.

¹³⁸ Low, quoting Crawford, in 'A Translation of the Keddah Annals', p. 19.

There is a further consideration which should be kept in mind when reading Leyden's version of the *Annals*. Both he and Walter Scott believed in a 'creative re-creation' when presenting material from the distant past. Each could reproduce the style of the old Scottish Ballads, and Leyden composed several following the conventions and language of older models. Even when working with authentic material, Scott believed that his function as editor was to improve the originals. One of his biographers explains that Scott believed, as editor of the collection in the *Border Minstrelsy*, that his task was 'not only how to secure the words of the old ballads, but how to arrest attention upon the subject at all'.¹³⁹ This suggests he felt responsible for both the form of the material and its reception. Although we have not been able to establish it with direct evidence, it seems very likely that Leyden shared these views, and that he approached his presentation of *Malay Annals* from this perspective – that is, with a concern not only for the style of language in his translation, but also with a view to capturing the attention of his readers. By coincidence, this view of the editor as an active contributor to a text, is one shared by the copyists of traditional Malay texts. As the research of Voorhoeve has demonstrated, Malay scribes included in their brief the correction, updating and 'improvement' of the material they 'copied'. Voorhoeve's examples, significantly, come from the early 1820s, the time when Leyden's *Annals* first appeared.¹⁴⁰

Whereas Braddell may have been protecting Leyden's reputation as a scholar, he was not so generous toward Raffles. He accuses Raffles of not taking the trouble to correct 'grammatical errors, and numerous obvious mistakes that must have struck his notice had he ever gone over the proofs before printing'. Braddell goes even further and states pointedly 'and in fact it might have been better published under a less able hand...'.¹⁴¹ In support of Braddell's complaints, it must be said that there are several obvious

¹³⁹ Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 204.

¹⁴⁰ P. Voorhoeve, 'A Malay Scriptorium', in John Bastin and R. Roolvink (eds.), *Malayan and Indonesian Studies: Essays Presented to Sir Richard Winstedt on His Eighty-fifth Birthday*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964, pp. 256–66.

¹⁴¹ Braddell, 'Abstract of the *Sijara Malayu*', Vol. 6, p. 46, note 8.

printing errors in Raffles's own Introduction.¹⁴² However, at the time of printing, Raffles was in the East, and it was probably not practicable for him to deal with the proofs himself. As we have argued, he was also eager that the *Annals* be available as evidence in support of his claims for establishing an Eastern entrepot for the British with all possible speed. These considerations seem to have resulted in a less than perfect presentation of the translation.

Braddell's close and careful reading of Leyden's book has resulted in a number of interesting observations in the notes which accompany his 'abstracts'. His comparison with the 'Singapore edition', for example, revealed that in the section concerning the Melaka mission to Pasai on a religious issue:

Dr Leyden has, in his translation, that the Makhdum confirmed his answer by several quotations from the Koran, two of which he gives, which appear to be the 74th verse of the 9th and the 116th of the 3rd chapter, but in the Singapore edition there are no reasons given for the answer made.¹⁴³

It is impossible to know whether this reflects a difference between Ibrahim's text and the Singapore version, or whether it reflects information supplied by Ibrahim to Leyden. In another section of his abstracts, Braddell notes what he describes as an omission in Leyden's translation. He points out that the seventeenth and eighteenth chapter (he calls them 'Annals') of the Singapore version do not appear in Leyden's translation.¹⁴⁴ The material in those sections of Abdullah's 'Singapore' version refers to Melaka's relations with kingdoms in East Sumatra, and it is quite possible that this is another example of 'localized' versions of *SM* – that the information is of particular interest to some Malay families and regions and is not relevant (or is a challenge) to other families and regions. On the other hand, it may be a genuine omission and the gap which we noted in our description of the *Annals* (see above, Section III) is explained by Braddell in terms of Leyden's illegible

¹⁴² Bautain (for Bantam) and Achau (for Achin) are two examples on p. vi of Raffles's 'Introduction'.

¹⁴³ Braddell, 'Abstract of the Sijara Malayu', Vol. 5, p. 649, note 13.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 643, note 1.

handwriting. Although it is conjecture on Braddell's part, it may have some substance. In Braddell's words, 'The manuscript as left by Dr Leyden may have been written in an illegible hand, but the corrector might have informed us what portions he omitted on this account.'¹⁴⁵

We conclude this section with a few remarks about the circulation of Leyden's *Malay Annals* after its publication in 1821. From the references of the British colonial scholar administrators (such as Anderson, Crawford, Low and Braddell), we know that it was influential in their circle. But it had a wider distribution as three copies now held by the National Library of Australia indicate. The first bears the signatures 'Robt Scott' and 'Augusta Maria Scott' and the date 1825. From Skinner's research, we know that Robert Scott was the son of Captain William Scott of Penang, and a partner in the firm of Forbes and Scott.¹⁴⁶ Robert Scott sailed frequently between Penang and Calcutta and was accompanied at least once by Ahmad Rijaluddin (brother of Leyden's informant Ibrahim), who composed a narrative about his experiences in Calcutta, now known as *Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala*. Raffles held Robert Scott in high regard and relied on him for information which could assist in the conquest of Java.¹⁴⁷ It is therefore possible that Raffles himself sent a copy of Leyden's *Annals* to his old friend, or that Scott may have purchased it himself because he knew both Leyden and Raffles.

The second copy came to the National Library of Australia as part of the Coedès collection. The title page bears the stamp of the old National Library of Thailand, of which Coedès was once Chief Librarian. His close connection with the book is some indication of his respect for its contents. The last of the Library's copies was part of the collection of the Australian Commonwealth Parliamentary Library, and contains several corrections in the margins of Raffles's Introduction. These corrections are in an older style script, using pen and black ink, and provide the correct forms for 'Bautain' (Bantam) and 'Acau' (Achin), indicating a reader who

¹⁴⁵ Braddell, 'Abstract of the *Sijara Melayu*', Vol. 6, p. 46, note 8.

¹⁴⁶ See Skinner, 'The Author of the *Hikayat*', p. 199.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 201-2.

was familiar with the material. It is interesting that Leyden's *Annals* were once part of Australia's Parliamentary Library resources. All current references to Leyden's book classify it as a 'rare' and 'scarce' volume. However, last century it was obviously quite widely distributed and available to a range of readers.

IV

Conclusion: 'An Ornament of the Age in Which He Lived'¹⁴⁸

This quotation is one of the lines on Leyden's grave in Jakarta (see Plate 5). It links him with 'his age', and suggests he represented what was admired and valued by his contemporaries who ranged, as we have seen, from the scholars and writers of Edinburgh to the 'scholar administrators' of the East. Chief among the latter were Marsden, Raffles, Crawford and, a little later, Anderson.¹⁴⁹ Leyden was, of course, aware of the work of Marsden,¹⁵⁰ and Raffles was a personal friend. We are not aware that he knew Crawford, but the latter had quite hard things to say about him which argues some sort of acquaintance at least; possibly through a third person.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ One of the lines from the verse on Leyden's tomb in Jakarta.

¹⁴⁹ The high representation of Scots in this literature is remarkable. For further details, see Maier, *In the Center of Authority*, pp. 33–43.

¹⁵⁰ He was, in fact, quite critical. See, for example, Leyden, 'On the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations', pp. 166–74. Marsden never forgot the criticism. In Marsden's last published work, *Miscellaneous Works of William Marsden*, London: Allen & Co., 1834, p. 12, fn. 22, Marsden asserts that Leyden did not have a competent knowledge of Malay, and says the 'Malayan part at least' of Leyden's 'Comparative Vocabulary' is 'very erroneous'. Yet, Marsden ends the footnote by admitting that Leyden was 'endowed with genius in no common degree, and as a linguist was remarkable for the quickness with which he acquired language'. We thank Diana Carroll for bringing this reference to our attention.

¹⁵¹ In John Crawford, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries*, London: Frank Cass, 1856, p. 216s.v., Crawford, says of Leyden: '[H]is political views were wild, speculative and

Each of these individuals wrote from his own point of view and on his own subject, yet we now read them as essays in a single genre.¹⁵² The common uniting factor is the felt need for devising classification systems; specifically, the creation of complex taxonomies. The eighteenth century was, of course, the great age of taxonomic systems, especially in natural history, which itself had to be largely redefined to cope with the complexities of oriental botany. The same is true for languages, and we discussed Leyden's contribution to this subject above. Perhaps one can see the whole of the Enlightenment as, in some way, a gigantic taxonomic exercise to organize all forms of 'knowledge'. While it is undeniable that people like Leyden had a vested interest in participating in the acquisition of the new knowledge, it is equally true that they were inventing a new scientific discourse. Its parameters were in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment within which the 'present' (whether it be in Scotland or India) was defined in terms of the lessons of the classical European 'past'. The theories of development of European civilization were the definers of 'civilization'. This was held to be a process, a movement through stages (hunting-gathering, pastoralism, the development of art and science) common to all mankind. Some societies, for example, the Javanese, had missed out on or had not (yet) achieved the appropriate stage and were, thus, at a lower level. The scholars of the Enlightenment were concerned to explain, and to explain to one another, the nature of the process of development.

For Marsden, language was an indicator of the purity or original nature of a race. While Leyden disagreed with Marsden's detailed work on Malay, he was in full agreement with the general proposition. This was, of course, a major assumption in the work of Sir William Jones. The classification of peoples and the 'purity' of cultures could be linguistically demonstrated. Islam presented a linguistic difficulty because of Arabic, but this was explained, or

scholastic'; '... [he] exposed himself in his literary pursuits'. See also Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, pp. 35ff, 55ff, 105ff, 109ff, 167ff and 362ff.

¹⁵² As described, for example, in Quilty, *Textual Empires*. Diana Carroll is preparing a detailed study of this period.

explained away, as a 'corruption' of the original Sumatran stage. Raffles, writing thirty odd years later, persists with the theme of common origin, though in his case with a more overtly racial basis. He specifically compares the highland people of Sunda in their rude state, with the highlanders of Scotland. Both peoples are described favourably vis-à-vis the 'higher' civilizations of respectively Java and England. Raffles even refers to Walter Scott's historical romances¹⁵³ in his discussion. To a certain extent, he was justifying the nascent British imperial policy as a means of reviving a pure and original polity. This was an excessively romantic view, and one which did not commend itself to the East India Company Board of Directors in London for whom the financial burden of rule in India was already proving too much.¹⁵⁴

With John Crawfurd, we come to a further stage in the writing of Malay history.¹⁵⁵ He proceeds from the idea of stages of civilization and levels of refinement into the influence of local conditions – 'ecology' – on the formation of the human being and the founding of civil society. Leyden expressed exactly the same idea in his Border poetry.¹⁵⁶ We do not mean to suggest that this was a new or sudden development. In all likelihood, Crawfurd would have read Lamarck (1744–1829) and certainly similar ideas are in Marsden and Raffles. Their respective discussions of populations, slavery and the effect of the 'nature of the country' on human development are all examples of the scientific thought of the time.

John Leyden was essentially a linguist; he was also a poet, which is another form of linguist. He was writing pictures which are now for us a history, in this case of Malay. His translations are thus poetically informed, and in this respect his *Malay Annals* is

¹⁵³ Raffles, *The History of Java*, Vol. 1, p. 100.

¹⁵⁴ As demonstrated in the Charter Act of 1813 (55 Geo.III, c.155) which effectively put the seal on Parliamentary control of the EIC. See M. B. Hooker, 'East India Company and the Crown', p. 19f.

¹⁵⁵ John Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, 3 vols, London: Frank Cass, 1820.

¹⁵⁶ For example, there are lines in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*:
'her [the land] mother-hand frames her favourite man, ...
She bids awake, and glow with native fire
... Her gifts impartial settle on his mind.'

not written as we would write it today. Perhaps this is because our 'historical science has continued to assert more and more rigid standards of authenticity'.¹⁵⁷ For Leyden, the poet, the exercise of translation might be seen as taking possession of a foreign sensitivity. 'Sensitivity' can, of course, apply to the social as well as the intellectual and linguistic as Professor Bernard Cohn has demonstrated. Indeed, he cites the same John Malcolm (whom Leyden had met in India), to the following effect:¹⁵⁸

Almost all who, from knowledge and experience, have been capable of forming any judgement upon the question, are agreed that our power in India rests on the general opinion of the natives of our comparative superiority in good faith, wisdom, and strength, to their own rulers. This important impression will be improved by the consideration we show to their habits, institutions, and religion – by the moderation, temper and kindness, with which we conduct ourselves towards them; and injured by every act that offends their belief or superstition, that shows disregard or neglect of individuals or communities, or that evinces our having, with the arrogance of conquerors, forgotten those maxims by which this great empire has been established, and by which alone it can be preserved.

As this passage demonstrates, the key to a successful imperialism was a demonstrated 'superiority' to Indian rulers, *and* a perceived respect for local practices and beliefs. The poetic vision was here fundamental, and has perhaps been even more important in the long term than the then scientific and military superiorities. The orientalist set the agenda by imposing standards of language,¹⁵⁹ by defining 'corruption' of 'classical' texts, and by defining 'oriental culture' itself. Leyden's scholarship, in Scotland and in 'the East', suggests that Edward Said's theories on 'orientalism'¹⁶⁰ overlook the crucial importance of the *context* within which the early nineteenth-century British writers worked. Leyden's attitude to the Scottish past, his interest in 'neglected'

¹⁵⁷ Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clío: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth Century Britain and France*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 6.

¹⁵⁸ Cohn, 'The Command of Language', p. 310.

¹⁵⁹ See generally *ibid.*, p. 301ff, especially on dictionaries.

¹⁶⁰ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.

literature, old dialects, traces of former cultures, was transferred to his study of 'the East'. His interests were not motivated by imperialism, but by the urge to acquire, then order, 'knowledge'. As Professor James Clifford argues, Said's criticisms of 'orientalism' as a discourse of imperialism raise the more fundamental question: 'From what discrete sets of cultural resources does any modern writer construct his or her discourse?'¹⁶¹ John Leyden developed his conceptual approach to scientific writing (his 'set of cultural resources') while a student in Edinburgh, and it was this same approach, tried and tested in his work on *The Complaynt of Scotland*, which he used on other (Eastern) material. To Leyden, the issue of importance was finding the time and resources (physical as well as financial) to record and publish the wealth of material which he recognized around him.

The Poet's Vision

As we noted in the Preface to this essay, there is considerable biographical information about Leyden in the commemorative volume, *Scenes of Infancy*, which was sponsored by the Council of the Edinburgh Border Counties Association.¹⁶² It was published in 1875 to commemorate the centenary of Leyden's birth, and is a beautifully produced book (blue leather, gilt edges and embossed design), with attractive line drawings. It is obviously an exercise in local patriotism, but it is also a complicated production for all the apparent simplicity of its aims.

The book has a number of titles. On the spine it reads 'Leyden's Life and Poems'. The title page reads 'Poems and Ballads by John Leyden with a Memoir of the Author by Sir Walter

¹⁶¹ See James Clifford, 'On Orientalism', in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988, pp. 255-76, especially p. 276. We thank Professor Milner for urging that these issues be raised.

¹⁶² The publisher was Rutherford of Kelso who specialized in topics of Border interest, including biographies of local worthies. It is not generally known, but one of the best agricultural books of the time, John Usher's *Border Breeds of Sheep* - now a classic - was also put out by Rutherford at the same time as his printing of the memorial volume for Leyden.

Scott, Bart, and Supplementary Memoir'. On the front cover, embossed, we have '*Scenes of Infancy Etc*'. This refers to Leyden's long four-part poem describing his native Borders with the 'Etc' indicating an assortment of other pieces. We need to explain the components of this commemorative volume in more detail because they illustrate the intention of the Council of the Edinburgh Border Counties Association in sponsoring the book.

First, there is a 'Biographical Memoir' (pp. ix-lxx) written by Sir Walter Scott. This was originally published in Volume IV of the *Edinburgh Register* of 1811, the year of Leyden's death. Secondly, there is a 'Supplementary Memoir' (pp. lxxi-cxxxi), originally written by Mr Robert White (who relied heavily on a memoir published in 1819 by Rev. James Morton) and published in an 1858 edition of *Poems and Ballads of John Leyden*¹⁶³ together with Scott's memoir. The 'Supplementary Memoir' was further revised by the Rev. W. W. Tulloch for the 1875 commemorative volume and includes extra material. Thirdly, most of the book is devoted to presenting a collection of Leyden's verse, including the complete text of Leyden's extended poem 'Scenes of Infancy'. Finally, the book ends with an Appendix (pp. 217-44) which is a detailed account of the proceedings held at Denholm on 4 September 1875 to celebrate the centenary of Leyden's birth. This included walks and displays in the village, a dinner, and elaborate speeches in the fashion of the time. The theme was Border patriotism, and the special fitness of Leyden as a true 'Border type'. We return to this aspect of Leyden's image in the concluding section of the essay, but spend a little time now on Leyden's poems, which form the main part of the commemorative volume.

When assessing Leyden's contributions to 'oriental' studies, it is essential to remember that he considered himself a poet as well as a scientist. Scott's 'Biographical Memoir' acknowledges this, and is positioned within the romanticism of a specifically Scottish literature. The choice of subjects for verse and novel, the references to the language of Scotland, and the living history of the

¹⁶³ We have not seen this 1858 publication, but the Memoir by Rev. James Morton formed the introduction to a book entitled *Poetical Remains*, London: Longman, Rees, 1819.

Highlands and the Borders all combined to demonstrate a Scottish literature. After all, the Act of Union was constantly debated, and essentially much of the debate has persisted in the UK into the contemporary discussions of devolution. In the time of Scott, history could be taken as romance, but it was also a romantic truth and Scott was the master of explaining this, though he was not a professional historian.¹⁶⁴ His history was for his own purposes, and 'fact as such' might or might not have survived the purpose of the novelist.

In the 'Biographical Memoir', Scott pays tribute to Leyden's collaboration with him in the *Border Minstrelsy*, and remarks that 'Leyden's feelings were naturally poetical, and he was early led to express them in the language of poetry'. However, there is no attempt at a critical assessment. Scott may have felt it inappropriate to include an assessment of Leyden's talents as a poet in his memoir, but the compilers of the commemorative volume (with their bias to the Borders) gathered for reprinting not only the 'Scenes of Infancy' but also a further 60 or so of Leyden's poems. There is a preponderance of sonnets and odes, and the subject matter is always romantic.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ See the comments in Bann, *The Inventions of History*, pp. 23 and 163 on this point.

¹⁶⁵ The titles are:
 Lord Soulis
 The Cout of Keilder
 The Mermaid
 Address to My Malay Krees
 Ruberslaw
 The Celtic Paradise
 Verses on the Death of Nelson
 To James Purvis
 Elegiac Lines on the Death of a Sister
 Portuguese Hymn to the Virgin Mary
 Ode Addressed to George Dyer
 Scottish Music: An Ode
 Ode on Visiting Flodden
 Ode to the Scenes of Infancy
 Spring: An Ode
 Ode to the Evening Star
 Ode on Leaving Velore
 Ode to an Indian Gold Coin

The major work is 'Scenes Of Infancy', a series of poems in four parts describing the Border country and historical events (see Plate 4). 'Scenes of Infancy' was first published in Scotland in

Ode on the Battle of Corunna
Ode to Fantasy
The Elfin King
Macgregor
The Wail of Alzira
To Aurelia
The Battle of Assaye
Dirge of the Departed Year
Verses Written at the Island of Sagur
Epistle to a Lady From a Dancing Bear
Finland Song
The Fight of Praya
Ode to Virtue
On an Old Man Dying Friendless
Melancholy
To the Yew
On the Sabbath Morning
Love
Written in the Isle of Skye
To the Setting Sun
Sonnet Written at Woodhouselee in 1802
Serenity of Childhood
The Memory of the Past
To Camoens
From the Italian of Tasso
From the Portuguese of De Matos
Sonnet Imitated From the Persic of Sadi
On Seeing an Eagle Perched on the Tombstone of Aristomenes
The Arab Warrior
Epitaph From the Latin
From Owen's Latin Epigrams
The Cretan Warrior
The Dream
From Tyrtaeus
From the Persic of Rudeki
Verses Written After Being at Sea For the First Time
On Mahmud's War-Steed, From the Persic of Unsari
The Dirge of Tippoo Sultan
On the Death of Tippoo Sultan
Ode to Jehovah

1803 at about the time Leyden left for India.¹⁶⁶ The reprinting in the memorial volume *Scenes of Infancy Etc* is accompanied by Leyden's extensive footnotes which explain classical allusions in the poems and provide further details of the people, places and historical events mentioned in the verse. The footnotes display an extraordinarily wide general knowledge, and confirm that Leyden's reading and familiarity with the classics, as well as with Scottish history and literature, seems exceptional by any standards.¹⁶⁷

Leyden wrote sixty or so verses of which eleven have an Eastern theme and two are on 'Malaya'. The Malayan verses are not easily accessible, indeed they are quite hard to find, and we give them in full.

**ADDRESS TO MY MALAY KREES.
WRITTEN WHILE PURSUED BY A FRENCH
PRIVATEER OFF SUMATRA
1805**

WHERE is the arm I well could trust
To urge the dagger in the fray?
Alas! How powerless now its thrust,
Beneath Malay's burning day!

The sun has wither'd in their prime
The nerves that once were strong as steel:
Alas! In danger's venturous time
That I should live their loss to feel!
Yet still, my trusty Krees, prove true,
If e'er thou serv'dst at need to brave,
And thou shalt wear a crimson hue,
Or I shall win a watery grave.

Now let thine edge like lightning glow,
And second but thy master's will,
Malay ne'er struck a deadlier blow,
Though practised in the art to kill.

¹⁶⁶ A copy of this first printing (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne) is held by the National Library of Australia. The opening quotation is from Cato, 'Dulcia rura valete, et Lydia, dulcior illis/ Et casti fontes, et felix nomen agelli.'

¹⁶⁷ This was a hallmark of Leyden's writing as is evident in his notes to *The Complaynt of Scotland* and to his *Scottish Descriptive Poems*.

Oh! By thy point! For every wound
Where trace of Frankish blood hath been,
A golden circle shall surround
Thy hilt of agate, smooth and green.

My trusty Krees, now play thy part,
And second well thy master's will!
And I will wear thee next my heart,
And many a life-blood owe thee still.

These verses serve to introduce us to Leyden's East', but are we in fact in the Orient at all? If one takes these verses and deletes the 'Malayan' reference, one finds oneself in the Scottish Borders. Spiritually Leyden has never left home – a 'home' we can still encounter today in the romantic tales of his friend, Walter Scott – just as the eulogies of 1875 emphasize.

**THE FIGHT OF PRAYA
A MALAY DIRGE.
1806**

WARRIORS! chieftains of Malaya!
You shall live in endless light,
Though you vanish'd in the night,
Perish'd in the fight of Praya.

Foot to foot, and man to man,
When beneath the burning beam
Burnish'd lances brightest gleam,
You the combat still began.

Shouts of battle heard afar,
Bade your foes the steel prepare,
Give the winds their coal-black hair,
March to meet the coming war.

Not a breeze convey'd the tale
When the whites began the fray:
Sure they fear'd the eye of day
Should see their faces ghastly pale.

Now, in forms of finer air,
While these grassy graves you view

Scent the flowerets that we strew,
List the vengeance that we swear!

Warriors, o'er each ridgy tomb
The mournful marjoram shall grow,
And the grave-flowers pale shall blow,
Sad memorials of your doom!

O'er your long-lamented clay
The unrelenting blood shall flow
Of the vengeful buffalo,
And his frontlets broad decay.

Chieftains! Warriors of Malaya!
You shall be avenged in light,
Though you perish'd in the night,
Perish'd in the fight of Praya.

Compare the imagery, tone and phraseology of Leyden's 'Malay Dirge' with the opening stanzas to his 'Verses on the Death of Nelson':

How dark the cloud of fate impends,
That canopies the ocean-plain!
How red the shower of blood descends,
Till NELSON lies amid the slain.
Then pauses battle's awful reign:
As warriors strive the tear to hide,
While shuddering shoots along the purple main—
The main by mighty NELSON'S heart-blood dyed.¹⁶⁸

Both English and Malays are described in terms of their courage and their sorrow. A final example comes from Leyden's 'Ode on Visiting Flodden', where the heroism of the 'Border chiefs' of Scotland is celebrated in a style he would use again to describe the Malay warriors of Praya.

Rude Border chiefs, of mighty name
And iron soul, who sternly tore

¹⁶⁸ 'Verses on the Death of Nelson', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, pp. 131–2.

The blossoms from the tree of Fame,
 And purpled deep their tints with gore,
 Rush from brown ruins scarr'd with age,
 That frown o'er haunted Hermitage;
 Where, long by spells mysterious bound,
 They pace their round, with lifeless smile,
 And shake with restless foot the guilty pile,
 Till sink the mouldering towers beneath the burden'd
 ground.¹⁶⁹

'A Noble Specimen of a High Order of the Border Mind'¹⁷⁰

The affection and esteem in which Leyden was held by his fellow Borderers is demonstrated by a monument which was erected in his honour at Denholm, his birthplace, in 1861 (see Plate 3). A local committee collected funds for 'an ornamental pyramidal structure, somewhat resembling the Scott monument at Edinburgh'.¹⁷¹ Fourteen years later, Denholm was again the focus for elaborate and well-planned festivities to mark the centenary of Leyden's birth. The highlight was a celebratory dinner on Saturday, 4 September 1875, and the speeches elaborated on some of the themes of the earlier 'Supplementary Memoir'.

Sir Walter Scott had written appreciatively of Leyden in his 'Biographical Memoir', but Scott's biographer, John Lockhart, had been rather dismissive of Leyden. The 'Supplementary Memoir' takes Lockhart to task for this, and goes to some length to correct his appraisals of Leyden as 'uncouth' and dependent on patrons for funds.¹⁷² The centenary speeches which are recorded as an Appendix in *Scenes of Infancy* are almost hagiographic – and present Leyden not only as a unique human being but also as an example of all that is best of the Border traditions. The Appendix is a hymn of praise to the Borders through Leyden, an exemplary figure.

¹⁶⁹ Sixth stanza of 'Ode on Visiting Flodden', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, p. 147.

¹⁷⁰ The words of Lord Neave who chaired the centenary dinner, see 'Appendix', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, p. 227.

¹⁷¹ 'Supplementary Memoir', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, p. cxxx.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxiv–lxxxviii refers to Chapter 10 of Lockhart's *Life of Scott*.

The historical context is important. The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of rapid industrialization, immigration from Ireland, a vast increase in social misery, and a considerable emigration of talented Scots to various parts of the Empire. As Leyden's own career illustrates, there was even a sort of Scots 'mafia' as early as the later eighteenth century in India. The examples of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company in Burma also come to mind.¹⁷³ One of the results of the stresses coming out of this rapid change was a very sentimental, though genuine, recourse to the supposed simplicities and values of an earlier age. These could be illustrated by the deeds of men of the past who were worthy of honour. John Leyden was esteemed to be such.

A few quotations from the record of the centenary dinner will illustrate this. The major speech was given by the Chairman in proposing the toast to John Leyden, and the quotations are from this address. Even allowing for the hyperbole of the later nineteenth century, they are quite remarkable. We have kept them as short as possible, but the original style is rhetorical and prolix. There are two points being made; first, Leyden as the ideal Borderman:

Now, Leyden was just such a man as the Border might be expected to produce, but with some special powers not peculiar to any one country or district. His special talents were his own, but his general character was a noble specimen of a high order of the Border mind. Consider what are the qualities the Border is calculated to produce in its best men. These are bodily and mental energy, courage and boldness, and a love of nature. The life of the old Borderers was not exactly our life. The notions of *meum* and *tuum* were different, but there was one virtue they had, they did not disguise their principles; they avowed their plan of operation, and put every one on their guard who needed and could find any protection. They lived, in fact, in a state of nature-universal, as Wordsworth has observed, among lower animals, and natural to man in a certain stage of society. Those of you who know the very remarkable and, as many think, the very philosophical, poem of Wordsworth upon Rob Roy's grave

¹⁷³ Another example, from the later popular novel, can be found in John Buchan's *Prester John*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910, which is a panegyric to Scots Calvinist values, and in direct line from Scott's romances.

will find this aspect of society explained, and if not justified, yet palliated:

'The creatures see of flood and field,
And those that travel on the wind!
With them no strife can last; they live
In peace, and peace of mind.
For why? Because the good old rule
Sufficeth them, the simple plan
That they should take who have the power
And they should keep who can.'

(Applause)

Scott refers to Leyden's sympathy with the old Border manners as illustrated by his translation of the Scaleon, called the Cretan warrior, of which Hybrias is either the author or the subject:

'My spear, my sword, my shaggy shield!
They make me lord of all below-
For those that dread my spear to wield,
Before my shaggy shield must bow;
Their fields, their vineyards they resign;
And all that cowards have is mine.'¹⁷⁴

Secondly, there is a rather interesting statement which claims that one's character can be or is found by one's natural surroundings. This is also a feature of Raffles's views about Malays and the possibilities of improvement. One finds the same views expressed with greater or less elegance in the literature of high imperialism.¹⁷⁵ One version in connection with Leyden reads:

Next to, or rather in connection with, the historical influence of the Border character and habits must be considered the influence of the Border scenery. I cannot help attributing a great deal to the local surroundings of men. The human intellect will thrive everywhere, but the sensibilities are, I think, moulded in a great degree by the natural objects that daily greet our senses. Holland has produced great men in learning, in law, in politics, in mer-

¹⁷⁴ 'Appendix', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, pp. 226-7.

¹⁷⁵ Rudyard Kipling is the obvious example, as in *Kim*, London: Macmillan and Co., 1902, p. 177, 'His quickness would have delighted an English master; but at St. Xavier's they know the first rush of minds developed by sun and surroundings, as they know the half-collapse that sets in at twenty-two or twenty-three.'

chandise; but I should doubt if it was likely to produce a popular school of poetry or of music, such as we find in countries more peculiarly diversified by natural scenery. The hills, the valleys, and the river sides, the courses of our streams, the variations of our winds, by which our Border scenery is characterised, must tell upon the feelings and powers of its inhabitants, just as the lake scenery of Westmorland or the mountains and torrents of the Scottish Highlands. Wordsworth was at least aided in his poetical productions by the natural objects amongst which he lived, and which he loved so well. Byron had his first poetical impulse stirred and exulted by the scenery of Lochnagar, though they afterwards took far different directions. The Isles of Greece and her beautiful hills and valleys were intimately connected with the poetry of the people, and the scenery of the Po and the north of Italy helped exalt and soften the poetry of Virgil and Catullus. So, among ourselves, we cannot doubt that Thomson, Burns and Scott were made what they were in a great measure through the natural objects which inspired them, and which they delighted to commemorate. Scott has expressly told us this in those sublime lines in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel", which came undoubtedly from the heart:

'O Caledonia, stern and wild
Meet nurse for a poetic child.'¹⁷⁶

The speaker has managed to get in Wordsworth, Byron, Virgil, Catullus, and Scott. The next speaker continues by comparing Leyden with other great Border writers and scholars such as Hume, Knox, Carlyle and, for poetry, the Ettrick Shepherd (James Hogg, 1770–1835).

Leyden's name was thus honoured by the Border worthies of his age, and his monument still stands in Denholm at the beginning of a new millennium, two and a quarter centuries after his birth. His opening of the *Annals* for an English readership has had a lasting influence – through Raffles who laid it before a British public that they might imagine the commercial activity which had once characterized Singapore and Melaka, and through the British scholar-administrators who used it to inform their understanding of Malay history. The colonial administrators adopted the *Annals* as a

¹⁷⁶ 'Appendix', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.*, p. 228.

keystone in their education policies – for good or ill – and thus contributed to the fashioning of the Malay nationalist past.¹⁷⁷

We conclude this introduction to the reprinting of the *Annals* with a reference to contemporary attitudes to the text. In 1998, Malaysia's Prime Minister, Dr Mahathir Mohamad, published his book *The Way Forward* to show how the implementation of his economic policies had resulted in the transformation of Malay culture into 'a modern commercial and industrial society'.¹⁷⁸ The final chapter of the book describes the cultural dimensions of the economic policy and, like Raffles, the Prime Minister turned to *Sejarah Melayu* to bolster Malaysia's present-day commercial aspirations by invoking Melaka's past glory as an entrepot. Dr Mahathir presents the quote as follows:

... and Melaka became a great city. Strangers flocked thither ... and from below the wind to above the wind Melaka became famous as a very great city ... so much so that princes from all countries came to present themselves before [the] sultan ..., who treated them with due respect bestowing upon them robes of honour and of the highest distinction together with rich presents of jewels, gold and silver.

Malay Annals (early 17th century)¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Visits to the Museum of National History in Kuala Lumpur and the Museum of History in Melaka are essential for understanding the current presentation of Malaysia's past. For some thoughts on this, see Virginia Matheson Hooker, 'Malaysia as History', The Tenth James C. Jackson Memorial Lecture, Malaysia Society, Asian Studies Association of Australia University of New England, Armidale, 1998.

¹⁷⁸ Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad, *The Way Forward*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

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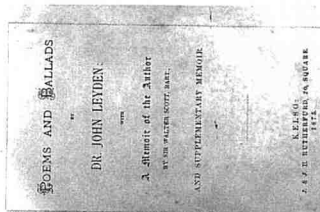


Plate 1 Frontispiece to *Scenes of Infancy Etc: Poems and Ballads by Dr John Leyden with A Biographical Memoir of the Author by Sir Walter Scott, Bart., and Supplementary Memoir, Kelso: J. & J. H. Rutherford, 1875.*



LEYDEN'S BIRTHPLACE.

FROM A PHOTO. BY J. Y. HUNTER, HAWICK.

Plate 2 Leyden's Birthplace, from a photograph by J. Y. Hunter, Hawick, in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.* Facing the 'Supplementary Memoir', p. lxxiii.



LEYDEN'S MONUMENT AT DENHOLM.

FROM A PHOTO. BY J. Y. HUNTER, HAWICK.

Plate 3 Leyden's monument at Denholm, inaugurated in 1861, from a photo by J. Y. Hunter, Hawick, in *Scenes of Infancy Etc*, facing p. cxxx.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE LAST PAGE OF THE M.S. OF
"SCENES OF INFANCY"

The 'innocent' grace, where all thy father lies,
And Swift's stream that long has run unceasing,
And we - when Death so long has closed our eyes,
How well thou bid us from the dead arise,
And leave our mouldering bones to rot the mine,
From vices that have made our lives a curse,
And worthily honour thy humblest infant's name,
And surely sleep in thy paternal grave.

Lines of Scenes of Infancy

After the first 14.

Merveilleuses histoires racontées autour du foyer, tendres
épanchemens du cœur, longues harcelades d'amour
de réciprocités à l'air, vous avez rempli les pages
de ceux qui n'ont point quitté leur pays natal. Vous
tenez-vous dans leur patrie, avec le soleil couchant
les fleurs de leur vieillesse et les charmes de la religion
et la

The Little is Scenes of Infancy

Descriptions of
Levitical

which many had here and
to be very good English

*Julia nova valde, aldydia, dulaia illis
Shanti' pontes, alpeia nona agelli.*

Valencia lott.

Plate 4 "Fac-Simile of the Last page of the M.S. of 'Scenes of Infancy', in *Scenes of Infancy Etc.* facing p. 76.



Plate 5 Leyden's grave in Taman Prasasti cemetery, Jakarta (1998).

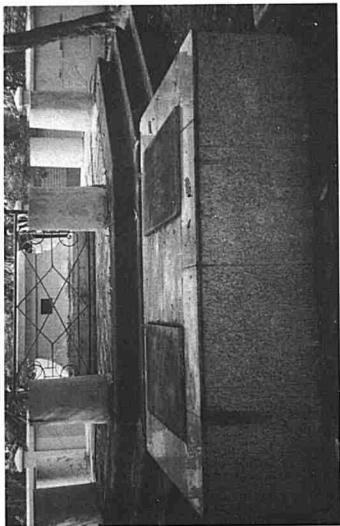


Plate 6 The graves of Olivia Mariamne Raffles and John Leyden (foreground) in Taman Prasasti cemetery, Jakarta (1998).



Plates 7 and 8 Raffles's memorial to his first wife Olivia in the Botanical Gardens, Bogor (1998).

**Reproduction
of
John Leyden's
translation of the
Malay Annals**



MALAY ANNALS:

TRANSLATED

FROM THE MALAY LANGUAGE,

BY

THE LATE DR JOHN LEYDEN.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION,

BY

SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, F.R.S.
&c. &c.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR
LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN
PATERNOSTER-ROW

1821.



INTRODUCTION.

IN presenting this work to the Public, it may be proper to offer some explanation on the circumstances under which it was written, on the object of the Translator, and on the character and present conditions of the people, whose only annals it records.

From the period at which Dr. Leyden first visited the Eastern Islands, in 1805, he may be said to have espoused the cause of the Malayan race with all the ardour and enthusiasm which so peculiarly distinguished his character. In the feudal notions and habits of this people, he found so much in accordance with his own feelings of honour and independence, that he was at once alive to their true character and interests; and, while his powerful and intelligent mind was engaged in deeper researches into their languages and literature, he neglected no opportunity of becoming acquainted with their more popular tales and traditions.

He was aware, that, in these islands, as well as on the continent of India, the commencement of authentic history was only to be dated from the introduction of Mahometanism; but, in the wild traditions of the Malays, he thought he sometimes discovered a glimmering of light, which might, perhaps, serve to illustrate an earlier period. These glimmerings, he was accustomed to say, were very faint, but, in the absence of all other lights, they were worth pursuing; they would, at all events, account for and explain many of the peculiar institutions and customs of the people, and serve to make his countrymen better acquainted with a race who appeared to him to possess the greatest claims on their consideration and attention. Under this impression, he was induced to undertake the translation of the work now published, being a compilation of the most popular traditions existing among the Malays themselves. It was intended that the text should have been illustrated by notes and references, explanatory of the more interesting parts, and that the late Annals of the different states of the Archipelago,

since the establishment of Mahometanism, should have been annexed; but the premature and lamented death of Dr. Leyden will account for its appearing in its present imperfect state.

The public attention has latterly been so much directed to these islands, and the recent occupation of Java by the British authorities, has thrown so much light on the nature and resources of the Malayan Archipelago, and on the extent, character, and pursuits of its inhabitants, that it is not necessary in this place to enter upon any detailed account of either.

From the period at which Europeans first visited these islands, their civil history may be summed up in few words; it is included in that of their commerce. The extensive trade of these islands had long collected at certain natural and advantageous emporia; of these Bautain, Achau, Malacca, and Macasser, were the principal. The valour of Portugal broke the power of the native states, and left them exposed to the more selfish policy of their successors. The Dutch had no sooner established their capital at Batavia, than, not satisfied with

transferring to it the emporium of Baintain, they conceived the idea of making it the sole and only depôt of the commerce of the Archipelago. Had this object been combined with a liberal policy, and had the local circumstances of Batavia not obstructed it, the effect might have been different, and, instead of the ruin and desolation which ensued throughout a large portion of these islands, they might have advanced in civilization, while they contributed to raise the prosperity, and support the ascendancy of the Dutch metropolis. But when we advert to the greedy policy which swallowed up the resources of this extensive Archipelago in a narrow and rigid monopoly; and that, instead of leaving trade to accumulate, as it had previously done at the natural emporia, it was forced, by means of arbitrary and restrictive regulations, into one which, independent of other disadvantages, soon proved the grave of the majority of those who were obliged to resort to it, we shall find the cause which made it as ruinous to the Dutch as to the people. By attempting too much, they lost what, under other circumstances, might have been

turned to advantage, and the native states, deprived of their fair share of commerce, abandoned all attempts, and sunk into the comparative insignificance in which they were found at the period when our traders began to navigate those seas from Madras and Bengal. The destruction of the native trade of the Archipelago by this withering policy, may be considered as the origin of many of the evils, and of all the piracies of which we now complain. A maritime and commercial people, suddenly deprived of all honest employment, or the means of respectable subsistence, either sunk into apathy and indolence, or expended their natural energies in piratical attempts to recover, by force and plunder, what they had been deprived of by policy and fraud. In this state of decay, they continued to degenerate, till the appearance of the British traders revived their suppressed and nearly extinguished energies, and awoke to new life the commerce and enterprise of this interesting portion of the globe. The decline and corruption of the Dutch power in the East, offered little obstruction; as our intercourse increased, their establish-

ments were withdrawn, and long before the conquest of Java, and, indeed, before the last war, the English had already possessed themselves of the largest portion of this trade.

When we consider the extent of this unparalleled Archipelago; the vanity and peculiar character of its people; the infinity of its resources; its contiguity to China and Japan, the most populous regions of the earth; and the extraordinary facilities it affords to commerce, from the smoothness of its seas, the number and excellence of its harbours, and the regularity of its monsoons; it would be vain to assign limits, or to say how far and wide the tide of commerce might not have flowed, or how great the progress of civilization might not have been, had they been allowed to pursue their free and uninterrupted course, protected and encouraged by a more enlightened and liberal government. Had the commerce been properly conducted, the advantages must have been reciprocal; if it enriched the one party, it must have raised the other in the scale of civilization; by creating new wants, it must have opened

new sources of enjoyment, encouraged industry and emulation.

The prejudice which has so long existed against the Malays, is fast subsiding. Among the Malay states, we shall find none of the obstacles which exist among the more civilised people of India, to the reception of new customs and ideas. Of the extensive and varied population inhabiting the Eastern Archipelago, and the continent adjacent, the gradations of civilization are wide, from the rude untutored Harafora, to the comparatively civilized Javan and Siamese; but the absence of inveterate prejudice, and a spirit of enterprise and freedom, distinguish the whole. In the interior of the larger islands, the population is almost exclusively devoted to agriculture; but, on the coasts, the adventurous character of the Bugguese, and the speculative industry of the Chinese, have given a stimulus and direction to the energies of the maritime and commercial states. Establishments are formed on each of the principal rivers; and while the less civilized inhabitant of the country is engaged to collecting its valuable raw products, in travers-

Malay Peninsula

ing the woods, and sweeping the shores, these native merchants become the carriers of the more distant markets. The natural demands and necessities which must exist in so extensive an Archipelago, in which the employment and condition of the inhabitants are so various, give rise to a constant intercourse between them, and consequently to an extensive native trade, which, from its nature, must be beyond the reach of fiscal regulation.

The whole of this population, at least, on the Malay peninsula, and throughout the islands, have imbibed a taste for Indian and European manufactures, and the demand is only limited by their means. Artificial impediments may, for a time, have checked these means; but in countries where, independently of the cultivation of the soil, the treasures of the mines seem inexhaustible, and the raw produce of its forests has in all ages been in equal demand; it is not easy to fix limits to the extension of these means. These people have not undergone the same artificial moulding; they are fresher from the hand of nature, and the absence of bigotry and inveterate prejudice

leaves them much more open to receive new impressions, and adopt new examples. Whatever may have been their original religion, its character does not appear to have been deeply imprinted, and they have carried the same moderate and temperate spirit into their new faith. They have no knowledge of the odious distinction of castes, but mingle indiscriminately in all society. With a high reverence for ancestry, and nobility of descent, they are more influenced, and quicker discerners of superiority of individual talent, than is usual among people not far advanced in civilization. They are addicted to commerce, which has already given them a taste for luxuries, and this propensity they indulge to the utmost of their means. Among a people so unsophisticated, and so free from prejudice, it is obvious that a greater scope is given to the influence of example; that, in proportion as their intercourse with Europeans encreases, and a free commerce adds to their resources, along with the wants which will be created, and the luxuries supplied, the humanizing arts of life will also find their way, and we may antici-

pate a much more rapid improvement, than in nations who, having once arrived at a high point of civilization, and retrograded in the scale, are now hardened by the recollection of what they once were, are brought up in a contempt for every thing beyond their own narrow circle, and who have, for centuries, bent under the double load of foreign tyranny and priestly intolerance. When these striking and important differences are taken into the account, we may be permitted to indulge more sanguine expectations of improvement among the tribes of the eastern isles. We may look forward to an early abolition of piracy and illicit traffic, when the seas shall be open to the free current of commerce. Restriction and oppression have too often converted their shores to scenes of rapine and violence; but an opposite policy and more enlightened principles may, ere long, subdue and remove the evil. In the spirit of personal independence which distinguishes these people, their high sense of honour, and the habits of reasoning and reflection to which they are accustomed from their infancy, are to be found

the rudiments of improvement, and the basis on which a better order of society may be established.

Such were the opinions entertained by Leyden, previous to the conquest of Java; and the peculiar interest which these people excite, cannot, perhaps, be better illustrated than by the general feeling which exists towards them, on the part of every Englishman who has since been among them, and become more intimately acquainted with their character: notwithstanding their piracies, and the vices usually attributed to them in their present state, there is something in the Malayan character which is congenial to British minds, and which leaves an impression, very opposite to that which a much longer intercourse has given of the more subdued and cultivated natives of Hindostan. Retaining much of that boldness which marks the Tartar stock, from whence they are supposed to have sprung, they have acquired a softness, not less remarkable in their manners, than in their language. Few people attend more to the courtesies of society. Among many of

them, traces of a higher state of civilization are obvious, and where opportunity has been afforded, even in our own times, they have been found capable of receiving a high state of intellectual improvement.

THE
SAJARAH MALAYU.

THE author of this work commences with stating, that he will declare sincerely what he regards as the truth, according to the best of his information. The occasion of the composition of the work is stated by the author to be the following. "I happened to be present at an assembly of the learned and noble, when one of the principal persons of the party observed to me, that he had heard of a Malay story, which had been lately brought by a nobleman from the land of Gua, and that it would be proper for some person to correct it according to the institutions of the Malays, that it might be useful to posterity. On hearing this, I was firmly determined to attempt the work. On this occasion were

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present Tun Mahmud, styled Paduka Raja, and holding the office of bandahara, the son of the noble Paduka Raja, the grandson of Bandahara Sri Maharaja, and great grandson of Tun Narawangsa, the great-great grandson of Sri Maharaja, and great-great-great-grandson of Sri Naradi Raja Tun Ali, the son of Mani Farandan, of Malay extraction, from the mountain Sagantang Maha Miru, the signet of whose country is of the Sawal gem. This happened in the morning of the fifth day of the week, and 12th of the month of Rabiul-awal, in the year Dal, and of the Hejirah 1021, in the reign of the sovereign who lately deceased at Aché, Sultan Ala-ed-din, the son of Sultan Ajel Abdul Jalil, the brother of Sultan Muzafer Shah, the son of Sultan Ala-ed-din, the son of Sultan Mahmud Shah, the son of Sultan Ala-ed-din, the son of Sultan Mansur Shah, the son of Sultan Muzafer Shah, the son of Sultan Muhammed Shah, and at the time when he was sovereign of Pasei. Raja Dewasayit came to me, the Bandahara Sri Narawangsa Tun Mambang, the son of Sri Agar Raja, of the country of Patani, bearing the order of the high sove-

reign Sultan Abdallah, the son of Sultan Ajel Abdul Jalil Shah, requiring me to compose a history of all the Malayu rajas, with an account of their institutions, for the information of posterity, who shall come after us." The author adds, that after having well meditated his subject, and requested the divine assistance, in respect of illumination of the understanding, style, and facility of composition, he composed the present work under the title of Silla-leteh-al-salatin, in Arabic, and Sala-silah peratoran Segala Raja Raja.

I.

IT happened on a time that Raja Secander, the son of Raja Darab of Rum, of the race of Makaduniah, the name of whose empire was Zulkarneini, wished to see the rising of the sun; and with this view he reached the confines of the land of Hind. There was a raja in Hindostan, named Raja Kida Hindi, who was very powerful, and whose empire extended over the half of Hindostan, and immediately on the approach of Raja Secander, he sent his prime minister to collect his forces, and marched out to meet him. The armies engaged, and a fine battle ensued, as is recorded fully in the history of Raja Secander. In fine, Raja Kida Hindi was defeated and taken prisoner, and embraced the true faith according to the law of the prophet Ibrahim, the friend of God; after which he was sent back to his own country. This Raja Kida Hindi had a daughter extremely beautiful and handsome, whose face glittered and shone like the sun, and whose understanding and qualities were

It is stated by the relater of this story, that the Princess Shaher-ul Beriah, the daughter of Raja Kida Hindi, became pregnant by Raja Secander, but Raja Secander was unacquainted with this circumstance, nor was the princess acquainted with it herself, till a month after her return to her father. She at last informed her father that a cessation of her courses has taken place for two months, at which he was greatly delighted, considering that her pregnancy was by Raja Secander, and therefore treated her with all requisite attention. At the expiration of the months, the prin-

cess was safely delivered of a son, whom Raja Kida Hindi named Araston Shah, and who in every respect was the perfect picture of his father Raja Secander Zulkarneini. Raja Araston Shah married the daughter of the raja of Turkestan, by whom he had a son named Raja Aftas.

After the space of forty-five years, Raja Secander returned to Makedonia, and Raja Kida Hindi died, and left as his successor on the throne, Raja Araston Shah, who reigned 350 years, and then died. He was succeeded on the throne by his son Raja Aftas, who reigned 120 years, and then died. He was succeeded by Ascayinat, who reigned three years, and died. He was succeeded by Casidas, who reigned twelve years, and died. He was succeeded by Amatubusu, who reigned thirteen years. He was succeeded by Raja Zamzeyus, who reigned seven years, and died. He was succeeded by Kharus Cainat, who reigned thirty years, and died. He was succeeded by Raja Arhat Sacayinat. After his death, he was succeeded by Raja Cudarzuguhan the son of Raja Amatubusu. After him reigned Raja Nicabus, who reigned forty years, and

died. After him reigned Raja Ardasir Migan, who married the daughter of Raja Nashirwan Adel, sovereign of the east and west, by whom he had a son, named Raja Derma Unus, After him succeeded on the throne, his grandson Tarsi Bardaras, the son of Raja Zamrut, who was the son of Shah Tarsi Narsi, who was the son of Raja Derma Unus, who was the son of Ardasir Babegan, who was the son of Raja Cuduri Gudurz Zuguhan, who was the son of Raja Amatubusu, who was the son of Raja Sabur, who was the son of Raja Aftas, who was the son of Raja Araston Shah, who was the son of Secandar Zulkarneini.

Raja Narsi Barderas married the daughter of Raja Salan, the raja of Amdan Nayara, who, it is asserted by some, was the grandson of Raja Nashirwan Adel, the son of Raja Kobad Shah Shahriar, who was raja of the east and west. This Raja Sulan was the mightiest prince of the lands of Hind and Sind, and of all the rajas under the wind (*i.e.* towards the west, the wind being supposed to rise with the sun). By the princess his daughter, Raja Narsi had three sons; 1. Raja Heiran, who reigned in the

country of Hindostan. 2. Raja Suran, whom Raja Sulan took and installed in his own place. 3. Raja Panden, who reigned in Turkestan. After a short time Raja Sulan died, and his grandson Raja Suran reigned in his place in Amdan Nagara, with still greater authority than his predecessor, and all the rajas of the east and west acknowledged his allegiance, excepting the land of China, who was not subject to him. Then Raja Suran Padshah formed the design of subjugating China, and for this purpose his men at arms, and the rajas dependent on him, assembled from every quarter with their hosts, to the number of one thousand and two lacs. With this prodigious host, he advanced against China, and in his course, the forests were converted into open plains; the earth shook, and the hills moved; the lofty grounds became level, and the rocks flew off in shivers, and the large rivers were dried up to the mud. Two months they marched on without delay, and the darkest night was illuminated by the light of their armour like the lustre of the full moon; and the noise of the thunder could not

be heard for the loud noise of the champions and warriors, mixed with the cries of horses and elephants. Every country which Raja Suran approached, he subdued and reduced under his subjection, till at last he approached the country of Gangga Nagara, the raja of which was named Ganggi Shah Juana, which city is situated on a hill of very steep approach in front, but of easy access in the rear. Its fort was situated on the banks of the river Dinding, in the vicinity of Perak. When Raja Ganggi Shah Juana heard of the approach of Raja Suran, he summoned all his vassals, and ordered the gates of his fortresses to be shut, and stationed his guards for their protection. He also directed his moats to be filled with water. The host of Raja Suran quickly surrounded his fortresses, and attacked them sharply, but were vigorously repulsed. On this, Raja Suran mounted his huge elephant, and approached the gate of the fortress, notwithstanding the showers of spears and arrows with which he was assailed; he smote the gate with his chakra, and it immediately tumbled down, while the raja entered the fort with all his

champions. When Raja Ganggi Shah Juana saw Raja Suran, he seized his bow and smote the elephant of Raja Suran on the forehead, which instantly fell down. Raja Suran quickly sprung up and drew his sword, and smote off the head of Raja Ganggi Shah Juana. After the death of the raja, all his subjects submitted to Raja Suran, who married Putri Gangga, the beautiful sister of Raja Ganggi Shah Juana. From Gangga Nagara, Raja Suran advanced to the country of Glang Kiu, which in former times was a great country, possessing a fort of black stone up the river Johor. In the Siamese language, this word signifies the place of the emerald (Khleng Khiaw) but by persons ignorant of this language, it is usually termed Glang Kiu. The name of the raja of this country, was Raja Chulan, who was superior to all the rajas of the countries lying under the wind.

As soon as he heard of Raja Suran's approach, he summoned all his vassals, and marched out to meet him with a host, like the sea rough with waves, and elephants and horses like the islands in the sea, and standards like a forest, and armour plated

in scales, and the feathering of the spears like the *Bunga lalang*. After having marched about four times as far as the eye can reach, they arrived at a river; when he saw the host of Raja Suran extending like a forest, on which he said, in the Siamese language, "*call them*," and the river still retains the name of Panggil, which in Malay has this signification. When the Siamese troops engaged with the troops of Kling, a dreadful noise arose, the elephants rushed against the elephants, and the horses bit the horses, and clouds of arrows flew across each other, and spears pierced spears, and lances encountered lances, and swordsmen encountered swordsmen, and the descent of weapons was like the rapid fall of rain, and the noise of the thunder would have passed unheard in the combat, from the shouts of the combatants, and the ringing of weapons. The dust ascended to the heavens, and the brightness of the day was darkened like an eclipse. The combatants were all so mingled and blended, that they could not be distinguished, amokas madly encountered amokas, many stabbed their own friends, and many

were stabbed by their own partizans, till multitudes were slain on both sides, and also many elephants and horses. Much was the blood which was shed upon the earth, till at last it allayed the clouds of dust, and the field of combat was light, and the fierce amokas became visible, none of whom on either side would fly. Then Raja Chulan advanced his elephant, and broke into the ranks of Raja Suran, which exceeded all power of calculation. Wherever he approached, the corpses swelled in heaps over the ground, till great numbers of the Kling troops perished, and unable to maintain their ground, they began to give way. He was observed by Raja Suran, who hurried forward to meet him. Raja Suran was mounted on a lofty elephant eleven cubits in height, but the elephant of raja Chulan was very courageous, and they fiercely rushed together, roaring like the thunder, and the clash of their tusks was like the stroke of the thunderbolt. Neither of the elephants could conquer the other. Raja Chulan stood on his elephant, brandishing his spear which he aimed at Raja Suran; he missed him, but pierced his

elephant in the fore flank, from side to side; Raja Suran rapidly discharged an arrow at Raja Chulan, which struck him on the breast, and pierced him to the back, and Raja Chulan fell down dead on his elephant. When the host of Raja Chulan saw their master dead, they quickly took to flight, and were hotly pursued by the Kling forces, who entered with them into the fortress of Glang-kiu. Raja Chulan left a daughter of great beauty named Putri Onang-kiu, whom Raja Suran took to wife, and carrying her with him, advanced to Tamsak. Then, it was reported in the land of China, that Raja Suran was advancing against them with an innumerable army, and had arrived at the country of Tamsak. The raja of China was alarmed at hearing this intelligence, and said to his mantris and chieftains, "If Kling Raja approach, the country will be inevitably ruined; what method do you advise to prevent his approach?" Then, a sagacious mantri of China said, "Lord of the world, your slave will fall on a device." The raja of China desired him to do so. Then this mantri ordered a vessel (*pilu*, i.e. the Chinese mode of pronoun-

cing *prow*), to be prepared, filled full of fine needles, but covered with rust; and planted in it trees of the Casamak and Bidara (Bér) plants; and he selected a party of old and toothless people, and ordered them on board, and directed them to sail to Tamsak. The *prow* set sail, and arrived at Tamsak in the course of a short time. The news was brought to Raja Suran, that a *prow* had arrived from China, who sent persons to enquire of the mariners how far it was to China. These persons accordingly went, and enquired of the Chinese, who replied. "When we set sail from the land of China, we were all young, about twelve years of age, or so, and we planted the seeds of these trees; but now, we have grown old and lost our teeth, and the seeds that we planted have become trees, which bore fruit before our arrival here." Then, they took out some of the rusty needles, and showed them, saying, "When we left the land of China, these bars of iron were thick as your arm; but now they have grown thus small by the corrosion of rust. We know not the number of years we have been on our journey; but, you may judge

of them from the circumstances we mention." When the Klings heard this account, they quickly returned, and informed Raja Suran. "If the account of these Chinese be true," said Raja Suran, "the land of China must be at an immense distance; when shall we ever arrive at it? — If this is the case, we had better return." All the champions assented to this idea.

Then Raja Suran, considering that he had now become acquainted with the contents of the land, wished to acquire information concerning the nature of the sea. For this purpose, he ordered a chest of glass, with a lock in the inside, and fixed it to a chain of gold. Then, shutting himself up in this chest, he caused himself to be let down into the sea, to see the wonders of God Almighty's creation. At last, the chest reached a land, denominated Zeya, when Raja Suran came forth from the chest, and walked about to see the wonders of the place. He saw a country of great extent, into which he entered, and saw a people named Barsam, so numerous, that God alone could know their numbers. This people were the one half infidels, and the other true believers. When

they saw Raja Suran, they were greatly astonished and surprised at his dress, and carried him before their raja, who was named Aktab-al Arz, who enquired of those who brought him, "Whence is this man?" And they replied, "He is a new comer." — "Whence is he come?" said the raja. "That," said they, "none of us know." Then Raja Aktab-al-Arz asked Raja Suran, "Whence are you, and whence have you come?" — "I come from the world," said Raja Suran; "and your servant is raja of the whole race of mankind; and my name is Raja Suran." The raja was greatly astonished at this account, and asked if there was any other world than his own. "Yes, there is," said Raja Suran; "and a very great one, full of various forms." The raja was still more astonished, saying, "Almighty God, can this be possible?" He then seated Raja Suran on his own throne. The Raja Aktab-al-Arz had a daughter named Putri Mahtab-al-Bahri. This lady was extremely handsome, and her father gave her in marriage to Raja Suran, to whom she bore three sons. The raja was for some time much delighted with this

adventure; but at last he began to reflect what advantage it was for him to stay so long below the earth, and how he should be able to carry his three sons with him. He begged, however, his father-in-law to think of some method of conveying him to the upper world, as it would be of great disadvantage to cut off the line of Secander Zulkarneini. His father-in-law assented to the propriety of this observations and furnished him with a sea-horse named Sambrani, which could fly through the air as well as swim in the water. Raja Suran mounted this steed amid the lamentations of his spouse, the Princess; the flying steed quickly cleared the nether atmosphere, and having reached the upper ocean, it rapidly traversed it; and the subjects of Raja Suran quickly perceived him. The mantri of Raja Suran perceiving on what sort of animal his master was mounted, quickly caused a mare to be brought to the shore of the sea. On perceiving the mare, the steed Sambrani quickly came to the shore, and as quickly did Raja Suran dismount from him, on which he immediately returned to the sea. Raja Suran then called a man of science and an

artificer, and ordered the account of his descent into the sea to be recorded, and a monument to be formed which might serve for the information of posterity, to the day of judgement. The history of this adventure was accordingly composed, and inscribed on a stone in the Hindostani language. This stone being adorned by gold and silver, was left as a monument, and the raja said that this would be found by one of his descendants who should reduce all the rajas of the countries under the wind. Then Raja Suran returned to the land of Kling, and after his arrival he founded a city of great size, with a fort of black stone, with a wall of seven fathoms in both height and thickness, and so skilfully joined that no interstices remained between the stones, but seemed all of molten metal. Its gates were of steel adorned with gold and gems. Within its circumference are contained seven hills, and in the centre a lake like a sea, and so large that if an elephant be standing on the one shore he will not be visible on the other; and this lake contained every species of fish, and in the middle was an island of considerable height, on which the mists continually

rested. The island was planted with trees, flowers, and all kinds of fruits, and whenever Raja Suran wished to divert himself, he used to frequent it. On the shore of this lake was a large forest, stocked with all sorts of wild beasts, and whenever Raja Suran wished to hunt, he mounted his elephant and proceeded to this forest. The name of this city was Bijnager, which at the present time is a city in the land of Kling. Such is the account of Raja Suran, but if all his adventures were to be related, they would rival those of Hamdah.

In process of time Raja Suran had, by the lady Putri Onang-kiu, the daughter of Raja Chulan, a daughter of exquisite and unrivalled beauty, named Chanduwani Wasias. By the lady Putri Gangga he had three sons, one of them was named Bichitram Shah, another Palidutani, and the third, Nilumanam. His daughter, Chanduwani Wasias, was asked in marriage by Raja Hiran, for his son Raja Chulan; Raja Suran placed his son, Palidutani, in the government of Amdan Nagara; and his son, Nilumanam, in the country of Chandukani. On his eldest son, Bichitram Shah, he only conferred a terri-

tory of small extent; and the young prince being displeased at this measure, resolved to abandon his country. Bichitram Shah accordingly embarked, with twenty vessels fitted out with all the apparatus of war, determining to conquer all the maritime districts. After conquering several scores of countries, he at last reached the sea denominated Silbou, where, being caught in a dreadful hurricane, his fleet was dispersed, and the half of them returned to the country of Chandukani, but the fate of the other half is unknown. The adventures of this prince were very numerous, but here they are only alluded to briefly.

II.

THERE is a country in the land of Andalás named Paralembang, which is at present denominated Palembang, the raja of which was denominated Damang Lebar Dawn, (Chief-tain Broad-leaf,) who derived his origin from Raja Sulan (Chulan?) whose great-grandson he was. The name of its river was Muartatang, into which falls another river named Sungey Malayu, near the source

of which is a mountain named the mountain Sagantang Maha Miru. There were two young women of Belidung, the one named Wan-Ampu, and the other Wan-Malin, employed in cultivating rice on this mountain, where they had large and productive rice-grounds. One night, they beheld their rice-fields gleaming and glittering like fire. Then said Ampu to Malin, "What is that light which is so brilliant? I am frightened to look at it." "Make no noise," said Malin, "it is some great snake or naga." Then they both lay quiet for fear. When it was day-light, they arose and went to see what it was shone so bright during the night. They both ascended the hill, and found the grain of the rice converted into gold, the leaves into silver, and the stalks into brass, and they were extremely surprised, and said, "This is what we observed during the night." They advanced a little further up the hill, and saw all the soil of the mountain of the colour of gold. And on the ground which had assumed this golden colour, they saw three young and handsome men. One of them

had the dress of a raja, and was mounted on a bull, white as silver; and the other two were standing on each side of him, one of them holding a sword, and the other a spear. Ampu and Malin were greatly surprised at the handsomeness of the young men, and their elegant apparel; and immediately thought that they must be the cause of the phenomenon which had appeared on their rice-grounds. They immediately inquired who they were, whence they had come, and whether they were Jins or Peris; for as long as they had remained in this place they had never seen any of the race of man until that day. The person in the middle answered, "We are neither of the race of Jins nor Peris, but that of men. As to our origin we are the descendants of Raja Secander Zulkarneini, and the offspring of Raja Suran, the king of the east and west; our genealogy ascends to Raja Suleiman. My name is Bichitram Shah, who am raja; the name of this person is Nila Pahlawan; and the name of the other, Carna Pandita. This is the sword, Chora sa mendang kian, and that is the lance, Limbuar; this is the

signet, Cayu Gampit, which is employed in correspondence with rajas." "If you are the descendants of Raja Secander," said the girls, "what is the cause of your coming thither?" Then Nila Pahlawan related the whole story of Raja Secander's espousing the daughter of Raja Kida Hindi, and of Raja Suran's descent into the sea. Then Ampu and Malin asked what proofs they could produce of the truth of this relation: "Ladies," said Nila Pahlawan, "this crown is an evidence of descent from Raja Secander. If any further evidence is wanting, consider the phenomenon which you have seen on your rice-grounds in coming hither." Then the girls were rejoiced, and invited them to their house, whither they proceeded, he of the centre being mounted on the white steer. Then Ampu and Malin returned, and cut the paddy for their food. The name of the prince they changed into Sangsapurba. The bull which was his conveyance, vomited foam, from which emerged a man named Bat'h, with an immense turban, who immediately stood up, and began to recite the praises of Sangsapurba, (which he does very ingeniously in the San-

scrit language*.) The title which the raja received from this Bat'h (Bard), was Sangsapurba Trimarti trib'huvena. From this Bat'h or Bard are descended the original reciters of Cheritras, or histories of the ancient time. Nila Pahlawan and Carna Pandita were then married by Bat'h to the young females, Wan Ampu and Wan Malin; and their male offspring was denominated by Sangsapurba, Baginda Awang, and the female offspring, Baginda Dara; and hence the origin of all the Awangs and Daras.

At last the chief, Damang Lebar Dawn, discovered that the two girls, Ampu and Malin, had found a young raja, who had descended from the regions of the atmosphere, and he proceeded accordingly to pay his respects with numerous and rich presents. He

• আহো স্বসি পাঁহকা যীমহান্দ্ৰাক্ষক স্বরাহ্ য়া
 জুপুত্ব অনাহ রণকুমিলত্বন বিক্রমানঙ্করনা
 মুকুটরত্ন হযথিলবহ স্পর্শক্ ৷ বিনাউক্
 ধর্মবাহ্ যত সরন বিতরন সিংহাসনবনবিক্রমা
 বনার্ণবিনাবিক সদয়ানুদেববিহ ৷ পন্নবাদি
 কান মুনমুনীমানিক লীধর্মরাআবিরাজ রাচপর
 মেথরহ ৷

was very courteously received by the young prince. It was soon noised over the whole country, that a descendant of Raja Secander Zulkarneini had descended on the mountain Sagantang Maha Miru, and all the rajas of the neighbouring countries came, with rich presents, to pay their respects to him, and were most courteously received by him. As he wanted to marry, they all brought him their daughters; but as they were not of proper rank for such a noble prince, as soon as they associated with him they were stricken with a leprosy, as with a plague sent as a curse, to the number of thirty-nine. According to the persons from whom the author derives his information, the raja of the country of Palembang, which was formerly of such great extent, had a daughter of extreme beauty, named Wan-Sundaria. Then Ampu and Malin made obeisance to Singsapurba, and represented to him that Damang Lebar Dawn had a daughter: Singsapurba accordingly sent to ask her in marriage, but he excused himself, alleging that she would probably be struck with sickness, and that he would only resign her

to him as a wife on certain conditions: these conditions were, that on Sangsapurba marrying his daughter, all the family of Damang Lebar Dawn would submit themselves to him; but that Sangsapurba should engage, both for himself and his posterity, that they should receive a liberal treatment; and in particular, that when they committed faults they should never be exposed to shame nor opprobrious language, but if their faults were great, that they should be put to death according to the law. Sangsapurba agreed to these conditions, but he requested, in his turn, that the descendants of Damang Lebar Dawn should never move any treasonable practices against his descendants, even though they should become tyrannical. "Very well," said Damang Lebar Dawn, "but if your descendants break your agreements, probably mine will do the same." These conditions were mutually agreed to, and the parties swore to perform them, imprecating the divine vengeance to turn their authority upside down who should infringe these agreements. From this condition it is that none of the Malay rajas ever expose their Malay subjects to disgrace or shame;

they never bind them, nor hang them, nor give them opprobrious language; for whenever a raja exposes his subjects to disgrace, it is the certain token of the destruction of his country; hence also it is, that none of the Malay race ever engage in rebellion, or turn their faces from their own rajas, even though their conduct be bad, and their proceedings tyrannical. After this agreement, Damang Lebar Dawn delivered his daughter, Wan Sundaria, in marriage to Sangsapurba, who returned with her to his country. After associating with the raja, it was found that she had escaped the curse of leprosy which had afflicted his former wives; to his great satisfaction, he immediately sent to inform Damang Lebar Dawn of the circumstance, who came with great haste, and was rejoiced to find her in excellent health. In his great joy he requested him to pack up his baggage, and return with him to Palembang. To this proposition Singsapurba agreed. After his return to Palembang, Damang Lebar Dawn ordered a splendid bathing-house to be constructed, and the architect was the aforesaid Bat'h. This bathing-house was

named Pancha Presadha, and it had seven stories, and terminated in five towers on the roof. A public festival was then made for the space of forty days and forty nights, which was attended by all the inferior rajas, mantris, seda sidas, or eunuchs, bantaras, champions, and commons in general. There was playing and music on all kinds of instruments that ever were heard of, and what a carnage of buffaloes, kine, goats, and sheep! The heaps of half-burnt rice rejected, lay like hillocks, and the skimming of the foam of the rice-broth stood in little seas; and in these were floating the heads of buffaloes and goats like so many islands. After the completion of the forty days and nights, the bathing water was introduced, with all kinds of music and an immense concourse of people, into the bath, adorned with gold and gems; and the husband and wife having, with a great multitude, seven times encircled the bathing-house, afterwards bathed in the highest story, and Bat'h was the person who officiated at the bath. After bathing, they changed their garments, and Sangsapurba arrayed himself in the cloth, derapata dere-

mani, and the queen in that termed burudaimani, after which they entered on the duties of government, and mounted the golden throne of authority, and the state drums were beat. He was now installed in state, and all the mantris and champions came to pay their respects to him, and he feasted them in state; and the prince and princess eat with them, and Bat'h inserted the Panchawa Panchara, on the temples of the royal pair. Sangsapurba then assumed the sovereignty of Palembang and Damang Lebar Dawn was appointed mangku bumi.

It happened on a certain day, that the river of Palembang brought down a foam-bell of uncommon size, in which appeared a young girl of extreme beauty. The raja being informed of the circumstance, ordered her to be brought to him. This was done, and the raja adopted her as his daughter. She was named Putri Tunjong-bui, or the Princess Foam-bell. The prince was extremely fond of her. By the queen Wansundaria, he had four children, two of them daughters of uncommon beauty, the one of whom was named Putri Sri Devi,

and the other Putra Chandra Devi. Two of them were sons, of whom one was named Sang Mutiaga, and the other Sang Nila Utama. It was now noised all over the world, that the descendant of Raja Secander Zulkarneini, of the race of Hindostan, had descended on the mountain Sagantang Maha Miru, and was now in the land of Palembang. All were astonished at the report, and it even spread so far as the land of China. Then the raja of China sent to Palembang, to Raja Sangsapurba ten prows, to ask his daughter in marriage. They brought with them as presents three bahars of gold, and a great quantity of articles of China. Along with them one hundred male Chinese slaves, and a young Chinese of noble birth; a hundred female Chinese; all to convey the raja's letter to Sangsapurba. They reached Palembang, and delivered the letter of the raja of China, in the most respectful manner, in the hall of audience. The letter was read and comprehended, and Raja Sangsapurba consulted with his warriors, whether it would be proper or improper. They were all of opinion, that if the request were not complied with, the safety of the

country would be endangered; "besides," said they, "there is no greater prince than the raja of China, nor of more noble extraction, whom she could get for her husband, nor is there any country greater than the land of China." "Then," said Sangsapurba, "if you approve of it, we will grant his request, in order to promote the friendship between the Malay and the Chinese rajas." Accordingly the elder princess, named Sri Devi, was delivered to the Chinese ambassador, together with a letter, stamped with the signet Kampen, desiring the ambassador to take notice, that when a paper signed with a similar stamp, should arrive in China, they might depend on its being sent by him or his descendants, the Malay rajas, but not to credit any other. The Chinese mantri was greatly gratified. The young Chinese of noble birth, remained in Palembang, and became greatly attached to Raja Sangsapurba, who likewise had a great affection for him, and wished to settle him in marriage with the Putri Tunjongbui. The Chinese ambassador left with this young nobleman one of his prows, and took his leave of the raja, who honoured

him with a rich change of dress. He returned to China, the raja of which was highly gratified with the daughter of the raja, from the mountain Sagantang, and treated her with the dignity due to her rank and family. She in due time produced a son, from whom are descended the royal race who reign in China at the present time.

After Raja Sangsapurba had remained a long time quiet in Palembang, he was seized with the desire of viewing the ocean. He summoned Damang Lebar Dawn, and the rest of his chiefs, and informed him of his intention to go and look out for a fine situation to found a new settlement. Damang Lebar Dawn very obligingly offered to accompany him, as he did not wish to be separate from him. Prows were accordingly prepared, and the younger brother of Damang Lebar Dawn was directed to remain in the government of Palembang. According to some, the noble Chinese who had married Tunjong-bui, was made raja of the upper country of Palembang, and had the command of all the Chinese in Palembang. The present rajas of Palembang are all descendants of this family. The younger bro-

ther of Damang Lebar Dawn had, according to the same authority, the command of Lower Palembang. These arrangements being made, Raja Sangsapurba embarked in a golden galley, and his queen in a silver galley, accompanied by Damang Lebar Dawn, with all his mantris, seda-sidas, bantaras, and champions. The forms of the prows were so various as to defy description; their masts like tall trees, and their standards like the floating clouds, and the royal umbrella like a dark cloud; and the number of vessels almost filled the seas. After setting sail from the river of Palembang, they sailed towards the south; and after six days and nights, they arrived at Tanjong-pura, where Sangsapurba was very honourably received by the raja and a thousand of his chiefs, who introduced him into the country, seated him on the throne, and honoured him like a prince. Intelligence of his arrival soon reached Majapahit, stating that the raja, who had descended from the mountain Sagantang Maha Miru, was now at Tanjong-pura; and the bitara (awatara) of Majapahit went to visit Sangsapurba. The raja of Majapahit was at this time very

powerful, and of very noble extraction; and as recorded in stories, he was descended from Putra Samara Ningrat. When he arrived at Tanjong-pura, he paid his respects to Sangsapurba, who received him graciously, and gave him in marriage his daughter, Chandra Devi, the younger sister of the princess of China. After his marriage, he returned to Majapahit; and it is from this marriage that the rajas of Majapahit are descended.

After a long residence in Tanjong-pura, Raja Sangsapurba set out again in search of some other country for a settlement. But he first married his son Sang Muttaya to the daughter of the raja of Tanjong-pura, and established him on the throne as raja of Tanjong-pura, and gave him a crown adorned with gems, pearls and diamonds. After leaving Tanjong-pura, Sangsapurba set sail and traversed the sea till he arrived at a strait, when enquiring the name of the hill which he saw in view, one of the guides answered, the hill of Lingga, and that the galley had now arrived at the straights of Sambor. The news quickly reached Bentan, that the raja who had descended from the mountain

Sagantang had now arrived at the straights of Sambor. There was at this time a queen on the throne of Bentan, named Paramisuri Secander Shah, whose husband was dead, and who had a daughter of extreme beauty unequalled at that time, and her name was Wan Sri Bini. The raja of Bentan had been a prince of great might, and had gone to Siam, and the queen governed in his stead. He was the first who established the practice of the royal drums, in which he has been followed by all the rajas under the wind. On receiving this intelligence, the princess Paramisuri summoned her chief mantris, named Indra B'hupala and Aria B'hupala, and sent them to invite Sangsapurba with a fleet of 400 prows, directing them that if they found the raja aged they should invite him in the name of his younger sister (Adinda), if young, in the name of his elder sister (Kakanda), and if quite a boy, in the name of his mother (Bonda). The messengers proceeded accordingly to Tanjong-ranges, and thence to the straights of Sambor, between which their prows extended in an unbroken line. When they reached the prow of Sangsapurba they sa-

luted him in the name of his eldest sister (Kakanda), and invited him to Bentan. He acceded to the invitation, and was introduced to Paramisuri who had resolved to take him for her husband had he been older; but who finding him still youthful, was contented to be reckoned his sister. However, she had a great affection for him and conferred high honours on him. His son Sang Nila Utama, she chose for the husband of her daughter the princess Wan Sri Bini, and he afterwards became raja of Bentan. Sangsapurba also gave him a kingly crown, the gold of which could not be seen for the multitude of gems, pearls, and diamonds with which it was studded. He also gave him a royal signet of the same form as the signet *Gampa*, and with the same letters inscribed upon it. Then Sangsapurba made his apologies to the Princess Paramisuri Secander Shah, being desirous of looking out for a more extensive country for a settlement, as Bentan was only an island of small extent; but Daman Lebar Dawn remained in Bentan with his grandson Sang Nila Utama, to whom he was greatly attached.

When Sangsapurba had left Bentan, he sailed for a day and a night, till he arrived at Ruco, whence he proceeded to the point of Balang, where he observed a river's mouth of very great extent. He enquired of the guide, what was that river? The guide answered, "the river of Cuantan, and the country is extremely populous. "Let us ascend it," said the raja. It was represented to him that all the fresh water was exhausted, and that there was no place to obtain more. Then Raja Sangsapurba directed them to bring rotans and tie them in circles and throw them into the water; then having himself descended into a small boat, he inserted his feet into the water, within the circles of bamboo, and by the power of God Almighty and the virtue of a descendant of Raja Secander Zulkarneini, the water within these circles became fresh, and all the crews supplied themselves with it, and unto this day the fresh water is mixed with the salt at this place. Raja Sangsapurba now ascended high up the river Cuantan, and when he arrived at Menangcabow, all the Menangcabows were surprised at his appearance and the splen-

dour of his diadem, and they all came to enquire of his attendants whence they came, and who they were, and "who" said they, "is this raja, and what is his origin? His dress is amazingly elegant." They answered, "this is Raja Sangsapurba, the descendant of Secander Zulkarneini, who descended on the mountain Sagantang Maha Miru. Then they related his whole history and adventures. Then all the chief men of Menangabow consulted about appointing him their raja, since they had none. Then the ancient chiefs desired them first to enquire if he would engage to kill the snake Sacatimuna (Ichktimani) which destroys all our cultivation. Then all the chiefs waited respectfully on the raja, and informed him that they considered his arrival as a signal piece of good fortune, and would be happy to appoint him raja, but that they were grievously harassed by an immense snake, which destroyed their cultivation, which they wished he would oblige them by destroying, which had resisted all their efforts either to cut or pierce without either being stunned or wounded. Sangsapurba assented, and requested them

to shew him its den. Then a champion, named Peramas Cumambang, was sent by Sangsapurba with his famous sword Chora Samanda Kian, to perform this service. He went accordingly, and as soon as he approached the place, the snake smelling a man, unfolded his coils. As soon as the champion saw it lying with huge coils like a hillock, the snake saw him, and put itself in motion, when the champion smote it with the sword, and cut it into three parts. Then the champion came and informed Sangsapurba, and returned him the sword. He was very glad, and extolled his conduct with many praises, and presented him with a royal dress like a raja's son. In this combat, however, the sword Chora Samanda Kian received one hundred and ninety notches. Then all the people of Cuantan appointed Sangsapurba their raja, and he was established raja of Menangcabow, and of him are descended all the generations of the rajas of Pagaroyung unto this day.

III.

*The story of Sang Nila Utama, who stayed
at Bentan.*

SANG Nila Utama remained at Bentan highly enamoured of his wife, Wan Sri Bini. On a day, however, after a long time had elapsed, he was seized with a desire of going to divert himself to Tanjong Bemban, and wishing to carry his young wife along with him, he asked permission of his mother-in-law, the Queen Paramisuri Secander Shah. The queen remonstrated with him, asking what was the need to go to Bemban to divert himself, a place where there was neither elk, nor hog-deer, neither deer nor porcupine, where there was neither variety of fish in the sea, nor sea-flowers on the rocks, whereas there was every kind of fruit and flower in the garden. Sang Nila Utama however declared that he had viewed all the streams of Bentan till he was tired, that he had been informed that Tanjong Bemban was a very fine place, and therefore he wished to visit it, and that if he did not obtain per-

mission he wished he might die sitting, die standing, die in every possible kind of way. The princess finding him so obstinate, told him there was no necessity for dying; he might go and take his pleasure. She then ordered Indra B'hupala and Aria B'hupala to prepare for the trip. Sang Nila Utama accordingly proceeded with his princess to embark in a galley with three masts, accommodated with a cabin and couch, provided with mosquito curtains, together with canoes, cooking apparatus, and apparatus for bathing; and a variety of other canoes in company, and arrived at Tanjong Bemban, where they landed to recreate themselves on the sands, and amused themselves by gathering sea-flowers from the rocks. The princess sat under an aloe (Pandan) tree, and all the females of rank around her, delighted with viewing the amusements of her attendants; one of whom brought an oyster, another a cupang (species of oyster), another a bari (species of oyster), another pulled a wild plantain, another the butan leaf to prepare a salad; another collected agar-agar (dulse), for making a relish. Others adorned themselves with the tertam

flower, the tum flower and sangey-bret flower, according to their different kinds. Some sportively pursued each other, and their feet being caught by the rotan creepers, they tumbled down and again springing up pursued their course. Sang Nila Utama, with the men went a hunting, and found great plenty. A deer started before Nila Utama, and he pierced it with his lance through the back. It continued its flight however, and he pursued it and pierced it through and through, so that it died. Then Sang Nila Utama reached a stone of great height and size, on which he mounted and viewed the opposite shore, with its sands white as cotton; and enquiring what sands were these which he saw, Indra B'hupala informed him they were the sands of the extensive country of Tamasak. The prince immediately proposed to visit them, and the minister agreeing, they went immediately on shipboard. But as they were passing over, they were caught in a severe storm, and the vessels began to leak, and the crews were unable, after repeated exertions, to throw out the water. They were accordingly compelled to throw overboard the

greater part of the baggage in the vessel, which however reached the bay. The water nevertheless continued to gain ground, and everything was thrown overboard till nothing now remained but the diadem. Then the master addressed the Prince Sang Nila Utama, stating, that the vessel could not support the weight of the diadem; and that if it was not thrown overboard, the vessel could not be relieved. The prince ordered the diadem to be thrown overboard, when the storm ceased and the vessel rose in the water, and the rowers pulled her ashore, and Sang Nila Utama with his attendants, immediately landed on the sands, and went to amuse themselves on the plain near the mouth of the river Tamasak. There they saw an animal extremely swift and beautiful, its body of a red colour, its head black and its breast white, extremely agile, and of great strength, and its size a little larger than a he-goat. When it saw a great many people, it went towards the inland and disappeared. Sang Nila Utama enquired what animal was this, but none could tell him, till he enquired of Damang Lebar Dawn, who informed him that in

the histories of ancient time, the singha or lion was described in the same manner as this animal appeared. This is a fine place which contains so fierce and powerful an animal. Then Sang Nila Utama directed Indra B'hupala to go and inform his mother-in-law, that he should not return; but that if she loved him she should send him people, elephants, and horses, to enable him to form a settlement in the country of Tamasak. Then Indra B'hupala returned to Bentan, and informed Paramisuri Secander Shah of all the circumstances, which had occurred, and the resolution of Sang Nila Utama. The Queen said, "very well, wherever my son chuses to reside, I shall not oppose him." She accordingly sent people, and elephants, and horses, too numerous to be mentioned; and thus Sang Nila Utama settled in the country of Tamasak, named it Singhapura, and reigned over it, and was panegyryzed by Bat'h, who gave him the name of Sri Tri-buana. He reigned long over Singhapura, and had two sons, both of them very handsome; the elder of whom was termed Raja Kichil-besar, or the young great Raja; and the younger Raja

Kichil Muda, the young little Raja. At last Raja Paramisuri Secander Shah, and Damang Lebar Dawn both died, and the son of Damang Lebar Dawn became raja of Bentan, with the title of Tun Talani, and his offspring have the title of Talani Bentan, and have the privilege of eating in a large hall, and their rice and betel are all served up by persons who bear the tatampan, (or yellow gold cloth on their shoulder) according to the practice of rajas. The country of Singhapura is of great extent, and frequented by merchants innumerable from every quarter, and its ports are very populous.

IV.

THERE was a raja of the land of Kling, named Adi Bernilam Raja Mudeliar, who was descended of Raja Suran. He was raja of the city of Bija Nagara, and had a son named Jambuga Rama Mudeliar, who succeeded to the throne on the death of his father. He had a daughter named Nila Panchadi, of celebrated beauty, and of the

most excellent qualities. How many were the rajas who preferred their suit to her! but her father refused to give her in marriage to them, as not being of her own race. At last the fame of her beauty and qualities reached Singhapura, and Sri Tri-buana sent Maha Indra B'hupala to solicit her hand for his son, Raja Kichil Besar. Then Maha Indra B'hupala, with Maha Indra Vijaya, proceeded to the land of Kling, with a great number of vessels. When they arrived at the city Bija Nagara, Raja Jambuga Rama Mudeliar called them, and they were conducted around the city, and finally introduced into his presence. When they arrived, the letter was read by an interpreter, and the raja was greatly rejoiced when he understood the contents, and he expressed his approbation to Indra B'hupala and Indra Vijaya, desiring that they should not give his brother's son the trouble of coming, but that he would send his daughter to Singhapura. The two ambassadors then asked permission to take their departure, and he accordingly entrusted them with a letter, and they took their departure, and arrived at Singhapura, where they presented

in due form the letter to Sri Tri-buana. The letter being read and understood, occasioned great joy; and Indra B'hupala gave an account of his mission. The next monsoon Raja Jambuga Rama Mudeliar ordered ships to be prepared, and sent the princess, attended by forty champions under the command of the captain Andalina Markana Apam, aboard of them. Shé mounted a vessel equipped with five hundred rowers, and the champions set sail, attended with a numerous fleet of ships, prows, and barges. When they reached Singhapura, Sri Tri-buana was waiting their arrival at Tanjong Barus, and returned with them to Singhapura. There he celebrated the nuptials of his son with the Kling princess, and for three months the previous festivities continued, and when a fortunate period arrived, the Prince Raja Kecil Besar was united to the Princess Nila Panchadi. At the same time Raja Muda married the granddaughter of Damang Lebar Dawn. After the marriage, all the warriors returned to the land of Kling, loaded with presents by Sri Tri-buana, and the ambassador was also entrusted with a letter. After a long

time, when his earthly period was completed, Sri Tri-buana departed this life, and was buried on the hill of Singhapura, and was succeeded by Raja Kichil Besar, under the title of Paduca Sri Vicrama Vira, while Raja Kichil Muda became his bandahara, or prime minister, under the title of Tun Parpatih Parmuka Berjaja (Dwaja?) who was the first bandahara, and whenever the sovereign did not choose to shew himself, his place was occupied by this minister. And the custom was, that on such occasions, when he represented the sovereign, whenever a son of the raja appeared before him, he did not descend unless it was the heir apparent. Whenever he entered into the raja's presence, he had also the right of sitting upon the carpet; and when the raja had entered the palace after any public assembly, it behoved all the nobles and chief men to attend the bandahara home whenever he took his departure. Damang Lebar Dawn had also a grandson who became pardan mantri, under the title of Tun Parpatih Parmuka Segalla, and who had to sit opposite to the bandahara on public occasions. Under the bandahara imme-

diately was the pangulu bandahari, with the title of T'un Jana Buca Dandang. Under him was the chief Hulubalang, or champion who was over all the champions, and had the title of T'un Tampurong Camarata. After him came all the paramantris, and men of property, or orang-cayas, and all the chatriyas, seda-sidas, bantaras, and hulubalangs, or champions, according to their rank and gradations, following the institutions of the former time. Long then did Paduca Sri Vicrama Vira, with his queen, Nila Panchadi, live in great mutual affection; and they had a son named Raja Muda, and the kingdom of Singhapura increased in power, and became famous over the whole world.

V.

Of the Bitara of Majapahit.

THE bitara, or sovereign of Majapahit, had two sons by the daughter of the raja of the mountain Sagantang. The name of the eldest was Radin Inu Martawangsa, who became raja of Majapahit. The name of

the younger was Radin Amas Pamari, who likewise became a raja in Majapahit; for it is a country of great extent. The bitara of Majapahit died, and his eldest son succeeded in his place, and in his time the authority of the bitara was widely extended over all the regions of the land of Java, and all the rajas of Nusa Tamara likewise paid allegiance to him for half their lands. The bitara of Majapahit heard of the extensive country of Singhapura, the raja of which did not own his allegiance, being of the same family and his cousin. Then the bitara sent an ambassador to Singhapura, with a letter, enclosing in the envelope, a shaving of wood, seven fathoms in length, formed with the hatchet, fine as paper, and with its texture no where cut or broken. It was rolled up, and its circumference like a ring. When the ambassador of Majapahit reached Singhapura, he was invited ashore, and presented himself to Raja Vicrama Vira. The letter was read by the khateb, according to what was written, to the following import. "Younger brother, observe the skill of the artificers of Java; have you any such in Singhapura?" The

raja opened and examined the wood shaving, rolled up like a ring, and said, "I comprehend the import of the bitara of Majapahit's message, he means to deny our manhood by sending us a ring." The ambassador said, "not so, he only wants to know if you have any artificers of equal skill under your government." Sri Paduca Vicrama Vira replied, "truly there are artificers here more skilful." He immediately ordered an artificer to be sent for, named Pawang Bentan, and ordered him to hew off the hair from the head of a boy of forty days old (says one copy) with a hatchet, in the presence of the ambassador of Java. The artificer accordingly executed his commission, without delay, notwithstanding the exertions of the boy, and the constant rolling motion of his head, to the great astonishment of the Javanese ambassador. "Now," said the raja, "you may see the dexterity of our artisans; to shave a boy's head with a hatchet, is somewhat more difficult, than to pare off your shaving. Pray where is the difficulty in it. Carry this axe with you however, to Majapahit, and present it with our

compliments to our brother." The raja then dismissed the Javanese ambassador, at his own request, who went aboard his jong (junk) with the said hatchet, and proceeded to Majapahit, and presented himself to the bitara, and delivered the letter, with the message of the rajah of Singhapura. The Sri Bitara was highly enraged at the narrative of the ambassador. "I understand the raja's meaning; he threatens to shave our head like the boy's, if we should proceed to Singhapura." The bitara of Majapahit, without delay, ordered his warriors to proceed in a hundred junks, to Singhapura, and attack it. Innumerable were the descriptions of vessels besides the junks, such as malangbang, calulos jongcong, charochah tongkang, which accompanied the fleet which the bitara sent under the command of a famous champion, named Damang Viraja. The fleet arrived at Singhapura, and the Javan warriors immediately rushed ashore, and commenced the war with the people of Singhapura. Thick waxed the press of war, there was clattering of arms on armour, and the earth shook with the stamping of warriors, and

loud rose the hubbub of contending hosts, so that no other noise could be heard. Many were the slain on both sides, and the blood streamed on the ground till evening, when the Javans fell back to their prowess. The events of this war between Java and Singhapura, were too tedious to relate. Singhapura, however, was not worsted, but on the contrary, the Javan hosts returned to Majapahit. After this raja Muda, the son of Sri Paduca Vicrama Vira married the daughter of Tun Parpatih Parmuka Berjaja, and they lived long very happily. At last, Paduca Sri Vicrama Vira departed this life, and was succeeded by his son Raja Muda, under the title of Sri Rama Vicrama. The bandahara Tun Parpatih Parmuka Berjaja, also died, and was succeeded in his office of bandahara, by his son Tun Parpatih Tulos.

VI.

The Adventures of the Champion Badang.

THERE was a man at Salwang who cultivated the ground, and who had a slave named Badang. He was a native of the country

of Sayang, and his master was in the constant habit of sending him to clear the jungle. It happened on a time, that Badang had set in the river a snare for fish; and on his going next morning to examine it, he found no fish; but he found the scales and bones of them. These he cleared out into the river, and again prepared the snare; and from the scales which were thrown into the river on this occasion, it has acquired the name of the scaly river, or Sungey basisi. The same circumstance occurred for several days successively, when the curiosity of Badang was excited; "And come," says he, "let us try to see what it is that constantly eats our fish." Badang accordingly concealed himself one night among the reeds to watch the snare, when he saw a hantu, or spectre, who came to eat the fish that were caught. His eyes were red as fire, his hair coarse and matted as a basket, his beard hanging down to his navel, and in his hand was a whittle knife without the haft. On seeing this he made his heart strong, and fortified his courage, and rushed to seize the spectre. Having secured it, he said, "You are constantly com-

ing and eating my fish, but now you perish by me." The spectre was greatly frightened at Badang's oration, and wished to make his escape, but was unable to effect it. Then said the spectre: "Pray don't kill me, and I will give you any gift you please." Badang listened to this proposal: "And if I should desire riches," thought he, "they would all belong to my master; or if I should ask the gift of invisibility, I might nevertheless die; but if, in like manner, I were to ask for strength to perform my master's business, — yes, truly, that would be of some advantage to me. Give me strength then," said he, "so that I may be able to rend up with one hand by the roots, trees of one or two fathoms girt." "Very well," said the hantu, "if you wish for strength, I will give it to you, provided you can agree to lick up my vomit." "Very well," said Badang to the hantu, "Vomit, and I will eat it up." Then the spectre vomited an immense vomit, and Badang swallowed it up, holding, however, the spectre by the beard. When he had eat it up, he then tried his hand on the largest trees, and shivered them to pieces with the

greatest facility. On this he released the spectre's beard, and returned to his master's dwelling, shivering all the trees before him, and clearing away the brushwood with the waving of his hand, till he had cleared away the deep forest almost like a plain. When his master saw this scene, he inquired who had cleared the forest; Badang replied, "I have done it." "How could such a person as you do it," said his master; "and what faculty have you for the purpose?" Then Badang related the whole affair to his master, who thereupon gave him his freedom. Immediately, the news reached Singhapura, and Sri Rama Vicrama sent to invite Badang, to appoint him a Raden. One day the raja of Singhapura wished to eat of the kuras leaf, which grows at Cowala Sayang, and Badang departed alone in a prow eight fathoms in length, with a trunk of the campas tree for an oar, which was a fathom in girt. When he reached Cowala Sayang, he ascended the kuras tree; but the branch of the kuras tree broke with him, and he fell down with his head on a huge stone, which stone was split in two; but not his skull. This stone is still to be seen at Cowala Sayang, and is named Batu Blah, or the split

stone; and that said prow, with the trunk of the tree which he used for an oar, are still to be seen at Cowala Sayang. However, Badang returned to Singhapura the next day after he set out, bringing with him a cargo of plantains, and sugar-canes, for his food. After his meal he again set out for Johor-lama. On a certain occasion, the raja of Singhapura constructed a prow, of the kind named Pilang, fifteen fathoms in length, at the rajah's residence. When it was finished, he ordered fifty men to launch it, but they were unable. It was then essayed by two or three hundred, and afterwards by two or three thousand, all of whom were unable to succeed. Then the raja ordered Badang to attempt it alone, and he launched it with such force that it flew directly to the opposite shore. After this exploit, the king appointed him a champion, or *hulu-balang*, and his fame extended even to the land of Kling. There was in the land of Kling at this time a champion of such amazing force that nobody could venture to contend with him, who was named Nadi Vijaya Vicrama. This personage the raja of Kling, on hearing of the prowess of Badang, sent to Singhapura to contend with him in *wrestling*,

desiring him to stake seven ships, with their loading, on the issue of the contest. The champion arrived at Singhapura with his seven vessels, and paid his respects to Sri Rama Vicrama, informing him that he was a champion who had come to enter the lists of wrestling, and the stake that he was ready to lay on the issue of the contest. The raja ordered Badang to contend with him, and they began the contest and continued to play for some time, during which Badang always appeared to have the advantage in a small degree. There was a huge stone lying before the raja's hall, and the Kling champion said to Badang, "Let us now come to a serious exertion of strength, and lift up this stone, and let him be reckoned worsted who shall be unable to lift it." "Very well," said Badang, "do me however the favour to lift it up first." The Kling champion began, and proved unable to lift it up; at last, exerting all his strength, he lifted it up to his knee and then let it fall. "Now take your turn," said he to Badang; "Very well," said Badang, and taking up the stone, he poised it easily several times, and then threw it out into the mouth of the river, and That is the rock which is at this day visible

at the point of Singhapura or Tanjong Singhapura. Then the Kling champion delivered up to Badang the seven ships which had been staked with their contents, and owned that he was conquered. He then returned with great sorrow and shame to the land of Kling.

The fame of Badang now reached far and wide, and at last extended to the land of Perlac, where there was a celebrated champion, named Bandrang, of great strength and high reputation. When the champion heard of the fame of Badang, he presented himself before the raja, and requested his permission to visit Singhapura and enter the lists of play with him. The raja of Perlac consented, and sent a mangcubumi, named Tun Parpatih Pendek to conduct him to Singhapura, and sent a letter along with him. When they arrived at Singhapura, they were conducted into the presence of Sri Rama Vicrama, surrounded with all his inferior rajas, paramantris, seda-sidas, banderas and champions, by Maha Indra B'hupala mounted on an elephant of state, and presented the letter of the raja of Perlac, where it was read by the khateb, and appeared to be couched in the finest terms.

Then the raja, after Tun Parpatih Pendek had paid his respects to him, ordered him to be seated beside Tun Janboga Dinding, while Bandrang seated himself with Badang. Then the raja enquired of the ambassador on what business his brother raja had sent him. He replied, "he has sent me to conduct this champion, Bandrang, to essay his strength with Badang: if Bandrang is conquered, my master is content to quit one store-house full of commodities, and if Badang is worsted do you the same." Sri Rama Vicrama assented, and appointed them to play next morning: then the raja retired, and the assembly retired to their place. Then Sri Rama Vicrama summoned Badang and told him that he was to play with Bandrang tomorrow. Badang represented that Bandrang was the most powerful champion of the time, and that no one was reckoned equal to him; "if therefore I should be conquered, do not be disconcerted: perhaps, therefore, it may be best for you to invite him this evening to an entertainment, when I shall endeavour to discover if I can contend with him." The raja assented, and immediately invited Tun Parpatih Pendek and Bandrang, with their

followers, to an entertainment. They came accordingly, and Bandrang and Badang were seated together. Then Badang approached Bandrang, who immediately pressed his knee down upon that of Badang, but Badang quickly extricated himself, and having raised his own knee pressed down that of Bandrang, who could not, with all his efforts, raise his knee: this was done so secretly, that none observed it except themselves. After an hour's sitting, the ambassador and all his men were intoxicated and asked permission to retire to their prow. Then Sri Rama Vicrama asked Badang if he was ready to engage Bandrang, to which he said, "If it be your Majesty's pleasure, I will encounter him to-morrow." When Tun Parpatih Pendek returned on board his vessel, Bandrang requested him to find some method of breaking off the contest with Badang, for he perceived his strength to be superior. Next morning the raja rose and when he saw the ambassador he said, "now let us have the contest between Bandrang and Badang:" "perhaps," said the ambassador,

“it were better to put it off altogether, as it may possibly excite dissatisfaction between your Majesty and your younger brother the raja of Perlac.” Sri Rama Vircrama smiled and assented. The raja then desired Bandrang and Badang, to fix a large and heavy iron chain behind the streight of Sri Rama, to prevent the passing of vessels, and they fixed it accordingly. Then Tun Parpatih Pendek asked permission to take his departure, and was furnished with a letter by the raja for his master the raja of Perlac, and was honoured with rich presents, after which he set sail and returned to Perlac. The raja of Perlac had the letter brought upon an elephant, and read, at which he was greatly delighted. He then asked Tun Parpatih Pendek, why he had prevented the contest between Bandrang and Badang. He related what had happened at the entertainment, when the raja was silent. After a long time, Badang also died, and was buried at the point of the streights of Singhapura, and when the tidings of his death reached the land of Kling, the raja sent

two stone pillars, to be raised over his grave as a monument, and these are the pillars which are still at the point of the bay.

Sri Raja Vicrama reigned a long time, and had two children, a son and a daughter. The name of the son was Dasya Raja, who was extremely handsome, and in beauty of countenance excelled all his contemporaries. When he grew up, he married the daughter of Tun Parpatih Parmuka Berjaja, who was named Dasya Putri. The raja's daughter also married the son of Tun Parpatih Parmuka Berjaja, named Tun Parpatih Tulos, and all the parties lived long in great success. After a long time, the end of the earthly period of Sri Rama Vicrama arrived, and he departed from this vain world, and was succeeded by his son Dasya Raja, under the title of Paduca Sri Maharaja. His queen, Dasya Putri, became pregnant, and produced a son, whose skull was flattened in the birth by the midwife, and who was named Raja Secander Zulkarneini.

VII.

Of the Raja of Pasi

THERE were two brothers named Marah who lived at Pasangan, who derived their origin from the mountain Sangkung. The name of the elder was Marah Chaka, and that of the younger, Marah Silu. The younger, Marah Silu, gained his livelihood by keeping fish-weirs on the shore of the sea, and he repeatedly found in them kalang-kalang, or *biche de Mar*, which he rejected into the sea. No sooner, however, had he adjusted his weirs, but he found they had returned. On this being several times repeated, he got angry and boiled them when he found that the kalang-kalang had been converted into gold, while the foam of the water in which they had been boiled was converted into silver. After this he again adjusted his weirs, and again found kalang-kalang in them, when he immediately repeated the process of boiling, and they were again converted into gold and silver. In this manner, Marah Silu procured a great quantity of

gold. At last Marah Chaka was informed that his brother Marah Silu was in the habit of eating kalang-kalang. Marah Chaka was enraged at this, and wanted to kill him. When Marah Silu heard of his intention, he fled to the forest of Jaran. The field beside which Marah Silu caught the kalang-kalang, is still denominated Padang kalang-kalang.

Marah Silu lived for a long time in the forest of Jaran, and gave liberally of the gold which he had acquired to all the people who lived in his vicinity, and they all became obedient to him. On a certain day, Marah Silu went a hunting, and his dog, named Sipasei, gave tongue on an elevated piece of ground. When Marah Silu had ascended the eminence, he observed a huge ant which was as large as a cat; he took this ant and ate it, and this eminence he made his residence, and named it Semadra* which signifies the great ant.

* The name is certainly *Samatra*, being compounded of *semut*, an ant, and *raya*, which in the Achi dialect signifies great.

It is related in the hadis of the prophet Muhammed, that he said to his companions, "In the latter times men shall hear of an island under the wind, named Samadra; as soon as this shall happen, go and covert it to Islamism, for the island shall produce many Wali-alah, or persons of gifted piety; but there is a putri of the land of Matabar, whom you must carry along with you. It happened a long time after the time of the prophet, that tidings were heard of the land of Samadra at Mecca, along with the names of other countries. Then the sheref of Mecca sent a vessel properly fitted out, and ordered the mariners to proceed to the land of Matabar, and the name of the Nakhoda was Sheikh Ismail. When they reached the land of Matabar where they found a raja reigning, named Sultan Muhammed, who enquired whence they had come, and whither they were going. They informed him of their intention of going to the land of Samadra, by the order of the prophet Muhammed. The raja was descended from Abubacar, and when he was informed of their intention, he appointed his eldest

son to the government of the land of Matabar, and embarked with his younger in the vessel in the guise of a fakir, and desired them to convey him to the land of Samadra. To this, they assented, declaring that his resolution was conformable to the words of the prophet. Sultan Muhammed accordingly sailed away in this vessel, and after a long voyage they arrived at the land of Pasuri, the whole of the inhabitants of which embraced Islamism. The next day, the fakir went ashore carrying the Koran, and presented it to the people to read, but not one of them could read it. Then thought the fakir in his heart, this is not the land alluded to in the Koran of the holy prophet. Then the Nakhoda Ismail again set sail and arrived at another country named Lambri, which likewise embraced Islamism. The fakir again went ashore, carrying the Koran with him, which he presented to them, but there was not one of them could read it. He immediately went again on board and set sail, and arrived at the land of Haru, which likewise embraced Islamism, but when the fakir went ashore with the Koran,

he found that none of them could read it. He then enquired for the country Samadra, and was informed that he had passed it. On this he returned on board, and again set sail, when he arrived at the land Per-lac, where he went ashore and brought them over to Islam. After this, he sailed for Samadra, where he met Marah Silu, following his occupation among the rocks of the shore. The fakir then asked him the name of the country: to which he replied, "Samadra." — "Who is head-man of it?" asked he. "It is your servant," said Marah Silu. Then the fakir brought him over to Islam, and taught him the word of testimony. When Marah Silu went to sleep after this operation, he dreamed, that he was face to face with the holy prophet, who desired him to open his mouth, on which the prophet spat into it, and he immediately awaked, when his body had the odour of Nara-wastu. When the morning came, the fakir landed, and brought with him the Koran, and ordered Marah Silu to read the Koran; and he read it. Then said the fakir to Sheikh Ismail, the Nakhoda of the vessel, "This is

the land of Samadra, mentioned by the holy prophet." Then Sheikh Ismail landed all the royal accoutrements which he had brought with him, and installed Marah Silu, as raja, under the title of Sultan Malec al Salih. There were in the land of Samadra two great men, the one of whom was named Sri-caya, and the other Bawacaya; both of whom embraced Islam, and Sri-caya received the name of Sidi Ali Gheyas ed-din; and Bawacaya, Sidi Ali Ismayemdi. After this, Sheikh Ismail set sail, and returned to Mecca; and the fakir staid in the island of Samadra, for the purpose of establishing the doctrine of Islam. After this, Sultan Malec al Salih sent Sidi Ali Gheyas ed-din to the land of Perlac, to ask the daughter of the raja in marriage. The raja had three daughters, two of whom were legitimate, and one of them by a concubine, named Putri Ganggang; and he showed all the three to Sidi Ali Gheyas ed-din; seating, however, the two legitimate daughters undermost, and the natural daughter, Putri Ganggang above them, in a more elevated place, and ordered her to open betel-nut for her sisters.

She was dressed in rosy-coloured clothes, with a vest of the colour of the water jambu; with ear-rings (subang), like the lontar muda, (young palm leaf) and looked extremely handsome. Then said Sidi Ali Gheyas ed-din, "I ask the young lady who sits uppermost;" but, he did not know that she was the natural daughter of the raja. Then loud laughed the raja, saying, "Whichever of them you please, you are welcome to her." The raja then ordered a hundred prows to be prepared, and sent his daughter Putri Ganggang under the care of Tun Parekpatih Pand to the land of Samadra. Sultan Malec al Salih went out of his palace as far as Jambu Ayer, with all the ceremony of state and dignity, to receive the Princess, and to conduct her into the city; and, after several days of splendid entertainments, the marriage was consummated, and the raja bestowed great largesses on his warriors, and charities on the fakirs and poor, both in gold and silver; and he also bestowed high honours on Tun Parekpatih Pand, who after some time returned to Perlac. By Putri Ganggang, Sultan Malec al Salih had two sons; the eldest named

Sultan Malee al Zaher; and the youngest, Sultan Malec al Mansur. The elder was brought up by Sidi Ali Gheyas ed-din; and, the younger, by Sidi Ali Ismayemdi, till they arrived at maturity. At this time, the country of Perlac was conquered by its enemies opposite, and the inhabitants took refuge in Samadra. Then, Sultan Malec al Salih determined to found another settlements for his sons. He ordered all his chiefs to prepare for a hunting-match; and, having mounted his elephant, Parmadewan, he crossed the river. When he had landed, his dog, named Sipasei, gave tongue, and the Sultan quickly flew to it and found an elevated ground, of nearly the size of a palace, and its appurtenances, and very fine and smooth, as if it had been levelled. He ordered this place to be cleared out, and a Negri, or town, founded there, a palace erected, and the whole to be named Pasei, after the Prince's dog. He ordered his eldest son, Malec al Zaher to be raja; and Sidi Ali Gheyas ed-din to be mangcu-bumi; and, having divided his people, elephants, horses, and royal accoutrements into two parts, he divided them between his sons.

After some time, Sultan Malec al Salih sickened; and having summoned his two sons, with all the great men of Samadra, he addressed them, saying: "O, my two sons, and you my friends, I am at the point of death; but, may you remain happy, after I have left you: and you, my sons, do not covet the wealth of others, and do not desire the wives of others, but do you agree with each other like brothers, and do not quarrel." To Sidi Ali Gheyas ed-din, and Sidi Ali Ismayemdi, he said, "My brothers, carefully bring up these, my children, and do not suffer two brothers to quarrel; adhere firmly to your fidelity to them, and do not join yourselves to other rajas." They assented in profound grief, saying, "Yes, our Lord, light of our eyes, we swear by the great God, the Creator of all, that we will faithfully maintain our allegiance and fidelity to the Princes, your sons." Then, Sultan Malec Mansur, the son of Sultan Malec al Salih, succeeded to the throne of the kingdom of Samadra; and, after three days died, and was buried beside his palace, and his tomb is still said to be at Samadra. After the death of their father, the Princes completed

the division of their subjects, elephants, horses, and champions; and, the land of Pasei became more beautiful than ever before, flourishing both in trade and population.

VIII.

IT is related that there was a raja of great power who reigned in Shaher al Nawi, whose subjects and army were extremely numerous. Tidings were brought to him one day, that the country of Samadra was a fine and flourishing land, where a great traffic was carried on, and the raja of which was extremely powerful. Then said Raja Shaher al Nawi to his champions, who of you will take Raja Samadra. A bold and daring champion named Avidichu replied, "if you will give me four thousand warriors, I will take him alive and bring him to you." He obtained the number of warriors, and a hundred (pelu) prows, with which he set sail, and arrived gaily at Samadra as if he had been a merchant, and as soon as he arrived, he gave himself out as an ambassa-

dor from Raja Shaher al Nawi. Raja Samadra, as soon as he received information, sent his warriors to congratulate him. Avidichu placed forty daring warriors in chests, which opened from within, and sent them forward to the palace, as containing the presents of Raja Shaher al Nawi; and he directed them, that when he should appear before the raja to receive audience, that they should suddenly issue forth and seize the raja. Avidichu proceeded to the presence of the raja, and presented the letter, which was read in due form; meantime the champions started from their chests, and suddenly seized upon the raja of Samadra. The warriors of Samadra quickly flew to their arms, and drew their weapons from their sheaths, but the warriors of Shaher al Nawi assured them that the instant they should commence their attack, they would slay the raja, and by this means the whole of the warriors of Pasei were prevented from using their weapons. Then, Avidichu and his warriors returned to Raja Shaher al Nawi with the raja of Pasei his prisoner, and presented him to the raja, who was highly delighted, and rewarded Avidichu

and his companions. As for the raja of Samadra, he appointed him his hen-keeper.

It is related that after this event, Sidi Ali Gheyas ed-din consulted with all the ancient mantris of the land of Samadra, and having fitted out a ship with Arab merchandize, for at that time all the inhabitants of Pasei were acquainted with the Arabic language, he caused all his crew to array themselves in Arab dresses, and then going a ship-board, sailed away to the land of Shaher al Nawi, where having landed, he went to pay his respects to the raja, carrying with him a golden tree, the fruit of which consisted of various kinds of gems, the value of which was a bahara of gold. The raja of Shaher al Nawi enquired what it was they desired; but Sidi Ali Gheyas ed-din said, that he had no request to prefer, which augmented considerably the raja's joy. He could not, however, avoid reflecting what could be their object; they, however, all returned to their vessel. After some time, he again went to visit the raja, and carried with him a golden chess board, the squares of which were of gems, in like manner worth a bahara of gold. The raja again demanded what was their request

and he would grant it; but again they eluded his enquiry and returned a ship-board. When the season for returning to Samadra returned, Sidi Al Gheyas ed-din again presented himself before the raja, and presented him with a couple of ducks, formed of gold, and embossed with diamonds, a male and a female, placed in a basin of water, in which they moved and swam of their own accord, and pecked each other. The raja was surprised at the skill, and again enquired what was their request and he would grant it, and confirmed by an oath (Demmi luhin!) he would grant whatever they wanted. The Sidi Ali Gheyas ed-din said, "If you will extend to us the royal favour, present us with the man that feeds your fowls." Raja Shaher Nawai said, "he is the raja of Pasei, but if you ask him I will give him." "We ask him," said they, "because he is of the persuasion of Islam." Then the raja presented Sultan Malec al Zaher to them, and they carried him aboard, when they bathed him, and dressed him in a raja's vestments. Immediately the wind arose, and they heaved the anchor and set sail, and arrived at the land of Samadra.

IX.

The account of Sultan Malec al Mansur of Samadra.

IT happened on a day, that Sultan Malec al Mansur announced to his minister, Sidi Ali Ismayemdi, his intention of going to visit his elder brother, and see the state of his adventures. His prime minister strongly dissuaded him lest some discord should arise, but the young Prince disregarded all his remonstrances, and the other was silent. He then ordered the mung mung to be beaten, and prepared for his journey. He was not on intimate terms with Ismayemdi, who was an ancient mantri, and perfectly versed in affairs, though unable to prevent the occurrence of mischief. Sultan Malec al Mansur accordingly set out in his bravery, and went to the land of Pasei, and entered the palace of his brother Sultan Malec al Zaher, where he became suddenly enamoured of one of the female attendants, and carried her off to his own palace. As soon as he saw Sidi Ali Ismayemdi, he addressed him,

saying, "O father, I have got a very difficult matter in hand, and have completely neglected your advice, and have ruined myself by my conduct." Sidi Ali Ismayemdi said, "it is necessary that what has been ordained should take place in all the creatures." Sultan Malec al Zaher was informed of his brother's conduct, and that he was at Jambu Ayer, and was filled with rage which he reposed in his own breast, and sent to invite Malec al Mansur, but he did not return. Sultan Malec al Mansur left Samadra, and went out to the mouth of the river, and Malec al Zaher went up the river Catrea to his palace, and Malec al Mansur then returned to Samadra, reflecting that had he followed his minister's advice it would have been better for him, while his brother only became more enraged at him.

Sultan Malec al Zaher had a son, named Sultan Ahmed, who was still young, when he was carried away prisoner to Raja Shaher al Nawi, but he was full grown when he returned. Sidi Ali Gheyas ed-din now resigned his office, and Tun Parpatih Tulos, who had been originally a huntsman, or *Tukang Sigari*, became *Mangcu-bumi* in his

room. Now it happened on a day that Sultan Malec al Zaher said to this Tukang Sigari, "What would you advise respecting the conduct of Malec al Mansur." "I have a project" said the minister. "But if he should die" — said the prince. "If he die" said the minister, "my name is not Tukang. Proclaim a solemn festival, with respect to your son, and let us invite Malec al Mansur, and if he come the game is in our hand." The raja approved of the measure, and preparations were made for the festival, and a great hall erected for the purpose; and Malec al Mansur being invited came with Sidi Ali Ismayemdi and were introduced into the festal hall, while all the champions remained without. Then Malec al Zaher ordered them both to be seized and conveyed to prison by a champion. He however said to Sidi Ali "stay you here, there is no need for you to accompany Malec al Mansur, your neck will be severed if you attempt it." "If you cut off my head, it is well" said the ancient minister, "but otherwise I shall certainly accompany my lord." On this his head was immediately struck off and thrown into the sea, and his

body impaled, at the fort of Pasei. As for Malec al Mansur, a man carried him in a prow towards the east. When he arrived at Jambu Ayer, the steersman observed a man's head which was impelled on the rudder of the prow. He mentioned the circumstance to Sultan Malec al Mansur, and he ordered it to be taken up, when it appeared to be the head of Sidi Ali Ismayemdi. Then the raja turning round his head, said "Padang Maya? what field is that," and the place retains the name of Padang Maya to this day. Malec al Mansur went ashore at that place; and sent to ask his brother for the body. Malec al Zaher granted it, and the raja caused both that and the head to be buried in Padang Maya. He then proceeded to prison. After this, the circumcision of Sultan Ahmed was performed in state. When Malec al Mansur had been three years imprisoned at Manjong, Malec al Zaher began to recollect his brother. "Very foolish counsel" said he "have I followed for the sake of a woman, to dethrone my brother and put to death his mantri." He was filled with deep regret, and sent one of his champions with a party of followers to conduct his brother from Manjong, with the state

due to a raja. When Malec al Mansur arrived at Padang Maya, he landed and paid his respects to the tomb of Sidi Ali Ismayemdi, and saluting it, he said "Salam to you, my father, you stay here, but my elder brother calls me." Sidi Ali answered from the tomb, "Peace be to you, but it is better for you to stay here than to go." On hearing this, Malec al Mansur brought water for the performance of his devotions, after which he laid himself down by the tomb to sleep, and there he expired. The news was brought to the Sultan Malec at Zaher that his brother had expired at Padang Maya, beside the tomb of Sidi Ali Ismayemdi. The Sultan himself immediately proceeded to Padang Maya, and had his brother buried with all the ceremonial of a great raja, and returned sorrowfully to the land of Pasei. After this, he resigned his throne to his son Sultan Ahmed; and in process of time he fell sick, and having summoned his son, he exhorted him to pay deference to the advice of his elders; and before engaging in important matters, to consult with his mantris; to avoid hasty passion, and cultivate patience in adverse circumstances; not to make light of religion;

to seize no person's property unjustly. Sultan Ahmed was filled with grief. At last Malec al Zaher died, and was buried near the mosque, and Sultan Ahmed long reigned in his stead.

It is related by the author followed in this work, that there was a man of Pasei, named Tun Jana Khateb, who went to Singhapura with two companions named Tuan de Bongoran, and Tuan di Salangor. One day Tun Jana Khateb was walking in the market-place of Singhapura, and drew near to the palace of the raja, where one of the raja's women observed him. He was looking at a betel tree, when it suddenly broke. This was observed by the raja, who was enraged at it, conceiving it to have been done solely for the purpose of attracting the lady's attention, and displaying his skill. He accordingly ordered him to be put to death. The executioners seized him and carried him to the place of execution, and stabbed him near the house of a seller of sweetmeats. His blood flowed onto the ground; but his body vanished from their ken; and his blood was covered up by the sweetmeat seller, and was changed

into stone and still remains at Singhapura. According to one account, however, the body of Tun Jana Khateb lies at Langcáwi, where it was buried, for thus they sing of it in Pantuns.

"Tough is the duck of Singhora (above Kiddeh)
The Pandan leans on the Tui tree;
His blood was shed at Singhapura,
But his body lies at Langcáwi."

X.

IT happened in process of time, that a species of sword-fish named *tódak* came upon the coast of Singhapura, and springing ashore, killed a great number of persons on the beach. Striking the breast, they pierced through and through the body to the back; and striking the neck, they separated the head; and striking the waist, they pierced it from side to side; so that at last so many were slain, that nobody durst reside on the shore, but fled in consternation in every direction from the dread of the destruction. Then Paduca Sri Maha-

raja mounted his elephant, and marched out with all his ministers and warriors to the shore. He was astonished on perceiving the devastation occasioned by the *tódak*; the numbers slain, and that one stroke was sufficient. Then the raja ordered a rampart to be formed of the legs of his men; but still the sword-fish sprung out and pierced their limbs through and through, for these fish were numerous as the close-falling rain. Among the people there was a boy who said, "of what use is it for us to form a rampart with our legs, it would be much better to make a rampart of plantain stems." When the raja heard this, he said, "the observation is just," and he ordered them to bring plantain stems and form a rampart. The sword-fish rapidly struck their beaks into the plantain stems, and remaining there fixed, the people came and slew them in great numbers, so that their carcasses lay in heaps, and the people were unable to eat them up, and those that remained ceased from their ravages in the vicinity of the rampart, and sprung against the raja's elephant, and even

struck the raja's coat. As it is said by the writers of songs,

"The Tódak springs up to rend the raja's garment,
The Tódak is not worsted of itself,
It is from a child's understanding that it is worsted in
the war."

Then the Maha-raja returned, and all the great men represented to him, "Sire, if this boy, though so young, possesses such an uncommon understanding, what will he do when he grows up. It will be best for us to kill him." "Very well, let us kill him," said the raja. He was accordingly put to death, but the guilt of his blood lay upon the country. After this, Paduca Sri Maharaja died, and his son Raja Secander Shah succeeded to the throne, and married the daughter of the mangcu-bumi, named Tun Parpatih Tulos, by whom he had a son named Raja Ahmed, also named Raja Besar Muda. He was extremely handsome, and when he grew up, he married the daughter of Raja Suliman, of Cota Meligei (Fort-Place), named Putri Cameral Ajayeb, of exquisite beauty, excelling all her contemporaries. Raja Secander

Shah had a bandahari, named Sang Ranjuna Tapa, whose origin was of Singhapura. He had a daughter of exquisite beauty, of whom the raja was deeply enamoured, but the rest of the raja's mistresses concerted against her, and accused her of infidelity. Raja Secander Shah was grievously enraged, and ordered her to be impaled at Ujong Pasar (Point market). Sang Ranjuna Tapa was deeply affected by the disgrace, at the situation of his child, and represented, if it be true that my child has acted improperly, put her only to death, but why put her to such shame. Sang Ranjuna Tapa immediately dispatched a letter to Java, and stated, "If the bitara of Majapahit wishes to possess himself of Singhapura, let him come quickly, for there is disaffection in the fort." The bitara immediately fitted out 300 junks, together with the vessels calúlús pelang, and jong kong, in numbers beyond calculation, and embarked on board of them two Cati of Javans (200,000). Then having set sail, they arrived at Singhapura, and immediately engaged in battle. After some, time, Raja Secander Shah or-

dered the bandahari to issue rice for the subsistence of his troops, and he replied, that it was quite exhausted, because he meditated treason. The next morning, at day-break, Sang Ranjuna Tapa opened the gates of the fortress, and Java entered into the town, and commenced an amok or indiscriminate carnage, and the people were slaughtered on all sides, and blood flowed like an inundation; and this is the blood which still marks the plain of Singhapura. At last, however, Singhapura was subdued, and Raja Secander Shah, saving himself by flight, reached Moar. By the power of God Almighty, the house of Sang Ranjuna Tapa faded, and its pillars were overturned, and rice ceased to be planted in the land, and Sang Ranjuna Tapa, both husband and wife, was changed into stone, and those are the stones which appear beside the moat of Singhapura. After the conquest of Singhapura, the people of Java returned to Majapahit.

XI.

WHEN Raja Secander Shah had reached Moar, he remained there quiet for a time, till one night there came a great number of lizards, and when it was day-light it appeared that they had occupied the whole place. Then the people began killing them and threw them in great numbers into the river; but the next night they came in as great numbers as before. At last the place became intolerable from the stench of the carcasses of the lizards, and the place was denominated bewak-búsok or stinking crocodile. Raja Secander Shah was obliged to desert this station, and move to another place, where he began building a fort. By day, he caused his workmen to work, but at night their work all decayed, and the name of this place was hence called Cota-buru, the rotten fort. Raja Secander Shah was also obliged to remove from this place, and after journeying long towards the interior, he reached Sangang Ujung, and perceiving it to be a fine situation, he left one of his mantris in this place, and from that

time to this a mantri has always resided there. Thence, Raja Secander Shah returned to the shore of the sea, to the banks of a river named Bartam, where he hunted, standing himself to see the sport under the shade of a spreading tree. One of his dogs roused a white pelandok, which attacking the dog, drove it into the water. The raja was pleased, and said "This is a fine place, where the very pelandoks are full of courage. Let us found a city here." To this, all his headmen assented, and the raja enquiring the name of the tree under which he was standing, was informed that it was named the malaca tree. "Then," said he, "let the name of the city be called Malaca."

Raja Secander Shah now settled in Malaca, having remained in Singhapura thirty-two years, which he deserted for Malaca when Singhapura was conquered by Java. He died at last in Malaca, and his son, Raja Besar Muda reigned in his stead. He was extremely mild and gentle, and ruled according to the custom of his father, and appointed mantris to support his authority and maintain his regulations. He appointed forty bantaras to sit in office, and inform

the people of the raja's orders, and the raja concerning the wishes of the people, and also orang beduanda, or messengers of the sons of great men, who were appointed to carry the raja's equipage. This prince had three sons, the first of whom was named Radin Bagus, another Raja Tengah, and the third Radin Anúm. These three Princes married the daughters of Tun Parpatih Tulos. After the death of Tun Parpatih Tulos, the Prince Radin Bagus was appointed bandahara in his stead, and assumed the title of Tun Parpatih Parmuka Berjaja. In process of time, Raja Besar Muda died, and was succeeded by his son, Raja Tengah, who had a son named Raja Kichil Besar. Raja Tengah likewise died, and was succeeded by his son, Raja Kichil Besar, who was a very just prince, and protected his subjects, so that of all the rajas of this day none were to be compared to him. The city of Malaca also increased greatly, and acquired a numerous population, and merchants resorted to it from every quarter. This raja married the daughter of Tun Parpatih Parmuka Berjaja, who produced two sons, the one named

Raja Kichil Mambang, the other Raja Macat. After a long time that Raja Kichil Besar had reigned, he dreamed one night that he saw Nabi Muhammed, who said to him "I testify that God is the one God, and that Muhammed is his prophet," and Raja Kichil Besar did as he was directed by the prophet, who conferred on him the name of Sultan Muhammed. Next morning, said the prophet, at day break, there will arrive a ship from Jidda, and will land on the shore of Malaca and perform Namaz, listen to their words. Raja Kichil Besar said, very well, he would do so, and not neglect, and immediately Nabi Muhammed vanished. Next morning when he awoke, his body smelt like the perfume narawastu, and he perceived that he had the appearance of being circumcised. Then said the raja, this visit is certainly not of Satan, and his mouth did not stop from pronouncing the word of testimony, so that all the female servants were astonished to hear him, and the queen said, "surely Satan has possessed the raja, or else he is gone mad; very well, we must speedily inform the bandahara." He quickly received the information, and arrived at the palace,

where he found the raja continuing to repeat his confession. The bandahara asked him what language he was speaking. The raja said he had seen the prophet Muhammed in a dream, and related to him the whole event. Then said the bandahara what token is there that the dream is true. Raja Kichil Besar said that he had the appearance of circumcision, and that the prophet had told him, that about mid-day, a vessel would arrive from Jidda, and would land her crew to say prayers on the shore of Malaca, and that he was directed to conform to their directions. The bandahara was astonished, and admitted that the dream must be true, if the vessel arrived, but that otherwise it would be a seduction of Satan. The vessel arrived at the appointed time; and landed the crew to say their prayers on the shore. In this vessel was Seyyad Abdal Azid who officiated, and all the people of Malaca were astonished, and said, "what are all these people niddodding at in such an uncommon manner?" and great numbers assembled to see them; with a tumultuous noise. The raja, however, quickly mounted his elephant, and

went out to them, followed by all his great men, and perceived that they were the same whom he had seen in his dream, and mentioned it to the bandahara and chief men. When the crew had finished their devotions, the raja made his elephant sit down, and took up the Makhdum upon his own elephant, and carried him to the city; and the bandahara, with all the chief men, adopted Islam, and their example was followed by the rest of the people, at the order of the raja, and the Makhdum was their guru, and he conferred on the raja the name of Sultan Muhammed Shah. The bandahara procured the name of Sri Wa Raja, that is, raja's father's elder brother, and is considered as almost the same degree of relationship as father. He was the first bandahara of Malaca, and Radin Anum was the person appointed Pradhana Mantri, with the title of Sri Amar di Raja. Tun Parpatih Besar, also assuming the title of Sri Naradi Raja, became Pangulu Bandahari, who was the son of Tun Parpatih Tulos Permuka Berjaja, the former bandahara of Singhapura, who was the son of Sri Tri-buana, and originally named Raja Ki-

chil Muda. This Tun Parpatih Besar married the daughter of the bandahara, by whom he had a daughter, named Tun Rana Sandari. Sultan Muhammed Shah again established in order the throne of his sovereignty. He was the first who prohibited the wearing of yellow clothes, in public, not even a handkerchief of that colour, nor curtains, nor hangings nor large pillow-cases, nor coverlets, nor any envelope of any bundle, nor the cloth lining of a house, excepting only the waist cloth, the coat and the turban. He also prohibited the constructing of houses with abutments, or smaller houses connected with them; also suspended pillars or timbers, (tiang gantong,) nor timbers, the tops of which project above the roofs, and also summer houses. He also prohibited the ornamenting of cresses with gold and the wearing anklets of gold, and the wearing the koronchong or hollow bracelets of gold, ornamented with silver. None of these prohibited articles did he permit to be worn by a person, however rich he might be, unless by his particular licence, a privilege which the raja has ever since possessed. He also forbade any one to

enter the palace, unless wearing a cloth petticoat of decent length, with his creese in front; and a shoulder-cloth; and no person was permitted to enter unless in this array, and if any one wore his creese behind him, it was incumbent on the porter of the gate to seize it. Such is the order of former time, respecting prohibition by the Malayu rajas, and whatever is contrary to this is a transgression against the raja, and ought to incur a fine of five cati. The white umbrella, which is superior to the yellow one, because it is seen conspicuous at a greater distance, was also confined to the raja's person, while the yellow umbrella was confined to his family. Also, whenever the raja came out into his hall of state, he was ordered to be attended by the bandahara, the pangulu bandahari, the tamangung, and all the mantris and chiefs, and all the seda-sidas who were to sit in the sri-balei, or interior of the hall, while all the persons of the royal family were to sit in the left hand gallery, and all the persons of Khettriga extraction in the right gallery, and the young seda-sidas were to sit without the galleries, while all the bantaras and the

young hulu-balangs, or champions, should stand beneath these with their swords on their shoulders. The head bantara, whose office was to stand on the left hand, was to be the descendant of a mantri, and might become bandahara pangulu bandahari and tamangung, while the head bantara on the left, was to be the descendant of a hulu-balang, or champion, and might become laksamana and sri bija de raja; and all the hulubalangs were to sit in the side galleries; and whoever has the title of sangsta may succeed to the rank of sri bija de raja; and whoever has the title of sangcuan may succeed to the rank of lacsamana; and whoever has the title of tun pacarma may succeed to the rank of bandahara. When any representation is to be made, this is the office of the head bantaras, who are four or five persons, and it is their office in preference to all the seda-sidas, who sit in the hall of audience, excepting all the chief mantris. The select nakhodas, or sea-captains were also permitted to sit in the sri balei, or hall of audience; and all the sons of nobles who had no particular occupation, were to sit in the side galleries. The raja's apparatus,

such as his spitting-pot, his water-pitcher, his fan, and other utensils, were to be placed in the side-galleries; but his betel box and sword were to be placed by his side on the right or left hand, and his sword of authority was to be borne by the lacsamana, or Sri Bija Diraja. Whenever an ambassador came or took his departure, the raja's slaves were to bring them out of the palace, and deliver them to the head bantara, who was to set them before the bandahara. The salver, with a yellow shoulder cloth, was to be given to the person who brought the letter. If at any time a letter was brought from Pasei or Haru, the ambassador was ordered to be met with all the regal apparatus, drums, flutes, trumpets, nagarets, with two white umbrellas carried close together, but the bugles were not to accompany them. Also, the mantris were to go mounted on elephants' necks, and the bantaras and sedasidas mounted on the elephants' hinder parts, while the letter was to be carried by the chief of the little baduandas, (servants whose business is to run at the side of the elephant, opposite the howder,) for the rajas of both the aforesaid countries are to

be considered as of equal rank with the raja of Malaca, and whether old or young, to be saluted in the same manner. When the embassy reaches the hall of audience, the letter was to be received by a hulu-balang of high descent, and the king's answer was to be returned to the ambassador by the head bantaras, on the right and on the left. If a letter arrived from any other state, it was received with less ceremony, that is, only with drum, flute, and a yellow umbrella, and as might be required, either mounted on an elephant, or on horseback; but it was necessary to alight at the outer gate. If the raja was of considerable consequence, the bearer of his epistle was received with trumpets and umbrellas, one white and one yellow, as he alighted from the elephant at the outer gate. Formerly, there were seven gates to be passed in entering to the raja. When the ambassador was to take his departure, it was the settled custom to present him with an honorary dress; and this was even to be extended to the ambassador of Racan. If our ambassador should carry a letter to another state, it is proper that he should be presented with an honorary

dress. It was also ordered that when any title was to be conferred, that the raja should appear in the Balei Rung, or great hall of audience, attended with a great concourse of people, seated according to order; and that then the person to be honoured with the title should be called; if a great man, (parsarani,) by a man of consequence; if a master-man, (pertuanan,) by a man of middle rank (orang sadang); if rather a man of inferior rank, (persangan,) by a mean man. If the person to be honoured was of that dignity to require an elephant; he was to be brought upon an elephant; if a horse, on a horse; and if he was not of sufficient rank either for a horse or an elephant, he was to be brought on foot with drum, and flute, and umbrella. Umbrellas are of different kinds, as green, blue, or red; the highest ranks requiring the yellow and white umbrella; the yellow umbrella being that which pertains to the descendants of princes and chief men; the brown, the red, and green umbrellas belonging to the sedasidas, bantaras and hulu-balangs in general; but the dark blue umbrella is appropriated to the candidates for honours. When the

candidate is conducted to the hall of audience, he is to wait without, while the hereditary minstrels, or descendants of Bat'h, shall recite the king's titles from the cherei, according to the regular formulary.* After reciting the cherei, the bard goes out with it, to introduce the person to be honoured, who is delivered to him by his elder and younger brothers, with his race and family. Then the bard is to take his tetampan, or shoulder-cloth, and place it on the shoulder of the candidate, and to conduct him into the raja's presence, and to spread a mat for him wherever the raja pleases, and seat him upon it. Then an honorary dress is brought in; if for a bandahara, of five pieces, placed in five platters, a coat, a cloth,

* অহা শূগুত পাংহকা ভীমহারাত্তভীমত ভীদুভ
 দম্বণভূমি ভূতপান বিক্রমাহস্কনক কৰ্মমুক্তা
 ব্রণমুখ্য শিবনম্পর্শশমিত্ত বিহাতক ধর্মারথ
 ভীশীকৃত সিংহাসন বনবিক্রম বাণরানত পনা
 যিতবনাধিক সদযাংদ্র হৃদয় দেবহৃদয় পারোদয়
 কান মোনিমানমাণিক্য যীধর্মরাত্তধিবীত, পর
 মেশ্বরী'যাবত্ৰীবং।

a turban, a plaid, and a waist-band; if a raja-raja's son, or that of a chief mantri, or a chatreya, of four pieces, on four platters, the waist-band being wanting; if a bantara, seda-sida, or hulu-balang, it is to consist of three pieces, on three platters, a cloth, a coat, and a turban. After this comes the gradation, when the dress is presented on one platter, and after that, when it is given into the naked hand without any platter, and placed on the neck in the presence of the raja, and carried away. The same rules were to be observed in presenting the honorary dress to ambassadors. After receiving the dress, the persons were to retire to dress themselves, and having dressed themselves, they were to return. They were then permitted to assume the petam, or bracelet, and the ponto, or armlet. These persons, so distinguished, are to wear the armlet, varying, however, according to their station. Some wear the ponto in the form of a snake in its den, with an amulet. Others wear the ponto set with gems; others wear a simple armlet of metal; some wear it in the form of a blue ring; some wear the ponto of silver; some wear it on both

sides; others only on one side. After having saluted the raja in this manner, they are then to return home, and are to be attended home in state, according as may be proper for them; and also by the person who summoned him, and with music. Some are only to be accompanied with the gandang or drum, and saronei or flute; others must also have the trumpet; others the nagarets; and some must have the white umbrella; but this, and the nagara, is a very high honour. Even the trumpet and yellow umbrella were of difficult attainment in former times.

Whenever the raja was to go abroad on a great day in an usungan or palankeen, it was incumbent on the pangulu bandahari to lay hold of the front of the palankeen on the right, and for the Tumargungs to lay hold of it on the left, while two mantris were to lay hold of it behind. The laksamana and sri bija di raja were to take hold of the chain which is at the foot of the raja, one on each side, while the bantaras and hulu-balangs were to go on before him in succession, according to the offices which they bore, for all the insignia of royalty were to be borne

before the raja, by those who preceded him; the lances of royalty, one on the right, and the other on the left, and all the bantarass were to carry the sword on the shoulder, before the spearmen. The jongan or royal casket was also to be carried before the king, and he was to be preceded by every species of music, as the gong, the gandang, or drum, and other instruments; the nagarets on the right, and on the left the trumpets. While on procession, the greater part were to be on the right hand, and while halting the greater part should be on the left hand. The same order was to be observed with regard to the nobats, or large kettle-drums. In the procession before the raja, the meaner persons were to go first. First of all the pawei, bearing the naked lance, and then the whole musicians with their instruments of every kind. The bandahara was to go behind the raja, accompanied by the cazis. If the raja mounted his elephant, it was the office of the tamangung to mount the elephant's head, and that of the laksamana or sri bija di raja to ride behind, carrying on their shoulder the sword of authority. When the nobats are present, the men of conse-

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quence shall sit on the left side of them, and the common persons on the right. The royal betel-box also accompanies the nobat. The order of sitting was to be, first the descendants of the royal family, then the bandahara, then the pangulu bandahari, the tamangung, the four mantris, the cazis, and the persons skilled in law, the laksamana, the sri bija di raja, the aged seda-sidas, and then whoever the raja pleased, and the chatriya. If the bandahara be present, the nobat should be present, and if he be not present, the betel-box should not be present. On any great festival, within the palace, the pangulu bandahari, was to take the direction of the interior, order the mats to be spread, cause the hall of audience to be adorned, and the wall hangings and cloth roof to be suspended, to superintend the table, and issue instructions to the people, summon those who were required, for the whole of the raja's slaves and bandaharis, and collectors of revenue of the country, and the Shahbandar all of them under the charge of the head bandahari. The pangulu bandahari shall summon the people of the raja, and the tamangung shall

arrange them in the eating hall, four and four at every hidangan or table, down to the lowest in the same manner. If, however at one hidangan, there should only be three persons, the food of three persons is to be placed on it; if there be only two, to place victuals for two, if there be only one, to place the victuals for one: also to take care, that those who ought to sit below, do not go up too high; and in like manner with regard to those who ought to sit in a high place, that they do not go below. The bandahara was also to eat with the royal family. Such were the established usages during the time of the kingdom of Malaca; and there were many more of a similar sort, which, if they were all to be mentioned, would prove tedious for the hearer. In the month of Ramzan, on the night of the 27th, the raja shall go in procession to the mosque, and while it is still light, a feast shall be prepared at the mosque, and the taman-gung shall proceed on the neck of the elephant, with all the royal insignia before, and the drums beating, which shall continue till the arrival of the raja at night, in procession, according to the usage of festival days; and

having finished his devotions in a devout manner, he shall then return. The day after, the laksamana shall bring him a diadem in great state, for it is the custom of the Malay rajas to go in procession to the mosque, arrayed in a diadem and frock vest, and this dress is prohibited at marriage ceremonies, without the raja's particular permission, when a person may wear it. In like manner the Kling dress is not permitted to be worn at marriages, unless it is a person's usual dress, when he may be permitted to wear it at marriage ceremonies, or solemn prayer. On the greater and lesser festival days, the bandahara and all the great men shall enter into the raja's inclosure in a mass, and the pangulu bandahari shall bring the usungan, or conveyances; and as soon as they shall see the conveyances, all the persons who are in the interior hall shall quickly descend in regular order; and the drums and nobats shall be beat in the seven ragans or modes, and after every ragan the trumpets shall sound; and when the seventh time is accomplished, the raja shall mount his elephant within, and shall proceed to the Istaca (or exterior dome, where the throne

is placed,) and mount the Istaca, in order that every one may see the raja. Then every one shall sit down on the ground, except the bandahara, who shall go up to him and conduct him to his usungan, or state palankeen, which the raja shall mount and proceed to the mosque, according as has been already mentioned. Such are the institutions of the Malay rajas of the older time; and in reciting them I followed entirely the ancient authority as I have received them; and if any one is better acquainted with the history, I hope he will correct my errors, and not throw the blame upon me.

The relater states, that Sultan Muhammed Shah long continued to exercise his authority, and was extremely just and the protector of all his vassals. For a long period the country of Malaca continued to flourish, and its domains to encrease constantly, so that on the west its boundaries extended to Bruwas Ujung-carang; and on the east as far as Tringano. It also became noted in every country, that the country of Malaca was very great, populous, and abundant in all the necessities of life, and that its rajas were descended

from the race of Secander Zulkarneini, and sprung from Nasharwan Adil, the raja of the east and west. All rajas came to Malaca to be introduced to Sultan Muhammed Shah, who received them all with the highest respect, and invested them with honorary dresses of the highest value. All the merchants likewise, whether from above or under the wind, frequented Malaca, which in those days was extremely crowded; and all the Arabs gave it the name of Malakat, or the mart for collecting all merchants; for many different races of merchants frequented it, and all its great men were extremely just in all their proceedings.

XII.

THERE is a country in the region of Kling named Paháli, the raja of which was named Nizam al Mulc Akber Shah. He had adopted the religion of Islam, and the institutions of the prophet Muhammed. He had three children, two sons and one daughter, the elder of which was named Mani Farendan, the next Raja Akber Mulc Padshah, and the youngest was a daughter.

The ancient Prince Raja Nizam al Mulc Akber Shah died, and was succeeded by his son Raja Akber Mulc Padshah, and his inheritance was divided by law among his three children, excepting a golden chess-board set with gems, the one-half of the squares consisting of red gems, and the other of green ones, which Mani Farendan proposed to his brother should be given to their sister, as it was not proper for them to use it. To this the young raja refused to assent, proposing that a proper value should be put upon it, and that she should have it if she chose to give that price. Mani Farendan was vexed at his refusal, and said in his heart, "if he will not agree to do this, at my request, what else will happen when any other thing occurs. If this is to be the case, let me forthwith set about taking myself off, since I am not the raja of this country. But where shall I go then; it will be best for me to proceed to Malaca, for at this time the raja of Malaca is a great raja, and it is proper for me to pay my respects to him. Besides he is descended lineally from the family of Raja Secander Zulkarneini." He

did so accordingly; how many vessels then did Prince Mani Farendan prepare, with which he sailed for Malaca? But, when he arrived at Jambu Ayer, the wind arose, and a violent storm succeeded, and the ship of Mani Farendan sunk, and he having fallen into the sea, leapt upon an albicore, or alu-alu fish, by which he was conveyed to land. When he reached the shore, he caught hold of a ganda-suli tree, and in this manner reached the land. This is the reason that Mani Farendan forbade all his descendants to eat of the fish alu-alu, or to wear the flower of the ganda-suli. Then Mani Farendan proceeded to Pasei, the raja of which gave him in marriage the Princess his daughter; and it is from his offspring, that all the royal family of Pasei are descended. Long did he reside in Pasei, till at last he returned to the land of Kling. When the monsoon arrived, he again set sail for Malaca, with all his ammunition and army, and the captain of his host was Khojah Ali Tendar Muhammed. He carried along with him seven vessels. When he reached Malaca, he went and paid his respects to Sultan Muhammed Shah, who gave him a

favourable reception, and seated him along with the mantris. Sri Naradi Raja invited him to his own house, and gave him in marriage his daughter Tun Rana Sandari. The Prince Mani Farendan had by his wife, the daughter of Sri Naradi Raja, two children; the name of the eldest, who was a son, was Tun Ali. The youngest was a daughter, and named Tun Uti; and she was extremely beautiful, and when she grew up, she was married to Sultan Muhammed Shah, and produced a son named Raja Kasim. After this, the Sultan married the daughter of the raja of Racan, by whom he had a son named Raja Ibrahim, whom he appointed his successor, according to the desire of the Princess his spouse. Sultan Muhammed Shah was nevertheless strongly attached to his son Raja Kasim, but he was ashamed to oppose the wishes of the Princess, and whatever Raja Ibrahim did, he was obliged to bear with it; but if Raja Kasim were to take so much as a bit of betel leaf from any body, the raja was enraged with him. In fine, Raja Kasim was distinguished by excellent manners and conduct, and all the subjects were well

affected to him, and detested Raja Ibrahim. When the raja of Racan visited Malaca, he was treated with the highest respect, being twin-brother to the Princess, and this raja of Racan was the grandson of Sultan Sidi, who was the brother of Sultan Sejav. Whenever the raja of Racan arrived, the royal drums were beat through the whole town. Thus it is said by the poets:

"All the royal drums are beating,
The raja of Racan is entering into the presence,
What can be secret with respect to the great,
Long I wot has my love-longing lasted,
Like a ring which has been set with a gem —"

After a long period, Sultan Muhammed Shah died, and was succeeded in the throne by his son, Raja Ibrahim, who on his accession to the throne, assumed the name of Sultan Abu Shahed. The raja of Racan ruled Malaca as the deputy of Sultan Abu Shahed, and the country was completely subjected to his authority. He expelled Raja Kasim, who went and resided in the house of a fisherman, and for a long period plied the trade of a fisher at sea. Thus the raja of Racan reigned in Malaca as raja

because Sultan Abu Shahed was the son of his twin sister. At last, however, all the chief men, and all the mantris and hulubalangs, assembled for consultations at the house of the bandahara; and they said, "What a situation is this into which we have got; at present the raja of Racan appears to be our sovereign and not our natural lord." Then the bandahara said, "What resource have I left, for the raja of Racan is never separate from our lord." When they heard this speech, all the great men sat silent, and then broke up and went to their own houses. Sri Vija di Raja, however, reflected in his own mind what was to be done; he had been constantly in the habit of inviting Raja Kasim to his house to eat and drink, because his brother had been bandahara to Raja Kasim. After a long period, there came a vessel from the regions above the wind, and when it drew near the land, all the fishing prows and boats approached to sell fish to the people of the vessel. Among the rest came Raja Kasim to sell his fish, in the dress of a fisherman. There was a merchant in the ship named Moulana Jelal-ed-din, who as

soon as he saw Raja Kasim, called him on board the vessel and treated him with all the dignity due to his rank. Raja Kasim said, "Why do you pay respect to me, a poor fisherman selling my fish?" Moulana Jelal-ed-din replied, "Of a truth, you are the son of this country, and will certainly become raja of Malaca." Raja Kasim said, "What way will your slave become raja? To be sure, if your Moulanaship (reverence) grant me your blessing, I may become raja." "Then," said Moulana Jelal-ed-din, "please to go to land and seek a person who will accomplish your business, and if it please God it will be accomplished. But I have to request you to grant me one condition. Give me in marriage Putri Racan, the Princess of Racan, and mother of Sultan Abu Shahed," Raja Kasim said, "Very well, if I become raja." The Moulana said, "Proceed then quickly to the land, for this night shall your business be accomplished, God Almighty is with you." Raja Kasim went immediately ashore, and reflected on the speech of the Moulana, and said to himself, "Of whom will it be proper to demand assistance. If so, I had

better go to Sri Naradi Raja, for he has always been very kind to me, and see if he will assist me." According to this idea, he proceeded to Sri Naradi Raja, and related to him the whole of his conversation with the Moulana. He replied, "Very well, I will be with you." A strict agreement was then entered into, and Sri Naradi Raja prepared himself, and summoned all the great men who had formerly assembled at the house of the bandahara, and all others. At the time of the meeting of day and night, Raja Kasim mounted an elephant named Juru Damang, and Sri Naradi Raja mounted on the neck of it, and Moulana Jelal-ed-din sat with him on the elephant, and all the crew of the vessel landed with their arms. Then said Raja Kasim to Sri Naradi Raja, "What resource has your Honour if the bandahara should not join us, we shall not be able to accomplish the affair; if we send for him just now, would he come?" Sri Naradi Raja replied, "This matter is perfectly easy, let us go and call on the bandahara." Raja Kasim said, "Very well, I will willingly submit myself to your direction." Then they proceeded directly to the house of the

bandahara. When they came to the outer gate of the bandahara, Sri Naradi Raja cried out, "Quickly inform the bandahara, that His Majesty the Prince is standing waiting without the gate." The bandahara started up, and ran with all possible haste, and came out without his creese, and his turban half loose; and the night was extremely dark and black. As soon as the bandahara came before the elephant, Sri Naradi Raja made it kneel down, and the bandahara speedily mounted, and the elephant rose, and they proceeded. The bandahara then perceived that it was Raja Kasim and not Sultan Abu Shahed, and that the weapons were not numerous by their sparkling. Then he was grievously astonished, and Sri Naradi Raja said to him, "What has your Honour to say to the business? The truth is that Raja Kasim means to slay this raja of Racan;" but the bandahara was still unable to answer. At last he answered, "I am very glad of it too, for Raja Kasim is likewise my lord. Why did you not inform me of it before, that he was desirous to slay the raja of Racan, for I have likewise been considering how the matter might be accomplished."

Raja Kasim was very glad to hear this. The Prince immediately attempted to storm the palace, and all who saw him was struck with panic, and all the great men who were with Raja Ibrahim, ran to the house of the bandahara with all the men of property and the heroes, and enquired where is the bandahara, and they received for answer, that the bandahara was gone with Raja Kasim; and all the great men immediately took it for granted, that this was the doing of the bandahara. All the people then rushed away to find the bandahara, and all of them joined Raja Kasim. After they had made good their entrance, the raja of Racan would not separate himself from Sultan Abu Shaded. Then cried Sri Naradi Raja to the people, "Take away Sultan Abu Shahed from the Racan Raja, for I fear that Raja Racan will kill him," and then they all called out, do not stab Raja Racan first, but the soldiers could not hear from the great tumult, and besides, there were many persons who were enraged at him, and they accordingly stabbed him through and through, and would listen to nothing. As soon as he felt him-

self wounded, he stabbed Sultan Abu Shahed, and the young Prince immediately died. The period of this Sultan's reign was one year and five months. Thus he perished, and was succeeded by his brother Raja Kasim, who on his accession to the throne, assumed the name of Raja Mudhafar Shah. Then Moulana Jelal-ed-din asked him to fulfil his engagement; and the raja, having selected one of the female attendants of the palace, who was extremely beautiful, dressed her in superb garments, and presented her to the Moulana as the Purtri Racan, or Princess of Racan. The Moulana supposed her to be the Princess of Racan, and having speedily conveyed her on board, set sail for the regions above the wind. Then Sultan Mudhafar Shah exercised the rule of authority, and became celebrated for his justice and clemency, and the attention with which he investigated the grievances of his subjects. He ordered the book of institutes, or "Kitab Undang-Undang" to be compiled, that the laws might not be perverted by his chief officers, or mantris. Sri Nara al di Raja was beloved by the raja, who never dissented from any

thing which he ever proposed or indicated. Sultan Mudhafer Shah espoused the daughter of the bandahara Sri Amir al di Raja, by whom he had a son of great beauty, who was named Raja Abdalla. The bandahara Sri Amir al di Raja died in process, and was succeeded by his son Tun Parapati Sedang in his office, and assumed the name of Sriwa Raja, but in reality he was only bandahara in name, for the king never in any instance opposed the opinion of Sri Nara al di Raja. It happened on a certain day that Sultan Mudhafer Shah held a levee in his hall of audience, and as he was about to retire, the bandahara arrived, and came to the outer gate as the raja entered the palace. The raja did not know of his arrival, and the people shutting the gates, the bandahara Sriwa Raja supposed the raja to be angry with him, from his being prohibited entrance. The bandahara returned home oppressed with shame, and swallowed poison. The raja received the information of his death, and was greatly distressed, as he did not know the cause of it, but Tun Indra Sugara related to him the whole of the circumstances regarding

it. The raja, greatly concerned, proceeded to order his funeral according to the ordinary custom. After the burial of the bandahara for the space of seven days, on account of the mourning, the royal drums did not beat. Sri Nara al di Raja now became bandahara. The deceased bandahara, Sriwa Raja, left three children; the eldest was a daughter, named Tun Cudu; she was extremely beautiful, and became wife to the raja. The next was a son, named Tun Perak: the youngest was also a son, named Tun Parapati Puti. Tun Perak did not enjoy any office: he went to be married at Calang, and settled in Calang entirely. After some time the people of Calang expelled their head man, and came to Malaca to ask another: Sultan Mudhafer Shah asked them whom they wished; they replied, that the Sultan would particularly gratify them by appointing Tun Perak to the office; he answered very well, and Tun Perak became the chief of Calang.

XIII.

IT is related, that there was a raja of the land of Siam, which in ancient times was named Seheri Navi, and had all the regions under the wind dependent on it, and the name of this raja was Bubunyar (Phu-bunyang). It was reported to him in the land of Siam that Malaca was a great country, and did not own his allegiance. Then Paduca Babunyar sent to Malaca to demand a letter of submission, but Sultan Mudhafer Shah refused to send any submission. The raja of Siam was highly indignant, and immediately prepared to attack Malaca. The name of the general was Awi Chacri, (T'ha-wí-chacrí,) and his host exceeded all communication. Information of the intended attack was conveyed to the raja of Malaca, and that the Siamese champion and his host were advancing by land, and had already reached Pahang. Then the raja ordered the inhabitants of all the suburbs and boys of Moar, to be assembled in Malaca, and Tun Perak brought up the inhabitants of Calang, with all their wives and

children to Malaca. Then the people of Calang presented themselves before the raja, and related to him their whole state and condition; and they represented to him that only the males had come up to Malaca from every other place except Calang, but that the people of Calang, who were under Tun Perak had been brought up with all their wives and children. The raja, on hearing this representation, directed Sri Amarat, a bentara, to inform Tun Perak of the complaints of the men of Calang, when he should come to the hall of audience, but not to inform him that it was done by his advice. This Sri Amarat the bentara, was originally of Pasei in the land of Samatra, and he was a man who was skilful in his speech as an orator, which had been the occasion of his rising to the rank of bentara, when he had received the name of Sri Amarat and had a low seat appointed him near the raja's knee, it being his office to bear the sword of authority and to communicate the royal messages. On a day Tun Perak presented himself at court, and sat on the ground along with the rest who were present, and Sri

Amarat took an opportunity of stating to him, that a person of Calang had complained to the raja of his conduct in bringing up their wives and children, while only the males had come up from other quarters. "Pray, what could be your motive in this proceeding?" Tun Perak answered not a word. He asked him again, and he gave no answer: but, the third time, Tun Perak replied, "Pray, Sri Amarat, take good care of yourself, and of the sword which you bear; let it not rust, nor eat the eyes of the steel; but, how should you know any thing about the concerns of us men of business? His Majesty, the Prince, is seated in this country, with his wife and family, and all his apparatus; but, had I not brought the wives and children of the men of Calang, what should they care about you, whatever might befall you. The reason I have brought their wives and all their families is, that they may contend with a true heart against the foe. And, even if the raja was disposed to shrink from the combat, they would only be the more eager to prevent the slavery of their wives and children. For this cause they will contend strenuously

against the enemy." Sri Amarat reported this conversation to the raja, who smiled, and said, "It is very true, what Tun Perak said. Then the Prince took betel-leaf from his own box, and sent it to Tun Perak, and said to him, "Tun Perak, you must not live any longer in Calang, you must come and live here." The men of Siam, however, arrived and engaged in fight with the men of Malaca. The war continued for a long time, and great numbers of Siamese perished, but Malaca was not reduced. At last, the whole Siamese army retreated; and, as they took their departure, they threw down large quantities of their baggage rotans in the district of Moar, where they all took root; and that is the origin of the name of Rotan-Siam. Their stocks, which were formed of fig-tree wood, likewise rook root in a place in the vicinity of Moar, where it still exists. The rests for the Siamese cooking-places also took root and grew up, and are to be seen at this day, at the place named Tumang Siam. After the Siamese army had retreated, all the Malays of the suburbs and villages returned to their own homes, but the raja would not

permit Tun Perak to return to Calang, but he continued to reside at Malaca. There was a kelenger, who alleged that he had been injured in some respect by Tun Perak, and complained to the raja, who directed his bantara, Sri Amarat, to enquire concerning the matter of Tun Perak. He did so accordingly; but, Tun Perak remained silent, till he had asked him the third time, when Tun Perak said, "Mu Sri Amarat, the raja has made you the bantara of his own person, and given you his sword of state to bear, and you are well versed in this office; therefore, apply to it carefully, and suffer not the sword to rust, nor let its eyes be eaten out; but, as for my business of government in this country, how should your worship be acquainted with it? If it be right or wrong, it is according to the custom of the country. I have done what I conceive to be right, and am the person answerable for it. His Majesty, likewise, approves of my conduct, and does not think it wrong. If, however, His Majesty is inclined to censure me in this case, let him first break me, and then censure my conduct; if, however, I am not to be broken,

how can a person in my situation be censured?" The raja, when this answer was reported to him, highly approved of it, and said, "It is not proper for this Tun Perak to remain any longer in the condition of a bentara, he must be appointed Pradhana Mantri." He accordingly conferred on him the title of Paduca Raja, and ordered him to take his seat next to Sri Naradi Raja, on the edge of the hall of audience, while Sri Naradi Raja moved a little within the floor, till at last he was stationed on the right hand, and the Paduca Raja assumed the place of the bandahara. Sri Naradi Raja even unto his old age had no son, but he had by his wife the daughter of Sri Amir al di Raja, a daughter named Tun Puti, who married Raja Abdallah. By a concubine, however, he had a son, but concealed the circumstance for fear of his wife. The name of this son was Tun Nina Madi. It happened one day, that Sri Naradi Raja was sitting in the hall of audience, in the presence of a great many persons, and Tun Nina Madi happened to come there, when Sri Naradi Raja called him to approach him, and ordered him to sit down near

him, when he took him on his knee, and declared in the presence of all, that he was his son, and all who were present declared, "We know this to be truth, but as you did not acknowledge, we were unwilling to show it." Then Sultan Mudhafer Shah conferred on Tun Nina Madi the title of Tun Vigaya Maha-mantri. Thus Paduca Raja became a great man, and half of the Malays leaned towards him, and half of them sided with Sri Naradi Raja, for they were equally men of family. Sri Naradi Raja, however, did not wish to admit his equality, and the two constantly bore enmity towards each other. How often did Paduca Raja enter the inclosure of the house of Sri Naradi Raja during the night. The king was informed, and was greatly distressed at the terms on which Paduca Raja and Sri Naradi Raja were with each other. Thinking that the country would be ruined by the contentions of the head men, he laboured hard to reconcile them. He summoned Sri Naradi Raja, and proposed to him to marry again. He said, "Very well, if you desire it." He said, "What say you to Tun Bulun, the

daughter of the black orangcaya." He said, "Excuse me Sire, if you please." He said, "What think you of Tun Racna Sunderi the sister of Paduca Raja." He said again, "Please to excuse me." The raja said "What think you of Tun Canaca, the sister of the bandahara Sriwa Raja." He said again "Excuse me," and he gave the same answer when the raja proposed the daughter of any other great man. The raja again asked him, "Would you have Tun Cadu, the daughter of the bandahara Sriwa Raja, and the sister of Paduca Raja?" He said, "May it please your highness, the wife of the raja is to be sure very handsome, but her eyes squint a little." As soon as the raja heard this, he gave her a divorce, sent her back to the house of Paduca Raja, and ordered every thing to be prepared for the celebration of her marriage with Sri Naradi Raja. All the family of Sri Naradi Raja with his children said to him, "How can your highness propose to marry a young wife, when you are so old, and when your eyebrows and eyelashes are both white?" He replied, "How do you all know (that it is needless for me to marry)

if so then my father expended uselessly a cati of gold in the Kelang country when he married my mother. When the lawful term of the divorce was expired, Sri Naraldi Raja married Tun Cudu, and was cordially reconciled to Paduca Raja, and these two conducted themselves as brothers. Then Sri Naraldi Raja said to the Raja, "Please Your Majesty, it is very fit that the Paduca Raja should be appointed bandahara, for he is the son of the former bandahara." The Raja said, "very well," and Paduca Raja became bandahara. He was a wise man in his conversation, and celebrated for wisdom in his time, in which there were three wise men in three different countries, which were reckoned equal to each other. The first of these countries was Majapahit, the second Pasei, and the third Malaca. In Majapahit, there was Pati Aria Gaga Mada; in Pasei there was the orangcaya Raja Kenayen; and in Malaca, the bandahara Paduca Raja. Sri Naraldi Raja became the pangulu, or chief of the bandaharas.

How long a period was it before the Siamese again returned to attack Malaca?

Their general was named Avidichu this time. As soon as the news reached Sultan Mudhafer Shah in Malaca, he ordered the bandahara Paduca Raja to drive the Siamese out of the country, and he directed Sri Vija al di Raja, with the rest of the hulu-balangs and champions, to accompany the bandahara. This Sri Vija al di Raja was a native Malay, and named originally Tun Humzah. He derived his origin from the cows' vomit, and he was commonly nicknamed the crooked Datuk or chief, from the habit of walking or sitting in a bent position. But he could set himself up briskly with strength and courage whenever there was any word of the enemy. Sultan Mudhafer Shah had given him the title of Sri Vija al di Raja and he had become a famous champion, and took his seat before all the champions. As soon as he was ready, the bandahara Paduca Raja proceeded for the expulsion of the Siamese, with Sri Vija al di Raja, and all the hulu-balangs. Meantime, the Siamese had nearly reached Batu Pahat, or the hewn stone. There was a son of Sri Vija al di Raja, who was ex-

tremely brave, and was named Tun Omar, but naturally very wild and mad in his conversation. He requested permission from Paduca Raja, to be allowed to go as a spy to get information concerning the enemy. Tun Omar went alone in the kind of prow named Ulung Alang. As soon as he fell in with the first Siamese prows, he attacked them, and beat two or three on his way to the farther side. He immediately returned to attack them again, and again he beat two or three more, after which he returned. The Siamese were greatly astonished to observe the valour of Tun Omar, but still Avidichu advanced, and drew near about evening tide. Then, the bandahara Paduca Raja ordered them to cut bacan, nyiri, and tangar tress, and ordered a fire-brand to be tied to every tree. When the Siamese beheld these innumerable fires, the Siamese champions said, the preparations of the Malays are immense. If they advance, what a fine situation shall we be in, especially as we found ourselves to-day unable to contend against a single prahu of theirs? Avidichu said, "What you say is very true; since matters are so, let us

directly return to Siam, since it is not yet morning." Then all the Siamese returned. There is a stone tank at Batu Pahat which was hewed out by the Siamese. In their retreat, they were pursued by the bandahara Paduca Raja as far as Singhapura. Then the bandahara Paduca Raja returned to Malaca, and presented himself before Sultan Mudhafer Shah, and related all the affair to his Majesty. His Majesty was greatly delighted, and conferred an honorary dress of the finest sort on the bandahara Paduca Raja, and also conferred dresses of honour on all the champions who accompanied him, according to their rank. When the Siamese host reached the land of Siam, Avidichu went in and presented himself before the raja, and related to him all the circumstances of the expediton. Paduca Bubanyar was greatly enraged, and wished to proceed himself against Malaca. There was, however, a son of Paduca Bubanyar, named Choupandan (Chaw-pan-dam) in the presence, who requested to be sent against Malaca. Let Your Majesty order me to make ready and I will proceed against Malaca. Then, His Majesty ordered the phra-klang to

get ready eight hundred vessels of the kind named Sum, with innumerable prahus of smaller size, and they were only waiting for the proper monsoon. The news reached Malaca that Choupandan, the son of Paduca Bubanyar, was ordered to proceed against Malaca, and make war on it. Now, there was a servant of God, a man of Arabic extraction, in Malaca, who was named Seyyad Arab, and this person was constantly accustomed to amuse himself with shooting the war-arrow, like a mad-cap who lives by reciting verses. Wherever he went, he was accustomed to carry his arrows along with him. This person, Seyyad Arab, happened to be present before Sultan Mudhafer Shah, when the information was received, and he immediately rose up and discharged an arrow towards the land of Siam. As he placed his arrow in the rest, he said, "Choupandan is a dead man." The raja said, "If Choupandan dies, then you certainly possess miraculous power." Choupandan was still in the land of Siam, he felt himself struck on the breast as if with an arrow, and he sickened immediately, vomited blood and died. On ac-

count of the death of Choupandan, the invasion of Malaca by the Siamese was prevented. The circumstance is thus alluded to by the poets,

“Choupandan the son of Bubanyar wished
To proceed to attack Malaca,
There is a ring set full of flower-posies
But the flowers were bedewed with the water of tears.

It was soon reported in Malacca, that Choupandan was dead, after being struck on the breast as if with an arrow, and vomiting blood, and Sultan Mudhafer Shah was fully convinced that Seyyad Arab was a man of God, and how much did the raja praise him, and express his gratitude to him! After reigning the space of 42 years, Sultan Mudhafer Shah died, and was succeeded by Rajah Abdallah, his son, who assumed the name of Sultan Mansur Shah. The age of this Prince, when he acceded to the throne was twenty-seven years, and he had married the daughter of Sri Raja di Raja, named Tun Pati Nur Poalam. Before his marriage, however, he had a daughter by a mistress, and she was named Putri Bacal. The new Sultan, Mansur Shah, was ex-

tremely handsome, and had no equal in this world among rajas of the present time, in respect of his justice and humanity.

The author to whom the composer of this work refers, states, that there is in Pahang, a city named Pura, the river of which is shallow, the sand beautiful, and the water fresh, till it falls into the sea. Towards the source of this river, there is a mine of gold-dust. Towards the interior, landward, there is a plain of great extent, and the woods abound in elephants, rhinoceros, and apes. It is said that the nilghau and the ape are only about one-fourth inferior to the elephant. Formerly, Pahang was an extensive country, dependent on Siam, and its raja was named Maha Raja Dewa Sura, of the same lineage as Paduca Bubanyar. When Sultan Mansur Shah heard of this country, he became very desirous to possess himself of it, and he directed his bandahara Paduca Raja to invade it. The bandahara immediately advanced against it, accompanied by Tun Vicrama, and, Tun Vijaya Maha Mantri. Sri Vija al-di Raja, and Sri Vija Vicrama, and Tun Sri al-di Raja and Tun Amer al-di Raja, and

Tan Vija al-di Raja, and Tun Vija Satia, and Sang Vija Rakna, and Sri Satia, and Sang Nyaya, and Sangguna, and Sang Juya Vicrama, and Sang Haria, and Sang Rakna Suara, and Sang Suara, and Sang Jaya, and Sang Suara Pahlawan, Tun Haria, Tun Viji Vicrama, and all the other champions, to the number of two hundred prahus, was the equipment. How long did they advance till they reached Pahang, when the Malaca men engaged those of Pahang with great eagerness, and defeated them with the greatest ease! The whole of the Pahangers took to flight, and Maha Raja Dewa Sura fled into the interior, leaving behind him a daughter named Putri Wanang Sri, of exquisite beauty, who was taken by the bandahara Paduca Raja, and conducted on board a prahu, where she was treated with the attention due to her rank. The bandahara dispatched in pursuit of the fugitive prince Tun Vicrama, Tun Vijaya Maha Mantri, and Sri Vija di Raja, and Sri Vija Vicrama, and Sura di Raja, and Tun Amer al-di Raja, and Tun Vija di Raja, and Tun Vija Satia, and Sang Vija Rakna, and Tun Rakna, and Sri Satia, and Sangyaya, and Sanggunn,

Sang Jaya Vicrama, Sang Haria, Sang Rak-na Sura, and Sang Juya, Sang Sura Pahlawan, and Tun Haria, and all the rest of the champions. They were ordered to pursue vigorously, and every one who wished to earn a reward, pushed on as who should be first. Sri Vija di Raja also went on the pursuit, and he amused himself with catching the wild buffalo, piercing the rhinoceros, and snaring the ape, and wherever the sand of the river was fine, there he amused himself in fishing with nets and hawls. His followers represented to him that this was a strange mode of continuing the pursuit, to be amusing himself, while every one was so hotly engaged. "If any body else take the fugitive Prince, he will have the reward, and we will get nothing." Sri Vija di Raja replied, "how do you youngsters know? On trying his name by the power of numbers, it is subservient, and his time is also subservient to mine. How then can he escape from my hands?" Maha Raha Dewa Sura, in his flight, had his boat pushed along with poles to a great distance, till he conceived he was out of all danger of the pursuit of the Malaca men, when he brought

to at the foot of a mound, at the mouth of a small river, when he exclaimed, "kwoi! Kwoi!" which in Siamese, signifies "gently, gently." Hence the name of this mound is still "Jaram-kwoi." Here the Malaca men came up with him, and being unable to escape by water, he went on ashore, and wandered three days and three nights in the forest, without either eating or drinking. At last, he reached an old woman's house, of whom he asked for rice. "Where should a poor body like me find rice; stop till I prepare a hash of greens, and look for a little fish?" She accordingly set the pot on the fire, and the old woman then took her staff, and went down to the shore, in order to catch some young fry. The Malaca-men who were in pursuit, had all gone on before, except Sri Vija di Raja, who was still behind, and who fell in with this old woman, and seized her, saying, "where is the Maha Raja Dewa Sura?" The old woman said, "pray be not angry, he is at the house of your slave." Then, the champion went up towards the house, and one of his men seized the Maha Raja, and they descended the river, and delivered him up to the ban-

dahara Paduca Raja, without having either fettered or bound him, but having treated him according to the custom of Princes. The bandahara likewise treated him according to his dignity. His elephant of state, named Kurichak had been conducted already to Malaca. The whole host then returned to Malaca, with the bandahara conducting the Maha Raja and his daughter, and the bandahara presented himself before Sultan Mansur Shah, with all his hulubalangs, conducting Maha Raja Dewa Sura. The Sultan was highly pleased, and presented the bandahara and the hulubalangs who had accompanied him, with rich honorary dresses, according to their rank; and he ordered Sri Vija di Raja to go and reside at Pahang, and permitted him to use the drums of state, viz. the gandang and nobet, excepting the nagarets, and also a royal umbrella, as the reward for his having taken the Maha Raja. Then, Sri Vija di Raja went out of Malaca, and as soon as he had passed Pulow Malaca, he caused his nobets to sound. As soon as he arrived at Pahang, he assumed the seat of royal authority, and governed like a sovereign prince, coming

every year, to visit the Sultan at Malaca. Maha Raja Dewa Sura was entrusted to the care of the bandahara Paduca Raja, who did not confine him, but treated him with great respect. Paduca Raja then trusted him to the care of Sri Nara al-di Raja, who confined him in a corner of his public hall, but in every other respect conformably to his rank, accommodating him with a couch and large pillows, and causing him to be served at his meals by a person bearing the *tetampan* on his shoulder. It happened one day, that Sri Nara al-di Raja sat in his hall, and a great company were present, when Maha Raja Dewa Sura said, "when Sri Vija al-di Raja took me in my own country of Pahang, he treated me in such a princely stile, as if I had not lost my kingdom. When I was delivered up to the bandahara Paduca Raja, I was treated with still greater consideration than by Sri Vija al-di Raja; but when I came into the custody of this old kelinger, then I found myself, for the first time, shut up in a cage." Then replied Sri Nara al-di Raja, "Oh! Maha Raja Dewa Sura, where is the similarity between the persons you mention

and I? Sri Vija al-di Raja was a fierce warrior, who has likewise subdued your kingdom, and what difficulty would he find with regard to you, who are only one man? As for the bandahara Paduca Raja, he is a great man, and backed by all the people of the land, and had Your Honour taken to flight, how could you have effected your escape? As for me, who am a poor fakir, if Your Honour were to be take yourself to flight, whom could I order to pursue you? Were you to escape, His Majesty would be enraged at me, and I would bear the blame from all." The Maha Raja replied, "what Your Honour says is very true, and you are a faithful servant of your sovereign." Sultan Mansur Shah espoused the Princess Putri Wanang Sri, and by her he had two sons, the one of them named Raja Ahmed, and the other Raja Muhammed, of whom he was extremely fond and whom he wished to succeed him. It happened one day that the elephant Kerichak, as they were conducting him to be bathed in the river, approached the cage of the Maha Raja Dewa Sura, who called out to him. The elephant approached, and the Maha Raja accurately

viewed him; and observed, that one of his nails was wanting, and said, "from my long neglect of this elephant, I deserved to lose my kingdom."

The state elephant of Sultan Mansur Shah, named Canchanchi, fled into a forest, and how many persons were sent by the chief of the elephants, Sri Rama, in search of it, but without effect; and if it was seen it constantly stayed in deep marshes, and impenetrable thorny thickets, and could not be caught by any body. Sri Rama said, "there are people who are acquainted with the interior of this country," and he related the whole affair to the Prince. The Sultan ordered enquiry to be made in the country of Malaca, if there was any one acquainted with elephants; and he was told the Maha Raja Dewa Sura was exquisitely versed in this knowledge. He then sent to the Maha Raja to desire him to recover this elephant, and he requested the messenger to say, that he would undertake the business if released from his cage. The message was conveyed to the Raja, who ordered him to be released and the elephant was caught. The Sultan ordered the sons of the head men to attend

Maha Raja Dewa Sura, in order to acquire the knowledge of elephants, for it was this Sultan's custom to direct the young chiefs to attend persons who were skilful respecting elephants, horses, or the exercise of weapons, in order to acquire such kinds of knowledge; and the raja defrayed the expence of such attendance.

Sri Rama, the chief of the elephants, was a native Chatriya, and his place was to sit at the right hand side of the raja, and to have his betel carried by a person who wore the *tetampan*; and when he presented himself before the raja, the raja ordered him usually some refreshment, when arrack was brought to him in a goblet of Suasa brass, and presented by a person with the *tetampan*.

Sri Nara al-di Raja begot on Tun Cudu, the elder sister of Paduca Raja, three children; the first a son, named Tun Taher, the second a daughter, named Tun Senaja, and the youngest a son, named Tun Mutaher, extremely handsome. Afterwards Tun Cudu returned unto God's mercy, leaving her children still very young. Sri Nara al-di Raja married again, and had three children, two sons and one daughter, named

Tun Sadah. As long as Sultan Mansur Shah reigned in Malaca, the Siamese never returned to Malaca, nor did Malaca men interfere with the Siamese. One day the Sultan was reflecting by himself on the consequence of this want of intercourse between the two countries, and he determined to summon his bandahara Paduca Raja, Sri Nara al-di Raja, and all the rest of his ministers and warriors. They all assembled in the hall of audience, and then the Prince came out, and all of them retired to the ground, and saluted him. Then, the Prince seated himself on the throne of authority, adorned with gold and jewels, and the Bentaras then arranged the head officers in their places, and the bandahara and Sri Nara al-di Raja, and all the other head-officers ascended the dais or elevated floor, where the raja's throne was placed, and seated themselves in their several places according to the ancient custom. The Bentaras all arranged themselves, standing below the dais, holding their swords on their shoulders, with their loins girded. All the Nackhodas of consequence, and all the aged servants of the rajas seated in the lesser

hall, and the two spears of authority were placed erect in the side galleries, the bearers wearing the *tetampan*. Then the raja ordered all his head officers to say if they approved of sending an ambassador to Siam; for what would be the consequence of this estrangement as there was neither peace nor war, nor any species of intercourse between the countries. Then all the paramantris and head officers said, that great friendship was preferable to great enmity. The raja then asked the bandahara who would be a proper person to send ambassador to Siam? The bandahara said that his own son, Tun Talani, would be a proper person for the purpose. Tun Talani was accordingly directed to prepare for the journey. He was employed at Suyor, at this time, and having fitted out at Suyor, twenty *lancharans* with three masts; when all was ready, he proceeded to Malaca. Concerning the armament at the river Suyor, the poets recite the following verses.

"Here is the *lalei* (jib-stay) but where is the *bubutan* (haulyards,)

Aye, both the *bubutan*, and the *kalati* (lower-stays) too
Mr. Talani is present, but where is the sea-skipper,
The skipper is still at Tanjung Jati (Jati-point)."

Then Sultan Mansir Shah ordered the bandahara Paduca Raja, to write a letter to be dispatched to the land of Siam, which may neither contain greeting nor salutation, nor which could even be considered as a friendly letter. The bandahara directed the letter to be composed according to this import, but none of the pagaweis, or men of business, were equal to the task. Every body was consulted, even down to those who brought ducks and goats to market, but none were equal to it. The bandahara was therefore compelled to compose it himself, and thus it ran: "It is desirable that there should be no farther wars, for there is reason to fear the loss of life, and verily Paduca Bubanyar is to be dreaded in war, but there is great hope of his forgiveness and favour. Accordingly Tun Talani and the Mantri Jana Patra are sent for this purpose. This was followed by a great deal in the same strain, and the raja highly approved. When the epistle was prepared, it was ordered to be conveyed a-ship board on an elephant, by the mantri. It was accordingly conveyed on board, accompanied by two white umbrellas, with

drums, trumpets, flutes, and nagarets, only the bugle did not accompany it. Tun Talani and his companion also took leave of the Sultan, and were presented with honorary dresses, after which they took their departure, and how many days were they before they reached the land of Siam! The arrival of the ambassadors of Malaca was quickly made known to Paduca Bubanyar, and he ordered the phra-kha-lang to go and conduct the letter to court in proper stile. When it reached the hall of audience, the interpreter was ordered to read it, and the Prince was highly gratified at the contents, and asked Tun Talani who it was that had composed this epistle. He replied, "Sire, the Manco-bumi of the Raja of Malaca." Then, Paduca Bubanyar enquired what was the name of the Raja of Malaca. Tun Talani said, Sultan Mansur Shah. He then enquired what the name Sultan Mansur Shah signified. Tun Talani was silent, and the mantri Jana Petra replied, "the raja to whom God gives victory over all his subjects." He then asked how it happened that Malaca had not been conquered, when it was at-

tacked by the Siamese? Then Tun Talani called an old man of Suyor who had the elephantiasis in both his legs, to display his skill in the spear before Paduca Bubanyar. He tossed up spears in the air, and received them on his back without the smallest wound. "That Sire," said he, "is the reason that Malaca was not conquered by the Siamese, for all the men of Malaca have backs of this description." Raja Bubanyar thought "this person is certainly the meanest of the party, how much superior, then, may the best men be to him." After this, Tun Talani and the mantri Jana Petra returned to their prahus.

After some time Paduca Bubanya (*sic*) proceeded to attack a country in the vicinity of Siam, and was accompanied by Tun Talani and mantri Janapetra, and all their men. And the raja of Siam stationed all the Malaca men in a hazardous situation, where the fort was very strongly fortified and furnished with arms, and where the access was on the side of the setting sun, (the dying of the eye of the day.) Then Tun Talani consulted with mantri Janapetra, saying, "what is your advice, seeing we

are ordered to attack a difficult post, and our men here are very few." The mantri Janapetra said, "let us go and state our sentiments on the subject to the Phra-chaw, or emperor." They accordingly presented themselves to Paduca Bubanya, and represented to him, that being of the religion of Islam, and accustomed to turn their faces to the west in their devotions, it was very inconvenient to fight in this position, and therefore they requested to be allowed to make their onset on some other place. Paduca Bubanya desired them to change their position, if they did not wish to attack on the west. He allowed them to make their attack on the east, where the troops opposed to them were not so numerous, and the place not so strongly fortified, and through the power of God, the Malaca men conquered the place. As it was the Malaca men who began the battle, when the country was conquered, they all received rich rewards from the raja of Siam; and a lady named Wanang Menang Hong was given as wife to Tun Talani, who bore to him Tun Ali Haru, who was the father of Laksamana Datuk Panjang, whose daughter

was Tun Chandra Pachang, who married Tun Perak. Tun Perak begot Tun Kyai, surnamed Sri Ayara Raja, who died at Achi. Then, Tun Talani asked permission of Paduca Bubanya to return, and Paduca Bubanya returned a letter with presents, which was conducted a-shipboard. Tun Talani set sail, and how long was he till he arrived in Malaca, and Sultan Mansur Shah caused the letter to be brought up with due honours, on an elephant, and it was read by the Khateb, in the public court to this purport. "This letter of the Phrachaw of Udaya is sent to the Awei of Malaca," and so on. The Sultan was highly gratified, and said, "now my heart is at rest, for my enemy is converted into my friend;" and all who were present admitted that it was a singular instance of the favour of God towards him. Then the Prince, with great pleasure, conferred on Tun Talani and mantri Janapetra, and all the Siamese embassy, which accompanied them, honorary dresses; and when the monsoon for returning arrived, the Siamese ambassadors asked permission to return, and Sultan Mansur Shah presented them

with honorary dresses, and sent a letter and presents to the Siamese raja, and so the Siamese returned. God knows the whole, and to him be grace and glory.

XIV.

THE Raja of Majapahit died without leaving any son to inherit the throne, but he left a daughter named Radin Galah Wi Casoma, who was raised to the succession by Pati Gaja Mada. Some time after there was a toddy-maker, who went to amuse himself on the sea, where he found a young boy, on a plank, and took him into his prahu; perceiving that he was insensible of his state, from his having been so long on the sea without meat or drink. He was not quite dead, but just at the point of it, or as the Arabs say, the angel of death had just reached him, but not death himself. The toddy-maker dropped rice water into his mouth, and the boy opened his eyes and perceived he was in a prahu. He then carried him home, and maintained him according to his circumstances. When

the boy had recovered, the toddy-maker asked him what was his name, who he was, and how he came to be floating on that board? The boy said he was the son of the Raja of Tanjong Pura, the great-great-grandson of Sang Manyaya, the son of the first raja who descended from the mountain Saguntang Maha Meru, and that his name was Radin Prana Sangu; and I have, he said, two brothers and one sister. It happened one day that I went with my father and mother to divert myself on an island, and was caught on the sea by a violent storm, which wrecked the vessel. My father and mother endeavoured to save themselves by swimming, and I am ignorant of their fate. I laid hold of a plank, and was carried out by the waves into the sea, where I remained for seven days without eating or drinking, and fortunate was my falling in with you, who have treated me so kindly. If however you would add to your kindness, conduct me to my father at Tanjong Pura, when you will be gratified by an infinite reward." "True," said the toddy-maker, "but what ability have I to convey you to Tanjong Pura? Stay here with me, and

when your father sends hither, then you can return to him. Besides, I am pleased with your appearance, therefore let me consider you in the meantime as my own child, for I have no other." "Very well," said Radin Prana Sangu, "I shall readily comply with what you desire." He then received the name of Kyai Kimas Jiva; and was greatly beloved by both the toddy-maker and his wife; and in amusing him, the toddy-maker would sometimes say, "Master, you must become Raja of Majapahit, and marry the Princess Nai Casuma; but when you become Ratu, I must be the Pati Ari Gaja Mada." "Very well," the Prince would answer, "when I am the bitara, you must be the other." How long did the Princess Nai Casuma sit on the throne of Majapahit, and the Pati Ari Gaja Mada under her, till many persons began to accuse the Pati Ari Gaja Mada of forming the design of marrying the Princess himself. One day, the Pati Ari Gaja Mada, having arrayed himself in mean apparel, went aboard a prahu, in which the crew were of the lowest order, and heard them, who did not suspect him to be present, talking on the subject,

"Were I the Pati Adi Gaja Mada," says one, "I should soon pounce upon the Princess, for I should become raja." "How fine that would be," said another. "No doubt," says another, "he will make her his wife, for he is a great man, and who can oppose him." When the Pati Ari Gaja Mada heard this, he said to himself, "If this be the case, then all my long-continued sanctity will not avail against bad imputations." He therefore presented himself before the Princess Naya Casuma, and stated that as she was now full-grown, she ought to take to herself a husband. The Princess said, if that was his opinion, she would agree to it; but she requested him to collect all the people of the country, that she might choose the person whom she preferred. The Pati Ari Gaja Mada promised to comply with her wishes, in collecting the inhabitants, and choose she a man, or choose she a dog, he promised to recognize him as his lord and master. Then the Pati Ari Gaja Mada sent and proclaimed by drum and trumpet, through all the land of Majapahit, that the Princess Naya Casuma intended to choose herself a husband. As

soon as the proclamation was heard, all the raja-rajas, para-mantris, seda-sidas, bentaras, hulu-balangs, and all the people great and small, young and old, high and low, crooked and halt, and lame and limping, bow-legged and wry-legged, blind and deaf, all of them assembled at the fort of Majapahit. The fewer that were personally invited, the more numerous those who came of their own accord; for every one said to himself, "It may very easily happen that the Princess should pitch upon me, and what should hinder me from becoming Raja of Majapahit? When all were assembled, the Princess went up to a lofty balcony which commanded a view of the road, and the Pati Ari Gaja Mada ordered them all to parade before her singly. Then all the chiefs passed in review before her, and then the whole of the rest of the people, but she did not approve of any of them. When the whole had passed, last of all came Kyai Kimas Jiva, the adopted son of the toddy-man, dressed in the cloth *sagara-gunung* flowered with bees on the wing, with a green flowered vest, with a straight-handled creese, and without any other gar-

ment. He had bracelets on his arms which adorned his form, a nosegay of the *semen rasa-welis* and *champaca* flowers intermingled. He was sprinkled with scented flour over the body as far as the neck. His teeth were white as the ivory flower, or *bunga sri gading*, and his cheek red as the *catéra*-leaf, and he was extremely handsome, mild and gentle, light and active; his equal there is not in these days of ours. As soon as the Patri Naya Casuma saw the young boy, she was affected to the heart by his appearance, and calling Pati Aria Gaja Mada asked him saying, "Paman (father in Javanese) whose son is that? It is he that I approve." The Pati Aria Gaja Mada said, very well, my sovereign, whomsoever you approve of for your husband is a proper choice; he therefore called the boy, and having conducted him to his own house, he caused him to be bathed and sprinkled with scented flour, and treated according to his rank, and prepared to celebrate his marriage with the Princess with suitable ceremonies. When these had lasted seven days and seven nights, the toddy-man's son was in a propitious time carried around

in state and the nuptials celebrated. The young couple were extremely fond of each other, and thus the toddy-man's son became ratu of Majapahit, and assumed the name of Sangaji Jaya Ningrat. When Sangaji Jaya Ningrat was made bitara of Majapahit, the toddy-man presented himself to the raja and said, "where is the agreement which Paduca Bitara made with me (could in Javanese) that if Your Majesty became bitara of Majapahit, I should be the Pati Aria Gaja Mada?" Then, said the bitara, let our paman (father) wait, and I will certainly consider how it may be accomplished. Then, the toddy-man returned home, and Sangaji Jaya considered in his own mind how he could dismiss the Pati Aria Gaja Mada, since he had not been guilty of a single fault. Besides this person was the very *factotum* of the land of Majapahit, and he perceived that it would go to ruin without him. But yet how was it possible to break his agreement with his adopted father. Reflecting on all this, he was greatly distressed, and for two or three days suffered no one to see him. When the Pati Aria Gaja Mada perceived this, he

went into the bitara and enquired the cause of his shutting himself up. The bitara pretended that he was not well. The other said, I perceive you have some secret uneasiness, if you can confide it to me, perhaps, by my advice, it may be easily removed. The bitara said, "my father is right in his conjecture. I am not the son of the toddy-man, but of the raja of Tanjong Putra, descended of the raja who came down from the mountain Saguntang, and I am named Radin Prana Langu." He then related to him all the events which had happened to him, and among the rest, the agreement into which he had entered with the toddy-man, and that his present distress originated from his desiring to fulfil his engagement and discard his paman, addressing that name to the prime minister. Pati Aria Gaja Mada requested him not to be cast down, and was greatly delighted to learn that he was the son of the raja of Tanjong Pura, the loss of whose son was a well know circumstance in these regions. He represented that he was very ready to resign his office, being now old. The bitara said he did not wish him to resign, being conscious that the

business could not be performed by his adopted father. Pati Aria Gaja Mada then advised him, that if he should again come to claim his promise, he should tell him, "no doubt the office of Pati Aria Gaja Mada is a very high one, but it is also extremely troublesome, so that it can never be executed by my father; but I have found another office for you of the same dignity. I will set you to preside over all the toddy-men of the country, and you shall have the same place of dignity with the Patri Aria Gaja Mada." There is no doubt, said he, that he will cheerfully accept it, for he will comprehend the advantage of it. The bitara approved of this advice, and Pati Aria Gaja Mada requested permission to depart. The very next day the toddy-man appeared to claim his promise. The bitara proposed to him his new office, with which he was highly delighted, and all the toddy-men of Majapahit were accordingly placed under him, and he received the title of Pati Aria de Gara, and was permitted to sit with Pati Aria Gaja Muda.

The Raja of Tanjong Pura learned that the new bitara of Majapahit was his son,

and dispatched persons to Majapahit to ascertain the fact, and they perceived that he was really the son of the Raja of Tanjong Pura. They quickly returned, and informed the raja, who was greatly delighted, and sent an ambassador to Majapahit. Thus it was noised over the whole country, that he, the new bitara of Majapahit was the son of the Raja of Tanjong Pura, and all the rajas of the land of Java came to pay their respects. After some time, the bitara of Majapahit had a daughter by the Princess, who was name Radin Galah Chandrakerana, whose beauty was celebrated far and wide. How many rajas sought her in marriage, and the bitara of Majapahit refused her hand to them all. Her fame reached as far as Malaca, and Sultan Mansur Shah became enamoured of her by description, and meditated on going to Majapahit. He ordered Paduca Raja the bandahara, to fit out a fleet for him. The bandahara quickly fitted out five hundred large prahus, with an innumerable multitude of small ones. At Singhapura, he fitted out a hundred lancharans, with three masts. At Sungi-Raya, there was another

hundred of the same sort. The bandahara Paduca Raja, and Sri Nara al-di Raja, and Sri Vija al-di Raja, and all the chief paramantris and hulu-balangs were left in charge of the country. Then the Prince selected forty sons of nobles, and forty virgins of noble family; and the chief of this band was Tun Bija Sura, whose great-grandfather was Sri Vijaya Raja Tun Sabut, whose son was Tun Siak of Achi. The following were celebrated characters among these; Hang Jabut, Hang Casturi, Hang Lakir, Hang Lakiu, Hang Ali, Hang Secander, Hang Haran, Hang Husain, Hang Tuah. These nine were men of unequalled powers, and who could not be imitated by other persons, especially Hang Tuah. How much superior was he to the rest in intellect and ability! If he happened to be flouting with the young men, he was accustomed to tuck up the sleeve of his coat, and to hoot at them, "bring a Lacsamana to fight with me;" and all the youths were accustomed to term him "the Lacsamana of Sultan Mansur Shah." And the raja himself had also adopted the practice of terming him Lascamana. It happened on a time that

there was a Javanese sick of the ague, and when he was in his shivering fits, the young folks were accustomed to jeer him; at which he became greatly ashamed, and seizing a Sunda knife with one edge, he ran amok, and slaughtered a great number of men, and no one could stand before him; wherefore every one was flying hither and thither in excessive agitation. Hang Tuah came quickly up, and as soon as the Javanese set eyes on him, he attacked him, and Hang Tuah retreated gradually from before him, and let fall his creese. When the Javanese saw this, he seized the creese of Hang Tuah which was an excellent one, for Hang Tuah knew a good creese well by its look. As soon as Hang Tuah saw that the Javanese had dropt his knife, he quickly seized it and attacked the Javanese who stabbed at Hang Tuah with the creese, but Hang Tuah made a spring, and it did not touch him, when he immediately stabbed the Javanese under the arm, through and through the breast with the knife, and the Javanese expired. The Sultan was informed that the Javanese had been slain by Hang Tuah, and ordering him to be sent

for, he invested him with a dress of honour, and fixed on him the name of Lacsamana, and the name gained ground on him every where. Then, the Prince summoned the Maha Raja Merlang of Indragiri, and the Raja of Palembang, and the Raja of Jambi, and the Raja of Linga, and the Raja of Tungal, to attend him to Majapahit; and all of them attended him accordingly; and when all were present, they set sail for Majapahit; all the young warriors attending the Prince, and all the great men remaining for the government of the country. How long did they sail till they reached the land of Java! When the bitara of Majapahit heard of their arrival, he immediately dispatched his head officers and champions to receive and invite them. At this time, the Rajas of Daha and Tanjong Pura, who were the younger brothers of the bitara, were present at Majapahit. The Raja of Malaca arrived, and was received with high respect and honour at the court of the bitara, and invested with an honorary dress, adorned with gold, and set with gems, pearls and diamonds. He seated him above all the princes who were in attendance, and

presented with a creese of the kind named Ganja Karawang, or with an ornamented guard, and forty other creeses for his attendants, with all their sheaths broken. This very creese had been formerly presented to the Raja of Daha, together with the forty creeses, with the broken sheaths, to his followers. The Raja of Daha had ordered the sheaths to be prepared, but in the meantime, the Raja of Majapahit sent rascals who filched back the whole. The bitara then made the same present to the Raja of Tanjong Pura, and the very same thing took place. When the Raja of Malaca arrived, he made the same present to him, and he directed Tun Vijaya Sura to get them sheathed. Then, Tun Vijaya Sura delivered them to the forty virgins, one to each for the purpose. These virgins conveyed them to the artificer, and took care to watch over them all the while, and they were all prepared in one day; and the light-fingered Javanese found no opportunity of exerting their dexterity. The bitara of Majapahit is more clever than the other rajas. The place where the bitara of Daha remained was elevated three

steps, and all the raja's servants stayed below on the floor, where a dog was also tied by a golden chain, in a place directly before the Raja of Malaca, and all the other rajas. When Tun Vijaya Sura saw this proceeding, he started up and performed the movements of fencing, with his shield adorned with bells, before the Raja of Majapahit. The raja invited him to ascend into the hall, which he accordingly did. There, he performed his evolutions in the hall, ruffling violently with his shield and bells, in his manoeuvres, and ruffling several times towards the dog, he took fright, broke his chain, and fled into the wood, after which they never tied a dog there. Near the public hall, there was another private one, into which no one was permitted to enter; and if any one entered it, the Javanese were to pierce him with their lances; so that nobody durst go up unto it. Then said Hang Jabat to Hang Casturi, let us go try to enter the prohibited hall, and see if the Javanese will drive us out or not. Very well, said Hang Casturi. One day the bitara of Majapahit was sitting in the great hall of audience,

with all the nobles and chiefs and champions present, and all the people, when Hang Jabat and Hang Casturi mounted the prohibited hall. As soon as the Javanese saw them, they quickly assailed them with their lances in a mixed crowd. Then Hang Jabat and Hang Casturi pulled out their creeses, and in warding they quickly cut asunder the blades of the Javanese lances, without one of them taking effect. The men took up the fragments, and the fragments were cut sheer asunder. Then they raised a great outcry, and the Raja of Majapahit asked who was raising such an outcry. Then Pati Aria Gaja Mada represented to him that Hang Jabat and Hang Casturi had seated themselves in the prohibited hall, and related to the raja all the circumstances. The raja ordered them to be let alone, and not to be prohibited from entering the prohibited hall; then, the Javanese desisted from their attack on them with lances. After this, whenever the bitara sat in the great hall of audience, Hang Jabat and Hang Casturi sat in that prohibited hall. Whenever Hang Tuah came, he also excited the greatest awe by his re-

solute carriage, and he even excited admiration by his commanding presence in the royal hall of audience. If he entered the market, he excited admiration, if he entered the theatre, he excited admiration; and all the ladies of Java, and all the virgins were enamoured of Hang Tuah. And whenever Hang Tuah was passing, the women would spring from their husbands' arms, and wish to go out to see him; and the poets of Java thus mention him in their songs in the Javanese language.

"Unu-suru tangka-pana panylipor sabán
Den catan puran diné dunangugi —"

WHICH SIGNIFIES

"This is the betel-leaf, come and take it, to allay the sense of love.

It is true we have beheld his form, but love still continues to subsist."

AGAIN;

"Ibor sang rawa kabel den Laksamana, lamakan Laksamana lamakan penjurit ratu Malayu, sabor."

"All the virgins delighted to view the Laksamana passing, to view the Laksamana, the champions, and the Ratu of Malaca."

Indeed, at this period, he had not his match in the land of Majapahit. There was a champion of Daha named Sanku Ningrat, who was able to match him a little, and he is likewise celebrated by the Javanese poets in their songs.

"Ke kruang panggung dini sangka ning-rat
Tak sangka ning-rat tak panyurit ratu any Daha."

"In the theatre, the people were struck with awe by the sight of Sang Ningrat, Sangka Ningrat the champion of the Raja of Daha."

Such was the conduct of the men of Malaca, at Majapahit, according to their several habits at that period. When the bitara of Majapahit perceived the Raja of Malaca, to be very sagacious as well as handsome, and that his conduct was more noble than that of all the other rajas, and that his followers were all of them very good men, and also both clever and acute, he determined in his mind that Sultan Mansur Shah was the proper person on whom to bestow his daughter, Galah Chandra Kirana. Then the bitara ordered Pati Aria Gaja Mada to order his people to exert themselves incessantly for forty days and forty nights, and

that all kinds of musical instruments should be incessantly sounded. Those who contributed to the amusements were extremely numerous, and the Malaca men joined those of Majapahit in their diversions; and the diversions of Java were even found inferior to those of Malaca. When the pastimes had been carried on incessantly for the space of forty days and nights, at an auspicious time, the marriage was celebrated between Sultan Mansur Shah and the Princess of Majapahit, Radin Galah Chandra Kirana. The newly married couple were highly enamoured of each other, and the bitara was highly pleased with his son-in-law, and caused him to be seated in a place of equal honour with himself, both on public occasions and at meals. Till how long did Sultan Mansur Shah remain at Majapahit; at last, however, he took the resolution of returning to Malaca. He therefore requested permission of the bitara to take his departure, and to carry with him his wife, Radin Galah, to Malaca. The bitara assented, and Tun Bija Sura was sent by the Prince, after he was ready, to beg Indragiri of the bitara. Tun Bija Sura went and presented himself before the bi-

tara of Majapahit, and said, "the Paduca, your son, entreats you to give him Indragiri. If you grant his desire it is well, (dalap) if not, it is also well." Then the bitara consulted all his chiefs concerning the propriety of assenting to this request. The Pati Aria Gaja Mada advised it to be granted, that no difference might arise between them. Then, said the bitara, "it is well, I give him Indragiri; but it is not only Indragiri, for whose is all the land of Java, but my son's the Raja of Malaca?" Then, Tun Bija Sura returned from this conference with the bitara, and the Prince was highly delighted to learn in what manner he had assented. He then directed Hang Tuah to go and ask for Siantan. Hang Tuah went, and said to the bitara, "I have to ask you for Siantan, if you give it is well (dalap), if not, that too is well." Then said the bitara, "very well; not merely Siantan, but if the Laksamana wanted Paralembang, he would get it too. I give it." That is the reason that all the rulers of Siantan, unto this day, are the descendants of Laksamana. After all, the raja returned to Malaca, and how long was he on his passage till he reached

Pulai Subat? Then the bandahara and the pangulu bandahari, with all the head men, came out to meet him, with all the instruments of music and the ensigns of royalty, with innumerable prahus. Then, the Prince met them, and all the great men paid their respects to His Majesty. When he reached Malaca, he proceeded to the palace with Radin Galah Chandra Kirana. Then Sultan Mansur Shah gave Raja Merlang of Indragiri, his daughter Putri Bacal in marriage, and would not permit him to return to Indragiri. Raja Merlang begat Raja Nerasingha, who was demominated Sultan Abdal Jelil. Sultan Mansur Shah had by the Princess Radin Galah, a son, named Radin Galang, and how many sons had he by his first wife, the daughter of Sri Nara di Raja; and besides these, he had two daughters, one named Raja Maha Devi, and the other Raja Chandra, who were both extremely handsome. He had also offspring by his concubines. By his wife, the younger sister of Paduca Raja, the bandahara, he had also a son named Raja Husain, of excellent qualities, both of mind and body, who married Tun Nacha, the sister of Tun Taher.

It happened on a certain occasion that the raja's state horse fell into the jakes, and whatever attempts were made to get him up, nobody would descend into the place, to fasten a rope around the horse. When Hang Tuah saw this, he quickly descended into the jakes, and fixed a rope around the horse, and the people pulled him up. When the horse got up, Hang Tuah likewise ascended all besmeared with dirt over the whole body, and both face and head covered with it, and he went and bathed and purified himself. Sultan Mansur Shah was delighted to recover his horse, and gave great praise to Hang Tuah, and bestowed on him an honorary dress.

When Hang Tuah reached maturity, he was wrongfully accused of having seduced one of the female attendants of the palace; Sultan Mansur Shah was grievously enraged, and ordered Sri Nara di Raja to put him to death. Sri Nara di Raja, conceiving that his fault was not established, for Hang Tuah was not at that time a common man, and that it was difficult to get a servant to the raja like him, ordered him to be concealed in a certain village, and fet-

tered; and he informed the raja that he was dead. Sultan Mansur Shah, when he heard this, was silent.

XV.

THE Raja of China heard of the greatness of the Raja of Malaca, and sent an embassy thither, and directed the ambassador to present to the raja a pilu deeply laden with needles, and also silks, gold-cloth, and kincanbs, or kinka-dewonga, with a great variety of curious articles, such as are no where else to be met with. After they had arrived in Malaca, Sultan Mansur Shah ordered the letter of China to be brought up with the same honours as had been conferred on that of Siam. He then received it by the hand of a bentara, in the public hall of audience, and delivered it to the khateb, who read it according to its diction.

This letter is dispatched from beneath the sandals of the feet of the King of Heaven, to be placed above the diadem of the Raja of Malaca. "Verily we have heard that the Raja of Malaca is a great raja, for which

reason we have desired his friendship and attachment, because we are also descended from Raja Secander Zulkarneini, and of the same extraction as the Raja of Malaca. There is no raja in the universal world greater than me, and it is not possible to enumerate the number of my subjects, but the pilu which I send you contains a needle for every house in my empire." On hearing the purport of this letter the raja smiled, and having emptied the prahu of the needles, he loaded it with sago-grains, and appointed Tun Parapati Puti, the younger brother of the bandahara Paduca Raja, to conduct the ambassador back to China. Tun Parapati Puti set sail, and how long was his voyage, till he arrived in the land of China; and the Raja of China commanded the letter of Malaca to be brought up in state, and caused it to be left at the house of the head mantri named Li-pó, till it was almost morning, when Li-pó with all the mantris and head-men entered into the palace of the raja, and Tun Parapati Puti entered along with them; and there came an innumerable flock of crows which entered along with them. When they arrived at the

outer gate, Li-pó, and all the chiefs who accompanied him stopped, and the crows also stopped along with them, and sounded the great gong to give notice, which yielded a prodigious noise. After which the door was opened, and Li-pó with all who accompanied him entered, and the flock of crows also. They then approached another gate, and stopped and sounded a gong in the same manner as before, after which they entered. The same process was repeated till they had passed seven doors. When they reached the interior, the day was up, and they were all sitting arranged in their several places, in the hall of audience. This hall was one league in length, and it was not roofed in. From the great access of persons, though the persons were closely jammed knee to knee, there was no place left vacant; and all those who attended were solely para-mantris and hulu-balangs, and the crows extending their wings overshadowed the whole assembly. After this was heard the roaring of thunder, with thunder slaps, and lightning flashing to and fro, and then the Raja of China came forth, his form reflected like shadows in a place

surrounded with mirrors, which appeared to be in the mouth of a snake (naga). As soon as they beheld the Raja of China, all who were present bowed their faces to the ground, and saluted the Raja of China, without lifting up their faces again. A man then read the letter of Malaca, and the Raja of China was highly pleased with the contents. The sago was then brought before the raja, and the Raja of China asked how it was made. Tun Parapati Puti replied that it was made by rolling it up into grains, and that the raja of Malaca had sent him a grain for every person in his dominions, till the prahu had been loaded, for so great is the number of the subjects of our raja that it is impossible to count them. The raja of China said, "of a truth the raja of Malaca is a powerful raja, his subjects are in truth very numerous, and no wise inferior to mine. It will be very proper for me to connect myself with him." Then the China raja said to Li-pó, "Since the raja of Malaca is so powerful as to have these sago-grains rolled up by his people, I in like manner am determined to have the rice which I eat husked, and no longer

to be beaten." Li-pó replied, "very well, Sire," and that is the reason why the raja of China does not eat beaten rice unto the present time, but only that which is peeled from day to day. The raja of China has at his meals, fifteen gantangs (each gantang five catty) of husked rice, one hog, and a tub of hog's lard. When Tun Parapati Puti presented himself before him, he had ten rings on his ten fingers, and whosoever of the Chinese mantris viewed them eagerly, he took one of them off and presented it to him, and the same to the next person, who viewed them attentively, and so on constantly, whenever he presented himself before the China raja. The raja of China one day asked him what food the Malaca men were fond of, he replied, kankung greens (*convolvulus repens*) not cut, but split lengthwise. The raja of China ordered them to prepare this mess according to the direction of Tun Parapati Puti; and when it was ready, he sent for Tun Parapati Puti, and all the Malaca men, and they all eat of it, taking it by the tip of the stalk, lifting up their heads, and opening wide their mouths, and thus Tun Parapati Puti and the Malaca men had a full view of

the raja of China. When the Chinese observed this proceeding of the Malaca men, they also took to eating the kankung greens, which they have continued to the present time. When the monsoon for returning arrived, Tun Parapati Puti asked permission to return. The raja of China, judging it proper to ally himself with the raja of Malaca, since he had sent to pay his respects to him, said to Tun Parapati Puti, "desire the raja to pay me a visit, in order that I may marry my daughter, the Princess Hong Li-pó to him." Tun Parapati Puti represented, "Your son, the raja of Malaca, cannot possibly leave the kingdom of Malaca, which is surrounded with enemies; but if you would do a favour to the raja of Malaca, permit me to conduct your daughter, the Princess, to Malaca." Then the raja of China ordered Li-pó to prepare a fleet to conduct the Princess to Malaca, consisting of a hundred pilus, under the command of a high mantri, named Di-pó. Then the raja of China selected five hundred daughters of his paramantris, of great beauty, whom he appointed to be handmaids to the Princess. Then the Princess Hong Li-pó, and the letter, were

conducted on board the vessels, and Tun Parapati Puti set sail with them for Malaca.

When they reached Malaca, the Sultan Mansur Shah was informed that Tun Parapati Puti had returned, and brought with him the Princess of China, at which he was greatly delighted, and went himself to receive the Princess to the isle Pulu Sabot. Having met her with a thousand tokens of respect, he conducted her to the palace, and the Sultan was astonished to behold the beauty of the Princess of China, and said in the Arabic language, "O fairest of created creatures, may God the Creator of the world bless you." Then, the Sultan directed the Princess Hong Li-pó to be converted to the religion of Islam, and after she was converted the Sultan espoused her, and had by her a son named Paduca Maimut, who begat Paduca Sri China, whose son was Paduca Ahmed, who begat Paduca Isup. All the daughters of the Chinese mantris were likewise converted to Islam, and the raja appointed the hill without the fort for their residence, and the hill got the name of Den-China, or the China residence, (in Siamese;) and the Chinese formed a well at the foot

of this China hill. The descendants of these persons are denominated beduanda China, or the Chinese personal attendants. Sultan Mansur Shah bestowed an honorary dress on Di-pó, and all the rest of the mantris who had conducted the Chinese Princess; and when the monsoon for returning arrived, Di-pó asked permission to return, and Tun Talani and the mantri Jana Petra, were directed to attend the ambassador to China, and the Sultan again sent a letter to the raja of China, on account of his becoming connected with him by this marriage. Then, Tun Talani sailed away for China, when a violet storm arose, and carried him with the mantri Jana Petra, to Burné. When the Sangaji of Burné was informed of this circumstance, he sent to call them into his presence, and Tun Talani and the mantri Jana Petra were brought before him. Then, the raja of Burné said to the mantri Jana Petra, "what is the stile of the raja of Malaca's letter to the raja of China?" Tun Talani replied, "I, his servant, (sahaya,) the raja of Malaca, to the Paduca my father, the raja of China." The raja of Burné enquired, "does the raja

of Malaca send this humble salutation to the raja of China, as an inferior?" Tun Talani remained silent, but the mantri Jana Petra pushed forward and said. "No, Sire, he does not greet him as an inferior, for the meaning of (*sahaya*) the word used in the address, signifies *slave* in the Malayu language, and of course the phrase 'Sahaya Raja Malaca dulang kapada Paduca Ayahanda Raja China,' signifies "we the slaves of the raja of Malaca, humbly salute the Paduca our father, the raja of China." Then said the raja of Burné, "does the raja of Malaca send a humble salutation to the raja of China?" Tun Talani was again silent, and the mantri Jana Petra pushed again forward and said, "No, Sire, he does not send a humble greeting to the raja of China, for the phrase Sahaya Raja Malaca denotes all of us here, who send the greeting, not the raja of Malaca," on which the raja of Burné remained silent. When the monsoon for returning arrived, Tun Talani and the mantri Jana Petra asked permission of Sangaji of Burné, to return, and the raja of Burné sent a letter to Malaca, couched in this style, "May the

greeting of the Paduca Ayahanda arrive beneath the majesty of the Ayahanda." Then Tun Talani and the mantri Jana Petra returned, and when they reached Malaca, they presented the letter of the raja of Burné to Sultan Mansur shah, and related all the circumstances which had occurred to them, to the great satisfaction of the raja, who rewarded highly Tun Talani and mantri Jana Petra, and presented them with honorary dresses, and he highly praised the mantri Jana Petra.

When Di-pó and the rest of the Chinese mantris, who had conducted the Princess Hong Li-pó to Malaca, returned to China, they presented the letter of the raja of Malaca, and the raja of China was highly pleased with the contents. Two days after this, the raja was seized with an itch of the whole body, and ordered a physician to be called, and asked for medicine. The medicine, however, produced no effect, and whatever number of physicians attended the raja, the effect was entirely the same. There was, however, an aged physician, who presented himself to the raja, and said, "Sire, Sir Kopea, this disease of yours

is sent by the visitation of God, and is not to be cured by remedies, for the cause of it is particular." The raja asked, "what is its cause?" The physician answered, "it is a judgment on account of the raja of Malaca's sending you a salutation as an inferior, and it cannot be cured without Your Majesty's drinking the water which has washed the feet and face of the raja of Malaca." When the raja of China had heard this opinion, he ordered a messenger to be sent to Malaca, to ask the water which had bathed the face and feet of the raja of Malaca. The ambassador set out and reached Malaca, made his application to Sultan Mansur Shah, and the letter from China was read in the public hall by the khateb. Then the water was delivered to the ambassador, who was honoured with a dress according to his rank; and having received a letter to the raja of China, he set out on his return. As soon as he arrived, he delivered the letter of Malaca with the water, of which the raja drank, and in which he bathed himself, when the itch totally disappeared from his body, and he was cured. Then the raja

of China vowed that he would not suffer himself to be so saluted by the raja of Malaca, and that no such practice should be admitted between their posterity. After this, a friendly intercourse on equal terms, subsisted for a long period between the raja of China and the raja of Malaca.

XVI

The Story of Hang Casturi.

IT happened on a time, that Hang Casturi formed a connection with one of the raja's concubines in the palace, and being observed when he went to visit her, Sultan Mansur Shah, the Queen, and all the rest of the females left the palace, and went into another house, and Hang Casturi was surrounded in the palace which he had entered. Sultan Mansur Shah sat in the lesser hall, in the presence of those who had surrounded him. The bandahara Paduca Raja, with all the great men and men of property, and all the champions were also assembled, and such a crowd that no spot remained vacant, full of shields, buck-

lers, tridents, and spears, and lances, like clover in a field, but no one could mount up to Hang Casturi. He locked all the gates of the palace but that of general access, and all the brazen pots, platters, bowls, and basons of brass, he spread over the bamboo lattice of the floor, and moved hither and thither on the floor, and all the cups and plates jingled beneath his feet. He then slew his mistress, splitting her from the face to the belly, and stripped her naked. The Prince ordered them to mount and attack, but no one durst mount, for Hang Casturi was no man of common might at that time, and then he began to think of Hang Tuah. "I regret," said he, "that Si-tuah is not here, or he would have quickly removed my disgrace." When the bandahara and the Pangulu Bandahari heard him mention Hang Tuah, they all requested the rajah's order to ascend to Hang Casturi; but he would not order them, saying, "if you were all to ascend together you would only perish, and a thousand lives such as Hang Casturi's, are not to be put in competition with yours." Then all the great men were silent. Then the Prince

was indignant at all the young warriors who were afraid to mount to Hang Casturi, but not one of them could ascend, but the instant they mounted three or four steps, he advanced to attack them, and they instantly retreated and leapt down to the ground. When the Prince beheld this, he again began to reflect on Hang Tuah, and thus he three times mentioned his name. Then Sri Nara-di Raja made obeisance and said, "it appears to me, Sire, that you greatly regret Hang Tuah, if Hang Tuah were here, would he be pardoned?" The raja said, "is Hang Tuah still alive?" Sri Nara-di di Raja replied, "Sire, pardon me, a thousand times pardon my folly, how should I venture to have saved his life after you had ordered him to be slain, but as I perceived Your Majesty remembered him with regret, I ventured to enquire if he would have been forgiven." The raja said, "were Hang Tuah here present, though his fault was greater than Mount Kaf, I would assuredly pardon him, and in my opinion he has been preserved by Sri Nara-di Raja. If he still exists let him quickly be brought hither, that I may order him to

put to death Sri Casturi here." Then said Sri Nara-di Raja, "pardon, Sire, a thousand pardons, on the skull of my head, but when you ordered me to put Hang Tuah to death, I could not do it, and did not deem it proper on account of his fault, for Hang did not appear to me as a common subject, and I thought, perhaps, you might need his services on some future day. I therefore, confined him in fetters within my garden. Pardon the fault towards Your Majesty, which is solely mine." The raja was glad at this declaration, and said, "very good, truly, Sri Nara-di Raja is a perfect and wise friend;" and he ordered him an honorary dress becoming his rank, and ordered Hang Tuah to be brought up directly. Hang Tuah was brought up, pale and wasted, and unsteady in his walk, having been long confined in fetters. The raja ordered them first to give him victuals, and when he had eaten, the raja took his creese from his own girdle, and presented it to Hang Tuah, and said, "with this wipe off this stain from my face." Hang Tuah said, "very well, Your Majesty, may Your Highness be exalted;" and he immediately

advanced against Hang Casturi, When he reached the stairs of the palace, Hang Tuah called aloud on Hang Casturi, and desired him to descend. When Hang Casturi saw Hang Tuah, he said, "are you too here, I supposed you had been dead, and thus I ventured to act as I have done. We alone are matches for each other, come up then and let us play." "Very well," said Hang Tuah, and began to ascend, but he had no sooner ascended two or three steps, than Hang Casturi rushed on him, and Hang Tuah retreated. Again he ascended, and again retreated, three or four times in the same manner. Then said Hang Tuah to Hang Casturi, "If you are a true man, come down, and let us fight man to man, that all may be pleased with the sight." "How can I come down," said Hang Casturi, "for the people are very numerous, and if I fight with you, others will rush on and stab me." Hang Tuah said, "I will suffer no one else to assist me, but we will fight man to man." Hang Casturi said, 'how can that be, if I descend, some other will certainly stab me. If you wish to kill me come up." Hang Tuah said, "how can

I come up, for as soon as I come up a step or two, you rush on. If you wish me to ascend, give me way a little." Hang Casturi gave way a little, and Hang Tuah quickly sprung up; and he saw on the wall a small buckler, which he quickly seized.

Then the two combatants began a single fight, Hang Tuah with the buckler, and Hang Casturi without one. Hang Tuah saw the mistress of Hang Casturi lying dead and naked, and he kicked the cloaths over, so as to cover her nakedness. Hang Tuah being newly released from fetters, was almost unable to stand upright, and in fighting his hand was out of practice. In passing a stab, he struck his creese into one of the boards of the wall and fixed it. Hang Casturi was going to stab him, but Hang Tuah said, "is it manly to stab an unarmed opponent, if you are a true man let me first recover my creese." "Very well," said Casturi. Hang Tuah recovered his creese and straitened it, and renewed the fight. Two or three times his creese stuck fast in the boards of the wall or the doors, and Hang Casturi let him recover it. At last, Hang Casturi stuck his creese

fast in the boards of the door, and Hang Tuah quickly stabbed him to the heart, through the back. Hang Casturi said, "Ha! Si-Tuah, is that like a man, to stab clandestinely, and break your promise, after I had twice or thrice suffered you to disengage your creese, and you have stabbed me the very first time that I entangled mine." Hang Tuah replied, "of what use is fidelity to a wicked man like you;" and he stabbed him again. Then, Hang Casturi died.

Then, Hang Tuan descended and presented himself before Sultan Mansur Shah, who was highly pleased, and bestowed on him every article of dress which he wore. The body of Hang Casturi was dragged away and thrown into the sea, and all his children and wives were put to death, and the earth under the posts of his house were dug up, and thrown into the sea. Then Sultan Mansur Shah conferred the title of Laksamana on Hang Tuah, and caused him to be conducted around the city in state, like the raja's son, and placed him on a level with Sri Vija di Raja. Hang Tuah now for the first time became laksamana, and was ordered to bear the sword

of authority in the place of Sri Vija di Raja, for according to the custom of the older times, it was Sri Vija di Raja who bore the sword of authority, and stood at the side of the dais, which was the origin of the laksamana's standing always at first on public occasions: afterwards when he felt fatigued, he would lean against the rails of the gallery, which nobody could object to from his high station; or if he wished to sit, he might sit in the side gallery, and this custom has been handed down to the present time, that the persons who hold the swords of authority may sit in the side galleries of the right hand. With respect to Sri Nara di Raja, the raja greatly extended his favour to him, and made him a present of the district of Senyang Ujung, which had formerly belonged, one half to him and one half to the bandahara. Its chief was Tun Toukal, who had committed some fault against the Prince, who put him to death, and for this reason the people of the district had no long paid allegiance to the raja. Even at the present time, all the rulers of Senyang Ujung are the descendants of Sri Nara di Raja. Sultan

Mansur Shah then changed his residence, and would no longer reside in the place where Hang Casturi was slain. He directed the bandahara to prepare another palace, and the bandahara finished it himself. It was the custom for the bandahara to possess the government of Bentan. The palace consisted of twenty-seven partitions, each being three fathoms in breadth; the wooden pillars which supported it were each the grasp of the two arms in circumference: the roof consisted of seven stages with intermediate windows, the outer arches over them, extending breadth-wise, and façades including the bow windows, and wings crossing each other, all of them being covered with fretwork, so that the workmanship was remarkably fine, and gilded over with fluid gold. The peak was of red glass, with great diversity of ornament. Thus, the palace was finished, and the Prince went to reside within it. Some days after the raja's new palace was burnt down, suddenly catching fire at the roof, when it was quickly deserted by the Queen and all the ladies but all the property which it contained

was consumed, there being no time to save them. The melted lead ran down the conduits of the roof, like water in a copious shower of rain; for which reason nobody durst attempt to save the effects; and the fire was so fierce that nobody durst approach it. Then Sultan Mansur Shah changed to another palace. At this period, many young nobles received titles and names, from their exertions in the raja's behalf, at the time of the burning of the palace. (So far of the relation has reached the present time, says one copy, another proceeds as follows;)

The first who entered the conflagration was Tun Isup, with a great shout and stamping of his feet, and laid hold of part of the raja's property, and brought it out; but he only entered once. He was accordingly named Tun Isup Beraga, or the bragger. The next was Tun Amei Ulat Bulu, the hairy caterpillar, who wished to enter, but was afraid, as it was so hot, that it would set fire to his hairy carcase. He got the name of Tun Mey Ulat Bulu. As for Tun Ibrahim, he wished to enter, but being afraid, he did nothing but skip round

the palace. He got the name of Tun Ibrahim Mumusing Langit, the sky whirler. As for Tun Muhammed, he only entered once, but he brought forth as much as two or three. He was called Tun Muhammed Unta, the camel. As for Hang Isa, he entered nimbly three or four times, leaping in quickly; and he was called Hang Isa the nimble. Of the raja's property, two-thirds were saved, and all the rest consumed. The lion throne of Nila Utama was also consumed. When the fire ceased, the raja rewarded the young nobles for their exertions. He again ordered the bandahara to have another palace constructed, and he required it to be finished in one month. The bandahara caused every one to exert themselves. First, the people of Ungaran raised a great palace, and those of Tungal a little one. The labourers of Buru exerted themselves successfully, and the men of Sawer constructed the lesser hall. The men of Panchor Sarapang constructed the great hall; the men of Marabbah formed the kitchen. The men of Sawang formed the hall of Jawa, near the Balei rung, or great hall of audience. The men of Pangor formed the fire-hall,

with the two doors; and the men of Siantan formed the Balei candi, or place for boiling water. The men of Malei formed the bathing place. The men of Apung formed the bangsal; and the men of Tungal constructed the mosque. The men of Pagar formed the great inclosure; and the men of Möar the interior strength, or cotawang; so that this palace was much finer than that which had been burnt; and Sultan Mansur Shah took up his residence in it. Sri Nara-di Raja now fell sick, and summoned the bandahara Paduca Raja, in order to put his family in his charge. He informed him that he had five chests of gold in his possession, each of which required two men to lift. He told him he had five children, and desired him to divide the property among them according to his pleasure. After this, he returned into God's mercy. All his children continued to live with the bandahara. There was one of the sons one night sleeping in the veranda, and the bandahara came out, and was going to say his morning prayers, when he saw the head of Tun Mutaher illuminated with a light which ascended towards heaven. He

went near and examined, and the light suddenly vanished. Then said the bandahara, "if this boy live, he will be a greater man than I am, but he will not last." He then took the five chests, and covered them with lead, and he furnished the children with all due necessities. There was a son of Sri Nara-di Raja, by another mother, who was named Tun Abdal, who was extremely fond of ornament, with a great deal of self-complacence. He would be three days in paring his nails. If he was on horseback, in the heat of the day, he would be adjusting himself by his shadow. If he had to dress, he would occupy the whole day about it. Tun Taher and Tun Mutaher at last grew up, and became capable of guiding their own conduct. They both presented themselves before the bandahara, and said, that being now grown up, and capable of acting for themselves, they wished to entertain their friends, when they came to visit them, but had not the means, nor yet that of gratifying any of their inclinations. "We have heard," added they, "that you have in your possession a chest of gold for each of us; and if it be your pleasure, we

request you would now favour us with it; for we now want to enter into society." The bandahara said, "it is very true, your father left chests in my custody, according to your number, but the gold is mine, and I will not give it to you. If, however, you want to engage in business in reality, you may borrow money, and I will lend each of you ten tial." They said they would agree to what he proposed, and he lent them the money. Then Tun Taher and Tun Muter lent out the money for the space of a year; after which they returned to the bandahara, and gave him back what he had borrowed. The bandahara said, "what gold is that?" They said, "that which you lent us." "What profit have you gained?" said the bandahara. "As much as will purchase a slave," said they, "besides our necessary expenses." "Where is the man who sold that slave?" said he, "I wish to ask him." Both the masters of the slaves made their appearance. The bandahara asked, "where was the bill of sale?" They said, "in the hand of the drafter." The bandahara asked, "what is this one's name?" One of the slaves an-

swered, "Datang." He said, "that is no true name, Si Datang." The other was called Si Datang Baru. The bandahara said, "bring both of them to-morrow." They arrived accordingly, and the bandahara said, "Si Datang Baru Mana, (new come,) where is Datang Baru and where is Datang Lama (old come?)" Then said the slave-master, "this is the old-comer (Si-Datang Lama) and this is the new-comer (Si Datang Baru)." Then the bandahara asked what was the name of the slave he had lately sold? He said "Salamat, Sir." The bandahara said, "What is the appearance of Si Salamat?" The other answered, "Si-salamat-lama, and this is Si-salamat baru." "Very well," said the bandahara, "treat them well." Then said the bandahara to Tun Taher and Tun Mutaher, "do not return the money to me, I make you a present of it." He then brought out the chests full of gold, and delivered one to each of them. Tun Taher afterwards received from the bandahara, by the order of Sultan Mansur Shah, the title of Sri Nara di Raja, and was appointed pangulu-bandahara, in the place of his father, and Tun

Mutaher became Tumungung, with the title of Sri Maha Raja. Tun Abdal was named Sri Narawangsa, and became the eighth mantri.

I.

THERE is a country in the land of Macasar named Baluluc, and the name of the raja Kraing Majoco. It was a country of great extent, and all the cities of the land of Macasar were dependant on it. He married the daughters of Kraing Detendrang Jayenak, who were seven in number. The youngest of these was extremely beautiful; but only the eldest bore a son, who was named Samaloco. When Samaloco grew up, he was extremely brave and fierce, and held no person in respect in all the land of Macasar. On a day Samaloco paid a visit to his mother, where he saw his mother's youngest sister, of whom he became deeply enamoured, and wished for his father's wife. When his father learned this proceeding, he asked him, "how he came to affect the younger Queen, was she not his mother's sister, nay even his own step-mother? If

you wish to marry a handsome damsel, go a pirating against the Malay continent, or Ujung Tana Besar, and seek for a lady like the younger Queen." Samaloco prepared two hundred select prahus, and determined to conquer the whole country. First he proceeded to the land of Java, where he ravaged and destroyed numerous districts, as they had not courage to drive him out. He then passed to the land of Siam, where in like manner he committed numerous ravages; nor could the inhabitants drive him out. After this, he proceeded to the Malay peninsula, or Ujung Tana Besar, and what ravages did he make among the districts belonging to Malaca! It was then represented to Sultan Mansur that a great many of his districts had been ravaged by Samaloco. The Sultan quickly summoned the Laksamana, and ordered him to keep a sharp look out at sea. The Laksamana set out, and as soon as he met the adverse fleet, he engaged them, and attacked them repeatedly; arrows flew like thick falling rain; and the sound of guns was like the day of judgment. The Malaca men had but little loss; but how many vessels of Sama-

loco's fleet were sunk! Amid this, the prahu of Samaloco encountered that of the Laksamana, and Samaloco grappled the vessel of the Laksamana; on which the Laksamana ordered the ropes to be cut loose. There was then a great destruction of the Malacamen by the blow-darts; for the Malacamen were not acquainted with the method of curing poisoned wounds; but when Samaloco's prahu was at the point of sinking, he effected his retreat, and retired to Pasei. The Pasei raja dispatched the Orangcaya Canayen to guard the seas against him; who sailed away, and quickly fell in with the host of Samaloco, at the bay of Perlei, and engaged him. The sound of the guns was like thunder. In the midst of the battle, the prahu of Samaloco encountered with that of Canayen, and Samaloco threw his grappling irons, and Orangcaya Canayen permitted it, saying, "if we close now, perhaps we shall be able to leap on board, and run amok, with my curve-handled sword;" but as soon as Samaloco saw this, he quickly caused them to cut the ropes of his grappling anchor, and the prahus separated. Samaloco said, "in faith Orangcaya

Canayen is a braver man than the Laksamana," and he immediately retreated and left him passing through the Malaca sea, when the Laksamana pursued him and cut off all his vessels that had fallen distant from the main fleet, while Samaloco was unable to assist them. He passed on to Ungaran (near Padang) where he took a stone and threw it in the mouth of the bay, saying, "when this stone floats on the water, then will I again go a pirateering against Ujung Tuna Besar, the great peninsula. The place where he threw the stone into the sea, is still called Tanjung Batu, Stone-point, and there the stone remains to this day. Then, Samaloco returned to Macasar, and the Laksamana returned to Malaca, and informed Sultan Mansur, who regarded him and his men with honorary dresses.

II.

THERE was a Pandita or learned man, named Moulana Abu Ishak, extremely well versed in the Sufi learning, who had gone in pilgrimage to the Câbah, and he

performed religious ablutions beyond number. It was his practice, however, now only to bring the water of purification twice in the month. He composed a book, a work in two discourses, the one on Zat, or the divine nature; the other on Sifat, or the divine attributes, and the name of it was Dar al Mazlum, the refuge of the oppressed. People praised him greatly, and spoke of him to his mother. But she said, "what signifies all that, while Abu Ishak fetches water for ablution twice in the month, and I do it but once?" When the work was completed, he called one of his disciples, named Moulana Abu Baker, who had completed the study of that book, and said, "Go thou to the land of Malaca, and instruct all the people who reside under the wind." He replied, "how is it you have composed this work only respecting two subjects? If any one interrogate me concerning the divine nature and attributes, I shall be able to reply to them, but if they interrogate me concerning fâel or conduct, how shall I reply to them?" On this the author composed another discourse on Conduct. Then the disciple took his passage

to Malaca, and was received in the most distinguished manner, by Sultan Mansur, who appointed him his guru or instructor, and he also made his compliments to the Prince. The Prince then transmitted this discourse to Pasei, and requested the interpretation from Mukhdam Panakan, (the mongrel,) and Mukhdam explained the Dar al Mazlum, and sent it back to Malaca to the Prince, who was highly delighted by the interpretation and showed it to Moulana Abu Baker, and he highly approved of it. Then, all the great men of Malaca became the scholars of Moulana Abu Baker, except the Cazi of Malaca. The name of this cazi was Cazi Yusef, who derived his origin from Mukhdam, who first converted to Islam all the people of Malaca. Whenever he went to worship at the mosque, he passed by the door of Moulana Abu Baker. Now it happened one day that the moulana was standing at the door, when the cazi passed, and the cazi observed a light like the flame of a taper around his head. On this Cazi Yusef quickly ran and saluted the feet of Moulana Abu Baker, and the moulana smiled. He immediately became his scholar, and

renounced his office of Cazi, in favour of his son Cazi Menawer. The Prince then dispatched Tun Bijawangsi to Pasei, to propose a theological topic, "Whether the condition of the inhabitants of Heaven is perpetual, or the contrary? And in like manner, whether the condition of the inhabitants of Hell is perpetual or not?" He carried along with him many score of tayal of gold dust, two females, and a Macasar man of mixed blood, named Dang Bunga, a son of one of the king's servants, named Morda Rabibah, a bale of yellow flowered kinkab, another of brown flowered kinkab, a red parrot, and a brown cockatoo. Then Sultan Mansur ordered Tun Bijawangsi to interrogate all the learned men of Pasei, and whosoever should answer truly, to make him these presents, and honour his speech by beat of drum. When he reached Pasei, the raja received him according to established form, and the letter was read in form, thus, "The Paduca presents his compliments to the paduca, and sends Tun Bijawangsi to enquire concerning some topics of controversy, concerning which he wants information from the learn-

ed men of Pasei." The raja of Pasei was greatly pleased, and having called Mukhdam, he seated him by himself, and informed him of the question, respecting the perpetuity of the conditions of the inhabitants of Heaven and Hell. Mukhdam immediately answered, that they were both perpetual, and confirmed this by appropriate texts from the Koran.

"Verily those who believe and act righteously, they are the best of the created, their regard is before God in the enjoyment of the garden of Eden, where streams flow, there they shall live for ever and ever."

"Verily those who are infidels, of the possessors of Revelation, or who associate any thing with Deity, they shall continue for ever and ever in the fire of Hell, and they are the worst of the creation."

Tun Bijawangsi asked if no other thing was possible? Mukhdam answered, "No, for it is expressly stated that their state is perpetual, and what else can there be?" At this Tun Hasan, the scholar of Mukhdam, who was present, turned away his face, for he did not approve the answer. The raja then went in, and the assembly broke up; but the raja of

Pasei went to Mukhdam's house and enquired how he came to answer the ambassador in that manner, "for," said he, "can you suppose that the Malaca men are ignorant of that? I suspect there is some other answer." "That is my opinion," said Mukhdam, "but what does Your Majesty think of it?" The raja stated his opinion, to which Mukhdam assented, but what resource is there, now that the conference is ended? The raja said, "It is easy to recall the ambassador, and tell him that your former answer was given in consequence of the presence of the people, but the real truth of the matter is so and so." Mukhdam accordingly recalled the ambassador, and having feasted him, he conducted him to a private place, and whispered him according to what the raja mentioned. Tun Bijawangsi was pleased, and presented him the presents, and celebrated his reply by beat of drum, after which he returned to Malaca, and informed Sultan Mansor, who was highly gratified. Mukhdam offered all the presents to the raja of Pasei, but he said, "what use are they of to me, pray keep them to yourself."

III.

The Story of the Champa Raja

THERE was a betel-nut tree near the palace of the Champa Raja, which blossomed and exhibited a large receptacle for fruit, but the fruit never seemed to ripen. The raja then ordered one of the servants to climb up and see what was in the pod. He ascended accordingly, and brought down the pod, which the raja caused to be opened, and saw in it a male child extremely handsome and beautiful. Of this pod's envelope was formed the gong, named jubang; while a sword was formed of its sharp ridge. The Champa Raja was greatly pleased at the circumstance, and named the child Raja Pogalang, and ordered him to be suckled by all the wives of the raja-rajas, and paramantris; but the child would not suck. The Champa Raja had a cow whose hair was of the five colours, and which had lately calved, and they suckled the child with the milk of this cow. This is the rea-

son that Champa never eats the cow, nor kills it. Raja Pogalang grew up, and the raja of Champa gave him his daughter Pobeia to wife. After a short time, the Champa Raja died, and Pogalang succeeded to the throne. After he had reigned for a considerable time, he founded a great city, which included seven hills within its bounds. The extent of the fort was a day's sail in each of its four sides, with sails full distended with the breeze. The name of this city was Bal, which, in a certain Cheritra, is named Metakat, the city of Raja Subal, the son of Raja Kadail. After some time Pobeia bore to Pogalang a son named Potri. When he was grown up Pogalang died, and Potri succeeded to the throne, and married the daughter of the raja of Cochi, named Bea Suri, who bore him a son named Pogama; and Potri died. After this Pogama prepared to visit Majapahit. He went accordingly thither, and information was brought that the raja of Champa had come to visit the paduca bitara. The bitara ordered his great men to go out and meet him, and they accordingly received him with the greatest respect, and the bitara gave him in marriage his daughter, named Radin Galu Ajong.

After some time she became pregnant, and Pogama asked permission to return to his own country; but the bitara, while he assented to his return, would not suffer him to carry his daughter with him. Pogama said, "I will not stay long away, but I will quickly return to present myself before Your Majesty." Then Pogama went and asked of his spouse, Radin Galu, permission to take his departure. Radin Galu said, "if my child should be a boy, what shall be his name?" Pogama said, "If it is a boy, name him Raja Jignak; and when grows up, send him to me at Champa." Raja Jignak grew up, and he asked his mother "who is my father?" She said, "Pogama, the raja of Champa; he has returned to Champa." She then told him the whole account of his birth. When he heard this, he prepared a prahu to go to Champa. When he arrived at Champa, he went to meet his father, who received him gladly, and gave him the government of Bal. Pogama died, and Raja Jignak succeeded him. He married the Princess Putri Pochi Banchi, and begot a son named Pogopoh. When Pogopoh grew up Raja Jignak died. Pogopoh begot a daughter, who was asked in marriage by the raja

of Cochi, but Pogopoh would not give her in marriage to him. The raja of Cochi then attacked him, and Cochi fought with Champa a terrible battle. How long was it before victory declared for either! On a day the raja of Cochi offered the bandahara of Champa, an immense sum to commit treason, to which the bandahara of Champa agreed, and received it; and towards evening he opened the gate of the fortress, and all the champions of Cochi entered into the fort of Bal, and ran amok on the people of Champa. The half of them continued the fight, and the half of them guarded the women and children. The fortress of Bal was taken, and Popogoh was slain, and all the young nobles of Champa fled nobody knew where. There were two sons of the raja of Champa, the one named Indra Brama, and the other Po-ling, both of whom fled with their wives and dependents. Po-ling passed to Achi, of which he became the original raja. The other, Shah Indra Brama, arrived at Malaca, where he was gladly received by Sultan Mansur, who had him converted to Islam, and made him a mantri; but he was an original Champa man.

IV.

THE Sultan of Pasei, named Zein al Abedin, had a younger brother, who wished to supplant his elder brother in his authority, and all the people of Pasei joined and supported the rebellion of the younger. Sultan Zein al Abedin fled in a baluk boat to Malaca, and the young raja became raja of Pasei. Zein al Abedin was graciously received by the raja of Malaca. How many honorary dresses did he receive from the Prince! A fleet was quickly ordered to be prepared to attend Sultan Zein al Abedin to Pasei, and the raja ordered the bandahara, Sri Bija di Raja, and the laksamana with all the champions, to conduct him back to Pasei. They arrived at Pasei, and the Malaca men landed. As soon as the Pasei men observed them, they immediately advanced to the fight, and every attack of the Malaca men failed to break them, for the Malaca men were only two lacsas, or still less, (probably the bugis lacsas of a thousand men,) and the Pasei men of twelve lacsas. Then the courage

of the Malaca men waxed faint, and the champions crowded to the bandahara, who said to them, "what is now to be done, chieftains, for we have been a long time here, and done nothing at all?" Then said Sri Bija di Raja and the laksamana, "our men are very few, and it will be very difficult to gain Pasei with this number; we therefore advise to return to Malaca, that we may not by our stay excite false hopes in the Prince." The bandahara replied, "what you nobles say is very true." Tun Mat, surnamed Tun Vicrama Vira, the bandahara's son, replied stoutly, "why does Your Honour talk of return, have we fought a single great battle yet? In my opinion, it is better to land once more; and, gain or lose, we may still return. Let me, therefore land, and try my fortune with the laksamana, Sri Bija di Raja, and the champions." The laksamana and Sri Bija di Raja highly approved of this advice. Next morning early the bandahara ordered rice to be dressed for the whole army, and the champions came and attended him. Then the cooks said that there were not platters and cups for such a multitude. Then

said the bandahara Paduca Raja, "we are all going to battle, let us, therefore, all eat off one leaf, for we are going to fight for death or life." He therefore ordered the ship mats to be opened and spread upon the ground, and having placed leaves over them, they put down the rice, and the bandahara sat down and eat with the rest. When they had eaten, the bandahara Paduca Raja, and Tun Vicrama, and the laksamana, and Sri Bija di Raja, and Tun Talani, Sri Agara Raja, Tun Vijaya Maha Mantri, Sang Naya, Sang Satia, Sang Guna, Tun Vija Sura, Sang Jaya Vicrama, Aria di Raja, Sang Sura Pahlawan, Sang Satia Pahlawan, Raja Indra Pahlawan, Sri Raja Pahlawan, Raja Dewa Pahlawan, with all the rest of the champions and soldiers, went up and attacked the enemy. The sound of the weapons resounded like the rending of the thunder-bolt, as if the day of the destruction of Pasei had been come; but immediately came on the warriors of Pasei, like an overflowing flood, and with their rapid onset the array of the Malaca men was entirely broken, and every one fled without regarding any thing but his

own person, till they reached the shore, and even entered the sea, excepting the bandahara alone, who stood on an eminence looking behind him. Then said the bandahara to his boy Gurunggung, "hand me my spear to help me in my need." He grasped his spear, and being observed by Tun Vicrama, Tun Isap, and Nena Is'hak, they immediately joined. Tun Nena Is'hak was a very skilful archer with the bow, and these four halting, kneeled down on the ground to shoot, and by the power of God it fell out that the mass of the assailants stopped for fear of Nena Is'hak's arrows, for not one of his shafts refused its mark; and if he aimed at the eye, out went the eye. Then said he to Tun Vicrama, "Lordinge, why do we four stop here alone, when all the mass have fled? Let us give them notice that they may return and again make head." "Very well, Nena Is'hak, go you and rally the fugitives." Nena Is'hak accordingly went and stopt all whom he met, and turned them back to join Tun Vicrama. At last he saw Tun Hamzah, the son-in-law of Tun Vicrama, flying with the utmost speed into the wood, without

looking behind him. Nena Is'hak shouted to him, "Ho, Tun Hamzah, why do you fly? Black be your front, is not Tun Vicrama still maintaining his ground? Hah! Tun Hamzah, you are a fine son-in-law. He did not give you his daughter for your fine shape or your frizzled hair, but because he thought you a man of courage." Tun Hamzah, filled with rage and shame, said, "does any one still maintain his ground?" "Yes," said the other, "your father-in-law does." Then Tun Hamzah, in shame and rage, began to brandish his spear, and clashed his shield, and rang its bells, and said, "stop a little, and Hamzah will amok it for the future." Back he turned and plunged amid the host of Pasei, numerous as a sea of waves. Dead was the man who faced him. Many there were of the Malaca men who followed up, and the array of the Pasei men was broken, and they took to flight in complete disorder; and Tun Hamzah entered the fortress, which was quickly evacuated. In short, the country of Pasei was conquered by the Malaca men, and the raja fled to the woods. The Sultan Zein al Abedin was thus established

on the throne of Pasei by the bandahara Paduca Raja. Soon after the bandahara asked permission to return, and requested what message the Sultan had for the raja of Malaca. The Sultan replied, "that he had left his salutation in Malaca, and that there was no occasion to send any other." The bandahara was angry at this answer, and said, "my greeting may likewise stay in Pasei for you." The bandahara returned to his prahus, and setting sail reached Jambu Ayer, where news came from the land, which informed him that Sultan Zein al Abedin was already defeated by the fugitive raja. Then said the laksamana and Sri Bija di Raja to the bandahara, "well, let us return and reinstate the Sultan, that the sovereign of Malaca may be famed through all the neighbouring countries." The bandahara positively refused, and said he would return to Malaca. All the champions approved of it, and they arrived at Malaca. Sultan Mansur, however, was enraged at the bandahara, and for three days would not speak to him, because he had refused to return to Pasei, to assist Sultan Zein al Abedin. Then, the Prince

called the laksamana, and asked him concerning all the affairs of Pasei, and he depreciated greatly the conduct of the bandahara, so that the Sultan was still more enraged. All the relations of the bandahara were present, and when the court dissolved, they informed the bandahara of the proceeding of the laksamana; but the bandahara was silent. Next day, all the court assembled, except the laksamana, and Sultan Mansur ordered the bandahara Paduca Raja to be called, and asked him concerning the affairs of Pasei, and how the laksamana had conducted himself. The bandahara greatly praised his conduct, saying, "it was the same in the absence of the Sovereign as in his presence, not a whit of difference." The Prince was greatly surprised at this, and going in, the court broke up. Then all the laksamana's relations informed him how the bandahara had conducted himself. Then the laksamana instantly went to the bandahara, and finding him seated in a large party, he seven times saluted his feet, and said, "true, you are a real great man, and worthy to be the head of us all." The bandahara then gave him

good advice. After this the Prince invested the bandahara with a complete regal dress, and to Tun Vicrama he gave the title of Paduca Tun, and to Tun Is'hak he gave an honorary dress, with many presents of gold and silver. On Hang Hamzah he conferred the title of Tun Pakarta Kasim, because by his feats the host of Pasei was overthrown, and the rest of the champions did not go unrewarded.

V

Account of Radin Galang, &c.

RADIN GALANG, the son of Sultan Mansur Shah and the Princess Radin Galoh Chand Kirana, daughter of the bitara of Majapahit, was considered as his immediate successor by the Sultan, from his stately form. One day, he went to divert himself at the town of Galang, and met an amok man. All the people with him fled here and there, but Radin Galang stood his ground, and drew his creese. The amok man made up to him, and they immediately began a-stab-

bing at each other, and pierced each other through the lungs, the one on the right and the other on the left, and both immediately expired. The people told the Prince, who came to take up his son's corpse, and having carried it to the palace, had it buried with befitting honour. He then put to death all those who had attended Radin Galang, for having deserted him, and the nobuts were not beat for forty days. After which, by the advice of the bandahara, the practice was restored.

Paduca Menyamut, the son of Sultan Mansur Shah, and the Princess Hang Lipó, the daughter of the raja of China, likewise died, leaving a son named Sri China, who was appointed to the government of Jarum, near Langat. There are his fort and his people, and intercourse is held with them in fine seasons.

In process of time, Sultan Mansur Shah fell sick, and perceiving that he was about to quit the world, he called the bandahara and all his mantris, and said, "be it known that the world is now fading from my grasp, and I have no hope, but in the world to come; I have appointed this my son, Hu-

sain to be my successor; and if he should commit any faults, I request you to excuse them, as he is but a boy, and not versed in the usages of the country. Those who heard the Prince were filled with sorrow. He then addressed Raja Husain, "O! Husain, recollect that this world is not for a perpetuity, and that all that live must die, and that nothing is perpetual, excepting good works. After me, therefore, I wish you to do justice, and never to deprive people of their just rights." Then, the Sultan returned to God's mercy, and was succeeded by Sultan Alla ed din. At this time, thieves were very rife in Malaca, and Sultan Alla ed din was greatly vexed at it. One night, having dressed himself like a thief, he went out, and took Hang Isuf along with him, and Hang Siak also. These three then perambulated the city, and examined the state of the city. They soon came to a place where they met five thieves, carrying off a chest, two of them bearing it, and three accompanying them. The Prince pursued, and all the five fled, throwing down the chest. The Prince said to Hang Isuf, "watch this chest here, while I and Hang Siak pursue the thieves." The

thieves took for Malaca hill, where they were overtaken, and the Prince, with a hack, cut one of them in twain by the waist. The four continued their flight towards the landing place, and beneath the banyan tree, the Prince cut down another; the three remaining reached the landing place, when Hang Isuf stabbed another of them; while the other two threw themselves into the water, to swim for the other side. Here stopt the pursuit, and the Prince ordered Hang Isuf and Hang Siak to carry the chest to their house. This was done, and the Prince returned to the palace. Next morning, the officers of the court came to pay their respects, and the Prince asked Sri Maha Raja, the tamangung, "if the watch had been held last night." "It was, Your Honour," said Maha Raja, "I have heard," said the Prince, "that last night one man has been killed on the hill, another under the banyan tree, and another near the landing place. If this be the case, it must be Sri Maha Raja who has murdered them." Sri Maha Raja said, "he knew nothing of the matter;" and the Prince said, "if that is the case, Sri Maha Raja's watches are good for nothing and merely to blind us." He

then ordered Hang Isuf and Hang Siak to be brought, with the chest, and ordered them to declare all that they had seen the last night, to the bandahara and chief men. They were all astonished at the recital, and impressed with the awe of the raja, and hung down their heads. He then ordered the chest to be proclaimed, and it was found to belong to a rich Keling merchant, named Tirimapulam, and that it had been stolen during the night; and the Prince caused it to be restored. From this time Sri Maha Raja established a watch extremely strict; and if they met any person going about during the night, they did not take him, but cut him down. One night, they found a thief, just as he was stretching his hand in at a woman's shop window; they directly severed his arm by the shoulder, and left it within. When the woman opened her shop in the morning, and saw the man's hand and arm on the window, what a fine fright she was in; loud did she scream, and brought all the people about her. Soon matters came so far round that there was not a thief to be found in Malaca. Then the Sultan Alla ed din said

to the paduca raja bandahara, "Order a hall to be placed where the streets cross each other, and place a mantri in charge of it; and whenever any goods are found by land or sea, the owner of which is unknown, let them be placed there till they be reclaimed, for a certain fee; and whosoever finds goods, and does not conform to this regulation, let his hand be cut off." This was ordered and done; and whenever any goods were lost in the market or highway, the owner would go to this hall, and probably find them hanging up; for they were not to be carried to any other place.

VI

Account of the Country of Haru.

THE raja of the country of Haru, was Maha Raja di Raja, the son of Sultan Sejak, who came down from the famous rock which always appeared to be up the water, if one was descending the stream, and to be down the stream, if one was ascending the water. The Prince Maha Raja di Raja

sent an embassy to Pasei, and the name of the ambassador was Raja Pahlawan. When he reached Pasei, the letter of Haru was brought with due ceremony to the hall of audience, and a bentara presented it to the public reader, who opened and read it in the following terms. "The elder brother sends his homage (simbah) to his younger brother;" whereas it was written in the letter, "the elder brother sends his greeting (salam)." The ambassador, Raja Pahlawan immediately interrupted him, saying, "You read differently from the letter." The reader commenced anew, and read as before. Then said Raja Pahlawan, "Why do you read so, it is different from the letter?" Again, he read it as before. Then said Raja Pahlawan, "Never shall I return to die in Haru, I will lose my life here in the land of Pasei. There is not a dog of Pasei but comprehends the force of that word much more than you folks." Again he read it as before. Then rage came on Raja Pahlawan, and he ran amok, and what a multitude of men fell by his hand! and a dreadful hubbub arose; but being assailed by numbers, he perished, with al-

most all his attendants; and those who survived, escaped to Haru, and related what had happened to the raja of Haru. Then the Prince Maha Raja di Raja was furiously enraged, and invaded Pasei, but could not subdue it. How long after that did the contest continue between Haru and Pasei? At last, the Maha Raja di Raja sent a champion, named Sri Indra, to lay waste the domains of Malaca. At that time, from Tanjung Tuan to Jugara, there was an uninterrupted succession of houses, all of which were laid waste by the Haru men. As soon as Sultan Alla ed din heard of this ravage, he ordered Paduca Tuan, the son of the bandahara Paduca Raja, with the laksamana, and Sri Bija di Raja, to guard the seas. The fleet of Haru consisted of a hundred vessels, while that of Paduca Tuan was much inferior, scarcely being one to four or five vessels; but as soon as he reached Pulu Arang Arang, he fell in with the fleet, and immediately engaged it; and the sound of their weapons roared like the terrors of the day of judgment, on both sides. But so sharp was the assault of the Haru men, that all Paduca Tuan's men threw themselves

into the water. At this time, Tun Isuf Besacah was in the vessel of Sri Bija di Raja, all the crew of which had thrown themselves into the water; and the Haru men boarded it at the prow. Sri Bija di Raja and Tun Isuf halted on the stern. "Lordinge," said Tun Isuf, "come let us amok it." "Stop," said the other, "till they reach the main mast." The Haru men reached the main mast. "Come on now, Lordinge," said Tun Isuf. "It is not yet time," said Sri Bija di Raja. The Haru men had now nearly reached the curung, or cuddeh. "Why stop longer, Lordinge," said Tun Isuf. Sri Bija di Raja then sprung into the cuddeh. Tun Isuf said, "Fy! Lordinge, I took you for a brave man, or else I had gone with the laksamana." Then Sri Bija di Raja came out and said, "Come on then, gentle inchi! let us amok, now is the time." Then these two amoked on the Haru men, and breaking their order, drove them into the water, to swim to their prahus. Thither also they followed them to the bark of Haru, and drove them like porpoises into the water again. Then all Sri Bija di Raja's

men who had fled at first, returned to their vessel, and drew near the Haru fleet, and breaking their array, put them to flight, while a part of their fleet was taken by the Malaca men. Then the Haru fleet fled back to Haru, and informed the Maha Raja di Raja of the event of their expedition, and he was excessively irritated because a great part of the fleet was taken by the Malaca men, and in his wrath he swore that had he been there with his elephant Binodum, that all Malaca, with its fort and Malaca men, had perished entirely; and in the same terms he spoke of Pasei, how he would have wasted and destroyed it, and trampled it down with his elephant. Immediately he ordered the champions to go forth and destroy the Malaca men. The champions went forth accordingly, but they had no occasion to go farther out to sea than the mouth of the river. As for the Malaca men, they had returned to Malaca, and presented the captured ships to the Sultan. Then Sultan Alla ed din fitted out a larger fleet, and ordered them to go immediately and attack the land of Haru. The fleet of Malaca sailed away, and halted at Dungan, where

the crews landed to amuse themselves, and shake off their weariness. Among the rest, there was one Mia Ruzul, a Surat man, who went on shore, and he fell in with a tall goat, which had greatly the appearance of an old man. The goat wanted to get at him, but he being frightened, fled scrambling off, and rushed into the middle of the crowd, and the whole crowd were alarmed at the hurry and confusion of Mia Ruzul, as he was stumbling along. They cried, "What is the matter you are flying so fast, Mia Ruzul?" "I have met an old Haru," said he, "and when I approached, he fled, but when I fled he followed." When they heard this, they all took to their arms, and faced round to the attack, when they saw nothing but a tall goat, and nobody; and they all returned laughing and joking at Mia Ruzul, saying in his dialect, "kita hudup, dea zoyhol, kita zoyhol, dea hudup," "when I followed he fled, and when I fled he followed." On the morrow the fleet of Haru advanced to meet the Malaca fleet, and the battle began, and the Malaca closed with them, and threw sharpened stakes, and stones. The Haru men could

not stand this terrible shower, to which they were entirely unaccustomed, and they gave way, and retreated up the river. Then Maha Raja di Raja proposed peace, and Paduca Tuan agreed to it. Then the Haru men erected a great hall at the landing place of Dungan, and all the nobles and great men having met in it, Paduca Tuan and the Malaca chiefs landed and held a conference, during which the hall fell down, and every one flew to arms. Sri Bija di Raja, however, did not flinch from his place, but only rubbed the hilt of his creese. The great men of Haru were greatly astonished at the constancy of spirit exhibited by Sri Bija di Raja, and said, "he is small in size it is true, but he is true Pedir pepper." Then Maha Raja di Raja dispatched a letter to Malaca by Paduca Tuan, and Paduca Tuan took leave and returned to Malaca, where he informed the Sultan of all that had happened in the expedition, at which the Prince was greatly delighted, and rewarded him and his associates according to their deserts. In a short time, after Sri Bija di Raja returned to God's mercy, leaving three children, two sons and a daughter. The eldest of these

succeeded him, with the title of Sri Bija di Raja, the other had the name of Tun Bija di Raja, who was the father of Sang Satia.

VII.

THERE was a raja of Moloco, who fled to Malaca, when Castela (Castile) conquered his country. At the time of his arrival, Raja Racan and Tun Talani were at Malaca, and the raja of Moloco was much beloved by the raja of Malaca, and was presented with a complete honorary dress. The Moloco Prince was very skilful at foot-ball, and all the young nobles set about learning it from him. A hundred hundred times would he receive the ball on his foot, and keep it up without falling, and when he was to deliver it to another, he would send it directly upon the person who was to receive it. When he sat down in a chair, after this exercise, all the young nobles would run to fan him, and when the ball was returned to him, he would send it up to the top of the hall, and following it up there, he would keep it up on the top of the hall as

long as one would be eating a luncheon, and then he would bring it down and deliver it to another. Such was his skill at foot-ball. Also when a bamboo winnowing fan was suspended, he would pierce it with his spear. Sultan Alla ed din, who was very stout, could do the same with his arrows; and he was so pleased with the Moloco Prince, that he agreed to restore him to his kingdom, and deliver it out of the hand of Castela. After staying some time at Malaca, he accompanied Tun Talani to Tringano. Now the raja of Pahang, Sultan Muhammed Shah, heard that Tun Talani had visited Malaca without consulting him, and he sent Sri Agra di Raja to Tringano to kill Tun Talani. When Sri Agra di Raja arrived at Tringano, he sent to call Tun Talani, who refused to come; saying, "he knew it was the custom of champions to be summoned by those of equal rank." Then Sri Agra di Raja hired a man to kill Tun Talani; and it was the pleasure of Almighty God, that Tun Talani so perished. Then Sri Agra di Raja returned to Pahang, and the raja bestowed on him the rank of Tun Ta-

lani, to descend to all his posterity. Then, the bandahara of Pahang represented, that it was wrong to have put Tun Talani to death; and that it would certainly excite the indignation of the raja of Malaca. Then said the Sultan of Pahang, "What do you talk about the raja of Malaca? I ought to be the raja of Malaca, being both older than the raja of Malaca, and appointed to the succession by the deceased raja during his lifetime. If the bandahara is afraid, we had better prepare our means. I will take possession of Malaca myself." When he said this, he was seated on his elephant, Kenyang. "And look you," said he, "how I will attack the hall of state of the raja of Malaca." On this he impelled forward his elephant, and attacked his own hall, which it instantly overset, crushing and destroying all the furniture. All the nobles of Pahang were astonished to behold the bearing of the raja; and they all remained silent without uttering a word. All the family of the deceased Tun Talani fled for refuge to Malaca, and represented the matter to the Sultan Alla ed din, and how Tun Talani had been murdered by

the raja of Pahang. They also related all the conduct of the raja of Pahang. Sultan Alla ed din said in great wrath, "the raja of Pahang wishes to show his bravery at my expense. I have a good design to attack Pahang myself." The bandahara Paduca Raja however represented that if any thing unpleasant had occurred, it would be better to send the laksamana as ambassador to Pahang, who was a great champion. To this the raja assented, and the laksamana set out on his embassy to Pahang. When the Pahang raja was informed of his arrival, he dispatched Sri Vicrama Raja, the pengulu bandahari of Pahang, with a double white umbrella, the gendang drum, flute, trumpet, and nagarets, to conduct him to court. Then the laksamana signified to one of his confidential friends, that if the letter of Malaca should be read in the public hall, they should avail themselves of that opportunity to kill a person of the family of Sri Agra di Raja. The person agreed to the proposal. The letter arrived, and all those who were on the dais, descended, except the raja, and it was read; and after it was read, all the nobles mounted

and resumed their places. Then, the laksamana paid his compliments, and seated himself; when a loud hubhub arose without, and the sultan of Pahang enquired who made the noise. He was informed, that one of the laksamanas had run amok, and slain the brother of Sri Agra di Raja. The raja told the laksamana what one of his men had done. "If that is the case," said the laksamana, "I will order my men to take, bind him, and bring him here." The man was brought up accordingly, and the laksamana asked if it was true. "It is true, I have slain him," said the person. "He confesses it, Sire," said the laksamana, "but nevertheless I cannot consent to his being anywise punished, on account of the grievous crime of Sri Agra di Raja towards the raja of Malaca, in killing Tun Talani at Tringano, and not announcing it at Malaca." This observation made the colour wither on the raja's face; and he said, "I ordered this Talani to be put to death, on account of his disrespectful language, and asserting that the country was under his influence; but this matter rests entirely between the laksamana and Sri Agra di Raja; and no-

body else has any thing to do with it." Then, the laksamana and Sri Agra di Raja took leave, and went to bury the corpse. In a short time after, the laksamana asked permission to return to Malaca, where he arrived, and related all that took place on the Pahang embassy to the raja, who was greatly pleased by the laksamana's management, and ordered an honorary dress, such as worn by young princes.

VIII.

There was a raja of Siak, named Sultan Ibrahim, who received an offence from a person whom he ordered to be put to death by one of his mantris named Tun Jana Pakibol. Sultan Alla ed din was informed that the raja of Siak had put a man to death without informing the raja of Malaca, and he dispatched the laksamana to investigate the fact at Siak. The laksamana arrived at Siak, and was conducted into the presence of the raja, with his master's letter, according to the custom of the olden time. After the letter was read, the laksamana turned

aside to the Pradhana Mantri Tun Jana Pakibol, and said, "Is it true that you have put to death Tun Anu?" "I have made bold to do so," said the other, "by the order of my sovereign, towards whom he was a traitor." Then the laksamana folded up his sleeve, and turning his back on the raja, he fronted Tun Jana Pakibol, pointing at him with his left hand, saying, "There is a man so unwise, that he is little better than an orang-utin, and who knows not how to demean himself in polite conversation. Is it true that you have killed a person without communicating the fact to Malaca, or do you think to make yourself independent in Siak here." Neither the Sultan nor any of his mantris or champions ventured to object a syllable, but all sat silent hanging their heads down. After this, the laksamana Hang Tuah asked permission to take his leave; and returned to Malaca, with a letter from the Siak Raja, where he related what had happened, to the great satisfaction of the raja. The letter of Siak ran in the following terms, "The elder brother, the raja of Siak, presents his homage to the Sri Paduca his younger brother, the raja of Malaca, and

begs his pardon if any occasion of offence has occurred." The raja rewarded the laksamana nobly. Such was the custom of the ancient time, that neither in the land of Malaca, nor in any of the countries dependent on it, was any person permitted to be put to death without the raja being duly informed of it.

Raja Manawer, the son of Sultan Alla ed din, who had had the nobuts conferred upon him at Malaca, was made raja of Campar. When he received the nobuts, all the nobles attended except the bandahara. Sri Bija di Raja was ordered to conduct him to Campar, and inaugurate him under the title of Sultan Menawer Shah. He appointed as his bandahara, Sri Amir di Raja.

In process of time Sultan Alla ed din Rayat Shah fell sick, and having summoned the bandahara, the Raja Muda and Paduca Tuan, and the bandahari, the temangung, and the laksamana; and being in all seven persons, and being supported on his couch by the female attendants, he declared it to be his wish that the Raja Muda should succeed him on the throne. They all declared their assent. He then desired his son, the

Raja Muda, to be kind to his subjects, and patient at their offences, and to consult his mantris, nobles, and hulu-bulangs, on all important occasions. He then departed this life, and was buried with all the state becoming a great Prince, and the Raja Muda succeeded him with the title of Sultan Mahmud Shah. At this time, there were some persons who had transgressed against the Prince, but their faults were not very heavy. The Maha Raja however directed them to be put to death. The bandahara said, "Look at the carriage of the Maha Raja, how soon the young tiger learns to eat flesh; look to it, I say, gentles, for you are the persons that will be caught." At this time Sri Bija di Raja came from Singhapura, and the bandahara said to him, "Lordinge, by the desire of our deceased sovereign, this is the person appointed to succeed him." But he replied, "I cannot listen to any such testament." The raja was present, but looked down and said nothing, thinking that Sri Bija di Raja was displeased at his accession, and his hate was accordingly turned on Sri Bija di Raja. Sultan Mahmud however was seized with a diabetes, during which the bandahara Pa-

duca Raja, and the laksamana, Hang Tuah, never quitted him for an instant, and when the Prince wanted food, the bandahara furnished it him with his own hands; and the laksamana attended him at all his needs, till at last the raja began to mend, and to take a little food, and get rest. At last, however, he ventured to eat rice and milk, when his distemper returned with greater violence than ever. The bandahara and laksamana again returned, and found his attendants ready to commence their funeral lamentations. They, however, forbade them. Sultan Mahmud had a grandfather alive, named Raja Tuah, who was greatly attached to Raja Menawer, who had been installed in Campar, and wished him to be Sultan of Malaca, and he was displeased at the elevation of Sultan Mahmud, and prayed for his speedy death. When Raja Tuah heard of the severe sickness of Sultan Mahmud, he came to join the mourners in great haste, with his hair all flying loose, pretending to be greatly attached to him, but he thought. "I will turn him on his face, squeeze his throat and put an end to him." When he arrived, however, the

bandahara and laksamana were in attendance on the Prince, who would not suffer him to approach. "Why," said he, "would you hinder me from visiting my grandson? Is not my grandson severely sick, and why should I be hindered from seeing him?" They said to him, "If you insist any further on it, we will certainly amok it," at the same time grasping their cresses. "If that is the case," said Raja Tuah, "There is no doubt that the Malays have some treason afoot against the Prince." They answered, "There is no doubt of treason; if you insist any further on this point, I will only amok, that is all." On this Raja Tuah went off and returned to his house. By the attention of the bandahara and laksamana, and because his appointed time was not yet expired, the Prince recovered. On his recovery, he conferred a palankeen, (usungan,) on the bandahara, and also on the laksamana Hang Tuah, and desired them to mount these palankeens whenever they wanted to go to any place. The laksamana Hang Tuan used it accordingly, and had it carried by his own relations.

The bandahara Paduca Raja, however, had his carried to his house, and wrapped it up in yellow cloth, and had it hung up in the presence of all, in his sitting chamber. His relations then enquired why he made no other use of his present, when the laksamana used his continually, and see how fine it appears to every one. But the bandahara said, "Pray, now, are you silly fellows, or am I, when the laksamana there goes in his palankeen, all who see, ask 'whose conveyance is that.' People answer, 'the laksamana's.' They say, 'is he a great man?' 'yes, that he is;' 'is there any body greater?' 'that there is,' the answer; now, were I to follow this advice, I would become the subject of such talk. The raja is still a boy, and the laksamana besides, is only carried by his own family, who accompany him on all occasions. Now if I were to use my palankeen, you would also have to carry it, and attend to me, and if the raja were also going in his palankeen, pray where would be the difference between me and the raja, and where would be the superiority of the raja?" Then all his family remained silent; whenever the bandahara

found any excellent arms or prahus, he would present them to the laksamana Hang Tuah. As for the laksamana, whenever he saw any fine weapons in the possession of the bandahara, whether creese, sword, or spear, he would come to the bandahara and ask a sight of it. "That I shall not, laksamana," would the other answer, "or I am sure I would never see it again." Then the laksamana would say, "if you won't give it to me of your own accord, do you think me to be so mad as to take it?" Then the bandahara would point it out to him, when the laksamana would directly carry it off and never return it. Such were the terms on which they were, and so they long and constantly continued; for the bandahara family of the bandahara would protest that the datok was grown silly. Whatever arms or prahus came to hand of good quality, all of them go to the laksamana, and not one of them to us, nor can we get one of them back from him. "Are you the silly fellows, or me," said the bandahara. "If I get a fine elephant or a horse, or any furniture of gold or silver, or any fine stuff

for cloaths; you are all pressing for it as much as you can; and if I won't give it to you, I should be very silly indeed in your estimation; seeing, that when I die, all that will devolve to you. As for weapons, however, creeses, spears, &c, how should you know any thing about it; but as for the laksamana, is he not a brave champion, and both stout and stalwart? Is not he the man to fight stoutly whenever an enemy makes his appearance? That is the reason that I give him all the weapons I can find, which are excellent, that he may bulwark us all. Besides, is he not our raja's champion, and consequently our own champion?"

In a short time, the bandahara Paduca Raja fell sick, for he was now an old man, and all his family who were at the distance of one or two days' journey assembled, and all his grandchildren and great-grand-children, and he announced unto them his will, "Listen all of you," said he, "let none of you truck religion for the world, for this world is not perpetual, for all that live have to die; but be steady in the practice of piety towards Almighty God. The learned

say, that a just Prince is like a prophet of God, and is the representative of God in the world; and when you perform your duty to the raja, you are to do it faithfully, as if before God Almighty, for such is the command of God and his holy prophet; and this I desire all of you to consider as my last testament." He then looked to Sri Maha Raja, and said, "Mutaher, you will be a great man, but do not hope to be father of the raja's brother, or else you are sure to be slain." Then he addressed his eldest son, Zein al Abedin, saying, "Ha! Abedin, if you will not do the business of the raja properly, you had better take up your residence in the wood, and fill your belly with leaves." He also said to his grandson, Tun Pawa, exhorting him "not to take up his residence in the town, but in the country, and the plants and vegetables of the country would be gold for him." He then said to his great-grandson Tun Yusef, "O Yusef, haunt not the raja's court; this is my last injunction to you." Such were the last injunctions of the bandahara Paduca Raja to all his family, addressing them all severally, according to what was proper

for them. The Sultan, Mahmud, when he heard that the bandahara was very sick, came to visit him, and the bandahara saluted him, and told him, "he fancied he was upon the eve of quitting this world, and that he was about to enter on the future world. Therefore," says he, "I commit my whole family over to your charge, and I request you not to listen to the words of persons who are false, or you will be sure to repent of it, if you follow your own inclinations, which are apt to be influenced by the seductions of Satan. Many are the great and powerful rajas who have ruined their affairs by following their inclinations." After this, he departed to God's mercy, and was buried according to the custom of bandaharas, and Tun Parapati Puti, his brother, succeeded him in his office, and people termed him the White Bandahara. He would order his taper to be changed whenever it was burnt to the length of a span, and have a fresh one. By the time that Sultan Mahmud was of age, he was acquainted with the rules of government of all the celebrated rajas. His carriage and port were unequalled in these days, in point

of strength and courage; so that if he wore a couple of Malacca creeses, each of the length of two spans and a half, they could hardly be perceived, notwithstanding their length. Sultan Mahmud married the daughter of Sultan Mahmud of Pahang, and begat three children; the eldest was a son named Raja Ahmed, the second a daughter, and the youngest was Raja Muda. The chief of the elephants, named Sri Rama, died, leaving two sons, named Sri Nata, and Aria Nata. Aria Nata begot Tun Biajita Itam, and Tun Madat; Tun Madat begot Tun Anjang. It happened on a certain time, that Sultan Mahmud Shah was amusing himself with the wife of Tun Biajata, who was the daughter of the laksamana Hang Tuah. At this time, Tun Biajata was not at home, but had gone to Marib, which was under his command. The Prince had gone to the house of Tun Biajata, and about morning he was going to his palace, when he Tun Biajata at the door, who had just returned from Marib, accompanied with all his men; Tun Biajata perceived that he had done amiss with his wife. He considered, "I may now certainly kill

the Sultan, but it will be a grievous sin, for it is not the custom of a Malay to rebel against his lord." While he reflected in this manner, he kept balancing his spear in his hand. "Sultan Mahmud," said he, "is that an action worthy of a sovereign? Fy on such conduct of a master towards a servant! Were it not a master who has acted so vilely towards his servant, assuredly this spear had directly pierced his breast." When the raja's companions heard this address, they were irritated, and wanted to stab Tun Biajita. The Prince however said, "be not in a passion, what is said is just, and no fault. It is I alone that am in fault; and as to what regards right, it is I that deserve to be slain; but as he is a true Malay, he will do no treason to his lord." The Prince returned to his palace, and Tun Biajita divorced his wife, and would neither go to present himself before the raja, nor would he condescend to bear any office of state. Several times the Prince sent for him, but he refused to come, till one day, being pressed with great instance, he went to the raja, who said to him, "Take to your wife this concubine of

mine." Now, it happened that this was the favourite mistress of the raja, and named Tun Iram Sundari, and her form was exceedingly beautiful. Seeing no better resource, Tun Biajita took her, but only treated her as his concubine. Nevertheless he still would not go to court on public occasions. It happened also one night, that the Sultan went to the house of a lady named Tun Divi, where he found Tun Ali there before him; on which he immediately returned, when he beheld Tun Isup coming up behind him; he presented Tun Isup with betel, and Tun Isup thought what can be the meaning of this favour; and he concluded that it must have been his purpose to induce him to kill Tun Ali; for in the ancient times, betel presented from the raja's betel-box, was esteemed a peculiar favour, and not presented to every body; and whenever it was presented, it was considered as a mark of peculiar favour, and as a sign that there was some object which the raja had particularly in view. In this idea, Tun Isup returned to the house of Tun Divi, and went up and stabbed Tun Ali where he was sitting, piercing him through the breast, so that he directly expired. When Tun Ali

was dead, Tun Isup returned to the Sultan, and informed him that Tun Ali was slain. There also arose a loud hubbub, that Tun Ali was murdered by Tun Isup. Sri Dewa Raja, the youngest son of the bandahara Paduca Raja, was soon informed of the fact, for Tun Ali was his relation, and he was enraged, and ordered his people to lie in wait to kill the murderer, but Tun Isup had no courage to venture out. The Prince was informed of this fact, and desired Tun Isup to make his escape, and accordingly he fled to Pasei. When he came to Pasei, Tun Isup did not wish to pay his respects to the raja of Pasei, saying, "Si Isup could do homage to no one but the raja of Malaca." From Pasei, he went to Haru, and there too he refused to pay his respects to the raja of Haru. After some time he sailed to Burnei, where the raja of Burnei gave him his daughter in marriage, and his posterity have long been and still continue at Burnei, and thus many of his posterity at Burnei, have borne the office of datok moar. But it was his constant saying, "that Isup was born at Malaca, and at Malaca, he will also die." After being a long while at Burnei, God Almighty impelled him to return to Malaca, and he set

sail with the monsoon. As soon as he returned to Malaca, he waited on the raja, who feasted him in the most sumptuous manner, and the raja embraced him and kissed his head. He then ordered them to bind his hands with his turban, and conduct him to Sri Dewa Raja, thinking that as he had sent him bound in this manner, and put him into his hands, possible he would not kill him. It happened that Sri Dewa Raja was looking from his elephant, when he beheld a servant of the raja bringing Tun Isup. The servant said His Majesty has sent me to bring Tun Isup to the datok Sri Dewa Raja, and if he is guilty of any fault towards your highness, His Majesty entertains you to pardon him. But as soon as Sri Dewa Raja looked on Tun Isup, he hastily smote him on the head with the elephant hook, so that it penetrated into the brain, and he immediately expired. Then the servant returned to the raja, and informed him how Tun Isup had perished, but the raja said nothing on the subject, but he was vexed, for he did not think that Sri Dewa Raja would have slain him. For at this time, there were four persons of whom the raja was extremely fond. The first of these was

Sriwa Raja, the second was Tun Omar, the third Hang Isi, the fourth Hang Husain Janga, and whatever any of these four wanted, the raja assented to it; and if they killed any body, the raja immediately forgave them. It happened on a day that the Prince was sitting, and all the mantris and hulu-balangs in his presence, and the Prince desired these four persons to ask of him whatever they desired. The first that presented himself was Sriwa Raja, who said, "If Your Majesty honours me with your favour, please to appoint me panglema-gaja, or master of the elephants," for Sriwa Raja was extremely fond of elephants. The Prince said, "Very well, but Sri Rama occupies that office, and how can I displace him without any fault; nevertheless, if he die, assuredly Sriwa Raja shall be his successor."

The next that presented himself was Tun Omar, who requested if the raja had any affection for him, to be appointed raja of the sea. "Verily," said the Sultan, "but that station is occupied by the laksamana, and how can I displace him, when is devoid of fault. Should he die, however, assuredly Tun Omar shall have his appointment."

When Hang Isi and Hang Husain came to pay their respects, they both stood silent for an instant, as if reflecting; and the raja said, "Why are Isi and Husain silent, that they do not pay their respects?" Hang Isi quickly replied, "that he requested, if the raja had any favour for him, that he would bestow on him two or three cati of gold, and two or three bundles of cloth;" the raja immediately granted his request. Then Hang Husain Jang advanced, and requested "if the raja had any regard for him, to present him with twelve or thirteen female buffaloes, that were mothers, with two or three slaves." The Prince immediately granted his request. Whenever the raja went to amuse himself on the water, he was sure to call Sriwa Raja, and wait for him. When the raja's servant went to call him, he would find him stretched on his carpet, and he would declare that he was sleepy. When the raja's servant would desire him to come quickly for His Majesty was waiting, then he would start up and go to make water, and perhaps bathe also. Then when the raja's servant would hasten him, then he had to dress himself three or four times

over before he could please himself, and when all this was over, then he would get as far as the door, and immediately return to find his wife, and desire her to examine what was wrong or wanting in his dress. Then his wife would examine his dress, and if anything was wrong, it had all to be changed again. When all was right, then he would proceed to the raja's presence. And this happened very frequently. When the raja wanted him to come very quick, he would send Tun Isup Baracuh, or the rattler, to call him. Then, Tun Isup Baracuh would come and say, "Lordinge, you are ordered to be called." "Very well," would Sri Raja say. Then Tun Isup would ask for a mat and pillow, for he knew the sauntering disposition of Sriwa Raja, and that he was always reposing when the raja wanted him in haste. Then Tun Isup would say, "Lordinge, I am very hungry," then they would give him rice; as soon as he had done, he would call out, "Lordinge, I want to eat judda or sweet-meats." Then Sriwa Raja would give him sweet-meats. And this was his constant practice whenever he was sent to call Sriwa Raja. Therefore,

whenever Tun Isup came to call him, Sriwa Raja would call to his wife to give him his cloaths quickly for he could not stand the demands and requests of Tun Isup. Such was the temper and conduct of Sriwa Raja; and yet it was generally approved by the raja. Sriwa Raja wished to marry the daughter of Kazi Menawer, the grandson of Moulana Yusef, and the Prince was at the expence of the feast, which continued for seven days and nights, and he went in procession on an elephant of the raja's named Belidi Mani. Tun Abdul Kerim, the sons of Kazi Menawer, mounted on the elephant's head; Tun Zein al Abedin on one side of the howder, and Sri Udana behind. Kazi Menawer stood ready at the paling of his enclosure, and exhibited a multitude of fire-works; with crackers and fire-pots; with lanthorns, gongs, drums, and dancers, and sword-players of every description. Then the gate of the outer court was shut, and the kazi said, "Sriwa Raja shall have my daughter, if he can force this enclosure, and if he cannot effect his entrance, I will lose all my expence." Next morning Sriwa

Raja came with all his people; and as soon as he drew near the enclosure, Kazi Menawer ordered them to light up all his fire-works and fire-pots, and crackers and lanthorns, and raise a loud clamour, by shouting and beating their instruments. Accordingly they raised such a blaze and clamour, that the elephant Belidi Mani took fright, and fled; and vain were all Tun Abdul Kerim's efforts to stop it. When Sriwa Raja saw this, he said, "Excuse me, elder brother, excuse me; come back, and let me mount his neck." Tun Abdul Kerim gave place, and Sriwa Raja placed himself on the neck, and soon turned the elephant, and advanced to the gate of Kazi Menawer, and immediately forced the gate of the outer court, in spite of all the shouting, fire-works, and crackers, and entered in directly; so that every one was astonished to observe the skill of Sriwa Raja, in managing an elephant adroitly. He immediately approached the hall of Kazi Menawer, and sprung upon the dais, and married the kazi's daughter, in the presence of Sultan Mahmud; and after a fine entertainment, the guests all dispersed. This Kazi

Menawer was also well skilled in playing at the pellet-bow, balaw, which he had learned of the Moloco Raja; and had a kisi-kisi, or circle of pins, in the place where he sat with his scholars, and he would ask his scholars how many pins he should strike from the kisi-kisi. If they said two, he would strike two, if three, he would strike three; or as many as they mentioned. He constantly kept his balaw by him, and practised it. He had two or three spitting-posts hung up without the kisi-kisi; and when rinsing his mouth within the kisi-kisi, he could spirt it into all the three pitchers at once, without scattering it.

Sriwa Raja had a son named Tun Omar, surnamed Sri Patan, but generally denominated Datok Remba. Sriwa Raja was extremely skilled in horses, and he had a white horse, the colour of which was extremely white, of which he was very fond, and which he was accustomed to stall in an upper apartment of the gallery of his house, for which it was appropriated. In the evenings, when it was moonlight, the gallants would come and borrow this horse to amuse themselves with coursing him, and he would

lend him. After one or two courses, however, the horse would return to his master's house of his own accord. Among the rest, came Tun Isup Baracuh to borrow the horse, and he wished to amuse himself as long as he was inclined. After one or two turns, however, the horse returned with him. "Why have you returned already from your pastime?" said Sriwa Raja. "Gentle," said Tun Isup, "I am vastly hungry." Sriwa Raja ordered him victuals. After eating, said he, "I want a little more pastime." "Very well," said he, "take him as often as you please." The horse again took a turn or two, and then wished to return; which he did accordingly. As soon as Tun Isup returned, he called a servant, and said, "Is your master at home, tell him I am hungry, and request him to let me have some sweetmeats?" Then Sriwa Raja ordered the lad, whenever the horse returned in this way, to shut him out, and tell Tun Isup that he might take him whenever he pleased. After this, Tun Isup took his pastime till he was satisfied; and the horse did not make a practice of returning with him. Every body was sur-

prised at this, and that Tun Isup had taught the horse to have sense like a man; and the circumstance was much celebrated. At this time, there came a Pantun poet, who was famous for his skill in horsemanship; and Sultan Mahmud ordered him to be carried to Sriwa Raja; who asked if he was skilled in horsemanship, to which he answered that he was. "Mount this horse then," said he; the poet mounted, and made him move a little. Sriwa Raja said, "Why do not you whip him a little?" The poet applied the whip, but not with force; but as soon as he felt the whip, he bolted off, and rushed in under the house, while the poet saved himself by throwing himself on the ground, and rolling away. "He! he!" said Sriwa Raja, "what is the matter with the poet?" But the poet made no reply, for shame. Then, Sriwa Raja called his son, and said, "Omar! Omar! Mount this horse." Tun Omar quickly mounted him. "Whip him, Omar!" said Sriwa Raja. He did so, and the horse went off at a regular gallop, and continued it equally. Everybody was surprised at the proceeding of the animal. This Tun Omar was a

great favourite with Sultan Mahmud Shah. With respect to the son of Sri Bija di Raja, he was called Hunch-back, and was very brave and valiant; and had been so instructed by his guru, that the weapons of the enemy could not touch him. This circumstance made Tun Omar often talk very foolishly and boastfully; but in truth, the other had no match for him. As for Hang Isi Pantus, or the Quick, he was very quick, and clever in disposition. In the river of Malaca, there was a bar fixed, which was round, and floating on the surface, and nobody could cross on it; for it was apt to sink beneath the surface. Hang Isi the Quick would cross this bar, and though, when he planted his right foot, it moved to the left, and when he planted his left, it moved to the right, yet did he in this manner pass over to the other side, without so much as wetting the upper surface of his foot, though any body else would sink to the leg.

It happened on a time, in the season of paper kites, that every body was flying their paper kites; all the headmen's sons, and all the young gentles, were amusing themselves with kites of every

description; but Raja Ahmed, the son of Sultan Mahmud, also came to divert himself, and flew a huge kite, as big as a ca-jang, (or tent folding screen,) with a rope as thick and stout as a drag line. Many kites were flying when he set up his kite, but they all took them down as fast as possible; for as soon as the string grated any of the other strings, it instantly severed them, and cut all that entangled themselves with it. Hang Isi was likewise flying a small kite with a thin line of only three threads; but it was smeared with a paste of pounded glass, and he did not take down his kite. Then Raja Ahmed's kite approached that of Hang Isi, and the lines grated each other, the one having the thick line, and the other the thin glazed one, when Raja Ahmed's line was cut, and floated over the other side of the river.

As for Hang Husain Jang, he married the daughter of Hang Auseh; and at his marriage he eat rice with the bride, and the old people brought it, and fed them three times. But when they took up the rice, and wanted to carry it in, Hang Husain Jang laid hold of it, and held it fast,

declaring, that he must eat his fill, and he immediately eat up his own share. "What," said he, "shan't I have my victuals, after being at all this expence?" And all the young ladies present, when they observed Hang Husain Jang's humour, giggled and laughed.

This monsoon the raja stationed Sri Bija di Raja at Singhapura; and it happened on the solemn festival that he did not arrive in time to present himself at court. The raja was enraged, and said, "Pray what was the reason that Sri Bija di Raja did not come to attend us as he ought, does he not know the laws and customs?" He replied, "It is true, I have been too late, but I did not think the festival would fall on that day; but I request you to pardon me." "No," says the raja; "the reason of your conduct is, that you are disaffected towards me, and inclined to my brother at Campar." The raja ordered him to be put to death, but when the executioners came to him, he protested against the execution of the sentence, affirming, "that though he had been in fault, yet it was but trifling, and did not deserve death."

The raja was informed of this, and sent him a letter, in which he explained his offences to be of four or five descriptions; upon which he submitted to death without further opposition; and was succeeded by Sang Satia, who was surnamed Datok Tabonko, the hunch-backed lord, and who had the government of Singhapura accordingly.

It happened one day that Sultan Mahmud took the resolution of going to the house of Moulana Yusef, in order to learn his book from him. Now Moulana Yusef was a great stickler for ceremony, and when any of the young gentry flew their kites over his house, he would get upon the roof and cut the lines; and he would order his people to throw hooks at the lines, and cut them, and tear the kites to shreds; and he would say, "How came you to play your tricks over my house, and show me such impertinence?" Such was the temper of Kazi Yusef, the father of Kazi Menawer. When, therefore, he saw Sultan Mahmud coming with his elephant, and all the champions accompanying him, straight to his house, as soon as His

Majesty reached the gate of the outer fence, the kazi ordered the gate to be shut, and said, "What brings His Majesty to the house of this poor fakir, here is no place for great men; if to-morrow, however, a fakir should wait on me, I shall certainly receive him, as it is becoming one fakir to receive another?" This speech of Moulana Yusef was related to the Sultan, who returned to his palace. The next day, the raja proceeded to the kazi's house, taking his betel box in his hand, and when he arrived, he desired the porter at the gate to inform his master, that the fakir Mahmud was come, and wished to meet him. The porter carried the message, and told the kazi that the fakir Mahmud was without the gate, waiting to see him. "Open the gate and let him come in then," said the kazi. Then, the Prince entered and took his hand and saluted him, and said, "to see you as one fakir another." Then, the Prince sat down and read the book "Mâhimat," and thus he did every day.

After some time, the Sultan dispatched Paduca Tuan to attack the country of Manjong. Manjong was formerly a great coun-

try, and was not on friendly terms with Bruas. Paduca Tuan proceeded to Manjong with ten vessels, and attacked it; and in a short time, by the assistance of God, he conquered it. After this Paduca Tuan proceeded to Bruas, and the raja of Bruas received him with the highest demonstrations of respect. After some time Paduca Tuan accomplished a marriage between his grandson, Tun Isup Baracuh and Putri Siti, the sister of the raja of Bruas, of whom was born Tun Viajet, surnamed bandahara Sri Maha Raja, who is commonly called the bandahara of Johor. This person married Tun Muna. It is he who was the old bandahara of Johor; and it is he who was originally appointed raja over Perak, under the title of Sultan Muzafer Shah. He married the Princess of Perak, and begot Sultan Mansur, who reigns at present. Then Paduca Tuan returned to Malaca, attended by the raja of Bruas; and the Prince was highly pleased to learn the conquest of Perak, and presented both Paduca Tuan and the raja of Bruas with dresses of honour becoming their rank, and caused the latter to be honoured with one beat of the nobuts, and

gave him the title of Aria —, and delivered up Manjong to him, for which he did homage to Malaca.

After some time the Prince ordered Sri Maja Raja, to attack Calantan. At that time, the country of Calantan was much more powerful than that of Patani, and the name of the raja was Sultan Mansur Shah, who was the brother's son of Sultan Secander Shah, and who refused to do homage to Malaca. He derived his extraction from Raja Cholen. Then Sri Maha Raja arrived at Calantan, and forthwith commenced the war. A fierce battle ensued, in which the combatants mutually amoked against each other, and many perished on both sides. As the Calantan men were not much versed in the use of fire-arms, they had the worst of it, and gave way, and their fortress was mastered by the Malaca men. The Calantan raja had four children, three daughters and a son. The son escaped, but all the daughters were taken. The one of these was named O-nang-kanung, another Chaw-fa, and the other Chaw-buak. The name of the son was Raja Gam-bau. The three daughters were

carried to Malaca, and presented to Sultan Mahmud Shah, who was highly gratified, and bestowed many dresses of honour on Sri Maha Raja, and those who accompanied him. The Sultan espoused the eldest of the Princesses of Calantan, by whom he had three children, the eldest was named Raja Maha, the second —, and the youngest, who was a daughter, Raja Devi.

On a certain time, the white bandahara said to the Prince, "My elder brother, Paduca Raja, was sent out to Siam, and was ordered to attack Pasei; and on another occasion to attack Pahang, but since I have been appointed bandahara, I have not had it in my power to lay a finger on business of any kind. My brother's son has been sent against Manjong; my brother's son has been sent against Calantan, but not a single matter of importance has been entrusted to me." Every person present declared the datok's representation to be true. This was the bandahari, who, if there was a span's length of a taper remaining, would say "it is a mere candle's end, not fit to be used;" and if a mat was a little worn, who

would say, "this mat is spoiled, let it be changed."

It is related that Sultan Menawer of Campar died, and was succeeded by his son Raja Abdallah. This Prince proceeded to Malaca, and espoused the daughter of Sultan Mahmud, who honoured him with the nobut, and sent him back to Campar in an honourable manner. After some time the white bandahara died, and all the able men were assembled for the purpose of choosing another bandahara. There were nine who presented themselves for candidates in the court of the raja's palace. The first was Paduca Tuan, the second Tun Zein al Abidin, the third Tun Talani, the fourth Sri Nara di Raja, the fifth Sri Maha Raja, the sixth Sriwa Raja, the seventh Tun Abusaid, the eighth Tun Abdul, and the ninth Tun Vijaya Maha Mantri. All these stood in a line. Then said the Sultan, "Who of you, gentles, is fit to become bandahara?" Paduca Tuan replied, "All these are fit to be bandaharas, but he will become so whom Your Majesty chooses." Then the King's mother stood behind the

door, and peeped out, and said, "Pa-Mutaher, (Mutaher's father,) is proper to be bandahara, for he is greatly devoted to his brother." The raja then said, "Let Pa-Mutaher be bandahara." Then all the rest assented that Sri Maha Raja should be bandahara, and he accordingly received from the Prince an honorary dress befitting the rank of bandahara. It was the custom of the ancient time at the appointment of the bandahara, or bandahari, or temangung, or any other mantri, to invest him with a creese and a robe of Cyclat, while to a bandahari, there was also given a betel-pounder and ink-holder.

After Sri Maha Raja became bandahara, the land of Malaca became still more populous than ever, for he was extremely just and equitable in the protection of all strangers. It was the custom of all the ships above the wind, when they wanted to lift their anchor, the malim had to give the parting cheer, and then all the crew would join in exclaiming; "Prosperity to the port of Malaca, to its plantains, paddy, water, and hill, and also to the bandahara Sri Maha Raja;" and all the seamen stood

up and shouted in chorus, after which they would immediately hoist their sails. This bandahara was prouder than any of the former bandaharas, and if any one waited on him, he would sit still on his open carpet. If Raja —— visited him, he would not rise, but only give him his hand. However, if the raja of Pahang came to see him, he would stand up, and give the raja his place, after which, he would place him by his side. The bandahara Sri Maha Raja had a great many children. The eldest was named Tun Hasan who was very handsome, and succeeded his father in the office of temangung. It was the office of the temangung to arrange all the guests at table in the public hall, and his peculiar dress was a long cloth hanging down before, with a flowing robe over the shoulder, and a turban of various colours, with a posey of flowers arranged one on another, in the manner termed guba, in his hair, partly standing erect and partly hanging down; and it was his place to walk on the nagana, or circular ledge of the hall, pointing to the right or left with his fan, which he flourished like a skilful fencer. This was

the first of the Malays who lengthened the skirts of the Malay baju or coat, and wore large and long sleeves. Formerly, the Malay baju was both short and straight. For this reason, he was celebrated in pantuns, as requiring four cubits of cloth for his baju. As for the bandahara Sri Maha Raja, he was extremely handsome, and he would change his four or five times in a day. Of how many sorts of colours had he his coats and turbans, and what a number of each colour, so that they might be numbered by tens! Some of his turbans he always kept ready rolled, and others he did not. Some of his coats were half-sewed, others nearly completed, and others again only cut ready for sewing. As for the mirrors, he had one as large as himself standing upright, and when he wanted to put on his coat or turban, he dressed himself by this, and then he would ask his wife "does this baju suit this turban", and then he would follow her advice exactly. After he had dressed, he would next go mount the swing. Such was the habit of the bandahara Sri Maha Raja, to whom in these times there was no peer. One day

he was sitting in a large party, and he asked them all, "Who is the handsomest, I or Hasan there?" They all answered "You are superior to Hasan." He said, "Quite wrong, for I see in the mirror that Hasan here is the best looking of the two, as being the younger man; to be sure I look rather the most pleasant." Then, all assented to the datok's observation. It is related that his bandahara was the father of the bandahara Sacudi, who was the father of Tun Ahmed. Now it happened on a time, that the pangeran of Surabaya, named Para Pati Adem, came to Malaca, and was presented to Sultan Mahmud, who gave him a very gracious reception, and seated him along with his chief mantris. It happened one day that Para Pati Adem was sitting in the balei or hall of Sri Naradi Raja, when Tun Manda, his daughter, was present, who had just begun to run about. She ran up to Sri Nara di Raja, and he said to Para Pati Adem, "Do you hear what my daughter says, she wants to marry you." "Be it so," said Para Pati Adem. When the season arrived, Para Pati Adem asked leave of Sultan Mahmud to take his de-

parture, and was presented with an honorary dress befitting his rank. Then Para Pasti Adem purchased a young girl of the same age and stature as Tun Manda, at Malaca, and carried her back with him to Java, when he caused her to be properly tended, and she became a very acute woman, slow to speak and quick to act. When she reached maturity, he gave her a husband. After this he prepared to return to Malaca, selecting forty choice and noble youths to accompany him, and preparing a great retinue. When he arrived at Malaca, Para Pati Adem presented himself before Sri Nara di Raja declaring that he had come to carry into effect the engagement between them, and to marry his daughter. Sri Nara di Raja said "he had never made him any promise." On this Para Pati Adem reminded him of their former conversation. "True," said Sri Nara di Raja, "I recollect using the words, but it was only in joke." "What," said the other, "Is it the custom here to joke upon the subject of a person's daughter?" Sri Nara di Raja was silent, and Para Pati Adem retired to his house, de-

termining to carry off Tun Manda by force. Tun Manda was now grown up, and resided in a house by herself, given her by her father; and Para Pati Adem gave gold to all the keepers of the gates, in order to allow him and his forty selected companions to enter into the lady's house at night; and thus he corrupted their fidelity; for, as the great Ali says, "It is needless to expect fidelity unless from persons of good character." On a certain night, as had been concerted, Para Pati Adem with his forty choice companions, entered into the house of Tun Manda, who wanted to fly, but the Para Pati seized her. A hubbub quickly arose, and the matter was reported to Sri Nara di Raja, who was terribly enraged, and ordered the place to be instantly surrounded by numbers. The place was quickly surrounded, but Para Pati Adem never suffered Tun Manda to quit his arms; but taking his plaid, he bound it fast around both their waists, and drawing his creese he steadily fixed his look on Tun Manda. The crowd who had surrounded the place, closed quickly in, and all the forty select young gentles were slain by the surround-

ing crowd. This was reported to Para Pati Adem, who said, "Very well, you may kill me too, but Tun Manda shall attend me in death." The crowd entered, and seeing that he had locked Tun Manda in the embrace of his limbs, and hearing his purpose, they reported it to Sri Nara di Raja, who desired them not to attack Para Pati Adem, for fear of the consequences to his daughter. For, says he, "If any thing should befall my daughter, which would it avail me if all Java should perish." Then, all the people who had assembled, returned to their several homes; and all the great men came and advised with Sri Nara di Raja, and they married Tun Manda to Para Pati Adem, who, as long as he remained in Malaca, never went a foot from Tun Manda. When the monsoon for returning arrived, Para Pati Adem asked leave of Sri Nara di Raja to return with his wife to Surabaya; to which he consented. Tun Manda soon bore him a son named Pati Husain, who was the grandfather of the pangeran of Surabaya, who run amok.

It is related, that the wife of Sultan Mahmud, and mother of Raja Ahmed, returned into God's mercy, and the King was extremely afflicted; and how long was that, through grief, he would not have the nobuts sounded! All the chiefs likewise looked gloomy, at seeing the grief of the Prince; and all their attempts to console him proved ineffectual, and could not remove the impression from his heart. One day, all the nobles, mantris, and hulu-balangs, assembled, and the King asked them, what they advised, since the land of Malaca was now devoid of a Queen. The chiefs said, "The daughter of what raja would you choose? Mention the name of any Princess, and we will go and ask her in due form." The King replied, "I don't want to marry a raja's daughter; for any other raja may marry a raja's daughter; but I want to marry one to whom no other Prince can aspire." "Inform us then," said the nobles, "whither your wishes tend, and we will do our utmost to carry them into effect." Then said the King, "I want to ask the Princess Gunung Ledang." Then they

asked him whom he wished to send as his messengers. He said, "I will send the laksamana, Sang Satia, and Tun Mamed." They cheerfully assented. Then Tun Mamed first set out with the men of Indragiri, to clear the way to Gunung Ledang, for he was the head man, or pengulu of Indragiri. After long journeying they reached the foot of the hill, and began to ascend it, but found no road; the hill men however showed them the road, for the way was excessively difficult, with violent gusts of wind, and a cold quite unsupportable. They advanced, however, till they reached about the middle of the mountain, when none of the people could proceed farther. Then said Tun Mamed to the laksamana and Sang Satia, "Stop you here, gentles, and let me ascend the hill." The others assented, and Tun Mamed, with two or three hearty men, ascended as well as he could, till he came to the bamboos, which are spontaneously melodious; and all that ascended, felt like birds flying, in the furious gusts of wind, and the cloud closed round so near, that one might touch them; and the sound of

the musical bamboos was extremely melodious; and the very birds lingered to hear their music; and the forest deer were all enchanted by their melody; and Tun Mamed was so delighted with their sound, that he could not prevail on himself to advance on this journey for some time. Again however he proceeded slowly, till at last he reached a garden of wonderful beauty, such as had never been seen. It was full of all kinds of flowers and fruits which are to be found in the whole world, arranged in plots of divers kinds. As soon as the birds of the garden observed the approach of Tun Mamed, they uttered all kinds of cries, some like a man whistling; others like a person playing on a pipe; others like a person playing on the sirdam; others like a person reciting verses; others like persons bersaluca, or joyous; others like persons ber-gorindam, or conversing in dialogue. The large lemons made a loud noise, the grapes giggled, and the pomegranates smiled, and the warasac laughed aloud, while the rose repeated pantuns, in the following style;

The teeth are grating against each other,
 They wish to eat the fish of the tank;
 Fine and fat are the roes for frying,
 And the scales will stick to the breast.

The Tanjung's blue flower replied,

Ding Nila put in his betel box,
 The Berimbang and the Pidada fruit,
 Was there ever such a fool as you, Sir,
 The bird is flown, and you are only grinding the
 pepper (for catching it).

Tun Mamed was exceedingly surprised to hear a tree so skilful in making pantuns, as well as to see the whole arrangement of the garden. Tun Mamed at last came up to a hall in the garden, the whole materials of which were of bone, and the roof of hair. In the balei, or dais, sat an old woman, of elegant appearance, with a plaid thrown across her shoulder, with four young women before her. As soon as they saw Tun Mamed they asked him, "Whence do you come, and whither are you going?" Tun Mamed said, "I am a Malaca man, named Tun Mamed. I am sent by the Sultan of Malaca to ask in marriage the Lady Princess Gunung Ledang. This is the reason of my coming. The laksamana and Sang Satia also are on the hill beneath, but unable

to ascend, and have sent me onward. Now please to inform me what is your name, and whence you come?" The elder lady replied, "My name is Dang Raya Rani, and I am the head person here of the Princess Gunung Ledang. Whatever you want stay here, and I will go represent it to the Princess." Of this the five females instantly vanished. Then there came to him an old woman, hunch-backed, and bent threefold, and said to him, "Dang Raya Rani has delivered your message to the Princess Gunung Ledang, who desires me to say, that if the raja of Malaca wishes for me, he must first make a flight of stairs of gold, and another of silver, from Malaca to Gunung Ledang; and in asking me, he must present a gnat's heart seven platters broad, a moth's heart seven platters broad, a vat of human tears, and a vat of the juice of the young betel nut, one phial of the raja's blood; and one phial of the Prince Raja Ahmed's blood; and if the raja performs this, the Princess Gunung Ledang will assent to his desire." As soon as she had spoken this she vanished, so that nobody could perceive where she had gone.

According to some accounts, however, the elderly lady who conversed with Tun Mamed, was the Princess Gunung Ledang, who had assumed the appearance of an old woman. Then Tun Mamed returned and descended to the laksamana and Sang Satia, and informed them of what had passed; after which they all returned and related the whole of the old woman's conversation to Sultan Mahmud Shah, who said, "all these requests may be complied with, but the taking of blood is an unpleasant business, and I have no inclination for it at all."

It is related that Merlang, the raja of Indragiri, who died at Malaca, left a son by the Princess Paramisuri, daughter of the deceased raja of Malaca, who was named Raja Narasinga, on whom all the people of Indragiri in Malaca depended. At that time, however, all the young nobles of Indragiri were not treated as equals by the young nobles of Malaca; and if in their sports they came to any stream or pool of

water, the young Malaca chiefs would cause those of Indragiri to carry them across; and such was their constant practice. Then all the Indragiri were indignant at such proceedings, and represented to Raja Narasinga that it was time to ask permission to take their departure for Indragiri, as they could not consent to stay any longer in Malaca, where they did not find themselves treated as equals, but rather as dependants. Then Raja Narasinga presented himself in full court to Sultan Mahmud, and requested his permission to return to Indragiri, "for though you have presented it to me," said he, "yet have I never seen it." The Prince, however, would not grant him permission. In a short time, however, Raja Narasinga took leave at his own hand, and fled to Indragiri, which was then in the hand of Raja Tuban, the brother of the deceased Raja Merlang, who had left a son named Maha Raja Isup, who had become raja of Indragiri. As soon as he reached Indragiri, Tun Kichil and Tun Ali, who were chiefs of Indragiri, informed Raja Isup of the arrival of raja Narasinga, and that he wanted to possess himself of the throne. Raja Isup

was alarmed at this information, and immediately fled to Linga, where he was graciously received by the raja, named Maha Raja Tringano, who gave him his daughter in marriage; and many of his descendants still remain at Linga. After the death of the Maha Raja of Linga, Maha Raja Isup became raja of Linga. Raja Narasinga, however, became raja of Indragiri, and Tun Kichil became his bandahara.

Mean time Sultan Mahmud, the raja of Malaca, sent to Keling to purchase chintzes of forty different kinds, forty webs of every kind, and in every web forty different kinds of flowering. Hang Nadim was the person dispatched on this mission, who was a true Malaca man, related to the bandahara Sri Maha Raja, and son-in-law to the laksamana. He went accordingly on board a Malaca vessel, of which there was plenty at that time, and as soon as he reached the land of Keling, he presented himself before the raja, and represented to him the wishes of the raja of Malaca. The Keling Raja collected the ablest painters, and directed them to draw patterns, according to the pleasure of Hang Nadin. They drew a

multitude of pictures, but could not succeed in pleasing him; again they drew, but succeeded no better than before. Then said the Kelingers, "We have now exerted the utmost of our skill, and if any thing can go beyond it, it is no skill of ours. Nevertheless if you have any pattern, give it, and we will draw it." Then said Hang Nadim, "Bring here a frame with ink, and let me draw one for you, and do you follow it." Then Hang Nadim drew a pattern according to his own ideas, and when the Keling draughtsmen saw him they were astonished at the quickness of his execution. When it was finished, he gave it to the Kelingers, saying, "Such is the pattern which I want." When the Keling draughtsmen attempted to follow his pattern, they could not, for the shaking of their hands, and were obliged to request his permission to carry it home, to their several houses. By the time that all the cloth was finished, and delivered to Hang Nadim, the monsoon for returning was at hand, and he went to the nakhoda Hang Isup, to take his passage to Malaca. Now this Hang Isup traded with one Sidi Ham-

ba Alla, who pretended that Hang Isup still owed him money, whereas Hang Isup alleged that he had paid him in full, and the quarrel between them had risen to a high pitch. Then said Hang Isup, "This bullocky Sidi here charges people falsely," "Hah, Hang Isup," says the Sidi, "I have no more bullocks than God gave me, and have received none from you, but wait till you set sail, you shall certainly sink in the middle of the sea." Hang Nadim who was present, said, "Sidi! I request of you most earnestly not to involve me in this business." "No, Nadim," says the Sidi, clapping his back, "may Almighty God protect you." On this the Sidi returned home, and Hang Nadim stowed all his bales of cloth in Hang Isup's vessel, to be ready for the voyage. They set sail, and when they reached the Silan sea, the vessel gradually foundered, with all its cargo, though there was neither rain nor tempest; and while every one was swimming for his life, Hang Nadim gained the sampan or cock-boat, and saved a part of his goods in it, and gained the land of Silan. The Silan

raja immediately sent for him, and desired him to make an egg-shaped lanthorn. Being skilled in limning, he succeeded admirably in the execution, and was highly rewarded by the raja, who was desirous of retaining him in his service, but Hang Nadim made his escape, and took his passage in a vessel to Malaca. When he reached Malaca, he presented himself before the Prince, and presented what he had saved of the bales of Keling chintz, amounting to only four or five webs. But when the raja learned what had happened, he was enraged at him for taking his passage in Hang Isup's ship, after he knew the execration which the Sidi had denounced against it. Hang Nadim said, "I took my passage in his vessel because it was the only one which was coming quickly to Malaca, for all the rest were to be late in the season;" but the Prince was still more enraged at this answer, and said to him, "Get you away from hence;" and Hang Nadim retired and went to his own house.

About this time the laksamana Hang Tuah died, and was succeeded in his office by Rhwajeh Hassan, who was the son-in-law

of Hang Tuah. This Rhawajeh Hasan had a son, Tun Abdul by name.

IT is related that Sultan Muhammed, the raja of Pahang died, leaving three sons. The eldest was Sultan Abdal Jamil, the second Raja Muda Parasura, and the youngest Raja Ahmed. Sultan Abdal Jamil succeeded his father, and married the sister of Sultan Mahmud, who bore him a son named Raja Mansur, who was extremely handsome. At this period, Sri Amar Bangsu became bandahara of Pahang, who had a daughter name Tun Tijaraän Bancal, who was extremely handsome in form, so that no one could be compared to her in all Pahang. She was excessively clever at opening pepper-pods with her teeth, and in this she was so skilful, that she could always separate them into two equal parts without ever tearing them awry. She was sought in marriage by Sultan Abdal Jamil, and the bandahara her father had promised, and she was to be married as soon as the monsoon set in. Meantime

the Sultan of Pahang sent Sri Wangsi di Raja to Malaca, to bear the tidings and tokens of his father's death, together with a letter. He arrived in Malaca, and was received according to the customs of the olden time. The contents of the epistle were to the following import, "May my liege, greeting, arrive under the feet of my suzerain lord, the Sultan of Malaca, to announce to him, that my father has returned into God's mercy." For seven days the Sultan ordered the nobuts not to sound. Then the Sultan of Malaca sent Sri Dewa Raja to Pahang with a taper and perfumes, and he also ordered Abdal Jamil to be crowned in his stead, and to enjoy the nobuts. Then was Sultan Abdal Jamil extremely glad to hear the contents of the letter, which run thus, "Salam and good wishes from the younger brother to the elder. It is the will of God which has passed upon your father, and what power of changing it have we? I have therefore sent a noble person, Sri Dewa Raja, along with Sri Wangsi, to do honour to your coronation." Then Sultan Abdal Jamil commenced his reign, and the ceremony of his coronation lasted seven

days and seven nights; after which, Sri Dewa Raja wished to return to Malaca, accompanied by Sri Wangsi; but Sultan Abdal Jamil requested them to stop till he had gone an elephant-hunting, as a great number of elephants had descended that season. Sri Dewa Raja persevered in requesting permission to take his departure, alleging, that if the winds set in, he would be a long time in his passage in Malaca, and incur the resentment of the Sultan; though he admitted he was very desirous of seeing the elephant hunt. Then Sri Dewa Raja asked, "If a tame elephant were loose, could he be taken with the noose?" The Sultan said, "That he can, whether wild or tame." On this, the other requested to see this operation; and Sultan Abdal Jamil called one of his hunters, and ordered him to let loose one of his tame elephants among two or three wild ones. After which they attempted to noose the tame elephant by the foot, but they did not succeed, and noosed one of the wild ones. They then attempted to noose the tame elephant by the head, and again missed it, and caught a wild one. Sultan

Abdal Jamil was greatly surprised, and called the old head man, with about ten hunters more, but none of them could succeed; but whenever they threw the noose, it struck another elephant. All the hunters, however, were surprised at the ability displayed by Sri Dewa Raja, which prevented the elephant from being caught. They came before the raja, and announced, that none of them could catch it in the presence of Sri Dewa Raja. Sultan Abdal Jamil was greatly ashamed of this incident, and returned to the palace; while all of them went to their homes. Next day, the raja ordered his elephant, Gompal, to be brought, and caused him to be rubbed over with oil, till he became extremely slippery. Now this elephant was extremely sloping in the haunches, so that only two persons could mount him at once; and if a third mounted, he was sure to fall; and even two men would fall, unless there was a howder. The raja having mounted this elephant, went to Sri Dewa Raja, and said, "Where is your son? I wish to take him on the elephant." Sri Dewa Raja said, "He is here, Sire;" but he thought, in his heart,

that the raja only wanted to kill his son, by mounting him on so sloping an elephant. The raja desired him to mount, and the elephant was again rubbed with oil; but Sri Dewa Raja called his son, saying, "Omar! Omar! come, the raja wants to carry you on the elephant." Tun Omar quickly came to him, and he whispered to him some instructions, which Tun Omar comprehended. Then the raja made the elephant sit down, and Tun Omar mounted, and seated himself on the rump, and they passed on to Ayer Itam, and wherever there was a declivity, height, or hollow in the road, thither he directed the elephant, in hope that the boy would fall; and whenever Tun Omar was about to fall, he mounted directly the rump, and clung to it, as his father had directed him; and whatever efforts the raja of Pahang made, the elephant refused to proceed: and whenever he moved his fore-feet, he could not remove his hind ones. Tun Omar, when he reached better ground, then allowed it to proceed. Again, the elephant wished to take the rough ground; and three or four times, it happened precisely as before.

Sultan Abdal Jamil was greatly surprised, and returned to the palace. Then Sri Dewa Raja asked permission to return to Malacca; and when he reached Malacca, he presented himself before Sultan Mahmud, who was highly gratified to hear the proceedings of Sri Dewa Raja at Pahang. Then the Prince enquired concerning the beauty and accomplishments of Tun Tiji, the daughter of the bandahara of Pahang; and was answered, that at this period, she had no peer in all Pahang. The Sultan's passion was excited, and he frequently mentioned her name. On a certain day, he said, "Who will go bring me the maiden of Pahang? I will comply with all his wishes, even to the extent of the half of the kingdom. If he has even slain a man, I will pardon him." Hang Nadim heard from below what passed in his presence; and he thought with himself, "Very well, I will go to Pahang, and if I succeed in bringing Tun Tiji, the raja will excuse my fault." For the raja continued desperately enraged at Hang Nadim, for his management in losing the bales, when he was sent to the land of Keling. He therefore, hav-

ing formed his plan, took his passage directly for Pahang. When he reached it, he met a man of Champa, named Seid Ahmed, with whom he was extremely intimate. He enquired if it was true, that the Lady Tun Tiji was so handsome; and said, that he wanted much to see her. "She is very handsome, in truth" said the other, "but she is betrothed to the sovereign of Pahang. Why then should you wish to see her. Besides she is the daughter of a very great man; and no man whatsoever can possibly see her; nor is it possible for the sun and moon to approach her." Hang Nadim now began to reflect by what device he should be able to get a sight of Tun Tiji. One day, there passed by an old woman who sold perfumes, and being called by Hang Nadim, she approached, and came into the house; and Hang Nadim got perfumes from her. "Mother," says he, "whom do you belong to, and where do you stay?" She said "I live with the datok bandahara." Hang Nadim said, "Are you accustomed to frequent the house of the bandahara?" The perfume woman said, "Yes, that I am;

and I am also in the habit of perfuming his daughter, the lady Tiji." Hang Nadim said, "Is it true that Tun Tiji is so very handsome as she is represented?" "Indeed she is a very fine figure, and has no match in all the land of Pahang. I believe I have traversed the whole of it, and there is none to compare to her. She is however betrothed to the Prince, and is to be married at the end of this season." "Can you keep a secret, mother?" said Nang Nadim. "That I can, thank God," said the perfume woman; "that is a thing I am quite used to." Hang Nadim was highly delighted at what she said, and drew nearer to her; and how much gold did he not give her; fine gowns, and whatever she pleased! The woman could not help coveting these worldly goods, and she agreed to keep Hang Nadim's secret, and she desired him not to be cast down upon the subject; to trust to her management. Hang Nadim said, "Mother, I trust to you entirely, that you will enable me to deliver Tun Tiji to the raja of Malaca;" and on this he gave her more gold. She set out, and entered the enclosure of the bandahara, saying,

“Who wants to be perfumed now?” As soon as Tun Tiji heard her voice, she made her women call the perfume woman, and she entered into the bandahara’s house and perfumed Tun Tiji; and as soon as she saw nobody present, she said to Tun Tiji, “Heh! how sorry I am to see Your Ladyship’s charms and beautiful person thrown away! how sorry I am that you are going to be married to this raja here. Were it to some great raja, how much better would it be?” “Why,” said Tun Tiji, “what raja is greater than the raja of Pahang?” “What raja is greater; how can Your Ladyship ask that; is not the raja of Malaca greater? Were you to marry the raja of Malaca, that would be a thing just worthy of Your Ladyship.” Tun Tiji was silent. Besides, when the perfume woman went out to go to the bandahara’s house, Hang Nadim gave her an ointment to rub on the body of Tun Tiji, and she now took care to employ it, and cajoled her at the same time, with soft and flattering phrases; till Tun Tiji suffered herself to be wrought upon. As soon as the perfume woman observed this, she told her; “There is a ser-

vant of the raja of Malaca, here, named Hang Nadim, who has been sent on purpose by the raja of Malaca, on your account privately; for if he were to ask you openly, it is very uncertain if the raja of Pahang would consent to resign you; and therefore he has sent privately. If Your Ladyship would consent to go to Malaca, there is no doubt that the raja would marry you, for he is not yet married, and then Your Ladyship would become queen of Malaca; but if you marry the raja of Pahang, you can only become an inferior co-wife to the queen. But if you marry the raja of Malaca, there is no doubt but the raja of Pahang himself will have to do you homage at Malaca." Tun Tiji assented to this old woman's cajoling speeches. Now all the ancient and experienced people of former times, have said, "Let never a young girl become intimate with an old one;" for, as the Arabic verse runs, "Trust a lion to enter your fold, but trust not an old woman to enter your house." When the perfume woman saw her advantage, she pressed her the more strongly; and Tun Tiji said, "I fear that this Hang Nadim will not carry me

to Malaca, but marry me himself." "How durst he venture to play such a trick?" said the tire-woman, "when he is dispatched on the business itself? Let me go and take his solemn engagement however." On this, she went out to find Hang Nadim; and informed him of all that had passed. Then said Hang Nadim,

"Tun Tiji, the gem of Bengal,
She who is skilful in splitting pepper pods;
If the lady does not give me credit,
Come let me swear on the word of God."

As soon as the perfume woman had heard the oath of Hang Nadim, she returned to Tun Tiji and mentioned what he had said, "Since it is so," answered Tun Tiji, "I consent." This information the old woman forthwith communicated to Hang Nadim, who immediately went to find his friend Seid Ahmed, the nakhodah, and said "he had a favour to ask." "What is it that I would not grant to you," said the nakhodah, "even if it were a matter of life and death, I would not fail." Then Hang Nadim mentioned the agreement of Tun Tiji, and all that had passed, and Seid Ahmed was glad to hear it. "Now if you

would do me a favour, clear your decks of the cajangs or sheds, and sail out, and wait for me at the mouth of the river, till morning twilight, and when I reach you, let us proceed to Malaca; and when you reach Malaca, I engage that you shall be highly rewarded by the raja." "Very well," said the nakhodah, and instantly ordered his people to stow away the cajangs, and be ready to set sail at mid-day. He went down the river accordingly, and waited off the shallows at the mouth. Hang Nadim then desired the old woman to go and bribe the keepers of the gates of the bandahara's house. The keepers were unable to resist the gold, and when every body was fast asleep, towards morning, the perfume woman conducted Tun Tiji down, and Hang Nadim stood ready below with a prahu at the quay hard by, and he conveyed her instantly to the prahu, having first wrapt up his hands in cloth. They descended the stream, and when they came to the first bar, Hang Nadim threw sand into the water, and cried out to open the bar, as they were going a fishing. The man in charge at the bar, said to himself, "Oh, 'tis only a fishing boat," and in this man-

ner they passed the first bar; and so Hang Nadim got rid of all the bars, and passed out into the bay, and joined the nakhodah, Seid Ahmed. Then they took Tun Tiji into the vessel, and accommodated her in a close cajang cabin on the stern. In the morning, when Tun Tiji's maids arose, they saw that their mistress was not in bed, and they went and searched for her at the bath, and in every other place, and then went to inform the bandahara that she was not to be found. The bandahara ordered her to be sought for every where, but no tidings of her could be found, and there was nothing but loud lamentation to be heard in the house of the bandahara. Then the bandahara went to communicate the information to the raja, who was equally surprised, and grieved at the intelligence. He ordered search to be made every where, but it was all to no effect. At last, a person came up from the bay, who reported that he had met Hang Nadim early in the morning rowing out of the bay with a woman veiled, and that he had carried her on board Seid Ahmed's vessel, just as he was ready to set sail.

Sultan Abdal Jamil was in a terrible passion when he heard this, and ordered ten swift penjajaps to be got ready, and he himself pushed out to the bay to pursue Hang Nadim, and all the champions of Pahang accompanied him with their prahus; and when they got out to Pulau Kian they found Seid Ahmed ready to set sail. Then, the Pahang made a fierce attack on him, and poured on him a sharp cross fire of balls. Then one of the prahus of the hulu-balangs run up to the jong of Seid Ahmed, and Hang Nadim pierced the man with an arrow, who hooked the junk; he fell dead, and the grapple fell from his hand, and the prahu fell back. Another immediately advanced, when the same thing took place, and so on with two or three more, after which no other durst approach. When Sultan Abdal Jamil saw all his champions fall back, he ordered his own vessel to advance, and Hang Nadim as soon as he observed the raja of Pahang, he immediately notched an arrow of the sort termed lusong, and clove the knob of the raja's umbrella, and called, "Ho! Pahangers, observe my marking, if I take aim at you

one by one, I will pierce each of you through the eye-balls." The Pahangers were alarmed at this denunciation, and the sight of his arrows in his hand, for Hang Nadim was a wonderous archer, and could split any rod with his arrow, and when he aimed at a man armed with a shield, he could smite sheer through the shield, and in the same manner with a buckler. Then came on the prahu of Tun Aria, when Hang Nadim split the mast right in twain, and again, he cut with his arrows all the bands which fixed the oars. Tun Aria stood right by the main-mast, with a buckler in his hand. Hang Nadim smote the buckler through, and wounded him slightly in the breast. Fortunately at this time, there came a breeze of wind, and Seid Ahmed raised his anchor, and set sail to Malaca, while the small prahus of Pahang were compelled to return without success, not daring to follow the vessel through the huge waves. Seid Ahmed, the nakhodah arrived at Malaca, and intelligence was brought to the Sultan, that Hang Nadim had brought Tun Tiji, the bandahara's daughter of Pahang. The Sultan was highly

delighted, and ordered her to be brought in state to the palace, and Hang Nadim brought her ashore, that very night, and conducted her into the presence. As soon as the Sultan saw Tun Tiji's face, he exclaimed in Arabic, "God have mercy! How beautiful." Then the Sultan bestowed many praises on Hang Nadim, and conferred on him an honorary dress complete, of the sort worn by young Princes, and made him presents of gold, silver, and other valuables, beyond all calculation. To the nakhodah, Seid Ahmed, the raja also presented an honorary dress, with all its accoutrements, and a creese with a golden sheath and handle, and a sword bound with gold, and gave him the title of Shah Andoka Mantri, and ordered him to sit near the raja's feet, along with the bantaras. Then the Prince married Tun Tiji, and was greatly enamoured of her.

On a certain day the Prince enquired of Tun Tiji, in what manner Hang Nadim had conveyed her away. "Please Your Majesty," said Tun Tiji, "he neither came near me, nor even almost looked at me; and when he laid hold of my hand to con-

duct me on board the prahu, he even muffled his hands in a cloth." The Prince was highly pleased at this, and Hang Nadim rose greatly in his estimation. By Tun Tiji the raja had a daughter, named Arama Devi. The Prince also gave Hang Nadim to wife, one of the Princesses of Calantan, named Chaw Bok, and he also bestowed on him the title of singanaya. He begot Tan Aumet Ali, surnamed commonly Sri Patam, and known by the title of Datok Paduca Tuan di Campung Jelai. He begot Tun Hamzah.

The raja of Pahang, when he lost Tun Tiji, was grievously enraged at the raja of Malaca. He mounted his elephant Capinyang, and ordered the bandahara to prepare all the gentles; "for," says he, "I will attack Malaca. Look all of you, I beseech you, at this elephant Capinyang, this is the way that he shall assault the public hall of audience of the raja of Malaca," and he immediately assaulted the hall of his own palace, and totally demolished it; and all the nobles cast down their looks on the ground, when they perceived his wrath. Then the Prince went into his palace. This

proceeding of the raja of Pahang was reported to the Sultan of Malaca. Then the Prince asked amid his champions, "Who of you now, will go and bring me the elephant of the raja of Pahang, with which he threatens to assault the hall of my palace. Whoever shall bring it, all his faults shall be forgiven, even though he have slain a man." Then said the laksamana Khwajeh Hasan, "If Your Majesty will give me permission, I will go to Pahang to bring this elephant." "Very well," said the Prince, and he accordingly got ready, and when he was ready the raja delivered him a letter, and then the laksamana Khwajeh Hasan immediately set out for Pahang. When he reached Pahang, the letter was received with due form and ceremony, and brought up to the hall of audience. When it was read, all the hulu-balangs successively mounted the dais, and the laksamana, having made his respects to His Majesty, was seated above Sri Agara, raja of Pahang. Then the laksamana represented, "Your younger brother of Malaca is informed, that Your Majesty is greatly enraged against him, for which cause he has sent me into

your presence, to enquire what cause there is that we should enter into quarrel or contest, brother against brother, when Malaca and Pahang are rather to be considered as one country than two." The raja of Pahang, when he heard this, enquired who had conveyed this information to Malaca, the man is only a tatler, but let the laksamana only reflect if it be proper that Pahang should war on Malaca. On this the raja rose up and went into his palace; and those who were in attendance took their departure. The laksamana, however, moored near the place where the elephants of Pahang came to be washed, and when the elephant keepers came to wash the elephants, the laksamana was wont to invite them a ship-board, and give them to eat and drink, and when they returned he would make them presents of gold and money; and thus several days were passed till all the keepers grew greatly attached to Khwajeh Hasan, and the laksamana emptied a part of his prahu for the convenience of the keepers, when they came aboard to eat and drink, and treated them with great kindness, taking care they received no displeasure, and from time to

time made them presents of gold and cloth for garments, so that no day passed without some presents; so that all those people were greatly attached to him. Then the laksamana asked permission of the raja of Pahang to take his departure, and the raja of Pahang sent a letter to Malaca, which was sent with due ceremony to the laksamana's prahu. That day likewise the elephant keepers came down to bathe their elephants, and among the rest the raja's own riding elephant Capinyang. The laksamana called the keeper of this elephant, and presenting him with four or five tael of gold, prevailed on him to bring Capinyang on board his prahu. The keeper, from his great attachment to the laksamana, did so, and the laksamana immediately began to descend the river. After they had passed four or five points in descending the river, then the keeper began to feign being in terrible fright, and pretended to raise a great alarm, how the laksamana had carried away the raja's elephant by force. Then all the men of Pahang raised a great hubbub, and reported what had happened to the raja. When the raja of Pahang was informed of

this proceeding of the laksamana, he was furiously enraged, and said, "The raja of Malaca treats me precisely like a monkey. He offers a plantain to my mouth, and hooks my tail with a pointed thorn." He then ordered thirty prahus to be immediately fitted out; and Sri Agura Raja, with Tun Hari, took the command, and pursued the laksamana out of the bay, as far as Sadeli Besar, without finding him. But the laksamana, Khwajeh Hasan, had weighed, and was on his voyage to Malaca. When he reached Malaca, the Raja Sultan Mahmud was highly gratified at procuring the raja of Pahang's own riding elephant, Capinyang, and presented the laksamana with an honorary dress, such as was worn by Princes; and he directed the elephant to be delivered into the custody of Sri Rama. The fleet of thirty prahus returned, without success, to Pahang, and the raja of Pahang writhed like a snake with excess of rage, and he appointed his son, Raja Mansur, who was still young, to succeed him. The government was, therefore, entrusted to Raja Muzafer and Raja Ahmed, the brothers of Sultan Abdal Jamil; and Sultan Abdal Jamil re-

retired from the world, and took up his residence above Pahang, removing further and further off, as long as he heard the sound of the nobuts, till at last he reached Lubok Palang, where he could hear the nobuts no longer. There the Prince took up his residence, and devoting himself to religious exercises, became a Sheikh. This is he who is generally denominated Sheikh Merhum, or the deceased Sheikh.

IT is related of Raja Zenal, the brother of Sultan Mahmud Shah, that he was a very handsome person, and nobody could be compared to him in these times; pleasant and sweet in his whole conduct, with quickness and alacrity of action. When he put on a long cloth, with a hanging point, and it did not hang fair, he would make nothing of cutting its point even. He had a horse named *Ambangan*, (the skiddler,) of which he was extremely fond, and which he stabled hard by his sleeping apartment, and emptied a lower room for that purpose and twice or thrice in a night he would go

to see him, and whenever he mounted, he would perfume himself, and when he had done, he would bring civet and rub upon the body of the horse, and then he would set out. When he came into the market, there would be a complete bustle in all its lanes, from the people crowding to see Raja Zenel pass by, and even the young wives would leave the embraces of their husbands and spring to the doors to see him; others would look from the windows, and others from the roofs, others would tear the latticed screens, to get a peep, and others would mount the paling of the enclosures; some would look out at peep-holes; others through the interstices of the paling; and the presents offered him on these occasions, were of all descriptions, and so numerous that they could not be received by all his lineage. Every sort of prepared betel, ginta lalat, or prepared betel, made up in rolls of many dozen of folds, posies of champaka flowers stuffed into each other; melor or jasmine flowers set in pots, betel leaf folded in every variety of ways, too numerous to be mentioned. The young Prince would accept what pleased him, and present the rest

to the lads that followed him. Such was the display whenever Raja Zenel went to the market place; and great impropriety of manners prevailed through the land of Malaca at this time. This state of matters was reported to Sultan Mahmud, with the whole conduct of Raja Zenel, at which the raja was greatly incensed, but retained his resentment in his own breast. On a day he called two or three of his most trusty men, and said, "Who of you is there who will slay Raja Zenel?" But no person would undertake it; and he ordered them to return to their own houses. When every body was fast asleep, the raja called the keeper of the gate, Hang Bercat, and said to him, "Hang Bercat, can you undertake to kill Raja Zenel, so that no person may be acquainted with the fact?" "It is I that can do it," said Hang Bercat. "If you can do this," said the raja, "you may count on me as a brother." At dead of night, when all were fast asleep, Hang Bercat went to the house of Raja Zenel, and found every body fast asleep; he then ascended from the horse's stall, and found Raja Zenel fast asleep, and instantly stab-

bed him through the breast quite to the back. When Raja Zenel found himself wounded, he groped for his creese, but could not find it; and he began to welter like a fowl when it is killed. Then Hang Bercat descended, and Raja Zenel expired; and the people raised a loud hubbub, that Raja Zenel was murdered, and stabbed by an assassin. The noise reached Sultan Mahmud, who came forth, and called out, "Who is below there?" Then Hang Bercat said, "We are all here, four or five below." He asked, "Who makes that noise?" Hang Bercat replied, "Your Majesty, I have not enquired." He said, "Go and see what the noise is about." Then he went under the pretext of seeing what was the matter, and returned, saying, "The paduca, your younger brother, has been secretly stabbed, but the assassin is not known." The Prince comprehended that this was Hang Bercat's deed; and he called to him, "Go, assemble the people, and all the King's servants." These were immediately assembled together, with all the great men; and the Prince went to the corpse of his brother, and caused it to be buried in a manner

befitting a Prince; after which he returned to the palace. In a short time, he conferred on him the name of Sang Sura, and acknowledged him as a brother. In a short time, the wife of Hang Bercat committed adultery with Sang Guna, and Sang Sura was acquainted with the fact, and lay in wait for Sang Guna. Now Sang Guna was a very handsome man in person, and of a stout make; but Sang Sura was of slender, shrill voice, and short stature. The King was informed of this affair, that Sang Sura was laying wait for Sang Guna. Now the Prince was very fond of Sang Guna, who was no common man at this time, but was the first man who manufactured at Malaca, creeses of three spans and a half in length; and the Prince was also very fond of Sang Sura; but in a situation of this kind, he had no resource left. He summoned Sang Sura, who presented himself, and having taken him to a private place, he said to him, "Sang Sura, there is something which I wish you to do for me, will you agree to it?" Sang Sura replied, "If it depends on me to do it, Your Majesty may be sure I shall not hesitate; for the brain of my

head is devoted to your service." The raja said, "I hear that you are lying in wait for Sang Guna; if you have any regard for me, I entreat this alone of you, that you would lay aside your design." When Sang Sura heard this he tucked up the sleeve of his coat. "That Sire," said he, "is a want of consideration for my disgrace; but when you suffered disgrace yourself, there was no person to repel it, but this person who now looks so ugly before you." "Very well," said the Prince, "All that is true; but nevertheless, for once I must earnestly request this of you; that you do not set yourself on the watch for Sang Guna. Besides, I will order him not to go out of doors, nor to amuse himself at the houses of his brothers; and if I have any occasion for him I will summon him." "Very well," said Sang Sura, "What resource have I left, since you are my liege-lord, whom it is not proper to oppose; but whose orders on the contrary I am bound to respect, for if I did not, I should not deserve the name of a servant." He accordingly gave up his design. As for Sang Guna, the Prince would not permit him to go abroad, and forbad him to go to amuse

himself among the young men; and whenever he heard that he was standing at the outer gate of his house, he would send a peon to express his dissatisfaction. But, Sang Guna would say, "Very well, if this be the King's orders, it is better to take me at once, and bind me, and deliver me over to Sang Sura, and let him put me to death immediately."

It is related that the raja of Legor, named Maha Raja Dewa Sura, was ordered by the raja of Siam to attack Pahang. He advanced with a host conjectured to amount to two coti, and his approach was announced to the raja of Pahang. Sultan Abdal Jamil collected his subjects, and strengthened the fortress, and repaired all the implements of war. The news of this invasion reached Malaca, and Sultan Mahmud called the bandahara Sri Maha Raja with all the mantris to a council to advise concerning the affairs of Pahang, which was going to be attacked by the raja of Legor. Sri Nara di Raja said, "Sire, in my opinion, it is proper to send and succour Pahang,

for whatever befalls it, it is only Your Majesty's name which will be brought in question." "Very true," said the Prince, "and therefore it will be advisable that the bandahara should proceed thither with all the champions." "Very well," said the bandahara, who immediately prepared, and took his departure with Sang Saten, Sang Naya and Sang Guna, and Tun Viajit, and Sang Jaya Pacrama, and the prahus were numerous as a float of timber, and could not be numbered. At this time the subjects of the city of Malaca alone, besides those of the coast and villages, amounted to ninety lac. The bandahara proceeded to Batu Pahat, where he met the laksamana coming from the river Raya, which was under the laksamana, according to the custom of that time. At this time the fleet of Sangay Ray amounted to forty prahus, besides lancharangs of three masts. Then, the laksamana, Khwajet Hasan, came to meet the bandahara. The bandahara said to him, "Gentle, come let us proceed to Pahang. I have not yet received His Majesty's orders," said the laksamana. "But I have," said the bandahara. "Neither have I yet

paid my respects to His Majesty," said the laksamana. "But, I have," said the bandahara, "therefore let us join hands on the subject." The laksamana had nothing more to object, and therefore proceeded with the bandahara Sri Maha Raja. When they reached Pahang, they found the half of the fort remaining unfinished, with the vestiges of recent fire on it. This circumstance is alluded to in the following pantun,

"The fort of Pahang is consumed with fire,
Between Jati and Cabantayan —
I do not prevent you from marrying another,
But that is not the agreement between us."

Then the bandahara went and presented himself before the Sultan of Pahang, who was highly gratified at receiving this assistance from Malaca. "Our fort is not yet finished," said the raja, "but it will now be completed by your assistance." "Very well," said the bandahara, and he ordered the Malaca men to exert themselves in constructing the fortifications; and he ordered the laksamana to superintend their operations. He set immediately about the work with great good-will, and exerted himself so much that the people were wont to

say, "that the laksamana wrought with his hand, with his foot, and also with his mouth," and in the space of three days the fort was completed. The raja of Legor soon advanced with all his host, which was innumerable, and commenced the war in a manner which cannot be described; and the soldiers of Legor died like hens of the pip (sempar). The men of Malaca and Pahang attacked them, and they gave way, and were broke and completely dispersed entirely. Maha Raja Dewa Sura fled to the uplands of Pahang, and proceeding straightly by land to Calantan, he returned to Legor. Then the raja of Pahang gave an honorary dress to the bandahara Sri Maha Raja, who took his leave and returned to Malaca. When Sultan Mahmud learned that Pahang had not been conquered he was greatly pleased, and he also conferred honorary dresses on those who had distinguished themselves according to their rank.

There was a mantri of Sultan Mahmud, named Tun Parapati the Black, deriving his origin from Tun Janu Bugu Dendany, (the crow). He had a son named Tun

Hasan, who was very handsome, and who used to say, "that if anybody affronted his father, he would run amok." Now it happened that Tun Parapati the Black had a very sharp altercation with a merchant, who complained to the bandahara. The laksamana was present at the hearing, for it was the ancient custom of Malaca, that when the bandahara investigated a cause, the laksamana and temangung should not be separate from him, and if anybody offered an affront to the bandahara, the laksamana put him to death; and if it was proper to apprehend or fetter anybody, it was the temangung who was to apprehend him. Such was the custom of ancient time. When Tun Parapati was summoned by the bandahara, Tun Hasan also came to find his father. When Tun Parapati saw him, thinking, perhaps, he would not be as good as his word, he arose, and scraping the mat with his foot, said, "Mantri, what sort of a thing is this, to examine people in this manner?" The laksamana instantly unsheathed his sword, Leken; and said, "Gentle, how dare you venture to scrape the mat before the bandahara," and instantly

he cut him down with a single blow, and Tun Parapati immediately expired. When Tun Hasan saw his father slain, he drew his creese. The laksamana said, "Intend you treason, Tun Hasan;" the instant the laksamana spoke, everybody fell upon Tun Hasan, and stabbed him; and though the laksamana did all he could to prevent them, they would not listen to him from the hubbub, and Tun Hasan also expired. Then the laksamana went in and related the circumstances of the case, and the raja said, "It has happened precisely as I could have wished, it is my order that the laksamana should co-operate with the bandahara. Whoever affronts the bandahara affronts me, and it is proper to slay him."

It is related that there is a country named Cota Meliyei, the raja of which was a Moslem, and named Raja Suleeman. This country came to be mentioned in Siam as a very fine country, but not subject to Siam. A son of the King of Siam, named Chaw Sri Bangsa, proposed to go and reduce it, and proceeded against it accordingly, with an innumerable host, like the leaves of the trees; and when he reached Cota Meliyei,

Raja Suleeman came out, and engaged Chaw Sri Bangsa, man to man, and each of them mounted on his elephant. Chaw Sri Bangsa declared, "That if he was victorious over Raja Suleeman, he would assume the doctrine of Islam." So it happened providentially, that Cota Meliyei was taken, and Raja Suleeman slain; and all his subjects reduced to subjection. Then Chaw Sri Bangsa adopted the Islam faith, and he ordered all the astrologers to search out a place for founding a city. Now there was a fisherman who followed his daily occupation, and resided on the sea-shore; and who had a son named Tani, whence he was called Pa-tani (Tani' father). The astrologers, or Samis, agreed at last, that the place where Pa-tani resided, was a good situation for a city, and reported it to Chaw Sri Bangsa, who ordered a city to be built on that spot, with walls and fortifications, and that its name should be called Patani, after the name of the fisherman; which name it retains to this day; according to the pronunciation of the Arabs; however, it is named Fatani. After this, Chaw Sri Bangsa sent Augun-pal (O-khun-phun) to

the raja of Malaca, to request the nobuts to be granted him, as he had entered Islam. O-khun-phun accordingly proceeded to Malaca, and was on an elephant, and conducted to court, according to the practice of ancient time; and the letter was read in the hall of audience, to the following purport. "May the respectful homage of the son reach his father the Paduca Sri Sultan! the exalted! the King of Kings! the sublime shadow of God in the world! Be it known, that his son, the paduca, has sent O-khun-phun to his father's presence to request the nobuts from His Majesty, the Paduca, his father." Sultan Mahmud was highly gratified by this letter, and presented the nobuts with all their accoutrements, and presented O-khun-phun likewise with an honorary dress, according to the ancient custom, and caused a letter to be written to Chaw Sri Bangsa, in which he gave him the name of Sultan Ahmed Shah. Then, O-khun-phun returned to Patani, and presented the letter, and Sultan Ahmed Shah of Patani assumed the nobuts accordingly.

After some time, the rajah of Kedeh ar-

rived at Malaca, and wanted to request the nobuts also; and was seated by the Prince, above all the chatriyas, while he made inquest regarding the raja of Kedeh. On a certain occasion, the bandahara, Sri Maha Raja, sat in the hall with a numerous audience of courtiers present, all the mantris attending; and among the rest the Temangung Hasan. Meantime a repast was served up, and first the bandahara ate alone, while the rest waited; for it was not the ancient custom for anybody to eat with the bandahara; but after he had eaten, then they might eat. At this time the raja of Kedeh arrived, and was immediately requested by the bandahara to come up; and he came up accordingly and seated himself along with Tun Hasan, the Temangung. The bandahara had done eating, and the rest of the victuals were set before Tun Hasan, the Temangung, and all the other mantris. Tun Hasan said to the raja of Kedeh, "Come let us eat." "Very well," said the rajah of Kedeh. Said the bandahara, "Don't let the rajah eat my leavings." "No matter," said the rajah of Kedeh, "for the bandahara is an aged man, and I regard

him as a father." Then the raja eat of the leavings, along with Tun Hasan; after which, the betel-box was produced, and they eat accordingly. After remaining some time in Malaca, the rajah of Kedeh requested the nobuts of the Sultan, which were granted him, and he returned to Kedeh.

At this time Malaca was in a very flourishing state, and the general resort of merchants; from Ayer Leleh (the trickling stream) to the entrance of the bay of Moar, was one uninterrupted market place. From the Keling town, likewise, to the bay of Penajar, the buildings extended along the shore, in an uninterrupted line. If a person sailed from Malaca to Jagra, there was no occasion to carry fire with one, for wherever he stopped he would find peoples' houses. On the eastern side likewise from Malaca, as far as Batu Pahat (hew-stone) there was the same uninterrupted succession of houses; and a great many people dwelt along the shore; and the city of Malaca, without including the exterior, contained nineteen lacs of inhabitants (190,000).

After some time there arrived a Frangi vessel from Goa, to trade at Malaca, and observed that Malaca was a very fine and beautiful country, and well regulated. All the people of Malaca came crowding to see the appearance of the Frangis, and they were greatly surprised as they had not been accustomed to see the Frangi figure; and they said, "Why these are white Bangalis;" and about every one of the Frangis the Malaca men were crowding by tens to view them, twisting their beads; and clapping their heads, and taking off their hats, and laying hold of their hands. The capitan then went to the bandahara Sri Maha Raja, and the bandahara adopted him as his son; and the capitan presented the bandahara with two hundred chains of gold set with gems of extreme beauty, and Manilla workmanship, and he threw it over the neck of the bandahara. The people present were going to be in a passion with that Frangi, but the bandahara would not let them, saying, "Do not mal-treat people who are ignorant of the language;" so kind was he to them, and the capitan adopted the bandahara as his father.

When the monsoon arrived, the capitan returned to Goa, and reported to the vizier the greatness of Malaca, and its great population. Now the name of the great vizier was Alphonsus Albuquerque, and he began to covet it eagerly, when he heard how fine a country Malaca was. He accordingly ordered a fleet of seven ships and thirteen galleons to be fitted out; and he appointed Gonsalvo Pereira to be captain-admiral to attack Malaca. When they reached Malaca they began to fire away with their cannon, and all the people of Malaca were frightened when they heard the sound of their cannon, saying, "What sound is this like thunder?" And the bullets came and struck the people who were on the land, and some had their necks severed, and some had their waists, and some their hands and their feet. The terror grew constantly worse and worse, and they said, "What is the name of this weapon which is so round? It is not sharp, yet will it kill." On the morrow all the lads of Portugal landed with about two thousand musketry, besides black men, and the Malaca men drew out their force, with Tun Hasan the Temungung at

their head, and met the Frangi army; and the noise of the fight roared and rung on either side, with the sound of descending weapons, like a thick-falling shower. Then, when the onset began, Tun Hasan the Temangung, commenced the attack according to the mode of amok, and beat back the Frangis, and their corpses lay scattered as far as the shore of the sea, and they returned on board their ships, and sailed away to Goa, where they related all the events of the war of Malaca to the viziers of that country. The great vizier was greatly enraged, for a great number of men had perished, and yet they had not got possession of Malaca. Afresh he made preparations to attack Malaca. Captain Mor, however declared, "It is my opinion that while the bandahara Sri Maha Raja lives, however large the fleet that attacks Malaca, it will not prove victorious. Alphonso Albuquerque replied, "Why do you talk in such a strain. What resource is there while I am not at liberty to quit Goa? But whenever I lay down the rank of vizier, I myself will go and attack Malaca, and it shall be seen whether or not I shall conquer it." But no prepar-

ations were made for another attack on Malaca, and how many times ten years are supposed to have elapsed before the plan was resumed!

As you cannot acquire perfectly the language of all us Malays here, in like we shall never be able to acquire your language truly. Then Mokhdim Sader Jehan was angry, and said, "I renounce teaching Tun Mia, the hairy caterpillar."

It happened on a time, that Sultan Mahmud wished to send to Pasei, to enquire concerning topics of discussion started between the learned of Mecca, and those of Khorasan and Irak; and he consulted with the bandahara, and the other great men. "If we write letters," said he, "we will have the worst of it, for it is the custom of Pasei to read differently from the writing, and if a person writes compliments, they read homage." Then said the bandahara, "the best thing to be done is first to write it, and then let the ambassador get it by heart." "Very proper advice," said the

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Prince, "and we shall send that gentle, Tun Mohammed, on the embassy." Tun Mohammed accepted it, and when all was finished, he took as a present a dagger of Pahang workmanship, set with gold and gems, a white cocatoo, and brown cocatoo. When Tun Mohammed had arrived and saluted the Prince, the Pasei men asked, "where was the letter." "I am the letter, let me have the music." Then Tun Mohammed mounted the elephant, and the music attended him to the hall of audience, and he recited the letter aloud, according to its purport. "May the wishes of prosperity from the paduca, the elder brother, reach the paduca the younger brother, the sublime Sultan, the elevated King of Kings." After this greeting the paduca, the elder brother has sent the noble Tun Mohammed and the mantri Sura Dewa, to the presence of the paduca, the younger brother, to enquire concerning the following topics. "Verily he who declares that God is the creator and preserver to eternity, is an infidel," and also. "Whoever says God is not the creator and preserver to eternity, is an infidel;" — and he requests

his younger brother to give him an explanation of these texts." Then the raja of Pasei assembled all the panditas, and learned men in Pasei, but not one of them could answer these queries. Then the Sultan of Pasei summoned Tun Hasan, who immediately came, and said, "Tun Hasan give a satisfactory answer respecting these topics, that we may not be disgraced." Tun Hasan replied, "In truth I am master of the subject, and if it please God, I shall find it easy." He called Tun Mohammed near, and explained to him what the Sultan wanted, and Tun Mohammed assented, and Tun Mohammed asked leave of the raja of Pasei to take farewell; and the raja of Pasei sent a letter with him, and the mantri Sura Dewa, to Malaca, accompanied with the present of a skean (sekian jenawi) with a barred handle, and studded; a bow with two cases, and two quivers full of arrows; and he presented the ambassador with rich honorary dresses. After this, they set sail and arrived in Malaca, and informed the Sultan of all that occurred, and the Sultan was highly pleased. This noble Tun Mohammed was the son of Sri Amaru

Bangsa Tun Abu Seid, and was the grandson of the white bandahara, and the great grandson of the bandahara Sura Raja.

It is related that the bandahara Sri Maha Raja had a daughter who was extremely beautiful, and named Tun Fatimah. She was quite devoid of fault, elegant in the highest degree, pleasant and sweet in her manner as the sea of honey, bright as the full moon when brightest, and she generally went dressed in forbidden vestments, and was all the handsomer. She was betrothed to Tun Hasan, the Temangung, who was no common man, elegant and pleasant, so that it was impossible to mention a more suitable pair. He is the person of whom the pantun runs

"What is it a-pickling with the bilimbing fruit,
The garongang oysters which come up the river;
Who is it you are peeping at over the wall,
Who but Tun Hasan the Temangung the bandahara's
son".

When Tun Fatimah however was grown up, the bandahara changed his purpose, and wanted to give her to Tun Ali, the son of Sri Nara di Raja, and when he was to pre-

sent the betel (a few days before marriage,) the bandahara invited the Raja di Baru, who attended and saw Tun Fatimah, at whose beauty he was quite astonished, and her form was a form of fairy (peri). He accordingly asked the bandahara, if the raja had ever seen his daughter. The bandahara said, "Not yet, if the bandahara will not be offended, I would talk to him a little." "Say on," said the bandahara, "whatever you think proper." The Raja di Baru, said, "This young lady is extremely handsome, and it is not proper to marry her to an inferior person, I think you should wait a little and let His Majesty have a sight of her, for at this present there is no Queen of the country, for the Paramaisuri, or Princess of Pahang was dead, and according to the custom of the Malay Rajas, whenever there was no Queen, the daughter of the bandahara should become Queen." The bandahara however replied, "one inferior man is fit for another inferior person." The Raja di Baru said, "Well, the bandahara will follow his own opinion, but being an aged man, I have only taken the liberty of representing the matter to you." Then

the bandahara made preparations for the nuptials of Tun Fatimah with Tun Ali. When the time for celebrating the marriage arrived, the Prince also went to the house of the bandahara, being invited to be present at the giving away Tun Fatimah. When the Prince came and was seated, they brought Tun Ali, who entered into the house, and the rice was brought for the bride and bridegroom to eat, and the bandahara invited the raja to enter and be present at the ceremony. Here the raja first saw Tun Fatimah, and his heart was moved at the view of her beauty; and he directly conceived enmity against the bandahara Sri Maha Raja, and said in his heart, "Was it not bad-hearted in Pa-Mutaher, not to shew me his daughter who is so very fine a woman." When the ceremony of the young couple eating together was over, the raja returned to the palace with his heart full of enmity against the bandahara, and constantly busied himself in machinations against him. Tun Fatimah after her marriage with Tun Ali, bore him a son named Tun Trang.

It is said that about this time a keling

settled in Malaca, and became Shahbender, or chief of the port, and he was named Raja Mudeliar. He was very rich at this period, so that nobody in Malaca could be compared to him. On a certain occasion he was sitting in the presence of the bandahara, who said to him, "Raja Mudeliar, now tell me true, how much gold are you worth?" "Your Honour," says Raja Mudeliar, "I am not worth a great deal, all that I possess is about five behra." The bandahara said, "if it is so, then I am just worth one behra more than Raja Mudeliar."

As for the bandahara, he was constantly engaged in trade, and never experienced any loss; and he would sometimes call the young children of the family, when he was so fond of them, saying, "My little lads, do you want to see gold?" and they would cry, "O, yes!" he would then desire them to bring a chest, and they would all go and bring the chest, crowding round it; and would bring it before the bandahara, when he would order them to empty it upon the mat, and measure it by the gantang; and then he would direct them to take each a handful, and go and play. Then, each of

them would take a handful, and would run off to play at the new house which the bandahara was building, and there they would lay it at the foot of the doors and partitions, while they diverted themselves; and when it was evening they would return home. In the morning, the workmen would come and find the money and take it. Then the bandahara's grand-children would recollect where they had left the money, and come running to seek for it, and then they would cry when they could not find it. The bandahara would ask, "what are all the boys crying about," and they would say, "they were crying for the gold which they had lost, and which they had received from the datuk." "Don't cry," he would say, "and you shall have some more in its stead;" and then he would give each of them a handful again, and then the boys would be quiet. Also when his grandsons went a hunting the wild buffalo or the deer, if they found no game, they would turn off to the folds of the bandahara's buffaloes, and stab one or two, and cut their throats, and bring a leg of them to the datuk bandahara. "What flesh is this?"

would the datuk say. "Buffalo flesh," would the person who brought it say, "for your grandsons went a hunting, and not finding any game, they have gone and stabbed one of your buffaloes, and sent you one of the haunches." "Are they not mischievous rogues, these boys?" would he say, "have they not a constant trick of going to hunt my buffaloes, when they can find no game?" When his slaves, who lived inland or along the shore, came to visit him, they would often appear in a crimson doublet and silk turban; and the bandahara not recollecting them, would say to them, "come up here, comrade, come up;" and then would he say, "What is your Honour's name." Then would the comrade say, "As for me, why I am the datuk's slave, and my name is so and so." "So then you are so and so, since that is the case." "Yes, indeed, datuk, would the other reply." Such was the characteristic behaviour of this bandahara, when he did not know his own servants.

It happened on a certain gala day, that the bandahara and all the chief men had seated themselves in the hall of audience, waiting for the raja to make his appear-

ance; when raja Mudeliar came, and wished to salute the bandahara; but the datuk repulsed him with his hand, saying, "Fy on this Keling, who does not understand the language of ceremony! Is it proper for you, Sir, to salute on the raja's balei, or raised seat? If you wish to pay your respects to me, can you not visit me at my own house? Besides, I have not yet saluted His Majesty, and how then can I touch any body's hand before that; and how fine that would be, in the presence of all." Then, Raja Mudeliar slunk away greatly ashamed.

There was a shopkeeper, who had long resided in Malaca, who was very rich, and named Ili Menu Nayan. Whoever visits him on festivals, he made them presents of cloths and gold, and rarities of different kinds, and he was visited by all the sons of the great chiefs, and he made them presents of rare cloths, and there was only Tun Hasan Temangung who did not visit him. One day, Tun Hasan was sitting in a large party, and Ili Menu Nayan came, and seating himself, and began to talk, saying. "Gentle, all persons of conse-

quence come to visit me, save only Tun Hasan Temangung, and if he would grant my request, he too would pay me a visit, and stop at my shop; for truly I would present him with ten taylor of gold to purchase betel." Tun Hasan, the bandahara's son, replied, "Nayen! You base born slave! would you give me an entertainment; it becomes not you, nor any of your fathers; I will have none of it." It was the custom of all the young gentlemen, when they wanted money, to go and represent to the bandahara, that the market place in their quarter of the town, was not placed even, and had a great many shops irregularly projecting, and that it would be proper to adjust it; for would not His Majesty be in a great passion if he should pass by and see? "Well then," said Tun Hasan, "go all of you with a surveyor, and make it all even by the chain." Then the young gentlemen would go, and where they saw the houses of the richest merchants, there would they extend their chain, and order the houses to be pulled down. Then the merchants who were the proprietors of the ground, would offer them money, some a hundred

and some fifty, and some ten dollars. Such was the practice of the young gentlemen, who would then go away with the surveyor, and divide the money.

There was a Keling merchant, named Penia Sura, who was the head of all the merchants in Malaca. This Penia Nina Sura Dewan had a cause against the merchant Raja Mudeliar, and both the parties went to the bandahara Sri Maha Raja, when it was almost evening. The bandahara desired them to come to-morrow, and he would hear the cause; then both the parties returned home. When it was dark, however, Nina Sura Dewan began to think Raja Mudeliar is a man of great property; and if he should present money to the bandahara, most assuredly he will gain his cause. It is best that I should anticipate him, and go this very night to the bandahara. He immediately took a bahra of gold, and went and presented it to the bandahara, saying, "Here is some gold, which I present to Your Honour for the purpose of providing your betel." "Nina Sura!" says the bandahara, "you have presented me all this gold, but surely I never asked

it from you, however, I accept it as you have presented it;" then Nina Sura returned. Now there was a Kelinger named Kitul, who was of the family of Nina Sura Dewan, who was indebted a cati of gold to Raja Mudeliar. That same night he went to the house of Raja Mudeliar, where he found him diverting himself with his daughter. "It is very fine," said Kitul, "for you to be amusing yourself here with your daughter, but a misfortune awaits you which you little think of." The heart of Raja Mudeliar trembled within him, at hearing the speech of Kitul, and he seized his hands, and conducted into a chamber, saying, "What is the news you have heard, pray let me know." Kitul said, "this very night Nina Sura Dewan has been with the bandahara, and has presented him with ten cati of gold, and he is to order you to be put to death, and even at this instant the bandahara and Nina Sura are concerting together concerning your destruction." When Raja Mudeliar heard this, he immediately went and brought Kitul's bill, and tore it to pieces, saying, "I give you up this debt Kitul, and shall ever after re-

gard you as my brother." Then Kitul returned home, and the same night Raja Mudeliar took a bahra of gold, with gems and rare cloths, and carried them to the laksamana Khwajeh Hasan, for at this time all the laksamana's family were very intimate with Sultan Mahmud. Then Raja Mudeliar presented himself to the laksamana, saying, "I come to acquit myself of a fault, that men may not say that I have conspired along with my headman, for I know that the bandahara intends treason against His Majesty, and pray give him quickly information of the fact, for he has caused a throne to be made for himself, with a golden *chirei*, and golden slippers, and wishes to assume the sovereignty in the land of Malaca." He then presented to the laksamana all the gold and goods which he had brought. When the laksamana saw all the gold displayed, his understanding was captivated by worldly goods, as it is said in the traditions, "O gold, you are not God, but yet you can accomplish whatever you please." "Very well," said the laksamana, then let not Raja Mudeliar be disconcerted, I will represent the matter

to the raja." Then Raja Mudeliar returned, and the laksamana entered to Sultan Mahmud, and told him all that Raja Mudeliar had said. When the Prince had heard this, he assented in his heart to the whole of it, for it was like a pillow to a drowsy men, as he constantly retained in his mind a grudge against the bandahara, on account of his daughter Tun Fatimah. He, therefore, directed Tun Sura di Raja, and Tun Indra Sagar, to be summoned, and ordered them to slay the bandahara Sri Maha Raja, and delivered them his own creese as a token from His Majesty. These two chiefs proceeded from the palace to the house of the bandahara, accompanied by the raja's slaves, and the bandahara's grandsons, with all his relations and connections; as soon as they saw the party quickly assembled round the bandahara, with all their warlike accoutrements and arms. As for Tun Hasan Temangung, he wished to fight with his creese, but the bandahara stopped, and would not suffer him, saying, "Stay Hasan, would you ruin the reputation of an aged man like me, for it is not the Malay custom to attempt treason." When Tun Hasan the Temangung

heard this, he threw away his creese and folded his arms. The bandahara, in like manner, ordered every one of his relations to throw down their arms, and they all returned in sorrow to their several homes. Then the bandahara remained with his brother Sri Nara di Raja, and his grandsons and nearest relatives. Then Tun Sura di Raja, and Tun Indra Sagara entered, and brought the creese from the raja, and having placed it on a silver platter, and covered it with a tetampan, they presented it to the bandahara. Then Tun Sura di Raja said, "I present this token of gratulation to the bandahara, as the power of fate has reached him." The bandahara, with Sri Nara di Raja replied, "Whatever God Almighty ordains, must be accomplished; as for me, I am content, especially, as I have committed no fault." Then the bandahara and Sri Nara Di Raja called for water for oblation. Then Tun Hasan Temangung took up the bandahara's chests, filled with gold, to throw them into the sea. "Ha! Hasan," said the bandahara, "why would you throw them into the sea. The Prince wishes to put me to death, but it is not to plunder

my gold. When I am dead let it be carried to His Majesty, and presented to him from me, and do not throw it away." Then the bandahara, Sri Nara di Raja, Tun Hasan Temangung, and Tun Ali, the husband of Tun Fatimah, were all four put to death, by Tun Sura di Raja, and Tun Indra Sagara. There was also a son of Sri Nara di Raja, who received a blow with a sword from a Bengali, named Miasem, reaching from the tip of his chin to the flap of his ear, or a little below. Tun Hamzah then fell wounded on the ground. Then there came a messenger running from the Prince, to forbid them from killing the whole family, but to leave some to keep up the lineage. Then said Tun Sura to Tun Indra, "What resource have we now, since we have killed the whole, and nothing but these little lads remain." Indra Sagara said, "Let us then preserve Inchi Hamzah, who is wounded, and have him cured, he will gradually recover." Then Tun Sura di Raja took Tun Hamzah and presented him to the Raja, who ordered him to be attended by physicians and cured, and this was the person who was so much beloved

by the Prince about that time. When the bandahara Sri Maha raja was dead, the Prince took Tun Fatimah, the wife of Tun Ali, to wife, and was very fond of her, and he took possession of all the inheritance of the bandahara, among which he found not one of the articles which the bandahara was said to have prepared, on which he greatly regretted putting to death the bandahara without more investigation than he had given to the subject. He also ordered his most enlightened mantris to examine how the business had happened. They enquired of all the great men concerning the matter, when it appeared that the perfidy had originated with Kitul and Raja Mudeliar. On this, the Prince ordered Raja Mudeliar to be put to death, and his house and property to be plundered. As for Kitul, he ordered him to be impaled horizontally, with his wives and children, and his house to be dug up from the foundation, and thrown into the sea. He also ordered the property of the laksamana, Khwjael Hasan, to be confiscated, for his impatience in representing the matter so quickly to the raja. Indeed, the raja would have put him to death, had he not

before sworn that he would not shed a drop of his blood; besides there was a river, the waters of which were still necessary for him. The Prince now wanted the datuk Paduca Tuan to be bandahara, but he was now very old, all his teeth were gone, and his legs were grown lame, so that he could only sit at the door, with a screen before him, and there he had to eat, and also to do his necessary occasions. When people came to visit him, the screen was removed, and when they went away, it was returned to its place. As soon as he heard that he was going to be appointed bandahara by the raja, he tumbled himself down beneath his couch, saying, "What sort of a bandahara should I be in this guise? He therefore represented that he could not possibly accept the office; the raja insisted, and whenever there was any business of importance, he had him carried to the Balei Rung. He is the person who is denominated the bandahara Luba Batu, (or of Stone-hole,) who had such a numerous offspring, all of one stock, and of one father and mother. In his lifetime, there were living, of

his own descendants, to the number of seventy and seven.

When the bandahara Luba Batu was sitting with his grand-children, he would say, "lads, do you want a chew of betel." They would answer, "if you please, Datuk." "Come beat the betel for me," he would say, and they would pound it, and give it to him and he would mumble it a little, and then give it to his grandsons one by one. As for the bandahara Luba Batu, he had a great appetite, and when he eat he would get his grand-children in the Balei with him, and also give them to eat, and they would eat what he left; then they would want kitchen stuff, and say, "salt is wanted." When the salt was brought, they would spill it on the ground, and again ask for salt, saying, "why really there is no salt in our victuals." When they brought salt, they would spill it by whole cup-fulls on the ground. Then would the bandahara Luba Batu call out, "Hallo! my grandsons have no kitchen stuff, why don't you bring them some." Then kitchen stuff would be brought in anew, and then they would be quiet.

Now, the bandahara was himself such an eater that when he went to visit the laksamana Hang Tuah, they would give him a pint of guntung or boiled rice, and a chop-pin or chapa of milk and sugar. When he went to bathe in the river, if there was a fruit tree inclining over the river, he would eat up the whole of the fruit on its branches. Such an eater was the bandahara. If he was going any where he would expend a pasu or cup of scented ointment, in rubbing over his body. He had a son named Tun Kajit, of a harsh temper. If he went to the market-place, whatever he got his hand on that pleased him, he would carry off without minding the right owner. Whenever therefore he went out, the bandahara ordered a person to follow him, and whenever he seized any thing, this person went and enquired its price, and paid it. Such was the temper of Tun Kajit. The bandahara presented him with an elephant, and after mounting it two or three times he sold it. The bandahara ordered it to be got back, and two or three times the same thing happened, on which he presented it to another of his sons. When Tun Kajit saw

this, he took it by force from him, saying, "it is my elephant which my father gave me;" and he took it, and in two or three days he sold it again. On this the bandahara was enraged, and bound him, and was determined to banish him from Malaca, and was with great difficulty prevented. After this however, he wounded one of the raja's companions. The bandahara again bound him in a Chindei cloth, and conducted him before His Majesty, desiring he might be put to death. The raja said, "This is always the case with the bandahara, because he knows I am a cruel man; he has brought me his son to put to death." Then the raja released him, and desired him to return with the bandahara. "Only observe how His Majesty proceeds," said the bandahara. "Here have I ordered this son to be put to death, and here he has let him go, and now the conduct of this disgraceful son will only be the worse."

This bandahara had a son named Tun Khwajeh Ahmed, surnamed Tun Vicrama, who begot Tun Isup Beracah, surnamed Paduca Tuan, who begot Tun Kajit, who was surnamed Sri Maha Raja and became

bandahara. This is he who is denominated datuk Bandahara Jouher.

As for Tun Fatimah the daughter of the former bandahara, she was greatly beloved by the raja, and became Queen of the land of Malaca, but she always continued melancholy, and whenever she thought of her father she became quite demented. As long as she lived with Sultan Mahmud, so far from laughing, she did not even so much as smile a single time. By the same token, when a person who loves, receives any thing from his beloved, he also loves that thing which he receives from the beloved object; and in the same manner is the mind affected with regard to hatred. When Sultan Mahmud perceived the invincible melancholy of Tun Fatimah, he was filled with deep remorse for the slaughter of the bandahara, Sri Maha Raja; and in the torments of his mind, he caused his son to be crowned by the name of Sultan Ahmed, and retired into the interior above Malaca, and resided at a place named Cayu-hara, with Sang Sura, who never separated himself. It is related, that whenever Sultan Mahmud went to divert himself at Tan-

jung Keling, or any place in the upward, Sang Sura always attended him, and carried his betel box, a small bundle, and a writing case. When Sultan Ahmed heard that Sultan Mahmud was wont in this manner to go and amuse himself, he ordered the great men to go and attend him. But when Sultan Mahmud Shah observed a number of people approaching, he put his horse to its speed, and went off, not wishing to be accompanied by many people. Sang Sura also followed him as fast as possible, filling up the marks of the horses' hoofs, in order that they might not be observed. Such were the habits of Sultan Mahmud, after his dereliction of the sovereignty.

As for the character of Sultan Ahmed, he had no affection for the champions or great men, unless for Tun Haru, Tun Mea, the hairy caterpillar, and Tun Muhammed, and the young men, and the raja's servants, who were the companions of his amusements. As for Tun Fatimah, the wife of Sultan Mahmud, as often as she was pregnant, she caused abortion. Sultan Mahmud asked her, "Why she constantly caused miscarriage? Was it that she did not wish to

have a child by him?" Tun Fatimah said, "What have I to do with a child, to add to my trouble; for even when I am only a single person, never is my heart glad." According to one account however, Tun Fatimah bore two daughters to Sultan Mahmud. At this time, Sultan Mahmud constantly studied safyism under Mukhdam Sader Jihan.

The grand vizier of Goa, Alphonso Albuquerque, after resigning his viziership, proceeded to Portugal, where he requested an armada. The King of Portugal gave him four great ships, five large caracks, four galleons, and Alphonso Albuquerque returned to Goa, where he again fitted out three ships, eight galleasses and four galleons, and four fasta, in all being forty-three sail, and proceeded to Malaca. When he reached Malaca, all the Malaca men were greatly alarmed at the sight of so numerous a fleet approaching the port, and they gave information to Sultan Ahmed, that a very numerous fleet was entering the harbour of Malaca. Sultan Ahmed quickly collected all his champions and subjects, and prepared for war. When they were all

prepared, the Malaca men came forth, and the Frangis from their ships began to cannonade, and balls fell like a thick falling shower of rain, and the sound of their cannon was like the thunder of Heaven, and the sound of their muskets like the rattling of dried pease, and the Malaca men could not maintain themselves on the sea-shore, on account of the severe shower of balls that rained on them. Then all the fleet of Malaca retreated, and as soon as the enemy observed their retreat, all the galleons and the fasta and galleasses made for the shore, and the enemy landed. As soon as the Malaca men saw this, they advanced to engage them in a great mass, and the sound of the weapons of the two hosts was like the day of judgment. Sultan Ahmed mounted his elephant, Jinaia, and marched out with Sri Audana, on the neck of the elephant, and Tun Ali on the croup. The Prince also carried Mukhadum with him, on the howder, for Mukhdam was the Prince's guru. The raja advanced towards the quay, attended with a strong band of champions, and set upon the Frangis, who were very numerous, and the Frangis were broken,

and were furiously amoked by the Malaca men till they fell back on the sea-shore, and retreated to their ships. As soon as they reached their ships, they rained away with their cannon like thunder-bolts, whizzing from the sky, and Sultan Ahmed moved a little way back from the quay, and multitudes run searching for a place to shelter themselves from the bullets. Then said Mukhdum to the Prince, "Sultan, this is no place for the enjoyment of the divine union, let us return," and he laid hold of the stay ropes of the howder with both his hands. Then the Frangis shouted from their prahus, "Haloo! you Malaca men, take notice, we will all of us land to-morrow, by God, (Demi Devasa,) therefore keep a good look-out." "Very well," said the Malaca men. That night he ordered a steady watch to be kept by all the mantris and hulubalangs, in their arms and armour. All the mantris and hulubalangs, and young nobles accordingly kept watch in the public hall, and they began to say to each other, "What is the use of sitting idly here? Let us read a tale of war, which may be profitable to us." Then

said Tun Muhammad Unta, "That is very true; let us therefore send Tun Indra Sagara to beg from the Prince the history of Muhammed Hanefiah, which he has sometimes favoured us with, for the Frangis are to make their attack to-morrow. Then Tun Indra Sagara entered to the Prince, and related to him the request of the young warriors. Then the Prince gave the Hikayat Hamdah, and said to Tun Indra Sagara, "Tell the young lads I will give them the story of Muhammed Hanefiah, but I fear they will not be so courageous as him, but if they will demean themselves like Hamdah, it will be very well. Therefore I give them the story of Hamda. Then Tun Indra Sagara brought out the history of Hamda, and told them what the raja said. Then all the young men were silent, till Tun Isup said to Tun Indra Sagara. "The raja has spoken amiss, go back, and tell him, that he has only to desire the young lads to show their valour like that of Benyar, since they wish to deprive us of our own country." Then Indra Sagara returned to represent this to His Majesty. Then the Prince smiled: "it is very just," said he, that

Tun Isup observes, and he gave him the history of Muhammed Hanefiah. When the day was lighted, the Frangis landed thousands on thousands, with their whole host and weapons of war. Sultan Muhammed quickly collected his hulubalangs, and marched out to encounter the Frangis. The Prince mounted the elephant named Juru Damang, with Sri Audana on the neck of the elephant, and Tun Ali on the croup. The two armies met, and the battle began, the Malaca men closing up stoutly, playing their creeses and spears, and the Frangis again fell back. When Alfonso de Albuquerque perceived his men giving way, he quickly supported them with a thousand soldiers with their musquetry, and set upon the Malaca men, and the sound of the musquetry was like thunder, and their balls fell like pease on a sieve (bidi). This was a severe attack, and the whole array of the Malaca men was broken, and all the champions of the Prince gave way, and the Prince stood all alone on his elephant. As soon as Alphonso de Albuquerque saw the Prince left alone, he enclosed him quickly round with soldiery, and the Prince singly

contended with a long lance, against all these Frangis, — curse them — and the Prince was slightly wounded in the hand, and lifted up his hand which was wounded, and cried, “You race of the Malays, are you not all ashamed to see me wounded here, take courage and stand by me.” When the champions who had fled, heard this, they all returned, and again made a furious onset, and amoked the Frangis with their whole soul. When Tun Saleh saw the blood of the raja’s wound, he plunged singly into the Frangis host, pushing them vigorously with his lance; but they run him through the breast with a spear, and he fell dead. This day, in the amok attack on the Frangis, five-and-twenty chosen hulubalangs perished, and Sri Audana was also wounded through the groin, being pierced with a long lance. Then, they made the raja’s elephant kneel down, and the Prince descending, returned to his palace, whither they also conveyed Sri Audana; and the raja ordered his physician to attend him, and he examined the wound, with the sharp point of a betel-leaf, and said that it was of no consequence, and would

easily be cured, though if the weapon had penetrated a barley-corn farther, he had been a dead man. By this time the Frangis had approached the exterior hall of the Prince's palace, and all the Malaca men were flying. The Prince saw that all had fled, and then Sultan Ahmed himself had recourse to flight, and the bandahara, who was lame, was seized on by Si Sal-la-mat, and compelled to fly. Then the Frangis entered the fortress, and they saw that there was nobody in the fortress, and then they continued the pursuit. Then said the lame bandahara to Sa-al-mat, "Bear up, and bring me up with these accursed Frangis, that I may amok with them;" but his family would not permit him. He said, "Fy, cowards! what a pity it is that I am lame. Were it no so, I would certainly die on Malaca ground; but now I see that all the young lads of the present day are not in the least sensible of shame, and in a crisis like this, there is not one of them to devote himself and amok." Then Sultan Ahmed retreated up to Moar, a place above, named Pagoh. As for Sultan Mahmud, he remained in Batu hampar, (spread stones,) and he founded a fort at Bentayen. In a short

time, the Frangis appeared before Pagar, and prepared to attack it. In a few days Sang Satia died, and Pagoh was taken, and Sultan Ahmed made his retreat, and went up the river to Panarigan. The lame bandahara died, and was buried at Lubu Batu, (the stone-plumbs,) which is generally termed Bender-Lubu-batu. After this, Sultan Ahmed, with Sultan Mahmud, retired to Pahang, and Sultan Abdal Jamil received them with great kindness, and conducted him into the city, with a thousand testimonies of respect and honour. Sultan Mahmud gave his daughter, who was born of the Princess of Calantan, in marriage to the raja of Pahang, named Sultan Mansur Shah. Without remaining long in Pahang, he proceeded to Bentan, and Sultan Ahmed founded a city at Kopeh. This Sultan Ahmed was extremely proper in all his conduct, and kind to all his subjects. In one respect, however, he was not good, that he had no affection for his mantris and hulubalangs and great men, and was greatly attached to all the young lads, and his personal servants, and all his people eat and drank pleasantly, feasting on rice with turmeric, and roasted

fowls, all of them. Then the great men all came to wait on Sultan Ahmed, and they were hooted by all the young lads, saying, "Where are the fragments and leavings of our rice prepared with turmeric, and our roasted fowls, with the picked bones, to give to those old people, who are come from abroad, for such is the raja's wish?" Sultan Mahmud heard of these proceedings, and was displeased at it, and by the power of God Almighty, the heart of Sultan Mahmud was expanded, and he sent a hulubalang, who killed him privately, so that few persons were acquainted with it, and the proceeding of the person respecting Sultan Ahmed was left in darkness. Thus died Sultan Ahmed, and was buried at Bukit-batu, (stone-hill,) and he is therefore called Merhum Bukit Batu, the deceased of the stone-hill. After the death of Sultan Ahmed, Sultan Mahmud placed on the throne his son, raja Mudhafer, to reign in his stead, and ordered him to be put under the tuition of a learned man, named Sham Selim, along with the sons of many other nobles. When Raja Mudhafer grew up, he married Tun Trang, the daugh-

ter of Tun Fatimah, and begot a son, named Raja Mansur. The laksamana Khwajeh Hasan died with grief, and was buried at Gunung-pantei, (shore-hill,) and Hang Nadim succeeded him in the office of laksamana, who became so famous in war for fighting, till the earth was drenched in blood. This Hang Nadim was two descents from the laksamana Hang Tuah, and the bandahara Lubu Batu was also two descents from the same hero. Tun Fatimah, the Queen of Sultan Mahmud, bore a son, who was named Ala-eddin Gheyas Shah, who was commonly denominated Sultan Muda. Sultan Mudhafer, the sovereign, married Tun Trang, the daughter of Tun Fatimah, and he had also by Tun Ali, a son, named Raja Mansur. After the death of Sultan Ahmed, all the young nobles and the King's servants were assembled by Sultan Mahmud, and said to them, "Do not be concerned about your situation, it shall be continued precisely as under Si Ahmed." They replied, "We will submit to the authority of Your Majesty, as we formerly submitted to that of your son, and we now all return to your allegiance.

All of them submitted themselves in this manner, except Tun Ali, who refused to pay allegiance to him, and whatever instance the Sultan made to satisfy him, he still refused, saying, "I never wish to look another raja in the face after that of His Majesty, your son, for His Majesty died not of disease, nor in war, but only by foul treason. Therefore, I request that Your Majesty would throw me where he lies; for what purpose do I survive? By how many means did Sultan Ahmed endeavour to allure him, presenting him with gold and silver, and how many dresses! But not one of them would he receive, desiring only that the Prince would put him to death, which was at last done by Sultan Mahmud.

THE END.