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Edited for the Council of the Society by Tan Sri Datuk Mubin Sheppard.

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PULO PINANG, 1856, by Charles Henry Cazalet, forms the cover picture for "A Centenary Volume". It is part of a portfolio of 19th Century watercolours in the collection of Eric Nonweiler and George Caldwell of Singapore, who have given the Society permission to reproduce it. The portfolio was presented originally by Capt Cazalet to Mrs Forbes-Brown of Glugor Estate, where Capt Cazalet had been hospitably received while serving in the island with the 29th Regiment Madras Native Infantry.

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**The Council
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1977/1978**

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1877

1977

Commemorating the Society's One Hundredth Birthday

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

On Monday, November 4th, 1877 a meeting was held in Raffles Library, Singapore. Among those present were Archdeacon G.F. Hose, who presided; C.J. Irving, the Resident Councillor, Malacca; W.E. Maxwell, who was later the Colonial Secretary; A.M. Skinner, the Colonial Treasurer; W.A. Pickering, the Protector of Chinese; N.B. Dennys, Magistrate; and D.F.A. Hervey, Magistrate.

Mr Skinner proposed and Mr Irving seconded a resolution "that the gentlemen present form themselves into a society for collecting and recording scientific information in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. The said society to be, for the present, called "The Straits Asiatic Society". Those present formed themselves into a provisional committee. The committee then resolved to communicate with the Royal Asiatic Society in London to seek agreement to the incorporation of the society as the "Straits Branch" of the older society, which was founded in 1826.

The Governor of the Straits Settlements agreed to be Patron, and for many years afterwards Governors continued to give their patronage. Founder members, numbering about 150 persons, who were elected during 1878, included Rajah Brooke of Sarawak; Frank A. Swettenham, of the Colonial Secretariat; Major J.F.A. MacNair, the Colonial Engineer; Capt. Bloomfield Douglas, the Resident of Selangor; H.C. Syers, Superintendent of Police, Selangor; Major S. Dunlop, to be Inspector-General of the Straits Settlements Police; Tan Kim Ching, son of Tan Tock Seng; Syed Abu Bakar, a Selangor Chief from Ulu Bernam; Lt R.S.F. Walker, Deputy Commissioner, Perak Armed Police; Hoo Ah Kay (Whampoa), one of the first Unofficial Members of the Straits Settlements Legislative Council; and Syed Mohamed bin Ahmed Alsogoff.

The original objects of the Society included "the publication of papers in a Journal", and the first of these Journals was dated July 1878. It included papers on "Malay Proverbs" by W.E. Maxwell; "Chinese Secret Societies" by W.A. Pickering; "Geography of the Malay Peninsula" by A.M. Skinner and "Dialects of Melanesian Tribes of the Malay Peninsula" by M.M. Maclay.

In March 1878 the Royal Asiatic Society in London agreed to allow the Straits Asiatic Society to change its name to "The Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society" and this was approved at a meeting held on May 6th, 1878. For the next 45 years this name remained unchanged, but in 1923 a decision was taken, after reference to all members, to rename the Society "The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society."

Eighty-two Journals had by then been published and the last of the Straits Branch series was dated November 1922. From 1923 the now familiar combination of capital letters JMBRAS, came into existence, but, although the serial numbers of future publications was continued, the Journals of the Malayan Branch were each given a Volume number, and each Volume had several Parts. Thus JMBRAS Volume One Part 1 was published in April 1923, Part 2 was published in October and Part 3 in December of the same year.

The last Journal to be published before the Japanese invasion of Malaya was Volume 19 Part 3, in December 1941. The next issue, Volume 20 Part 1, was published in June 1947.

In 1964, soon after the establishment of Malaysia, the name of the Society was changed from Malayan Branch to Malaysian Branch. The first issue of the Journal of the Malaysian Branch was Volume 37 Part 1. The serial number of the Journals had remained unbroken, and the number of the first issue of the Journal of the Malaysian Branch was numbered No 205. By the middle of 1977 the serial number on the latest Journal (Volume 50 Part 1) had reached 231, representing the grand total of the number of Journals which had been published by the Society in the 99 years since the first issue of the Journal of the Straits Branch.

In 1970 the Society published "Index Malaysia", covering Journals published by the Society between 1878 and 1963. A First Supplement was published in 1974 covering the subsequent decade. "Index Malaysia" listed more than 290 authors and more than 170 subject headings.

With such a wealth of scholarship and such a variety of subjects, it has been an unenviable task to select a mere 30 articles for publication in this Centenary Volume. The Hon. Editor has been fortunate to receive the help of an Editorial Committee whose names appear on another page, in carrying out this heavy responsibility. Limitations of space and finance compelled the Committee to omit many important articles by famous Malayan authors, and it has been necessary to shorten several of the articles which have been included. To our members and other readers we ask for forbearance if some choice article or some favourite author has not been included. The most prolific contributors to the Journal have been R.O. Winstedt (144 articles), H.N. Ridley (95 articles), C.A. Gibson-Hill (48 articles), W.E. Maxwell (35 articles), W. Linehan (33 articles) and R.J. Wilkinson (28 articles).

Many distinguished Malaysians have been elected President of the Society, including Sir Richard Winstedt who held the post from 1927 to 1935; Dato Sir Roland Braddell from 1948 to 1951; Dr C.A. Gibson-Hill from 1956 to 1961; Tun Abdul Razak from 1962 to 1964 and Tan Sri Nik Ahmed Kamil from 1964 to the present day.

The total membership today is 713 — a figure which has seldom been equalled. Of these nearly three-quarters live in the territories of Malaysia, the Republic of Singapore and Brunei, but the remainder reside in 32 other countries, and the Society's Journal is more widely read today than at any time in the past century.

10th October, 1977

Tan Sri Datuk Mubin Sheppard,
Hon. Editor MBRAS

Articles in this volume are reproduced from the original texts in the Journal.

STRAITS BRANCH

The Founding of Singapore

by T.S. Raffles

(This interesting letter of Sir T. S. Raffles has been kindly placed at the disposal of the Straits Asiatic Society by the Chairman of the Raffles Library and Museum Committee, with the following explanation.)

Singapore, 3rd December. 1878.

*The Chairman of
The Committee of Management
of the Raffles Museum.*

Sir,

I was requested when leaving England, by my friend Mr. T. Dunman, formerly Commissioner of Police, Straits Settlements, to take charge of the enclosed most interesting letter from Sir Stamford Raffles to Colonel Addenbrooke, dated Singapore the 10th June 1879, and to the Raffles Museum here in the name of T. H. Scholefield Esq. of Bournemouth, Devonshire, to whom it belongs.

I have no doubt you will consider the letter, containing as it does the views of the Founder of the Settlement at the time of his taking possession, of sufficient value and interest to provide for its safe-keeping in the Raffles Museum.

*I have &c.,
(Signed) W. W. WILLANS.*

Singapore, 10th June, 1819.

(To Colonel Addenbrooke)

My dear Colonel,

You will probably have to consult the Map in order to ascertain from what part of the world this letter is dated. Refer to the extremity of the Malay Peninsula where you will observe several small Islands forming the Straits of Singapore. On one of these are the ruins of the ancient Capital of "Singapura," or "City of the Lion" as it is called by the Malays. Here I have just planted the British Flag, and a more commanding and promising Station for the protection and improvement of all our interests in this quarter cannot well be conceived.

Since my return to this Country my public attention has been chiefly directed to the proceedings of the Hollanders, who, not satisfied with receiving from us the fertile and important Island of Java and the Moluccas, have attempted to exercise a supremacy over the whole of Borneo and Sumatra, and to exclude our nation from all intercourse with the other States of the Archipelago. They have been very particular in the means, and they seem to have considered the degradation of the English character as necessary to their own Establishment. You may easily conceive how much annoyance this has given to me, and prepared as I was to remain a quiet spectator of all their actions. I have not found it possible to continue entirely neutral. While they confined their proceedings to the Countries in which European authority was established, we had no right to interfere; these we had by Treaty agreed to transfer to them, and they were of course at liberty to act in them as they thought proper without reference to our interests; but they no sooner found themselves possessed on these than they conceived the idea of driving us from the Archipelago altogether, and when I made my re-appearance in these Seas they had actually hardly left us an inch of ground to stand upon. Even our right to the spot on which I write this, though yesterday a wilderness and without inhabitant, is disputed; and, in return for our unparalleled generosity, we are left almost without a resting place in the Archipelago.

But it is not *our* interests alone that have suffered by this unexpected return; those of humanity and civilization suffer more deeply. To comprehend the question justly you must consider that it has always been an object of the first importance to our Indian interests to preserve a free and uninterrupted commerce with these Islands as well on account of this commerce itself, as the safety of our more extensive commerce with China, which lies beyond them; and that for the last century, owing to the defects and radical weakness of the Dutch, we have been able to effect this without serious molestation from them. The consequence of this constant and friendly intercourse has been the establishment of numerous independent States throughout the Archipelago. These have advanced considerably in civilization; and as their knowledge increased so did their wants; and their advancement in civilization might be estimated in the ratio of their commerce. The latter is suddenly arrested by the withering grasp of the Hollander; the first article he insists upon is the exclusion of the English and the monopoly on account of his own Government of whatever may be the principal produce of the place; the private merchant is thrust out altogether; or condemned to put up with vexations and impositions but above all the unhealthy climate of Batavia; at which Port alone the Dutch seem determined that all the trade of these Islands shall centre. Surely after the millions that have been sacrificed to this hateful and destructive policy, they ought to have had some common feeling for humanity, some object

in view beyond the cold calculations of profit and loss. Let them do what they please with Java and the Moluccas, and these contain a population of at least five millions; but with the population of Borneo, Sumatra and the other Islands, which is at least equal in amount, they can have no right to interfere by restrictive regulation. Let them turn their own lawful subjects to what account they please, but let them not involve our allies, and the British character, in the general vortex of the ruin they are working for themselves.

I must beg your pardon for troubling you with politics, but it is necessary I should give you some account of them to explain the cause of my movements, which have been various and rapid. I had not been six weeks in Bencoolen before it was necessary to penetrate into the interior of the Southern Districts of Sumatra. I had hardly accomplished this when my attention was directed to Central districts and the original seat of Malayan Empire*; on my return from there I had to send a party across the Island from Bencoolen; being the first attempt of the kind ever made by Europeans, and finally I had to proceed to Bengal to report my proceedings and to confer with the Governor General as to what was best to be done to check the further progress of the Dutch. Here I fortunately met with every attention; the subject was fairly and deliberately considered, and to use the emphatic words of Lord Hastings "there was but one opinion as to the moral turpitude of the means employed by our rivals and their determination to degrade and injure the British. In this crisis it remained to be considered what was best to be done in this country without exciting actual hostilities; and what should be recommended to the authorities in Europe. It was clear that the object of the Dutch was not only to command for themselves all the trade of the Eastern Island, but to possess the power in the event of future war of preventing our regular intercourse with China. By possessing the only passes to this Empire, namely the Straits of Sunda and Malacca, they had it in their power at all times to impede that trade; and of their disposition to exert this power, even in time of peace, there was no doubt. It was therefore determined that we should lose no time in securing, if practicable, the command of one of these Straits; and the Straits of Malacca on account of their proximity to our other Settlements appeared the most eligible. I was accordingly authorized to provide for the establishment of the British interests at Acheen, (the most Northern Kingdom of Sumatra and which commands the Northern entrance of these Straits) and to fix upon some Station that might equally command the southern entrance. My negotiations occupied a period of several months, but they ended successfully, and the predominance of the British influence in that quarter has been duly provided for. The same has been effected at this end of the Straits

* *Menangkabau*; an interesting account of this visit is to be found in Crawford's Descriptive Dictionary p. 273.

and the intermediate station of Malacca although occupied by the Dutch, has been completely nullified.

This decisive though moderate policy on the part of the British Government has paralysed the further efforts of the Dutch, and we have reason to hope that every thing will remain *in statu quo* pending the references which are necessarily made to Europe by both parties. Our eventual object is of course to secure the independence of the Bornean, Sumatran and other States with which we have been in alliance for the last twenty years; and further, if practicable to regain the Settlements of Malacca, Padang and Banca. These ought never to have been transferred to the Dutch, but as they are indebted to us in nearly a Million Sterling on the adjustment of their Java accounts, it is to be hoped we may yet make a compromise for their return.

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 known that such a place existed; not only the European but the Indian world also was ignorant of it. It is impossible to conceive a place combining more advantages; it is within a week's sail of China, still closer to Siam, Cochin-China, &c. in the very heart of the Archipelago, or as the Malays call it, "the Navel of the Malay countries"; already a population of above five thousand souls has collected under our flag, the number is daily increasing, the harbour, in every way superior, is filled with Shipping from all quarters; and although our Settlement has not been established more than four months every one is comfortably housed, provisions are in abundance, the Troops healthy, and every thing bears the appearance of content and abundance. I am sure you will wish me success, and I will therefore only add that if my plans are confirmed at home, it is my intention to make this my principal residence, and to devote the remaining years of my residence in the East, to the advancement of a Colony which in every way in which it can be viewed bids fair to be one the most important, and at the same time one of the least expensive and troublesome, that we possess. Our object is not territory but trade, a great commercial Emporium, and a *fulcrum* whence we may extend our influence politically, as circumstances may hereafter require. By taking immediate possession we put a negative to the Dutch claim of exclusion, and at the same time revive the drooping confidence of our allies and friends; one Free Port in these Seas must eventually destroy the spell of Dutch monopoly; and what Malta is in the West, that may Singapore become in the East.

I shall leave this for Bencoolen in a few days where I hope to remain quietly until we hear decidedly from Europe, at all events I am not likely to quit Sumatra again for some months and then only for a short period to revisit my new Settlement. You may judge

of our anxiety to return to Bencoolen when I tell you that we left our little girl there in August last, and have not since seen her. Lady Raffles, who accompanied me to Bengal and is now with me, has since presented me with a son; the circumstances preceding his birth were not very propitious; I was obliged to quit her only four days before the event, we were almost amongst strangers, no nurse in whom to confide, no experienced medical aid, for we had expected to reach Bencoolen in time, and yet all went on well, and a finer babe or one with more promise of intelligence never was beheld. You will recollect that our little girl was born on the waves, under circumstances not more promising, and yet no mother and no children could have suffered less. What strange and uncertain dispensations of Providence! Good God when I think of Claremont and all the prospects which were there anticipated,—but I must check my pen.

I thank you most sincerely for your letters of the 8th December 1817 and 29th April, 1819; the former I could never acknowledge till now; the latter is before me and I cannot express how much I feel indebted to you for your kind and affectionate attention. The engravings I have duly received; one of them in particular is dear to me from many associations; it is from the Painting which I so often admired in the Drawing-room.

Your account of our amiable and invaluable Prince has given me the greatest satisfaction. He has indeed had his trials, but that he is himself again proves him to be of a higher being than our ordinary natures. Volumes would not do justice to his merits or his virtues, my heart overflows when I think of him and of his sufferings, and though far removed and separated from the passing scene, be assured I listen with no common interest to all that is said of and about him.

I have told you that Lady Raffles has presented me with a son and a daughter; from the circumstance of the latter having been born on the voyage, the Javanese who are a poetic people, wished her to be named Tunjung Segara, meaning 'Lotos of the Sea,' and a more appropriate name for purity or innocence could not have been conceived. I gratified their wish, but at the same time my own, by prefixing a more Christian and a more consecrated name "Charlotte"; my son has been christened "Leopold"; and thus will "Leopold and Charlotte" be commemorated in my domestic circle, as names ever dear and respected; and that of my daughter will be associated with emblem of purity, handed down in remembrance of one whose virtues and interests will never be gorgotten.

I must not close this letter without giving you some account of my occupations and views as far as they are of a personal nature; I am vain enough to hope that these will interest you more than all I could write of a public or political nature.

Notwithstanding the serious demands on my time arising out of my public station, and the discussion I have naturally had with the Dutch Authorities, I have been able to advance very considerably in my collections in Natural History. Sumatra does not afford any of those interesting remains of former civilisation, and of the arts, which abound in Java. Here man is far behind-hand, perhaps a thousand years even behind his neighbour the Javanese; but we have more originality, and the great volume of Nature has hardly been opened. I was extremely unfortunate in the death of Dr. Arnold, who accompanied me as a Naturalist from England, he fell a sacrifice to his zealous and indefatigable exertions on the first journey he made into the interior; but not until he immortalized his name by the discovery of one of the greatest prodigies in nature that has been yet met with, a flower of great beauty but more remarkable for its dimensions; it measures a full yard across, weighs fifteen pounds, and contains in the Nectary no less than eight pints, each petal being 11 inches in breadth and there being five of them. I sent a short description of this plant, with a drawing and part of the flower itself, to Sir Joseph Banks; from whom, or some of the members of the Royal Society, you may probably have heard more particulars. I have now with me as a Botanist Dr. Jaik, a gentleman highly qualified, and we are daily making very important additions to our Herbarium. We have recently discovered at this place some very beautiful species of the *Nepenthes* or Pitcher Plant, which in elegance and brilliancy far surpass any thing I have yet seen in this quarter—the plant is very remarkable, and though the genus has been generally described but little is known of the different species. We are now engaged in making drawings of them, with a few other of the most remarkable and splendid productions of the vegetable world which we have met with, and propose forming them into a volume to be engraved in Europe. This will be an earnest of what we propose to do hereafter, and you will oblige me much by informing me whether His Serene Highness would have any objection to the first result of our labours being dedicated to him; there will not be above six or eight engravings, but they will be on a large scale.

Besides our Botanical pursuits I have in my family two French naturalists, one of them step-son to the celebrated Cuvier; their attention is principally directed to Zoology, but we include in our researches every thing that is interesting in the mineral kingdom; our collection of Birds is already very extensive, and in the course of two or three years we hope to complete our more important researches in Sumatra. We shall endeavour to include the Malay Peninsula, Borneo and elsewhere, wherever the Dutch, who are the Vandals of the East, do not establish themselves to our exclusion. I hope the plants &c. by Dr. Horsfield reached Claremont in safety and tolerable preservation.

On the West Coast of Sumatra abound great varieties of *Asallims*

and Madrepores ; but few of these are known in England, and collections are rare. I am preparing a few for Claremont and shall be happy to hear from you if they are likely to be acceptable, or what would be more so. I beg you to present my respects to Prince Leopold with every assurance of deep regard, affection, and esteem which it may be respectful for me to offer.

To the Duke of Kent, (although I have not the honor of his acquaintance I am personally known to his Royal Highness) I will thank you also to present my respects, and my congratulations, as well on his marriage as his appointment of Commander-in-Chief, which we learn by the Public Prints has recently taken place.

Allow me to add my kindest remembrances to Sir Robert Gardner, the Baron Dr. Stockmar, and other members of the family or visitors to whom I may have the honor of being known and who are kind enough to take an interest in my welfare; and to assure you, my dear friend, that I am with sincerity and truth.

Your obliged and
very faithfully attached friend,
(Signed) T.S. RAFFLES.

A MALAY NAUTCH.

BY

FRANK A. SWETTENHAM.

Read at a Meeting of the Society held on the 5th August 1878.

It was in the early part of 1875 that, being sent on a Mission to the Bandahara of Pahang, I witnessed, what I have never seen elsewhere in the Malay Peninsula or the Straits Settlements, a Malay Nautch.

I have of course, like most other people here I suppose, repeatedly witnessed Malays dancing and singing during the Muharam, especially in Penang; I have several times also been present at a Malay "Mayung," a kind of theatrical performance, with some dancing and much so-called singing:—the performers, as a rule, being a travelling company of three or four men and perhaps one woman, who make their living by their performances, and play either at the invitation of a Raja in his own house, or before the public on a stage erected in the middle of the Street.

Had the performance I now describe nearly resembled any of those commonly seen here, or in the Peninsula, there could be little interest in this description, but in the belief that the sight as I saw it is a rare one, seldom witnessed by Europeans, and so far undescribed, I have venture to offer it, as it may, to some, be interesting.

The journey to Pahang and what occurred there I shall not speak of, for they have no bearing on the nautch. It will be sufficient to say that this was not my first visit to that state, that the Bandahara Ahmed and his chiefs were well known to me, and that whilst awaiting the Bandahara's decision in an important matter, for which I had already been delayed several days, we (for I had a companion) were invited to attend a Nautch at the Bandahara's Balei.

The invitation came at 2 a.m., and we at once responded to it.

Our temporary lodging had been the upper story of the Captain China's house, a not-too clean loft, gained by means of an almost perpendicular ladder, and furnished for the most part with the accessories of Chinese Processions, and a plentiful supply of mosquitoes.

It was not therefore a matter of regret to leave this, even at 2 a.m., for the Bandahara's Balei, a spacious Hall, the Entrance side of which was open and approached by steps, whilst the opposite side led through one small door into the 'penetralia' of the Bandahara's private dwelling.

The nautch had been going on since 10 p.m. There were assembled about 200 spectators, all or nearly all of them men,—squatting on the floor, on a higher or lower level according to their rank. We were accommodated with chairs and there was one also placed for the Bandahara.

When we entered, we saw seated on a large carpet in the middle of the Hall, four girls, two of them about 18 and two about 11 years old, all beautifully dressed in silk and cloth of gold.

On their heads they each wore a large and curious but very pretty ornament, made principally of gold—a sort of square flower garden where all the flowers were gold, but of delicate workmanship, trembling and glittering with every movement of the wearer.

Their hair, cut in a perfect oval round their foreheads, was very becomingly dressed behind, the head dress being tied on with silver and golden cords.

The bodies of their dresses were made of tight fitting silk, the neck, bosom and arms bare, whilst a white band round the neck came down in front in the form of a V joining the body of the dress in the centre, and there fastened by a golden flower.

Round their waists they had belts, fastened with very large and curiously worked "pinding" or buckles, so large that they reached quite across the waist. The dress was a skirt of cloth of gold, (not at all like the Sarong) reaching to the ancles, and the dancers wore also a scarf of the same material fastened in its centre to the waist buckle, and hanging down on each side to the hem of the skirts.

All four dancers were dressed alike, except that in the elder girls, the body of the dress, tight fitting and shewing the figure to the greatest advantage, was white, with a cloth of gold handkerchief tied round it under the arms and fastened in front, whilst in the case of the two younger, the body was of the same stuff as the rest of the dress. Their feet of course were bare.

We had ample time to minutely observe these particulars before the dance commenced, for when we came into the Hall the four girls were sitting down in the usual Eastern fashion, on the carpet, bending forward, their elbows resting on their thighs, and hiding the sides of their faces which were towards the audience with fans, made I think of crimson and gilt paper which sparkled in the light.

On their arms they wore numbers of gold bangles and their fingers were covered with diamond rings. In their ears also they had fastened the small but pretty diamond buttons so much affected by Malays, and indeed now, by Western ladies.

On our entrance the Band struck up, and our especial attention was called to the orchestra as the instruments were Javanese and seldom seen in the Malay Peninsula.

There were two chief performers, one playing on a sort of wooden piano—the wooden keys being the only resemblance, for with them the machinery of the instrument began and ended—knocking the notes with pieces of stick which he held in each hand—The other, with similar pieces of wood, played on inverted bowls of metal.

Both these performers seemed to have sufficiently hard work, but they played with the greatest spirit from 10 p.m. till 5 a.m.

The other members of the Band consisted of, a very small boy who played, with a very large and thick stick, on a gigantic gong—a very old woman who beat a drum with two sticks, and several other boys who played on instruments like triangles.

All these performers, we were told with much solemnity, were artists of the first order, masters and a mistress in their craft, and I think they proved the justice of the praise.

I said the Band stuck up as we entered and I have tried to describe the principal figures in the scene which greeted us, and which impressed me, with much interest as a sight to which I was unaccustomed.

The Orchestra was on the left of the entrance, that is rather to the side and rather in the back ground, and I was glad of it. The position had evidently been chosen with due regard to the feelings of the audience.

From the elaborate and vehement execution of the players, and the want of regular time in the music, I judged, and rightly, that we had entered as the *ouverture* began. During it's performance, the dancers sat leaning forward and hiding their faces as I have described, but when it concluded, and without any break, the music changed into the regular time for dancing, the four girls dropped their fans, raised their hands in the act of "Sambah" or homage, and then began the nautch by swaying their bodies and slowly waving their arms and hands in the most graceful movements, making much and effective use all the while of the scarf hanging from their belts.

Gradually raising themselves from a sitting to a kneeling posture, acting in perfect accord in every motion, then rising to their feet, they began a series of figures hardly to be exceeded in grace and difficulty, considering that the movements are essentially slow, the arms hands and body being the real performers whilst the feet are scarcely noticed and for half the time not visible.

They danced 5 or 6 dances, each lasting quite half an hour, with materially different figures and time in the music. All these dances I was told were symbolical, one, of agriculture, with the tilling of the soil, the sewing of the seed, the reaping and winnowing of the grain, might easily have been guessed from the dancers movements. But those of the audience whom I was near enough to question were, Malay like, unable to give me much information. Attendants stood or sat near the dancers and from time to time, as the girls tossed one thing on the floor, handed them another.. Sometimes it was a fan or a glass they held, sometimes a flower or small vessel, but oftener their hands were empty, as it is in the movement of the fingers that the chief art of Malay nautches consists.

The last dance, symbolical of war, was perhaps the best, the music being much faster almost inspiring and the move-

ment of the dancers more free and even abandoned. For the latter half of the dance they each had a wand, to represent a sword, bound with three rings of burnished gold which glittered in the light like precious stones.

This nautch, which began soberly, like the others, grew to a Bacchante revel until the dancers were, or pretended to be, possessed by the Spirit of Dancing "hantu menari" as they called it, and leaving the Hall for a moment to smear their fingers and faces with a fragrant oil, they returned, and the two eldest, striking at each other with their wands seemed inclined to turn the symbolical into a real battle. They were however, after some trouble, caught by four or five women, who felt what the magic wands could be made to do, and carried forcibly out of the Hall. The two younger girls, who looked as if they too would like to be possessed but did not know how to do it, were easily caught and removed.

The Band, whose strains had been increasing in wildness and in time, ceased playing on the removal of the dancers, and the nautch was over. This was after 5 a.m.

The Bandahara who had appeared about 4 a.m. told me that one of the girls, when she became "properly" possessed, ate nothing for months but flowers, a pretty and poetic conceit.

In saying good bye we asked if we might, as I understood was customary, leave a present for the performers, who I should have mentioned were part of the Bandahara's own household.

He consented seemingly with pleasure, and we left him for our boat just as the day was beginning to break.

By the time we had got our traps together the sun had risen and was driving the night fog from the numbers of lovely islands which stud the river near the town.

We got into our boat, shoved off, and thoroughly tired lay down on the thwarts and in 10 minutes were fast asleep; only waking when we reached the "Pluto" at 7.15 A.M.

LATAH.*



FEW words upon this mysterious and unexplained mental anomaly, so common amongst the inhabitants of the Straits Settlements and of the Malay Peninsula, will not, I hope, be thought out of place in the pages of this Journal.

I must premise that I write without any of that special knowledge which would be valuable as bearing upon the pathological side of the subject, and also with a Malayan experience strictly limited by my acquaintance with the inhabitants of the Peninsula from Kōdah southward to Singapore. I am encouraged, however, to put upon paper the result of my own observations with regard to *latah* by the fact that none of what I may call "the stock" writers upon Malayan subjects seems to have noticed this very noticeable form of disease in any detail; and I am further influenced by the hope, that those better qualified than myself, both by width of experience and by scientific knowledge, will now be led towards the elucidation of phenomena, interesting to most and experienced by all of the residents in this part of the world.

In the few remarks which I have to offer upon the peculiarities of this disease (so I must call it for want of a better term), I purpose to limit myself to those facts which have fallen under my own personal notice and I shall also restrict myself to an account of its exhibition amongst Malays proper. †

* It has not escaped me that the word *latah* has been used all through this paper in defiance of all rules of grammar. But I have thought it best not to confuse those who may not be acquainted with the Malay language, and have accordingly used the word *latah* throughout as both adjective and substantive.

† By this term I would include all branches of the Malay race with which I am acquainted.

I thus define my object, so as to bring what I have to say within the very narrow limits of a paper written (without preparation and at short notice), rather with the view of throwing out suggestions for the consideration of more capable observers, than as pretending to a tolerably exhaustive treatment of a wide subject.

Lest I should be supposed, however, even after this explanation, to maintain that *latah* is peculiar to those of Malay origin, I must state parenthetically that, in my search after this peculiarity, I have found it, outside the Malay race, weakly exhibited in a very small percentage of Tamils, and strongly exhibited in an equally small proportion of Bengalis. I have noticed traces of the disease in two so-called "Sikhs," and, curiously enough, the most marked sufferer I have ever met was a pure Nubian, whose appearances in these waters, as fireman on board an Ocean steamer, were few and far between.

I have never observed a trace of the disease in any member of any of the Chinese races resident in the Straits. The consideration of the questions of race and latitude as bearing upon *latah* would lead me now too far a-field. I hope to treat this branch of the subject in a future paper, but here, as I have said, I have to do with *latah* amongst Malays only.

What is *latah*?

The derivation of the word seems veiled in the obscurity which covers the origin and nature of the disease itself.

I do not find the word in MARSDEN at all; FAVRE explains it by "indisposition nerveuse chez les femmes, dans laquelle elles "disent tout ce qui leur vient à la bouche."

A more modern lexicographer translates the word as "ticklish," and another recent etymologist connects it, in defiance of spelling, with *melata* to creep. This bold derivation will commend itself, I fancy, chiefly to those classes of English-speaking ladies who connect "nervousness" and "the creeps," but this ingenious surmise, even if correct, only throws the difficulty one step further back.

I can find no derivation which satisfies me either for *latah* or for *melata*.

And now as to *latah* itself, derivation and origin apart.

The Malay acceptance of the word is very wide. It includes all persons of a peculiarly nervous organization, ranging from those who, from their mental constitution, seem absolutely subservient to another's will; down to those who appear merely of a markedly excitable temperament.

A pathologist would of course—and I trust I may now say will—differentiate and classify the different degrees of this mental peculiarity. As a non-scientist, I am content to treat the subject in the broad light in which it is presented to the Malay mind by their own unscientific and comprehensive word *latah*.

I suppose I am not taking too much for granted when I assume that, by this time, the general character of the Malay is more or less understood by the civilised world. He has recently been called "the Irishman of the East," with more happiness than generally marks the definitions of "Our Special Correspondent."

The only point of resemblance between "this and that," upon which I would lay stress here, is the intense impressionability of the Malay.

Externally impassive the Malays are, as a race, but no one can long have had intimate dealings with them without being struck by their extraordinary susceptibility and peculiar sensitiveness to the influence of what we should call the accidents of every-day-life.

No man, *pace* all Irishmen, is more "touchy" than a Malay.

It is this nervous impressionability which leads to those mysterious *vendettas* and unaccountable *amoks*, which so often place the European completely at fault in dealing with this otherwise charming and loveable people. And it is this intensified nervous sensibility which is, I am convinced, at the base of the peculiarity of which I have to speak. I think it will best serve the purpose—the admittedly humble purpose—I have in view, if I begin at what appears to me to be the bottom of the whole of the phenomena I have to notice, and to work up to the top, noting the divisions into

which these phenomena seem naturally to fall, without any attempt at their scientific classification.

CLASS A.

In this class, I would place those subjects who appear to be affected merely by such excess of nervous sensibility as is exemplified by starting unduly at the sound of an unexpected and loud noise, or at the sight of an unexpected and distressing or alarming incident.

So far, it might be said that, under parallel circumstances, a similar exhibition might be expected from any unit of any nation of the human race. But, having observed Malay *latahs* on numberless occasions under the above conditions, I have noticed two peculiarities which seem to differentiate the mental shock which they undergo from that which Europeans experience under like circumstances.

Firstly, their irresistible impulse seems to be to strike out at the nearest object, animate or inanimate, and, secondly, their involuntary exclamation is always characterised by what I must call obscenity.

I cannot here enter into any particulars of this latter characteristic, but, so far as I have observed, and I have observed with careful interest, this element is never absent from the cry of a startled *latah*, who may, on ordinary occasions, appear the essence of propriety.

I touch upon this point, because I believe it to be noteworthy, and when I come to speak of some of the peculiarities of *latah* women, I believe I shall be pardoned by those who may be interested in the pathological view of the question.

CLASS B.

In this class, I would place those sufferers whose nervous emotions are unduly excited without apparent, or, at all events, without adequate cause.

To proceed at once to illustration.

I have more than once met with river boatmen, who, when the word *buaya* (alligator) was mentioned, even in the course of casual conversation after camping for the night, would drop whatever they might have in their hands and retire cowering to the cover of the nearest *kajang*.

I have enquired into every case of this description which came under my notice, and in no case could I learn that the man had any special reason for his terror in the way of a personal experience. His friends explained that he was *latah*, and that to them explained everything.

On one occasion, after a curious exhibition of this description, I shot an alligator on the bank next morning. The *latah* was, to my surprise, the first to approach the saurian. Against my earnest entreaties, he proceeded to pull the creature about, and finally forced its mouth open with a piece of firewood.

His persecutors, his fellow-boatmen, stood at a respectful distance.

An hour afterwards, as he was poling up the river, one of the crew called out to this man *buaya!* He at once dropped his pole, gave vent to a most disgusting exclamation, and jumped into the river—an act which shewed that his morbid terror was quite unconnected with what might be supposed to be its exciting cause.

More than one man have implored me not to mention the word *harimau* (tiger), and more than one have gone nearly insane with terror when the word *ular* (snake) was spoken "at" him.

In each case of this description, my Malay companions solved my perplexity, at times very great, by saying "dia latah, tuan."

Similar cases must be familiar to many who read this Journal, but the instance I have quoted of the man who became limp and nerveless from terror at the mention of the word *buaya* and who afterwards was the first to handle a *buaya*, of whose death no one was assured, presents a curious mental contradiction, of which I await the explanation.

I may add that a *pacang* (medicine-man) who exhibited extreme distress at my mention of the word "tiger," was one of the few

men I have met out here who habitually passed nights in the jungle alone. There was here no question of the superstitious reverence which Malays have for this animal, or of their dislike to hearing it called by its regular name. The man's fear was *latah*, and his friends, though apparently much amused, told me that this was his peculiarity, and I was careful not to offend again.

With regard to snakes, perhaps the horror with which these sufferers hear the word, is more marked still.

Such cases, however, as I say, must be familiar to most readers of these pages. The class of cases in which those afflicted are led to believe in the actual presence of a reptile, where the same only see a bit of string, or a piece of *rotan*, belong to another—the fourth—division of my subject.

CLASS C.

To this class seem to belong all those persons who, without encouragement, and involuntarily, imitate the words, sounds or gestures of those around them.

These *latah* subjects cannot, I think, be widely classed under the head of "village idiots."

Their disease is, I have gathered from experience, as a rule, spasmodic, by which I mean that it is marked by intervals of mental regularity, while all other phases of this complaint are, so far as I have observed, persistent.

This imitative propensity is often combined with the other characteristics of *latah*, but I have marked many cases in which it stands by itself.

I have tried, but tried in vain, to lay down any rule for the periodicity of these attacks. They appear to vary in the period of their recurrence, not only as regards one *latah* compared with another, but also in the case of any individual sufferer.

Here I may remark, that the Malays themselves draw a distinct line between *latah* and insanity proper.

Their definition of the narrow border line which separates madness and mental health, does not satisfy me, still less would it

satisfy those kindly moralists who contend that all men are, to some degree, insane. But I am dealing with a Malay subject as treated by Malays, and therefore draw attention to the fact that nothing can be more distinctly defined than their several attitudes towards an *orang gila* and an *orang latah*.

A strong case of this division of *latah*, which has come under my notice, was at Kuala Jumpol, when I was crossing the Malay Peninsula in 1875.

I there met a young Malay who was of material assistance to our party in pulling our boat across a narrow watershed into the Thi Sureting. His comrades told me the man was *latah*, but I could see nothing in his conduct or conversation which was not perfectly rational.

Some twenty-four hours after making his acquaintance, one night we let off a signalling rocket for the amusement of those who had given us assistance (none of those present had ever seen a rocket before). I was preparing to fire a second rocket myself, when the *latah* pushed me violently aside, snatched the torch from my hand, fired the rocket, and fell down on his face making an unintelligible noise, to all appearance the expression of fear.

I was somewhat startled, such rudeness and violence being quite foreign to the Malay character. When I sought an explanation from the by-standers, I was informed laconically "*latah, tuan.*"

Next morning when I met this man, I found him perfectly rational and perfectly respectful.

I saw him standing alone on the bank as we put off down-stream, and I waved my hand to him. To my surprise he began waving his hand frantically in return, and continued to do so till I lost him at the first bend of the stream. I had begun to whistle an air. He also began whistling. His imitative faculty did not quite lead him to a reproduction of the tune, but the fact of an up-country Malay's whistling at all is sufficiently remarkable. As I rounded the bend, I saw him still waving and heard him still whistling. The steersman to whom I turned came out with the stereotyped formula "*Dia baniak latah, tuan.*" I hope my poor friend's exertions ceased when their exciting cause passed out of sight.

A Malay woman, of respectable position and exceedingly respectable age, was introduced to me some time ago as a strong *latah* subject.

I talked to her for at least ten minutes, without perceiving anything abnormal in her conduct or conversation. Suddenly her introducer threw off his coat. To my horror, my venerable guest sprang to her feet and tore off her *kabayah*. My entreaties came too late to prevent her continuing the same course with the rest of her garments, and in thirty seconds from her seizure the paroxysm seemed to be over.

What struck me most in this unsavoury performance was the woman's wild rage against the instigator of this outrage. She kept on calling him an abandoned pig, and imploring me to kill him, all the time that she was reducing herself to a state of nudity.

One more instance :

I have met a man several times lately who is a very strong *latah* subject. He is cook on board a local steamer, and is naturally (alas, for human nature!) the butt of all the crew, who daily and almost hourly exercise their clumsy wit—the wit of sailors *plus* orientals—at his expense.

All this skylarking, however, had a tragical ending the other day, which illustrates the point of which I am speaking.

This cook was dandling his child forward one day ; one of the crew came and stood before him with a billet of wood in his arms, which he began nursing in the same way as the *latah* was nursing his baby. Presently he began tossing the billet up to the awning, and the cook tossed his child up also, time for time. At last, the sailor opened his hands wide apart and let the wood fall upon the deck, and the cook immediately spread out his hands away from the descending child, who never moved again after striking the boards.

A parallel case will at once suggest itself to all old residents in Singapore, where a Malay *latah* ayah, who saw her master tear up a letter and throw it out of the window, promptly threw a basket of clean clothes which she was carrying out of the opposite window, with the simple apology that she could not help doing so.

These illustrations may be thought trivial and unworthy of a grave subject. I have not selected these four instances from a host of similar personal recollections without consideration.

Two exemplify the mental warp I have attempted to describe, as entirely upsetting all Malay ideas of decency and propriety.

The third seems to shew how this imitative impulse may, on occasions, override what is admittedly one of the strongest feelings in all matured minds.

And the fourth—well—the fourth is a true story, amusing, if embarrassing in its results, and illustrative of the same mental condition as that in the more tragical story which preceded.

CLASS D.

The phenomena which belong to this division of my subject seem to call for the skill of a MESMER to elucidate.

I shall content myself, as before, with simply stating what I believe to be the facts of the case, and leave theory to those who come after me.

I have repeatedly been brought into contact with Malays afflicted with *latah*, who, without any effort on my part, have at once and completely abandoned themselves to my will and powers of direction.

I have, at different times, tested my power over many of these subjects, in every conceivable direction, and I have satisfied myself, in each case, that my influence over the diseased mind was practically without limit.

As I cannot claim for myself any special strength of will, I am consequently led to the conclusion that the abandonment of self-control depends upon the mental weakness of the patient and not upon the will-strength of the agent.

By this I mean to convey that every *latah* subject of this class is under influence of others, not so afflicted, to approximately the same extent, and that this influence is not proportional to the varying force of character of the different individuals who may choose to exert it.

I am tempted to supply instances of this phase of *latah*, but I refrain from doing so advisedly. The proof of what I have stated is in every one's hands, but I much question the good taste of anything of the character of an experiment in this direction, unless for a purely scientific purpose.

I have not myself experimented upon a *latah* for some years, and I have never done so without subsequent regret.

For it must be remembered, that the patient who at one's bidding stands on his head, picks up a red-hot piece of iron, or strikes a bystander twice his own size in the face, is perfectly conscious of the mental abasement which he is exhibiting, and resents his degradation most intensely.

I have always felt, however, that such exhibitions degrade the European as much as they do the Malay.

The last division of the subject which I have to notice here, is the manifestation of the disease exclusively amongst women. The popular character of this Journal forbids my entering into details or illustrations under this heading.

Still I think I may, without seeming unduly realistic, so far touch upon sufferers of this class as to complete my review of the whole subject.

Latah, while happily rare amongst young women, is common amongst those of mature age, while of old women a largeish percentage is affected.

In the younger sufferers, as might be expected, there is found an entire absence of "virtue" and moral self-restraint (seldom a prominent characteristic of Malay belles).

But it is very startling to find that the disease, where present in females of advanced age, manifests itself, when set in action in the same direction, in a way which seems entirely to contradict the accepted laws of our bodily constitution.

That a word, a look, or a gesture can in a moment lead a woman of seventy-five to conduct herself like a hetaira of twenty, is a pho-

nomenon so opposed to natural laws, that I seek in vain for its satisfactory explanation.

I have already remarked that the exclamation of a startled *latah* is always characterised by indecency, and connecting these two extremes of my subject, I cannot but think that the whole of this mental anomaly might possibly be traced to some structural peculiarity which has hitherto escaped the specialist's attention.*


H. A. O'BRIEN.

*I have been collecting for some time past cases as regards *latah* subjects who have also committed *amok*, but facts I have collected are as yet too sparse for me to venture upon any matured generalization.

That the mental fact underlying the two "diseases" are identical, I have no sort of doubt, and I hope to be able soon to shew that this is so by those valued figures which cannot lie.

At present, however, whether from defective information, or from wilful misinformation, there is a flaw in my premises which destroys, as far as Arithmetic is concerned, my whole induction.

SHAMANISM IN PERAK.



OME acquaintance with the black art is essential to every Malay medical practitioner. Simple remedies for wounds and bruises are generally well understood, and some of the more common diseases—such as fever, small-pox, &c.—are often successfully, if not skilfully, treated with native remedies. Bone-setting, too, is a branch of the healing science in which Malays sometimes shew much expertness. But, if the cause of a disease is not apparent, or if such alarming symptoms as insensibility or delirium set in, it is usually presumed that evil spirits are at the bottom of the mischief, and sorcery, not medicine, has to be resorted to. Arabic works on medicine have been translated into Malay, and there may be read learned disquisitions on the parts and functions of the human body, which, in point of scientific accuracy, are of the age of GALEN and ARISTOTLE. Demoniacal possession, though it has always been a popular theory among the Arabs (in common with other Semitic nations) for explaining various forms of disease, is not an idea which the Malays have imported from the West. Their beliefs regarding the distribution, powers and manner of propitiation of the evil spirits, to whom they often ascribe human disease and suffering, are relics of the days when spirit-worship was the religion of their primitive ancestors. The early rites of the aboriginal inhabitants of Sumatra and the Peninsula must have been modified at some period by Hindu settlers from India, for traces of Brahminical worship are traceable in the rude chants and invocations sung by Malay *paesangs*, to this day, by Muhammadan sick-beds. Where Muhammanism is strongest, namely in the sea-ports and European settlements (whence a constant communication with Mecca is kept up), Malay ideas on the influence of devils on disease partake more of the Semitic type. The evil spirits are *sheitan* or *jin*, and pious Arabic sentences are used as charms and invocations. But in remoter districts, downright heathenism may be met with. The

demons to the terrified villagers of many an inland *kampung* have a distinct personality. They must be met by the employment of other demons to counteract their influence, or they must be propitiated by bloody sacrifices.

In the State of Perak, it is usual to ascribe nearly every disease to supernatural agency. Medicine is often dispensed with altogether, and all hope of recovery is made to rest on the result of the incantations of professional *pawang*s. According to the belief of the people (professed Mohamedans for generations and generations!) the mountains and rivers of their country, the ground on which they tread, the air which they breathe, and the forests in which they seek for rattans, gutta, gums and other produce, abound with spirits of various kinds and of varying powers and dispositions. The malicious *bajang* is the most dreaded, for he is a goblin of inveterate hostility to mankind. Scarcely less formidable is the *langsyar*, a kind of "white lady" or "Banshee," who may be heard sometimes amid the darkness of a tropical night moaning among the branches of the trees or soothing the child which she carries in her unsubstantial arms. The hunter spirit (*hantu penuburu*), who with his wife and child sometimes rushes past the peasant's huts at night in a whirlwind, pursuing with his four ghostly dogs an unseen quarry, is a potent source of evil, and there are many others too numerous to mention.

When the malice of some one of these many demons has caused sickness in a Malay family in Perak, help is summoned in the shape of a *pawang*, or medicine-man, who has a catalogue of spells at his command and is known for his familiarity with evil-spirits. The diagnosis may be effected in two ways. Either the *pawang* becomes entranced and sees (*tilik*) in his disembodied form secrets concealed from ordinary mortals and is able on recovering sensibility to declare the nature and cause of the disease, or else he calls down (*menurunkan*) some familiar demon (whom he has probably inherited from his *guru* or preceptor), and, becoming possessed by him, speaks, at his prompting, words of wisdom or folly as the case may be.

Some years ago I was a witness at a *kampung*, or village, in Perak

of the ceremonies performed in a Malay household for the recovery of a member of it who was lying dangerously ill.

The patient was a young married woman, little more than a child in years, whose first baby was only a few days old. The symptoms, which declared to the Malays so plainly the agency of evil-spirits; were probably paroxysms of puerperal fever and these had left the patient so weak that when I saw her she was lying in an insensible state.

The scene was the centre portion of a large Malay house feebly lighted with two or three oil lamps on the floor. The sick girl lay on a bed in a recess formed by curtaining off a space on three sides the fourth being open. Opposite to the patient, facing her left side as she lay on her back, sat the *pawang*, CHE JOHAN by name, a big muscular Malay, grasping a large bunch of leaves in each hand. Between him and the bed were the lamps above mentioned. On the other two sides of a square, of which the lamps were the centre, were ranged the people of the house, neighbours, visitors and strangers according to their respective ranks. I occupied the place of honour, being nearest to the head of the curtained recess and having it on my right hand. All the men present, myself included, sat cross-legged on the floor. Round the couch were eight or ten women watching every movement of the sufferer and prepared to restrain her if she became violent in her delirium. The whole building was crowded with people, figures being discernible wherever the flickering light of the lamps happened to shed a transient gleam. Polite salutations were exchanged and a few expressions of condolence and sympathy addressed to the relations. The latter described the manner of the diabolical seizure and the behaviour of the sufferer when possessed. It was agreed on all hands that the poor girl lying insensible before us was the victim of demoniacal possession, and that her only chance of recovery lay in the exorcism of the devil who was in her.

Presently the sound of a small drum called attention to the proceedings of the *pawang*.

The drum was beaten by a wild-looking mænad, who at the same time commenced a shrill chant addressed to the *hantu blian*, or

tiger-spirits, to which class of demons CHEE JOHAN's familiar belongs. The air was not unpleasing, the words were difficult to catch, but the lines flowed in an easy rhythm and the metre was very regular. A performer of this kind is essential to every *pawang*, and, as in the present instance, is very often his own wife. She is commonly called *bidu*, or (in cases of royal *séances*) *biduan*.* In the invocation of the tiger-spirits, however, a peculiar nomenclature is adopted for everything, the *bidu* becomes *pengindin*, and the drum which she beats (which has only one end of the cylinder covered) is called *katubong*.

The *pawang*, naked from the waist upwards, had bound about him a couple of cords which crossed the back and breast, being brought over one shoulder and under the other arm respectively. He also wore strings round his wrists.

These cords are supposed to protect the *pawang*, or medium, from the malevolence of the evil spirits by whom he may be possessed. The same idea is found in Ceylon. According to the *Mahawangso*, Vishnu in order to protect Wijayo and his followers from the sorceries of the Yakkos, met them on their landing in Ceylon and *tied threads on their arms*.† Among the people of Laos, too, the same virtue is ascribed to ligatures of thread over which a charm has been pronounced. "Le grand remède universel, c'est de l'eau "lustrale qu'on fait boire au malade, après lui avoir attaché des fils "de coton bénits aux bras et aux jambes pour empêcher l'influence "des genies malfaisants."‡

As the *pengindin* screamed out her chant, the *pawang* seemed to become subject to some unseen influence and to lose control over himself. Sitting rigid at first, holding in each hand a huge bunch of leaves (*daun changlun*), he presently began to nod like a man overpowered with sleep, then he sniffed at the leaves, waved them over his head, and struck one bunch against the other. Finally, he fell forward burying his face in the leaves and sniffing in imita-

* Sansk. *vidhāś*, a widow; Lat. *vidua*.

† Tennent's "Ceylon," I, 340, n.

‡ Pallegoix—"Description de Siam," I, 43.

tion of a wild animal. He was now on all fours, and became as violent as the necessity of keeping to the circumscribed limits of his mat would permit. He growled and roared and worried invisible objects on the mat. Presently he sat up again, striking his chest and shoulders with the bunches of leaves, and soon afterwards the music stopped. We had now before us, not CHE JOHAN, but simply his body possessed for the time being by the tiger-demon—*bujang gēlap* or *the dark dragon*. Henceforth, as long as the *séance* lasted, he spoke in a feigned voice, pronouncing Malay words with the peculiar intonation of the Sakai aborigines and introducing frequently Sakai words and phrases unintelligible to most of the Malays present. Every one who spoke to him addressed him as "Bujang Gēlap." The master of the house was the first to do so. Pointing to the insensible form of the poor girl on the couch beside him, he explained that she was grievously attacked by some power of evil, and asked "Bujang Gēlap" to put forth his supernatural power to expel the demon that was afflicting her. The latter asked a few questions, said the case was a difficult one, and then commenced some fresh incantations.

Returning to his mat, which he had temporarily quitted to look at the patient and to converse with the family, he took up a handful of *bertih* (rice parched in the husk) and scattered it broadcast around him. Then, after much growling and muttering, he rose to his feet and performed a singular dance to the accompaniment of the shrill chant and monotonous tom-tom of the *pengindin*. Presently he danced forward past the lamps close to the bedside of the insensible girl, and then himself chanted a long incantation commencing "*Hei———i———i———i———i jin*" (O! spirit) the first word being enormously lengthened out. Then he sprinkled the couch and the patient with *bertih* (parched rice) and sprinkled her with *tepong tawar*, a fluid held in a brass bowl and showered about liberally by means of an *aspergium* composed of a bunch of fresh leaves. Then once more he returned to his mat, and the wild chorus of the *pengindin*, which had been momentarily stilled during the ceremonies by the bedside, burst out once more. After this the *pawang* was again seized with the violent symptoms which had attended his first possession by "Bujang Gēlap." He

roared and growled and sniffed about uneasily until it was evident from his movements that he wanted to get under the mat. An accommodating person sitting close by lifted up the mat for him and he crawled under it on all fours and lay down entirely concealed from view. The chorus and the drum went on, and I hardly knew which to admire most—the physical endurance of the woman who sang so persistently at the top of her voice without any symptom of fatigue, or her marvellous memory. The invocations were very long, but she never seemed to hesitate for a word. There must, however, have been a good deal of repetition, I imagine.

After a retirement which had lasted for about a quarter of an hour, during which he had kept perfectly still and motionless, the *pawang* shewed symptoms of returning vitality. The mat was removed, and he resumed his seat upon it, yawned, uttered a few ejaculations in his feigned voice, and then sat up to be questioned. A desultory conversation then ensued, the *pengindin* acting as interpreter when the Sakai dialect used by "Bujang Gëlap" was unintelligible to the audience. The result was declared to be that the tiger-spirit had identified the demon which was causing the suffering of the sick person present. A thrill of horror went round the assemblage when this was announced to be a dumb *langsuyar* (banshee). The correctness of this finding was then discussed and it seemed to command popular favour, for it was universally remarked that the patient had been insensible for two whole days, during the latter part of which time she had been quite silent. This was now, of course, accounted for by the dumbness of the evil spirit which possessed her.

The women round the sick-bed now said that the patient was trying to move, and all turned to look at this manifestation of demoniacal power. It was only a momentary access of delirium marked by convulsive movements of one arm, rolling of the eyes and movement of the lips and jaws. No sound escaped from the sufferer, another proof of the correctness of the *pawang's* diagnosis, and presently she was still again, after many fervent ejaculations of *Astaghfir Allah* (I beg forgiveness of God) from those present. "Bujang Gëlap" continued his efforts for the cure of the patient

for a long time. Again and again he strewed the place with *bertih* and sprinkled the patient with *tepong tawar*. Once he charmed eight grains of *bertih* which were put into her mouth. He chanted long invocations, danced wild dances, and beat himself with his bunches of leaves. But all in vain, the dumb *longsuyar* still held possession of the sufferer. In the intervals of the ceremonies, the *pawang* conversed occasionally with members of the family, always retaining his assumed voice and using Sakai phrases. He even condescended to accept a Malay cigarette (*roko*), which he called by the Sakai word *nyut*.

At length he pleaded fatigue, and gave place to an old man who dealt with a different class of demons altogether. The spirits which he professed to be able to influence are the *hantu sungkei*, or the demons of the Sungkei river, a particular district in Perak.

His method of procedure differed a good deal from that of the *pawang* of the *hantu blian*. Instead of the old woman with a little drum, he had a male *bidu* with a large round tambourine. A single bunch of *pinang* leaves replaced in his hands the two large bunches of *daun changlun* which "Bujang Gēlap" had carried. After the preliminary sprinkling of *bertih* by the new *pawang*, the *bidu* commenced to chant an invocation to the Sungkei spirits, addressing them in turn by name. The symptoms of possession on the part of the *pawang* were convulsive shaking and shivering, especially in the hand and arm which bore the bunch of *pinang* leaves. Both tune and metre were quite different from those employed in addressing the *hantu blian*. The old Sungkei *pawang* proved a failure, for after endless chanting and after he had been possessed successively by "Panglima Raja," "Anak Janggi," "Hulubalang Raja" and "Mambang Dundang," all powerful Sungkei spirits, he was unable to declare anything, and left us as wise as we were before.

What a common incident in Eastern tales is the dire illness of some lovely princess, for effecting whose recovery an agonised father offers half of his kingdom and the hand of the lady in marriage! There is always some favoured hero who applies some magical remedy and restores the princess to health after the medical profession has been

completely baffled. But think of what the patient has had to undergo at the hands of the unsuccessful competitors, before the right man takes the case in hand! Think of all the doses administered by rival doctors, or prepared by sympathetic friends, each one assured that he is going to cure the disease and win the King's favour! I have been reminded of these things sometimes when I have seen or heard something of the treatment adopted in Malay families in cases of dangerous illness. In the household of a Perak Raja, *carte blanche* would be given to any one representing himself to have a remedy, on the occasion of a desperate sickness such as that which called for the scenes which I have imperfectly described. Any medicine offered would be gratefully received and administered, and very likely, before it could possibly take effect, some one else's prescription would be poured down the patient's throat on the top of it. It is thought to be a mark of sympathy and solicitude to suggest and prepare remedies, and they are usually accepted and tried in turn, to the imminent danger, I should imagine, of the unfortunate person experimented on. When a child is born in a royal house in Perak, all the old ladies in the country concoct and send to the scene of the interesting event doses called *salusuh*, which the mother has to swallow with great impartiality. It will be seen from this what an important part unprofessional zeal may play in sick chambers among the Malays. On the occasion I speak of, numbers of friends and relations brought their own specifics, but the state of the patient prevented their use.^o I must, however, describe the dedication of a *balei berpusing*, or "revolving hall," which was arranged and carried out at the instance of one of the relations.

^o It is right that I should explain that every effort had been made to persuade the family to adopt civilised remedies, and to give up the proposed resort to the *pasangs*. There was no English Doctor in Perak then, but the officers at the Residency had a medicine-chest and one or two simple medical works. The head of the family, however, declared that, if the *pasangs* were not employed and the girl died, her other relations would charge him with not having done all in his power to save her. English medicines would be thankfully received, but they would be administered in their turn with native remedies. The sex of the patient rendered interference in nursing and feeding her impossible. A large proportion of persons who die up-country in Perak are ushered out of the world by the drum and chant of the *parang* and *bidu*.

It was after the Sungkei demons had been invoked in vain that propitiatory offerings in a *balei berpusing* were resorted to.

The two *pawang*s already present were asked to give their aid, their mats were spread afresh, their lamps re-trimmed, and their bowls of parched rice replenished by officious attendants. Presently, a couple of men brought in a neat model of a Perak mosque. The house of prayer in an inland Malay village is a very simple affair. It is usually a square building with a door or window on each of the four sides. The main roof of the edifice, instead of terminating in a point, is surmounted by a little square crow's nest with a peaked roof. This was exactly reproduced in white wood very neatly and artistically finished. At the bottom of the miniature building was a single bamboo support, the end of which being hollow fitted like a socket upon an upright rod fixed on the floor. The one leg of the model being thus fitted on to a stationary upright, the little house could be turned round and round at will, presenting each door in turn to each point of the compass. As soon as it was fixed, a kind of fringe or border, made of young coconut leaves with a deep fringe of the same material, was tied round the base of the model so that the ends hung down, entirely concealing the bamboo leg and the simple mechanism by which it worked upon its pivot. This fringe is called *jari lipan* or "centipede's legs" from some fancied resemblance to the liberal numbers of members with which Nature has gifted that insect. When this had been tied round the miniature mosque and the ends of the fringe had been docked with a pair of scissors by a female slave, so as to admit of the model revolving freely, it was time to fill the interior with the propitiatory sacrifices. This was the task of the nearest relations and of the representatives of the old lady, in accordance with whose vow the *balei berpusing* was being dedicated.

The offerings to demons when made in this manner are of four kinds—*lemak*, *manis*, *masam*, *pedas* (the fat, the sweet, the sour, the pungent). The "fat" consisted of a fowl sacrificed then and there before us. The blood was caught in a leaf and placed in the centre of the miniature building, or *balei*, as I shall now call it. The feathers were plucked out, the entails removed, and the

body divided into joints. Every part of the bird was then placed reverently inside the *balei*, including the feathers and entrails. The wings were tied to the streamers of the fringe outside, as were innumerable sweet offerings—*wajil*, *dadul*, *tebu*, *pisang* (confectionery, pastry, sugar-cane and plantains). I did not ascertain what the sour and the pungent consisted of, but they were no doubt contained in small saucers and other receptacles which I saw being poked through the little doors of the toy house.

When all was ready, the drumming, the invocations and the performances of the *pawang*s began again. Each in turn, after having repeated much of what I have already described, advanced to the couch of the patient and waved the evil spirits away from it into the little *balei*, which was placed close by. The demons were coaxed, entreated and threatened by turns. Each *pawang*, armed with a bunch of leaves dipped into a bowl of *tepong tauar*, guided an indefinite number of the evil ones into the place where the feast had been spread for them. The incantations and waving went on for a long time, and it wanted only an hour or two of dawn when it was concluded that the last of the demons had entered the receptacle. The *balei* was then lifted up and carried off down to the river (on the bank of which the house stood) escorted by the *pawang*s, who with more charms and incantations drove the spirits in front of them to the water side. Then the *balei berpusing*, with its array of delicacies and its freight of wickedness, was set afloat on the river and soon disappeared down the stream in the darkness. The last ceremony was the repetition of a formula as the party returned to the house from the river. One of the men belonging to the family called out to the women in the house "*Semboh betah?*" "Is there any improvement?" And a shrill female voice shouted back the prescribed reply "*Ber-lari ber-jalan*" "Running and walking," in allusion either to the state of the patient, implying that she was up and about again, or else to the hasty retreat of the evil-spirits, I am not quite sure which.

No improvement, however, took place, and though the efforts of the *pawang*s were redoubled on the following night, and the

services of other and more famous medicine-men were retained, the poor little patient never recovered consciousness and died within four and twenty hours after the *balei berpusing*, which ought to have contained all the powers of evil lately afflicting her, had been cast adrift on the Perak river.

W. E. MAXWELL.

Short Notes.

Antiquity of Malacca.

In my Notes on Malay History in No. 53 of this Journal I said that Malacca is not mentioned in any known authority prior to the early years of the 15th century, with the possible exception of the old Chinese charts therein discussed. I find however in Colonel Gerini's recent monograph on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia, pp. 531-2 that the "Palatine Law" of Siam entitled "Kot Monthieraban," enacted in A. D. 1360 by the king who founded Ayuthia ten years earlier, mentions *Malaka* as one of the southern States then tributary to Siam, or claimed by him as such, at any rate. This is an important piece of evidence in support of the view that Malacca existed before the time of the fall of Singapore, which all the available evidence puts somewhere after A. D. 1377. But of course one would like to be sure that this Siamese law-code has not been "sub-edited" and revised since that date. It is however quite possible that Malacca was founded earlier than is traditionally stated, but only rose to importance after the fall of Singapore.

As for other names mentioned in the same context, they are *Ujong Tanah, Malayu* and *Worawari*. The first offers no difficulty. It is geographically explained by its name. As for the second, it is difficult to believe that *Malayu* was ever the name of a state in the Malay Peninsula. It is not distinctive enough. It might mean Malayland anywhere. In the Naga-rakretagama it distinctly means Sumatra. Probably the Siamese had no very definite information on the subject and did not realise that it could not be a state-name. Likely enough in this context it merely implies a claim over the Peninsula as a whole. The last name, *Worawari*, is a puzzle that no one has yet solved. Colonel Gerini offers various suggestions about it, one of them being that it stands for Muar, which seems hardly probable. Perhaps local knowledge may throw some new light upon it: the name may still exist in some modified form somewhere in the Peninsula.

C. O. Blagden.

Baba Malay.

An Introduction to the Language of the Straits-born Chinese.

BY REV. W. G. SHELLABEAR, D.D.

The terms High and Low Malay, which appear to have originated with the Dutch, have given rise to a great deal of controversy, and to some confusion and misunderstanding.

As used in Java and other parts of the Netherlands Indies the term

HIGH MALAY

means the language of Malay literature, and as the classical literature of the Malays was written when Malacca and Acheen were the great centres of Malay power and learning, it is not surprising to find that the language of Malay literature is the language which is spoken to-day all along the sea coast on both sides of the Straits of Malacca, with only this difference, namely that a few words of foreign origin used in the classical literature never became assimilated in the spoken language, and therefore continue to be purely literary words, and are not understood by the common people. It is a remarkable fact that the Malay language in the Straits of Malacca has remained practically the same for centuries. The English of the time of Queen Elizabeth is now almost unintelligible to those who have not made the literature of that time a special study; but the letters written from the court of Acheen to Queen Elizabeth and King James I. of England could to-day be read and thoroughly understood by any 4th standard boy in the Malay vernacular schools of the Straits Settlements. In the Dutch Indies, however, the only parts where this language is now spoken are the Riouw-Lingga Archipelago and the East coast of Sumatra; hence to the vast majority of Dutch residents in the East the Malay of the Straits of Malacca is an unknown tongue, and those who have studied for the most part know it only as the language of Malay literature, and look upon it as being practically a dead language, whereas it is really a very live language in those parts of the Archipelago where it is spoken.

On the other hand the term

LOW MALAY

is used in the Netherlands Indies to describe the language employed by Europeans, Eurasians, Chinese, and other foreigners in Java as a common means of communication between themselves and the Javanese, Sundanese and other inhabitants of that most populous

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of all the islands of Malaysia, which contains probably more than three-fourths of the entire population of the Archipelago. The immense numerical preponderance of the Javanese and Sundanese has resulted in the admixture of a very large proportion of the words of those two languages in the "Low Malay" of Java, so that the Malays of the Straits of Malacca have difficulty in understanding it. On the island of Java there are very few people of the Malay race properly so called, and the "Low Malay" of Java is not the spoken language of the Malays at all, but merely a jargon concocted by the mixed multitude of various tongues who live together in that island, and must necessarily have a common language as a means of communication. Having been made the official language of the Dutch government, Low Malay is fostered by the strong arm of the law, newspapers are published in this bastard dialect, and it promises to be the permanent colloquial language of the southern part of the Archipelago.

In the British possessions on the Malay Peninsula the linguistic conditions are entirely different. Here the strongest native race numerically is the Malay, and there is absolutely no other native language to compete with the Malay language for the ascendancy. There are, however, two very distinct dialects of the Malay language spoken on the Malay Peninsula, namely, (1) The pure Malay as it is spoken by the Malays among themselves, with its peculiarly terse idiom, its grammar of prefixes and suffixes, and its immensely rich vocabulary of words of pure Malay origin; and (2) The so-called colloquial Malay of the Settlements, the common means of communication between Europeans, Chinese, Tamils, Malays, and all the other nationalities of these great trading centres, which has comparatively a very small vocabulary, and makes but little use of those grammatical changes in the form of words which make the pure Malay language so expressive.

Of these two dialects we will first deal with

THE SPOKEN LANGUAGE OF THE PURE MALAYS.

As already stated above in our remarks on what the Dutch call "High Malay," the spoken language of the Peninsula Malays is in fact the language of Malay literature, and has undergone practically no change whatever in the past three centuries. This is due very largely to the fact that the Malays hold themselves almost entirely aloof from the peoples of other races who come here to trade and to develop the natural resources of the country, leaving the heavy manual labour of the mines and plantations, and all the wholesale and retail trade to be done by the Chinese. The only important changes which have taken place in the spoken language of the Malays in the past 300 years appear to have been through the addition of those Arabic words required to express the religious ideas which have come to them through the teachings of Mohamedanism. Even when the Malays are in the closest pro-

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ximity to the busy life of our great trade centres their speech is only very slightly affected, so little do they come in contact with people of other nationalities; hence it comes that the Malay language is spoken with practically the same purity at Telok Blanga, or in any of the other outlying villages of Singapore as it is in the villages of the interior of Malacca or Johor. Those who have dealings with the Malays, and desire to speak their language correctly, as they themselves speak it, must study Malay literature, and especially such modern works as the writings of the famous Munshi Abdullah, or the recently published Riddles written by Guru Sleiman of the Malay College at Malacca, which are in an excellent conversational style.

From what has just been said, it is plain that throughout our British possessions the pure Malay language is the language of the villages. On the other hand the language of the great Settlements and large towns and of the markets and shops everywhere, in fact the business language of the Malay Peninsula, is

BABA MALAY,

that is to say, Malay as it is spoken by the Malay-speaking Chinese. This is quite a distinct dialect, the prevailing characteristic of which is its tendency to follow the Chinese rather than the Malay idiom. It is true that the number of Chinese words which have become assimilated with this dialect is not very large, and that many words have been borrowed from English, Portuguese, Dutch and Tamil, and from other neighbouring tongues, but it is rightly called "Baba Malay," for it is largely the creation of the Baba Chinese, and is their mother tongue, so that it belongs to them in a sense that no other people can or do claim it as their own. In this respect it differs greatly from the so-called "Low Malay" of Java, for though those Chinese who are born and live in the Dutch Indies all speak that language, yet they have not by any means had the strongest influence in its formation, for "Low Malay" has a very much stronger affinity with Javanese and Sundanese than it has with Chinese, and has not been so much affected by the Chinese idiom as the Baba Malay of the Malay Peninsula, the Chinese in the Dutch Indies having always been few in number as compared with the natives of the country. In the British Settlements, on the other hand, the Chinese have always had a commanding influence in all business affairs, and in a proportionate degree have left their impress upon the language in which the business of the Settlements has always been transacted, and in which it will probably continue to be carried on long after the present generation has passed away. The fact that Baba Malay is now, and is likely to be for an indefinite period, the business language of Singapore, Penang, and the Federated Malay States, would in itself be a sufficient reason why it should be studied as a distinct dialect; but a still more weighty reason is found in the fact that it is the

mother-tongue of the majority of the Chinese women and children in the Straits Settlements, and of a considerable and increasing number in the Federated Malay States. It is the language of the homes of the Straits-born Chinese—the most highly educated and the most influential section of the Chinese community in the British possessions, and therefore it is the language in which the women and children of this important class can most readily and most successfully be educated. The pure Malay language, as the Malays themselves speak it, the Babas will never learn, for they despise it, calling it *Malayu hutan*—the language of the jungle. Their dialect—Baba Malay—they look upon as the language of the refined and wealthy class of Malay-speaking Chinese. That being the case it is hopeless to try and force upon them what others consider to be “Classical Malay,” however much superior it may be from the view-point of the scholar and the historian. Baba Malay is the language of the man of the street; it is a strong and virile tongue, more easily acquired than the pure Malay, and sufficiently expressive for all ordinary purposes; moreover it has a remarkable capacity for borrowing and assimilating such words as it needs from other languages. It is sure to live. When the principles of its grammatical construction are better understood, when those who speak it are able also to read and write it correctly, and when it has a literature of its own, Baba Malay will prove itself to be an adequate medium for conveying thought and for imparting instruction.

THE EVOLUTION OF BABA MALAY.

Malacca, being the oldest foreign settlement in Malaysia, is the most favourable place to study the history of Chinese immigration to this part of the world, and the origin of the dialect which they now speak. It is now nearly 400 years since Europeans first made their appearance at Malacca, but the Chinese were there some time before that. *Bukit China*, the burial ground of the Chinese from time immemorial, was so called before the time when the Malay history “*Sjarah Malayu*” was written, which is more than 300 years ago. The first immigrants were probably from Amoy, for nearly all the words of Chinese origin which have come into the Malay language approach more closely to the sounds of the Hok-kien than to those of any other dialect, and the Babas of all the old families claim to be Hok-kiens. There is also very little doubt that the Chinese who came to this part of the world in the early days were exclusively males, that they married Malay women, but brought up their children as Chinese. Even to the present day the marriage customs of the Baba Chinese approximate more closely to those of the Malays than to those of the natives of China, but intermarriage between the Babas and the Malays has entirely ceased, and probably for hundreds of years past the Babas have married exclusively amongst their own people.

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The Baba community, however, is still growing by the same process which must have been going on for centuries, something after the following manner:—An immigrant comes from China, and as soon as he has saved up enough money he opens a small shop in a Malay village, where he soon learns to make himself understood in the Malay language. When he is able to support a wife, he looks out for a girl from some of the poorer Baba families, or perhaps a daughter of one of the numerous concubines to be found in the homes of the wealthy. Baba women of this class are to be found to-day in all the villages of Malacca, married to small shopkeepers, who were born in China, and speak Malay very imperfectly; their children, however, are Babas pure and simple, and in many cases know nothing whatever of the Chinese language. They have learnt the Malay language from their mothers, and from constant association with Malay children in the village where they live; in fact they know much more Malay than they are generally given credit for. Nevertheless there is a marked difference between the Malay spoken by these Chinese children and that spoken by the Malay children with whom they seem to mix so freely; but this is of course easily accounted for by the influence of the Chinese parents upon the language spoken by their children, for however intimately the children of different nationalities may be thrown together in their games, the language of the home must necessarily have the strongest influence upon them. As time went by and the Babas became more numerous, they would begin to form a community by themselves and would not come so much into contact with the Malays; this would be especially the case in the town of Malacca rather than in the villages, in fact it is noticeable even at the present day that the Babas in the villages speak much more like the Malays themselves than those who live in the town. As the Babas in the town ceased to associate with the Malays, their peculiarities of idiom would tend to become fixed, and their speech would be influenced less and less by the Malay standards of pronunciation, grammar or the use of words. The Malays have had a literature of their own for hundreds of years, and a considerable proportion of the population have been able to read and write for probably at least 300 years, and their literature has undoubtedly tended to maintain the purity of their spoken language; the Babas on the other hand have never learned to read and write Malay, hence their knowledge of the language has always been purely colloquial, and therefore the more liable to be corrupted.

The differences between the Malay language as spoken by the Babas and the colloquial language of the Malays themselves are principally as follows:—(1) They have introduced a number of words of Chinese origin most of which are wholly unknown to the Malays; (2) They are entirely unacquainted with a large number of Malay words which are in common use among the Malays themselves; (3) They mispronounce many Malay words, and in some

cases have altered the pronunciation so much that the word is almost unrecognisable; and (4) to a great extent they use the Chinese idiom rather than the Malay, putting their sentences together in a way which is quite different from the colloquial language of the Malays. We will consider these different points one by one.

(1) *Words of Chinese origin.*

In dealing with the question of the Chinese words used by the Babas it must first be remarked that their pronunciation of such words is Malay rather than Chinese. The Hok-kien Chinese in the pronunciation of their words use seven very clearly defined "tones," and the meaning of a word depends entirely upon the tone of voice in which it is pronounced. Of the use of these tones the Babas for the most part know absolutely nothing, and if they ever pronounce a Chinese word correctly as far as the tone is concerned, it is by accident rather than by design. I am referring of course to those Chinese words which have become incorporated with the Baba Malay language; many of the Babas can speak Hok-kien Chinese with some fluency, and when doing so must of necessity use the tones, though usually very imperfectly, yet when speaking Malay they use Chinese words without attempting to give the correct tones, and in some cases Chinese words have been so much corrupted that it is difficult to recognise their derivation. This we will illustrate later on.

The Chinese words which are most frequently used in Baba Malay are undoubtedly the pronouns *goa*, "I," and *lu*, "you." In speaking among themselves the Babas never use the Malay pronouns *aku* and *engkau*, but curiously enough for the pronouns of the 3rd person singular and 1st person plural they invariably use the Malay *dia* and *kita*, and never use the Chinese equivalents. It is well known that in polite conversation the Malays avoid the use of pronouns as far as possible, whereas the Chinese use pronouns with much greater freedom; in this respect the Babas conform to Malay usage. Children would never think of using the pronoun *lu* to their parents, and in conversation with their seniors the greatest care is taken to use the proper form of address, so that all the little children know the proper titles to be given to all their relations; it is a remarkable thing, however, that these relationships are expressed by Chinese and not by Malay words, exceptions to this rule being the words for mother (*mak*) and younger brother or sister (*adek*) and elder brother (*abang*). The Chinese words for the various relationships have in most cases the prefix *ny* which is used by the Chinese in addressing relatives, but this is corrupted sometimes to *n* or *m* by the Babas; for instance for father the Babas do not use the ordinary Hok-kien word *pe* or *lau-pe*, but the more unusual word *tia-tia* in the form *'ntia*; for grandfather, *kong* has become *'rykong*; elder sister, *tia-chi* has become *tachi*; father's elder brother, *peh*, is *'mpek*; father's younger

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brother, *chek*, is 'n*chek*; sister's husband, *chiá-hu*, is *chau*; and so forth.

Another very large class of words which the Babas have borrowed from the Chinese language are those relating to household affairs. The construction of their houses is Chinese in plan rather than Malay, and they have given Chinese names to the different parts of the house—the front room or hall where the idols are placed is called the *liá** (Chinese *thia**); the central court open to the sky is *chimchi* (*chhim-chi**); the upper floor is *lotery* (*láu-téng*); the inside balcony is *langkan* (Chinese *làng-khang*, open space); bedroom is *parykery* (*páry-kery*); the outer balcony open to the sky is *la-pe** (? *láu-pi**); a lamp is *tery* or *tanglong* (*tery-lióng*); a carpet or rug is *tanak* (*thán-á*); paint is *chat* (*chhat*); and even a cockroach is *kachuak* (*ka-tsoók*). Kitchen utensils are called by Malay names, but anything peculiar to the Chinese receives a Chinese name, as, tea pot, *tekuan* (*tê-koán*); soup spoon, *trysi* (*thry-si*); kettle, *teko* (*tê-kó*); chopsticks however are known as *sumpit*, presumably a corruption of the Malay *spit*; the table at which they eat their meals is invariably known by the Chinese name *toh*; to cook by steaming is known by the Chinese name *tim* (*tin*), but Malay words are used for all other cooking operations; many kinds of food are known by Chinese names, such as, *bami* (*bah-mi*), *tauyu* (*táu-iú*), *kiamchai* (*kiám-chhái*), *kuchai* (*ku-chhái*), *pechai* (*pei-chhái*), *chai-po* (*chhái-pó*), *kueh chary* (*ké-cháry*), *kueh tiau* (*ké-tiáu*), etc. Several articles of clothing have names of Chinese origin, that which is most familiar being of course the queue, *tauchary* (*tháu-tsary*); also we have Chinese mourning, *toaha* (*toá-há*); a child's binder, *oto* (*io-ló*); a man's purse, *opau* (*io-pau*); a woman's purse, *kotoa* (*khó-toá*); stockings, *boek* (*béh*); to adorn one's self, *chygkan diri* (*tsry*); and we might here mention the flat-iron, *utau* (*ut-táu*).

As might be expected, nearly everything connected with the religious ceremonies of the Babas is known by names of Chinese origin: the Chinese temple is *bio* (*bió*), the Buddhist priest is *hoe-sio* (*hê-siú**); the idol is *topekory* (*tóa-peh-kory*), *sio-hio* (*sio-hiú**) is to burn incense, *kui* (*kúi*) is to kneel, and *teyan* (*tóe-iên*) is to give a subscription.

Business affairs, medicine, and games (gambling) also contribute a number of words of Chinese origin, such as, *toko* (*thó-khó*) for shop, *korgsi* (*kory-si*) association or company, *taukeh* (*tháu-ke*) head of a firm, *jiho* (*ji-hó*) shop sign; *koyok* (*ko-ióh*) plaster, *po'ho* (*póh-hó*) peppermint, *pekak* (*poeh-kak-hiú**) aniseed, *sinese* (*sien-si**) teacher; and the following games, *pakau* (*phak-káu*), *susek* (*sù-sek*), *chki* (*chit-ki*), *kau* (*kau*), *tan* (*tán*), etc.

The Babas also use a good many words of Chinese origin to express abstract ideas, but not always to express the same meaning that the word conveys to the Hok-kien chinaman. For instance, for ungrateful the Babas use *bo-jin-chery* (*bó-jin-chéry*), for a

sarcastic or ironical remark they use *siaupi* (*sau-pi*), to be satisfied *kam-guan* (*kam-guân*), nice, *homia* (*hó-miá*), etc.

It should be remembered that for nearly all the ideas and objects mentioned above the Malays have their own proper words, which they would use among themselves. Those Malays who come frequently into contact with the Chinese are of course well acquainted with such words as *goa* and *lu*, *lotery*, *tekuan*, *kuchai*, *pechai*, *toaha*, *taukeh*, and so forth, but with many of the words of Chinese origin given above even the Malays in the town of Malacca are quite unfamiliar. Similarly the Babas are utterly unacquainted with the Malay equivalents of nearly all these words.

2. Malay words which are unknown to the Babas.

From what has been said above it is evident that the Babas are unfamiliar with those Malay words of which they are accustomed to use the Chinese equivalents, but there are also a large number of other words in common use among the Malays of which the Babas are entirely ignorant. It is of course well known in European countries that those who cannot read their own language use but a very small number of words in ordinary conversation; we can only hope to acquire a large vocabulary in our own language by constant reading. With few exceptions the Babas read absolutely nothing in the Malay language, and consequently their knowledge of Malay words is very limited. The Malay language is rich in synonyms, and has words to express the finest shades of meaning; but where a number of words have somewhat similar meanings, the Baba uses only one or two to express them all. For instance, for looking and seeing the Malays use the words *lihat*, *pandang*, *tengok*, *nampak*, *tampak*, *tygadah*, *mnoleh*, *tilek*, *belek*, etc.; but the Babas hardly ever use any of these except *tengok* and *nampak*, and occasionally *lihat* and *pandang*. Similarly they make the one word *taroh* serve the purpose where the Malays use *taroh*, *buboh* and *tlak*; and the word *angkat* is used by them where the Malays would say *pikul*, *kelek*, *tatary*, *kandory*, *kendory*, *junjory*, *dokory*. Many of the Babas would know some of these words if they heard a Malay use them, but they for the most part do not know the exact shades of meaning which they express, and consequently they do not attempt to use them. Where the Malays use two words of somewhat similar meaning, the Babas generally use one to the entire exclusion of the other, for instance they use *berjumpa* and not *bertemu*, *tuang* and not *churah*, *pegary* (for *pgary*) and not *chapai*, *tykar* and not *bantah*; *spak* and not *tampar*, *kosory* and not *hampa*, *panas* and not *hargat*. Of the formation of derived words from roots by means of prefixes and suffixes the Babas as a rule know nothing whatever; in many cases however they use derived words, but do not seem to understand their connection with the root word: as for instance the word *pyapu*, broom, is well known, but they would not understand its connection with *sapu*,

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to sweep and if one use the form *myapu* they would probably not know what was meant. In some cases they use only the derived form, and do not know the root at all: *mnangis*, to weep, and *mnari* to dance, are of course in common use, but the root words *tangis* and *tari* are utterly unknown. On the other hand if a Baba knows the root word it does not at all follow that he will understand the derivative, he knows *suroh*, but knows nothing about *pyuroh*; *tunggu* he uses, but *pnunggu* is practically unknown. All the prefixes and suffixes are used by the Babas in connection with certain words, but not with others, in fact they use them without knowing why or how they should be used. The suffix *i*, however, which forms transitive verbs, is practically never used, and in the one word *mula'i* in which they do use it, they have no idea that they have a derivative from the well-known word *mula*, for they pronounce it simply *mulai*, and then go so far as to make it a transitive verb over again by adding the other similar suffix *-kan*, making the extraordinary combination *mulaikan*. In the same way the Babas make other derivatives of their own manufacture which are never used by the Malays, and sound to them exceedingly barbarous; for instance I have actually seen in print such forms as *kbersehan*, *bharukan* for *bharui*, *mbikinkan*, etc. Even some of the simple prepositions are never used by the Babas: instead of *k-*, to a place, they always use *di*, which properly means "at;" *bagi*, for, is almost unknown, and *dygan*, with, is very little used, *sama* being made to do duty where the Malays use *dygan*, *pada* and even *akan*. Such words as are used in the polite phraseology of the Malays are never used by the Babas, and few of them would even know the meaning of such words if they were to hear them; I refer particularly to such words as *bonda*, *adinda*, *kakanda*, which the Malays of all classes use in their private correspondence, and also to forms of address to persons of superior rank, and pronouns used by inferiors to superiors, the various words for speaking, such as, *firman* of God, *titah* of a king, *sabda* of a prophet or person of high rank, *kata* of equals, *sembah* of inferiors addressing a royal person. This whole system of phraseology is practically unknown to the Babas, and so is also the great bulk of the religious phraseology of the Malays. It is however unnecessary to go further in these matters, for enough has been said to show very plainly how much of the Malay language is a sealed book to the Babas.

3. Malay words mispronounced by the Babas.

The Babas have no difficulty in pronouncing every letter in the Malay language. In this respect they are entirely different from the immigrant Chinese, who find it utterly impossible to sound the letter *r* or *d*, and who always change final *s* into *t*, and make sundry other changes to suit their own peculiarities of speech. The Babas mispronounce Malay words either because they find

their own way easier, or because they think it more elegant. They have no difficulty in sounding the letters *b* and *l*, but instead of *ambil* they say *ambek* or even *amek*, and for *tinggal* one sometimes hears *tinggek*. Final *ai* is always toned down to *e* and *au* to *o*, as *surye* and *pulo* for *suryai* and *pulau*. Final *h* is never sounded at all, so that *rumah* becomes *ruma*, *bodoh* is *bodo*, and *boleh* is *bole*; thus they make no distinction between the sound of final *ai* and *eh*, both being *e* to the Baba. On the other hand final *a* is generally sounded as *ak*, and sometimes final *i* becomes *ik*; thus instead of *bapa*, *bawa* and *pula*, we have *bapak*, *bawak* and *pulak*. These corruptions of the sounds of the final letters cause a great deal of confusion in some words; for instance the Babas always pronounce *chari* as *charik* or *charek*, and have no idea that this is quite a different word, and means to tear; there is also a similar confusion between *bawa*, to bring, and *bawak*, below. The Babas also frequently drop the *h* in the middle of a word, as *baru* for *bharu*, *saja* for *sahaja*, *saya* for *sahya*; and they have a slight tendency to drop the *h* at the beginning of a word, as in the words *hati*, *hanyut*, etc. The Malays sometimes fail to sound initial *h*, but they never fail to sound the final *h*, and sometimes go so far as to carry the *h* over to the beginning of the next word, as *rumah horang*, *tlah hada*, etc. Other corruptions can hardly be classified, so it is best to give a few examples at random, for instance, *bergitu* for *bgitu*, *ktawa* for *tertawa*, *rti* for *arti*, *kreja* for *kerja*, *piara* for *plihara*, *pegary* for *pgary*, *sumpit* for *spit* (chopsticks), *mnimpi* for *mimpi*, *kmantin* for *prgantın*, *smuyit* for *smbunyi*. Words of Arabic origin are generally corrupted more than pure Malay words, for example, *pe'da* for *fa'idah*, *jerki* for *rzki*, *akérat* for *ak'hirat*, *masohor* or *mersohor* for *mashhur*.

4. The Baba idiom is Chinese rather than Malay.

Perhaps the most striking peculiarity in the way that the Babas make up their sentences is the very frequent use of the possessive particle *punya*, which they use precisely as the Hok-kiens use the particle *ê*; but *punya* being a longer word is much more cumbersome, and produces awkward sentences, thus, "*Dia punya mak-bapa ada dudok makan di sblah punya meja.*" Such phrases as "*tiga bulan punya lama,*" "*sperti macham itu punya kreta,*" are in constant use, and sound ludicrous to a Malay. These sentences are all taken from the writings of the Babas themselves. Here is another typical sentence, "*Ini macha m punya orary fikir apa yary baryak salah ta'patut buat, dan apa yary sdikit salah boleh buat. Apa punya bodoh satu fikiran ini?*" The redundancy of the "*punya*" is not, however, the only peculiarity of this sentence, the writer of which, though he is unable to speak Chinese, has given us a very close approximation to the Chinese idiom, and the whole sentence is absolutely unlike anything that a Malay would say. In the first place such expressions as *ini macham* and *apa*

yang are never used by Malays; instead of *ini macham punya orang fikir*, a Malay would say *pada fikiran orang yang dmikian*; and instead of *apa yang banyak salah*, a Malay would say *kesalahan yang besar*; a Malay would probably say the whole sentence somewhat as follows:—*Pada fikiran orang yang dmikian, kesalahan yang besar tiada patut di-perbuat, dan kesalahan yang sedikit boleh di-perbuat.* The last clause "*Apa punya bodoh satu fikiran ini?*" is even more utterly foreign to Malay idiom. It will be noticed that in the above sentence as reconstructed in the Malay idiom, the passive form *di-perbuat* is used; the Malays of course make a great deal of use of this construction both in writing and in conversation, but the Babas hardly ever use it at all. Another peculiar of the Babas is that they almost always make the adjectival pronouns *itu* and *ini*, that and this, precede the noun which they qualify instead of following it, as it should be according to Malay idiom. Again the Babas use the verb "to be" quite differently from the Malay idiom; take such sentences as, "*Ini ada betul salah*;" "*ini macham punya orang ada bodoh*"—no Malay would ever use *ada* in such a connection at all. They also follow the English idiom of placing the verb "to be" at the end of a sentence, thus, "*brapa chantek dia-orang ada*," "how beautiful they are." Another Chinese idiom is the use of *datang* for "here" or "hither," as the Chinese use *lái*, as, "*knapa l'uda bawa dia datang?*" and "*Kalau lu jalan datang.*" *Pernah* is used in the sense "at some time," as opposed to *ta'pernah*, "never," in the same way that the Hok-kiens used *bat* and *m̄-bat*, as, "*kuda yang sudah pernah tanyong seksa*," "a horse which has suffered at some time;" "*kuda yang sudah pernah jatuh*," "a horse which at some time has fallen;" these quotations are from the translation of "Black Beauty" by Mr. Goh Hood Keng, who speaks very little Chinese. The following may also be given as examples of phrases which are distinctly Chinese—" *Di-piarkan sampai mnjadi orang*," "taken care of until he grew up" - Chinese *chiâ-lây*; *teyok reyan*, instead of the Malay *pan-dang mudah* - *khô-khin*; "*orang yang kena dia pukol*," "the man who was beaten by him" - *hō i phah*.

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Karamat: sacred places and persons in Malaya.

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The study of sacred places and persons (*karamat*) in Malaya has hardly received the attention it deserves. Research in this field throws light not only on the nature-worship and ancestor-worship of the primitive Malays but also on that facile canonization of Muslim saints living and dead that marks the Indian source from which Islam came originally to the Peninsula.

The traditions as to the fifty one sacred places and persons recorded here have led to a classification of *karamat* under several heads: (1) natural objects such as rocks, hilltops, capes, whirlpools and so on; (2) sacred tigers and crocodiles; (3) graves of magicians; (4) graves of the founders of settlements; (5) graves of Muslim saints, and (6) living Muslim saints. In my second example a dead Sayid has been dragged in of recent years to hallow the nature-worship centring round Pulau Aur. Muslim jins are often used for the same object:—examples (4), (6) and (8). Syncretism has made the kernel of many traditions hard to discover. Living saints often bear the hallmark of some physical peculiarity: one has a hairy uvula, another is a dwarf, another is short-sighted, another has half his tongue black. All have mysterious powers and some can perform miracles. One mark of a dead saint is the saffron-like fairness of his corpse: another the mysterious separation of the head and foot stones of his grave.

The traditions here collected contain many details of interest to the student of primitive religion and magic and it is to be hoped that other enquirers may add to these records of the *karamat* of Malaya.

Further material is to be found in W. W. Skeat's "Malay Magic", pages 61-71, 153, 163-165, 283.

Natural objects—rocks, hill-tops, capes, whirlpool.

(1) In the Perak river near a deserted village, Labit, and opposite Mount Berembun stands a large isolated rock, above a rapid known as the Bat's Elbow. The rock is called Gaffer Idol (To' Berhala). From Labit to Mt. Berembun is stretched a magic branch that lies at the bottom of the Perak river and rises, mottled and mossy, to the surface only when the Gaffer wants to use it as a bridge to his rock in midstream. For Gaffer Idol and his wife Embun originally were mortals. One day the wife went to this huge rock to bathe and vanished, carried off by the ghosts of her ancestors. Her husband bewailed her fate and she came and

carried him off too. The Gaffer used to keep a pair of sambhur deer and a pair of barking deer (each with gold neck-chains), a white crocodile, and a white crow: prayer to his sacred rock will render these animals visible at times. Neglected, the Gaffer can cause sickness among settlers and passers-by, and the wrecking of boats in the rapid. If his help is required to heal the sick, the yellow thread, the betel quid and the cooling water to be used as medicine must be laid on his rock for half an hour so that the Gaffer may come invisibly and bless them. Thank-offerings also are laid on the rock only for half an hour. *Pawang*s invoke his aid to recover wreckage. They can find the spot where it lies by casting a handful of rice on the stream where the boat sank, and following the progress of the grain till it revolves: at that place the sunken boat lies.

The kernel of this *karamat* is a rock and the legend that anthropomorphism has woven round it embraces a sacred hilltop also., Mt. Berembun.

(2) In the China Sea is the Island of the Bamboo, Pulau Aur. Formerly it was only a rock, out of which grew not any plant commonly met in salt water but a bamboo with two joints. Once the five sons of an Arab Sayid, who had settled at Daik, were sailing in search of fortune when the eldest died at sea. His brothers committed him to the waters along with two joints of bamboo, as symbols of grave-stones. At their prayer the rocky islet arose. Sailors in want of a favouring wind make offerings of rice and goat's flesh, and hang up white and yellow rags on the island. Then if they sail away fasting and with their thoughts fixed on this sacred place they will get fair winds and a prosperous voyage.

(3) In the district of Lumut in the Dindings there is a rock lying on a larger rock, which has been a sacred place for fifty years or more. Once there was a pious Patani Malay in the district, called Dato' Sulong. On several occasions he disappeared and on his return said he had been visiting this Hanging Rock (*Batu Bertenggek*). One day he vanished for ever. Later he informed the local *pawang* in a dream that the Hanging Rock was sacred and that any one guilty of unseemly language or conduct in its neighbourhood would fall sick. A pert boy tested the truth of the tale and suffered from fever and vomiting until his father vowed to offer at the rock seven plates of rice and seven black-skinned fowls. Chinese as well as Malays revere the spot.

(4) At the foot of Gunong Mesah near Gopeng in Perak there is a cave with several hanging rocks. One night the local *pawang* dreamt that a Muslim jin, bearded and attired in Arab dress, spoke to him, saying that one of the rocks was his dwelling-place and that people should not defile the cave. A sceptical boy tried the experiment and at once got fever. By divination from a candle set on the edge of an ewer of water the *pawang* discovered the patient had been crossed (*kéltégoran*) by a spirit downstream—where the cave was. The patient confessed and was cured by

an offering of rice and a black fowl to the jin in the cave. Today all who pass the place exclaim, "Greetings, grandsire. Your children ask leave to pass. Forgive them for what they take or brush against, for they have no manners."

(5) Once upon a time a pelican was drinking on the brink of the Jelai river at Kuala Lipis, Pahang, when there passed a mythical giant, Sang Kelembai, who changed all he greeted into stone. So the pelican was turned into a bird-shaped rock and has given its name to a pool (*Lubok Batu Burong*). The stone is sacred and rags are hung upon it to this day. In the early days of British protection a white man tested its sanctity by firing shots at it. It showed no marks or damage.

(6) In Elephant Hill (*Gunong Gajah*), near Kuala Dipang in Kinta, Perak, there is a cave containing rocks and stones which once were people engaged in a feast, when Sang Gedumbai (= Kelembai) passed and by his greeting petrified them. An old midwife lived at the edge of the cave. Once she vanished for a week and returned at last, sallying out of the jungle with a basketful of various foods. She said a Muslim jin had fetched her to deliver his wife at the top of the hill. There too was a town with shops, where the jin had bought presents for her. He had told her to appeal to him in trouble when he would visit her in dreams. In later times a local magician reported that the tale was true and that the child delivered had married a mortal. The sanctity of the hill was confirmed by the fact that the vow of an offering by the parent of a sick child caused its recovery.

(7) At Merlimau in Malacca about four miles from the sea there stood a large sacred rock called the Junk (*Batu Jong*) until in 1920 A. D. the Public Works Department broke it up to make the Jasin road. Once upon a time a naughty boy, Ragam, ran away from home till he came to the sea-shore. Seeing a junk pass gay with flags and music he took off his coat and waved. The captain stopped his ship and took the boy to his mistress, the princess of Ledang Island. She brought him up and eventually made him captain of her ship. Some years later, when his crew were ashore, an old shabby woman hearing the name of their captain declared he must be her lost son. When she was taken aboard, Nakhoda Ragam failed to recognize her and disowned her. Weeping she returned. But the petrified remains of the junk and its anchor, of an elephant that was on board and of the clothes of the crew remained till 1920 as witness to the fate that overtook the unfilial captain. All this happened when sea lapped the foot of Gunong Ledang.

(8) Near the village of Batu Kikir in the Kuala Pilah district there is a peak like an ant-hill in the Melintang range. It is called Bukit Merbau after a tall *mērbau* tree that crowns it. Thither a headman once led his people to decide a case between a man, Haji Sa'iran, and his fellow-villagers, who, falsely, the Haji said, declared that his ne'er-do-well son, Long, the child of his

old age, was a bastard. Long alone of the party fainted and failed to reach the top. On the summit was discovered a flat stone with a hollow full of water. Its warder is a Muslim jin, called Green Turban, who is accompanied by a were-tiger, Dato' Negun. If any evil is about to overtake or any alien tiger about to enter the district, this ghost tiger roams round it roaring for three nights. People make vows at this sacred place for recovery from sickness, for plentiful crops and so on. Formerly incense and invocations would produce magic crockery on the summit for the use of those believers who lacked plates and dishes for a feast. But borrowers failed to return them or returned cracked ware for good. So this miracle has ceased!

(9) On the top of Gunung Rembau are rocks, which once upon a time were the palace, the goatpen and the fowl-house of a prince. There also are two ponds, the Footprint pond and the Cooking Pot pond. Many vow to present offerings at this sacred spot in return for riches or good crops. If a request is going to be answered, there will be water in the ponds: if it is going to be refused, the water will at once dry up. A fierce wind will strip stolen clothes off any dishonest person who scales the mountain. Formerly the mountain was an island, where a Pasai prince and his consort, Princess Manila, landed and settled. Gradually dry land silted around it and the prince's settlement was peopled with aboriginal Malays. The prince retired to live a hermit's life at Cape Rachado but his consort still lives atop Gunung Rembau, whence in one step she can visit her husband. Some detect at this cape the footprints of this princess, who if invoked will step down from her hill to push off ships ashore on the promontory. Again. At the extremity of Cape Rachado there is a whirl-pool, about a chain square, inhabited by a female Muslim jin, who can cause and cure sickness.

(10) There was an old *pawang*, Nenek Anggam, of Sungai Baharu, Malacca to whom a Muslim saint revealed in a dream that at the confines of the parish there was a holy spot marked by a tall tree and a great rock bearing the marks of a tigress and her cubs. It lies at the source of the river that irrigates the local rice-fields. It is called *Karamat Dato' Budi* and prayers are said there yearly before the rice seed is planted. A gold-mine was once opened in the neighbourhood but the coolies fell sick or were killed by tigers: the Chinese headman dreamt that the spirit of the *karamat* demanded seven women, *primae gravidae*, and work stopped. After the harvest a great feast is held, scraps of the different sorts of food being left as offerings.

(11) In Market street, Teluk Anson, stands a tall *pulas* tree. When two Indian coolies were ordered to fell it, the hacks they made by day closed up by night and they themselves died. Then a Malay *pawang* dreamt it was a sacred tree, where ghosts and spirits sport, and ever since all races, Malays, Chinese, Indians, have laid offerings there.

(12) An old couple had seven sons. One day they went to bathe in the Muar river and did not return. Only their clothes were found. But a bearded figure in Arab clothes visited their father in a dream and told him that his sons had been transformed into saints with invisible bodies like fairies and one of them guarded Mensira. Now at that spot is a huge *mēnsira* tree unto this day. Under it are often met a tiger, a crocodile, snakes and scorpions, to kill any one of which would bring disaster on the parish. People make vows there. Formerly incense and prayer would produce magic plates for those in need, but this miracle has ceased, because, instead of returning the shards of any broken, borrowers replaced them with whole but ordinary plates.

(13) A *pawang* lived on Gunong Berembun in Negri Sembilan. He had seven sons, to whom he taught his magic. Finally he sent them to practice austerities (*bērlapa*) beside a stream. After twice seven days he searched for them. They had disappeared. But a bearded fairy prince (*raja orang bunyian*) in Arab dress visited him in a dream and told how his sons had become saints. They had all plunged into the stream and the youngest had risen to the surface at Kuala Sungai Dioh. To guard the sacred spot he haunts are four warders: a lame tiger that rules the jungle, a white crocodile and a white snake which rule the water, a white gibbon that rules beasts and men. The white gibbon was once a princess of Pagar Ruyong and was turned into a gibbon for breaking troth with Anggun Che Tunggal! The lame tiger was captured by the saint of Kuala Sungai Dioh from a band of tigers, guardians of the sacred place on Gunong Ledang, who had come to attack the *karamat* at Kuala Sungai Dioh. Having learnt their purpose in the form of a cat, he went behind a *bērtam* bush and made his body as big as a mountain; then he chased the tigers so that their rush broke a pass through a hill, still called Bukit Putus; one of them he captured and made a warder of his domain. A Sakai saw all this happen. No *pawang* will let his people wash mosquito-curtain or curry-stone in a river above a sacred place, because the white crocodile and the white snake once slew a couple who defiled their river and inconvenienced their fish by doing so. The white gibbon was hooting at the time. So pawangs say the hoot of the gibbon at midday betokens the death of a man by violence. Offerings are made, incense burnt and trays of food hung on a certain twisted root at Kuala Dioh. If a sick man recovers, he fulfils his vow by offering white and black broth, a black fowl and a portrait of himself made of dough. At the beginning of the planting season a mock combat with calladium stems takes place there, a buffalo is slaughtered, and a portion of blood and flesh given to each person to take away and plant in the corner of his or her field as an offering to earth spirits.

(14) A couple living on Ayer Hitam hill, Penang, had seven virgin daughters. Every day the girls took their goats to

graze till one day three of the girls went astray and took refuge in a cave. The youngest, Che Nah, was lost on the return the following day and her foot became caught in a crevice. An old man found her there but her body had turned to stone. She had become a *karamat*. Her father prayed to her to relieve his poverty. In a dream she told him to dig at the foot of a tree where he would find gold. A hut has been built over the sacred stone. Malays, Tamils, Indians and Eurasians frequent the place. It is known as *Karamat Che Nah* or as *Karamat tujuh béradek*.

A variant account states that Che Nah died at home but appeared to her sisters in a dream, instructing that her body should not be buried but cast into the jungle. On returning to the spot they found it occupied by their sister in the form of a white tigress. In a dream she warned her sisters that they should remove to Pulau Tikus Kechil, where now there is another famous *karamat*. After they had removed, an old man Harun took offerings to the tigress. When he died, the beast disappeared.

(15) Between Tambun and Pulai in Kinta there is a rock bearing a mark which has made it a *karamat*. It is the footprint of a famous medicine-man, Pawang Rejab. One day he went, as was his custom, to fossick for tin. With him he took his son, whom he warned not to express surprise at what he saw. But when his father started to work, he was so amazed that he cried out, "Why, father, you split rock easily with a twig (*puchok dedap*)! Other folk would find it hard to split with iron." His father did not hear. So the boy repeated this remark three times. Straightway the Pawang uttered a loud cry, sprang and slipped along the rock to seize his son by his long lock of hair, whereupon they both vanished. The mark where his foot slipped is still on the sacred rock. Soon afterwards the Pawang's wife and property also vanished.

(16) The *karamat* at Paroi between Seremban and Bukit Putus embraces traditions of hills, of a well now filled up but due originally to the footprint of a sacred white elephant, of seven or eight families who founded the village beside the well and of eight Arab missionaries who sailed from Sumatra to Patani and Kedah (wherefore those countries are celebrated for religion to this day), fared then to the top of Bukit Putus (where today there is a hut for folk to pay their vows in) and so down to the sacred well at Paroi. A Malay saw seven of them dive into the well, whence they never rose again:—for they came up at the Seven Hills (*Bukit tujuh*) near Sri Menanti, so that all who approach those hills today say "Greetings, Gaiffers! Your grand-child would pass." The eighth Arab stayed on the brink and told the Malay all about himself and his fellows so that the legend might be preserved! The next morning he too dived into the well and vanished, to become the *karamat* of Paroi. One account makes him leader of an army of were-tigers. And in Negri Sembilan any one angry with his cattle utters the imprecation,

"May the Dato Paroi attack you!" Malays, Hindus and Chinese revere the spot, which in 1922 was visited by H. H. the Yang di-pertuan.

Sacred Tigers and Crocodiles.

(17) When Tun Ali (died 1847) ruled Pahang, there lived in Chini lake a huge crocodile called the Luck (*sēri*) of Pahang. He was betrothed but his betrothed was carried off by another crocodile, called the Luck of Cambodia. Transforming himself into a human pilgrim or Haji, the Luck of Pahang took ship to the sea of Cambodia where resuming his proper shape he leapt into the water and sought his rival. His rival took shelter in a rocky cave. Dashing after him the Luck of Pahang hurt himself and so was worsted in the encounter. He returned to Pahang, hanging on to the rudder of a ship but could ascend the river no further than Pasir Panjang near the estuary. A *pawang* about to go to Chini lake dreamt that the Luck of Pahang bade him inform the crocodiles there that they must go down to Pasir Panjang to meet their dying lord. All the crocodiles of the Pahang river and its tributaries went down. Tun Ali, ruler of Pahang, also had a dream, in which the Luck of Pahang asked to be shrouded and buried at Pasir Panjang. This his highness did, using 70 rolls of linen. White rags and palm blossoms are hung beside the grave and vows are made to bathe the sick there if in answer to their friends' invocations to the sacred crocodile they regain their health.

(18) About 30 years ago a tiger frequented a cave in Gunong Kurau near Kampong Sungai Akar, Perak. He molested no one and over his resting-place in the cave was what looked like curtains of stone. Three nights running one Haji Muhammad Salleh dreamt that this tiger was sacred. And when his child fell ill, he vowed that if the infant recovered he would bathe it at the door of the cave, sacrificing a white goat and burning incense. This he did, unharmed by its inhabitant. Today the tiger is very old and can hardly crawl. But all the villagers believe he is sacred.

Graves of Magicians.

(19) At Bukit Serudong in Rembau there is the sacred grave of a famous *pawang*, To' Anggut, to which folk resort for recovery from sickness, for good crops or if any of their relations have been arrested by the myrmidons of the law:—it is guarded by a were-tiger, the familiar of local medicine-men, as once it was the familiar of To' Anggut. This worthy is reputed to have founded the custom of mock combats before clearing the rice-fields. For seven days he visited all homesteads in a procession headed by a spearsman and seven flag-carriers. On the last day a white and a black goat were sacrificed, and the combat with calladium stems took place. He also instituted lustration for the

sick and tied threads and lead on their wrists. In epidemics he let no one cut down vegetation, or slay beasts for seven days; no one might leave the house of the sick or talk to visitors or strangers.

(20) At Bagan Tambang, Teluk Ayer Tawar, in Province Wellesley there died on the 25th June 1817 a famous Pawang Hitam the son of Haji Abdul-Karim, aged 98 years. One Friday night an adult grandson dreamt that the deceased had become a *karamat*. Soon afterwards there was a theft in the village. Diviners failed to trace the stolen goods. Then their owner vowed to offer saffron rice and a white cock at the Pawang's tomb, if he would help to find them. Forthwith the idea came that the goods were buried in the sand at the foot of a certain tall tree. There, to be sure, they were unearthed, the thief not having had time to remove them. Vows at this tomb will also help the sick.

(21) About 100 years ago at Kemunting near Taiping there lived an old Achehnese midwife or medicine-woman called To' Bidan Lanjut, to whose grave people of all races resort asking for offspring or health or wealth. Her grave is under a *huge tree* on which supplicants hang rags or stones. An Indian Muslim is employed by the Chinese miners to look after this holy place.

Graves of founders of settlements.

(22) Among the founders of Trong in Perak was a famous medicine-man, Johan. Vows are made at his grave, incense burnt there and a curtained frame hung over it.

(23) In the parish of Pengkalan Baharu in the Dindings there is a sacred place in the middle of a plain (*Karamat To' Padang*), reputed to be the grave of a Bugis prince, Johan. Gangga Shah Johan, (who was worsted by Raja Suran according to the "Malay Annals") invited Johan to a combat with his son, the winner of which was to wed his niece Princess Puchok Kelumpang. But the defeated prince persuaded his father's vizier to fence with his Bugis rival, and Johan was slain by a *stream* (called *Alur darah* 'the gully of blood') where the *water still flows red*. The grave with an Arabic inscription still stands beside the Bruas river. A were-tiger there keeps off elephants and grouting pigs; a crocodile is warden of the adjacent river-bank; a white cock dusts the grave with his wings. Beside it is a *tall fig tree*; a Chinaman started to fell it for a planter but was struck with paralysis and did not recover till his comrades laid offerings before the tree.

The ancient grave of an unknown man seems to have started this legend.

(24) Near the Malay school at Salak Nama, Rembau, is the sacred grave of Dato' Sri Maharaja (younger brother of Dato' Laut), one of the founders of Rembau. Tradition says that he had a hairy tongue; whenever he spoke, the hairs fell into his lap; when he had finished talking, he replaced them in his mouth!

(25) A poor Achinese fisherman having caught nothing visited an island where a saint seated on a white rock gave him a twig which would always attract fish. So he became rich and was called Dato' Pulau, "Island Chief." He left Sumatra for Negri Sembilan where he settled and married at Kampong Glong. Later he founded Pengacheh, where he became famous as a medicine-man. He had two daughters, Kudeh and Machang, the ancestresses of the two divisions of the local Achinese tribe (*anak Acheh darat* and *anak Acheh baroh*). The grave of this founder and medicine-man is sacred, the resort of suppliants.

The wife of this chief ran away from him, after accidentally burning her bosom in a pan full of hot sugar. She hid by the riverside, where a white crocodile came and licked it and made it well. So to this day the Glong tribe (*suku Glong*) shroud and bury dead crocodiles.

(26) Three brothers, members of the royal house of Pontianak migrated first to Bangka and then in the time of Sultan Husain (1809 A. D.) to a spot on the coast of Singapore harbour. The eldest was named Lasa, the youngest Bujang and the other Lasam. As they were making a clearing, a storm came accompanied by great darkness. So they called the place Siglap! Immigrants from Riau and Lingga swelled the population. So, Lasa having returned to Pontianak, the English made Lasam chief (Pengahulu) of the place. Once a Bugis, Wak Biak, ran amuck, killing several people. No one could capture him. Lasam arrested him single-handed. The police let him escape and he killed more people. Lasam again captured him. People began to regard their Pengahulu as sacred (*karamat*). Lasam died and the colour of the corpse was like saffron. This confirmed his sanctity and vows are still paid at his grave.

(27) Several hundred years ago eight holy men came to Pahang from Minangkabau, including To' Tun Bahau, To' Tun Cheruis, To' Tun Bandan, To' Panglima Mat Kasim. The last settled at Segenting near Kuala Cheka and had four sons, whose sacred graves are at Yong Blit, Yong Kudong, Aur Gading and Kampong Atir. Most sacred of all is the grave of the father, *karamat Segenting*. On his tomb is a stone, which was the water-vessel (*gopong*) he used for his religious ablutions. Alive he kept two crocodiles, with rattan cords through their noses. These crocodiles appear to persons who fail to fulfil vows at their master's tomb. The great flood of 1885 covered all the surrounding land but not that grave. Goats are slaughtered and white cocks loosed beside the tomb by those whose prayers there have been answered.

Graves of Muslim Saints.

(28) In former days, the route into Perak was from Bruas to the Hill of the Achinese Grave (*changkat kubor Acheh*) in the parish of Blanja. Once at that Hill there was a large settlement

with a mosque. A princess lived there, betrothed to a Bruas trader, Muda Che' Maalim. But another Bruas trader, Che' Idin, came in his absence and forcibly married her. A fight ensued. Che' Maalim entering the mosque in pursuit of fugitives, saw its keeper (*siak*) behind a pillar and hacked at him, where-upon he vanished mysteriously. The two rival lovers fought and perished. Soon afterwards a man dreamt that To' Siak had become a saint (*karamat*) and founded an invisible settlement, where the material settlement wasted by fighting had sunk back into the jungle. Later another dream revealed that To' Siak had removed to Changkat Kuala Parah on the Perak river. A tiger and a crocodile guard the place sacred to him.

Syncretism has composed this *karamat* of hills, a founder, a saint and a shadowy tradition of a grave.

(29) Thirty years ago a pious Muslim trader, Muhammad Rawi, opened a shop in Gopeng, Perak, and prospered. He went alone to Mecca and on his return was styled Shaikh. Later at his funeral rain fell, though the sun was shining. A grandson of the deceased fell very ill and his parents vowed to bathe him at the Shaikh's tomb if he recovered. At once the child got well and the tomb became a sacred spot where vows are made.

(30) Two hundred years ago at Bukit Tersan near Raub lived a very pious man possessed of magical arts. He and his family are buried there in tombs waist-high. The saint is known as Dato' Karamat. The sick make vows to bathe there, hang flags and release a white fowl on the grave if they recover. Those who make vows, at once have white flags hung here as symbols that a vow has been made. Some drink the water from the crevices of the grave-stones.

(31) A pious Achinese, To' Pakeh, settled at Nibong Tebal and died there in an odour of sanctity. His grave at Matang Pauh is still honoured. His son, To' Baik, followed his example. One day he went down to the Krian river to get water for his ritual ablutions. A crocodile seized him. But five or six times he rose to the surface, ejaculating, "It is well" (*baik!*). Only his left leg was recovered and duly buried near Nibong Tebal. A villager dreamt that the deceased had become a saint (*karamat*). The crocodile, which still lives, is also regarded as sacred. At To' Baik's tomb Malays, Indians and Chinese make vows and supplication.

(32) At Kampong Jalan Baharu, Penang, is the sacred grave of Dato' Janggut, who was born, the youngest of five children, in 1824 A. D. and died in 1884. He had a great name as a religious teacher. After his burial a voice reciting the Quran was heard from his grave. One Friday night a light as of fire shone on the tomb and a figure, the exact likeness of To' Janggut, was sitting there reading a religious book. The tomb became a sacred place. Suppliants offer candles and money there. All

who pass by or wish to take any of the money lying there, must invoke the saint thrice for permission, or sickness will overtake them.

(33) There was a poor pious keeper of the mosque at the village of Lahar Ikan Mati in Province Wellesley, called Lebai Qadir. When he died, the *imam* went to the mosque one night to pray for his soul. He fell asleep and Lebai Qadir visited him in a dream and told him that he would answer the vows of all who invoked him. The sick vow to offer saffron rice, slaughter a goat or release a white fowl at his tomb, if they recover.

(34) At Ampang three miles from Kuala Lumpur is the sacred tomb of a pious Sumatran immigrant, To' Janggut, who kept a pony and cattle there nearly fifty years ago. When he died, his pony, his buffalo and his cow seemed to go mad and refused food and drink, sleeping at night by the grave. There the pony died first and next the cow and the buffalo. People marvelled and surmised that the deceased was a saint. The fulfilment of prayers in response to vows made there confirmed this belief. Rich Chinese have built a shrine over the grave, so that it is known as *Karamat Tangga China*. A yellow mosquito-net is hung over it but renewed at short intervals, as suppliants take scraps of it to make amulets.

Another account of this saint is given below (42).

(35) In the last century a pious Muslim teacher, Shaikh Abdul-Ghani settled at Gopeng. One day after his death a pupil of his fell into financial trouble and invoked his dead teacher, vowing, "If I am released from this trouble, I will bring flags and water and repair the tomb of my master." His prayer was answered, and the Shaikh's tomb became a sacred place.

(36) At Ketapang in the district of Pekan, Pahang, is the sacred grave (*makam To' Panjang*) of a pious Malay, Jaafar, who never married. After he died, the head and foot stones of his grave separated to a length of 15 feet. So he was accounted a saint and vows are made for his help.

(37) A very poor but pious couple lived in the parish of Serandu, Pahang. One Friday the husband died on his praying mat. The wife went to beg a shroud. When she returned with assistance, a light was seen to be shining from the navel of the corpse. Soon after the wife died, also on a Friday. A man passing the graves saw that tall stones adorned them and curtains, and that an angel in the form of an aged man sat within the curtains. The passer-by enquired, what he did. The angel replied, "I guard this sacred tomb." Said the man, "If indeed it be sacred, let the stones be parted." The stones parted, making the grave 30 feet long. It is called *Karamat To' Panjang, Bruas* and is at Kampong Marhum in the district of Kuala Pahang. All races respect it.

(38) At Kampong Baharu, beside a branch of the Dinding River, is the grave of a pious Chinese convert to Islam, guarded by a crocodile who upsets the boats of the profane and irreverent. Once a rubber-planter ordered his coolies to throw rubbish round the grave. He died and most of the coolies fell sick. Villagers then cleaned up the site and found several remarkable objects:— in the middle of the grave a stone three feet high and six feet round, larger at the base than the top; beside the river bank, a large flat stone like a mat, two large and several smaller wells and a betel-chewer's stone spittoon.

(It is just possible that this spot might be of interest to an archaeologist?)

(39) At Kampong Gedang in the Jelebu district is the sacred grave of To' Rabun, who was born short-sighted (as his name implies) forty years ago and brought his needy parents luck and riches. They died and then their child's presence made the trees and crops of his guardian flourish. To' Rabun also died at the age of eight. His grave was forgotten till recently the village headman dreamt that the child visited him in a dream, announced that having reached the age of 40 he was a saint, and that his grave would be discovered at the end of a certain gully. There the dreamer found it, under a huge *leban* tree. Now folk make supplications to the saint and hang yellow cloth in the sacred tree in his keeping. Many revere the tree rather than the grave. Recently a tiger caused much loss in the neighbourhood till an old man dreamt the tiger was the saint, who enraged at the villagers' lack of faith in him had taken this form.

Living Saints.

(40) In Mecca there lived once a pious religious teacher, Shaikh Muhammad, who had a devoted pupil, Shaikh Ahmad. They sailed to Java, where they made many converts and Shaikh Muhammad received the title of Shaikh Mutaram. A year later they came to Mecca, where their shining countenances and the efficacy of their prayers for the sick earned them the reputation of living saints. They said they would die in Malacca and both asked to be buried on the top of Bukit Gedong. Both died at the same time and were buried, as they had desired, Shaikh Mutaram on the right of his friend. A pupil of Shaikh Mutaram dreamt that his master had become a saint and going to the hilltop discovered that the distance between the two graves and between their headstones and footstones had grown! He prayed that if his dream were true, a strange snake and a strange bird might appear. Straightway they appeared but vanished when he prayed. To this day these sacred graves are honoured by suppliants.

(41) About 1880 A. D. there came to Klang an Arab, Shaikh Muhammad Ali, said by some to have been a kinsman of Habib Nob whose sacred tomb stands on a hill at Teluk Ayer,

in Singapore. He had the gift of seeing the future and all his prophecies came true. He could read thoughts and he cured the sick merely by the words, "Be well." His uvula was hairy and he clipped it once a week. In his life he became a saint and his tomb near Simpang Lima, Klang, is the resort of those who want children or health. A way to test if the dead saint will cause a vow to be fulfilled is to take a stick and say, 'If thou wilt help me, let this stick grow longer': if help is to be forthcoming, it will lengthen at once. All races make vows at this tomb.

(42) There was a poor pious Sumatran, Shaikh Taih, who wandered about Selangor asking alms and living at times as a hermit. Once he lived as a hermit at Batang Kali for seven days. Wherever he did this has become a sacred spot (*karamat*). He always read as he walked. House or mosque he would enter by one door and always leave by another or through a window. If he came across any article lying right side up he would turn it bottom upwards: any article lying bottom upwards he would place right side up, saying "It must be tired of one position"! His prayer could revive the sick. The alms people gave to him he distributed to the poor. He was recognized as a saint. He settled at Tangga China and died there where his grave is revered as a sacred place.

(43) At Jeram in Selangor, there lived a pious old Javanese, Lebai Husain. Once when he was about to go to Mecca, all his money was stolen. Soon afterwards he said to his children, "Tonight I go to Mecca" and forthwith vanished. At morning prayer he reappeared with shining face and a sweet smell. He got to care little for food and drink and raiment and he prayed much. One day he prophesied that in three days time a shoal of whales would be cast up on the beach. This happened and the English collected skin and skeleton of one whale. Another time a woman brought an infant blind in one eye. Before she spoke he divined her purpose. With his spittle he cured the child's sight. A man complained of the theft of his goods. "On Friday at dawn the thief will lay them by your house-ladder" said Lebai Husain and his words came true. While alive he was accounted a saint and his tomb is a place of pilgrimage for all races.

(44) A pious Javanese goldsmith, Pa' Tukang Rena, settled at Serkam in Malacca and married there. One day digging his garden he struck a large lump of gold which however turned the colour of coal. He died and his wife sold the property. The eldest son of the buyer, and his pious wife, Che Puteh, built a house opposite the tomb of the dead goldsmith. Che' Puteh dreamt that a bearded saint in Arab dress appeared and said to her, "Guard my tomb in your garden and you shall have your reward." This she did and burnt incense there every Thursday night. One day seven snakes were descried in a bunch on the

roof of Che' Puteh's house. After a while they vanished and two hours later dollars and silver and copper coins rained from the roof every quarter of an hour for a whole hour. Che' Puteh fainted. Those present prayed, "If in truth here is the tomb of a saint (*wali*), may this woman recover." Straightway she revived. After that all races believed in the sanctity of the grave but suppliants must use Che' Puteh as an intermediary, and tell her their need, whereupon she will light tapers and burn incense at the tomb. Che' Puteh herself has become a living saint (*karamat hidup*) and wears yellow robes every day. People give her many offerings!

(45) Formerly there lived at Chembong in the Rembau district a very poor pious orphan, called Lebai Janggut. One day he fell into a trance lasting several hours. On recovery he discoursed of the pillars of Islam, of divination, of the places in the neighbourhood frequented by Muslim genies and the way to placate them. People said, 'He has become a saint' and honoured him. Many besought him for amulets and medicine. Once he persuaded the villagers to build a mosque of bricks (*masjid tanah*). For drum he bade them get a tree-trunk thirty feet long. When the trunk was bored and ready, thirty men failed to lift it, till Lebai Janggut waved over it seven times. On Thursday evenings and feast days it sounded of its own accord. In the mosque at that time was a basket of a hundred plates not of mortal fashioning. To this day on Fridays and other days people pay their vows to the dead saint.

(46) At Bukit Tunjang in Kedah there lived a very pious man, To' Alim. His person was fair; his teeth, his nails and half his tongue were black. For his ritual ablutions he used forty four cans of water. He wore seven layers of raiment, like his grandfather To' Dahman, who was also a *karamat*. On a Thursday night in A. H. 1340 he died. The same night he informed the Sultan of Kedah of the occurrence in a dream and bade His Highness invoke him if ever there were trouble in the land. The Sultan attended his obsequies. He was buried on the top of Bukit Tunjang. His gravestone is fifteen feet long and the grave is known as the sacred place of the White Stone (*Karamat Batu Puteh*). Every year his descendants fix beside it in a tall tree a revolving wheel of bamboos slit so as to make a roaring sound: omission to do this would bring misfortune. Invocation of this saint will make his tomb or a tiger appear before one, if such an apparition has been prayed for.

(47) In 1876 A. D. an Arab, Sayid Makbuli, came to Taiping and settled there as a religious teacher. One day a Malay suffering from discoloration of the skin (*sopak*) held out his hands for alms. The Sayid prayed to Allah, spat on the skin and the disease vanished. The patient contrived to give a thanksgiving feast to the Sayid and a few friends. The Sayid asked him why he had not invited more people. He replied that

he had not got enough rice. "Go" said the Sayid, "and call all the folk from the mosque." Then he prayed to Allah and the rice on the dish, so far from being insufficient, did not decrease although all helped themselves to it. He was recognized as a saint. When he died in 1886, his grave near the Taiping mosque became a sacred place.

(48) Seventy years ago a Perak Malay dwarf only three feet tall was leader of the mosque at Menglembu. He was called Imam Pandak. Every morning it was his custom to go in search of some particular food, mushrooms or fish or fruit: nothing else would he take home, and whether he got his heart's desire or not he returned home about ten o'clock. Though poor he gave alms. If a borrower failed to repay, ill-luck overtook him. He was fond of buying and releasing wild animals and birds. When he reached the age of forty, folk invoked him as a saint. When at the age of 48 he died, a huge crowd attended the funeral and then incontinently disappeared. The villagers said they must have been angels or Muslim genies. The grave is only 3 feet long. In 1919 A. D. one Haji Abdul-Rahman tried to fell a durian tree beside this grave but though he hacked it for four days and cut it almost through, it would not fall until he invoked the assistance of this Saint.

(49) There was once a swashbuckler, Abu's-Samad, who fled from Patani on account of his misdeeds and went to Mecca where he lived for years. At last one of his pupils, Haji Ismail, brought him to Kampong Permatang on Sungai Dua in Province Wellesley. There he married and had children. He had a wonderful turtle-dove (*mērbok*) which often crowed by day: when it crowed at night, good luck came on the morrow. The bird died and a month later, its corpse was found beneath the house uncorrupted: it was bathed, shrouded and is still kept in a box. Also Abu's-Samad kept a hen that crowed like a cock. One day as she was cooking, his wife saw the water in a jar was finished: her husband fetched water from the well and in it floated a wonderful white mushroom! These portents and his piety have earned Haji Abu's-Samad the name of a saint. In 1917 A. D. Sultan Abdul-Jalil of Perak visited him. He is about 80 years' old now.

(50) About 200 years ago there lived in the Temerloh district of Pahang, a pious boy Shaikh Abdullah who devoted his life to religion and fed only once a day or once in four days. One Friday he vanished but at last was found in the mosque beside the *bilal*, clad in sweet-smelling raiment and shining with a radiant light. Another day, when his boat capsized in a storm, he walked ashore on the water. So he got the name of a living saint. During great floods, he would tie branches and fronds to tall tree trunks to help mice and insects to escape. In A. H. 1135 he sailed for Mecca and stayed there for five years. He died in A. H. 1160 aged 75 years. His grave is known as *makam*

To' Shaikh Sentang. Seven days after the burial, the head and foot stones separated and are now 15 feet apart. Vows are frequently paid there.

(51) There was born in the district of Temerloh Pahang, a man of mixed Indian descent, Haji Abubakar son of Haji Abdul-Karim, and grandson of Tambi Badoh (whose sacred grave is at Pulau Malang). He acquired much religious knowledge partly by study, mainly in dreams. All his words came true and despite his protests folk began to make supplications and fulfil vows to him as a living saint. He was master of a charm (*pētunang bēlit*) that could send a bullet to its mark, though that mark were invisible and the gun pointed in another direction. He was as strong as seven elephants. His profession was that of a boat-builder. He died in 1891 A. D. at the age of 120 and his grave at Kampong Karai is sacred.

THE PENGKALAN KEMPAS "SAINT."

By R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G.

The monuments at Pēngkalan Kēmpas were the subject of a complete number of the Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums—Vol. IX, pt. 3, of 1921. In closing his article on the epitaph Mr. C. Boden Kloss wrote:—

These notes are written merely "to start the hare" and introduce the plates which it is hoped may meet the eye of some one capable of deciphering the inscriptions. Mr. Kloss's hare was run to earth in October, 1927, by Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels who deciphered the inscriptions (op. cit. XII, pt. 4, of 1927), but started a new hare by leaving it to others "to get some more information about the saintly rascal who is buried under it."

Attention was first drawn in print to this inscription by me; but credit for its discovery really belongs to the F.M.S. Museums Department from whom I had learnt of it. It would seem, however, that Shaikh Ahmad's reputation has suffered from the publicity given him; and it is due to him that he should be defended from the charge of being a "saintly rascal." He may have been a martyr.

The epitaph gives us only the official version of what happened. It tells us that Shaikh Ahmad came down river—from Sungai Ujong (or Sening Ujong as it was then called)—with a number of associates and followers "for some treacherous purpose" (*bērbuat daya*). All of them came to "a miserable end." This was in A.D. 1467 "when the family of Tun Barah Galang governed the country."

From this inscription we may fairly infer certain things. "The family of Tun Barah Galang" must have ceased to govern the country when the stone was put up. The Shaikh and his followers were not in overt rebellion; they were planning evil or suspected of it. The country was Sungai Ujong, not Malacca; we know from the Annals that it was governed at that time as a fief by the *bēndahara's* household. "Tun Barah Galang" would be a *bēndahara*. He may have been the then *bēndahara*, "Tun Perak of Klang." He may have been any *bēndahara*; *pra-klang* is the Indo-China word for "lord of the Treasury." But, historically, it must have been some *bēndahara*. And it is true, as the inscription also suggests, that the family of Tun Perak of Klang ceased to govern Sungai Ujong after this incident.

Tun Barah Galang is obviously the "Batin Mergalang" in Father Borie's account of the Mantras in "Essays relating to Indo-China," second series, vol. i, p. 289. Much that is fabulous is there related about him. But he is associated in the legend with Malacca and was the protector of the Mantra—as a *bēndahara* overlord would naturally be. And the title *tun* given him in the inscription is also that of the *bēndahara's* house.

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We now come to a curious passage in the Malay Annals about an incident—almost certainly this incident—that occurred in the middle portion of Sultan Mansur's reign or about 1467 A.D.

" The Sultan bestowed Sening Ujong as an undivided fief upon the Dato' Sri Nara Diraja. Up to that time the Dato' had only shared it with the *bēndahara*. It had been administered by a *pēnghulu*, Tun Tukul, who was guilty of some minor offence and was put to death by Mansur Shah. As a result of this the Sening Ujong people would not come out of their country any more."

Obviously this is not the whole truth.

Why was the *bēndahara*—the most powerful noble in Malacca—punished for Tun Tukul's " minor offence " by the confiscation of a valuable fief? And why did the Proto-Malays take to the jungle as a result of what was done? May we not conjecture that the primitive Proto-Malays of the Sungai Ujong of 1467 A.D. had grievances—probably well-founded—against the local administration; that Shaikh Ahmad was their spokesman; and that they came down river to make their complaints. They were treated as rioters and rebels and came to a miserable end. But the action of the authorities was not pleasing to Mansur Shah. He put to death the local officer in charge, Tun Tukul; and he deprived the feudal Chief, Tun Perak, of all his authority in Sungai Ujong. Still, the unfortunate *rayat* had been terrified by the fate of their leaders; and could not be induced to resume any trade.

Reference has been made to two more persons; Tun Tukul and the Dato' Sri Nara Diraja. Tun Tukul is still remembered in Sungai Ujong tradition (see my Sungai Ujong article in the Journal of the S.B., R.A.S., 83, 1921, p. 124); and Shaikh Ahmad is referred to on the same page. But all about them is myth. The Dato' Sri Nara Diraja had been *bēndahara* and had retired in favour of Tun Perak of Klang. That will explain the two Chiefs sharing the revenues of the fief; it may have been part of the amicable arrangement made at the retirement.

COURT LANGUAGE AND ETIQUETTE OF THE MALAYS.

By DATO' MUHAMMAD GHAZZALI, J.P., D.P.M.K.,
(Dato' Bentara Luar of Kelantan).

“ *Biar mati anak; Jangan mati adat* ”

An attempt has been made in the following pages to give a brief but full account of Malay etiquette for those, especially Europeans, who desire to gain a knowledge of Malay Court language, customs and manners. The rules of this unwritten code preserved from time immemorial, are strictly observed. In times past when the kris was freely used, woe to any man whether the son of a commoner or of the nobility, who misbehaved himself in the presence of a Raja. The expression *anak kurang ajar* would be an insult to any person and was certain to provoke a fatal fight. It is therefore the duty of Malay parents to teach their children how to behave before elders and superiors so that the humblest Malay may be fit to be a follower or companion of royalty and the aristocracy. Although education of the higher kind is not regarded as of paramount importance, a knowledge of Court language and manners is thought to be a *sine qua non* even by illiterate Malays.

It is the author's hope that the following pages, compiled by one who for thirty years has been courtier and tutor to the royal family of Kelantan may serve to give the reader a closer knowledge of the Malay and his manners.

I. Formal modes of addressing persons, titles, etc.

The ruler of the state is addressed: *Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan*. Colloquially he is addressed: *Ka-bawah Duli*, and less formally: *Tuanku*.

The Crown Prince or Raja Muda is addressed: *Yang Teramat Mulia Raja Muda*. Colloquially he is addressed: *Ka-bawah kaus*, and less formally as *Raja* only.

The children of the rulers are addressed: *Yang Mulia Ka-bawah Kaus Tengku*. Colloquially they are addressed: *Ka-bawah Kaus*, and less formally *Tengku*.

Consorts of Malay Princes, or Ministers of State, unless of noble birth, have no title from the rank of their husbands.

Mothers of Malay Rajas, who are not of royal birth, are addressed: *Mak Tuan* or *Mak Engku*; e.g.: *Mak Tuan Inche' Meriam* or *Mak Engku Inche' Fatimah*.

Others members of royalty are addressed: *Yang Mulia Engku* colloquially: *Engku*, and *Tuan* before they come of age.

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A Chief Minister, who is not royal, is addressed: *Yang Teramat Hormat Dato' Mentri*; personally: as *Dato'*.

Other Datos are addressed: *Yang Berhormat* or *Bahagia Dato'*; personally: as *Dato'*.

Sayids, descendants of the Prophet Mohamed, are styled: *Yang Mulia Engku Sayid*, when they are married to royalty; personally as *Engku*. Children by such a marriage are addressed and treated as members of royalty.

The third person pronoun *dia* is not applied to royalty; *-nya* takes its place, e.g.:—*Tengku Ahmad ada beradu, apabila-nya jaga kelak dan telah bersiram dan santap, boleh-lah hamba sembahkan hal ini.* (Tengku Ahmad is asleep, when he awakes, and after his bath and meal, I shall inform him about this).

When speaking to a ruling prince a commoner usually calls himself: *Patek*, and when a royal person is mentioned the word *paduka* is added; e.g.:—*Patek telah mengadap Paduka adinda Tengku Chik.* (I have seen your younger brother (or cousin) *Tengku Chik*).

If the father of a prince addressed is the ruler, the words *Sri Paduka* are added, thus:—*Hamba tengku di-titah oleh sri paduka ayahanda datang mengadap ka-bawah kaus.* (His Highness, your illustrious father, commands me to come to see you). *Sri paduka ayahanda telah nugerahi satu persalinan kepada hamba tengku memakai kurnia-nya itu pada sa-barang hari.* (His Highness, your illustrious father, has given me a suit of clothes and he allows me to wear it (his gift) on any occasion. *Hamba tengku pohonkan ka-bawah kaus sila sembahkan keshukoran hamba tengku yang tha'ij ini ka-bawah tapak cherpu ka-bawah duli sri paduka ayahanda.* (May I ask you to convey, please, my humble thanks to His Highness, your illustrious father).

Terima kasih is not used when thanks are tendered to royalty.

Deceased royalty is called *al-Marhum*, thus:—*al-Marhum Sultan Sultan Mulut Merah: al-Marhum Sri Paduka Nenenda Sultan Bongsu telah hilang (or mangkat) sekarang ampat-puloh tahun lama-nya* (Your grandfather, the late Sultan Bongsu, has been dead for forty years). *Harap di-ampuni, pada zaman al-Marhum sri paduka ayahanda dengan tuwah-nya, patek-lah sahaja sa-orang yang beroleh (or menjunjung) pangkat itu.* (May it please your Highness, during your late father's reign, by his grace I was the only person who held that position). *Patek sa-orang daripada jumlah pachal-pachal yang mengiringi-nya takala-nya berangkat mengadap Raja Maha Besar Siam di-Bangkok.* (I was one of the party accompanying him on the occasion of his visit to His Majesty the King of Siam in Bangkok).

The word *pachal* is applied to all common people referred to in conversation with (or writing to) royalty.

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When a person of position, a Dato' or a member of the gentry, is mentioned while one is addressing royalty *Hamba tua* should be used if the person mentioned is older than the royal person addressed, and *Hamba kecil* in case the person mentioned is younger.

Furthermore, consorts of royal person, who are not of royal birth, are, when mentioned during conversation with their husbands, mentioned as *Hamba kecil*; and *Hamba tua* is used for a Raja's mother, if she is not of royal birth.

A royal consort, older than her husband, is mentioned as *Paduka Adinda*, when one is talking or writing to her husband. When a royal consort is Sultana, Raja Puan or Permaisuri the word *Sri* is added in front of *Paduka*.

Examples:—*Harap di-ampuni, patek pohonkan kecherapan jika hamba tua Dato' Pahlawan boleh di-ampuni oleh Ka-bawah Duli mengadapi musuh itu.* (May it please Your Highness, I pray to know if Dato' Pahlawan may have your gracious consent to meet the enemy).

Hamba kecil Wan Ismail ini pada hemat patek yang bebal tidak-lah layak boleh di-harapkan dengan tanggungan yang demikian itu. (This young gentleman Wan Ismail is, in the opinion of your humble servant, who is lacking in wisdom, not suitable to be trusted to bear the burden of such responsibility).

Hamba kecil di-dalam sambut Ka-bawah Duli berangkat kadar sa-piak pinang (or sa-piak sireh). (Your Highness' consort will welcome you inside for a few minutes).

Sri paduka adinda hendak berangkat ka-darat. (Your royal consort intends to go upcountry).

Although children of Datos are, by courtesy, addressed *Hamba kecil*, when mentioned in addressing a Raja, a Dato', to humble himself and his family, should mention his son or any member of his family, when talking or writing to royalty, as *Pachal* e.g.:—*Ampun tuanku, ada-lah patek datang mengadap ini dengan besar hati patek hendak pohon tumpangkan (or kirimkan) pachal patek ini yang tidak berjuru lagi kurang cherap bahasa beraja-raja. Jika ada limpah ampun, sila Ka-bawah Duli jadikan dia hamba tuanku yang menunggu pintu atawa menyapu balai atawa mana-mana titah perintah di-atas dia. Jika di-murka atau di-bunoh sa-kali pun redza-lah patek.* (May it please your Highness, I appear before you with the high hope of placing at your disposal this humble son of mine, who does not know how to behave himself and is ignorant of royal etiquette. With your gracious consent, may you be pleased to take him as a slave to watch the gate or sweep the hall, or do whatever you may command him. If you deem fit to inflict punishment on him with your wrath or even by death, I have no objection).

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Tidak tahu is never used when talking to royalty or to one's superior. *Kurang preksa* is the right expression when polite; *kurang cherap* is used in conversation with royalty only. *Besar hati* is the most polite expression when one solicits a royal favour.

Patek dengar hamba kechil Wan Ismail anak hamba tua Dato' Pahlawan akan di-kurnia'i nama dalam masa kerja masuk Jawi hadapan ini. (I hear Your Highness is going to bestow a title on Wan Ismail, son of Dato' Pahlawan, during the forthcoming circumcision festivities).

Pachal Ahmad tukang perahu ada menanti di-luar, hendak mengadap dengan sadikit persembahan. (Ahmad, the boat-builder, is waiting outside to see your Highness with some offerings).

Pachal tua patek di-teratap pohonkan beribu-ribu ampun jika dengan tuah tidak ia uzor petang ini, ia akan datang mengadap. Ia telah sakit cherah perut, tetapi dengan tuah telah dapat sadikit. (My father at home craves your pardon, if by your grace he is not indisposed this evening, he will come and appear before you. He has been suffering from an attack of diarrhoea, but by your grace he is now a little better).

In letters a royal uncle addresses his ruling nephew thus:—*Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sri Paduka Ananda Sultan*; he mentions himself as *Paduka Ayahanda*. Personally and less formally: *Raja* or *Sultan* as the case may be, and himself as *Ayah*.

A royal aunt: *Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sri Paduka Ananda Sultan*, and herself as *Paduka Bonda*; personally and less formally: *Raja* or *Sultan*, and herself as *Inche'*.

Younger brothers, sisters, cousins, nephews and all the members of royalty, who are younger than the ruler, address him in correspondence *Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sri Paduka Kakanda* (or *Ayahanda*) according to rank and relationship; less formally: *Ka-bawah Duli* and themselves as *patek*, the same mode as an ordinary subject.

Elder brothers, sisters, cousins and all other members of royalty, who are older than the ruling prince, address him in writing: *Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sri Paduka Adinda*, and themselves: *Paduka Kakanda*; personally and less formally: *Raja* or *Sultan*, and themselves as *Abang* by the brothers, *Kawan* by sisters, and *Ka-bawah Duli* or *Patek* by cousins or distant relatives.

A Raja in correspondence calls his royal mother or aunt *Paduka Bonda* and himself *Paduka Ananda*; personally: *Inche'*, and himself *Hamba Tengku*.

A Raja in correspondence calls his royal uncles *Paduka Ayahanda* and himself *Paduka Ananda*; personally: *Ayah*, and himself *Hamba Tengku*.

A Raja in correspondence calls his elder brothers, sisters and cousins *Paduka Kakanda*, and himself *Paduka Adinda*; personally *Abang* and himself *Hamba Tengku*.

A Raja in correspondence calls his younger brothers, sisters and cousins *Paduka Adinda*, and himself *Paduka Kakanda*; personally *Adek*, and himself *Abang*.

Brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are addressed by the ruling prince in the same way as their respective consorts or husbands despite age or rank of relationship before marriage.

A ruling prince speaks of a royal grandparent as *Paduka Nenenda*, and himself as *Paduka chuchunda*; colloquially *to' Engku*, and *Hamba tengku*.

A Raja calls a royal great-grandparent *Paduka Moyanda*, and himself *Paduka Chichinda*; colloquially: *to' Yang*, and himself *Hamba Tengku*.

Among members of royalty and nobility elders personally address the younger, not by name, but by rank of relationship. An elder brother, sister or cousin addresses his (or her) junior as *Adek*, and calls himself *Abang* (or herself *Kawan*).

A younger brother, sister or cousin personally addresses his (or her) seniors *Abang*, and calls himself (or herself) *Hamba Tengku*.

An uncle (or aunt) addresses his (or her) nephew (or niece) as *Anak*, and calls himself *Ayah* (or herself *Inche'*).

A prince (or princess) usually addresses his (or her) father, who is not a sovereign as *Engku*, and calls himself (or herself) *Hamba Tengku*.

A Raja in correspondence addresses a Dato' as *Orang tua kita*, and calls himself *kita*; colloquially *Dato'*, and *kita*, or in Kelantan, *Nik*:—

Paduka bonda Tengku Meriam di-ulu sabda kapada patek-nya tidak boleh berangkat hilir sebab-nya berasa ulu. (Your royal aunt Tengku Meriam in the interior told me that she could not come downstream because she had a headache).

Paduka ananda Tengku Besar suroh patek sembahkan ma'alum bahawa paduka ananda itu akan berangkat mengadap ka-bawah Duli lagi sa-penanak nasi. Your Highness' son Tengku Besar commands me to inform you, that he will come and appear before you in half an hour.

A wife corresponding with her husband addresses him *Kakanda*, and calls herself *Adinda*; colloquially he is *Dia* or *Diri*, and herself *Kita* or *Kami*.

A husband addresses his wife when corresponding, *Adinda* and himself *kakanda*; colloquially he calls her *Dia* or *Diri*, and himself *Kita* or *Kami*. If the couple are of royal birth, the word *Paduka* is used in correspondence in front of *Kakanda* or *Adinda*.

A mother or a father, among commoners, is often addressed by the name of the firstborn child: *Mak Awang*, mother of Awang, and *Pak Awang*, father of Awang.

It is not polite to address an elder by name, either formally or colloquially. In correspondence an elder, who is not as old as one's father, should be addressed *Kakanda* or, if younger, *Adinda*, or if as old as one's father or mother *Ayahanda* or *Bonda*.

Gurus are addressed by their pupils in correspondence *Ayahanda*.

Malays among their equals address one another in correspondence as members of one family.

Kami is also used by ordinary people when talking to friends of equal standing, and the second person pronoun is *Awak* or *Diri*.

Aku, *kamu* or *engkau* are used only when talking to a slave, servant, or person of the lowest class. *Aku*, *kamu* or *engkau* can, however, be used by a person talking to junior members of his family.

Hamba is always used when a person addresses people older than him or herself.

In addressing the Almighty Allah the pronoun *Kamu* or *Dikau* (thou) are used, and *Aku* or *Hamba-mu* are solemnly used.

II. Colours of State.

White:—is the colour of the royal standard.

White centre with yellow margins:—the flag of the Crown Prince.

Yellow:—the colour of royalty.

Green:—the Chief Minister of State, the Bendahara.

Black:—the Keeper of the Peace, the Temenggong.

Red:—the Laksamana, leader of the fighting forces.

If any of these officers is a royal personage his flag is bordered with yellow.

III. Umbrellas of State.

The umbrella is a token of prestige. A big white umbrella borne by a bearer called *Jurupayong* selected from the gentry, is used on state occasions by the Sovereign. The Crown Prince walks under a yellow umbrella of similar size. Other members of the royal family are privileged to have big paper umbrellas. At a marriage ceremony or at a funeral these big umbrellas may be used by any subject and borne by his friends, but if a commoner uses one as an ordinary umbrella, it must be borne by himself.

IV. Spears of State.

When the Sovereign proceeds outside his palace on foot, on an elephant or on horseback, he is preceded by armed spearmen,

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from at least seven up to forty in number, as circumstances may require. They move in Indian file, the foremost carrying on his shoulder a bundle of five spears, the second carrying three spears, the third two, and the rest one spear each. Woe to the man who cuts across the path of a royal procession!

All members of the royal family as well as Datos may have armed guards, but the number of men, is limited to five: when they accompany the Sovereign, they may have no personal guards.

V. The Palace of a Malay Raja.

The palace of a Malay Raja consists of several roofs or houses connected. At least four houses (*puri* or *dalam puri*) are reserved for the womenfolk: for the men there are at least three (*balai*).

All state affairs are conducted in the *Balai* or Audience Hall. It is open to the public during the day time or as long as the big gate, (*pintu gerbang*) of the enclosure (*Kota*) is open. Beside the big gate there is a small door, a private entrance for the palace inmates or other known persons, when the big gate is closed.

The *balai* has only three walls, two on both sides and one at the back, dividing the *Istana* or partitioning the *Puri*. The front part of the *Balai* is open, without doors or railing; any one is allowed to come in and squat down on the ground floor without being challenged. Halfway is a platform called *Tapakan*, one foot high, about ten feet wide and of the same length as the *Balai*. There are two more platforms of the same kind, one above the other. In the middle of the top-platform is a dais about 15 by 40 feet, where members of the royalty take their seats. The first *Tapakan* below the dais is reserved for Ministers of State, Datos and Nobility, the second for gentry (*Orang-orang anak baik*), and the third for the middle class such as traders, shopkeepers, tailors, clerks, etc. The peasantry is allotted the ground floor.

VI. Jamuan Raja, or Royal Feast.

Malays dine in company of four or five, seated on the floor (which is usually carpeted) crosslegged round a brass tray (*pahar*), about twenty inches in diameter, ten inches high and on a pedestal. The *pahar* is also made of gold or silver for royalty. On it are placed several bowls, the size of fingerbowls, containing curries and other viands; on the bowls are arranged small plates containing fried or dry dishes, piled one upon another. On the top of all is a tiny plate on which there are several china spoons for the curries, and some salt. Before each guest a smaller *pahar* about ten inches in diameter, is placed. It is called *anak kasa* (*anak gangsa*) and on it is the guest's rice plate.

The *pahar*, as well as the *anak kasa* (*anak gangsa*) is covered with a *saji* made of matwork, and over this a cover of embroidered
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silk called *tudong hidang* or *tudong saji* is spread. By the side of the *pahar* is a metal tray, covered with a *tudong saji* and containing four or five small teacups; a teapot is found under an embroidered *tudong saji* on a small *anak kasa* about six inches in diameter: it is called *tapak serja* (in Kelantan) or *kaki batil* (in Trengganu).

A short distance from the *pahar* is another metal tray on which stands a decanter with water, covered with a *tudong saji* and surrounded with four or five pint tumblers.

All the above form a *hidangan nasi*. Each tray is carried with both hands above the right shoulder by palace attendants, who in Indian file appear from the inside of the palace, moving gently and slowly forwards. The guests often eat their meal where they are seated already, as, on arrival at the palace, each is invited to sit in his proper place according to rank. The "laying of the table" is done in front of the guests, who are assembled in rows facing the Sovereign on his royal dais.

Firstly spittoons are arranged, secondly trays holding decanters and glasses, thirdly big *pahar*, fourthly *anak gangsa*, and lastly trays of teacups and teapots together.

The spittoons, *ketul*, stand at arm's length behind the guests, who have to wash their right hands before and after eating. Malays seldom wash in a vessel unless it contains a certain quantity of water permitted by their religion.

At each *hidangan* one or two honorary waiters, usually young men of the nobility, are appointed to help the guests; they are well dressed, and have been selected and invited by royal command. Paid servants are regarded as vulgar. It is customary for a host to attend on his guest: hence the service of honorary waiters as deputies of their master who is not expected to eat with his guests, which would be regarded as a breach of etiquette, indicating hunger on the part of the host.

During dinner it is not a breach of etiquette to sit with one's back turned on royalty. When all the guests have assembled, palace attendants appear in Indian file from inside, each with a large brass spittoon, held in the left hand by the brim. Spittoons are not to be carried above the shoulder like food. As soon as the attendants are in a line, standing about two or three yards apart, they simultaneously kneel down and place the spittoon at about the spot, where each *hidangan* is to be deposited. This done, they make their *sembah* to the Raja, while kneeling. Then they rise and move out of sight.

Presently they reappear, each carrying with both hands, above the right shoulder, a tray with a decanter of water and tumblers. These are placed near the spittoon. The attendants retire, and after several minutes reappear carrying the main *hidangan*. The

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pahar containing viands, are brought in first, and next follow the *anak gangsa* with rice, all carried above the right shoulder. As soon as attendants carrying the *anak gangsa* have formed a straight line, they break off in batches of four or five, each batch around a big *pahar*, then simultaneously kneeling down, placing their burden in front of them, saluting the royal host and then dispersing.

After this the covered tea trays are brought in.

When everything is ready, the Raja is informed and gives his royal command through his Bantara or Dato's in-waiting to the guests to partake of the dinner.

The royal command to the 1st Bantara:—*Dato', sambut ayah-ayah dan anak-anak raja sakalian sudikan jamuan kita yang tidak seperti-nya.* And to the 2nd Bantara:—*Dato', silakan dato' besar dan sakalian-nya basoh tangan.*

Seating himself behind the chief guest, the Bantara respectfully conveys the royal message, and turning round and facing the guests calls out the names or titles of several persons of importance with a general invitation to do justice to the dinner before them.

The guests should not remove from their seats until the one highest in rank rises. This dignitary should invite his juniors to advance with him to a *hidangan* somewhere in the middle; but one of the Bantaras will at once come forward inviting him to go to the top, followed by other guests, who may choose their own companions for dinner.

The guests are helped by the honorary waiters to wash their hands. The waiters then remove all the covers from the trays. A guest should show self-respect by observing rigid moderation. Half the rice in the plate is ample; a plate or a bowl should never be removed from the *pahar* to serve oneself. It is more for honour than for food, that one attends a royal feast.

Sweets and cakes (in Kelantan called "Tepong") are served in the same way as a *jamuan nasi* except that no *anak gangsa* are brought in. There are many different varieties of sweets and cakes, and each kind is placed on a small plate. There are usually forty plates, piled one upon another in the shape of a pagoda. The guests pick out only those on the top, with their fingers. It is risky to touch the bottom ones, so the guests must be very careful, lest the whole pile (*susunan*), might give way. This kind of accident seldom happens, and if it does, the poor fellow responsible for the crash will never again appear at a royal feast, at least not until the incident is almost forgotten.

A Bantara (a palace attendant or pursuivant) while performing his duties, is not expected to seat himself or to make a salutation to royalty, in whose presence he is privileged to move about, freely from one place to another.

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It is vulgar to dip one's fingers, instead of a spoon, into any of the bowls to take a piece of meat. Dry dishes may be taken with the fingers. The guest should take one piece at a time, and it is vulgar to put several varieties on the rice, which should not be deprived of too much of its whiteness. A big piece of meat or any other eatable bigger than a mouthful, should not be taken up whole in the fingers from plate to mouth. A bit should be broken off by the fingers and carried up to the mouth. No sucking of bones is permitted. While food is still in the mouth one is expected not to talk or answer questions. To eat ravenously and ask for more is a breach of good manners. It is indecent to take up a whole banana to the mouth and bite off a bit. The banana should be held in the left hand and part of its skin peeled off, then a piece of the fruit should be broken off and carried up to the mouth. The guest should not commence his meal from the centre of the rice on his plate, but from the edge of the plate near him, and gradually advance until satisfied, so that the rice remaining on his plate is still untouched and clean. The empty part of his plate should be free from all bits of bones etc., which should be thrown away into the spittoon beside or behind him.

The younger and inferior in rank must not stop and wash their hands until the eldest or the superior in rank at the *hidangan* has finished his meal and washed his hand, and no one should move from his seat before the chief, who must be in no hurry to rise in order to give everybody ample time to finish his meal.

When all guests have returned to their seats, palace attendants reappear and place before them *sireh* boxes called *puan* or *tepak*. It is more respectful to serve *sireh* in a wooden box, (*tepak*), than in a metal one called *cherana*. The size of the former is about 16 inches long, 6 inches high and 6 inches wide, with a detachable lid. It is wider at the base and the outer parts are all covered with golfflowered silk. The *puan* is only for the aristocracy, while the *cherana* is for the lower class. The *cherana* is usually made of brass, much smaller than the *tepak* about half its size, and is smaller at the base than on the top; it is without a lid.

It is an ancient custom, still preserved, to offer a guest *sireh*. Malays are not bound by custom to offer drinks or tobacco to visitors, but it is gross rudeness, which in most cases cannot be condoned by an apology, if the *sireh* box is not offered a guest or a visitor. No feast, however big it may be, is complete without *sireh*.

After the *sireh* the guests may take leave of their royal host.

VII. Equality in the Mosque.

When a Malay Sultan or Raja goes to the mosque, he is usually guarded by a company of spearmen. On entering the Raja

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regards himself as an ordinary man. Anyone of his subjects, high or low, may stand beside him while worshipping the Creator. Usually the Raja stands behind the Imam in the front row of the congregation. Before and after prayers he sits close by the foot of the *Mimbar*, the throne-like pulpit with seven steps, on the top of which the Khatib is seated. The Khatib stands on one of the upper steps when preaching a sermon.

On the two *Hari Raya* days, *Hari Raya Puasa* and *Hari Raya Haji*, the Khatib is the first person privileged to advance close to his Sovereign and salute him by a *Jabat Salam*. This salutation is called *Mengunchup* or *Mengunjong*.

Only on these two occasions can anyone in the mosque and in the palace afterwards, whatever his status, have the right of demanding to touch his lord's hand.

VIII. Hari Raya Festivals.

The palace is open to the public during the two festivals. The Sovereign is compelled by custom to give audience even to the humblest of his subjects.

When the ruler receives the *sembah* from the caller, he will extend his hands, putting the right hand between both palms of the hands of the caller, with his left hand covering the back of the caller's right hand, and then gently draw both his hands back. The caller does the same, but covering his face with both hands he kisses his palms. This act is called *Mengunchup*, *Mengunjong*, or *Jabat Salam*. The last mentioned ends, however, on the withdrawal of hands.

A *Hari Raya* lasts three days during which people visit one another, as a rule the younger calling on the older, and the inferior on the superior. All are bound to *salam* each other, and even in public thoroughfares acquaintances, when meeting one another, stop and hold each other's hands. They do not wish *selamat hari raya*, but simply say *minta ma'af*, which is reciprocated with *sama-sama*. The idea of a *salam* is to declare or seek peace while thus holding each other's hand. During *Hari Raya* days callers are all treated alike; one's own servants are received in the drawing room, where they are served with food and drinks as guests of equality. No angry words or quarrels are allowed, and whoever infringes this golden rule is looked upon as a savage or an outcaste. Brotherhood and democracy reign supreme during the two festivals.

IX. Marriage Festivities.

Marriage festivities are usually held at the house of the bride by her parents or by any other of her nearest relatives, on behalf of the parents.

No actual festival takes place at the bridegroom's place but on the occasion of the *Berhinai* and the *Bersanding* ceremonies

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his relatives and friends are invited to accompany him to the bride's dwelling, where those ceremonies are performed.

When a Raja performs nuptial festivities all invited male persons are, whether attending or not, expected to contribute a certain sum of money, each according to rank or office, not according to wealth or means. If the Crown Prince (Raja Muda) has to pay, say, \$100, the Chief Minister pays \$70, and other chiefs each \$50, while a rich merchant's contribution is about half of the last mentioned amount. These figures are fixed by the host.

One commanded to pay less does not feel at all happy, as he knows, that he is looked upon as a person of inferior position. This contribution is called *Ikat Tangan*, and every individual, to whom the royal invitation is extended, is thus bound to respond to it. The money is collected on the night of the *Bersanding* ceremony. Each one is called by name in order of rank. The amount, already made known, is handed over to the Grand Chamberlain, who in a loud voice counts the money, which should always be silver dollars, and throws them one by one into a gold or silver tray beside him in the centre of the audience hall, making the hall echo with the ringing of the silver pieces.

Beside the customary *Ikat Tangan*, gifts of live stock and food are brought to the palace from all parts of the country. This is called *Pengosong*.

At the *Bersanding* both bride and bridegroom sit together facing the audience on a decorated and illuminated dais, *Penjangan* or *Pelamin*, in the women's assembly hall, where all the female guests are assembled. Here the *pengantin* are nominally eating together yellow rice, undressing together, bathing together, redressing together (helped by ladies of position) and eating rice and curry together, also nominally.

As *Ikat Tangan* is for men, so is *Mengenal* for women. Beside the customary wedding gifts of foodstuffs, etc., women invited to the marriage festival are expected to contribute some money on the occasion of the formal visit, *Mengenal* paid to the bride and her mother-in-law. Three days after the *Bersanding* the mother-in-law gathers a crowd of relations and friends, almost every woman known to her without distinction, and all go in long procession to the bride, who in her bridal costume, seated at the foot of the bridal dais, is ready to receive her mother-in-law formally. When all are assembled a lady-in-waiting invites the honoured visitor to the spot where the bride is seated. The bride extends her hands for a *salam* followed by a *sembah*. The mother-in-law then places a pile, or piles, of silver dollars in front of the bride, and the lady-in-waiting takes up the money, announcing the contributor's name in a distinct and sweet voice and counting the silver pieces in the same way as described under *Ikat Tangan*. The women come up one after another, but the bride only does *sembah* to

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those older than herself. There is no fixed sum for women; \$200 is, however, considered reasonable for a mother-in-law. The rest of the company may contribute as much as they think worthy of their position, but not above the amount contributed by the mother-in-law or any of the closer relatives of the bridegroom.

The amount of the two above-mentioned collections gives the newly married couple a start in life.

X. Court Costume, etc.

A yellow silk sarong may be worn only by royalty.

Trousers must be worn and everybody must always remain covered. Unless he is a privileged person or of royal blood, a man should wear his sarong under his *Baju Kurong*.

The national court costume of Kelantan consists of a head-dress, *Iseh Ketam Budu*, two *Baju*, an inner and an outer, the former similar to a short-sleeved shirt called *Baju Bengan* and worn inside the trousers, above which a band of gold thread woven *Kain Selandang* (80 inches long and 30 inches wide) is tied round the waist, folded to 7 or 8 inches in width, and twisted as a protection against a *kris*-stab. A *kris* is stuck on the left side with the handle pointing outwards, to show the weapon is reversed; if placed otherwise, it indicates readiness for a fight, which is a breach of court etiquette. On the top of the *kris* and the *kain selandang* a silk or gold flowered *sarong* is loosely worn. The outer *Baju*, the length of an ordinary lounge suit, is of silk or gold thread woven cloth. It is an open *Baju* with only one button at the collar, which should always be fastened.

This national costume is also a man's wedding dress.

When a woman is entering a palace, she should always wear a long *Baju* extending below the knees, and her head-cover *Kain Kelubong* should be removed from her head and shoulders.

On state occasions gold anklets may only be worn by young ladies of noble birth. It is customary for noble ladies to be accompanied by women attendants wherever they go.

When appearing before royalty one has to sit down cross-legged and carry both hands, with the palms and fingers touching each other, up before the face, or above the forehead if the person saluted is the Sovereign. This act of salutation is called *sembah*. Almost every movement in the presence of royalty must be preceded by a *sembah*. No word is to be uttered, even in answer to a royal question, until one has seated oneself and made a *sembah*. If a person's name is called, while he is moving, or a question is put to him, he must sit down and *sembah* before he is allowed to speak; when dismissed from the conversation he again salutes, rises, and continues his progress. It is rude to speak while moving or standing. To eat when moving or standing is a form of bad

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manners; a breach of this rule shows low-breeding. If anyone, wearing a *kris* or other weapon or firearm, is to be presented, either by royal command or by his own request, he must, before leaving his seat, leave his weapon behind, and advance towards the royal person, unarmed; not even a stick or an umbrella is allowed on such occasions.

To take leave of royalty one says *Patek mohon*. To decline a royal offer, *Mohon patek*. When promising to do something or mentioning something which one has carried out, one must begin with the phrase: *Dengan tuah Ka-bawah Duli* (or *Ka-bawah Kaus Tengku*) or simply, *Dengan tuah*, thus:—*Dengan tuah, akan patek bawa mengadap pachal itu dengan hidup*. Or *Dengan tuah Tuanku, telah patek padamkan api yang sedang menyala dan hendak menchederakan* (or *membinasakan*) *nama tuan penghulu patek yang bertapis telah patek jadi hamba*.

When one has to hand something to or speak to a person seated on the floor, one should sit down first.

It is bad manners to use one's left hand in handling or receiving something, from another person. If the left hand must be used, the right hand is also to be extended below the left one supporting with an apology, as, *Tabek, Minta ma'af*, or if to royalty, *Ampun*.

A Malay caller never takes leave and departs when the master of the house is at dinner. If an immediate departure is necessary, he usually touches the *Sireh* box, apologising, thus:—*Ini ganti hamba*. A wellbred person never disturbs a servant while at dinner with a rebuke or the mention of an errand.

It is bad manners to cover a person with one's shadow. To pass between a person sitting down and a lighted lamp on a table or on the wall, one should bend low, or walk past lamp in hand away from the person one has to pass, and afterwards replace the lamp.

It shows want of respect to be uncovered in the presence of one's host or of one's guest.

If a person meets a royal person on the road, he should stop, take down his umbrella, and sit upon his heels *duduk berchangkong*, until the royal person has passed. He should not *sembah* unless he is spoken to. When meeting royalty, one, who is wearing a shawl or a towel round his neck, or carrying it on his shoulders, should remove the article and hold it in his hand, or carry it under his arms.

It is objectionable to report to royalty the death of a person known, if this occurs on a day when the royal person intends to commence a journey. This is called *galang batang* and the journey is postponed. The meeting of a funeral is also called *galang batang*.

Gifts sent to royalty or persons of high position are always carried on a *pahar* covered with a *saji* or *tudong saji*. After the

contents have been removed, the plates or bowls should not be cleaned at all; they are sent back on the *pahar* covered with the *saji* or *tudong saji*, but with the lining outside. A *pahar* or an *anak gangsa* or *kaki batil* is used instead of a tray when delivering any light portable article to a person of high standing. The tray may be used only in case of a gift to an inferior person.

When a person is seated on the floor one should not pass behind him without first obtaining permission. When a person asks another to pass him something, he says: *Kirikan hamba barang itu*. When one is handling a *kris*, or any other kind of arms, to another person, the handle should always point towards the latter.

A woman, calling on a noble lady, a sick person, or to see a newly born child, brings gifts of food or fruits, at least some bananas. She is regarded as mean if she does not at least bring some *buah tangan*, fruits. In the case of death the offering is called *melawat*. Live stock, rice, coconuts and other foodstuffs are generally presented during the forty days of mourning.

In Kelantan women only are expected to visit the market. It is not considered the correct thing for a respectable man to do.

PULAI: AN EARLY CHINESE SETTLEMENT IN KELANTAN.

By S. M. MIDDLEBROOK, M.C.S.

General.

Pulai is situated about 9 miles from Gua Musang and is reached by jungle path. The ground rises gently and the walk is not difficult. The path is well looked after by the Pulai Chinese themselves and the numerous jungle streams are easily crossed by flat planks. The road was easier than usual at the time of my visit because the birthday feast of the Goddess of Mercy had been held shortly before and the path had been cleared of bamboos and overhanging growths to allow an easy passage of the sedanborne gifts for the Goddess.

Approaching the village the ground is clearer and there are fields of paddy land with occasional pigs and water buffaloes wandering about. At intervals there are groups of small buildings made of paddy clay and bamboo. Each has a buffalo shed near, and consists of a small central hall with a beaten earth floor, with the bedrooms opening behind. At the sides are the kitchens. The roofs are thatched. Over the lintel and down the sides of the door are vivid lucky strips of red papers with gold and black lettering. A paper God of War—Kwan Kung—is frequently displayed inside the houses.

The valley itself is beautifully shaped. It is wide, with extensive paddy lands, marked out in small squares by ridges of earth on which small bushes grow. The appearance is very similar to England although the fields of paddy are in tiers.

Down the centre of the valley flows the river which is quite wide with thick shrubs at the edges. The sides of the valley are steep and are thickly covered with jungle: they gradually curve inwards so that the effect is that of a deep green cup although the sides are not so high as to be oppressive. On the high ground near the village there is a magnificent view of the surrounding range of mountains, and in the valley itself are several wooded jagged outcrops of limestone.

Historical.

On page 44 of "Kelantan: A State of the Malay Peninsula" by W. A. Graham, published in 1908 there is the following reference to Pulai:

'The Temangong, brother of Rajah Mahmat, the Sultan, was murdered by the Chinese gold miners at Pulai. This was done at the instance of the Temangong's brother, Raja Banggor Bendahara. The young son of the Temangong, Raja Snik, took the matter up and exterminated the Chinese at Pulai.'

This incident must have happened shortly after 1800.

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In the same book, pages 102-104, the following account of this massacre is given:—

'Gold has been mined in Kelantan from a very remote period, a fact which is attested by the presence of traces of old workings in many parts of the State, the history of which has been entirely lost. Apparently the industry has always been entirely in the hands of Chinese, who must have settled in the gold-producing districts in considerable numbers, and a few of whose descendants persist to this day, at Pulai and elsewhere. During ancient days, when there was no Raja in Kelantan of any far-reaching power, the Pulai settlement grew into a rich and powerful community regarding with very scant respect the orders of the Malays sent by the Rajas to make demands for royalties on the gold resulting from their mining, and frequently sending such messengers back to the capital with scant politeness. At length, however, during the time of Raja Mahmat they fell upon evil days. A monopoly for the sale of rice having been given by the Raja to his son the Temanggong, the latter proceeded to Pulai to enforce his rights there. The Chinese miners who lived entirely on rice which was brought up the river from the plains, refused to comply with the extortionate demands of the monopolist. The traffic of rice-boats on the river was stopped, famine supervened, and the starving miners, excited and exhorted thereto by a brother of the Temanggong, attacked and killed the princeling monopolist. Thereupon with all haste an expedition was organised from Kota Bahru by the son of the murdered Temanggong, who ascended the river, overcame the Chinese, and put the whole community to the sword. The river ran red with blood, decaying corpses polluted the air for miles, the gold amassed by years of labour became the spoil of the avengers, and the gold-mining industry of Kelantan came to a sudden end. Gradually, however, in after years, the village of Pulai grew again, a few survivors of the massacre being induced to return and to undertake gold-washing in the river.'

It is impossible to obtain any information concerning the origins of this settlement. One story is that over 200 years ago a Hakka chief named Chong Poh Chai (莊寶仔) who was a notorious robber in South China and lived on the island of Hong Kong, was wanted by officials of the Ching dynasty. He therefore fled with his followers to the East Coast of Malaya and eventually after following the river arrived at Pulai. There were no Chinese women amongst the original settlers. This story is very uncertain. Old mining prospectors say that there are huge areas of worked out gold bearing land on the borders of Pahang and Kelantan. The areas are so extensive that it must have taken centuries to work them. It is almost certain that all the land in and around Pulai has been worked for gold. It is probable that the original arrivals were looking for gold and drifted in either from China via Kota Bahru or from Perak. I tried to get some definite information

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from the Capitan China but he was very vague about anything historical, but he did say that his own grandfather worked for gold and it was not until just before his father was born that the village started planting paddy extensively. There has been no extensive gold working for about 50 years although I found many evidences of minor fossicking a few miles above the village.

The Capitan was only able to give me slight details of two 'wars' with their neighbours. He understands that about 200 years ago over 100 Kochow and Kwangsi Chinese surnamed Phang came from Pahang and kidnapped several of the Pulai womenfolk. The village people resisted and fighting lasted for ten days and the Pahang Chinese were driven away. The other story is that about 35 years ago certain Sakai who lived in the neighbourhood for three years kidnapped three Pulai women. Again the Chinese fought and two were killed but after the Sakai had been driven away the three women returned.

Appearance, Language, and Population.

In appearance they look more or less like any other Chinese excepting that they are rather swarthy. They seem friendly, cheerful and healthy. I saw two who looked exactly like Sakais—short, thick-set with squat noses. The men wore either cotton shorts and vest or a strip of the usual red Chinese cloth wrapped around their middle. The women were dressed in the Siamese fashion with an ordinary sarong and a short additional sarong wrapped over the chest leaving the shoulders bare. Their hair was done in the Chinese way on top of the head with the usual pins. Two women were dressed in normal Chinese clothes with black trousers but these were recent arrivals from China.

The original settlers inter-married with Sakai women and Siamese, and it was not until comparatively recently that any women came to Pulai direct from China. Two years ago the druggist, who came from China himself sixty years before, arranged with a passage broker to bring him two daughters-in-law from China. The druggist's wife is also said to have come from China about thirty years ago, but these are the only instances. The Capitan said that his own grandmother was Siamese. There is at present only one man living with a Sakai woman and he came from China six years ago.

The population numbers between seven and eight hundred persons. The Capitan could not say how many women and children were under his control.

Hakka is universally spoken. According to the Capitan there have been a few cases of Kochow and Kwangsi jelutong tappers coming to live in the village. After settling down they married Pulai women and their children spoke only Hakka. The dialects spoken are Kayingchow and Tapu and the tone is quite pure.

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Most of the population live outside the village in their own houses. The village itself is small and compact. Originally it must have been square shaped. Now three of the sides have been extended. The original houses and the Goddess of Mercy temple are made of paddy clay and bamboo. The walls are a foot thick and some of them are over 80 years old. The narrow streets are paved with flat stones and there is a small open space in front of the temple. The new houses are made of attap and bamboo and are not so substantial. Only about 100 people live in the village in which there are about twenty houses. There are one or two small grocery shops, and also a druggist. Hawkers come from Gua Musang to the village but stores are usually got by the villagers themselves.

Pulai is no longer isolated since the railway construction work began at Gua Musang. Previously goods had to be brought by river from Kuala Krai. The present Capitan used to go by boat with his mother to buy stores to sell in the village. It was in this way that he learnt Malay. Gradually more and more of them are learning a little Malay but even now very few of them can speak any.

Paddy is the principal stand-by; but the people are very poor. The Capitan himself has business interest in Gua Musang but the others, with the exception of the druggist, are farmers. They may still fossick for gold but not to any great extent. Very little money is used and that chiefly small change. When any public funeral subscription has to be made, contributions are made in paddy which is sold and the expenses paid with the proceeds. There is a small burial ground and most of the houses have one or two coffins ready for use. They are usually kept in a shed outside the house.

In the old days when they worked gold some of them returned to China to live, but probably very few. With rare exceptions those now living in Pulai have never been to China and are quite ignorant as to which is their ancestral village.

There seem to be no difficulties about marriage. It is arranged in the usual way, by go-between, and marriage documents are prepared. There seems to have been frequent intermarriage between the families and there is little doubt that the whole community is particularly immoral. Divorce is very easy and the women seem to drift from husband to husband.

They keep the principal Chinese Festivals; the 5th of V Moon (Dragon Boat), 19th II Moon (Goddess of Mercy), 15th VIII Moon (Mid-Autumn Festival), 15th VII Moon (All Souls' Day) and the old style Chinese New Year.

The School.

For many years there was a village school, with a school mistress. She is now over 60 and is still in the village. She taught

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the old classics. About two years ago a relative of the druggist came from China to the village and started a modern primary school. Money was subscribed and the Capitan told me that he paid \$50. A school was built and the village learnt of the existence of Dr. Sun Yat Sen and the Chinese National Government. The teacher imported a national flag and flew it on the October 10th Anniversary. After a year or so the teacher left because no one could pay the school fees and now the school house is empty and the children are working in the fields. One very old man teaches a little and his three or four pupils pay for their schooling by giving him paddy.

The Capitan China.

The present Capitan, Liew Chin Fook, is 41 years. He was appointed by Sultan Mohamed III in a letter of appointment dated 23rd August, 1918. The letter states that he is appointed as Capitan China of the daerah of Pulai which is the district of Ulu Galas. He is permitted to settle disputes amongst the Chinese. As a magistrate he may hear civil cases involving sums of not more than \$100. He can hear voluntary hurt but no grievous hurt cases, or 'cases with weapon,' or those in which there are broken bones or serious injuries. He can also hear private summons cases providing both parties agree.

The Capitan used to act as Magistrate until four or five years ago, but he then petitioned the Sultan to appoint some one else. Being ignorant of Law, he felt that he was not competent to act as Magistrate after the isolation of the settlement ended and the town of Gua Musang grew up. He could look after his own people but had no wish to become involved even as a Magistrate in cases in which outside Chinese were concerned.

Now his duties are more general although he still keeps a pair of handcuffs ready for use. There is a small Police Station on the edge of the village and there is a Malay Police Corporal in charge. The Capitan reports anything of interest to Government, and he accompanies European Officials on their visits of inspection. He is also in charge of the water ways.

The previous Capitan died when he was over 60 and his only surviving son was too young to be appointed. Apparently it had previously passed from father to son. The present Capitan was elected mainly because he could speak Malay well. It is doubtful whether he has much authority other than in his own family. His son has married the daughter of the previous Capitan. It is possible that he himself will keep his position until he dies, when his written authority will be returned to His Highness the Sultan.

He receives no salary but at the time of his appointment he was allowed to run gambling, but he only did this for one year 1933] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

and was then told by Government that it would not be allowed in future. He is the only liquor and chandu licensee, and also possesses a gold buyers licence, so that he does obtain definite business advantages. He is a partner in a shop at Gua Musang and lives there with one of his three wives, visiting Pulai once a month only. His son is a boarder in a private English School at Kuala Krai.

Probably he will be the last Capitan now that Pulai is no longer isolated. The village is visited frequently by Government Officials and there does not now appear to be any necessity for any special official.

MALAYA IN THE WU-PEI-CHIH CHARTS

By J. V. MILLS, M.C.S.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

[Even so humble a paper as this has required the assistance of helpers too numerous to mention.

Among them the present writer desires to tender his grateful thanks to Dr. L. Giles of the British Museum, to Dr. C. O. Blagden and Dr. E. D. Edwards of the School of Oriental Studies, to the Committee of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society by whom the Charts were first published, and particularly to Mr. C. C. Best of the Malayan Survey Department whose technical knowledge and intimate experience of Malayan waters render his comments of such interest and value that the writer has reproduced them almost verbatim.]

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Charts which form the subject-matter of this paper are to be found, according to a statement made by Phillips in 1885, in the last chapter of a modern Chinese work called *Wu pei pi shu* or "Records of Military Affairs", mentioned by Wylie in his "*Notes on Chinese Literature*" in the following terms, "The *Wu-peï-pi-shu* (武備秘書) by She Yung-t'oo is a type of a common order of modern books, professing to give complete and satisfactory details on the art of war. The first volume treats of firearms and pyrotechnic stratagems, and the remainder is occupied with the devices to be employed under every possible geographical and topographical condition. It is profusely illustrated with maps and plates of the most miserable description, exhibiting a succession of quaintly antique machines and extraordinary manoeuvres which it is difficult to conceive to have been brought into effective service. The text is chiefly quotations from old authors".

The Charts are reproduced by Phillips with an article entitled "*The Seaports of India and Ceylon*", published in the *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol. XX. (1885). p. 209, and Vol. XXI. (1886). p. 30). Apart from incidental references to the Charts in Gerini's *Researches into Ptolemy's Geography* (1914), the only attempt to identify the Malayan place-names in the Charts is made by Blagden in his paper entitled *Notes on Early Malay History* (J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 53. (1909). p. 153): Blagden identifies with reasonable certainty 16 of the places appearing in the Peninsular region from "*Sun-ku-na*" (Singora) on the east coast to "*Ku li yu pu tung*" (Pulau Butang) on the west.

The aim of the present paper is to identify and explain the remaining 35 names and legends.

In recent years the Charts have been fortunate enough to attract the attention of those distinguished savants Duyvendak and Pelliot (now co-directors of *T'oung Pao*): see Duyvendak. *Ma Huan re-examined*. (1933) and Pelliot "*Les grands voyages maritimes Chinois au début du XV^e siècle*" (*T'oung Pao*, Vol. XXX. (1933). p. 237): from these works the present writer borrows unashamedly albeit very respectfully.

The British Museum possesses a copy of the *Wu-pei-pi-shu* (Oriental Department, 15259. c. 14), but it is defective and does not contain the chart.

The Sinological Institute at Leyden also possesses a copy of the *Wu-pei-pi-shu*: it is the same edition as that in the British Museum, and it contains a chart resembling, but not identical with, that of Phillips: it is not so well cut, and though it gives most of the sailing directions appearing on Phillips' chart, they are printed in a different way: so obviously there were two different editions of this chart.

The British Museum possesses another Chinese book with the title *Hai-yün-yao-lüeh*, 海運要畧, "An Epitome of Sea-transport" (Oriental Department, 15,259. c. 22) which is the same work as the *Wu-pei-pi-shu*, and differs only in respect of the title on the title page: it also contains the chart, identical with that at Leyden.

The marginal note reads "*Hsin-lüeh, Ti-li-chüan-ssü, T'ung-wai-kuo-t'u*", 心畧地利卷四通外國圖, i.e. "Plans, chapter 4 of the (*Wu-pei*) *ti-li* (advantages of the Geographical Location); maps for the communication with foreign countries".

On Phillips' chart, however, the marginal note reads "*Wu-pei-chih, ti thr-pai-ssü-shih-chüan, hang-hai-chien-hsüan*", 武備志第二百四十卷航海檢選, i.e. "Chapter 240 of the *Wu-pei-chih*, (Notes on Military Preparation), Selection from Sea-voyages".

The "*Wu-pei-ti-li*" being merely part of the "*Wu-pei-pi-shu*", and the marginal note on Phillips' chart showing clearly that it was taken from the "*Wu-pei-chih*", Duyvendak dismisses the "*Wu-pei-pi-shu*" as being merely a compilation.

He then engages (p. 17) upon a brilliant piece of historical research regarding the origin and authorship of the "*Wu-pei-chih*" and the antecedents of the chart.

The British Museum has four imperfect copies of the *Wu-pei-chih*: none of them contains the chart.

The Library of Congress at Washington has an edition of the *Wu-pei-chih*: it is in 64 volumes: the last volume contains the charts as given by Phillips, says Duyvendak.

The preface is dated 1621: it was offered to the throne in 1628, so that it was not printed until after that date.

The author was one "Mao Yüan-yi" of the Ming dynasty: he fought against the Manchus and in 1629 helped to recover four cities from them, but later his soldiers revolted and he was banished to Chang-p'u in Fukien: he died of drunkenness: the year is not recorded. This "Mao Yüan-yi" was the grandson of one "Mao K'un" who lived from 1511-1601: and "Mao K'un" was the collaborator of one "Hu Tsung-hsien".

"Hu Tsung-hsien's" life-work was the defence of the Chinese coast against the Japanese pirates: he held various high offices, was governor of Fukien province, and rose to be a President of the Ministry of War: he was the author of several books and inspired the publication of a large work on coast-defence, illustrated with numerous maps, called "*Ch'ou-hai-t'u-pien*" (籌海圖編).

The preface of that work, dated 1562, was written by "Mao K'un."

Another collaborator in its compilation was a certain "Chêng Jo-tsêng", who wrote many other geographical works with maps.

Duyvendak mentions those details in order to show that in the circle to which "Mao K'un" belonged, the most vivid interest was taken in matters of geography of the coast: and he suggests that as "Mao K'un" lived so long, he may easily have transferred some of that interest to his grandson "Mao Yüan-yi".

"We may even regard it as probable" he adds "that the map, which Mao Yüan-yi published in his work, formed part of that geographical material, that was collected by Hu Tsung-hsien's circle and may have been deposited in his archives, when he was governor of Fukien".

So Duyvendak ascribes to "Mao K'un" the credit of being the person who really appreciated the value of these charts, and he thinks that it was "Mao K'un" who wrote the introduction and the explanatory notes to the charts. Thus Duyvendak traces the charts back to the second or third quarter of the sixteenth century, only a little more than a hundred years after the time of "Chêng Ho", the celebrated Chinese envoy who returned from his last official voyage in 1433.

The Chart "is supposed to give Chêng Ho's travelling route" says Duyvendak (*op. cit.* p. 17): Pelliot thinks "elle a 1937] *Royal Asiatic Society.*

été établie au temps" of Chêng Ho's voyages and Fujita Toyohachi does not hesitate to call it "Chart of the maritime voyages of Tchêng Houo". (*T'oung Pao*. Vol. XXX. (1933). p. 268).

The introduction, after a brief reference to "Chêng Ho" as having been employed by the Emperor for these foreign explorations, concludes with the words "His maps record carefully and correctly the distances of the road and of the various countries and I have inserted them for the information of posterity and as a memento of military achievements".

Though preceded in point of time by "Ma Pin", "Wu Pin", and "Ch'ang K'o-ching" who were sent on official missions by sea in or about 1403, Chêng Ho was the most famous of the eunuch envoys sent abroad in the beginning of the fifteenth century (*T'oung Pao*. Vol. XVI. (1915). p. 84). Incidentally, it may be noted that he was a Muhammadan, and the son of a "Haji". (*T'oung Pao*. Vol. XXXII. (1936). p. 212).

He was sent on his first voyage by the Emperor in July, 1405, and reached the capital on his return from his seventh and last voyage in July, 1433. (*T'oung Pao*. Vol. XXX. pp. 275, 311).

On his staff were at least three persons who wrote books, namely "Kong Tchen" whose work remains so far undiscovered, and "Ma Huan" and "Fei Hsin" whose books have come down to us.

Of Chinese works written at about this epoch and containing references to places in the Malay Peninsula, the following may be noted:—

"Chao Ju-kua": "*Chu fan chih*",
"Records of Foreign Nations",
1225.

"Wang Ta-yüan": "*Tao i chih lio*",
"Description of the Barbarians of the Isles",
1349.

"Fei Hsin": "*Hsing ch'a shêng lan*",
"Description of the starry raft",
1436.

"Ma Huan": "*Ying yai shêng lan*",
"Description of the coasts of the Ocean",
1451.

"Huang Shêng ts'êng": "*Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*",
"Record of the Tributary Nations of the West",
1520.

"Chao Ju-kua's" book, with an English translation by Hirth and Rockhill, was published in 1912.

Translation from the books of "Wang Ta-yüan", "Fei Hsin", "Ma Huan" and "Huang Shêng ts'eng" will be found in

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Groeneveldt's perennially valuable paper "Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca" (*Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China*. (1887). p. 126), and in Rockhill's "Notes on the relations and trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and coasts of the Indian Ocean during the fourteenth century" (*T'oung Pao*. Vol XV. (1914). p. 419: and Vol. XVI. (1915). pp. 61, 236, 374, 435, 604).

One now considers the date of the Charts.

Phillips expresses the opinion that these Charts are older than the commencement of the fifteenth century: Gerini thinks that they were drafted about 1399. Certainly some of the data incorporated in them may be referred to the fourteenth century, since the "*Nagarakretagama*" (1365) mentions, for instance, "Sai" and "Tumasik" (Ferrand. *Relations de Voyages*. (1914). p. 663).

But Ma Huan (1451) says of Malacca "Formerly it was not called a kingdom, but as there were five islands on the coast, it was called the five islands... In the year 1409 the imperial envoy, Chêng Ho... raised the place to a city, after which the land was called the kingdom of Malacca". (Groeneveldt. *loc. cit.* p. 243).

It seems a fair inference from this statement that the Chinese did not call the town Malacca until 1409; and if that is correct, these Charts cannot be dated before that year.

Further it seems natural to infer from the expressions "His maps" and "as a memento of military achievements" occurring in the introduction, that Chêng Ho was responsible for the maps. On the whole one thinks that the more conservative-minded will deem it unsafe to conclude that the Charts can be dated prior to Chêng Ho's final return in 1433.

It may well be that the data were collected by various officers on different voyages during a number of years. The fast passage from Pedra Branca to Pulau Aur (75 miles in 5 watches or about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, as compared with the average of 2.93 miles an hour for the voyage from "Samudra" to Pulau Branca) suggests that the voyage was made with the "Angin Tenggara", a fresh South east wind occasionally reaching almost moderate gale force; this wind may be encountered at any time between April and October.

The fact that these maps are of such a different character from the ordinary Chinese maps indicates, Duyvendak thinks (p. 22), that they are not purely Chinese work but are based on the nautical charts of the Arabs; and Pelliot is convinced that they had an Arab nautical chart as a prototype (*T'oung Pao*. Vol. XXX. (1933). p. 268).

Phillips' paper is accompanied by two Charts: speaking generally, the one gives the sea-routes from Samudra (near 1937] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

Pasai on the north coast of Sumatra*) to Africa, the other the sea-routes from Samudra to China : the present paper is concerned with a portion of the second Chart only. The Chart takes the form of a long horizontal strip on which divergent sea-routes are shown as more or less parallel, and the coast-line, irrespective of its true direction, is represented as one irregular line running from left to right : Gerini describes the Chart as giving directions for a coasting voyage ; this is not wholly accurate since parts of the voyage, for instance from Sumatra to Ceylon, or from Pulau Aur to Pulau Condor, are not proximate to any coast.

Tracings from three portions of Phillips' Chart accompany this paper : for purposes of comparison, corresponding portions of a modern map are reproduced side by side with the Chinese Chart.

To glance at the Chart is to realize that it scarcely accords with modern ideas of cartographical exactitude ; though perhaps it ill becomes us to cast stones at the fifteenth century Chinese navigator so long as we ourselves adhere to Mercator's projection which in low and high latitudes gives grotesquely inaccurate results.†

There can be little doubt that the Chinese mappist could, had he wished, have drawn a much more accurate representation of the trend of the coast-line and the relative position of the islands ; the fact that he does not do so suggests that he purposely adopted the method of the Chart in order to compress a number

*Pelliot has recently repudiated the old identification of " *Su mên ta la* " with Acheh, and accepted the identification with Samudra on the Pasai River ; but he gives no reasons (*T'oung Pao*. Vol XXXII. (1936). p. 214). One feels fairly confident in saying that the Chart fixes the position of " *Su mên ta la* " within about 14 miles. The Chart represents that from " *Su mên ta la* ", it took the vessel 5 watches to round Diamond Point on courses of 30°, 120°, and 105°, 120°.

These waters would be sheltered from all southerly winds and one finds that in the sheltered waters of the Straits the maximum distance travelled in 5 watches was about 54 miles (Malacca to Gunong Banang) and the minimum about 22 miles (The Kerimun Islands to Coney Islet), with a middle distance of about 38 miles.

The maximum distance would fix " *Su mên ta la* " at Agam Agam about 20 miles west of the Pasai River, and the minimum distance at Pidada about 7 miles east of the Pasai River : a spot nearly equidistant from those two places (i.e. near the light in 5° 13' N, 97° 10' E, on Agu point, north of Semawi town) is less than 14 miles from either.

The most probable location indicated by the Chart is provided by the middle distance of about 38 miles : this would fix " *Su mên ta la* " near Meraksa about 5 miles west of the Pasai River.

The distance from the Pasai River on the prescribed courses would be about 32 miles.

On the other hand the distance from the mouth of the " Achin River " to the east of Diamond Point is some 159 miles.

† The " Mercator Projection " now finds a rival in the " Gnomonic Projection " on certain charts which are specially prepared for use of the fast steamship making its way with little respect for the wind but much respect for the nearest " Great Circle " route between port and port." Curnow. *The World Mapped*. (1930), p. 66.

of diverging routes within the limits of a single sheet of paper, to make merely a diagrammatic representation,—the kind of route-diagram, simple but inaccurate, which one sees on the London Underground Railway.

Maybe, too, that the Chinese navigator was familiar with certain conventions,—a sort of 'cartographical shorthand'—which enabled him to understand and interpret the Chart. However that may be, the method of the Chart makes it difficult for strangers and foreigners to unravel it: no accurate inferences as to distance can be drawn from the relative positions of places marked on the Chart; for instance, Pulau Pisang is shown at the mouth of what appears to be the Batu Pahat River, whereas in reality Pulau Pisang is 35 miles further down the coast: nor can any accurate inferences as to distance be drawn from the number of "kings" (watches) occupied in the journey between two places; for instance, the Chart states that 5 "kings" will be occupied in the journey from the Kerimun Islands to Coney Islet, and 5 "kings" in the journey from Pedra Branca to Pulau Aur, whereas the actual distances between those places are 22 miles and 75 miles respectively.

The "king" or watch of 2.4 hours in Chinese navigation is usually reckoned as 60 li, 20 English miles: Phillips takes Cheng Ho's watch as equal to 16 English miles, but he adds, rather pathetically, "its real value is somewhat difficult to determine". One realizes that the distance travelled in one watch, depending as it does on different conditions of wind and sea, may vary from a few yards to some 10, or in exceptional circumstances, perhaps 20 miles; all that one wishes to emphasize is that, in interpreting this Chart, no accurate conclusion as to distance can be derived from the period of time taken to travel between two places; this emphasis is the more necessary when, in an age of power-driven vessels whose speed is under normal conditions nearly constant, time and distance are almost correlative.

A further difficulty lies in the fact that we do not know in which Chinese "language" or "dialect" a particular name is intended to be represented; Edwards and Blagden were confronted with this difficulty when explaining the "Malacca Vocabulary" (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VI, Part 3, (1931), p. 715); a "classic" example is provided by the transcription of the Malay name Muhammad; the Chinese designation 麻霞勿 is unintelligible in Pekingese, "Ma-hsia-wu", yet readily understandable in Cantonese, "Ma-ha-mêt".

In this paper, all Chinese characters (except in quotations) are, unless otherwise stated, given the phonetic equivalent which they bear in the Pekingese dialect: words in the Amoy dialect are, unless otherwise stated, spelled as in Douglas' "*Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy*";

1937] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

words in other dialects are spelled as in Giles' "*A Chinese-English Dictionary in the Pekingese dialect*"

In cases where it appears that the Chinese characters may represent a name transcribed in some dialect other than Pekingese, the phonetic equivalent in that dialect as well as in Pekingese is given, so that the reader may decide for himself.

An apparent difficulty arises in connection with the compass directions: in the Chinese compass the circle of 360° is divided into 24 angles of 15° each: when a single direction is given in the Chart, no trouble arises; for instance when the Chart states that the course from Pulau Pisang is in the direction 巽 [sun], one can see from the compass that 135° is intended: but sometimes two directions are given; for instance, the Chart says that from Malacca the direction is 辰巽 [Ch'en sun, 120°, 135°]; in this case the layman may feel uncertain whether the pilot means

- (a) the direction is first 120° and then 135°, or
- (b) the direction is mid-way between 120° and 135° i.e. 127½°, or
- (c) the direction is, roughly, somewhere between 120° and 135°.

To the expert, however, there is no difficulty: Mr. Best explains:—"The double bearings can, I consider, be simply explained. The mariner set out on the first course and then found, possibly on raising the island or point for which he was heading, that he was off his course; he then corrected accordingly. It is a perfectly normal and correct procedure even in modern navigation with accurately plotted courses and gyroscopic compasses.

In certain cases, as on the stretch from "Samudra" to Diamond Point, the changes of course are obviously determined by the trend of the coast he was following. In others, say from the Kerimun Islands to Coney Islet, he was probably slightly wrong on his first course and was set further off by the tide."

One may add that Sinological experts are hesitant to express an opinion on technical questions of five centuries ago.

It is only fair to emphasize that a very high standard of accuracy cannot reasonably be expected from the Chinese pilot of 1433: those were early days in the manufacture of the compass; his instrument may well have been liable to error; and he may not have understood the disturbing factors constituted by iron in his ship and by local terrestrial magnetism; even in 1613 Eredia speaks of this latter cause as though it were quite a recent discovery (*J.R.A.S.M.B.* Vol. VIII, Part I. (1930), p. 84); furthermore, it is possible that the magnetic variation which has occurred since 1433, may have made the Chinese pilot's directions appear less accurate than they actually were at that date, but the present writer is not competent to discuss that point.

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On this subject, Mr. Best writes :—" I have taken the bearings given in the Chinese Chart and have plotted and ' swung ' them to fit over a modern map. (In the case of double bearings, half the distance is run on the first bearing and half on the second). The test is made from a point about eight miles off the coast at Bukit Jugra to a comparatively accurate fixing off Raffles Light, and it would indicate that the Chinese navigator was using a compass with a variation of only about 5° (W) from true north. The " offings " or distances out from Cape Rachado, Water Islands and Pulau Pisang fit in remarkably well and the figure of 5° is in all probability correct within 2°—3° either way.

At first sight this seems almost too good to be true, but the variation between magnetic and true north has presumably remained almost stationary throughout the last few centuries, and a wooden-ship, unless she carried iron cannon somewhere near the compass, would produce very little deviation so the result is not very surprising".

The Chinese designation of Malayan place-names may be divided into 5 main classes :—

- (1) purely Chinese names given by the Chinese themselves ; for instance, Pulau Tinggi is called " *Chiang chün mao* ", " General's Hat " :
- (2) translations of Malay names ; for instance, the Sembilan Islands are called " *Chiu chou* ", " Nine Islands " :
- (3) transcriptions of Malay names, for instance, Pulau Pisang is called " *Pi-sang* Island " (Amoy Hokkien) :
- (4) transcriptions of Malay names modified either
 - (a) for the sake of assonance, according to Ferrand ; for instance, Pahang is called " *p'eng heng* ", the character " *p'eng* " being intentionally employed from its assonance with " *heng* ", or
 - (b) to give a meaning in Chinese, for instance, (Pulau) Langkawi is called " *Leng ge kau i* " (Amoy Hokkien), " Dragon's Tooth Arm Chair " :
- (5) names which cannot be fitted into the above classes ; for instance, in the Chinese name " *Ku li yu pu tang* " the expression " *Ku li yu* " appears to represent the Cham word " *culao* ", " island " ; in the case of other appellations, again, the state of our knowledge does not enable us to derive the name of a place, although its location may be fixed with reasonable certainty ; for instance, " *She chien shan* " is in all probability to be identified with Gunong Banang, but one cannot say as yet whether " Shoot-arrows Mountain " is a purely Chinese designation, or whether " *She-chien* Mountain " represents some foreign name.

Photostatic copies both of Phillips' map and of the *Hai-yün-yao-lüeh* map (as well as the other Malayan maps mentioned in this paper) may be found at Raffles Library, in "A Collection of Historical Maps of Malaya" recently compiled.

The latter of the two Chinese maps is so very much less accurate than the former that it is more curious than useful: but it is not entirely without utility, for instance, in several cases it states that the ship "passes" (過, *kuo*) a certain place where Phillips' map uses the expression 取, *ch'ü*, and it thus resolves the doubt whether the latter expression means "make for" or "make" (*i.e.* reach); furthermore, in one case it gives an additional name of which there is no trace in Phillips' map, immediately south of "Long-sai-ka" (Amoy Hokkien) which the present writer identifies with *Langkasuka* (Patani), it marks "Kun-e-li River" (Amoy Hokkien), which presumably represents some such Malay name as *kunyit*.

II. THE CHART.

For cartographical and other reasons it has been thought convenient to treat the Chart in three sections; the first, the Butang Islands to the Kerimun Islands; the second, the Kerimun Islands to Pedra Branca; the third, Pedra Branca to Singora.

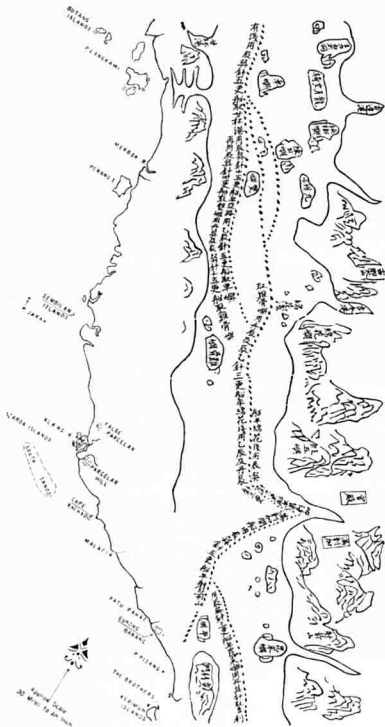
In each section, the writer has first set out the Chinese names with suggested identifications, then reproduced the sailing-directions of the Chart, and lastly added some comments and explanations.

First Section: Butang Islands to Kerimun Islands. (See Plate I).

古力由不洞	<i>Ku li yu pu tung</i>	Butang Islands
龍牙交椅	<i>Lung ya chiao i</i>	Pulau Langkawi
吉達港	<i>Chi ta chiang</i>	Merbok River
檳榔嶼	<i>Pin lang hsü</i>	Penang Island
陳公嶼	<i>Ch'én kung hsü</i>	Pulau Jarak
九州小	<i>Chiu chou hsiao</i>	Sembilan Islands
吉那大山	<i>Chi na ta shan</i>	False Parcelar
吉令港	<i>Chi ling chiang</i>	Klang River
雞骨嶼	<i>Chi ku hsü</i>	Aroa Islands
綿花淺	<i>Mien hua ch'ien</i>	South Sands
綿花嶼	<i>Mien hua hsü</i>	Parcelar Hill

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PLATE I BUTANG ISLANDS to KERMUN ISLANDS



假五嶼	<i>Chia wu hsü</i>	Cape Rachado
官廠	<i>Kuan ch'ang</i>	Official Building
滿刺加	<i>Man la chia</i>	Malacca
射箭山	<i>She chien shan</i>	Gunong Banang
毘宋嶼	<i>P'i sung hsü</i>	Pulau Pisang
平州	<i>P'ing chou</i>	The Brothers
吉利門	<i>Chi li mén</i>	Kerimun Islands

The Chinese sailing-directions begin from the port of 蘇門峇刺, *Su mén ta la*, Samudra harbour, near Pasai on the north coast of Sumatra: this port was also the starting-point of the voyage to the Nicobar Islands and to Ceylon. (*cf.* Gerini. *op. cit.* p. 692).

For the eastward voyage the directions lead the navigator through 急水灣 [*Chi shui wan*, "Strong Current Bay", *i.e.* Telok Semawi Bay] to 巴祿頭 [*Pa lu t'ou*, Perlak Head, *i.e.* Diamond Point] and then in a south-easterly direction past 甘杯港 [*Kan pei chiang*, Kanpei River, perhaps the Perlak River],

亞路 [*Ya lu*, Aru, *i.e.* Deli],

單嶼 [*Tan hsü*, "Single Island", *i.e.* Pulau Berhala],

雙嶼 [*Shuang hsü*, "Double Island", *i.e.* The Brothers],

to 雞骨嶼 [*Chi ku hsü*, "Chicken Bone Island, *i.e.* the Aroa Islands],

where the ship approaches peninsular waters.

The directions continue "Abreast of 雞骨嶼" [*Ch ku hsü*, "Chicken Bone Island", *i.e.* the Aroa Islands] "following a course of exactly 辰" [*Ch'en*, 120°] "and then of 辰乙" [*Ch'en yi*, 120°, 105°] "the ship after three watches is level with 綿花淺" [*Mien hua ch'ien*, "Cotton Shoals", *i.e.* South Sands]; "following a course of 乙辰" [*Yi ch'en*, 105°, 120°] "and then of exactly 辰" [*Ch'en*, 120°] "the ship after three watches is level with 綿花淺" [*Mien hua ch'ien*, "Cotton Shoals", *i.e.* South Sands: this is obviously a mislection for 綿花嶼, *Mien hua hsü*, "Cotton Island", *i.e.* Parcelar Hill]; "following a course of 辰巽" [*Ch'en sun*, 120°, 135°] 1937] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

THE MALAY COINS OF MALACCA

By C. H. DAKERS, M.C.S.

In 1900 and again in 1904 excavations near the mouth of the Malacca river resulted in the finding of a considerable number of coins. The coins were presented by the Hon'bles Messrs. W. Egerton and R. N. Bland to the Raffles Museum and were the subject of articles in the J.R.A.S. (Straits Branch) Nos. 39 and 44 by Dr. R. Hanitsch. Malay, Portuguese, Dutch and East India Company coins formed the bulk of the collection and the most modern coin was one of 1856.

Dr. Hanitsch was successful in identifying amongst these a series of Portuguese coins of Malacca whose existence had been hitherto unknown, for, though Albuquerque's Commentaries made special mention of the recall of the 'Moors' money and the coinage of a currency by the Portuguese in Malacca, Millies,¹ the great authority on the Numismatics of the Archipelago, had stated 'Malacca has left us no known numismatic monument'. Dr. Hanitsch's researches published in his two articles were successful in showing that Malacca had a Portuguese currency starting from the reign of Dom Manoel (1495-1521) but he went on to say that he could not furnish absolute proof that the collection contained any coins of the pre-Portuguese Sultans of Malacca. The readings of some of the Malay coins which he gives cannot be accepted and in only one case did he attempt an identification.

Since 1905 these coins have been in the Raffles Museum but the Malay coins have not been the subject of any further study. In 1936 during the process of cataloguing their collections I was allowed to see what could be made of them. The result has been of interest for it can now be safely claimed that coins of the early Malay Sultans of Malacca have been identified.

According to Albuquerque's Commentaries Sultan Iskander of Malacca was granted the privilege of issuing small coins of pewter, as the result of an embassy to the Emperor of China,² and had exercised this privilege on his return to Malacca. No money of this reign has yet been discovered but coins of the 5th Malacca king, Muzaffar Shah—a historic figure—and some of his successors, have been identified.

The coins in question are all made of tin.³ This is an unfortunate metal as it is subject to a disease which is infectious and apart from surface corrosion it decays internally. In many cases the whole surface of a coin may flake off leaving no trace of the original design or inscription. Judging from illustrations the coins have deteriorated since they were in Dr. Hanitsch's hands.

The method of minting the coins seems to have been to cast the blanks and then to strike the flans with a pair of dies. Most of the coins show the point, or points, at which the metal flowed into the mould. It was usual for the blank to be decorated with a 'pusat' or projecting button in the centre and the fact that in many cases the design is stamped into this 'pusat' shows that the blanks were afterwards struck. In addition to this some coins show signs of double striking caused by the slipping of the die and also of partial striking as a result of the die not being properly centred on the flan. In this respect these coins differ from the late Malayan issues where the inscription was sunk in the moulds and the coins cast in one operation. These defects in metal and manufacture and the frequently worn and corroded state of the coins have made it difficult to decipher the whole of the majority of the inscriptions. Luckily a number of duplicates of the earliest coins have made it possible to piece together the whole inscription of the Muzaffar and Mansur coins, but there are several unique pieces on which only fragments of the legend can be discerned.

To the larger coins I have given the name of Cashas. 'Caixes' is the name used by Albuquerque in his Commentaries. Captain John Davis⁴ in 1599 visited Achin and saw two kinds of money, gold and lead. The latter he calls 'Caxas' or 'Cashas' and says that 400 of them equalled one 'Cowpan' and four 'Cowpans' one 'Mas'. There are some smaller⁵ coins which I have called half Cashas and again there are two small and very thin coins which may be quarter Cashas. The word is of South Indian origin and I have not found it in any Malay dictionary.

The weights of the coins vary and I do not think that care was taken to adjust them accurately. The sizes too vary among the Cashas from 19 to 25 millimetres. Their average size is 21.5 millimetres and the average weight is 2.5 to 3 grammes.

In general it may be remarked that the collection covers the history of Malacca up to the middle of the last century.⁶ It was noticed by Dr. Hanitsch that the well-known perforated types of the Northern Malayan tin coins are absent but it is still more remarkable that there are no specimens of the six and eight sided types of the Johore tin coins, called 'Katun',⁷ collected by G. B. Gardner from the old sites on the Johore River. There are some coins of a different style which I suspect may have found their way into the collection from outside, but Malacca was a flourishing port and it is more than likely that the currency found includes besides one Trengganu coin identified, (Hanitsch No. 5) coins of Achin and other States in the Archipelago. If any silver or gold coins were found they did not come the way of the Museum. Silver Malay coins are rarer than gold and though the Portuguese struck silver in Malacca most of the silver in use in Malaysia was of foreign origin.

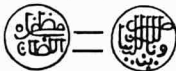
I have divided the collection into classes in an attempt to arrange the coins in some sort of chronological order.

- A. Legible Coins attributed to Rulers.
- B. Al-Sultan Al-Adil.
- C. Illegible types other than A and B.
- D. Barbarous Types.
- E. Uninscribed Types.
- F. Miscellaneous.
- G. Coins with legible or partially legible inscriptions not yet attributed.

A. Legible coins attributed to Rulers.
Malacca Sultans.

Muzaffar Shah 1445—1458/9.

- (1)* O. Muzaffar Shah Al-Sultan.
 Casha. R. Nasir al-Dunya Wa'l-Din. (interlaced).
 'The Helper of the World and the Religion'.
 Varied dies. Size 20 millimetres and weight 2.28 grammes (average of three).
 One fine and five poor specimens plus fragments.



- (2)* O and R as last but with the obverse inscriptions conventionalised in a somewhat different manner.
 ? ½ Casha. The circle enclosing the inscription is about 11 millimetres diameter but the coins are all imperfectly struck, and part only of the inscription appears. 4 specimens, varied dies. Size 15 millimetres. Weight 2.26 grammes average.

I think that there can be little doubt that these attributions are correct. The obverse inscription of (1) is similar in style to that used, for instance, on 15th century Brunei tombstones (see J.M.B.R.A.S. Vol. xi plate xiii) The reverse inscription on (1) and (2) is in Arabic script similar to that on early tombs such as Mansur Shah's at Malacca (see J.R.A.S., Straits Branch, No. 78 Plates I and II).

Dr. W. Linehan, M.C.S., read the obverse and Mr. J. Walker of the British Museum read the reverse inscriptions. There are several specimens from this Malacca find in the British Museum.

*Coins so marked are illustrated.

Mansur Shah 1458/9—1477.

- (3)* O. Mansur Shah bin Muzaffar Shah al Sultan.*
 ? † Casha. R. As on 1 and 2.



The die of these coins is too large for the flan and the striking is also very careless. The circle enclosing the inscription is 17 millimetres in diameter. Luckily there are nine specimens which has enabled me with the help of Mr. J. Schulman to reconstruct the whole inscription. Varied dies. Size 13.75 millimetres. Weight 1.53 grammes.

There are poor specimens of types 2 and 3 in the Selangor and Perak Museums and in the collection of the Malacca Historical Society.

No coins of Ala'u'Din Riayat Shah (1477—1488) have been certainly identified.

Mahmud Shah 1488—1529/30.

- (4)* O. Al Sultan Mahmud (?Shah) surface partly gone.
 Casha R. Conventionalised Al Adil (?) and several zigzags
 Size 21 mm. Weight 2.820 grammes.
- (5)* O. as last but conventionalised.
 Casha R. Debased attempt to copy Muzaffar Shah's Arabic
 reverse inscription? (Three specimens from
 the same dies). Size 21.5 mm. Weight
 average 3 grammes.
- (6) O. as last but more conventionalised.
 Casha R. ? Plain. (Surface mostly gone). Size 22.5 mm.
 Weight 3.866 grammes.
- (6A) Four poor specimens resembling the Mahmud type but
 with name illegible.

There is in the Selangor Museum (provenance unknown) a casha resembling (6) with a reverse of the same style as (5).

The identification of these coins 4, 5 and 6 with the name of Mahmud as being coins of the last Sultan of Malacca is by no means certain. In favour it can be said that they appear to be of some age, they were found at Malacca and, in the case of the three coins under 5, the reverse appears to have on it a corruption of the reverse type of Muzaffar and Mansur. No other specimens are known as far as I have been able to ascertain but there are some similar coins still unidentified in the British Museum.

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Ahmad bin Mahmud 1510.

- (7)* O Ahmad bin Mahmud Shah⁹
 Casha R. Al Sultan al Adil. Size 22 mm. Weight 2.30 grammes.
 (8) O. and R. as last but the inscription on each side is smaller and is contained within a plain circle of 17 mm. Size 21.5 mm. Weight 2.872 grammes.
 Casha
 These coins are Dr. Hanitsch's 3.


There is a coin of similar type with a reverse similar to (8) in the British Museum which is supposed to have come from the Malacca find. This reads Ahmad Abu Mahmud Shah on the obverse. I cannot explain this Abu (father of) except as a mistake on the part of an Arab die sinker if, as appears probable from the appearance of the coin, it is of the same issue as 8 above.


Each of these three coins appears to be unique.

B. Al Sultan Al Adil.


This type, which does not bear a Ruler's name, covers the largest field and requires some explanation. Al Sultan Al Adil was a common title and was used from the earliest times. It appears, for example, on the coins of Dehli as far back as the reign of Shamsu-din Iltutmish who reigned 1210 to 1235 A.D.¹¹ It is natural that such a title as 'the Just King' should be a popular one. The word, 'Adl' and the scales were later used by the E.I.C. on the coins of Bombay.


On this group the mode of writing the word Al Sultan has undergone a great deal of modification and has been conventionalised out of all recognition. Al

Sultan is properly written 

It appears on Muzaffar's coins as  A1.


the Sin running at the base of the other two letters forming the word




On Mahmud's coins it has become  A4.

and even more conventionalised  A6.

The last inscription is however not absolutely distinct. The first coin of Group B is the clearest and shows


 B1.

and so the modification continues until we have
 B22 and no more to show that Al
 Sultan is meant.

With this we have Al Adil 
 and this is so similar to the shorn Al Sultan that in
 the end the 

 merge together into a monogramme such as

 B34 or even  B37.
 We have finally  B40.

The last is a neat well made coin and bears the same
 relation to its predecessors as did Cunobelinus' gold
 stater of Camulodunum, with the free horse and wheat
 ear, to the barbarous imitations of Philip of Macedon's
 stater, with the wreathed head of Apollo and the double
 horsed chariot, which were struck by the earlier Kings.
 For that reason I have put it last in the list.

It is characteristic that amongst the illiterate a
 conspicuous feature of a coin inscription should catch
 the eye and become gradually the mark which all money
 must have, and in the case of these Malacca coins
 that feature seems to have been the 

The Coins of Achin (see Millies plate XVI Nos.
 132-136) bear this same type but the Johore and
 Kelantan coins have the inscription Malik al Adil.
 Mr. Gardner has one Al Sultan Al Adil coin in his
 collection from the Johore River but it is round and
 larger than the Johore coins and so is probably a stray
 from Malacca or Achin.

I have attempted to arrange the coins below into
 divisions according to their various styles.

Cursive type.

- 1.* As stated above this has the best obverse.
 The reverse appears to be double struck. Size, 22.5 mm.
 Weight 2.685 grammes.

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- 2* & 3. These coins have on one side a curious zigzag¹¹ which may be a corruption of the Arabic 'Mahmud'. There is one coin of this variety in the Selangor Museum. No. 3 shows nothing on one side but the edging dots. I think, however, it belongs to Class B.
4. The Al adil is clear. The reverse is blank.
- 5 & 6. The reverses have what appears to be possibly a corruption of Muzaffar's Arabic legend.
- 7, 8, 9 Al Sultan Al Adil both sides. No. 9A has on the upper part of the obverse some uncertain lettering.
- 10, 11, 12. These three have unclassifiable reverses.
- 13, 14 15. With uncertain reverses. No. 15 is I think Hanitsch's No. 1 which he states is dated 1173 (1757 A.D.) but I consider this doubtful.¹² Its obverse may possibly be intended for Al Sultan Mahmud but is double struck.
16. This is the only one of its kind. What inscription there is can be seen clearly but it is difficult to read.

Angle & Circle Type.

- 17, 18, 19* & 20. These have the inscription expressed in a conventionalised manner. The reverses are poor and cannot be made out.
21. This has the same type of obverse but the reverse is of the next type.
- 21A. Five poor specimens.

Angle & Semi-circle Type.

- 22, 23,* 24 & 25. All have this style of obverse combined with a cursive style reverse and Al Sultan Al Adil on both sides.
- 26.* This has both obverse and reverse in the same style.
- 26A. Four poor specimens.

Degenerate Types.

27. This is much double struck.
- 28, 29, 30. Types difficult to classify.
- 31.* Roughly made coin of very degenerate style.
- 31A. Four poor specimens. One is unusually small. (19 mm.)

Monogrammatic Types.

- 32 & 33. Cursive style. No. 32 appears to have the double legend on the reverse while the No. 33 reverse is plain.
- 34 & 35. Angle and circle style. The reverse of 34 resembles that on the Mahmud's No. 5.
36. Poor specimen O. Angle and circle and R. Cursive Al Sultan Al Adil ?

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- 37, 38, 39. Degenerate Monogrammes. No. 39, of which there are two specimens from the same die, has a plain reverse.
- 40.* Two coins from the same dies. (Hanitsch No. 6. plate II fig. 11). This coin has been mentioned above. It is neat and well made. The reverse has a curious trident-like pattern and a large projection near the edge of the coin.
- 40A. Four poor specimens which appear to be of this type.

C.

Illegible types other than A and B.

These Cashas are not of the Al Sultan Al Adil style but have inscriptions which have not yet been read. They are not well preserved and only fragments of the legends can be seen. The discovery of further specimens should enable us to read them.

41. This appears to be double struck on the reverse.
- 42, 43, 44, 45 & 46. have remains of cursive inscriptions on both sides except in the case of No. 42 which appears to have a blank reverse.
- 47.* This has Sah (?) on the reverse.
48. The reverse has what appears to be a design but is probably a flaw in the die.

D.

Barbarous Types.

This class consists of unclassifiable coins.

49. Very well preserved but not readable. Is the reverse inscription a date?
- 50.* O. What appears to be (but is not) a Chinese character.
R. Random collection of strokes?
51. Degenerate copy of Class B. Monogramme?
52. O. flawed. R. copy of V. O. C.?
53. What appears to be I K is stamped on the obverse.

E.

Uninscribed Types.

This class is small compared with the inscribed. These coins usually show a 'pusat' on one or both sides. 53—58. are of the ordinary type. One is a fragment.

- 59—61. These may be badly worn Portuguese coins. They have no pusats. 59 is thin but 60 and 61, which are of thicker fabric and larger than the usual casha, may be 'half bastardos'. 61 is of irregular shape.

They weigh (59) 3.900 (60) 7.917 (61) 7.257 grammes.

Two specimens have been presented to the Malacca Historical Society.

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F.

Miscellaneous.

62. This class contains 59 Cashas, some broken, on which the inscription is so fragmentary as to make classification impossible. Most are corroded and damaged as well as being considerably worn. I have put them together and numbered them 62.
63. There are also two totally illegible coins of 14 mm. weighing .884 and .812 grammes which may be quarter cashas. I have numbered them 63.

G.

Coins with legible or partially legible inscriptions not yet attributed.

- ‡ Casha ? O. Mu'izz al-Din ?
- 64.* R. (Al Sultan ?) Al Adil.
This is a small thick coin with thick lettering. Weight 1.420 grammes Size 13.5 mm.
- ‡ Casha ? O. as last ? Only a small part of the die has struck the flan.
65. R. Al Sultan Al Adil ?
This is a larger coin than the last and the pusat and a flaw in the die have disfigured the reverse inscription. Weight 1.663 grammes Size 16 mm.
- Pitis ? O. Within a line circle of 16.5 mm.
- 66.* Al Sultan Muhammad Sharif (?)
R. In the form of a decorative state barge 'Bismillah al Rahman Al Rahim' (?). All within a line circle and border of dots (16 mm.). Below, the date 11 Λ —the last figure not clear—about 1760 A.D.
This coin appears to be cast and not struck.¹⁴
Weight 1.840 grammes. Size 19 mm.
- Pitis ? O. Within a line circle divided horizontally by a double line.....? Wallah.
67. R. as O. illegible.
This coin has been struck on a cast blank but so badly that only part of the legend appears. It is much corroded. Weight 2.182 grammes. Size 18 mm.
These last two coins are, I suspect, 'foreigners'. No. 67 resembles slightly the Kelantan gold coin Bucknil J.M.B.R.A.S. 1923 page 205 and Linehan J.M.B.R.A.S. Volume XII part II plate X b 3.

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One more object was found at Malacca associated with the coins. It is illustrated in Dr. Hanitsch's first article Plate I figure I. He suggests that it shows a representation of St. Catherine's wheel and that it was coined in Goa. I am of the opinion that the obverse design is a seven petalled flower. The reverse is a blank and it is probable that it was used as a counter. Dr. Hanitsch gives its size as 27 mm. and weight as 8.9 grammes.

We can expect to get little more light on these Malacca Coins until we have a much larger number to study. Unfortunately this tin currency was so intrinsically worthless that it was not hoarded. I know no record of a treasure trove of coins of this metal found in Malaya.

We cannot even say that the coins of Class B onwards are actually coins of Malacca and the dating of this same series presents considerable difficulty.

We now have established a tin currency dating from before the Portuguese conquest. The Portuguese called this in 'in order to withdraw and suppress the Coinage of the Moors and cast their root and name out of the land' and so great a quantity of money was thus carried there (*i.e.* to the mint) out of fear of the penalty (death) . . . that the officers could not despatch their business fast enough'. Whether Albuquerque gives us here the true situation or that which he wished to appear true I cannot say but it is a fact that the Portuguese seem to have filled amply the local needs for small change in tin. This carries us from the reign of Muzaffar Shah up to the capture of Malacca by the Dutch in 1641. The Dutch did not coin in Malacca and in early years struck very little money in the Netherlands Indies. They began to cope with the insatiable demand of the Malayan Archipelago for small change only when the Vereenigde Ostindische Compagnie started to pour out from Europe those millions of V.O.C. doits which are commonly found all over the country. The Malacca excavations produced fourteen of them, the earliest being dated 1729 (Hanitsch No. 1, Westfrisia). From that date the next hundred years is represented by V.O.C. doits, fractions of Stivers, Keping tokens and E.I.C. coins for Sumatra. The series stops at 1856 with an isolated modern Netherlands Indies copper cent.

The last Portuguese coins attributed to Malacca are silver pieces dated 1636¹⁵ and, though there are none of these coins in the collection, it is possible that some of the unattributed Portuguese tin coins may belong to the last years of their rule. This leaves us with large gap in the series of coins which we have been able to date, and from the end of the Portuguese series in, say, 1641 up the V.O.C. doit of 1729 there is nothing which we can definitely say was the local currency. I would now suggest that we take the Cashas of classes B to F and use them to fill this gap of 100 years roughly from the first quarter of the 17th to the first quarter

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of the 18th century. I have no justification for this theory except that it seems to meet our case and also because it is a fact that the manufacture of local tin money was certainly not suppressed by the Dutch at this period in their possessions in the Netherlands Indies.¹⁴

NOTES.

- (1). H. C. Millies ' Recherches sur Les Monnaies des Indigènes de L'Archipel Indien et de la Péninsule Malaie ' (1871) p. 140.
- (2). If this is true it is very curious that these Malacca coins show no trace of Chinese influence inasmuch as they are struck and have no central piercing. Chinese coins were found with them but Dr. Hanitsch states (p. 186) that they were too much corroded to be identified. I have not seen them.
- (3). A specimen of Class F has been analysed in the Institute for Medical Research, Kuala Lumpur and found to be practically pure tin with a trace of lead.
- (4). John Davis reports to the Earl of Essex. ' Purchas his Pilgrimes '. The First Part London 1625 fo. III Book p. 123. The coins have been referred to variously as cashes, chazzas, caixas, caxias and caxas.
- (5). The flans and dies are smaller, in the case of type two, so I have classified them as half cashas. This does not prevent type two being a later issue of cashas on a smaller scale as it may be noted that there are no large flan cashas of Mansur Shah in the collection, though the dies for type three are the same size as those for type one. As weights do not seem to have been carefully adjusted they give us little guidance. The average weight of type two is nearly the same as type one but when we try to argue from this we are confronted with the fact that the best specimen of type one weighs 1.937 grammes while a poor one weighs 2.465. The British Museum specimens include a thick dump shaped coin of half casha type which is difficult to classify.
- (6). There are no coins between a Netherlands Indies cent of 1838 and the last coin, a modern style copper N.I. cent of 1856.
- (7). J. R. Wilkinson gives ' Ketun ' for this word and derives it from Ducatoon.
- (8). The Mansur Shah part of this inscription was read for me by Mohamed Yasin bin Malim Sulaiman of the Selangor State Secretariat. I had originally failed to notice that the flan was too small for the dies on these coins and had classified them in two groups according to the legible part remaining on them. It was Mr. J. Schulman of Amsterdam (who was so kind as to go through this article) who pointed out the error and suggested the full reading now adopted.

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- (9). The following note has been contributed by Dr. W. Linehan, M.C.S. :

This is one of the instances where numismatic evidence corroborates history. Ahmad was, by a Pahang princess, the eldest son of Sultan Mahmud, the last Malay ruler of Malacca who was driven out by the Portuguese in 1511, and died at Kampar in 1528.

In 1510 Mahmud had his Prime Minister, the Bendahara Seri Maharaja, wantonly murdered. He then proceeded to marry the Bendahara's daughter, Tun Fatimah, whose first husband was one of the victims of the massacre that signalized her father's death. Mahmud, not long afterwards, influenced by the grief displayed by Tun Fatimah, was smitten with remorse. He proclaimed his son Ahmad Sultan, handing over to him the regalia of State, and himself retired temporarily to Kayu Ara in the hinter-land of Malacca. It was almost certainly in celebration of this event which occurred in 1510, that the coinage of which this is a specimen was struck.

A few words may be said regarding the subsequent career of Ahmad. He took the principal part in the defence of Malacca against the Portuguese, and, mounted on an elephant, himself took part in the fight, and was wounded. On the capture of the town he and his father fled to Pagoh on the Muar, and he threw up a stockade at Bentayan (the modern Bandar Maharani). When this place was captured by the Portuguese, the Malays fled to Pahang. Thence they went on to Bintan (the island of Riau).

In course of time Mahmud had the son, whom he had once invested with the dignity of Sultan, slaughtered.

- (11). The Coins and Metrology of the Sultans of Dehli (1936) by H. N. Wright p. 21 No. 53A.
- (12). See A4 reverse.
- (13). I have not been able to identify Dr. Hanitsch's (2) two coins dated " \ \ Y 4 i.e. 1758 A.D." nor his No. 4 with 'Khan Mahmud'. I suspect the last is one of my A 4, 5, or 6.
- (14). Nos. 64, 65 and 66 have been read by Mr. J. Walker of the British Museum.
- (15). See H. T. Grogan's article 'Indo-Portuguese Numismatics. The Issues of the Malacca Mint' in the Numismatic Circular for November—December 1916 figures 20, 21 and 23.
- (16). H. C. Millies, op. cit., plates XIV, XV, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI.

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RECENT MALAY LITERATURE*

By ZA'BA (Zain al-'Abidin bin Ahmad).

Among other publishers, the Mercantile Press, the United Press and the Pērsama Press, all in Penang, and a number of other Malay printing works in Taiping, Ipoh, Muar and Singapore have been active for many years printing and publishing new Malay books by various writers. Printing presses in Kuala Lumpur, Klang, Seremban and Malacca were doing likewise in a smaller degree until a few years ago. Many of these printing houses, notably those in Penang and Muar invite writers to write books and stories for them or to send them any unpublished manuscripts of sufficient interest to be printed by them, offering in return for each a small remuneration or royalty or a certain number of copies of the books when printed to be sold by the author as his own share. In this way the Penang and Muar publishers have produced quite an imposing number of new books and so have smaller printers in other parts of the country.

Representative Writers :

Largely of Fiction.

Of the writers that have fed one or other of these presses, a few representative names may be mentioned with the works they have published. One of the first to enter the field was Mohd. Yusof bin Sultan Maidin, a Penang Malay of South Indian extraction and Chief Clerk in the local Education Office, who in 1922 published his first book, a pamphlet of 40 pp. called *Boria dan Bīnchana-nya*, and a few months afterwards followed it with *Sha'er Boria*, both these being directed against the evils and abuses of the Boria plays in Penang. Then came his *Rahasia Kējayaan* (1923), a collection of essays (80 pp.) on Education, Knowledge, Friendship, Character, Duty, How to earn and spend money, Reading and its benefits, Newspapers, the Difference between Man and Animals, Reason and its uses, Helping each other, the power of Speech; his *Hikayat Pēlayaran Gulliver* (1927), an abridged translation of Part I of Gulliver's 'Travels'—which was later acquired by the Malay Translation Bureau for its Home Library Series; his *Hikayat Tuan Putri Nur u'n Nahar* (1929), a short Moslem romance of some 100 pp. giving a vivid picture of mediaeval Moslem society with its failings and weaknesses; his *Kesah Pēlayaran-pēlayaran Sindbad* (1930), 120 pp. translated from English and also acquired by the Translation Bureau. Lastly was published his *Kijatohan Kaum-kaum Islam dan*

*Except for difficulties due to its author being at Tanjong Malim and me in London, this valuable account would have formed part of the author's appendix to my *History of Malay Literature*, Journal M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XVII Pt. III 1939.—R. O. Winstedt.

Pirgêrakan Baharu (1931), a work of 170 pp. tracing the progress of Islam in the early days, its subsequent decadence and the causes contributory thereto, and the revival of the present day. In all these works his language and style are pleasantly chaste and simple. But he seems to have entirely ceased from writing and has not published anything new since 1931. There is, however, a short work of 110 pp. called *Risalat Ahmadiyah* or *Siapa-kah Mirza Ghulam Ahmad* (1933?) written by writers under two *nom-de-plumes* one of which is believed to be his. The book was printed at the Jelutong Press, Penang, and defends the excommunicated "Mirza" and his reforming Movement against the attacks and accusations of the *ulamas* in Malaya and Malaysia. The style and language at least of one of the writers would seem to betray his identity.

About the same time, another writer, Ahmad bin Haji Muhammad Rashid of Talu (Sumatra) who was born in Penang and has been in Malaya ever since, began writing original novels on local Malay life. One of these entitled *Ia-kah Salmah?*—a long lively story published in 7 parts (over 600 pp.) in 1928—became very well-known and is now out of print. It is "the story of a happening in the Straits Settlements after the Great War", the heroine Salmah being a modern Malay girl of town surroundings and upbringing. His other novels are *Kawan Bènar* (1927), *Dua Bilas Kali Singsara* (1929?), *Siapa Jahat?* or *Dato Chîn-chano* (1930?)—all widely read and popular, especially the last-mentioned which is a thrilling tale of a Sumatran sea-rover on the coast of Kedah and roundabout Langkawi Islands. But these also are no longer available at the bookshops and have not so far been reprinted. His less known efforts published some time later include *Siapa-kah Jodoh-nya?*, *Rahmah bt. Abdullah* and *Apa Sudah Jadi?* Many of these works are unfinished, either through shortage of funds on the part of the publishers to whom he sold his MSS. or through his own reluctance to write the continuation because of the poor bargain. The books were all published in instalments of 100 pp. or less each and financial difficulties arose in the course of publication. The author was already past middle age, when he died on 13 July, 1939. His writings are marked by a lucid style, a charming purity of language and a good power of description. It is a matter for regret that not all of them have been completed or published.

A writer of great promise who has written or translated a miscellaneous number of works, mostly stories and historical fiction some of them quite long, is Ahmad Nawawi bin Muhammad Ali of Batu Gajah, Perak. Born there in 1904 he attended the local Malay school, and after passing Std. V was admitted into the Al-Mashhor Arabic School, Penang, in 1914 (?). This he left after 2½ years when he was only in Std. III; his further progress in Arabic has been the result mainly of private study. His earliest published works are *Al-Fanus; fi Mukhtasar il-Kamus* (1927) an

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Arabic-Malay vocabulary, and *Chërita Putri Palsu* (1927), the story of a beautiful Russian woman playing her guiles on an Indian Prince. Then followed his *Chërita Amir Fadzlu'llah* (1928), a story of loyalty and devotion to parents and relatives taken from the well-known Arabic work 'Alfa Yaum wa Yaum'; his *Jambangan Burita* (1928), 65 pp., a miscellany of various facts, happenings, and stray items of information; *Ja'afar al-Barmaki* (1930), the story of the well-known mysterious episode in Islamic history relating to the strange marriage of Harun al-Rashid's sister, Abbasah, to Ja'afar his minister and bosom friend, eventually ending in the latter's murder; *Warith* (1932), 156 pp., the story of a young man in Egypt dreaming of the wealth he is to inherit and later deceived by an actress; *Tarzan or Mawas Puteh* (1933), 453 pp., a translation (through an Arabic version?) of some of the thrilling Tarzan stories, issued in 5 parts; *al-Ghara'ib* (1935), 40 pp., containing a miscellany of useful information, curious anecdotes and gleanings from Arabic works on the ancient history of Egypt, India and China.

Among the half-published works, the continuation to which has been either held up owing to insufficient capital on the part of his publishers or is in the course of publication, are *Korban Pësona* (1934), of which 300 pp. have appeared, narrating the story of the sufferings of a mother accused of illicit love affairs by an unfaithful paramour, with her consequent disgrace and broken life but ultimately vindicated and happy; *Tarzan Këmbali ka-Bënu Afrika* (1935), a continuation of his Tarzan stories (551 pp.); *Pertëmuhan Johoh* (1937), of which two parts have appeared comprising 304 pp., the story being that of a young man (in Egypt) who was separated from his lady-love by the machination of a jealous rival, sailed to Europe and in the end triumphed over his enemy; *Anak Dara Koraisih* (1938), of which 200 pp. have appeared, a tale based on Islamic history, depicting the troublous conditions during the rule of Othman the third Caliph culminating in his assassination, with a love story worked into the scene—translated from Jirji Zaidan's well-known series of historical fiction; *Andalus* (1939) of which two parts comprising 299 pp. have appeared and 4 further parts are promised:— it is a historical romance of old Muslim Spain, describing the conquest of fair Andalusia by the Muslims under Tariq bin Ziyad whose name survives in "Gibraltar", a corruption of "Jabal Tariq". The book though still uncompleted is very much praised by the Malay reading public.

Of his works still in the Press there are *Pimbuka Mata: Bagi Si-Chllek dan Si-Buta* (1936), describing innovations forbidden by Islam and exhorting strict adherence to the ways of the Prophet and ending by pointing out whose responsibility it is to uphold and enforce the pristine truths of the faith; *Kata Këbënanan: Mënyatakan Hukum Ziarah Përkuboran* (1938), explaining tomb-
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worship which is forbidden by Islam and the visiting of graves which is sanctioned by it, with various details connected with the subject. Both these are likely to be published outside Perak as they cannot meet with approval from the Perak religious authorities. Another short work by him which was actually refused permission by the religious authorities to be published and has therefore been withheld is called *Pilehan Kata: Mēngandong Bībīraṇa Pīrkataan Pīndeta* (1937), the MS. copy of which is in the hands of a publisher in Penang.

Ahmad Nawawi has four other stories which have remained unpublished for some years as the publishers to whom he has given the MSS. are short of funds! These are entitled *Abi Kadzim al-Basri* (1930), *Rampaiān Yang Indah* (1930), *Kičeṇwa* (1930), and *Panglima Raja* (1937), the last-named being in 147 foolscap pages narrating the story of a French warrior's loyalty to his king, somewhat similar to the romance of *Hang Tuah*.

Besides these books he has also edited two short-lived periodicals—first a weekly newspaper called *Panduan Tīrona*, started in Ipoh in February, 1930, and later a fortnightly called *Majallah Pīnghīborān*, started in April, 1936, in which he published besides general articles and curious notes and gleanings a regular series of short stories as well as biographical articles on Muslim authors and thinkers and other celebrities during Islam's glorious days. Both these ventures have failed and ceased to exist. In all his publications this writer's style is direct and simple and his language comparatively free from un-Malay idiom. But he does not seem to like poetry, as seldom are verses found even in his love-stories and romance.

Another very energetic writer who has published a succession of stories and short works, both fiction and non-fiction, since 1936 is Shamsuddin Saleh, a writer from Siak (Sumatra) who has been in Malaya since 1927, was in the service of the Political Intelligence Bureau, Singapore, for 5 years from 1930, travelled on duty while in this service throughout the whole of Malaya (in which no village or town remains that he has not visited), and the whole of Siam, Burma, Sumatra, Java and the Philippines; has been married in Kuala Pilah, Nēgēri Sēmbilan, for the last 8 years, and is now Manager of the Ipoh Malay Press, Ipoh. The books he has written are mostly based on the secret activities of the Communist propagandists or on the political and nationalist movements in Netherlands Indies, with love introduced as the leavening ingredient. Among these the first to be published, entitled *Kaseh Bērbalas* (1936), 104 pp., a love-story between two English-educated Malay youths and their cousins in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, with a pretty Chinese girl and a Chinese Secret Society thrown into the scene, is now out of print. Then followed his *Hidup Yang Dīrhaka* (1936), in 2 parts comprising

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160 pp., narrating the adventures of a beautiful Dutch-educated native woman spy in the service of the Dutch Indies Government, who married a revolutionary native editor in Semarang for his secrets, then moved to Singapore with her husband to spy on the latter's co-workers, and lastly to Bangkok where her own sister exposed her and caused her death; *Siasat Yang Dahshat* (1936) 87 pp., a love-story between two native students at the Law College, Batavia, and a native girl student of medicine, with strong nationalist elements ending in the lovers' banishment to Boven Digoel (Dutch New Guinea); *Bingkisan Rahasia* (1937), 96 pp., another story of secret service and love with the scenes laid in Singapore and Bangkok; *Pimpinan Sulit* (1937), 96 pp., describing how a young Malay from Java working for a Belgian firm of jewellers falls under the spell of a fascinating girl-Communist agent in Singapore, the scenes shifting later from there to Shanghai and the Philippines; *Putri Laut Selatan* (1937), 81 pp., recording an old-folk-tale of Jokja (Java) with side-lights on the superstitious belief of the Javanese in marvels; *Semangat Muda* (1937), 96 pp., a love-story interwoven with an account of the new religious movements in the Dutch Indies; *Pertandingan Sokma* (1937), 76 pp., a story of the rivalry between Islamic and Christian propaganda in Java, enlivened by an *affaire de coeur* between two highly educated young people; *Korban Poligami* (1937), 73 pp., a story illustrating the influence of "modernity" among Malays, with scenes laid in Singapore and Batavia; *Yang di-Pertuan Gadis Sumatra* (1937), 60 pp., semi-historical old tales of Kampar (Sumatra) and its rulers as descendants of the royal house of Minangkabau—a study of human character; *Pelarian Yang Chérèk* (1938), 59 pp., the story of a political refugee from the Dutch Indies who through wiles and cunning reached safety in the Philippines, the scenes shifting between Singapore, Bangkok and the Philippines; *Umat Melayu dengan Musharakah* (1938), 231 pp., describing the Malays' intercourse with foreign races during the last 2000 years, with prospects of the future; *Tiga Bulan Dalam Penjara* (1939), 81 pp., a story of the nationalist movement in the Dutch Indies with episodes of love between the native mistress of a Dutch business man and his clerk, the scenes being laid in Bengkalis and Medan (Sumatra); *Chémburu Buta* (1939), 60 pp., describing the unreasoning jealousy of certain fictitious women, with an amusing ending; *Kesediaan Penerimaan* (1939), 60 pp., a story of women's ways towards their husbands.

Besides the above he has a number of works still in MS. the publication of which has been delayed indefinitely, including *Pacar Merah Dalam Timor* (over 200 pp.), *Chérta Mandam Bèrahi* or *Singapura Malam Hari* (about 150 pp.), and *Jalan Bagi Kéamanan Dunia* (about 200 pp.).

Shamsuddin Saleh was born of poor parents in 1905 (31st August) at a village called Kota Bètong on the banks of the Siak River. His family is descended from great chiefs who in former [1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

days ruled Upper Siak and had had a proud history ; but their later representatives had fallen on evil times. He received his primary education at the Malay School, Pekan Baharu (Sumatra), where he also attended a Dutch School for some years, after which he was employed in 1926 as a junior hand in the Royal Department of Justice (*Jaksa Kèrapatan Bèsar*) for Kampar Kiri and its outlying districts. Before he had worked a full year his service was terminated on the ground of his participation in dangerous politics. He went to Singapore where he had many relations, and found work with a Dutch rubber factory. In 1930 he became acquainted with an Indian member of the Political Intelligence Bureau through whom he joined its ranks as a " Travelling Secret Checker ". He now regards himself as a son of Nègèri Sèmbilan. His writings all smack of Dutch Indies Malay, but never entirely of it. His language and style are always straightforward and clear, even if the plot of his stories often lacks naturalness and spontaneity, the details of his narrative frequently unconvincing, and the description of his love-scenes sometimes too prosaic or bizarre to appeal to the finer feelings of his readers. His stories have a strong touch of patriotism, but always with a sneer at the " Kaum Merah " and the revolutionaries.

In 1935-1936 there were published a succession of humorous but rather erotic love-stories by one Raja Mansor bin Raja Abdul-Kadir who was born in Kuala Dipang, Perak, but was brought up and educated in Sumatra and later in Java. These include *Kèmbang Kinanga Dari Kintà* (1935), *Tujuh Kali Bèristèri* (1935), *Bidadari Tanah Mlayu* (1935), *Chinta Bèrahi-nya sa-orang Pèngarang* (1935), *Pèrawan Yang di-Mimpikan* (1935), *Dua Pèrawan Dari Sèlangor* (1936), *Satu Kali Chium Tiga Kali Tèmpeleng* (1936), *Di-Gila Bantal Pilok* (1936), *Suami Yang Di-Bèli* (1936), *Pènglima Ratu* (1936), *Pa' Bolgah, Raja Batak Karo* (1936), *Sèmbilan Bèlas Tahun di-Dalam Gilap* (1936)—all published in uniform pamphlets of about 100 pages each. The stories are of more or less the same type of plot, and though all have some moral and example to impart they make their appeal especially to the degenerate youths of the town and the lower strata of Malay society. He also published a *Mèlawat ka-Bènuwa Siam* (1935), several other short novels, a collection of pantun and songs specially written by him, and a lecture in honour of the Prophet's birthday! Raja Mansor was much criticised both for the moral tone of his stories and for his style and language which bear the impress of Dutch East Indies Malay. His spelling which shows his lack of acquaintance with Jawi was also strongly commented upon. The fact is that he wrote all the books first in Dutch romanised Malay and then paid some incompetent local boy to transliterate them for him into Jawi without himself being able to judge of the correctness of the work, relying merely on the compositors and proof-readers to put everything right. He was, moreover, frequently jibed at in the Malay papers for his boast of

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being a "versatile journalist" and of having a higher standard and better system of education in the Dutch Indies.

Abdul-Samad bin Ahmad, a promising young writer from Klang, has also written and published a number of works since 1936. Among these may be mentioned *Abraham Lincoln* (1936), a short biography of 160 pp. of the great President which he translated from an English work published by Cassels; *Chinta itu Bahaya* or *Rohani 'Arifin* (1936), a novel, highly praised by the Malay newspapers, illustrating the all-consuming nature of sexual love and the danger of vetoing it once it has taken root and been reciprocated, the aim being to warn parents of the importance of exercising tact and precaution in bringing up girl children; *Cherita Batu Btlah Batu Bértangku* (1936 reprinted towards the end of 1937), 100 pp., a well-known Malay folk-tale for children with the underlying idea of impressing on them the duty of filial love and devotion, written down in literary form with appropriate songs; *Kenang-Kenangan Selangor* (1937), 126 pp., containing valuable reminiscences of the stirring events in Selangor in the troublous days prior to British intervention and of the peace that followed, with a record of the court customs and ceremonies observed at the coronation of the late Sultan Sulaiman Ala'uddin Shah in 1903, arranged and edited in proper literary shape from a rough old MS. of the late Wan Muhammad Amin Dato Amar 'diraja Penghulu Istiadat of Selangor (died Feb. 1931 at the age of 84); *Siti itu Jaya* (1937), 108 pp., a love-story with many exciting and pathetic scenes but much show of pious restraint "as an example to young people of both sexes"—the story being that of a young man coming by accident during a thunderstorm one night upon a Javanese girl on the point of being raped by a Tamil ruffian who had snatched her away from the company of her parents during the confusion following a Circus stampede in Kuala Selangor caused by the escape of a performing tiger. The young man rescued her, and after solemn declarations of love and gratitude between them to be consummated by marriage, took her back to her wailing parents, only to lose her some months later when she was taken to Batavia by her people. After a couple of years the lovers met again unexpectedly as actor and actress on the stage of an opera in Singapore and got married. *Penglima Ragam* (1937), over 100 pp., with 4 illustrations, was in the press but never published—the story of two youthful brothers, Penglima Ragam and Pendekar Hashim as rivals for the hand of the same lady Siti Hairani, with historical background from the dark period of 70 years ago, the hero now almost a legendary figure passing through adventures packed with thrills and excitement; *Pantun Bunga Rampai* (1937), a collection of some 500 pantuns, old and new, on a variety of subjects and with various import, supplied by a number of pantun enthusiasts throughout Malaya and selected and compiled by him.

The author was born in Nov. 1913 at Bukit Raja, Klang, the seventh of 10 brothers and sisters. His father was a Forest [1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

Ranger at Port Swettenham where he received his Malay School education ; afterwards he studied English at the Anglo-Chinese School and later the High School, Klang. He began early to be interested in writing and literary work, and while still at a Malay School he was sending articles to the Malay papers which seldom published them, causing him thereby keen disappointment ! Leaving the English School in 1932 he joined as an apprentice for 6 months in the office of the *Majlis*, a tri-weekly of Kuala Lumpur. Shortly after, his father died and he was stricken with grief, not knowing what to do as he was unemployed. At last he determined to write stories whereby he found consolation. But in 1937 after he had brought out the second edition of his *Chërita Batu Bëlah* his mother died, and this upset him again. He gave up writing thought of going away to distant countries by following the operas. To prepare himself for this he joined an amateur dramatic Society in Port Swettenham whose members enact plays four times a month without the participation of women. There he was made Honorary Stage Director (*Pëndalang Chërita*) and wrote several short plays for the Society based on incidents of Malay history, but not for publication. He is still connected with the Society though at present it looks likely that the idea of exiling himself will be abandoned, as he has again joined the editorial staff of the *Majlis*.

As a story-writer, he has a fairly good power of description and a lively sense of dramatic effect. His stories abound in exciting and dramatic situations and in well-drawn pictures of natural scenery. But his style though vigorous and dignified is inclined to be long-winded and in some respects anglicised. He is a good mimic of Batavian bazaar Malay which he puts into the mouth of one of his heroines. His taste, however, for moral and religious digressions in the midst of his narrative takes away much of the entertaining effect in his stories.

Ahmad bin Abdullah, a teacher on the staff of the Sultan Idris Training College, is another writer who has published a number of small works during the last few years. He is a man of many strange parts, being a clever conjurer, a soap-maker, a flute-playing enthusiast, and a Malay medicine man ! The writings he has published include *Rahasia Përmainan Silap Mala* (1933) in 2 parts comprising 90 pp. ; *Bujang Sa-Umor Hidup* (1936), a short novel of 79 pp., *Rahasia Sa-orang Gadis* (1936), a longer novel, 140 pp., *Orang Lichin* (1937), 45 pp., a popular story of an elusive thief, now out of print ; *Nyanyian Kanak-kanak* (1937), 90 pp., a collection of Malay nursery rhymes published in Romanised Malay in the Malay Home Library Series of the Translation Bureau ; *Memang Bagitu* (1938), 65 pp., a love-story ; *Pantun Bujang Sa-Kawan* (1938), 119 pp., a collection of new pantuns ; and some humorous stories for children called *Si-Kibun* (1938), 71 pp., *Chërmin Kanak-kanak* (1938), 60 pp., and *Sakum* (1939), 47 pp.. He has also published a semi-religious work

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called *Mémleleh Johoh* (1939), 48 pp., which breathes a spirit of distrust in women generally. Harun bin Muhammad Amin, another teacher on the staff of the College who, however, prefers journalistic writings and has been a frequent contributor to the various Malay newspapers has also published a short novel called *Mélor Kuala Lumpur* (1930), a love-story of 110 pp.

Two other College teachers, the late Enche' Abdul-Hadi bin Haji Hasan who was at one time History Master, and Enche' Buyong bin Adil, his successor, have written between them the *Séjarah 'Alam Melayu* (1925-38), an ambitious history of Malaya in relation to Malaysia and neighbouring countries, compiled mostly from English and Malay sources and published in Romanised Malay through the Malay Translation Bureau. The work is planned to be completed in 6 books, the first three of which written by Abdul-Hadi and comprising over 700 pp. are concerned with Malaya's ancient history, the coming of the Hindus, the early relation with the Chinese, the Javanese and the Siamese, and so on to the arrival of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British. The remaining three parts (of which only two have been completed) covering a further 600-700 pp. are by Buyong and deal respectively with the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, and the Unfederated Malay States, giving the history of each Settlement or State in relation to the others.

Other Works of Fiction.

Among the College "old boys" who have graduated in recent years, the most prominent as a writer of fiction is Abdulah bin Sidek of Johore. Graduating in 1931 he immediately plunged into story-writing in his spare hours, and has so far published a number of original novels including *Bérchinta Yang Tá' Bérfá'edah* (1932), a love-story of 218 pp., *Pénnanggongán Sa-orang Putéra Raja* (1934), 215 pp., *Siapa-kah Pémbunoh-nya?* (1937), 140 pp., a detective story with a love element; *Pénnchuri Yang Lichin* (1937), 192 pp., *Duri Pérkahwinán* (1938), 130 pp., *Manusia Yang Buas* (1939), 130 pp., the story of a Malay gang robber chief in Ségamat and the love between him and the daughter of a Penghulu; *Pértimuan Yang Bahagia* (1939), 119 pp., the love-story between a Malay girl in Johore and a Singapore student who wins the Queen's Scholarship. Three other works the MSS. of which he has sold to publishers and are now in course of publication are entitled *Péngaroh Wang* (about 250 pp.), *Géllombang Hidup* (about 200 pp.), and *Iblis Rumah Tangga* (about 140 pp.). Most of these stories are original efforts, with the scenes laid in Malaya and the characters of peculiarly Peninsular type. But one or two do not appear to be entirely original; rather they look like imitations of stories already published in the Netherlands Indies with the scenes, characters and descriptive details altered to adapt them to local conditions. In fact, the writer's general style and

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mode of expression betrays much reading of modern Dutch Indies Malay literature. But despite all defects which are many, these works mark the author as an earnest writer who is genuinely interested in his work and enjoys story-writing as a hobby.

A few other "old boys" or Malay School teachers have also tried their hands at the novelists' art. Of these one is Muhammad Yasin bin Ma'amor of Selangor (graduated 1931) who wrote a story called *Suka dan Duka* (120 pp.), while still in College and published it in 1933—so far the first and last work from his pen. It is a love-story based on the story of two young people who had been neighbours and friends from their School days but ending tragically for the girl, who had to marry an old religious teacher of 60 with three other wives! Another is Mohd. Isa bin Mahmud of Malacca (grad. 1931) whose story *Senyuman Pemuda* was published several years ago; and a third is Ya'akub bin Abdul-Manaf also of Malacca (graduated 1933), whose story *Ribut Tofan Dari Barat* or *Pingaroh Modan* (158 pp.), published in 1936 describes the love between a Eurasian girl and a Malay student in an English School, who admiring everything Western and 'modern' changes his name from Bahrain bin Haji Mansor into H. M. Rhein, becomes a Christian and marries the girl,—a warning to all Malay youths against indiscriminate 'modernisation'. He has also published one or two other works on similar lines. Subaimi bin Ismail of Penang (graduated 1934) is another whose first effort *Kesingsaraan Istri* or *Kaseh Bèrpindah* (194 pp.), published in 1938 is a caustic commentary on the ways of 'modernised' society; the young man of the story after marrying an 'emancipated' Malay girl following secret courtship and 'love before marriage' enters the gay life of Penang, gets heavily into debts because of a Chinese cabaret girl, loses his job and deserts his wife to go as a 'Sandow' or strong man with a Circus Company on a World itinerary returning home after six years to find his loyal wife dying. This same writer has the MSS. of three other works in preparation entitled *Laki-laki dengan Késoapanan*, *Lakunan Dunia* and *Mistika Pérempuan*, all aiming "to teach by example and to warn our young people against going the evil ways of danger." There is also Mohamed Sidek, a Malay School teacher in Kuala Lumpur who has recently published a love-story *Kikaseh dengan Tunangan* (1939), 163 pp. in which the young man is made to suffer, remaining loyal and unmarried, while the girl marries another man. An 'old boy' of the former Malacca College, Ahmad bin Kotot, who is a teacher in Pahang, has also written a local love-story of nearly 300 pp. called *Hikayat Pérchintaan Kaseh Kémudaan* published in 1927.

A host of other writers have written story-books during this last decade and a half, many of them love-stories with characters representing the school-trained Malay youths of to-day. But there are other works, too, mostly translated from foreign sources, of which the theme is crime, detection, battle of wits, adventure

and even religious devotion. The nature and contents of these stories, whether of love or otherwise, may roughly be surmised from their respective titles of which it will suffice to give the following list of typical examples :

From the various Malay publishers in Penang, who also publish works of a religious and educational nature there are : *Burita 'Ajaib* ; *Chërita Wak Hidong Merah : Korban Kédingkian* (an Arab tale of 280 pp. by one Ishak bin Muhammad Ali Basha of Batu Gajah and published in 1928) ; *Hikayat Korban Kstêdehan* or *Buat Baik di-Balas Jahat* (1932), by one Muhammad Ali of Singapore ; *Hikayat Sharif ul-Akhtar*, by one Raja Fatimah ; *Satu Malam Mênchuri Rahasia*, by one Haji Muhammad Taib ; *Sha'er Chërita Bijaksana*, by one Hasan bin Haji Omar of Kelantan ; *Hikayat Kùltbehan Ashek* ; *Hikayat Kéhidupan Pérchintaan* (a tale of Damascus translated from the Arabic by Z. 'A. Natar), *Hikayat Tuladan Masa* (containing a miscellany of short anecdotes), *Hikayat Saleh Salehah*, *Hikayat Nabi Musa Munajat* ; *Hikayat Pêpérangan Gharib dèngan 'Ajib* (from the Arabian Nights), *Hikayat Pêpérangan Sisban* (the-story of Ali the fourth Caliph and the Maharaja Ghatrif) ; *Hikayat Pènggèli Hati* (the tale of a false lover and the Devil in China), *Sha'er Ahmad Kadzdzab* (the story in verse of a liar husband and his trusting wife) ; *Hikayat Iblis dèngan Nabi Kùta* ; *Hikayat Nur Muhammad dan Nadzam Ayunan* ; *Nadzam Dendang Fatimah* (songs and verses of very inferior type written down in at least two different versions for crooning during cradle ceremonies exceedingly popular with older folks because of its allusions to Malay birth customs and to a myth of the Prophet's grandsons as babies ; *Hikayat Darah Pérkasehan* (a long story in 333 pages, being a translation by one Ahmad Karim of Batu Gajah, Perak, from an English novel entitled "Fair Margaret") ; *Chërita James Carter* or *Pényamun Muda* (a detective story) ; *Lelehan Ayer Mata, Rahasia Kémudaan* (the story of a happening in Tèlok Anson), *Bunga Tanjung Dalam Malaya, Bunga China Pulau Pinang, Kasèh Ta' Sampai* or *Gilombang Ayer Mata* (the story of a tragic romance resulting from "modernism" near Ipoh, by one Mir Hamzah of Perak) ; *Lima Kali Bèrsuami* (by Haji Sulaiman al-Rawi), *Cleopatra* (story of the famous Egyptian Queen), *Chërita Pèrawan Yang Tèrpèlajar, Nafsu Kéhidupan, Sètia Kasèh* ; *Sarong Tangan Merah* (a story of crime and detection in Paris, translated through the Arabic by a student in the Government Arabic School, Kuala Trengganu), *Pényiasat Rahasia Sulit* (a detective story by one Ismail bin Abdul-Karim who is the author of three other short original works called *Pèrchintaan Ibu Kapada Anak, Hantu Mênchuri Anak*, and *Rumah Burok di-Tèpi Jalan*, published elsewhere) ; *Dr. James*, a love-story rendered from an English original by Muhammad Ariffin bin Ishak who is editor of the *Majallah Chërita* of Penang, a monthly story-magazine started in 1938 and run on the lines of the many story periodicals in English but with the stories written in Malay and mostly giving pictures of Malay life and character.

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From the Malay publishers in Muar who also publish many non-fiction works, there are *Musoh Yang Dahshat* (1934), 83 pp. and *Pirusahaan Dalam Cahaya Bulan* (1935), 100 pp., both by one Daud bin Sulaiman who wrote while still a student in the Government English School, Batu Pahat; *Stmangat Pêrchintaan* (1936?), a love-story based on actual local happening; *Jodoh Yang Ta' Sa-suai* (1936), 44 pp., by one Abdul-Rahman bin Hitam; *Mémbalas Budi* (1937), 76 pp., by one Husain bin Haji Baba; *Pertéman Kaseh di-Bulan Térang* (1937), a love-story of over 300 pp. issued in 3 parts, by one Zain un-Nasir of Kuala Kangsar; *Siti Rahmah* (1936), 97 pp., by one Tamil Abdul-Muttalib; *Kébinasaan Chémburu* (1937), 68 pp., by Abu Bakar bin Sulaiman; *Kumpulan Tingkorak Kuning* (1936), 90 pp., the story of a dangerous Secret Society in Europe, translated from English by Sayid Hamzah Tahir of Kémaman (Trengganu); *Ugama Atas Chinta* (1936?), the story of an Arab warrior and a Muslim girl who had been captured by a Spanish soldier; *Rajin dan Usaha Tangga Kékayaan* (1937), 154 pp., the story of an ambitious and hard-working Malay student who in spite of many handicaps and poverty ultimately succeeds to become a qualified doctor and a famous boxer (!), by Yahaya bin Mohd. Yusof of Klang, Selangor; *Godaan Chinta* (1937), 76 pp., by Hashim bin Haji Sa'id; *Pénglima Hawa Nafsu* (1938), a novel by Muhammad Hashim; *Dua Puloh Lima Tahun Dalam Rahasia* (75 pp.), by Johan Baihaki; *Nasib Anak Sa-orang Nélayan* (106 pp.), by Abdul-Ghani bin Ali of Endau; *Kaseh Tértinggal* (98 pp.), by "Jim-Sin" (J. S.) of Batu Pahat; and a number of other works which have appeared only very recently.

From the Malay presses of Seremban and Kuala Pilah there are *Pêrchintaan Yang Malang* (118 pp.), a love-story by Abdul-Hamid bin Salim of Léngging; *Chémbaka Négèri* (52 pp.), another love-story by one Haji Abdul-Aziz; *Bintang Timor Séménanjong* (1935), also a love-story by one Muhammad Yusof bin Arshad; *Duga Pêrchintaan* (1935), 104 pp., a story of adventure and romance by Abdul-Ghani bin Tahir; *Di-Manakah Anak-ku?* (1936), 76 pp., a story of love, murder, and separation from a short English novel translated (through an Arabic version?) by one Haji Ibrahim Hilmi, an old boy of the Zainal-Abidin Arabic School, Tréngganu; *Kaseh Sumbang* (104 pp.), an incestuous love-story based on actual happening on the East Coast, by Dahlan bin Wahab, Kémaman; *Kaseh Yang Ikhlas* (1936), 102 pp., by Wan Muhammad Amin of Pahang; *Bérmalam di-Kota Mlaka* (90 pp.), a love-story by Muhammad Yasin bin Pileh of Kuala Pilah; *Ipoh di-Téngah Malam* (60 pp.), a love-story showing the influence of modernism in the social standard of the educated Malay; *Bunga Yang Bérachun* (1936), 50 pp., the story of a woman spy in Paris, translated from the Arabic by A. B. A. Shukri of the Zainal-Abidin Arabic School, Tréngganu.

Of fiction works coming from different other publishers throughout the country may be mentioned: *Mutiara Dari Bénua*

Timor (1936), a novel of 180 pp., depicting life and love in the Turkey of to-day by Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul-Hamid (at one time editor of the *Saudara*, Penang) and published at Kuala Lumpur; *Sha'er Enam Pirjodohan* (1935), 158 pp., a story in verse by Muhammad Saleh bin Alwi of Johore illustrating the right and wrong bringing up of girls, and published at Singapore; *John Abram* (1930?), 300 pp., the story of an orphan boy who through devotion to his mother and hard work rose to be a great man, translated by one Haji Mohd. Taib bin Haji Hashim and issued as one of the many publications of the Latifiyyah Press, formerly of Malacca but now removed to Singapore; *Sātru Dunia* (1938), 139 pp., a novel describing the wonderful possibilities of the human brain, somewhat similar in plot to the Frankenstein stories of the screens, by one Mohd. Salehuddin and published at Klang. Another story by the same author, *Tirbang ka-Bulan* has been appearing serially for some time in the columns of the *Majlis* (Kuala Lumpur) of which he is one of the sub-editors. *Rahasia Bilek Biru* (1938), 90 pp., a tale of mystery by one 'Adnan ul-Fikri and published by the Ipoh Malay Press, Ipoh. He has another story, *Anak Dara Kampong* appearing serially in the tri-weekly *Sahabat* of Penang. From the Rahmaniyyah Press, Ipoh, there have been published among a number of other works *Sayyidah Zaitun*, (an Arab story in 2 parts); *Kaseh Yang Binar* (1931), 206 pp., by Hasan Taib of Taiping; *Pātoran Hati* (1933), 98 pp., a story of frustrated love by Abdul-Wahab of Ipoh; *Taman Pēngiboran* (91 pp.), the story of five well-behaved school boys and a pious man who is made to tell them five religious stories; and *Bunga Raya Dari Ipoh*, a local love-story. Another recent work of fiction is *Johari* (122 pp.), by Daud bin Kasim of Singapore and published by the Singapore Jawi Press, Geylang. From Kota Baharu, Kelantan, the Matba'ah al-Ma'arif is publishing a story-periodical called *Al-Riwayah*, issued fortnightly beginning from November, 1938; but this publication does not appear to be as successful as the *Majallah Chērita* of Penang already mentioned, its first few numbers being entirely swallowed up by instalments of a long Turkish tale *Pertelingkahan Angan-angan*, which portrays the ambitions and experiences of two brothers as a Government Official and a business man respectively, and so lacks local colour and variety.

A great many other works of fiction have not found place in the above list, and there is no doubt that many more are in the process of being written or published. As to the merit of the contents from a literary point of view, it can be said of those already published that where they are original efforts the stories are for the most part still very raw in plot and workmanship. In places the situations described show a complete lack of understanding of human nature and its frailties. Where the theme of such original stories is love, the love dialogues and scenes are generally too blatant or crude to be pleasant, and at times are even offensive to the good taste of a sober-minded reader, rivalling as they do

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similar scenes in the pages of the unexpurgated *Arabian Nights* or of cheap Western Magazines of love stories and romance. Undoubtedly this feature is due to Sayid Sheikh's example in his "Hanum" love-stories.

But the Malay love-stories of this new type usually have Malays or some local young people for their characters, and the burden of the story in almost every instance is the same—to give an indirect warning against the advancing tide of modernism and against the spirit of emancipation which is slowly sweeping through into the social outlook and habits of the few English-educated (and even of the more numerous Malay-educated) girls of the community as a result of their reading and their intercourse with other races. This new spirit is decried and derided with the authority of religion conveniently brought to bear upon it, and the stories depicting its manifestations generally represent it as ending in scandals and disaster. But in their description of Western social standards they very often give a distorted picture and a false impression, while the influence it is represented to exert upon the educated Malay youths of both sexes and upon their tendency "to ape and modernise" is often exaggerated and artificial. Almost all the stories are presented in true European fashion, opening with a description of the scene,—the distant mountains, the clouds, the swaying branches, the setting sun, the moonlit night, the chiming of clocks, the cock-crowing, the chirping of birds and so on.

Non-Fiction Works and Belles-Lettres.

Of works which are non-fiction there have also been a large number published during this period other than those mentioned in connection with the individual authors already discussed. Some of these are historical or political studies, others purely linguistic and literary, while many deal with semi-technical, religious and other subjects of general literature. In the first category may be mentioned *Tarikh Kerajaan Siam or Gajah Putih Mliawan Angin* (1931), 132 pp., a skeleton history of Siam by Abdullah bin Muhammad Sa'ad, Dato Butitama Hakim of the Religious Court, Setul, South Siam; *Tarikh Salasilah Negeri Kedah* (1928), a work of 381 pp., by one Muhammad Hasan giving the "history" of Kedah from the year 390 before the Hegira and published by order of His Highness the present Sultan; *Tarikh Péntrangan Itali dengan Tripoli* (1936), 176 pp., containing sketches of events and incidents in the Italian conquest of Tripoli and describing the activities of Tripolitan Muslim leaders therein, translated from Arabic by Haji Abdul-Halim Hasan of Binjai, Sumatra; *Tarikh Dato Bintara Luar Johor* (1928), a biography by Muhammad bin Haji Ilyas, of which only Part I was published consisting of 137 pp.; *Salasilah To' Jtnang Riun* (1933), by Hashim bin Ibrahim of Muar, made up largely of curious genealogies covering 195 pp.; *Pitikan Dari Sejarah Dunia* (1936), 42 pp., consisting of brief

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chapters on the expansion of British power in India, the old Mogul rule, Aurangzeb, Europeans trading in India, Robert Clive, Duplex, the battle of Arcot, the Black Hole of Calcutta, and the battle of Plassey, by Syed Saqqaf bin Sheikh Abu Bakar of Muar; *Pelayaran Dahulu Kala* (1937), 68 pp., describing the adventurous spirit and bravery of the ancient mariners, with a story of the legendary Malay sailor, Haji Batu; *Tarikh Masir Purba-kala* (1930), of which only Part I was published covering 102 pp., by Abdul-Wahab bin Abdullah of Chëmor, Perak, who after passing Standard VII in the Anderson School, Ipoh, entered the Al-Mashhor Arabic School, Penang, and then went for further Arabic study in Egypt, later graduating from one of the High Schools there, and is now a Government official in Perlis; *Taraf Nigtri-nigiri Mlayu Pada Sisi Undang-undang* (1935), 110 pp., a translation of Mr. Roland Braddell's pamphlet "The Legal Status of the Malay States", by Muhammad Zain bin Haji Ayub, Malay Language Master at the Anderson School, Ipoh. Then there are *Siapa-kah Mussolini?* (1936), 90 pp., *Rahasia Kjtajaan Hitler* (1937), *Jipun* (1937), 55 pp., and *Di-Balek Tabir Manchuria* (1937), 212 pp., all four by Sayid Ahmad bin Sheikh of Muar, who after passing through an English School in Malaya lived in Java and then in Siam for many years. The third work is a short description of Japan, her people, her progress, her strength, and her position in world politics, culled from English and Siamese sources and from various Japanese Annuals in the English language; and the fourth work, describing the Chinese Revolution, Sun Yat-Sen, Chiang Kai-Shek and Japan's adventures in China since 1931, is a wholesale translation from the Siamese, being originally written by a Siamese student studying in China; *I'tiqad Këma'nusiaan* (1929), 62 pp., a small but important work on patriotism and national consciousness, briefly describing the policies of the Imperialist powers and the conditions in their colonies and dependencies, by Dr. Hamzah bin Muhammad Taib of Muar, a graduate of the Singapore Medical College.

In the linguistic category there are several further efforts at Dictionaries and Grammars, among which may be mentioned: *Kamus Mlayu* (1937), a Malay Dictionary of 471 pp., diffusely printed, written by Haji Shamsuddin bin Muhammad Yunus, till a few years ago Supervisor of Mails in the Penang General Post Office, and now a Government pensioner and proprietor of the United Press, Penang, where the book was produced; *Kamus Arab-Mlayu-Inggëris* (1929?), by a student-teacher at the Arabic School, Parit Jamil, Muar; *Kamus al-Dzahabi* (1930) an Arabic-Malay Dictionary of 488 pp., illustrated, by Mahmud Yunus and Mohd. Kasim Bakri—both Sumatran graduates of Government Normal Colleges in Egypt—printed in Cairo; *Kamus al-Marbau* (1931-32), a better and much fuller Arabic-Malay Dictionary of some 815 pp., illustrated, and has gone through several editions, by Haji Muhammad Idris of Lubok Merbau, Perak, now settled in Cairo where also the work is printed. This author has published

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besides, a number of religious works, some of voluminous size. Still another is *Kamus al-Hamidi* (1928?), over 250 pp., a dictionary of Arabic loan-words and phrases in Malay, by one Haji Abdul-Hamid bin Ahmad Mēlaka, a Pensioner ex-Kadzi in Perak: a revised and enlarged edition of this work had lately been offered by the author to the Malay Translation Bureau, Tanjong Malim. There is also a *Pēmulaan Mēngarang* (1936), a short work on elementary Malay composition by one Ibrahim bin Abdul-Salam called of Muar, and a new Malay grammar on Arabic lines called *Pēnanggam Bahasa* (1937), by a certain Malay Sayid in Muar.

But the most notable production in this field of study published only two years ago is the "Buku-Katan" Malay Dictionary of the "P. Bm. P. B. di-Raja" (Royal Society of Malay Literature) of Johore. This Dictionary which is by far the most important of the many pseudo-learned works produced in the name of the Society, and the longest in comparison with other similar dictionaries previously attempted, covering as it does over 1,000 pages of diffuse printing, was published in 1936-37. It was written originally by the Dato Haji Muhammad Sa'id, one of the pillars of the Society, and afterwards published bit by bit in the columns of the Singapore daily *Warta Malaya* when criticisms were invited from interested Malay scholars. Later, with many of these criticisms incorporated it was published in book form issued in 12 successive parts. However, in spite of its length, the work is still very imperfect and elementary. It has not fulfilled even half of what Malays generally desire and expect in the way of a compact, concise Malay Dictionary for ordinary use. The words and phrases included are not reasonably comprehensive, the definitions given too sketchy to be of much help, and the spelling in many cases at variance with general practice, while the work itself is spoilt by innumerable misprints and omissions (e.g. the word *dīmam* is not to be found in it!). But the author's aim is only to have a "Malay Dictionary" produced by the Society—and only a beginning at that—to be corrected, improved and amplified by those who can do better after him. At any rate, it can be said in its favour that with all its defects it is certainly the best "Malay-Malay" Dictionary that has so far come into the market, and there is no doubt that by its issue a step forward has been made in the right direction.

The same author's other publications which are produced under the auspices of the Society include a *Jalan-"Basa" Mlayu* (1937), 102 pp., a crude attempt to present and adapt the English system of grammar in the Malay language; while his *Pēmēngian ka-Eropah Tēngah* (1938), 129 pp., *Tawarikh dan Manusia* (1938), 66 pp., *Pērihal Adat Mlayu* (1938), 48 pp., *Malaya: Nēgēri Dalam Tanah Mlayu*, I. (1938), 56 pp., respectively published as Nos. 3-6 of the Society's "Pēredar" (a coined word for "Learned Journal") contain some valuable material. The latest writings by him brought out as "Pēredar" Nos. 10, 14 and 15 respectively

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are *Péri-hal London dan Bandar-bandar Bêrhampiran-nya* (1939), 67 pp., *Séménanjong Tanah Melayu dan Nigéri-nigéri Bêrhampiran-nya* (1939), 70 pp., and *Bangkok Kepala Nigéri Siam* (1939), 43 pp., all containing much useful information, and in the case of the first and third, such description as usually found in the ordinary guide-books for travellers. The author is fond of coining Malay equivalents for English terms regardless of whatever people in general think or say of them.

His publications which are issued independently of the Society include *Bêrzanji Nathar dengan Tarhib-nya* (1931), 63 pp., an attempt to render the famous Arabic panegyric of the Prophet into Malay version of the same form and style; *Nadzam Abda'u Bahasa Melayu* (1935), a similar attempt for the well-known "*Akidat ul-'Awam*" of Shaikh Ahmad Marzuki; *Sha'er 'Alam dan Bangsa Melayu* (1935), 36 pp., *Sha'er Kéadaan Tuhan dan Manusia* (1936), 30 pp., *Sha'er Panduan Pérkahwinan* (1936), 23 pp., *Timbalan Bêrzanji Nathar* (1937),—all of which are indifferent pamphlets with no claim to literary or scientific merit. The author's aim seems to be primarily to add number and quantity to Malay literature. His dictum is: 'Never be afraid that your writing is too poor or your facts at fault. Able people will correct you and improve on what you have begun by producing better works. If every writer were afraid to write because people may laugh at his shallowness, there would have been no books in the world.' His latest publication which is not connected with the Society is a short sea-story of 82 pages entitled *Bagitu Dia* (1939).

Of poetry or verse-composition as Malays understand it, little has been published in book-form during this period apart from the few *Sha'er* stories and *pantun* collections already mentioned in connection with some of the authors. The quality of the *sha'ers* in the verse stories is generally no better than those written during the earlier periods; but of the *pantuns* many pieces in the various new collections compare favourably with the old unwritten specimens collected by European scholars. There are several of these new collections, including *Pantun Bunga Rampai* (1937), compiled by Abdul-Samad of Klang; *Pantun Che Norlia* (1937), in 2 parts comprising some 100 pages by Raja Mansor; *Pantun Laila Majnun* (1938), 82 pp., by Ibrahim bin Mohd. Sharif of Singapore; *Pantun Chinta Hati* (1938), 107 pp., by "Kédidi" of Penang; *Pantun Bujang Sa-Kawan* (1938), 102 pp., by Ahmad bin Abdullah of the S. I. T. College, Tanjong Malim; *Pantun Têrang Bulan* (1938), 107 pp., published by the Sêntosa Store, Seremban. Such supply of new collections in these days of modern ideas and influence bespeaks the fondness Malays always have for this oldest and most indigenous form of their poetry.

On the other hand, *sha'er* the next most popular form, has always had an attraction chiefly for the more literary-minded. 1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

The writing of *sha'er* in short pieces of a few stanzas after the European fashion on such subjects as "The Moon", 'My Beloved Country', 'When I was a child', 'Oh Mother!', etc. instead of making them the vehicle of some long connected story as of old, is very much in evidence in the numerous Malay newspapers and periodicals to-day, with varying degrees of success or ill-success. But so far no collections or selections from these have been made and published in book-form. Some of the pieces are mere artificial stringing of measured phrases and jingles, each stanza for instance commencing with the successive letters making up a certain word; but others are poems of real literary standard. One writer in particular, Ghazali bin Abdul-Rahman of Mersing, Johore, an old boy of the S. I. T. College, who graduated in 1937, has been regularly contributing very good *sha'er* pieces to the Malay papers and was doing so even while he was still at College. Other forms than the ordinary *pantun* and *sha'er* have also been attempted in imitation of similar efforts made in Java to evolve new types of Malay prosody after Western models. But whatever happens the *pantun* and the *sha'er* will remain the Malays' favourite form of poetry.

There has been practically no drama written or published so far in spite of the popularity of the Bangsawan Shows among Malays of the less cultured classes. The stage language of the Bangsawan has been much criticised of late by the more educated section of their audience. Such expressions as *Saya impunya diri, pergi di-mana ayahanda impunya istana* have provoked smiles and good-natured jokes among the better-informed students of Malay speech. Then there are the many ridiculous anachronisms in costumes and scenes, the strong bias for magic elements and fairy tales in the stories enacted, and the hybrid, often dull song interludes between scenes!

Among books which might be classed in the semi-technical and general literature group there are *Pengtahuan Pertukangan, Perusahaan Driver Motor Car, Perusahaan Membuat Barang-barang, Perusahaan Rumah Tangga, Piratoran Birmasak-masak* (in 2 parts by Che Fatimah of Penang), *Tanaman Tembaku, Rahasia Perniagaan, Taman Pengtahuan Ramai* (1928), *Kitab Késihatan, Rönongan Guru Besar* (1934) on certain aspects of teaching and school management by Raja Muhammad Noordin of the Education Department; most of these are pamphlets of 100 pages or so and all published by the United Press, Penang. There are also *Ilmu Pëndidekan dan Atoran Pilajaran* (published by the Mercantile Press, Penang); *Ilmu Didekan* (1932), 55 pp., on the training and educating of children by Haji Arshad Ghadiman of Kuala Lumpur, published at Muar; *Ilmu Didekan Ayam* (1938), 81 pp., on the rearing of poultry by Abdul-Hamid bin Abdul-Majid, an old boy of the Agricultural School, Serdang, published at Muar; *Pérbendaharaan Rumah Tangga* (1929-31), over 200 pp., a work on cookery giving hundreds of recipes, by Sharifah Azizah

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binti Sayid Ahmad al-Mashhor, published in Penang; *Pemimpin Kaum Ibu* (1931), 117 pp., on prenatal hygiene and the nursing of infants, by Muhammad Kasim Bakri, a Malay graduate of the Government Normal College, Cairo, published in Singapore; *Kitab Késihatan Diri* (1928), 65 pp., on elementary personal hygiene, by Zainal-Abidin bin Ali, formerly a teacher at the Sultan Idris College, published in Taiping; *Kitab Lidah Pndita* (1934), 85 pp., a collection of pithy sayings, aphorisms and short stories intended for guidance to right conduct, compiled by Che Fatimah of the Al-Huda Religious School, Penang; *Panduan Kéhidupan* (1931), 76 pp., a collection of short essays on various moral qualities such as duty, honesty, thrift, sincerity by Abdullah bin Abdul-Muhyi of Muar; *Mémileh Kéhidupan* (1931), 135 pp., by Haji Baba bin Abu Bakar; *Ta'bir Kéhidupan* (1935), short essays and anecdotes on such subjects as Man, Health, the training of the Mind, the evils of Smoking, Knowledge, Work, the value of time, etc. treated from a semi-religious standpoint, by Abdul-Rahman bin Haji Abdul-Hamid of Penang; *Urusan Kéhidupan* (1939), 110 pp., a treatise on man's place in the world, with some common-sense directions on the right conduct of life, by Abdul-Rashid bin Muda of Pétani who is also the writer of two other works, *Taraf Benua Siam* and *Kekuasaan Hati* (a translation); *Tuladan Kéhidupan* or *Pidoman Suami Istri* (1939), 103 pp., on various matters of family life such as man's duties to his wife, considerate treatment of women, jealousy, superiority of men, maintenance, marriage, monogamy, polygamy, emancipation of women, etc., treated on a historical, ethical and religious basis, with several pictures illustrating men and women in the natural state—by Sayid Fadzal bin Omar Basri, printed by the Al-Huda Printing Press, Penang; *Tuladan Adat Pérpateh* (1936), 38 pp., brief notes on aspects of the matriarchal system known as 'Adat Pérpateh' in Negri Sembilan, by Nahu bin Saleh of Jempul, with a foreword by the Dato Penghulu of Jempul; *Guliga Ajaib* (1932), 177 pp., a work on physiognomy translated by one Haji Abu Bakar bin Hasan of Muar, with over 200 illustrations; *Bintang Dua Bilas Abu Ma'shar al-Falaki* (a work on astrology being excerpts and selections translated from the Arabic original of that famous student of the stars); *Naga dan Katak* (1932), 22 pp., being curious religio-zoological observations on these two reptiles, translated from the "Kitab Hayat ul-Hayawan" by Muhammad Zain bin Ibrahim of Penang; *Fikiran Sulaiman* (1937), 100 pp., a collection of short articles on current affairs affecting Malays and Malaya, by Sulaiman bin Ahmad of Singapore who edited several short-lived Malay periodicals; *Sha'er Sinaran Malaya* (1936), 117 pp., being largely advice and reflections on the religious, social and economic backwardness of the Malays by I. M. Yusof of Batang Berjuntai, Selangor; *Pemimpin Mésuarat* (1931) ?, over 100 pp., a guide on how to conduct club and other public meetings, published by the Latifyyah Press, Malacca; *Pidoman Pérskutuan* (1939), 33 pp., on the meaning and need for union, 1941] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

with hints on the qualities and responsibilities of leadership, by Mohd. Samin Tayeb, editor of the newly started *Suara Malaysia* of Penang, the only romanised Malay periodical at present in Malaya. Another work by this author, very recently published, is *Jiwa Perniagaan* (1939), 74 pp., on the first principles of Book-keeping, printed in romanised Malay.

Chinese Settlement in Malacca.

by
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It is often loosely stated that the Chinese have *lived* in Malaya for many centuries, and a distinction is rarely drawn between trading visits or diplomatic missions and permanent settlement. It is historically necessary that we should get our ideas clear on this point, and as a contribution to this end the present article will endeavour to ascertain as precisely as possible the time when Chinese first made Malacca their home.

Considering the nearness of their country to the Malay Peninsula it would have been strange if the Chinese had not eventually found their way thither. But disregarding the very early voyages in these waters by Fa Hsien and others who were usually on pilgrimages and came Malaywards by accident, the Chinese were not, enterprising travellers. A main reason for this was their country was the "Middle Kingdom" and germane to this conception was the belief that she had everything worth while to give and nothing worth while to receive. Therefore there was no reason for going abroad. But, as Logan's Journal remarks, if the Chinese had not themselves found their way to Malaysia they must soon have learned it from the Arabs who, with the Persians, were already settled in Canton by the eighth century.

Two propositions concerning the Chinese appear to be generally true—first that they did not make regular trading expeditions abroad until long after they had received regular visits from foreign traders, and second that they did not settle abroad in large numbers until the establishment of European power had guaranteed peaceful conditions. The exceptions to the second are Borneo and Java, but the settlement there prior to the arrival of the Dutch, though considerable, was not on a scale to disturb the general truth of the proposition.

Even when trading contacts had established the richness of the "Nanyang" (i.e. "Southern Ocean", as Malaysia was called), there were still powerful forces operating as a restraint on emigration. Chinese religious sentiment condemned as "unfilial" the desertion of the ancestral graves (the ghosts demanded maintenance), and the Ch'ing dynasty made emigration an offence under the Penal Code—the Manchu conquerors believing that emigrant rebels would create centres for revolution overseas. Those Chinese who did go abroad were actuated by hope for gain in trade or in a less degree compelled by population pressure, or were rogues and

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vagabonds who found life outside China more comfortable and more lucrative. The Nanyang, like other colonies, has had an undue share of rogues and vagabonds.

Godinho de Eredia gives 1398 as the date of the foundation of the Malay Kingdom of Malacca. K. J. Wilkinson fixes it at 1405, regarding it as purely a creation of the Chinese Emperor (as indeed did the Chinese Emperor!). The early history of the Kingdom is very uncertain and it is not until Malacca began to have close contacts with China at the beginning of the fifteenth century that we come to an undoubted landfall. In 1403, says the Ming History, the Emperor of China sent the Eunuch Yin Ch'ing as envoy to Malacca with presents of silk brocade, at that time Malacca was feudatory to Siam. The Malay King "was very glad" at the Chinese visit and in 1405 sent a return mission to China. The Emperor spoke to this Mission in laudatory terms of their master, appointed him 'the King of the Country of Malacca, and gave him a commission, a seal, a suit of silk clothes, and a yellow umbrella. The King, through his representatives, then "requested that his mountains might be made guardians of the country, to which request the Emperor gave his consent; he prepared an inscription with a piece of verse at the end, and ordered a tablet to be erected on those mountains".(1) In 1407 the King, "Parameswara", again sent envoy to China.

But, the most noteworthy even of the era was the arrival at Malacca in 1408 of the Chinese Admiral Cheng Ho, afterwards deified as Sam-po-kong. Cheng Ho had been, like Yin Ch'ing a eunuch at the Chinese Court. He made several voyages to South-East Asia and got as far as Ceylon. He took with him on his voyage of 1413 a Chinese Mohamedan named Ma Huan who could translate foreign books. This Ma Huan later (1416) wrote a book describing Cheng Ho's voyages called the *Ying-yai Sheng Lan*, or General Account of the Shores of the Ocean". (The text of this book has been the subject of much controversy amongst the authorities—Duyvendak, Rockhill, Pelliot etc., but its authenticity seems to be well established).

Ma Huan tells us that at the time of Cheng Ho's visit the soil of Malacca was barren and saline, the crops were poor, and agriculture was not in favour. He states that it was Cheng Ho

(1) Is this tablet still in existence, though buried? A tablet erected by Cheng Ho in Ceylon in 1409 was discovered at Galle in 1912. It is now in the Colombo Museum.

The extract from the *Ying-yai Sheng Lan* runs as follows: "In the year 1409 the imperial envoy, Cheng Ho, brought an order from the emperor, and gave the chief of this country two silver seals, a cap, a girdle, and a long robe; he erected a stone, and the land was called the Kingdom of Malacca. From this time the Siamese did not venture to molest it any more."

who in 1409 gave Parameswara "a silver seal, a cap, and official robes and declared him King, "on which", he remarks, "Malacca ceased to be a dependency of Siam". (But the Siamese, to judge by their subsequent conduct, did not seem to have been informed of this fact!).

The question of importance to us is whether there was a permanent settlement of Chinese in Malacca during the period of the Malay Kingdom. Ma Huan's description suggests that at the time of Cheng Ho's voyage there was not such a settlement. He tells us that the people of Malacca were Mohammedans, and that their language, their books, and their marriage ceremonies were nearly the same as those of Java. He remarks, "The place is visited by Chinese merchants vessels; whenever these come a barrier is made", and to this Groeneveldt adds a note, "for the purpose of collecting tolls," which seem the more likely explanation. Book 325 of the Ming History (1368—1643) says, "the Chinese who trade to foreign countries often visit this place and are even invited to do so", The *Hai Yü*, or "News from the Ocean", published in 1537 (but like to many Chinese books, refers to an earlier period, and in this case certainly to a time antecedent to the Portuguese conquest of 1511) tells us that the cost of living in Malacca was high, about five times the cost of living in China, that fowls, dogs, geese, and ducks were imported, and that pork, a forbidden article of food to the native Mohammedans, was eaten by the Chinese "who live here". This suggests that at some time previous to the writing of the *Hai Yü* the Chinese had begun to reside in Malacca, but a further reference to the "Merchants of Ships who live in an hotel" would seem to point to the fact that they, at least, were only temporary sojourners.

It may be well to give the extracts from the *Hai Yü* relating to the Chinese in Malacca in full, since they throw some light on our enquiry (1).

"According to their customs [that of the natives of Malacca] it is forbidden to eat pork: when the Chinese who live here eat it, the others are indignant and say it is a filthy habit."

"The Merchants of the ships live in an hotel, the owner of which always sends female slaves to serve them and sends their food and drink morning and evening; but if one uses too freely of this he may be sure that all his money will pass into the hands of the other".

(1) The translation was checked by me from an early edition of the *Hai Yü* in the Library of Congress of Washington.

Book 325 of the Ming History states of Malacca, "men and women wear their hair in a knot, but some are of lighter colour, *being descendants of the Chinese.*" (3) The dynastic histories of China were written after the demise of the dynasty so that there is little guarantee that the facts, even if accurate, relate to any particular period. These histories were, in any case, the work of stay-at-home scholars who received their information second hand and who had often the native scholar's indifference to time and to precise geography.

The Chinese authorities not being conclusive on our point, we must now see what the Portuguese writers say, remembering that they too, are speaking retrospectively and on unstated authority.

D'Albuquerque, the bastard son of the conqueror of Malacca, says that before the coming of the Malays Malacca's site was occupied by twenty to thirty persons who lived partly by fishing and partly by piracy. The place, after the founding of the Malay Kingdom, depended upon passing Chinese junks for trade. D'Albuquerque speaks of a King, Xaquendarsa, who after begetting many sons went to China for three years. "Sri Maharaja" of Malacca went to China in 1424 and sent envoys in 1431 in a Sumatran vessel. These envoys returned with Cheng Ho in that year and he was instructed to convey the usual severe injunctions (or pious hopes?) to the Siamese that they should desist from interfering with Malacca. Tribute was sent to China in 1433 and 1435, and in 1445 Malacca sent envoys asking for recognition. There are a number of other references to Malacca's Chinese contacts throughout the century. (4)

D'Albuquerque further tells us that every year during the Malay period ships belonging to Cambaya, Chaul, Dabul, Calicut, Aden, Mecca, Xaer (Shehr, a port on the East Coast of Arabia) Juda, Coramandel, Bengal, China, Gores (Liu Chiu Isles), Java, and Pegu used to come to Malacca. He says that the second King of Malacca, Xaquendarsa, married a daughter of "the King of China's Captain". If this is so, who was this "Kapitan China"? He must have had authority over a more or less permanent Chinese community in Malacca. But the Chinese junks would have come down with the North-East monsoon about January or February

(3) Book 325 of the Ming History (Groneveldt's translation) says of the Malacca people:—

"Their customs are good and their way of trading is pretty fair, but since the Franks [Portuguese] have taken the country, things have become worse and merchant vessels seldom go there any more, mostly proceeding direct to Sumatra. When, however, ships have to go near this country they are generally plundered, so that the passage there is nearly closed . . ."

(4) English edition of D'Albuquerque in Hakluyt's Voyages Vol. 62, 1880.

and returned with the South-West monsoon about April or May. They would, in any case, have had to spend a few months in Malacca. Maybe this "Kapitan China", if he existed, was an agent residing permanently in Malacca. But, so far as I am aware, the statement regarding this Sino-Malay royal marriage is not confirmed from any other source. (5)

We now come to Osorio whose history of Portugal was published in Portuguese in Paris in 1587 (and previously in Latin). Osorio says that Malacca was then one of the most celebrated Eastern ports. Osorio does not give us any information regarding the Chinese community within the town, but he has a good deal to say of the encounter of Sequeira with some Chinese merchants. Sequeira was the Portuguese commander who came to Malaya in 1509 with the intention of attacking it. When he came to anchor in the port he found there four Chinese ships, the captains of which immediately waited on him. Sequeira was much taken with their polite formal behaviour and their agreeable manners and at once felt quite at home with them. He paid visits to the junks and was well entertained. Noticing that the Portuguese, thinking themselves secure, walked about the city without fear, the Chinese warned them against trusting to the good intentions of the Malays who were, they said, a deceitful, wicked and perfidious people who would fall on them as soon as they thought it safe. Sequeira disregarded their advice with the result that a number of his men were seized and imprisoned. (He held a council of war at which he said that all ships, except those of the Chinese, ought to be burnt and the city battered down by cannon, but he had not sufficient force to carry out his purpose).

Among the instructions given to Sequeira by his superiors was one particularly concerning the Chinese. He was to ask the Chinese where they lived and at what distance away, at what times they came to Malacca, for what purpose, from what places they set out, what merchandise they bought, how many of their ships came each year, whether the ships returned in the same year as they came, whether they had agents at Malacca or in other countries, whether they were rich merchants, whether they were weak men or warriors, whether they were big men or small men, whether they were Christians or pagans, whether their country was large, whether Moors and others dwelt among them who shared neither their faith nor their laws, and if they turned out not to be Christians, what they believed and what they worshipped, what customs they observed, in what direction was their country and by what was it bounded, and all other information concerning them. (6) The answers of the Chinese to Sequeira

(5) Malay Annals?

(6) Cited by D. Ferguson in "Algunos Documentos do Archivo Nacional, Lisboa, 1892.

would probably include the answer to our question—but, alas, the answers are not extant!

We now come to the year 1511 when the great Alfonso d'Albuquerque came to conquer Malacca, professedly in revenge for the treatment of Sequiera, but actually to carry out the project that Sequiera had been unable to accomplish. The fleet announced its arrival with a great fanfare of trumpets. D'albuquerque (the son) devotes a chapter of his history to describing how the Chinese Merchants who were at Malacca made their way to Alfonso D'Albuquerque and the council they had with the Captains, Fildalgos, and Cavaliers of the fleet which had come to attack the city. There were five Chinese junks in the port and they had been detained there for some days by the King of Malacca who intended to use them against the King of Daru with whom he was at war. Some of the Chinese junk captains were the same as had made friends with Sequiera two years before. They were indignant at their own treatment by the Malays and gave the Portuguese information as to the conditions in the city. They also offered the services of their crews and of their five junks. They said that if the Portuguese were able to take the place (which they doubted) they could guarantee that 100 junks a year would come with their merchandise. (7)

There is in the Portuguese histories and records so far available no indication of the size of Malacca's Chinese community in Malay times or of the duration of the stay of individuals. The Malays had an evil reputation as Ludovico de Varthema in a book published in 1510 in Rome says, (8) "one should not go into the town at night for the natives kill people like dogs. All the Merchants who come there sleep in their ships. . . . The King appoints a Governor to administer justice among themselves. They are the worst set of rogues in the world". But he admits that they were civil and softly spoken. Varthema probably based his views on Sequiera's experiences.

The Portuguese followed a policy of exclusive monopoly and as far as possible compelled all passing ships to call at Malacca. In 1546 the duty was 10% on China goods and 8% on Bengal goods, but this did not include the miscellaneous exactions of offi-

(7) A curious remark is made by Governor Johan van Twist in his journal under the date 13th March, 1641—the Dutch captured Malacca on 14th January that year. It is this—"To the coat-of-arms of the city depicting a Chinese junk (because the Portuguese first entered the place under the guise of Chinese traders and afterwards conquered it) shall be added. . . ." (here follow details of the coat-of-arms). There does not seem to be any historical foundation for the statement that Sequiera, or any other Portuguese, entered Malacca "in the guise of Chinese traders."

(8) Quoted by Cordier, *T'oung Pao*, 1911.

cial and others. Altogether there was not much to attract the Chinese to Malacca in Portuguese times, and conditions were little better under the Dutch.

Eredias history of Malacca (9) does not help us with figures to estimate the size of the Chinese population in his time. He mentions alone the Christian population of the eight parishes of Malacca as being 1,400 ("Infileds", apparently, are not even worth counting). But his map of Malacca Town and Forts shows the extent of Campon (Kampong) China. It is apparent from this that the Chinese Settlement was not very extensive. When D'Albuquerque left Malacca he did not appoint a separate headman for the Chinese, but it would seem that a Kapitan China was recognised not long afterwards.

Until the archives of Lisbon are fully harvested there is not much more from the Portuguese authors that throws light on the Chinese during the period. It is perhaps worth mentioning here that when St. Francis Xavier arrived at Malacca in 1545 there were more than a hundred ships anchored in the bay including Chinese junks. (10)

The Rev. W. G. Shellabear (11) says that Chinese contacts with Malaya were very early, but when the Portuguese and the Dutch were fighting for the possession of Malacca, there appear to have been but few if any Chinese remaining there, for Valentijn says that in 1641 the Dutch imported Chinese from Batavia to work in the fields and gardens, and that at that time the trade of Malacca appears to have been monopolised by Indian merchants. Up to the end of the 16th century Chinese immigration to the Malay Archipelago was confined to the island of Java.

Before we proceed to the Dutch period, let us see what evidence exists in the monuments and remains of Malacca itself as to the antiquity of the Chinese settlement there.

(9) Dedicated from Goa in 1613. Kampong China was about where Second Cross Street now is.

(10) Bellesort, "L'Apôtre des Indes". Francis, according to his usual method, sought the friendship of a "nominally Christian" Chinese whom he hoped to turn from sin. This trader kept concubines. Invited to dinner, St. Francis purposely detained his host until a late hour when he asked whether he might be put up for the night. Upon being shown his room, he asked to be allowed to see one of the women, who, when she went to him, found him scourging himself with a chain. Holding out another to her he told her to scourge herself, unless she wished to have him continue to do penance for her sins. At this point the trader himself ran in and flung himself in tears before St. Francis. The result was that one of the women was married to the man, and the other, after suitable provision had been made for her, dismissed.

(11) "The Chinese in Malaysia", p. 502-6.

Captain Begbie (12) says that according to the "Malay Annals" one of the five excellent wells at Bukit China was dug by Chinese in the reign of Sultan Mansur Shah. Sultan Mansur Shah was (according to Winstedt) a young man and reigning in 1549, so that if the "Malay Annals" are correct there was probably a Chinese community existing in Malacca at this time. (12)

In Malacca there is a tablet stating that Kapitan Li Chi-t'uan was a native of Lu Kiang (in Fukien) who left home at the beginning of the Ming dynasty and settled in Malacca. With him were people from Tsing Chia Wan near Amoy, and from San Tu. The tablet purports to have been erected in the I Ch'ou year of the Lung Fei reign. There is no such reign in the Ming or Ch'ing dynasties (the only one of that name in China was from 396—8 A.D.!) and the invention possibly denotes the refusal of the Malacca Chinese to recognise the Ming dynasty (13) If so it suggested an early Ch'ing (1644—1912) origin for the tablet and this lends colour to the suspicion that Kapitan Li came from Fukien not at the beginning of, but at the end of, Ming times.

Some of the oldest relics now existent in Malacca (or indeed in Malaya) are to be found at Bukit China, which together with Bukit Gedong and Bukit Tempurong, forms an enormous Chinese burial ground, said to be one of the largest outside China. A very few old graves with coral tombstones, the inscriptions of which are no longer legible, are still discernable at Bukit China (says the Rev. Yeh Hua Fen). Some of these probably date back to the sixteenth century if not earlier. Then there are about a dozen Chinese graves of the second order of antiquity, dating from the last decades of the Ming and first decades of the Ch'ing dynasty. Only two of them have the words "Imperial Ming" clearly inscribed on them. One of them is that of a husband and wife, Ng by surname. The other consists of two tombs side by side within the omega-shaped graveyard. The tombstone on the right shows that the interred person

(12) "The Malayan Peninsula", 1834.

(12a) I am indebted to Sir Richard Winstedt for the following note:—

"The 'Malay Annals' written ca. 1490-1530 relate that Sultan Mansur (1498-1477) of Malacca sent the son of his Bendahara, or Prime Minister, to China, where he was lodged with a mandarin, Ling Ho. The Emperor sent him back with one of his own daughters as a bride for the Sultan, her name Hang' Liu. She became a Muslim and bore the Sultan a son, Paduka Miniat, whom he made raja of Jeram near Langat. 'Even now' (i.e. ca. 1500) 'his fort exists and his people at Jeram are well-mannered.' 500 Chinese escorted the Emperor's daughter from China and were given Bukit China to live at. It was they who dug the famous well there and their descendants were called *biduanda Cbina* (i.e. the Chinese functionaries of Malacca's Sultans).

This may be folk-lore but apparently contains the grain of truth that Mansah Shah had a Chinese wife."

(13) A similar device was adopted at the beginning of the present century when "Patriotic Debentures" were sold by Sun Yat-Sen, for they were inscribed with the name of the T'ien Yun period, which had no existence.

was Kapitan Tay and that on his left the Lady Kapitan or Kapitan's wife, "probably a native woman" (as Rev. Yeh rightly adds). (14)

The Bukit China Cemetery is said to have been bought and donated by Li Kap (i.e. Kapitan Li) to the Chinese of Malacca in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The traditions of the Malacca Chinese themselves do not encourage the setting of a very early date to Chinese settlement. The records of no family go back further than the first half of the seventeenth century. The Tans and the Tays are among the oldest, the Li traditions go back somewhat further. Taking this into account, together with the remarks of the Rev. Shellabear above quoted and the evidence about to be given, it is likely that the Chinese community in Malacca fell into decay at the end of the Portuguese period and was renewed by importations under the Dutch.

Malacca was a ruined city directly after the Dutch conquest. The contemporary reports of the Commissary Justus Schouten (15) give a clear picture of the town and environs and that time. War and disease had taken their toll. The suburbs were entirely ruined. There was hardly a house standing. The Malays were blamed for this. The inhabitants of the city who remained had put up temporary bamboo dwellings outside the city in which they found shelter. The total population of Dutch, Portuguese and Slaves, and Chinese was counted at 2,160. Schouten compares this poor total with the 20,000 he estimated to have been the population of the city and environs before the siege (including the inhabitants of the hinterland). The Chinese were not separately enumerated in this count though (as we shall see in a moment) there were 300-400 of them remaining, and 33 Chinese are given as having come from Batavia, many of whom were sickly. Those already resident in Malacca are referred to in the remark, "the Chinese living in the Bazaar on the North of the city are under their own Captain Notchin who lives on small merchandise".

An extract from Schouten's report reads, "The 3 to 400 Chinese shopkeepers, craftsmen, and farmers could also be allowed to settle down at their own convenience, provided that they cultivate the gardens within their own territory. They can hire or occupy those empty houses which can be saved from collapse or destruction . . .".

(14) Rev. Yeh Hua Fen's article on the Chinese of Malacca in "Historical Guide of Malacca," Singapore, 1936.

(15) JRASMB Vol. XIV, Part I, January 1936.

The Chinese were also expected to figure in the reconstruction scheme. The ruined gardens between Bukit China and the Southern suburbs, said Schouten, should be let to the Dutch, Portuguese, Malaccans, and Chinese to be cultivated "and in due time these will become valuable lands for the Company to lease out". The city would thus be provided with all kinds of fruit, and agriculture would be saved from future decay. "For this", the Commissary said, "some 800 to 1,000 Chinese would be very useful. The Portuguese government (following the example of Manilla (Manila)) realized this and tried the experiment, but the selfishness of the Malacca burghers prevented its success". Schouten concluded, "It will be advisable to impose small, or no, poll tax on the one or two Chinese junks expected to arrive during the year with all sorts of coarse wares. In short all means should be studied diligently to enlarge the trade of Malacca".

The first detailed census of Malacca we owe to Governor Baltasar Bort who in 1678 rendered a very complete report of the recently acquired property of the Dutch East Indies Company. There were then 137 brick and 583 atap houses with a population of 4,884 persons. There were 852 Chinese all told inside Malacca territory outside the fortress, and in addition 40 Chinese inside the fortress, with the Garrison. Not a large population after all those centuries of contact! The Chinese had 81 brick and 51 atap houses with 127 men, 140 women, 159 children, 93 male slaves, 137 female slaves, and 60 children of slaves inside the city limits.

The Chinese of both Portuguese and Dutch Malacca were not prominent in local affairs. Baretto de Resende's "Account of Malacca" (still in manuscript), written in 1646 but referring to the period c 1638, and Francois Valentijn's "Account of Malacca", published in 1726, make practically no mention of the Chinese. Nor had the Chinese yet begun to supply the artisans for the Peninsula, and after the capture of Malacca in 1641 we find the Governor requesting the Laxamana of Acheen to send him 200 Malay carpenters and timber to repair the bridge.

By 1750 the Chinese population of Malacca had increased only to 2,161. It dropped to 1,390 in 1760, and increased little, if at all, between 1760 and the British occupation of 1795 onwards. Contrast with this record of three centuries of Portuguese and Dutch rule with that of Penang where the Chinese were *nil* in 1786 and about 3,000 after seven and a half years, and with Singapore whose Chinese population was *nil* in 1819 and several thousand within a year. Malacca's own Chinese population increased greatly under British rule. By 1941 it was 92,125 in a total of 2,380,000 Chinese for Malaya (total population 5,561,000).

A very significant fact regarding the Chinese of Malacca during the Portuguese and Dutch periods I have left to the last

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but only for the sake of emphasis. It is that the Chinese settlers were exclusively males. They had Javanese and Malay slaves as concubines or married the children of these mixed unions. Buckley (16) under the year 1837 makes the remarkable statement, "Up to this time, no Chinese woman had come to Singapore from China, and the newspapers said that, in fact, only two genuine Chinese women were, or at any time had been, in the place, and they were two small-footed ladies who had been, some years, before, exhibited in England." Although, as Earl's statement of the same year suggests, (vide footnote (17)) Buckley's remark may not be strictly accurate, it appears to be true that there was little or no immigration of Chinese women to Malaya until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The effect of this (allowing for those Chinese males who kept their families in China) was that the Malacca Chinese had about as much Malay blood in their veins as Chinese. Their offspring were brought up as Chinese and have retained Chinese culture, custom, and dress to this day, though they have lost their language, speaking a kind of Malay of their own manufacture.

If the Chinese immigrants to Malaya had continued to be almost exclusively male, if return to China had continued to be as infrequent as it was in Portuguese and Dutch times (as we infer it to have been) and had the flood gates of Chinese immigration not been opened in the nineteenth century, there would be Sino-Malay problem in Malaya today. The Babas adapted themselves perfectly to their surroundings, but they retained their Chinese dress, religion, and customs with singular pertinacity. But they had in some essential respects and will continue to have, the "Malayan outlook."

(16) Buckley, "Anecdotal History of Singapore."

(17) Sir Ong Siang Song is his "100 years of the Chinese in Singapore," repeats the statement, and Earl in his "Eastern Seas" p. 637 says, "From five to eight thousand (Chinese) emigrants arrive annually from China, of which only forty or fifty are females." Earl was in Singapore in 1834 and his book was published in 1837. Sir Ong Siang Song, speaking of Malacca, Penang, and early Singapore, says that boys born of Malayan Mothers were repatriated for education to China. The girls were left behind but were never allowed to marry natives of the country.

Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya*

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Pt. 2, pp. 1-19).

4. Takola and Kataha.

In Book VII of his Geography Ptolemy gives the following four positions, as stated in Renou's edition (56), which is generally conceded to be best (272, p. 22, n. 3):—

Beroba, town	162° 20' E	6° N.
Promontory situated after this town	159° E	4° 20' N.
In the Golden Chersonese:		
Takola, emporium	160° 30' E	4° 15' N.
Promontory situated after this town	158° 20' E	2° 20' N.

The first two of these positions are the last of those given "Amongst the cannibal Besyngitai in the Sabarakos Gulf".

In 1897 Dr. C. O. Blagden said that the Golden Chersonese is "without any doubt the Malay Peninsula" (62, p. 236) and that is the generally accepted identification. The data in Ptolemy's Geography make it certain, in our view, that his Golden Chersonese must have been the Malay Peninsula.

The usual view is that Ptolemy wrote his Geography ca: 150 A.D. and certainly during the period 150-160 A.D. It is clear from his *Almagest* that he took observations personally the earliest of which was in 127 A.D. and the latest in 141 A.D. The *Tetrabiblos* and then the Geography followed the *Almagest* and finally the *Astronomical Hand-tables*. Therefore, the Geography must have been written after 141 A.D.; and it seems to be clear that Ptolemy outlived the Emperor Antoninus Pius who died in 161 A.D.

As Ptolemy tells us himself, his Geography was based upon the work of Marinus of Tyre, which he corrected and completed from further information gathered by himself. Marinus, who is usually

* Unfortunately suitable type for setting some of the diacritical marks required by this paper is not available in Malaya. An attempt has been made to obtain the necessary fonts from the manufacturers, but they have not been able to supply it in time. To avoid confusion, the paper has therefore been set without any diacritical marks.

dated as ca: 120 A.D., obtained his information from the book of a sea-captain or traveller named Alexander, who is usually ascribed to ca: 75 A.D. The works of Alexander and Marinus have been lost and are known only from quotations by Ptolemy.

The evidence of classical literature, therefore, shows that the history of Takola begins in the 2nd century A.D. and, since it was then of sufficient importance to be a Roman emporium, must go back at least to the 1st century A.D.

We take the Malay Peninsula as beginning at the isthmus of Kra in latitude 10° N. and that is the usual view; but many writers take it further north to 13° 45' N. so as to include Tenasserim. For Ptolemy it began at the promontory which we identify with Junk Ceylon (Puket Island), following Berthelot (53). One piece of evidence was adduced in the *Introduction*¹ to show that Junk Ceylon once was not an island but an actual promontory, and to that more evidence could be added, so that this fact can be accepted. Whether or not it was still an actual promontory in the time of Ptolemy does not matter, since its general appearance is such. The Sabarakos Gulf is agreed generally to have been the present Gulf of Martaban and the area extending south of it. The last town given by Ptolemy in the Besyngitai country is Beroba. Using the general indications in Ptolemy, Berthelot places Beroba about two-thirds down the coast line and so where the present Karathuri appears on the map²; and this identification we accept. Below the Gulf of Martaban there is only one really prominent promontory and that is the one formed by Junk Ceylon.

To locate Ptolemy's Takola we must look for a place well to the east and also to the south, of Ptolemy's promontory. It is axiomatic with us that, while the exactitude of Ptolemy's positions cannot be accepted, and identification must accord with his general indications or otherwise the whole subject becomes mere guess-work; and we find the most satisfactory method of approach to be that of Berthelot, which has been explained already in the *Introduction*³.

Since, therefore, Ptolemy's promontory can only be Junk Ceylon and since Takola was east and south of it, we must reject the identification with Takuapa, which has been accepted by so many, and we would ask what is the promontory, if Takola were Takuapa. We should also note that there is no real similarity between the names, although Takuapa is often, even generally, called Takopa. *Takuapa* means "tin in the forest", while *Takua-tung* means "tin in the plain", *takua* being Siamese for "tin" (309, ii, pp: 16 and 17)⁴. In Ptolemy's time the Thai languages had not reached this area, according to general opinion.

It would seem that in his identification of Takola with Takuapa Dr. Quaritch Wales was greatly influenced by the fact that it afforded the best anchorage for ships on the whole west coast of the Malay Peninsula and that it was the first point of land reached by east-bound vessels from India after leaving the Ten Degree Channel (288, pp: 36, 55). Of the excellence of its harbour there cannot be any doubt but what evidence is there that the ships used the Ten Degree Channel? Seen on a modern map, one can, as Dr. Quaritch Wales did, push one's finger from Negapatam through the Channel in a south-eastward direction until it rests upon Takuapa; but did the ancient sailors from Negapatam so push their ships? The only direct evidence which we have in translated form is that of I Ching (I Tsing) in the 7th century A.D. and it does not help because ships in those days sailed from the ancient port of Kedah, as will be seen later. Moreover, according to Ptolemy, ships for the Golden Chersonese sailed from the *apheterion*, a place somewhere in the Godavari-Kistna area, and it would seem, though it is far from certain, that they crossed to a place which Ptolemy calls Sada and from there sailed down the coast. Moreover, as Dr. Quaritch Wales says, it was necessary to escape "the clutches of the savage Andamaners". Both for that purpose and navigationally one would have supposed a passage between Car Nicobar and the Nicobar Islands. There is the further fact that water and wood were necessary at convenient places for the ancient ships and that the Nicobars were well situated for this purpose. Long direct passages in early times were avoided for a variety of reasons.

Takola as written by Ptolemy, is agreed universally to have been the same place as the sanskrit Takkola. Reference has already been made in the *Introduction*⁵ to Sylvain Levi's celebrated geographical study (61) in which he considered a number of places, including Takkola, which appear in various works of ancient Indian literature and particularly in the *Niddesa*, usually dated as between the end of the 1st and beginning of the 3rd century A.D. (181, p. 58). The name of Takkola appears also in the pali *Milindapanha*, the date of which is uncertain but is placed in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*⁶ as approximately about the beginning of the Christian era. Professor Nilakanta Sastri, however, considers it to be ca: 400 A.D. (57, pp: 623-624). In St. John's translation (60, p. 217) the passage reads:—

"Just, O King, as a ship-owner who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town, will be able to traverse the high sea, and go to Vanga or Takkola, or China, or Sovira, or Surat, or Alexandria, or the Coromandel coast, or Further India (Suvannabhumi) or any other place where ships do congregate".

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The description of Takkola as a place where ships congregated accords well with the word *emporion* which Ptolemy attaches to Takola; but it is only in Ptolemy that we get any data for its location. There are absolutely none in the Indian literature. We have discussed the identification of Takola in the *Introduction*⁷. Berthelot considered that Ptolemy's general indications showed that it must have been Trang and we pointed out that archaeologically Trang does not seem to have been sufficiently ancient. We suggested, accordingly, ancient Kedah; but that suggestion has been rejected by Dr. Quaritch Wales (268, p. 67) and by Professor Nilakanta Sastri (310, p. 9); so the question must be re-considered. The rejection turns upon the Chola inscriptions of the 11th century A.D., concerning which there is a large literature, and it involves consideration of the Tamil names *Kadaram*, *Ilangasoka* and *Talaittakolam* occurring therein. In the inscription there is no geographical indication where these places are but scholars have agreed identifications upon etymological reasoning. Nobody, however, has paused to consider the complete disappearance from Indian literature of the sanskrit *Takkola* for many centuries before the appearance of the tamil *Talaittakolam*.

In the *Introduction*⁸ the identification of the Chinese toponyms Tun-sun (Tien-sun, Tun-hsun) and Tou-chu-li has been considered and the facts concerning them have been set out. It was submitted upon these facts that Tun-sun must have been a general name for the Malay Peninsula. Its principal place is not named in the Chinese records but the facts which they give show that it must have been on the west coast of the Peninsula and that it was a port, from which ships sailed to India, as well as a mart for east and west to which merchants came in great numbers to barter. It was, accordingly, an entrepot. The name Tun-sun dates back to the 3rd century A.D. and the notice in the *Liang Shu* says that there were five kings in Tun-sun, all of whom were vassals of Funan, though it is not possible to say exactly at what date. It appears from the *Liang Shu* that Tou-chu-li became known in China during the time of the Wu dynasty, 222-280 A.D. There are no geographical data concerning it except that clearly it must have been a port on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula in sea-communication with India. In the *Introduction* the resemblance of the name to that of Takola was noted and views upon that question were collected; and we posed the question "May it not be that Ptolemy's Takola, the principal town of Tun-sun and Tou-chu-li are one and the same?"

In his latest work Professor Coedes considers that Tun-sun was "probably on the Malay Peninsula" (272, p. 30 and p. 46, n.1) and he accepts without any reservation (*ibid*: p. 47) that T'ou-kiu-li (i.e. Tou-chu-li) is the same place as the sanskrit Takkola

of the *Milindapanha*. It is also worthy of remark that in his *Kambuja-Desa*, 1944, Professor R. C. Majumdar accepts that Teu-ki-li, as he writes it, was "probably the famous port of Takkola". We feel justified, therefore, in putting forward the suggestion that the answer to the question which we posed should be in the affirmative.

Professor Nilakanta Sastri in 1940 (311, p. 287, n. 1) placed Takola "on the isthmus of Kra or a little to the south" but that will not fit the data in Ptolemy. In 1944 Professor Coedes (272, p. 47) wrote concerning the Sanskrit Takkola that "it is agreed to place this town at Takua Pa on the west coast of the isthmus of Kra, but it may perhaps have been more to the south"; and for the latter part of that statement he cited the present writer's *Introduction*. For reasons already given, we suggest that Takupa must be rejected and that we must look east and south of Junk Ceylon. If the lack of archaeological evidence can be ignored, Berthelot's identification with Trang is undoubtedly satisfactory and answers the data in Ptolemy. Warrington Smyth (309, ii, p. 11) considered that the port of Tun-sun was "more than likely to have been near Trang". In the *Introduction*⁹ we wrote with regard to Takola that "We would expect a surrounding hinterland of importance. We are not dealing with the south but the north of the peninsula. A harbour and the meeting of trade-routes is sufficient for a southern emporium served by both monsoons but not for the northern one"; and the facts of navigation and of the monsoons make that proposition clear. Trang satisfies these requirements. Rice is grown there (309, ii, p. 13) and easy land-routes connect it with Patalung province (272, p. 33), which is an agriculturally rich one (309, ii, p. 117) and with the big province of Nakon Sri Tammarat, or Lakon as it is more usually called (309, ii, v. 128). This latter province is also known as Ligor, which Graham says is "probably a Chinese corruption of Lakon" (312, i, p. 31): he tells us (*ibid.*: p. 10) that "round about the towns of Lakon and Patalung the largest and most fertile plains are situated". Warrington Smyth says that in his time Trang could generally be used by small coasters and that vessels there did not need to face half the bad weather that they must when going to the other ports (309, ii, p. 128). He also says that according to public tradition native boats could ascend the eastern branch of the Bandon River to its source and then go down the Trang River to the west coast without a portage, the distance being given as 170 miles (*ibid.*: p. 80). The Bandon River drains an extensive valley between two mountain ranges.

The reader will have noticed that Ptolemy puts Takola 5 minutes south of the promontory and 1 degree 30 minutes east of it (his degree being 50 geographical miles), and it may well be asked how that fits Trang. An examination of Berthelot (53)

should be made on this point but some further facts concerning Ptolemy's methods will also be helpful. As we have said, he corrected and completed the work of Marinus by means of further information which he collected himself from sailors, merchants and travellers in Alexandria. None of such information could have been really accurate. As Warmington says (33, p. 131), Ptolemy "was dependent for his information upon ignorant sailors, who often misspelt hopelessly the very names of the ports at which they touched. He had only their word for the directions in which they sailed from port to port, and this was often entirely wrong; and for distance, as he himself confesses, he had to be content with calculating from the average run of a ship per day, with deductions to allow for irregularities of the coast, and other disturbing factors". Seamanship in those days was pilotage rather than navigation and the ships themselves had unhandy steering and rigging which did not permit of their sailing close to the wind or tacking across it. They were dependent upon wind and tide, and the wind had to be a favouring one. To attribute to each day's sail by such ships, particularly in Malaysian waters, a fixed average must have led to errors. Throughout antiquity longitudes were matters of dead reckoning; there was no precise method of observing diurnal time or of comparing such observations with one another. Though there were instruments by which latitudes could be measured, it would seem that experienced travellers did not use them extensively and it is clear that Ptolemy had very few such observations, none of which could have been completely accurate. The gnomon and the astrolabe (fore-runner of the sextant) were known but experienced seamen did not rely upon them. They sailed from point to point, or, where they knew the favouring wind, put out boldly to sea trusting to arrive roughly at their destination.

Ptolemy assigned precise longitudinal and latitudinal positions and prepared his tables "by calculating and comparing itineraries, rendering days' journeys and voyages into stadia, and other such rough methods as have been employed by geographers in all ages when they have had to lay down maps of countries for which they had no proper scientific materials" (55, ii, p. 549). He thus gave scientific form to that which was quite unscientific. Moreover, the maps and MSS. of Ptolemy's Geography which remain to us all date many centuries later than the original work and there exists the margin of error caused by faulty copying or by deliberate changes. Accordingly, it is useless to attempt a purely mathematical approach to his longitudes and latitudes. The only method is to accept the general indications and to endeavour, as Berthelot does, to work back to the information received by Ptolemy, and then to check results, where possible, with archaeological and historical facts. It is for this reason that we suggest Berthelot's identification of Takola with Trang to be satisfactory.

Summarizing, then, we submit (1) that Ptolemy's Promontory was Junk Ceylon (2) that Takola = Takkola = the principal place of Tun-sun = Tou-chu-li and (3) is best fitted by Trang, save upon archaeological evidence. Since that evidence has been ignored in the identification with Takuapa, it can also be ignored in the case of Trang, for it must be remembered that archaeologically Takuapa cannot be taken back to Ptolemy's time, the potsherds discovered there by Dr. Quaritch Wales being of doubtful evidentiary value, to say the least.

We have suggested in the Introduction¹⁰ that Tou-chu-li is not the same place as the Chu-li (which seems to be the correct rendering of Chu-chih) appearing in the *Nan chou i wu chih*; but, even if it is, the name seems to disappear after the 3rd century A.D., since Wan Chen, the author of that work, is stated by the *Sui Shu* to have lived in that century. Accordingly it would seem that just as Takkola disappears from ancient Indian literature and Takola from classical, so Tou-chi-li disappears from the Chinese records, any later mention being but repetition in the fashion of Chinese historians and encyclopaedists. As will be seen later, *Takkola* is preserved, however, in the name of a commodity for many centuries later.

We pass now to Kataha which Dr. Quaritch Wales (268) would locate in Perak and Mr. Moens (241) first in Java and later in Johore.

In the text of the famous Tamil poem *Pattinappalai*, of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D., we are told of "goods from *Kalagam*" which found their way to the ancient city of Puhar (Kaveripattinam). The full passage is translated by Professor Nilakanta Sastri in his history of the Cholas (57, pp: 99-100). The annotator of the poem, who wrote very much later, says that this *Kalagam* was the same as *Kadaram*; and Professor Nilakanta Sastri says that this has the sanction of old lexicons like the *Pingalam* (ibid. p. 264) and that the *Dirakaram*, the earliest lexicon in the Trang language now known to us, gives the equation in its geographical section (313, p. 26). *Kadaram*, also written *Kidaram*, was the Tamil equivalent of the sanskrit *Kataha*, as we know from the Chola inscriptions. The views of Professor Nilakanta Sastri upon the series of names (and no higher authority could be cited on the point) are as follows:—

(1) "In the text of the *Pattinappalai*, the word *Kalagam* stands for the name of a place in constant trade relations with *Pattinam* or *Kaveripattinam*, the celebrated port of the early Chola monarchs of the Sangam age. And the mention of *Kalagam*, which must be *Kadaram* or nothing, in this early poem of the second or third century A.D. is not without considerable significance to a

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study of the early history of the Hindu colonies of the East" (314, pp: 128-129):

(2) "*Kataha* is Sanskrit, and the three other words are Tamil; of these *Kadaram* and *Kidarum* are variants of the same word (cf: *Kada-kida*, *kana-kina*, *pala-pila*, etc.) which has the same meaning as *Kataha*; while *Kalagam* meaning 'black' is synonymous with *Kadara*, also Sanskrit, meaning 'tawny' or 'dark brown'. The form *Kalagam* is the earliest in Tamil literature. So that the Indian names of this kingdom fall into two groups:

Skt. *Kataha* = Tam. *Kadaram* or *Kidarum* = cauldron

Skt. *Kadara* = Tam. *Kalagam* = black, or dark brown.

"It is difficult to decide which of these is the earliest form of the name, and all of them seem to be purely Indian words, having little to do with any language in Indonesia" (ibid.:, pp: 129-130).

Professor Nilkanta Sastri, therefore, is in accord with the views expressed by Professor Coedes in his famous study of Srivijaya in 1918 (315, pp: 19-20); and he rejects the criticism of those views by Ferrand (140).

Though the identity of *Kalagam* with *Kadaram* may, perhaps not be entirely free from doubt, there is general agreement with the rest of these views, and for our present purposes all are accepted.

Dr. V. S. Agrawala (316, p. 96) says that "*Kataha Dvīpa* is mentioned several times in Sanskrit and Prakrit literature as a place situated beyond the sea and reached by ships leaving the seaport of Tamralipti. In Prakrit its name occurs as *Katāhadīpa*". Tamralipti is, of course, the modern Tamluk in the Midnapur district in the western part of the Ganges delta.

References to the Puranas were made in the *Introduction*¹¹, and to the nine divisions, *Indra-dvīpa*, *Kaseruman*, *Tamra-varna*, *Gabhastiman*, *Kumari-dvīpa*, *Naga-dvīpa*, *Saumya*, *Gandharva*, *Varuna*. The *Vamana Garuda Puranas* substitute *Katāha* in place of *Saumya* or *Gandharva* (317, p. 59) and the *Agnipurana* refers to a "peak, as the boundary of a tract, under the name of *Anda-Katāha*, of which the limit is said to be the peak in question" (318, p. 59, n. 13).

Dvīpa, of course, means either "island" or "continent". *Katāha Dvīpa* therefore, indicates generally a large tract of sea-girt land: and the *Kāvuḍimāhotsara* mentions a city *Katāha-nagara* as one of the great Indian cities famous for gay life (318, pp: 61-63; 316, p. 59). Dr. Sircar (316, p. 59) thinks that this Sanskrit

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drama is not earlier than the 7th or 8th century A.D. Dr. O. C. Gangoly says that the upper limit of its date "has been accepted by scholars as the seventh century" (318, p. 61). He writes (*ibid*: p. 67) that "Reverting to the text of the *Kaumudi-mahotsava*, we have cited enough references to establish that Katanagara as a very popular city was very well known to Indians who made frequent voyages to the city, which was thus linked up with India Proper in various ties of mercantile and social interest". He thinks (*ibid*: p. 64) that "It is very probable that Kataka (Kalagam, Kadaram) was an important sea-port and a brisk centre of trade, at least from the third century A.D., long before the rise of the Sailendras". He says (*ibid*: p. 65) that the principal port of embarkation for Kataka was Tamralipti and that various passages in the *Kathasaritsagara* leave no doubt that frequent voyages were made.

The Kataka literature of the 8th to 11th centuries A.D. shows Kataka Dvīpa as a popular place in stories concerning the adventures of merchants overseas (316), and one finds some slender geographical clues for its location in the Kathasaritsagara, or Ocean of Story, for which we use the superb edition by Mr. N. M. Penzer (173). These clues are as follows:

(1) the story of Guhasena shows that the city of Tamralipta (as Mr. Penzer has it) was in sea communication with "the country of Kataka" (173, i. pp: 153-156);

(2) in the story of Chandrasvamin we are told that he went in a ship from Jalapura, an Indian coastal city, to the "great island of Nārikela" and then to the island of Kataka with the merchant Danavarman; and there he heard that another merchant named Kanakavarman "had gone from that island to an island named Karpura. In the same way he visited in turn the islands of Karpura, Suvarna and Simhala with merchants, but he did not find the merchant whom he was in search of. But from the people of Simhala he heard that that merchant Kanakavarman had gone to his own city, named Chitrakuta" (173, iv, pp: 223-224);

(3) in the story of the Two Princesses we are told that King Gunasagara, who was a King in "the dvīpa named Kataka, the home of all felicities", decided that his daughter should marry King Vikramaditya; "Accordingly, the King made his daughter embark in a ship on the sea, with her retinue and wealth, and sent her off. But it so happened that when the ship came near Suvarnadvīpa it was swallowed, with the princess and the people on board, by a large fish" (173, ix, pp: 50-51).

Some further facts as to Takkola and Kataka can be obtained from the names of certain products. As to the former the reader

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should note Sylvain Levi (61) and Coedes (315, p. 15). Professor Nilakanta Sastri adduces further evidence to which attention is now drawn.

In India to this day, and particularly in South India, the Malaysian area is known as *dvipantara* (319, p. 1) and the antiquity of this name has been shown by Sylvain Levi (320), who shows that it corresponded exactly with the Chinese use of K'un-lun and accordingly covered the "South Sea", or Malaysia. Professor Nilakanta Sastri refers to two other passages, one in Sanskrit and the other in Tamil, in which the word *dvipantara* occurs (319, pp: 3-4). In the former there occurs the phrase "*dvipantara-nita-laranga*"; and a connection between the *dvipantara* and *laranga* (Sanskrit for "cloves") is shown in the full passage. Unfortunately, however, the learned Professor has fallen into the error of thinking that "the home of the cloves, *laranga*, is the Malay Peninsula". Despite many attempts in early British times, cloves could never be grown successfully in the peninsula. This, however, is immaterial and all we need do is to substitute "Malaysia" for "Malay Peninsula" and remember that, as far back and as late forward as we can trace, the entrepôts of the Peninsula have been great centres of the clove and spice trade. The Moluccas are, of course, the true home of the clove.

The Sanskrit passage cited by the Professor occurs in the *Raghuramsa* of Kalidasa, who is generally taken to have lived at the end of the 4th century, or in the 5th century, A.D., though additions were made later to his work.

The Tamil passage occurs in the ancient poem *Silappadikaram* and is rendered by the Professor (313, p. 26) thus, "Having entered together with the east wind that came laden with (the aroma) of aloe, silks, sandal, spices and camphor put by the residents of Tondi on board a fleet of tall roomy ships". The place which was entered was the city of Madura in the south of India. Professor Nilakanta Sastri thinks that the Tondi here could not have been either the celebrated one of the Cheras on the south-west coast of India or the one in the Ramnad District of south India but must, from the context, have been a Tondi somewhere in lands colonised by Indians across the sea and probably Malaysian. The commodities are just such as would have come from a Malaysian entrepot, their arrival on the east wind means that they had come from such a direction, and one knows that the ancient Indians carried names from their home-lands to their new colonies. One need have no hesitation, therefore, in accepting the Professor's suggestion.

He refers also to two commentators upon the poem, one an early one and the other of about the 14th century A.D. From them we learn that amongst the spices (*rasam*) was *lavangam*, Tamil

for "cloves", and *takkolam*, Tamil for "cubeb", while the later commentator mentions three varieties of aloe, *agil*, of which two are called respectively *takkoli* and *Kidararan*. Obviously these names derive from Takkolam, or sanskrit Takkola, and Kidaram (Kadaram, Kataha). The Silappadikaram, in the view of Professor Nilakanta Sastri, is not an early work like the Pattinappalai and the passage relating to Tondi is later than the *Raghuramsa* "by about a century, if not more" (313, p. 28).

Did the commodities take their names from the places or *vice versa*? We suggest the former as the true answer. Takkolam¹² is still to-day the name of an ancient and historic place, though nowadays it is a simple village situated directly to the west of Madras, six miles south-east of Arkonam junction (61, p. 14). The name Kadaram is known in Madura and it was there that Hultzsch in 1891 placed the Kadaram of the Chola inscriptions (315, p. 5). Certain exports of Malaysia were once known in England as "Straits produce", though none of them was grown there: they were trans-shipped at Straits Settlements ports. In our view, Takkola and Kataha were beyond doubt entrepôts and the practice of attaching to commodities the name of the principal place from which they were shipped is an old and well attested practice, followed by the ancient Chinese, e.g. their use of *P'o-ssi*, Persian. We suggest, therefore, that the names of two ancient places in India were given to two Indian overseas entrepôts and that the names of the latter were later attached to distinctive commodities exported from them.

We have now given such facts concerning Kataha as appear in the ancient Indian literature available to us. Standing alone, they do not enable us to locate the place precisely; but the following conclusions can be drawn:—

(1) Kataha was the name of a large tract of sea-girt land, *Kataha Dvipa*, or in parkrit *Kadādhadīpa*, in which there was a famous city *Katahanagara*, which was also an entrepot in constant sea-communication with India;

(2) In Kataha there was an important peak which formed the boundary of a tract called Anda-Kataha;

(3) Kataha was in the *dvipantara* i.e. Malaysia, and from it sea-routes led to and from Tamralipti in the Ganges delta, Narikela Dvipa, Karpura Dvipa, Suvarna Dvipa and Simhala Dvipa;

(4) from Kataha *agil*, or aloe-wood, was a celebrated export to India.

Beyond any question, Narikela Dvipa was the Nicobar Islands, Suvarna Dvipa was Sumatra, and Simhala Dvipa was Ceylon.

The location of Karpura Dvipa, which means "the Camphor Islands", is not certain; but in all probability it was either Borneo or the north-western part of Sumatra. Mr. N. M. Penzer (173, iv, p. 224, n. 1) quotes with approval a letter from Dr. C. O. Blagden to this effect; and Professor R. C. Majumdar has adopted this identification (181, p. 52). One finds it continually stated that the camphor from Barus, in NW Sumatra, was the finest but, in point of fact, this was the Arab view expressed from the 9th century A.D. onwards. The Chinese have always considered the Bornean camphor to be the best and have paid the highest prices for it. To them at any rate Borneo would have been the camphor island but what the Indians thought one does not know. Since Suvarna Dvipa in the *Kathasaritsagara* was clearly Sumatra, one prefers to allot to Karpura Dvipa the position of Borneo rather than to divide Sumatra into two *dvipa*, though the latter would be consistent with ancient practice. The objection to Borneo would be that the search of Chandrasvamin would take him very far, whereas, if he went to Ceylon, to NW Sumatra and to some other part of Sumatra, he would be travelling to places in the Kataha circle. Against that, however, is the fact that the shipwreck of Vikramaditya's daughter occurred near Suvarna Dvipa on her way to Kataha. There Suvarna Dvipa must be the north of Sumatra. Accordingly, we suggest that it is better to look outside Sumatra for Karpura Dvipa, and Borneo, being a notable camphor island fits well.

Kataha is usually identified with "Kedah" (e.g. 272, p. 181), and we may have here the true origin of the latter name. Mr. Penzer (173, i, p. 155) quotes Mr. R. Sewell, a high authority, as follows:—

"Granted that Kedah was so spelt in ancient times, and that it came to be called Kadaram in South India, we can delete the "m" as a South Indian dialect suffix (e.g. *pattana* becomes *pattanam*, *mandala* is *mandalam*, etc.). Then the transformation is natural enough:

Ke	da	h	
Ka	tā	ha	
{ Ka }	dā	ra	m "
{ or Ki }			

Mr. Sewell considered that the phonetic change from *ha* to *ra* is not too forced.

Mr. Penzer adds "It should be noted that the Southern Hindus knew of a Kadaram in their own country, and it is natural for people, hearing of a foreign place with a name like that of one of their own towns, to call the foreign place after their own". However, the prakrit *Kadaha* gives the same sound as the tamil *Kadaram* and the Chola inscription to which we refer late gives both sanskrit *Kataha* and tamil *Kadaram*. We suggest that the Indians took the name with them.

Sewell and Aiyangar (51, p. 65) say "Kadaram is almost certainly a South-Indian perversion of the name Kedah, a state on the west of the Malay Peninsula". The sanskrit *Kataha*, of which *Kadaram* was the tamil equivalent, gives us, however, a much closer approximation, and one may well query the derivation of the name Kedah, which Wilkinson gives in his Dictionary, from the Indian *Kheddah*, "elephant trap", or the arabic *Kadah*, "goblet". This question will be pursued further in the next section of these *Notes*.

Though it should be accepted in general that "Kedah" was *Kataha* or better *Kataha Dvipa*, and that *Chieh-cha* was the 7th century Chinese name for its principal port, this does not take us very far. We do not know the exact boundaries either of *Kataha* or of ancient Kedah. In 1894 Dennys¹³ wrote "Kedah (formerly written 'Queda', the Portuguese spelling), called *Sai* by the Siamese, to whom it is nominally tributary, is a State, bounded, on the north by *Ligor* (part of Siam), on the east by *Pataui*, on the south by *Perak*, and on the west by the sea and the strip of land called Province Wellesley. It lies between 5° 30' and 7° 4' N. lat., is about 130 miles long by 30 to 40 miles broad". The State was then divided into three province—*Setul*, *Perlis*, and *Kedah* proper. The first-named was the most northerly and *Perlis* in the centre has since become a separate State under its own *Rajah*. Province Wellesley is a strip of land, originally part of the State of *Kedah* but ceded to the British in 1798.

In 1839 Newbold (69, ii, p. 2) wrote that *Kedah* extended "from the *Trang* river 7° 20' N to the *Krian*, in 5° 10' N., which separates it from *Perak*". The recent publication of the *Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* enables one to give the extent of *Kedah* in the 16th century as "almost bounded on one side by *Trang* (*Terra*) and on the other by the end of the kingdom of *Malacca* and *Bruas* (*Baruas*)". The mouth of the *Bruas* lies in 4° 28' N.

The present *Kedah* River has its mouth in 6° 06' N. but the Old *Kedah* (about 26 miles away) lay at the entrance of the *Sungei Merbok* in 5° 41' N (321, p. 14) and Mr. Mills quotes Mr. Best, of the Malayan Survey Department, as saying that "The present *Kedah* River, owing to the geological formation, can never

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have been much different from what it is now—a shallow-mouthed estuary within which a vessel drawing more than 6-8 feet would possibly be “neaped” for periods up to a fortnight by poor tides: the roadstead is hopelessly exposed to the S.W. monsoon. On the other hand, Kuala Merbok gives every indication of having always been a deep entrance, and it is still connected by a deep navigable channel with the Muda River, which in the old days undoubtedly carried nine tenths of Kedah’s exportable produce. Knowing this area well, I am convinced that this channel, which runs through an extensive swamp, was once much larger than it is now and may possibly have been the main outlet of the Muda”. The mouth of the Merbok lies in 5° 41’ N.

But in 1825 Milburne and Thornton¹⁴ said that the Kedah River (Kuala Batrang) was navigable for vessels of 300 tons but that the entrance was choked by a mud-bank. All vessels which passed that bank went up to Alor Star. In 1839 Newbold 69, ii, p. 3) said “The embouchure of the Quedah river lying in 6° 6’ N., will admit, at spring tides, vessels of 250 tons”.

For the geology of Kedah and Perlis the reader should refer to Willbourn (169) and for its prehistory to Collings (322; 323) and Callenfels (324), while there is a short note concerning the Trang-Patalung area by Evans (83, p. 161).

For the archaeology of Kedah in historic times we have Evans (83, pp: 105-121), Dr. Quaritch Wales (268), and Dr. and Mrs. Quaritch Wales (325).

It is certain that in Ptolemy’s time the geography of the Malay Peninsula must have presented different features from those shown in a map to-day,¹⁵ but on the material available at present it is quite impossible to state the differences. Willbourn (169, p. 290) says “Mr. Ridley¹⁶ suggests on botanical evidence, that at no great distance of time the flat land of Kedah was under the sea, in which Gunong Jerai¹⁷ and Gunong Perak stood out as islands as Penang does at the present day, and that the present flora of Province Wellesley and Gunong Jerai came up from the south while the flora of the country from Bangtaphan to Alor Star came from Burmah southwards”. Mr. Ridley, doubtless, was referring to times long preceding the Christian era. Nowadays the plain on the side of Kedah Peak “extends into Perlis to within a few miles of the Siam border, and east of Alor Star a narrow deep bay of alluvium penetrates inland as far as Kampong Pinang. It is possible to draw a line from the sea eastwards through Alor Star, on perfectly flat country for more than half the breadth of the State at its widest part” (169, p. 296). “The greater part of Perlis is occupied by a flat alluvial plain which extends southwards through Kedah as far as Gunong Jerai” (ibid: p. 299). Dr.

Quaritch Wales (268, pp: 1-2) says that much of the flat land available in Kedah and Province Wellesley for padi culture is "of quite modern formation, especially that which lies north of Kedah Peak, and has been vastly increased within living memory. The importance of the so-called Kedah River, on which the modern capital Alor Star is situated, is of only very recent origin. It is formed only by the confluence in new low land of several small streams which in the early days of Indian colonization emptied themselves separately into the sea and offered neither safe anchorage nor suitable agricultural land on their banks". He places his "First Wave" of Indian colonization in Kedah as having occurred in the 1st to 3rd centuries A.D. Before one could accept the generalized statements in the passage just quoted from Dr. Quaritch Wales as representing the state of affairs in Ptolemy's time (which falls within the "First Wave") one would prefer to have detailed reports from the Survey Department or the Irrigation Department and would prefer much closer dating than "very recent origin". In point of fact, the earliest archaeological evidence of ancient Indians in Kedah dates from the second half of the 4th century A.D., two hundred years later than Ptolemy, and the dating is based upon epigraphic reasoning.

It is important to remember that Ptolemy mentions only two entrepôts in the Golden Chersonese, Takola in the north and Sabana in the south, and that he makes no mention of Kataha or any name like it. The fair inference from this is that in his time Takola was the northern entrepot and that at some time later it became supplanted in importance by Kataha, just as in our own British times Malacca yielded in importance to Penang and Penang in its turn to Singapore. If we place Takola at Trang, as it seems that we must, we have seen what were its advantages and that it was situated conveniently to the Ganges delta and the Gulf of Siam: but a place in ancient Kedah would have had greater advantages which may have become apparent only after the settlement at Trang had been made. An entrepot on the Merbok River at the foot of Kedah Peak, in addition to having local food supplies, would have been in a good situation for navigation not only to and from the Ganges delta, as well as from Ceylon and Negapatam. The dating of Indian works is too vexed a subject to enable one to use them as the basis for positive evidence of the founding of Kataha, and the negative evidence of Ptolemy should prevail that in the 2nd century A.D. Kataha did not exist or, if it did, was then of no importance. Dr. Quaritch Wales says (268, p. 1) "Kedah combined the practical advantage of an excellent anchorage (the estuary of the Merbok) with the spiritual attraction of being dominated by a high mountain (Kedah Peak), which to the superstitious Indian sailors must have appeared to be a veritable home of the gods. From Kedah there was of course always easy access to the Ligor region of the

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east coast, by the route now followed by the railway; but this route, as a means of avoiding the sea journey round the Peninsula, could never have competed with the much shorter route from Takuapa, further to the north, across to the Bay of Bandon. It is rather then as affording a good harbour at the northwest entrance to the Straits that Kedah drew its importance". Save for the identification of Takola with Takuapa we are in accord with Dr. Quaritch Wales in this passage. States and capitals had the same names very often and we identify Kathanagara (Kataha) with the settlement on the Sungei Bujang, which flowed into the Merbok estuary (268, p. 3); and the peak, which was the boundary of Andakataha, we identify with Kedah Peak.

If we accept Trang as Takola, then the promontory which Ptolemy gives after it becomes Kedah Peak and not, as Berthelot has suggested, Penang. He made the mistake of thinking that Kedah Peak could not be described as a promontory; but we differ. It stands out in solitary grandeur and is a landmark for sailors visible 30 miles distant and we agree with Dr. Quaritch Wales (268, p. 2) that it was probably a peninsula at the material date.

We do not agree with Dr. Quaritch Wales in placing the city of Kataha inland in Perak. The evidence cited shows that the town of Kataha (or Kathanagara) was also a port. On the other hand, we do agree with Dr. Quaritch Wales that there must have been an important Indian settlement, or more than one, in the Kinta valley, Perak. In his criticism of the views of Dr. Quaritch Wales, Professor Nilakanta Sastri (310) has not appreciated either the effects of the NE monsoon upon the east coast of the Peninsula or, in particular, the results of mining. The actions caused by mining and the accumulation of silt and slag are too well known to us here from cases within our memory and the possibility of the disappearance of a city as the result of mining is something which has been proved by actual experience within the past forty years, e.g. Kuala Kubu and Serendah.

To summarize so far, it is submitted that (1) Kataha and Kadaram (variant Kidaram) were certainly the same place (2) Kataha was ancient Kedah (3) Ptolemy's Takola and the sanskrit Takkola were certainly the same place, which also was represented probably by the chinese Tou-chu-li (3) Takola is more likely to have been Trang than Takuapa.

5. Ilngasoka and Kadaram.

The Malaysian conquests of the Chola king Rajendra I are considered to have taken place in 1025 A.D. In the *Introduction*¹⁸ we criticized the statement that these conquests are reflected in the Malay Annals by Raja Suran's campaign in the Peninsula

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and that Raja Suran was Rajendra I. We suggested that the name Suran stood for a King of the solar race.¹⁹ Dr. Quaritch Wales (268, p. 78) consider that "Suran is clearly a reference to the fact that the Colas belonged to a dynasty claiming solar origin"; and he considers that the legends concern'ng Suran's conquests "do refer to the Cola invasions"; but he thinks that there is a mixture of Rajendra's two campaigns, the first against the Ganges area and the second against Kadaram. He takes Raja Chulan probably to be a corruption of the name of the Sailendra emperor Culamanivarman known to be reigning at the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Professor Nilakanta Sastri considers that our suggestion that Suran stood for a king of the solar race (*suryavamsa*) is "probable" (310, p. 15) and that we raised "many valid objections to Raja Suran's exploits being connected with Rajendra's expedition" (*ibid.*; p. 14, n. 7). He does not think that Raja Chulan stood for Culamanivarman because that suggestion seems "to overlook the fact that Culamanivarman never came into conflict with the Cola power, but lived on most friendly terms with it" (*ibid.*: p. 15). Recently, Sir Richard Winstedt, basing himself upon identifications by Dr. L. D. Barnett, suggests that "Shulan must be the dynastic name of the Cholas of Negapatam" and that "Raja Suran could be Rajesuran, the Tamil form of Rajesvara or else the legendary Raja Sura of Tirukkalukkunram in Chingleput. His three "sons", Jiran of Chandragiri, Chulan of Vijaya-nagara, and Pandyan of Negapatam, must be corruptions of the names of the Chera, Chola, and Pandya dynasties, though the Cheras never ruled Chandragiri, the Cholas were nearly extinct before Vijayanagara arose and the Pandya kingdom never include Tanjore, in which Negapatam lies" (326, p. 129). One can only hope that scholars in India will turn their attention to the names and the legends in the Malay Annals.

We pass now to the Chola inscriptions upon which there is a large literature. It will be sufficient here to refer the reader to the discussions by the French scholars, Professor Coedès (315: 272 and Gabriel Ferrand (140), and by the Indian scholars, Professors R. C. Majumdar (181, pp. 167-182) and Professor Nikankanta Sastri (57, pp: 224, 258-268, 332-333, 622-624; 311, pp: 280-291).

In the sanskrit portion of the Larger Leyden Grant of Raja-
raja Chola the Great, which may be dated 1005 or 1006 A.D., we learn of a Lord of *Sri-Visaya* "who was conducting the rule of *Kataha*". In the tamil portion he is called *Kidarattaraiyan*, or ruler of Kidaram.

Then there is a series of inscriptions concerning the conquests overseas of Rajendra Chola I, the first of which is dated in the 6th year of his reign and the last in the 31st year. There are

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differences of opinion as to the exact dates of the regnal years of this king, but Professor Nilakanta Sastri puts them at 1012-1044 A.D. The inscriptions will be found summarized in Sewell and Aiyangar's *Historical Inscriptions of South India* (51, pp: 58 ff:). From them we find that the sanskrit Kataha and the tamil Kadaram are names for one and the same place.

Most important for our present purposes is a passage which occurs in the *prasasti* of the tamil portion of the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. It has been translated several times by different scholars and we give the latest rendering by Professor Nilakanta Sastri, the distinguished Tamil scholar and historian (311, p. 286), setting the places out in capitals:—

“(Rajendra) having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Sangrama-Vijayottungavarman, the King of Kadaram, together with the elephants in his glorious army, (took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; (captured) with noise the (arch called) Vidhyadhara-torana at the war-gate of his extensive capital (nagar), SRI-VIJAYA with the jewelled wicket-gate adorned with great splendour and the gate of large jewels; PANNAI with water in its bathing ghats; the ancient MALAIYUR with the strong mountain for its rampart, MAYURI-DINGAM, surrounded by the deep sea (as) by a moat; ILANGASOKA undaunted (in) fierce battles; MAPPAPPALAM having abundant (deep) water as defence; MEVILIMBANGAN guarded by beautiful walls; VALAIPPANDURU possessed of Vilaippanduru (?); TALAITTAKKOLAM praised by great men (versed in) the sciences; the great TAMRALINGA (capable of) strong action in dangerous battles; ILAMURIDESAM, whose fierce strength rose in war; the great NAKKAVARAM, in whose extensive gardens, honey was collecting; and KADARAM of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep sea”.

In his previous translation of this passage (57, pp: 254-255) he added to Ilangasoka the words “i.e. Lankasoka”, and for “the great Tamralinga” he gave “Madamalingam”, the form also used by Professor Coedès.

It should be noted also that Jayangondar, the Court poet of the Chola king Kulottunga I, who wrote the tamil war-poem *Kalingatuppurani*, speaks of the Chola conquest of “Kadaram where the the crystal waves washed the sand mixed with red gold” (315, p. 20; 57, pp: 263-264).

The Tanjore inscription does not give geographical data upon which any identification of the places named could be ventured and

phonetic reasoning, combined with historical facts, has had to be followed. When the identification of Ptolemy's Takola was considered in the *Introduction*²⁰, it was suggested that it should be looked for in ancient Kedah and that the promontory which succeeded it would then be "the bulge of land between the Perak and Bernam Rivers, or Pangkor north of it". This suggestion was rejected by Dr. Quaritch Wales (268, p. 67) because in his views the bulge probably did not exist in Ptolemy's time, and because "secondly, there seems little doubt that Takola survived in the XIth century as the Talaitakkolam of the Cola inscription of 1030 A.D. But since the Ilangasogam of the same inscription has definitely been identified with the Langkasuka which the *Kedah Annals* so clearly locate at the base of Kedah Peak it is necessary to look for Talaitakkolam elsewhere".

Again he writes (ibid: p. 71) "we know for certain that in the XIth century Ilangasogam (= Langkasuka, the city on the Sungai Bujang, Kedah) was a dependent of the S'ailendra Empire". At pp: 76-77, he points out that Kadaram must have been different from Ilangasogam and says "Coedès himself felt this difficulty since he had already located the Langkasuka of the *Kedah Annals* (= Ilangasogam of the Cola records = Ling-ya-sseu-kia of Chau Ju-Kua) at the base of Kedah Peak, with which localization I cordially agree". And, at p. 68, he writes of "the powerful kingdom of Lang-ya-hsiu which is generally agreed to have been situated at Ligor".

Throughout his recent paper concerning the name Langkasuka in this Journal (vol: XXI, Pt: I, pp: 119-124) Dr. Linehan has assumed that it represented the Kedah settlement.

We agree completely that the Ilangasoka (Ilangasogam) of the inscription must be the Malay Langkasuka but we do not agree that it was the city at the foot of Kedah Peak on the Sungai Bujang. The evidence, as we shall show, places it on the east coast of the Peninsula.

In his latest work (272, pp: 182-183) Professor Coedès gives the following identifications of the places mentioned in the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. as having been conquered by Rajendra I; and we give them as written by him:—

Crivijaya (Palembang),

Malaiyur (the Malayu of the 7th century, i.e. Jambi),

Mayirudingan (the Je-lo-ting of the Chinese, some place on the Malay Peninsula),

Ilangacogam (Langkasuka),

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- Mappappalam, (Pappalam placed by the singhalese chronicle *Mahavamsa* on the coast of Pegu),
- Mevilimbangan (identified with Karmaranga or Kamalanka on the isthmus of Ligor),
- Valaipanduru (perhaps Pandur (anga), in Champa, preceded either by the Tamil word *valai* "fortress", or by the Cham word *palei* "village"),
- Talaitakkolam (Takkola of Ptolemy and the *Milindapanha*, on the isthmus of Kra),
- Madamalingam (Tambralinga, Chinese Tan-ma-ling, of which the centre was at Ligor),
- Hamuridecam (Lamuri of the Arabs, Lambri of Marco Polo at the northern extremity of Sumatra),
- Manakkavaram (Nicobar Islands),
- Kadaram (Kedah).

As Professor Nilakanta Sastri says (311, p. 286) "it is not easy to explain the order in which the different places are named; this does not seem to follow with any accuracy the actual course of the campaign, but is apparently determined by the requirements of verse"; but (ibid: p. 287) "we may assume with Krom: "first an attack on the capital Sri Vijaya in which the king was taken prisoner, followed by the occupation of two important points of the East Coast of Sumatra; then the conquest of the Malay Peninsula, and finally Atjeh (Lamri) and the Nicobars on the way home; and all this summed up in the fall of Kataha"."

In connection with the names it should be noted that the Tamil *ma* is the same sanskrit *maha*, each meaning "great" and that the Tamil *talai* in Talaitakkolam means "head" or "chief". Sylvain Levi (40, p. 43), as quoted by Majumdar (181, p. 75), considered that the *me* in Mevilimbangan should "be analysed, in the inscription of Tanjore, like Ma-Damalingam, Ma-Nakkavaram, as Me-Vilimbangan; it is clear that Velimbangan is the Indian transcription of Malay *belimbing* which is the equivalent of Karmaranga. The Indian name of fruit, derived from the country, has become in its turn the indication of the country itself". Professor Coedès cites this passage from Sylvain Levi's *Pre-aryen et pre-dravidien dans l'Inde* (40) as the authority for his identification of Mevilimbangan.

Professor Nilakanta Sastri, as has been seen, writes Tamralinga in place of Madamalingam; and all are agreed that the

two places are the same. One prefers respectfully his view Valaipanduru defines satisfactory identification (311, p. 287).

We propose now to consider the identification of Ilangasoka (Ilangaogam) and Kadarani, which obviously from the context of the inscription were two different places. We do not propose to weary the reader with a recapitulation of all the views which have been expressed about the location of these places. They exhibit in details a considerable conflict of opinion and many of them are out of date. We shall consider the matter afresh, giving such references as seem to be helpful.

There cannot be any doubt that the Tamil *Ilangasoka* is the same name as the Malay *Langkasuka* and the Javanese *Lengkasuka* of the *Nagarakretagama* of 1365 A.D.; but we do not agree with Dr. Quaritch Wales that the Ilangasogam of the Tanjore inscription "has definitely been identified with the Langkasuka which the *Kedah Annals* so clearly locate at the base of Kedah Peak" (268, p. 67). His authority for this identification was the famous study of Srivijaya in 1918 by Professor Coedès (315, p. 15), who based himself at that time on Gerini (327), Blagden (328), and Colonel Low's translation of the *Kedah Annals*, *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*. When this last was considered in the *Introduction*²¹ we accepted the 1918 identification by Professor Coedès and related the Chinese Langka-siu (as we wrote it then) of the *Liang Shu* with the Lankasuka of Low's translation; but a further and closer analysis of the available facts causes us now to reject it, and, as will be seen later, Professor Coedès himself does not seem to hold the opinion any longer.

In 1906 Blagden wrote "But it is worth mention that Langkasuka still lies in the memory of the local Malays. It has developed into a myth, being evidently the 'spirit-land' referred to as Lakan Suka ('Lakaun Suka') by the peasantry of the Patani states and the realm of Alang-ka-suka, interpreted by a curious folk etymology as the 'country of what you will', a sort of fairy-land where the Kedah Malays locate the fairy princess Sadong, who rules over the Little People and the wild goats of the lime-stone hills, and persistently refuses all suitors, be they never so high-born or otherwise eligible" (328 p. 119). In 1905 Col. Gerini had identified the Lengkasuka of the *Nagarakretagama* as the old capital of Kedah mentioned in the *Kedah Annals* (327, pp: 495-498) and in 1909 he repeated this in his study of Ptolemy (46, p. 825). In 1909 in his *Notes on Malay History* (III) Blagden accepted this identification by Gerini and he set out the passage in the second strophe of Canto 14 of the *Nagarakretagama* where the dependencies of Majapahit in the Malay Peninsula are given. He also considered the identification of these dependencies; and

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the reader will find in Ferrand's *Textes* (172, i i, pp: 651-665) a list of all the names in the Javanese poem with many identifications. In his identification of Langkasuka Blagden rested himself upon the Kedah Annals (328, pp: 148-149): but in addition to this name the poem gives *Keda* and *Jera*. The former was regarded by Blagden as obviously Kedah and Ferrand agrees. Of *Jera* Blagden said that, while the Dutch *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie* identified it with Jering in the Patani states, it might equally well stand for Gunong Jerai (Kedah Peak) except that that district was already referred to by the mention of Langkasuka.

The Kedah Annals, as Sir Richard Winstedt says, are "full of omissions, anachronisms and errors" and the text would not seem to have been completed till late in the 18th or early in the 19th century (329, pp: 32, 33). They are, therefore, clearly a case of a late annalist giving written form to current legends and oral history. As a source of interest the traditional matter is well worth exploration but the work cannot be treated as authentic history. In 1932 in his great Dictionary the late Mr. R. J. Wilkinson wrote that Langkasuka was "Probably in North Malaya (where there is a River Langkasuka, where the Kedah records speak of *L.* still as an old Kedah capital, and where there are traditions of a fairy land (*alang-ka-suka*) or kingdom of a Golden Age)" Winstedt (92, p. 21) says that the Langkasuka River is "a tributary to an upper reach of the Perak River".

It is, then, clear that the legend of Langkasuka is not static in one place; the name represented a golden empire and a golden time of the past. That the Kedah annalist should have incorporated such a place in his work as the first name of the ancient settlement founded by Marong Mahawangsa was only natural, with the traditions of Langkasuka all around him on the tongues of the people; but these traditions were a general Malay heritage. The question before us is where Langkasuka must be placed exactly; and the facts of history show that (even if at one time or another its confines may have stretched to the west coast) it was primarily an east coast state, while Keda (Kedah) was always on the west coast and never reached the east.

(To be continued).

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- 11 J.R.A.S. (M.B.), vol: XV, Pt: 3, pp: 65-75.
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- 16 H. N. Ridley, F.R.S., most distinguished of Malaya's botanists.
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Malay Festivals: and some aspects of Malay Religious Life

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Festivals:

There are actually only two festivals regarded and observed as such in the course of the year by Malays in common with the rest of Islamic peoples in other parts of the world. These festivals are called among the Malays of Malaya *Hari Raya*, meaning "grand day of rejoicing"—one, the *Hari Raya Puasa* or Fast-Ending festival, and the other *Hari Raya Haji* or Pilgrimage festival. Among the Arab and Indian (now Pakistan) Muslims in Malaya these two festivals are known as *Eid* which means "happy return celebration" because they recur every year on the same date, and each time are the occasion of much rejoicing.

The first festival, the *Hari Raya Puasa*, is celebrated on the 1st day of the tenth Muslim month, and marks the conclusion of the great religious Fast which is observed every year throughout the whole of the ninth month preceding it. The second festival or *Hari Raya Haji* is celebrated on the 10th day of the twelfth Muslim month, which is the day when the great religious rites of Pilgrimage and Sacrifice are being performed at Mecca. But as the Muslim year follows the lunar calendar which is about 11 days behind the solar calendar every year, the actual dates on which these festivals recur from year to year do not fall on the same date of the solar calendar.

Both these *Hari Rayas* are observed in the same manner and style by Muslims of every community or nationality in Malaya as far as the religious parts are concerned. Only in the social customs and usages connected with the celebration do there exist certain slight differences according to the various racial groups of Muslims, which in the bigger cities of Malaya are either Malays, Arabs, or Muslims of Pakistan. With the Malays, for example, the Fast-Ending Festival is celebrated with much greater zest and jubilation than the Pilgrimage Festival, the festive spirit and gala-day feeling being very much more in evidence everywhere among both young and old, adults and children. But with the Arab and Pakistan Muslims both the festivals are accorded equal importance, while in Mecca itself naturally it is the Pilgrimage Festival that is made the occasion of more fervent celebrations.

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However, in Malaya, on both Hari Rayas, all Muslims and Malays in particular, make it a point to visit their parents and religious teachers early in the morning, asking for their blessings and forgiveness. Earlier still that morning the more pious of them had washed themselves ceremonially—an act intended to symbolise the washing away of all past sins. Returning from the early morning visit to parents and religious teachers, they put on their best clothes, and after feasting themselves with the cakes and special dishes prepared for the occasion the previous evening and night and sometimes even during the previous three or four days, the male members of the family hurry to the mosque for the *Hari Raya* service. (The women, however, do not go to mosque for worship on any occasion).

At the mosque, they all sit in rows on the carpeted floor and chant both individually and in chorus, again and again, special thanksgiving hymns in the Arabic language prescribed for the occasion in praise of God. These are not accompanied by any music. After this, they perform a special *Hari Raya* prayer in congregation, on the conclusion of which the Imam or Prayer Leader ascends the pulpit and delivers his sermons—always two separate ones with a brief interval between them. In these he exhorts the congregation to a more careful attention to their moral and religious duties during the ensuing year, and to do good and shun evil as taught by Islam and other religions.

As soon as the sermons are concluded, every one goes to greet the Imam, shaking (or rather joining) hands with him and congratulating him with the appropriate expression of good wishes. Then follows a general greeting and hand-joining (equivalent to shaking-hands) among the assembled crowd between one person and another, every one offering congratulations to the other, and at the same time asking forgiveness for all past wrongs as well as for any eating or drinking of each other's substance that may have been done during the past without honest and sincere consent. In short, the whole atmosphere for Muslims at that moment, and in fact throughout the day, is full of peace and brotherhood. The very air itself is felt, as it were, to breathe complete harmony and friendliness.

Following this general greeting, the gathering disperses; some go home directly to receive visitors, others go to pay *Hari Raya* visits to friends and relatives. As a rule, Malays keep an open house during the *Hari Raya* for visitors. In prosperous times they usually make special *Hari Raya* cakes and sweet-meats to offer all friends and visitors that drop in.

The children, of course, put on their best and newest dress and go out to their friends' house and elsewhere to enjoy themselves. Naturally, to them the occasion bears no significance except that of enjoyment: they enjoy the food, the cakes, the new clothes and the cheerful company, and also until a few years ago, in imitation of the Chinese, the firing of crackers.

The older people take the occasion more seriously. Wherever friends meet on the streets and in the shops they greet each other enthusiastically with the words "*Selamat Hari Raya!*" meaning "Blissful Hari Raya to you!" or with the Arabic formula *Mina'l-'a'idin!* i.e., "May you be one of those who enjoy this happy return perfectly!" or "May you have many happy returns of this day again and again." The Pakistan Muslims, on the other hand, say "*Eid mubarak!*" which is also Arabic, meaning "May the 'Eid be a blessed one for you!" But whoever it may be, while they utter these greetings they seize each other's hands (and sometimes even embrace each other), of if at a distance they simply raise their hands to the forehead and cry out their greetings. In reply, the same formula is repeated by the friends to whom the good wishes have been directed in the first instance.

Such are some of the customs surrounding the celebration of these two festivals in Malaya, and such are the ways these celebrations are inter-related among the various Muslim communities in the country.

The Fasting Month:

The Fasting Month which immediately precedes the *Hari Raya Puasa* is another occasion, and a long one, during which the more devout Malays, in towns and in villages, hold religious meetings regularly every evening until midnight throughout the whole month. In the evening at sundown they gather at the mosque (or at any recognised prayer house in the village) to break the day's fast. They bring for the purpose any cake or sweetmeat or fruit ready at hand. After prayer which follows the "break-fasting", they go home for a little while to have the proper meal which is usually as substantial as the means of each person can provide. Then they return to the mosque for more religious exercises and devotions, which consist of a series of special supererogatory prayers called the *Tarawih* occupying about an hour, and then the reading of the Qur'an by relays of readers. At about midnight the final light refreshments are served, and then the meeting breaks up as every one goes home to rest. Then somewhere between 2 a.m. and 4 a.m. there comes the *makan sahur* or last meal of the night (in preparation for the next day's fast) before every one finally retires, to wake up again for the early prayers.

This proceeding is repeated every evening and night throughout the month of fasting. The meetings have an entirely religious and devotional character. Occasionally, meetings to break the fast and to partake of the substantial feed that follow the sunset prayers are held at some individual's house, where the neighbours are invited as guests for the evening. During the day there is no meeting of any kind. Everybody keeping the fast stays at home, and does as little physical work as possible.

Incidentally, it should be mentioned that this fasting which Malays as Muslims observe during the day for the whole of the ninth month is one of the five main "Pillars" of Islam ordained in the Qur'an on all Muslims, for the discipline, purification and uplift of their spiritual self. One of its purposes is to make the Muslims taste of what hunger means, which hundreds or even thousands of their poorer and less fortunate brethren among mankind suffer from time to time. As is well-known, the fasting prescribed is very rigorous. From the moment the first rays of dawn are seen in the Eastern sky to the last flickering light of sundown, they are not allowed to eat or drink or even smoke, nor to enjoy any sensual pleasure. Not only that: they must all the time try not to do or say anything evil, nor think of anything evil in their heart. They must restrain themselves, their desires, their angers, their tongues, their eyes, their ears, etc., whenever they are confronted with any temptation towards evil.

They are, moreover, enjoined to practise charity more than ever during the Fasting Month, and to help or feed the poor as much and as often as it is possible within their means throughout the period. In addition, every Muslim who can afford it has to give away to the poor, immediately before the actual *Hari Raya Puasa*, one *gantang* of rice or its equivalent in any other staple food-stuff of the country, or in money value, to serve as a finishing touch to perfect his or her one month of fasting. This last act of charity which is called (*zakat*) *fitriah* is not an optional giving, but an obligatory religious duty laid upon every Muslim who is able to give it—a *gantang* for himself and a *gantang* each for every single member of his dependent family, even a new born baby. Malays are always very particular about this, that he or she must give *fitriah* without fail.

Further, all Muslims are expected to give themselves up as much as possible to special religious exercises and devotions during the nights throughout the whole of the Fasting Month. In this matter the Malays, as we have seen, have made these special exercises a regular feature of their nights all through the month when it comes round every year. It is the same throughout the country—in court and in kampong, in towns and in remote country

districts without distinction. Indeed, these nightly foregatherings for religious exercises during the Fasting Month have grown to be, among Malays, a thing somewhat in the nature of greatly enjoyed social events for one month each year in their otherwise monotonous life. In the Malay kampongs, the Fasting Month with the customary night meetings of devotees which it occasions while it lasts, has become part and parcel of the people's social and religious life. They always look forward to it each year with pleasant anticipations, and a kind of spiritual longings.

A Muslim who has completed his fasting during the month, in obedience to the Divine command, has in a sense achieved a victory over himself, if he has fulfilled all the rigorous requirements. It is this spiritual victory of having accomplished the Divine command, and of having successfully undergone the severe discipline, that is so joyously celebrated on the *Hari Raya Puasa* or Fast-ending Festival already described. For all Muslims that festival has the double significance of a celebration and a thanksgiving. As a celebration it marks the day of rejoicing when they, as Muslims, have successfully accomplished the carrying out of the command in Islam that they should observe a rigorous fasting during day-time throughout the ninth month. As a thanksgiving it is an occasion for boundless gratitude to God for having granted them the strength to carry out that command and to achieve that success. But generally, even Muslims who never observe the fast also celebrate the *Hari Raya Puasa*, just for the mere rejoicing that it occasions!

The 27th Night:

The 27th night (*Malam Tujoh Likor*) of the Fasting Month has a special significance, as it is believed that what is known as the "Night of Grandeur" (*Laylatu'l-Qadar*) usually occurs on that night. This night of Grandeur is one of the most blessed and auspicious nights in the whole Muslim calendar. The complete Qur'an in its spiritual shape was brought down to this world that night by angels from heaven before it was revealed piece-meal to the Prophet Muhammad in the physical shape of words and language. Moreover, there is a certain brief moment during that night when any prayer from the faithful is heard and any request made to God is literally granted. That blessed moment, it is said, is marked by miraculous occurrences in the surrounding world of nature: trees are seen to prostrate to earth in homage to God, and water in the wells and rivers becomes ice with no connection whatever with winter. The spectacle may be a spiritual illusion, but it has indeed been seen by many blessed souls, and prayers made during this brief moment are known to have been literally answered and granted. The writer's great-great grandfather, Haji 'Amil of

Linggi, was one of such fortunate people who claimed to have been blessed with seeing this strange sight most unexpectedly. His prayer to have all his five sons become *Hajis*—the only prayer he could think of making at that brief moment for which he was not in the least prepared, and over which he was so excited—was later fulfilled.

The Prophet said that the Night of Grandeur may occur on any one of the last ten nights of the Fasting Month, and that more often it is on one of the old-numbered nights, that is, the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th and 29th. However, people who have been blessed with meeting and experiencing this spiritual phenomenon have, in the majority of cases, met it on the 27th night. Accordingly, Muslims of all communities and persuasions, and Malays in particular, keep special vigils during the last ten nights of the month, but especially during the 27th night, by extra devotions and religious exercises in the hope of coming upon this blessed moment. In the *kampongs* they usually keep rows of lights burning throughout the night all around the house and along the approaches. But there is no special gathering for the purpose during this night or during any of the other nine nights apart from the usual night meetings of the Fasting Month we have already seen.

The weekly Friday Service:

The weekly Friday service is another regular occasion for religious meetings, observed by Malays as by other Muslims, in Malaya. It is the Muslim Sabbath, and as ordained by religion, the service must be held in congregation at the mosque established for the district.

Among Malays, who follow what is known as the *Shafi'i* school of thought, it is necessary to have a congregation of not less than 49 adult males of sound health and mind who are settled as permanent residents of any given place to make a weekly Friday service obligatory for that particular locality. So it is among most Arab Muslims in the country. But the Pakistan Muslims who are mostly followers of the *Hanafi* persuasion (which is another of the four great schools of thought in Islam in the matter of canon law) have probably different regulations as to the number and other conditions necessary to hold the Friday service in any given locality.

The essential rituals of the Friday service and prayers are the same as those of the service and prayers on the two annual festivals. The only difference is that in the festival service the prayers are *followed* by two sermons, but in the Friday service the prayers are *preceded* by two sermons. As might be expected, the gist of the

sermons in both cases are of the same character, apart from necessary changes to suit the difference in occasions. The Friday sermons review the failings and negligences of the past week just as the Festival Day sermons review the failings and negligences of the past year; and with that the preacher presents the religious outlook and resolution for the coming week, with an exhortation to the people to lead better lives.

Usually after the Friday service, if there is any special matter which the religious leaders or mosque authorities wish to communicate to the people, it is proclaimed and explained then and there.

The Five Daily Prayers:

The five daily prayers which are performed as regularly as possible by all religiously-minded Muslims are not necessarily the occasion for assembling together at the mosque or at any particular place. They may be performed alone anywhere, provided the place is quite clean—at home, in the field, or even on the roadside—though it is considered more meritorious if performed in congregation and in a mosque. Malays who live near a mosque, especially in towns, naturally go to perform it at the mosque whenever possible, in company with other fellow Muslims who keep coming and going there at all prayer hours. Not infrequently the prayers are performed in congregation at the house of some religious teacher where disciples meet, usually in the evenings, to attend some religious class or hear some religious lecture. But more often it is performed privately at home by oneself, or if in company at all the congregation is made up only of members of one's family.

It might be mentioned that these five daily prayers are the second of the five fundamental "Pillars" of Islam in regard to action or practical worship as distinct from mere articles of faith or principles of belief and doctrine. They are ordained as the most imperative religious duty upon all Muslims, to serve as an aid to a constant remembering of God and an outward token of complete submission to His will, and hence as a means to keep away from evil. The other four "Pillars" are, first the affirming of absolute divine unity and the messengership of Muhammad, third the observance of fasting during the ninth month, fourth the paying of a regulated poor-rate called *zakat*, and last of all the performing of pilgrimage to Mecca—with all its rites and the rituals to be observed there—at least once in a life-time for those able to undertake the journey. But the five daily prayers are the one "Pillar" on which the Prophet laid the greatest stress after the affirmation of divine unity; and the duty is laid equally strictly on all Muslims whatever their conditions and circumstances.

However, with the younger Muslims nowadays, and more particularly the Malays, this is the particular "Pillar" that is most often neglected. The inconvenience as to time and other requirements entailed by its performance may account in part for this neglect, especially in the day-time for office workers under modern conditions, where no special arrangements or provisions are made for it. The time set for the prayers are, first very early in the morning just before sunrise; second a short time after mid-day; third in the late afternoon; fourth at sunset; and fifth before retiring at night.

The contents of the prayers and the mode of performing them are the same as in all regulated Muslim prayers. In fact, all other prayer observances of the Muslim religion, such as the Friday prayers and the special prayers on the two Festivals, are on the model of these five daily prayers. The same formulas are recited, the same postures of the body adopted, and the same mental concentration on the supreme idea of God exercised. The essence is asking God for guidance to keep on the straight path of right and virtue, and the idea of complete submission to the Divine will is expressed outwardly by reverential standing, bowing, genuflecting and prostrating in the "Divine presence"—and all the while the worshipper faces in the direction of the Sacred *Ka'bah* in the "House of God" at Mecca, an ancient sanctuary which serves as a symbol of the Divine presence and the unity of all Muslims. These daily prayers, even when performed in congregation, are not accompanied by any sermons.

Other Religious and Semi-Religious occasions observed by Malays:

Other observances kept up by the Malays are of less religious importance, some being merely of the character of social gatherings with a religious flavour added, while others are of the nature of historical commemoration. These may be briefly examined here in the order of the Muslim months.

(1) First there is the *Muslim New Year*. Non-Muslim people have often thought, as we sometimes see it said in the newspapers, that the *Hari Raya* is a festival marking the commencement of the Muslim or Malay new year. This is a mistake. The Muslim New Year, like the new years of all other peoples, falls on the first day of their first month—that is, of the first (Muslim) month of the Muslim year, which follows the lunar calculation. The *Hari Rayas*, as we have seen, fall on the 1st day of the tenth month and on the 10th day of the twelfth month respectively.

However, the Muslim new year is not celebrated with any great excitement, equivalent to that on both the *Hari Rayas* which are

sacred days of religion. The New Year is not considered sacred or even religious; it has only a chronological or calendar significance. In the *kampungs* there is no celebration at all of any kind. Even the schools until a few years ago were not closed for that day, and it had never been the practice to observe any official holiday on the Muslim new year, except perhaps in Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu under the old régime as the Muslim tradition was always strong there. But in the towns and cities where there are Muslim religious schools, it appears to have been made a practice since recent years to have such schools closed for that day and sometimes to mark the day by arranging sports meetings for the school children. Apart from this, no gathering of any kind is usually held.

In general, it may be said that the Muslim dates and chronology are usually used in Malaya only when the question concerns Malay or Muslim religious observances and celebrations. Where other things are concerned every literate Malay, as every one else, is familiar with the solar calendar and uses it accordingly in dating all his affairs.

(2) *The 'Ashūra Day*: There is, however, another day in the first Muslim month which carries with it a religious observance. It is the 10th day of the month and is called the *'Ashūra* day. Historically, it is a black day of mourning in memory of the tragic death of Husain the favourite grandson of the Prophet, who was barbarously killed in battle at Kerbala at the beginning of the Shi'ite schism, and thus aggravating and perpetuating the first big split within the camp of Islam. The more devout Muslims commemorate the day by fasting; and a kind of rough broth called *bubor 'Ashūra* is specially prepared and eaten to break the fast in the evening.

Apocryphal traditions, however—some derived from Jewish converts in early Islam—have added that the *'Ashūra* day was also the day when the Great Deluge, in the time of the Biblical prophet Noah, began to engulf the world, leaving only him and those who went with him in the Ark safe from the overwhelming flood to provide the seeds for future generations. It was also on that date, these traditions assert, that Abraham, the great Biblical patriarch and prophet, was cast into the fire by the cruel hunter-king Nimrod for preaching divine unity; and finally, it was on that date too the great Pharaoh Rameses II of ancient Egypt, hotly pursuing the Prophet Moses, was drowned in the Red Sea.

But the real and authentic historical basis that gave rise to this *Ashūra* observance was none other than the great tragedy of Kerbala. Usually, apart from a small party of close friends who are some-

times invited to join in the breaking of the fast, there is no meeting of any sort held to mark the day. But in Penang, where probably the Shi'ite elements were strong in the early days of the Settlement, it has become an established practice for parties of local amateurs to put up a form of dramatic show and song contests called *Boria*, visiting uninvited the houses of the well-to-do for many nights around this date. The plays presented re-enact the Kerbala tragedy in all its poignant pain and pathos.

(3) *The Mandi Safar*: In the second Muslim month (which is called *Safar*) there is what is called the *Mandi Safar* celebration, commonly observed by Malays in many parts of Malaya. It is done on the last Wednesday of the month, and the day is one of much rejoicing. People come out in parties on picnics to the river banks and the sea-side, and bathe themselves in the water after immersing a special written prayer in it. Those unable to bathe in the "charmed" water should at least drink it. Usually they both drink and bathe in it. The idea is to wash themselves clean of every spiritual taint and uncleanness that may draw misfortunes and accidents during the coming year. At the same time they rejoice at having been granted safety and escape from harm, accidents and misfortunes generally, during the past year.

However, this is not a genuine part of Islam and has nothing to do with its original teachings or the practice of early Muslims. Nowhere is it prescribed in the Qur'an, nor ever taught by the Prophet. It is merely based on certain pious reports ascribed to some unknown holy man of the past to the effect that God collects on that day all the misfortunes, accidents and unlucky influences that He is going to bring down into the world during the coming year. The bathing or drinking is supposed to ward off these misfortunes.

The celebration is usually carried out with particular zest and on an elaborate scale in Malacca, where the picnic campings on the sea-side or on the neighbouring islands of Pulau Bésar often last a whole day and night. During this time each group enlivens itself at intervals with songs and music, as well as occasional dancing by girls of marriageable age or by *ronggeng* girls, while sight-seers flock from all over the country to see and sometimes to join in the merriment.

For parents or guardians of young marriageable girls, the occasion of these *Mandi Safar* outings is the time, as it were, to put their charges up on show. Young girls normally kept in seclusion at most other times are there free to display their charms, to see and be seen. It must, of course, be all done within reasonable limits of decorous propriety, so as to keep Mrs. Grundy from

wagging her tongue. It is not unusual that after these outings and sea-side campings match-makers begin to get busy arranging proposals of marriage and betrothals, as many a young man after seeing the girls in the various camps and parties makes his choice, and goes home with Cupid's arrow in his heart, to set the machinery in operation leading to marriage.

(4) *The Prophet's Birthday*: This occurs in the third Muslim month, the actual birthday celebration being on the 12th. The celebration either takes the character of an entirely social meeting, such as the holding of school sports and school processions for children of the religious (Arabic) schools, or it assumes the form of a semi-social and semi-religious function, such as the chanting in chorus and in rotation of panegyric verses in Arabic in praise of the Prophet.

Among the less educated section of Malays, particularly in the *kampongs*, it is the reading and chanting of Arabic panegyrics that is usually more favoured. The gathering is held at night, sometimes nightly, commencing from the 1st of the month to the night preceding the 12th which is the more generally accepted date on which the Prophet was born. It is done by holding parties after the night prayers from about 9 or 10 p.m. either at the mosque or at the village prayer-house (*surau*), or at some individual villager's house. The choral chanting is carried on up to about midnight, varied at intervals by individual reading of the anecdotal portions in a sing-song tone of voice. Every now and then the proceeding is interrupted by the serving up of refreshments or "throat-washers" (*pembasah tekak*) consisting of various forms of cakes, sweet-meats, syrups, cool drinks, tea, etc., to regale the company whose throats naturally get dry with the continual chanting.

This chanting which is done by everybody at the top of his voice, is without the accompaniment of any instrument, and should be distinguished from another but similar chanting, also at night, which is done to the accompaniment of rhythmic tambourine beating and carried on into the early hours of the morning. The birthday chanting is called *bêrdikir maulud*, i.e. Prophet's birthday chanting; while the other is *bêrdikir rêbana*, i.e. tambourine-accompanied chanting, and is not done to celebrate the Prophet's birthday, nor ever in a mosque, but always at the private house of some one in the village to celebrate a different kind of happy occasion such as that of a big wedding or the erection of a new house.

In towns and cities where there are many non-Malay Muslims it is they that take the initiative. They are generally more utilitarian in their outlook and also more en-

lightened than Malays, so that they usually adopt other and better ways of celebrating the Prophet's birthday. These consist of social and cultural meetings, including the arranging of sports events and processions for students of religious schools, public lectures in the various Muslim languages on the life and teachings of the Prophet, and the providing of food and refreshments to all poor Muslims who care to come as guests between night-fall and midnight on that day. Mosques and shops fronts are illuminated, and the green and white flags of the Crescent are hoisted at all Muslim shops, clubs and public places. As for the Malays, though most of the educated among them also join in this form of celebration, those of the old school, who form the majority in the suburban areas, still prefer to do their celebrating in the way already described.

There is no meeting or celebration of any kind, religious or semi-religious, during the fourth, fifth and sixth Muslim months.

(5) *The Mīrāj Night*: In the seventh Muslim month there is always a meeting held by Malays on the night preceding the 27th day of the month, to commemorate what is known as the night of *mīrāj* (Ascension). It is the date when the Prophet was vouchsafed the spiritual experience of a night journey from the Mecca Mosque to the Great Mosque at Jerusalem and thence ascension to heaven itself. The journey was performed in company with the Angel Gabriel, as guide, and in the earthly part of it riding on a wonderful heavenly animal called the *Burāq* or 'Lightning'. The whole journey occupied only a brief space of time, perhaps 10-15 minutes, and yet it was crowded with instructive incidents seen, felt, and experienced by the Prophet in a most vivid and effective manner. Most Muslims believe it was not merely a spiritual experience but bodily as well.

The night is commemorated by reading to the assembled listeners an account of the journey and of all the wonderful things the Prophet saw and met on the way, up to the time of his return to his bed. The reading begins after the last evening prayers (*'Isha*) and ends at about midnight with the usual round of light refreshments and cakes.

(6) *The Nisfu Night*: Another religious meeting commonly observed by Malays in Malaya, as by many Muslims in other parts of the world, is on the 15th night of the eight Muslim months. It is called the *Nisfu Night* or *Malam Nisfu Sha'ban*, i.e., "Middle-of-the-eighth-month night". It is popularly supposed that during this month, and especially on this night, souls of the dead come and visit the house. The occasion is celebrated by a gathering at the mosque or in the house between the sunset and the late night

prayers (*antara maghrib dengan 'ishā*), and the company reading a prescribed portion of the Qur'an three times, each time followed by reciting a special prayer and mentally asking God for personal and general welfare during the coming year, as well as for the welfare of the dead and the living at all times and places.

Conclusion:

These are all the special religious or semi-religious occasions observed by Malays in Malaya more or less regularly from year to year. The observances connected with each occasion may differ in some details and in the importance attached thereto from the way they are observed by the other (non-Malay) Muslim communities. But the fact remains that the various dates and occasions are those that are usually kept alive by the Malays and by these other Muslim communities in Malaya as they occur. As we have seen, some of these observances are performed at home, others at the mosque.

Of the other months after the eighth, we have seen the ninth is wholly occupied by the great annual Fast, the tenth month has the *Hari Raya Puasa*, the eleventh has no particular observance day, and the twelfth month has the *Hari Raya Haji* or Pilgrimage Festival.

There are, of course, occasions of purely social meetings and special ceremonies which the Malays hold or celebrate from time to time, such as those connected with birth, the shaving of infants, ear-boring, circumcision, conclusion of Qur'anic study, betrothal, marriage, death, funeral, the various prayer-receptions or parties given in remembrance of the dead (*kënduri arwāh*), etc. But these have no fixed dates in the course of the year. They are not included here, as they belong to a different category and so, require a separate treatment.

Singing Pre-History

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Archdeacon Perham (1) and a few others have recorded some Sea Dayak (Iban) songs telling the legendary doings of Singalong Burong, Klieng and their associated demi-god heroes. But in general, the recorded material of this type of song is fragmentary in the extreme, and unfortunately even Perham publishes the material "curtailed in length; but to give it *in extenso* would weary the reader"—and he goes on to apologise for Dayak prolixities and multiple images, the very things we most need to record and study and which, alas, he has elided. The situation is now not likely to be very much improved, for as long ago as 1896 it was said that "in the largest tribes, there are never more than two or three of the elders who have any acquaintance with history (2). Among the Sea Dayaks and other sub-coastal people of Borneo, a large part of folk-lore and mythology was, however, recounted in prose, and of this rather more is on record.

For other peoples in Borneo we thus have few records of olden "stories" told in stylised song form, though there are, of course, a few songs, such as Wooley's vivid translation of a British North Borneo "Murut" (Tagal?) head song. (3) For most of Borneo we have no recorded songs of any description. For instance, Hose & McDougall, in their two big volumes (4), refer only to "Songs, Boating" (one reference).

Further study may do much to revise the situation. Meanwhile, during visits to the Kelabit Plateau in North Central Borneo in 1945-48, some study was made of this subject. The Kelabits (until 1945 all illiterate) were for a long time the least known resident people of Borneo; they inhabit the extreme headwaters of the Baram, Tutoh, Limbang, Kerayan, Mentarang and Bahau Rivers in Sarawak and Dutch Borneo, and are closely linked to the Muruts, (5, 6). It took some time to realise that practically all Kelabit folk-lore and history is sung, and that a large part of their prolific song culture is directly folk-lore and history. This was partly because the idea was somewhat alien to one's own culture system; partly because of initial language difficulties; and largely because until the stranger is fully accepted as part of the landscape, the Kelabits tend to sing "lighter" and more "topical" songs, largely improvised and often flattering the guest, and only after months do they reveal their own ways com-

pletely. It may well be, therefore, that this type of "song" is more common elsewhere than has been previously suspected. Apparently, however, this way of recalling past history and pre-history in long songs is, in general, uncommon. In a comprehensive and valuable survey of folk-lore research, Dr. E. J. Lindgren (?) makes no relevant reference.

Topical singing is done on separate rhythms and times from the pre-history story-song. These latter are of two main types, all dealing with persons and events said to have happened very long ago and with no traditional link to now.

1. *Sordardai*. Sung by male only, no chorus and not by women. High pitch. Irregular intervals. Definitely "song" but with use of speech styles and intervals to a large extent.
2. *Adi'*. Sung by a single man or woman, the end of each line taken up by a chorus.

Both these are traditional, and none have been newly made within Kelabit memory or history. They are closely related to a third type, *Sordarir*, which is normally sung by a man solo, at intervals within the only type of spoken folk-tale, the *Sekuno*. Some of the longest and most important stories are told as *Sekuno* with *Sordarir* periods; one of the versions on culture hero Tokid Rini took seven days to record (in writing). Some *Sekuno* do not have song periods within them, and these are mainly fairy stories and fables, often of strongly Malayoid colouring, and paralleled by Sea Dayak *Ensera*—the sung Dayak tales are called *Kana*, and show some close parallels with the Tokid Rini (Kelabit) cycle. *Adi'* and *Sordardai* have not yet been exactly paralleled elsewhere.

Many of the "topical" types of song are also near ordinary "folk songs", and are by way of processing contemporary life into history. Popular themes are preserved and become folk music in the American negro sense. Thus a whole recent series, with numerous variants, tells of the arrival of British parachutists in 1945, and subsequent guerilla war with the Japanese. As well as those made and learned at that time, others are constantly being improvised on the same theme and if "successful" adopted. Thus as late as December 1947, Penghulu Lawai, B.E.M., Chief of the northern Kelabits, sang me a new and impromptu flatter-song starting:

You take them—
 You bring war to the Japs—
 You say lets play; you help us

We of the upriver, we
 We do not yet know
 We hear news before, I say,
 But before that you fight.

And so on, for a couple of hundred lines, developing into how Kelabits and whites fought side by side, on until "victory" etc. etc.

The detailed consideration of all types of Kelabit song must await the full working out of the research material, which has been augmented in the later stages by much assistance from Mr. F. Manis, a Malay who spent many years in the interior as a Dutch Government teacher, and then Administrative officer. Gramophone records are also being made with the generous co-operation of Mr. W. G. Tait, Postmaster General, Sarawak. In nearly all cases the original full Kelabit text has been recorded in writing—and this has sometimes involved many days of labour on a single song.

The present preliminary paper is intended to draw attention to the matter in general, with a view to encouraging parallel study elsewhere in the area. The single song below is not especially "representative", and is more limited in character than most. It serves, however, to illustrate the sort of thing we are dealing with. It is shorter than most and simpler. Some are extremely complicated, with elaborate "battles with the gods", floods and eruptions, incests and adulteries, arguments and insults, patricide and orgy. Between them, *Sordardai* and *Adi'* contain a fairly complete pattern of the whole of Kelabit code of life and outlook. Although this has been powerfully modified of late years (e.g. by cessation of head-hunting) the social and psychological background remains substantially the same. For instance, a detailed study of relationship (kinship) terms in these songs, as compared with daily current usage, shows many parallels and only a few differences. But there are numbers of archaic or unused words in such songs, and unintelligible phrases are not infrequent.

Sordardas of Balang Lipang.

The following song is one of the *Sordardai* group, as sung by Penghulu Lawai, one of the older Kelabits and a persistent singer. He is liable to break into song at almost any hour of the day or night, wherever he is, sober or drunk—he is not infrequently drunk on rice beer! He once remarked to me—"When I am alone in the jungle I always sing this; then I feel brave." The "hero", Balang Lipang, is one of several roughly corresponding to Klieng in Sea Dayak; some other Kelabit culture heroes are Opai Simaring (supposed to be "the first man" and a great maker of stone monuments (8)), Sial Apoi (a sort of volcano), Tokid Rini (the

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southern Kelabit equivalent of Opai Simaring), and Agan Tadun (super-killer). Balang Lipang is the least "exciting" of these figures, generally appearing as a pure and simple head-hunter, though one who likes an occasional open fair fight rather than the continuous sneak-and-run tactics of everyday head hunting.

This version was one of the first collected word for word (29. XII. 1947), and thus lacks the polish later attained by experience. It will serve well, nevertheless, for the present purpose as indicated above.

The translation sticks as closely as possible to the exact sense of the original, but I have avoided the pseudo-realism of trying to put English into Kelabit grammar—a structural impossibility, and also producing a stilted effect, confusing the overall sense. The student will later have full opportunity to compare English texts with both Kelabit and Malay versions, and to consider the many special terms and senses in Kelabit talk and song.

The numbered lines enable reference to the notes, correspondingly numbered, after the main text. These notes are an essential part of the whole picture for those unacquainted with Kelabit life.

The land of Balang Lipang is Long Marong Akan Dalan.
Balang Lipang sits on the rock and works there—
He makes a sword-handle there—
He carves a pattern on the bone of the handle—
He prepares white hair for it, and a sheath—
The instruments of war
When he has finished
For a long time he sits on top of the rock—
He thinks—"Why am I so long here, and no-one has called
me in to eat"

10. He sits there a long time, then hears someone moving along the house.
The person comes to the end of the house
It is Burong Siwang, who sees his son there, and that he has work there.
He goes forward to call in his child to eat—
He comes to the door and sees his son on top of the rock;
he has done much work.
He sees his fine son, shining so white, like the moon, his eyes like lights, in his ears leopard's teeth; his earrings fine ones—
Indeed he is fine-looking, his face so red,
Burong Siwang is happy to see him:
"No one under the clouds has a son like mine"

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- "I do not lie, my son Balang Lipang is the best, I am delighted with him", he says
20. Then Burong Siwang calls out:
 "Why do you sit there so long, son?
 We in the village, we have eaten
 I long awaited you, you did not come
 Now I come to call you.
 The rice is cold and the meal is cold—
 Why are you so long?
 Your mother has your rice ready
 Yet you do not come
 So now I summon you; you should come now."
30. "You call me to eat, father
 Now I know.
 I have been long here because I have much work—
 I have made a sword
 And a sword-handle
 For my own use.
 Now if you call me to eat,
 Oh, of course, I will follow you—
 For I have done my work."
 Then Burong Siwang says:
40. "I called my son and then returned to my verandah
 I sat there quiet a long time."
 Balang Lipang got up off the rock and took his sword and
 Other things and went up into the house.
 He came to his verandah and put away his sword, his sheath,
 his sword-head—he put them safely away.
 When he had put these away he went through into the room.
 Up stands the wife of Burong Siwang and fetches a mat and
 tells him to sit—
 She gives him rice and vegetable and a plate of (mixed) rice—
 She gives him fish and pig,
 Then says "you must eat—"
50. We have already eaten"
 Balang Lipang asks—"Why do you not eat with me, all
 together?
 "Oh, we have already eaten", says Sina Burong Siwang.
 He takes his rice, one package
 He eats it, and he eats another—
 He takes a little from each plate.
 He throws away the leaf.
 He gets up and goes out to the verandah:
 "Sit here, Balang Lipang
 Next to me—Burong Siwang"

60. Says Burong Siwang to his son.
 "Good, Balang Lipang, I have not sat with you for a long time—
 Good that you sit with me
 My son Balang Lipang—I want to talk with you a little.
 For a while past the men have been making the rice-clearings.
 If you take the dogs out into the jungle
 Beware when you go into the jungle—
 For many from other villages seek revenge upon me—if you
 go into the jungle you must always look out.
 If you go anywhere, wherever you go, beware.
 Many people want revenge for my killing.
70. For before I killed many from other villages—I do not lie."
 Then says Balang Lipang to Burong Siwang "How is that,
 Father—do people now want to fight you?"
 "There is one who wants to fight very much", says Burong
 Siwang, "Tokud Udang Panit Tutub Long Midang—"
 "He is the hardest one of them all", says Burong Siwang.
 Says Balang Lipang: "Where then is his village, my father
 should tell me his village."
 Burong Siwang replies: "Balang Lipang, if you ask me his
 village, maybe you want to go there. Do not go! He is
 a fearful fighter, no one can stand up to him. His vil-
 lage is very far. Do not go!"
 Then Balang Lipang says: "Truly he will fight—but I
 only want to try him. Truly my father forbids me—but
 I only want to go and see."
 Then Burong Siwang says: "If you want to go, child Balang
 Lipang, I do not want you to go. I have tried him, and
 I was defeated—so I do not want you to go, I fear you
 will be killed."
 "Truly he may fight boldly, father. I only wish to try him a
 little bit", says Balang Lipang. "If I am beaten, father,
 it cannot be helped." Balang Lipang gets up from be-
 side Burong Siwang, and fetches his clothes.
 He takes down the skin of a leopard—
80. He fetches all his things, he gets his war hat.
 Having gathered all his belongings, he gets his shield—
 He takes his spear—
 He goes along to the house to the end—
 He comes to the end platform and goes down—
 He goes along the level place by the house to the foot of
 the hill—
 He starts to climb up the hill—he goes into the jungle
 He enters the jungle and he coughs—he says to the omen
 birds
 "I want to talk to you omens!

I wish to go now, for I hear news of Tokud Udan, who wants to fight—I want to try him, and you should help me.

90. If I am to defeat Tokud Rudan and collect his head, you should fly across my path—cross to the right.”

Balang Lipang sits down by path to await the omen bird's call. He awaits the sound for a long time, he hears a call to the left—and it quickly crosses the track to the right.

“Ah, you have crossed my path”, says Balang Lipang, “you have given me good hope for life and protected me from death—

You have crossed to the right; if I am to get the head of Tokud Rudan and to bring it back to this village, it is good you should show me by crossing again, to the left—if I am to get it and not to die.”

Now for a long time he waited, until there was a call to the right, and straight away back the bird flew to the left. After the omen bird had crossed, he quickly rose and started on his journey.

He went quickly, he went up the hill—and the hill shook and trembled with the beat of his feet.

He went on, up a great mountain, until he reached halfway Balang Lipang followed the mountain and a big tree fell from beneath his feet on the path—the tree fell as if while making a rice clearing, as if cut with an axe.

100. For a long time he travelled, until he arrived at the rice-clearing of Tokud Udan.

Balang Lipang arrived there and saw his village, and looked at it.

Balang Lipang looked at the village and it was good; the roof was of iron and the walls of iron, the planks and posts (all) of iron

He starts to descend the hill, and sharpens his sword on a stone, making it truly sharp. His spear too (he sharpens like that)

When he had cleaned his sword and his spear he went on down the hill

Balang Lipang goes on down hill and follows on a wide by-track made by Tokud Udan—the wood track he had made

He arrives at the fence of Tokud Udan, and he starts to go up into the house

He climbs the fence and comes up onto the platform and goes into the house

He pull ou his sword and cuts the young men of Tokud Udan

Like fruit, as the fruit of the durian falls when ripe, thus the heads fall.

110. He cleared out all the men in the house—some were dead, some ran away, some sat crying, some calling out “Who comes and cuts us up? Who is it? We do not know? Who cuts people at the other end of the house?”
- Tokud Udan sees a man cutting people in his village, a man of splendid body, of white skin, his face brilliant red.
- Tokud Udan says: “Who is that who cuts (our) village people? He of the body white as day, his face so red, Probably he is a good man! I do not know him—what is his name?”
- Tokud Udan comes near Balang Lipang saying: “What is your name? I do not know you. Why do you kill people in this village? What is your name?”
- Balang Lipang replies: “Why should you ask me my name first? This is not my village. I am a stranger. You should tell me your name first.”
- “True, you do not know my name. It is Tokud Udan Panit Tutup Long Midang Long Marong Akan Dalam. That is my name; what is yours?”
- “True you do not know me—my name is Balang Lipang son of Burong Siwang, that is me”, says Balang Lipang.
- Says Tokud Udan—“Ah yes, there has been news of you before, that Balang Lipang was a good man, but I had not met you before and now I do. You certainly seem very good.”
- Tokud Udan goes on—“Why does Balang Lipang come here and kill people in my village. Who do you revenge by killing my young men—what is your idea?”
- “Well—I do not wish revenge on you. But my father says you are a very good man, and I want to try you. The tales about you are many, that is why I want to try you.”
120. “Oh, if Balang Lipang wants to challenge me, I will try. Not that I am good”, says Tokud Udan, “but I will try. For if I did not agree maybe I should be ashamed. I will try you.”
- Tokud Udan fetches his waist cloth. He gets his fighting things, his shield, his war hat
- When he has got all his war outfit, his sword, his hat, Balang Lipang looks at him and sees his body is white and splendid like day, and his face is splendid, it is red.
- Then Balang Lipang says: “Tokud Udan, you have got all your war things. I want to try you now. Don't fail to be ready. Watch out, you! I wish to warn you. Otherwise you may say I took you by surprise. So I speak and tell you truly to be ready.
- And Tokud Udan replies: “Right—you start. I am ready for you.”

Then Balang Lipang pulls out his sword from its sheath, and goes forward to cut at him. His sword is very fine, with carving and patterns of blade, and of handle too. Tokud Udan has his shield and he is ready—the shield is of stone, and he holds it before him on guard.

Balang Lipang cuts at him and strikes the shield of Tokud Udan. Tokud Udan's shield is cut through by Balang Lipang's parang and Balang Lipang reaches his body, but there his sword breaks—for Tokud Udan's body is hard as iron.

Says Balang Lipang: "Oh, sad indeed am I, for my fine sword is now broken. Men said that Tokud Udan was a great warrior and now I do know, for alas, my sword is broken."

Now says Tokud Udan: "You watch out now, Balang Lipang, for now maybe I'll come back at you, since you have cut at me. Watch out! If I do not warn you, you may perhaps say I took you by surprise. Don't fail to be on the alert!"

130. "Good. Carry on", says Balang Lipang, "I am ready for you"—and he stood up at full height, waiting for Tokud Udan.

Tokud Udan pulled out his sword, and it had very fine carving; he started to cut at Balang Lipang.

He cut at him, and Balang Lipang's shield was cloven, so that the sword struck his body—but Tokud Udan's sword was broken, for Balang Lipang's body was very very hard.

Tokud Udan exclaims: "Oh, woe is me! My sword is broken; and I do not lie—it was a superb one. What we have heard of Balang Lipang is true, he is very good—for indeed he is as hard as iron.

Then Balang Lipang says: "Oh, your sword is broken, mine is broken too. Best we try and wrestle and see (who wins)."

The two hold each other, and they are both extremely strong—Balang Lipang the strong, Tokud Udan the strong. They do not move, they stand only. The two are of one and the same strength.

For two nights they stay wrestling; for two days the house shakes, the boards break, the village is broken up, through these two wrestling.

Then says Balang Lipang: "Why am I like this? Lazy like this? If I am not stronger maybe I shall be beaten—and then I shall be really ashamed." So Balang Lipang makes his muscles terribly hard in his body. Balang Lipang is so strong, he forces Tokud Udan down. Balang Lipang gets above him.

Balang Lipang says then: "I had better tie you up and carry you off, for I want to make you my slave, to look after my pigs and do other work." So he tied up Tokud Udan with rope, tying his feet and his hands.

Having tied him up by hands and feet, Balang Lipang lifted him. But Tokud Udan would wriggle about very strongly, until the rope broke and he got back onto his feet.

140. Tokud Udan now rushed at Balang Lipang and caught hold of him; they wrestled again.

Tokud Udan pushed Balang Lipang and sent him a tree's length. Balang Lipang came back at him, and rushed Tokud Udan. He made himself strong, and stronger than Tokud Udan (a little).

Tokud Udan got on top of Balang Lipang, then Balang Lipang got on top; they rolled over and over, one on top and then the other.

Balang Lipang now tied him up again. Then he was amazed and said: "How did I manage to get him like this. My sword was broken on him, he is exceedingly tough—how did I manage to get him like this?" says

Balang Lipang.

Balang Lipang thinks to himself—"How can I wound him, his body is so hard? And my sword is broken?" Then he saw a small knife in Tokud Udan's belt. "Oh, I'll try that", he says, and he takes it out and stabs Tokud Udan. The knife enters.

Then Tokud Udan cried out loudly: "Perhaps I am dying. Before this I have fought with many men—and never was I defeated. Now, I think maybe Balang Lipang has beaten me." And the blood spurted out of his body like water.

Then Balang Lipang pulled out the knife and he cut off the head of Tokud Udan.

When Balang Lipang had taken the head of Tokud Udan—"What do I think after that? My heart in my body thinks it will go home."

He thought he would return to the house of his father, Burong Siwang at Long Marong Akan Dalan.

150. He went over the great mountain up and up into high jungle, to the highest peak, and there the sun came out.

He followed the ranges and went so strongly that the mountains rolled and swayed, because he went so swiftly homeward. He went on and on until he came to the rice-clearing of Burong Siwang—his own land.

He came down the hill to the plain and came near to the edge of the village.

He called out aloud and shouted for his father—"Are you there, father, in the village, for Balang Lipang has arrived, he has fought with Tokud Udan."

All the villagers, his father, his mother, came running out of the house and down the ladder to greet Balang Lipang "You have returned son! Where did you go? You have been very long, these days I have waited for you, a long time—where have you travelled so far?"

"I have been around and about, father. I have reached the land of Tokud Udan, and fought with him three months. I have got his head and so now I return", said Balang Lipang

Now spoke Burong Siwang: "I said my son was the very best. No one under the clouds, no one in all the villages can compare with him. Before others tried to fight him (Tokud Udan) but were always defeated. You have his head! I am so happy, my child."

They gave out the head cries, gathering at the fence, declaring Tokud Udan's head was the finest, "His face red like a fireglow, he is the very finest", said all the youngsters. Burong Siwang tells the young people to fetch ten fowls from baskets and bring them out to cut off their heads and purify Balang Lipang

160. After killing the fowls, Balang Lipang at once wished to go up into the house. Burong Siwang went in front, and second came Balang Lipang, Sina Burong Siwang third, and the others behind—they went up into the house.

They got the water-carrying bamboo, and played through the house, singing proudly of taking the head of Tokud Udan

They went round and round eight times through his room. He sat down and unbelted his loin cloth.

He had a sister, Dayang Supang, and she sat Balang Lipang down, fetched a jar of rice beer and put it down close beside him.

Before he was ready to drink he said "Fetch all the people, gather everyone down to the little ones—on the verandah."

They brought beer in a cup for Balang Lipang, and he gave it to Burong Siwang. They brought another for Balang Lipang and he gave it to his mother, Sina Burong Siwang.

The young danced on, danced for the head of Tokud Udan. Sitting on the verandah a man brought a large bowl of beer and gave it to Balang Lipang and he drank all of it, being so dry from his journey.

Two days he drank the rice beer of Dayang Supang and did not sleep, he made merry with the head of Tokud Udan, until daylight he played with this his head.

Burong Siwang said then: "Son, Balang Lipang, I want to talk to you for a little. You'd better listen to me (now)

"It is good that men should go off with the dogs again now, Balang Lipang, and seek beasts to dry the head of Tokud Udan, seek pig and deer and so on, to feast (for) your head."

170. "Oh, if my father tells me to do that, of course I shall go", says Balang Lipang. "Where shall I go—perhaps up the River Marong, to seek game?"

Balang Lipang goes off and up the River Marong with his dogs, up into the head-waters—but he gets nothing at all.

He goes on in the head-waters of the Marong and gets nothing, but finds himself in a new river, a large river. He follows this, for a month he follows it—but he gets no animals.

He goes on from the Marong to the Lobang—and there he gets a Barking Deer.

He goes on again after he has the Barking Deer, and his dogs find a pig, a huge pig,—and this he kills.

He goes on again, and the dogs bay once more and Balang Lipang runs after them and finds a Sambhur with fine, many-pronged horns—a fine big Sambhur.

The dogs bay again and Balang Lipang runs after them and sees a huge beast which he does not recognise, he does not know its name, but he spears it—it is unknown to him.

He goes on again, having got the huge beast. For a long time he goes on under the clouds, going into each river valley until he gets another animal—a Wild Ox.

He goes on, round and across the head-waters of the rivers and among the mountains, finding no villages, always in great jungles. He gets many animals of all sorts, of each kind.

(Then) he thinks: "I have got many animals now, I think I will go back to my father's land."

180. He collects up all the animals. They are so many, very many, that he thinks—"They are so many, it will be best if I try to wrap them in leaf."

He wraps them in leaf and tries them, finds they are very light, so carries them off.

He travels on, carrying the animals for a long time, and grows tired. He sees a large rock and he thinks: "I am tired carrying these animals. Best I rest here." And he sits on top of a rock.

He meditates—"Why do I sit here? Perhaps later on people will say I lied? It would be a good idea if I left a mark here now, so that they will know".

He kicks and makes marks, to remember him by, on the rocks, then on he goes.

He goes on for a long time, nearly a month, until he comes to his father's land at Long Marong Akan Dalan.

He arrives near to the village and calls out for his father: "Are you in the village? I have many animals, I got a great number, and one whose name I do not know"

Burong Siwang hears him and rushes out and comes to the end of the long-house and onto the platform and sees him carry many animals.

"I took the dogs, father, and I have returned with pig, barking deer, sambhur, leopard, wild ox, and one—the largest—whose name I do not know. What is it?" asks Balang Lipang.

Then Burong Siwang says to him, "This animal which is so large—how is it that you do not know it? We old people call it Tebadok", he says to Balang Lipang.

190. Balang Lipang follows behind Burong Siwang, and goes up into the house, to half way along the house, to his verandah. He takes off his loin-cloth and other jungle things and puts down the animals he has brought in

Burong Siwang says: "I want to talk to you, Balang Lipang. Your sister Dayang Supang has prepared rice-beer for you. What do you think—should we not summon other villages, villages near to us?"

There is Junkeloko, and there is Junkelokong. We should summon them.

There is also one, Balang Lipang, called Udan Panit, whose ears are so fine that if a man talks on the horizon he can hear it, Balang Lipang."

He tells one man to summon Junkelokó, who is like a sambhur deer, and Junkelokong, like a sambhur deer. But the house of Udan Panit was like the house of Balang Lipang, it did not move about.

All the people arrived and Balang Lipang took them to drink—for two days and three nights they did not sleep, he entertained the visitors. They sang and danced for Tokud Udan.

They drank for five days and did not stop, five nights and did not rest.

Those who cooked the animals Balang Lipang had brought back, and the house pigs he had killed, found it took a whole day to cook them all.

- Balang Lipang then told everyone to assemble together, all women, all children, all men, pregnant women too, old women too, tiny children too, before they ate (the meat). Balang Lipang told men to divide out the meat, the house pig flesh, all of it, equally to everybody. There was enough for everyone, a basket full for each down to the little children; and the rice was of the same amount!
200. He told them to drink again, after they had fed; they drank for two nights and two days, until the drink was finished. Then Udan Panit and Junkeloko and Junkelokong said to Balang Lipang. "We have been here a long time; the drink is finished and we should go home. For a long time we have not been in our own villages." Then Balang Lipang replied: "Alright, go home, Junkelokong, Junkeloko, Udan Panit, for my drink is finished—go today! I have nothing more to give you, my drink is finished."
- All the visitors then got up and put on their clothes, their hats, their other things, ready to go home. They go along the house and out onto the end platform and down the ladder and into the jungle and so on until they reach their villages.
- After they had all gone, Balang Lipang said to his father Burong Siwang, after talking of many things "How about your rice, father Burong Siwang? If there is little (left) we had better make a rice-clearing, or how shall we fare for food later—perhaps the villagers will starve, and what good is there in hunger?"
207. And Burong Siwang said to Balang Lipang, "You speak wisely, child. You shall lead the villagers to make rice-clearings, for if not they may starve later on, and that would not be pleasant", said Burong Siwang.

29. XII. 47.

BARIO.

Notes on the Song

1. *Long Marong* is 1½ days' canoeing down the Tutoh (main tributary of the Baram River) below Kubaan, which is one long day's walk from Bario, Lawai's village. The whole of that area is now uninhabited, and it never has been inhabited within memory or direct (spoken) history. These long village names correspond to the long names for people in these songs. Modern Kelabits seldom use the prefix Long (= river mouth) but call the villages by adjacent streams (= Pa), Pa Main, P'Umur, etc. (And see line 115).

2. In these 1232s, few men have less than four names though no living Kelabit has more than two. The full name here is Lel' Agang Kululong Balang Lipang, but on this occasion Lawai did not use this. Later I asked him why: "I am too lazy to say all that", he replied. This is characteristic of Lawai, and

also of Kelabit culture-elasticity generally. But whereas such looseness is possible in *Sordardal*, in *Adi* the full text must normally be used or the chorus accompaniment at the end of each "line" would be confounded. Lawai's "laziness" was not strictly normal even in this case.

12. This is a "bird" man, as is common in Kelabit mythology. Compare Singalong Burong in Sea Dayak etc.

15. Important qualities of Kelabit maleness.

16. Here red does not mean red in the European sense. It rather refers to a flush, high colour, a state of ferocity, a look of vigour and blood. Culture heroes are commonly both white of skin—a quality strain to the present day—and red of face. (cf. line 112).

19. The irregularity of line length is here partly compensated for by faster speed, often amounting to a gabble for long lines, and long drawn sounds for short. The chorus songs are also irregular, however, though less so. Much of the effect is obtained by a rapid high "run" in the penultimate syllables of a line, which gives an overall rhythm to the whole. It would be almost equally "accurate" however, in the case of *Sordardal*, to put the translated text into a prose form. But this raises other difficulties, and at this preliminary stage I prefer to follow a somewhat uncertain system of "natural intervals," unequal as these are in value and meaning. Slips of memory, and the tension of the song itself, may also influence line lengths and pauses to an appreciable degree.

29. It follows from the previous note (line 19) that punctuation is only used here when it is necessary, and when it clearly corresponds to the sense of the sung text. Indeed, when one first hears any particular song of this type, it is difficult to understand who is talking or what the link between some lines may be. There are frequent changes of "speaker"—as between lines 29 (end of Burong Siwang) and 30 (start of Balang Lipang), which may not always be indicated by any name or point, such as is normally adopted in Western cultures. This is even more difficult to make out if one reads someone else's literal rendering of an original text. So much of the sense comes from:

- (i) Very slight momentary changes in inflection by the singer.
- (ii) Familiarity with a song heard over and over again from childhood on, and occasionally discussed, or explained to the initiate.

My use of quotation marks etc. is therefore based on a rendering of both literal (legend) and verbal (song) emphases. Another factor here is change of tense, though this is much *exaggerated* in the present *Sordardal* due to Lawai's own rendering of it on this occasion.

43. A long-house as used by all the resident inland peoples of Borneo. "Verandah" (e.g. lines 41 and 44) refers to the front part of the house, which may or may not be open at the sides, and is usually not so with Kelabits. All long-houses, except those of some British North Borneo Tagals, are longitudinally divided from end to end by a wall, with family living quarters in the "back", visitors and bachelors quarters in front. For present purposes this latter is the "verandah." I have as yet found no better English term.

46. i.e. mother of Balang Lipang.

51. These courtesies are an every day routine of Kelabit good-manners.

52. The prefix Sina means Mother, and among Kelabits is commonly placed before the name of the husband to denote his wife when the couple have had a child. It is rare in old songs, though, and I suspect (for this and other reasons)

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that in this case Lawai has forgotten her full name. I believe the Kelabit usage may be comparatively recent?

53. Rice is generally spooned out of a locally-made earthenware pot, wrapped in "ginger" or other leaves of standard size, and eaten with the fingers. Two to three packages make a normal meal for these people.

56. He goes to the opening in the palm-leaf roof and throws out any remains, plus leaf wrappers, to the pigs. This is custom.

63. Therefore, it is now possible to ease up and hunt,—as the period when women can do most of the rice-tending is at hand.

67. The idea, as expressed in Kelabit, is necessarily somewhat simplified here. Burong Siwang has taken heads from other villages, and they have not as yet reciprocated,—an eye for an eye. Therefore, they are bound still to be on the trail of any relations or villagers of his, to square the account. Tit-for-tat is one of the dominant ideas in Kelabit life, extending down to the tiniest detail of borrowing a match.

71. Changes of tense are not unusual, especially in a pure solo such as this (cf. line 47 etc.) Many alterations and repetitions are made to get the required rhythm or because the singer slips or pauses. Meaningless but rhythmic sounds may be inserted *ad lib*, for the same reasons.

72. Long Midang signifies the house at the mouth of the Midang River. This system of naming villages is widespread among other groups, but is *not* normally used by the Kelabits. The prefix TOK also suggests an eastern (Dutch Borneo Murut) provenance for this enemy; the term, equivalent to Kayan and Kelabit Tama, signifies Father (cf. *Sina* line 52), and is still used there. Eastern enemies figure largely in Kelabit songs, but Tokid Rini is the chief hero of the southern Kelabits, who never use the Tok prefix themselves! (And see line 193).

74. The village has already been named by Burong Siwang (line 72). Indeed, his whole speech is clear incitement to his son. But to urge him more directly would be improper, specially as between father and son, in Kelabit manners (cf. 115).

79. This sudden drop in "length," after several highly-sustained breath-taking verbal runs, is characteristic, and Lawai uses the technique cleverly here to relieve a period of mounting drama; now we drop back into the details of a more commonplace set of incidents—almost literally a breathing space before the main "drama" which is to follow.

80. A particular type of hat made of rottan, leopard skin, dyed goats' hair, hornbills' feathers and beads (Kelabit: Temonong Lalid Balang). Its magical qualities are reflected on some of the oldest stone carvings of the area.

84. Down the ladder, a notched log; Kelabit long houses are raised 5 to 12 feet off the ground. There is usually an open platform at either end, largely used for wood-chopping and urination.

88. Omen birds. In the present case, probably a small Spider-hunter (*Aracnobera* sp.)

90. The additional K before Udan ("rain") is a typical Kelabit treatment of names, which, even with living persons, may be modified, momentarily or permanently, to suit phonetic or other convenience. Udan is the root word.

91. In the old days, no head-hunting expedition would be undertaken without such consulting of the omens. A large proportion were abandoned or postponed because of unfavourable signs.

93. A spider-hunter appeared and flew from left to right. Had it *at first* flown from right to left, this would have been most unfavourable.

94. This double-check is usual, and now the bird must fly in the reverse direction (right to left).

98. The Kelabits live in a dense tangle of mountains, from 3000 to 8000 feet, and there is no harder travel in Borneo. They are probably the finest walkers in the island and in physique second to none.

99. Balang Lipang was so big and strong that he pushed over a great tree with his feet as he went. In another Balang Lipang song he beats all comers in a tree-felling contest, and this theme recurs frequently in Kelabit hero songs. Sometimes the tree reaches to the clouds and is the bridge to the sky world and to conflicts there.

100. Although the village of singer Lawai (Bario) cultivates wet rice by irrigation, (as do a considerable proportion of the upland people), over most of the actual Kelabit plateau, as over most of inland Borneo, the *ladang* system of shifting jungle cultivation (felling a new area each year) is used.

102. See note on line 127.

105. This refers to a large track made by collecting firewood. Tokud Udan was so strong that he pulled immense logs which cleared conspicuous paths—whereas the average Kelabit path is narrow and irregular. This is another common "hero" theme, and in the *written* legends of Brunei the first Sultan's brother and his associates (who also "visited" the Kelabit country) made new branches of the Limbang River by dragging logs to make the Sultan's palace.

111. Village = long house, or group of 2-6 long houses. (And see note to line 16).

112. "Good" in the sense of aristocratic, rich, true to custom and brave. Class is important in Kelabit life, and however fine the character of a lower-class person, he may be spoken of as bad or evil. There are no special adjectives for good and bad in this sense; they can equally be used, with quite a different significance, of rice crops, buffaloes, swords or other classless things.

115. To Tokud Udan's name as given by Burong Siwang (line 72), is now added a second village name. Moreover this is the mouth ("long") of the same river which is referred to in the opening line as Balang Lipang's home (and see line 149). Singer Lawai could not explain this, and may have telescoped two ideas. But such name confusions are repeatedly in Kelabit folklore, as in the Tokid Rini cycle, where three characters, including the principal hero and villain, *all* have the same name. Another example occurs in line 193.

116. This sequence of declaring names is in accord with custom. The formula occurs in many of these songs, and is one of the ways they serve to preserve and "teach" etiquette.

119. The idea of "trying" a class equal is a powerful dynamic in Kelabit culture to the present time, though now finding expression rather in feats of strength, provocative talk, or (most importantly) contests of distributing wealth and hospitality.

127. Compare line 102. The symbolism of iron is frequent—iron bodies and iron houses in particular. There is some reason to suppose that iron is of fairly recent introduction in the Kelabit uplands, and it is certainly only within the last half-century that there has been enough of it for everyone's requirements. (Perhaps the first sentence of this line should have been recorded as a separate line on this occasion.)

130. This is less dramatic than the usual "play by play" account of the many such combats in Kelabit mythology—of which, incidentally, the most epic, though least "Kelabit" in character, is in a spoken (not sung) tale of the *Sekawo* type already described above.

141. Sent him staggering a tree's length (c. 100 feet).

144. This knife, explains Lawai, "could eat iron". He demonstrates the knife stroke—in just above the waistline, upward to the heart, fast.

149. Compare note to line 115.

156. Literally "I've been going round and round, father". Most songs of this type stress the length of time. A single combat commonly lasts a year, and several last ten. Here, as at many points, this version is simpler and more condensed than usual. Lawai is the only man in his village, Bario, who now sings this type, and he has probably evolved some "working forms" of his own, over the years. His versions of *Adi* (e.g. of culture hero Agan Tadun) are more exacting—in line with the less personal character of such singing styles, already mentioned.

157. Literally "number one good"—cf. note 112. This ecstasy over bringing back a head is no exaggeration of what actually occurs.

158. Special calls, songs, clappings and procedure signify the success of a "war" party, and these lead into an in-line song and dance, 3 times round the whole long-house, as indicated in subsequent lines. This ritual must be performed when any new head is brought into a house. "Purification" is not the precise equivalent, but it is not possible to go into the matter in detail here.

161. Water is poured on the incoming persons, and presently the whole house is awash—a sort of ribald fun to which the Kelabits will resort on small provocation.

162. i.e. the room of Burong Siwang and Balang Lipang.

162. The courtesies of drinking, as broadly indicated in this and the following lines, are even more marked than those of eating (see note to line 51).

166. Very large bowls were ritually used on these occasions. Of these survive but two good specimens—from the Kelabit village of Kubaan and Pa Mada—now in the Sarawak Museum.

167. He—Balang Lipang. It is theoretically "not done" to sleep on such occasions.

169. "To dry the head" signifies the period of its drying off and being placed in the long house for ritual purposes. The first use of a new head would be, normally, in connection with the naming of one or more children. In any case, the "killer" and his family will make a status-securing feast to mark, emphasise and consolidate the occasion. The purpose of seeking beasts was to provide meat. Cattle are only of recent introduction in the area.

170. Throughout, Balang Lipang is the paragon son in this song. By no means all songs teach the same moral—for instance, Tokid Rini's son nearly kills him.

171. See note to line 1.

172. Lawai considers he came over into the Libbun (*Dapur*), the longest of the rivers converging to form the Baram above Lio Matu.

173. The Lobang flows into the Tutoh much higher up than does the Marong. Lawai suggests Balang Lipang worked back that way.

174. The use of the "historic present" is particularly clear here, though (as already stated) too much importance should not be attached to exact grammar in this purely solo type of song, known now only to a few, who tend to adopt personal versions and to vary these according to personal whim (or the audience?).

177. Now very rare in this area except in the Ulu Bahau (Dutch Borneo) but previously probably common—see for instance the many seen by Sir Spenser St. John in his 1858 journey up in the Limbang (9). This part of the Balang Lipang saga bears similarities to a colourful version of the story of Simau'un, brother of the first Sultan of Brunei, recorded by me at Rangau, at the mouth of the Limbang River (near Brunei) in September 1947. A written Jawi text of this Rangau tale has since been obtained for the Sarawak Museum.

183. The wide range of Kelabit terms for emotional and nervous processes are difficult to interpret. "Thinks in his heart" is a near literal rendering of the idea here (if I understand it correctly).

184. Several rocks with alleged "heel marks" are assigned as the locale of this event.

189. Tebadok = Malay Badak, the Rhinoceros, (*Rhinoceros Sumatrensis*) probably extinct in Sarawak, due to uncontrolled hunting; still a few in Dutch Borneo (e.g. Ulu Bahau) and British North Borneo (South East district).

190. On this and other occasions he does not of course remove the long bark or cloth roll wrapped round waist and between legs. He may be merely loosening? The leading family of a Kelabit long-house generally live in the central room about equidistant from each end, as does Burong Siwang and his family.

192. These "houses" (villages) are of a type not previously known to me. So far, I have failed to place them. This and the next lines are of especial (because puzzling) interest, accentuated by Lawai's uncertainty as to their significance himself. There is even a suggestion of nomadism (line 194)?

193. This is a typical case of duplicate naming. One of the three neighbour villages bears the same name (villages are often called after the headman) is the song's "villain" (see lines 72 and 115).

194. It is not clear if this should be in oratio recta or not. The whole passage is obscure, and probably elided in this version. Lawai adumbrated: "These houses were exactly like Sambhur Deer (*paion*) and walked about like a *paion*." This may suggest some (ghostly?) link with Kelabit coffins, frequently made in this form.

Of Udan Panit (line 193 and note above), Lawai said, illustrating his aural powers: "If a man copulates a woman in another village, he knows", and he instanced the distance from Bario to P'Umur (half a day's walk). This bracketing over into the macabre is a feature of some of the other songs—Balang Lipang is perhaps the most commonplace of the heroes in this respect.

198. Such emphasising phrases would indeed be required to assemble all the people in a Kelabit village. *Everyone* in English has no such total significance in Kelabit, and one of the very hardest things to do is to get even all the *relevant* people together about any one thing at any one moment.

199. Women cook ordinarily, but men cook large animals, distribute their flesh at feasts. Any feast should provide *much* more than any guest can possibly eat. A smell of decomposition is the sign of successful hospitality. But Balang Lipang beat all records with a basketful each, even for small *children*.

206. Padi is actually referred to in this case. I have used an English word, as the meaning is clear.

207. This end is on a characteristically Kelabit note. First and last they are rice-farmers and fine ones. But it is not suggested that this, or any other song of this type, has a "purely Kelabit" origin, any more than have the Kelabits themselves. Even when the whole of the present material is worked out, it may be difficult to solve the development of these saga-songs, owing to the extreme paucity of information from surrounding peoples. With the Trusan and Limbang Muruts it may be too late now to recover anything of significance. From the Sarawak Kenyahs, Kayans and Punans we so far have virtually nothing at all, and that is broadly true of Northern Dutch Borneo too. Fortunately, we have—just in time—preserved some of the early Brunei manuscripts, and these will provide important links, I believe. But there is much (whether original or superimposed) unmistakably—and often uniquely—Kelabit in this song material, and so much light is thereby thrown on the whole development, background, incentive and mentality of Kelabit life. Quite apart from its *intrinsic* interest and the general importance of putting full data on record for at least one group, the study of Kelabit singing offers rich potentialities when *linked* (as in the present case) to a sociological study of actual life, as it is lived by these people today. This study will, it is hoped, be the eventual and gradual outcome of past and present sojourns in that wild, rich, difficult country.

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The Weaving Industry in Trengganu

(Received, May, 1948)

By A. H. HILL, M.A., B.Sc.

Since the liberation of Malaya the demand for textiles has given a new impetus to the weaving industry in Trengganu. This village craft is carried on in nearly a thousand Malay homes in the State, mainly concentrated in an area round Kuala Trengganu town and upriver as far as Paloh, comprising the Mukim of Chabang Tiga; and a few coastal villages, Kuala Ibai and Chendering, south of the estuary. The Chabang Tiga looms, on which some 600 workers are employed, are controlled by Tuan Bharu and his sister Tuan Sharifah who buy and process the silk before passing it out at piecework rates to the weavers. The industry is a colourful one in every sense and although marketing is arranged centrally, up to now with the assistance of the Department of Industry and Commerce, it still remains as it has been for many years a co-operative home industry, carried on entirely by women and free from the trammels of big business.

Through the kindness of Tuan Bharu and Tuan Sharifah I was allowed to visit the homes where the processing and weaving are done and to see details of the technique used in making the silk cloth. I am grateful for the assistance given me by Tengku Besar Mahmud ibni al-Marhum Sultan Zainalabidin, who until recently was in charge of the Department of Industry and Commerce; by Miss M. Dickinson, Personal Assistant to the British Adviser, Trengganu; and by Che Ali bin Long, Inspector of Malay Schools, Trengganu. Dr. C. A. Gibson-Hill has kindly allowed me to select illustrations from his collection of Malayan photographs.

I give below a description of the technical processes involved in making the cloth, and some account of the various types of cloth produced in Trengganu.

Initial Processing.

Chinese 2-ply silk thread is bought from importing houses in Singapore, through local Chinese Agents, in bundles (*bantai*) of 3 katties weight each. Thread for the warp (*loseng*) is finer than that for the woof (*pakau*), and each bundle contains 36 hanks (*tongkol*) which are further divided into 10 skeins (*gechik*), each weighing $\frac{1}{4}$ tahl. The hanks are separated and thoroughly washed in cold water to remove superficial dirt. The light straw coloured silk thread, which is not bleached, then passes straight to the dyers.

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Dyeing.

Aniline dyes of American manufacture are imported from China. It is claimed that British dyes cause too rapid deterioration of the silk fibre. The dyes used are reasonably fast and the old local vegetable dyes (e.g. *kesumba*, etc) are no longer used at all, except occasionally the kunyit yellows. Four different colours are bought; the three primary colours, red, yellow and blue; and, curiously enough, green. The dye crystals are dissolved in boiling water in an iron bowl (*kuali*) over a small open wood fire to make a solution of the required strength. At one mixing sufficient silk is dyed to make about eighty sarongs. The hanks are dipped one by one in the hot dye and vigorously squeezed for 10-20 minutes until the desired shade of colour has been obtained, then are rinsed in boiling and in cold water until the colour no longer runs. After about half-an-hour's rinsing the dyed hanks are hung on a horizontal bamboo pole to dry in the shade for 2-3 hours. This is intended to ensure no further shrinkage or fading.

Much skill is shown in the blending of the dyes in varying proportions to give minute but definite differences in shades of colour, which the local experts can identify from experience. A general distinction is made between light or medium shades (*warna muda*) and rich dark shades (*warna tua*). The following are among the commoner colour used:—

- (a) Mauves—*butir gemia*, *butir setar*, *ungu*, *ungu manis* (crimson)
- (b) Blues—*biru ayer laut*, *biru ungu*.
- (c) Greens—*puchok pisang* (leaf green), *batang bemban* (bottle green) *lumut*, *terusi* (turquoise).
- (d) Yellow—*kunyit* (lemon yellow), *kunyit chat* (royal yellow).
- (e) Browns—*kunyit pinang masak* (orange), *kunyit bata*, *butir kahwa* (chocolate brown).
- (f) Reds—*jambu* (scarlet), *darah ikan* (blood red) *asam jawa* (maroon).

Winding on to Spools.

The dried hanks are then stretched taut on a machine which has four strings connecting the ends of two interlocking bamboo cross-pieces (*daun ruing*) which open out to form a frame (*ruing*) about 12 inches square. The thread is run off on to a bamboo spool (*peleting*) of $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter which is connected to a winder (*rahat*). The end of the silk thread is twisted round the spool which is mounted on the end of a projecting metal axle (*mata*

rahat), slightly tapered to hold it firm and kept in position by a thwart tied to it with short rattan stays (*telinga rahat*). A driving belt (*tali rahat*) made of strong thick thread (*kelindan*) passes round the middle part of the axle and over a wheel made of wooden flanges (*daun rahat*) threaded with cord to form a cylindrical frame, which is mounted horizontally between wooden uprights and fitted with a handle (*langan rahat*). (There were the types of wheels used by Tuan Sharifah at her working centre; elsewhere we saw solid machine-turned wooden wheels replacing these more primitive types). After the hank of thread has been stretched on its frame this is placed in wooden guides so that it can revolve easily and the thread is rapidly wound off onto the spool. For the warp the spool is 4—5 inches long while that for the woof is twice this length. The spools holding the woof are now ready for use by the weavers.

Arranging the Warp

The threads for the warp are next arranged by so combining them that they form a repetitive pattern (*chorak*) when stretched on the loom. The design usually takes a tartan or check form, or one with simple straight lines of harmonising colours. This is pre-determined at the processing centre by selecting threads of various colours and winding them off the spools on to a special type of frame (*anian*). Spools containing thread of the required colours for all different effects to be produced in the finished cloth are fixed in the right proportions (usually 40—60 spools) in two parallel rows of a horizontal wooden rack (*metek*) by means of thin metal skewers (*lidi*) which fit through holes in the wooden frame.* The rack is about 5 feet long and one foot wide and is mounted on wooden supports at either end. The frame to which the threads are to be transferred is placed beneath the spool rack, and consists of two wooden bars about 3 feet long, one at each end, connected on extensible wooden guides. Each bar is fitted with a single row of upright wooden pegs (*anak anian*) about 8 inches high and about 2 inches apart. Adjacent to the last peg in the row is an extra peg (*kepala anak anian*). The frame is extended to a length convenient to the operator (*pengani*) who sits at the side with the extra peg on her right. The number of pegs is not always the same; on the one illustrated there are seventeen pegs, and sufficient warp for 10 sarongs is usually produced at one operation.

* The unit of cloth measurement is the *lok* which consists of 40 strands of the warp on the loom, normally one inch in width. The colour strips which make up the pattern are measured up as simple fractions of one *lok*. Thus at this stage of the process 3 - 10 - 20 - 40 etc. spools will be in use.

The operator pulls down the threads from the rack, gathering those required to make the border of the cloth in her hand. These are looped over the extra peg on the side opposite to her and are then cast on (*mengani*) to each peg in turn from side to side as she works towards the extra peg near her right side, where the threads are sorted into the component colours (*pungut*) and looped round it. The threads now placed out constitute the warp for the first line of pattern to be placed on one of the lines of heddles. The operator works back again to the further end of the frame, the new set of threads coming over the first set and constituting the corresponding warp to go on the other line of heddles. During this process the operator holds the threads between forefinger and thumb, guiding them skilfully from side to side. She now selects the threads required for the next line of pattern and the process is repeated until enough threads have been placed to cover the whole width of the cloth. Everytime she reaches the end nearest her she sorts out the pattern on the extra peg on which is built up the strips of colours (*rangi*) in the order which they will appear in the finish cloth. When sufficient threads has been placed out on the frame to cover the width of the sarong the strips of colour looped round the end peg are tied separately with white string, and all the thread is then taken off the frame and rolled into large bundles. The warp is now ready for the weavers.

Collecting the Materials for Weaving.

To the working centre come the weavers from their houses in the neighbourhood, bringing with them the detachable boards (*papan gulong*) which hold the thread at the foot of the loom and baskets to hold the spools for the wool and any special gold or silver thread which they may use. Standing on the paths outside they unwind the bundles of warp to their full length (about 60 feet), holding the threads carefully off the ground. The cables of thread already tied in their separate colours are mounted on a wooden slat in the correct order and spaced evenly in the order in which they will be attached to the loom. From this they are wound up carefully on to the board.

Weaving.

Weaving is an ancient industry and the Malay hand loom (*kek*) in design and operation is much the same as that of any other country. A brief description of its structure will suffice, the weaving frame holding the warp is stretched between 4 wooden posts (*tiang kek*) about 4 feet high and sloping down from a height of about 2 feet at the weaver's end to about 6 inches from the ground at the opposite end where the board holding the warp is fixed in slotted wooden guides (*pasong*) suspended from a crossbar. Another crossbar holds the heddles (*karap*) and the comb (*jentera*) and both bars rest on two horizontal wooden beams

running the length of the whole loom, about 8—10 feet, and fixed to the wooden posts which are held rigid by wooden beams socketed into the feet round the four sides. The weaver sits on a wooden bench about 5 feet long built into the loom.

For each loom there are several pairs of heddles. These consists of wooden rods (*geliging*) made of nibong clamped together and mounting fine white cords for holding the warp to each interlocking heddle. The usual width of a sarong requires a total of 1,680 warp threads. There are 20 heddles to the inch, two stands of the warp being passed through each of the tiny loops tied about 3 inches below the rods. Sometimes there are 3 threads per loop (*tiga sekarap*) and very rarely 4 to make a thick coarse material, especially if it is to be richly embroidered. The other ends of the cords are held by rods below the warp, connected by strings to the treadles (*jijak karap*). After threading (*mengarap*) the assembly is fastened to the loom by attaching either end of a pair of strings (*tali chaman*) to each heddle. At the top these strings pass through two short bamboo tubes (*chaman*) suspended at their centres from a crossbar. These swing in a vertical plane to move the heddles up and down in turn when the weaver presses on the treadles with her feet. Next the threads are drawn through the comb (*masuk champak*) by a bamboo or nibong hook (*pengait*), somewhat like a large flat crochet hook in shape. The comb consists of a row of teeth (*gigi jentera*) 40 to the inch, made of fine langkap wood shavings. These are held in a frame consisting of an upper part (*gerak*) with carved hand-grips and a lower part (*dagu*) joined at the sides by carved tenons (*keng*). The comb hangs by strings from a crossbar and is free to swing along the line of warp from the heddles up to the woof which it presses into position. The ends of the warp are attached to a thin bamboo slat which fits into a recess in a wooden bar (*pesa*) mounted on supports by the weaver's bench. Slots are cut in the ends of the bar which fit over notches on the supports, so that the cloth can be wound up as the weaving progresses. The warp frame is stretched taut by attaching the board holding the warp to a strong bamboo pole (*buloh penarek*) which is tied to a foot beam (*kayu penegang*) by several turns of strong twine. One or more pairs of wooden slats (*belira karap*) depending on the type of cloth being woven, are inserted in the warp, and separate the component strands according to the pattern required. If the cloth is a *kain songket* requiring the use of gold or silver thread to produce the characteristic raised pattern, another slat (*belirag bunga*) is inserted close to the heddles. The slats can be turned edgewise to the warp so that they force different sections apart for the needle weaving the gold and silver woof thread.

In its simplest form the weaving operation requires little description. The weaver moves the treadles with her feet and passes the spool holding the woof from side to side in a cigar-shaped case

(*lorak*). In the simplest type of cloth (*kain gelek*) one colour only is used; in others (e.g. *kain bugis*, etc.) the pattern outlined on the warp is followed either exactly or in harmonizing colours by changing spools as required.

Much greater skill is required in making the well known *kain songket*. This type of cloth possesses a more or less intricate repetitive pattern in gold or silver on a background of a single colour. For the main design the silver threads are carefully twisted round those of the basic colour when the edges are reached to ensure firmness, and the slats controlling the warp are changed as the design takes shape. For the borders a special type of bamboo embroidery needle (*chubang*) with a grooved tongue is used. The silver thread is wound round the base of the needle and sewn into the ward.

When sufficient material for a complete sarong has been woven a short length of the next sarong is completed, a slat being inserted up against the bar on to which the finished sarong has been rolled. The latter is then cut off with a sharp knife and the slat is fixed in the bar.

Into the centre of each sarong is woven a strip (*kepala*) of varying width often contrasting strongly in design and colour with the rest of the sarong. Simple in the unpretentious *kain bugis*, this is often of ornate design in the *kain songket*.

Types of Cloth.

It would need quite a long thesis to describe fully all the different types of cloth made by the local weaving industry. As is only to be expected in an art form which offers to the artist such a wealth of traditional designs on which to ring the changes, there is no rigidly scientific classification of the products. Types of which appeal to the public taste, or to sections of it, find a ready market all over Malaya. As popular lines are developed and extended they acquire an extensive and often elaborate nomenclature of their own. Fashions come and go in this country as they do in Bond Street. In general the locally-produced cloths may be grouped according to:—

- (1) their size and the way they are made up
- (2) the ground pattern (*chorak*)
- (3) the gold and silver embroidery, if any, used to ornament the main part of the cloth, the edges and the centre (*kepala or pantlat*), each of which are separately designed in the finer types of sarong,

(4) the method of dying used.

The normal full-size sarong (*kain bujang*) is woven in one piece (*sa-lerang*) 6-6½ feet long and is then sewn up end to end to make the familiar large skirt, which reaches just below the knees and is normally worn with seluar. The *kepala* appears, correctly, at the back of the wearer and the join is hidden by the folds of the wearer and the join is hidden by the folds of the garment in front, though there is a modern tendency among women to wear it with the *kepala* in front. The width of the sarong ('length' when worn) is limited to 42 lok, say 40-44", by the width of the loom, and is determined by the greatest distance through which the weaver can conveniently move from side to side during her operations. Greater widths for making larger sarongs which reach to the ankles are obtained by sewing together side by side two single pieces of cloth to make what is called a *kain kampoh* (*dua lerang*). The single piece is narrower than a full-size *kain bujang*, being normally about 24-30 inches wide; and to make it small heddles and comb are used on the loom. With a full pattern and a neatly embroidered border round the edges a cloth of indeterminate size is used by itself (*kain lepas*) for wearing as a short apron (*k. sampung*) with *baju* and *seluar*, or sometimes rolled up round the waist (*k. bekong*). A very fine *k. lepas* was included in the wedding gifts sent to Princess Elizabeth in October 1947 by Their Highnesses the Sultans of Malaya. Made in Trengganu before the war, it had a broad border exquisitely embroidered in gold thread (*benang mas*). Smaller sizes are worn loosely over the shoulder (*k. selendang*) by women, who also use them as head-cloths partially veiling the face (*k. kelubong*). As the traditional Malay head-dress for ceremonial occasions men wear the *destar*, made of finely embroidered cloth 18-24 inches square wound round the head in a special way. In Trengganu it is known as *kain setangan* (= *sapu tangan*).

The simplest type of unembroidered cloth is one of uniform colour all over, with no pattern (*k. gelik*), though it may have a narrow white border and a *kepala* of different colour, sometimes with thin pencil lines of white thread (*chinchang*) running through it. An example of the *k. gelik* is seen in Plate 6., No. 1., though owing to its decorated *kepala* this particular cloth would be more usually described as a *kain songket* (see below), and the embroidered lines as *chorak berdiri*.

As has already been explained the design on patterned cloths (*k. beragi*) is set out during the arrangement of the warp on the *anian*. In the simplest type the wool threads are of one colour throughout (*selajak*), forming a striped cloth of contrasted colours. Commonest is the *k. semerenda* which usually has broad lines of medium or dark colour running through a black background. A

variant of this is the *kain mastuli*, a name derived from a particular type of coarse unprocessed silk which used to be spun (*mengolak*) in the southern States of Malaya. This silk is no longer used, but the name has lent itself to a rather striking pattern, derived from the old locally-produced dyes which were used, in which broad stripes of mauve or chocolate-brown with white borders run through a background of green or brown.

Of the true *kain berchorak*, where the weaver follows the pattern on the warp in two or more identical or harmonizing colours, the cheapest and most ordinary is the *k. chorak muar* which has a simple check pattern of board squares in light pastel shades, greys, pinks and white. The most popular of the medium-priced cloths is the *kain bugis* of which there are many varieties. Its pattern is a close and often intricate network of small squares in which several colours may be used, usually on a green or red background. The chequered design may be sub-divided into small units by thin lines of light colour, and strips of the same colour may be grouped together to give a tartan effect. But the real tartan style is achieved in the *kain giling* where broad bands of colour cross each other in groups leaving 'holes' on a background commonly of yellow. These spaces may have embroidered flowers or other designs in them, and in general the *k. giling* is the only type of *k. beragi* on which needlework in gold and silver thread is employed to improve the design.

The finest types of finished cloths all belong to a class known generically as *kain songket* in which gold or silver thread (*benang kilat*) is sewn or woven into the material as it takes shape on the loom. The word *songket* (= *sungkit*, Wilkinson's Mal-Eng. Dict.) really means 'to sew' or 'to embroider' with the special type of needle (*chubang*) already described. But it has come to be used of any kind of cloth decorated with gold or silver thread. The weaver divides the warp threads into segments by means of a transverse wooden slat, which is turned up so that its edges force the segments apart for the shuttle to pass through. The gold or silver thread is then woven into the cloth in the usual manner, sometimes passing on top of as many as five consecutive warp threads. Then the heddles are changed over, the slat readjusted and the operation repeated. This gives the characteristic low relief of the design on such cloths. If the pattern is to be an intricate tracery of connected thread running all over the cloth a third heddle, without treadle and operated by hand, is placed behind the two ordinary heddles. The fully woven *songket* is called *songket penoh* to distinguish it from that worked with a needle

(*songket chubang*) where a thicker stronger kind of thread (*benang mas*) is often used.

It is in the *k. songket* that the *kepala* blossoms out into a real work of art. The two most commonly met with in Trengganu are the *kepala puchok rebong* and the *kepala laui ayam*. Of the *k. bernagi* only the *k. giling* can normally have an embroidered *kepala*, while the *k. bugis* and others of the type usually have *kepala* of contrasted but not very striking pattern known generally as *kepala jari*. Often the *chorak giling* is superimposed on *kain ikat chuai* (see below), onto which gold *bunga labur* and *kepala* are sometimes embroidered. To call such types hybrids would be to do less than justice to the subtle harmonies of pattern and colour which are produced, and to misconceive the art of cloth designs. It is rather that the technical devices employed allow of so free a style as to defy systematic nomenclature. The few details I have given here can serve only as an introduction to a subject of considerable complexity.

Most brilliant and gorgeous of all the *k. songket* are those to which the term *k. benang mas* is specifically applied. In these rich garments every space on the cloth is filled in to make a regular interlocking pattern (*telok berantai*) in gold against a background usually of black or dark monotone. Those made nowadays never seem to achieve quite such a fine finish as the older ones which they imitate. Their prototypes have been jealously guarded for generations as family heirlooms, relics of the days when such costly things were *larangan raja*, the perquisite only of royalty. On the market they fetch collectors prices.

Mention must be made of another and very different type of pattern which is produced by partial dyeing of the material during the manufacturing process. In one process, called *ikat chuai*, the bundles of undyed silk thread after the arranging of the warp are unwound, and selected short lengths of the cable are firmly bound with banana skins tied tightly to them with strong thread. On immersion in the dye bath the untied portions only receive the colour. Two or three successive immersions may be made, the positions of the bindings being changed between each. The light colours of the first dyeing may be deepened to dark greens, dark mauves and even black by combination with dyes of other colours, while other parts of the thread may be left undyed. The wool in the weaving may be of one colour only or it may be similarly dyed to the pattern required and woven in so that colours fall into their correct positions, the weaver pulling the thread from side to side until it is in exactly the right place. This slow work calls for much patience and is now rarely done. One form of the finished cloth, called *k. chorak jepun*, has a curious mirror-image pattern

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of curves rather like the 'ghost' signatures of the schoolboy's scrap-book. It contrasts strongly with the right-angled regularity of all the *k. beragi*. Another favourite pattern is one having a succession of weird flaky streaks zigzagging in steps across the cloth, called *k. perang rosak*.

Other popular effects produced by this process are known as *bunga rumpul*, and *selunbar nibong*.

In another process various simple geometrical designs are printed onto the woven but undyed cloth with a wooden stamp. The edges of these designs are then stitched tight. They are then bound round with thread, or if large by using the banana skin technique, before the rest of the cloth is dyed. By this method the well-known *kain pelangi* are produced. The patterns are rather crude and resemble some of those produced by batek work on fabrics seen in Malaya.

This short account of Trengganu weaving is not concerned with the economics of the industry. But it is interesting to note that the rates of remuneration vary considerably according to the degree of skill required to make the different types of cloth. For the small-size *k. selerang* the weaver receives about fifty cents a piece, for a *k. bujang* eighty cents. One of these takes only a day or two to weave. For the ordinary *k. songket* rates start at about two dollars and go up to eight or ten dollars for the fully worked *k. benang mas* which may take several weeks to complete. An ordinary *k. Bugis* sells retail at about fourteen dollars and the choicest *k. benang mas* for anything up to two hundred dollars, so it is evident that labour costs are small and the profit to the manufacturer and the middleman presumably high.

The Nobat and the Orang Kalau of Perak.

by W. LINEHAN

(Received January 1951)

One of the most important and the most interesting parts of the regalia of the royal family of Perak is the collection of musical instruments known as *naubat* or *nobat*. Although the beginnings of the State of Perak, as we know it, do not date back earlier than about 1528 A.D., the rulers are traditionally descended, through a son of the last Malay ruler of Malacca, back to the kings of ancient Singapore, and through them to that legendary founder of the house of the Malay kings, one of the princes who made a miraculous appearance on the mountain Bukit Siguntang in Sumatra.

The *nobat* was an essential possession for Malay royalty of ancient origin. A ruler, to be properly installed, had to be installed by beat of the *nobat*. The principal instruments of which it was composed were the *négara* (or *nékara*) a drum which at one time must have been made at least partially of metal, two other drums (*géndang*), a silver trumpet (*nafiri*) and a clarinet (*sêrunai*). The keepers of the *nobat* of Perak are called *orang kalau*. The tunes or staves of tunes which they play on special occasions are called *man*, and the fees which they were entitled to collect from the people were called *beman*.

One of the earliest references that we have to the *nobat* in Malay literature¹ is the account in the *Malay Annals*² (p. 59) which relates that a queen of Bentan, named Sêri Bênian, or Pêrmaisuri Sakidar Shah, was the first to acquire the dignity of using the *nobat*, that after her other rulers adopted the use of it, and that she invested Sêri Têri Buana, who was to found ancient Singapore, with a similar dignity.

The Annals (pp. 84-88) record that Sultan Muhammad Shah the third ruler of Malacca (*fl.* about the third decade of the 15th century) established an elaborate court ritual prescribing *inter alia* the honours with which envoys from other princes and their messages should be received, and the honours to be paid to persons who received titles:

(P. 85): If a letter came from Pasai it was received with the full state regalia, the trumpet (*nafiri*), the *négara* drum and the white double umbrella, for both the Pasai and the Malacca princes were of equal

(1) The earliest is probably that in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*: v. the romanized edition published in JSBRAS., No. 66, 1914, p. 12.

(2) In this paper references to the *Malay Annals* are to the Raffles No. 18 text edited by Winstedt, JMBRAS., XVI, Pt. III, 1938.

rank. If a letter arrived from elsewhere it was accorded only the drums (*gëndang*), the clarionet (*sérunai*) and the yellow umbrella. If the sender was a fairly important prince, the trumpet, one white umbrella and one yellow umbrella were accorded.

- (P. 86): "The persons who received titles went in procession. Some were allowed merely the drum (*gëndang*) and the clarionet (*sérunai*); some were given the trumpet (*nafiri*); some were given the drum *nigara* and the white umbrella. In ancient times it was exceedingly difficult to obtain the privilege of the white umbrella and the *nigara*; even the yellow umbrella and the *nafiri* were hard to obtain."

About 1454-1458, in the reign of Sultan Mansur Shah, the forces of Malacca captured by Sèri Bija 'diraja conquered the Siamese-held kingdom of Pahang and captured the Siamese governor Maharaja Sura. In reward for his services Sèri Bija 'diraja was appointed governor of Pahang: (P. 120): "Now, for his meritorious services in capturing Maharaja Sura, Sèri Bija 'diraja was granted by Sultan Mansur Shah (the privilege of) the umbrella (*payong*), the drums (*gëndang*), the clarionet (*sérunai*) and the trumpet (*nafiri*), but (the privilege of) the *négara* drum was withheld."

Further references in the *Malay Annals* to the *nobat* are as follows:

- (P. 163) In the reign of Sultan Mahmud of Malacca, dispossessed by the Portuguese in 1511, the Raja of Kedah went to Malacca to ask for, and was given, the privilege of the *nobat*.
- (P. 168): Sultan Mahmud, hearing of the death of the Raja of Pahang, refrained from using the *nobat* for seven days, and sent an envoy to Pahang to proclaim his successor, 'Abdu-l-Jamal. And, here, we encounter the term *tabal* (an Arabic loan-word meaning drum or kettledrum) used as equivalent to *nobat*: "The ceremony of *tabal* was carried on night and day for seven days and nights, and Sultan 'Abdu-l-Jamal was proclaimed ruler to the accompaniment of the royal band (*di-nobatkan*)."
- (P. 176): A ruler of Pahang, put to shame by the abduction of his fiancée, Tun Teja, by the Sultan of Malacca, abdicated in favour of a relative. "His Highness went to live at Lubok Piletang.³ For so long as the royal band (*nobat*) could be heard, he kept on up-stream, until the royal band was no longer heard and there he settled."
- (Pp. 176-177): A Siamese conqueror of Patani asked for, and was given, the privilege of the *nobat* by Sultan Mahmud of Malacca.
- (P. 204): Sultan Mahmud, ruler of Malacca, now dispossessed by the Portuguese, proclaimed Raja 'Abdul, Sultan of Siak to the accompaniment of the royal band (*di-nobatkan*).
- (P. 210): The dispossessed Sultan Mahmud gave his son-in-law, the ruler of Pahang, the privilege of the *nobat*.

(3) Corrupt for *Pelang*. The tomb of this ruler still exists at Lubok Piletang (v. *A History of Pahang*, JMBRAS, XIV, 1936, pp. 17 and 233). The Shellabear text of the *Annals* gives the name correctly.

The *Misa Melayu*⁴, an 18th century history of Perak, contains the following information about the Perak *nobat*: (pp. 22, 39) The Sultan did not use the *nobat* for seven days as a mark of mourning. (p. 88) The Sultan did not use the *nobat* for twenty days as a mark of mourning. (p. 89) There is reference in a poem to the *raja bér-nobat*: the *raja* duly proclaimed by the sound of the *nobat*. (pp. 149-150) The Raja of Selangor came to Perak. The Sultan of Perak had a set of *nobat* made, proclaimed (*tabalkan*) the Selangor *raja* and gave him the gift of the *nobat*. At the end of the book (p. 155) is given a list of the 16 tunes played by the Perak royal band. The original 8 tunes "came out of the sea"; the other 8 were added by Perak.

The late Sir Frank Swettenham, in an unpublished diary, dated April-May, 1874, records that the Sultan of Perak carried two drums (*gëndang*), one *négara* drum larger than the other *gëndang*, one *nafri* and one *sérunai*.

It is noteworthy that neither in the *Malay Annals* nor in the *Misa Melayu* does *orang kalau*, the name of the keepers of the royal *nobat* of Perak appear. The first reference to these keepers is given by W. E. Maxwell,⁵ who writes, "... Among the Malays, the use of the *naubat* is confined to the reigning Rajas of a few States, and the privilege is one of the most valued insignia of royalty. In Perak, the office of musician used to be an hereditary one, the performers were called *orang kalau*, and a special tax was levied for their support. The instruments are of several kinds; the great drum is called *gëndang naubat*." The great drum must have been the *négara* which is greater than the others and is the drum of the *nobat*.

W. W. Skeat⁶ refers to the drums and trumpet of the Jelebu and the Selangor regalia. According to the *Misa Melayu* (pp. 149-150) and the statements of the present *orang kalau*, the *nobat* of Selangor was derived from Perak. Among the Jelebu regalia he mentions (p. 27): "the royal drums (*gëndang naubat*) said to be 'headed' with the skins of lice (*kulit tuma*) and to emit a single chord of 12 tones when struck" and the "royal trumpet (*lèmpiri* or *nèmpiri*)." This regalia, according to his informants, came into existence themselves (*lèrjali sèndiri*) at a spot between the two peaks of a burning mountain (*gunong mèrapi*) in the country of Menangkabau in Sumatra.

(4) Edited by R. O. Winstedt, Singapore, 1919. Another MS. of the Perak work, with the title *Hikayat Salasilah Perak* is mentioned in van Ronkel's *Catalogus in Bijdragen T. L. en Vk. 7, No. 6, 1907*.

(5) *History of Perak from Native Sources*, JSBRAS., No. 9, 1882, p. 104, footnote.

(6) *Malay Magic*, 1900, pp. 25, 27 and 39 seq.

R. J. Wilkinson⁷ records that the Sultan of Perak, at his installation, wearing regalia, must sit absolutely motionless while the band plays a certain series of notes a certain number of times; each series is called a *man*; the Sultan fixes the number of *man* that he can sit out, but the number should not exceed nine or be less than four.

Sir Richard Winstedt⁸ describes the royal musical instruments of Perak. He mentions five instruments: two drums, a "kettle-drum" (*négara*), a silver trumpet and a clarionet. The three drums had wooden frames and faces of hide. According to the Malays, their frames were of a mysterious wood *kayu jarun*, and their faces were made of the skins of lice. He specifies the occasions on which the instruments were played. To his list must be added the important occasion when the *nobat* was used in the *pélas négèri* ceremonies⁹. His account includes the following information:

Twelve tunes (*man*) are played on the royal instruments, there being special tunes appropriate for joyful and sorrowful occasions and for royal processions.

The royal instruments are part of the original regalia of the State, and are closely associated with its guardian spirits (*jin kérojaan*).

One of the chief duties of the Sultan Muda¹⁰ or State magician of Perak in by-gone years was to "keep alive" (*membaluh*) the state weapons, to conduct a feast for the royal musical instruments and to sacrifice to the guardian spirits of the State. At the annual ceremony held for this purpose the State magician and his assistant "did obeisance to the regalia, offered delicacies to the thousand guardian spirits and poured upon the royal drums and into the royal trumpets drink, which vanished miraculously as though imbibed."

The chief of the *orang kalau*, the Dato' Sétia Guna, has the duty of airing the royal instruments from time to time, when they are placed in a kiosk encircled with a line of fowl's feathers stuck in the ground. Any young prince or chief who crossed that line was liable to a fine of \$25/- which went to the *orang kalau*. The *orang kalau* are descended from a follower of Raja Suran—who came out of the sea, as told in the Malay Annals. They receive no salary but have the right to levy a tax of 25 cents a year on every Perak family (*kélamén*).

Winstedt¹¹ says, "Negri Sembilan lacks the Muslim accretion of the *naubat*." This statement must be taken to refer to the family of the Yang di-pertuan for, as we have seen, Jelebu possessed a *nobat*.

(7) Quoted by Winstedt in *Papers on Malay Subjects: Life & Customs*, pt. 2, 1909, p. 74 (1925 edition, p. 72).

(8) *The Perak Royal Musical Instruments*, JMBRAS., VII, pt. 5, 1929, pp. 451-453.

(9) V. the paper, *Traces of a Bronze Age Culture* (Section VI) which appears in the present issue of the Journal.

(10) The Sultan Muda is known nowadays as *Pawang Raja*.

(11) *Kingship and Enthronement in Malaya*, JMBRAS., XX, pt. 1, 1947, p. 136.

R. J. Wilkinson¹² includes the following information in his account of the *nobat*:

A European sovereign is "crowned"; a Malay ruler is "drummed" (*di-tabal*). The use of such a word for such an event is a tribute to the importance of the *nobat* that we find in Malay courts.

Nobat, the Persian *nau-bat* may be translated as "nine items." Four items are the "haunted" instruments; four are unhaunted; the ninth is the conductor himself. The sacrosanct instruments are (1) the big palace-drum or *nobat-drum*, a heavy signal-drum, historically the *tabal* that stands outside a palace and announces a ruler's movements to this people, (2) the silver trumpet (*nafri*), (3) the two *nigara* or kettle-drums. Numbers 1 and 2 were holy in the first degree; the *nigara* drums only in the second degree. The "unhaunted" instruments were two fifes and two drums.

The *orang kalur* (or *kalau*) alone may sound or even touch the instruments. Anyone else who handles them risks a serious illness; to tread on a drum is death; to blow the *nafri* or silver trumpet is instant death—not at the hands of man but through the power of the ghost that dwells within. Great drops of perspiration are said to gather on the body of the *nafri* when the ruler is dying; and once in every two or three years the haunted instruments have their powers renewed at a solemn service of incantation conducted by a king in the Black Art.

The Moslems of Pasai imported from India an installation-drum (*géndrang tabal*) and the instruments of a state band (*nobat*) and "drummed" the Pasai ruler on his conversion to Islam. The Malacca ruler who was first converted to Islam must have been "drummed" in the same manner.

The royal instruments in the Indian *nobat* are the *nigara* described by Shahinda (*Indian Music*) as follows:

Nakkara. The royal drum. It accompanies the *śēnai* (*śērunai*) in the band *nobat*. They are two in number one smaller than the other They are huge metal cups with thick hides stretched on their surface.

"We are left to wonder what was the music at the court of the Shailendra kings of Palembang. Nothing in the *nobat* can be traced back to their time; yet the royal *gamelan* of the Sultan of Jokja, the finest in Java, is one that was in existence in pre-Mohammedan days. The old Sri Vijaya rulers had surely a band of their own."

There is no evidence, apart from Wilkinson's statement, to show that the *nigara* of the Malayan *nobat* ever numbered more than one. His statement as to its relative importance is referred to below.

In July, 1949, by the gracious permission of H.H. the Sultan of Perak, I had the opportunity of interviewing some of the leaders, past and present, of the Perak royal band. Among those present at the interview, were:

(1) To' Sétia Guna (Ngah Mat Noh bin Alang Bagok), a former leader of the band, now a feeble and inarticulate old man.

(12) *Some Malay Studies*. JMBRAS., X, pt. 1, 1932, pp. 79 and 82-86.

- (2) To' Sétia Indra (Chu bin Yusuf), also a retired leader, a most intelligent personality, who optimistically claimed that he was 16 years of age when the Engagement of Pangkor was signed in 1874.
- (3) Muhammad Hashim bin Chu, son of (2), the present headman.
- (4) To' Nara di-Raja (Mat Drus bin Mat Sah), an old and feeble man, whose title descends traditionally from *Muntab Lumbu* or *Bueh Lumbu*.¹³ He it is who whispers the secret name into the ears of the Sultan at the enthronement ceremony,¹⁴ and recites the coronation formula (*chiri*).
- (5) Penglima Perang Kiri (Haji Mat Drus bin Kechil), a well-known *pesawang* (medicine-man) in the district of Kuala Kangsar.

My information was derived chiefly from (2) and (5).

The headship of the *orang kalau* is hereditary, passing from father to son born in wedlock, or in default of issue to the nearest relative. On one occasion an illegitimate son was made head. He died soon afterwards of a mysterious disease, one of the symptoms of which was a great swelling of the limbs.

My informants were unable to make any suggestion as to the origin of the name *kalau* or *kalur*. Wilkinson, in his dictionary, does not give the origin of the word, but Clifford and Swettenham, in their unfinished dictionary, give a word *galor*, "the tracing of

- (13) *Muntab Lumbu*, literally, the "Vomit of the Bull", the name given to the old Malay family which claimed descent from *Bat* (or *Bath*), the herald who came from the foam flowing from the mouth of the bull owned by the women who found the miraculous princes on Bukit Siguntang (*Malay Annals*, p. 56). The family nowadays prefers the more polite term, *Bueh Lumbu*, "the Foam of the Bull." V. also, Wilkinson, *loc. cit.* pp. 78 and 84.
- (14) This secret name is *Bichitram* or *Vicitram*: Winstedt, JMBRAS., XX. Pt. I, 1947, pp. 129, 131. One of the three princes who miraculously appeared at Bukit Siguntang, the traditional ancestors of the old Malay kings, according to the *Malay Annals*, styled himself *Bichitram*. It is interesting to note that there was a legendary king of the Chams called *Vicitrasagara*, *Vichitrasagara* or *Vicitra* to whom was attributed the construction of the primitive shrine of Po Nagar at Nhatrang (Kauthara). This shrine was destroyed by Javanese invaders in 774 A.D.: v. Maspero, *Le Royaume de Champā*, p. 43; Coedes, *Les Etats Hindouistes d'Indochine et d'Indonesie*, 1948, p. 164.

Maspero (p. 43) says: "The inscriptions make allusion to fabulous traditions by which the kings affirmed the antiquity of their race. These traditions are double: the one seems to belong to the country of the 'Clan of the Areca-nut Tree', the other to that of the 'Clan of the Coconut Tree'. The first speaks of a 'king blessed by fortune name Vicitrasagara' or more simply 'Vicitra' who, in the year 511 of the age Dvapara exempt from the pollutions of the age Kali, erected on the soil, in the country of Kauthara, the mukhalinga of Cri Cambhu.' This name recalls that of Sagarā, king of Ayodhya, of the Ramayana. It is doubtless only a local transposition of legends come from India and has consequently no historical value." The Cham and the Malay kings thus had legendary ancestors who bore an almost identical name. In assessing the value of this fact we must, however, take into account the possibility that the name in the *Malay Annals* (composed in the 15th century) was obtained from the Cham refugees who settled in Malacca in that century.

anything from its end to its beginning (*dari ujung sampai asal*).” In both dictionaries, *usur galur* is given the meaning “going back to the origins, tracing anything from its end to its origin, origin, pedigree.” According to Wilkinson, *meng-galur-galur* means “to investigate antecedents.” It may be that *kalau* or *katur* is akin to these expressions; perhaps we may translate *orang kalau* as meaning “men who have to do with the genealogies” or “genealogists.” That interpretation would not of course be descriptive of their modern functions. However, another possible and perhaps more likely derivation is from the Cham word *kalau* (Malay, *pulau*) meaning island(s). *Orang kalau*, on that interpretation, would mean “Men of the Island(s).”

The band now numbers fourteen players, each with his instrument, but only six of the instruments (Pl. 11) have any real significance. These six, according to my informants, are as follows:

- (1) the *nigara* (var. *nihara* or *nangkara*), formerly made of a special kind of wood, and with a special kind of skin for the drum-head, but nowadays made only of ordinary material. The name *nigara* has in the past been applied to “kettle-drums,” i.e., drums made partially of metal, but the present *orang kalau* have never heard of their *nigara* having been made of metal. I showed them photographs of the bronze-age drum from Klang, in which they were intensely interested, but they had never seen drums of metal.

The *nigara* drum, they said, was the most important instrument in the band (it figures in the centre of Pl. 11). This view as to the priority of the *nigara* over all the other instruments in a *nobat* band is borne out by the extracts from the *Malay Annals* already quoted, and by an account of the *nobat* of Kedah¹⁵ wherein it is stated that the *nigara*, there styled *nabara*, is the most important of all the instruments.

- (2) Two other drums, formerly made of special wood and with special hide for their tops, but now of ordinary material.
- (3) and (4) Two silver trumpets (*nafiri*). The one shown on the right on Pl. 11 is an old one; the other is modern.
- (5) A clarinet (*strunai*).

These instruments are sacrosanct and anybody, but their keepers, who dares even to touch them risks the displeasure of the tutelary *genii* of the band with its accompanying penalty of death or disease. These *genii*, if the taboos are not infringed, have a kindly influence. The *hantu pemburu*, the spectre huntsman, being an entirely evil spirit, is not one of the *genii* guarding the instruments. The practice of making periodical offerings to the spirits of the band, my informants said, has been dropped.

(15) Magazine of the Historical Society of Sultan Abdul Hamid College, vol. I, 1950. According to the *Malay Annals* (p. 165), the dignity of the *nobat* had been conferred on Kedah by Mahmud, the last Sultan of Malacca.

One of the most interesting points about the royal band of Perak is the significance of the name *man* given to the "tunes" or "staves of tunes" which it plays on solemn occasions, such as the installation of a ruler. My informants were unable to give any information as to the origin of the word, but it is probable that these *man* were originally *mantra*, magical incantations. That the word *man* is derived from *mantra* is borne out by the fact that in Cham language the word *man*, derived from the Sanskrit *mantra*, means *inter alia* a formula of incantation.

The expression *beman* is derived from *bea-man*, "the dues or taxes for the (privilege of reciting the) *man*."

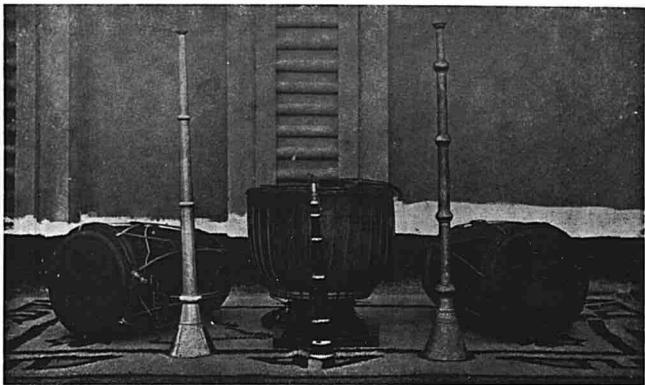
It is probable that the *man* of the Perak band, were originally *mantra* or formulas of incantation intoned to the accompaniment of the drums and other instruments. In the course of time, when the form of Hinduism and Buddhism affected by the ancient Malays came to be replaced by Islam, the intoned formulas were discarded, but the accompaniment of instruments to which they were recited remained, these latter being the *man* as we know them to-day.

The *orang kalau*, with their band, are the representatives of an ancient and well-nigh forgotten cult, a cult whose religion was a form of Brahminism or Buddhism. In pre-Islamic days they were, no doubt, priests, rhapsodists, and keepers of the royal genealogies. To-day, though they are still respected, especially on the important occasion of a Sultan's coronation, their former importance has sadly dwindled.

The pre-Muslim Malay kings must have had a band of their own by whatever name it was called, and the most important instrument in that band was probably a drum approximating to the *nĕgara* drum. Akin in appearance to the *nĕgara* are the big, single-faced *gĕndang raya* of Malaya which are used as signal drums.¹⁶ These too must have had a magic significance.

It is not unlikely that the *nĕgara* and the *gĕndang raya* are the successors, in the Malayan region, of the great bronze-age drums.

(16) The term *gĕndang raya* is sometimes applied also to the long, tubular mosque-drums more usually styled *tabob*.



The *Nobat* of Perak

The Elimination of Slavery in North Borneo

by K. G. P. TREGONNING

(Received August 1952)

The elimination of slavery within the territories of the British North Borneo Company took over twenty years. It is a meritorious yet little known aspect of the administration of the Company in which the first steps were being taken several years before a British Chartered Company was formed.¹

North Borneo, or Sabah or Saba, to give the territory its Brunei and perhaps Biblical² name, was acquired by Europeans in 1877-78 as the culmination of a movement that began in 1865 with the purchase by Claude L. Moses, the United States Consul to Brunei, of a large tract of Brunei land to the north. A short lived and disastrous American Colony on the Kimanis River ensued, at a site named "Ellena" by its leader W. Torrey, to be followed by the acquisition of the ten year lease from Torrey by Overbeck, the Austrian Consul-General in Hong Kong and formerly a whaler in the Behring Sea. Failing to interest Bismark, and rejected by Austrian capitalists, he was supported by Alfred Dent, the young head of an Eastern Commercial House, in whose employ he had once been.³

He went to Borneo in 1877 and secured fresh leases from the aged Sultan of Brunei, who nominally controlled the West Coast, and from the Sultan of Sulu, in possession of some of the East. Before returning to Europe where he and Dent were to struggle through the process of forming a Company and of obtaining government recognition, he placed representatives, animated "keep off" signs at Tempasuk and Papar on the West Coast, and, in January 1878, in Sandakan Harbour, at the former 'Kampong German' of W. C. Cowie's on the East.

North Borneo had been declining for over four hundred years, and by the 1870's she presented a very different picture

1. The original documents quoted in this article are taken, unless otherwise noted, from the Papers of the British North Borneo Company now held by the Colonial Office, which have been made available to the writer through the courtesy of Sir Dougal Malcolm (a former Director of the Company) and Sir Philip Lloyd (the Permanent Under Secretary) for the compilation of a History of the Company, 1881-1946.
2. Psalm 72, Verse 10: The Kings of Tharsis and of the isles shall give presents, the Kings of Arabia and Saba shall bring gifts.
3. Public Record Office, London. F.O. 12/54. Cabinet Memoranda by Sir J. Pauncefote, September 1879.

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from the time when Pigafetta, chronicler of Magellan, had been received at Brunei with royal pomp and ceremony. Piracy and slavery was widespread. There was an almost complete absence of law and order. Virtual anarchy prevailed, especially on the East Coast, outside the sphere of interest of any European Power. W. Pryer, the Resident deposited in Sandakan Bay, reported that the entrance to the harbour was frequently blockaded by the pirates and slaves who swarmed unchecked in the Sulu Sea. They had made coastal trade almost nonexistent, as it was far too dangerous. The mighty Kinabatangan River, up which were caves lined with birds' nests, a Chinese delicacy, was blocked by a hostile chief. There was little trade with the interior, as the inland tribes feared to approach the coast, where waited the Sulu slave dealers. A minute steamer owned by W. C. Cowie called once every three months and took away a few bundles of rattans. There was no other connection with Labuan, the British colony on the West Coast, except the occasional native craft that slipped past the pirate fleets. Slavery was an accepted institution, and slave raids on the coast, with their "slave boats containing cargoes of unfortunate starved wretches in such a state that it turned one's stomach to look at them" were frequently to be seen.⁴

Overbeck instructed the three of them that it was of great importance that they obtain the sympathy and goodwill of the native population while at the same time not countenancing any barbarous actions. Their national and domestic institutions were to be respected and not interfered with, and nothing should be done which would give cause for complaint. He advised them to invite the chiefs to sit on the bench and try cases, and that no land belonging to a native should be sold.⁵

The power of the three widely separated Residents was so limited that no attempt at an immediate amelioration of the conditions prevailing was possible. At one stage Pryer was reduced to bare feet and ran out of food,⁶ while Pretzman at Tempasuk narrowly avoided being massacred.⁷ But a marked improvement in law and order, especially on the east coast, soon showed itself. Here Pryer, a man of strong personality and firmly convinced of the worth of Sabah, was able to secure the goodwill of the chiefs in the Bay to such an extent that he withstood an attempt to eradicate the new Europeans organized by Cowie and

4. P.R.O. F.O: 12/58 Consular Agent Pryer to Governor of Labuan, June 5, 1880.

5. Overbeck to Pryer, August 29, 1878.

6. G. Mewmett to Pryer, August 10, 1878.

7. W. Pretzman to Pryer, September 30, 1878. (See also the Tempasuk Diary, 1878-1881).

his friend the Sulu Sultan, and later a threat by a Spanish gunboat that claimed Sandakan for Manila.⁸ Leading his native allies, he cleared the Bay of pirates and built a new port near the harbour mouth. With the aid of a British warship he smashed a pirate and slave stronghold at Tungku, and cleared the Kinabatangan and Labuk Rivers of Sulu and Balignini slave dealers.

By the time the drawn out intrigues and negotiations of Dent and Overbeck in Europe had born fruit, and Britain, mainly through a desire to protect the flank of her immense China Sea trade had decided to grant a Charter, piracy had been largely suppressed from the East and West Coasts, and slave raids greatly reduced. Security of life, the pre-requisite for any regular government, had been obtained.

In the Royal Charter that the British Government granted in November, 1881, to Alfred Dent and his British North Borneo Company, Clause 7 stipulated that "The Company shall to the best of its power discourage, and, as far as may be practicable, abolish by degrees, any system of domestic servitude existing among the tribes of the coast or interior of Borneo; and no foreigner, whether European, Chinese or other, shall be allowed to own slaves of any kind in the Company's territories." This clause had been suggested by Dent when he first applied for a Charter in 1878, and the first Proclamation made by W. H. Treacher, the excellent Colonial Officer whom Dent secured as Governor was that publicising it.⁹

He had already called for Slave reports from the three Residents. They give an interesting account of the conditions prevailing in 1878, and reflect the gradual improvement. Pryer reported that when he first arrived in Sandakan Bay he had not been able to get a single person to work for wages for him. "They offered to work if I would buy them, but to work for wages was then looked upon (and by many still is now) as much more degrading than being a slave. The position of a Resident under these circumstances was a peculiar one."

He reported that there were very few slaves in the interior, once the Mohamedan fringe on the coast had been passed. In some cases a village, which was engaged in a blood feud, would find it had one more skull than its rival village. The purchase of

8. P.R.O. F.O. 13/53. W. Treacher (A/Governor, Labuan) to F.O. May 14, 1878; Diary of W. Pryer, September 4/7, 1878.

9. And also clause 8 (The Company will not interfere with religion) and Clause 9 (The Company will have careful regard to native customs, especially land tenure).

a slave from the coast and its presentation to the opposing side would leave them equal, and the feud would lapse. Sometimes a slave was secured so that his head would settle another issue; no woman would accept a man as her mate unless he showed a skull as a sign of his manliness.

On the coast the Sulus knew only two classes, slaves and masters. Slavery often was very slight and the slave sometimes was entrusted with long commercial voyages. But again, slavery was occasionally very brutal and severe. Debt slavery was practically unknown, everybody being a slave already.

Pryer outlined the steps he had taken to abolish slavery. He was freeing all slaves who ran to him with a complaint that they could substantiate of ill-treatment. He said the occupation of North Borneo by the Company had deprived the slavers of a source, and their raids had abated. "Sulu was the great market," he said, speaking of conditions in 1877, "and here the Balignini, whose entire business then was kidnapping, brought their captives from far and near. There are now in this Bay men who have been captured within a mile or two of Singapore long ago, as well as others from far up the Philippine Islands or from the Dutch possessions and the Moluccas. In those days, the Balignini had undisputed possession of the seas, and as late as 1878, 600 people were captured in this neighbourhood and carried off for sale. But our arrival has greatly changed things, and as the first relapse to old customs was promptly punished by the bombardment of Tungku, there has been (in this district) no kidnapping since. Palawan and Sulu are the only markets left."

He was not prepared to recommend the total abolition of slavery as it would immediately alienate the entire coastal population and in any case could not be enforced. He thought that greater efforts should be taken to stop the supply of slaves reaching North Borneo from Sulu by prahus, and also by British vessels. He said that when a slave was ill treated he bought him from his master, paying \$40 for a man, \$60 for a woman, and put them to work to pay off their debt. With more money he felt he could free many more.¹⁰

Witti the Resident at Tempasuk, reported that conditions on the West coast had improved very little in the three years that the Europeans had been there. They had almost no power, and had not been able to gain the support of the natives and bring a

10 Borneo Correspondence Volume II W. B. Pryer to Governor Treacher October 5, 1881.

revival of trade on the scale that Pryer had achieved on the east. Wittt said that slavery was going on almost unchanged. Slaves were carried to the coast in Lanun and Sulu bottoms, and were landed at Luru, Sulaman and Mengkabong, and in Marudu Bay at the great slave centre of Bengkoka. He named numerous slave dealers, and estimated that one in every three of the Mahomedans along the West Coast Rivers was a slave.

All that he had been able to do to discourage slavery at Tempasuk was to state to slave owners in 1880 that the police would no longer be ordered to capture deserters, and that slaves coming to the station for help would not be put into prison but their case fairly enquired into. This had produced better treatment, he said, especially in their food. He had made wounding or killing a slave a criminal offence, and had forbidden slave owners in Brunci territory to pursue their slave if they fled into North Borneo. He had made it customary for debt slavery to be modified over a large area to the extent that the debt was diminished according to the duration of the debtor's servitude. He had checked the dealings in and employment of slaves by British Chinese, and he agreed with Pryer in that the problem was primarily a coastal one; there were very few slaves inland. He thought a display of force against such a universal and long established institution would be fatal, yet felt that the goodwill of the indigenous people could be retained if the abolition of slavery was proceeded with gradually and carefully.¹¹

This principle had already been accepted by both Dent and Treacher, and it was embodied in the "Provisional Rules and Regulations concerning Slavery" that Treacher proclaimed in October 1881,¹² shortly before the Charter was published. In them he stipulated that no foreigner, whether European, Chinese or other, was allowed to own slaves of any kind in the territory of Sabah. But he was forced to exclude from the definition of foreigner all natives of Borneo or Celebes or Sulu who were domiciled in the Territory for five years previous to its transfer. They were permitted to own slaves, and in their case, and in that of all other natives, he stated that all absconding slaves would be returned to their owner unless they could purchase their freedom, at a price to be fixed by the Resident, or could prove cruelty by their master. Further, he forbade the importation of slaves for sale, and decreed that in keeping with custom a slave could not be transferred from one master to another without his consent unless authorized by the Resident, and in any case no slave family

11. Borneo Correspondence Vol. II Wittt to Governor, October 1 1881.

12. Borneo Correspondence, Vol. II Governor to Court of Directors, October 27, 1881.

could be divided. Treacher stated that ten years hard labour or a fine not exceeding \$500 or both were the maximum penalties for offences against these Provisional Rules, but due to the very limited power of the Company prosecutions were not vigorous and in the south east, in the wild Darvel Bay area, it remained a dead letter for many years.¹³

But a few years later, with the administration on a much firmer footing, and with the inhuman wholesale importation and exportation of slaves for sale a thing of the past, the Governor felt able, on the second anniversary of the granting of the Charter, to advance a step further in the suppression of the institution, in his 1883 Slave Proclamation.¹⁴

Treacher said that according to the ancient custom of the territory slaves could be classified under two headings. Firstly, there were the *Ulun ulih pēsaka*, known commonly as *Anak amas*, who were slaves that had belonged for several generations to the one family. Three generations of direct relatives having been in a family would constitute a slave an *Anak amas*, and by custom such a slave could only be sold out of the family with his consent. He was treated well usually, granted a good deal of liberty and was considered as almost one of the family. There were also the *Ulun ulih bēli*, the bought slave, a slave without any rights or place in society, who could be disposed of with or without his consent, and in all ways a *bona fide* slave as the term was understood.

The Governor then laid down provisions for the further abolition of slavery. As well as repeating the earlier Rules, which forbade any foreigner to own slaves, and which forbade their importation for sale, he decreed that henceforward all slaves brought into the territory with their owner had the option to remain with their master or accept their liberty. Any slave who could show he had been smuggled into North Borneo after November 1, 1883, whether for sale or not, was free. Free also was any slave woman who had had illicit connection with, or a

13. A. H. Everett, the Resident at Papar, reported to Governor Treacher when requested for a Slave Report that he did not know enough to submit one. Following the publication of the Provisional Rules, he wrote to the Governor stating that he was not enforcing them, as the institution was too widespread to be reduced without a revolt. His objections were answered by Treacher who reminded him of the Charter. Everett subsequently resigned, and as Rajah Brooke's agent in Brunei figured in the controversy that led to the British Protectorate in 1888, and the annexation of the Trusan and Limbang Rivers by Sarawak.

14. Proclamation XIII (1883) Borneo Correspondence, Vol. VIII, Governor to Court, October 26, 1883.

child by, her master or any other person with the connivance of her master. Natives of the territory were forbidden to go to other countries and there purchase slaves, even though there be no intention of selling them in North Borneo. The transfer of slaves from one owner to another must receive the permission of the Resident, who, in the case of the "Anak amas" must ascertain that he was willing. A fee of \$2 would be necessary. All slaves-running away from foreign countries would be free men in Sabah, and none would be returned to their old master. For the present, slaves absconding from their masters would be returned unless they could show cruelty or could purchase their freedom. And finally, all children born of slave parents after November 1, 1883, were free and any one attempting to treat any such child as a slave would be guilty of an offence under the Proclamation.

This Proclamation earned Treacher the congratulations of the Court of Directors in London,¹⁵ who laid emphasis on the fact that his ability to proclaim all slave children free only two years after the granting of the Charter was a striking instance of the success of the administration. He was advised to press on with abolishing slavery, while avoiding any suggestion of offending the religious and other customs of the people he ruled.

For some time the Court had refused to authorise the transfer of a slave to another master, not realizing that it was a long established custom which was a factor in the amelioration of the institution. Treacher pointed out that this domestic slavery was very light, and often when a slave, usually a female, was unable to get on with the members of the master's family owing to incompatibility of temper, a transfer was arranged at the slave's request. As such a transfer would need the approval of a government officer, he doubted whether any abuse of the custom would be likely, while its suspension would in many cases involve the slave owner in hardship no less severe than the slave. The ban of the Court was lifted.¹⁶

But the power of the administration was too weak, and the visits of the Royal Navy gunboats too infrequent, for this Proclamation to be enforced strictly in all parts of the territory, and it was nearly twenty years later before slavery was finally eliminated. One of the least controlled areas was the Darvel Bay area on the south east coast, inhabited by wild Bajows, water gipsies who cared for no control at all. Attempts to stamp out slavery there were complicated for some time by the reluctance of the Sandakan

15. Treacher, Vol. 2, Court of Directors to Governor, December 21, 1883.

16. Borneo Correspondence, Vo. IX Governor to Court, Febuary 6, 1884.

authorities to use the little force they possessed. The position of the boundary was unsettled, and for many years it was not known where the administration of the Company met that of the Dutch. The issue was made more complicated by the old faulty mapping, the extravagant northern claims of the Batavian authorities, and the wildness of the area.

Governor Treacher advised Pryer in 1884¹⁷ that it would be advisable to send a British Officer into Darvel Bay if it could be afforded, but that the Dutch must never be allowed to bring forward the argument that the Company were unable to govern without bloodshed, and as the only issue that would be likely to arouse controversy was the anti-slavery regulations, Pryer should warn him to keep the peace and otherwise maintain for the moment a masterly inaction. Pryer was not able to send a European, nor any police, and the native clerk he despatched there reported being chased by slavers across the Bay right to the foot of the jetty at the experimental agricultural post at Silam, where the presence of a European saved him.¹⁸ Pryer went to Darvel Bay, reported that the tribes there resented the accounts they were hearing of the Government's policy of freeing slaves, and recommended that as the border was still uncertain the development of Darvel Bay, although fertile, had better be deferred.

However, gold was discovered nearby, up the Segama River. Treacher forbid Europeans to enter the area, sent news of the discoveries to China, and decided that a European Officer must be appointed. A pre-fabricated house was prepared in Sandakan and an Assistant Resident-in-Charge appointed in December 1885. He was told his main responsibility was to keep the peace on the gold fields, which he should do with the minimum application of the Penal Code and the maximum use of his intelligence. With regard to coastal slavery, he was told "interfere as little as you possibly can. The district is almost purely a native one at present, and as far as may be cases should be settled according to native custom. This can best be done by the paid chiefs. Keep the police in the background and travel around as much as you can. Keep on the most friendly terms with the Sulus and Bajows and interfere with them as little as possible. Do not allow Chinese to settle where they would be robbed and murdered, and above all do not exceed the vote allowed you in the Estimate."¹⁹

17. Borneo Correspondence, Vol. IX, Governor to Pryer (Resident, East West), February 12, 1884.

18. Borneo Correspondence, Vol. IX, Resident E. Coast to Governor, June 9, 1884.

19. Borneo Correspondence, Vol. XIII Governor to Court, enclosing Memo to F. Callaghan, Assistant Resident-in-Charge, Darvel Bay.

A rare visit of a Royal Navy vessel enabled Treacher to take more positive action. An enquiry into cases of kidnapping, piracy and slave dealing amongst the Bajows resulted in a native attack followed by the bombardment of their kampongs around Ommandal and the destruction of their prahus. Treacher returned a week or so later, met all the chiefs, found everything peaceful and a lesson learnt.²⁰ At the same time, he stamped on another aspect of slavery, arresting in Sandakan three Chinese on a ship from Sulu. They had several young girls tied up in their cabin, destined for sale in Singapore. They were sent to jail, and henceforward every ship was scrutinized and her captain questioned.²¹

However, in Darvel Bay the lesson taught by the Royal Navy was not lasting. Callaghan, the Magistrate-in-Charge, reported in 1892 that the importation of slaves into the area had ceased and the kidnapping activities of the Bajows had vanished. The Chinese slave owners and retailers had lost nearly all their slaves and were practically ruined. The transit trade to Dutch territory was still persisting although on a greatly reduced scale.²² But by 1895, when economies had forced the Company to relinquish their patrol boat and in other ways neglect the island studded bay, the position had deteriorated alarmingly. Slavery was again widespread. The number of Bajows had increased greatly, piracy again was common, the payment of Poll Tax and other impositions was ignored, and the injunctions of the visiting Governor to plant thirty coconuts yearly in lieu of Poll Tax was laughed at and everywhere ignored.²³

A prominent Chinese trader named Toonah, fleeing from Spanish blood and fire tactics in Sulu, had been placed in Darvel Bay by the Government, his jetty named Semporna and various concessions granted him in the hope that his great influence with Sulus and Bajows might produce order in the Bay. But by 1897 he had died, and the islands off Semporna had become the slave rendezvous for traders from Sibuto and Bolungan. In exchange for their gunpowder they bought slaves, and the District Officer reported that he did not have sufficient trustworthy men to stop it. An escaped slave told him in Semporna that the usual price

20. P.R.O. F.O. 12/73 Governor to F.O: July 16, 1886; also B.N.B: Herald, July 1886, and Borneo Correspondence, Vol. XIV, Governors to Court, June 29, 1886, (in which he reports destroying 30 prahus and burning 3 villages with no loss of life on either side.)

21. B.N.B. Herald, February 1886.

22. B.N.B. Herald, June 1892 (Monthly Report of Magistrate-in-Charge).

23. Borneo Correspondence, Vol. XXIX, Governor to Court August 27, 1895.

for a slave was a barrel of gunpowder. The lack of a launch severely hampered the District Officer and he begged the Governor to supply one.²⁴ Governor Beaufort, with a native rising on his incompetent hands, instructed him that if the Bajows were otherwise well behaved not to worry them for slaves and arms at the moment.

It was not until the Sulu Archipelago was occupied by the United States following the Spanish defeat in 1898 that slavery on the East Coast was finally eliminated. The Spaniards had never been able to stop the traffic in slaves from Jolo (Sulu) although they had occupied the island for nearly twenty years, and had patrolled the neighbouring waters for several hundred.²⁵ Their uncertain hold on the island at their moment of departure is well shown by the record left by Mrs. Pryer, who with her husband visited the island in 1898.

At Jolo, she noted,²⁶ the little city had a stone wall completely encircling it, including the sea front, and entry was through a pair of large iron gates on the pier. Although she envied the fashions of the Spanish women and found the town enchanting, half continental, half oriental, with a broad boulevard lined with trees, houses nestling between acacias, flamboyants and coconuts, she was kept awake at night by the incessant cries of "Alerte" passing from one watch tower to the other. No Spaniard, she wrote, dared to venture outside the town, and children were gathered carefully to their homes each evening for fear they might be stolen and sold by the Sulus into slavery.

A year later, when an American cruiser called at Sandakan, the importance of effective policing of the Sulu Archipelago was urged upon the Americans, in view of its flourishing slave trade and piracy. The Governor told the American Commissioner²⁷ that posts should be established at Siassi, Bangow and Tawi Tawi, as there was a regular slave route from Sulu to Dutch Borneo via Omdadal in North Borneo which the Company had been able only to check, but not prevent. Although assistance had been sought from the Dutch, they apparently had their hands full in

24. Borneo Correspondence, Vol. XXXIII. District Officer, Darvel Bay to Governor, May 22, 1897.

25. For the history of Sulu, see Najeeb M. Saleeby, *The History of Sulu* (Bureau of Science, Div. of Ethnology Publications 4, (2), Manila, 1908).

26. Diary of Mrs. Pryer, June 23, 1898.

27. Borneo Correspondence, Vol. XXXVII Governor to Court, July 1, 1899.

Achin, and had never participated in stamping out the curse,²⁸ and the slavers were still selling North Bornean subjects in Dutch territory. American authority rapidly grew effective, and by the beginning of the twentieth century slavery on the East Coast of Borneo had ceased.

It lingered a little longer on the West Coast, despite the presence of Labuan, the small island that had been a British Colony since 1846. Its possession had enabled piracy to be driven from the sea, but no attempt to eradicate slavery was made until the British North Borneo Company assumed the administration of the land opposite. The task of the Residents was made more difficult in the early 1880's by the refusal of the Labuan Governor to regulate the sale of gunpowder and fire-arms, despite the plea by Governor Treacher that in many cases the gunpowder was traded for slaves, and that the institution, in a particularly debased and cruel form, was flourishing in the Sultanate of Brunei across the Bay. The gunpowder, Treacher was told, was used mainly for saluting and ceremonial purposes. He reported that at Labuan no check at all was taken to see that firearms and gunpowder were not sold to kidnappers and slavers, but it was not until he himself was appointed Governor of Labuan, several years later, that he was able to control the sale of gunpowder to Brunei and North Borneo.²⁹

The small independent rivers that remained inbedded in the side of the Company's cession from the Sultan of Brunei were an additional difficulty, being excellent centres for Brunei slavers to penetrate to the interior where the Muruts readily exchanged humans for gunpowder. The main centre of these slavers was the market at Lawas, a small river flowing into Brunei Bay. The Inanam River, from which raiders subsequently looted and burnt the Company's settlement on Gaya Island, was another refuge for slavers and kidnappers, while the Padas Damit River was another. Several of these rivers were ceded to North Borneo, but slave raids continued from the remainder, particularly from Lawas.

28. Borneo Correspondence, Vol. XXXIII. Governor to Court. January 6, 1891. "Quite recently many of our subjects have been sold into slavery in Bolungan. Neither the Sultan nor the Dutch Controller have taken any steps to check this nefarious traffic.... I trust the Court will obtain the services of one of H.M. Ships, the only effective way of ending slavery on the Dutch coast." Unfortunately, the R.N. rarely interceded.

29. Private Letter Book of Chairman of Director. Chairman to Governor, December 19, 1883.

The curse was vigorously attacked, not without opposition from those they were protecting. In 1891, for example, a follower of the Chief of Lawas was arrested in the interior of North Borneo, and sentenced to five years gaol for kidnapping and slave selling. On his way under escort to the coast an attempt was made to rescue him by the Muruts, the people whose children and relatives he had been prevented from buying. They were driven off only after losses on both sides. They saw in him not a slaver but their only source of extra alcohol and gunpowder.³⁰ As the Brunei slavers were buying their gunpowder in Singapore a ban on its export to Brunei was then secured, and the Governor of the Straits Settlements renewed the ban annually "because he had ascertained that gunpowder and arms were introduced into the country for the purpose of buying slaves."³¹

Protests to the Sultan of Brunei against the actions of the river Chiefs nominally under his control were quite useless. The Sultanate was in the last stages of collapse, and he had little authority, no force. Slavery and numerous other vices flourished unchecked, revenue dwindled, law and order vanished. The state of affairs became ever more pitiful as the century drew to a close. It was most unfortunate that Great Britain, who had established a Protectorate over the country in 1888 and thus effectively prevented any other Power from interceding, decided it would not pay to govern it herself.³² She did, however, acquiesce in the additions of territory gained by the Chartered Company and Sarawak at the expense of Brunei, and to that extent assisted in the elimination of slavery.

The North Bornean administration was strengthened in 1891 by a Proclamation³³ making it an offence for any village to harbour a kidnapper, slave dealer, head hunter or any other criminal. Further offences were the with-holding of information relating to the whereabouts of any kidnappers or other criminals, and the retention in the village of any one as a slave. From that time on the reports on slavery on the West Coast were all of Brunei or Dayak bands collecting Muruts in the interior of North Borneo, and selling them in Lawas. In 1896, Governor Beaufort gave details of several such raids, and said they would continue as long as there were Brunei controlled rivers going into the interior of the Company's territory, and as long as the Brunei nobles could buy gunpowder.

30. Borneo Correspondence, Vol. XXIII, March 3, 1891.

31. Governor of Straits Settlement to Colonial Office, September 22, 1891.

32. P.R.O. F.O. 12/77. Memo. from R. Herbert, C.O. to Sir Julian Pauncefote, F. O. (1888).

33. Official Gazette, March 1891. Proclamation III, (1891).

The simplest end to the ineffectual government of Brunei which permitted these abuses³⁴ seemed to Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Minister, a partition of the country between North Borneo and Sarawak. This he recommended in 1900.³⁵ Both Governor Clifford and Birch were in favour of a British Resident. Although this was not done until oil was discovered several years later in the rump of territory the impecunious Brunei nobles had not sold, the cession in 1902 of the few remaining Brunei rivers between the southern boundary of the Company and the northern outpost of Sarawak, and the establishment of several District Officers deep in Murut territory³⁶ so strengthened the North Bornean Government that Governor Birch was able to proclaim in December 1902, twenty-one years after the Charter, that "no form of domestic slavery will in future be recognized and all attempts to revive any form of slavery will be dealt with under the Penal Code."³⁷

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34. Borneo Correspondence, Vol. XXXII. Governor to Court, November 30, 1896. "The Orang Kaya went up the Padas sometime ago, and has returned with news that the slave trade is still going on..... Several raids have been made from the Lawas River.
35. P.R.O. F.O. 12/113. F.O. to High Commissioner for Borneo April 27, 1900. Mr. Chamberlain agrees that it would be for the interest of the people of Brunei that the present administration should be brought to an end...and (partitioned), on clear understanding that adequate compensation would be paid to the Sultan.
36. Borneo Correspondence, Vol. XLIII. Governor to Court, July 4, 1902. (After describing the monthly slave raids into the interior, recommends a post at Runday which would stop the illicit sale of powder and arms, and check slavery).
37. Official Gazette; December 31, 1902. Proclamation XVII (1902)

Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Malaya (1952-53)

The Investigations at Johore Lama.

(Received March 1954)

Volumes 24 & 25 of the *JMBRAS* include short summaries of recent archaeological discoveries in Malaya, contributed by the late P. D. R. Williams-Hunt.¹ It was intended that these should continue to appear annually in this section of the journal, but no MS covering 1952 had been received from Williams-Hunt at the time of his death in June, 1953. As far as can be ascertained, nothing of importance had come to light during the previous year². The only finds of interest in 1953 were those connected with the former Malay capital at Johore Lama, on the Johore River. Investigation of this site was begun by Williams-Hunt and Paul Wheatley (of the University of Malaya), early in 1953, and continued in August of that year by G. de G. Sieveking, with the assistance of those associated in writing this report. Further papers on the subject will appear in the successor to the former *Journal of the F.M.S. Museums* (1905-41).

Whether or not there was an ancient settlement on the site of the present village of Johore Lama is a matter of controversy. It is, however, probable that the defensive works which still exist in its vicinity were constructed about 1540 A.D. to the orders of Ala'ud-din, second surviving son of the last Sultan of Malacca. From then until 1587, when it was sacked by the Portuguese, the fortified city was the capital of Johore, and it appears on many maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Diogo do Couto gives a near-contemporary account of it which merits attention: a translation kindly prepared for us by I. A. Macgregor runs,³

This city is at the point of the Malacca peninsula, outside all the shoals in 1½ degrees of North latitude, and two leagues up a river that is very wide at the mouth and very narrow upstream and yet so clean and of such good depth that big ships may anchor at a short distance from the beach. . . . The city lies on a hill that runs parallel to the beach for 1½ shots of a falcon. [It is] surrounded by very stout wooden walls of double thickness, and by others with traverses, which are surrounded with platforms for the fighting men. And in the middle of the side of the city that faces the anchorage there was a bastion in a very high position which mounted a *serpent* and a *camel*.

1. For the years 1946-50, in *JMBRAS*, 24, (1): 186-191. For 1951, in *JMBRAS*, 25, (1): 181-190.
2. Personal communications, M. W. F. Tweedie & Prince John Loewenstein.
3. Translated from Diogo do Couto, "Decadas", Lisbon, 1778-88, 21: 469-70.

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And immediately below it, where a tree stood, there was a Moorish lion and above the tree, which was big and leafy, there were many *chicorros*, pieces that are smaller than *hall-cradles*. On the seaward side of this fort there was another [bastion] which they called 'Cotabato', which means earth fort, for it was made of mud brick walls and roofed with great beams, thus forming a storehouse below; and above there was a camel, two camellets and a falcon. And because the strength of the city lay in this fortress, it was well fortified and maintained, and, to strengthen it more, it had a breastwork immediately outside, which surrounded all these mud brick walls; and inside there was a square with houses around it for the accommodation of the soldiers who were guarding it; and on the city-ward side this Cotabato was fenced with a stockade of thick poles with a ladder and a gate — the entrance of the fortress, opening on a street that led to the king's palace. And from the side wall which faced towards the first bastion, another, with traverses, stretched as far as an obliquely placed watch tower, in front of which was a large [street], the chief one of the city, which also led to the palace and crossed the length of the city, that is, 1½ shots of a falcon; and above this wall of mud brick there was a stockade of very thick poles and stakes mounted on high earth walls; and on the landward side there was nothing more than a simple stockade without tower or bastion, for they feared nothing from that side; and the seaward side of the city was completely surrounded with a good ditch full of spikes and dangerous caltrops. And the city was made stronger by its resemblance to an island, being surrounded by creeks on both sides. And, inside the city, the entrances of the streets had been blocked up with stockades of stout timber. And the suburb which dom Antonio (de Noronha) burned stretched along the sea shore.*

4. The words shown in italics in the passage given above include the names of at least four kinds of cannon. All four were pieces used by, or known to, the Portuguese, three being of European origin and the fourth certainly not of Malay origin. It is, of course, possible that do Couto records only the forms with which he was familiar, but on the whole this is unlikely. The more probable explanation is that though the defenders had a number of pieces of heavy ordnance, they could not manufacture them. This view is certainly supported by Valentijn's description of the guns given to the Malays by the Dutch in 1605 to assist them in repelling subsequent Portuguese attacks (see Gibson-Hill, *JMBRAS*, 26, (1): 186): the modest donations noted on that occasion would have contributed little to the Malay defences if the latter had been able to cast their own cannon. The English falcon (or faucon) had a bore of 2½-2¾ inches, and fired a shot weighing about 2½ lbs. The specifications of the various forms of cannon varied slightly from one country to another, and from time to time, through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Italian, Nicholas Tartaglia, writing circa 1537-43, gives the point-blank range of the faucon as 320 yards: this figure is repeated by Wm Eldred in his "The Gunner's Glasse" of 1646: a table of sixteenth century Spanish cannon quoted by Manucy ("Artillery through the the Ages," U. S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, 1949) puts it at 417 yards, but from the weight of the shot the Spanish falcon seemingly corresponded to Tartaglia's *minyon*, a gun firing a ball 3½ inches in diameter and weighing 3½-4 lbs. The serpent of this text is probably the *culverin* (Fr. *couleuvre*, from It., *colubro*) a much larger, heavier piece, firing a shot weighing 17-19 lbs: smaller versions, usually called demiculverins or hastard culverins, were also known, roughly equivalent

Despite the destruction of the city in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the site was never wholly abandoned, and the memory of the old capital still persists among the local population. During the nineteen-thirties G. B. Gardner⁵ and Dr H. G. Quaritch Wales⁶ visited Johore Lama, but from their reports it seems that they confined their attentions to the kampong, where pottery might be found, and ignored the fort. In 1932 the Johore Survey Department carried out a topographical survey of both village and fort: this was afterwards published in Winstedt's history of Johore⁷. In 1953, as we have noted, attention was again focussed on Johore Lama and it was visited by two further expeditions, both of which received valuable help from students of the University of Malaya.

On the occasion of the first of the expeditions of 1953, which took place in March, Williams-Hunt conducted a preliminary survey, concentrating on two main points. In the first place a large quantity of potsherds was collected from the surface of the ground in the neighbourhood of the kampong. After a preliminary inspection he circulated a typescript report (dated 1 April, 1953) in which he stated that the sherds collected consisted mostly of Swatow blue-and-white crackle ware, together with some finer blue-and-white porcelain: the reign marks are said to range from Hsuan Te (1426-35 A.D.) to Wan Li (1573-1619 A.D.). Mixed with them on the ground were a number of fragments of small, tuberculated bowls of Sawankalok ware and, not infrequently, small sherds of pottery stamped with formal designs, and occasionally showing traces of glaze. Apparently he did not discover any pieces bearing the lotus design which Wales found at the neighbouring site at Kota Tinggi, and at Srokam, in Kedah⁸.

The other aspect of William-Hunt's investigation concerned the fortress on the hill above Tanjong Batu. Here the ramparts

to the 12- and 9-pounders of the eighteenth century, but relatively longer. The camel was a much shorter gun, firing a shot of 15-16lbs. The Moorish lion was a form of bombard or mortar, possibly of Turkish origin. "Half-cradles" presumably refers to a kind of light gun mounted on a crutch, but its precise identity is not known to the present writers. The *chicorro* (not translated) was apparently the smallest of the pieces used by the Portuguese, and seemingly a hand gun or very light wall piece.

5. See G. B. Gardner, on "Ancient beads from the Johore River as evidence of an early link by sea between Malaya and the Roman Empire" (*Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1937: 467-70), and "Notes on some ancient gold coins from the Johore River" (*JMBRAS*, 11, (1), 1933: 171-6).
6. See H. G. Quaritch Wales, on "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya" (*JMBRAS*, 18, (1), 1940: 63).
7. See Sir Richard Winstedt, *op. cit.*, map between pp. 20 & 21.
8. See H. G. Quaritch Wales, *op. cit.*: 44 & 60-3.

were cleared of vegetation by a team of aborigines, and a new system of fortifications discovered on the northern side of the town. Altogether some 1100 yards of the perimeter defences were cleared: these were subsequently surveyed by Wheatley. Whereas it was previously thought that the northern approaches to the old city were unfortified, the new survey showed a ditch up to ten feet deep on this flank, in places reinforced by an earth rampart. Moreover, the shoreward angle of these northern defences was protected by a strongly fortified salient projecting along the coast towards the mouth of the Sungei Johore Lama. At one point slumping of the cliff face had carried a length of this rampart into the main river, while in the north-western angle of the fortifications the *kétua kampong* of Johore Lama had levelled out the irregularities of rampart and ditch to provide a platform for his house⁹. Small collections of potsherds, similar to those from the village, were found superficially at various points outside the ramparts. It was at first thought that they had been tipped over the stockade during the occupation of the fort, but subsequent examination has shown that they were more probably gathered into heaps during the preparation of the ground for rubber.

In August, 1953, work was concentrated on the fortified area, and the old boats in the kampong. In the fort area Sieveking excavated one of the several embrasures overlooking the anchorage. The stones and timber that came to light were interpreted as a collapsed gun platform. One corner and about ten feet of the rampart on the seaward face were also excavated, revealing several courses of masonry (see plate 4). The outer blocks, consisting of fine to medium-sized angular fragments of felspar and quartz set in a matrix of ferruginous chloritic material, were subsequently identified as Older Alluvium.¹⁰ The inner courses, which were visible only at the outer angle of the fortifications, consisted of blocks of reef coral¹¹. Most of the stones associated with the gun-platform were also of Older Alluvium, cut and squared with a *changkol* or some similar tool, but one, possibly an adventitious stone, was of granite-porphyr. The geology of South Johore is only imperfectly elucidated, but E. S. Wilbourne has recorded the existence of deposits of Older Alluvium at Tanjong Pēnyambong, about one and three-quarter miles south of Johore

9. See the map on plate 3, above.

10. The stone was identified by the Director of the Geological Survey, Federation of Malaya, from samples sent to him. Older Alluvium is the *High Level Alluvium* of J. B. Scrivenor, "The geology of Singapore Island", *JMBRAS*, 2, (1), 1924:7, and of E. S. Wilbourne, "The geology and mining industries of Johore", *JMBRAS*, 6, (4), 1928:22-4.

11. Blocks of reef coral were also used for the revetments of the Malay fort at Sayong Pinang, about thirty miles upstream from Kota Tinggi.

Lama¹². Reef-building corals occur in some numbers off the estuary to the Johore River, but there is no information available about the provenance of the granite-porphry.

Within the fortified area traces of what appeared to be an extensive system of drainage ditches and foundations were also partially cleared, but these have yet to be surveyed. They are in the approximate position of the old palace, so far as it can be ascertained from do Couto's description (quoted above), and should be the subject of further examination in the future. In addition there are traces of a defensive position overlooking the low ground about four chains south of the fort, while a breastwork some eight chains in length was found protecting the entrance to the Sungai Johore Lama (see plate 3, above).

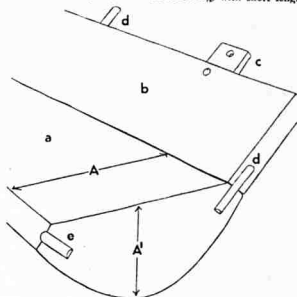
The remains of old boats at the points marked "A", "B" and "C" on the map were also excavated and examined in August, 1953.¹³ These constituted all the remnants of old boats that could be found, or of which the members of the kampong had any knowledge or tradition. The work was undertaken in consequence of the statement published by Ivor H. N. Evans to the effect that there were two old Malay boats with sewn hulls at Johore Lama¹⁴. The existence of such boats would have been a matter of considerable interest at any time, but the interest was heightened by the tentative conclusions reached following the re-examination in 1951 of the timbers removed from the hull in the Pontian River, Pahang, by Ivor H. N. Evans in 1927. These are definitely fragments of a sewn boat, and, according to Gibson-Hill's report, of one shewing affinities in form with the Rua Chalom of the Gulf of Siam, and one of the three kinds

12. E. S. Wilbourn, *op. cit.* : 22. Confirmed by H. Service, Director of the Geological Survey, Federation of Malaya, personal communication.
13. See the map on plate 3, above, and plate 4, upper pictures.
14. See Evans, on "Excavations at Tanjong Rawa, Kuala Selinsing, Perak", *Journ. F.M.S. Mus.*, 1932, 15, (3), p. 85, note 2, "Two old boats (one sticking out from under a coconut (sic) palm) with wooden dowels and ijok-fibre lashings were seen by Messrs C. B. Kloss and R. O. Winstedt at Johore Lama, but these cannot be later than 17th Century." The note is appended to a passage in which Evans is discussing the Pontian fragments, which he describes as "planks fixed with wooden dowels and ijok-fibre lashings": clearly, therefore, he was of the opinion, then at least, that the methods of construction employed on the Pontian and Johore Lama boats were similar, which is absolute nonsense, Winstedt (*JMBRAS*, 1932, 10, (3): 130), says "The remains of two ancient Malay ships (sic) are extant (1932), one on the beach buried under a tall coconut palm and one at Pangkalan Raja, inland on the Sungai Johor Lama, just behind Johor Lama village": there can be no doubt that these are the remains which we have designated "B" and "A" respectively in the present paper, and they must equally be the two boats to which Evans refers in his note quoted above.

of boat occurring on some of the fourteenth century reliefs at Angkor, in Cambodia. Further, the cargo of the Pontian boat included a number of large earthenware vessels marked with a peculiar, distinctive pattern, known also only from the excavations at Oc-éo, in south Indo-China (which flourished circa 150-650 A.D.), and at Kuala Seling, on the Perak coast.¹⁵

Unfortunately the investigations at Johore Lama last year revealed no evidence of the existence there of a Malay boat with a sewn hull, or of anything which could be said with reasonable certainty to date from the seventeenth century. A fuller account will be prepared when we receive information on the approximate age of the timbers. Briefly, the remains showed the following features.

Boat "A". This boat had been partly beached in a narrow ditch cut at right angles to the Sungai Johore Lama. The surviving fragments consisted of a portion of the keel-piece, about 33 feet long, with short lengths of the



Diagrammatic section of the keel-piece of boat "A" at Johore Lama, with one garboard strake attached to it (see text, 230): a = keel-piece; b = part of garboard strake; c = part of one of the flat pegs used for fastening the strakes to each other; d = two of the dowel-pins; e = socket from which a dowel-pin has been removed. The distance across the keel-piece (A) is approximately 9-10 inches, and the depth (A') about 6 inches.

15. See C. A. Gibson-Hill, on "Further Notes on the old boat found at Pontian, south Pahang" (*JMBRAS*, 25, (1), 1953 for 1952: 111-133).

first strake on either side, and parts of the second on one side, still attached to it. One end of the keel-piece, cut short at some past date, projected out over the edge of the dock, the other, buried in the earth at the end of the dock, still had the foot of the stem or stern-piece of the boat mortised to it. The strakes were held to each other, and to the keel-piece, by dowel-pegs, 3-4" long, and spaced 9-12" apart. At intervals these were replaced by flat strips of wood, some 3" long and 1¼" wide, mortised like the dowel-pegs, and held by a single thick peg passing through each end. The latter, which served to prevent the strakes riding apart, showed evidence of considerable artistry and indicated a hull far in advance of the sewn hull of the Pontian boat. Unfortunately the surviving fragments are not sufficient to give us any very definite idea of the form of the boat as a whole, except by analogy, but two points are clear — the hull was not sewn, and it is not likely to have been of Malay origin. As this is certainly the most interesting of the hull fragments at Johore Lama a portion of the buried section was taken for determination of its age by the Carbon-14 process. Until the results of this test are received, it is not possible to date the boat with any precision. On the evidence at present available we suggest that this is possibly a fragment of the elusive *Pérah* (*Sampán*) *Pukat*, dating from about 1750-1850.

Boat "B". Initially the surviving portions of this boat lay almost completely under the bank of the river, with only a thin strip showing at the edge of the beach and along an old trench at right angles to it, said to have been dug by G. B. Gardner. Two coconut palms and a large amount of the bank had to be removed to uncover the remainder. When this had been accomplished, we found the greater part of the lower portion of the hull of a Chinese Twakoo,¹⁶ originally probably some 35 feet long, and 15-16 feet beam. She had obviously been an old boat when she arrived at Johore Lama, and the original *chéngai* skin, fastened completely with dowel-pegs and tree-nails, had been covered with a second skin of thinner, machined planks of red *séraya*, more crudely fitted and attached by iron nails. We do not at present know at what date the Twakoo hull was introduced, or developed, in southern Malaya, and accordingly samples were again taken for analysis by the Carbon-14 process. It is, however, clear that this hull is certainly of Chinese origin, and that it cannot be of any great antiquity. The outer, second, skin was itself much attacked by worm in parts, and from this, the nature of the planks and the use of square, iron nails it seems likely that she was beached there no more than 50-100 years ago. See plate 4, upper pictures.

Boat "C". This certainly was a Malay boat — a *kolek johor* or a *gélíbat* of modern construction, with a keel-piece and bilge strakes in place of the older dug-out base. The latter is still used in parts of this area,¹⁷ and the fragments at point "C" cannot be much more than thirty years old: they may even have arrived there after the visits paid by Gardner and Sir Richard Winstedt in the early 1930's.

Conclusions

As a result of these investigations it has become apparent that there are two separate sites involved in any comprehensive interpretation of Johore Lama—the fort, dating from the six-

16. A description of the Twakoo has been published by Cmdr. D. W. Waters, *Mariner's Mirror*, 32, (3), 1946: 155-57.

17. At the time of our last visit to Johore Lama we found the *kétua kampung* reconstructing the upper strakes on a *kolek johor* built on a dug-out base, and other similar boats were still in active use in the village.

teenth century, and the kampong (village), with its possible early associations and with a history of continuous occupation down to the present time.

The Fortified City

(1). The plan published by Sir Richard Winstedt must be amended considerably (see map on plate 3, above). The city now appears to have occupied the whole of the northern slopes of Tanjong Batu. This site was chosen with considerable skill, for not only did the circumstances of physical geography make this one of the few points within the Johore estuary suitable for the establishment of a trading settlement, but they also contributed to its defence. On the river side a line of cliffs, rising in height from north to south and culminating in Tanjong Batu, made assault from the river a hazardous undertaking, while on the inland flank marsh, jungle and steep slopes made attack difficult. Only along the strand to the north-west was there no natural barrier, and here the artificial defences were doubled. A supply of water was assured from a spring in the centre of the fortified area.

(2). The defences which can be traced to-day extend for some 1100 yards and enclose about 280 acres. At the fort on Tanjong Batu and on the southern flank they are now represented by an earthen rampart about five feet high on the inside, but falling steeply to continue the line of the cliff on the outside. On the inland side of the fort the rampart is much lower and often difficult to trace, but the line of the defences is usually betrayed by the presence of a ditch, which on the north-western flank is as much as fifteen feet deep. On reaching the banks of the Johore River the defences were carried north-westwards along the cliffs to link up with heavily fortified outworks running at right angles to the river bank. This strongly fortified salient may have been constructed solely as an advanced position protecting the easiest approach to the city, but it is not impossible that its ramparts were thrown up to enclose a suburb which developed after the main walls had been built. The advanced rampart at "Y" would appear to be one of the traverses mentioned by do Couto,¹⁸ while the bastion depicted on Sir Richard Winstedt's plan as breaking the line of the southern rampart is in reality a gateway to the city. It is represented more accurately in our map. Other entrances seem to have existed at the northern and south-eastern angles of the fortifications. Both do Couto's description and the morphology of the terrain make it probable that fortifications as yet undis-

18. See p. 224, above.

covered extend from the fort along the river bank to link up with the northern salient, but the jungle is so dense in this area that no exploration could be carried out in the time available to us.

(3). The defensive outworks to the south of the city may be the small fort which the Portuguese bombarded in the early stage of the siege¹⁹.

The Kampong

(1). The assemblage of pottery and porcelain sherds seems to indicate that the settlement reached the peak of its prosperity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The absence of Chinese celadon, which is common at Kota Tinggi, suggests that the site was of little importance before the fifteenth century, while a lack of multiple colour wares confirms that the city was in a decline after the mid-seventeenth century.

(2). Contrary to the statements previously published, the boats found in the kampong (two at least of which must have been there during the earlier visits) are not of any great age, nor of very primitive construction. One of the older hulls is certainly of a local Chinese form and workmanship, and the other probably so.

(3). There is no evidence to support the contention of Han Wai Toon and D. H. Collings that Johore Lama was the site of an important ancient settlement. Han Wai Toon²⁰ identifies it with the Hwang-chih of the *Han Shu*, the Tun-sun of the *Liang Shu*, the Lo-yüeh of the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, and with the Tan-ma-hsi of the *Tao Yi Chih Lüeh*²¹. These hypotheses were based mainly on his interpretation of the texts, on the circumstantial evidence of the map, and notably on the presence among the Ming potsherds of fragments of crude earthenware. On the strength of the close resemblance of the formal designs stamped on the latter to those on pieces excavated by Prof. O. Janse at Han-period kilns in the Than-hoa Province of Annam, Wales also referred the Johore earthenware sherds to an early period, and considered they were the products of Indonesian craftsmen²². However, both at Johore Lama and at Kota Tinggi the deposits were completely unstratified, and the vast majority of these stamped fragments were picked up from the surface of the ground. Moreover, the herring-bone design which predominates among the sherds from Johore Lama is also characteristic of pot-

19. do Couto, *op. cit.* : 451-5.

20. See Han Wai Toon, "A study on Johore Lama," *Journal of the South Seas Society*, Singapore, 5, (1), 1948: 17-35.

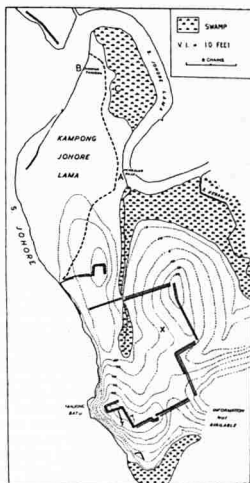
21. Han Wai Toon, *op. cit.* : 17.

22. Wales, *op. cit.* : 61-2.

tery which was still being manufactured in Malaya in the early decades of this century. In the opinion of the present authors, the antiquity of this stamped ware has not been adequately demonstrated, and in the existing state of our knowledge it is valueless as evidence of the age of a settlement.

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Map showing the fortified city at Johore Lama.



The Boats of Local Origin employed in the Malayan Fishing Industry

By C. A. GIBSON-HILL, M.A., F.R.A.I.

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UNTIL RECENTLY all the Malayan fishing boats relied for their propulsion on sail, augmented or replaced when necessary by oars or paddles. The present paper is concerned only with the boats in this category, which still form the great majority of those in use here. Briefly it can be said that the power-driven craft fall into three categories; (a) the fish carriers; (b) launches with inboard motors used mostly for trolling (see pl. 2, upper picture), and in the *kěmbong* (*Pukat Jěrut*) fisheries at Pangkor and Kuala Kědah²; and (c) small and medium-sized canoes (*kolek*) which have been fitted with outboard motors at a number of centres on the west and south coasts of Malaya, and especially at Singapore. Since this paper was written the Department of Fisheries has begun experiments in the use of locally constructed launches with inboard motors at Kuala Trěngganu³: this is probably the most interesting of all these developments, as Trěngganu is the principal centre of the 'old-style' industry based on sailing boats.

The sailing boats employed in the Malayan fishing industry range in size from lengths of about 10 to 45 feet. There is considerable variation in their finish, though the great majority are built on the same general plan. They are all operated from, and in many cases in, shallow water: frequently they have to be beached between each fishing trip: they are accordingly all of shallow draught, and without keels of any appreciable depth. The almost universal sail is a standing lug, except in the smaller canoes employed on the south and west coasts, which now often set a form of fore and aft rig. In all cases except one the lug is rectangular in shape, and normally there is a boom as well as a gaff: the sail is then reefed by lowering the head and rolling it from the foot upwards round the boom. The hulls are carvel-built, and equal-ended except in two forms introduced and developed by Chinese builders, but

1. This paper is a revision and amplification of an earlier paper prepared for "Malayan Fisheries", edited by G. L. Kesteven, Singapore, 1949. The information on the boats employed on the east coast of Malaya was mostly obtained during visits there in July 1940, and July and August, 1948. For further data on the boats of Singapore Island, see Gibson-Hill, 1950: 148-70.

2. See K. Gopinath, "The Malayan Purse Seine (*Pukat Jěrut*) Fishery", *JMBRAS*, 23, (3): 75-96.

3. D. W. Le Mare, personal communication.

there may be minor differences in the rake or shaping of the stem and stern-post. The great majority of the boats are normally steered with a paddle held over the lee quarter: a few, noted below, have a rudder with lines or a tiller. None of them have fixed decks, but loose deck-boards are fitted over the bilge in all except the smallest to provide a level, dry base on which the fishermen can squat down on their haunches. The space beneath the boards is divided into compartments by the ribs and thwart, and is generally used for stowing the catch. In the Malay boats the boards are usually set at about half the vertical height between the top of the keel and the gunwale⁴.

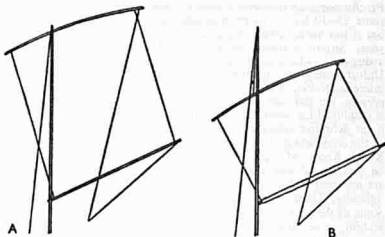


Figure 1. A semi-diagrammatic drawing showing the standard sail set on a medium-sized Malay fishing boat on the east coast, viewed from the stern, (A) running full, and (B) part-reefed. On the smaller boats the sail is generally almost square: on larger ones it is taller, with the spread from head to foot appreciably greater than that from luff to leech.

The best approach to the local fishing boats is to consider them in two regional groups, those employed on the east side of Malaya north of the Sédili River (in Johore), and those used largely or solely from the Sédili River round the south coast and up the west side to the Perlis-Siam frontier. All the boats of importance in the former group are built by Malays, follow the same general plan and set one or more rectangular standing lugsails. The second group has to be further divided into those again built and used by the Malays (three kinds, only), and those of Chinese origin. It is not sufficient to divide these latter craft from the Malay boats as a whole, as there are certain marked differences between the more important east coast boats and those employed elsewhere

4. These boats do not normally have a kelson.

in the country. These are occasioned by differences in the coastal physiography, local conditions at sea, and the nature of the fishing grounds.

Three terms, *kolek*, *pērahu* and *sampan*, are used widely for boats of the size and quality employed in the local sea fisheries, but these are generic, not specific, names. They are by no means restricted to particular boats, or even to fishing boats in general. *Kolek* is best translated as 'canoe'. It is applied by Malays in the peninsula to any small, open boat that is not too beamy, and probably comes from *golek*, meaning crank (of a boat). It certainly carries that implication here, even when, as occurs on the east coast, it may be used for larger boats, up to 30-35 feet long. *Pērahu* normally indicates a rather larger, but still undecked, boat, some 25-30 feet or more in length. *Sampan* is Chinese in origin, but it has been current in parts of Malaya, at least, for over 150 years. Strictly it should mean a small to medium-sized boat (not a dug-out), which is beamier and more stable than a true *kolek*. Unfortunately in a number of areas the two terms appear to be interchangeable, while occasionally *sampan* is used instead of *pērahu*. On the west and south coasts *kolek* (or *sampan*) alone is employed for several different boats. For clarity in the following notes definitive epithets have been added to it, indicating the part of the coast where the boat is most numerous (in the form, Perak-Kedah *Kolek*, Malacca *Kolek*, Johore *Kolek*). It must, however, be understood that these are artificial names and the qualifiers are not used by local fishermen. On the east coast we meet another difficulty. There, instead of too few terms, there are too many. Some of the boats have several names, each current in a particular section, or sections, of its range. In this case we have selected the one seemingly most widespread or distinctive to provide short titles for them, as in earlier notes by the present writer.

The East Coast Boats

For the most part the east coast north of the Sédili River consists of a series of long, sandy beaches, broken at intervals by estuaries. The latter may be flanked by belts of mangrove, especially in the south, but this vegetation seldom occurs on open shores. It is an exposed coast, and bad weather may be encountered even in the calm season. In many places the best fishing areas lie ten or more miles from the land. Finally much of this region is still relatively isolated. It is populated chiefly by Malays, and except for the presence of Chinese-owned kelongs north to the Duchong Islands (between Endau and Pontian, in southern Pahang), the taking of fish is entirely in their hands.

The east coast boats are light by European standards, but they are rather more robust than the majority of those used by Malays elsewhere in Malaya. They have to weather stronger seas more frequently, and the breakers impose a considerable strain on

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them during launching and beaching. In addition the Malays do not like being at sea for more than a portion of a night at a time. As a general rule they try to reach their fishing grounds with the pre-dawn wind from the land, and return with the afternoon wind from the sea. To accomplish this they often carry more canvas, and run at faster speeds, than are attempted on the west coast. Finally there is a considerable use of nets in open water, for which most fishing centres have larger boats, while smaller boats are employed widely for hand-line fishing in various forms⁵.

All the east coast fishing boats are carvel-built, without seam ribbands or stringers, and equal-ended, with a pointed bow and stern, and a distinct but shallow keel⁶. They are made locally, and follow about ten basic patterns, all readily distinguishable from each other. They vary in length from 10 or 12 to 45 feet. The length to beam ratio is normally between $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and the depth amidships in the region of half the beam, or a little over, the figure increasing in the case of the smaller boats. Broadly speaking it can be said that a narrow hull is faster but less steady than a beamy one, and that a boat with a long, angled keel keeps more easily to her course, while one with a short, rounded keel and marked sheer rides better, though she may well be slower. Further the longer keel is more troublesome when getting the boat on and off an exposed beach, if any appreciable sea is running. No design, of course, is perfect, but a beamy boat is better for use with nets, unless great distances must be covered in the day, while a narrow one is more suitable for hand-lining, where more time is required on the fishing grounds. In addition a hand-line boat should be fairly small. The east coast fisherman does not like going to sea alone, in case he meets bad weather, but the catch per head drops as the number in the boat rises above two or three.

The boats most generally used with nets in deeper water in this area, the *Pèrahu Payang*, *Pèrahu Buatan Barat* and *Kolek Lichang*, are all moderately beamy. The first two of these are long-keeled: the last has a short, rounded keel. The three most popular boats on the coast, the *Gèlibat*, the *Kueh* and the *Sèkochi*, are very similar in broad outline, though the *Sèkochi* is appreciably less expensive as a result of its plain finish. All three designs are built as fairly large boats for net work, for which they are a shade too narrow, though they are faster than the *Lichang* on the out and home runs. The smaller editions are good, straight-forward hand-line boats. The outstanding hand-liner is probably the *Jalorar*, narrow, cranky, with a long keel, but the fastest of all the boats to and from the fishing grounds.

⁵ See the paper by M. L. Parry, pp. 77-144, above, for a detailed account of the local fishing methods in Kèlantan and Trèngganu.

⁶ The keel may be rectangular in cross-section, but it is normally shaped like a truncated wedge, wider above and narrower below.

Certain further considerations effect the finish of these boats. They are built by Malays, to be used by Malays, and formerly at least exhibited their natural preferences in decoration and design. His wife and his boat comprise the fisherman's only considerable material possessions. Of the two the boat is probably the less troublesome to keep and the more costly to replace, and it is still the most important element in his working life. It preserves him from drowning at sea and, potentially, from starving ashore. In the past the fishermen were very sensitive to the appearance as well as the performance of their boats. With this affection went a superstitious respect for specific details, often of no obvious functional value: at the same time the little artistry that the men could command was lavished on carved spar-rests (*bangau*)⁷, and similar decorations. Under these conditions local preferences grew up: minor points of difference in the curve of the stem or stern post were followed faithfully in particular areas, and one found several distinct local patterns within the ranges of some of the major forms. Some of these can still be seen in the older boats, but the outlook of the men has been changing for a number of years. There is no good recent carving on the fittings, and, even more noticeable, the *Sékochi*, which was uncommon in the area as late as 1940, is spreading rapidly along the coast. It is a simple, undecorated boat, less distinctive in appearance than the *Kueh*, *Kolek Lichang* or *K. Pëngayer*, but cheaper to build; and this, apparently, is becoming the most important consideration. At a rough estimate it seemed that over a third of the boats under construction on the Trëngganu coast in 1948 were *Sékochi*, while before the war they amounted to less than a tenth of the total number on the stocks.

The spread of the *Sékochi* now extends from northern Johore to Kuala Bësut, while a few are found still further north, on the Këlantán coast. Its range is thus more extensive than that of any other small boat in this area, except the *Kueh*. The latter, however, shows considerable variation in the outline of the stem and stern-post, and even in the relative length of the keel: as a result it is not easy to make a direct comparison between the hulls of boats from different areas. The *Sékochi*, on the other hand, retains its simple silhouette throughout its range, and one notices immediately that there is a marked variation in the sheer. This increases as one moves north up the coast as far as the neighbourhood of Kuala Trëngganu, where it reaches its maximum. Further north still it drops away slightly. It is interesting to note that the sheer is most marked in the boats built in the districts which produced the *Kolek Pëngayer* and the *Kolek Lichang*, and about at its minimum round the home of the *Jalorar*. In addition there has

7. See p. 150, below.

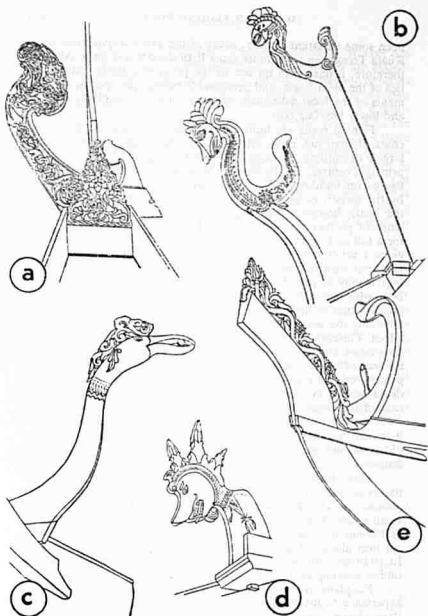


Figure 2. Typical decorated fittings from boats on the East Coast of Malaya, not drawn to scale. (a) the *bangau* or spar-rest on a *Pérah* *Buatan Barat*. (b) two examples of stern *bangau* on *Pérah* *Payang*, at Kuala Tréngganu (see also Plate 11, lower picture). (c) *bangau* on a *Kolek Kueh* at Kĕmasek. (d) bow spar-rest from a *Pérah* *Payang*. (e) typical stem-head and *bangau* of a *Gĕlibat*, from an example at Mĕrsing.

been some variation in time: many of the *Sékochi* built recently at Kuala Trèngganu carry more sheer than the pre-war ones. Already, therefore, it has taken on one of the prominent basic characteristics of the older boats, and presumably reflects the specific requirements of the local fishermen, while retaining its simplicity of form and lower building cost.

Fishing boats are built at a number of points along the east coast, though not every village constructs its own. Some operate largely or entirely on second-hand boats acquired from one of the principal centres, usually Kuala Trèngganu. It is not easy to obtain figures on building costs. The smaller boats may be constructed by the owner, or one of his relatives or friends. The majority of the boats, however, including nearly all the larger ones, are the work of professional builders; but they are seldom commissioned for a full cash payment. Usually the purchaser buys the wood, and gives a small sum on account. The residue of the money for the labour is then passed over in instalments, during and after building: it may in part be replaced by a share in the catch from the boat over an agreed period. From figures collected in 1948 it appears that at that time a small *Sékochi* cost about \$6-7 a foot, including the wood, and larger ones, 30 feet or so in length, \$7-8 a foot. The cost of a *Kolek Lichang*, 33 feet along the gunwale, was then estimated at \$350 (equivalent to about \$10.50 a foot), and of a *Pèrahu Payang*, 42 feet long, at \$500 (or nearly \$12 a foot). The prices were, of course, for the hull only, the mast, sails, paddles, deckboards and paintwork being found by the purchaser. In the case of the larger boats, the carved spar-rests are usually removed from the old boat, and set on the new one, if it is a replacement: it is said that this is done to bring over any goodwill attending the old boat, but at the present time it may in part be dictated by economy.

These boats are usually built entirely of *chèngal*⁸, except for the pegs and the parts added by the owner, but for economy *mèranti* or *sèraya* is sometimes employed for the strakes in a small *kolek*. The *chèngal* is purchased in baulks, 20-22 feet long, and about 6 × 8 inches in cross-section. These are subsequently cut into planks of the required thickness with a two-handed saw. In 1948 the baulks of *chèngal* cost \$60-65 each, the price of the timber making up about half the total cost of the hull.

No plans are used, and the boatwright relies on his eye and experience to maintain the correct proportions. The keel (*lunas*), stem (*linggi*) and stern-post are assembled first, followed by the

⁸. *Chèngal*, or *chèngai*, normally a *Balanocarpus* sp. or *Hopea* sp.: the Malay term covers about a dozen different, but virtually indistinguishable, hard wood timbers. *Mèranti* and *sèraya* also represent a number of similar timbers, collectively lighter, rather softer and less durable than the *chèngal* group. The pegs should be of *kayu pènaga laut*, from the tree known to botanists as *Calophyllum inophyllum* (Linn.).

garboard strakes (*papan lipang*)⁹. Then the remaining strakes are built up, a pair at a time, and finally the ribs (*tulang*) are added. The latter are set at intervals of 18-30 inches, the spacing depending on the size of the boat. They are held in place by wooden pegs driven through the strakes from the outside, or, in inferior work, by nails. The ends of the strakes are also fastened to the stem and stern-post with pegs or nails, usually the latter, and there is no doubt that the use of nails is growing. The method of construction is interesting, in that it resembles the order followed in building the old clinker-built boats of western Europe. It is not normally employed in carvel-built boats, where it is usual to set up the ribs and then bend the strakes on them. It is probably a survival of the period when these boats were built from a dug-out base by adding one or two strakes on each side.

With this method of construction it is essential that the strakes should be shaped to fit their position in the completed boat before they are added to it. To achieve this, the planks are bent in pairs by fastening their mid-points together, and placing them edgewise on the ground. They are then heated gently by slow-burning fires of smouldering coconut husks or wood-shavings, and the ends twisted evenly apart until they have acquired a curvature a little in excess of that required of them. The garboard strakes are fastened to the keel, and each additional strake to the one below it, by a series of short, stout pegs of *pēnaga laut*, set in the plane of the planking. Before each strake is driven home, strips of the papery bark of the *gēlam* tree are laid on the exposed edge of the strake below it, to close the seam.

All these boats set a large, rectangular lug-sail, cut rather higher than it is broad in the larger ones, and nearly square in the case of the smaller canoes, with the mast stepped about two-fifths of the gunwale length aft of the stem. The larger boats also step a shorter mast well up in the bows, for use with a second, smaller sail in light airs, and when running for home. With a strong wind on the beam or quarter the boat may be steadied by one or more members of the crew standing on the weather gunwale and holding a rope tied half-way up the mast. As the boat heels, the men lean out sharply to jerk her back on an even keel. This technique is employed more in the south than in the north, and is most highly developed in the three-man crews of the Pahang *Jalorar*, and in the teams racing with the Johore *Kolek*. In the case of the latter, the men practice by sailing single-handed in small boats, with the

⁹ The gunwale is called *papan mēting*. Definitive names are also given to the intervening strakes, but these vary considerably from place to place on the coast. The most widespread series is the simple sequence *papan dua*, *papan tiga* and so on, beginning with the strake next to the garboard strake.

sheet made fast, and holding a steering paddle in one hand and the rope in the other. When they are on the fishing grounds, the masts are usually unstepped, and the boats propelled by paddles. The same procedure is also adopted in launching and beaching them. On these occasions the sail is rolled up round the boom, and the gaff made fast to it. The mast, spars and sail are then laid along the boat, with the foot of the bundle amidships and the end projecting over the bow, alongside the stemhead (see pl. 11, lower picture). It is retained in this position by a crutch or rest (*bangau*), the exact shape of which varies to some extent with the form of the boat (figure 2). Boats employed with the *Pukat Tarek* and *Pukat Dalam*¹⁰ often carry a second rest (*sangga*) at the stern, to take the *kajang* covers used to protect the nets (see figure 4). The *Pérah Payang* is unique in having an additional *bangau* at this point, to hold the long steering paddle when it is shipped.

The smaller boats are steered with an ordinary paddle, except in the case of the *Sekochi*, *Gelibat* and *Bedar*, which are fitted with rudders. In the larger boats a special paddle is used, with a long, narrow blade. These boats have a small platform (*papan kêtam*) immediately forward of the stern-post, and projecting a short distance over the gunwales: in the centre of the *papan kêtam* is a stout, raked post (*wayang*). When the paddle is in use the haft is braced to the *wayang* with a loop of rope or *rotan*. This serves to retain the paddle, and allow for a limited movement in two planes. As the steersman forces the free end of the haft back, the lower portion comes up against the aft edge of the *papan kêtam*, and the foot of the blade is driven deeper in the water: if he relaxes his pressure, the movement of the boat brings it up again. The *wayang* and *papan kêtam* are essential features on the larger boats, because of the size of the paddle, but they also occur, in a modified form, on many of the smaller boats. On the west coast they are a standard fitting on the light-weight Malacca *Kolek*¹¹.

The following notes summarise the particular points of the different boats of local origin employed at sea by the Malays in this area. At the end of this section a brief reference is made to a Siamese boat, the *Rua Chalom*, which is used in working the kelongs off the northern part of Kélanatan. In the south, in the area between the Endau and Sédili Rivers, one also finds three Chinese-built canoes (the *Lépap*, *Kolek Selat* and the *Kolek Chiau*), which are noted later in this paper, under the boats from the south and west coasts¹².

¹⁰ *Pukat Tarek* and *Pukat Dalam*: see Parry, pp. 121-5, and 102-5, above.

¹¹ See p. 164, below, and Kesteven, 1949 (pl. 15, upper picture).

¹² See pp. 168-69, below.

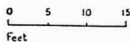
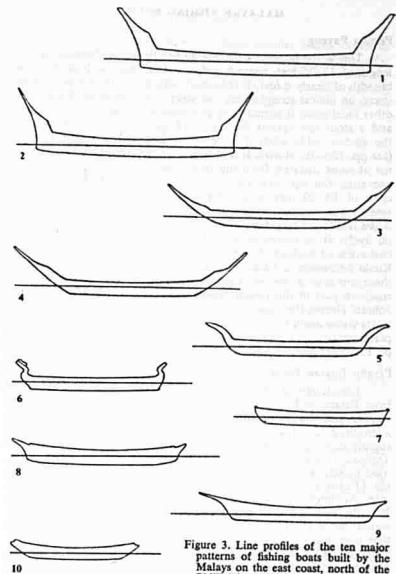


Figure 3. Line profiles of the ten major patterns of fishing boats built by the Malays on the east coast, north of the Sédili River: in each case the bow is towards the left of the page, and the horizontal line represents the water level with the gear and normal complement of men on board. The sizes are those of the forms most commonly employed. The hulls of nos. 3 and 4 should show rather more sheer than in these drawings. The boats are: 1, *Pérah Payang*; 2, *Pérah Buatán Barat*; 3, *Kolek Lichang (Pérah Kolek)*; 4, *Kolek Péngayer*; 5, one of the forms of the *Kolek Kueh*; 6, *Kolek Glibat*; 7, *Sékochi* (from Bésérah) 8, *Jalor-rar*; 9, *Bedar*; 10, *Dogol*. See text, pp. 155-60.

Pĕrahu Payang

This is the largest of the Malay fishing boats, ranging from a length of 33–35 feet, beam 6 feet, to 44–45 feet, with an extreme breadth of nearly 8 feet. It is beamy, with fairly full buttocks, little sheer, an almost straight keel and steep, uprising ends. Unlike the other local boats it normally carries carved spar rests at both ends, and a stout bitt against the starboard gunwale amidships to take the anchor cable when it is being worked with a *Pukat Payang* (see pp. 126–30, above). It is a deep sea boat, used largely with this net at some distance from the shore. Paddles are employed while operating the net, and the boat accordingly normally carries a crew of 15–20 men when fishing¹³. It is moderately fast, and steady, but its size, weight and low freeboard when fully laden make it difficult to get it on and off an open beach if the sea is at all lively. It is, therefore, operated mostly from estuaries on the east coast of Malaya. The principal centres are Kuala Trĕngganu, Kuala Kĕmaman and Kampong Tanjong Lumpur (near Kuantan): there are also a few working at Bĕsĕrah, several kualas on the southern part of the Pahang coast and Kampong Kuala Sĕdili, in Johore. During the season of the north-east monsoon some of these boats come down to Singapore, and there are now a few stationed permanently on Pangkor Island, off the Dindings (Perak). [See pl. 11, lower picture, and figure 3 (1)].

Pĕrahu Buatan Barat

The design of this boat is said to have come into Malaya from Patani, in Peninsular Siam¹⁴. It is very similar to the *Pĕrahu Payang*, but relatively lighter and rather smaller, seldom exceeding a length of 32–34 feet, with an extreme breadth of 6 feet. It carries slightly more sheer, and the uprising ends taper almost to a point. Typically it has only one spar rest (*bangau*), in the bows. It is used mostly with a lift net (*Pukat Tangkul*), or a mackerel drift net (*Pukat Dalam*), and generally carries a crew of about 5–7 men. At times it is employed with 3 or more men for line fishing. It is the common boat along the coast from Kuala Bĕsut northwards, but it is seldom seen further south. It is interesting to note that over much of its range it is being operated from open, unsheltered beaches, for which it is not very suitable. At Tumpat,

13. A small canoe, 8–10 feet long, known as a *jongkong* or *jo'kong*, is also employed with the *Pukat Payang*. It is carried to and from the fishing grounds athwartships on the fore part of the *Pĕrahu Payang*, and is used by the *juru selam* when he inspects the *injang*, or lure, to see if there are sufficient fish to justify setting the net. The *jo'kong* no longer has any specific form, except that the stemhead and stern-post should rise 4–6 inches (but not more) above the level of the gunwales. For other uses of the term *jongkong* see *JMBRAS*, 1950 23, (3): 149.

14. *Buatan barat* means made in the west: the Patani coast lies north-west from northern Kĕlantān. Photographs of this boat appear in Kesteven, 1949 (pl. 13, lower picture), and Hawkins and Gibson-Hill, 1952, p. 60.

in the extreme north of Kélanan, much smaller boats, down to 18 feet in length, are built to this pattern for hand-line fishing only: they are slightly less beamy, and are known locally as *kolek*. During the monsoon season short, stumpy ends are often fitted, for ease in handling, and in some old boats these are kept on throughout the year. [See figure 3 (2)].

Kolek Lichang or Pěrahu Kolek

This is an attractive, rather beamy boat, with fine, up-curved ends, a short keel and well-rounded forefoot and heel. It is not so fast as the *Pěrahu Buatan Barat*, and is rather more lively. On the other hand it is a much better sea boat, and is well adapted for hauling on and off open beaches. It can be manoeuvred easily, but tends to be trying on a long run. The *Kolek Lichang* is generally built to a length of 30–35 feet, with a beam of about 6 feet. It usually carries a crew of 5–10 men, and is employed with most of the larger nets, except the *Pukat Payang*. It occurs in small numbers all along the east coast, but is most popular in Trěngganu, from Kuala Kěmaman north to Kuala Trěngganu, where the best examples are said to be built. In this area, and on north to Běsut, it is used extensively with a shore seine. [See pl. 11, upper picture, and figure 3 (3)]¹⁵.

Kolek Pěngayer

This boat is very similar to the *Kolek Lichang*, but it has a longer keel, with an angled forefoot and heel. It also has a steeper kant to the ends, and carries more sheer. It steers better on a long run, but it is not a good boat for open beaches. It is not very popular at the present time, and though odd examples are found from Běsěrah north to Kuala Trěngganu, it is now numerous only on the Kěmaman River, where there are 30–40, mostly at Kampong Kuala Kěmaman. In common with the previous boat it was formerly known as *Kolek Sa'hari Bulan* (the New-Moon Boat). [See figure 3 (4)].

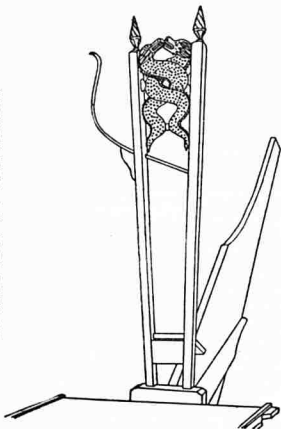
(Kolek) Kueh

This is the most variable of the east coast boats in both size and finish. Typically it is rather less beamy than the previous kinds, with a fairly long keel, rounded feet, and moderately long, forward-curving ends. The relative length of the latter is not constant, and in northern Trěngganu and Kélanan they are sometimes very short and squat (*Kueh Buteh Kětiri*). The smaller *Kolek Kueh*, which are used only for line fishing, are generally about 17–20 feet long, and 3½–3¾ feet beam. The larger boats are about 26–28 feet long, with a beam of just over 5 feet. They are

¹⁵. Photographs of this boat also appear in Kesteven, 1948 (pl. 11, lower picture), and Hawkins and Gibson-Hill, 1952, p. 44.

used for hand-line fishing, and with the smaller nets. The *Kolek Kueh* occurs in small numbers on the Pahang coast from Rompin to the Kuantan River; from here to the Kélanan River it is extremely popular, and on parts of the Tréngganu coast there are large fleets of these boats, running to 30 feet in length, and used equally with the *Kolek Lichang*. [See pl. 12, middle picture, and figure 3 (5)].

Figure 4. The *sangga*, or rest for the scoop net and *kajang* cover of the main net, on a *Kolek Lichang* (*Kolek*, or *Pérah-Kolek*) at Paka, on the coast of Tréngganu: see Parry, above, p. 103, and this paper pp. 153 and 156. The decoration is one of several patterns employed in this area. The small platform partly shown in front of the *sangga* is the *papan kêtam*: see p. 153.



(*Kolek*) Gélibat

This boat has a very characteristic finish. The keel is long, almost straight, and sharply angled at the forefoot and heel. The stem and stern are raked steeply, rounded above the water-line, and then carried forward for a short distance: the projection at the bow is frequently ornamented with a carved placque, like a comb. These boats are steered with a rudder, usually with lines,

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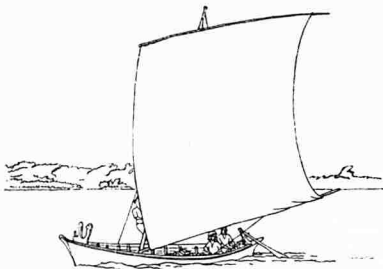
like a skiff. The *Gēlibat* is the most popular of the older boats on the Johore and Pahang coasts, except for the area of the Pahang River: occasional examples are seen further north, but it is scarce north of Kuala Kēmanan. The *Kolek Gēlibat* varies considerably in size, like the *Kueh*, whose place it takes in the south. The smaller boats are used by 2 or 3 men for line fishing. The larger examples, up to about 26 feet in length and 4½ feet beam, are used both for line fishing and with the smaller nets, including the shore seine. [See pl. 1, upper picture, and figure 3 (6)].

Sēkochi

This is plain boat, with hull lines rather similar to the *Kueh* and the *Gēlibat*, but no decoration on the stem or stern. As we have noted, the sheer varies at different points on the coast, reaching its maximum in the neighbourhood of Kuala Trēngganu. The size ranges from a length of about 15-16 feet, beam 3½-3¾ feet, to 27-28 feet, with the beam 5 feet, but there are a few slightly larger boats, apparently built to serve as fish-carriers. The ends are raked, the stem slightly rounded and the stern straight. The boat is steered with a rudder, either with lines or a tiller. The smaller boats are used for line fishing, with crews of 2-3 men: the larger ones, carrying up to 8-10 men, are operated with the smaller nets or, with reduced crews, for line fishing. Length for length it is a cheaper boat to build than the others employed on this coast, and it has become extremely popular since the recent war in most areas south of Kēlantan (cf. p. 149, above). [See pl. 10, lower picture, and figure 3 (7)].

Jalorar

This is a fine, fast boat, with a long, straight keel, and raked, projecting ends. The bow is well flared, and the hull reaches its maximum beam just forward of the mid-point. It ranges to a length of about 28 feet, with a beam of 4-4½ feet; this is appreciably less than that of the other east coast boats of equal length. The *Jalorar* is used almost entirely for line fishing, at some distance off the shore, and in good weather it is easily the fastest of the local boats. It usually carries a crew of 3 or 4 men, 1 or 2 of whom swing out on ropes attached to the mast as live ballast to balance the sail in a strong wind. Under favourable conditions it exceeds 8 knots. The *Jalorar* occurs mostly on the northern part of the Pahang coast, from Nēnasik to the Kuantan River, with its greatest concentration on the Pahang River, where it is the most popular boat. There are also a few examples at Kēmanan, and on Tioman, in the Pahang Archipelago. It would seem that it is difficult to operate from open beaches: certainly it is used almost entirely from river estuaries. [See figure 3 (8)].



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Figure 5. A *Jalorar* running up the Pahang River to Pēkan.

Bedar

The *Bedar* hull, with a long, straight keel and raked stem and stern, terminating in projections rather like the bill of a duck, has a wide variety of uses. It is the pattern of the commonest of the east coast sea-going carrying vessels, and is used, in miniature (the *Anak Bedar*), as a ferry boat in the estuaries from northern Pahang to southern Kēlantān. It is not primarily a fishing boat, but in parts of Trēngganu and Kēlantān the smaller boats are employed, with 2 men, for line fishing, and in some localities, as at Kuala Trēngganu, boats up to 28–30 feet in length are operated with nets. These latter are, however, restricted to working from estuaries, and their almost flat projecting ends makes them troublesome in a bad sea. The smaller examples are normally steered with a paddle, but the larger boats generally have a rudder and tiller, like the cargo-carrying *Bedar*. [See figure 3 (9)]¹⁶.

Dogol

Seemingly the real home of this boat is across the Siamese border, but it occurs in some numbers in Kēlantān from the estuary of the Kēlantān River northwards. In this area it is used mostly for line fishing, with crews of 2 or 3 men, and to some

¹⁶ A photograph of this boat occurs in Kesteven, 1948 (pl. 12, lower picture). For an account of the cargo-carrying *Bedar*, see *JMBRAS*, 1949, 22, (3): 112–6, pls. 10 and 11.

extent takes the place of the *Gelibat*. It is a fairly fast boat, rather cranky and with a well-developed sheer: the keel is moderately long, and the forefoot and heel angled. The majority of the examples seen in Kelantan are about 16–20 feet long, with a beam of 3–3½ feet., but it is said that larger boats are built on these lines further north¹⁷. [See pl. 10, upper picture, and figure 3 (10)].

Rua Chalom

This is definitely a Siamese boat, largely restricted to the estuaries and shore of the Inner Gulf of Siam: it is very plentiful round the mouth of the Bangkok River. It has slipped into the present paper because a few examples have been brought down to the neighbourhood of Tumpat, for use in maintaining and operating the kelongs in that area. It is a large, heavy boat, approaching the *Pérah Payang* in size and general appearance, but the up-rising ends are set athwartships, and the stem is raked forwards. It is steered with a large paddle slung on the lee quarter, and supported from one limb of the horseshoe-shaped structure seen in the accompanying diagram. It differs in construction from the

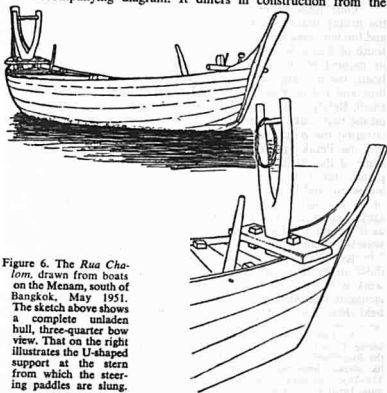


Figure 6. The *Rua Chalom*, drawn from boats on the Menam, south of Bangkok, May 1951. The sketch above shows a complete unladen hull, three-quarter bow view. That on the right illustrates the U-shaped support at the stern from which the steering paddles are slung.

¹⁷. Anker Rentse, personal communication.

Malay boats found on this coast in lacking the shallow, projecting keel, and in having incomplete ribs. The latter are arranged in pairs, but they stop short of the keel-piece: alternating with them is a series of ground futtocks which overlap the inner ends of the ribs by one or two strakes, but lie about a foot away from them¹⁸.

The Malay Boats of the South and West Coasts

These coasts are more sheltered than those on the east side of the peninsula north of the Johore-Pahang Archipelago. There are accordingly extensive stretches of mangrove, and few long, sandy beaches. A greater proportion of the fishing is carried on close inshore, principally with hand-lines, cast nets and traps. Finally there are large Chinese communities on the coast, and much of the fishing in this area is in their hands. Chinese-built boats are used widely, and one of these, the *Sampan* or *Sampan Kotak*, is the commonest fishing boat except in Kédah (north of Kuala Mérbok) and Pérlis, and again in the Straits of Singapore and Johore.

Only three distinct local Malay boats are now employed in the fishing industry here, the Johore *Kolek*, the Malacca *Kolek*, and the fine, long *kolek* occurring from Kampong Sungei Buloh (just south of Kuala Sélangor) northwards. These are generally stained or painted black or dark brown, in contrast to the east coast boats, the majority of which are coloured white above the water-line, and red or green below it. The first two are small, or fairly small, lightly built canoes. Solitary fishing is less dangerous than on the east coast, and these two boats are built in different lengths covering the requirements of 1 to 3 or 4 men. The third on the list, the Perak-Kédah *Kolek*, is a much finer boat: it resembles some of the medium-sized forms on the east coast, except for its plainer finish, the absence of a crutch to hold the spars when anchored, and its use of a single, very broad standing lug in place of the two taller sails which are customary there in a boat of the same dimensions. The Perak-Kédah *Kolek*, and the *Sampan Kotak* as it occurs at Malacca town, are the largest deep-water sailing vessels employed in fishing on the east side of the Malacca Strait.

At the present time these boats are built in the same way as those on the east coast of Malaya (see pp. 151-52, above), when the work is being done carefully. In hurried jobs, or with less conscientious workmen, the strakes are merely forced into shape and held there with battens while they are fastened with metal nails

¹⁸. For the use of this boat on the Kélanan coast, see Parry, p. 137, above. I am indebted to G. L. Kesteven for the opportunity of examining the *Rua Chalom* at the mouth of the Bangkok River. A fuller account of it has already been published in this journal (see *JMBRAS*, 1952, 25, (1): 119-21). The larger examples have an overall length of 40-45 feet, maximum beam 9 feet, depth amidships 4-4½ feet, and set about 85 square yards of canvas, usually in one large, high-peaked lugsail.

driven down diagonally from the inner side of the upper plank (see figure 7). This is the normal method employed by the Chinese builders for their own boats in this area. Until recently one of these canoes, the Johore *Kolek*, was built up from a shallow dug-out base. This technique was popular in parts of the state as late as the early nineteen-twenties, and there are still some boats that were constructed in this way in use on and near Singapore Island. I have seen examples at Pasir Panjang, Tanjong Keling, on Pulau Sudong, and at kampongs along the Johore River. This method of building is still employed fairly widely in parts of Borneo, but it has now disappeared completely from the east coast of Malaya, except for the light riverine canoes made from true dug-outs by adding a single plank on each side to increase the freeboard. It is interesting that it should have survived rather later in the neighbourhood of Singapore and the Johore Strait than it has done elsewhere in Malaya. It is also here, as we have noted, that one finds some of the builders most ready to adopt the Chinese method of fixing the side strakes, a modification which I have never seen employed on the east coast of Malaya, though it also occurs near Malacca and in northern Perak.

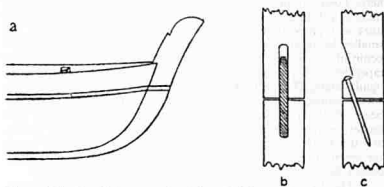


Figure 7. Profile of the stern of a Johore *Kolek* (a), showing the characteristic form of the post: this should be compared with the figures illustrating the *Kolek Chiau* and the *Kolek Selat* (Fig. 9, p. 167). The other two figures depict diagrammatically the usual manner in which the strakes are fastened to each other in (b) Malay-built boats, and (c) Chinese-built ones.

One again finds a number of modifications in the manner in which the small Johore and Malacca canoes are handled. When a lug sail is used it is sometimes loose-footed. More generally, now, it is replaced by a jib-headed fore and aft sail, with or without a jib, or by a single spritsail. With these rigs the canoes are moderately fast, and can be sailed fairly close to the wind. South of Singapore, in the northern part of the Rhio Archipelago, one occasionally sees larger versions of the Johore *Kolek* stepping two masts, each setting a single spritsail, but this practice does not

seem to have spread northwards yet. Single paddles are still employed fairly extensively for steering and making way in light airs, and the Malacca *Kolek* has a *papan kĕtam* and *wayang*. Round Singapore, however, some of the Malays have adopted the Chinese method of rowing with two long-shafted oars¹⁹. In a few cases also rudders are now fitted: these are generally operated with lines, as in a skiff, and not with a tiller. Finally a number of these boats, again mostly round Singapore, have been truncated at the stern, and fitted with short transoms to provide purchase for the attachment of an outboard motor: apparently this practice is spreading rapidly in that area.

Johore Kolek

This is a plain, simple boat, with a straight keel and rounded forefoot and heel. It is pointed at both ends, but the stern post is raked rather more steeply than the stem. The characteristic feature is provided by the heads of the posts, which curve away from the boat for a short distance, giving in profile the effect of a snub nose, not unlike a miniature edition of the *Kueh Buteh Kĕtiri*: here, however, on the upper surface, just as the curve begins, there is a distinctive shallow notch (see figure 7a)²⁰. In its general lines and proportions the *Johore Kolek* is fairly similar to the smaller boats employed by the Malays on the east coast of the peninsula. It differs in being slightly less full in the bilge and in tapering more gradually, with little or no flare. It is also more lightly built. The proportions are much the same as those of a small *Gĕlibat*: a *Kolek* with a length of 15 feet has a maximum beam of about 31 inches, and a depth amidships of about 16½ inches; in a larger boat, 20 feet long, the beam is roughly 42 inches, and the depth 19 inches. On paper the depth is a little less, length for length, than in the *Gĕlibat*, but the latter usually has a slightly deeper keel.

The *Johore Kolek* is normally between 12 and 24 feet long. Examples of 12–16 feet in length are made mostly for one-man hand-line fishing. Larger boats, from 18–22 feet in length, are intended for 2 or 3 men: these are the commoner sizes at the more isolated villages, and on the off-lying islands. A few boats can be seen in the latter localities ranging up to 24–25 feet; they are used for ferrying fire-wood or water, or for operating drift-nets. Notes on the rig and manner of operating these boats are given above. The range of the *Johore Kolek* extends from the *Johore Islands*

¹⁹. See *JMBRAS*, 1950, 23, (3), pl. 5, upper picture.

²⁰. This finish to the stem and stern-post is a characteristic feature of the Malay boats now built in the neighbourhood of Singapore Island and south Johore. It occurs also on the racing *kolek*, and even on the small model *jong* (*JMBRAS*, 1950, 23, (1): 144).

and the Sédili River, on the east coast, round through the Straits to the west coast of Johore: it is also used in the northern fringe of the Rhio Archipelago, to the south of Singapore Island²¹.

Malacca Kolek

This is another plain, rather lightly built *kolek*, with a straight keel and a well raked stem and stern. It is a little deeper in proportion to its length than the Johore *Kolek*, and the forefoot and heel are angled: it also carries slightly more flare. It ranges in size from a length of about 12 feet, with a beam of 3 feet, for one man, to a length of about 21–22 ft., beam 3½ ft., for 3–4 men. It is normally steered with a paddle, but may occasionally take a rudder and lines. The distinguishing features are a small cross block above the bow for the cable when anchored at the fishing grounds, (see figure 8) and a peculiar wing-like decoration rising above the stern²²: it also has a *papan kêtam* and *wayang* for the steering paddle. It is used largely for line-fishing, but may also be employed with small nets. It is restricted to the coast of Malacca territory and southern Nēgri Sēmbilan, north to Port Dickson, and is most plentiful round Tanjong Kéling.

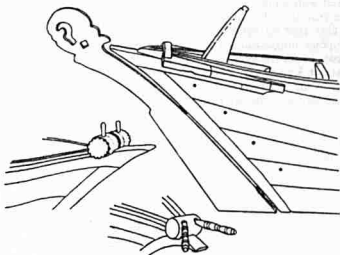


Figure 8. The Malacca *Kolek*. On the right, the stern of a boat fitted with a rudder, but carrying also a *papan kêtam* and *wayang* for use when steered with a paddle. On the left, two forms of the block, or *mata kêtam*, at the bow for the cable when anchored at the fishing grounds.

21. See *JMBRAS*, 1951, 24, (1): 125–6.

22. There is a photograph of the Malacca *Kolek* showing this decoration in Kesteven, 1949, pl. 15, upper picture. It appears to have no functional value, but I have been assured by several fishermen that "the boat would not catch so many fish without it".

Perak-Kédah Kolek

This is much larger than the two preceding boats, with rather finer lines. It has an almost straight keel, moderate sheer, and well-raked ends which usually curve inwards just above the level of the gunwale. It is a fast boat, and in the larger examples is frequently built with the maximum beam just forward of the mid-point: in this it resembles the *Jalorar* of the Pahang River estuary, but it is not normally quite so narrow. It mostly ranges in size from a length of about 24 feet, beam 4 feet, to 30 feet, beam 5 feet, but there are a few larger, more coarsely built boats. It steps only one mast, setting an immense standing lug: this differs from those used on the east coast of Malaya in being longer from luff to leach than it is from head to foot; frequently the boom is appreciably longer than the length of the boat along the water-line. This *kolek* also differs from the east coast boats in having no rest (*bangal*) for the mast and spars: except when it is beached, the mast is usually left standing, with the reefed sail and spars made fast to it. It is steered with a large, long-bladed paddle, relatively much longer than those used with the larger boats on the east coast, and held more obliquely in the water. It is normally employed with a crew of 3-6 men working drift nets, seines or long-lines (*rawai*). The smaller examples, with a reduced complement, are also used for hand-line fishing. It occurs along the coast from Kampong Sungei Buloh (just south of Kuala Sélangor) northwards at least as far as Sétul, in Peninsular Siam. The boats used on the coasts of Kédah and Pérliš are, on the whole, rather larger than those in the southern part of its range. [See pl. 12, bottom picture, which shows a boat at Pangkor, off the Dindings].

The Këris and other Malay Weapons

By the late A. H. HILL, M. A., D. PHIL. (Oxon).

...so strong thy site,
There on Aurora's bosom, whence they rise,
Thou house of opulence, Malacca height
The poysoned arrows which thine art supplies,
The krisés thirsting as I see for fight ...

Camoens, *Lusiada*, 1572, (6).

The *këris* is known to everyone as the national weapon of Malaysian peoples. It has substantial claims to being the most sanguinary weapon in history. Sixty years before the Portuguese poet sang the praises of empire building under the Banner of the Seven Castles his fellow-countryman Tomé Pires had written in more objective vein¹

...and if this account is to speak honestly of Javanese matrons, it is not a lie that they are so preposterous that they sometimes kill themselves with a kris if anything displeases them, and they sometimes kill their husbands; and it is a custom in Java for a woman to be searched before she goes to her husband, for they carry secret krisés. This is the custom among the nobles.

In Malaya nearly everyone has seen and handled an old *këris*—at least a twentieth century imitation produced for the tourist trade. But something more than a cursory examination of the blade and hilt is needed for the distinctive features of the weapon to be appreciated.

The most valuable part of a *këris* is the iron blade (*mata k.*) An old one is likely to have seen several replacements of the wooden hilt (*hulu këris*) and scabbard (*sarong këris*). The "sandwich" method of making a damascened *këris* has been described elsewhere. Meteoric iron from which the first blades were probably forged contained nickel, and it may have been this impurity which first produced the characteristic striations known as *pamur*.

¹Hakluyt edn. 1944, 2 Vols. sec 1: 199.

1. Pamur

In the hottest part of the Malay forge the temperature was not high enough to melt the impure iron and produce a homogeneous alloy. The *pamur*, whose pattern could not be controlled, gained a talismanic value. Blades with unusually striking patterns on them must have been much in demand. It cannot have taken the smith long to discover that this natural veining could be reproduced or improved upon by hammering thin layers of scrap-iron over the finished blade. This artificial control of the *pamur* would enable the smith to manufacture blades whose markings showed them to be lucky, according to prevailing belief, for any given purpose such as war or trade. It opened up the possibility that variations in the appearance of the *pamur*, reflecting small differences in the technique of manufacture, would be characteristic of the districts from which the blades came.

Dr. W.H. Rassers, whose observations on the origin and mysticism of the *kéris* are discussed later in this monograph, has written (1942:516); "The *pamur* helps in making the mysterious value of the *kéris* assert itself. All *kéris pusaka* (old valuable *kéris* possessed as heirlooms) have *pamur*. It is especially during the manufacturing of the blade decoration that the smith shows himself in his full sacred function." (1931: 511-23). A Javanese treatise translated by J.J. Meyer (1906: 110) gives sixteen *pamur* designs. Each of them is related to some particular dignity, status or profession. The first and highest is reserved for the figure symbolizing the religious aspect of the complete community, the Prophet Muhammad. Then follow designs for princes of the royal house, for high court officials, for captains of armies and warriors in battle. The lowest rank is that of merchant. Damascene was then a token of rank, a functional emblem.

Dr. J. Groneman (1910:123-49) says that Javanese tradition groups *pamur* designs according to age and degree of originality, in addition to the social distinctions mentioned in the last paragraph. So many motifs are found or have been described that they defy systematic classification. Groneman mentions five *Urpamur*, prototype motifs which he says are thought to represent the five Pandawa brothers of Indo-Javanese mythology, though he gives no reason for the supposed connection. The names of the motifs are:—

(a) *pamur woi wulah*, rice-grain pattern; rounded lines not parallel with the edge of the blade, producing a cloud-like pattern in which the smaller lines curve sometimes from closed circles;

(b) *pamur stkar pala*, banded lines running along the sides of the blade; from the centre numerous groups of lines flow outwards like the leaves of a coconut-palm; the appearance is more like a volcano seen edgewise than of the nutmeg flower from which the motif gets its name;

(c) *pamur stkar ngadeg*; one central band of lines runs with slight undulations along the whole length of the blade and two fine lines, one along either edge, parallel to it; there are subsidiary radiating lines in fine detail; the name derives from a rare flower;

(d) *pamur blaraq ngirid*, coconut leaves threaded together; it is like (c) but the bundles of lines are thinner and finer and they coalesce near the edges of the blade;

(e) *pamur akar temu*, flower of curcuma plant, ginger; slightly bent lines converge on the edge of the blade, then turn in towards the centre in concave bands.

Winter's book (1902: 132-3) describes twenty-four *pamur* motifs, and gives their names, with superficial explanation. There seems to be no difference between the motifs on blades from Solo and those from Jogjakarta, though the ornamentation is different and presumably characteristic. These weapons have such fine *pamur* lines that they are very difficult to classify.

By the sixteenth century when the wearing of *kéris* had become general their manufacture had spread to the smallest villages throughout Malaysia. In his *British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, Newbold (1839: 203-5) gives a plate showing ten types of *pamur*. Winstedt lists many names in his English-Malay dictionary (s.v. *Damask*). Most of them are based on far-fetched analogies, 'the fish-navel', 'the grasshopper's legs', etc. One is not encouraged to think that any satisfactory standards of comparison could be found. A better classification according to locality can be made by taking other features of the *kéris*.

In 1900, at the Engineering Laboratory at Cambridge, Rosenhaim made a microscopic examination of a *kéris* provided by Skeat (1901: 161-17). His results furnish interesting details about the materials used and the way in which the damascene is produced. A pile of nine bars alternately thick and thin was welded into one piece in the forge, drawn out to a considerable length and then bent into the shape of a scroll. Skeat's smith said that two different brands of iron were used, which he called *besi suwe*, wrought iron, and *besi pamur*, the metal of a hoe-blade. Two such scrolls were made and between them and on the outside were placed bars of *besi baja*, tempered steel, forged to the same length. The thicker central bar was to form the body of the blade. After the welding this pile was forged down to the required (lucky) size with some care. The *paksi* was made by notching the blade and drawing out the portion between the notches into a thin spike. Small waves were made by grinding and filing, larger ones by forging. The finished *kéris* was then driven into the ground and the incisions on the *dagu* and *aring* sides of the blade were made by notching and filing out the ends into small tongues of metal. The cutting edge was then roughened with a file and the *ganja*³ welded into the base. Formed from a piece cut off from the base of the blade in a rough state, the *ganja*³ was punched to take the *paksi* and notched on the underside for a mortice and tenon joint. After tempering it was ground to its final shape and then etched to bring out the damascene.

³For parts of the *kéris* mentioned here see section III, pp12-15 below.

The layers of *besi swe* and *b. pamur* examined by Rosenhaim showed no structural differentiation and were marked only by the imperfect welds between the layers. Rosenhaim shows the micro-structure in a plate and states that it is typical of wrought iron. So on this occasion at least the smith had used two separate pieces of the same kind of metal. It is the imperfections of the welds which produces the damascene. The scroll is placed between two layers of steel and hammered edgewise for a long time at a temperature at which the steel is softer and more nearly fluid than the iron. The steel forces its way into the interstices of the iron layer, and in the final stage is left while the outer layer of steel is entirely ground away.

The *pamur* is then invisible or nearly so. To bring it out the Malay smith selects one of a number of recipes known to him. Newbold's account written in 1839 has often been quoted (1839:195-6), "Place on the blade a mixture of boiled rice, sulphur and salt, beat together, first taking the precaution of covering the edges of the weapon with a thin coat of virgin wax. After this has remained on seven days the damask will have risen to the surface. Take the composition off and immerse the blade in the water of a young coconut or the juice of a pineapple, for seven days longer, and brush it well with the juice of a sour lemon. After the rust has been cleared away rub the blade with arsenic (*warangan*) dissolved in lime juice, wash it well with spring water, dry and anoint with coconut oil". It sounds like a genuinely reported formula. Rosenhaim says that steel can be stained and corroded by many organic substances, for instance the juice of liquorice root, which do not attack iron.

2. Types of blade

Kris blades vary considerably in shape and size. Original *kris majapahit* blades are only six or seven inches long and must have been almost useless for fighting. Yet one would have thought that if they were used only as charms there must have been a still earlier *kris* of proper utilitarian value for their efficacy to be recognized. No such prototype weapon has ever been found. Indeed, as will be shown later, all the evidence there is goes to show that the *kris* was a new type of weapon in the thirteenth century. The rapier-like *kris panjang* of Sumatra and the sword-like *kris sundang* of the Celebes, adaptations of the normal *kris* for special purposes, are sometimes over two feet long from handle to tip. If extremes like these are excluded the length of the normal *kris* blade may be taken as twelve to sixteen inches.

The cross-section of the blade may be almost flat as in many undamascened types, or slightly elliptical, or diamond shaped as in the *kris panjang*. In heavily damascened ornamental blades it may be a series of shallow steps up to the mid-point from either side.

Sometimes there is a raised rib (*tulang, kukut*) running down the centre with a shallow groove (*belurah*) on either side of it. One type of *kéris* (*kéris itétrapan*) has narrow channels running down the whole length of the blade. Cracks (*retak*) in certain positions on the blade are thought to be lucky. The *kéris retak bandui* with cracks near the pointed end of the base and the *kéris retak dagu burok* with cracks near the blunt end appear as famous weapons in Malay folklore, conveniently disposing of the craftsman's lack of skill. An old-time *raja* described his *kéris*, according to Skeat (1900:28-33), as "a straight blade of one piece which spontaneously screwed itself into the haft. The grooves, called *retak mayat* 'corpse (polite) grooves' started from the base of the blade, the damask called *pamur janji* appeared half-way up and the damask called *lam jilallah* at the point; the damask *alif* was there parallel to the edge, and where the damasking ended the steel was white. No ordinary metal was the steel. It was what was left over after the making of God's Kaabah".

The blade may be straight or wavy. In calculating the number of waves (*lok*) in a blade Malays count the number of times the blade turns inward towards the central axis from base to tip. Imagine two lines, one on either side of the blade, drawn to form an envelope touching it tangentially at the crests of the waves. The number of points of contact on both sides of the blade is the number of waves. This number is always odd, never even except in rare anomalous weapons. In the Malay Peninsula the favourite straight-bladed *kéris* is the *kéris sapukal* (Griffiths-Williams, 1937), although according to Raffles this name is also given in Java to a wavy *kéris*. The favourite wavy *kéris* is the *kéris sempana* with three, five or seven *lok* (Skeat, *loc. cit.*, says five only). Raffles illustrates forty-one *kéris*, of which twenty-eight have wavy blades varying from three to fifteen *lok*. Only six of them are given names known in the Peninsula, including a *kéris sempana benar* which Raffles shows as possessing a straight blade. Woolley (1947) calls the *kéris chérta* a blade with nine or more waves; Skeat says thirteen to nineteen. The two *kéris chérta* shown in Raffles's plate have eleven and fifteen waves.

According to de Does (1893: 71) the number of waves in a typical Javanese *kéris* is very seldom more than thirteen. But Groneman (1910: 155-8) notes some with as many as twenty-nine waves. Elsewhere in Malaysia *kéris* with nineteen or more waves are common: *kéris andus*, *kéris rantai* (Banks, 1940), *kéris lemona*, *kéris parang sari* (Skeat). Dr. Rassers (1942:518) says that exceptionally a *kéris* with twelve *lok* is found, perhaps because of a feeling among Javanese that the number twelve expresses in a special way the idea of completeness, of unity within diversity. It is difficult to see why this should be so. It is equally difficult to criticize constructively a theory so elusive and open to misconception as Dr. Rassers's on the mystical

significance of the *kéris* which is discussed on pp 28-30. But it is worth mentioning, on this particular point, that the 'tangent' method of counting the *lok* is difficult to apply with accuracy to multi-waved blades in which the undulations often flatten out near the tip almost to vanishing point. The calculation may well be too great or too small by one.

According to an old belief the deadliness of a *kéris* in combat increases with the number of waves it possesses. It is usually with a multi-waved *kéris* that the hero of classical romance runs *amok* and strikes down his enemies with superhuman strength. In an account of some Javanese shadow-play stories the writer has mentioned an episode in which a warrior at the palace promises to find and bring back Radin Inu the abducted prince of Kuripan. Testing a boxful of *kéris* by stabbing the points against his chest he breaks all except one called *kéris lok sangsokugo* (the *kéris* with twenty-five waves) which he accepts as worthy of his prowess.

One *kéris* blade may vary from another not only in the number of waves it possesses and their shape (that is, their amplitude; maximum displacement from the central axis in proportion to the wave-length; the distance between one crest and the next) but also in the type of curvature they exhibit. Some wave-forms are sinusoidal, that is they show the maximum degree of curvature at the point furthest from the centre. Others are arcs of circles, sometimes approaching semi-circles when the blade crosses and recrosses the axis almost at right angles. This type of blade has often been forged by a method described by Groneman (1910: 123). Cylindrical metal bars are placed at intervals alternately on either side of the blade from base to tip. The blade is held in a vice and the bars are then hammered inwards so that all the waves are put in simultaneously. The smith may stop the process whenever the desired degree of indentation has been produced.

The typology of *kéris* blades is a vast study in itself. In a few cases only is the reason for the name which tradition has given them obvious, e.g. *kéris majapahit* and the five-waved *kéris pandawa* (Rassers, 1931: 511) in allusion to the Mahabharata story of the five warrior brothers. More often an expert knowledge of Indonesian folklore is needed for an understanding of the exotic names which many *kéris* bear.

3. The blade, hilt and scabbard

The unique feature of the *kéris*, which serves to distinguish it on sight from all other weapons, is the sudden widening of the blade just below the base, which is normally set not quite at right angles to the axis of the blade. A raised collar-guard (*ganja*) forms the base of the blade. Sometimes it is made in one piece with the blade (*ganja iras*),

sometimes of a separate piece of metal (*ganja menumpang*). Just below the raised rim of the *ganja* there is often a shallow depression in the blade, which Gardner calls *kambing kachang* (1936). But in the legend on Raffles's plate this term is applied to the projecting tongue of iron underneath the blunt end of the *ganja*.⁴ Woolley says that in Brunei the word for this hollow below the *ganja* is *awak*. The head or shank (*tangkai* or *paksi*, in the Peninsula; *putting*, in Borneo) is a pin too thin, one would suppose, to hold the blade firmly in the hilt, projecting through the *ganja* along the axis of the blade. The slant of the *ganja* makes one end of it sharp (the *aring* or *silang*, Peninsula; *Ri pandan*, Java) and the other end blunt (the *dagu*, Peninsula; *n'das chechak*, Java). For a distance of an inch or more below the sharp point of the *aring* the edge of the blade has a set of sharp serrations (*janggut*). On the *dagu* side is the feature most people notice first in the contour of the blade, a projecting spike curving upwards and inwards (*btalalai gajah*, The Elephant's Trunk, Peninsula; *kuku alang*, Brunei; *kambing kachang*, Java). There is a shorter spike above it (*lambai gajah*, The Elephant's Tusk, Peninsula; *lidah tiang*, Brunei) and in the jaws between the two, as well as above and below them, there are a few teeth like those of the *janggut* on the opposite edge of the blade. But in many *kēris* these teeth are vestigial or absent, and the *lambai gajah* is reduced to a small rounded protuberance which the tip of the *btalalai gajah* almost touches.

Kēris fitted with *ganja menumpang* sometimes have a V-shaped metal tongue (*gandik*) tenoned into the base of the blade. It is made in one piece with the *paksi* which then projects through the middle of the *ganja*. Its appearance, rather like the handle and tongue of a cricket bat, suggests that it is fitted as a separate piece during the forging of the weapon. But in most blades it is either absent or hidden under layers of damascene.

Van der Hoop (1949: 139) has made a careful study of the decorative motifs on Indonesian *kēris*. Some photographs he has published are of great interest. One shows a *kēris* from Madura in which the *btalalai gajah* is actually the figure of an elephant with its trunk bent downwards in front of its face in the normal attitude. Another shows a Bali *kēris* with the elephant similarly attitudinized and standing on a tortoise which forms the *lambai gajah*. The figures

4. Sir Stamford Raffles dictated the whole of his *History of Java* to two secretaries between August 1816 and February 1817 at his house in Berners Street, London. His social engagements, London's tribute to the success of his rule in Java, kept him busy. His book was rushed to the publisher chapter by chapter, without correction, and appeared in April 1817—the only edition published in his lifetime. Reading it one is amazed at the enormous amount of detailed information he was able to collect about local life and customs, in spite of his pressing duties as head of state in Java. His mistakes are so few that his book is still a standard work on Javanese culture. His terminology is reliable as a rule.

have been incised with hammer and sharp chisel. The workmanship is very fine. In a third photograph, that of a *kéris* from Surakarta, the elephant has a crown and wings. Van der Hoop considers that in the Bali *kéris* the elephant and tortoise represent Sang Vibhavasus and Sang Supratika, two princes from the Adiparwa, a section of the Mahabharata. A stylized elephant figure is a common motif on Javanese ornamental weapons. Sometimes the beast is armed with sword, shield, arrow (Van der Hoop, 1949: 142). In Javanese art the elephant, like the *kérbau*, was sometimes used as a mount in depicting deceased persons of high rank.

The hilt (*ulu*, Pen.; *wukiran*, Java) is generally made of an ornamental wood like *kémuning*. An average length is four to five inches. At about its middle point it is bent through a slight angle, sometimes almost a right angle, to form a pistol grip. It is always shaped by carving. Commonest in the Malay Peninsula is the type called not inappropriately *jawa dëmam*, the "Fever-stricken Javanese." The figure seems to represent a sitting man (or perhaps a bird) hugging himself as if he were shivering with ague; at least this is a fair description of those specimens which are not so stylized as to be quite unrecognizable for anything except a queer geometrical shape. Fairly common is another type called *ulu burong* of which *ulu burong pëkakak* is a variant found only in Kelantan and Patani. Both have a discernible likeness to the head of a bird. Old hilts from Sumatra and Madura are less conventionalized, the carved figures having obviously human features. These hilts are important for the light they throw on the origin of beliefs in the magic properties of *kéris* (see section 5). The hilt is attached loosely to the *paksi* and can be twisted round in a full circle without much effort. Attached to the base of the hilt is a loose-fitting lotus-cup ring (*pëndongkok*, *pëndokok*, *pëngkok*, Pen.; *awar*, Brunei), made of silver or brass.

The scabbard (*sarong kéris*) is in three parts. The wide scabbard (*sampir* Pen.; *warangka*, Java) follows the slant of the *ganja*, often in a broad sweep turning sharply upwards at the *dagu* end. The body (*batang*, Pen; *gandar*, Java) tapers down to the butt (*buntut*, Pen; *sampak*, Brunei) which has a tight-fitting cap. Most of the scabbards seen nowadays are modern, made of ornamental woods like *angsena*, *kémuning*, *këtënggah*, for a trade which pays less attention to the blade than to its trimmings. The sheath is sometimes encased in metal, either wholly (*buntu*) or only the lower end (*pëndok*). Scabbards covered entirely in gold plate (*gabus*) are to be seen in the regalia of certain of the Malay rulers. The mouth of the scabbard is not wide enough as a rule to admit the *ganja*, which is visible when the weapon is fully sheathed.

Among *kéris* sheaths the Javanese type, with its high-raking sweep, giving it the shape of a boat, is particularly striking. In the

mythology of Java the tribal hero Panji always comes sailing home from over the sea. Among the gifts which are ritually exchanged between bridegroom and bride at the time of their marriage a *këris* is always prominent. Dr. Rassers, *Loc. cit.*, says that this is meant to represent Panji appearing in his *këris* form as the tribal ancestor. The broad mouthpiece of the Javanese scabbard, which is the "house" of the *këris*, always shows the slope of an old-fashioned boat. The design has no practical purpose. It may indicate the normal preference of the tribal hero for the boat as a dwelling-place.

4. Handling a Këris

An understanding of the chief points of a *këris* will reward the historian as well as the student of weapons. The far-fetched analogies to which the Malay craftsman often has recourse for his terminology need not obscure the fact that the things he describes have a practical purpose. Theories about the origin of the *këris* cannot be discussed until the exact way in which the weapon was handled has been explained. The *këris* is a thrusting weapon, suitable for the quick stab-and-withdraw tactics of close combat in a confined space. In its ordinary form it can rarely have been used for slashing or cutting. The way in which it is held makes this clear. The normal position of the hilt is at right angles to the plane of the blade, so that the *aring* is to the right of it and the *dagu*-to the left. Place the forefinger of the right hand under the *ganja* supporting it and the thumb on the blade near the *dagu*. Grip the hilt firmly with the other three fingers. You then have the same hold as the fencer on his foil, ideal for the quick jab from the side of the body out to arm's length. The *aring* protects the knuckles and first joints of the fingers while the *dagu* protects the second joints (Fig. 1). The *janggut* and the *blalalai gajah* help to parry an opponent's thrust, catching and deflecting the edge of his blade away from the hand (Woolley, 1938: 41). The saucer-like guard of the foil would give better protection to the fingers, but its heaviness would upset the balance of a light weapon, it would get in the way of the body when the *këris* was right back and its large surface would make it an easy target for an opponent to pin with the point of his blade. One other use for the *blalalai gajah* suggests itself. May it have been a notch to hang the weapon on a peg or a piece of string, ready to the hand of the owner roused from sleep in a sudden emergency? In less dangerous surroundings it would be kept in its scabbard.

The peculiar shape and position of the handle makes the *këris* an admirable weapon for thrusting, for the straight jab with bent elbow. The normal dagger handle like that of a knife or chopper is a rounded handgrip fastened in a straight line to the end of the blade. The user holds a dagger with thumb and four fingers round the handle and stabs with it more or less at the full extent of the arm, either up-

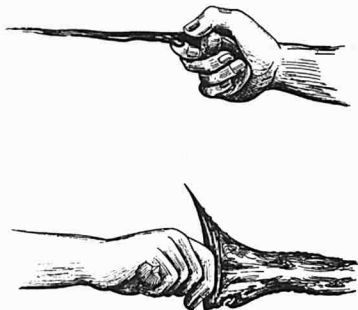


Fig. 1. The correct grip of the *kërîs* as viewed from the side (top) and from below (bottom). Reproduced with permission from Shahrûm bin Yub's *Kërîs dan Senjataz Pendek*.

wards (*radak*) or downwards (*tujah*). If a *kërîs* with the usual grip is aimed like a dagger the hand gets into an unnatural position in which little force can be applied. But turn the blade through a right angle so that the *aring* comes uppermost and place the thumb and forefinger on either side of it just below the *ganja*, and you have a fairly serviceable weapon for a dagger thrust. Was the *kërîs* once a dual purpose weapon, with a loose hilt so that it could be adjusted by finer pressure, even in the middle of a *melée*, for short-thrusting or stabbing from the side? However, if this was the case, its use now for this purpose has been entirely abandoned. But in the rural districts of Malaya the villagers still watch with breathless excitement a performance called *main silat*, a mimic battle between two chosen artists. Standing or half squatting on the ground the duellists imitate the thrusts and parries, the passes and steps of a fight to the death. The motions and posturing are so specialized as to be unreal. The only skill lies in ringing the changes on conventional patterns of movement. The older, more critical spectator allow no liberties to be taken which are not "in the book". Does the *main silat* remind them, as Winstedt (1925: 28) suggests, of armed fights in the old wild days when the *kërîs* was more than a curio? It should do so.

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7. Classification of *këris*

Dr. Rassers' articles summarized in the last section show clearly the almost infinite variety of forms which the *këris* may take in the minds of those who attach transcendental importance to certain of its finer points. In the last analysis every *këris* is *sui generis*. The difficulty of making a satisfactory classification is plain. Groneman's attempt to group *këris* according to their *pamur* has been given on page 8, and following Heine Geldern some material for the differentiation by grip—the *raksasa* and *Garuda* hilts and derived forms.

Dr. Rassers divides *këris* hilts into two primary types and a composite third type. The first is called *tunggaq sëmi* (budding tree-trunk), the second *pasisiran* (littoral). Dr. Rassers shows a connection between these and the division of Mataram into the two principalities of Surakarta and Jogjakarta.

Javanese tradition asserts that the *tunggaq semi* grip was venerated as being very old. It was claimed by the Solo as well as the Jogja court, being considered superior to *pasisiran*. The intermediate type called *kagoq* is thought of as uniting the characteristics of the two primary types. Dr. Rassers says that the division of Mataram revived again the memory of an old tribal dualism and the *këris*, symbol of the totality of the community, showed itself once more in two aspects or phratries, equal in value but rivals. A study of Dr. Rassers' article leaves the present writer in some doubt whether or not his ideas on this point rest on something more solid than conjecture.

Dr. Rassers (*ibid.*) divides *këris* blades into two types; the straight (*dapur benar*) and the wavy (*dapur luq* or *dapur parung*), the former representing the resting snake (*sarpa*) *tapa* and the latter the active snake (*sarpa*) *lumaku*. This is in agreement with Groneman—see page 28. According to Jasper and Pirngadie there were originally four types of *këris*, called *brodjol*, *tilamputih*, *sengkelat* and *panimbal*. The Dutch writers' informant, a village arrowsmith of Java, did not apparently know the difference between them.

What is really needed, however, is a working classification based not on special marks or fine distinctions but on differences in the chief parts of the weapon broad enough to permit the inclusion of all

kéris commonly seen. Woolley has noted certain broad differences to be characteristic of the locality in which the *kéris* are usually found or of the country in which they are supposed to have originated. His classification of 'derived' *kéris* into seven types is a useful one.

1. The Bali, Lombok or Madura type.

In Hindu surroundings the hilt figure remained like the original deity or became a flower with the general outline resembling the figure. The hilts are often covered with a sleeve of gold ornately worked with 'chasing' chisels of a special type. The statuettes made with this chasing technique are usually studded with gems. The *pendongkok* at the base of the hilt may be absent. Bali blades are often smooth or polished.

2. The Javanese type.

In listing forty-one of the common varieties Raffles (1830: 329-30) says that over a hundred types of Javanese *kéris*, each with its own name, were known in his day. They are generally of greater simplicity than Peninsula types. The hilt is purged by Islamic zeal of all likeness to living forms. The *sampir* is boat-shaped with rounded edges. (According to a Javanese classic the ability to make *kéris* sheaths, *m'rang'gi*, was one of the marks of a nobleman).

3. The Peninsula (Northern) type.

The *jawa demam* hilt, a compromise between Islamic prejudice and its belief in the latent powers of paganism, is the commonest. The *sampir* is usually large with square shoulders. The sheath is often encased in metal, the whole or the lower part only.

4. The Bugis type

The hilts are of fine workmanship, often elaborately carved. The type is found all over Malaysia, brought to the seaports by the great traders of a past age.

5. The Sumatran type.

In the seventeenth century Menangkabau was famed for its manufacture of *kéris*. In 1609 Argensola wrote 'at Menangkabau excellent poniards are made called creeses; the best weapons in all the Orient'. The speciality of the district was the *kéris panjang* or *kéris bahari*, a long rapier-like blade introduced perhaps to give extra reach in an encounter with an opponent armed with a sword.

The type once introduced was repeated with blades of normal length, the *kéris alang* and *kéris pendek*. The hilt is often of horn or ivory. The blade is flat and narrow, sometimes with a raised rib running down the middle. It may have a damascened surface or a dull black one. The hilt follows the Java pattern.

6. The Patani type.

The hilt is distinctive, the Garuda figure with the long nose erroneously called kingfisher (*pekakak*). The sheath has a curved crosspiece like that of Java and its makers were called *pande*, so it must be a relic of Majapahit domination in the north of the Malay Peninsula. Gardner notes that in some examples there are tiny arms clasped round the body of the hilt figure. The blade may be as long as a *kris bahari*. One of Gardner's photographs shows a *kris pekakak* with thirty-one waves.

7. The Sundang or Sulu type.

The blade is long, straight and sword-like, for cutting and slashing rather than for thrusting. The Sulus wanted a weapon suitable for piratical attacks at sea. They invented a straight hilt but retained the *ganja*. A weapon looking like a prototype *kris sundang* is depicted in the sculpture of Chandi Panataran, a fourteenth century temple of Java.

Gardner provides a drawing of the *kris bahari* but does not say anything about its meaning. Woolley draws attention to Wilkinson's definition (*s.v.* Mal.-Eng. Dict.) of *bahari*, fresh, vernal, and *zaman yang bahari*, "the good old times". Woolley's Brunei informant called it *kris anjur* and said it always had a straight blade. (Cf. Wilkinson, *ibid.*, *penganjur*, the officer who bears the sword of State before a Raja). Gardner calls the Peninsula type *jawa demam* and tells an apocryphal story of how the term arose. 'A certain Raja called his *pandai besi* and ordered him to make a *kris* hilt that was unlike any other, or lose his life. The *kris* maker could not think what to do. But as night came on it grew cold, and the Raja who had fever pulled his *sarong* up and hugged himself to keep warm. Then the *kris*-maker carved a hilt in his likeness'.

From a study of *kris* made in different parts of Malaysia, especially of their hilts and sheaths, Evans (1927:97-9) concludes the majority of those found in the Peninsula show much closer affinities with the Bugis than with the Javanese type. Peninsular and Bugis *sampir* are broad and square at the ends, quite unlike the high-raking curvilinear style of the Javanese. The contours of the Javanese hilt figure too are quite unlike the stylized *jawa demam* of the Bugis and Peninsula hilts. Curiously enough the Patani *kris*, which Evans found also in Upper Perak, has a *sampir* which resembles the Javanese more than the Peninsula type. Evans describes the *sampir* of a *kris* as covering the broadest part of the blade and adjoining the *pendongkok*, but it should be noted that the *ganja* always projects from the mouth of the sheath which is never wide enough to admit the *aring*. Owing to limitations of space the remainder of this Paper could not be included.

A Note on the Stability of the Chinese Population in Singapore, 1947-50

by MAURICE FREEDMAN, M.A., Ph. D.

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Before the Second World War the Chinese population of Singapore, like that of the rest of Malaya, was largely foreign-born. Every year, from the foundation of the British settlement in 1819 onwards, Chinese came into Singapore and left it in considerable numbers.¹ The so-called Straits-born or Babas, who accounted for some ten per cent of the total Chinese population in the early twentieth century, were looked upon as a domiciled section of the Chinese; the great majority of the Chinese were thought to be essentially transient. After the Second World War some observers began to speak of the Chinese becoming stabilised in Malaya. By the year of the last published census, 1947, the locally-born percentage of Singapore Chinese had reached sixty, and there appeared to be other reasons for assuming that at long last the Chinese in Malaya generally were going to turn themselves into an anchored population.²

In this Note I am not concerned with analysing the total movement of Chinese between Singapore and China; I am going to try to estimate the extent to which, in the years 1947 to 1950, Chinese living in Singapore went on visits to China, and I shall attempt to show how the visitors were drawn from the Singapore Chinese population. I spent the years 1949-1950 in Singapore, carrying out a study of Chinese family organization under the auspices of the Colonial Social Science Research Council, during which time I was generously allowed access to certain records kept in the Department of Immigration. The numerical data which appear here were compiled from these records.

After the Second World War, Malayan immigration policy allowed Chinese to go back and forth between Malaya and China as visitors, but sought to limit the immigration of newcomers to certain narrow classes of compassionate cases. For example, men who had been in Malaya for at least seven years

1. See my *Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore*, H.M.S.O., London, 1957, pp. 22f. The standard work on population in Malaya and Singapore is T. E. Smith, *Population Growth in Malaya*, London, 1952.
2. Cf. Freedman, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

were able to claim the privilege of obtaining an entry permit for their wives in China. Between January 1948 and March 1950, 13,781 applications for entry permits were made in Singapore. Not all, but the great majority, of these concerned Chinese. Some half (7,118) of the applications were granted, although on the 31st March 1950, 877 applications were outstanding. (These figures need to be increased slightly to take account of a small number of children under the age of twelve years who were entered on the certificates granted to their mothers. An addition of some six per cent to the number of the certificates issued gives the figure for the individuals allowed in.) These small figures make a strong contrast to the masses of newcomers who arrived in the days of free immigration.³

The great bulk of the post-war movement to China, because of the restrictions on re-entry, was composed of Chinese armed with documents allowing them to return to Malaya within a limited space of time. The Chinaward flow of course included Chinese going home for good, but those prepared to sever their ties with Malaya in this way were a minority. It is of interest, therefore, to ask about the composition of the significant element in the movement to and from China. Who were these 'visitors'?

Chinese going to China from Singapore and wishing to return must carry documents allowing them to re-enter. In a number of cases there were men and women holding British passports because they were born in the Straits Settlements (or in some other British territory) and were able to prove it. But these cases were relatively few. The great mass of Chinese going on a visit to China equipped themselves with Certificates of Admission. In June 1950, 64,302 such certificates had been issued and were still valid. In January 1947 the figure had been 8,584, and this number had risen to a peak of 82,664 in December 1948. Nearly all these certificates related to Chinese. In the first half of 1950, when Chinese applications dropped sharply, they formed 91 per cent of the total, but in earlier years the Chinese proportion had been higher than this. For 1947, 1948, 1949, and January-June 1950 the total applications granted were 43,962, 36,275, 29,924, and 7,376 respectively. Political conditions in China of course explain much of the decline, but 1947 and 1948 still carried a great part of the pent-up wartime load.

We may assume that Chinese would not take the trouble of applying for Certificates of Admission if they were not intending shortly to make a journey out of the country. I have

3. In 1947, 730,133 Chinese were enumerated in Singapore.

therefore made an analysis of the certificates granted in Singapore in four months (chosen arbitrarily) in the period 1948 to 1950 in the hope that the results will say something significant about visitors to China. The first table sets out data for these four months.

Chinese Recipients of Certificates of Admission — 1947-1950

Dialect-group	August 1947		December 1948		April 1949		February 1950		Total four months	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Hokkien	660	20.7	741	23.3	701	20.0	169	19.0	2,271	21.1
Cantonese	983	28.0	479	15.1	750	21.4	189	21.2	2,311	21.5
Tiuchiu	550	17.3	503	15.8	715	20.4	235	26.4	2,003	18.6
Hainanese	573	17.9	872	27.5	687	19.6	155	17.4	2,287	21.3
Hakka	252	8.0	319	10.0	413	11.8	54	6.1	1,038	9.6
Hokchiu	90	2.8	123	3.9	97	2.8	50	5.6	360	3.3
Hokchia*	10	0.3	41	1.3	14	0.4	7	0.8	72	0.7
Hinghoa	81	2.5	39	1.2	36	1.0	10	1.1	166	1.5
Others	79	2.5	57	1.8	91	2.6	22	2.5	249	2.3
Totals	3,188	99.9	3,174	99.9	3,504	100.0	891	100.1	10,757	99.9

Although these figures relate to the granting of certificates in Singapore, not all the Chinese recipients were actually resident in Singapore, many of them coming from the Federation. This will be apparent in the data for the month of December 1948, which I now analyse in greater detail. From the 3,174 cases for this month, 262 are removed because they are those of seamen, for whom travelling is a profession. (Of these 262 seamen, it is interesting to note, 167 are Hainanese and 58 Hokchiu.) The remaining 2,912 are tabulated below by age-group and sex.

Chinese Recipients of Certificates of Admission — December 1948

Age-group	Males	Females	Total
1-15	128	78	206
16-20	158	51	209
21-25	215	76	291
26-30	272	96	368
31-35	347	98	445
36-40	393	107	500
41-45	284	90	374
46-50	207	46	253
51-55	113	36	149
56-60	52	23	75
61 & +	30	12	42
Totals	2,199	713	2,912

(Females form twenty-four per cent of the total. 354 persons, or twelve per cent, were born outside China).

Of these holders of certificates approximately one-quarter (773) were residents of the Federation of Malaya; most of them were probably from the neighbouring State of Johore. Eighty-eight per cent were apparently China-born, the exceptions being 57 born elsewhere than Malaya in South-East Asia, and 297 of 'undetermined nationality', who were people claiming to be locally-born but unable, or not caring, to furnish proof. The total figure also includes 38 men who were regular travellers between Singapore and Indonesia, a fact which should remind us that not all holders of certificates were paying visits to China. Similar tables for each dialect-group follow.

Hokkien Recipients of Certificates of Admission — December 1948

Age-group	Males	Females	Total
1-15	45	23	68
16-20	52	14	66
21-25	66	21	87
26-30	99	24	123
31-35	97	10	107
36-40	90	14	104
41-45	62	15	77
46-50	51	6	57
51-55	15	4	19
56-60	11	6	17
61 & +	7	3	10
Totals	595	140	735

(Females form nineteen per cent of the total. 136 persons, or nineteen per cent, were born outside China. 16 men were regular travellers between Singapore and Indonesia. 152 persons were residents of the Federation of Malaya).

Cantonese Recipients of Certificates of Admission — December 1948

Age-group	Males	Females	Total
1-15	6	10	16
16-20	14	9	23
21-25	20	17	37
26-30	31	30	61
31-35	37	37	74
36-40	48	43	91
41-45	28	31	59
46-50	20	21	41
51-55	18	17	35
56-60	7	8	15
61 & +	4	3	7
Totals	233	226	459

(Females form forty-nine per cent of the total. 42 persons, or nine per cent, were born outside China. 107 persons were residents of the Federation of Malaya. 64 women gave themselves as maidservants and 39 as labourers).

Tiuchiu Recipients of Certificates of Admission — December 1948

Age-group	Males	Females	Total
1-15	19	12	31
16-20	17	7	24
21-25	49	13	62
26-30	45	9	54
31-35	68	11	79
36-40	65	12	77
41-45	49	13	62
46-50	48	4	52
51-55	26	5	31
56-60	11	3	14
61 & +	7	3	10
Totals	404	92	496

(Females form nineteen per cent of the total. 56 persons, or eleven per cent, were born outside China. 7 men were regular travellers between Singapore and Indonesia. 63 persons were residents of the Federation of Malaya).

Hainanese Recipients of Certificates of Admission — December 1948

Age-group	Males	Females	Total
1-15	28	18	46
16-20	49	12	61
21-25	53	8	61
26-30	54	25	79
31-35	88	24	112
36-40	111	25	136
41-45	80	16	96
46-50	49	3	52
51-55	32	5	37
56-60	14	2	16
61 & +	9	—	9
Totals	567	138	705

(Females form twenty per cent of the total. 46 persons, or seven per cent, were born outside China. 3 men were regular travellers between Singapore and Indonesia. 232 persons were residents of the Federation of Malaya).

Hakka Recipients of Certificates of Admission — December 1948

Age-group	Males	Females	Total
1-15	23	11	34
16-20	15	7	22
21-25	17	13	30
26-30	24	4	28
31-35	33	12	45
36-40	36	10	46
41-45	34	13	47
46-50	24	11	35
51-55	15	2	17
56-60	7	3	10
61 & +	2	3	5
Totals	230	89	319

(Females form twenty-eight per cent of the total. 57 persons, or eighteen per cent, were born outside China. One man was a regular traveller between Singapore and Indonesia. 170 persons were residents of the Federation of Malaya. 12 women gave themselves as labourers).

Hokchiu Recipients of Certificates of Admission — December 1948

Age-group	Males	Females	Total
1-15	3	2	5
16-20	6	—	6
21-25	2	1	3
26-30	7	1	8
31-35	10	2	12
36-40	11	1	12
41-45	8	1	9
46-50	7	—	7
51-55	1	—	1
56-60	1	—	1
61 &	1	—	1
Totals	57	8	65

(Females form twelve per cent of the total. 5 persons, or eight per cent, were born outside China. 22 persons were residents of the Federation of Malaya).

Hokchia Recipients of Certificates of Admission — December 1948

Age-group	Males	Females	Total
1-15	1	—	1
16-20	1	—	1
21-25	2	—	2
26-30	1	—	1
31-35	8	1	9
36-40	14	—	14
41-45	6	—	6
46-50	2	—	2
51-55	1	2	3
56-60	1	1	2
61 & +	—	—	—
Totals	37	4	41

(Females form ten per cent of the total. 4 persons, or ten per cent, were born outside China. Two persons were residents of the Federation of Malaya).

Hinghoa Recipients of Certificates of Admission — December 1948

Age-group	Males	Females	Total
1-15	2	—	2
16-20	4	—	4
21-25	4	2	6
26-30	7	—	7
31-35	4	1	5
36-40	5	—	5
41-45	5	—	5
46-50	2	—	2
51-55	3	—	3
56-60	—	—	—
61 & +	—	—	—
Totals	36	3	39

(Females form eight per cent of the total. 2 persons, or five per cent, were born outside China. One person was a resident of the Federation of Malaya).

Other Chinese Recipients of Certificates of Admission —
December 1948

Age-group	Males	Females	Total
1-15	1	2	3
16-20	—	2	2
21-25	2	1	3
26-30	4	3	7
31-35	2	—	2
36-40	13	2	15
41-45	12	1	13
46-50	4	1	5
51-55	2	1	3
56-60	—	—	—
61 & +	—	—	—
Totals	40	13	53

(Females form twenty-five per cent of the total. 4 persons, or eight per cent, were born outside China. One man was a regular traveller between Singapore and Indonesia. 25 persons were residents of the Federation of Malaya).

At the end of 1948, as we have seen, the number of valid certificates stood at nearly 83,000. If we subtract from this figure five per cent for non-Chinese cases, ten per cent for seamen and regular travellers to Indonesia, and twenty-five per cent for residents of the Federation of Malaya, we arrive at a figure of approximately 50,000. That is to say, some seven and a half per cent of the Chinese population of Singapore at this period was either about to set out for China, was in China, or was recently back from China. (I think we may assume that only very small numbers of certificate-holders were travelling to places other than China.) From the peak month of December 1948 the number of valid certificates declined to 64,000 in mid-1950, so that the percentage of Singapore Chinese who were about to visit China, were visiting China, or were just back from China, was reduced to five. This by itself is an interesting proportion, for it shows a considerable flow of visitors during a very troubled period in China's history; but we have yet to see how far the visitors were representative of the population from which they were drawn.

In the first table above the total sample for four months is broken down into dialect-groups. In the 1947 census the Chinese population of Singapore was shown to have the following distribution by dialect-group and sex.

1958] Royal Asiatic Society.

Dialect-group	No.	%	Sex ratio (females per 1,000 males)
Hokkien	289,167	39.6	886
Cantonese	157,980	21.6	1,219
Tiuchiu	157,188	21.5	825
Hainanese	52,192	7.1	557
Hakka	40,036	5.5	768
Hokchiu	9,477	1.3	540
Hokchhia ^a	6,323	0.9	570
Hinghoa	7,446	1.0	556
Other Chinese	10,324	1.4	672
Total	730,133	99.9	882

The dialect-groups, as their name implies, are defined in the first instance on the basis of certain sharp distinctions in the spoken Chinese language; these varieties of the language are associated with different parts of the area of south-eastern China from which emigration to South-East Asia has taken place. While it does not follow that all members of a dialect-group speak its dialect (although this is nearly always the case), they tend to share certain cultural characteristics and are conscious of belonging to a marked-out group of the total Chinese population. The dialect-groups are not spatially distinct (although there are uneven concentrations of the members of particular groups),⁴ but various types of voluntary associations recruit within dialect-groups, while to a very great extent marriages are contained within them. The differences in sex ratio between them are due in large measure to differences in length of settlement, Hokkien and Tiuchiu having large numbers of locally-born members. The unique sex ratio displayed by the Cantonese is due to the immigration of Cantonese working women in the 'thirties when immigration restrictions affected men only.⁵

Comparing the dialect-group structure of the general population with that of the sample represented in the first table above, we see that there is a considerable disparity between them. The disparity is remarkable above all in the case of the Hokkien and the Hainanese; the former show proportionally only half as

4. Cf. B. W. Hodder, 'Racial Groupings in Singapore,' *The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*, 1, October 1953, for data on urban Singapore.

5. On these various aspects of dialect-grouping cf. Freedman, *op. cit.*, pp. 12ff., 27, 70f., 93f., 107ff., 205.

many certificate-holders as they have members in the general population, while the latter bulk three times larger among the certificate-holders than among the general population. The figures confirm what is generally known about these two dialect-groups. The Hokkien include a large proportion of locally-born people while the immigrants among them tend to bring their wives over from China or marry in Malaya. Hainanese, in contrast, bring very few women over and often maintain families in China.⁶ Visiting China was clearly connected with family ties. Among the other dialect-groups the Hakka and Hokchiu also show proportionally far more certificate-holders than members of the general population, but the Hokchiu disparity is probably due to the large number of seamen among them. The Cantonese appear to hold certificates in proportion to their place in the general population, but as soon as we look at the sex ratios in the sample for December 1948 we see that both the Hakka and the Cantonese stand out.

Sex ratios in dialect-groups among recipients of certificates
in December 1948.

Hokkien	235
Cantonese	962
Tiuchiu	228
Hainanese	243
Hakka	385
Hockchiu	140
Hokchhia ^a	108
Hinghoa	83
Other Chinese	325
Total	324

To a large extent among the Cantonese and to some degree among the Hakka the high proportion of women must have been due to the presence in these groups of independent working women (unmarried or not effectively married), who travelled to China to maintain their contacts at home. However, if we now look at the age-structure of these women we shall see that a considerable proportion of them were too young to have been

6. Even if we remove twenty-five per cent of the Hainanese certificate-holders to allow for seamen, we are still left with a wide disparity between the Hainanese elements in the sample and the general population.

among the immigrants of the 'thirties: indeed, the age-structure of Cantonese women closely parallels that of Cantonese men, and the same is very roughly true of the Hakka women in relation to the Hakka men; so that there would seem to be a continuing trend, especially among the Cantonese, for women to visit China in considerable numbers. It should be noted that the Cantonese are the only dialect-group in which the sex-ratio among the 'visitors' approaches that of the group as a whole.

There is a tendency among the 'visitors' (except in the case of the Cantonese) for women to be much more concentrated in the lower age-groups than men. The position is summarised in the following table.

Dialect-group	% Males under 26	% Females under 26
Hokchhia*	27	41
Cantonese	17	16
Tiuchiu	21	35
Hainanese	23	27
Hakka	23	35
Hokchiu	19	37
Hokchhia*	11	0
Hinghoa	28	67
Other Chinese	7	38
Total	23	29

(The figures for the last three dialect-groups listed and for 'other Chinese' are of course too small to allow the percentages to be realistic). This distribution is probably related to two facts. First, when young children are taken on visits to China girls are very often included; thirty-three per cent of all the 'visitors' under the age of sixteen were girls, and this high proportion holds for each of the main dialect-groups except the Cantonese, in which the girls under sixteen outnumber the boys. Second, a man's chances of accumulating the funds to pay for a trip to China are generally not diminished until he gets to old age; a woman, on the other hand, stands less chance of going abroad once she is married and becomes the financial responsibility of her husband.

The percentages of 'visitors' born outside China are small and would not be greatly increased if we were to add an estimate of the number of 'visitors' who used British passports. The

Hokkien, as one might have expected, show the highest percentage of locally-born among the 'visitors' (nineteen per cent); we do not know what percentage of the Hokkien population of Singapore was locally-born at this time, but it must have been in the neighbourhood of seventy. The significance of the locally-born among the 'visitors' to China depends upon their age; if they were children and all adult 'visitors' were China-born, then we might conclude that a shift in generation would usher in the end of visits by the locally-born to China; as the population became increasingly locally-born (as it must do), the active ties with the homeland would disappear. But in fact the locally-born 'visitors' are distributed widely over the age-range. If we exclude people not resident in Singapore and count as locally-born those who were recorded as being of 'undetermined nationality' or as having been born in South-East Asia, we arrive at the following statement:—

Dialect-group	Under 16		16 to 20		21 and over	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Hokkien	29	14	16	8	33	21
Cantonese	2	1	6	5	13	5
Tiuchiu	13	7	5	1	16	7
Hainanese	4	5	4	2	1	2
Hakka	7	3	4	1	10	7
Hokchiu	2	1	1	0	0	0
Hokchhia*	1	0	1	0	2	0
Hinghoa	1	0	1	0	0	0
Others	0	0	0	1	1	0
Totals	59	31	38	18	76	42

In these figures, 146 men and women under the age of twenty-one outnumber those of the age of twenty-one and over by 28; so that the locally-born element among the 'visitors' is fairly young; but there are enough 'visitors' among the older locally-born to make it seem likely that China will continue, in favourable conditions, to receive visits from Singapore Chinese.

Historical Sketch of Penang in 1794

By Thomas Graham Edited by John Bastin

Part of the following document, entitled "A Historical Sketch of the circumstances which led to the settlement of Penang & of the Trade to the Eastward previous to, and since that period," (1794) has already been published in V. Harlow and F. Madden's *British Colonial Developments 1774-1834: Select Documents* (Oxford, 1953), pp.59-63. In that book, however, the spelling was modernized, and much of the colourful detail omitted, so that it has seemed worthwhile to publish the document in full, and to annotate certain parts of it. The original manuscript, consisting of fifty folio-pages, is in the *Home Miscellaneous Series* (437 (6) fol.139-89) in the India Office Library, Commonwealth Relations Office, London. The present text has been prepared for publication from a photostat copy kindly made for me by the Librarian of the India Office.

According to Harlow and Madden, the author of the "Historical Sketch" was Thomas Graham, information about whom may be found in the series *Personal Records* in the India Office Library, to which I have not had direct access. That he was the first Resident at the Court of Benares (1777) †, an original member of the Bengal Board of Revenue which replaced the Revenue Committee of 1781, § and a senior member of that Board as late as October 1801, is known from a listing of his correspondence (1775-1801) in S.C. Hill, *Catalogue of the Home Miscellaneous Series of the India Office Records* (London, 1927), p.595: whether or not he was a member of the Supreme Council in Calcutta, as Harlow and Madden assert (p.59n.1), I have been unable to discover from the

† S. Weitzman, *Warren Hastings and Philip Francis* (Manchester, 1929), pp. 99, 124n. 4.

§ B.B. Misra, *The Central Administration of the East India Company 1773-1834* (Manchester, 1959), p. 134.

1959] Royal Asiatic Society.

material available to me in Malaya. In any case, it is extraordinarily puzzling that someone with Graham's considerable experience of the East India Company should have composed such a badly worded document as the one which follows for transmission to Henry Dundas, President of the India Board of Control. That Graham sent a copy of the "Historical Sketch" to Dundas from Calcutta on 29 May 1795 is known from the inscription on the manuscript; but that he himself actually wrote the report, as stated by Harlow and Madden, is extremely unlikely. Who, in fact, did?

In volume XXVIII, 1 (1955), pp. 37-51 of this *Journal*, K.J. Fielding published a report on Penang which Francis Light's friend and partner, James Scott, addressed to Dundas towards the end of 1794^o. The circumstances in which that report was written have been discussed by Fielding, and are connected with the uncertain future of Penang as a British settlement at that period.† Scott's report was entitled "A Narrative of the Circumstances which led to the Settling of the Island Pinang in 1786", which is similar in wording to the full title of the "Historical Sketch". There are, moreover, other striking points of similarity between the two documents. In the first place, the opening sentences are the same ("Previous to the Peace of 1763 we had little or no [Trade] . . ."); second, the basic structure of the two documents is the same, although the "Historical Sketch" is, of course, much longer. Other points of similarity will also strike the reader. Compare, for example, Scott's account of the seizure of the sloop *Betsy* at Riau (Fielding, p. 42):

Inability or Inattention in Admiral Hughes, and the Activity of the French Frigates and Island Privateers had so far repressed Individual Adventure as to occasion the Company's sending their own Opium to Markett on their own Accord and Risque. The *Betsy*, Capt. Geddes, with a Cargo of this

* Egerton MSS. 3299 (British Museum).

† See note 8 below.

Opium, Arrived at Rhiow, and was there Blocked up by a Dutch and French Ship, who Offered the King 1/3 of the plunder if he would permit them to take her from under his Guns. He assented to this, and Betsy and Cargo was Captured.

But a tardiness in the Dutch who were his Agents (for he wished to conceal his share of the transaction from the English) in Bringing his Share to Account, induced him to approach Malacca with a considerable force, in order to give more weight to his demand. This, in the End, produced a Warr which Continued Active two years, with Various Success, and Ended in the Death of the King and Capture of Rhiow.

with the account of the same incident in the "Historical Sketch":

[Due to a] Paucity of English Frigates, [a] number of French & Island privateers had so far repressed individual adventure that the Company experienced a necessity of sending their own Opium to Market. Captⁿ Geddes arrived at Rhio[w] with a Cargo & was there blocked up by a French & a Dutch Ship. [T]hey offered the King $\frac{1}{3}$ d to permit their taking her out of the River. [T]his was acceded to, & Capⁿ Geddes taken. [A] tardyness in the Dutch in bringing this $\frac{1}{3}$ d to the King's Treasury induced him to approach Malacca with a considerable force, which ended in a War, in which the King was killed, Rhiow taken, & the Inhabitants dispersed.

Not only are the two documents similar in content; they are also similar in English style. There can be little doubt that they were, in fact, written by the same person: James Scott. This conjecture is strengthened by a number of internal references in the "Historical Sketch" which place its author in Penang in 1794; there is no evidence at all to suggest that Thomas Graham was in Penang during that year or, for that matter, at any other time. Obviously Scott wrote two reports on the island

in 1794; the shorter one was despatched directly to Dundas, the longer one to Graham, who was in Calcutta.

Some personal connection between Scott and Graham would help to reinforce this argument, and there is, fortunately, at least one piece of evidence to establish this connection. In the *European Manuscripts* of the India Office Library there is a five-page "Description of a Harbour or Bay behind the Island [of] Penang in [the] northern mouth of the Straits of Malacca", which was written by Scott in 1780 or 1781. (117 MSS. Eur. E. 2).^{*} In the same collection of manuscripts there is a letter of Scott's, dated 29 April 1781, in which he refers to the fact that he had "left" a copy of the description of this bay "with Mr. Thomas Graham for the inspection of Sir Edward Hughes", the admiral in charge of the British East-India squadron. Obviously Graham was a friend of Scott's who had, as early as 1781, some interest in Penang. Presumably, because of this interest, Scott forwarded to him his "Historical Sketch" in 1794, and Graham, not knowing that a shorter version had been sent to Dundas by Scott himself, despatched the document to the President of the Board of Control in the expectation that it would be useful in influencing a decision concerning the Company's retention of Penang.

Except for occasional changes in punctuation and paragraphing, the text has been published without any attempt to modify Scott's individual style of writing or to correct his inconsistencies in spelling. Appendix A has been prepared by Miss M. Stubbs Brown.

^{*} G. R. Kaye and E. H. Johnston, *India Office Library: Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages, Volume II, Part II. Minor Collections and Miscellaneous Manuscripts* (London, 1937), p. 486.

A Historical Sketch of the circumstances which led to the settlement of Penang & of the Trade to the Eastward previous to, and since that period.

"Previous to the Peace of 1763 we had little or no Trade to the Eastward, which center'd wholly with the Dutch.

The Kings of Johore having about 1756 forced the Dutch to grant them a license to trade in every species of Goods whether of the Dutch Monoply or not,¹ removed to Rhiow, a port on the Island Binting;² about 1768, this Port became frequented by the English & Eastern nations of the Chinese Archipelago, and tho' under the Monoply of the King & his Nobles, & subject to a duty of 5 PC³, it increased so rapidly that by 1779—80, when it was interrupted by the American Wars, it had become an object of anxious uneasyness to the Dutch & of great mercantile convenience to the English.

[Due to a] Paucity of English Frigates, [a] number of French & Island privateers had so far repressed individual adventure that the Company experienced a necessity of sending their own Opium to Market. Capⁿ Geddes arrived at Rhio [w] with a Cargo & was there blocked up by a French & a Dutch Ship. [T]hey offered the King $\frac{1}{2}$ d to permit their taking her out of the River. [T]his was acceded to, & Capⁿ Geddes taken. [A] tardyness in the Dutch in bringing this $\frac{1}{2}$ d to the King's Treasury induced him to approach Malacca with a considerable force, which ended in a War, in which the King was killed, Rhiow taken, & the Inhabitants dispersed.³

1. This is not quite accurate. The two treaties which the Dutch East India Company concluded with Sultan Sulaiman of Johore in November 1754, and January 1756, were generally restrictive in nature. See F.W. Stapel (ed.), *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum 1753-1799* (The Hague, 1955), pp. 22-3, 77-80. In practice, of course, Johore continued to carry on an "unofficial" trade in tin, opium, and cloth with the English East India Company.
2. Pulau Bintan. The whole group of islands immediately south of Singapore was commonly referred to as the Riau archipelago from about the 1820s. The Lingga archipelago lies further south, and takes its name from the main island in the group, Pulau Lingga.
3. This is a somewhat garbled account. The ship was the *Betsy*, which was loaded with 1,466 chests of opium in Calcutta, and sailed to Riau under instructions to dispose of the opium in Malayan waters, and

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During the American War great inconvenience was experienced from the necessity which our Fleet was under of going to Bombay, as it left the Bay [of Bengal] & our possessions & communications without defence from October to April. [T]his, as it affected the supply of the Carnatic with provisions, involved consequences of such serious import as induced Government to make enquiries after a Port of retreat for the Fleet, in the Bay.⁴

And the inconveniences experienced by Traders from the want of Rhiow as a mart of Exchange, induced a wish that a settlement equal to remedying both might be made.

While Government & the public remained in this state, Mr Light's procuring a grant of Penang determined their views to a point.⁵

The capture of Rhiow by the Dutch was in 1785,⁶ tho' it had been blockaded at times for 2 years, & Pinang was settled in Aug^t 1786.⁷

When this settlement was first made, had an examination deserving credence been ordered, or had credence been given to such as was order'd, it is most natural to suppose that Government would have adopted measures most likely to render it useful for the purposes intended.

-
- to carry the unsold part to Canton. She disposed of 59,600 Spanish dollars' worth of her cargo before she was captured by a French privateer at Riau. Her commander, Robert Geddes, escaped with this money which he paid into the Canton treasury. Raja Haji, who until this period had been on fairly good terms with the Dutch, fell out with them because they refused to give him any of the spoils of the Betsy. In revenge he called upon his Bugis bretheren in Selangor and Rembau, and began raiding along the Malacca Straits. This led to the Dutch blockade of Riau which, having failed, gave Raja Haji the opportunity of investing Malacca. The arrival of Jacob Pieter van Braam's fleet at Malacca in June 1784 forced the Bugis to raise the seige, and Raja Haji was himself killed. The Dutch quickly followed this up by capturing Riau and severely circumscribing Bugis influence there. See R.O. Winstedt, *A History of Malaya* (Singapore, 1962), pp. 149-51. Winstedt gives the Betsy's cargo as 1154 chests of opium; I have followed the figure in H.B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1635-1834* (Oxford, 1926-9), II, p. 76. (I am grateful to Dr. D.K. Bassett for this latter reference.)
4. See A. Aspinall, *Cornwallis in Bengal* (Manchester, 1931), App. II, "The Beginnings of Penang, 1786-93", for a good account of the naval factors determining the need for a British settlement to the east of the Bay of Bengal; see also Sir Home Popham, *A Description of Prince of Wales Island, in the Streights of Malacca: with its Real and Probable Advantages and Sources to recommend it as a Marine Establishment* (London, 1805).
 5. H.P. Clodd, *Malaya's First British Pioneer: The Life of Francis Light* (London, 1948), pp. 4 ff.
 6. See note 3 above.
 7. Clodd, pp. 43 ff.

The difficulty of distinguishing between proposals specious or real, and the indecision [sic] which, from repeated deceptions, marks the measures of all Government⁸ in adopting new undertakings, plainly evinces their opinion of man in general, & thence the caution with which they give credence to reports & their indecision [sic] in determining between undertakings, either of which may answer & both perhaps unnecessary.

Whatever the cause, the measures indicate either a doubt of their reports or a change of opinion respecting the general measure, so that they remained balancing from 1787 to Dec^r 1792 between [the] Andamans & Penang, & thence nothing was done for either.⁹

During this interval the two infant settlements exhibited a curious experiment in estimating the difference between natural & forced advantages.

In Dec^r 1792 the Andamans remain'd as settled with an Establishment, but no acquired Trade, population or cultivation.

While Penang in 1792 had invited for Trade, provisions, or repairs 300 vessels annually to frequent its port, besides 1000 of Country Vessels;⁹ had acquired a Revenue of 30,000 Spd^s

8. A convict station and refuge harbour had been established in the Andamans, and Commodore (afterwards Admiral) Sir William Cornwallis, who was in charge of the East India Company's Indian fleet, favoured the founding of a settlement there because of its proximity to Bengal. Major Kyd was appointed by the Company to visit both stations, and his report of 20 August 1795, though it gave a balanced appraisal of the advantages of each settlement, generally favoured Penang: "In determining the selection of a harbour it is of first importance that the situation of it should combine with other requisites that of an easy and expeditious communication with the different settlements in India at all seasons of the year. . . . Port Cornwallis [in the Andamans] certainly possesses this advantage in a degree superior to Prince of Wales' Island. . . . It is however to be considered that Port Cornwallis is out of the track of regular commerce, and an establishment there would answer no other purpose than a harbour and a receptacle for convicts, while Prince of Wales' Island is better calculated for defending the Straits of Malacca and for securing communication to the eastward. . . ." (E.G. Cullin and W.F. Zehnder, *The Early History of Penang, 1592-1827* (Penang, 1905), pp. 13-14.)

9. These figures are much exaggerated. As late as 1799 there were only 168 arrivals at Penang (estimated tonnage: 39,371) and in 1802 some 241 arrivals (estimated tonnage: 56,820). See Sir George Leith, *A Short Account of the Settlement, Produce, and Commerce, of Prince of Wales Island in the Straits of Malacca* (London, 1804), pp. 50-1.

a population of about 20,000,¹⁰ independent of its establishment, and a cultivation in pepper, Sugar, Indigo, Paddy, Greens & eatable roots of great extent and rapidly increasing.¹¹

The Rugged shores & deserted [sic] state of the one, the easy access & recess, freedom from Gales, safety of its anchorage, plenty of provisions, & increasing tonnage and population of the other, ought to have been conclusive with Government in determining a preference.

We shall in a separate paper consider the extent of the objections which were thought sufficient to set it aside as a marine Port & proceed to consider the Trade previous to its settlement and which is now in a great measure centred and increasing here.

Our Trade in 1779-80 might realize in China about 15 to 20 Lacks annually, & to India about 5 Lacks R^s. [F]rom 1780 to [1785] this Trade was mostly in the hands of the Portuguese, the price of piece Goods was at a medium prime cost, & Opium never rose above 250 SpD^s P. Chest. [O]n settling Penang we found it at 260 [SpD^s],¹² [s]ince which it has gradually rose from 300 Chests at 260 [SpD^s], to 1200 at 350 [SpD^s]. [T]he Trade from an Agregate [sic] 20 Lacks; to 15 to 20 on the Coast of Acheen, rendered practicable from the influence of Pinang; [a]bout 5 to 10 to the Coast of Borneo from [the] same cause, and internally to 30 to 40 Lacks of the produce of Bengal & India. [I]n peace we have demands from Surat all round again to the Mauritius and Mozambique.

A Trade of such extent, direct or accessory, deserves some attention, but the same indecision [sic] or indifference, from whatever cause originating, marks the measures of Government.

This is the more unaccountable as its commanding situation for protecting our Trade to China and the Eastward, & the individual distress & expence to the Public which the withdrawing [of] it involves, independent of the annoyance it would give in an

10. The figure is too high. A census of the Penang population was taken in 1797 when the return was 6,937 souls, exclusive of the Europeans and the troops. Leith estimated the total population of the island in 1801-2 to be about 12,000. (*Ibid.*, p. 29.)
11. See Leith, *passim*, and R.N. Jackson, *Immigrant Labour and the Development of Malaya 1786-1920* (Kuala Lumpur, 1961), pp. 1 ff.
12. On the opium trade with Penang, see H.R.C. Wright, *East-Indian Economic Problems of the Age of Cornwallis & Raffles* (London, 1961), pp. 165-70.

Enemy's possession, should induce them to make it as useful & as little Expensive as possible.

What is done, in a manner without system or aid, originated in a General Declaration of the Superintendent¹³ In the name of Governm^t. That a protection in Person & property with liberty to turn their industry to account at pleasure, profess every religion which was consistent with general good & peace of the whole.

That everyone should have a property in the lands he cleared, and Grants given in perpetuity [sic] as soon as the Boundaries could be ascertained.

Such as had faith in these declarations had to struggle against an Established Trade, & large Capitals at Malacca & Batavia, besides a fear of insult at home & depredation abroad from the indefensible state in which the settlement remained, the large property it often contained, and inflammable materials of which its Houses were formed.¹⁴

Yet such is the effect [of] a perfect liberty of Exchange at pleasure, such the common advantages of these Exchanges, that we in a few years reduced the Duty at Malacca from 85 mill P Ann^m to 40,000 RD^s & the imports of Opium to Batavia from 2 to 1000 Chests.

Our progress in drawing the Trade of the Chinese Archipelago is likely to be nipped in the bud by measures adopted in Bengal to understand which it may be necessary to particularize one branch of our Trade.

The natives of [the] Celebes dispatch to all the Countrys round them Prows whose Cargoes are, Lungus,¹⁵ Wax & some Gold. [T]hese Lungus they retail in a circuitous track along Timor, Flores, Cambaia, Bally, Borneo, Sumatra, [the] Malay Peninsula, & the numberless Islands connected therewith, in Exchange for Gold, with which they arrive in Sep^r & Oct^r at Penang to purchase Opium & piece Goods, Iron, Saltpetre, Brimstone, Stick Lark &c.

While Mint Certificates were received in payment of Opium,

13. Of Penang.

14. As was shown in 1808 when a fire, which broke out in a Chinese bakery in Georgetown, destroyed property to the value of 534,750 Spanish dollars. (Cullin and Zehnder, p. 29).

15. A checkered cotton cloth used for making sarongs.

& no duty on the Coinage, the Merchants of Pinang were enabled to give a price equal to Batavia & better than Malacca.

But a detention of from 6 to 9 months in the mint, and $3\frac{3}{4}$ PC^t duty having lowered the price of Gold here nearly 10 PC^t, it will gradually revert to Batavia.

Receiving Mint Certificates in payment of Opium for all Gold imported from Pinang, & discontinuing the Duty, is an encouragement the place deserves & which would remedy this evil. [B]esides 'tis impolitic to lay obstructions amounting to a prohibition on the importation of the precious metals.

Excuse my mentioning the American flag, which is a phenomenon, as a separate state, unparallel'd in History viz.—[t]wo nations with the same Laws, Religion & Language. permitted to intermix without any discriminating distinction.

Hence, if their ships are allowed to Navigate at pleasure, we shall Father all their bad deeds & themselves their good ones, their robberies, Pyracies &c. will be done under English colours, they reaping the benefit we the odium. [T]hey will, besides, rapidly ruin the carrying Trade, occasion your Tonnage to dwindle to nothing, & joining your Enemys on some future day, leave you without any. [T]o remedy this, if to the double Dutys they now pay, they be restricted from importing into our settlements the produce of India, or of carrying it from Port to Port, independent of our controul or on account of English Subjects, it would confine them to their exports from America which under double dutys could not encrease to any extent, & no property belonging to us furnished by our Subjects, they must bring Specie or return empty, which would soon put an end to their adventures, or at least prevent its being hurtful to our own tonnage & trade.

The Dutch do not allow them to trade in their ports at all; a Guard is sent on board, Wood, Water and provisions supplied, & in 48 hours sent off.

Of The Trade which the Chinese carry on to, what I call, the Chinese Archipelago, which includes the Philippines & Islands to New Guinea round by Java, Sumatra to Cochinchina again.

If the ordinances of the Emperor were observed China could have no foreign Trade.

But by Collusion 1 to 200 large & 1000 small Vessels annually leave its Ports for Cambadia [sic], Siam, Malay[a], Peninsula

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Islands, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Tolo, Maloccas [sic] & Phillippines [sic]. These Vessels pay for liberty to depart from their own Country which is without arms, they pay for licence to enter the Ports they are bound to, they risque being captured by Pirates, of being left on the rocks & shoals with which the Seas they frequent are strowed, in Vessels badly navigated & manned, & still find it advantageous to continue it.

This may originate in the advantages which a Manufacturing [sic] nation has in its dealings with others, who pay in rough produce of their mines or Agriculture, aided by their policy in settling their Countrymen in all the Countrys to which they Trade, leaving with them any remains, & receiving returns in the intermediate Collections & in the Rein^{est} of private fortunes on which they pay no premium. Without entering into the particulars of Exports & Imports of this Trade which are almost infinite in variety, each large vessel on return may be estimated at 60 to 80,000 SpD^a, each small one at about 10,000 [SpD^a]- $\frac{1}{2}$ of which is private fortunes sent or carried home.

From this state of the Trade it appears that China can have no political connexion with the Islands of the Archipelago or Countries more distant than Tonqucin,¹⁷ unless what originated in an illicit trade, [b]ecause Governm^t gives no redress nor dare they complain if [ships are] taken, burnt, plunder'd & destroyed by Kings or Pyrates, which are in most of the Islands nearly synonymous. As the showing the reason why the Natives of the Archipelago are so much addicted to Pyrcy may perhaps lead to measures for its suppression [sic] I shall shortly enumerate the same.

The Dutch have Contracts with such petty Rajahs as are able to export quantitys equal to the expence of Fortifyd Factories, the rates at which the produce was settled when these contracts were made are now only $\frac{1}{4}$ ^d of the price on a fair Market. To render these Contracts of Effect, as the difference of price on a fair Market rose above the price of the monopoly, they, in place of increasing the Contract prices to quadrate in degree therewith, established numberless Cruizers to render the restriction pervading, and prohibited all private Trade.

An infringement of this prohibition was Confiscation & slavery, if they resisted Death, and this included all whether under Contract or not. Contiguous to the Dutch Factorys in many places there arose Towns, the Inhabitants of which were permitted to Trade under Dutch flags, and passports, in every Item

16. Remittance.

17. Tonkin.

not included in the Dutch Monopoly; but as this might prove a cover for smuggling it was little encouraged.

The natives finding no security in individual Adventure turned their attention to the distressing [of] their oppressors. [T]his began by plundering the Dutch traders, which was winked at by the Dutch [officials] as tending to render the Monopoly more compleat [sic], and any consequent inconvenience in provision for their settlements was remedied by their own ships and cruizers.

Tho' the Pyracys of Individuals or occasional assassinations distressed the settlers under the Dutch [y]et want of means, Concert or courage, being still awed by the memory of that bravery [which] the Dutch exhibited in driving out the Portuguese, render'd their efforts of little consequence to the Dutch.

After the Capture of Rhio in 1785, the Malay King, Sultaun Mahommud,¹⁸ kept wandering among that long series of Islands formed by the Malay Peninsula, Banca & Sumatra, and latterly has settled at Lingie.¹⁹ [T]his prince has given an Unity to the Pyrates, & now they attack & take the Dutch Cruizers, plunder the Islands in Batavia Roads, and in a great measure stop all Trade.

The numberless Islands, Shoals, Rocks, Creeks, Rivers &c. which are formed by the Islands, give them a secure retreat in case of attack, & thence they issue an appearance of their prey.

This evil seems not to be remedied by any other means than Vessels built something like their own that could follow them through all their hiding holes. [I]f the Dutch were to build them on [a] similar construction, the number necessary here might be lessened, [b]ut the Navy of England or Bombay marine are perfectly inadequate to this Service.

Sultaun Mahommed, tho' at present a wanderer, retains in the opinion of the powers & people surrounding, a considerable degree of respect, and if he was to discontinue his connexions with the Pyrates, they would soon seperate [sic] & divide, & having no place of retreat near us would be obliged to return. In order to effect this, a settlement should be procured [?] him from the Dutch, treatys made with the independent Kings, that is, those not under contracts with the Dutch, by which they should be bound to prevent piracy as much as in their power, & we in lieu

18. Cf. Winstedt, *History*, p. 151.

19. Lingga, or Pulau Lingga. See note 2 above.

to guarantee the liberty of their subjects to frequent our Ports unmolested by the Dutch.

This with an active look out with your Gallies would soon free Communication from the present restraint & double your Trade.

Revenues, Trade & Laws

What is called Revenue, where equal rights are established between the Governing & the Governed, is the aggregate of a portion of the Industry of each given up for the protection of all.

But when Merchants become Governors they consider the aggregate industry of the Communitys they Govern as an Adventure from which, besides the expences of Agency, they expect an accruing surplus.

In either case, as it is the aggregate of a portion of individual industry, the basis of their hopes must be proportional to [the] extent of population & industry. And hence a numerous, rich & industrious population is the only source of an extensive revenue, & they bear a reciprocal relation to each other.

In all new establishments, which must of necessity be burthensome before they are productive, such measures should be adopted as it is supposed will, with the greatest possible rapidity, increase the number of residents & render that number industrious.

In the common Routine, Societys in favourable circumstances double their numbers every 14 years, & their aggregate Riches, if undisturbed, every 10 years. But this aggregate increase in population & Riches is gradual, & in all its stages bears a relation to the first, constituting Numbers & Capital, & therefore inapplicable to a new establishment in a Jungle where the imported Establishment includes the population.

An acquired population & Capital, which is what such an Establishment must look up to, is rapid in its increase in proportion to the inducements, real or expected, which influence Residents in other Countries to a removal.

But neither Rich individuals in hopes of encreasing their Capitals, nor poor ones in hopes of bettering their condition, will change evils they know the extent of, for others undefined, unless prepossess'd with a conviction that Governm^t is both able and willing to give protection to person and property. Hence one grand preparatory measure towards acquiring a numerous

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& rich population, & consequent productive Revenue, is the adopting such measures as may not only effectually give, but likewise effectually generate a belief in those Resident & in those surrounding, hopes of perfect security in case of removal.

Various are the modes adopted for retaining that portion of the Industry of each, which in its aggregate is equal to the production of all, and the aim of Government is to effect this with as little restraint to the Society as possible.

A part of all fixed property, whether lands, Goods or money, variable according to the exigence of the State, is that of all others the least troublesome to the Individual, and least expensive in the collection, and the aggregate property yielding income might be come at by establishing public registers where all Bonds Commission[s], Leases &c. were to be register'd previous to their being recoverable by coercive Law, & the portion of the annual produce payable on Registering the Deed from which it arose. This operates like a stamp Duty, but is more equal in its principle, as embracing the exact Value & placing the landed and monied Interest on a par.

This mode tho' the best, and the preparatory steps to its final Establishment should be directly taken, yet is inapplicable & unproductive to a Society clearing a Jungle & living in *Cajan*²⁰ Huts. Hence the present mode of renting, by public Sale, the exclusive privilege of vending Luxuries may be continued until a fixed property adequate is formed, when they ought to discontinue it, as an infringement on the liberty of Exchange, which constitutes the spirit of Trade.

In levying a Land Tax two modes have been common, one on the Rent, another on the produce. [T]he taking the portion of the Rent on registering [sic] the Lease is the best, but inapplicable here, when each Cultivates his own field. And therefore a part of the produce may be adopted, the time of Commencement and the quantum should be declared on the faith of Government.

Perhaps the year 1800 & ten P Cent of the produce might meet the wishes & be convenient to both sides.

Dutys on Imports or Eports ought never to be thought of here while you wish to extend your trade, increase your people, or while you may be injured by a competition.

20. *Kajang* (Malay), palm-frond roofing.

It is of all modes the most vexatious to the Government from the expences of collection, & difficulty even at any expence of carrying the restriction into pervading effect.

These difficultys will be found insuperable at Pinang, every part of whose shores are accessible at all times, & which has a seperate Sovereignty in the middle of its port.

Besides, the Trade of Pinang until its Agriculture or mineral produce gives it native Export, will be what is called a commerce of œconomy or, in other words, a Brokerage on the General Exchange of the produce or Manufactures of other Countrys. [T]his Brokerage will be more or less in proportion to the quickness & extent of Sales & paym^{ts}, & the attendant convenience when compared with a circuitous retail Trade among the Islands & ports contiguous. But if this Brokerage is increased by Duty, the difference would transfer the Depot to the Queda Shores &, over-balancing the inconveniences of a Circuitous retail, carry Adventurers to the Native ports, when Penang would revert to the Jungle it originally was.

This mode of raising a Revenue ought therefore never to be thought of; on the contrary, every inducement ought to be held out to Settlers and Traders which may be aiding in increasing its exchange Trade, and rendering these Exchanges easy & expeditious.

Farming by public Sale the quota of the produce of the several districts is the best possible mode, as the receipts are thereby Net, & the farmer, having no coercion independent of civil obligation, which directs the one to demand & the other to comply, the Extent of both [are] defined, [and] no oppression can possibly supervene. [B]esides, being sold annually, it comes into different hands in succession, which prevents the influence required by Zemindars²¹ or Menters.²²

Trade

May be defined [as] an aggregate of Individual Exchanges & thence must be strictly the science of Individuals not founded on or admitting of General principles.

21. Following H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (London, 1886), p. 747: *Zemindar*, land-holder, "One holding land on which he pays revenue to the Government direct, and not to any intermediate superior. In Bengal Proper the zemindars hold generally considerable tracts, on a permanent settlement of the amount to be paid to Government."
22. *Méntéri* (Malay), a minister of state, a titular hereditary title of the more important rank of Malay chiefs. The term *Zemindar* is in no real sense similar to that of *Méntéri*.

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And as this aggregate is infinite in its combinations, as is the numbers, occupations, and views of those employed therein, it cannot become a subject of legislation, unless we could find Legislators with powers adequate.

This consideration should be conclusive with all Governments in limiting their interference to the repressing [of] monopolys, regulating the common measures of Exchange, whether quantity or its representative money or paper, [and] should further be conclusive with them in contriving such modes of levying the equivalent for protection as may in the least possible infringe on a perfect liberty in making these Exchanges.

I shall briefly touch on each as they follow each other, under a conviction applicable in every variety that the relative price of everything, whether Lands, men, or the production of either, if left to find their level undisturbed by Governm^t, will always be directly as the demand and inversely as the quantity. A monopoly may be defined [as] one or many having a right to do, what all has not. [T]his is evidently unjust, because as all ought to pay on a principle of equality, equal privileges ought to be extended to all.

Estimates of quantities or their representatives should be Decimals of each other, because whatever facilitates estimates of quantities, facilitates the Exchange of these quantities,—[of] money & paper its representative.

The precious metals, like every other produce of human industry, acquire a value proportionate to the difficulty of procuring & incorruptibility when procured directly as the demand & inversely as the quantity. But when coined, and a determinate weight & fineness is affixed by Governm^t, it acquires a representative value. [T]o the aggregate quantum of this Representative the aggregate quantity of all the productions of industry bears a reciprocal proportion, rising as the aggregate representative encreases and falling as it decreases.—Instance.

[A]n oz. of Gold will sell all over Britain or any other Country having safe & speedy communication for nearly the same value, but a grown fowl in the Orkneys is represented by a sixpence & in London by 2/6; the one is the representative, the other the mercantile value. The Mercantile will partake of the fluctuations of a common Merchandize. The representative, being determined on the faith of Governm^t, ought never to vary in the value of its relative divisions.

Because it is a palpable absurdity when Governm^t has pledged itself for its weight & fineness in order to serve as a common measure of Exchange to allow such common measure to partake of the fluctuation of a common Merchandize.

And therefore trading in Current Coin ought strictly to be prohibited.

But as it is admitted that what is every man's business is no one's, & what none gains by all might be indifferent about, & therefore it might so happen that we could not get pice²³ for a Dollar.

In order to remedy this I would sell by public outcry the exclusive liberty of dealing in copper money at an established difference between paying & receiving as a fixed is in all cases better than an arbitrary one, this would accomodate [sic] the Society & divide with the money changers the profit to Governm^t.

Trading in Silver or Gold coins ought absolutely to be prohibited but, it found impracticable, regulated as above.

But if Trading in the common standard of Exchange is perverting the aim of Government, the circulation [of] paper as an equivalent is still more so.

No Trading Society ever wanted enough of the precious metals to facilitate Exchanges unless banished by paper as an equivalent. But the precious Metals have the advantage of preserving their value both at home & abroad, which paper has not, they ought never to be consider'd as of equal value. All private Banks ought therefore to be prohibited. Inland Bills of Exchange being a species of representative value which admitted of much chicane & roguery comes under this head. The intent of such bills is to pay for Goods by transfer & square incident balances without conveying money, consonant, with this intent, the term of payment should be barely of extent to allow of conveyance & some days to enable the payer to provide. If therefore 15 or 30 days was the limited time, and they were prohibited to be transferrable by indorsation, it would effectually prevent the fictitious Circulation by which the honest becomes a prey to the designing & is a species of swindling ruinous in every Trading Society. Bonds bearing Int^t is another species of representative value which merits the attention & regulation of Governm^t.

If no bond was recoverable by coercion unless registered

23. Pice, used loosely for a small sum of money. A small copper coin equivalent in the nineteenth century in British India to $\frac{1}{4}$ of a rupee.

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in the public registers, if it were not transferable but considered as the representative of fixed property like a lease &, as such, paying an equal portion of its annual income by an Item of Revenue, [b]ecause he who draws a Revenue from money, being protected equally with him who draws it from Land, should pay equally for such protection. It may perhaps be said that this is rearing a mountain for a Molehill but they are unacquainted with all regulating Laws whether applicable to Trade, Revenue or Police if they do not know that it is easier to introduce by anticipation than innovation, and what all are accustomed to is easier of management & [has a] more pervading Effect than casual reformations which always appear innovations & require Coercion to give them effect.

Laws

Whereas Revenue is a portion of the acquisitions of Industry given to receive protection, So Laws are the aggregate of a portion of the Liberty of each, given up for the quiet [sic] of the whole.

Hence it follows that those Laws, which act by prevention being still an aggregate of this portion, must accord with the Interest of the Giver, as ensuring the peace of the whole without injuring any, whereas those which repress infringements of that peace by individual suffering in terrorism to deter, seem subversive [sic] of the intent of the Giver, who parts with a portion of his liberty in the expectance that the remainder will be a sacred depot, but who does not transfer in that portion a right to any to destroy his Being.

Hence what does not insure in the portion given up, cannot insure in the aggregate of such portions. And hence laws made to punish [and] not prevent are inadequate in their aim and unjust in their principle. Punishment then must originate in retaliation, not in individual concession, & therefore criminal laws cannot be related to or originate in any compact.

It appears evident, if we may conclude from experience, that the regulations between D^r & C^r, only encrease the evils they are meant to remedy.

The best heads & hearts have been employed in curtailing the periods of decision [sic], the expences incident, the term, manner & place of punishment, all of which has so little relation to the end in view that a Law superceding occasionally all fixt existing Laws is the only remedy, which is itself an absurdity.

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Suppose we were to make an interesting experiment in our new Settlement on this desideratum which has baffled all attempts at reform, [a]nd enact that after a certain day no Credit could be recoverable by coercive Law, this strikes at the root of the Evil, renders your complicated, discordant & oppressive Laws unnecessary, leaves every one dependant on his own industry, banishes the crimes which originated in Credits badly used, and replaces by degrees a kindly connection of confidence repaid with honesty. Let it be enquired into, & ½ of the Crimes in our Courts originate in this Source. We make experiments in all other sciences, why not try one in legislation, where it can do no harm.

If this is established, public Houses of delivery & payment with attendant officers must be established on which Duty equal to the incident Expence may be levied.

This simple regulation involves in its consequences an extent of Effect which would be found favourable to the industry & peace of the Society where it may be adopted.

And where lays the difference, a Credit is given & received with mutual intent of paying & receiving in the parties—the term then is all. But as honesty is the best security it is probable that such would, independent of a reliance on Coercion in the Giver, procure a term so that none would suffer but the fraudulent, & even these it might reform, besides the superseding one half our present Laws, & rendering half the Lawyers unnecessary.

Of the King of Queda

When he gave the Island of Penang to the Company he did not foresee the consequence, and when these were experienced he adopted foolish measures to remedy his Error.²⁴

He failed in these measures & then threw himself on the mercy of the Company. [H]e was generously treated,²⁵ but they

24. Sultan Abdullah, having found little substance in the British assurances of "protection" and promises of financial compensation for Penang, decided to wrest the island from the East India Company by an armed invasion from Kedah early in 1791. He was, however, foiled in this attempt by the decisive action of Francis Light who, though faced with superior numbers, led a surprise sortie against the Kedah coast and dispersed the Malay invasion force. See Clodd, pp. 71 ff.
25. A treaty was concluded between Abdullah and the Company in 1791 under which the Sultan was to receive an annual sum of 6,000 Spanish dollars so long as the British retained possession of Penang. He was in no sense, however, to be afforded military protection by the Company.

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might have reserved the opposite Coast from the Mountain Girai²⁶ on the N^o, to the River Carrian²⁷ to the South, which includes a space of 12 Leagues along the Coast, & of 10 to 12 [leagues] inland to the mountains which divide the Peninsula, forming an extended plain of gradual ascent, in a fine rich soil compleatly water'd by Rivers navigable for 6 or 8 Leagues & yielding to no Country in the World, the N.E. Coast of Acheen excepted, equal to a great produce in Cattle or Agricultural Commerce. [T]his space, under the protection of the Company, for which the force necessary at Penang is enough, would soon be filled with Inhabitants from the surrounding Countrys, & would give up the entire Sovereignty of your Port of Pinang. This space should still be attained if possible.

The Country of Queda without our intervention will sooner or later become a province of Siam as has the independent principalities of Ligor, Chini, Patani & Salang. The Question regarding this Country then resolves in the following—

Whether at some inconvenience it is better to preserve Queda as now, by arrangement with Siam, as an accessory to Pinang, & in lieu of such quit [sic], procure the 120 Square leagues described; [o]r to allow the King of Siam to extend his frontier to within a Mile of your Fort, & his Sovereignty to the middle of your Harbour. [T]he first appears the best. [b]ut if you can acquire the 120 Leagues of Coast, & are indifferent to the extension of the Siam frontier, the King of Queda is out of the question.

This is an object deserving consideration & which may, in its consequences, if not attended to, be a great detriment to Pinang.²⁸

The right ought to be acquired whether the possession is taken or not—at present it seems of easy acquisition.

26. Gunong Jerai, elevation 3,978'. Mount Jerai lies considerably to the north of the northern boundary of Province Wellesley, which was ceded to the British by treaty in 1800 in consideration of an increase in the total annual payment from 6,000 to 10,000 Spanish dollars. The southern boundary of this strip of territory was, however, Kuala Krian, as suggested by Scott. The territory was defined in the treaty as "that part of the sea-coast that is between Qualla Krian and Qualla Mooda, and measuring inland from the sea side sixty orlongs."
27. Sungai Krian.
28. As subsequent events were to show. The whole subject of the East India Company's vacillating policy towards Kedah and Siam is discussed in John Anderson's *Political and Commercial Considerations relative to the Malayan Peninsula, and the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* (Prince of Wales Island, 1824). The book was banned by the Government, and very few copies of it have survived.

Internal & External Defence

On the first settlement of the Island the number of Troops sent were [sic] so small that the giving them some Exclusive indulgences was necessary, & hence originated an order intended as temporary, that the Inhabitants should complain but on no account retaliate on the Sepoys. [W]hen the Establishment was increased this was unnecessary, & the order was done away, but its consequences remain'd, & aptitude in the Sepoys to insolence & petty plunder, & sufferance or complaint has been the basis of the Connection of the Sepoys & Inhabitants. The crowd of witnesses which the detachment furnished as Witnesses to aid their pilfering Brethern [sic], and the daring audacity with which they swore or asserted falsehoods, made complaints or silent sufferance nearly equal.

So that the ignorant Malay, a coward without his Arms, seldom got redress unless some European happened to be present & they were cautious of acting when they were so.

This system of plundering at last became a regular Trade & associations were formed for carrying it on. If, for instance, a Malay was carrying to Market a Basket of Yams, Coco Nuts, pumpkins &c., one by a shove threw it from his head, which the other picked up & were lost among the Crowd, while the Malay remain'd staring without his basket; or they priced Goods, one hove down the money, perhaps ½ value, & run [sic]. [I]f the Malay followed, all he left was divided among the Crew, & if he caught the runaway he was surrounded & carried before the Officer, where perhaps he was lucky if he did not get flogged, [b]ecause none understood the Malay's Storey [sic] & the Sepoys were never at a loss. These tricks, Insults & ill usage in the Troops to the natives, has prevented thousands of settlers from coming, & has given them a character from Acheen [H]ead to New Guinea highly disgraceful to our police, & hurtfull to the population.

As Capⁿ Glass²⁹ became acquainted with the language, he found what formerly he gave no Credit to was true, & visitants from Malacca & Batavia freely acquainting him with what was reported by those who came here, this determin'd him to be on his guard against their Lies. The evil had by this time got such lengths that it required little trouble to find delinquents. [S]ome severe punishments in some degree depressed the Evil,

29. Captain of the garrison at Penang, but, in fact, a "country" trader, and a close friend of Francis Light. He was one of the ships' captains present at the raising of the British flag on Penang on 11 August 1796. See E. Trapaud, *A Short Account of the Prince of Wales's Island, or Pulo Peenang in the East-Indies...* (London, 1788), p. 17.

or made them more cautious, but the gains were too considerable & floggings were frequent, but of so little real avail, that Capⁿ Glass determined to have all the Sepoys shifted, when Death prevented him. Still the sufferers were convinced when their complaint could be substantiated that the Sepoy would be punished. But now that our new Commander institutes Court Martials on the lies of the Sepoys, tries the Natives through interpreters belonging to the detachment, and orders by Military Execution the Inhabitants to be flogged in a severe manner before their astonished associates, what redress! Numbers have gone, more are going & unless a remedy is applyd the Officer commanding may exercise his cat³⁰ on a Jungle.³¹

The difficulty which Mr Light & Glass found in repressing this Evil, and [the] source of disagreement which it furnishes, as Officers are partial to their Troops on every change, induces me to conclude, that we had better have a Garrison of Europeans, with a few Sepoys to mount Guard by day. [t]hat the Sale of Arrack by the Commissary in the Fort be done away, & that the Troops be victualled by the Contractor in Bengal. This would give a defence of more reliance; that defence would be more healthy, as it has been observed that casualties which formerly were rare have rapidly increased among the Europeans since the Commissary of Stores was allowed to keep an Arrack Shop in the Fort, and it would prevent those squables [sic] in the Markets which will happen among people ignorant of each other's language,—[w]ould retrieve our Character among the Natives, and aid the Trade & population of the settlement by removing the only cause of complaint. But in whatever mode Government may think proper to remedy this Evil, the defence of the place ought to be entrusted to an Officer not inimical to its prosperity & existence.

At present our hopes of security are done away by the most open unguarded declarations in him on whom we should rely, that our destruction would give him pleasure.

This strikes at the root of all confidence in Governm^t.

30. Cat-o'-nine-tails, a whip of nine knotted lashes used for floggings at this time.

31. It is not clear to whom Scott is referring in this paragraph. Light died on 21 October 1794, and was succeeded as Superintendent of Penang by Philip Mannington, the "first assistant". He resigned this post shortly afterwards, due to ill-health, and was succeeded by Thomas Pegou as Acting-Superintendent on 30 November 1795. He was in turn followed on 31 January 1796 by John Beauland as Acting-Superintendent, who held office until 3 April 1796 when Major Forbes Ross Macdonald arrived to assume the duties of Superintendent. (Cullin and Zehnder, p. 14.)

arrests Adventure, Industry & population & loads the Company with the paym^t of troops who are subverting the Interest of their employers. [I]t likewise strikes at the expectance of future Revenue as all who have Capitals will seek for more security, for who will stay while under the impression that the Troops would retire to the Fort, & leave the Inhabitants in case of an attack to shift for themselves. But as Revenue arises from population [?] Capital, these lessned [sic] or done away, Revenue is proportionally decreased. Every situation has local varieties to which a mode of defence should be adapted, the numberless flats, shoals, Islands, Rivers, Creeks &c., with which the surrounding Country is intersected, renders all the Bombay Marine, or even the Navy of England, inadequate. I understand the Cruizer from Bombay which comes & Anchors in the Port costs 15,000 [Sp]D P Ann^m.

Four or five Galleys carrying heavy Guns in their prow, built light & of bouyant materials, to row & draw little water, [o]ne to be kept manned, & the others hauled up & manned from the Garrison, if wanted—[t]his might be done at nearly the same expence, the Officers would acquire Local knowledge of the Scene on which they were to act, and hence be able to meet the Pyrates on equal terms & attack them even in their hiding holes with effect.

On the tendency of the Trade now forming at Penang & of that to the Country surrounding render'd practicable through its influence.

The total produce of the Chinese Archipelago ought to be in the hands of the Dutch, were it possible in a scene so extended & Intricate to give efficacy to their established restrictions.

But as the prices settled upwards of a Century ago are now nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the prices in the fair Market, & as an extensive produce has been formed in Country then a Jungle, which is not included in their contracts, a competition under many disadvantages has been for some time attempted, [t]he Basis of which is the independent produce, and a variable share of that dependent, as smuggling is successful or not. [T]his is at present divided between the English & Chinese, is of considerable extent, & rapidly increasing.

As the Chinese Traders are oppressed by the Petty Rajahs & Dutch with whom they Trade, are plunder'd by the pyrates & unsupported by their own Governm^t which prohibits all foreign Commerce. Were our Governm^t to form proper

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arrangements with the Dutch & independent Rajahs, stipulating with the Dutch a freedom of Navigation for such independent people & produce, and with the Rajahs the terms of connexion & prohibition of Piracy in their Countrys & Subjects, [t]his produce would under such circumstances centre in Pinang where they could get the fair price, & the Chinese finding a freedom from exaction, would purchase at the advanced price in preference. Thus it might be expected that most of the independent produce, & a large share of the Dutch Monopoly, would either come here in Country Vessels, or be picked up by our Vessels, in safety, from our influence, both of which is under the subsisting Regulations perfectly impracticable, or loaded with such risks in the Country Vessels, & with such an expence in arming our own, as to render it of small benefit.

The produce of the Archipelago, dependant & independant of the Dutch, consists of an infinity of Items; of which the most prominent are Diamonds, Pearls, Pearl Shells, Gold, Spices, Pepper, Tin, Birds nests &c.

This produce ever has & probably ever will draw specie from China, as the demands of the Chinese for these Items is great & the wants of the Archipelago from China small.

The Archipelago wants much from Bengal & India, & has little wanted in Bengal & India to give in return. England, on the other hand, wants much from China & has little wanted in China to give in return.

On this state of matters it can admit of no doubt that the squaring the deficiency of England by supplying the Archipelago with their wants from Bengal & India, & giving the Chinese the returns, is a national benefit. As our supply to the Archipelago is, in this case, our own Manufactures, and our principal supply to China Luxuries of Dress or eating, [t]in being almost solely used in gilding paper to burn before their Jossis [sic], Black Wood & pearl Shells almost solely used for chop sticks to eat with, it must be more advantageous than the import of Cotton which is subverting your aim in the Export of broad Cloth, [b]ecause it is observed since the import of Cotton that the export of Nankeens to Europe & India is increased, & the export of Kangas to the Archipelago. But why cannot we send Nankeens to Europe, & Kangas to the Archipelago, or piece Goods to China Itself? During the Cold weather in the Southern provinces it is the custom to wear 5 or 6 Covers of Cotton, or two or three Twilted with Cotton. Let us suppose that a non importation of Cotton rais'd the price so as that 5 or 6 Covers

of Cotton Cloth, or 2 or 3 twilted, were dearer than one or two of broad Cloth, it can admit no doubt that Cloath [sic] would be preferred as is done by the richer Sort. Both the Trade here, & that which thro' the influence of this place is daily becoming more practicable, will encrease by every measure, whether with the Dutch or natives, which tends to give ease & safety to communication.

*Of Mines, Agriculture & Fisheries
at Pinang*

We have Mines of Tin & Iron, rich in their produce & which may be worked at a future period as an Export & source of Revenue, but while we have Jungles to cut & lands to bring into Cultivation, it would be impolitic to divert the industry employed thereon, & therefore the prohibition now existing ought to be continued for 10 to 15 years.

The total amount of lands in cultivation is by last Estimate rated at 7,000 orlengs [sic] which is a measure of 40^m ea[ch] way.³² This space is principally in Villages with surrounding Orchards and paddy Grounds, besides which there may be about 2 Lacks of Coco Nut & Beetle Nut trees, about one Lack of pepper Vines, rising Plantations of Tobacco & beetleleaf, Cotton, Colfee, Indigo & Sugar Cane, with Garden Greens & eatible roots equal to the demand.³³ Salt Works are begun & promise well; this may be a source of Revenue to the Island if received in Bengal at stated rates. On the whole, every part of the Island, as well as the Harbour, shows the active exertions of Industry, in the application of which a most perfect liberty is secured by proclamation on the faith of Governm^t. It is this perfect freedom of Exchanges which has given to the place a Trade in 8 years equal to 50 to 60 Lacks in the aggregate. It is this perfect freedom in the application of Industry which has in the bosom of Jungles begun an extensive commerce of Agriculture in 8 years, & a continuance of this perfect freedom in application & Exchange will, with a rapidity unknown in colonization, carry out Trade & industry to a maximum. That maximum, as related to its possible extension, will depend on the degree of protection keeping pace with the Prize held out as it approaches, [b]ecause the aggregate gains increasing, & the same protection continued, the prize to an Enemy is of encreased value with equal ease, [a]nd because a facility & safety in communication multiplies mutual wants by collision which occasion, Example, or habit give rise to, & which would never have become wants if unseen.

32. Orlong (Malay = *relong*), equivalent to 1 acres.

33. See Leith, p. 30; Jackson, pp. 1 ff.

Kuala Lumpur in 1884?

(Received November 1956)

The photograph reproduced on page 315 comes from an old family album which Sir Roland Braddell has generously presented to the MBRAS. The book contains some thirty undated photographs, six of which are of public buildings in Singapore, while a further fourteen are of groups of people or landscapes in the Malay States.

Dr Gibson-Hill has examined the remaining nineteen of these twenty pictures carefully. He tells me that on internal evidence four of the Singapore pictures must have been taken between about 1875 and 1885. And while on present information he cannot date the other two with any precision, there is certainly nothing in them to suggest that they were taken outside this period. The latter point applies also to the majority of the Malayan views, but even here he is able to place six of them more closely. Two of the prints are clearly from the series of pictures taken when W. W. Birch and J. G. Davidson visited Lukut, Selangor and Perak early in 1875. Another two are apparently from the set said to have been made by the Colonial Engineer, Major Fred McNair, R.A., in Perak in 1875/6, during and immediately after the Perak War.¹ A fifth undoubtedly shows Speedy drilling a small and very ragged guard at Taiping, and must therefore have been taken between 1875 and 1877. A sixth, which depicts a diverse and partly blurred collection of people grouped round a richly caparisoned buffalo, can even more surely be attributed to the end of 1878 or January of the following year: it is from the same negative as the print which Miss Isabella Bird collected when in Sungai Ujong early in 1879, and subsequently had copied

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1. An engraving based on a print similar to one of the two in Sir Roland's album appears in McNair's book, *Perak and the Malays: "Sarong and Kris"*, Tinsley Brothers, London, 1878: see the plate, 'General aspect of a Malay village on a river bank', opp. p. 229. The title-page includes the statement, 'Illustrated with Thirteen Engravings by R. Knight, from Photographs taken by the Author'. Surviving prints from the Perak war series are in every respect similar to surviving prints from the series illustrating the tour of Birch & Davidson a year earlier. The latter were taken by the official government photographer, who was also in Perak in 1876: but it is not unlikely that McNair used while camera in Perak, and the official photographer's subsequently left him to prepare all the prints required. There is, Dr. Gibson-Hill tells me, a third author in the field claiming two of McNair's negatives—McNair, opp. p. 57 & opp. p. 138. Prints from both are reproduced by Brigadier H. R. Kelham, C.B. (*British Malaya*, 3, (2), 1928, pp. 48 & 49) who attributes them to a Capt. Monckton, R.A., who accompanied the Indian troops to Perak.

for reproduction in the published account of her travels in Malaya.²

Since the print under discussion here comes from this same collection (and is of the same size, quality and age as the others), it has been assumed that it represents a Malayan scene of approximately the same period. If this is so, there is a good deal of internal evidence, both general and particular, for identifying it as a photograph of Kuala Lumpur, taken in or about 1884 from the slopes of Bukit Nanas, looking west-south-west across the Sungai Klang, and showing the main features of the outskirts of the town on the west bank of the river. The original Chinese town on the east bank must be assumed to be hidden behind trees at the left of the picture. If this tentative identification is correct, this is a most important addition to the few photographs extant of Kuala Lumpur before its rapid growth in brick and tile during the later eighteen-eighties.

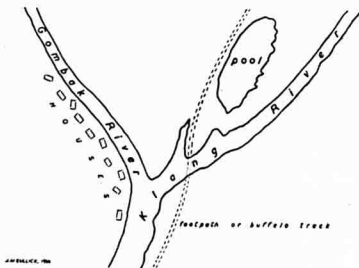
The general view in the photograph is of a large village, or a small town, in a valley with the ground rising fairly steeply on either side to low hills. There is certainly one river and there appears (the print, which has suffered a little with age, is not entirely clear) to be a confluence of two rivers: both are comparatively small. The main block of buildings in the centre of the picture are Chinese in style, and the expanse of water (on the middle-right) suggests a mining pool. The buildings on the higher ground further back look like government offices or police barracks. The bridge across the river is a competent engineering job. No Chinese tin-mining magnate of 1880 built such a bridge; he saved his money and let his men go across in a boat! Below the bridge can be seen two boats, and possibly more: this suggests that there was at least some traffic along the river.

This description fits very well with what we know of Kuala Lumpur from written sources at this time. Moreover, the par-

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2. Isabella L. Bird (Mrs Bishop), *The Golden Chersonese, and the way thither*, Murray, London, 1883; see the plate facing page 202. The book is composed of letters written by the author to her younger sister during her travels, with the subsequent addition of introductory passages where necessary. Miss Bird's thirteenth letter is headed 'Residency, Sungei Ujong, January 30th,' [1879], and begins 'We have been here for four days . . .'. Later in the same letter she says, ' . . . It is a great pity that this Prince [the Dato' Klana of Sungai Ujong] is in Malacca, for he is said to be a very enlightened ruler. The photograph which I enclose (from which the engraving is taken) is of the marriage of his daughter, a very splendid affair. The buffalo in front was a marriage present from the Straits Government, and its covering was of cloth of gold thick with pearls and precious stones' (see pp. 184 & 201). Nothing further is said about the wedding, which must have taken place shortly before Miss Bird's visit.

particular features seem to be in about the right position relative to each other. Take a modern map of Kuala Lumpur and lay a ruler from Bukit Nanas to the Federal Police Headquarters (which stands approximately where the Selangor Government offices stood between 1882 and 1896). The Klang/Gombak river junction and the Market Street bridge bear roughly the same relation to the line of the ruler as the presumed river junction and the bridge in the photograph bear in relation to the line of the camera looking towards the remoter group of buildings. It is difficult to think of any other Malayan town of this period which could correspond better with the photograph than Kuala Lumpur does. The conjuncture of Chinese village and a substantial bridge is unique for this period: there was little money for bridge construction in the Malay States in the eighteen-eighties.

Some of the major topographical features of the photograph also deserve individual scrutiny. First, take the river or rivers. In the middle and right of the photograph it is difficult to analyse with certainty. The present writer's interpretation may be seen in the accompanying sketch. The channel nearest the camera is



The confluence of the Gombak & Klang Rivers at Kuala Lumpur, circa 1882-84.

assumed to be the Klang River; the broader expanse behind is a pool; the Gombak runs in front of the main block of buildings, with its effluence in front of the building furthest to the left of the block. The definite and markedly straight 'boundary' of the block of buildings suggests the existence of a line of commu-

nication, either a road or a river, along that boundary. It is known that there were buildings along the west bank of the Gombak, on the site of the Secretariat building erected in 1894-6, from at least the early eighteen-eighties.³

We must remember that the course of the Klang and Gombak rivers through Kuala Lumpur has been much altered since 1880 to reduce the risk of flooding. The first of these changes occurred in 1884. The Klang River was widened, and its course modified, near its junction with the Gombak.⁴ There is no trace of any such work in the photograph, and this point helps us to date it. It will be seen that below the bridge the river appears to run away to the west as far as the buildings or sheds beyond the boats. This is consistent with the known course of the Klang River in the eighteen-eighties.⁵ The present north/south line below the Klang/Gombak junction is the result of works undertaken just before 1890.

The other natural feature which deserves mention is the line of hills beyond the town. The high ground of Carcosa and Federal Hill would stand out in this fashion if viewed from a moderate height above river level on the east bank of the Klang River.

The bridge is presumed to be the first Market Street bridge which was built in 1883.⁶ There is no other bridge in the photograph except the pole-bridge across the Klang River above its junction with the Gombak. Yet a bridge costing \$54,000 was built at this point (that is, above the junction) in 1884. These points enable us to restrict the date of the photograph to the years 1883/4. The Market Street bridge, which is visible, is described in contemporary reports as built of timber and 150 feet long. It was replaced by an iron bridge in 1890.

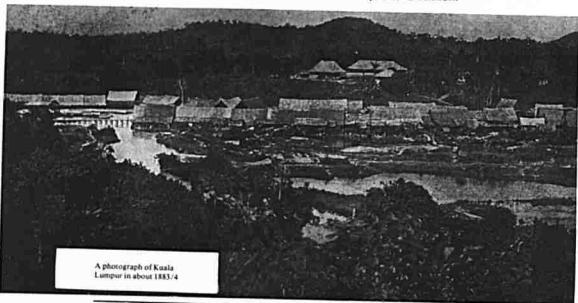
The central block of Chinese houses and shops corresponds well enough with a view of these same buildings taken across the

3. See *JMBRAS*, 28, (4), 1955: pl. 5, lower picture, from Sir Frank Swettenham, *British Malaya*, 2nd revised edn, 1948, opp. p. 257. This picture, and one of Kuala Trengganu from across the river of about the same date, are described by Swettenham on pp. xx & xxi as 'Taken for the author'. The Kuala Lumpur pictures were probably taken to show the appearance of the town immediately before the inauguration of Swettenham's rebuilding programme (*JMBRAS*, 28, (4), 1955: 38-40). Originally all walls and roofs were of atap. In September 1884 a rule was made requiring property owners to rebuild in brick or wattle with tiled roofs.
4. *Op. cit.* p. 81.
5. *Op. cit.* p. 41 (map of Kuala Lumpur in 1889).
6. *Op. cit.* p. 82.

Padang in 1884,⁷ from the other side. They were demolished by stages up to 1894 when the centre part of the site was taken over for the present secretariat building. The office buildings further back are on the far side of the Padang (which is hidden from view by the Chinese buildings). It is known that the Selangor Government had its offices on this site (now the Federal Police Headquarters area) in Bluff Road from 1882 to 1896.

The boats moored below the bridge agree with the known fact that this area was used as a landing place. But one would have expected that the east bank of the Klang River above Market Street, which can be partly seen in the photograph, would be crowded with buildings. It is known that Kuala Lumpur of Yap Ah Loy's time was close to the east bank of the river in this area. The stretch of the bank which can be seen corresponds with the Embankment (built in this century when the bank had been moved back and raised against flooding), and what used to be known as Johore Street. It may be that this low ground was left vacant in the eighteen-eighties after the disaster of 1881, because it was especially subject to flooding. It may also be that this area, which came first in Swettenham's rebuilding programme,⁸ had been cleared for rebuilding when the photograph was taken.

J. M. GULLICK.



A photograph of Kuala Lumpur in about 1883/4

7. *Op. cit.* pl. 5, lower picture.

8. *JMBRAS*, 28, (4), 1955: 39-40.

REPORT OF MR. CLIFFORD, ACTING BRITISH
RESIDENT OF PAHANG, ON THE EXPEDITION
RECENTLY LED INTO TRÈNGGANU AND
KELANTAN ON THE EAST COAST OF THE MALAY
PENINSULA.

BRITISH RESIDENCY, PAHANG, 7th August, 1895.

TO THE HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, S.S.

SIR, — I have the honour to forward, for the information of His Excellency the Governor, the following Report on the Expedition, which I recently led into the Malay States of Trènggànu and Kèlantàn, on the East Coast of the Malay Peninsula. Although, from time to time during my absence from Pahang, I have forwarded to you short reports dealing with the purely political portion of my work, I have hitherto been unable to furnish you with a full and detailed account of the journey accomplished by the Expeditionary Force under my command. The press of writing, consequent upon the arrears which had accumulated during my prolonged absence from this State, has caused my time, since my return to Pahang on the 18th June last, to be very fully occupied. I have further delayed forwarding this Report, until the Map, which has been prepared from time and compass surveys made by three European members of the Expedition, had been plotted. This has now been done in the Survey Office of the Sèlàngor Government, and I attach a copy of it to this Report. (*Enclosure 1.*)

2. I have divided this Report into two portions; the first dealing with the actual active work of the Expedition, and the second part containing all the information — political, social, economic, and physical — which I have been able to collect during my three months' sojourn in Trènggànu and Kèlantàn.

* * *

120. The only mention of Trënggânu which occurs in vernacular records of the history of the Peninsula is to be found in the *Hikâyat Hang Tûah*, which relates the history of Malacca during the years immediately preceding the conquest of that State by the Portuguese in 1511. At this time it is said that Trënggânu was ruled by a family of *Mëgat* — a class which, though it is one of the highest to which a commoner can belong, is not regarded by the natives of the present day as being in any sense royal. The descendants of this ancient family are still found in Trënggânu, and the tradition that they were once the dominant class is preserved in that State. The surviving members of this family are no longer treated as Râjas but that they formerly held royal rank in Malaya is rendered probable by the fact, recorded in *Hang Tûah*, that Mëgat Panji Alam, the son of the Ruler of Trënggânu, at the end of the fifteenth century was engaged to Tan Tiji, the daughter of the Râja of Indërapûra — the ancient name of Pahang — who was himself of royal blood. This Princess was carried off by Hang Tûah, the Laksamâna, and was wedded to Sultan Muhammad of Malacca; and Mëgat Panji Alam thereupon started on an expedition with the intention of invading that State, but was assassinated by Hang Jëbat, in the *Bâlai* of the Bëtara of Manjapâhit in Java, before he had succeeded in carrying his design into execution.

121. From that date until early in the eighteenth century no record of any kind exists which bears upon the history of Trënggânu; but there is a tradition among the natives of the East Coast that that State was one conquered by Pahang. This is said to have occurred in the reign of one of the immediate descendants of Sultan Muhammad of Malacca, who took refuge in Pahang in 1511, and from whom the present reigning family of Pahang claims to be descended. Some reference to this tradition, and to the fact that the territory of Pahang once extended along the East Coast from Johor to Këlantan, is to be found in the *Sëjarah Mëlâyû*.

122. However this may be, Râja Zënal-a-Bidin, a son of the then Sultan of Daik, fled from that country in about the year 1700, and took refuge in Pëtâni. Thence, having

married a Princess of that State, he removed to Trènggànu, where he would appear to have assumed the reins of Government, at the desire of the people of the land, taking the title of Sultan Zènal-a-Bidin I. From this Prince the present Sultan of Trènggànu, Sultan Zènal-a-Bidin III., is tenth in descent.

123. Zènal-a-Bidin I. died in 1717 and was succeeded by his son Mansur I., who was installed as Sultan in 1720, when he was only seven years of age. It was during his long reign that the *bunga amas*, or golden flower, was first sent to Siam by the Sultan of Trènggànu. Mansur I. ruled for 70 years, dying in 1790, and being succeeded by his son Zènal-a-Bidin II., otherwise known as Yam Tûan Mâta Mèrah — the red-eyed King — who ruled for 15 years. In 1805 Ahmad I. succeeded his father Zènal-a-Bidin II., and, after a reign of 19 years, was succeeded in 1824 by his son Abdul Rahman.

124. Sultan Abdul Rahman died in 1828, having only ruled for four years, and his son Daud, who succeeded him, only survived his father by 29 days.

125. Daud's younger brother, Mansur II., came to the throne in 1828 and ruled the State for six years. During the year preceding his death, his younger brother, Umar, was expelled from Trènggànu. In 1834 Mansur II. was succeeded by his son, a Prince whose proper name I have been unable to ascertain, but who is well known in Trènggànu as the Yam Tûan Tèlok. The *soubriquet* signifies that this Prince was afflicted with an impediment in his speech, which prevented him from pronouncing his words with accuracy.

Umar, Yam Tûan Tèlok's uncle, had meanwhile fled to Daik, where he was hospitably received by his relations, the ruling family of that country. Shortly after the death of his brother in 1834, Umar consulted Habib Sheikh, a man who enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity in Riau and Daik, as to his prospects of success in the event of an attempt being made by him to wrest the throne of Trènggànu from its then occupant. The Saint prophesied that the Yam Tûan Tèlok would be unable to withstand his coming.

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Accordingly Umar landed at Kuāla Trēnggānu in 1837 with about 50 followers, more than half of whom were women, and, his approach being wholly unsuspected, he was enabled to seize the palace before the Yam Tūan had time to resist him. For three days he remained in undisturbed possession of the royal precincts, where he was visited by the principal Chiefs. On the fourth day a half-hearted attempt was made to dislodge him, but the peaceful artizans of Kuāla Trēnggānu and the fishermen of the coast villages had little inclination for fighting, and evinced far more anxiety for the safety of their possessions and for the welfare of their trade than zeal for the preservation of the existing *régime*. In Baginda Umar they recognised a man of a far stronger nature than his nephew, the weak, ignorant boy who had ruled over them since the death of Sultan Mansur three years before; and consequently the Yam Tūan Tēlok was slain, and the country won by Baginda Umar without any protracted struggle taking place.

126. Baginda Umar — as he was always called from his accession to the throne in 1837, Baginda signifying Conqueror — would appear to have been a man of remarkable strength and energy of character. During the first few years of his reign he lived in the fort erected by him on the summit of Būkit Pētri, but he soon removed to a palace which he built on the site of that formerly occupied by his predecessors. This palace, which is said to have been a very fine building, was destroyed in the great fire in 1882. The handsome stone mosque, the stone causeways in the town, and other public work still existing, bear witness, however, to his efforts to improve the appearance of his capital — efforts which it is by no means common for a Malay Rāja to put himself to the expense and trouble of making. Following a custom which the Malay Rājas of modern times but rarely adopt, Baginda Umar himself sat daily in the *Bālai* to dispense justice to his people, all of whom had free access to him. He, however, took good care that none should abuse this privilege, by making his justice "straight as running noose and swift as plunging knife." Old men in Trēnggānu still

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tell you with bated breath, how Baginda Umar sat in the *Balai* with smiling face, making the grim jests for which he was famous, while he dealt out mutilation or death, or the imprisonment in gaol-cages which is worse than death, in accordance with the strictest spirit of the *Hukum Sharā*, which, administer it how you will, is no gentle code.

127. With the exception of a rebellion in Bēsut, which was speedily and ruthlessly suppressed, no internal trouble impeded the progress of Trènggānu during this reign; and though the British Government bombarded Kuāla Trènggānu in 1863 no serious damage was done, and this incident represented all the external trouble which interfered with the prosperity of Trènggānu while that State was under the rule of the Baginda.

128. The Sultan took an immense interest in learning and trade, and by encouraging students from other countries to settle in Trènggānu, and by introducing foreign skilled artisans to teach his people, he left an indelible mark on the intellect and industries of the State. I shall have occasion to dwell more at length on this subject when dealing with the manufactures of Trènggānu.

129. In 1874, being then far advanced in years, the Baginda appointed his nephew Ahmad to rule in his stead with the title of Yam Tūan Mūda. In 1876 the Baginda died, having ruled the country with a hand of iron, but with not a little wisdom and intelligence, for 39 years. He was succeeded by Sultan Ahmad II., a man who was already of advanced middle age, and who only survived his uncle by five years, dying in 1881. He in turn was succeeded by his son the present Sultan Zēnal-a-Bīdin III., who at the time of his accession was a youth of 18 years of age.

130. As is customary among Malays, many of the deceased Sultans are known by titles bestowed upon them after death. The term Sultan is dropped and the Arabic word *Marhum*, which signifies "late, deceased," etc., is substituted for it. Thus Zēnal-a-Bīdin II. is known as Marhum

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Musjid, Ahmad I. as Marhum Pârit, Abdul Rahman as Marhum Aur or Marhum Sûrau, and Daud as Marhum Kampong Daik.

131. Before dealing with the history of Trènggânu during the present reign, there is one other point connected with the records of this State which has been much misunderstood, and which therefore calls for special mention. I refer to the relations which have subsisted between Trènggânu and Siam since 1776. In this year the *bûnga amas*, or golden flower, was sent to Siam by Sultan Mansur for the first time, not in compliance with any demand made by the Government of Bangkok, but because the Sultan of Trènggânu desired to be upon friendly terms with the only Power in his vicinity which could disturb the peace of his country. The *bûnga amas* has never been regarded by the Malays as an admission of suzerainty; and, indeed, this view of the question has been always entirely repudiated by the Sultan and Chiefs of Trènggânu. When Sir Frederick Weld visited Trènggânu in 1886, and again in 1887, the Sultan on both occasions was careful to explain that the *bûnga amas* was sent to Siam not as *opti* or tribute, but merely as a token of friendship, and that the return presents sent by the King of Siam were given and received in a like spirit. The same view has been repeatedly expressed to me by the Râjas and Chiefs in Trènggânu from whom I sought information on this subject, the *bûnga amas* being invariably described by them as a *tanda s'pakat dan bër-séhâbat* — a token of alliance and friendship.

132. Thus much for the opinion of the natives of Trènggânu on this point, an opinion which is further confirmed by the views expressed by those who have had knowledge of the subject from the time of Sir Stamford Raffles. In his Paper on the Malayan Nations, written in 1809, which was subsequently submitted to Lord Minto, Sir Stamford writes as follows of the States on the East Coast:—

“Of the Malay Peninsula, the principal States entitled to notice * * * * on the Eastern side are those of Tringano, Patani, and Pahang. The States on the Eastern

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"side of the Peninsula, with the exception of Patani, which "has been considerably influenced by the Siamese, seem "generally to have admitted the superiority of the Malay "Government first established at Singapore, and afterwards "at Johore."

Up to within the last 13 years this statement remained as true as on the day when it was written; Pahang and Trènggānu both recognising the superiority of the Sultanate of Daik. They did so, however, with the important difference that while Pahang was officially regarded as a dependency of Daik, the Bèndahāra of Pahang issuing his mandates to his people with a clause making them subject to the approval of the Sultan of that State, the Ruler of Trènggānu, though junior to the Sultan of Daik, was as independent of him as of the King of Siam, and issued his *chaps* to his people without making any reservation whatsoever subjecting them to the approval or sanction of any other potentate. Just as the *bunga amas* was sent to Siam once in three years, so in the same manner were presents periodically despatched by the Sultan of Trènggānu to the Sultan of Daik; and these presents had the same significance, neither more nor less, than was attached to the customary triennial gifts to the King in Bangkok. In 1882 the Bèndahāra of Pahang threw off his allegiance to the Sultan of Daik, and assumed the title of Sultan of Pahang. The position of Trènggānu, however, both as regards Siam and Daik has remained absolutely unchanged.

133. That Trènggānu occupies the position of an Independent Native State — independent alike of Great Britain and Siam — has been fully recognised by the Governments of both those countries; and this is proved by the provisions of Captain Burney's Treaty with Siam dated 20th June, 1826. By Article XII. Siam binds herself not "to go and obstruct or interrupt commerce in the States of Tringano and Calantan". A reference to Article XIV. of the same Treaty will shew that the State of Pérak had also been accustomed to send the *bunga amas* to Siam, and that by her, as by Trènggānu, this offering was evidently regarded as purely voluntary.

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Siam apparently acquiesced in this view of the matter. It cannot be maintained, with any show of reason, that Pèrak was at that time a dependency of Siam, yet the position of Pèrak in 1826 and that now occupied by Trènggānu are absolutely identical.

134. In 1869 Baginda Umar sent envoys to the British Government bearing presents to Her Majesty the Queen and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; and in due course replies to the Sultan's letters and return presents were forwarded from London to Sir Harry Ord, the then Governor of the Straits Settlements, for transmission to the Baginda. Sir Harry Ord, it would seem, was not aware of the provisions of Article XII. of Captain Burney's Treaty above quoted, and in writing to the Secretary of State on the subject of these return presents he stated that he had never heard it disputed that Trènggānu occupied a position similar to that of Kèdah and Pètāni with regard to Siam. Acting on his recommendation the return presents and the answers to the Baginda's letters were forwarded to Bangkok, a course of action which naturally gave great umbrage to the Sultan and people of Trènggānu. With this sole deplorable exception, however, the independence of Trènggānu has always been fully and consistently recognised by the local representatives of the British Government in the Straits Settlements. The Governors of the Colony have always communicated direct with the Sultan of Trènggānu, and have frequently visited him in his capital. From 1886 to 1890 the Governor for the time being paid an annual visit to the Sultan of Trènggānu, and a similar visit was paid again by Governor Sir Cecil Clementi Smith in 1893, during which the matter of the Pahang rebels was fully discussed with the Sultan. It is only during the last two years that the theory that Trènggānu forms an integral part of the Kingdom of Siam has been hinted at by the Government in Bangkok but, so far as I am aware, this theory has never been officially propounded, nor has it ever been directly or indirectly admitted by the British Government; while the claims of the Siamese to suzerainty are entirely repudiated by the Sul-

tan of Trènggānu. The burden of proof lies with Siam and, to the best of my belief, she will be unable to produce one tittle of evidence in support of her pretensions.

135. In 1890 the King of Siam paid a visit to the Malay Peninsula, and since that date strenuous efforts have been made by the Siamese to extend and strengthen their influence in Trènggānu and Kèlantan — an influence which they are well aware is purely nominal, at any rate in so far as Trènggānu is concerned. I may mention, as an instance of this, that in 1892 they endeavoured to induce the Sultan of Trènggānu to allow them to open a post office at his capital, in which the stamps bearing the effigy of the King of Siam should be used. The Sultan, however, declined to permit them to do so, saying that if he decided to introduce a postal system into his kingdom, for which he saw no particular need, he should have stamps struck bearing his own likeness. It is significant that the Siamese did not press the matter, and that the idea has now been abandoned.

* * *



190. Of the history of Kēlantān I am unable to give any particulars. So far as is known, this State has always been governed by its own Rājas. As in Pahang and elsewhere, the Kēlantān ruling class belongs to the family of *Wan*, but a very wide difference is made by the ruling families of the Peninsula between the *Wan* family of Kēlantān, and the *Wan* who are the rulers of Pahang.

Though I have visited Kōta Bharu more than once, I have never spent any length of time there, and have had no opportunity of examining such archives as may be preserved by the Sultan and his family. I am not, therefore, at present in a position to trace the history of the ruling family back for more than a few generations.

191. In about 1830 Tūan Sēnik became Sultan. He is always known as Yam Tūan Mūlut Mērah — the King with the red mouth — and he was still reigning in 1886 when I first visited Kōta Bharu. At this time he was far the oldest Malay Rāja in the Peninsula, and I have often heard the present Sultan of Pahang speak with horror of the frequency with which he awarded punishment by death and mutilation to any of his people who were convicted or accused of comparatively small offences. This account of his manner of governing Kēlantān is fully corroborated by the older natives of that State who remember him in his prime, and who have often told me tales of his cruelty.

192. After Yam Tūan Mūlut Mērah had ruled for some

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fifty years and his age was heavy upon him, he appointed his eldest son, Tûan Ahmad, to succeed him in the rule of the State, and placed the reins of Government unreservedly in his hands. In 1888 he died, and Tûan Ahmad, who had borne the title of Raja of Kêlantan during the last few years of his father's lifetime, became Sultan. The title of Tûan Pêtêra was given to Tûan Ahmad's only brother, who was the youngest of the Yam Tûan Mûlut Mêrah's offspring, and his only other son.

193. Sultan Ahmad only reigned for two years, and on his death in 1890 he was succeeded by his son the Râja Bêndahâra. Sultan Ahmad had no less than ten sons: Ungku Bêndahâra, who succeeded him; Ungku Mansur, the present Râja; Ungku Leh, the present Tuménggong; Tûan Mâmat, who lives in Pêtâni; Tûan Mâmat, who is usually called Ungku Bêsar, Tûan Yeh, whose title is Ungku Pêtêra of Sêmerak; Tûan Soh whose title is Ungku Bêsar; Tûan Lah, Tûan Mang, and Tûan Heng. The first four of these Râjas are sons of the same mother, Sultan Ahmad's senior wife. Tûan Soh and Tûan Leh are by the same mother, and the remaining four are sons of four different mothers. Tûan Heng is a lunatic.

194. When the Ungku Bêndâhara became Sultan he seized upon most of his father's property, to the no small discontent of his three full-brothers who at once began conspiring against him. His succession meanwhile was not popular among the people of the country, who were, almost without an exception, in favour of the accession of Sultan Ahmad's younger brother, Tûan Pêtêra or Tûngku Pêtêra as he is variously called. He was little more than a boy at the time, and early in 1890 he went to Singapore and did not return until late in the year.

On the day following the *Râya*, or first of the month succeeding the Fast of Ramathân, in 1891, the Sultan of Kêlantan died. It was said that a surfeit after his long fast was the cause, but it was popularly rumoured that his death was the result of careful arrangements made to that end.

195. The question which next arose was whether the succession should pass to Tungku Pëtëra or to Ungku Mansur, the late Raja's younger brother. The former was the popular candidate both with the Chiefs and people; but in the Malay Peninsula a few strong men have far more weight than a large number of less influential people, and Ungku Mansur found two very strong men at hand to back his candidature. These were the Däto' Maha Mëntri and Nek* Soh (or Jûsup), the Däto' Sri Padùka. Since the death of Sultan Ahmad, these two Chiefs had been the practical rulers of Këlantan. Neither of them were men of any particular birth, but they possessed an immense influence in the country, where they had succeeded in making themselves feared by all. Accordingly the popular candidate was set aside, and Ungku Mansur became Râja of Këlantan. He did not assume the title of Sultan, some say because he feared to raise trouble in the country if he attempted to do so, and others because he entertained a superstitious dread of doing so, based upon the short time which his immediate predecessors had lived after their installation. He is the ruler of the State at the present day, but he is still contented to bear the minor title of Râja of Këlantan.

196. It might, perhaps, have been thought that when Râja Mansur succeeded, his brothers, who had conspired to that end, would at any rate have been among those who were well contented. Not very long after his accession, however, in July, 1891, I, being at that time Acting Resident of Pahang, was addressed by Râja Mansur's brothers, who wrote begging me to aid them against the Râja. They complained that the property which their father and late brother had bequeathed to them had all been appropriated by Râja Mansur, and that their proper shares had not been allowed to them. They also complained that their brother was not the proper ruler and invited me to depose him, which they said would be an easy matter, and urged me to place the country under British

* In Këlantan the word Nek نيق which is a contraction of Nënek نينيق a great-grandfather, is used as the title of a chief in precisely the same manner as 'To' توء is used for Däto' داتوء a grandfather or chief, in other parts of the Malay Peninsula.

Protection. I informed Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G., the then Governor of the Straits Settlements, that I had received this communication, and sent word to Kèlantán that I could not interfere, but that, as regarded the division of the property, they were at liberty to write to the Governor on the subject, which I believe, they afterwards did. Since that time Kèlantán has been the scene of constant intrigues having for their object the removal of the present Rája, Túngku Pètèra being put forward as the proper man to succeed him. So long as Maha Mèntri and Nek Sri Padúka were on the side of Rája Mansur, however, the position of the latter was fairly secure, and the death of Maha Mèntri in 1894 is often said to have been approved, if not actually ordered, by Túngku Pètèra. However this may be, the men in question have never been arrested or punished, although their identity is an open secret in Kèlantán.

197. The matter has been further complicated by Siamese intrigue, for which the Siamese Agents rather than the Government at Bangkok are, I imagine, primarily responsible. Kèlantán has always occupied precisely the same position with regard to Siam as that which I have described in writing of Trènggānu, but owing to its proximity to the States under Siamese Protection the influence of the Siamese has been greater here than in the latter country. The British Government, however, has always recognised the independence of Kèlantán, the Governor of the Straits Settlements corresponding direct with the Rája; and in Captain Burney's Treaty Kèlantán is excluded from the States within the Siamese Protectorate, which are enumerated in Article 10, and is bracketed with Trènggānu as an Independent State in Article 12.

198. While the Yam Túan Múlut Mèrah and his son, Sultan Ahmad, were alive, the Siamese were not able to encroach upon these territories, both of the above-mentioned Rájas being firmly seated upon the throne, to which their right was in no way disputed by other claimants. When Sultan Ahmad died, however, the position of the Rája who succeeded him was so weak that he found it necessary to seek

for support from Siam in order to maintain his seat upon the throne, and in exchange he was forced to make certain concessions to the Government at Bangkok, who, at this time, were seeking a means of extending their influence on the East Coast of the Peninsula. Accordingly in 1890 the Râja of Kêlantan was induced to hoist the Siamese Flag at the mouth of the river upon the occasion of all State visits. This was the first time that any flag other than that of the Sultan of Kêlantan had been hoisted within the State. Râja Mansur found himself, on his accession, no more firmly placed than his immediate predecessor, and he was accordingly obliged to pursue a similar policy with regard to Siam.

199. In October, 1892, the Pahang rebels fled from that State, and many of them took up their quarters in Kêlantan territory. In June, 1894, the Têmbéling raid was made, Kêlantan and Trênggânu being used by the *dakaitis* as their base. This gave the Siamese Government the opportunity of further extending their influence, for which they had long been waiting, and though nothing of any practical use was done by them, they, in defiance of their Treaty engagements with the British Government, despatched Luang Visudh Parihar and Luang Pati Pak Pacha Kom to Kôta Bharu, nominally to aid in the capture of the rebels, but really to give the Siamese a better *locus standi* within the State.

200. As in Trênggânu, proposals for the opening of a Post Office had been made to the Râja of Kêlantan by the Siamese Government, very shortly after the visit of the King of Siam to the Malay States, but while Trênggânu met them with a flat refusal, the Râja of Kêlantan merely procrastinated. The Siamese emissaries therefore took with them the necessary appliances, and as soon as they arrived at Kôta Bharu they opened a Post Office, which was in no way required and was merely instituted in order that Siamese stamps might be used. I may here mention that one official mail, which was forwarded by steamer to Kôta Bharu and addressed to me, was seized upon and opened by Luang Pati Pak Pacha Kom, and that the official instructions they contained have not even yet come to hand. If the British Government is not pre-

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pared to protest against the use of Siamese stamps in Kēlantān, it would, perhaps, be worth while to open a British Post Office at Kōta Bharu. We have a precisely equal right with the Siamese with regard to this State, and should not, I think, allow our position in Kēlantān to be prejudiced by permitting the Siamese officials to interfere with our official correspondence, nor the Government of Bangkok to usurp exclusive privileges in matters concerning which we have a *locus standi* that is exactly similar to their own.

* * *

MALAYSIAN BRANCH

Traditional Malay House Forms in Trengganu and Kelantan

by Tan Sri Haji Mubin Sheppard

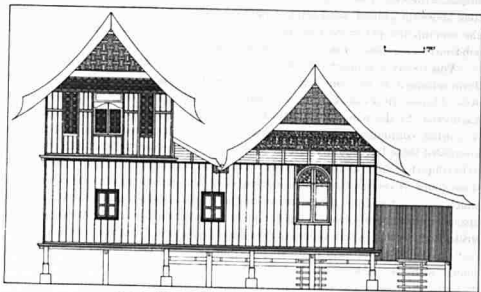


Fig. 1. Rumah Bujur; (Nik Kadir bin Nik Mat) Kota Bharu, Technical College.

R.N. Hilton wrote a paper on 'The Basic Malay House' which was published in Volume XXIX Part 3 of the Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in August 1956. In his opening paragraph he wrote, "only the Western Side of the Malay Peninsula is dealt with here. The East Coast States, with their strong Thai and Majapahit influence, are not considered".

In this paper an attempt will be made to fill the gap, and to trace the evolution of traditional Malay House forms in Trengganu and Kelantan, which however, in my opinion, do not show any "strong Thai or Majapahit influence".

The earliest type of Malay house, in Trengganu and Kelantan, of which examples can still be studied, had a high, steeply sloped roof, and a single ridge and ridge cover-

ing running the length of the building. A pair of long, wooden gable edges, (gable fascia boards) called '*Pemeles*' or '*Peles*' were often fitted at both gable ends on the houses of the well to do. The rectangular floor of the main structure was always raised high above the ground, continuing a tradition, evidence of which can still be seen all the way up the peninsula through Thailand, Cambodia and Laos, and lending substance to the theory that the traditional Malay house form may be of Khmer origin.

This theory is supported by information recorded by MA-TOUAN-LIN in the 13th. century A.D. in a comprehensive survey of all the known countries in South East Asia. Chinese Imperial Annals had referred to the region which we now know as Cambodia, by the name of TCHIN-LA, since the third century A.D., and Mah-TouanLin continued to use this name. He stated that the houses in Tchín-La resembled those in a country further south, which he called TCHI-TOU. Professor Wheatley has tentatively identified Tchi-Tou — 'the Red Earth Land' — with Trengganu. A century ago the house floors in Trengganu were sometimes raised as much as eight feet from the ground. The building was ventilated through a narrow space between the top of the outside walls and the eaves. Delicately carved wooden gilles fitted as wall panels, often supplemented the supply of fresh air.

This early house form had two principal variants. The smaller and narrower house, with six main supporting pillars, — called '*Tiang*' — was known as "*Rumah Bujang*". A broader and more elaborate house, with twelve main supporting pillars was known as "*Rumah Tiang Duabelas*" or "*Rumah Serambi*", — "the house with the twelve supporting pillars" or "the Verandah house". Both variants often had an additional structure built at a lower level, on one or both sides, and occasionally at one end. If this additional structure was roofed, and if it extended the full length of the house, it was called '*Selasar*'; but if it consisted of an unroofed platform, projecting from a side door, from which a short flight of steps led down to the ground, it was called '*Lambor*'. A '*Rumah Bujang*' with a "*Selasar*" added on one side was sometimes called "*Rumah Bujang Selasar*" to distinguish it from the basic house form. The principal difference between the '*Rumah Bujang*' and '*Rumah Tiang Duabelas*' was the number of supporting pillars underneath the house. If looked at from one end of the building, the '*Rumah Bujang*' had two rows of three supporting pillars, if counted from end to end. But the '*Rumah Tiang Duabelas*' had four supporting pillars at each end and another four under the centre of the floor; hence its name — 'the house with twelve pillars'. A distinction must be made between the main supporting pillars, called '*Tiang*', and thinner, intermediate floor supports which are called '*Tongkat*' and can be seen under both varieties of house, but are not included when calculating the number of supporting pillars.

There was also a slight difference in the shape of the Gable Edges on the two houses. The gables at either end of the '*Rumah Bujang*' were fitted with a pair of gable

edges shaped like an inverted V, but on a 'Rumah Tiang Duabelas', a second, shorter pair was often added as a lower extension of the upper pair, at a slightly wider angle.

The high pointed gables of this house form were fitted with gable screens, called 'Tebar Layar' (also referred to in Kelantan as 'Tubang Layar'), which provided both ventilation and protection from driving rain. The screens sloped upwards and inwards from a shallow platform, which extended across the base of the gable. The platform, called 'Lantai Alang Buang' or 'Undan-undan', (Plate 6.) was sometimes decorated with carving, and was occasionally used for the storage of brass household utensils when not required. Mr. Hilton mentions an extension of this shallow platform inside the house, to provide a sleeping place for unmarried girls, but this practice does not seem to have been adopted in Trengganu or Kelantan.

Most of the oldest houses in Trengganu and Kelantan are roofed with clay tiles which were imported from 'Singgora' in South Thailand, but in the 19th century many well-to-do Trengganu Malays used iron wood shingles ('*atap belian*') which were brought from Sambas in Borneo by Trengganu sailing ships.

The outer walls of the oldest surviving houses in Trengganu and Kelantan are made of finely planed '*Chengal*' planks, which were usually fitted vertically and pegged in position by their wooden cover ribs (Plate 7.). Iron nails were very seldom used any where in the building. The outer walls of some old houses, of smaller proportions, built by people of limited means, were made of plaited split bamboo, known as '*pelupoh*'. Walls of this material, which are still in use, are stated to be over eighty years old.

Small wooden doors and windows were provided, opening inwards. They were fitted with wooden hinges, and sliding wooden bars on the inside. (Plate 9). Glass was not normally inserted into East Coast house windows in the 19th Century, but sky lights called '*Lobang Chermin*', were sometimes fitted into the sloping roof above the central section of the house. Tall window panels, just broad enough to admit a slim adult, were sometimes built into a side wall, opening on to a verandah. They were called '*PintuMalim*'.

Inside the house there were few, if any, permanent partitions, but decorative screens of split bamboo, plaited to create flowered or geometric patterns, were sometimes added. On one such screen, which had formed the back of a bridal platform in about 1890, a series of Betel leaf shoots—'*Bunga Sireh*'—rose vertically from the floor level to the upper border.

If a roofed verandah—'*Selasar*'—was added, it was separated from the main rectangular building by a wooden partition, about five feet high, above which a decorative, cut out, wooden frieze was often added.

The main supporting pillars—'*Tiang*'—of the oldest houses in Trengganu and Kelantan were buried in the ground, usually to a depth of four feet. A shallow ridge,

called '*Kaki Chermin*' was normally cut round the base of each main pillar, about two feet above the ground, giving the pillars an appearance of finished workmanship and a slightly wider base. This refinement is also common on the pillars of Cambodian houses in the rural areas. Cement or stone blocks do not appear to have been used as pillar bases for old, '*Rumah Bujang*' or '*Rumah Tiang Duabelas*' when they were originally built, but when the base of some house pillars began to crumble, after standing in the ground for more than eighty years, they have been cut away and replaced by cement blocks.

Owing to the disastrous fire in Kuala Trengganu in 1882, which destroyed the Sultan's palace (*Istana Hijau*) and over sixteen hundred houses, it is doubtful whether any of the existing examples of '*Rumah Bujang*' or '*Rumah Tiang Duabelas*' in the state capital are over one hundred years old, but it is probable that the finest and oldest surviving houses, which were built soon after the great fire, to replace some of those which had been destroyed, followed the long established Malay architectural style of the preceding century. Among these are three handsome examples of the '*Rumah Tiang Duabelas*' which were built for Sultan Zainal Abidin III and his family between 1884 and 1888, close to the site of the old palace at the foot of Bukit Puteri. The finest of these was completed in 1888 and was called '*Rumah Tele*' (pronounced *Teler*) which could be interpreted to mean the 'house with the large audience hall'. It was sixty feet long, thirty six feet wide and the peak of the roof gable was twenty six feet above the ground. The distance between the floor and ground was seven feet: the distance from the floor to the cross beam was eleven feet six. Twenty rectangular carved panels of superlative workmanship were fitted into the upper portion of one side wall. The panels were 38 inches high and 12 inches wide, and each was cut out in depth to reproduce a different passage from the Koran. The surface of the Arabic lettering was gilded. The panels were carved by two Trengganu Malay goldsmiths called Salam and Sasu, and there is no finer example of Malay cutout wood carving. Haji Derahim bin Endut, a Trengganu man, was the head carpenter who was put in charge of the building operation. This building is now better known as '*Istana Tengku Nik*'.

The existence of finely constructed and elaborately carved timber houses in Kelantan of the '*Bujang*' and 'Twelve Pillar' style, dating from before the great Fire in Trengganu, give solid support to the view that these two variants of a traditional Malay house form have been in general use on the East Coast for a very long time. The oldest surviving example of a large '*Rumah Bujang*' which the writer has been able to find in or near Kota Bharu was built for Nik Kadir bin Nik Mat, the '*Nakhoda*' of the Kelantan Sailing Fleet which carried the triennial gift of gold and silver flowered trees (*Perahu Bunga Emas*) to the Thai King, during the reign of Sultan Muhammad II (1857-1886). This house was probably built not later than 1860. It is now unoccupied

and it may not survive much longer. The house stands off Jalan Merbau, Kampong Atas Banggul, in a small road named *Jalan Pa' Nik Ya'*.

Another example of the 'Twelve Pillar' style of house stands only a few yards away from Nik Kadir's, *Rumah Bujang*, and was built for Wan Yahaya bin Wan Ghafar (nick named 'Pak Nik Ya') a little later: probably about 1870. Wan Yahaya was a 'Wazir Kelantan' a trusted adviser to Sultan Muhammad II; he was a Patani Malay and a man of property. He died in 1886. His house followed the traditional pattern but was added to at a later date. Another 'Twelve Pillar' house, which stands nearby and was built before 1886, belonged to Nik Mat (Nik Besar) the son of Nik Yahaya, the Wazir.

A few other examples of 'Twelve Pillar' style houses in Kelantan can still be seen in Kampong Pulau Panjang, an area about six miles from Kota Bharu which was once thickly populated, but which is now almost deserted. The most handsome of these was built before 1880, by a Trengganu master carpenter for its Kelantan owner: it now belongs to Haji Nik Leh bin Wan Ahmad. It has a typical high gabled roof, with extended gable edges, it has walls of planed *chengal* planks arranged in the decorative style known as *Janda Berhias* and includes a number of interior panels which are carved in low relief and gilded, with inscribed passages from the Koran. The bases of the house pillars were cut away in about 1964 and replaced by cement blocks. Many other houses of the same style, but of less skilled workmanship, were built in this area in the last quarter of the 19th century, but they have since been dismantled and moved elsewhere.

The only obvious difference between Kelantan and Trengganu '*Bujang*' & '*Tiang Duabelas*' house forms was in the fitting of the gable screen (*Tebar Layar*). In Kelantan this screen almost always rises vertically from the narrow platform at the base of the gable, closing the triangular space under the gable, whereas in Trengganu the screen was fitted at an angle, sloping upwards and inwards to provide additional ventilation. Many of the Kelantan gable screens were ornamented with a standard design, which may represent the sun rising (from the horizontal edge of the platform), with the sun's rays extending upwards and outwards to cover the whole surface of the screen. This decorative feature is known locally as '*Tebar Layar Daun Tar*' or '*Sisik Tar*' (Daun Tar is the leaf of the Arenga Palm Tree—*Kabong* in Malay, —now rarely seen in Kelantan, but which can be found in large numbers all over Cambodia).

There is no record of the use of iron wood roof shingles in Kelantan: this is probably due to the proximity of Patani and its ready supply of dark red clay tiles.

Mr. Hilton, in his paper inferred that the design of the traditional East Coast Malay house was influenced by Thai and Majapahit house forms. This is not supported by local history or opinion. The strongest external influences on Malay culture and fashion in Trengganu and Kelantan in the eighteenth century came from

Patani, (now part of South Thailand), which was then a wealthy and independent Malay Kingdom. Trengganu oral tradition claims that Tun Zainal Abidin, younger half brother of Sultan Abdul Jalil of Riau-Johore, was proclaimed ruler of Trengganu on the initiative of the Queen of Patani to found a new dynasty early in the 18th century, and that he received a number of golden articles for his Regalia from the Malay Queen, which are still in use. He is also stated to have married a cousin of the Patani Queen, from whom later rulers were descended. This oral tradition is at variance with written history, recorded in the Bugis, *'Tuhfat al Nafis'*, which states that Tun Zainal Abidin was proclaimed ruler of Trengganu by the Bugis Raja Tua of Riau in 1725, on the instructions of Sultan Sulaiman of Riau, Tun Zainal's nephew. Even if the Bugis version is accepted, subsequent history records a policy of disengagement from Riau politics on the part of Trengganu rulers, and such cultural forms as have survived for more than a century, such as boat designs, shadow play puppet shapes and house styles, all point northwards to Patani.

A visit by the writer to Patani in 1968 has established beyond question that the *'Rumah Bujang'* and *'Rumah Tiang Duabelas'* were in general use by the Malay population of Patani more than a century ago, although most of them have now been replaced by other Malay house forms. Several examples of *'Rumah Bujang'* were examined at Kampong Bang Pu, about 15 miles from the town of Patani, (one of these had been transferred there from Kampong Tanjong Datok), and at Kampong Penarek on the Sea Coast. The Peggawa of Kampong Penarek, Enche Yusuf bin Idris, asserted with convincing assurance that the ancient Malay house forms in common use in Patani were the *'Rumah Bujang'* and the *'Rumah Tiang Duabelas'*. He added that the base of the house pillars was normally buried in the ground and that it had a narrow carved ridge near the base, which was called *'Kaki Chermin'*, (as in Trengganu). Gable edges (*Pemeles*) were also in general use on Malay houses in Patani in the 19th century, and a fine example of a gable edge can be seen at Telok Manok on the roof of the oldest Mosque in Patani, which is claimed to be more than one hundred and fifty years old. This Mosque was built on the orders of the Raja of Jerenga, who lived in a handsome timber palace about ten miles away which was of greater antiquity but has long since been demolished.

It is therefore probable that the traditional Malay house forms known as *'Rumah Bujang'* and *'Rumah Tiang Duabelas'* or *'Rumah Serambi'*, and the decorative gable edges (*Pemeles*), originated in Patani many centuries ago and spread south to Kelantan and Trengganu.

Before discussing Malay house forms of more recent times in Kelantan and Trengganu it is convenient to observe that many of the Malay houses now in use in the rural areas of Patani, are of a design which is known in Kelantan as *'Perabong Lima'*, (the house with 'the five ridge coverings'), a name which is rarely heard in

Trengganu. Enche Yusuf bin Idris the village headman of Kampong Penarek, stated that the '*Perabong Lima*' house form was introduced into Patani from Kelantan at the end of the 19th century, and had gradually replaced most of the '*Rumah Bujang*' and '*Rumah Tiang Duabelas*' which had once been very common. The adoption of the Kelantan house form seems to have coincided with the final replacement of Malay by Thai rule. This '*Perabong Lima*' was utilitarian and inexpensive, but it possessed none of the pleasing decorative features of earlier Malay houses. It was a rectangular structure with a very shallow roof, no gable ends, no decorative gable screen and no ornamental projection above the gable peak. It had a central roof ridge with four other ridges and ridge coverings extending down to the four corners of the house. The floor was raised about four feet from the ground and the entrance was at one end, opening on to a narrow platform, from which a short flight of steps led down to the ground. A low kitchen was added at one end of the building. An early example of this type of house stands at Kampong Chekering, near Kota Bharu, and is stated to have been built in 1894. It belonged to Haji Jusoh bin Salam, a '*Jeragan Perahu*' (Shipmaster). This new house form soon became popular among Malays of limited means both in Kelantan and Patani. But for wealthy people something more elaborate was required, and both Kelantan and Trengganu Malays adopted house forms which were of cosmopolitan design, but originated in the island Sultanate of Riau-Lingga. Though these new styles possessed certain similarities, they were not identical. In Trengganu, the first of a series of basically similar buildings to replace the '*Rumah Tiang Duabelas*' was called '*Rumah Limas*' – 'The Shallow house'. The word shallow referred to the shape of the roof, and it drew attention to the most obvious difference between the old and the new form. The '*Rumah Limas*', which probably reflected Bugis and Dutch influence, began to be fashionable in Kuala Trengganu at about the beginning of the 20th century, but one of the earliest examples of this style was built on the orders of Sultan Zainal Abidin III in the state capital, not far from the '*Rumah Tele*', in 1890. It was called '*Rumah Tengah*'. The house is seventy feet long and thirty nine feet wide but the floor is only raised two feet six inches from the ground. In this and in other less spacious examples the roof resembled that of the Kelantan '*Perabong Lima*' (the Five Ridge Coverings) though the structure and shape of the building was different.

In Kelantan the old '*Rumah Tiang Duabelas*' and the intermediate house form, the '*Perabong Lima*' were gradually replaced by two basically similar forms called '*Rumah Potong Belanda*' and '*Ruham Potong Perak*' (the 'Foreign Shaped house' and the 'Perak shaped house'). These houses usually had two parallel roof ridges which ran the length of the house with a floor raised only about three feet from the ground and a front entrance in the centre of one side, approached by a low flight of steps. There is a shallow gable at both ends of each roof ridge and an additional narrow sloping roof at

the base of the gable, which replaces the '*Lantai Alang Buang*' and extends along the full width of the building. This form closely resembles many rural houses in Cambodia. A distinction is made between the fitting of the gable screens: in the '*Rumah Potong Belanda*' the screen is fitted in an upright position close to the front of the gable edge. But in the '*Rumah Potong Perak*' the gable screen is fitted further inside, and the 'King Post'—'*Tunjok Langit*'—can often be seen. Above the point of the gable end a new feature emerged both in Kelantan and Trengganu. It is a short baton with a round base, rising to a point, about two feet six inches high, which projects upwards and is called '*Buah Buton*' (Plate 26). Its origin is obscure. In Cambodia a baton of almost identical design, usually made of stone, can be seen on the gable tops of the majority of rural houses, regardless of whether the occupants are Buddhists or Muslims. This feature is said to be of great antiquity and is connected in the minds of most house owners with a vague concept of protection. The Cambodian name for the baton is 'PRUHM', which is also one of the Khmer words for Brahma, the creator of the universe in the Hindu pantheon, and the rounded base, often of three tiers, is said to indicate the four faces of Brahma facing north, south, east and west.

Nik Abdul Rahman bin Nik Dir, the doyen of Kelantan Shadow Play Puppeteers, quotes a passage from the Malay version of the Ramayan. Story, in which the audience hall of Prince Rama is described, and reference is made to gold and silver roof batons—'*buah buton*'. The Malay words and their reference to roof ornaments thus appear to be of some antiquity. On the other hand an authority in Trengganu, seeking a more prosaic explanation, suggests that the rounded baton was copied from the knob which capped the mainmast of many east coast Malay sailing ships in the 18th and 19th centuries.

In Kelantan the roof baton is usually to be seen on the gable tops of '*Rumah Potong Perak*', but is rare on '*Rumah Potong Belanda*'.

In Trengganu the '*Rumah Limas*', and its more elaborate successor the '*Rumah Limas Bungkus*' has two or more parallel roof ridges one covering the body of the house (*Ibu Rumah*) and the other the kitchen (*dapor*). A third roof ridge was often added, at right angles, on the front of the '*Limas Bungkus*' house, to cover an enclosed verandah (*sorong*) which served as a guest room and included a front entrance. This style was, in turn, replaced by a Trengganu variety of the '*Rumah Potong Belanda*', with batons on the roof, and wall partitions added inside the body of the house and the guest room.

Fashions in Malay house forms are changing rapidly. Western influence and modern social practice have dispensed with many of the traditional features and it will soon be very difficult to define a contemporary Malay house. The old-style '*Rumah Bujang*' and '*Tiang Duabelas*' will probably disappear completely unless examples are

preserved by the National Museum, and even the early type of '*Rumah Limas*' may become a rarity.

But the genesis of East Coast Malay house forms can still be demonstrated from surviving examples. First of these was the '*Rumah Bujang*', with its steep gabled roof, the floor raised as much as eight feet on six supporting pillars: simple, solid and relatively secure. Next came the '*Rumah Tiang Duabelas*' (*Rumah Serambi*) with its twelve supporting pillars: an elaboration of the '*Bujang*' form, but broad and more decorative.

Then came the shallow roof revolution, when the dignity and artistry of the pure Malay style was replaced by structures of utilitarian rather than aesthetic merit: —the house with the Five Ridge Coverings', the 'Shallow House' and 'the house of Foreign design' in all their varieties.

Enche Sulong bin Zainal of Kemaman has drawn the plans of the Trengganu houses and senior students of the Architectural branch of the Technical College have prepared the plans of the Kelantan houses. I am greatly indebted to them, for without these accurate drawings this Paper would be of little value. Miss Dorothy Pelzer has kindly made available a number of her own photographs of houses in Trengganu and Kelantan to illustrate this subject.

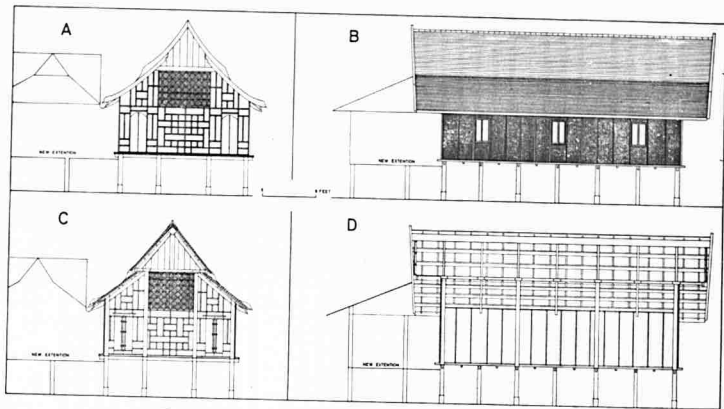


Fig. 3. Rumah Tiang Duabelas: Rumah 'Pa Nik Ya', Kota Bharu, Technical College.

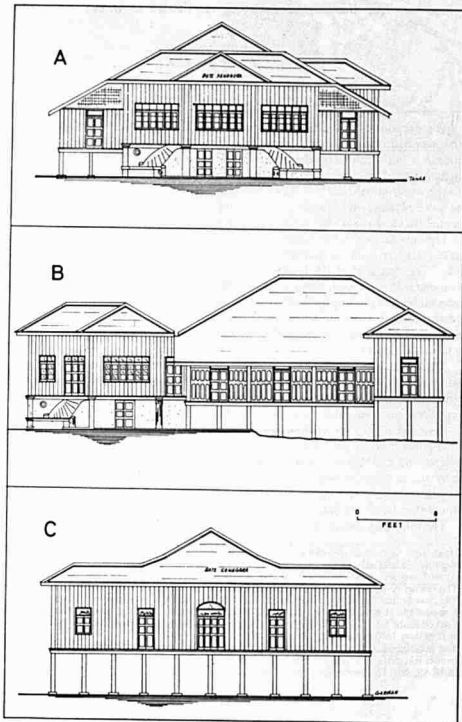


Fig. 6. "Rumah Limas": Trengganu. "Rumah Tengah".

'BATU TARSILAH'

The Genealogical Tablet of the Sultans of Brunei

by

P. M. Shariffuddin, and
Abd. Latif Hj. Ibrahim

The purpose of this article is to revise the transcription of the historic tablet, which was first made by Low,¹ a copy of which was later edited by Sweeney.² The emphasis is not so much on the transcription and errors in spelling, as upon the date which was fixed by Low. By using a very simple method, we have been able to read the whole tablet clearly. It can be argued that the mistake by Low in fixing the date was due to his own ignorance, but the error, which is a century old, has been accepted by various authorities, and appears in the Brunei Annual Reports.³

The genealogical tablet stands upon a base about four feet high and twenty feet square. Its size is about four feet high by three and a half feet wide and six inches thick. The first half of the inscription faces east, the second west. The shoulder tip on one side is chipped, supposedly by falling branches. On the same high ground as the tablet lies the tomb of Sultan Mohammad Jamalul Alam, while the tomb of his father, Sultan Mohammad Tajuddin lies on low ground some three yards away on the north-eastern side. These two tomb-stones will be discussed together with the tablet. (Plate 1)

The tablet was inscribed by chiselling soft porous sandstone, unlike the granite used by the Chinese. Most Malay tombstones are engraved in this manner on similar materials. Though there have been gradual modifications, the character of the inscriptions has changed little since the 15th century.⁴

Some errors in Low's transcription were due to the obscurity of the Jawi letters on the tablet itself, or probably in a written manuscript that he copied. At the time there was no established system of Romanizing Malay,⁵ hence Low's rendering of *nya* by *nia*, *ia* by *iya*, *menyuroh* by *meniurot*, and so forth, though ten years later Maxwell's *Raja Muda*⁶ spelling conformed to the present usage. We can only suppose that Low's spelling was influenced by British phonetics.

The following is the full transcription of the genealogical tablet (starting with Pl. 2)

¹ Hugh Low, *Transcriptions and translation of the Historic Tablet*, JSBRAS, No. 5, June, 1880. Reprint 1965: 32-35.

² Amin Sweeney, *Silsilah Raja Raja Brunei*, JMBRAS, XLI, 2, December, 1968: 11.

³ The Brunei Annual Reports which cited the references were published from 1960 until 1966.

⁴ The date Sultan Sharif Ali, the third Sultan of Brunei died has been confirmed as 1433 A.D. on a tombstone at Kota Batu (see the article on "Poni, Brunei and the origins of Kampong Ayer" by Abd. Latif Hj. Ibrahim in the BMJ 1974 issue). Another Malay tombstone is clearly dated as A.H. 971 = 1563 A.D.

⁵ The established system here is before the innovation of the new spelling system in Malaysia. Brunei still prefers to retain the previous usage.

⁶ JSBRAS, No. 22, December, 1890: 17-224.



Plate 2. The First Part of the Genealogical Tablet.



Plate 3. The second part of the inscription, on the reverse side of the Tablet.



Plate 5. The first part of the inscription on the Tomb stone of Sultan Mohammad Jamalul Alam, which stands on the same high ground as the Genealogical Tablet.



Plate 5A. The second part of the inscription on the Tomb stone of Sultan Mohammad Jalul Alam: on the reverse side of the stone.

with Low's transcription in brackets, while words in italics are those omitted by Low. We are not concerned with the English translation.

"Ini-lah salasilah Raja Raja yang kerajaan di-Negeri Brunei di-nyatakan (di-niatkan — p. 32 line 2) oleh Dato Imam Ya'akub ia mendengar daripada Marhum Bongsu yang bernama Sultan Muhiddin [محمي الدين (Muaddin — 32, 6)] dan Paduka Maulana Sultan Kamaluddin kedua Raja itu menyuroh [مهوره (meniurot — 32, 8)]⁷ menyuratkan Dato ninik moyang-nya supaya di-ketahui oleh segala anak chuchu-nya sampai sekarang ini wallahu'a'lam maka Paduka Seri⁸ Sultan Mohammad Tajuddin (Tej-Waldin — 33, 2) menitahkan kepada (tuan) Haji Khatib Abdul Latif menyuratkan salasilah ini di-ketahui oleh segala anak chuchu-nya Raja yang mempunyai (mempunyai — 33, 6) tahta mahkota Kerajaan dalam kandang daerah Negeri Brunei Darul-Salam yang turun temurun yang mengambil pusaka (pusakaan — 33, 10) nobat negara dan gunta alamat dari Negeri Johor Kamal-Al-Makam dan mengambil lagi pusaka nobat negara *dan* gunta alamat dari Minangkabau (Menangkerbau — 33, 15) ia-itu Negeri Andalas maka ada-lah yang pertama kerajaan di-negeri dan membawa agama Islam dan mengikut shari'at Nabi kita Mohammad Sallallahu' alaihi-wassalam ia-itu Paduka Seri Sultan Mohammad dan saudara-nya Sultan Ahmad maka beranak sa-orang perempuan dengan isteri-nya saudara Raja China yang di-ambil daripada China batangan (چين بٹانگن)⁹ maka puteri itu-lah yang di-ambil oleh Sharif Ali itu-lah kerajaan di-namai akan dia Paduka Seri Sultan Berkat ia-lah yang mengaraskan shari'at Rasulullah-sallallah-alaihi-wassalam dan berbuat mesjid dan segala rakyat (ryto — 33, 34) China berbuat Kota Batu ada pun [اد فون (tuan — 33, 35)] Sharif Ali itu panchir salasilah daripada Amirul-Mu'minin Hassan chuchu Rasulullah maka Paduka Seri Sultan Berkat itu beranak-kan Paduka Seri Sultan Sulaiman¹⁰ (dan Suleman) beranak-kan Seri Sultan Bolkihah *ia-itu* Raja yang mengalahkan negeri Suluk dan mengalahkan negeri Seludong *dan* nama Raja-nya Dato Gamban dan lagi Sultan (Bulkieh) beranak-kan Paduka Seri Sultan Abdul Kahar yang di-namai Marhum Keramat 2 beranak-kan Paduka Seri Sultan Saiful Rijal 2 beranak-kan 1 Paduka Seri Sultan Shah Brunei kemudian saudara-nya pula kerajaan Paduka Seri Sultan Hassan ia-lah Marhum Di-Tanjong maka anak (chuchu) baginda itu-lah yang *mengambil* kerajaan dalam negeri Brunei (ini mana-yang) baik bichara-nya Sultan Hassan itu-lah yang keras di-atas tahta kerajaan-nya (mengikut) perintah Sultan Mahkota Alam yang di-negeri Aceh [اچيه (Achin

⁷ Sweeney did not include this word, *menyuroh*.

⁸ It is wrong to assume that the present order is *Seri Paduka* (Sweeney, p. 11). Although mentioned once in 1963, the order of the title still retains *Paduka Seri* from 1965 onwards with the additional *baginda* for the Sultan and former Sultan. The order *Seri Paduka* meant only for the Wazir (a title below that of Sultan) e.g. Yang Teramat Mulia Seri Paduka Pengiran Pemancha.

⁹ This sentence seems to suggest that it is either Sultan Mohammad or Sultan Ahmad who took a Chinese wife from Chinabatangan. Traditions received that Sultan Mohammad took a Johore princess while Sultan Ahmad, the second Sultan, was a Chinese who came down from Chinabatangan.

¹⁰ This letter 2 (۲) is a form of breaking the sentence to indicate that the name has to be repeated in the next sentence.

— 34, 21]] dan Sultan (Hassan) itu beranak-kan Sultan Abdul Jalilul-Akbar yang di-namai Marhum Tuah¹¹ beranak-kan Seri Sultan Abdul Jalilul-Jabar 2 beranak-kan Pengiran Bendahara Untong 2 beranak-kan Pengiran Temanggong Mumin Amirul-Gaza [امير الغزا (Amirul-Rethar — 34, 29)]¹² dalam negeri Brunei juga kemudian saudara-nya Marhum Tuah di-naik-kan (di-nobatkan — 34, 32) kerajaan bernama Paduka Seri Sultan Mohammad Ali ia-itu ninik Paduka Seri Sultan Mohammad Aliuddin yang kerajaan sekarang ini di-negeri Brunei maka wafatlah baginda itu maka kemudian kerajaan pula anak saudara-nya bernama Paduka Seri Sultan Mohiddin¹³ kemudian kerajaan anak saudara-nya bernama Paduka Seri Sultan Nasaruddin kemudian kerajaan anak Sultan Mohammad Ali bernama Paduka Seri Sultan Kamaluddin ia-lah memberi kerajaan-nya kepada anak chuchu saudara-nya ia-lah kerajaan pada masa ini bernama Paduka Seri Sultan Mohammad Aliuddin kemudian di-rajakan pula anak-nya Paduka Seri Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin kemudian di-berikan pula kerajaan itu kepada anak-nya Paduka Seri Sultan Mohammad Tajuddin kemudian di-berikan-nya pula kerajaan-nya itu kepada anak-nya Paduka Seri Sultan Mohammad Jamalul Alam maka telah wafatlah baginda itu maka kembali pula kerajaan-nya itu kepada ayahanda baginda ia-itu Paduka Seri Sultan Mohammad Tajuddin wallahu-a'lam kemudian dari itu tidak-lah hamba mengetahui akan segala anak chuchu-nya yang akan jadira¹⁴ pada hijratun-nabi-sallallah-alaihi-wassalam seribu dua ratus dua puluh satu tahun pada tahun Dal pada dua hari bulan Zulhijjah pada hari Arba' Sunat 1221."

The fact that Low converted A.H. 1221 as A.D. 1804 is most probably by a mere guess (compare his preceding article¹⁵ mentioning, "2 Zulhijjah, A.H. 1221 = 14th. February, 1807"). By using Freeman-Grenville's computation,¹⁶ we find that 2nd Zulhijjah, A.H. 1221 falls on 10th February, 1807, *Saturday* compared to the tablet mentioning Wednesday, *Arba'*. The following method is adopted:

2nd Zulhijjah, A.H. 1221	
1221 A.H. began 21st March 1806 (Monday)	— 79 days
elapsed in the Christian year	
2nd Zulhijjah	— 327 days
elapsed in the Muslim year	
	406
Deduct the days in 1806 A.D. (common year)	365
	41 days
41 days after and including 1st January, 1807	= 31+10
	10th February, 1807, <i>Saturday</i>

¹¹ Sweeney put this as *Tuah*, an old form of *tuah* (ibid, p. 12) disputing Low's and Brunei Annual Report's version of *Tuah*. Local beliefs generally accepted this as *Tuah*.

¹² This may be taken from Arabic, which means, "War minister", and is appropriate to the position of Pengiran Temanggong, Lord of the Sea.

¹³ This tablet clearly omitted the reigning of Sultan Abdul Mubin (13th Sultan) who overthrew and ordered the execution of Sultan Mohammad Ali (12th Sultan), the father-in-law of Sultan Mohiddin.

¹⁴ Sweeney did not include this word *raja* (op. cit., p. 13).

¹⁵ Low, *Mahomedan Sovereigns of Brunei*, same volume, p. 30.

¹⁶ G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Muslim and Christian Calendars*, London-New York-Toronto, 1963

Sweeney also puts the same date¹⁷ ignoring the difference of 3 days. By taking into account the difference of days according to the Islamic and Christian calendars, Prof. Syed Naguib Al-Attas computed that 2nd Zulhijjah, A.H. 1221 is 8th February, 1807. We are inclined to accept this date following his explanation.¹⁸

The date of 2nd Zulhijjah, A.H. 1221 now comes into a more doubtful position. Low mentioned this as the date when Sultan Mohammad Tajuddin died.¹⁹ When we look closely at the tomb of Sultan Mohammad Tajuddin (Plate 4) it only indicates the year of A.H. 1221 = A.D. 1807. We are under the impression that at the time of Low's copying the tablet in 1873, he ought to have had some access to the Royal Family, who could have informed him that the tablet was made as one of Sultan Mohammad Tajuddin's last instructions. Quoting the verses, "maka Paduka Seri Sultan Mohammad Tajuddin menitahkan kepada Haji Khatib Abdul Latif menyuratkan salasilah ini", (lines 8 — 9, part I of the tablet) clearly indicate that Sultan Mohammad Tajuddin ordered Haji Khatib Abdul Latif to write this genealogy during the course of his reign. Whether the tablet was erected before or after his death is still uncertain. However we believe that Sultan Mohammad Tajuddin died in A.D. 1807 (A.H. 1221).

On the same high ground as the genealogical tablet lies the tomb of Sultan Mohammad Jamalul Alam (Plate 5). By using the same method as we have applied to the tablet we are able to read the stone. It reads thus:

"Al-wasik Malikul Alam Al-Sultan Mohammad Jamalul Alam ibnu Al-Sultan Mohammad Tajuddin hijratun-nabi Sallallah-alaihi-wassalam seribu dua ratus sepuluh sembilan tahun pada (?) enam haribulan Sha'ban pada hari Jumaat waktu Dzuha pada ketika itu-lah Sultan Mohammad Jamalul Alam kembali ka-rahmatullah daripada negeri yang fana' ka-negeri yang baka' dalam negeri Brunei Darul-Salam."

Though the word after *pada* (دا) is illegible, it bears no significance to the problem of date here. The spelling of nineteen as *sepuluh sembilan* (سفواه سمبيلن) — *sembilan belas*, is rather awkward and etymologically sounds very odd. But there is

¹⁷ Sweeney, op. cit., p. 13.

¹⁸ Through personal correspondence, Prof. Syed Mohd. Naguib Al-Attas explains, "we should know that days in Islamic calendar started from six in the evening until six in the evening the next day, while days in Christian calendar started from twelve midnight till twelve midnight. To justify, the total number of 41 days remaining should be calculated before and after 21st March, 1806. In February 1806, from 10th February there is a remainder of 18 days since February contains 28 days. Therefore if we add 18 more days for the month of February starting from 10th February and 21 more days in March we get a total of 39 days.

10th February, 1806	=	18 days
(in March, 1806)		21 days
		39 days, have
elapsd between 10th February, 1806 and 21st		
March, 1806.		

It is clear that if we check again, it was not 41 days but 39 days that have elapsed. Following Freeman-Grenville, 39 days that had elapsed fall on 8th February, 1807 and not on 10th February, 1807. 8th February is *Thursday* according to the computation of the Christian calendar but is *Wednesday*, according to the Islamic calendar.

¹⁹ Low, op. cit., p. 30.

no doubt of the spelling. Now let us consider other sources. Low stated that, "Sultan Mohammad Jamalul Alam died during the lifetime of his father on 9th Sha'ban, A.H. 1210 = 18th February, 1798, after a reign which is variously stated as having lasted from six to nine months."²⁰ Obviously Low missed the point by omitting the word *sembilan* (سبعمائة) on the tablet, which makes the difference. Therefore we cannot accept his version of 1210.

In the book "Perpuspaan — 1 Ogos, 1968"²¹ the date upon which Sultan Mohammad Jamalul Alam died was put as 1807, but later the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka through departmental correspondence claimed this as an error, and acknowledged the correct date of A.H. 1219 = A.D. 1804. It has been generally accepted that Sultan Mohammad Jamalul Alam reigned only a short period between six to nine months. According to a book kept by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Sultan Mohammad Jamalul Alam ascended the throne on 15th Muharram, 1219 = 27th April, 1804.²² So the date of his death on 6th Sha'ban, A.H. 1219 = 10th November, 1804 corresponds to the period of his reign which was said to be between six to nine months. Assuming that the year A.H. 1210 (A.D. 1796) as Low mentioned to be the year Sultan Mohammad Jamalul Alam died, it would mean that he ascended the throne either in May or August, 1795. His grandfather, Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin I²³ died on 10th July, 1795 (22nd Zulhijjah, A.H. 1209) and immediately his father, Sultan Mohammad Tajuddin succeeded. It is obvious that his father, after ascending the throne could not have abdicated immediately in such a short time, and he could not have reigned while his grandfather was still alive. Therefore there is no doubt that Sultan Mohammad Jamalul Alam died on 6th Sha'ban, A.H. 1219 = 10th November, 1804.

Another version put the same date but with a different day,²⁴ with Saturday instead of Friday. Looking at the tombstone (Plate 5A) the first word on the third line at a glance looks like *Sabtu* (سبتو) because of the presence of the letter *wau* (و) at the end. But clearly the letter *wau* is the prefix for the word *waktu* (وقت). So the word in question is more likely to be *Jumaat* (جمعة) because of the presence of the letter *mim* (م) in the middle and a dot to indicate the letter *jim* (ج). So clearly this is *Jumaat* (Friday). Further, Friday fits with the computation following Freeman-Grenville. The date of the Sultan's death is therefore 6th Sha'ban, A.H. 1219, *Jumaat* = 10th November, 1804, Friday.

²⁰ Low, *ibid*, (19).

²¹ Published by Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Brunei, 1968.

²² This book was formerly owned by Al-Marhum Pg. Di-Gadong Pg. Hj. Mohd. Salleh, Criswell, however, quoted Baring Gould as saying 1796 and Low as 1793 (see his article on BMJ, 1974).

²³ Another version edited by Low bypassed this name on the continuous line of descent. It puts Mohammad Aliuddin as the father instead of the grandfather of Sultan Mohammad Tajuddin, *Selesilah (Book of the Descent) of the Rajas of Brunei*, same volume p. 4.

²⁴ The same book as (22).

THE TRENGGANU INSCRIPTION IN MALAYAN LEGAL HISTORY

by

M.B. HOOKER

An outline of the Trengganu inscription was first published by Paterson and Blagden in 1924.¹ Subsequent discussion of the inscription has been entirely concerned with the evidence it provides for the date of the introduction of Islam into the Malay peninsula.² Surprisingly, there has been no comment on the relevance of the text for the legal history of the Malay-Indonesian world despite the fact that the inscription sets out a simple set of legal rules. The purpose of this note is to suggest its significance in the wider field of early South East Asian legal history.

Before looking at the Trengganu inscription it is worth noting that Javanese inscriptions containing legal material in the form of the Indian *Jayaputra*³ are known and date from the tenth century.⁴ Even earlier inscriptions of the eighth century show the use of Sanskrit models in Javanese legal transactions,⁵ although the Javanese practice diverged considerably from that of India.⁶ By the fourteenth century, the time of the Trengganu inscription,⁷ the recording of law had become quite sophisticated in Java. In the same period Islam is known to have reached the east coast of North Sumatra in the states of Peureulak⁸ and Samudra/Pasai, although a century or more had to elapse before the founding of Malacca.⁹ At the same time, the east Java empire of Majapahit was at its early flowering and in the great epic *Nagarakrtagāma*, territories claimed to be under the control of Majapahit¹⁰ included large areas of the Malay peninsula ("*Hujung Medini*").

The date of the Trengganu inscription, therefore, coincides with the presence of both the Islamic and the Indian-Javanese traditions in the Malay world of the fourteenth century. This co-existence is reflected in the inscription itself and makes it one of the most fascinating for the legal historian.

The inscription is written in Arabic characters in the Malay language. In addition, both Arabic and Sanskrit or Sanskrit-derived terms are used. The inscription

¹ Paterson & Blagden (1924)

² Fatimi 1963: 60-70, Slametmuljana 1976: 210-211, Naguib Al-Attas (1970).

³ "Note of victory" - a document issued to the successful claimant in a law suit. See Kane 1930-62: (iii) 380-381.

⁴ See Hoadley 1971: 100 and de Casparis (1956).

⁵ See de Casparis 1956: 335-337.

⁶ See van Naerssen 1933: 241-244.

⁷ The inscription is dated Friday in the month Rajab, 702 A.H. (February/March 1303). Some authorities put the date at the close of the fourteenth century. See Naguib Al-Attas (1970) for full discussion. For present purposes, a reference to the fourteenth century will be taken as sufficient.

⁸ Marco Polo's "Ferlec".

⁹ On the early Muslim states see Fatimi 1963: 60 ff. and the sources there cited.

¹⁰ xiii and xiv/2.

falls into two parts, (a) the preamble and (b) a set of rules. Neither the preamble nor the rules have survived in complete form. We have the following:¹¹

(a) The Preamble:

This is an outline of the functions of the inscription which are to enjoin obedience to God's teaching and to have a true regard for the laws. The preamble also defines the officers of state (*Raja Mandalika, Seri Paduka Tuan*). The most notable feature in the preamble is that the named officers are defined by their relationship to God. In line 4 they are described as "the expounders on earth of the doctrines of God's Apostle [Mohamed]". In line 6 "such exposition is incumbent upon all Muslim Raja Mandalikas" together with (line 8) "setting the country in order". In this way, the preamble suggests that legitimate rule is a function of religious adherence and the individual ruler derives his authority from such adherence.

(b) The Rules:

1. Missing
2. "
3. "
4. A fragment on creditor and debtor which does not allow the reconstruction of the law.
5. Same as (4) above.
6. This is the most complete law; it prescribes a variety of punishments for sexual misbehaviour. The punishments include stoning, flogging and fining. The penalties varied depending upon whether the party was married, a free person, or a member of the upper classes, e.g. "the unmarried child of a Mandalika".¹² Fines were paid to the Treasury ("*Masok bendara*"). There are two interesting features about this provision; first, the term for stoning is *hembalang*, which is Javanese. Second, the text clearly allows the commutation of the more severe punishment into a money payment. This is a general feature of Malay-Indonesian legal thought and is not found in the classical Islamic law.
7. A fragment dealing with what appears to be a special case of wantonness by women. The structure of the fragment makes it clear that a penalty of some sort was to be imposed.
8. A fragment which imposes a penalty for false evidence.
9. A fragment which seems to be a general provision for punishment in default of payment of a fine.
10. Assuming that the final fragment is numbered 10, we have a general provision enjoining obedience to the laws on all persons and on succeeding generations. The curse of "Dewata Mulia Raya", the Supreme God, is called down upon those who disobey the edict (*achara*).¹³

Both Paterson and Blagden assume these provisions to be Islamic law or principles derived from such, as do later commentators. But is this true? If we look a little

¹¹ Paterson & Blagden 1924: 256-257.

¹² "Regional Officer".

¹³ Sanskrit - "conduct", also "rule", "obedience".



The Trengganu Stone

Photo: Muzium Negara.

more closely at the inscription, incomplete though it is, we find a number of legal ideas or, more accurately, a number of legal worlds. We may summarize these as follows:

(a) The Indian legal world.

The evidence for an Indian or Indian derived element is found in the preamble itself where line 3 reads:

"dengan benar bichara *derma*....."

Later lines in the text of the laws again use the term *derma* derived from the Sanskrit *dharma*. Earlier commentators, such as Gonda, have also noted this and pointed out the extensive use of Sanskrit words in the titles of officials.¹⁴ There are altogether twenty-nine words of Sanskrit origin in the text.

In the English translation *derma* is rendered as law or laws but this reference somewhat obscures the way in which the word is used in the original. The text seems to imply two usages. First, in the preamble lines 2—3 read:

"...cause the servants [of God] to hold firmly the doctrines of Islam together, with true regard for the laws,..."

The inference is that "law" in this reference means law in general; in other words right conduct befitting the servants of God. The reference is to a concept of law in the general sense.

On the other hand, the extant laws of the inscription refer to rules having an application to specific circumstances. The reference is thus limited and particular.

That these two references appear together in the same text is typical of the use of Indian *dharma* in South East Asia. The specificity of the concept of is not given in its definition, but is determined by the context. The nearest parallel to the Trengganu usage is the Javanese *Agama* also known as the *Kutara-Manava-Sastra*,¹⁵ where a similar multiplicity of reference is also present.

The Indian element is thus clear in a Javanese type of derivation. This does not mean that the derivation is Javanese although this is the most probable explanation.¹⁶ On the other hand there is no evidence from the (admittedly fragmentary) inscription to show any close acquaintance with the fundamentals of Indian legal thought which appear in the Javanese and Balinese texts.

(b) The Islamic legal world.

The presence of Islamic elements is assumed to be self-evident by all commentators. The use of Islamic dates and the promulgation of Islam in the preamble as the basic purpose of the text, are taken to demonstrate this. But the discussion on these parts of the inscription is mainly concerned with the introduction of the *religion* of Islam into Malaya. There is rarely a mention of law as distinct from religion,¹⁷ nor is it ever clear as to what "Islam" refers to in the interpretation of the inscription. Further, the student of Islamic law in Malaya (and Indonesia) must always be on

¹⁴ Gonda 1952: 82.

¹⁵ See Jonker (1885).

¹⁶ See Slametmuljana 1976: 212.

¹⁷ Paterson does, however, cite one of the laws – incorrectly – as being "atrickly in accordance with Muhammadan law".

guard against assuming that because people are Muslim they are bound by Islamic law. Evidence to the contrary is overwhelming¹⁸ and there is no reason to suppose that in the fourteenth century the situation was any different.

The form of the inscription also has some significance; the preamble-rule structure is the standard form of Malay-Indonesian legal texts both inscribed and written and both Muslim and Indian derived. Indeed, line 9 of the preamble has the word *tamra*, an abbreviation of the Sanskrit *tamrasasana*, "edict inscribed on copper", which clearly relates the Trengganu inscription to the wider Indonesian legal complex.

(c) The South East Asian legal world.

In the preceding lines we saw the foreign elements in the inscription. Too often attention has been concentrated upon such¹⁹ to the detriment of indigeneous elements. These are two in number. First, the content of the rules, insofar as they are known, can be found paralleled in later Malay and Javanese law texts. This does not mean that the rules are "copies" except in the sense that all later texts report the most common and important provisions. The Trengganu inscription thus contains a set of indigeneous values.

Second, the preamble of the inscription, again a feature of all later Malay and Javanese law texts, introduces the two specifically foreign elements — Indian and Islamic legal thought. These are not necessarily introduced for either proselytizing or as copies of foreign rules. As can be seen, there is no copying and so far as the religion of Islam is concerned, it is used as a definition of sovereignty and for no other purpose. There are no rules of Islamic law in the inscription itself. What, therefore, is the purpose of the foreign elements? It is simply to give a colour of legitimacy to the provisions of the inscription. The foreign elements validate it by reference to (a) the common Indian-derived practice of inscribing law texts and using technical language (*derma*) (b) by locating the ultimate source of validation in an abstract and universal God or God Head (in this case called *Dewata Mulla Raya*).

The process of validation by these means is itself a typical Malay-Javanese response to the issue of validity of law. Law is valid because it possesses the features just described; that which does not possess such features was and is *adat* (i.e. custom as distinguished from written texts).

The Trengganu inscription is thus the first in the line of the Malay law texts: it does not differ, except in degree, from the later texts of Malacca, Pahang and so on, known to us from *mss.*, apart from one feature. This is the use of the term *derma* in the preamble. In later *mss.* one must infer Indian elements from such things as the *form* of preambles and a reliance upon status definitions in the ascription of obligation. In the Trengganu inscription the reference is explicit and the nearest parallel is the Javanese *Agama*. The probability of a Javanese source is further strengthened by the use of Javanese terms (e.g. *hembalang*) and such Indian-Javanese concepts as

¹⁸ See Hooker (1872) on Malaya and ter Haar (1948) on Indonesia.

¹⁹ For example, "Hindu influence" is commonly attributed to explain features of the Malay *mss* of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Very often such an ascription is based upon somewhat dubious grounds, not connected with textual or historical evidence, derived from nineteenth century comparative law. See Hooker 1973: 495-497.

achara. Thus, while the content is common to Malaya-Java the concepts used are probably Java-derived. To this extent the inscription provides some evidence for the claim in the *Nagarakṛtagāma* of Javanese territorial influence in the Malayan peninsula; it certainly provides evidence for a cultural influence in the definition of law. The notable lack of such influence in the later Malay *mss.* can be explained by the primacy of Islam on the west coast of Malaya which itself provided the necessary conceptual framework and legitimating mechanisms.²⁰

The inscription, on the other hand, while it does not show a link between Indian-Javanese legal thought and the later Malayan texts, at least indicates a continuity of thought on the definition of law. To a large extent the facts of life in Malaya, particularly in the agricultural sphere, determined the content of the law texts. This is the explanation for the similarity between the Trengganu laws and the later Malayan texts as well as the contemporary Majapahit laws. But, in addition, there has always been a consistent foreign overlay — either Islamic or Indian — in the Malay-Indonesian law texts. The latter, while decisive for structure and form, must not be taken as determining the substance of South East Asian legal history. The genius of Malayan law lies in its ability to synthesize foreign elements and yet remain true to itself. The Trengganu inscription is the earliest example of this characteristic in the Malayan peninsula. The greatest example of legal synthesis is the Malacca law,²¹ and this law and the much simpler Trengganu inscription belong to the same tradition.

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²⁰ See Hooker (1968).

²¹ See Liaw (1976).

Brief Biographical Notes about Contributors to the Centenary Volume.

Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles: Born July 1781 at Jamaica. Eldest son of Captain Benjamin Raffles. Entered East India Company, London, as a Clerk at the age of 14. Appointed Assistant Secretary of the Presidency Government of Penang, March 1803. Married Olivia a few days later. Arrived Penang, September 1803. Appointed Lieut-Governor of Java in 1811. Returned to England, 1816. Knighted, May 1817. Published "History of Java" in 1817. Arrived Bencoolen as Lieut-Governor, March 1818. Expedition to Singapore, December 1818. Second visit to and founding of Singapore, May-June 1819. Returned to Bencoolen, July 1819. Last visit to Singapore (where Capt. Farquhar was Resident), October 1822-June 1823. Last period in Bencoolen, 1823-1824. Resigned on account of ill health. Arrived in England, August 1824. Appointed First President of the Zoological Society of London, April 1826. Died suddenly from the effect of an abscess on the brain, July 1826, aged 45.

Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.M.G., G.B.E., M.C.S.: Born in 1866. Eldest son of Major-General Sir Henry Clifford V.C., who was a cousin of Sir Frederick Weld, the Governor of the Straits Settlements in 1883. Appointed a Cadet in the Protected Malay States, 1883. British Agent Pahang, 1887. Superintendent, Ulu Pahang, 1890. Led an expedition to Trengganu and Kelantan, 1895. British Resident, Pahang, 1896-1899. Married 1896. First book of short stories about the Malay States published in Singapore, 1896. On leave 1899. Appointed Governor, British North Borneo, but resigned after disagreement with Board of Governors of Chartered Company. Returned to Pahang but ill health forced him to take leave and to remain in England for two years. Appointed Colonial Secretary, Trinidad, 1902. Colonial Secretary, Ceylon, 1907. Governor of Nigeria, 1919-1925. Governor of Ceylon, 1925-1927. Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner for the Malay States, 1927-October 1929. Died 1942. Wrote more than 100 short stories and several novels about the Malay States.

Sir Frank A. Swettenham, G.C.M.G.: Born in 1850. Far Eastern Cadet, 1871. Assistant Resident, Selangor, 1874. British Resident, Selangor, 1882-1884, and 1886-1889. Acting British Resident, Perak, 1884-1886. British Resident, Perak, 1889-1895. Resident-General, Federated Malay States, 1895-1900. Governor and High Commissioner, 1901-1904. Died 1946.

H.A. O'Brien: Assistant Secretary, Lieut-Governor's Office, Penang, 1880. Acting Magistrate, Treasurer and Postmaster, Malacca, 1881. Second Magistrate, Penang, 1882.

Sir William E. Maxwell: Police Magistrate, Penang, 1855. Assistant Resident, Perak, 1877. Commissioner of Land Titles, Straits Settlements, 1881. British Resident, Selangor, 1889-1892. Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements, 1892-1894. Governor, Gold Coast, 1895. Hon. Secretary, JMBRAS, 1883-1887.

Charles Otto Blagden: Appointed to Straits Settlements Civil Service, 1888, as Cadet and served in Malacca and Singapore. Retired, 1903. His chosen language was Malay and on leaving the SSSC he became the first Reader in Malay at the School of Oriental Studies, University of London, in 1917 and was also Dean of the School from 1922 to 1935.

W.G. Shellabear: Came to Singapore as an Officer in the Royal Engineers about 1880. Resigned his commission and joined the Methodist Episcopal Church in Singapore, 1884. Went back to England to study printing methods and returned in 1890 to open the Methodist Press. This press published vocabularies, dictionaries, school text books and translations, including a translation of the "Malay Annals" made by Shellabear in about 1913. Contributed to the Journal between 1898 and 1917. Was a member of the Council of the Straits Branch from 1896 to 1901.

Sir Richard Winstedt, D.Litt. (Oxon): Born in 1878. Cadet, 1902. District Officer, Kuala Pilah, 1912. Assistant Director of Education, S.S. and F.M.S., 1916. Acting Director of Education, 1920. Principal/President of Raffles College, 1921-1930. General Adviser, Johore, 1931-1936. Vice-President, MBRAS, 1923-1928. President, MBRAS, 1929-1935. Contributed 144 articles to the Journals of the Straits Branch and Malayan Branches. Reader in Malay at the School of Oriental Studies, University of London, for 14 years after retiring from the Malayan Civil Service. Died in 1966.

R.J. Wilkinson: Born in 1867. B.A., (Contab): Cadet, Straits Settlements, 1889. Inspector of Schools, F.M.S., 1903. Acting Resident, Negeri Sembilan, 1910. Colonial Secretary, 1911. Officer Administering the Government, 1914. Governor, Sierra Leone, 1916. Author of "A Dictionary of the Malay Language". Contributed 27 articles to the Journals of the Straits Branch and Malayan Branches. Hon. Secretary, Straits Branch, 1894-1895.

S.M. Middlebrook: Born in 1898. B.A., (Contab): Cadet; M.C.S., 1921. Chinese Protectorate. Held a number of posts on the Chinese side of the Malayan Civil Service until February, 1942. Died during internment in Singapore, from injuries received during interrogation by the Kempeitai in 1943. Prepared the material for the life of Yap Ah Loy. Part of this work was carried out during internment in Changi Prison before his arrest by the Kempeitai. The work was published in JMBRAS Vol. 24, Part 2, in 1951.

Dato Muhammad Ghazali, D.P.M.K.: Dato Bentara Luar Kelantan, 1932.

J. V. G. Mills: Born in 1887. D. Litt. (Oxon): Barrister, Middle Temple, 1919. Cadet F.M.S., 1911. District Officer, Christmas Island, 1917. Legal Adviser, Johore, 1927. Solicitor-General S.S., 1928-1932. Judge, Johore, 1936-1939. President, MBRAS, 1937. Councillor, 1938-1939.

Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad (ZA'BA): Born in 1895 in Negeri Sembilan. Hon. D. Litt. National University of Malaysia. Teacher, English College, Johore Bahru, 1916. Employed in office of Assistant Director of Education, (R. O. Winstedt), 1923. Transferred to Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, 1924. In charge of Malay Translation Bureau, under O. T. Dussek, 1925. Education Department, Kuala Lumpur, 1946. Lecturer, School of Oriental Studies, University of London, 1947. Returned to Malaya, 1950. Lecturer, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya, Singapore, 1953-1965. Head, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1973. Vice-President, MBRAS, 1951-1959. Contributed 15 articles to JMBRAS. Died in 1973.

V.W.W.S. Purcell: Born in 1896. Ph. D., (Cantab): Cadet, M.C.S., 1921. Chinese Protectorate. Carnegie Grant for study in China, 1937. Protector of Chinese, Penang, 1938. President, MBRAS, 1946.

Dato Sir Roland St. John Braddell: Born in Singapore 1880. Ll.B. (Oxon): Eldest son of Sir Thomas de Moulton Lee Braddell. Called to the Bar, Middle Temple, 1905. Practiced in Singapore from 1905 in the family firm of Braddell Bros. which was founded in 1862. Contributed 22 articles to the Journal, 1921-1959. Vice-President, MBRAS, 1940 and 1947. President, MBRAS, 1949 to 1951. Died in 1966.

Datuk Tom Harrisson: Born in 1911. Ecologist-Zoologist on four major scientific University expeditions (including Borneo), 1930-1937. Served with British and Australian parachute force in Borneo, 1943-1946. Awarded D.S.O. Government Ethnologist and Curator, Sarawak Museum, 1947-1967. Awarded Queen's Gold Exploration and Prince Philip Royal Society Medal for Niah Cave archaeology. O.B.E., 1967. Visiting Professor, Cornell University, New York and Sussex University, United Kingdom, 1967. Adviser Brunei Museum. Datuk Seri Laila Jasa Brunei, 1973. Frequent contributor to JMBRAS, Councillor MBRAS, 1961. Vice-President, MBRAS, 1962-1967. Died in Thailand in January 1976.

Anthony H. Hill: Born in 1911. MA. D. Phil. (Oxon): Joined Malayan Education service, 1937. European Master, Anderson School, Ipoh, 1940. Superintendent of Education, Trengganu, 1947-1949. Between 1949 and 1960 he contributed nine papers to the Journal, mainly on Kelantan and Trengganu subjects. Died in Indonesia 1963.

W. Linehan: Born in 1892. D.Litt., B.A. University College, Cork, Ireland. Cadet M.C.S., 1916. District Officer, Pekan, 1923. District Officer, Kuala Lipis. 1928. Secretary to Resident, Perak, 1932. Director of Education S.S., 1938-1942. Interned in Singapore, 1942-1945. Vice-President, MBRAS, 1934, 1935, 1938, 1939. Councillor, 1941. President, MBRAS, 1947.

K. G. Tregonning: Born in 1926. B.A., D. Litt, Ph.D. Raffles Professor of History in the University of Singapore, 1959-1967. Founded Journal of South-East Asian History, 1960. Now Headmaster, Hale School, Western Australia. Member of Council, MBRAS, 1956-1964.

C. A. Gibson Hill: Born in 1911. (Contab): M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. Medical Officer, Christmas Island, 1938. Medical Officer, Cocos Keeling Island, 1940. Interned in Singapore, 1942-1945. Assistant Curator, Raffles Museum, 1947. Director, Raffles Museum, 1956-1963. Hon. Editor, JMBRAS, 1948-1961. President, 1956-1961. Hon. Member, 1963. Died in 1963 in Singapore.

Maurice Freedman: Born in 1920 B.A., University of London, 1942. M.A. and Ph.D. (Social Anthropology) from London School of Economics in 1948 and 1956 respectively. From 1957 until early 1970s, Reader-Professor, Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics. In 1962, Visiting Reader in the University of Malaya. 1965, accepted Chair of Social Anthropology in Oxford University. Died, early 1970s.

John Bastin: M.A. (Melbourne), D.Litt. (Leyden), D.Phil. (Oxford). First Professor of History, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1959-1962. Councillor, MBRAS, 1960. Vice-President, 1961-1962. From 1962 has been Reader in the Modern History of South-East Asia, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

J. M. Gullick: Born in 1916. M.A. (Cantab), Classics and Diploma in Social Anthropology (London). Malayan Civil Service, 1945-1957. Thereafter, solicitor in England and in business. Now teaches law. Author of nine articles in JMBRAS. Councillor, MBRAS, 1951-1953. Vice-President, MBRAS, 1954-1956.

Tan Sri Datuk Mubin Sheppard: Born in 1905. M.A. (Cantab), Cadet M.C.S., 1928. Assistant Adviser, Kemaman, Trengganu, 1932. Director of Public Relations, 1946. District Officer, Klang, 1947. British Adviser, Negeri Sembilan, 1951-1956. Keeper of Public Records, 1958. Director of Museums, 1959-1963. Vice-President, MBRAS, 1937. Vice-President, 1948-1977. Hon. Editor of the Journal, 1971-1977.

Pengiran M. Shariffuddin: Director, Brunei Museum.

M. B. Hooker: Born in New Zealand in 1939. LL.M., University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1965. Presently Senior Lecturer in South-East Asian Studies and Law, University of Kent, Canterbury, England.