

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF MALAY LIFE

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LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

PART II.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF MALAY LIFE.

THE KAMPONG. THE HOUSE. FURNITURE.
DRESS. FOOD.

BY

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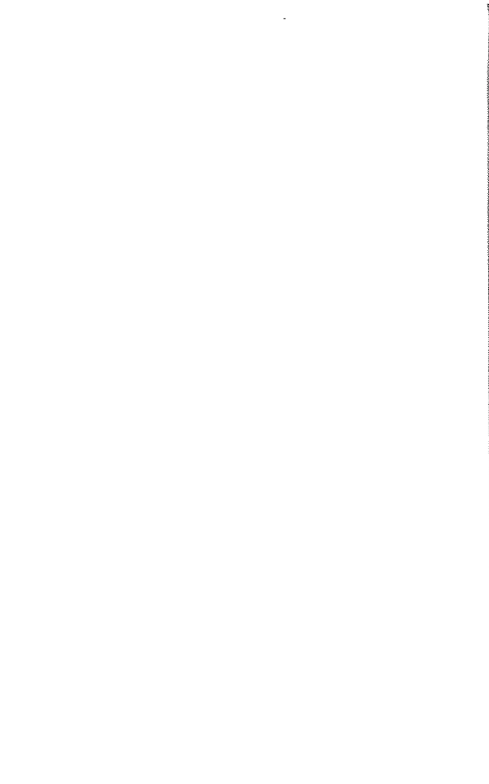
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PREFACE.

IN preparing this pamphlet I have to thank Messrs. Hale and H. C. Robinson and Raja Said Tauphy for reading several chapters and pointing out omissions; Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, for many invaluable suggestions and for allowing me to use in appendix an account of the Perak regalia kindly communicated to him by H.H. the Sultan; Mr. A. J. Sturrock, for a long account of Pahang costume and court ceremony. By the kindness of the General Editor I have also been privileged to read an account of Patani wedding ceremony and dress taken down by Mr. Berkeley, which would apparently show that there is little, though essential, difference between the dress and jewellery there adopted and the dress and jewellery of the States that have inherited Malacca tradition; but only inspection of the articles worn in Patani could enable one to speak with authority on the matter. I have to thank Abdulhamid, a Malay Writer in the Perak Secretariat, for much patient assistance; and, above all, Raja Haji Yahya, Penghulu now of Kota Setia, without whose profound repertory of lore and unflagging industry in writing it down this pamphlet would probably have been hardly more than a compilation from previous accounts, and whose information, however carefully tested by comparative investigation, I have never in one single instance found inaccurate or at fault. The harvest is plentiful but the labourers are few, and it will be something if these pages shall merely evoke articles on the wedding costume of Sri Menanti and Ahur Star, the carving of Patani and Sungai Ujong. More might have been written on house-building, silver work and so on, but they are topics which I am handling at length in a pamphlet on Arts and Crafts.

R. O. WINSTEDT.



LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

THE KAMPONG.

THE word *kampung* has come to bear two meanings: it is used of a collection of houses, in which sense it has given its name to villages throughout the Peninsula, or of a single house and enclosure. Marsden speaks of Sumatran villages with "rows of houses forming a quadrangle, . . . in the middle of the square a town-hall";¹ Crawford mentions "assemblages of dwellings constantly surrounded by quickset hedges"; Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, writing of the Achinese *kampung*, describes "villages surrounded by a fence of their own and connected by a gate with the main road," and surmises that "in former times each *kampung* comprised a tribe or family, or sub-division of one, which added to its numbers only by marriages within its own enclosure or at most with the women of neighbouring fellow-tribesmen." Probably a trace of these enclosed villages survives in the Peninsula in the wide enclosures of rajas, containing not only the palace but the houses and huts of retainers and in the centre a hall of general audience; and it is noteworthy that the fence which encircles such yards in native States is generally built of wattled bamboo, such as we find in one of the most primitive types of Malay house. But even this trace is vanishing.

Apart from that possible survival of a fenced territorial unit, the *kampung* of the Peninsula is unconfined and straggling, and it is hardly exaggeration to

¹ Mr. Beslen Kloss tells me "Trengganu town is built with streets running at right-angles; the squares thus left, each a separate *kampung*, being enclosed with high woven bamboo fences."

say that the Malay village grows—an organism like the jungle at its doors. “A path not six feet wide, here a bridge of logs there a slough, dirty, obstructed by thickets and trees; twisting and winding like a snake that is beaten. Compounds and houses without order or arrangement, just as their owners liked to build them, some unfenced, some with fences zigzag; about and underneath the houses rubbish and damp filth and stores of coconut husk for smoking the mosquitoes. None of the houses facing the same way; some fronting the path, others running parallel to it, others with their backs to it.” Thus of the East Coast in 1835 Munshi Abdullah, supercilious, from Singapore, a steadfast sitter at the feet of utilitarian Europeans. But, despite high-roads, his description is a faithful picture of most villages in the Peninsula to-day; and broad native theories, as that Perak houses always face the river and Kedah houses are built according to the points of the compass, mean little more than that if there is a river the chances are the peasant will prefer his house to face it, and if there is not he will avoid constructing a house on which the sun shall fall directly. The only recorded instance of an attempt at order under Malay rule was in Malacca, a cosmopolitan town, and in the foreign quarter. “It was the custom of all the young gentlemen of the household,” we read in the “Malay Annals,” “when they wanted money, to go and represent to the Bendahara that the market-place in their quarter of the town was not placed even, and had a great many shops irregularly projecting, and that it would be proper to adjust it; for would not His Highness be in a great passion if he should pass by and see? ‘Well then,’ said Tun Hassan, ‘go all of you with

a surveyor and make it even by the chain.' The young gentlemen would go, and where they saw the houses of the richest merchants, there would they extend the chain and order the houses to be pulled down. Then the merchants who were the proprietors of the ground would offer them money, some a hundred, some fifty and some ten dollars. Such was the practice of the young gentlemen, who would divide the money with the surveyor and adjust the chain correctly and order the houses out of line to be destroyed!"

Most often there is no fence about the compound, or the boundary is marked by a row of pineapple plants or betel palms. Sometimes the prickly *džadap* is planted or, rarely, the fine bamboo. Whether there is a fence or not will depend on the rank of the owner, on his industry, on the nature of his cultivation and the proximity of pig, deer, goats and buffaloes. In the north a rough fence is sometimes constructed by piling up brushwood between a couple of crossed sticks or poles. Of artificial fences the most usual are the rail fence of round bamboo or timber, or a stout wattled fence¹ of bamboos, as Marsden has accurately described them "opened and rendered flat by notching or splitting the circular joints on the outside, clipping away the corresponding divisions within and laying them to dry in the sun pressed down with weights."² "At times," writes Major McNair in "Sarong and Kris," speaking particularly of the home³ of the Mantri of Larut at Bukit Gantang in Perak, "at times these fences are so strong that they will throw off a musket ball; and those not acquainted with the country have taken them for the stockades used by Malays in time of war. Sometimes they are merely

¹ *Pagar sasak.*² *Pelupoh.*³ Built by a Patani man.

placed round the base of a house itself, thus enclosing the open part between the posts through which an enemy could otherwise make his way." Such fences, however, would be found mainly about the houses of chiefs, according to that root principle of Malay politics to which Munshi Abdullah so often adverts. "Under Malay rule men were afraid to build stone houses, or gilded boats, or to wear fine clothes and shoes and umbrellas, or to keep fine furniture, because all these were the peculiar perquisites of the raja class." Even under the democratic Menangkabau constitution it was apparently not permitted; and we find the Yam-Tuan of Negri Sembilan, not two decades ago, by published order forbidding the peasant to arrange his house similarly to the royal hall at Pagar Ruyong, which, according to the ancient custom of Menangkabau, had "arched-roof lych-gates; with the exception of persons who are permitted by the raja or *pěnghulu*." It is not unusual to find an insignificant raja or *soiyid* with a tiny palm-roof lych-gate at the entrance to a very poor demesne, a harmless make-believe of importance in these days when every leech can play the serpent. To most fences there will be no gate at all, or just a gate of bamboo, by an ingenious trap-like arrangement of rattans made to swing back and close automatically. In times of infectious sickness a rattan,¹ like that used by Hindus, hung with twisted palm-leaf streamers, will be stretched across the entrance to warn passers not to visit. And in front of the neighbouring compounds may be seen a bamboo stick with cotton streamer (such as Malays and Chinese place before sacred trees and stones), a humble hint to the malignant spirit of disease to be kind and pass on his way.

¹ *Gawai-gawai*.

In the older settlements, compounds will be planted with a fine variety of fruit-trees—mangosteen, rambutan, chiku and so on. Hamilton, writing of Malacca at the end of the seventeenth century, notes "several excellent fruits and roots for the use of the inhabitants and strangers who call there for refreshment. The Malacca pineapple is accounted the best in the world, for in other parts, if they are eaten to a small excess they are apt to give surfeits, but those of Malacca never offend the stomach. The *nutagostane* is a delicious fruit, almost in the shape of an apple; the skin is thick and red, being dried it is a good astringent; the kernels (if I may so call them) are like cloves of garlick, of a very agreeable taste but very cold. The *rambostan* is a fruit about the bigness of a walnut, with a tough skin, beset with capillaments; within the skin is a very savoury pulp. The *durcan* is another very excellent fruit, offensive to some people's noses, but when once tasted the smell vanishes; the skin is thick and yellow, and within is a pulp like thick cream in colour and consistence but more delicious in taste. They have coconuts in plenty and some grow in marishes that are overflown with the sea in spring tides. They have also plenty of lemons, oranges, limes, sugar-canes and mangoes. They have a species of mango called by the Dutch a *stinker*, which is very offensive both to the smell and taste, and consequently of little use." This were a good picture of the better *kampung* to-day, but though in alienating native holdings land officers now stipulate for so many fruit trees of economic value to the acre, still in remote up-land places they have often nothing more permanent than maize, bananas, sugar-cane, pumpkins, yams.

Immediately in front of a house is a small open space skirted perhaps with minor vegetation, with chillies, herbs and sometimes a few straggling flowers or an hibiscus tree or variegated medicinal shrubs. There may be a well, or perhaps two—one for drinking, one for washing—fenced or not with palm-thatching or wicker-work, a *sarong* slung over it as a sign of occupation, a bucket folded of palm-spathe at hand. But river, if river be near, will serve for washing and drinking. There will be a floating bathing-house and latrine combined, covered or roofless. Water will be carried home in hollow bamboos² or perhaps conveyed by a neat contrivance of hollow bamboo pipes³ and rattan lines. Bamboo is indispensable to the peasant's hand: sometimes a large bamboo laid lengthwise across forked props and bored with holes will provide a shower-bath; handy against a tree will be the tall bamboo with which fruit is cut or jerked off the trees; and there are nearly always to be found one or more bamboo shelves on stilts, where fruit and drinks are set for sale and clothes hung to dry.

Unless they find accommodation under the house, thatched sheds will cover, according to locality, the beam mortar⁴ wherewith the rice is husked, a wooden coffee-crusher, a sugar furnace; and another larger shed,⁵ raised like the dwelling-house on posts, will contain the huge round bark rice-tun.⁶ If the owner be a neat-herd and the district infested with tigers, a hut, raised some dozen feet or more off the ground and approached by a ladder consisting of one *nibong* palm trunk, will afford lofty security to his goats. Perhaps he is religious and lives up-country where mosques are far; he will build a small

¹ *Halaman.*² *Tubang ayer.*
³ *Kapok, bérémbong.*⁴ *Panchur.*
⁵ *Kémbong.*⁶ *Lésong.*

private chapel,¹ thatched and barn-like, in his garden. Perhaps his daughter is about to be married or has just been wedded; there may be, separate from the house, a temporary hall for the reception of guests. Or the place may be ancestral property with long mounds under the trees, the graves of its dead owners, and with the shell of an older house standing dilapidated, unoccupied, at best a store for nets and nooses. "Whenever a Malay has occasion to build a new house," writes Newbold, "he leaves the old one standing; to pull it down is considered unlucky, as also to repair any house that has been seriously damaged." The superstition is moribund or even dead, but the indolent practice has survived.

The compound of a chief may be graced with a summer-house; and that of a ruling raja with a bandstand² fenced, in Perak, at time of occupation, with a magic string of fowl's feathers, which not even members of the royal house may pass without payment of a fine of twenty-five dollars to the musicians.

Goats, dogs, fowl, geese, ducks, cats, the amusing wa-wa, the useful *bérok* trained to climb and pluck coconuts, pet-birds of many kinds, from the gray dismal heron of the coast to the plaintive ground dove or the fierce parroquet, are all to be found; poultry seldom in excess of the household needs. When the prince of romance enters the palace yard, always—

"Decoy cock crows and strains his tether,
Crows the fighting cock in chorus,
The ring-dove coos three notes of welcome."

The pet bird will be caged and hung by the roofed house-ladder, or in the verandah, or on the top of a post;

¹ *Sarou.*

² *Balai angkut-angkat.*

pigeons and doves will flutter in the court-yard or their cotes. Buffaloes and cows have their separate stalls. But many kinds of buffaloes¹ even were "korban" to rajadom of yore.

As for the space under the house,² it is generally devoted to an olla-podrida of filthiness. Sometimes a cow or a pony are tied to the house-post. We read in the "Sejarah Melayu" how Raja Zainal, the brother of Sultan Mahmud Shah, "had a horse named, 'the Skiddler,' of which he was extremely fond, and which he stabled hard by his sleeping apartment and emptied a lower room for that purpose, and twice or thrice in a night he would go and see him!" All the small live stock inhabit the shady recesses: the poultry confined at night on an enclosed shelf under ereels. To add variety to the nastiness, kitchen refuse is thrown from above, and there is a hole cut in the floor of the back verandah to serve as a latrine for children and sick elders! For the rest Dr. Snouck Hurgronje has well summarised its contents: "The see-saw rice-pounder for husking rice, the *kěpok* a space between four or six posts separated off by a partition of plaited coconut leaves or similar material thrown round the posts, in which the newly harvested rice is kept till threshed and threshing itself takes place, the great tun-shaped barrels made of the bark of trees or plaited bamboo or rattan wherein is kept the unhusked rice after threshing, the press for extracting the oil from decayed coconuts, and a bamboo or wooden rack on which lies the firewood cleft by the women, these are the principal inanimate objects to be met with." In addition, fishing traps, snares, agricultural tools, stacks of *ataps* all find room. And in the day-

¹ See Appendix I.

² *Bersek rumah: Kelang.*

time women will squat there at household duties, shaded from the sun, perhaps a cradle within reach swinging from the joists of the floor.

THE HOUSE.

The Malay house bears many marks of complex origin. Merely to guess at the earliest influences that went to shape it would require wide comparative study not only of philology but of material and design. As well attempt to trace to their origin the primitive animistic ceremonies performed by builders to propitiate the spirits of the soil; the customs common throughout the Archipelago (as in Burma) of covering the top of the centre pillars with pieces of white and red cloth to ward off evil spirits; the superstitions collected by Sir William Maxwell. "It is unlucky to place ladder or steps which form the approach to a Malay house in such a position that one of the main rafters of the roof is exactly over the centre of them: quarrels or fighting in the house will certainly be the result. . . . It is unlucky to stand with arms resting on the steps of a ladder going up to the house for the purpose of talking to one of the inmates, because if a corpse is carried out of the house there must be a man below in that position to receive it: to assume this attitude unnecessarily therefore is to wish for a death in the family. In selecting timber for the uprights of a Malay house, care must be taken to reject any log which is indented by the pressure of parasitic creeper that may have wound round it when it was a living tree: a log so marked, if used in building a house, will exercise unfavourable influence in child-birth, protracting delivery."

To what prehistoric civilisations are due the grilled floor, the walls of palm, of bark, of flattened bamboo? Probably the earliest historical description of the Malay house is in the graphic Chinese account of Malacca in the fifteenth century; and the Chinese chronicler seems to have been struck most by the same feature that has attracted the notice of modern travellers, "the perilous elastic gridiron" for a floor. "The manners and customs of the people are pure and simple," he observes, "their houses are built rather high and have no flooring of board, but at the height of about four feet they make a floor of split coconut trees which are fastened with rattan, just as if it were a pig-sty; on this floor they spread their beds and mats, on which they sit cross-legged whilst they also eat sleep and cook here." The high floor raised on piles is a feature that deserves attention in view of a possible Indo-Chinese influence on the Malay race. Colonel Yule long ago pointed out that "the custom of erecting the village dwellings on bamboo posts at various heights above the ground is very general from the frontiers of Tibet to the islands of the Southern Sea. Crawford, after mentioning that the Malays and most of the people of Sumatra, Borneo and Celebes build on piles, while the Javanese, Balinese and some others build on the level of the ground, proceeds to say: 'The distinction has its origin in the different circumstances under which the two classes exist, and their different state of society. The maritime tribes inhabit the marshy banks of rivers and the sea-coast and for the purposes of health their habitations must be raised from the ground: the superior salubrity natural to the well-cultivated countries of the agricultural tribes renders the precaution of building on posts unnecessary.' But

some curious facts seem to show that however the difference of practice may have originated, it has now got as it were into the blood and may almost be regarded as a test of race, having often no traceable relation to local circumstances. The Bengali inhabits a marshy country; his villages are for several months of the year almost lacustrine; but I think I am right in saying that he never builds on piles. On the other hand the Indo-Chinese tribes on his eastern border, as far as I have seen them, all build on piles, though many of them inhabit mountains in place of marshes The Burmese and Karens always raise their houses from the earth, whether dwelling in high ground or low. Even in Java, whilst the true Javanese builds on the ground, the people of Sunda mountain districts, a different race, raise their dwellings on posts."

Again, Raffles describes the Javanese house as having "the sides of walls formed of bamboo flattened and plaited together." Marsden writing of Sumatra alludes only to walls of bark and of flattened bamboo. Neither of these accurate observers mention two other less primitive types which occur in the Peninsula: the wall of plank and the wall of cane wicker-work.¹ One of them, the wall of carved plank, rough-hewn not sawn, Marsden would certainly have described had he penetrated up-country in Sumatra. Wallace relates how, when he went inland from Palembang, he found "houses built entirely of plank, always more or less ornamented with carving and having high-pitched roofs and overhanging eaves, the gable ends and all the chief posts and beams covered sometimes with exceedingly tasteful carved work, which is still more the case in the district

¹ *Epas betuang*.

of Menangkabau, further west." The carved plank house—the roof concave, "like the swooping flight of a hawk," with ridge-pole also concave and high at ends, and gables not flush and parallel with the wall but projecting far out and sloping back like the wings of a bird¹ as they descend—this type occurs in the Negri Sembilan and was introduced directly from Menangkabau. The only other part of the Peninsula where Malay wood-carving is found is in Patani, and there we get carved wooden gateways and the "kingfisher" *kécis*-handle, both decorated with apparently kindred foliated design. Whence did Menangkabau acquire the art of carving? Malays look to Java:

"'Bove the royal portal carving,
 Work of craftsmen come from Java,
 Flowers knit and interwoven,
 Like grains of salt the beaded pattern,
 Very like to life the carving,
 Worms had ate the pictured blossoms."²

But Java, apparently, has nothing quite of the same nature to show, and why should Javanese influence have made itself felt in isolated up-country Menangkabau and not rather in Palembang and its colonies like Malacca? The concave roof, modelled it is supposed on the slopes of the tent,

"Ridge-pole curved like a writhing snake,
 Painted red its carved top-angles,"

are certainly Indo-Chinese. Did carving come from the same source? And have we in the Patani work confirmation of the philological surmise that Indo-Chinese influence was once great in the north of the Peninsula

¹ *Bérsogop layang-layang.*

² *Hikayat Aceh Sulung Merah Muda.*

and that the Malays swept down into the Archipelago from the same region?

Another feature which Malay buildings have in common with those of Indo-China is the tiered roof. It is hardly a prominent feature in the Peninsula but possibly the form of the village mosque may be a survival, and, according to the traditional etiquette of Perak,¹ the palaces of the Sultan, the Raja Muda and the Bendahara alone may have roofs of two tiers, the houses of lesser rajas and chiefs concave, and those of lesser folk straight roof-slopes. "We find," said Colonel Yule, "in the public and religious architecture of the more civilised nations of Indo-China and of the Archipelago a propensity to indicate importance and dignity in timber palaces and places of worship by a multiplication of pitched roofs rising one over the other. In Java this ensign of dignity has passed from heathen times to Islam and marks the mosque in the principal villages. There also, as applied to private or palatial residences, the number of these roofs appropriate to each class is regulated by inexorable custom, and precisely the same is the case in Burma and Siam. No trace of such a system remains, so far as I know, in India proper. Yet, judging from the similar forms in Tibet and the Himalayas, from the evident imitation of them in the stone temples of Kashmir and from the sculptured cities in the bas-reliefs of Sanchi, I should guess that the custom was of Indian origin."

Certain carved wooden quail-traps and designs in paper at the back of the marriage dais exactly exhibit the tiered roof with up-curving crockets found in Buddhist *wats*, but Buddhism has left no mark on the buildings

¹ Cf. Law 96 in "The Ninety-nine Laws of Perak" (Law Part II in this series).

of the Peninsula, probably because Kedah the northern State in which traces of an old Buddhist kingdom should be sought, has no more permanent architecture to display than that of the fine cane wicker already alluded to. This, to be sure, shows simple workmanship of considerable merit; the gable ends of its houses elaborated into patterns which are dubbed "the sun's rays," "the star-fenced moon"; the lower walls also having a variety of patterns, "the bat's elbow," "the pumpkin," "the folded blossom," or merely cross or zig-zag lattice: all picked out and painted white and red, yellow and black. As we have seen, the style would appear to have no parallel in the Archipelago and the finest specimens are to be found in the north of the Peninsula. There, too, in Patani, we find another distinctive feature in a broad gridiron platform at the head of the front house-ladder, and a cluster of houses united thereby to the original home.

The elementary ground-plan of a house is extremely simple. It must contain a place for the reception of visitors, a sleeping place and a place for cooking. In houses of the poorest type these may be all under one roof; the sleeping apartment curtained off perhaps merely by a mosquito-curtain, the cooking place at the back of the one room (as in Banjarese huts) or under an extension of the eaves—that is, in the back verandah. Out of this plan, apparently, the more elaborate types have been evolved. The place for the reception of visitors becomes a long closed front verandah,¹ a short board balcony closed² or open³ projecting at right angles to the centre building on the same or a lower level, or in the house of prince and chief becomes the

¹ *Sĕrambi*.² *Anjong*.³ *Bĕranda*.

audience hall. The main building constitutes the sleeping apartments and may or may not be cut up into rooms. A closed back verandah may be added and becomes the women's gallery. The kitchen is separated, behind the house, or if close to the river, and by association of ideas if away from it even, on the down-stream side from simple sanitary logic; a raised outside platform tacked directly on the house at a slightly lower level, open ¹ or covered under a sloping pent-roof, when it is known as *pisang sa-sikat* or *sěngkuap*; or built at right-angles with a double-roof, when it is called "the suckling elephant"; or, ² yet again, in palace and larger houses a separate hut ³ joined by a covered or uncovered way. ⁴ If extra sleeping room is required, the unmarried girls occupy an attic ⁵ reached by a ladder, situate between ceiling and roof, lighted by a window in the gable end. Yet again, if a daughter marries and more commodious accommodation be required, the *anjoung* may become an annex of the house, built on to it generally from the kitchen passage and forming another building of equal size. ⁶ The house is lighted in front (and behind if at all) by a horizontal aperture running sometimes the whole length of the verandah, and level with the head of a squatter on the floor; and there will be the same aperture or taller barred windows at the sides of the house. ⁷

It is noteworthy that the Malay raja's audience hall, like the cottage, has three divisions: the little hall reserved for members of the family; the large for ceremony—a throne with a Sanskrit name in place of the huge decorated bedstead that often adorns the

¹ *Prlantoran*. ² *Gajah sañyusa*. ³ *Pěnanngah*. ⁴ *Sělasar*; *Sělang*.
⁵ *Para, paju* (Mal.) *ṛśvan*. ⁶ *Rumah sa-bandong*. ⁷ *Tingkap ibu rumah*.

central part of a chief's house; the front hall for the common fry. Students of origins may wonder if there are not here and in the marriage *balai* of common folk survivals of a guest-house common in many primitive communities and discernible in Acheen in the uses to which is put the *mennasah*. Traces of Indian influence are to be met everywhere in the raja's hall: in the Sanskrit names of a palace, its compartments, its furniture. We find the central pillars called the "raja" and the "princess"; the tall assertive end-pillars reaching to the roof-tree the "Maharaja Lela" after the Malay court Malvolio; the pillars in mid hall the "expectant suppliants"; the corner pillars, distant but important the "eight viziers." Probably it was due to the same influence that sumptuary laws forbade certain types of house to commoners. In folk romance there is frequent mention of an upper chamber sacred to the unmarried hero or heroine:

"The fair silver'd upper chamber,
Roof'd with diamonds and glisters;
Every corner-post a bull's horn:"

and in the "code" of Raja Muhammad Shah, of Malacca, common folk are prohibited from building houses "with an alcove supported on flying pillars not reaching to the ground or on pillars built up through the *atap* roof"—a survival, perhaps, of the dignity of the tiered roof. Degrees of rank were also exhibited in the length of the hall. The palace in the folk-romance of "Sri Rama" had seven spaces between its pillars, that in "Awang Sulong" nine, while the Malacca palace of Raja Mansur Shah had seventeen! In Perak there is supposed to have been a very precise etiquette. "Formerly the Sultan of Perak's palace had seven interspaces between the pillars, that

of the Raja Muda six, that of the Bendahara five, the houses of lesser rajas and of great chiefs four, those of the lesser chiefs and considerable commoners three, and those of other folk two only." 'The Malacca "codes" give strict rules of precedence in hall. "Whenever the raja gives audience in his hall of state the *bendahara*, the chief treasurer, the *tēmenggong*, the viziers, chiefs and eunuchs sit on the raised central platform, while all the scions of royalty sit on the right and left of the hall and the young eunuchs among the heralds in the passage. The young captains sit in the side galleries; the select sea captains from Champa have seats on the central platform; and all the young nobles with no particular occupation in the side galleries."

Besides Indian influence, there was also Chinese, which directly invaded the Peninsula centuries ago, not indeed an influence of the spirit but of material and workmanship, to be found in sawn planks, in paint, gilding, jewelry. Princes and nobles who to-day employ Chinese artisans to erect brick palaces of bizarre design had their forerunners in the old Sultans of Malacca. The "Malay Annals" tell how the palace of Sultan Mansur Shah was painted and gilded, had fretted drip-boards under the eaves, was glazed with Chinese glass and roofed with pieces of tin and brass. A Chinese chronicler relates how "the king of Malacca lives in a house of which the fore-part is covered with tiles left here by the eunuch Cheng Ho in the time of Yung-po (1403-1424); other buildings all arrogate the form of imperial halls and are adorned with tin-foil." On the East coast Munshi Abdullah notes how the palace of the Yam-tuan of Trengganu was of stone and of Chinese design in 1835.

Last phase of all, we come to European and Chinese influence operating together. In 1845 Mr. Logan wrote of a Malay at Bukit Tengah in Province Wellesley, "He conducted me along the foot of the hill through a grove of trees to his house, which I found to be quite an uncommon edifice for a Malay, being very neat and having a pleasant little verandah with Venetian windows." "The Sultan of Selangor," writes Sir Frank Swettenham of a time some thirty years ago, "had chosen to build himself a habitation of, for those days, a somewhat pretentious order. The house was raised from muddy ground on short brick pillars; it was built of squared timbers and the roof was tiled." Such buildings are common now and the house of the well-to-do Malay is fast losing native distinction. The change is not to be regretted. Outside the Negri Sembilan even the houses of chiefs seem to have been poor enough before the days of protection, except where might could hold its own. "A very modest dwelling it was," remarks Sir Frank Swettenham of the house of a Perak princess of the first rank in 1874, "a building of mat sides and thatched roof, raised from the damp and muddy earth on wooden piles, a flight of steps led into the front of the house and a ladder served for exit at the back. The interior accommodation consisted of a closed-in verandah and large room and a kitchen tacked on behind." "Mostly *atap*, even the walls, and very dirty," is Abdullah's comment on the houses of the East Coast in 1835. But though it has always been a trait of the Malay character to welcome whatever is new and foreign, he adapts and seldom discards, so that though Chinese carpentry and European models have altered much, bringing improved material and workmanship, larger

windows and plank floors, yet they have destroyed little, and the earlier archetype, if it can so be called, abides. There are still types of house no peasant would erect in the proximity of his chief and no chief in the proximity of his raja. In comparatively recent days, in Perak, we find Sultan Ali and Sultan Yusuf regarding with jealous eye the fine house built by the Mantri of Larut at Matang, and though his widow could not well be deprived of the property, by a convenient fiction it was presumed to have devolved as a gift of the State. Sultans and chiefs may build palaces externally renaissance or moresque, but there remain the old primary divisions—the hall for visitors, the central palace with sleeping apartments, and, away at the back, a kitchen. Finally we must not forget that the vast majority of huts are still untouched or touched but imperceptibly by modern influences.

FURNITURE

The feature that strikes the casual observer on entering a Malay house is the absence of what the European conceives to be furniture; and should he be interested further and discover that the words for chair¹ and book-rest² are Arabic, the words for towel³ table⁴ and cupboard⁵ Portuguese, the words for curtain⁶ bedstead⁷ and box⁸ Tamil, then he will certainly imagine that there is no such thing as native Malay furniture. This impression will be confirmed if the house he has chosen for inspection be that of a schoolmaster or some such hybrid mind and reveal all the horrors of crocheted antimacassars and bentwood Austrian chairs, photos of

¹ *Kāresi*. ² *Rihal*. ³ *Tuala*. ⁴ *Meja*. ⁵ *Amari*. ⁶ *Tawai*.
⁷ *Katil*. ⁸ *Peti*.

the owner by a Chinese perpetrator and oleographs of Queen Victoria or the Sultan of Turkey. Yet the Malay hut has furniture as much its own as ours is, though, like ours, built up of borrowings from many ancient sources.

Ascend the verandah, the part of the house proper to the mere male, his gatherings and his pursuits, and the visitor will find himself in a space empty, save for a few shelves or bamboo racks, for the plank or bamboo bed platform of an unmarried son at the further end, for the fisherman's net, the hunter's noose, and the birdcage of rattan hanging from the roof; save, too, for the half-finished trap or basket that lies scattered on the floor to employ the indoor hours of men and boys. Look around at these things and at the household furniture and he is in the midst of a prehistoric civilisation. There is a fable telling how a fairy taught Malay women to copy the patterns of those remnants of nets and baskets which Sang Kelembai left behind when fear of the human race drove him away to the sky's edge. Here is every variety of article plaited¹ of dried palm-leaf: mats² spread over part of the floor; mats piled aside to be unrolled for the accommodation of visitors; a small prayer-mat³ of Arabic name but home workmanship; the plaited tobacco pouch⁴ or box,⁵ or the bag receptacle⁶ for betel utensils handy for daily use; plaited sacks⁷ stacked in a corner, full of rice from the clearing. They are sometimes plain, sometimes adorned with open-work,⁸ or the interweaving of strips dyed red black yellow, in both of which styles the craftsman's hand, subdued to what it works in, has evolved graceful geometrical designs.

¹ Anyam. ² Tikar hampar. ³ Tikar sajadah. ⁴ Kampit. ⁵ Lopak-lopak.
⁶ Bajam. ⁷ Kampit (open): Sumpit (closed like a sack). ⁸ Kĕrawang.

The specimens of plaited palm-leaf¹ work kept in the verandah are often little better than the coarse rough work of the aboriginal tribes, but in the inner room the women's apartment, there will be articles of more delicate material² and intricate manipulation. Perak, Pahang, Patani, Kedah, Kelantan, all produce fine goods. And women store clothes in baskets³ (in Malacca of curious pyramidal shapes) adorned with raised fancy stitches called "the jasmine bud," "the roof-angle," and so on; decorated or debased by the frippery of later civilisations—the addition of coloured paper pasted⁴ upon them and the attachment of gold filigree chains or silver bosses. Even here however, in the ordinary way, articles of the most primitive kind will predominate. You may find the women plaiting a pattern like that of the bird-shaped receptacle⁵ for sweet rice which possibly dates from the days of belief in a bird-soul; or wrappers⁶ of coconut, plantain or palm-leaf wherein to boil rice, triangular, diamond, heptagonal,⁷ octagonal⁸ in shapes called "the country's pride"⁹ "the onion" "the paddle handle," or pre-Muhammadan models of birds, buffaloes, stags, the crab, the horse, the durian, the dog. Water-gourds may be suspended from a beam in hanging palm-leaf holders.¹⁰ A *kěris* may be stuck in a palm-leaf holder¹¹ and pinned to the mosquito-net. For the central room of a Malay house is the place where sleep old married folk, men and women, with their children; sometimes on a raised platform,¹² more often in cubicles formed by mosquito-nets and outer curtains,¹³ or

¹ *Měngkuang*.² *Pandan*.³ *Kěmbal* or (Malacca) *rombong*.⁴ *Kěmbal gendi*: used at weddings.⁵ *Ēnggak* (Ked.): *katang-katang*⁶ *Lěpat*; *kětupat*.⁷ *Kětupat bawang*.⁸ *Kětupat pasar* or*k. ũbur*.⁹ *Sěri něgěri*.¹⁰ *Gantong-gantong*.¹¹ *Sangkut kěris*.¹² *Gěrai* or *gěta*.¹³ *Tirai*.

merely by the mosquito-nets. The omnipresent baby hangs from the rafters in a cradle¹ composed of three, five or seven layers of cloth, according to his degree; that is, after the young probationer has lain for the first seven days of his life on a mat in a rice-strewn tray, and before he descends to the indignity of a rattan basket cradle. In a loft that is lighted by a window or hole in the roof, the unmarried girls spend day and night above their parents' heads, safe from the invitation of admirers who might else slip love-tokens through the interspaces of the gridiron floor. On the walls of the room may be nailed, perhaps, a tiger's skull or a wild-goat's horns, or more probably, a pair or so of mouldering antlers, or ricketty pegs from which dangles the daily wear of the occupants; or the less prized daggers may hang there, while spears and an old gun stand in the corner. There may be a tall cupboard² of Portuguese name and Chinese manufacture, wherein will be stored spare pillows, papers and the best crockery. There will be a wooden shelf³ or stand,⁴ on which, placed in plates or brass holders, will be natural⁵ or clay gourds⁶ and broad clay water-jars.⁷ A clay or brass brazier will be filled with charcoal and incense to accompany religious chantings. In old days the largest light in the house proceeded from resin torches⁸ stuck in a roughly carved wooden stand⁹ that was placed on the floor in the central room. Or shells fixed to wooden sticks¹⁰ and clay boats were used to hold oil. Later, probably, candles¹¹ stuck in coconut shells, and eventually in brass sticks, were employed. Heavy brass lamps of Indian origin, suspended from the chains

¹ *Buianu*. ² *Almari*. ³ *Pacu*. ⁴ *Kudukudo*. ⁵ *Labu*.
⁶ *Lebu tanah*. ⁷ *Bayang*. ⁸ *Dumar*. ⁹ *Kita*. ¹⁰ *Ramah panjut*.
¹¹ *Lilin*.

(that sometimes contain an interesting bird-shaped link), may still be collected in the form, apparently, of lotus cups, from the hollows of whose several petals wicks projected. Brass supplies a number of household utensils, some heavy and thick, such as lamps, bowls, basins; some thin and decorated with florid realistic representations of butterflies, deer, flowers and birds, of which sort trays and large lidded boxes offer example; yet a third kind, fretted with chisel or file, provides glass-stands braziers and betel-trays.

Women and children feed generally in the kitchen, male guests in the verandah, but female guests, and in the absence of guests the lordly male proprietor, feed in the central room, so that writing of its furniture we may conveniently deal with the utensils of a Malay meal in conjunction with that brass-work which has played so large a part in its service. Here we have layer upon layer of civilisations. The most primitive plate in the Malay world is a banana leaf; next a shallow coconut shell¹ (whose existence of course premises some kind of settled cultivation); and then the wooden platter.² The Chinese in the sixteenth century note that the king of Johor affected gold and silver eating utensils and other folk earthenware. Rare specimens of obsolete green celadon³ ware from Sawankalok in Siamese territory, survive among the old-world treasures of rajas under the name of "the ware of a thousand cracks." Cheap Chinese earthenware is common everywhere now, but examples of fine early work are extant in large flat dishes used for rice, and an enamelled Chinese curry-tray is occasionally found. Europe has long imported earthenware,⁴ ranging from old Dutch ware or fine old willow pattern to German coffee-cups with

¹ *Dasur*. ² *Chapali*. ³ *Pinggan ritak sa-ribu buatan Jin*. ⁴ *Tembakar*.

the legend *Selamat minum*. The most primitive drinking cup is a half coconut shell¹ carved or plain; then came a small silver bowl² modelled upon it; then the European glass, for which a brass stand³ is provided. The most primitive jug, as we have seen, will be a dried gourd or a large polished coconut shell⁴ with a hole about three inches across at the top, and both are still in vogue even in palaces, where they will be tied up in a covering of yellow cloth, a string with a golden knob at the end being pulled to close the mouth of the covering: it is also customary to place a plate⁵ of silver or brass atop the mouth of the coconut shell, and to set thereon the small drinking bowl. Next came the gourd of pottery, fitted sometimes with a silver stopper top; being often round-bottomed⁶ and always porous, it is put in a shallow metal basin.⁷ Very rarely a brass vessel of gourd shape, or a brass kettle,⁸ or a kettle of Ligor niello ware will be used for cold water; and now also an earthenware jar,⁹ or a horrible thick muddy-blue decanter¹⁰ of European manufacture. All these vessels serve both to fill the drinking bowl or glass and for pouring water over the hands preliminary and subsequent to feeding. The water of ablution is caught in a large silver or brass bowl¹¹ or in a vessel¹² that is employed alike for that purpose and for a spittoon. Trays are of many kinds: there is the flat wooden or lacquer tray,¹³ high of rim; there is the brass tray, flat and rimmed;¹⁴ there is the wooden pedestal tray, sometimes very large;¹⁵ there is the brass pedestal tray for a single cake plate,¹⁶ and the large brass pedestal tray for a number of saucers.¹⁷

¹ *Chebok*. ² *Botil*. ³ *Kaki glass berpuchak rebong berkrawang banji*. ⁴ *Gilok*. ⁵ *Chepir*. ⁶ *Tila*. ⁷ *Bukor*. ⁸ *Cherek*.
⁹ *Kewitil*. ¹⁰ *Balang*. ¹¹ *Batil*. ¹² *Katur sangku*. ¹³ *Dulang*.
¹⁴ *Talam*. ¹⁵ *Puhar*. ¹⁶ *Sambërip*. ¹⁷ *Pahar; datong*.

Pedestal trays are decorated on festivals with an embroidered and bead-work fringe,¹ like the fringe on the marriage mosquito-net, of Hindu name and shaped perhaps after the leaf of the sacred peepul-tree. Trays, plates and gourds are protected from flies and dirt by conical covers, embroidered² or made of bamboo³ cut into concentric geometric and floral patterns dyed red and black, or similar covers decorated with blue green red and gilt paper cut into scrolls. Chinese and European wares are used for coffee services.

Finally, there are tobacco and betel boxes, those appanages of the last course of a Malay meal. Considering the universal habit and ceremony of betel-chewing in the Archipelago and the portability and number of its utensils, it is not surprising to find a great variety of material and shapes, a vocabulary rather vague in its terminology, the name for a wooden article improperly transferred to a brass one, and so on. The most primitive kind are plaited of screw-palm as already noted. Then come small wooden chests,⁴ fitted with trays to contain the requisites of betel-chewing, shaped like the coffers Malay sailors use, larger at base than lid, rudely carved; one shape has a drawer that pulls out at the side;⁵ one shape⁶ has an ornamental end of wood or silver projecting⁷ as it is carried under the arm—these last are commonly used for the presentation of betel at betrothal and some Perak specimens have realistic bobbing models of snakes made of wax and fastened dependent from pliant rattan by human hair. Specimens made entirely of gold, or Ligor niello, or silver, of brass or tin, also occur, and then there is only a tray for the betel-vine

¹ *Danu budi* (Hindoo). ² *Adai-badai*. ³ *Tedong saji*: *Sangai*. ⁴ *Tepak* (Palembang). ⁵ *Jorong* (Mangkasar). ⁶ *Puanu*. ⁷ *Sular bayong*.

leaves and in place of the other divisions in the tray we have four tiny caskets;¹ but there are other specimens, open at the top and taking the form rather of a small, deep tray than of a chest. Commoner in metal, are open salvers,² round or oblong, or round and on pedestals:

“Betel-nut that’s cleft in four;
Lime that’s mixed with scented water;
Tobacco clinging to its stem.”

and gambir are the contents of the four caskets. If the caskets be presented on an open salver, then a metal vase,³ shaped like a triangle upside down with its apex cut off, takes the place of the casket’s tray for the vine leaves. The casket⁴ that holds the betel-nut is commonly open, unlike the others; that⁵ containing the lime is round, its sides parallel from base to lid, or it is octagonal, or round and stunted: the other two caskets may be modelled after the seed-pod of the sacred lotus; the lid is often decorated, like waist-belts, with a conventionalised lotus flower pattern. Round boxes⁶ are made for tobacco, decorated with conventional foliated scrolls common in all Malay silver-work, or a box⁷ like a huge old silver watch is used. It is caskets and boxes which of all Malay work are the most interesting as representative obviously of very various influences, which too have found their way more than any other articles into European collections and, with an almost tiresome iteration, into museums: like Tennyson’s “little flower in the crannied wall,” they embody a large problem in a small compass, and could we tell all about them, we should know a lot about the comings and goings of the

¹ *Chūmbul*. ² *Chēvana* (Skt.) ³ *Kūlaṅṅṅ* or *chūmpūla* (Kedah) sometimes held by a *uḍupūlai*. ⁴ *Chawan pūang*. ⁵ *Pēkapur*.

⁶ *Kap* or *kupi*. ⁷ *Chōpu bēpūlagur, awan buṅga sa-tunglōi*.

Malay race. Betel-nut scissors,¹ shaped in the form of the head of a bird or dragon, whichever it be, and in the form of the magic steed, *kuda sëmbrani*, exhibit some of the earliest iron work.

Malay life, even in palaces, is essentially simple, and this may serve to excuse transition from the refinements of the table (or rather the floor) to the mere utensils of the kitchen. Also the kitchen, if not in the back of the central room itself, is not far separated; moreover, it is as interesting as any part of the house, and though it is impossible absolutely to distinguish the most primitive utensils from later accretions, more perhaps than any other room it bears traces of ultimate civilisations. There are examples of bamboo work in a bamboo bellows, or rather blower; in a cooking-pot for rice, constructed of a single joint of bamboo, the green cane resisting the fire long enough to cook one mess; in bamboo racks.² There are specimens of bamboo and rattan weaving in hanging plate-holders,³ in stands⁴ for round bottomed cooking-pots, in fish creels,⁵ in baskets⁶ for fish or vegetables, in strainers,⁷ in rice sieves.⁸ There are utensils of dried coconut shell: ladles,⁹ bowls¹⁰ with rattan handles, spoons.¹¹ There is some important carved wood-work: a parrot-shaped handle to sweet-rice spoons,¹² spoons with rudely carved foliated handles, oval carved enscrolled blocks¹³ (such as are used also by Dyaks) for crushing salt and pepper, and last, but not least, cake-moulds,¹⁴ and a spurred coconut rasper.¹⁵ In the south of the Peninsula the coconut rasper is decorated with foliated carving like the pepper-block: in the

¹ *Kachip.* ² *Salang.* ³ *Sarau.* ⁴ *Lëkar.* ⁵ *Rajat.* ⁶ *Raya.*
⁷ *Tapisan.* ⁸ *Nyiru.* ⁹ *Gayang* ¹⁰ *Bëkal* (Pers.) ¹¹ *Sëndok.*
¹² *Sudip*: if large, *chëntong.* ¹³ *Sëngkalan.* ¹⁴ *Achuan kuch.*
¹⁵ *Kukuran nyiru.*

far north, in Patani there is far wider scope in design, probably due to Cambodian influence, and coconut rasps are carved in the form of grotesque beasts, of human figures kneeling prostrate with the spur-scraper offered in uplifted hands; and there too cake-moulds bear the carved impress of buffaloes, elephants, cows, cocks, tortoises, axes, *kéris*, horses even and pistols, while cake-moulds in the south have only conventional foliated designs.

Considerable interest attaches to the four methods of fire-making once in vogue in the Peninsula, the fire-saw, the fire-drill and the fire-syringe, as they have been called, and the familiar flint and steel. The use of the fire-saw is still known to jungle Malays. A branch of soft, dry wood¹ is taken, scooped out till a small orifice appears in the centre of the hollow; it is notched transversely across the orifice on the outer side and a piece of rattan² passed underneath it and worked to and fro by hand till dust rises through the orifice and presently ignites. Another kind of fire-saw is made from a piece of sharp-edged split bamboo, which is worked quickly to and fro in a notch across a piece of bamboo split in half and filled with tinder.³ The fire-drill⁴ consists of a piece of friable wood in which a shallow groove or orifice is cut, the point of a hard stick is inserted and the drill stick twirled rapidly between the palms of the hands with the action of one whisking an egg or a cocktail, till the dust got from the soft wood by friction smoulders. The fire-syringe⁵ is made sometimes of wood, sometimes of tin; its piston of tin or hard wood is bound round the end with cloth, just

¹ *Télampong terap.*² *Balan zaga.*³ *Babok dudar.*⁴ *Pasar basong.*⁵ *Gobek api.*

as the piston-end of a European glass syringe is bound with cotton, and the end of the piston is slightly hollowed to receive tinder; to make the tinder catch fire, the piston is driven smartly into the cylinder and abruptly withdrawn. It has been found rarely in the Peninsula and also in Borneo (where it is called the tin fire-syringe). I am not certain if its use is known in the south of the Peninsula. It is obviously a fairly advanced method of fire-making, and it is said to be commonly found among Indonesian peoples.

For cooking-vessels, there is the earthenware pot¹ and steamer;² and of later use a number of brass and iron vessels, a covered brass rice-pot,³ a large open brass pot⁴ for sweetmeat cookery, a large open iron stew pot,⁵ a huge iron cauldron,⁶ an open iron frying pan.⁷ The cooking place⁸ is an arrangement of stones on which the pots are placed; above it is a shelf⁹ on which firewood is laid to dry, and more wood is stacked beside the fire-place. There is a grindstone¹⁰ for curry-stuffs and a tiny stone mortar¹¹ for pounding chillies and other edible pods. In the purlieus of the kitchen there will be large earthenware water-jars¹² and some basins¹³ for washing and culinary purposes.

The rest of the house is devoted to middle-age and meals: the best bed-room, in homes where there are daughters of marriageable age, to the apotheosis of youth. Here will be kept the finest furniture, the softest clothes, the best embroidery. The door will be curtained and its curtain adorned with the bo-leaf fringe or, alas for modern taste, hideous white crocheted work. There

¹ *Bilanga.*² *Kukusan tunah.*³ *Përiok.*⁴ *Gëwngsing.*⁵ *Kanchah.*⁶ *Kawah.*⁷ *Kuali.*⁸ *Tungku.*⁹ *Para api.*¹⁰ *Batu giling.*¹¹ *Batu lesong.*¹² *Tëmpanyan.*¹³ *Tërënung (brass):**pasir.*

will be a stand just inside for the drinking vessels such as we have already described. Athwart the room, in the corner next the window and outer wall, will be a small day couch¹ of one storey only, made of wood, with fretted skirting-board² in front, or board pasted with coloured papers in floral scrolls. Thereon will be laid a mat of several thicknesses³ according to the house-owner's rank, edged⁴ with gold-threaded silk border and silver or embroidered corners; and at the head of the couch a large round pillow⁵ with embroidered or gold or silver "faces" or ends. On this day couch will be found the best betel utensils in the house. But the greatest care will have been lavished on the large bed-platform⁶ that runs lengthwise along the room against the inner partition; it will be storied according to rank, with fretted or paper-pasted⁷ front; it will be enclosed in a large mosquito-net adorned within and without along the top with the bo-leaf fringe embroidered, and often having silver leaves among the embroidery. Like the day couch⁷ and the stand for water vessels, it will have hung above it a ceiling-cloth⁸ to keep off the dust and debris of the palm-leaf roof. At the head, and extending the full width of the bed-platform, will be an oblong hollow pillow,⁹ made of white cloth stretched over a wooden frame, its ends adorned with embroidery or

¹ *Pentas kecil*. ² *Papan bertebok awan Jawa atau awan Palembang, bunga banji, awan larat, etc.* ³ *Tikar berlangkal, e.g., p'elrana, used by reigning princes of seven thicknesses; p'achar, of five used by chiefs like the bendahara, chief of three.* ⁴ *Rampok.* ⁵ *Bantal sa-raga.* ⁶ *Pentas besar or p'rai.* Kedah folk, it is said, used only this bed-platform for the *sanding*, whereas Perak and the southern States, with more delicacy, have a similar platform erected in the central room for that function. The arch over the front of the *sanding* platform is called *pintu p'dong*; the inner space *gua*. ⁷ *Di-hulus dengan kertas merah kuning ijau biru aneka jenis warna kertas-nya itu; bertebok berawan larat semua-nya ya-itu tebok buany-buangan nama-nya ya-ani yang tebok berawan itu kertas merah atau apa-apa macham warna-nya dan tanah-nya kertas putih atau p'rada k'eresek atau p'rada Sam: yang sudah di-tebok itu di-pilkatkan di-atas kertas tanah itu.* ⁸ *Langit-langit.* ⁹ *Bantal sa-raga awan bunga nagmani.*

silver plates, and on this pillow will be laid a prized *këris* and two or three round pillows with decorated ends facing outwards. Above it all will tower the triangular pyramidal back¹ to the dais, decorated with coloured paper, and sometimes exhibiting the tiered roof with upcurving crockets found in Buddhist *wats*, though the pyramidal shape is not, I believe, common in the south. Below the hollow oblong pillow are laid flat² sleeping pillows, and then comes the bed proper, covered with a mattress, on which are laid two mats, one for bride and one for groom, with embroidered corners and of several thicknesses according to rank; one or more long Dutch-wife pillows³ stretch the length of the mats; perhaps a silk coverlet⁴ will be spread. There will be various household articles inside this mosquito-curtain: on the inner wall side of the bed, at the head, between the sleeping pillows and the *bantal saraya*, are kept squat, round-bitted boxes⁵ of Palembang brass or Palembang lacquer, receptacles for clothes and toilet necessaries; and there is a wooden clothes-rack,⁶ carved with up-turned crockets, suspended from the mosquito-net or standing in the inner side of the bed.

Such in outline, tiresome skeleton outline as I have had to make it, are the articles of furniture in a Malay house. Not a tithe of them will be found in the ordinary house, for it is not a museum but a home, generally untidy, disordered, yet neat in the effect of dim backgrounds and recesses and dun natural colours.

¹ *Gunong-gunong*. ² *Bantal pipih*. ³ *Bantal galang*: *bantal pèlok*.
⁴ *Gèbar*. ⁵ *Tabak* (Ar.) *Bintang* (Malacca), *Bangkèng* urn-shaped and used at weddings. ⁶ *Sangkut bèrcutor luyong*.

DRESS.

The *Malay Annals* relate how one of the bendaharas of old Malacca would change his garments four or five times a day; how he had coats and turbans of all colours and such a number of each colour that they could be counted by tens; some of his turbans kept always ready rolled; his coats some half-sewed, others nearly finished, others just cut out: and how he had a tall mirror by which he dressed himself daily, asking his wife if this coat suited that turban and following her advice exactly. It is a story that goes to the root of the matter, because the Malay has been a fop for centuries and is a fop still. Turning over his wardrobe, one is only astonished that head or tail can be made of such admired disorder. For centuries the fashions and stuffs of India, China, Persia, Arabia, Europe have been pouring into it. The Chinese records tell how this king and that throughout the Archipelago sent envoys to the Celestial kingdom and got in return "suits of clothes embroidered with golden dragons," "a girdle with precious stones, pieces of silk-gauze, pieces of plain silk, pieces of silk with golden flowers." The early voyagers narrate how Cambay, Coromandel and Bengal trafficked with Java and Malacca in "cotton lymen sarampuras, cassas, sateposas, black satopasen, black cannequins, red toriaes, red beyzamen," names that make the eye dizzy; and how "the heathenish Indians that dwelt in Goa not only sold all kindes of silkes, sattins, damaskes and curious workes of porselyne from China and other places, but all manner of wares of velvet, silke, sattin and such like, brought out of Portingall." The Malay welcomed all with the avidity of the born wanderer that his Archipelago had made him,

and took such an Elizabethan gusto in things foreign that the remoter its origin the finer the object in his eyes, till, to rouse enthusiasm, his bards had to sing of "steel from Khorassan," *kēris* "wrought of the iron left after the making of the keys of the *Kaabah*,"¹ scarves "made of the mosquito-net of the prophet of Allah;"²

"Narrow lengths of patterned fabric,
Work of Coromandel craftsmen.
Woven part in looms of China,
Part by weavers gilled like fishes:
Stretched, as wide as earth and heaven;
Folded, small as nail on finger."

With marvellous dexterity he contrived to adjust this barbaric plenty to a fair standard of good taste. It is true that he often revels in grandiloquent phrases from Sanskrit, Tamil, Persian, Arabic and so on; they are heir-looms and sound like that "blessed word Mesopotamia" in romance, but they do not command his attention. All the time he is busy peering over his acquisitions with the curious eyes of a naive child, inventing labels for them drawn from aboriginal intimacy with nature. The gold spots on his coat are labelled "the scattered rice-grains" or "bees on the wing"; the patterns on his skirt "the chequer board," "the bamboo spikes," "the jump three stripe"; if his skirt be heavy with gold thread, it is dubbed "the cloth that would sink a junk." His bracelet is oval without and flat within, and he names it "the split rattan" bangle. He welcomes foreign skill, but he insists on having goods conform to his taste: there is a story that Sultan Muhamad, of Malacca, sent a messenger to the land of the Klings to order forty lengths of forty

¹ *Lēhch pūnganching Kaabah Allah.*

² *Pancha kēlā-aba Rasul Allah.*

different kinds of flowered cloth,¹ and that none of the designs brought suited the messenger's fancy till, at last, he drew designs himself, so beautiful and intricate as to amaze the craftsmen. The Malay has the faculty of criticising as well as the generous faculty of admiration. In "Anggun Che Tunggal" the young hero dresses all in black, but his mother tells him he looks like a flock of crows; changes into complete white, whereupon she likens him to a flock of storks; changes into red, when she compares him with the hibiscus aflame at daybreak; and he only satisfies her by donning garments of contrasted colour. But though he assorts, the Malay never discards. He adopts the jacket, and the old shoulder-scarf becomes a head shawl² for his women, a waist-band for himself, a stole at court, a cordon at wedding ceremonies; he adopts trousers, and the skirt is a useful receptacle of baggage, a handy change at the journey's end, a decent tribute to the dictates of his religion. He has an accumulation of centuries and civilisations in the way of jewellery, the greater part sacred from immemorial superstition; good taste forbids him to flaunt it all, but apports this to his tiny children, that to his unmarried daughters, and only sows with the sack on the occasion of a wedding. Moreover, not all the gold of the Indies has ousted the wrist-string as an amulet, nor till recently the ancient vanity of blackened teeth.³ It is this conservatism which has left such a bewildering abundance of material for the study of his dress, and it was this conservatism which led Marsden to write, "We appear to the Sumatrans to have degenerated from the more

¹ *Kain srawak.* ² The following kinds are common: *Kain limau, kain Buggawan, kain Bali, kain Mantok, kain pëlangi* or *kain Rawa, kain bunga chëngkeh, kain pëngicing ya'ita bërsubur merah patch kuning.* ³ *Dibuboh baja sèpèrti sayap kumbang padang bërkilat-kilat.*

splendid virtues of our predecessors. Even the richness of their laced suits and the gravity of their perukes attracted a degree of admiration, and I have heard the disuse of the large hoops worn by the ladies pathetically lamented: the quick, and to them inexplicable, revolutions of our fashions are subject of much astonishment, and they naturally conclude that those modes can have but little intrinsic merit which we are so ready to change; or at least that our caprice renders us very incompetent to be the guides of their improvement." In the light of actual fact the concluding sentence seems singularly unfortunate. Criticism has assailed the originality of every Malay garment except the chequer skirt.

The Malay skirt as it exists to-day in the north of the Peninsula, and as it probably existed in the far days of its primal investiture, is a piece of cloth home-spun, of coarse vegetable fibre,¹ chequer, coloured with vegetable dyes, unsewn,² bound about the waist reaching hardly to the knees,³ "the knee-caps often exposed even in the king's *balai*, a practice which would not be tolerated in any other part of the Peninsula." From that it has developed into a garment⁴ about forty inches in depth and eighty in length, the ends sewn together so that the made skirt is a wrapper like a bottomless sack, lacking pleat or intricacy of tailoring, its openings equal in size at top and bottom, the latter indeed being convertible terms. It has depended for its continued vogue on an infinite adaptability: it can serve as a nether garment, a bathing cloth, a night-shirt, a turban, a wallet, a cradle, a shroud; it was retained and respected as a shibboleth of Islam when the use of trousers became almost universal. There are several ways of fastening

¹ Tali pisang, banyu atans. ² Kain liris. ³ Kain elokin. ⁴ Sarung.

it about the waist, from loosely bundling it so as to hold a dagger or *parang*, to folding it so neatly that a long pleat will open down either leg as the wearer strides: the country mouse can be distinguished from the town mouse by the hang of his skirt. There were modes fashionable at court: for chiefs the "skirt in puffs,"¹ for ladies the "billowy"² tempestuous swell.

The range in material and pattern is wide. To point a common distinction, there are two kinds of *sarong*, the chequer skirt of geometrical design³ and the flowered Javanese skirt⁴ on which figure birds and warriors. Did the chequer skirt accompany the race in a migration from the north? The *kain Champa* is of geometrical draught-board pattern: Patani and Kelantan still produce coarse chequer skirts of vegetable fibre: the chequer style must have been long and firmly established to resist the inroad of Javanese fashion, which succeeded only in capturing the head-kerchief. In addition to these, there are two other kinds of material that deserve especial emphasis. There is the material of which Palembang and Batu Bara (and Asahan) produce varieties and which Trengganu imitates with its thin inferior silk; the style of the cloth of gold,⁵ the silk ground almost always a rich red, sometimes having a faint chequer traced in sparse white or blue or black threads; generally plain, and dependent for beauty on small geometrical and floral patterns⁶ interwoven in gold thread, with a mass of gold-thread decoration⁷ at the edge and on the *kĕpala sarong*. There is a Malay saying, "If you are about to die, go to Malacca; if you want pleasant dreams, to Palembang; if you desire good food,

¹ *Kain kĕmbong*. ² *Ombak bĕrolan*. ³ e.g., *Chorak dawdam*; *tapak chuter*, *bĕlah kĕtupal*. ⁴ *Kain Batak*. ⁵ *Kain bĕuang emas*. ⁶ *Emas bĕlulang*, *bĕras patah*, *lonjor kĕmbang*, *bunga tuajong*, *bunga kĕcat nasi*, etc.
⁷ *Tĕkat songkit*, *pucluk rĕbong*, *jung sarat*.

to Java; if you like fine clothes, to Batu Bara." Batu Bara silk was and is the wear for Malay nobility on occasions of state, for commoners at weddings: of it not only skirts but trousers, jackets and pillow-cases are made. The other silk¹ which deserves study, being, so far as I know, peculiar to the north and hardly affected south of Perak, is woven in Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan, and is found not only in *sarongs* but more particularly in that shoulder scarf which was the forerunner of the jacket; it is of exquisite harmonious sober colours, a blend of reds, yellows and greens, the shape of the pattern, if closely inspected, bearing a distant resemblance to the lime from which it has acquired its name; for that is the best and most typical pattern out of several species, such as the "clove-head," and so on.² There is one kind of silk which combines this pattern with the gold thread ornament of the Sumatran style.³ Yet another kind of fabric,⁴ employed less for skirt than for coat and kerchief, is a calendered silk stamped with design in gold-leaf by means of carved wooden blocks, a kind manufactured in Patani and Pahang. The word for silk is Sanskrit,⁵ which gives a clue to the source of its original adoption, but plain woven silk from China has long been used for the manufacture of some kinds of skirt and scarf. It is stained with aniline dyes to produce the "rainbow"⁶ silk made by Boyanese and in Singapore, now fashionable in place of costlier and heavier stuffs, worn oftenest as a scarf but sometimes as a *sarong* both by men and women. Formerly the cotton *sarong* was either coarse home-

¹ *Kain limau.* ² *Bunga chingkeh, bunga rumput, biji asam, selumbar uibong, Andak Mesah, masam kilat, piring cacak* are all patterns of Trengganu and Kelantan sarongs. ³ *Kain tenggayau.* ⁴ *Kain telipok.* ⁵ *Sulca,*
⁶ *Kain pelungu.*

spun or, for the higher classes, calendered Bugis tartan cloth, but now the Coromandel¹ or German tartan holds the field. The flowered Javanese skirt is worn sometimes by men as a loin-cloth with trousers, but, as a long skirt, is considered effeminate except for indoor *deshabille*.

The Malay certainly went coatless in early historical times; the Chinese chroniclers repeatedly advert to the fact and it is only in their later records that "a short, jacket" is sometimes mentioned. Folk romances devoting lines of ballad verse to picturing the hero's skirt, dagger and head-kerchief dismiss his coat in a few Persian, Arabic or Portuguese phrases² descriptive of a foreign cloth, and there has never been any rigid royal etiquette in the matter of coats except in Java, where the garment was forbidden at courts. If Langkasu can refer to the old traditional kingdom of Langkasuka, then the chronicles give a picture of dress in the north of the Peninsula in the sixth century describing how "men and women have the upper part of the body naked, their hair hangs loosely down, and around their lower limbs they use only a *sarong* of cotton; the kings and nobles wearing a thin, flowered cloth (*sẽleudang*) for covering the upper part of the body." Colonel Low, who went up the Perak river in 1826, remarks that "the women display a good deal of the upper part of the body, only throwing their upper dress, which is a narrow piece of cloth, carelessly across the breast." Even now Kelantan and Patani men wear no coats, but wrap a long sash about their waists which is often shifted to the shoulders, while the women following a fashion that obtains alike in Siam and in Java, "hitch a cloth round the body under the arms and above the bust,"³ which falls

¹ *Di-péras*.

² *Beja uin'al-banat, b. sakhlut, b. bẽludu*.

³ *Kẽmbun*.

over the *sarong* to a few inches below the hips, being usually adjusted to reveal the figure as much as possible." In the fifteenth century the Chinese chronicles tell us how the "people of Banjermasin wore a jacket with short sleeves, which they put on over their heads," and those of Malacca "a short jacket of flowered cotton": the former statement being the earliest explicit allusion to the *baju kurong*. A coat with short sleeves ¹ is the usual garb of princes of romance and may date from the days of the armlet; being worn with trousers of similar name and shortness, it was probably affected for fighting, while the common rank and file wore a straight coat ² altogether sleeveless. The "Malay Annals" relate it was Tun Hassan, a great fop and *tēmenggong* in the reign of Mahmud Shah, who first lengthened the skirts of the Malay coat and wore large and long sleeves, it having been formerly both short and straight, and how Tun Hassan was therefore celebrated in topical verse as requiring four cubits of cloth for his coat. There are, in brief, two styles, the coat open all down the front ³ and coats with only a hole for the head to slip through.⁴ Commenting on them as they occur in a Besisi saying:

"Who was it made the land Semujong?
They who donned the round coat became retainers,
And mixed with strangers, the Malays of Rembau;
They who donned the split coat speak Besisi."

Mr. Skeat boldly suggests that the styles possibly distinguished those who followed the *adat Tēmenggong* and the *adat pērpateh* respectively. He remarks that the *baju kurong* is generally worn by Menangkabau Malays of the Negri Sembilan, and he might have added that the

¹ *Baju alang.* ² *Baju pokok.* ³ *Baju bēlah.* ⁴ *Baju kurong.*

Naning regalia include such a coat, whose narrow opening, according to popular belief, will fit none but the *pēnghulu* or his destined successor.¹ Java certainly would appear to affect the "split coat": Malay wedding garments are mostly derived from Java and the wedding coat is open down the front: but the *baju kurong* has so long been universal among both sexes of the Malays that conjecture as to its original adoption is probably futile. Prior to the introduction of the *kēbaya*, it was commonly the wear for women, short and reaching only to the *surong*, or in the Malacca of Logan's day, "reaching to a little above the ankle, its cuffs fastened with buttons of gold and sometimes of diamonds." It is not surprising that feminine vanity soon discarded a style so disastrous to ordered tresses; and the long, shapeless *kēbaya* of Portuguese name, and for indoors a short open jacket² fastened with brooches, are now universally worn by women. Men's coats are variations of the two main types; Chinese, Arabic and European influences leaving their mark, local Brummels and Worths of Johor and Malacca Kedah and Penang accounting for minor differences of style. The coat double-breasted and tied at the side of the waist with strings, the coat³ open down the front with frogged buttons are Chinese. Raffles detected traces of the old Friesland coat in Java; and many now obsolete Malay styles—the collar high at nape of neck,⁴ the sleeve tight at wrist and buttoned from the elbow down, the tailed⁵

¹ "To this day," wrote Newbold, "it is firmly believed by many that the elder brother of Abdul Syed was rejected solely on account of his inability to get his head through the neck of the vest, which is represented to be so small as scarcely to admit of the insertion of two fingers. How the ex-pēnghulu contrived to slip his large head through must remain a matter of conjecture."

² *Baju Jipen*. ³ *Baju kanyut*. ⁴ *Baju kēpok*. ⁵ *Baju bērsayap layang-layang*.

or "winged" coat—all show traces probably of European patterns. The Zouave tunic and the pilgrim's flowing gown¹ are Arabic. Women have borrowed underwear from India² and lately from Europe. Men have long worn an undervest of linen or silk and now affect the zephyr. Newbold's picture of the Dato Klana of Sungai Ujong in 1833, shows how elaborate the vest would sometimes be: the passage is worth quoting in full. "His dress betrayed a taste for finery, consisting of gaudy red surcoat flowered with yellow; a broad crimson sash encircling his waist, in which were inserted several weapons of the Malayan fashion; a Batek handkerchief with the bi-cornute tie and a plaid silk *sarong*, resembling the tartan worn by Highlanders, descending to the knees; underneath the plaid he wore short embroidered trousers. In the left-hand sash of his close vest of purple broadcloth, lined with light green silk and adorned with silk lace and small round buttons of gold filagree, was a watch³ of antique shape, to which were appended a gold chain and seals. He wore his hair long, and very obvious it was to two of the five senses that he, when studying the graces, had no more spared the oil than Demosthenes himself."

Trousers⁴ carry their alien origin even in their designation. Apart from the extreme improbability of a primitive race indulging in two entirely different kinds of garment for the nether limbs and from the silence of early travellers, we have the evidence of the chronicles that the people of Langgasu wore nothing but sarongs, and we know that the word is Persian out of Arabic. It is significant that Acheen, the earliest

¹ *Baju sulêriah*. *Jabah*. ² *Chuli*. ³ Or was this the watch-like box, *chêpa*, for tobacco, commonly knotted to a corner of the *sapu-tangan*, which was often thrown over the shoulder: now obsolete. ⁴ *Seluar*.

stronghold of Muhammadanism, has always been famous for its patterns: ¹ a sack-like shape designed, one might fancy, for the nether limbs of a bear, of enormous width and depth of seat, with a three-cornered embroidered piece called the "duck's web" ² at the back of the ankles. This pattern dominated the Peninsula, both for men and women of the higher class, till Chinese and European styles ousted it, and the passion for trousers, inspired presumably by Islamic sentiment, took such a hold of the Malay mind that, south of Patani and Kelantan, the man who omitted the garment was considered a craven and Don Juan before the settled days of British protection. A confusing number of styles was in vogue: some were decorated with gold lace; ³ some had gold thread interwoven in the material up to the knee; ⁴ some were stamped with tracings in gold paint ⁵ or adorned with inlet pieces ⁶ of coloured glass; some woven in latitudinal stripes ⁷ of red, yellow, white, black and so on. The "cut" in all cases was Achinese, or founded on Achinese but without the "duck web." ⁸ And, indeed, in the Malay world, the only other patterns that are found are Chinese and European and variations of them. Two kinds of scant workaday trews deserve mention: the short, tight Bugis trousers ⁹ worn by Malay miners, and the short loose Chinese trousers, ¹⁰ reaching barely below the knee, which are commonly worn in the wet rice-fields.

A very early fashion in belts was a narrow woven band, ¹¹ with a loop for the *kéris* at one end, to be wound outside the deep waist-cloth; and we also find a band

¹ Direct Achinese influence is discernible in Perak in the *séluar lam Sayong* (vide p. 80), *lam* being, as Mr. Wilkinson has reminded me, the Achinese word for *Kampung*: *Sayong* must be the village, formerly the seat of royalty on the Perak river.

² *Tapak itek*. ³ *S. pèdèndang*. ⁴ *S. bérchanggal énuis*.

⁵ *S. lèrtèlèpok*. ⁶ *S. bérchérmin*. ⁷ *S. émpat sa-kurap*; *tiga sa-lumpang*

⁸ *S. Batu Bawa*. ⁹ *S. sampak*. ¹⁰ *S. katong*, or *katok*. ¹¹ *Bètong*.

of scarlet cloth, adorned with inlet pieces of glass, with sequins and embroidery. A few decades ago there was common a pouch-belt,¹ the pouch a foot long and two or three inches deep with a slit in the middle; looped at one end, with a string ending in a button at the other, by which it was fastened round the body. Quite recently and still up-country, for ornament rather than utility, was worn a loose hanging belt² derived, perhaps, from Chinese influence, of woven silver wire³ or of silver coins, such as is worn at Patani weddings and often affected by *ma'yong* dancers. Women have always worn a silver or silk waist-band with a large metal buckle in front, a buckle which was once and for wealthy fops is still a part of male attire. But the waist-cloth of romance, the waist-cloth⁴ of princes and warriors in turbulent times was a deep fringed sash, wound round and round the body and capable of resisting a dagger thrust. Sometimes it was the product of Malay looms, stiff with gold or silver thread or interwoven with Arabic texts; sometimes it was an Indian fabric, whose sheen of shot mottled colour, probably, won it a nickname after a snake⁵ and a reputation for being able, if fumigated, to turn itself into its reptile prototype and render its owner's body invulnerable and his house safe from thieves.

"Round his waist he wrapped a waist-band,
 With the fringe some thirty cubits
 Long with large and snaky pattern:
 Thrice a day it changed its colour:
 In the morning dew-like tissue,
 Noon-day saw it turn to purple
 And at eve 'twas shining yellow
 Such the raiment of Sri Rama."

¹ *Pembelit*. ² *Gilmit*. ³ *Berulang belat*. ⁴ *Bengkong* (or *sabok*, Jav.) ⁵ *Kain chindai*—from Gujerat C. and S.: "A *Kelewang* wrapped in unmade *chindai*" is enumerated by Marsden among the regalia of Menangkabau.

In this broad sash were thrust betel utensils and an array of weapons. For an invariable item of Malay dress before European regulations were enforced, was one or more often three daggers. Munshi Abdullah relates how, when it was proposed to forbid the wearing of weapons at Singapore, the chiefs complained to Raffles that daggerless they felt naked; and he tells us how, on his visit to Trengganu and Kelantan, he found the inhabitants of those countries all armed with "six or seven javelins, a *kēris*, a chopper, or cutlass, or sword, or a long *kēris* in their hands and sometimes a gun." The dagger is still a part of court dress and the quality of the mounting a privilege of rank. Princes of the highest rank may have sheath and hilt of gold;¹ others only the long piece of the sheath;² chiefs only the lower half-length of the sheath,³ with ornament of silver or gold cord⁴ above. The Malacca code laid down that "persons not attached to the palace are not allowed to wear a *kēris* with a golden handle⁵ weighing an ounce without express permission from the king, except the bendahara and children and grand-children of the king; the penalty being confiscation of the weapon." The fashion of wearing a dagger is almost obsolete in the Protected States and the only enthusiasts in the matter are a few old men to whom the Sultan's permit to carry a *kēris* is a visible sign of their untitled gentility. If an offensive weapon is required, the small "pepper-crusher"⁶ the straight *badik* or the curved Arabic "ripper," all of which are easy to conceal, are carried under the coat. But a superstitious reverence for the *kēris* still obtains and folk

¹ *Kēris krapang gabus.* ² *K. krapang.* ³ *K. pëndok (Jav.)* ⁴ *Tali-tali.* Does Newbold's reference to the "*tali-tali*, a rattan appendage for fastening the dagger into the belt," throw light on the origin of this ornament? The shape would lead one to suppose so. ⁵ *Ulu kēchana (Jav.)*. ⁶ *Tumbuk lada.*

are readier to dispose of its gold sheath than of a rusted blade, which may bring good luck to house and crops. The *kéris* has gone. But every peasant tucks into the folds of his skirt a chopper,¹ which serves, like Hudibras' sword, for almost all those manual purposes of life that require a knife.

If the wearing of weapons has died out, the use of shoes has come in. Shoes and socks are modern additions to Malay attire. In his voyage referred to above, Munshi Abdullah tells how, in 1835, he saw no shoes in Kelantan on the foot of man, woman or prince, and the description of princely raiment in folk romances never includes any foot-covering. India, by way of Palembang, has furnished a sandal with cross-strap,² such as Chetties always wear; China, pattens³ with a large bone or silver knob to be gripped by the big toe; Turkey, velvet heelless slippers, worked with gold and silver thread and sequins; Portugal, the name of a boot;⁴ Europe generally, a variety of wonderful fashions so little understood that there are still many counterparts to the Sultan whom Sir Frank Swettenham describes as wearing sky-blue canvas shoes on stockingless feet. Tamil⁵ and Arabic⁶ names for shoes furnish epithets for royalty which may embody a primitive respect for foot-gear, but have left no special patterns.

Crawford would further rob the Malay of the credit of a head-dress, remarking that "the ancient practice of the Indian islanders with respect to the head appears to have been to leave it uncovered, and the Balinese still adhere to this practice." The Chinese chronicles give colour to the theory. I speak under correction, but it is

¹ *Golok* (Jav.) ² *Chapat*. ³ *Térompa*. ⁴ *Sépatu*. ⁵ *Chéppu*.
⁶ *Kaus*.

strange that the name for the head-kerchief seems Malay. Of Kedah, if Kalah be Kedah, before the tenth century, the chronicles record that "only functionaries are allowed to tie up their hair and to wrap a handkerchief round their heads"; of Malacca in the fifteenth century, that "the men of the people wrap up their heads in a square piece of cloth." The oldest style known is that "square piece of cloth,"¹ a form evidently determined by the obsolete fashion of wearing the hair long. The kerchief of heroes of folk-romance is always "rainbow" silk, probably of Indian manufacture, though nowadays the attribute would signify a famous modern pattern of Boyanese design. But the universal wear for at least a century has been, for chiefs and commoners *batek* cloth; for rajas on high occasions gold-threaded Batu Bara or gold-painted silk kerchiefs. The methods of tying them have been legion and had considerable significance. In Java, in Acheen, in the Negri Sembilan, the origin of the wearer could be inferred from his manner of folding it. In Perak only the three highest officers of state could fold it high on one side and low on the other, "like a young coconut split in halves";² only rajas could fold it with one corner erect "like the leaf of a bean";³ only great chiefs could wear it down over the poll, "taut as the cover of a pickle pot";⁴ warriors used the style called "the fighting elephants"⁵ with two corners of the kerchief drawn forward like jutting tusks; commoners wrapped their kerchiefs in the style of "the fowl with the broken wing,"⁶ throwing one end limp over the top. Other fashions have such picturesque names as "the tail of the

¹ *Tengkolok*.² *Solek mumbang di-belah dua*.³ *S. kacang sa-helai*.⁴ *S. gétang pèrkusan*.⁵ *S. gajah berjauang*.⁶ *S. ayam patah kèpak*.

bulbul," "the beak of the parrot," "the calladium leaf," "the deer's ear," each expressive of the most prominent peculiarities in the folding. Logan has recorded that even in his day the fashions were practically obsolete in Johore and Singapore; and the younger generation is everywhere discarding the kerchief and does not know the names of its styles.

The head-kerchief was supplanted by a succession of cylindrical caps, all ultimately, it would appear, of Arab origin.¹ There is the light neat cap woven of rotan or fern-stem,² surmounted often by a gold or silver button-ornament on the top; there is the cap³ "which greatly resembles the Malacca cap in colour, its body is made of close-pressed tree-cotton divided into narrow, vertical ribs by stitching on the lining; on this thin strips of silk or cotton stuffs of various colours are worked together so as to give the impression, when seen from a distance, of a piece of coarse European worsted work; between these ribs is often fastened gold thread, spreading at the top into ornamental designs." The hideous pert Turkish fez is common. A white crocheted skull cap⁴ is affected by the religious. All the foregoing may have a kerchief wound round their lower edge as turban. Commonest of all styles is the natty, low, cylindrical cap of velvet or frieze, sometimes decorated with slashed borders of black and coloured silk. Peasants don, as a sun-guard, a conical-shaped hat⁵ made of palm-leaf and rotan, like the hats depicted on Chinese tea-caddies but straight from top to brim and not concave. Bridegrooms often wear merely the head-kerchief, but common is a turban-like head-dress, which has, among others, a

¹ *Kopiah*, ² *Rizam*, ³ *Kopiah Arab*, ⁴ *Songkok*.

⁵ *Terdak bentan*.

Persian name' like the bride's fringe. It is a round band, stuffed with cotton-wool, covered with red cloth pasted over with gilt paper cut into patterns, or, in the case of royalty, of gold or bound round and round with gold tinsel; it may have a fine gold fringe² along its lower edge; one end is upturned; an erect aigrette³ is tucked above it, from which hang pendants⁴ of tinsel or fine gold filigree. It is worn in Perak by the Raja Muda (and, I believe, by the Sultan) on the occasion of his installation: a fashion which, in conjunction with the jewellery of the Perak Court, shows the remarkable continuity of custom inherited by Perak from the usages of the court of the old kingdom of Malacca: the same tradition obtains, of course, in Johore and Pahang, but circumstances have given these countries little opportunity of conserving it intact. The "Malay Annals" are quite clear on the point: "Every candidate for installation got a change of costume; a candidate for the office of bendahara, five trays-full—one containing a coat, one a skirt, one a turban (*dĕstar*), one a scarf, one a waist-cloth; sons of rajas, viziers and men of princely rank (*kshatriya*) four trays-full, the waist-cloth omitted; court attendants warriors, three trays-full—namely, skirt, coat and turban. After they had donned this costume, attendants adjusted a frontlet on their brows and armlets on the upper arm, because all candidates wore armlets according to rank: some armlets decorated with dragons, full of charms and enchantments, some jewelled armlets, some armlets with projecting ends, some in the form of a blue ring, some silver armlets, some a pair, some a single armlet."

¹ *Dĕstar*. (How Persian and Arabian influence worked its way into a Court may be seen from Mr. Wilkinson's Introduction to *The Ninety-nine Laws of Perak* in this series). Mr. Skeat says it is also called *sigar* in Selangor; in Perak it is *tĕngkulak bĕrĕtĕng*; in Patani, *pĕmentul*. ² *Kulu-kula*. ³ *Tajak*.

⁴ *Rucubai*; *gunjai*, *malai*, *gĕdubah*.

This passage introduces us to jewellery, which forms a part ethnologically very important in Malay dress, and which may be studied preeminently in the dress of bride and bridegroom. Again the Perak court has preserved tradition. Both sexes wear the dragon-headed armet¹ as it occurs in Java; both sexes wear a long gold chain of Javanese name² tucked into the waist-band on the left side. Besides these, they wear a number of other ornaments which differ not in character but only in quality from those used by lesser folk. Both sexes, as in Java, wear an oval buckle,³ or rather ornament of gold or silver or *jadam*-ware or even brass, according to their rank and means: the older specimens all having conventionalised lotus-flower centres, others the signs of the Zodiac, and some of *jadam* an Arabic text. Both sexes wear hollow anklets⁴ and bracelets⁵ such as occur in Java; but the bride wears, in addition, peculiar bracelets,⁶ a badge of virginity, whose ends are shaped like the side of a flat triangular spoon. Both sexes wear a breast ornament⁷ worn in Java, consisting of tiers of gold plates, and above it, as in Java, an ornament⁸ commonly worn by children, circular⁹ for male, crescent-shaped for female, of gold filigree-work. In place of turban, the bride wears a gold (or gilt-paper) frontlet¹⁰ upon her brows, like that used both by bride and groom in Java; it is surmounted by a garden of paper blossoms¹¹ stuck on nodding wires; and gold flowers are fixed by golden hair-pins¹² on the top of her chignon. Both sexes wear a variety of rings, some plain and dubbed after their shapes, the "sated leech"¹³

¹ *Pontak bĕrnaga* and *pontak*. ² *Kĕnghalong*. ³ *Pĕnding*. ⁴ *Kĕronchong*. ⁵ *Gĕlang kana bĕrtunjal bĕckĕrawang bĕrpahat tĕrus bĕrsiku kĕluang dua tĕngkat*. ⁶ *Gĕlang bĕrsudu*. ⁷ *Dakok*. ⁸ *Agok*. ⁹ *Bunga kĕmbang*. ¹⁰ *Kĕlat dahi (gandĕk, Mal.)* ¹¹ *Bunga kĕtar*. ¹² *Pachok tunggal; tu mang sĕndok*. ¹³ *Chinchin pachat kĕngang*.

(on the index finger of the right hand), the "elephant-foot bezel"¹ (on the little finger of the same hand); some set with stones and called, for example, "the garden of fire-flies."² on the ring-finger. The bride also wears a ring remarkable for a ruby-eyed filigree gold peacock³ perched in place of a bezel; a ring which is always worn along with a protector⁴ for the long finger-nail of leisure that looks like a glorified cheese-scoop. "They wore a girdle of gold and golden rings in their ears," we are told of the kings and nobles of Langgasu. At the foundation of Palembang both sexes were adorned with ear-rings but now the bride only wears ear-rings,⁵ round, the size of a penny, a badge of virginity, and these are giving way to small drops⁶ and pendants.⁷ The bridegroom's dagger⁸ may have a golden sheath and gold or ivory haft: for is he not a king for the day?

Such is the older jewellery. Perak tradition vaguely ascribes most of it to craftsmen immigrant from Java, and old Malacca of course not only represented the Palembang tradition, with its Indo-Javanese culture, but also had a Javanese settlement. Clearly gold work exhibits styles quite different from that of the foliated scrolls common to Malay silver, and, curiously enough, Indian influence is patent in the Sanskrit names for gold pinchbeck and jewels but not in the terminology of silver. But if most of the wedding finery be derived from Java, there must be other old elements on which comparative investigation should throw further light. Whence comes the virgin's bracelet with flat triangular spoon-like ends? Whence the cheese-scoop nail protector and the peacock ring?

The bride wears necklaces other than those already

¹ *Ch. lajak gajah.* ² *Kunang-kunang sekobun.* ³ *Mōrak.*
⁴ *Changgal* (vide "Malay Magic," p. 46). ⁵ *Subang.* ⁶ *Subang guntong.*
⁷ *Oelit.* ⁸ In Patani he wears the *Tajong* or 'kingfisher' hilted *kēris*.

cited, but they are of foreign origin and comparatively modern: the Manilla chain,¹ to which allusion is made in the "Sejarah Melayu;" a chain named after a Persian coin;² a necklace of oval beads, usually of gold, but called after Arabian coral;³ a chain with tiny casket containing an Arabian amulet.⁴ Among the heirlooms of the Perak sultanate is "a very strange breast ornament⁵ for adorning the front of a woman's dress; it is made up of six dragons: the two upper dragons approach each other with their heads and tails while their bodies curve outwards; between their heads is a fish; below them are two dragons stretching downwards parallel to one another; below these, two more dragons crossed. The whole ornament is made of a sort of mosaic of poor gems. It is not Malayan," and it has an Arabic name.

The trail of Chinese and European influence, tiresome as mediocrity, is over all Malay ornament now that the feudal age with its patient unpaid craftsmen has passed and fearful respect for rank has given place to a democratic ostentation which would have been quashed by *kèris* and fine of old. Women and children, both boys and girls, wear necklaces, bracelets, anklets and rings with their best clothes, but the oldest ornaments are dying out, except that children still wear the *agok* and a fig-shaped "modesty-piece," fastened by a string, where the sculptor from similar motives places a leaf." Men's jewellery consists, now, of gold coat buttons, watch-chain and rings; for which the poorer substitute iron, silver, pinchbeck or brass, while the severe and the poorest wear no jewellery at all, excusing poverty of attire with a wealth of religious

¹ *Rantai Manilla.* ² *Rantai dīrham.* ³ *Mīrjan.* ⁴ *Azimat.*
⁵ *Kanching alkah.* ⁶ *Chaping.*

conviction. The *kĕbaya* has brought into fashion a set of three brooches,¹ sometimes studded with brilliants, oftener with rubies or cornelians, two of them circular, one heart-shaped. Tiger claws, mounted in gold, are a favourite ornament. The ear-rings now commonly worn are tiny studs,² drops³ and pendants.⁴

Ladies daub their faces and the faces of their children with a white⁵ or yellow⁶ paste which takes the place of the European lady's puff-powder and, like that, finds excuse in alleged cooling properties. Both sexes once affected blackened teeth⁷ in preference to the white teeth "of a dog"; but the dog and better taste have now won the day, though it is still usual for girls to have their teeth filed down to a uniform level. The bride's nodding artificial flowers, the bridegroom's floral pendants, the blossoms stuck behind the ear of the candidate installed in office, all bear witness to a time when the use of flowers was usual. In the "Malay Annals," we are told, as the mark of a dandy, that he wore over the ear a nosegay of green *chĕmpaka* blossoms. Folk-tales often allude to the ear posy, a symbolical present between lovers. Probably it is to the severity of Islam that we owe the entire discontinuance of this pretty fashion for men and the fact that flowers in hair are considered the sign of a light woman. In the north of the Peninsula women still wear jasmine in their chignons, and *nawshi* Abdullah tells how he saw women of Kelantan decked with garlands of flowers down to the knee, strung in beautiful patterns such as were never heard of in Malacca or Singapore.

¹ *Kĕcosong*. ² *Kĕcaba*. ³ *Salong pĕntong*. ⁴ *Andĕmpanting*: *ceuge* (Chinese and bean-shaped); *u. dit.* of diamond and attached behind the lobe of the ear. ⁵ *W-dak*. ⁶ *Be.ih*. ⁷ Vide "Malay Magic" pp. 352-360, and for the Malay *loose classiques*, H. *Awang Salung Meeah Mada* (pp. 15 and 67), edited by A. J. Sturrock and R. O. Winstell.

The Chinese records describe Malay women as wearing their hair in a knot; men as sometimes following a like fashion, generally as wearing those long flowing locks which till recent days were considered a sign of bravery :

*Apa guna bĕrambut panjang,
Kalau tidak bĕrani mati?*

Isolated instances may still be found, though Muhammadism and European example have made shaving, or at least short hair, the rule, as also shaving for the chin and lip: a beard is a sign of staidness and religion. Women's coiffure can no longer be dismissed as a knot. "The axe," as the Malay proverb runs, "must be pardoned for trespassing on the carpet," the rude male intelligence for handling the mysteries of the toilet. But there is the style of "knot" like a big bow¹ athwart the back of the head and fastened in the middle, a style common in the south of the Peninsula and worn everywhere at weddings; there is the "roll";² there is a trefoil knot³ sometimes askew to the right; there is a quinqufoil fashion⁴ with various names according to its positions; and Chinese and European models are imitated in towns. The Malay has a keen appreciation for the roll as "smooth as a grain of rice." A princess in "Trong Pipit" is pictured

"In seven folds her tresses tiring,
Seven up-foldings nine down-turnings,
Like snakes a-coil or dragons a-fight,
Her curls close tucked as lovers delight,
Bunch round as monkey on branch and tight."⁵

¹ *Lipat pucuk* or *lumpang sangkut*. ² *Sanggul siput*. ³ *Tĕrongsit bĕrambut nasi si-helat, ya-nai helat dan kĕmas; ya-jong. Sanggul kĕlong.*
⁴ *Sanggul anai*, if in front; *S. ayam mĕngĕraw*, if on top of the head. Other fashions are *sanggul Sĕwani*, *sanggul rusa lumpang*.

⁵ *Sanggul bĕrambut tajoh lipat,
Tajoh lipat, sĕmbilan kulai,
Ular bĕrbĕlit naga bĕrkĕlahi,
Anak rambut muntĕng pĕlai;
Ekur rambut kĕra bĕrjantai.*

The heads of tiny children of both sexes are shaved, but girls' hair is allowed to grow at the back and boys have one or sometimes two tufts left, until, say, at the age of twelve or the time of their circumcision they are allowed the style of the grown man. These fashions for children are due, of course, to Arabic influence, as also is the staining of the fingers with henna and the darkening of the eyes with kohl at marriages.

For Arabic influence was powerfully at work prior to our coming. It has captured the wedding dais and puts the bridegroom into its flowing robes, unless he be a prince from whom heathen pride and heathen frippery are difficult of expulsion; it would even forbid this wedding dais as a dangerous incentive to the lust of the eye. Perhaps this may be a consolation to us in contemplating the change that we have wrought on the silks and velvets and the gold and sequins of Malay romance; this and the thought that these splendours were confined to the few and then aired only at holiday. A few toothless old men and women regret them, members of families who with the passing of the feudal dispensation so gay for aristocrats, so cruel for others, have suffered the proverbial fate of those golden coconuts,¹ nurtured in their prime in princes' gardens but destined to become some drinking vessels, some cups for rain-water and some to fall downwards so that neither rain can assuage their thirst nor earth their emptiness. Let us take a last glimpse at the wardrobe of romance, through eyes that knew the Perak court more than a generation ago, dim unregenerate

¹ *Ngiau gading.*

eyes that hardly see how their treasures are faded, and mildewed, and moth-eaten, and vain.

This is an account¹ of the dress of rajas, chiefs, gentry, *sayids* and their descendants of various degree, of rajas' slaves and of the common folk, both male and female. A great *raja* would wear red silk trousers, with a chevron pattern in gold thread running up each leg from the bottom, fastened at the waist by a piece of thinner cloth sewn on the top of the silk trouser and by a cord. His coat would be short-sleeved and have one gold button at the throat; his skirt be of Bugis silk; his waist cord of gold thread with fringed ends wound outside the skirt, nine cubits in length. In that cord he would thrust a *kéris* mounted with ivory hilt, the entire scabbard and fittings being of gold. His head-kerchief would be of silk, decorated with tiny gold patterns, or embroidered with the Creed in Arabic characters: it would be tied in the fashion called "the young coconut split in halves": that is, it would stand up on the right side and lie smooth on the left, one end jutting out prominently. He would wear a short-sleeved silk inner vest with a fine pattern in white, yellow and black, like shredded ginger to look at. The Raja Muda and the Raja Bendalara would affect trousers adorned with gold braid, inlet pieces of coloured glass and sequins round the bottoms. Their skirts would be decorated with tiny patterns in gold. Their waist-bands, in length ten cubits or eleven with the fringes, would have a large mottled snaky pattern. Their *kéris*es would be sheathed in gold only half way up the scabbard, and above have gold cord ornament. Their jackets would be (?) short-sleeved, and their skirts of medium length. Their head-kerchiefs would be tied in the fashion called "the single bean-leaf": that is, three of its points would be brought forward and one stand erect. The Raja Muda's dress would be all yellow. The four great chiefs and the eight great chiefs and members of their families would wear trousers woven in latitudinal stripes of four colours; coats with "winged" skirts, collars high at the back, and one gold button at the throat. As for the sixteen lesser chiefs and the thirty-two lesser chiefs, the old men wore any kind of cylindrical cap if they fancied it; trousers of silk or cotton, of the Achinese pattern, for which Kampong Sayong was famous, the bottoms of the trousers decorated with sparse gold thread only as far as their calves; a full skirt of Batu Bara

¹ For the Malay original, see Appendix pp. 79-82.

silk or chequered Peninsular pattern; a silk waist cloth of the "lime" pattern, without or with gold thread interwoven; a head-kerchief of fine Batek cloth, tied either in the style called "the fowl with the broken wing," with one end lopping over in front, or taut over the skull in the style called "the pickle-pot cover"; if they preferred the cylindrical cap, it was of fern-stem, or embroidered with the Creed, or of Arab fashion. All headmen wore trousers long, or of Chinese pattern but narrower in the leg; jackets with only a slit for the head, one button at the throat, and wide sleeves; or jackets of the Teluk Blanga style, that is, with collar, three buttons and three pockets; inside the coat skirts with a tiny bee-like pattern; they affected Batek head-kerchiefs tied in the style of "the pickle-pot cover," or else cylindrical Arab caps. Sayids dressed, some like headmen some like pilgrims returned from the Haj; their descendants wore trousers of Batu Bara silk with the "duck's web" ornament at the ankles; white coats open down the front, with five buttons and three pockets; skirts of Palembang silk; black cylindrical hats of fern-stem or head-kerchief of Batek cloth tied taut in the "pickle-pot lid" fashion. Court attendants dressed in similar style, but all who had free entrance to the palace would wrap their skirts outside their coats. On the left side of their waist-bands they thrust a *kris* sheathed in yellow wood with a gold-cupped ivory haft, the nose of the haft pointing to the left too and the haft itself wrapped in a kerchief of cloth of gold. Commoners wore Chinese trousers; a coat open down the front and folded across, with one button at the throat; tartan cotton skirt; a head-kerchief of Batek cloth from Semarang looms, two of the ends pointing towards the back of the head and a piece of them covering the nape of the neck in the style known as "the sitting hen." Old folk wore a cap twisted of screw-palm leaf wound round with white or coloured cloth, their coats, trousers and skirts of coarse white linen. Princesses wore silk cloth-of-gold trousers of the Achinese shape, with the "duck's web" flap at ankle and full silk skirts; their jackets were short, of satin flowered in various colours, red, blue, purple or with gold thread; they had a slit for the head to go through and sleeves that were tight at wrist, the hem round edge of neck and sleeves being set with gold ornaments; they wore a waist-buckle to fasten their skirts; their shoulder-scarves were of cloth-of-gold of various patterns, or silk of various patterns, or Batek cloth, or Siamese silk. their skirts were cloth-of-gold from Batu Bara, silk of fine patterns, silk from Palembang, or silk with tiny embroidered flowers tied in the

style called "the rolling wave": that is, wrapped round from the right-hand side and fastened on the left. All women dressed alike except that it was forbidden the common sort to imitate the dress of princesses and ladies. Court attendants could enter the presence with the ends of their shoulder-scarves hanging loosely down, but other women were strictly forbidden to do so and had to remove the scarf from their shoulders, gathering two ends of it in their hands before them. For gold ornaments: first there were jacket buttons, then a ring of fine decoration like "the blossom of the coconut palm," a ring with bezel as heavy as an elephant's foot, gold *s'iao* blossom for the hair and gold or silver tinsel flowers, gold hair-pins, gold earrings set with rubies or one or more diamonds, or gold filigree ear-studs; hollow tinkling anklets of gold or silver called "the sleeping lanterns." Virgins wore a solid bracelet with spoon-like ends of gold or of alloy with gold ends; large round filigree earrings set with a ruby or a turquoise; a gold bead necklace. Boys wore a waist-belt of gold or silver cord; gold bracelets, flat within and oval without; round anklets of gold or alloy; a round gold filigree pendant set with one stone, attached to a gold or silver neck-chain with bean shaped fastening; they also wore a gold bead necklace. Little girls wore the spoon-end bracelets; a crescent-shaped gold filigree pendant; a necklace of gold coin-shaped filigree discs or a gold chain, and a gold bead necklace; they wore small round earrings set with one stone. Their garments were like those of their elders, but the children of common folk might not dress like the children of princes, above that station to which it had pleased God to call them.

FOOD.

It is related of a mediæval Malay embassy to China that the Emperor asked what food Malacca folk were fond of, and on getting the preconcerted reply—"Kangkong, not cut, but split lengthwise," set a dish before them which they proceeded to eat deliberately, taking them by the tip of the stalk, lifting up their heads and opening wide their mouths so that they might thus obtain a full view of the Emperor without offence to court etiquette. The device was not elegant, but it is hardly an

exaggeration of what the European conceives Malay table manners to be: the shovelling of gobbets by dexterous greasy fingers to an up-turned mouth; the unclean civility of transferring in the aforesaid fingers spiced morsels to his guest's plate; the belch as a concluding grace in the ritual of a peculiar courtesy. Again, the ordinary view of Malay food is exactly reflected in the sententious phrases with which that chartered admirer of European habits, Munshi Abdullah, turns up a methodical nose at the fare of his unsophisticated brethren of the East Coast: "I saw all manner of vegetables and vegetable condiments in the market, and spiced condiments and curries, but stinking stuffs predominated: fish-stock preserve, salted durian, dried fish, salted cockles, vile smelling jungle pods, and many kinds of condiment made of fish, and rank fish-paste, and seaweed, and tree-shoots. What I did not see was respectable food, like meat, dripping, eggs, butter and milk."

It is only fair to look at the matter from the other side too. Perverse, perhaps, as the Egyptian of Herodotus' pages, the Malay looks at the white man's silent consumption of victuals as an act of animal gluttony, and prefers to sound repletion in his host's ear with no uncertain note. Unlike our great unwashed, he is most punctilious in the ablution of hands and mouth: originally he may have been satisfied with his fingers from poverty of invention; but when knives and spoons have been within reach for centuries, he has refrained because, while it is possible to keep his feeding hand from all defilement, it is hard to supervise the uncertain destinies of a spoon. It is true that in common with "the Burmese, the Kasias, the Nagas of our Bengal frontiers and even the Chinese, and on

the other hand the Javanese, the Baliuese and the races of Sumatra," he exhibits an unholy aversion to milk and a depraved liking for stinking fish-paste, but were some cataclysm of nature to add to the zoology of his clime grouse and pheasant and sleek milch kine, he might develop a taste for high game and gorgonzola and he would certainly become addicted to milk and beef: on the pilgrimage he learns to appreciate the flesh-pots of Arabia, and in his own towns he falters after the Western ideal with the help of margarine and tinned milk of the Milkmaid brand! He cannot be accused of insular prejudice: the Chinaman, the Indian, the Javanese, the Arab, the Portuguese, the Dutch have all added recipés to his repertory of dishes.

The Malay has no fixed hours for meals. He will break his fast at dawn with rice cold from overnight or, if he be more luxurious and sophisticated, with unwholesome confectionaries and tea or coffee sans milk or sugar. About the hours during which the leisured classes of Europe take their breakfasts, or nearer noon, he has the first of his two principal meals of the day. Women and children, if they have no appetite for rice or if their employment delay the substantial meal, will indulge, in the heat of the day, in a fiery cold vegetable salad¹ eaten alone; its ingredients consisting of banana, pineapple, yams, beans, tubers and *měngkudu* cut fine and mixed with fish-paste and shredded chillies and flavoured with salt, sugar and tamarind. An hour or so after the mid-day meal, the town Malay will take tea and confectionaries, as also late at night. But the real Malay lets nothing but betel-chewing disturb his appetite between the curry and rice of the morning and

¹ *Bojak*.

the curry and rice he takes between dusk and bed-time; though of course in season men women and children will surfeit themselves by eating *durian* and jack-fruit especially from morning to night.

A complete betel quid consists of a plug of tobacco and a betel-leaf with tip and stem broken off, smeared with lime and folded to contain morsels of betel-nut and gambir according to taste: in the case of toothless old folk, the ingredients are pounded in a long tube-like mortar into a scarlet paste and transferred to the tongue on the pestle. To the old-fashioned Malay it takes the place of the pipe and peg, afternoon tea, coffee and liqueur, febrifuge and tonic: the habitué appreciates its quality with the same nicety that a connoisseur appreciates a tobacco or a vintage; and so for the old Sultans of Perak was reserved lime from Sungai Trap, leaves from the Chikus vines. The quid further served, like the toast, as a pledge of courtesy, hospitality and good fellowship, and was sent ceremonially on invitations to a feast, as a prelude to betrothal, on all occasions of etiquette. It was laid down in the Malacca code: "Shall the courtesy of offering betel be not returned, it is a great offence to be expiated by the offenders going to ask pardon with an offering of boiled rice and a betel stand; if the neglect be committed towards the headman, it is greatly aggravated, and besides the aforesaid offering the offender shall do obeisance and be fined ten *mas*; if previous to a marriage or other ceremony the customary offering of betel be not sent, giving notice thereof to headmen and elders, the party shall be fined the offering of boiled rice and a betel-stand; shall a headman give a feast to his dependents and omit this etiquette, he shall

be entitled not to the name of *pēnghulu* but of *tuah-tuah* only. At circumcisions and ear-boring, too, he who has not received the customary offering of betel cannot be considered to have had a proper invitation." The betel-quid was the Malay valentine, and the highest favour that could be bestowed on a subject from a prince's hand, or rather mouth. But the younger generation no longer admires the red saliva, the teeth-blackening effect, and so has discarded betel for "Cycle" cigarettes and the Burma cheroot: perhaps a more liberal diet and the cultivation of a more sensitive palate has hastened its disuse.

For curry and rice. "The rice is prepared by boiling in a manner peculiar to India; its perfection, next to cleanliness and whiteness, consisting in its being when thoroughly dressed and soft to the heart, at the same time whole and separated, so that no two grains shall adhere together." Or as it is written of the food that the fairies brought to Awang Sulong Merah Muda in his distress :

" Fine as carraways from Rawa
 Were the grains of rice they served him ;
 Pinch the grains and straight you husked them ;
 Side by side arranged in order ;
 None were criss-cross, none were zigzag :
 At edge of dish, with wavy border,
 Heaped like mass of clouds in centre."

Malay cooks differ as to how exactly this consummation is to be attained: some advocate some dislike stirring with spoon, but the general principle is to put the rice into an earthen vessel with enough water to cover it, let it simmer over a slow fire, taking off all impurities with a flat ladle and removing the fire from under

the pot when the rice is just short of burning. To an epicure well cooked rice is the alpha, just as well-spiced condiments are the omega, of good curry. Unfortunately for European taste, at marriages and festivals the Malay cook will try to improve on perfection. He will¹ boil the rice along with such spices as carraway seeds, cloves, mace, nutmeg and ginger and garlic, in dripping or coconut oil; or² he will boil it in coconut milk instead of water; or he³ will gild the lily with turmeric, using glutinous rice. The inland peasant eats with his daily rice river fish and some boiled brinjals or bananas, hot with the admixture of scarlet capsicums, and in season he indulges in the delicacy of salted durian. The maritime Malay uses sea-fish and (with a squeeze of lime juice) that stinking condiment famous from Bangkok to Burma, so repellent to the uninitiated and so indispensable to the connoisseur, *hēluchan*,⁴ the crushed salted paste of shrimps and young fry, to obtain which the Chinese fisherman will sail through every section of the fishing rules. Such is the daily food of the poor, but even the poor can contrive far tastier fare. It is easy to provide simple vegetable curries by spicing in a dozen various ways the brinjal, fern-shoots, spinach, convolvulus leaves, bananas, cucumbers, gourds, the different kinds of beans, the pumpkin, the Chinese radish. One recipe in full must suffice.

Take any edible vegetable leaf or fruit, and potatoes. Peel or slice them as the case may be, rejecting those that have been eaten by slugs. Clean and wash in a strainer several times. Mix a few dried prawns, one pepper seed, and an onion sliced; grind all together. Take the milk of a ripe coconut. Put the aforesaid vegetables

¹ *Nasi mīngok* or *nasi samin*.

² *Nasi lēmuk*.

³ *Nasi kunyit*.

⁴ In Malacca there is a kind called *chēachalok* made of shrimps only. Another common paste is *pēkissau*, made of crushed and salted shell-fish. *Bēluchan*, is called by the Burmese *ngape*, by Javanese *lēsai*, by Siamese *hope*.

and spices into an earthen vessel, close the lid and place it on the fire. If the¹ vegetables taste saltish, plunge a burning brand into the pot and the salt taste will vanish.

Or² put in some chillies, and use dripping or oil in place of coconut milk. Or³ use for spices pepper, turmeric, onion, garlic, fish-paste and dried prawns. Or⁴ pound coriander, carraway, turmeric and pepper, and fry onions and garlic with your vegetables. And so on, and so on, in a number of distinct ways. A safe rule in all Malay curry dishes is: never stint your coconut milk; a rule the observance of which differentiates the Malay from the Madras curry.

In addition to dried fish and a vegetable dish, the well-to-do will have a fish or prawn curry, a fowl curry, or alas! at feasts a tough buffalo curry, which often deceives the European into the belief that his Chinese cook can eclipse the culinary achievements of the Malay on his own ground: the preference for buffalo-meat to beef has been considered a relic of Hinduism, but may be only that for the easily obtained home commodity. I have before me sixteen recipes for fish curries and at least a dozen for chicken curries. I will give a few recipes in which either fish or fowl may be used.

Take your fish or fowl and clean and prepare them. Grind up together the spices—namely, pepper, an onion, garlic, salt, fresh turmeric: chop fine a little *lengkuas* (*alpinia galanga*), a little citronella grass, shred a little ginger. Put all the spices with the fish or fowl. Pour in coconut milk. Add one or two acid limes (*asam gëngur*). Cook in a clay vessel to the boiling point.⁵

Prepare your fish or fowl. Shred onion, garlic, pepper, ginger; crush two or three pieces of turmeric. Put these spices with the fish or fowl and pour in coconut milk. Fry some shredded onion crisp.

¹ *Sayur masak lemak patah.*

² *E.g., sayur lëong masak lemak.*

³ *Masak lemak.*

⁴ *E.g., sayur rebak bangun.*

⁵ *E.g., kacang pëpë masak kari.*

Put spices, coconut oil and fried onion into an earthen pot and cook to boiling point. Add two or three acid limes. Remove from the fire as soon as boiling has made the liquid thick.¹

To curry fish, flesh, fowl or prawns, clean and prepare your fish, flesh, fowl or prawns. Grind your spices, two or three handfuls of coriander seed, a dozen capsicums, twenty black pepper seeds, a few anise and cummin seeds and a little turmeric; slice three or four onions, two or three garlies; mix with the spices. Mix all with your fish or fowl. Slice five or six onions, two or three garlies, a little ginger, a little cummin and anise seed and mace, and fry till half-cooked in dripping. Then put in your fowl and spices: sprinkle a little salt, pour in enough coconut milk to cover the contents; add a few potatoes. With fish use tamarinds; with prawns *asam g'lugur* and a little pineapple or jack-fruit. If you like your curry to look red, increase the number of capsicums.

Capsicum red is a colour too hot for the European palate. But your prawn curry, whose colour is a pale green shot with yellow, is superlative, to the eye a feast of delicate hues, to the tongue a thing of exquisite flavour, to the timorous fearful of "death in the pot" a seduction and leading astray. In life your prawn crawled: in death he floats transfigured, the crustacean counterpart of a lotus in a bed of tender green.

When you have your rice, your fish or fowl or prawn curry, and your vegetable curry, you have the means of satisfying a hunter's hunger but not of tickling the dainty appetite. You still want certain condiments that are the product of the soul and finer feeling of the kitchen and are, in fact, the multiple bouquet of your curry.

It is here that the cosmopolitan artists of Malacca, Singapore and (perhaps a little way behind them) of Penang excel. It is absurd to imagine that to obtain the quintessence of a Malay curry you must enter

¹ *Masakan India.*

untravell'd fastnesses. In Patani the Cambridge expedition was regaled with such relishes as sun-dried durian pulp, toads, red ants and fried cicada. What jungle hut can boast of ingredients that have to be imported from the coast, from India, from Macassar? What feudal village can pour out the abundance and variety of a large town market? Let me dip, an Agag among the saucepans, into esoteric mysteries.

Take your prawn and shell him alive, and clean him. Cut up fresh pepper-seed, onion and turmeric and grind them to a fine paste; add salt and some thick coconut milk. Put prawn and all into an earthen pot; close your pot and heat over the fire till the liquid has become thick but not dried up.¹

There is a touch of Walton and the live frog in this, but your prawn's head is twisted off at the outset, so that really his quietus is no worse than that of your infidel fowl.

Take turtle eggs. Cut up and pound together citronella grass, *Pangkwas*, ginger, dry pepper, onion and garlic, mixing with it *isi buah keras*. When it is all a paste, add your turtle eggs cut fine. Take the thick liquid of coconut milk and mix with it fine ground turmeric. Pour eggs, spices and milk into an earthen pot; close the lid and cook till your liquid is thick.²

After these, other recipes may sound to Jeames Yellowplush low, but they are excellent.

Take fern-shoots or beans cut lengthwise and wash them. Grind enough fresh pepper and a large onion, cut fine, with dried prawn. Mix this paste with the thick liquid of coconut milk and the minced liver of a chicken. Fry onion and garlic cut fine. Pour in your fern-shoots or beans, your paste, your fried stuffs and a little fish-paste. Close the pot and cook to boiling point.

Another species of condiment is the pickle.

Take limes, cut them in quarters, not severing them till the quarters fall entirely apart; salt them and keep them in an earthen-

¹ *Sambal udang*

² *Sambal terubok*.

ware vessel for two or three days; then dry them in the sun till they look half baked. After that bottle them. Fry mustard seeds in *bijau* oil till they expand; after which remove from the fire and allow to cool. Put shredded garlic and ginger into your bottle and pour in your mustard seed and its vinegar. Invert your bottle every day or so, so that all the limes may be moistened, but never open it till juice has begun to flow from the limes.

Take boiled eggs, shell them, cut them in halves. Grind to a fine paste sufficient spices—namely, coriander seed, capsicums, dry turmeric, an onion, garlic, anise and cummin seed. Fry mustard seed without oil. Fry sliced onion in oil till crisp. Then pour eggs, spices, mustard seed and fried onion into the pot together and cook; when half cooked, pour in enough vinegar to cover the eggs and cook to boiling point.¹

Take young bamboo shoots, clean and boil and cut into small pieces. Chop up fresh pepper and onion; peel some garlies; shred ginger; grind up fresh turmeric, coriander seed, capsicums, a little of each. Fry some onions in oil. Pour off the water from your bamboo-shoots and put them and the spices into the pot. Fill up the vinegar and boil all together.²

There are two kinds of pickle: the cooked, just described,³ and the cold,⁴ which consist of limes, mangoes, *bēlimbing* and so on, alternately salted and dried in the sun daily for a fortnight. There are yet two other sorts of condiments: one⁵ dry without coconut milk, one⁶ cooked in sugar: both of which, like pickles, can be kept for months. I will content myself with the recipe of a condiment delightful to those who have a sweet tooth. It can be made of jack-fruit, brinjal or pineapple. Despite Captain Hamilton's opinion, no one who has tasted the pineapple of Malaya will endorse in full Charles Lamb's praise of the pine: "she is almost too transcendent; a delight if not sinful yet so like to sinning that really a tender-conscienced person would do

¹ *Achar liman.*

² *Achar rēbong.*

³ *Achar.*

⁴ *Jrok.*

⁵ *Strunding.*

⁶ *Pēchali.*

well to pause; too ravishing for mortal taste, she woundeth and excoriateth the lips that approach her; like lovers' kisses, she biteth; she is a pleasure bordering on pain from the fierceness and insanity of her relish." The sorry jade of the Peninsula borders more often on pain than on pleasure, but hear how she may be corrected and rendered innocuous, a chaste relish on a tiny plate.

Slice your pineapple. Grind small your spices: coriander seed, onion, garlic, pepper, anise and cummin, a little of each. Fry some onion in dripping, put pineapple and spices into the pot with the fried onion, and cook to boiling point. Add salt to taste, two or three spoonfulls of fine sugar and, if you like, tamarind. Remove the pot as soon as your condiment is cooked.

Such in all sumptuousness is a Malay curry. The poor benighted Malay may perhaps be excused if he share the opinion of the Chinese B.A., who left a Cambridge lodging-house with the impression that good plain food might be wholesome, but that its plainness, after the tasty dishes of the East, convinced one of the possibility of having too much even of a good thing. However, there are curries and curries, just as there are new laid eggs, country eggs, fresh eggs, eggs, and college eggs.

Most Europeans will go as far to avoid Malay kickshaws as they will to taste a Malay curry. There is much excuse and some little prejudice in the matter. What could the European *chef* do, if he were deprived by nature of milk and butter, and by religion of lard? and if instead of flour he had to depend mainly on sweet glutinous rice? It is impossible here to set down a tithe of the confectionaries in use. A few only of the commoner sorts can be given.

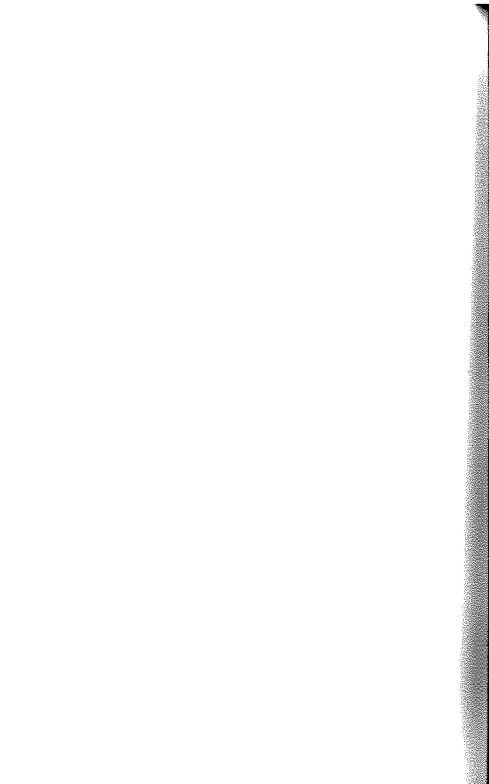
For his early morning refection the Malay may take sugared fried bananas cold; or¹ green beans, boiled, sugared, rolled in rice-flour and finally fried in oil. If he be sick, he may confine himself to a diet of pounded rice-flour fried in oil and mixed with grated coconut and a little salt.² An hour or so after his mid-day rice, he may partake of bananas sugared and soaked in coconut milk,³ or of rice-flour boiled in a pandan-leaf case and rolled afterwards in grated coconut,⁴ or of sago boiled with grated coconut.⁵ But his richest recipes are reserved for the nocturnal junketings of the fasting month, for wedding and other feasts. Commonest among them are sweetmeats made of glutinous rice: the ways of cooking it are almost legion, some of them reserved for festivals, some simple and part of the peasant's daily fare. There are two ways of preparing it which are especially preferred. It may be steamed and cooked along with coconut milk and white sugar.⁶ It may be pounded to flour and simmered with coconut milk and sugar till it looks like black toffee.⁷ In season, durian pulp is cooked with sugar into a sweetmeat.⁸ A sweet mess⁹ of tender green colour is made of eggs beaten up with rose-water, flavoured with sugar, mace, clove and nutmeg, the resultant mixture being steamed. The Anglo-Indian "hopper"¹⁰ is found. Cakes are made of flour mixed with coconut milk and flavoured with salt;¹¹ of sago-flour kneaded with dripping¹² and so on. Palatable is a crisp macaroni-like biscuit¹³ made of flour and water. There is a thin wafer¹⁴ biscuit with a Dutch name, made of rice-flour, sugar and coconut-milk,

¹ *Gandar kěturi*, ² *Lēmping bēous*, ³ *Pēngot*, ⁴ *Ondé-ondé*,
⁵ *Lēmping sago*, ⁶ *Wajek*, ⁷ *Dodol*, ⁸ *Lēmpek*, ⁹ *Sēri kaya*
Bombay, ¹⁰ *Apam*, ¹¹ *Kueh sērabei*, ¹² *Kueh bangkit*, ¹³ *Roti*
ĕnjis, ¹⁴ *Kueh Bēlanda*.

kneaded to a paste and hold over embers in a pincer-like iron, imprinted with floral pattern. Hard tasteless jellies are made of a species of sea weed. Malacca especially is famous for some agreeable preserved fruits.¹ Cakes and sweetmeats are served in various fancy patterns, whether it be glutinous rice cooked in *pandau* wrappers or sweetmeats prepared in moulds; and these patterns rejoice in marvellous names. Those curious in æsthetic nomenclature may be left to unravel the form of such patterns as "the three virgins in one room,"² "the smiling Sarifa and the laughing Saiyid," "Radin Inu passing on horseback," "the widow shrieking at midnight." Only the impertinent will detect reference to a nightmare quality in the cakes.

¹ *Halva* (Ar.)

² I.e., a trefoil pattern.



APPENDICES.

I.—KAMPONG.

KÉNYATAAN KAPADA SÉGALA RAYAT TANTÈRA ISI NÈGÈRI SÉMBILAN.

DARI HAL KÉRBAU PANTANG LARANG.

Hai méréka-méréka sèkélian rayat tantèra isi Nègèri Sémбилan :

Titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia mémbuangkan istiadat yang tëlah jadi pantang larang fasal kèrbau-kèrbau.

Bahwa di-bèri tahu kapada sèkélian méréka-méréka tëlah di-mèrdèhekakan kèrbau-kèrbau pantang larang dan tiada di-milek lagi kapada tuan kèrbau itu dan atas sa-barang jénis rupa kèrbau-kèrbau itu mènjadi harta kapada tuan yang mèmponyai dia tiada-lah tèr-pulang pada kèadilan ya'itu Duli Yang di-Pèrtuan.

Di-dalam Balai Istana Bèsar.

Sèri Mènantì,

Kapada 8th March, 1901.

Alihal maka ini-lah nama-nama kèrbau yang larang pantang kapada rayat pada masa yang tëlah lalu :

1. Kèrbau jantan badol, ya'itu ujung tandok-nya ka-bawah lèpas daripada tëlinga-nya.
2. Kèrbau jantan sampaian kain, ya'itu lurus tandok-nya ka-kiri dan ka-kanan, atau pun salah suatu kèdua-nya.
3. Kèrbau jantan sinar matahari, ya'itu mèngadap tandok-nya ka-hadapan atau hitam badan-nya, kèpala-nya merah atau tandok-nya.
4. Kèrbau bungkal ganti, ya'itu ujung tandok-nya sa-lama-lama-nya sèpèrti sa-biji buah.
5. Kèrbau bungkal ganti, ya'itu bulat ujung tandok-nya kadang-kadang jatoh bungkal-nya tètapi bèrganti balek.
6. Kèrbau changgal putèri, jangkir atau kuku-nya lèntek atau bèrkalok.
7. Kèrbau buloh sa-ruas, ya'itu kuku-nya tiada pèchah.

8. Kērbau sopak munchong-nya.
9. Kērbau bintang badan-nya.
10. Kērbau bara api, ya'itu merah sēperti kain kēsumba.
11. Kērbau kumbang bērtēloh, ya'itu bēsar di-bawah pangkal ekur-nya. Maka sumbat labu pun nama-nya kērbau itu.
12. Kērbau bangkah kēning, atau pangkah kēning.
13. Kērbau jantan puncha ekur-nya, ya'itu panjang sa-jōngkal di-ujong.
14. Kērbau tēpok lalat, ya'itu kēmbang daging ujong ekur-nya.
15. Kērbau-kērbau yang mēnyalahi daripada adat kērbau.

II.—THE HOUSE.

(1). "As for the design of Malay houses in the old days in Perak, the Sultan's palace had seven interspaces between its pillars, and its main rafters reached only to the top of the pillars, not to a ridge-pole (*sa-lari ka-tulang bubong-nya*). The hall of audience was on the land-side and the kitchen on the water-side. There were verandahs on either side of the house. The roofs were all of *nipah*, the walls of interlaced wicker-work, the floor of laths of *ibul*. The palaces of the Raja Muda and the Raja Bendahara were similar, except that the former had six and the latter five interspaces only, but the audience halls were on the water-side (*barah*) and the kitchens on the land-side. The houses of lesser rajas and of the great chiefs had four spaces between their pillars; the roofs were slanting and concave and reached right up to the ridge-pole (*i.e.*, were not tiered); the audience hall and kitchen ran parallel and of equal length with the main building and did not project lengthwise as in the palaces of the greater rajas; the roofs were made of sago palm; the walls of wicker-work; the flooring of *ibul* laths; the audience hall was on the water-side. So also the houses of lesser chiefs and of penghulus, except that their interspaces were three only and the audience *balai* in penghulus' houses was built on lengthwise and on the water-side that access might be easy for *rayats*. The houses of common folk had two or three interspaces; verandahs on either side; a kitchen (*gajah mēnyusu*) on the downstream side; a straight roof-slope, *bērtam* ataps; walls of wicker or bark; floors of bamboo."—*An account written by Raja Haji Yahya.*

(2). "The State hall in a modern Malay Court in the Peninsula consists of a long building oblong in shape, down the centre of which

runs a long raised platform (*s'ri Balai*) reserved for the use of rajahs and sayyids. The space which surrounds this platform is called the *p'siban*. The whole building is called the *Balai rong* or *Balai b'sar*: it is usually joined to the palace at one of the narrower sides and a door from the interior of the palace communicates with it on that side; it has a number of pillars (*tiang Balai*) placed round it at regular intervals supporting the roof, but it is not walled in and is open to the air on every side except that on which it adjoins the palace. The broad verandah (*s'randi*) which encompasses the *s'ri Balai* is reserved for the use of chiefs and gentry who are not of royal blood

When any ceremony, such as the circumcision or marriage of any of the raja's relatives, is about to be celebrated, a temporary building is erected at the end of the *Balai rong*, which is situated farthest from the palace, running at right angles (*m'lintang*) to the main *balai*.— See Clifford and Swettenham's Dictionary, under *Balai*.

III.— DRESS.

REGALIA AND HEIRLOOMS OF THE PERAK SULTANATE.

(1). The actual regalia of the Sultan are very few in number. They consist, strictly speaking, of five indispensable articles worn by the Sultan at installation. To these five articles may be added two ornaments worn by the Sultan's principal wife, the betel-nut caskets (*puan*) borne along behind the Sultan and his principal wife, and a "talisman of petrified dew" to which great honour is paid. These regalia are said all to have belonged to Mudzafar Shah, the first Sultan. The other "regalia" are really heirlooms. Many Sultans made a point of adding one or two articles to the regalia inherited by them from their predecessors, but it is of course extremely hard definitely to lay down what is an heirloom and what is not. When Sultan Ismail was being pursued by the English in 1876 he carried the regalia with him in his flight: some of the articles were thus lost and others were damaged or destroyed. Furthermore the Colonial Government insisted on the surrender of the swords of State (*bawar*) held by the chiefs who were exiled to the Seychelles—ex-Sultan Abdullah, the Mant'ri, the Laksamana and the Shahbandar: these articles were (I believe) all lost. Another sword of State—that of the Bendahara—is also said to have been lost. The rest of the Crown properties are still in the Sultan's possession.

(2). The regalia that every Sultan must wear at his installation are the following:

- (a) The sword known as *chura si-manjakini*,
- (b) The chain known as *rantai bunga nyiur*,
- (c) The armlets known as *pontok bërnyag*,
- (d) The signet called *chap halilintar kayu gamat*,
- (e) The *këris pëstaka*.

The Sultan has to wear these five things and to 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. Any movement on the Sultan's part at this time would be extremely inauspicious. The most important of the regalia is the sword of state known as *chura si-manjakini*. It is worn with a chain slung over the shoulder. The sword is associated with the spirit of the kingdom (*Jin Kërajaan*) who is apt to press upon it at the time of installation. To satisfy the widow of Sultan Ali who insisted on this detail the present Sultan put a little pad on his shoulder to prevent it being injured by the weight of the *Jin*, and His Highness states that he did feel a curious pressure on three separate occasions at his installation. The Malay tradition about this sword *chura si-manjakini* is that it was the sword of Alexander the Great and that it was used by Sang Sapurba to kill the great serpent Sikatimuna which infested the land of Menangkabau. On that occasion the sword got terribly notched, and the notches—according to the story—can be seen to this day. But I must add that several Malay dynasties claim to possess this sword and that the Perak sword is not notched. It is a fine, light blade—probably a Damascus blade—of good workmanship, with a hilt of gold and a scabbard of cloth-of-gold: the hilt has no guard whatever, the upper portion of the hilt is covered with Arabic lettering and the lower portion has a rough surface made to resemble shagreen. I have no doubt whatever that the sword is neither European nor Malayan; its make is distinctly traceable to Syrian or Arabian influence, but of course the hilt may have been actually made in India or Persia. The Arabic inscription has not been deciphered; portions of it, at all events, are Koran texts. His Highness said that a local pundit had inferred from the Arabic that the sword had been used at the Prophet's great victory of Badr. But the lettering is modern Arabic and not the Kufic character that was used for some centuries after the battle of Badr.

The *rantai bunga nyiur* is a very pretty chain but has no special interest. The armlet (*pontok beruang*) is in the form of a dragon coiling round the arm. The *kiris p'staka* (also known as the *kiris p'ejera lak lima*) has a sheath covered with gold, the gold being adorned with very minute thread or filigree work: it is a very beautiful object but has no history or tradition attached to it.

The only point worth noticing about these three last items is that similar articles enter into the costume of every Malay bridegroom. The armlet, the chain and the *kiris* are appurtenances of every king: the sword *chura simanjakini* and the seal (*kayu gamat chap halilintar*) are the special distinction of the "line of Alexander." The seal in question is a small silver seal with a piece of wood passing through the handle. The original piece of wood—the *kayu gamat*—has rotted away and has been replaced by a new piece. The inscription on the seal is *S'eri Sultan Mahamat Shah Dzil Allah fi'l Alam* (the Illustrious Sultan Muhamad Shah, God's shadow on Earth). The seal *kayu gamat* is mentioned (under the name *kayu kampit*) as the seal of the Great Alexander in the "Malay Annals" of A.D. 1612. The word *kampit* in Sanskrit seems to mean "seal" just as the word *chura* means "sword," so that these two traditional properties of Alexander are obviously traceable to Hinduism. But as the original wooden seal has rotted away we have no guide to what the *kayu gamat* really was. The royal armlet worn at an installation by the *Raja P'rimpuan* is known as the *pontok utar liti* and is only a small replica of the Sultan's armlet. One is the "dragon" and the other is by contrast the "little snake" (*dendrophis pictus*). The two betel-boxes borne behind the king and queen are known as the *puan naga taru* and the *puan bujar* respectively. The fittings are of gold. The royal talisman (*m'stika tabuan*) is said by tradition to have been given by To' Temong, a great Upper Perak girl-Saint to Mudzafar Shah the first Sultan of Perak. It has always been reputed to possess the most marvellous medicinal properties. His Highness sent it to England for examination and it was pronounced to be a ball of glass. It is very slightly smaller than a billiard ball. The Malays still maintain that it is "petrified dew," and even His Highness is unwilling to accept the prosaic explanation given him by the people in London. Nevertheless this "petrified dew" illustrates a point that was brought very emphatically to my notice in this examination of the Sultan's heirlooms. The objects to which special value was attached by the old Perak Kings were either articles of gold and gems or strange foreign things that might be of little real value but

were prized because the Perak people did not know what they were and could produce nothing like them. A ball of glass left by a casual stranger in an Upper Perak village some 300 years ago would be a source of endless wonder to the people and would become the subject of innumerable stories.

(3). His Highness the Sultan gave me every information and assistance when he permitted me to examine his heirlooms, and the following articles were declared by him to belong to the Crown as such and not to individual holders of the Sultanate. There is the *kōris* known as the *kōris Hang Tuah* because it is said to have belonged to the great Laksamana who fought against the Portuguese between A.D. 1509 and 1526. This *kōris* has a handle of the usual type and the lower part of the sheath was covered with gold, making it a *kōris tērapang*: His Highness has now had the upper portion (*sampir*) covered with gold, making it a *kōris tērapang gabus hulu*. There are two heavy swords of the European type with heavy basket hilts: the hilt of the smaller one (the *pēdang pērbujang*) is *suasa*, i.e., of an alloy of gold and silver: the hilt of the larger one (the *pēdang rajawali*) is of a curious cloisonné or niello work. I cannot speak with any confidence as to the origin of these swords.

There is a handsome covered bowl (*mundam*) resting on a platter: these things are made of gold and there are some stones set along the edge of the bowl; the work is Malayan and the reputed date is about 1700 A.D.¹ There is a *kōris* said to have been made by His Highness's own father, the Bendahara Alang Iskandar: this *kōris* (known as the *kōris Bali Istambul*) possesses a sheath of the most beautiful wood that I have ever seen. There is a small *kōris* the very blade of which is made of gold: this is ascribed to a Sultan who lived about A.D. 1700. There is a very curious waist-belt made up of sixteen plates, each plate being of a sort of niello or cloisonné. It is certainly not Malayan. There is a very strange breast ornament (the *kanching alkak*) for adorning the front of a woman's dress. It is made up of six dragons: the two upper dragons approach each other with their heads and tails while their bodies curve outwards; between their heads is a fish; below them are two dragons stretching downwards parallel to one another; below these again are two more dragons crossed. The whole ornament is made up of a sort of mosaic of poor gems; it is non-Malayan.

¹ This bowl, since alas! stolen, was used for *ayer limau*. Snouck Hurgronje alludes to "Achinese vessels of brass, *mundam*:" the word is hardly known in the Peninsula; and perhaps this specimen was a relic of Achinese invasion and influence.

There are two large platter-tables of silver. These are in regular use at the Sultan's meals. There is a very fine gold-topped betel-box made of the rare Ligor niello work with its fittings all of niello.—*From an account given by Mr. R. J. Wilkinson on information supplied by the kindness of H.H. the Sultan of Perak.*

PERAK WEDDING COSTUME.

(I). *Of the wedding dress of the scions of great princes* :

First, a medicine-man dispels evil influences, Portuguese thread is tied at the groom's neck, two candles are stuck before a looking-glass, sacrificial water is sprinkled, saffron rice strewn, and a little of the bridegroom's hair clipped. Then the hair on his brow and his eyebrows is dressed and the hair on the nape of his neck cut in the shape of a sparrow's tail. All his finger-nails are stained red with henna. When the legal rites are over and the time comes for the bridegroom to sit in state, attendants dress him as follows :

Silk trousers, with a pattern of gold thread a foot and a half deep at the bottom, a piece at the back of the ankle shaped like a 'duck's web,' a cord down the seams ; a coat of the style called *södörmölkak*, adorned with tiny patterns in flowered gold and silver and patterns in Portuguese gold-leaf ; a long skirt, heavy with gold thread ; a turban, bound with gold, decorated with brilliants and fringed with pearls and all manner of beads ; a gold diamond-studded aigrette, with filigree pendant ; a waist-buckle of gold repoussé work or studded with diamonds and rubies ; a circular gold ornament, hung by a chain round his neck ; a gold breast-plate of nine tiers of plates ; a gold collar that came out the sea ; armlets with dragon-heads on each upper arm ; gold bracelets with perforated zigzag pattern raised in two tiers fastened by a screw ; hollow fretted gold anklets ; on the index-finger of his ring hand a gold ring, called "the sated leech" ; and on the little finger a gold ring with heavy bezel called the "elephant's footprint" ; a diamond ring on the little finger of his left hand and a ring with three stones set in the pattern called "the garden of fire-flies" ; on the fourth finger a *köris* with a ivory haft in fretted gold cup, the cross-piece of the sheath cased in gold set with diamonds and brilliants, the stem in gold alloy set with all manner of jewels, a piece of gold-threaded silk wrapped round the top of the *köris* ; across the shoulders a scarf of thin silk adorned with gold thread, brought down under each arm (like the

cordon of an order). Thereafter he is seated in state on a pandan mat of nine layers covered with yellow silk, with its corners embroidered in fern pattern. All the eunuchs, heralds, chamber-women and pages sit before him carrying the regalia and awaiting the mandate of his royal parents to start on the wedding procession. A golden fan is held before his face.

As for the dress of the bride—First of all, an old wise-woman sets to work to dispel all evil influences: Portuguese thread of several colours is tied at the bride's neck; two candles are stuck before a looking-glass; sacrificial water is sprinkled; saffron rice strewn; the old woman takes and waxes seven long hairs and then clips them off. (Now if the end of the hairs fall towards the bride or the stump of hair remaining move after the clipping, it is a sign the girl has been deflowered, but if the clipped tresses fell straight outwards and the stumps do not move, then she is a maiden). After that, her front-hair and her eye-brows are dressed and the short curling hair at the back of her neck is arranged in the shape of a sparrow's tail. Her hair is done into a roll. She is invested in bride's dress: silk trousers of Achinese cut, gold threaded at the bottom, and with the 'duck-web'; a gold threaded silk skirt of fine, small pattern: a crimson jacket stamped with gold-leaf with quilted collar, the edge of collar and wrists adorned with jewelled gold work; a scarf of cloth-of-gold or of the lime pattern interwoven with gold and with heavy gold-threaded border; a crescent-shaped pendant ornament; twelve tiers of gold breast-plates; a bead necklace of gold; nine rows of gold bean necklace: a long chain tucked into the waist-band; a Manilla chain of five rows; three rows of a necklace of gold coin-like discs; fine Arabian belt; on each arm four rows of solid gemmed gold bracelets with spoon-like ends: on each upper arm a gold armet with snake's-head ends; hollow gold anklets: a large, round gemmed gold earring; on the index-finger of the right hand a plain, thick, round gold ring; on the little finger of the right hand a ring set with rubies and other precious stones; on the little finger-nail of the left hand a nail-guard surmounted by a jewelled filigree peacock; rings set with small rubies on every finger; on her brow a gold gem-studded frontlet; and above her chignon gold jewelled flowers. When all is ready, the bride is seated on a golden mat and fanned by her maidens so that she may not swelter under her excess of clothing.

(II). *Of the bridal dress of saiyids, sheikhs and pilgrims:*

First of all, ill-luck has to be dispelled and hair fringed. Then

the groom is invested in pilgrim dress: white Arabian drawers, small at the ankle; a jacket of coarse white linen, embroidered at neck and wrists; a short, long-sleeved vest, open in front, with three buttons; a Cashmere waist-band tied with a plaited knot: in front a tight sleeveless under-vest: a head-dress tied in the Medina style, above it being wound a white or Cashmere shawl decorated with pearl bead lace, and outside that a gold-paper aigrette. A short curved Arab dagger, with gold hilt and silver sheath, is stuck in the waist-band. A long robe is donned, of expensive fine material. Then the bridegroom is seated on a mat of seven thicknesses, with embroidered corners, in the presence of pilgrims and the pious and his relations, to wait till the hour of evening prayer is past before they shall go in procession with drums and fencers prior to the sitting-in-state. For Sharifas, first of all, evil influences are dispelled as in the case of princesses, their short front hair is brushed down and fringed, their tresses are combed and oiled and scented with ambergris. Then they are dressed in drawers of Arab pattern: a long jacket: a face-veil: a head-veil with shredded gold: a long shawl with gold fringe: on each wrist a gold bracelet fastened with a screw: gemmed pendants in the ears, two rows of gold chain round the neck: a ruby ring and rings with various gems on the index-fingers, and the little fingers and the ring-fingers of both hands: tinkling tiered hollow gold anklets. Kohl is drawn along the lower edges of both the eyes. When all is ready, etc.

(III). The dress of the brides and bridegrooms who are children of chiefs, gentry and sayyids, is like the dress of lesser princes, no finer and no worse. If the head-kerchief is disliked, a head-dress like that of great princes may be worn, made of red cloth and decorated with gold-paper scrolls and chevron ends and stuffed with cotton-wood; gold earrings being pinned on the ends. A crackling tinsel aigrette or a nosegay or rice fixed on rotan in fancy shapes will be stuck above the head-dress.

PAKAIAN ZAMAN DAHULU.

Piri menyatakan pakaian Raja-raja dan orang Besar-besar anak Baik, Saiyid-saiyid, Luche'-inche', Wan-wan, Sharif dan Mergat Miur dan yang perempuan pula, anak Raja, anak orang Besar, anak orang Baik Sarifa, Siti-siti puteri pahlawan mai anak ka-pada anak inang ayer kaki ayer tangan raja serta pula orang yang kebanyakan itu:

Sa-bernualla: wla-pun pakaian raja besar-besar itu berseluar ber-

changgal sutera batang merah berpuchok rebong benang emas di-kaki seluar itu sa-belah menyebelah bertongkah bertali pula; berbaju alang berbua emas sa-biji; berkain Bugis sutera; berikat pinggang tali bítong berbénang emas berambu-rambu pula panjang seubulan hasta bertulang luar. Maka di-sisipkan kérés terapang berulu gading berpénongkok emas urai, sampir dan sarong sampai ka-buntut-nya semuanya emas; di-kénakan pula tengkolok bertelepok dengan benang emas atau tengkolok bersurat kalimah Arab, ikatan solek belah mumbang yaani tengkolok itu di-tinggikan di-sa-belah kanan rata sa-belah kiri nyata kelihatan rupa-nya itu puncha tengkolok itu keluar. Dan baju dalam-nya baju pendek lengan nama-nya sutera beragi aneka jenis raga-nya itu seperti rupa hiris halua raga-nya putih kuning hitam. Maka Raja Muda Raja Bendahara berseluar pedéndang berbénang emas sedikit berehermin dan buboh pula kelip-kelip di-kaki-nya itu; kain peranak telepok; berikat pinggang kain chindai jantan panjang sa-puluh sa-belas dengan rambu-rambu-nya; berkérés pendek yaani pendek itu sarong-nya sahaja di-salut dengan emas dan bertuli-tuli emas pula; memakai baju alang kain alang. Maka bertengkolok alang bersolek daun kumpang sa-helai, yaani melintek ka-hadapan ketiganya, suatu puncha keluar terdiri seperti sa-helai daun kayu sahaja rupa-nya. Bahawa pakaian Raja Muda kuning semuanya. Dan pakaian orang besar-besar empat dan orang besar delapan seluar 'pa' sekarap (? empat sa-karap) dan inche'-inche' wan-wan bakal judi orang besar itu; maka baju-nya sayap layang-layang kepok tinggi tertebing, buah emas sa-biji. Akan-akan pakaian orang besar enam-belas dan orang besar tiga-puluh dua itu, jikalau yang tua-tua berkopiah mana-mana kesukaan hati-nya; maka seluar-nya itu 'lam Sayong' pesak bersongkit raga rinek-rinek kaki seluar itu hingga betis-nya sahaja, sa-tengah sutera dan sa-tengah benang; kain kembong kain Batu Bara atau kain Mesah sutera; berikat pinggang kain linau atau kain tenggarun bulang luar kérés tersisip; tengkolok-nya Batek lasam halus seperti kertas bangun ikatan tengkolok-nya itu solek bernama ayam patah kepak lingkup sa-kali sahaja puncha ka-hadapan; atau ikat gétang pekasan; jikalau berkopiah pun kopiah resam atau kopiah bertekat kalimah Arab atau kopiah Arab. Dan penghulu-penghulu nai seluar-nya seluar panjang atau seluar gadok baju kurong tangan besar buah sa-biji atau baju berkepok Teluk Belanga buah tiga biji tiga saku-nya; berkain bulang dalam kain-nya kain chorak anak lebah; bertengkolok Batek ikat-nya gétang pekasan atau berkopiah Arab. Dan pakaian sayid seperti pakaian haji yang

sa-tengah pakaian peraturan penghulu-penghulu itu juga dan pakaian Sharif Męgat Amir, seluar pasang Batu Bara sutera bertapak itek di-kaki seluar itu bertali, baju-nya kain putih gunting hanyut kancing lima biji tiga saku-nya, kain-nya kain Muntok; kopiah resam hitam atau bertengkolok batek Bėtawi ikat-nya gętang pekasam. Dan pakaian anak landa dan anak inang demikian juga tetapi kain bulang luar ya'itu orang bebas masuk ka-dalam tiada bertęgah tiada berlaring. Demikian juga anak bęntara-bęntara raja itu pakaian sa-rupa belala. Maka di-sisipkan sa-bilah kęris di-sa-belah kiri-nya ya'itu kęris sapukul bersarong dan bersampir kayu kamuning ulu-nya gading berpęnungkok emas; bahwa kęris itu-pun changut ulu-nya sa-belah kiri juga dan sa-belah ramal sutera yang bertaburkan benang emas disampaikan di-ulu kęris itu. Shahadan lagi pakaian orang yang kebanyakan pula pakai seluar gunting China baju pesak sa-belah ber-belah dada berbuah sa-biji kain-nya pelękat benang mantah; tengkolok-nya Batek Sęmarang puchu kęluar-nya ka-belakang sa-kęrat pula menudong tengkok-nya nyam męngeram nama-nya, dan yang tua-tua kopiah-nya męngkuang lepar di-lęngkar di-buat sa-ukur-ukur kepala-nya di-balut dengan kain putih atau kain beragi-ragi di-jadikan kopiah-nya serta seluar baju kain kembong-nya kain putih belachu ya'itu kain putih kasar. Maka ada-pun pakaian raja-raja perempuan itu berseluar pasang Aceh sutera berbęnang emas di-kaki-nya bertapak itek pula kain kembong-nya sutera pualam baju-nya baju kain sitin yang berbunga-bunga bermacam-bermacam ragi-nya; ada yang merah, ada yang biru, ada ungu biji rumęniya, ada yang sitin berbunga batang emas. Maka baju kurong tangan berlęngsar ya'itu tangan kęcil dan baju itu singkat hingga bawah ponggong labuh-nya itu sahaja. Maka di-buboh-nya bunga baju pula dari-pada tengkok sahingga ka-dada-nya dan ujung tangan-nya kiri dan kanan; maka ada pun bunga baju itu emas berkarang; berpęnding emas pula pengikat kain itu dari luar; berselendang kain jong surat atau kain chęlari berbęnang emas sęperti hiris halua atau kain duri nibong sutera puchok-nya benang emas atau kain limau tenggarum atau kain tiga sa-lumpat atau kain berus patah atau kain bunga chęngkeh atau kain Bali atau kain Champa atau kain pelang-pelangai atau kain batek selendang atau batek kęndong kain perai China hitam merah biru ungu kuning putih. Maka ada pun kain kembong-nya pula kain mastuli kain tenun Batu Bara kain sutera pualam halus nipis chorak-nya rinek-rinek cępat, kain Pelęmbang dan kain peranak tępok; nama ikat kain-nya itu ombak beralan ya'itu berputar daripada kanan permati-

an-nya di-sa-belah kiri. Maka ini-lah pakaian sekélian perempuan tiada di-togalkan yang menjadi ketogalan hanya-lah bagai adat seperti pakaian raja-raja dan orang besar-besar anak baik tiada boleh di-pakai oleh orang kebanyakan zaman dahulu kala. Maka apa-bila To' Béntara perempuan memakai, ia pun berjelan ka-tengah istana pacha selendang-nya itu di-léaskan ka-bawah tiada pula di-simpan pacha-nya karna ia orang dalam: maka jikalau orang perempuan yang bukan orang dalam tiada boleh di-léaskan pacha kain selendang itu ka-bawah togalan yang besar kapada istiadat melainkan kain selendang itu apa-bila masuk ka-dalam istana tiada boleh di-taruh di-atas bau kanan lagi, di-jatuhkan di-punpun pacha-nya yang kedua-nya taroh ka-hadapan baluru-lah mengalap.

Bab peri menyatakan barang-barang emas pula. Maka lepas bunga baju itu berchinchin bunga nyiur dan chinchin tapak gajah dan herbunga sèna emas dan herbunga ketar emas atau perak: berchuchok tongset sa-batang emas atau suasa bersunting delima atau intan permata satu atau banyak, atau kerabu berpahat bertelur ikan semua-nya, keronchong emas atau perak di-buboh gènta pula di-dalam-nya, tanglong beradu nama-nya. Maka jikalau anak dara pula pakaian-nya seperti itu juga tetapi bergelang emas bersudu atau suasa bersudu kepala emas, bersubang yang besar berpemata satu delima atau pirus dan merjan bergelugur. Maka ada-pun pakaian anak-anak laki-laki bergendit emas atau perak di-pinggang-nya bergelang tangan emas belah rotan bergelang kaki bulat emas atau suasa, beragok emas berpahat bertelur ikan di-karang berpemata satu batu delima bangun bulat seperti bunga klambang, berantai perak berkachang sipat digantong kapada leher-nya. Maka bermerjan gelugur juga. Maka jikalau kanak-kanak perempuan pula memakai gelang bersudu emas atau suasa beragok emas bangun-nya pipih bertakoh berawan-awan pula berpahat herbunga ikan juga serta pula derham emas nipel enam-belas biji herbunga-bunga juga di-gantungkan kapada leher-nya atau rantai emas dan merjan gelugur dan di-buboh chaping emas atau perak menutupi kemaluan-nya itu. Maka telinga bersubang kecil-kecil permata satu. Maka pakaian kain baju seluar-nya sa-rupa seperti yang tersebut di-atas itu juga tetapi pakaian anak-anak raja-raja dan orang besar-besar dan anak baik-baik mana-mana sudah di-perbuat-nya itu tiada boleh di-pakai orang kebanyakan sa-rupa dengan itu di-kurangkan sedikit bangun-nya jangan sa-rupa kapada pakaian pangkat-pangkat yang sudah di-lébihkan Allah subhana wataala itu, jangan sa-kali-kali melalui adat resam zaman dahulu kala.

PAKAIAN PENGANTIN DI-DALAM PERAK.

(I). *Dari hal peraturon istiadat pakaian Pengantin putera Raja yang besar-besar itu :*

Mula-mula di-putuskan kerajat oleh To' Pawang yaani mem-buang pilak jembalang-nya; di-buboh benang Pertokal kapada leher-nya kemudian di-buboh-nya pula dua batang dian kapada chërmin muka serta di-perehekkkan ayer tēpong tawar di-taburkan bërteh beras kumyit di-kerat dengan gunting sedikit rambut-nya; lepas itu baharu-lah di-andam dahi dan kening di-kerat ekur pipit di-tēngkok-nya berendam berekur pipit juga dan sa-gēnap jari-nya pun sudah di-buboh-nya hina kapada kuku-nya. Maka pada kētika sudah kahwin hendak di-sandingkan itu, maka pengantin yang laki-laki itu-pun di-bëri oleh sida-sida bëntara memakai sa-lēngkap pakaian yang indah-indah: seluar bërhanggal sa-busta batang emas di-kaki-nya, bër-tulang belut bërtaapak itek; baju sēdèrmēlkah bërtelepok dengan emas bërpaht bërbunga-bunga di-sēlang dengan perak bërpaht; di-tēngah bunga itu di-buboh tēlepok pèrada terbang: kain panjang; kain jong sarat bërbenang emas sēma-nya; tēngkolok bërsering (dēstar) yang bërslut dengan emas bërtahtah dengan pèrnata intan serta pula bërambukan mutiara dan manikam pancha ragan; tajok malai emas intan di-karang; pēnding emas bërpaht atau pēnding bër-pèrnata intan bërshang dengan dēlima; agok, dan dokoh sēmbilan tingkat; rantai kēngkalong sa-lapis yang datang dari laut; pontuh bërماغ di-lēngan kanan dan kiri; gēlang kama emas bërtahtal bër-kèrawang bërpaht tērus bërshiku kēluang dua tingkat; kèronchong emas bër-kèrawang; chinchin emas pachat kēnyang kapada tēlunjok kanan; dan chinchin tapak gajah kapada kēlingking kanan; chinchin intan di-kēlingking kiri dan chinchin pèrnata tiga kunang sa-kabun di-jari manis-nya; kèris tērapang bërulu gading bërpenongkokkan emas bërpaht tērus sampir bërslut dengan emas bërtahtahkan intan pudè manikam bërslut dengan suasa bërtahtahkan pèrnata bërbagai warna. Maka di-simpai pula bungkus sutera bërbenang emas di-ulu kèris tērapang itu bërkaïn chēlari bërtahtabur benang emas di-buatkan kindang-kindang (sayap sandang) di-kēnakan ka-pada lau-nya itu. Sa-tēlah sudah lalu-lah di-dudokkan di-atas pētèrana yang kēmasan di-atas chiu sēmbilan langkat yang bërulas dengan kain sutera yang kēkuingan bërpenjuru bërtekat awan sakat di-hadapi oleh sida-sida bëntara inang pēngasoh kanda dan manda budak kundang sakalian-nya bërjawatan pèrkakasan Kèrajan sa-kadar mēnantikan titah ayahanda baginda sahaja hendak bërangkat bèrarak langsung bërсандing itu serta pula

di-diindingkan suatu kipas emas berpacha logam ka-pada muka pengantin itu. Arakian, maka tersébut-lah pula kesah istiadat peraturan alat pakaian pengantin putéra raja bésar yang pérémpuan pula. Maka mula-mula di-putuskan kerajat oleh To' Bidan yaani mémbuang pilak jémbalang-nya lalu-lah di-buboh-nya béuang pancha-warna ya'itu béuang Pértokal kapada leher-nya. Kémudian di-buboh pula dua batang dian kapada chérmin muka: sudah di-pérechek ayer pépong tawar maka di-talor bértéh béras kunyit; rambut-nya di-ambil oleh To' Bidan itu tujuh hélai di-sapu dèngan minyak lilin lalu-lah di-kérat-nya. Maka jikalau rambut itu jatoh ujung-nya kapada pengantin itu atau pangkal rambut yang tinggal itu méngakar yaani bérgérak lépas di-kérat itu-lah alamat tiada isi rumah-nya yaani laksana kuntum bunga angkana sudah térdahulu di-séring oleh kumbang méngambil madu-nya; dan jikalau tiada yang démikian itu tatkala di-kérat To' Bidan itu bétul ia jatoh mélintang di-hadapan-nya dan rambut-nya-pun tiada bérgérak; maka iusha'llah taaka bérvat putéra orang tua-tua, maka itu-lah alamat tiada rujid isi rumah-nya chukup léngkap sakalian-nya. Sa-télah sudah itu lalu-lah di-andam dan di-turunkan rambut-nya tikam kundai sértá pula di-raminkan gandek dan di-andamkan pula kéning-nya itu dan di-turunkan anak-anak rambut di-téngkok-nya mélentek walis bérkérat ekur pipit dan bérandam téngkok-nya. Baharu-lah di-sanggul lipat pandau. Maka di-béri pengantin itu mémakai seluar pasang Acheh sutéra bérbéuang emas di-kaki-nya bértapak itek; kain sutéra bérbéuang emas kain bérnama kain duri nibong; baju késumba murup gunting séroja bértélépok dèngan pérada térbéang bérbunga buah emas bérpérmata intan dari leher baju bingga ka-ujung tangan-nya kanan dan kiri, kain séleudang jong sarat atau kain limau bértabur dèngan béuang emas bérpuchok bérsongkit dèngan béuang emas juga, agok dan dokoh dua-bélas tingkat mérgan bérgelugur; rantai bérchémok sémbilan lapis rantainya; rantai kéngkalong sa-lapis; rantai Manila lima lapis; dérham emas tiga lapis; séni-séni kanching alkah sa-lapis (di-ikat di-pinggang di-atas pénding) gelang bérsudu emas pérmata intan émpat tingkat sa-bélah ményébelah; puntuh ular lidi kapada léngan kanan dan kiri; kéronchong emas ka-pada kaki-nya; subang emas pérmata intan; chinchin pachat kényang di-télunjok kanan; chinchin pérmata délima bérsékang manikam di-kélingking kanan; changgal mérak emas bértatah intan di-kélingking kiri-nya dan chinchin pérmata délima ikat kunang-kunang sa-kabau sa-génap hari-nya; kilat dahi emas yang bértatahkon pudu manikam ka-pada dahi-nya; tutup sanggul yang ké-

emasan berbunga si-sit yang bertatahkan intan berselang pudu di-kena ka-atas kepala-nya pengantin perempuan. Hata sa-telah mustaed sakalian-nya, maka pengantin itu-pun lalu-lah di-dudokkan oleh isteri raja-raja yang tua-tua di-atas pêterana yang kemas sambil di-kirap oleh sèkèlian dayang-dayang biti-bitu pèwiru dengan kipas berpuluh-puluh supaya jangan hangat sudah terkèna pakaian yang teramat banyak itu.

(II). *Dari hal Pengantin tuan-tuan Sa'iyid atau Sheikh dan orang yang sudah menjadi Haji. Maka ada-lah seperti atuean yang sudah di-sebutkan; ini pula pakaian-nya:*

Pertama-tama di-putuskan kerajat juga dan andam seperti keadaan pengantin lain-lain. Kemudian lalu-lah di-bèri memakai pakaian haji: seluar putih kecil kaki gunting Arab, baju geramjun putih jarang rupa benang-nya serta pula berbunga di-dada dan di-ujung lengan; anteri geramsut terbelah dada dan tangan-nya laboh berbuah tiga biji; ikat pinggang kain Kashmiri punga permatian berbuku bamban ka-hadapan-nya; sadariah baju singkat tiada tangan hingga ka-ketiak sahaja keramsut Hindi; serban punga panjang dua hasta di-belakang lilif Madinah; di-atas serban besar, kain putih atau kain Kashmiri itu di-buboh pula berenda dengan manek di-karang atau mutiara di-karang; sa-keliling serban itu di-labohkan tajok perada yang berawan-awan pula. Di-sisipkan pula sa-bilah jama berulukan emas dan berkarangan perak kapada pinggang-nya. Di-kénakan pula jubah kain angguri yang mahal harga-nya. Maka pengantin itu-pun lalu-lah di-dudokkan di-atas chiu yang tujuh langkat berpenjuru tekat bersulam di-hadapi oleh sèkèlian haji dan lebai serta pula waris-nya itu sa-kadar menanti saad ketika lepas sembahyang asar hendak berarak dengan rebana zikir berdah sa-keliling tempat itu; kemudian baharu-lah di-sandingkan oleh ayahanda bonda-nya itu. Hata, maka tersebut-lah pula istiadat pakaian yang perempuan ya'itu tuan saripah itu. Maka pertama-tama di-putuskan kerajat-nya juga seperti peraturan pengantin putera raja yang besar-besar. Maka di-andam serta pula di-turunkan tikam kundai rambut-nya itu; di-sikat dan di-minyak di-buboh bauan ambar kasturi. Baharu-lah di-bèri memakai seluar gunting Arab; baju Mesbru laboh geramsut; mægok; menuarah; meliyah laboh berambu-rambukan akan batang emas berchahaya rupa-nya; gelang emas bertunjal perbuatan maghrib dua-dua sa-belah kanan dan kiri; arlit pernata zamrut berselang dengan pudu manikam ka-pada telinga; rantai emas mayang mengurai ka-pada leher-nya dua lapis; chinchin pertama-tama delima dan permata nilam, pualam, pèsparagam,

kapada jari telunjuk kanan dan kiri, dan jari kelingking kanan dan kiri, dan jari manis kanan dan kiri; keronchong emas atau perak berpahat dua tingkat ka-pada kaki-nya bergenta pula. Maka di-konkan pula bersifat alif berehelak kapada bibir mata-nya di-sa-belah bawah kedua-nya. Sa-telah mustaed sèkèlian-nya, maka pèngantin itu-pun lalu-lah di-dudokkan oleh istèri orang yang alim di-atas chin tujuh tingkat yang bertèkat berpènjuru suji timbul sèpèrti emas baharu dipahat rupa-nya sèrta pula di-hadapi oleh anak dara-dara dan janda-janda sèkèlian sambil mènghipas pèngantin itu karna tèrlalu hangat sa-kadar mènantikan sand kètika masa bersanding sabaja lagi.

(III). *Dari hal pakaian Pèngantin anak orang Besar-besar dan pakaian Pèngantin anak-anak Baik dan pakaian Pèngantin Sarif dan Muar dan Mègat:*

Maka ada-pun sa-rupa belaka sabaja sèmu-nya sèkèlian mènghikut pakaian pèngantin putèra raja-raja yang kèchil tiada-lah berlèbeh dan bèrkurang sa-kadar mana-mana kèsukaan hati-nya; tiada sukakan tèngkolok alang itu boleh ia mèmakai dèstar (tèngkolok bèrsèring) yang sèpèrti pakaian pèngantin bab yang pèrtama itu tetapi di-pèrbuat-nya kain merah di-isi di-dalam-nya dèngan kabu-kabu di-jahit-nya, kèmundian di-tèlèpok-nya dèngan pèrada yang sudah bèrtèbok bèrawan pula sèrta bèrpuehok rèbong kapada sa-belah mènnyèbelah pueha tèngkolok itu. Maka di-muka tèngkolok itu di-buboh-nya bèrsabang emas sa-belah dan mènnyèbelah. Kèmundian di-kèma pula fajok perak gèrak gèmpa atau bunga mèlur di-gubah atau bèrtèh di-chuehokkan kapada rotan karangan sèpèrti bunga juga rupa-nya. Maka dèmikian-lah di-dalam istiadat kapada zaman dahulu kala; sampai ka-pada zaman ini-pun dèmikian-lah juga tètapi ada pèrbuatan-nya juga sèpèrti adat ini dan sa-tènggah tèrkadang-kadang tidak karna istiadat sudah mènjadi rèsam; kèbanyakkan pula suka mènghikut bab yang kedua pakaian haji kahwin anak dara atau bèrkahwin janda, ada-nya.

NOTES.

The wedding dress of lesser rajas, male and female, as also that of commoners, differs only in quality and not in kind from that of great rajas; and the difference is due rather to purse than royal prerogative, because bride and groom are *raja sa-hari*, royal for the day. As a matter of fact, only scions of the Perak house, for example, are in a position to obtain the use of, and wear, the *pantoh* and *kèngkalong* and

the gold-bound *d'star*: in place of the *baju sidi'rm'likah* (a *pidang sidi'rm'likah* is also mentioned) and the *baju s'roja*, other rajas wear, men the *baju alang* and women the *baju kurong*: for the *gelang kana* are substituted *gelang bilah rotan berpahat berk'cat t'lar ikan* or any gold bracelets available: a *k'ris p'ndok* (see p. 44) or a *k'ris* merely with wooden scabbard, or nowadays no *k'ris* at all is worn. For the Persian *d'star*, lesser rajas wear the head-k'chief (e.g., *t'ngkolok alang sat'ira hitam bert'k'pok p'rada t'chang s'nan-nyat*) and one may wonder if we have not here an instance of what Mr. R. J. Wilkinson notices in his General Introduction to the "Ninety-nine Laws" in this series: namely, how Sultans and the common folk welcomed Saiyids and their interference, but the old aristocracy looked askance at them. The costume of divorcees, widowers and widows, on re-marriage, was somewhat subdued. Men would wear the *baju berk'pok* as worn by old dates; a sapphire ring; a plain *k'ris*; women perhaps a waist-buckle of *jadam*, silver inlaid with a composite black metal; bracelets of black shining wood with fretted gold or silver ends; plainer rings and plainer silks. This account of wedding costume applies in all intrinsic particulars to Pahang and Johore also, but not probably to the Negri Sembilan, and there are a few differences in the northern States.

Below are appended lists of such patterns and clothes as are not noted in the text. In each case: (I) refers to Wilkinson's Dictionary; (II) to Clifford and Swettenham's; (III) to Logan, J. I. A.; (IV) to the writer.

THE BAJU.

(I). *Baju angperka*, a long overcoat or surtout. Ht. Abdullah; (The breasts overlap; it is of an Arabic pattern, *P'ij*.) *B. bajang*, a kind of swallow-tailed coat, *S'j. Mal.* *B. m'skat* or *b'skat*, a coat with an ornamental collar worn at wedding (which crosses over the chest and is bound by a girdle, C. & S.) ? From Muscat (R. O. W.) also = (Eng.) "Waistcoat." *B. pesak sa-bilah*, a double-breasted *baju* (or *B. tutup imam*, L.). *B. s'roja* (Skt.) a coat with a quilted collar. *Sej. Mal.* (? with embroidered flowered pattern, cf. *tikar t'kat s'roja* Maxwell's Sri Rama. R. O. W.) *B. sika*, a Bugis coat with tight sleeves slit at the ends. *B. tunggang*, a buttonless *baju*. *B. t'kot*, a long, tight, sleeveless coat, said to be of Bugis origin (worn next the skin by men and women, C. & S.). *B. t'ratat*, a coat similar to the *B. s'roja*. *B. top*, a loose *baju* with very loose sleeves, worn by women only. *B. ubor*, a coat with hanging collar.

(II). *Baju katak* or *katong*, a tight blouse with short sleeves fitting close to the arm above the elbow: the only openings are two slits on the shoulders, which enable the wearer to take it on and off; the slits fastened by a single button near the junction of the neck with the shoulder . . . worn at work. *B. ayat*, a short-sleeved vest, printed with texts and worn in war. *B. kajari*, a long robe of silken stuff, which hangs below the knee. *B. sunting*, a coat, with the opening on one side: sometimes regarded as a wedding garment to be worn by the bridegroom.

(III). *B. sikat* (? *sikap*), reaches to the waist, is loose, open and buttonless, has sleeves terminating a hand's breadth above the wrist and a *nie* or collar two or three inches high. *B. chara Lingo*, sleeves fit close to the arm, reach to the wrist, and have a loose slit cuff down to the knuckles (? Arabic and worn by hajis). *B. tangau kauching*, a long gown reaching to the ankles, open in front and with buttons at the cuff; only worn by the old men when they attend the mosque or on occasions of ceremony. *B. bastrob*, a vest worn beneath the proper *baju*, fastened in front by the row of buttons of gold or jewels, without collar or sleeves; worn by people of station and wealth. *B. kurong chikah mungsang* (? *chika musang*), has a stiff collar with buttons, much worn in Kedah (? with tight sleeves and waist and a full skirt). *B. baskat* (? *b'skat*), has a wide additional piece of cloth on each side: one of these lappets is fastened by a row of strings within the other below the armpit on the right side, and the other fastened in a similar manner over the preceding on the left side below the armpit. It has a collar about two fingers' breadth board. Much worn by Malacca Malays, who appear to have adopted it from the Klings, as in other Malay countries it is not generally used. *B. pëndipun* or *b'rsinjab*, (? the name given to any coat, when the borders are lined with silk.

(IV). *B. Teluk Bilanga*, collarless, *kurong*, has one button at the throat. *B. gunting Johor*, ditto but buttonless. *B. Penang*, open all down, with buttons in place of frogs.

TROUSERS.

(IV). *S'luar gadok*, the Chinese pattern, but narrower in the leg. *S. bambu*, a kind of Malay bell-bottom; may be seen in all the illustrations to Hurgronje's "Achinese." *S. Johor*, founded on English style. *S. lokhuan*, of Chinese silk.

HEAD-DRESS.

(III). *A*—Methods of tying the handkerchief. (1) *Belah mambang jintai kera*, the panglima's mode, the two corners are freed from the folds, one is brought forward and concealed between the fillet and the brow and the other made to project like a horn or tuft. (2) *Kelongsong bunga*, has both horns concealed. (3) *Gulong Gao*, has a single corner introduced between the fold and the forehead and pulled down an inch or two over the brow. (4) *Gitong pideh*, (?) has the loose end neatly arranged so as to cover the head like a ruffled cloth cap. (5) *Dayang pulang panggil*, ditto but reversed so that the fillet is behind. (6) *Lana mēnyongsong angin* has two projecting tufts and one of the ends hanging down towards one shoulder.

B—Logan gives the following caps and description: *Kapiih Surati*, of cotton; *k. Batawi*, of gold thread; *k. sudu-sudu*, with a raised border behind; *k. belanga*, of thin cloth, *k. kapi-kapi*, which covers the whole head and leaves only the face exposed; *k. Bugis*, of thick, soft material, made of the pith of the *r'sam* plant or of Chinese *tangsi*, dyed black and bordered with silver foil.

JEWELLERY.

(IV). *Gelang pintal*, in the form of twisted cords; *gl. pating dayong*, with ends like a paddle-handle; *gl. patah simal*, a bracelet of ridged pattern; *gl. tali-tamali*, a bracelet of four or five twisted cord-like strands; *gl. puchok rebong*, a bracelet of chevron pattern; *gl. buah sirih*, a bracelet with triangular ornamentation; *gl. punggong siput*, a bracelet ornamented with cross triangular grooves.

(1). *Rings*. *Chinchin berafil*, a ring with two stones; *ch. hindu*, with one stone; *ch. chap*, a seal ring; *ch. ikat belai*, a ring set with a square flat stone; *ch. ikat Belanda*, or *ch. ikat Kropoh*, a ring with a stone set in open filigree so as to permit of the sides being seen; *ch. k'reta*, a plain gold ring with a round surface; *ch. limasan*, a ring set with one stone the surface of which is cut like a pyramidal roof; *ch. Mahar*, the seal of the State; *ch. patah hiram*, or *ch. susah hati*, a puzzle ring; *ch. peler itek*, *ch. pintal tiga*, a ring of three strands; *ch. sekou*, (shake-hands) a ring with clasped hands in gold; *ch. wafak*, a talismanic ring with horoscope engraved on it.

(IV). *Chinchin ikat Batawi*, a ring set with three jewels at a distance from one another; *ch. garam sa-buku*, a ring plain set with one stone; *ch. patah simal*, a plain ring with ridged outer surface;

ch. p̄erut lintar, a round ring; *ch. tanam*, with stones deep inset; *ch. potong t̄ebu*, a ring with outer surface in sections; *ch. k̄l̄oring*, a ring with removable stone.

COURT DRESS.

Kain t̄atapan, a shoulder-cloth of yellow silk, embroidered, and with gold or silver fringe, worn by court attendants when waiting on rajas. (*See "Malay Annals," passim*).

Kain wali, a stole reaching to the waist (in Perak of yellow silk decorated with white and black and gold) worn by pages carrying regalia and state weapons.

FOOD.

(1). *Rambutau B̄tawi*, *salak Jambi*, *binjai Molacca*, *liman Banjar*, *langsat Palembang*, is a saying that shows species of fruits especially esteemed by Malays.

(2). *Nasi-nya b̄eras Sungkai*, *ikan-nya lawang di-gulai d̄engan daun paku*, *p̄ekasam ikan lokma*, *t̄mpoyak-nya t̄mpoyak maja*, *ayer-nya ayer Batang Padang*, *sireh-nya sireh Chikus*, *kapur-nya kapur Sungai T̄erap*; *siapa makan-nya tiada t̄ringat ia pulang ka-n̄ḡeri-nya lagi*. So runs a Perak saying.

