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FOREWORD

Swami Sadananda Giri needs no introduction to the students of the history of Greater India. He has already brought out three books in English on the subject. These are: *Pilgrimage to Greater India, Suvarnadwipa* and *Champa*. He visited the places of interest in Further India and Indonesia a number of times and collected materials for the history of ancinet Indian colonisation in those countries with the help of well known authorities on the spot.

His present book: *Malay* is another contribution on the subject. The history of the Hindu colonies in the Malay Peninsula is still controversial in many respects as inscriptional evidence is scanty. The students of ancient Champa, Camodia and even of Śrīvījaya are on much surer grounds.

Swami Sadananda has not entered into controversies and has collected in his present essays available materials for the later history of Singapore, the state of Johore and Malacca. The essay on Hindu Malay will be of great interest to the students of ancient Indian colonisation. It will serve as a good introduction to the subject and will induce students to go deeper into various problems connected with it.

The author desires me to thank on his behalf the Hindus of Malay for their kind hospitality and specially Mr. H. D. Collings, the Curator of the Raffles Museum at Singapore for the great help which he got from him. Thanks are also due to Mr. K. C. De and Mr. Salil Kumar Banerji who helped the author in the preparation of the manuscript and the correction of the proof sheets.

Calcutta University
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P. C. BAGCHI.

THE HINDU MALAY

To Mr. H. D. Collings, the Curator of the Raffles Museum, go our thanks for our access to its splendid archives, where for many hours, we pored over the pages of some of the recent publications on the ancient and mediaeval histories of Malay. The more we studied the new researches, the deeper was our marvel at the elaborate and painstaking methods, our forbears had employed in disseminating their culture and broadcasting their progressive ideas. Commerce in the modern times follows the flag and it is as often as not synonymous with the economic exploitation or the political subjugation of the indigenous people. The Aryans attempted at spiritual and intellectual domination which was probably based on sympathetic and non-repressive methods, otherwise no traces had been left of the early settlers in Further India.

The relation with India did not begin with the Aryans in Malay Peninsula. The linguistic peculiarities of the Mon-Khmers that occupies the littoral, now known as Indo-China, can be traced to the Munda-Kols who had been the inhabitants of India from the pre-Dravidian days. But before the Mon-Khmers reached the south-eastern projection of Asia, there was already a mixture, if not of separate tribes of the Oceanic Mongols and of the Negroids of Polynesia. Some of them were akin to the Andamanese Negritoes; and at present the Semangs,

the Sakais and the Jakuns still retain their primitive modes of living in the hilly jungles of the Peninsula. Perhaps there were pre-historic men during all the stages of stone-culture, some relics of which have been recently excavated at Baling. Besides these indications, a few graves have been unearthed in Malay, which will prove a valuable addition to the Bac-Son and the Hoa-Binh discoveries for the ethnographist.

But no traces of higher anthropoids, like those discovered in the neighbouring island of Java have come to light in Malay. Still, her geographical situation and climatic conditions marked her for a commercial centre from a sufficiently early date, which developed into a powerful thalassocracy under the guidance of a physically fit and mentally alert race like the Hindu Colonials. Were they less vigorous, the polynesianized Mon-Khmers would have remained in the same level as some of the aborigines found in more secluded regions and the religious and cultural evolution of the present Malayans would have never been achieved. Pioneers like Agastya were attracted to these distant countries not simply for the sake of natural products like Harichandanam, but what really engaged their vital interest was the spread of Saivism, a cult which they established as the starting-point of Aryan civilisation. Intellectual and spiritual development of a race was dearer to their mind than mere exploitation of natural resources of the land where they came to settle.

From Tumasik (Singapore) which is just above the

equator, the Peninsula stretches to 10° north latitude in the modern map, but in early days it extended right up to the border of Siam. The breadth of Malay varies between 35 and 200 miles with two great oceans on either side; a chain of wooded hills which reach an altitude of 7,000 feet sometimes slopes on either side into fertile fringe washed by a number of rivers. The sea-board is dented with navigable estuaries where natural harbours tap the varied resources of the hinterland; ivory, rhinoceros, tortoise-shells, aloes, camphor, spices, sandal, and teak suitable for building sea-going crafts have brought people to this South-easternmost projection of Asia from different quarters of the globe in all ages; gold must have been exhausted in the Aryan period though the particles of this precious metal can be still collected from some of the river-basins; tin has formed the bulk of its valuable export to countries like Greece and India from the mediaeval days. A number of crops can be easily grown on its soil and the climate owing to the proximity of the sea has always been free from extremes. Such a land highly suitable for the foundation of a maritime power awaited the advent of capable rulers like those of the Sumatran Shailendras for its efflorescence.

We have no means of ascertaining definitely the conditions of the pre-Founan Malay and what impressions we collect of the Fou-nan period are also hazy. The Aryan settlement must have begun before the Fou-nan domination of Malay and though the Chinese records are not clear whether or not it was a Hindu

kingdom, yet we have indirect evidences that Malay was known to India, Palestine and the Near Eastern countries of Europe long before the dawn of Christianity and that behind her economic activities a strong Aryanised organisation, political and religious must have long grown up. The Swarnabhumi of the Sanskrit epic, the Golden Chersones of the Hebrew Scriptures and the Manimekhala of the Tamil literature might not be references to this Peninsula of Asia, but there can be no doubt as to Malay's commerical piracy in the Middle Ages. She was known to the Greek as the land of gold in the first century A.D. which Ptolemy in the next century described as settlements of the Hindus. And the Dakshinapatha being nearer to her the Southern Aryans enriched the vocabulary of the Polynesian Mon-Khmers with their "Prakritized" Tamil words. The scripts on their earliest petrograph were of the Pallava style, which helped Kern in dating it at 400 A.D. It was a practice of the later Buddhists of Malay to carry back to their land as sacred relics, the votive tablets from the Buddhist Tirthas of India and like those found in certain caves of Siam, the tablets were deposited in rocky receptacles in Malay. They were all in the northern Nagri scripts of the 7th to the 10th century A. D. But the influence of Nalanda and the exchange of thoughts with the Biharas of Bengal can still be felt. Buddhagupta who erected the monk's shelter at the site of Kedah went from Raktamrittika Bihara of Karnasuvarna which stood in those days near the present town of Murshidabad.

The Hindu period entered its glorious cycle when the Srivijayas of Sumatra came to establish their power over Malay. The history of Siam would have us believe that this Peninsular monarchy of the Shailendras began under the suzerainty of the Sukhodaya-Swankaloka dynasty. But the reverse must have been nearer the truth by the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. Langkasuka and Kataha were probably tributaries in North Malay to the Srivijayas. The former flits across the pages of the country's chronicles like the veritable *ignis-fatuus*. According to the historiographer of the Liang Dynasty of China this State of Langkasuka was founded in the first century A.D., and its capital probably bore the same appellation. It must not be difficult to uphold the claim of the Kedah annals to Langkasuka as the Chef-lieu of the ancient kingdom of Kataha; for it is possible that the state itself often assumed its nomenclature from its capital and that the present Kedah was included in the territory over which the rulers of Langkasuka held their sway. Or it might have been that there were originally two states, both vassals to the Peninsular Srivijaya which fused into one when the Shailendras established themselves at the head of the centralised authority. It is equally evident that Kataha and Langkasuka ultimately separated on the decline of the Srivijayas of Malay when the Langkasuka port or sea-state transformed itself into the Siamese feudatory of Nakhon (nagara) Sri Dharmarat which often challenged the suzerainty of the Sukhodaya-Swankaloka, waged war

against Lopburi and was emboldened by its success into an alliance with the Lao power of the north Siam which was inimical to the house of the Sukhodayas. The overlordship of any state in old days was often nominal and its grip tightened or loosened over the vassals according to its military strength. What Sri Dharmarat did at a later period was previously enacted by Langkasuka in 515 A.D., which though a tributary to the Srivijayas of Malay had one Po-ki-ta-to at the helm of its government who dared send presents as an independent monarch to China, a practice which only fell off after fifty-three years. Even Sri Dharmarat was not known to the mediaeval Malay as such; it was called Ligor and under this style was often mentioned by traders to Far East countries. Hence it is often confusing to ascertain precisely to which state or town different records (which have been preserved by strangers some of whom transliterated the names beyond recognition while others had their own nomenclatures to go upon) point in their narration. Thus we know, but cannot be definite, if the Lang-ka-su of the intinerant scholar I-tsing was identical with the Malayan town of Langkasuka, which he was sure to have visited on his way to Tamralipti at the end of the 7th century. Would it not be, however, more judicious to locate the kingdom of Lang-Ya-Su of the Chinese memoranda of the period 6th—7th centuries A.D. with the Peninsular sea state of Langkasuka, than attempt to foist it on the north-west coast of Java under the impression that traders and travellers of those days

had as much knowledge of the charted locations of a state or a city as we have today?

In the first quarter of the 6th century we find in one of these memoranda a prince who (being a Buddhist was naturally described by a co-religionist as intelligent and popular) rebelled against a monarch of Lang-Ya-Su, but the latter (probably a Hindu) was too powerful and banished the insurgent prince from his kingdom and it was not till his death that the prince could come back from India and ascend the throne of Langkasuka.

The name Langasoggam occurs in Negapatam inscriptions of 1,005 A.D. and again after twenty-five years in those of Tanjore. The king of Kataha, one Chudamanivarman, a pious Buddhist had permission given to him by Rajaraja-Rajakesharivarman (985-1,013 A.D.) to build a shrine, which probably continued when both the Kataha-Shailendra and the Chola ruler were succeeded by their respective sons. It was Rajendra Chola I who, though friendly at first, fell out with Maravijayottungavarman of Langkasuka (apparently Kataha-Langkasuka had become the seat of the Malayan Srivijayas) and ravaged all the flourishing ports of the Peninsula. Probably the Emperor of the celestials would have interfered if he dared risk a naval engagement off Tumasik which Rajendra Chola I held as the base for his warships. The war against the Srivijayas probably ended when the Kataha monrachy was reduced to a shadow of its former self when Samgramavijayottungavarman had ascended the Srivijaya throne. Malayan power revived ofter some

years but did not regain her former prestige during next three hundred years. Tumasik became the lair of the pirates from Ligor and Langkasuka was gradually effaced from the history of the Hindu Malay except for its probable mention as Ling-Ya-Si by a Chinese navigator at the end of the 13th century.

The Malayans are ethnically bound up with Indo-China, but their political training came mostly from Sumatra. It was here at the fast of the Mahameru in Palambang, that the founder of the Shailendra House was first discovered. Of course his origin is wrapped up in mystery but he could have hardly belonged to any other race than the Aryan and possibly he was a Saivite. It might be that as his descendants increased in strength and number the Srivijaya-Shailendra monarchy spread to other islands of the Javanese group and at last it secured a stronghold on the mainland of Asia by subjugating states south of Siam.

It is rather interesting to note, that the three branches which must have been separated at a later date, prior to that of the Copper-grant dug up in Bengal, had different outlooks both from religious and political angles of vision. The Sumatran and the Javanese Shailendras probably embraced Mahayana Buddhism and developed a strong tendency towards the mysticism of the Tantras and in both these islands, whether Buddhists or Saivites, kings spent more lavishly on architectural and sculptural achievements. They slowly gave up the Pallava scripts of the south and took up

the Nagri scripts more akin to Bengali than to those used in other parts of the Aryavarta. Yet Nalanda must have influenced just as deeply the Malayan Srivijayas as it did the Sumatran and the Javanese monarchies. The absence of petroglyps and architectural evidences proves one thing to the credit of the Peninsular authority. Whatever they might be deficient in, they had at least developed one kingly sense, namely to spare the subject people from heavy taxation. Moreover, they could always replenish their empty treasury by taxing foreign merchants, who had settled and enjoyed the protection of the Srivijaya monarchs.

It was Prince Sri Rajasanagara of Tiktabilwa in Java, who under the tutelage of his mother, the widow-queen Jayavishnu-Vardhani and the court minister Gajamada, rose to become the head of an enormous sea-power in 1350 A. D. The contemporaneous literature which gave this king the title of 'Young-Cock' describes how with his admiral Nala he inflicted severe defeat on the Srivijaya monarchy both in Java and Sumatra as well as on the Malay stronghold across the straits. One by one great towns of the Aryanized empire fell, and the prince of Tiktabilwa carried his victorious arms to the borders of Siam and Burma on the west and upto Annam in the east. From these blows the Srivijayas never recovered, but out of the ashes of its Malayan empire rose Malacca, Pahang, Perak and a host of others. And slowly passed off the Aryan culture, religious and intellectual, to give place to the teachings of the Arabian prophet.

What befell her tributaries, when the Srivijaya empire succumbed to the onslaught of Hyam Wuruk at the end of the 14th century, can be known from the contemporary literature of Java, the reports of Chinese envoys, and the memoranda of traders and travellers of diverse races.

The annals, which a Bendahara Seri Maharaja composed for the edification of his compatriots, have to be surveyed carefully owing to the inaccuracy of dates and the tendency of the writer for confusing facts with fables. As a Malayan, he was, however, in a better position to gauge properly the inner intricacies of the court-life and furnish us with the graphic details of court procedures and social customs, which for an outsider would be extremely difficult to depict with exactitude. It would be complicated for an alien to comprehend, why the Chief Minister of the State should precede a prince of the reigning house and why so often the claim of an heir to the Sultan, by a lady of the Bendahara family could override that of another son by a royal mother. Still more puzzling would it be to a stranger to explain the court-intrigues of any reign. Hence these annals, though they are of little worth from a correct chronological standpoint, they are invaluable in so far as they supple-

ment the socio-political workings and the economic history of the Malacca kingdom.

As long as the Modjo-Pahit warlord continued a vigorous military and naval policy, he could represent effectively any foreign interference with the States over which he established the right of a conqueror. He could with impunity execute as a spy, an Imperial Envoy of China, who carried presents in order to open up preliminaries for trade and freiendly relations. But probably his successor weakened a good deal as we find that port towns were often ravaged by Siamese and Chinese rovers. The former were bold enough to impose an impossible Chauth like the Vargis in Bengal, in consequence of which a more secure site had to be selected for a trade centre. The Modjo-Pahit domination, both economic and political over Malayan States must have been shortlived, for we find the more important of these resuming their ancient relations with China by the first quarter of the 15th century.

Malacca was one of those commercial towns which the indented coast-line of the Peninsula furnished with a natural harbour from the time of the Aryan Colonisation. The 'Pa-li-Su-ra' whom the plenipotentiary of Sheng-tsu invited in 1403 A.D. to the Imperial Court and whom the King Emperor proclaimed an independent ruler in 1407 A.D. was really a merchant prince, his title 'Parameswara' signifies a political head of lesser degree than one who would be styled 'Maharaja Chakravarti.' Possibly as the doyen of his profession,

he acted as the chief banker and treasurer to the community and all disputes, commercial or otherwise were referred to him.

The imperial fleet visited the port of Malacca in 1409 A.D. and was sure to have elevated the ruler of the territory in the esteem of his plundering neighbours. While returning to China, the Lord Admiralong Sam Po was pleased to take along with him the Parameswara, his family and a large band of his retinues whom the Emperor received with all courtesy in 1410-11 A.D. The list of articles of food that used to be sent from the Imperial kitchen contained both bullocks and wine. Were the Parameswara a Hindu, he could have refused the first item and if he were a recent convert to Islam, he would have nothing to do with the second. This indicates that Parameswara was still a Buddhist, perhaps a descendant of the late Shailendras. Moreover, even if he was called a 'Perpateh' (may be a word derived from Paramapati), he would not have cared to be created a Shah or Sultan to the sound of a kettle drum and announced the 'Shadow of God upon Earth' by a Moulana, while he had been seeking the recognition of a powerful potentate like the Emperor of China. The Parameswara came back from China laden with fine presents, the next year and reigned for another three years.

On his demise, the 'Xaquendersa' of the Portuguese records came to the throne and during his ten years of reign he went to China twice. Probably conversion to

Mahomedanism began with him as his Arabic name Iskandra Shah suggests. His governance must have been peaceful and not until the third ruler ascended the throne in about 1424 A.D., do we again hear of the Siamese disturbing the Sultanate of Malacca.

This third ruler of the Malacca Kingdom would be marked for his revival of royal dignity and shedding the commercial veneer of his grandfather (?). He wished to provide the Sultanate with glorious legends and in spite of being drummed a Shah by his Moslem preceptors, he reintroduced the title of Seri Maharaja which the Chinese transliterates as Si-ri-ma-ha-la. His Malayan title was Yangdipertuan and even his daily life was mataphorically described. Thus he was borne about high; he regaled himself and then reposed and sometimes had maladies, which in a commoner's case would mean that he walked, ate, slept and sometimes fell ill.

The pomp and pageant which changed the face of the Court must have been inspired by Mahomed Shah's two visits to the Court of the Celestial. The royal procession began with the elephant carrying the king on a throne, the Temenggong (war Minister) as its Mahout, the royal sword being carried by a Laksamna (admiral) or the Date Seri Bija Diraja (Dutta Sri Vijayadhiraja one given the charge of conducting victory, i.e., a general). The elaborate technique of the Sultan's levee added to the gravity of reception. But a few self-centered upstairs like Capt. Joao Tavares, being too cognisant of their own maritime supremacy thought it beneath

their dignity to observe court etiquettes, which only helped to explain their inferiority-complex and bad breeding.

Shah Ibrahim was young when he ascended his father Mahomed Shah's throne. One Raja Kassim, a member of the Royal line, having no direct claim to the Sultanate pounced upon it by assassinating the young king. This Raja Kassim was low enough to enter into conspiracy with a ship Captain Jalaluddin who had fallen in desparate love with the murdered Sultan's mother. The bouleversement was successful owing to the fact that the faithful Bendahara of the day was tricked into submission by the resourceful Kassim. Jalaluddin got probably another lady who was passed off as the murdered Sultan's mother. The usurper styled himself on his accession as Muzaffar Shah (or Modafaixa of the Portuguese Chronicles) and he was lucky enough to have as a follower a capable administrator in the person of Tun Perak. The ruler even went to the length of divorcing a pretty wife so that this worthy administrator could marry her in his dotage. Whether this Sultan occupied the throne for fourteen or forty years we have no means of verifying but his reign was long enough. He warded off the Siamese invasion by land. His admiral Tun Omar, defeated the Siamese navy by strategy with the help of a single ship.

His successor was Monsoor Shah. It was during his reign that the Sultanate of Malacca reached the acme of its power. Pahang, Siak, Kampan, Trengganu and Johore, all felt the yoke of Malacca and the only one to

escape it was Passi. Naturally people who loved to talk of his glorious days encircled it with romantic legends of chivarly and fabulous feats of physical courage, in which Hung Tuah, a brave young chief of the royal guard was allowed to participate. Some of these were bruited by the Court Party in order to augment the prestige of the Sultan. One of his wives was a Javanese, but she could not possibly be the same person as the heroine Chandrakirana of the Wyang tales; another queen was a Chinese, but she had none of the imperial blood of China flowing in her veins. The Emperor whom Shah Monsoor and his borther Tun Parapateh (Paramapatiputra the son of the overlord) could only see through a glass window would not dream of marrying his daughter to a Sultan of Malacca.

His reign however, indirectly indicates the laxity of morals among the ladies of the royal household where one of the guards had to be killed for his liaison. His eldest son had to be banished from the Court and sent to another part of the kingdom for murdering a boy. The Court lords entered a spirited protest against serving a murderer even if he happened to be a Sultan afterwards. The annals give a picture of incendiarism and how it was brought under control too late. There were no fire brigades or any such organised body to tackle with fire-breaks. The Sultan's palace got burnt down and another had to be built in its stead though many of the palace officers tried in vain to stamp it out.

The first son of Monsoor having died, the second

should have been next on his throne. But the Bendahara Tun Perak intrigued and his own kinsman Alladin Raiyat Shah (Alladin I) was declared the Sultan. The second elder brother of this king did not accept the situation as granted but committed many atrocious crimes to upset it. It is probably that he had a hand in poisoning Alladin I who died suddenly. But even then, the second son of Alladin I came to the throne as Tun Perak was still alive.

The reign of Mahmud I was marked by the fall of Kelantan before the Malaccan army. Tun Perak having died his nephew Tun Mutahir succeeded him as the Sultan's Bendahara. But Mahmud I was a youth who loved women more than his royal task. His father Alladin I had rebuked this same Tun Mutahir for the negligence of his duty as Police Chief. But during the reign of Mahmud I his favourites ruled and were allowed to do many things which no Malaccan Chief like Alladin I would have tolerated . Mahmud's love affairs, however, had a set-back when he turned his mind to the mysticism of Yousuf who 'demoralised' his royal arrogance during the Sultan's first visit. This religious proclivity meant disregard of serious duties as a king and marked the downhill movement of Malacca's puissance. A few tottering monarchs succeeded Mahmud but eventually Malacca was annexed by the Portuguese in 1510 A.D.

Before we close its history we like to mention the titles of State's chief dignitaries and their functions. The Bendahara Seri Maharaja was the Chief Minister.

The word 'Bendahara' suggests the Sanskrit word "Bhandarin" or the keeper of royal treasury and as the Sultans of Malacca were originally merchants, the most important person was the store-keeper or treasurer, though this particular office under the Sultanate was held by the Penghulu Bendahara who was the head of all Court Officers as well. We have already explained the title of the War Chief. A prince of royal descent was called a Raja and Counsellors were called Manteris (Sanskrit Mantrin). The keeper of heraldry was generally a member of the Muntah Lembu family though the Master of Ceremonies was the War Chief or Temenggong. The title 'Date Paduka Raja' perhaps signified a Lord-in-waiting whose duty was to look after the King's personal comforts, for 'Paduka' suggests sandals. The title of Nara Diraja would mean a controller (ruler of men) of men, but from his functions it appears that this dignitary had nothing special to do and received his honour in return of some valuable services to the king.

The honour of the Seri Maharaja Bendahara was conferred on an influential person though of ordinary birth. Thus the king could be assured of a large backing from the mass as well. This office was considered second only to the Crown, and besides his position as the head of the Cabinet his functions included the Ministry of Justice. He would be looked upon virtually as the Vice-regent and often had to act as his own foreign Minister, specially when he had to receive potentates and envoys of another land. The Seri Bendaharas of

monarchs like Shah Monsoor and his successor were worthier than the masters they served. For they were not only very capable and statesman-like in the execution of their duties but they constantly kept themselves abreast of events both internal and external. They led very simple life, free from that pride which such a post generally carried. They were, in deference to their high rank, excused from many petty duties, but were expected to be present wherever the king went in State. They bore many tokens of distinction in way of dress etc., but except one Bendahara who changed his coat six times a day, we do not find them foppish or extravagant. This title seems exclusive to Malacca while she swayed supreme; for, the Chief Minister to Siak was known as Perdana Manteri (Sanskrit : Pradhanamantri).

One curious thing to note in connection with the Sultanate of Malacca in particular and Malay in general that though they embraced the faith of the Arabian Prophet none for a moment thought that these investitures which originated from and Aryan civilisation was irreligious and therefore should be abandoned. And the word 'Sri' occurred again and again without any protest from any one, from the Monarch downwards. What more, even now, in a certain protectorate, the chief dignitary whispers into the ascending Sultan's ear the name of the original Hindu King who was first discovered at the foot of the Mahameru.

HISTORICAL SINGAPORE

Singapore which stands on a river of the same name commands the gateway of two oceans, the Indian and the Pacific. It possesses a natural harbour at the end of a narrow channel, and owing to the peculiar configuration of the Continental shelf, every east or west bound ship is forced by tides to seek shelter there. As a strategic point it is of considerable importance, a fact which can be gathered from its big naval yard which has been strengthened in recent years by an equally great Military and Civil Airplane base.

This significance was recognised long ago when Singapore was known as Tumasik and Maharajadhiraja Rajendra Chola I wished to utilise it as a naval base in his campaign against the Emperor of China. When he abandoned his project the port of Tumasik was left neglected for centuries. In the meanwhile luxuriant equatorial forests infested with lions spread up to the sea-line. A few generations later, a Buddhist Prince Nita Utama, perhaps a descendant of this Hindu King of Kings, and more probably one of the Shailendras and not of Alexander the Great, having espied its sandy beach from the hills of Bentan, conceived a strong desire to visit Tumasik. The sea was, however, so turbulent that not until he parted with his heavy jewelled Crown to lighten the craft that he could effect a landing. A beast, elegant in its gait, with a dark head, but a light

neck and a brown trunk, quick and daring, attracted the prince's notice, who learning its Sanskritic name from one of his attendants renamed Tumasik as the 'City of the Lion.'

There are anecdotes quite as interesting, but are of little value for reconstructing a linked-up story of Singapore's past. The first break comes in the middle of the 14th century, when legends are backed by historical evidences; although it must have contributed considerably to the greatness of Srivijaya. In 1361 A.D. according to a poem in Javanese dialect, Hyam Wuruk, a ruler of Modjo-Pahit inflicted a crushing defeat on the reigning king of Singapore (possibly a vassal to Srivijaya) who had his Javanese concubine put to death for her unfaithfulness. But for the atrocious vandalism of Coleman, an English Engineer, the historian to-day could have at his disposal some means of proving the truth of this incident. There stood near the estuary of the Singapore a red-stone pillar, 10 feet high, inclined to its square base of some material at an angle of 76 degs. which bore 50 lines of inscription in Modjo-Pahit Kavi character. This was blown to pieces at the order of Coleman, but a fragment of it was sent to the local Treasury at the instance of Col. Low who strongly protested against this irreverent act. Even there, the rest of the weather-beaten characters wore away beyond restoration, having been used as a seat by the guards. It came to be deposited later on at the Indian Museum but was returned to its place of origin in 1919 A.D.

Whatever might have happened, for a contemporary Chinese historian ascribes the downfall of Singapore to the withdrawal of the Celestial Emperor's patronage and protection from the year 1377 A.D. (and not 1361 A.D.), Hyam Wuruk must have soaked the town with the blood of its inhabitants, and its horrible memory still lingers. Nor do we know with any precision, if the ruler, whom the Javanese chased out, was Iskander Shah, the founder of the Malaccan Sultanate or an anonymous Hindu monarch. One fact is however patent that Singapore lay exposed to the mercy of pirates for a long time and the Bendahara who ruled the adjoining islands and territory under Malacca (through the Dato Raja Negaro) offered little resistance. On one occasion a band of Siamese outlaws only raised the siege of the port when they heard of the approach of heavily-armed Chinese frigates. Long afterwards Col. Low, while exploring the jungles on the bank of the Singapore, came across in heaps the skulls of victims, whom pirates used to execute there.

This line of Bendaharas has been however known in history for a long time. One of them offered battle to Mascarenhas in 1526; another helped in 1606 Admiral Matalief to navigate through the narrow strait; a century later, a third was present at the marriage of the Bugis in 1722. Perhaps he was the same 'Datubandar' who sided with a pretender 'Raiaquichil' against his sovereign "Rajamuda," but being a political blunderer, he met the fate he rightly deserved as a traitor, when he was aban-

doned by the usurper to the mercy of a passing Portuguese Governor, whose wrath he incurred through his intriguing nature.

The Island was once offered in 1703 to the Scotch explorer Alexander Hamilton, but was annexed to the British Crown by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819. The population at this date was mostly composed of proto-Malayan sea-nomads who glided along the estuary in their light canoe-homes. On the land, fishing villages dotted in the midst of thick jungles by the bank and the port had no importance from the point of view of trade.

Nothing picturesquely ancient greeted us, when we landed at the east Wharf one fine July morning 1934. All that met our eyes was blatantly modern and commercial. Instead of huts where fishermen used to hang their nets to dry up in the sun, smoking chimneys bristled; here and there insignificant-looking junks lay moored alongside a gigantic Deisel-driven liner; sampans manned by Malayan crews tossed up and down in the furore caused by a petrol-driven revenue-cutter; along a vast pier a long line of hydraulic hammer cranes clanked busily, while men like so many cogs in a huge machine coped with the rush of goods from all parts of the world.

As soon as we finished with immigration formalities, we made our way to the Raffles Museum and Library, the only spot where one might have a glimpse of the past undisturbed by the innovations of the present. Here we met the Curator Mr. Collings, a young and courteous

Englishman, whose whole energy has been devoted to the study of records and legends available and to reconstruct with their aid a well-chained scientific background for painting the glories of days gone by. Tremendously occupied with researches, this gentleman could still find time for conducting me round the most classical records and tokens. Most interesting were the latest additions from an excavation which is being carried on at present in Baling. But as they are not related to Singapore, we shall discuss them when we come to describe the place.

Besides the Modjo-Pahit Column to which we have already referred, we also saw some gold trinkets of the same period which were found near Port Canning in 1928. One of the most important of these ornaments is an ear-ring on which a Murti probably that of Narayana riding on Garuda is embossed with the deftness of a master-hand. There are also two attendant figures on either side of Narayana riding on lions. There is of course no certainty that the central figure mounted on a bird is Garuda-Vahana, for none of the four emblems the conch, the wheel, the mace and the lotus are shown, but it is possible to guess that these tokens may not have been included in the accepted form of Javanese iconography, which often varies widely from the classical notion of the same. A similar ornament, which was unearthed near Maragasari in Dutch Borneo, has already been relegated to the fourth century when Mulvarman was the king.

Another interesting thing Mr. Collings was good enough to point out to me was the flat-back red-cornelian seal with Pallava inscriptions; though it is doubted that the word 'Sri Vishnuvarman' might refer to any other king or commoner who had nothing to do with the Pallavas of South India, yet it represents a cultural age, when people could not only excel in craftmanship, but could also undertake perilous journeys by sea or land to spread their civilisation.

The Raffles Muesum, like most of Singapore public buildings, is quite imposing in its architectural motif. The town is very clean and roads are not only broad but very well-lighted at night. The atmosphere is surcharged with frenzied activity, the keynote to the modern interpretation of civilisation.

JOHORE IN THE EARLY 18TH CENTURY

It was a pleasant motor-ride to the seat of the Sultanate of Johore. For seventeen odd miles the metalled road lay through a beautiful avenue of tall rubber trees of the preserved Government plantations.

As we receded from Singapore the hillocks in distance grew smaller and smaller till they were lost behind a mass of green foliage. The mainland has been bridged to the port-town by a giant granite causeway (3,500 ft.) which has been worth the expenses of constructing it. It has saved several days' tedious sea-voyage from Bangkok and has placed Singapore within a couple of days' comfortable journey from the Siamese Capital by train.

The approach to the town of Johore Bahru offers a splendid panorama of equatorial luxuriance which would do ample justice to the brush of a master-painter. The State-Capital has a population of some 16,000 souls and possesses all the advantages of the modern system of education and sanitation. His Highness the present Sultan is very much awake to the welfare of his subjects and donates munificiently such deserving institutions as the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He descends from Sultan Husain who was placed on the gaddie of Johore by Sir Stamford Raffles before Singapore was added to the British Crown. This Sultan Husain

was related by blood and marriage to the old Mahomedan rulers of Malacca.

The state of Johore is in itself an old kingdom which was probably a remnant of the Hindu Srivijaya Empire. It continued its Malayan governance even when the suzerain State fell to the Portuguese in 1510 A.D. and to the Dutch in 1641 A.D. Probably during this period the Siamese pirates, who like the Portuguese rovers were a terror and a curse to all river ports, devastated its sea coast.

To a camp-follower of a Portuguese Governor-elect, one Captain Joao Tavares de Vellez Guerreire we owe some interesting side-lights on the political life of Johore during the first quarter of the 18th Century. The kingdom of Johore, he describes, extended from Malacca to Trenggahu; its capital was situated in the tract of land between the second and the third degrees north of the equator at the head of one of the innumerable channels of the river of Johore though it lay at a distance of ten leagues from the sea, and navigation was intricate yet trading boats would sail right up to the town wharves. Owing to the proximity of the sea the 'climate was cool and delightful' and possessed all the 'qualities of a perpetual Spring' inspite of the torrid Sun, but the surrounding districts being however swampy, were not suitable to foreigners. The complexion of the people varied from nigger black to European fairness, a fact which indicates a conglomeration of diverse races. A Greek married to a lady of the Sultan's household was

seen playing an important hand in the current politics, whereas the presence of an English, a Dutch, a Portuguese boat at the time of this description denotes that people from all corners used to frequent the State. Need we doubt the existence of a polyglot cockatoo (according to Ferrand) a few centuries earlier when under the auspices of the more powerful and enlightened Srivijaya rulers the ports used to attract traders from various parts of the world? A bird of this genus is likely to imitate any tongue spoken.

At the date of the Captain's visit to Gior (i.e. Johore), the Hindus and the Mahomedans predominated where a sprinkling of Christian converts filled the humbler ranks of the society. Like Fa-hien, the Portuguese bigot waited at the fewness of his co-religionists and ascribed all evils of Johore, political or otherwise, to the absence of a Catholic faith. Perhaps in his warmth, our diarist forgot the conditions then prevalent in his own land and if the Roman creed were such a panacea for state intrigues or commercial venality, Portugal and the rest of the Latin country would have been a paradise on earth. If a tyrant of Gior was murdered by his subjects, he would have met a similar fate anywhere else provided the people he tyrannised had the strength to retaliate.

According to Joao Tavares' computations the population of Johore must have been enormous. It included not only the residents on land but also the sea-nomads whose whole life was spent on a river-boat. The standing army of the Raianiuda numbered 5,000 armed

men and his fleet consisted of 1,000 well-equipped boats. He had a thousand pieces of twelve-to-twenty four pounder cannon and another thousand of smaller calibres. His arsenals and granaries lay throughout the land and his people traded in tin, gold, pepper aloes, wood, camphor, tortoise-shells, boat-timbers etc. He must have had a large hoard of gold, for even at the moment of his flight he could saddle thirty men with precious metal.

If Captain Joao Tavares was a religious bigot, his Master, the Governor-elect of Macau was a shrewed autocratic braggart. The Portuguese settlement in China was no new place to Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho who lost an arm there in 1709 A.D. and won the hands of lovely Maria de Moura. He was now (1717 A.D.) proceeding there as its governor. Naturally all incidents however trivial, if unfavourable to Portuguese pretensions appeared to be of sinister import to his Captain, our diarist.

Already at Malacca, on his way to Johore, the Governor-elect had troubles with his English pilot and if he dared, he would have blustered the Dutch authorities of their port dues with his five small connons. The Quixotic Coelho loved to bask in the reflected glory of the days when his famous predecessor Alfonso de Albuquerque conquered Malacca. At the sight of a few Dutch boats in his rear this Portuguese counterpart of Carvante's immortal hero made a solemn speech to his twelve compatriots urging them to die

fighting in case the Dutch boats offered battle. To his outward regret and inward relief the Dutch sloops changed their course at the entrance to the straits of 'Singapura'.

On his arrival at Johore the Portuguese lord found the Chief Minister of the State the Dato Raja Seri Bendahara less amenable to his swash-buckling and more insistent on advance payment before he undertook to supply provision and repair the Portuguese vessel. His chronicler at once brands the Minister as dishonest which, of course, is justified in the light of subsequent incidents. This Chief Minister had already been intriguing with the pretender Kechil against his legitimate sovereign Yamtun Muda Mahmud. Hence the latter found it advisable to back the swaggering Portuguese Governor at all cost. The Dutch were too powerful a neighbour of the Sultan to appeal for their assistance. Nor could he seek the help of the English Captain to whom he owed Rs. 10,000 silver pieces and who was pressing for an early settlement.

In these predicaments it was natural for the Sultan Muda Mahmud to solicit the alliance of this Portuguese swaggerer at any price. He had to overlook the discourteous manners of the Governor and his retinue. What was more, he had often to over-ride his counsellors to please this self-centred despotic boor. The Governor thought it beneath his dignity to attend Court invitation in person and little is our surprise that he haughtily turned down the generous offer by the

English Captain of his cabin at the disposal of the Governor during the repairs of the latter's vessel. The arrogance of the Portuguese visitors was at its height when Captain Tavares manhandled the Seri Bendahara at the Court while presenting his gifts. He and his few men would have been crushed as later on became the fate of the English Captain, were it not for the Sultan who shouted probably to the Court saying that 'these Barbarians knew no better Court etiquettes.'

Governor Coelho would not allow at first his petty band of musicians to give a recital before the palace ladies. His over-suspicious nature was manifest in all his acts but his high-handedness often crossed the limits of decency. Because a Malabari sailor of the Dutch boat would not settle some trifle accounts with a Portuguese follower of his, he tried to imprison him. When the Seri Bendahara protested, the Sultan intervened and the Minister had again to pocket the insult. Moreover, the Sultan could hardly listen to a Minister whom he knew to be in collusion with his opponent. Another arbitrary act on the part of the Governor was to hold all Beugi vendors and peasants in restraint and storm their unarmed village, because they would not supply him with provisions for next to nothing.

When Raja Muda heard of the approach of Raja Kechil he sent his now-pardoned Dato Bendahara to resist the same with all his fleet. Were the Chief Minister no traitor to his salt, Raja Kechil would have

been squashed like a gnat that he was. But Bendahara went over with the whole of the Raja Muda's navy to the side of Kechil and the legitimate prince whom the Governor made all sorts of vain promises to defend had to fly from his kingdom with as much gold and personnel as he could collect at a moment's notice. The Governor was astute enough to perceive that Raja Muda, his ally was lost beyond redemption. He at once formulated a plan to force Raja Kechil to look for Portuguese support which he was ready to sell at a profit. The boats that sailed up in advance of the main fleet were armed with such instruments of war as would be necessary to fight their eastern opponents; but they were useless against canons which, however small and inefficient against the Dutch could cause a havoc among them.

Having ascertained the actual state of affairs, through spies, the lord-elect of Macau struck upon a bold design. With a few rounds of ammunition he demoralised the advanced guard so much so that the Raja Kechil who wished to reach Gior under the darkness of the night found himself seriously handicapped by these Portuguese interferences. He had much to do yet if he were to secure his throne of Johore. So, a low intriguer as he was, he came speedily to terms with the Portuguese Chief who desired among other things a site in Johore for building a Church to true faith. As soon as he got the assent of the pretender he made preparations as elaborate as his scanty purse

would permit for celebrating a Holy Mass on the date of consecrating the Church site.

In all those events that followed we find him changing his ground according to the needs of the moment. If he gave shelter to the dying Greek, it was because he thought that he might steal a march on the English Captain who was foolish enough to lose his life in a shooting affray with a Portuguese sailor. The poor marksmanship of the latter is proved by the fact that he killed the Malayan interpreter while aiming his gun at the English Captain. This rashness on the part of the English Captain only furnished the Sultan of Johore with an excuse for cancelling the debt for which he might not have been personally responsible but which he was morally obliged to settle. The house of Kechil did not occupy this shamefully-bought throne for long, but in the final phase neither the Captain nor the Governor had any say. For, they were in their graves by that time.

MALACCA TO BALING

To-day Malacca is only a town in the west coast of the Peninsula.

Of its capture by Alfonso de Albuquerque and its subsequent rule for one hundred and thirty years by his compatriot, only a street called Bona Vista, a tottering archway to their fort, and the ruins of a Catholic Church constitute perhaps all architectural evidences.

The Dutch who finally quitted it in 1824 A.D. have only a couple of roads (the Heeren and the Jonker), a Stadt House and a Church containing some antique furniture and silver wares to prove their domination of some two hundred years.

But if a traveller desires to trace the Mahomedan Malacca he will find a few tombstones of those renowned Sultans who were responsible for its pre-European growth and fame. The trade supremacy which the harbour-town of Malacca enjoyed in those days has now been passed on to the busy free-port on the Indo-pacific commerce route.

Though the European contact has changed the outward mode of an educated Malayan's life, inwardly he and his illiterate brethern lead the same simple existence of their ancestors.

The moneyed Malayan may now live in a brick house filled with most up-to-date style of furniture, but he still pines for the day when his forefathers lived in

a small hut of split bamboo-flooring and mud walls with thatched roofs. He loves even now to squat on the floor on a soft carpet instead of a (bamboo matting) "chatyas" and partake his food along with the other members of his family. His food has changed a little. He loves to eat fish, sago-flour, rice, bananas, durians and melons just as his forefathers did, and possesses the same reverence for court-function and public pomp and pageantry.

Of course, highways have improved a thousand-fold but on those solid narrow roads of Tore elephants marched with Sultans and dignitaries on the 'howdah' to the blare of dragon-trumpets and the noise of kettle-drums.

Now on the smooth asphalt public way the representatives of the Crown move with the speed of lightning with no sound except that of a motor-horn. The Honour-list of to-day is announced in the press and investiture of the meritorious is performed in a levee open to a chosen few.

In those days the whole town would be agog when a dignitary proceeded to the palace to receive the recognition of his ruler. A medal of silver or gold with a silk ribbon attached to it has now to serve the purpose of a new suit of cloths, pantos (armlets) of precious metal, and a large dazzling kriss tied to the waist by a gandy 'cummerband' which the magnate almost always received under the Sultanate in accompaniment with the Sanad.

Of course to the recipient of the King's decoration it should matter little whether the whole procedure of his investiture has a businesslike appearance or not, but to the mass the elaborate procession of yore had an impressive grandeur of its own.

And it is the same with commercial or industrial life of the modern Malayan. He no longer forms part of the royal corvee which collected particles of tin washed by rivulets, nor does he smelt them into a pice weighing one catty and a few taels. Nor these are bundled together in tens or forties and treated as the most valuable export, or as the standard of currency.

Modern metallurgical technic has done away with that painstaking method and gold has now taken its place as the standard of value while silver and copper, that of legal tender. The Bank or Treasury now-a-days takes charge of storing gold and not the rulers' personal vault to which he alone had access in troublesome days.

The Mahomedan capital was planned from the view point of defence against invasion and pillage. The mountain district of Kedah or Kataha afforded Malacca ample protection from the Siamese land attached and she had a navy to check sudden attack upon her waterfront. But if the aggressor was better-armed as Siamese rovers often were, the Sultan had to seek aid of his over-lord the Emperor of China.

The town of Malacca itself had two parts; the outer skirt contained all residential quarters, whereas goods and money were stored in a barricaded inner circle which

remained locked up during the night. It is on the records that Allauddin I had to give chase personally to thieves at night and kill them in order to set up an example to law-breakers. He warned the next day the head of the night-patrols, Tun Mutahir who took the royal reprimand seriously.

The sad noble end of the same Tun Mutahir tells us that a King in Malacca could marry anyone he liked and that it was the Chief Minister and not the ruler that had to give way finally to his master's will and intrigues. Perhaps these Sultans married too often and too many at a time. This made difficult the question of succession to the throne even on the score of primogeniture, especially when the powerful Bendahara of the moment wished to set up one of his favourites on the throne.

But the inhabitant of the Mahomeden Malacca must have taken an enormous pride in being the members of the royal city. For, we find the retainers of the tributary state of Indragiri were asked by the Malaccans to give them a ride on their back for crossing muddy streets of the Capital. This affront incensed the Indragiris so much so that they left the city of their overlord without his permission.

To reach Kuala Lumpur we had to cross the State of Negri Sembilan where people value honorifics to such an extent that even to-day the half of the State population are 'biduandas' or pages-in-ordinary to the Chief. The State of Selangor where Kuala Lumpur is situated has rather a suggestive name. We are open to correc-

tion, but Selangor is so akin to Sailendranagar (the city of the Sailendras, the Sri vijaya emperors) that we may draw the attention of antiquarians who may unearth something of interest in this state.

The word Kuala is perhaps what is called Killah or fort in India. The city is the present headquarters of the Federated Malay States authorities and as such it is quite glaring in its modernity. It is growing like our Calcutta into an industrial town as well. Rubber exported as a raw material fetches a price much lower than when it is transformed mechanically into various articles of daily use. Hence those who have the well-being of the Malay in their heart have already started various factories for finished rubber wares.

We appreciate greatly one thing of the F. M. S. authorities: it is their setting up Museums wherever they have been able to collect some data which will allow a historian to put fragments into a well-linked story of the country's past.

What the cave of Batu lacks will be more than supplied by the archaeological researches of Mr. H. D. Collings of the Raffles Museum at Singapore. There are several hills near Baling in the unfederated state of Kedah where there are chalk caves which are protected by sharp cliffs from the inclemency of weather in all seasons. These hills are covered with jungles and only a few faggot collectors used to go from rice and cocoanut plantations that lay at the foot of the hills. Hence for a pretty long time the caves were left untouched except

for a hand of Siamese or Chinese labourer who wished to excavate them for soft clay. The findings which have been catalogued and discussed in a brilliant monograph by Mr. Collings would please the hearts of anthropologists and ethnologists, who deal with the prehistorian development of a country. But to us though they were interesting they would not yield any material for a story of the pre-Aryan culture of Malay.

Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya