



LIFE/CUSTOMS

AS. P. 194 (pt 1-3)

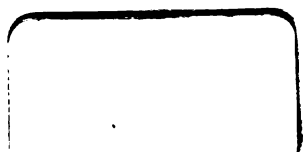
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773. 1937  
FEDERATED MALAY STATES  
1937

# // PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS //

[Published by direction of the Government of the Federated Malay States.]

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## // LIFE AND CUSTOMS. //

PART I.

THE INCIDENTS OF MALAY LIFE.

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PRICE: ONE DOLLAR.

KUALA LUMPUR:  
PRINTED BY J. RUSSELL AT THE F.M.S. GOVERNMENT PRESS.

1908.

LIFE/CUSTOMS

As. P 197 (pt 1-3)

Bequest of R. B. Dixon  
Rec'd May 7, 1936

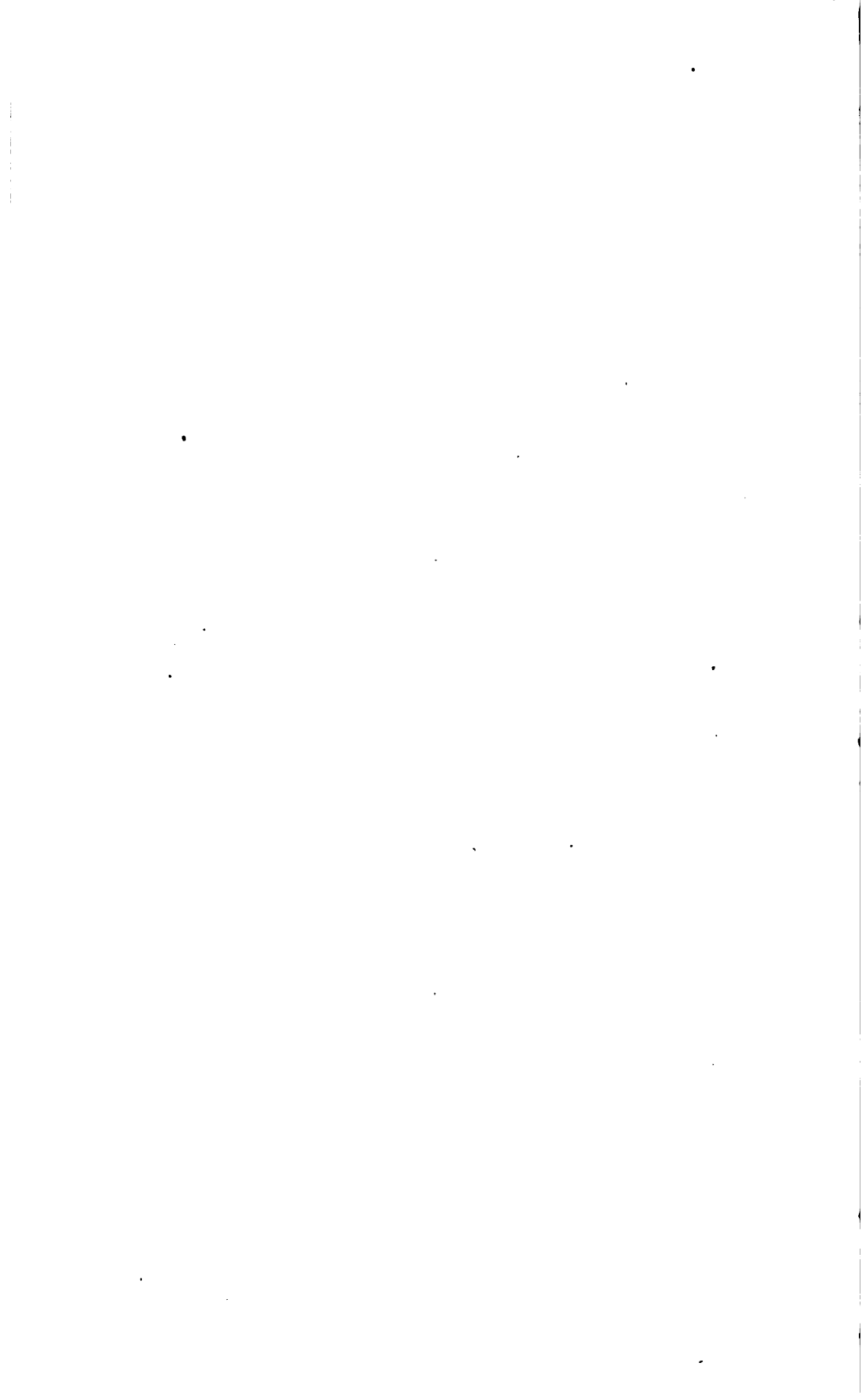
## PREFACE.

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IN dealing with matters relating to Malay Life and Customs I have thought it best to divide up the subject into three pamphlets. This, the first, deals with the principal incidents in the life of a Malay. The second pamphlet will give some account of the conditions under which a Malay lives—the type of house he resides in, the clothes he wears, the furniture he uses, etc. The third pamphlet will treat of Malay amusements.

I am very much indebted to Raja Haji Yahya, Penghulu of Kota Setia, and to Messrs. H. Berkeley and R. O. Winstedt for valuable assistance in the preparation of this pamphlet. The details given are, of course, based upon Malay life in Perak.

R. J. WILKINSON.



## LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

### INFANCY.<sup>1</sup>

LIKE most Eastern ceremonies the rites that accompany a Malay birth are very elaborate and very incongruous. The newly-born child is first spat upon by the midwife in order that he may be protected against the old Indonesian spirits of disease. After this he hears from the lips of his father (or from some learned man if the father be illiterate) the Moslem tenets, the *adzan* or "call to devotion," and the *kamat* or "final exhortation to prayer." He is then handed back to the midwife in order that she may imprint on his forehead the caste-mark of the Hindu. Having been thus received into three religions at once, the child is put to rest by his mother's side—along with a piece of iron, a quantity of rice and a number of other articles that the Malay considers necessary for the defence of infancy against its natural and spiritual foes.

The presiding authority on these occasions is a woman, the *bidan*, or midwife. The mighty *pawang*, or wizard, is also there, but he plays a humble part. He chooses an auspicious place for the birth and he surrounds it with thorns,<sup>2</sup> nets, dolls and bitter herbs, in order to keep the spirits of evil from getting at the mother and child in the perilous hour of their weakness. He selects the exact spot by dropping some sharp-pointed chopper or axe-head and marking the first place where it sticks into the ground. Thorns are thought to be dangerous to the trailing entrails of the

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<sup>1</sup> Ante-natal ceremonies are dealt with in Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup> *Duri mēngkuang* and *duri bulang*.

vampire;<sup>1</sup> bitter herbs are unpalatable to everyone; dolls may be mistaken for the baby; nets are puzzling to spirits because of their complexity, and even a much-perforated coconut is sometimes hung up over a Malay door in order to bewilder a ghost by the multiplicity of its entrances and exits. The *pawang's* duty begins and ends with these primitive precautions. The elders of the mosque, great though they are on other days, are even less important than the *pawang* on the occasion of a birth; the *bidan*, is supreme. She has charge of mother and child; she takes the infant from the moment of his birth, washes him with the proper water, rubs him with the prescribed black cloth, and finally brings him to a proper sense of his position by banging a brass tray near his ear or (in extreme cases) by lighting Chinese crackers in his immediate neighbourhood. The midwife's word is law: "obey the *bidan*" is a Malay proverb that is quoted to silence any fool who dares to dispute the word of an expert. The *bidan* gets ready the child's first resting-place, the platter of rice on which he is laid and the iron nail that usually keeps him company. The honour of the first introduction she gives to the child's grandmothers, for there is a local saying that "an old woman takes to a baby like an epicure to a sardine."

Next in order of presentation after the grandmothers come the religious dignitaries of the mosque. They are not credited with any special love for babies, but it is the duty of these pious people to "open the child's mouth;" and it is considered good form on the infant's part if he anticipates the ceremony by indulging in a good "mouth-opening" scream as soon as he looks

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<sup>1</sup> *Pēnanggalan* : it has long pendent bowels.

on the faces of his benefactors. A cry of this sort, though it is welcomed as a sign of intelligent anticipation, does not release the baby from the prescribed formalities. The *imam* ceremonially opens the child's mouth with a golden ring that has been dipped in a compound of *sireh*-juice and sugared and salted water: "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate—may He lengthen your life; may He teach you to speak fittingly in the courts of kings; may He give to your words the attractiveness of *sireh*, the sweetness of sugar and the spiciness of salt." When this little function is over and the ring has been tied to the child's wrist, another function begins. The baby has to be solemnly presented to the foster-mother or wet-nurse—a serious formality in a place where relationship by fosterage may some day be a legal barrier to marriage. Sooner or later this function also comes to an end; the guests go away; the child is put to sleep, and the *bidan* can devote all her attention to the mother.<sup>1</sup>

During the first few days and weeks of his existence the Malay child is the subject of innumerable precautions against evil spirits. He is spat upon, morning and evening; his resting-places are smeared with sacrificial rice and with cosmetics that no ghost can approach; his cot is fumigated with the incense that the devil is known to abhor; his bath contains potent ingredients (such as manganese-dust and talismans of all sorts) that make the water purifying both to soul and body. On the seventh day the child begins to be taught the ways of the world. He is made to eat fruit—banana beaten into pulp and flavoured with salt. He is given a name, experimentally; but the

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<sup>1</sup> The treatment is the very severe one of "roasting" (*diang*).]

name may be changed afterwards if it seems to bring ill luck. He is shown to the neighbours and receives his necessary quantum of feminine adulation. He has his head shaved. A sacrifice may be offered up on his behalf; feasts may be given in his honour. If his parents are unusually proud of him they offer up vows at some shrine, to be fulfilled in later years when the child has survived the perils of infancy. In short, the seventh day is the celebration-day of a baby's birth and everything possible is done to honour the child on that occasion. From an orthodox standpoint the great event on this occasion is the religious sacrifice<sup>1</sup> that accompanies the ritual shaving of the head. The sacrifice should consist of two goats for a boy and one goat for a girl, and it may be offered up at Mecca on the child's behalf. But orthodox rites of this sort are not always the most important in the eyes of the Malays.

It is about the fortieth day after his birth that the child is first presented to the Spirits of the River. As soon as the sun is high in the heavens the infant is carried down to the river bank by a merry crowd of men, women and children, who take with them a quantity of parched rice,<sup>2</sup> yellow rice, purifying rice-dust,<sup>3</sup> two coconuts, a fowl, an egg (of a black hen), a quid of betel, seven long packets of cooked rice,<sup>4</sup> seven square packets of cooked rice,<sup>5</sup> a light bucket of palm leaf, and a banana-flower. As the procession approaches the stream the *bidan* or *bomor* in charge of the child stops for a moment, sets fire to a bundle of herbs and raises it aloft till all can see a column of dense smoke ascending into the air. Then, advancing to the edge of the stream, the bearer of the child makes

<sup>1</sup> *Akikah.*    <sup>2</sup> *Beras bërteh.*    <sup>3</sup> *Tëpong tawar.*    <sup>4</sup> *Lëpat.*    <sup>5</sup> *Këtupat.*

an offering to the Spirit of the Waters—the egg, the quid of betel, the seven long rice-packets and the seven square rice-packets. The purifying rice-dust is sprinkled about like holy water to avert all evil influences; the grains of parched rice and yellow rice are scattered over the face of the stream, and the fowl and the two coconuts are put down into the water itself. The older members of the crowd now raise their voices in a loud song to drown any crying on the infant's part as the *bomor* or *bidan* places one of the child's feet on the two coconuts and the other on the fowl. The bucket and the banana-flower are next set adrift and float down stream bearing away any possibilities of evil that may still lurk about the spot. If the baby is a boy, a boy fishing further upstream should now catch a fish with his casting net; if the baby is a girl, the fisher should also be a girl. But in Upper Perak, at any rate, the baby himself should be caught under the net, along with a number of other young children who receive five cents each for being members of the finny tribe for this occasion only. After such an auspicious beginning it is considered unlikely that the infant will ever lack fish for his dinner.

When these river-rites have been concluded the crowd goes back to the house to witness the first cradling of the infant. The ceremony begins by the baby being allowed to loll in the lap of luxury, with cakes on all sides of him and and fifty-cent pieces for him to spurn beneath his restless feet. Meanwhile his swinging-cot is being got ready. It is draped or made by means of one or more (usually seven) long rolls of black cloth, the ends of which are festooned with cakes and hard-boiled eggs. As it is always possible that some unlucky influence may be lurking in the cosy folds of

the newly-made cradle, a cat is put in to absorb or drive out the evil spirits of the locality. By way of making assurance doubly sure the cat is succeeded first by a curry-stone and secondly by a coconut-grater smeared with chalk or lime. When all these prior occupants have been given time to purify the place the cot is considered fit for infantile habitation. The inevitable midwife comes forward, lifts up the baby and sets him down in his new home. The old people start rocking the cradle, and the wife of the *imam*, or some other pious old lady, begins to chant the "Lullaby of Our Lady Fatimah":

*Barang-siapa berpadi ėmping  
Padi ėmping huma di-tengah ;  
Barang-siapa bĕrhati mumin  
Hati yang mumin istana Allah.*

And so on.<sup>1</sup> The peculiar drowsiness induced by this poetic outburst enables the child to sleep through the next item in this set of ceremonies—the handing round of curry and rice to enable the elders of the party to get some share of the good things of this world that have been hitherto monopolised by the baby. The *imam* recites prayers, the visitors disperse, and the parents bless the midwife and reward her with yellow rice, roast fowl, and a piece of white cloth that serves as an emblem of the stainlessness of their affection for her. These things are not her real fee. She receives her fee—in hard cash—at the lustration that marks the mother's complete recovery. On this occasion the mother is led by the midwife to the well and is made to hold a pair of betel-nut scissors in one hand and a foul-smelling cloth in the other. The scissors and the

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B, where the full text is given.

smell keep the spirits at a distance while the *bidan* carries out the purification. On the return to the house the *bidan* is paid off and her duties are at an end.

If a child is born to a Sultan of Perak after his accession to the throne the child cannot be brought up in the palace by his mother. He is called an *anak banta* and must be given over to adoptive parents. He is believed to bring great ill-luck to his adoptive father and mother until he comes of age, and great good fortune to them afterwards if they survive the perils that dog them during his minority. This rule applies to children of both sexes and has been illustrated in the case of two sons and several daughters of H.H. the present Sultan. By a curious set of coincidences misfortune has steadily pursued the families into which these princes and princesses have been received, and it still remains to be seen whether the blessings of the future will make up for the evils of the past. The theory itself is not hard to understand; in the days of Malay rule the intrigues of a palace could not have been healthy for the children of rival queens.

The ceremonial treatment accorded by Malays to a girl-baby does not greatly differ from that which they give to a boy. The girl has the "exhortation to prayer" repeated in her ear, while the boy hears the "call to devotion." The boy's "caste-mark" is said to differ sometimes from that of a girl; the former has a broad-arrow, the latter a cross.<sup>1</sup> The votive sacrifice for a boy is two goats while that for a girl is only one. These differences are in favour of the boy and suggest a certain religious or ritual preference for male children;

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<sup>1</sup> Skeat, "Malay Magic," p. 336; but in most places it is a cross for both girls and boys.

but they do not imply that the Malays as a race are indisposed to welcome the birth of daughters. "While the elder sister is still only able to lie on her back may the younger be born," is a proverbial Achehnese good wish that expresses a welcome to girl-children and a desire for many more. As we might expect from their old matriarchal customs, the Malays are as ready to offer up vows on behalf of a daughter as they are on behalf of a son. Of course there is not the slightest trace of anything like female infanticide having been prevalent among them.

At first the baby is wrapped up in some simple swaddling clothes—the *lampin* and the *bědong*—to keep him from injuring his limbs by over-indulgence in aimless kicks. After some months the child is promoted to wearing a *barut*, a sort of broad wrapper of the cholera-belt type, designed so as to leave him free to exert himself and learn the arts of crawling and walking. Later still, he is promoted to the very superior class of Malay children who wear no clothes at all. But such a promotion is only attained after many preliminary stages of culture. The development of a child is measured by his prowess in infantile arts. A crawler is regarded as superior to a child that can only lie on his back, and as the peer of all other crawlers; but when compared with a toddler he is a very inferior being indeed. The grades of infantile aristocracy are as follows: first comes the stage at which infants can only lie on their backs; then comes the ability to turn over, to crawl, to toddle, to walk, to run—and so on. The proud mother does what she can to expedite her child's education and to make rival mothers jealous. She teaches him to eat banana, fruit-mash and rice-pulp long before such a diet

is good for him. She introduces him to the great world by taking him outside the house with very little thought of the temperature and innumerable precautions against the malignant spirits of envy.<sup>1</sup> She encourages him to crawl, and teaches him to walk by fastening him to a sort of windlass that revolves on a pivot at a convenient height above the ground. She weans him as soon as possible by the simple process of rubbing bitter herbs upon her breast. These attempts to accustom a child to the life (and particularly to the food) of later years are probably responsible for the heavy mortality among native children. Malays notice this death-rate. They see that certain mothers seem incapable of bringing up children—"like the *tuman* fish that eats its own young"—and they attribute such an incapacity to a horoscopic incompatibility between mother and child. In cases of this sort they hand over the custody of later children to a more successful matron (Abdullah himself was so treated), or they give the infant an unattractive name like *Hudoh* (ngly) in the hope that Death will not think the child worth snapping up.

In no case are Malays fond of high-sounding names for children; they prefer nicknames as more usefully descriptive. A West Indian negro may call his son "George Washington" and a Tamil Moslem may name his boy "Sultan Muhammad," but the Malay policeman is content to fire his son's ambition with some modest and practical appellation such as *Përal* or "Corporal." Although every child must be given an Arabic name, that name is usually abridged to an easy mouthful—*Mat* for *Muhammad*, *Pin* for *Arifin*, *Pihi* for *Shafei*, *Din* for

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<sup>1</sup> This ceremony, *turun ka-tanah*, coincides and corresponds in details with the presentation to the Spirits of the River (*turun ka-ayer*).

*Jamaludin*, *Lah* for *Abdullah*, and so on. Moreover, the Malays have a whole series of conventional or descriptive names that they give to their children in order of seniority: *Long* or *Awang* to the eldest child, *Alang* to the second, *Ngah* to the third, *Anjang* or *Panjang* to the fourth, *Andak* or *Pandak* to the fifth, *Teh* or *Puteh* to the sixth, etc., all in succession according to age. These conventional names<sup>1</sup> though they bewilder the beginner, are often a guide to the advanced student when he wishes to find out the relative seniority of the members of a Malay noble house. In a few cases the names given to the children of a family give some indications of their parents' tastes or ideas. A succession of names ending in *ar-rashid* (the Orthodox) always suggests that the father is a strict follower of the Muhammadan faith. A name taken from old Javanese legend implies that the giver has a pretty taste in romance. But fanciful naming is rare. The average Malay is content with stock names, such as *Long Mat* and *Anjang Abdullah*; indeed, he will often elect to drop his own appellation and be called after his child—*Pa' Long* or *Pa' Awang*, the father of his firstborn.

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#### CHILDHOOD.

Between the ages of two and six a Malay child is allowed to amuse himself by playing games in the immediate vicinity of his home while making himself useful by running small errands for his parents. He wears nothing, eats very simple food, and puts his relatives to so little expense that the possession of a large family is never regarded as an economic difficulty.

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<sup>1</sup> *Timang-timangan*.

At the age of six he usually begins to receive some sort of education. At various periods between early childhood and adolescence every boy and girl has to submit to certain ceremonial operations, such as ear-boring (in the case of girls) and circumcision (in the case of boys.) By far the most important of these rites is circumcision. It takes place after a boy has passed an examination in the Koran and represents his formal admission to the communion of Islam. In certain portions of Malaya (especially in the Northern States) it is accompanied by such a wealth of irrelevant detail as to suggest that it has been grafted upon an ancient festival belonging to an older faith than that of Islam, but whatever may have been its origin the event is important enough from an orthodox Muhammadan standpoint to justify the sincere gratification of a Malay father at seeing the completion of his son's training in the creed of his ancestors.

The education of a Malay child is now conducted on European lines and bears no resemblance whatever to the system that prevailed in former times. Indeed, except for the existence of occasional Koran-classes, there used to be no schools—in our sense of the word—until the period of European ascendancy. Education was based upon a sort of apprenticeship. Most boys picked up a good deal of industrial knowledge by assisting their parents in the work of agriculture, fishing and trapping. They acquired manual dexterity by working in wood and rattan, and they gathered a large amount of miscellaneous information regarding crops, fruit-trees, irrigation, boats and the ways of fishes, animals and birds. They learnt also to be observant. A few youths of exceptional gifts would go further

and learn something of art and metal-working by giving occasional help to a village craftsman; a few more would specialise in reading and writing, either for religious purposes or with a view to becoming doctors, diviners, sorcerers and letter-writers. The young bloods of a village, eager for distinction in war, might study fencing, talismans, the points of a *këris*, and the many ways of making oneself invulnerable. In the matter of proverbs, old saws, folk-lore, tradition, history and popular verse, the girls were generally better instructed than the boys. But it must always be remembered that "the trail of the amateur" was over all Malay education. A silversmith, for instance, could not live by his art; in a small Malay village there was not enough work to support him. He had to be a farmer like all his neighbours, and he only used his art to supplement his income. If his fame spread to other places he might be summoned to the Sultan's court and be made to work for the ruler; yet even there the rarity of silver prevented a silversmith being constantly employed. Apart from a certain amount of local renown there was no inducement whatever to lead a boy to become an artist or man of letters. Moreover, there was no real competition. A village could not support two smiths: the most skilful artificer soon drove out his rival and monopolised what work there was. And an artist who has it all his own way is rarely a great artist.

As with all incidents of Malay life the sending of a boy to a Koran-class was accompanied by much elaborate ceremonial. A feast was given; the mosque-teacher was invited to it, and the proud father publicly handed over his son to the educational authorities with a deep obeisance and a little formal speech: "Imam, I have a

favour to ask of your kindness. Here is my boy, Si-Alang. I desire to place him in your hands so that he may be taught to read the word of God. You will need a torch to lighten his path to knowledge, so please let me present you with this cane for use as a rod of correction in the event of his showing any indifference to the Divine Light. You should not poke out his eye or break his bones, but—short of such extreme measures—all things are permitted unto you.” To which the Imam replied, “I accept this youth as my disciple; please God, he will learn in time the little that I know.” All this ceremonial is becoming a thing of the past. The penghulu now visits parents, talks about “average attendances” at the village school, and finally threatens the father with the wrath of the Government if he allows his son to grow up in ignorance. Even this is sometimes ineffective. I have seen a Malay mother go down to a school, smash her son’s slate, tear up his books, and defy the head master—and all because the boy’s irregularity in attendance prevented his being presented at the annual examination of the class. On this occasion I ventured to suggest that the visiting-teacher might be sent round to bring her to a more reasonable frame of mind, but my proposal was met by the crushing rejoinder that the lady was the visiting-teacher’s wife.

The old Malay Koran-schools were often residential. Boys were sent to live in the house of some renowned teacher, the parents supplying each of their sons with a sleeping-mat and pillow, a cooking-pot and a sack of rice. Three lessons were given daily. They lasted for an hour at a time—one after the early morning prayer, the other after the midday devotions and the third after vespers. At other times the boys helped their

master in his housework and in the care of his rice-fields and orchards. The instruction was of a most primitive character. A pupil began by learning to repeat correctly the Arabic formulæ with which every lesson began and ended. When he had mastered these preliminaries he proceeded to study the alphabet, less for its own sake than as a sort of guide to reading Arabic prayers and texts. Through much memorising and through the assistance given him by his knowledge of the lettering he would in time succeed in being able to read the Koran and the principal prayers from end to end. There his education stopped. The general drift of the text was explained to him, but not the construction of the sentences nor the meaning of the Arabic words. A slight amount of dogma was also imparted. Religious doctrine can, of course, be made to vary greatly according to the needs of the locality. A Patani *imam* once gave a lecture on "infidels" in the presence of a Siamese Governor and of a European visitor. "Infidel," he explained, was the name given by Muhammad to the lusts of the heart.<sup>1</sup> It did not necessarily refer to other faiths. Other religions had prophets of their own who were nevertheless true prophets like *Nabi Isa*, the prophet of the Christians, and *Nabi Musa*, the prophet of the Siamese. Here he bowed to his foreign audience. Doctrines of this sort are not mere diplomatic statements to meet the needs of the moment; they are sedulously preached by Moslem advocates of peace and conciliation in every part of the world. Of course they differ very greatly from the teachings of Acheen and of Arabia, and although they furnish matter for debate among the amateur theologians of the village they are looked upon

<sup>1</sup> *Nafsu yang didalam diri kita.*

as rather wasted when taught to children. In practice the Malay boy has to memorise his Koran and his prayers before he can be admitted by circumcision to the community of Islam, and he can afford to postpone his studies of doctrine to a later date.

At first sight nothing could appear more futile than the Koran-class instruction given to boys all over the Moslem world. It is mere parrot-like repetition of certain texts in a language not understood by the pupils; and, even if it develops the memory, it would seem to be useless either as an intellectual training or as an education in morals. But it is never safe to condemn a system that has proved acceptable to a large section of humanity. In some schools the more logical process of teaching a boy Arabic before teaching him the Koran has been tried and found wanting. Arabic is a very difficult language; the teachers were unskilful, and the pupils became discouraged and gave up a task that seemed hopeless. Modern educationists are inclined to insist on the necessity of making study interesting to the student. They may be right; but few of us owe our knowledge of Latin grammar to the intrinsic interest of the subject. Encouragement, reward, the admiration of one's fellow schoolboys, and even the much-maligned "rod of correction" are brilliant torches along the path to knowledge. The Malay child who mastered an Arabic "broken plural" or some eccentricity in the ways of the Arabic verb would never receive as much praise and satisfaction as the boy who learnt a new prayer and was able to chant it correctly to the great joy and pride of his parents and the envy of the whole neighbourhood. Incidentally and almost unconsciously the learning of successive prayers and texts led an intelligent

Malay boy to pick up a good deal of knowledge about the meaning of Arabic words and the syntax of the language. The process was slower, but the steps were pleasanter and more encouraging. Every prayer represented one more step to the good; it was a milestone on the way to wisdom. The duller boys dropped out, and were content with what they knew; the cleverer boys went on and studied more. Learning took a strong religious tinge and became rather fanatical, but it was never stifled by the form in which instruction was given. Meanwhile a boy learnt his Arabic alphabet and with a little coaching could apply it to the reading and writing of Malay.

Manners were recognised as a very important item in the education given at these old Malay Koran-classes; and nothing is more deplored by natives of the old school than the alleged inferiority of the present generation in this branch of instruction. A boy was taught to be silent until he was addressed, to keep his eyes cast down in the presence of his superiors, to behave unobtrusively at a public meeting, and to adapt his language to the occasion on which it was used. He generally learnt these lessons well; Malay courtesy is admired by all. It is only right to add that some few religious leaders, in their anxiety to teach humility, have taught their followers to cringe in a manner that is as objectionable as the truculent self-assertion which every good Malay considers the acme of bad taste. But such cases are rare. The well-educated Malay of the older generation is a master of courteous manners and quiet dignified language; he creates difficulties by his very anxiety to avoid any expression of opinion that may seem to disagree with a view of the person addressed.

A well-known Malay member of a State Council was once asked point-blank for his views on an issue regarding which his sovereign had not yet expressed an opinion. With great reluctance the chief rose and spoke at considerable length in a manner that roused the keen æsthetic appreciation of his critical fellow-countrymen. "An excellent speech," said the Sultan, when the applause had subsided. "But what did he say?" enquired the bewildered Resident. "Oh, he did not say anything at all, but the way in which he said it was magnificent!"

At the conclusion of a boy's education his parents give an entertainment at which he is enabled to display his best manners and his knowledge of Arabic ritual. This feast is part of the circumcision ceremony. The formalities begin when the boy is clad in royal garments and is set upon a royal throne for all and sundry to see. Then on the following day he is stripped, bathed and purified; he is stained with henna like a bridegroom and is dressed in the garb of a pilgrim to Mecca. In this guise he recites prayers to the assembled guests in order to prove the sufficiency of his learning. When the prayers are over he rises and prostrates himself before his teacher in gratitude for past kindnesses. The parents now come forward with the customary gifts: a suit of clothes, a sum of money and certain articles of food. Then there follows (in some parts of Perak) a very curious ceremony. The boy is taken to an inner room, where he is stripped and covered with a rich cloth, while his mouth is filled with yellow glutinous rice and his body is sprinkled with the purifying rice-dust. After this, two coconuts and two small packets of rice are slowly rolled over him from head to foot. A hen is placed

on the boy's chest and is encouraged to peck up any grains of yellow rice that may still be adhering to the boy's mouth. This is done to drive away ill-luck. The circumciser (or *mudin*) then comes forward and gently taps the boy's teeth with a stone. This is also done to avert misfortune. Feasting follows. The boy is dressed again and is carried in procession round the village and down to the river for another ceremonial purification. There the circumciser makes an appeal to the Spirit of the Waters, deprecating his wrath. The usual purifying rice powder is scattered on the stream and the usual offerings are made—yellow rice, a quid of betel, an egg, seven long packets of cooked rice and seven square packets of cooked rice. When the Water Spirit has been propitiated the boy is washed by his mother and has his long lock of hair solemnly shorn off by the *mudin*. The people then return to the house to witness the actual circumcision itself. While this is taking place the boy is made to sit either on a banana trunk or on a sack of rice.<sup>1</sup>

The ceremonies vary greatly in different States. It is usual to circumcise a number of boys at one time so as to minimise the cost of the celebrations. In such cases the son of the giver of the feasts is treated as the king for the occasion, while the other boys (whose parents contribute nothing) play the part of mere attendants upon the central figure. At the Perak Court the *mudin* is a regular officer of State with a recognised title;<sup>2</sup> but he carries out his work under rather disturbing conditions, for the great chiefs stand round him with drawn swords ready to slay him if he mismanages the operation. In Patani the boys are carried about on

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix C.    <sup>2</sup> To' Gëmbira. He appears in the Estimates.

a dais in the shape of a bird or animal; in Perak they are borne on men's shoulders. In the towns of the Straits Settlements the royal ceremonies are less conspicuous. More attention is paid there to the religious details, while motor cars, jewellery and brass bands make up for the absence of the regalia and symbolism of the Native States.

A Malay girl is taught something of the Koran, though she is not expected to attain to the same standard of proficiency as her brothers. When her religious education is complete she is dressed like a pilgrim to Mecca and is admitted to the community of Islam by a ceremony much simpler and less public than the circumcision-rites of boys.<sup>1</sup> On this occasion her ears are bored and her teeth used to be filed down and stained "black as a humble-bee's wing." Tooth-filing and tooth-staining are now obsolete; the ceremonies attached to them seem to have been little more than precautionary rites against evil spirits. Ear-boring is still practised, but the huge, round ear-studs<sup>2</sup> which were assumed after this ceremony and worn by girls as emblems of their maiden state, are now becoming ceremonial and are only put on for the wedding itself in order that they may be formally discarded a few days afterwards.

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#### BETROTHAL.

Malay girls are usually kept shut up in their own homes from the age of ten to the time of their marriage. This seclusion varies in rigour in different parts of Malaya, being strictest among the "Jawipekan" population of the towns and least strict in the districts where

<sup>1</sup> In Patani this ceremony is performed in infancy.

<sup>2</sup> *Subang*.

the ancient customary law is observed. The confinement of girls to their houses served to guard them from the dangerous notice of the chiefs and also from the risk of their injuring their matrimonial prospects by any foolish compromising acts. In the law-abiding Menangkabau communities of Sumatra a good deal of freedom could be safely allowed, provided that the women kept in parties by themselves and did not indulge in *tête-à-tête* interviews with fascinating young men. Out of this degree of freedom there grew up a pretty custom that has greatly influenced Malay literature—the practice of holding rhyming contests between the rival parties of the men and the girls. A girl might be suddenly inspired to extemporise or quote some *pantun* or verse that was apposite to the character, history or appearance of some young man who happened to be present. The opportunity was not to be missed. The person chaffed (or one of his friends) would retort with a second *pantun*. The contest would then continue till one or other party was at a loss for a proper reply. The Malay quatrain is a very easy thing to extemporise, owing to the fact that its first two lines are mere jingles put in to rhyme with the last two, and also because every line is sung slowly and is followed by a chorus or refrain that gives time to the other party to think of an appropriate answer. At the same time there can be a vast difference in quality between one *pantun* and another, and there is every scope for skill and wit in these poetic contests, punctuated as they are by the applause or laughter of the audience. While, therefore, in everyday life the negotiations for a wedding are of a very commonplace order, it is quite otherwise in ceremonies and in literature. The heroine of a romance is always wooed in

verse, and even the bearers of a formal proposal of marriage are expected to announce their errand and receive their answer in an appropriate succession of quatrains.

The diplomacy of a marriage generally commences when the parents or friends of the prospective bridegroom make advances to the girl's family with a view to finding out (without exposing themselves to the humiliation of a public rebuff) whether a proposal of this sort would be likely to be well received. Enquiries such as these need a good deal of tact. The suitor's party do not wish to take any risks and the girl's parents do not like to show any suspicious eagerness to part with their daughter. Hints are sometimes used. What could be more innocent than the position of the little silver vase containing the *sirah* that is offered to a visitor? Yet if this vase is upset and left lying on its side, the quick-eyed enquirer knows that his quest is useless; the lady's people do not desire the marriage. If his hints become broader and the vase still remains upright he knows that he can proceed to more definite action. Professional marriage-brokers are often employed at this stage; their very presence suggests their errand to the girl's parents.

When it seems likely that the proposal of marriage will be well received the ladies of the young man's family call upon the bride, make much of her and endeavour to appraise her character and charms. The meaning of such overtures can hardly be mistaken; but it is essential that a real understanding should be arrived at before the marriage can be openly discussed. A rebuff would be fatal to any friendly relations between the two families; it would indeed be an insult. "Do not start by speaking of 'agreements' and go on by calling them 'enquiries,'"

says one proverb. "Let your word, once given, be held like a fort," says another proverb. Betrothal—because of the feuds that may spring out of a broken promise—is the one occasion in life when the Malay tolerates no indecision and no evasion.

Let us therefore suppose that the proposal is welcome to both parties and that there are no real difficulties in the way. "One side has the curry, the other side has the spoon;" it only remains to bring the two together. The main details—the amount of the settlement to be made on the bride, the value of the wedding gifts, the probable duration of the engagement, and other questions of the same sort—are roughly settled by custom and are known to both parties. All that is left is to have them definitely laid down so that no misunderstandings may arise afterwards. As these matters are too delicate for direct negotiation between the parties, they are usually referred to the *penghulu* and elders of the village. At this point secrecy ceases to be possible, even if every one is pledged to it. Both parties submit their case to arbitration, knowing in outline what they have to expect and ready to abide by the decision of their elders if it is unfavourable to them on the minor issues that have to be decided. By a recent discussion of the Perak State Council the following scale of "dowry" (or settlement by the bridegroom on the bride) was laid down for observance in ordinary cases :

For a Sultan's daughter ... ..	\$1,000
For the daughter of a Raja Muda or Bendahara ... ..	500
For the daughter of a major Chief ... ..	250
For the daughter of a minor Chief ... ..	125
For the daughter of a man of some position	62.50
For the daughter of a peasant ... ..	31.25

This scale is not universal or compulsory even in Perak. It was only drawn up for the guidance of Kathis who have to appraise the *mas kahwin* for purposes of divorce in cases where no definite sum was actually agreed upon at the time of the wedding itself. But this scale of settlements shows approximately what the bridegroom expects to have to pay and what the *penghulu* and his elders are likely to fix.

Other matters have also to be arranged. The cost of the wedding festivities has to be paid by the bride's family, but the bridegroom has to contribute to it. The *penghulu* has to fix the amount of this contribution of "money to go in smoke."<sup>1</sup> In former times in Perak it used to be \$6½, but the exact sum can be modified by agreement. The *penghulu* has also to fix the approximate date of the marriage, so that neither side may evade its obligations by prolonging the engagement indefinitely. When everything has been arranged in such a manner as to leave no loophole for future disputes the agreement has still to be confirmed by a formal proposal and by its formal acceptance.

Malay etiquette expects the suitor's parents or guardians to proceed on his behalf to the lady's house and, after many apologies and much circumlocution, to enquire (usually in verse) whether the young man may be permitted to offer himself for acceptance as the lady's slave. It also insists that the girl's relatives shall declare themselves quite unworthy of the proposed honour. The most that they will admit is that they are like the proverbial expression, "nearly up to but not attaining." As for the girl herself, "she cannot cook, she cannot sew, look to it that ye be not deceived in

<sup>1</sup> *Belanja hangus.*

her; she is a buffalo that has been allowed to run wild; she may have some defect that has escaped our observation." The suitor's family reply politely that they have long been seeking a buffalo of that description and that she exactly meets their wishes. Ceremonial gifts of betel-nut are then brought forward in two boxes adorned with palm blossoms and decorations of gilt or coloured paper. Slipped over the *sireh*-leaf in one of these boxes are two rings of the pattern known as *bunga nyior*; one of these rings is a pledge of good faith to be given to the girl's parents, and the other is a betrothal-ring to be given to the girl herself. After these rings have been passed round from hand to hand so that everyone may be able afterwards to testify to the occurrence the suitor's mother is invited indoors to see the girl. Of course such a visit is never unexpected. The girl is there, dressed in her best and overcome by self-consciousness as her future mother-in-law comes in, addresses her as "my child," kisses her and gives her the engagement-ring as evidence of her betrothal. The girl answers by doing obeisance. The ladies of the suitor's party then strike up a verse declaring that they have been attracted from afar by the lodestone of the damsel's beauty.<sup>1</sup> The girl's relatives sing in reply that the strangers from a distance are welcomed as friends. After a few more quatrains of this sort refreshments are handed round and the suitor's relatives go home.

The public proposal of marriage and its public acceptance give finality to the contract. Its nature can no longer be questioned, and it has to be carried out unless one or other contracting party elects to pay damages for its violation. Even the discussion of details

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix D.

cannot be reopened. The appropriate Malay proverb on this occasion is *Putus benang boleh di-hubong; patah arang sudah sakali*: "broken thread may be tied together; broken charcoal is broken for ever." Broken charcoal is the symbol of finality. The contract is final: the bystanders have witnessed it, the whole village is invited to testify to it. The rule as to its breach is *tanda empat pulang delapan*: "if the engagement rings are worth four dollars, the girl's relatives must return eight." If the man does not carry out his promise, he forfeits the betrothal gifts; if the lady is false, she returns the gifts doubled in value. Nowadays the presents may be worth much more than four dollars, but that sum meant a great deal to the poverty-stricken ryots in the days before British ascendancy.

After this settlement the suitor and the girl are looked upon as definitely engaged and are allowed to interchange small complimentary gifts. They are not, however, supposed to see anything of each other, as any conduct suggesting forwardness on the lady's part would be an offence against the Indonesian rule that forbids "the well to seek the bucket" or "the pestle to seek the mortar." Of course they do see each other; curiosity is strong, even if affection is not. "On some one evening," as a Malay puts it, "after prayer-time the suitor may slip round with his relatives and peep through the chinks in the wall of the lady's house at a time when his future mother-in-law will have induced her daughter to sew or play chess as she sits in the full glare of the lamp-light. Some men, intoxicated with love, cannot sleep after this vision; others can." The latter must be very phlegmatic persons; disappointment might well be expected to increase the tendency to insomnia.

About a week after the public proposal of marriage the prospective bridegroom pays a ceremonious visit to the family of his betrothed. He is entertained to dinner on the verandah, brings gifts of money, is very obsequious to his future mother-in-law, and finally goes home about midnight after receiving a present of a complete suit of new clothing, with the explanation that they are "a miserable set of rags that may be of use to you to wear when bathing, but, alas! we are poor people and can give you nothing better." He is not allowed to see his betrothed; it is now her turn to look through the chinks in the wall.

When the month of Shaaban comes round and the annual fast is imminent, the girl's parents send over to the house of her betrothed a gift of rice-powder, limes, loofah-fibre, perfumes and other cosmetics used in the ceremonial ablutions that precede the Malay Lent. This delicate attention is acknowledged by return-gifts of cakes and small sums of money for spending at the minor feast days that occur about this time. Similar courtesies are shown once or twice during the Fast itself, but the great festival of the *hari raya* is not used for any exchange of civilities between the betrothed.

In every country it sometimes happens that a man falls desperately in love with a girl already engaged to someone else. In such cases every possible opposition must be made to the new suitor if a feud with the first suitor is to be avoided. On this point all Malay law was explicit. Still, if the new candidate for the girl's hand had "a strong party to back him, plenty of money and no lack of personal courage," he was not likely to find that her relatives were really unwilling to accept him as her husband, provided, of course, that he made such a

show of force as would acquit them of the charge of connivance. Even with the complicity of the girl's relatives the abductor's task was a hard one. He had to defend himself against the murderous enmity of his injured rival until such time as the authorities could step in and put an end to the quarrel. Indonesian custom knew by experience that it had to concern itself more with pacifying feuds than with preventing them; it never hesitated about compounding an offence. If a man's betrothed was seduced or abducted, the law stepped in and made the wrong-doer pay compensation all round and a fine to the Bendahara as well. If he failed to pay, he was sold into slavery for the debt. If he paid, the matter blew over. Marriage by abduction became a recognised institution,<sup>1</sup> with a special scale of enhanced payments associated with it.

In the old wild days of Malay rule these abductions often led to most tragic results. If a girl was famous for her beauty the report of her engagement was enough to bring about a crisis. Any disappointed suitor—or perhaps some gay Lothario tempted by the spice of danger that attends the plucking of forbidden fruit—might have recourse to the simple expedient of seizing the girl and threatening to drive his *kěris* through her heart if any attempt was made at a rescue. An outrage of this sort was known as *panjat angkara* and was hazardous in the extreme. Even if the abductor escaped instant death he dared not sleep, lest he should be murdered in his sleep; he dared not eat, lest his food should be drugged; he had to be constantly on his guard, lest he should be suddenly speared by a treacherous thrust through the thin flooring of a Malay house. His one

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<sup>1</sup> *Panjat adat.*

chance of life lay in the fact that his desperation made his enemies chary about approaching him, while it made his friends eager to purchase his safety by promises of compensation. The "Malay Annals" record the case of a Javanese chief who succeeded in winning a Malacca wife by a desperate *panjat angkara*. Many abductors were less fortunate. In one case, mentioned by Sir William Maxwell, a certain Mat Taib, a poor retainer of the Sultan, asked for Wan Dena, the daughter of the Bendahara of Kedah, in marriage. The relatives refused. He then forced his way into her house, seized her by the hair, drew his kris and defied everybody. Eventually he was drugged—probably with his friends' connivance, for he was not slain—and the girl was released and married to one Mat Arshad. A year later Mat Taib ran *amok*, killing Mat Arshad and wounding Wan Dena. But it must not be supposed that this *panjat angkara* was a recognised and regular form of marriage like *panjat adat*. It was far too violent for that; it was a savage variant of the *crime passionnel*, and had much in common with the *amok*, which is only the Malay form of suicide. How else can one explain the action of Hang Kasturi, who, when his intrigue was discovered, slew the girl in the most cruel manner, stripped and exposed her mutilated body, and then fought all comers till he was slain?<sup>1</sup>

Incidents of this sort were the exception, not the rule; the seclusion of Malay girls did not lend itself readily to broken vows and breach-of-promise cases. The average Malay engagement pursued its tranquil uneventful course until the prosaic incident of a rice harvest placed the families of the prospective bride and

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<sup>1</sup> The story is given in the "Malay Annals" and is very famous.

bridegroom in a position to entertain their friends. In the old days of native rule a bad harvest meant a general curtailment of the wedding-festivities. In the present age of security and peace the beneficent alien money-lender is always ready to make up for the deficiencies of the crops. The marriage-ceremonial has become more elaborate than ever, while the people are sinking more and more into debt.

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### MARRIAGE.

The formalities attending a Malay wedding are so elaborate that a European is apt to lose sight of their essential features in his bewilderment at the quantity of incidental detail. Indeed, the actual marriage service is a very simple rite that lies outside the customary celebrations. These celebrations should go on for at least seven days. The first three days are given up to the "henna-staining" festivities; the fourth day is devoted to the adornment of the happy pair, to their meeting and to their sitting in state; the fifth and sixth days are days of little importance; the seventh day witnesses the ceremonial lustrations of the married couple. The fourth day is the most notable. Its afternoon and evening ceremonies—the procession of the bridegroom to the house of his bride, his entry and the "sitting in state"<sup>1</sup>—are the events that the European guest is usually invited to witness.

During the first three "henna-staining" days the bride is at home to those of her lady-friends who express a wish to assist in painting her fingers with henna. She receives such guests and accepts whatever gifts

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<sup>1</sup> *Bērsanding.*

they bring, while the male friends of her family are being entertained by her relatives on the verandah. The actual henna-staining is done by a professional expert and the assistance given by the visitors is purely nominal. The first "henna" night is known as the *hinai churi*, because the staining is done in private and in a very small way; the second night is the *hinai bésar*, when the fingers, the toes and even the sides of the feet of both bride and groom are painted with henna. Both nights are marked by feasts and dancing. On one of the two nights a special "henna-dance" is performed; the other dances and amusements are of the regular Malay type and are only given for the amusement of the guests. On one of these two nights also a special wedding-dish of rice<sup>1</sup> is served. The third night is marked by more feasting, by the chanting of Arabic hymns<sup>2</sup> and by the ceremonial presentation<sup>3</sup> of certain gifts of food from the relatives of the bridegroom to those of the bride—a huge dish of rice adorned with red eggs stuck on a tree-branch, and a certain quantity of raw material (such as coconut and firewood) for the preparation of the coming feast. These gifts are presented to the sound of much music and gun or cracker firing.

The morning of the fourth day is taken up with the ceremonial shaving<sup>4</sup> of the bride's fringe and with her adornment for the festivities of the evening. Her hair to the width of a finger's breadth all round the forehead is drawn forward and shaved off, while the band plays special tunes in honour of the event. After this shaving is over, the bride puts on her bridal dress and jewellery.

<sup>1</sup> The *nasi hadap-hadapan yang bérastakona*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sérah*.

<sup>3</sup> *Dsikir maulud*.

<sup>4</sup> *Andam*.

She wears a gold-embroidered jacket with tight sleeves, a pair of loose silk trousers and a silk sarong. In her hair she fixes a number of artificial flowers of tinsel-work, kept in position with wires; to her ears she attaches the heavy, round ear-studs<sup>1</sup> that are the emblems of virginity. On her arms, over her tight sleeves, she puts on an assortment of bracelets and anklets, notably the dragon-shaped *pontoh*. She is also adorned with golden nail-protectors, with hollow anklets, with necklaces, with three heavy crescent-shaped breast ornaments known as *dokoh*, and, in many cases, with as much additional jewellery as her mother can borrow for the occasion.<sup>2</sup>

While these *andam*-ceremonies are taking place at the bride's house, the bridegroom is also being decked out for the evening procession. He is dressed as a warrior king. He wears the soldier's short coat,<sup>3</sup> made of rich silk with a gold edging. He also puts on loose trousers of silk and gold, a rich waist-cloth, a stiff head-dress or turban, with artificial flowers and pendent ornaments, a *këris* mounted in gold, royal bracelets,<sup>4</sup> a royal necklace of gold and three or more of the crescent-shaped ornaments known as *dokoh*.

When the procession is ready it starts off with the bridegroom (and sometimes with many symbolic gifts) to make its way slowly and circuitously to the house of the bride. It cheers itself upon the way with the sound of much cracker-firing, with shouts, with shots, with the banging of drums, with the clanging of gongs and with as many other noises as the village is capable of producing. The bridegroom himself is borne in state by the best means of conveyance obtainable, be that conveyance

<sup>1</sup> *Subang*.    <sup>2</sup> Nowadays there is great variety in bridal costume, even in Perak, to which these rules apply.    <sup>3</sup> *Baju alang*.    <sup>4</sup> *Pontoh*.

a motor-car, a carriage and pair, a dog-cart, a horse, an elephant, a jinrikisha, or even the humble shoulders of a coolie. As he approaches his destination the noise becomes more and more deafening, and when he stops it is impossible to hear anyone speak. This is the signal for the bride's people to suddenly become awake to the fact that something is happening. "Who is this visitor? Whence comes he? Does he come in peace or in war?" A colloquy ensues. Sometimes the bridegroom's party apologize for his coming: "He comes by no wish of his own; he is drawn by some magnet of irresistible attraction, by the breath of the breeze, by the swirl of the tides." A duenna from inside the house shouts, "Let him be welcome then; but he must doff his weapons and pay tribute in the land where a queen holds sway." To which his supporters reply, "His wallet is torn, his money is lost, he can only give an earnest of the gifts that are to come." In this way he may be admitted on payment of "tribute" or little gifts to all and sundry of the old ladies of the house. Or, again, the bride's friends may affect complete ignorance of the bridegroom's personality; they may want him described so as to assure themselves that there is no mistake. All this, of course, gives unlimited opportunities for friendly chaff. Or again, they may pretend to resist him and hurl sweetmeats at the advancing host of the bridegroom's supporters. A mimic battle ensues and goes on until some well-meant act of treachery gives the bridegroom admission and prevents the jest from lasting too long. His followers crowd in after him.

It is usual at this stage for the young man to display a timid modesty that accords very ill with his truculent soldier-dress. He is Mars overcome by Venus; he is a

poor fainting creature whose eyes have to be guarded with a fan lest a sudden glimpse of his betrothed should overpower him; he has to be held up by his friends lest his limbs should give way. Everyone hastens to reassure him and to lead him to the bridal dais where his bride is waiting. There the pair have to be ceremonially seated together with their little fingers interlocked. The process is like an exercise in physical drill in which the performer is made to sink slowly down into a squatting posture and then to straighten his knees and stand erect. Bride and groom have to go on doing this together till they succeed in seating themselves slowly and exactly at the same moment—as custom requires. They also sometimes have to exchange vows that they will cherish each other and each other's good name. Once seated they are expected to remain motionless while the eyes of all the guests are fixed upon them. In Perak the guests are allowed to come up in strict order of precedence and lay offerings of silver on a platter before the newly-married pair. One by one they come up, doing obeisance, first to royalty (if present) and then to the bride and bridegroom, as king and queen of the evening. The married pair interchange mouthfuls of rice as evidence of their new relation to one another; the feast begins, and at last the guests are sent off in honour to their homes, the less distinguished being sometimes presented with packets of boiled rice and the more distinguished with the *télur joran* or coloured eggs stuck on branches. At the close of the "sitting in state" the bride is allowed to leave her husband and to return to her mother; and the hasty rush of the frightened girl, with the jingling and clanging of her ornaments, is a proverbial source of

gratification to the bystanders, as a sign of her modesty after the uncomfortable splendour of her position.

On or about the seventh day the ceremonial bathing takes place. A temporary bath-house is built on a dais above a flight of seven steps, and is prepared for the reception of the bridal pair. The two march up together into it, either holding a handkerchief or with their little fingers interlocked. They sit side by side on a bench or on a banana stem. The bride's hair is untied. In some cases the water is passed through a cloth filled with flowers and palm-shoots; in some cases coconut-milk, lime-juice and rice powder are used as cosmetics for these ablutions; in all cases everything possible is done to give a ceremonial character to the whole lustration. In the south the pipe carrying the water is carved into the shape of a dragon's mouth at its extremity. Both in the north and in the south of the Peninsula the lustration ceremony includes the passing of a curious bridal cord round the necks of the married pair, and it ends with the severance of this cord. But long before this cord is severed the excited matrons who wash the bridal couple have turned the water on each other and the ceremony turns into a general fight, in which syringes are the guns and the missiles are streams of water. The spectators are splashed and wetted until the signal for the cessation of the fun is given by the breaking of the cord that binds the bride and the bridegroom. At a Patani wedding, observed by Mr. Winstedt, this severance was effected by fire; the flame of the burning ends was blown out by the bridegroom and the soot of the charred extremities was rubbed on the foreheads of both him and his wife. Guests and hosts, bride and bridegroom, wet and dry, all now return

home, put on their wedding garments and meet again for a further feast and for a further *běrsanding* or "sitting in state."

Throughout this period of the ceremony the married relation between the bride and bridegroom is only nominal. They see very little of each other and are not permitted to be alone. It is not till three days, or a week, or even a fortnight has elapsed after the "final" fourth day<sup>1</sup> that the bridegroom is allowed to have the bride to himself. If he is not satisfied with her and has reason to question her virtue he is entitled to announce his dissatisfaction by appearing in public without his *kěris*, or minus his headdress, or otherwise "incomplete." In that case he can claim a refund of half the dowry. But the marriage is not considered void<sup>2</sup> and the passing of such a public affront on his wife's family is not likely to conduce to the success of his future life. It is considered bad taste as well as bad policy to create a quarrel at this stage. Any differences are enquired into and can be amicably settled without the cognizance of all the scandalmongers of the village.

In all the ceremonies that have been described hitherto no account has been given of the true marriage service (if we may so call it) in which the blessing of the Almighty is invoked upon the union of his servants. This detail is generally overlooked by spectators as it is very simple and very private. What happens is this. The *imam* or other officiating elder opens the proceedings with a religious appeal, such as, "I exhort you to the fear of Allah." To this his hearers reply, "Amen." Then the bride's guardian<sup>3</sup> is expected to repeat a formula offering the bride in marriage to the bridegroom and mentioning

<sup>1</sup> *Hari langsong.*

<sup>2</sup> A divorce, however, follows.

<sup>3</sup> *Wali.*

the amount of the marriage-settlement. But as the formula is long, and as it is in Arabic, and as the guardian is usually too illiterate and too flustered to be intelligible in a language that he does not know, he appoints some more learned man to be his attorney<sup>1</sup> and to make the offer in his name. The offer is then made by the attorney. As soon as it has been made the presiding elder gives a warning tug to the bridegroom's arm by way of telling him that he must now express his acceptance of the offer. He does so—in Arabic. This formula is short enough to present little difficulty even to an illiterate man, but the nervousness of a bridegroom occasionally makes him use some expression that is not to be found in any Arabic dictionary. Everything has then to be repeated all over again—the offer, the warning tug, and the reply. At last the bridegroom gets his words right and the marriage is nearly valid. It is made quite valid by the two necessary witnesses being appealed to, and by their replying that they have heard everything that has taken place. The presiding elder then repeats a prayer<sup>2</sup> more or less to this effect: "O God, make union between these two as Thou didst make union between the water and the earth." The ceremony ends. The bride need not be present at all, and if she is a maiden and under age her consent need not be asked.

What is fairly evident from the elaborate wedding ceremonies of the Malays is the fact that the actual religious rite is looked upon as a legalising form like the signing of the register in an English church or the attendance at the Mairie in France. The major incidents—the henna-staining, the shaving of the fore-

<sup>1</sup> *Wakil*.

<sup>2</sup> *The khutbah nikah*.

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head, the procession, the sitting in state, and the lustrations on the seventh day—all lie outside the scope of Moslem law: they represent survivals of older customs and religions. Henna-staining is a custom that prevails in most Muhammadan countries and was probably imported with Islam. The procession of the armed and mounted bridegroom, the mimic resistance offered to him and the efforts to overcome it either by bribery or battle may be far-away echoes of a time when marriage by capture or marriage by purchase was the recognised rule of the day. Many of the other incidents have no special reference to marriage. The sitting in state and the ceremonial lustrations, for instance, are not confined to weddings. The shaving of the forehead is hard to explain: certain superstitions are connected with it; inferences regarding the bride's virtue are drawn from the way the hair behaves. In one old romance, the "Hikayat Koris," a distinction is drawn between wives for whom a bridegroom thought it worth his while to shave his own forehead and those to whom he did not pay that compliment. We can see traces of marriage by purchase in the advances paid at betrothal and in the other customary gifts. We find signs of the matriarchate in the rule that the bridegroom must reside in his wife's house for some considerable time after his wedding. Upon the simple Moslem marriage-rite there is superimposed a whole mass of ancient custom that the Malay refuses to discard. He considers the religious ceremony to be legal but inadequate; he wants the other things as well. He does not change old customs for new: he adds the new to the old. In old days high officers of state used to come on painted elephants to their installation. In 1907 the Raja Bendahara arrived in a carriage and pair,

but the painted elephants followed behind. In 1908 the Raja Muda came in a motor-car with carriages and elephants in his train. "What will be used at the next installation of a Malay Chief?" asked a critical spectator. "An aeroplane," said the Dato' Sri Adika Raja. But it is also safe to predict that the aeroplane will be followed by a motor-car, the motor-car by a carriage and pair, and the carriage and pair by a painted elephant. Last of all will come a faithful retainer, prepared to carry the Chief on his shoulders should our modern contrivances end by leaving his old master in the lurch.

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#### ADULT LIFE.

Immediately after his marriage a Malay husband settles down to live in his father-in-law's house. He gives his services to his wife's relatives, helps in their rice-fields, looks after their fruit-trees and repairs the family dwelling. This idyllic state of things may go on for some time, but sooner or later it is apt to be ended by the growth of the new family. When the old home ceases to be big enough, the young couple desire to set up an establishment of their own. This is not a difficult matter. During some idle month, when rice is not being planted, the husband and his friends clear an acre or two of good dry soil on which to erect a small house and plant a little garden of coconuts and fruit-trees. If the ancestral rice-lands are of small extent, they proceed to extend them by adding a little field or two. By degrees they build and furnish the new house, and make everything ready for the fitting. The migration would not, however, be reckoned as an incident in Malay life if there were no ceremony attached to it. Ceremony

dogs every detail, from the propitiation of the Earth Spirits when the soil is wounded by the digging of the foundations of the new house, down to the great day when the old parents invite the neighbours to witness everything that has been done. The villagers assemble; the old people make a speech enumerating all the articles with which they are endowing the new household; the young people express their complete satisfaction with all that has been done for them, and the flitting is accomplished. These formalities are not intended, as a cynic might suggest, to advertise the family reputation for generosity; they are necessary to avoid disputes. Should there subsequently be a quarrel or divorce, every neighbour will be able to testify to the proper distribution of the family property. When the speeches are over, the neighbours go home enriched by an additional subject of conversation, while the new householders indicate their approval of everything by keeping indoors for three days, so as not to display their radiant faces to any malignant spirit of envy that may be lurking about the village. Possessed of a house, a garden and a rice-field, they are now in a position to earn a comfortable living.

Of course the above procedure is not invariable. A Malay official cannot afford to live in his wife's house if the Government desires his presence in some other place. Old parents, when their last remaining daughter is married, sometimes move to an annexe or enlarge the house so as to retain their daughter and to save themselves from the danger of being left alone in their old age. Moreover, it is not always possible to find unoccupied land in the vicinity of the house of the old people. The cultivation of all available land in the rice-growing

districts of Penang and Province Wellesley has led to an annual exodus to Krian for the padi-planting season. In such cases the new household is apt to make its home in the new country while the old parents keep to their ancestral village. Krian has been largely populated by this planting-out of young families from Province Wellesley; the coast of Selangor is being settled from Malacca; the whole Peninsula is being helped by a similar tide of migration from Sumatra and Banjermasin. But Perak itself is not yet over-populated, and the Perak Malay does not leave his native country. Once settled in his new house the young Malay is "king in his own place"; he can "think of what he pleases and sing whenever he likes." So the proverbs tell us. They also recognise that woman's kingdom is the home—a fact which militates against the young husband's perfect freedom. Apart, however, from what the Malays call "the foe in one's own blanket" the householder is independent enough. He works whenever he likes and takes a holiday as often as he pleases. For a few weeks in the year he is very busy in the rice-fields; during the remaining ten months he enjoys comparative leisure. He has his meals at irregular times, goes to mosque irregularly, does a little fishing at odd moments—indeed, apart from padi-planting, most Malay work is done at odd moments: it is not the great business of life.

Religion supplies him with a time-table—the lunar calendar of the Muhammadans—with its incidents for each day, week, month and year. It divides up the day with the five daily prayers (which he forgets) and insists on his attending mosque every Friday, unless he can find some excuse for his habitual absences. It also marks off certain days of the year as great religious festivals.

The general impression among Malays seems to be that people go to mosque more consistently now than they did in the days of native rule, but there can be no doubt that the easy-going nature of the people is against regularity in any form.

The Moslem year is a lunar year unconnected with seasonal events. It begins with the month *Muharram*. The first day of the year is not marked by any festivities nor does the month itself contain any special Sunnite holidays, but Indian Shiite influence shows itself in Penang in the *boria* performances and in occasional lamentations over the death of the Prophet's grandson Husain. A *boria* is a troupe of strolling minstrels, generally dressed and drilled as soldiers and headed by a Captain and an Army Chaplain. The troupe visits the houses of wealthy or popular Moslems and serenades them till paid to go away. The songs are sometimes eulogistic and sometimes comic; the tunes are admirably suited for their purpose—pleasing at first and monotonous after a time, so that the troupe is gladly welcomed and gladly dismissed. The religious element is entirely absent from the *boria* performances and there is no apparent reason for their association with the month of *Muharram*.

*Safar*, the second month, is regarded as unlucky: to take up any enterprise in *Safar* is like beginning a journey on a Friday. It is the month in which Muhammad's fatal illness declared itself. The last Wednesday of the month is a religious event, a day of penitence and of ceremonial purification from the sins of the world; but it has been turned by the light-hearted Malays into a sort of bathing-picnic known as the *Mandi Safar*. The Malays do not take kindly to fasts, but they pay

very great attention to the fact that the month is an unlucky one in the matter of work.

The twelfth day of the third month is the anniversary of the Prophet's birth and also of his death, but the former event is regarded as the more important. The day is wholly a day of rejoicing, marked by much good cheer and by the chanting of many *maulud* or Arabic hymns and discourses about the life of Muhammad. In consequence of this great festival the name *maulud* is often given to the whole month in preference to the orthodox Arabic description of *Rabi'u-l-awwal*. Malays, who do like long Arabic words, sometimes use the expression "the four months with the same name" when speaking of the months *Rabi'u-l-awwal*, *Rabi'u-l-akhir*, *Jamadu-l-awwal*, and *Jamadu-l-akhir*. The names are not the same, but they seem to possess certain family likenesses and are all equally unpronounceable.

The next great Moslem holiday is the 27th day of the seventh month, *Rajab*, the anniversary of the Prophet's journey to heaven. It is a great occasion for chanting and prayer and it is commemorated by all Malays of piety and learning.

The eighth month, *Shaaban*, is rendered dismal by the approach of the ninth, the Fasting Month. The fifteenth night of *Shaaban* is believed to be the time when the Almighty shakes the Tree of Life causing the fall of leaves that represent the lives of men. Throughout this night in some parts of Arabia the mosques are thronged with agonised suppliants appealing to the Almighty to allow their lives to be prolonged throughout the coming year. Such scenes are rare in the Peninsula. The Malay calls this event the *kanduri roti*, because of the cakes that they eat to commemorate it.

The concluding days of *Shaaban* are marked by many feasts, because the Great Fast is coming on when men may no longer dine in comfort. They represent the days of preparation for the Malay Lent and should be marked by ceremonial ablutions to purify the soul and by much food to fortify the body. They are soon over, and the Great Fast begins.

Throughout the month of *Ramazan* a Moslem is forbidden (between sunrise and sunset) to eat, drink, chew, smoke or swallow. It is a time of misery, mitigated by the possibility of sleeping all day and feasting all night. During the whole of this period the Spirits of Evil are believed to be chained up, so that the superstitious Malay can (and does) go about at night without fear of ghostly visitants. As each sunset approaches a faithful few find their way to the mosque and await in prayer and meditation the exact moment when they will be permitted to break their fast. When sunset comes the worshippers share a light meal of rice-gruel (*kanji buka puasa*) before returning to their homes. The whole of the month is treated as a sort of a religious retreat, during which great princes like the Sultan of Perak offer a generous hospitality to the pious poor who flock to the palace-assemblies. All through the night there may be heard the long wailing sound of the Arabic chants with which the devotees beguile the weary hours. At last the dawn approaches, the last long meal is taken, and the exhausted worshipper curls up on the floor in sleep. As the end of the month approaches, the fervour of devotion becomes more intense, the special Arabic chants (*tarawih*) become longer, and the strain becomes more cruel. The 26th night is the "Night of Power"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Lailatu'l-kadir.*

on which the Koran was sent down to Muhammad, a night when the very trees of the forest are believed to bow in homage towards Mecca; it is a great event and is marked by ceremonial lustration, by nocturnal feasts and by religious services of unusual length. It is the culminating point of the *Ramazan* devotions. After the "Night of Power" the weary worshipper scans the horizon anxiously for a sight of the new moon that is to put an end to his long-drawn troubles.

The new moon comes at last; the Great Fast is followed by the Great Feast. Every Malay dons his finest garments, calls on all his friends, gives his family the best dinner he can afford, sends small gifts of cakes to his European acquaintances and apologizes to his seniors for any offence that he may have committed during the past year. The rejoicings go on for the first three days of the tenth month, *Shawwal*. This festival, the *hari raya bésar*, is the nearest Malay equivalent for the English Christmas, the Greek Easter or the Chinese New Year.

The next great day is the 10th of the twelfth month, *Dzu'l-hijjah*. It is the month of the Pilgrimage. On this 10th day the pilgrims at Mecca visit a place called the Mina Bazaar, near Mount Arafat, and offer up a sacrifice to mark the conclusion of the *Haj*. The day is known in the Straits as the *hari raya haji*. It is the great day of the *haji*, the man who has been to Mecca. It is the anniversary of his pilgrimage. On this day the *haji*—who is often a humble Javanese gardener working in some Singapore or Penang compound—puts on the gorgeous robes and turban of the Arab, takes a holiday and astonishes his employer by his sudden magnificence. The transformation does not last long.

In two days the *haji* is back at work along with his less fortunate friends who have never been to Mecca. This festival is the last of the Moslem year.

The Malay possesses another year, a solar year, with holidays and festivals that have no connection with religion. It begins with some definite sign—the height of the Pleiades above the horizon or the seasonal ripening of some fruit<sup>1</sup>—telling the ryot that the time for planting is at hand. The true Malay year is a sort of farmer's almanac. Its first festival is marked by the reading of prayers, the burning of incense, and the singing of chants over the mother-seed that is to be used in the rice-nursery. The calendar is marked by further festivals at every stage of cultivation—at the sowing, the transplanting and the harvesting. It is supplemented by special holidays, when mimic fighting or mock-propitiation is used to get the better of the ghostly denizens of the district who prey upon the crops. This solar calendar is only unsatisfactory because it is unauthorised and uncontrolled by any supreme authority, so that its details vary in every part of the Peninsula. It is the relic of an old agricultural religion and belongs properly to the province of Folklore and Malay Belief. None the less its holidays are observed and its feasts are well attended. The exact day for each event is fixed by the local *pawang*, but it turns upon the state of the crops and the details of the padi-planting industry. The industry is the subject of a special pamphlet and need not be considered here.

One thing alone must be discussed: how does rice-planting pay? The whole of Malay life turns on this industry and the crucial point in it is one about

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<sup>1</sup> The *pérah* fruit.

which we have singularly little information. Mr. Hale, usually a reliable authority, estimated the average harvest from a five-acre block of good irrigated land in Krian at a total of 3,000 *gantang* of *padi*, representing a gross value of \$240. Against this he set the land-rent (\$5), the water-rate (\$10) and a sum of \$48 for interest on borrowed capital at the local money-lenders' rate of 24 per cent. Mr. Hale was appealing for a reduction of taxation, and in his anxiety to forestall any criticism of his figures he made out a strong case against himself. His figures seem too high. In 1907 a most interesting experiment was made in Krian by order of the Director of Agriculture. Eight small pieces of land were marked off and cultivated in different ways in order to test the relative effectiveness of different processes of planting. The bulkiest crop (366 *gantang* to the acre) was obtained from the land cultivated by Banjarese according to their own native methods. Some instructive differences were noticed in the three other fields cultivated by Banjarese on their own lines as modified in some small detail by the Director. The average for the four Banjarese fields was 328 *gantang* per acre. A field cultivated by Tamils gave a poorer result. A field treated with bone manure gave a miserable crop (128 *gantang* to the acre); selection of local seed by weight was a failure (164 *gantang* to the acre), and the importation of special seed from Ceylon resulted in a complete fiasco. The local ryots, who saw in these experiments an attempt to improve on their own methods, summed up the situation with the pithy proverb that it is useless to teach swimming to ducks. Still, these figures make it abundantly clear that Mr. Hale's estimate of 600 *gantang* to the acre is too high for an

average. The crop of 366 *gantang* was declared to be a fair crop for the locality.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hale's estimated price of 8 cents per *gantang* is also rather high. Taking 350 *gantang* at 8 cents as a conservative estimate we find that the harvest of land in Krian, after deducting land rent and water-rate, works out at \$25 an acre. If we set against this sum the tithe taken by the mosque, the cost of buffaloes (if used for ploughing), and the money-lender's interest at 24 per cent., it may fairly be contended that rice-planting does not pay.

As a matter of fact, it does pay. Mr. P. A. Thompson<sup>2</sup> estimates the gross value of the rice-crop in Siam at about £3 5s. an acre, and looks upon this figure as very profitable, though it corresponds almost exactly with the Krian estimate. A loan at 24 per cent. is not a business transaction, nor does a Malay borrow money to open up new land; indeed, he could not get his loan till he has cultivated his land and secured his title. He borrows money for some wedding-ceremony or as security for a friend; and we ought not to lay at the door of the rice-growing industry the improvidence and recklessness of individual ryots. When all is said and done, a profit of \$125 (on a five-acre block for some five months' work) is good profit, as native incomes go, especially when we remember that much of the work of padi-planting is little more than the leisurely duty of watching a growing crop.

Rice-growing is not the Malay peasant's sole means of livelihood. He usually has his little holding with its thirty or forty cocount trees round his house.<sup>3</sup> With

<sup>1</sup> In the following year much better crops were obtained, one plot yielding 800 *gantang* to the acre. The mill buys *padi* at 7 cents a *gantang*, paid in advance.

<sup>2</sup> "Lotus-land," p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> I have heard it said on good authority that 25 coconut trees will support a Malay family.

an annual yield of 50 nuts per tree and an average price of 4 cents a nut he may get anything from \$50 to \$80 a year from this source. If he resides near the sea he can earn an appreciable amount by working as a fisherman. If he lives near a forest he may gather and sell rattans and other jungle produce. In some places he can make great profits by cutting the *nipah* palms and making house-roofing. If his house is near a high road he may keep a cart or carriage and earn an occasional dollar by letting it out on hire. In many cases he has some special source of income of his own—he may be a mosque-official or a Koran-teacher or a school-master or a smith. Separately considered these sources of profit amount to very little; collectively they mean a great deal. They must represent an average of some \$15 to \$20 a month and would be much more if the rice-planters made full use of their opportunities and leisure. As it is, the Malay peasant is never likely to furnish a plentiful supply of cheap labour; he is far too well-off for that. He may take odd jobs and small contracts, but he will not consent to exchange his lot for that of a regular wage-earner on an estate. Why, indeed, should he? His life is varied, pleasant, and healthy; it supplies him with all that he needs; it allows him ample leisure and absolute personal freedom. It enables us to understand why the ceremonies at a peasant's wedding can go on for a week and be attended by the whole village without dislocating the industries of the locality. All that is necessary is the choice of a suitable season—the month after the harvest—when everyone is at leisure and the granaries are full.

Agriculture is the soul of Malay life. The ryot may hear of lunar months and of the years of the Hegira, but

he speaks of "years of rice" or "years of maize," and he dates an incident as "so many harvests ago." He is essentially a planter; his festivals are seasonal; his joys and sorrows depend on the crops; and his whole life is regulated by the great rice-planting industry.

#### SICKNESS AND DEATH.

When a Malay becomes so ill that the ministrations of the local herbalists are of no avail he sends for the *pawang*. Now the *pawang* is a very unorthodox person: historically he is the priest of an older religion and theoretically a trafficker with evil spirits and a dabbler in the blackest of black art. To the pious dignitaries of the mosque the *pawang* is an abomination, because he represents the accredited agent of the Devil. But the sick man is not likely to stand upon such ceremony; believing as he does that all sickness comes from the Evil One he will not be deterred by any rules of propriety from entering into negotiations with his tormentor. He sends for the *pawang*. The *pawang* realises the delicacy of the situation and begins with mild measures: he tries to feed the Evil One. He hangs out baskets of food and cakes in the jungle—raw food and cooked food, vegetable food and animal food, dainties to suit all tastes. If the spirit is malicious enough to go on tormenting the poor sick man after such kindness has been shown, the *pawang* tries a little mild deception. Having built a sacrificial boat, filled it with money and provisions, and induced the evil spirits to step on board, he sets it adrift on the river to float away to its fate in the Great Sea. If the demon of disease is too canny to be taken in by these temptations—well, there

is no help for it: a *běrhantu* ceremony must be resorted to. It is wicked; but what else is the poor sick man to do?

Sir Frank Swettenham has described a *běrhantu* ceremony;<sup>1</sup> so has Mr. Skeat.<sup>2</sup> These accounts must suffice for those who desire to know what the performance looks like. But descriptions are of all sorts: one may dwell on the ridiculous aspect of an incident, and another may resolve itself into detailed inventory of the *pawang's* paraphernalia and a word-for-word record of the formulæ that he uttered. In neither case does the description give much of a clue to the real significance of a *běrhantu*; and, after all, the principal question is, "What does the ceremony mean?"

Sir Frank's sick man was a reigning Sultan; Mr. Skeat's was a peasant, the brother of his collector. Sir Frank's *pawang* was "a woman in male attire—in ordinary life she was an amusing lady named Raja Ngah, a scion of the reigning house on the female side"; Mr. Skeat's *pawang* was a man of no special importance. Sir Frank's orchestra consisted of "five or six girls holding native drums" and was headed by the daughter of Raja Ngah; Mr. Skeat's was only the *pawang's* wife, "an aged woman whose office was to chant the invocation." Sir Frank's ghostly visitant was the aristocratic *Israng*, the special familiar of Raja Ngah; Mr. Skeat's was the plebeian tiger-spirit, the common property of the whole Malay world. There is a vast difference in the importance of the incidents described; Mr. Skeat's may be called a vulgar or workaday *běrhantu*, while Sir Frank's represented a minor incident in the history of the State.

<sup>1</sup> "Malay Sketches," pp. 153-159.

<sup>2</sup> "Malay Magic," pp. 436-444.

In a shadowy way we can also find outlined for us in the dry records of a Straits Settlements blue-book the story of a much greater *běrhantu*—one that was a major incident in the history of the State. When Sultan Abdullah was charged with complicity in the assassination of the British Resident, one of the allegations against him was that he had “sent off a boat to Pasir Panjang to fetch down the Raja Kechil Muda and his son, Raja Ahmad, to conduct a *main bėrhantu* in his presence,” and that the object of the performance was in some way connected with the murder of Mr. Birch. Mr. Plunket, who conducted the enquiry, had only a vague idea of what a *bėrhantu* was. He described it as “a superstitious performance which the Perak people have learnt from the Sakais or wild men of the interior for looking into the future by calling up spirits and questioning them; . . . on this occasion in all seriousness the Sultan sent for Raja Kechil Muda and his son (as skilled persons in such performances) to conduct a *main bėrhantu* as a preliminary ceremony to carrying out the conspiracy, already formed against Mr. Birch’s life. . . . The performances on the first and second nights were merely preliminary introductions to what was to follow, but on the third night Sultan Abdullah, having been possessed by seven spirits in succession, spoke out and declared that Mr. Birch would be dead in a month.” Such was Mr. Plunket’s interpretation of the incident, though his account is not borne out by the evidence. The performance took place at Batak Rabbit on or about the 24th August, 1875.

There is no doubt from the evidence that the *parwang* at this great *bėrhantu* were the Raja Kechil Muda and his son, Raja Ahmad. “On this night,” said one witness,

“the devils asked to be paid, and Raja Kechil Muda replied that the devils would be paid with a boatload of offerings when Mr. Birch was dead. One of the Sultan’s devils declared that the devil which would kill Mr. Birch resided at Kuala Perak.” Another witness testified as follows: “Raja Ahmad said that he could call up Mr. Birch’s spirit for \$100. The Sultan agreed to pay this sum. . . . Raja Ahmad said that what the Sultan wanted was being done. The Sultan said, ‘Will what I want happen?’ Raja Ahmad said, ‘It will.’” Another eye-witness described “the performance which took place. At its conclusion Raja Ahmad said to Sultan Abdullah, ‘Now I have done for Mr. Birch, but I won’t do it properly unless you pay me.’ Sultan Abdullah replied, ‘I will pay you without fail if you can only get Mr. Birch out of Bandar Baharu.’” The evidence records the surprise that was felt at a *bĕrhantu* being held when nobody was ill, and it works up to the conclusion that the Sultan “wanted to do something wrong to Mr. Birch and that he wanted to kill him by sorcery.” Although the eye-witnesses were very reluctant to talk about what had happened, the general drift of their evidence was that the wizards were the Raja Kechil Muda and his son, that the fee was \$100, besides the offerings to the spirits, that the spirits invoked (“the Sultan’s devils”) were the *jin kĕrajaan* or divinities of the State, and that the hope was that these mighty spirits would wreck Mr. Birch’s launch off Kuala Perak and drown him in the sea.

In the three *bĕrhantu* performances to which reference has been made we find that the importance of the incident increases with the importance of the *pawang*, the greatness of the spirits, and the magnitude of the fee. “As

one star exceeds another in glory," says Sir Frank Swettenham, "so one *jin* surpasses another in renown, and I have named them in the order of their renown. In their honour four white and crimson umbrellas were hung in the room, presumably for their use when they arrived from their distant homes. Only the Sultan of the State is entitled to traffic with these distinguished Spirits; when summoned they decline to move unless appealed to with their own special invocations, set to their own peculiar music, sung by at least four singers, and led by a *Biduun* (singer) of the royal family. . . . There are common devils who look after common people; such as *Hantu Songkai*, *Hantu Mělayu* and *Hantu Bělian*; the last the Tiger-Devil, but out of politeness he is called *Bělian* to save his feelings." It was this last "tiger-devil" that Mr. Skeat saw; and even Raja Ngah's familiár, Israng, whose antics are described in "Malay Sketches," was not as aristocratic as the umbrella-using dignitaries of whom Sir Frank speaks.

On one point Sir Frank is in error, though so near the truth that the very subtlety of the distinction has led him off the trail of an interesting fact. There are two Sultans in Perak: one is "the Sultan of the State" and the other is the Sultan "who is entitled to traffic with these distinguished spirits." This latter sovereign, the *Sultan Muda* as he is called, is chosen from the royal house; his wife is a titular queen, the *Raja Che' Puan Muda*; and he has a deputy or heir-apparent known as the *Raja Kěchil Muda*. But it is the law of the State that this spiritual Sultan, prince of the blood-royal though he be, may never succeed to the secular Sultanate of the State. His kingdom has nothing to do with this visible world of Perak; he rules over the Spirits of the Land

and can convene eerie courts to be attended by ghosts of all grades of dignity from the great "Twin Brother of the Heavens," who came into existence when the universe was created, down to the humble *arak-arak jin sa-ribu*, "the ghosts who follow in procession, a thousand ghosts at a time." The president of this ghostly court is the Sultan Muda (or his deputy, the *Raja Kéçhil Muda*). He knows the exact title by which each Spirit must be addressed and the subtle distinctions of rank between them. He alone can summon the very highest ghosts in the land, and his fee for doing so is \$100 in all. These facts may throw some light on a few of the details of the mysterious *běrhantu* at Batak Rabit that was brought up against Sultan Abdullah at his trial. They may also explain the following minor incident in the early history of British intervention in Perak.

When the Pangkor Treaty was made and Sir Andrew Clarke's advisers were looking for a Malay title to serve as a dignified equivalent for the English term "ex-Sultan," some one in Singapore unfortunately coined the expression *Sultan Muda* as suitable for the purpose in view. With many expressions of goodwill and with the very best intentions this devil-derived dignity was offered by the British Government to the aged and religious Sultan Ismail, a descendant of the Prophet, by way of consoling him for the loss of the throne of Perak. The embarrassed ex-Sultan—not knowing exactly what to think—suggested in a mild way to Mr. Birch that another title, such as *Sultan Baginda*, would suit him better. Mr. Birch suspected that the new title might conceal some deep design and referred the matter to the Singapore adviser on Malay affairs (Mr. T. Braddell, C.M.G.) for an explanation of the difference between the

two designations. Mr. Braddell was completely non-plussed. In the end, it was decided, with some misgivings, that the ex-Sultan might be allowed to please himself in this matter.

Among the regalia of Perak is a set of small cups (resembling Chinese tea-cups but with serrated rims) that are used by the Sultan Muda in his incantations. So, too, a very handsome golden bowl,<sup>1</sup> with a cover of gold and a saucer of *suasa* studded with precious stones, is said to have done service in these *bĕrhantu* ceremonies. Under the ancient Government of Perak it was the feudal obligation of the villagers of Pasir Garam to erect the nine-staged pavilion used for the ceremonial lustrations after a princely *bĕrhantu*. Although few people in Perak know who the Sultan Muda is and although his office and that of the Raja Kechil Muda do not figure in the Annual Estimates, every section of his duties and every detail of his costume are most clearly defined by the unwritten custom of the country. The ceremony of the *bĕrhantu* commenced at 8 p.m., when the Sultan Muda, dressed in the prescribed robes, made his formal entry and took his seat on the *puadai*, a narrow mat only used on such occasions. His head would be veiled with a scarf of many colours. Rice-dust was scattered about to avert ill-luck, incense was burnt, and the Sultan Muda, grasping a handful of *sambau* grass, bowed, folded his arms, and gave the signal for the invocation to begin. The Chief Minstrel<sup>2</sup>—to the accompaniment of an orchestra of drums—then chanted his appeal to the Spirits of the Country, one by one in the strict order of their precedence, to attend the audience of their King.

<sup>1</sup> Known as a *Mundam*. It is an Achehnese bowl and is said to date back to the time of *Marhum Bĕsar Aulia 'Uluh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Biduan*.

A strange assembly was this ghostly Court of Perak. It numbered among its aristocrats spirits borrowed from all religions and from every part of the world, souls of orthodox rulers like Ali, Ahmad and Solomon, deities of India like Brahma and Vishnu, nature-gods like the "Supporter of the Heavens" and the "Ruler of the Storm," and divinities of special localities like the *Dato'* of Mount *Bērĕmbun*. Invoked by their proper names and titles—for no mistake was permissible on this point—the Spirits would come in, one by one, announcing their arrival by the flicker of the tapers used in the performance. As each Great Spirit arrived the Sultan Muda<sup>1</sup> would turn to the Chief Singer and enquire in set phrases if all was well. In language that was equally well studied the Singer would reply that all was indeed well, and that the object of the meeting was the convocation of all the Spirits to a great feast to be held on the morrow. The Singer would then go on to invoke the next Spirit in order of precedence, and, as the Ghosts of Perak are many, the ceremony would drag on far into the night.

Early the next morning the Sultan Muda and the Raja Kechil Muda paid their first ceremonial visit to the pavilion of lustration, the great nine-storeyed scaffolding erected by the men of Pasir Garam. At the summit of the pavilion was the image of a bird, the *jĕntayu* that lives on the dew of heaven and is ever calling for the rain. Below this image were many minor decorations and offerings—streamers of cloth and paper, strings of flowers and fronds, square rice-packets and long rice-packets, cakes and pastry, jars of water, joints of sugar-cane, food of all sorts—and prominent among

<sup>1</sup> As the medium of the Spirit in question.

them all would be the grisly head of a pink buffalo sacrificed in honour of the occasion. Everything was on a lavish scale, befitting the greatness of the ghostly guests. The Sultan Muda having seen that all was ready would return home. Then in the half-light of evening, "when faces can just be recognised," he would come back and ascend the tower along with his heir-apparent and a train of attendant *pawang*. Bowing to the four quarters of the heavens he would wave the offerings in each direction as an invitation to the Spirits to approach and partake of the provisions that had been consecrated to their use. Later on the whole party, meeting at the palace, held another and wilder *běrhantu*, appealing desperately to the Spirits of the Country to help the sick king in his hour of distress. The great drums of royalty, the holy regalia of the State and even the maiden daughters of the royal house were brought out to do honour to the invisible guests; the feast was of the very best, and every effort would be made to thoroughly propitiate the Spirits. The sick Sultan was laid on a curious sixteen-sided dais, the *pětěrahna panchalogam*, specially prepared for these occasions, and the *běrhantu* invocations would then go on as before.

On the third day (or later) the Sultan, if cured, was taken to the lofty nine-staged pavilion and was ceremonially bathed by the Sultan Muda and his attendants. This lustration marked the final recovery of the royal patient. It gave the Sultan Muda a claim to his fee of \$100—\$25 for himself, \$25 for the Raja Kechil Muda, and \$50 for his suite of wizards. We are, of course, speaking of royal illnesses. When the patient was a man of humble birth, the ceremony was simpler, the *pawang* was less authoritative, the spirit was a "common devil," and

the fee was less—witness the ceremony recorded by Mr. Skeat. All these things are questions of degree. In describing a *běrhantu* we must allow for the importance of the occasion, and lastly we must reckon with another possibility suggested in the pithy summing-up of my Malay informant about these *běrhantu* performances: "All these things cost money—and sometimes they only make the patient worse."

Was the Spirit at a *běrhantu* ceremony to be regarded as an enemy to whom the sick man had to pay ransom? Or was he an ally called in to fight the hostile Demons of Disease? Probably the latter—or the *běrhantu* against Mr. Birch would have been meaningless—but possibly he was a little of both. The ways of demons are inscrutable. The ghosts of the State should be the allies of the State, but they might consider it a service to the country to remove a Sultan instead of curing him. In such a case the Sultan's appeals might be promises of repentance. We will return therefore to the eventuality already suggested—the possibility that the din and excitement of the coming of the Spirits may have only pushed the patient a little nearer to the grave. Hope is given up; the *pawang* returns home to find excuses for his failure, and the poor despairing invalid, having failed to get well either by fair means or foul, hands himself over to the last ministrations of the orthodox leaders of religion. The *imam* and his fellow-dignitaries of the mosque are bound by duty to attend at the deathbed of a dying believer and to prepare him for the great change by repeating seven times in his ear the assertion of the Unity of God, the cardinal pillar of the Moslem faith. As with the Hebrew whose last words should be "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is

One God," so also the dying Moslem should pass to the hereafter while testifying to the same great truth. He endeavours therefore to listen to the *imam* and to repeat the Arabic formula after him, "though feebly and incorrectly for the power of his tongue is broken." He dies, and the attendants immediately bind up his jaw, pinion his arms to his sides, fasten his lower limbs together and lay him reverently on a couch in the great centre-room of his house.

At nightfall torches are lit and the neighbours assemble, the men to pray and the women to weep and lament, while the inmates of the house are kept busy providing refreshment for all who come to render the last honours to the dead. All through the night, if possible, the Koran should be chanted. In the morning the preparations for interment commence. The men prepare the loose coffin in which the body is borne to the grave and the rough litter on which the coffin is carried. The women get ready the *sirah*, the small coins and the fragrant leaves that are to be used in the course of the coming ceremony. As noon approaches the body must be washed for the last time. For this purpose it is usually laid on rollers of banana-trunk, but in special cases of distinguished honour it may be allowed to rest on the legs of relatives and friends. The lustration is done by an expert, and consists partly of real cleansing and partly of ceremonial purification. When all is over, the body is dried with a towel, perfumed with camphor and sandal-wood, plugged against impurities, and shrouded in a long white wrapper with fastenings taken from its own unravelled edges. The last toilet of the dead is now complete. A short prayer is said, a little money is scattered about, and the body is placed in

the coffin and borne outside the house. There a short funeral service is held. When this is over, a pall is thrown over the coffin and the litter is lifted on the shoulders of the attendants and borne to the cemetery, a procession following and singing the creed. It would be quite wrong to use a wheeled vehicle for such purposes, and many are the devices resorted to for evading the difficulty. In some very stately funerals it is said that concealed hearses have been used while the "bearers" marched by the side of the hearse and pretended to carry the coffin. In some cases the bearers have stood in the carriage and supported the coffin on their shoulders. But the law on the point is unmistakable. Even the present constitutional Sultan of Turkey at the lowest ebb of his fortunes was able to veto the use of a gun-carriage at a military funeral given by the Young Turks.

A Malay grave is like an English grave, except that a long niche or cavity is usually dug along the side of the main trench. The body rests in the niche and not in the principal hollow. Should the earth be too loose to allow of a niche being made, a cavity is dug along the bottom of the trench and the body is laid in this cavity. In some cases a sort of three-sided bottomless coffin is used. In all these methods the essential point is that the body shall lie on the earth but not the earth on the body. The niche or cavity is closed in by a plank, or else the three-sided coffin is placed over the corpse to protect it from the soil above. The loose coffin used in the procession to the cemetery is not buried at all, the body is taken out of it for interment. When this is done a clod of earth is held to the nostrils of the dead to suggest a notion of what is happening, and the fastening of the grave-clothes is partially unloosed to allow him to

rise slightly when listening to the prayer known as the *talkin*. The body is then placed in its aperture; the aperture is closed up and the trench is filled.

After the burial a few more prayers are said—notably the *talkin* or last exhortation to the deceased—and alms are distributed among the pious poor. A few of the friends go back to the house of mourning and assist in chanting the Koran during the night. On the third day a funeral feast is held in honour of the departed. If the relatives can afford it, similar funeral feasts may be held on the seventh, fortieth and hundredth day after the death. Gifts are made to the mosque authorities—a mat to the expert who washes the body, the pall to the *imam* who recites the burial service, and other customary fees in rice, coconuts, sugar-cane and money.

Temporary wooden marks are set up to show the place of interment, and are replaced at a later date by tombstones if the relatives of the deceased are well-off. Round posts are set up for a man, flat planks for a woman. Of the two marks put up, the headstone is much the larger, and the space between the pair (about three feet) is usually filled up by a low ridge of earth. A few monuments are very elaborate. The tombs of the early Perak kings were of the Achehnese type—four-sided monumental headstones carved with the confession of faith. So are the graves at the ancient Perak capital, Bruas, and so also is the tomb of the great Upper Perak female saint, To' Temong, who played some part in the legendary history of the country. About A.D. 1700 the type seems to have suddenly changed. The gravestone of the Sultan *Marhum Běsar Aulia 'Ulah* is of a curious polygonal type narrow at the base and increasing near the top. The monument of *Marhum Kahar* is of the

same type and far more elaborately carved; the headstone is joined to the other by a long stone block five or six feet long and carved with the triple crescentic *dokoh* that was the sign of royalty and a long narrow cutting that fills with rain and supplies water for the birds of the air to drink—but whether this was its real object I cannot say.

Older graves have been found in Perak; some indeed are lined with slabs of stone and contain broken pottery and even cornelian beads. But were they Malay? Of their origin nothing is known. The Malays, who are extremely conservative in the matter of old ceremonial, give us nothing in their burial-customs that is not of the most orthodox Moslem character. It may be that they used formerly to dispose of their dead otherwise than by interment—but this point must be left to be dealt with in the course of another chapter.

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#### CONCLUDING NOTES.

The Malay cares nothing for consistency; he does not exchange old customs for new; he keeps both the new and the old. He is indeed afraid to give up the old. "Again and again have I tried to abandon this inconvenient system [of coinage]," said a Pahang prince to Abdullah Munshi; "but the tigers took to eating men, and the crocodiles became hungrier, and I desisted." The Malay is afraid to give up an ancient practice because he fears the vengeance of the creators of the practice; he thinks that the dead hand of some old lawgiver may reach out over the intervening centuries and strike down the impious being who dares to alter

what past ages have approved. To meet this difficulty he keeps the old while adopting the new. He has gone on preserving custom after custom and ceremony after ceremony till his whole life is a sort of museum of ancient customs—an ill-kept and ill-designed museum in which no exhibit is dated, labelled or explained. For the Malay has not retained these old ceremonies for their own sake or because he loves them; he has preserved them as mere formalities: dead things for the satisfaction of his dead ancestors. If the European observer examines the bridegroom's offerings at a Perak wedding he will see that they are mere dummies of wood and paper got up to represent coconuts, firewood and cattle. Malay custom is largely a matter of dummies. Some day when elephants become scarce the elephant at a raja's installation will be replaced by a figure of bamboo and tissue-paper, a mere symbol to be borne along in the train of a prince. Why indeed should it be otherwise? The elephant is no longer there as a beast of burden; he only figures in the procession to gratify the ghostly majesty of ancient kings who like to see their descendants keep up the traditional forms of royalty.

Malay ceremonial, as we have said, is a museum of dead customs kept up for the benefit of the dead. It is unlabelled and unexplained because the men of old who made each custom may be safely trusted to know its nature and its meaning, and if the men of old had left us records of their times in the form of ancient history and literature they might have helped us to understand every incident in the long drama of Malay ceremonial. But they have left us very little. As guides they fail us; they force us to infer and to surmise where

we ought to be able to speak with confidence; all that they can do is to indicate the lines on which research must proceed. We must work historically. We can best begin by eliminating the modern Moslem elements—the henna-staining, the marriage contract and prayers, the entire funeral ceremony, the practice of circumcision, and the festivals that make up the lunar year. Of the Hindu elements we cannot speak so positively: they probably include the bridal rice, the bridal thread, much of the lustration ceremony and some details of the propitiatory sacrifices. But when we have eliminated these Hindu and Moslem details we are still far from the bedrock of Indonesian custom; we have to distinguish between essentials and accessories. Dances and feasting are accessories to weddings all over the world, yet they are not really a part of the marriage ceremony; they belong to the great province of merrymaking. The “enthronement” at a Malay marriage is merely honorific; the “lustrations” are rites of purification; the offerings to evil spirits are made to avert ill-luck. Rites of this sort, like feasts and dances, accompany every great Malay ceremony; they are common accessories, not true essentials. It is only when we have set aside these items that we get at the real traces of old Indonesian custom. To describe a Malay wedding by giving an account of the *bĕrsanding* is like publishing the *menu* of a wedding breakfast as an example of an English marriage-service.

After this rough classification of the items that make up our Malay museum of ancient custom we can proceed to discuss the various exhibits one by one. Let us begin with the Moslem exhibits as being the most modern and the easiest to identify and understand. In the matter

of marriage-custom Islam has exercised very little influence. It brought in the brief religious service at which the contract is ratified and witnessed, and it identified an old Indonesian customary payment, the *mas kahwin*, with its own *mahr* or marriage-settlement. These two items represent the barest requirements of Muhammadan Law. In the matter of unessentials Islam only introduced one rite—the henna-staining. This henna-staining is accompanied in Malaya by a peculiar dance performed to a special tune: the dancers (men and women in turn) balance a cup or vessel to which lighted tapers are affixed while they go through the prescribed steps; they are expected to play with the cup and even to invert it without extinguishing the lights by the jerkiness of their movements. In the matter of funeral-ceremonies Islam exercises a complete monopoly. In circumcision we should expect a similar monopoly, and we find it in Southern Malaya (if accessories are eliminated) but not in Northern Malaya, where the circumcision-ceremonies are very elaborate, take place at a comparatively late age and are regarded almost as a recognition of puberty and as a preliminary to marriage. In the matter of the calendar the influence of Islam is very distinct: it monopolises the festivals of the lunar year and surrenders the solar year to older Malay creeds. These few points summarise Muhammadan influence on Malay ceremonial.

What are we to make of them all? It would seem that when Islam came to the Peninsula it found in existence a solar calendar, a very elaborate system of wedding-ceremonies, a complete absence of burial ceremonies and—in the North but not in the South—an important festival that was accepted as analogous to

circumcision. There is evidence to show that such inferences would not be incorrect.

Cremation was practised by the Malacca Malays during the first half of the fifteenth century—so every contemporary Chinese navigator tells us most positively. Cremation is still found in Hindu Bali and is constantly mentioned in old Malay romances; it is, in fact, the common practice of Hinduism and Buddhism. It is not found among the aborigines of the Peninsula, nor is it to be traced among such wild tribes as the Borneo Dyaks and Philippine Igorrots. Under the circumstances, we might have inferred that the ancient Malays buried their dead till they accepted Hinduism and Buddhism; that they then began to burn their dead, and that they finally abandoned cremation for burial when they became Moslems. Curiously enough, there is strong evidence against such an inference, plausible though it seems at first sight. In the North of the Peninsula there is positive proof of the existence of tree-burial, a practice that survives to this day in spite of the hostility of Buddhist priests, Moslem Imams and Siamese Governors. The Buddhist Malayo-Siamese are like their Moslem cousins in that they believe ordinary religion to be sufficient for ordinary cases, but consider that exceptional cases demand exceptional treatment. If a man dies a "bad" death he is not interred or cremated; he is given tree-burial so that his soul may have peace. The body is "rolled up in a mat and then in a casing of split bamboo so as to form a cigar-shaped bundle which is suspended between two trees in a waste place or hung up in the fork between two branches."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, even when a man has died a normal death his relatives some-

<sup>1</sup> "Fasciculi Malayenses," *Anthropology*, Part II (a), page 84.

times attempt to combine the new and the old by putting the body into an aerial coffin<sup>1</sup> for some days prior to cremation. Tree-burial must at one time have been a very common practice in the Northern States of the Peninsula though we cannot trace it in the South.

There were also other and stranger ways of disposing of the dead. "Among the Malays [of Patani]," says one authority, "interment is the universal rule at present; but it is said that until recently people who had died a bad or unlucky death were frequently cast out to be eaten by dogs and vultures."<sup>2</sup> There are no vultures to be found further south than Perak. We may, however, compare with the Patani tradition the following passage in the "Malay Annals" giving the words of the Aru Ambassador to Pasai, "Better die at once and on this spot: if the dogs of Pasai are to eat me, be it so!" Let us also couple with these words the following statements of ancient Chinese writers on Java:

When their parents die they carry them to the forest and allow them to be eaten by dogs; if they are not devoured completely they are very sorry. The remains are burned, and often the wives and concubines are burned also to accompany the dead.<sup>3</sup>

Their burial rites are as follows. When a father or mother is about to die the sons and daughters ask whether after death he or she would prefer to be eaten by dogs, to be burnt or to be thrown into the water. The parents give their orders according to their wishes and after their death their directions are carried out. If it is their wish to be eaten by dogs the body is carried to the seashore or into the wilderness where dogs soon arrive; if the flesh of the corpse is eaten completely it is considered propitious, but if not the sons and daughters lament and weep and throw the remains into the water.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aerial coffins are said to be used by the Northern Sakai also in the case of the death of one of their *pawang*.

<sup>2</sup> "Fasciculi Malayenses," Anthropology, Part II (a), page 77.

<sup>3</sup> History of the Ming Dynasty.

<sup>4</sup> Ying Yai Sheng Lan (A.D. 1416).

The circumcision-ceremonies both in the North and the South are very elaborate. In the South they are made elaborate by the accessories (the enthronement, the lustrations and the propitiation of evil spirits); but the essentials are Moslem. In the North the rite of circumcision is regarded as the equivalent of the Buddhist tonsure ceremony: one is *masok Melayu*, the other is *masok Siam*. When the Northern Malays became Moslems they may well have grafted circumcision upon the old tonsure ceremony. In any case, Malay ceremonial bears out clearly enough the view that Islam overlaid Hinduism in Southern Malay and Buddhism in the North.

We can now pass to the Hindu elements in Malay ceremonial. They are hard to identify because Malay Muhammadanism itself came from a Hindu country and has a strong South-Indian colouring. Still in the bridal rice<sup>1</sup> shared by the newly-married pair, in the bridal thread<sup>2</sup> passed round them at the lustration, and in the bathing pavilion<sup>3</sup> erected for this rite, we have not only Indian customs but actual Indian names. These, of course, are minor details. The influence of Hinduism went further: by creating Malay dignities and the whole theory of kingship it may be said to be behind the entire ceremony of enthronement. But Hinduism exercised its power at second-hand; its direct influence is neither interesting nor important in matters of custom.

The accessories of Malay ceremonial—the enthronement, the lustrations, and the propitiatory rites—demand some attention. The propitiatory rites belong to the province of Malay Magic or Malay Belief; they need

<sup>1</sup> *Nasi bĕrastakona.*    <sup>2</sup> *Bĕnang pancharona.*    <sup>3</sup> *Pancha-pĕrsada.*

not be here discussed. The lustrations are probably Hindu. The *běrsanding* or enthronement is extremely interesting, though not in the sense in which it is usually studied. It is a ceremony in which the bride and bridegroom play at royalty; they sit in state on a royal dais, wear regalia and receive the homage of the assembled guests. They play most interesting parts—the parts of an ancient king and queen—acted to the staging of an old-world throne and court. The European observer looks on and thinks that he sees a wedding. But he forgets that the subject of the drama is royalty and not marriage; he will learn nothing about Malay marriage-theories from a mere glorification of the bridal pair.

Let us compare for a moment the enthronement of a Perak bridegroom with the enthronement of the Sultan himself—and in this connection it may be mentioned that a Perak prince wears as his wedding-jewels articles taken from the actual regalia of the State. At his coronation a Sultan wears a golden chain, three gold breast-ornaments, golden bracelets shaped like dragons, a gold-sheathed *kěris*, a golden-hilted sword and a silver seal mounted on a piece of wood. A Perak prince at his wedding only wears the chain, the breast ornaments, the bracelets and the *kěris*. The difference is important. The chain, the breast ornaments, the bracelets and the *kěris* are true regalia; the sword and the seal are dynastic heirlooms. The sword is the "sword of Alexander"; the seal is the "seal of Alexander"; they are historic things, but there is no legend attaching to the regalia worn by the bridegroom. The Perak bridegroom is imitating royalty in general; he is not copying any particular line of kings. The drama at which he is playing

is older than the Perak dynasty; it has remained practically unchanged (as the "Malay Annals" prove to us) since the days of the Malacca kings; it probably goes back to the old Palembang kingdom with its strong Javanese affinities. Wherever the old Palembang tradition exists—in Pahang, Johor, Riau, Malacca, Selangor and Perak—the "enthronement" or *běrsanding* varies very little. But if we leave the Palembang area and cross into Patani, we find a complete change. We see an "enthronement," it is true, but it is not the enthronement of a Palembang king. The ceremony is different; the regalia are different. We see before us the ghost of the ancient Northern Courts and of the old and high civilisations that have been crushed out of existence by the Siamese. From the custom and ceremonial of the Northern Malays we may yet learn much about the history of this most interesting part of the Peninsula.

We can go back further still, to the old Indonesian days before the Malays knew aught about Hinduism or Buddhism or Islam. Do the *pantun*-contests at a wedding or betrothal speak of a time when women had more liberty and when courtship was allowed to precede marriage? Probably they do, though that time is indeed remote. The freedom allowed to unmarried girls among most of the less civilised Indonesian tribes and even among the Menangkabau Malays makes it seem probable enough that there was a time when Malay marriage was a matter of mutual selection. Despotism would soon change all that; the will of a chief was not to be gainsaid. The poetic elements remained, but their tone changed; the bride became a diamond to be bought and not a girl to be courted. It seems fairly clear that the position of women

has sunk since the old Menangkabau days when they owned all the land and treated a husband as "the dog about the house." The fact that the Malay husband still comes to live in his wife's house is evidence that the wife's position must once have been the higher one.

The customs of the Dyaks, Bataks and Igorrots suggest a further question : Did the Malays ever practise trial-marriage ? There is no evidence of it in the present wedding ceremony ; on the contrary, the virtue of the bride is guarded, praised and prized. Still, it would be unsafe to speak confidently on this point beyond saying that if the practice of trial-marriage ever existed all traces of it have long since passed away.

Again, we may ask ourselves : How long are these old Malay ceremonies likely to survive ? Not long, perhaps. The Malay is becoming educated ; he is commencing to believe in newspapers and books, and, above all, he is beginning to have a good conceit of himself. Why should he defer to the custodians of these ancient customs, old and ignorant people who cannot read and write ? He does not discard—he would not be a Malay if he did—but he improves upon what went before and his improvements are of a most deadly character. There was once a Malay who tried to introduce poetic elements into the official letter-writing of the State Secretariat with which he was connected. The object was laudable enough, but the fond expressions used by Malay lovers seemed singularly out of place in official documents. Anyone who attends a modern Malay ceremony, be it a wedding or an ear-boring or even the installation of a prince, will be struck by the inevitable confusion between the new and the old. Not even Malay conservatism will suffice

to preserve the old customs of the country from the dis-integrating influence of modern improvements.

The change in Malay life is not really for the worse. The ancient Malay planted for his own consumption; the Malay of the future will plant to sell. In the old days of insecurity when trade was impossible the size of a holding was regulated by the needs of the family and rarely exceeded two or three acres of rice-land and a garden of some ten or twelve coconut-trees. Surplus rice was almost unsaleable; the extra labour was wasted. But the modern Malay—in Krian, at least—deals with five-acre blocks and exports what he does not need for himself. The size of the holding of the future will be regulated by capacity to produce rather than by capacity to consume. The present time is a time of transition. In their early admiration for foreign art many Malays melted down their precious native silver and had it re-made by Chinese craftsmen. They now regret it. Such mistakes are inevitable in days of change. Compared with the great economic movements that are going on all round us the changes in ceremonial may seem of little account, but seeing how much national history is crystallised in the old ceremonies of the people it would be a pity if Malay custom was allowed to perish unrecorded.

## APPENDICES.

### A.

*By Raja Haji Yahya.*

#### ANTE-NATAL CEREMONIES.

##### BAB PERI MANDI BUNTING DAN MELENGGANG PERUT DAN MENEMPAH BIDAN.

Maka sa-télah génap-lah 7 bulan pérémpuan itu méngandung, maka ibu bapa laki-laki itu-pun bérsiap-lah akan sakalian alat héndak mélenggang dan mandi bunting sértá ménémpah bidan akan ménantu-nya itu, sértá bérmuafakat déngan ibu bapa si-pérémpuan itu. Télah bérsatujuan muafakat-nya, kapada saat yang baik ya-itu hari khamis malam jumaat, maka ibu bapa pérémpuan itu-pun bérsiap ménghiasih rumah-nya, ménggantong tabir langit-langit dan mémbéntang ham-paran yang indah-indah, sértá ménjémput sanak-saudara kaum-kéluarga, dan mémotong ayam itek, sértá mémbuat lémping pénganan bérbagai-jénis. Dan pada malam-nya, bérhimpun-lah sakalian jémputan tadi, daripada tuan haji, lébai, imam, khatib dan lain-lain-nya, ka-rumah ibu bapa pérémpuan yang bérsédia tadi. Maka adat-nya pada sa-génap témpat orang khanduri atau lain-lain jamuan pada mula-mula sampai itu di-jamu makan sireh atau roko' kémudian baharu-lah di-angkatan sakalian makanan yang héndak di-béri makan itu. Maka sakalian méreka-itu dudok-lah bératutur di-dalam majlis yang télah di-sédiakan oleh tuan rumah itu.

Sa-télah hadir sakalian jémputan itu, baharu-lah di-angkat sa-kalian hidangan akan ménjamu méreka-itu. Maka pada sa-panjang résam Mélayu apabila makanan itu sudah bératutur datang-lah tuan rumah itu méngatakan: 'Silakan énche'-énche' dan tuan-tuan sértá adek-kakak sakalian makan mana-mana yang hadir bagi jamuan hamba ini.' Maka baharu-lah sakalian méreka-itu makan. Sudah makan lalu minum ayer ada yang sharbat atau coffee, kahwa, dan lain-lain-nya. Lépas itu, makan sireh pula, dan pérasapan-pun di-bawa orang-lah ka-téngah majlis itu, ya-itu témpat mémbakar kéményan karna héndak bérdzikir maulud, déngan émpat biji buyong ayer mandi yang hértutup déngan daun nyior bérukir bérawan dan bértébok aneka jénis bunga awan yang indah-indah, sértá di-lilit pula déngan kain putih kéémpat-émpat biji buyong itu, lalu di-léttakan

bérsama-sama déngan sa-batang dian akan périta maulud itu. Sa-télah itu maka datang-lah bapa atau waris tua si-laki-laki itu kapada tuan imam, khatib, bilal, atau pénghulu dan sakalian yang hadir itu, séraya kata-nya: 'Tuan sértá datok-datok dan énche'-énche' sakalian-nya, sahaya ini ada bérhajat sadikit héndak maulud mémuji bagi junjong-an kita, salla'llahu alaihi wa's-salam, akan pékerjaan mandi dan mélenggang pérut ménantu sahaya ini, sértá ménémpah bidan-nya sakali.'

Sa-télah sudah, maka sakalian-nya-pun mémula-lah bérdzikir maulud, ya-itu di-bacha doa dahulu oleh khatib; lépas itu bérdzikir-lah bérangkap-rangkap bérémpat atau bérdua pada mémbuat dzikir itu; dan di-jawab oleh sakalian méreka yang asing-asing itu, hingga méndéru-lah bunyi-nya di-dalam majlis itu. Maka adat-nya yang mula-mula mém bawa dzikir itu, ya-itu orang tua-tua sépéti tuan imam, tuan kadzi, datok pénghulu dan barang siapa yang tahu daripada pégawai-pégawai masjid, atau-pun orang yang patut akan méndahului bérdzikir itu. Lépas orang tua-tua baharu-lah orang muda-muda pula punya giliran akan bérdzikir itu, déngan bérbagai-bagai lagu dan lagham-nya, méngikut képandaian méreka-itu masing-masing. Maka sa-kétika bérdzikir itu, di-angkat orang-lah makanan daripada lémping pénganan sértá déngan ayer panas daripada daun téh, atau coffee dan kahwa, atau-pun sharbat dan lain-lain; térkadang tébu déngan garam guna-nya ménjadi pélampas suara méreka yang bérdzikir itu supaya jangan ménjadi sérak atau garau dan sa-paroh ménambah-nambahkan molek lagi bunyi-nya.

Hata sa-télah hampir-lah bahagi dua, ya-itu héndak bérdiri pada kéerja maulud itu, maka ibu bapa laki-laki dan pérémpuan-pun datang-lah mém bawakan anak-nya yang héndak mandi bunting itu bérdiri bérsama-sama déngan méreka yang bérdzikir itu, maka dian maulud itu-pun di-pasang orang-lah kédua-dua batang-nya, déngan bérhulas bértébok bérukir awan yang sangat indah-indah pérbuatan-nya kaki dian kédua itu di-pérbuat daripada kértas yang chantek molek. Sa-télah sampai-lah pada pérkataan yang héndak bérdiri itu, maka tuan imam-pun bérsélawat-lah démikian bunyi-nya 'Allahumma.' Maka di-sahut oleh sakalian méreka-itu 'Salla wa's-salam alai.' Maka tuan imam itu-pun bangun-lah bérdiri déngan mémégang surat maulud itu, dan sakalian méreka yang lain-pun ménurut-lah bangun bérsama-sama, dan dian itu-pun di-pasang-lah, dan pébaraan-pun di-buboh api-nya sértá déngan kéményan. Sa-télah itu lalu-lah bérdzikir mém bawa dzikir 'Ash'rasal,' nama pérmulaan-nya. Maka pérémpuan

dengan suami-nya bersama-sama-lah berdiri di-dalam majlis itu hingga sampai tiga kali beraleh lagu baharu-lah kedua itu di-bawa oleh ibu bapa masuk ka-dalam ka-tempat tidur-nya.

Arakian tersebut-lah pula kesah orang yang maulud itu; sudah habis lagu yang berdiri itu, dudok-lah pula sambil berselawat seperti dahulu juga. Maka angkatan yaani jamuan makanan-pun di-angkat orang-lah daripada halwa lemping kukus berbagai-bagai bubur serta penganan bakar dan sa-bagai-nya. Lepas makan itu berdzikir pula sa-hingga khatam-lah dzikir itu baharu-lah berhenti; lalu di-beri pula jamuan sa-kali lagi, ya-itu dengan nasi. Maka hari-pun siang-lah, segala mereka yang berdzikir itu-pun pulang-lah; ada sa-paroh tinggal tidur di-situ karna pekerjaan itu belum lagi habis.

Maka tersebut-lah pula kesah ibu bapa laki-laki dan perempuan itu. Sa-telah hari sudah siang masing-masing-pun bersiap-lah akan alatan hendak khanduri itu menyembelih kambing ayam itek serta menchari ikan dan sayur-sayuran serta mengukus pulut sa-puluh atau lima-belas gantang banyak-nya dan nasi jawi mengikut sa-banyak mana jemputan sa-banyak itu-lah di-tanak-nya oleh hendak khanduri itu.

Hata sa-telah masak-lah sakalian nasi gulai lauk-pauk, hari-pun hampir-lah akan petang; dan sakalian jemputan-pun datang-lah pula lalu naik ka-rumah dudok beratur masing-masing. Maka hidangan-pun di-angkat orang-lah: yang pertama dalong, ya-itu kepala arwah nama-nya, serta satu pinggan asahan yang telah berisi dengan nasi minyak dan ayam bulat di-tanam di-dalam-nya. Telah mustaed sakalian itu maka bapa laki-laki dengan bapa perempuan-pun keluar-lah kedua berbisian, membawa suatu tepak sireh arwah dan sa-buyong ayer arwah juga, dengan suatu perasapan, datang mendapatkan tuan imam atau khatib dan lain-lain pegawai, seraya berjabat tangan, lalu berkata, 'Sahaya ini ada berhajat tuan hendak arwahkan nasi minyak akan Rasul Allah, sall'allahu alaihi wa's-salam.'

Maka tepak sireh dan perasapan itu-pun di-sorongkan-nya kepada tuan imam itu. Maka segera-lah di-sambut oleh tuan imam dengan beberapa hormat-nya, serta ia membaca doa arwah dan tolak-bala, dengan doa selamat lepas hidangan-pun; baharu-lah di-angkat orang pula akan makanan mereka-itu sakalian. Masing-masing-pun lalu basoh tangan seraya makan-lah. Sa-ketika makan, lalu-lah sudah; sakalian-pun kembali-lah ka-rumah-nya.

Arakian tersebut-lah pula kesah ibu bapa laki-laki dan perempuan itu telah sudah daripada menjamu itu dan khanduri itu, maka ia-pun bersiap-lah hendak membawa anak dan menantu-nya ka-sungai,

ya-itu dengan To' Bidan juga. Telah mustaed sakalian-nya, maka masing-masing-pun berjalan-lah pergi ka-sungai, serta sa-puluh lima-bélas orang yang lain bersama-sama pula membawakan perkakas alatan bagi pekerjaan itu. Apabila sampai ka-sungai, maka To' Bidan-pun tampil-lah mengambil berteh beras kunyit beras basah; lalu di-jampinya dan di-taburkan ka-dalam ayer. Lépas itu di-perchekkan pula dengan ayer tépong tawar ka-dalam ayer itu juga; dan keményan berjampi-pun di-bakar jua. Maka kedua laki istéri yang hendak mandi itu-pun di-surohkan pada suatu tempat di-tépi sungai itu, langsung dimandikan kedua-nya. Sudah mandi bersuchi itu, di-béntangkan pula kain putih di-atas képala-nya, kedua di-jiruskan ayer tolak bala dan doa sélamat. Maka mandi ini-pun berbunga ayer mandi juga, daripada daun nyior jua. Dan pada masa mandi itu di-permainkan bunga séperti yang térsébut pada fasal kahwin; méreka-itu telah tiga kali dipusing-pusingkan sértá di-kirai-kiraikan oleh To' Bidan.

Hata lépas itu, kain putih itu-pun lalu di-bérikán pada To' Bidan. Kémudian Bidan-pun mémasang benang pélulut pada kedua-nya lalu di-alin pada suatu chérmin muka, di-buboh dua batang dian yang sudah di-pasangkan api-nya ka-muka méreka-itu kedua, tiga kali dikelilingkan; maka kedua-nya di-suroh oleh To' Bidan pandang tépat-tépat kapada chérmin itu, dan jangan di-pandang serong takut juling anak-nya kélak konon. Sudah sélésai daripada itu To' Bidan-pun lalu-lah mémbawa naik kedua méreka-itu ka-rumah; lalu di-dudokkan kedua di-atas hamparan yang mulia bersanding juga kéadaan-nya. Ada-pun mandi itu mandi bangkar nama-nya; jika tiada di-perbuat yang démikian ménjadi kémaluan sangat-lah pada ibu bapa antara kedua-nya. Arakian maka ségala perkakas istiadat orang ménémpah-pun sudah-lah di-sédiakan oleh ibu bapa méreka-itu, ya-itu rémpah-rémpah, garam, asam, lada china kéring, lada hitam dua-bélas macham, di-bubuhkan ka-dalam talam; beras sa-chupak, kundur sa-biji, damar sa-batang, ayam sa-ekur dan tepak sireh satu. Telah mustaed sakalian-nya, maka ibu laki-laki dan pérémpuan-pun dudok-lah ménghadapi To' Bidan dan To' Pawang séraya ményorongkan tepak sireh dengan ségala perkakas yang térsébut tadi sértá duit kadar sa-jampal (50 sen), ada yang sa-téngah tiada berduit-pun jadi juga, karna masing-masing dengan résam késukaan hati-nya To' Bidan itu, séraya bérkata-lah kedua-nya kapada To' Bidan itu 'ini-lah To' Bidan dan To' Pawang sireh sahaya ménémpahkan anak sahaya ini atas mana-mana kadar yang hadir sahaja akan ménjadi tanda pértarohan diri anak sahaya pértama-tama kapada Allah, wabaadahu Rasul-nya, yang kétiga To'.

Bidan-lah sahaya harapkan membela pëlihara anak sahaya kèdua ini pada masa waktu ia hendak bërsalin kèlak; maka apabila sakit anak sahaya ini hendak bërsalin waktu siang atau têngah malam dinihari ada-lah pënyuroh sahaya akan menjëmput To' Bidan dëngan To' Pawang, pada masa itu harap-lah sahaya akan To' Bidan dan To' Pawang kèdua-nya bër sama-sama silakan ka-mari pada mënghadapi sakit anak sahaya ini.'

Hata sa-tëlah di-dëngar oleh To' Bidan dan Pawang kèdua-nya akan përkataan ibu bapa laki-laki dan përémpuan itu maka ia-pun sègëra-lah mënnyambut tepak sireh itu sëraya bërkata pula kata-nya: "Insha'llah taala bërkat mujizat Rasul Allah sireh ini sahaya tërima-lah sërta dëngan sakalian-nya; jikalau tiada apa-apa aral sahaya sakit mati, ada-lah sahaya datang mënghadapi anak ënche' sakit kèlak; dan jikalau sahaya sakit pëning atau mati, silakan-lah ënche' mënchari bidan yang lain pula. Dan Pawang-pun dëmikian juga kata-nya; mëlainkan sama-sama-lah kita bërserah kapada Allah dan Rasul-nya. Sa-boleh-boleh-nya minta pëliharakan daripada bahaya pëlayaran përémpuan ini mohonkan sëlamat sèjahtëra, jangan-lah apa-apa kësusahan-nya." Maka To' Bidan itu-pun lalu-lah mënghambil bëkas sireh itu dëngan isi-isi-nya itu di-tiarapkan ka-atas tikar bër turut-turut, mënnyudi isharat pëtua-nya. Maka jikalau masa di-tiarapkan-nya ka-tikar itu, habis sëmua-nya përkakasan itu bërgugur ka-tikar, tiada tinggal di-dalam bëkas sireh itu: alamat-nya masa bër anak kèlak suatu-pun tiada bërtinggalan; uri bësar dan uri kèchil bër sama-sama jadi dëngan budak itu dëngan sëlamat-nya. Dan jikalau masa di-tiarapkan bëkas sireh itu ka-tikar, ada bërtinggal përkakasan sireh-sireh itu daripada salah suatu di-dalam tepak itu: maka alamat kapada pëtua-nya masa bër anak kèlak ada-lah kësusahan sadikit ada bërtinggalan uri kèchil tiada-lah bër sama-sama jadi dëngan budak itu.

Arakian sa-tëlah sudah yang dëmikian itu ibu bapa laki-laki dan ibu bapa përémpuan itu-pun mënberu suatu talam hidangan nasi dan nasi kunyit dëngan sa-chukup-nya, kapada To' Bidan sa-talam dan To' Pawang sa-talam. Maka sa-këtika lagi hari-pun pëtang-lah. Maka To' Bidan dan To' Pawang itu-pun këmali-lah masing-masing ka-rumah-nya. Maka sakalian-pun këmali-lah ka-rumah-nya. Maka tinggal-lah ibu bapa laki-laki dan ibu bapa përémpuan makan minum bër sukaan di-situ.

Sa-tëlah datang kësokan hari-nya, ibu bapa laki-laki itu-pun bër khabar kapada istëri-nya hendak këmali ka-rumah-nya. Tëlah

di-benarkan oleh ibu bapa perempuan itu, maka masing-masing-pun kembali-lah ka-rumah-nya sementara menanti chukup bilangan genap bulan menantu-nya, sembilan bulan atau sa-puloh bulan akan sakit bersalin itu; barang apa-apa idam-idaman hendak di-makan-nya, sa-telah di-charikan-nya masing-masing di-berikan-nya kepada menantu-nya itu. Maka budak perempuan yang hamil itu-pun tiap-tiap jumaat di-suroh oleh Bidan berlimbau bersuchi diri-nya. Maka ayer hujung rambut-nya di-suroh minum supaya jangan serat ia beranak kelak, yaani jangan kesusahan masa budak hendak keluar. Maka didalam hal yang demikian itu laki perempuan itu-pun bersiap-lah akan kayu api pediang-nya tiga atau empat ratus kerat ya-itu kayu yang baik seperti chendèri atau halban di-buang kulit di-jemurkan perkakas sa-kadar menanti ketika perempuan itu hendak beranak sahaja. Maka laki-laki itu-pun habis bertaruh sireh itu, tiada-lah berchukur-chukur lagi pantang konon jikalau berchukur takut putus uri isteri-nya beranak kelak. Maka demikian-lah peraturan orang kebanyakan; adat-nya bertaruh sireh resam yang daripada zaman dahulu-kala, ada-nya.

Kalikian bab peri menyatakan adat mereka-itu sakit hendak beranak dan pantang-pantang beranak itu. Sa-bermula maka telah genap-lah bulan-nya perempuan itu sembilan bulan atau sa-puloh bulan, maka ia-pun sakit-lah merenyai-renyai yaani sakit sa-dikit sa-dikit sahaja. Maka ibu bapa laki-laki dan waris-waris-nya, serta ibu bapa perempuan dan waris-waris-nya, serta pula lain-lain orang datang-lah berhimpun ka-situ hendak mengadapi sakit itu. Maka ada yang sa-tengah mereka-itu mengangkut ayer di-buboh ka-dalam pasu, dan ada yang sa-tengah menchari daun kayu rabun seperti daun kunyit terus dan duri mengkuang dan duri bulang. Hata sa- ketika lagi mereka-itu-pun pergi-lah mengambil Bidan dan Pawang. Maka sa- ketika lagi ia kedua-pun datang-lah ka-rumah itu. Maka Pawang-pun lalu-lah membuka tanah, mana-mana tempat yang baik bumi yang mahu menanggung kertau tempat beranak itu, di-jampinya kapada sa-belah parang puting atau mata beliong, lalu-lah di-jatohkan-nya kapada bumi itu; maka parang atau mata beliong itu-pun jatuh-lah terhachak di-atas tanah itu. Maka kapada petua mahu-lah bumi itu menanggung kertau. Maka di-suroh oleh Pawang itu taroh duri mengkuang dan duri bulang di-tempat itu akan jadi tangkal sakalian shaitan, dan di-suroh-nya pula gantong jala di-buboh gambar orang segala itu serta pula daun terong asam; kemudian di-gantong-pula suatu rotan yang berlengkar yang sudah berlilit kain

ya-itu tali agas nama-nya akan tempat orang yang hendak beranak itu berpaut. Hata sa-telah mustaed sakalian-nya, maka To' Bidan itu-pun lalu-lah membawa orang yang hendak beranak ka-tempat itu. Maka ibu bapa perempuan dan ibu bapa laki-laki itu-pun serta sakalian orang perempuan yang lain-lain-nya-pun datang-lah berhimpun berkililing dudok di-situ. Arakian sa-ketika lagi budak perempuan itu-pun makin bertambah-tambah-lah sakit datang resanya bertimpatimpa sahaja. Maka sa-ketika lagi lalu-lah menchelakan, yaani maka Bidan-pun menyuroh teran yaani menolak budak itu ka-bawah. Maka To' Pawang-pun lalu-lah segera menjampi hujong rambut perempuan itu. Maka tatkala itu datang-lah sa-orang perempuan menolak ka-bawah. Maka bidan itu-pun berkata: "teran-teran segera kuat-kuat." Maka lalu-lah di-kuat oleh orang yang menurut itu. Hata maka dengan takdir Allah taala budak itu-pun keluar-lah daripada perut ibu-nya dzahir ka-dalam dunia dengan selamat-nya; lalu-lah segera di-sambut oleh Bidan-nya. Maka keluar sa-kali dengan uri tembuni-nya: ada kala-nya budak sahaja keluar, tinggal uri tembuni-nya, maka Bidan itu-lah pula mengurut serta menolakkan keluar, maka baharu-lah keluar uri tembuni itu; maka ada kala-nya sampai sa-hari sa-malam tiada keluar uri tembuni itu, maka lalu-lah di-tempang oleh Bidan itu yaani di-kerat pusat budak itu, maka hujong pusat itu di-ikat Bidan kapada paha perempuan itu. Maka macham-macham ubat di-beri minum: minyak yang sudah di-jampi-nya. Maka dengan takdir Allah taala habis lepas semua-nya. Hata budak itu-pun menangis-lah. Maka baharu-lah di-kerat pusat oleh Bidan itu, tujuh tibu ikat pusat-nya; jikalau kanak-kanak itu laki-laki pengelat pusat sembilu buloh di-buat seperti bangun golok, dan jikalau perempuan budak itu, pengelat pusat sembilu buloh juga di-buat seperti bangun chandong.

## B.

## MALAY LULLABIES.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT OF THE DONDANG SITI FATIMAH OR "LULLABY OF OUR LADY FATIMAH."

Barang-siapa berpadi emping,  
Padi emping huma di-tengah;  
Barang-siapa berhati mumin,  
Hati yang mumin istana Allah.

Padi ömping huma di-töngah,  
 Gölige di-puncha kain ;  
 Hati yang mumin istana Allah,  
 Masok shurga jannatu'n-naim.

Gölige di-puncha kain,  
 Orang bërtanak di-bawah sëntul ;  
 Masok shurga jannatu'n-naim,  
 Ini-lah anak baginda Rasul.

Orang bërtanak di-bawah sëntul,  
 Chërana bërisi timah ;  
 Ini-lah anak baginda Rasul,  
 Yang bërnama Siti Fatimah.

Chërana bërisi timah,  
 Timah di-tëmpa si-Undang ;  
 Yang bërnama Siti Fatimah,  
 Dia yang pandai mëngarang.

Timah di-tëmpa si-Undang,  
 Puchok kundur asam-nya kandis ;  
 Dia yang pandai mëngarang,  
 Budak yang tidur, jangan menangis !

Puchok kundur asam-nya kandis,  
 Pina-pina jalan ka-huma ;  
 Budak yang tidur jangan mënangis,  
 Fatimah tögah mëngarang bunga.

Pina-pina jalan ka-huma,  
 Orang bërgolok di-dalam padi ;  
 Fatimah tögah mëngarang bunga,  
 Mëngisi tögkolok baginda Ali.

Orang bërgolok di-dalam padi,  
 Pisau pënyadap di-hujong galah ;  
 Isi tögkolok baginda Ali,  
 Hëndak mëngadap Rasul Allah.

Pisau pënyadap di-hujong galah,  
 Minta sadapkan umbi akar ;  
 Hëndak mëngadap Rasul Allah,  
 Hëndak mëminta akan Dzu'l-fikar.

Another of these lullabies runs as follows :

Ratib rantau mēlawan tandang,  
Di-sabong orang di-kēdai China ;  
Igau rantau tiada di-pandang,  
Laksana sudah tērkena guna.

Bērempat tidur di-pentas,  
Bērlima dēngan guru-nya ;  
Laksana dawat dēngan kērtas,  
Kētiga-nya kalam akan judu-nya.

Junjong perak gēmala ganti,  
Sauh di-laboh nakhoda-nya ;  
Jauh di-mata ingat di-hati,  
Anak di-kawal ayah bonda-nya.

Tikar puchok tikar mēngkuang,  
Tēmpat dudok raja Mēlayu ;  
Ikan busok jangan di-buang,  
Buat pērēnchah daun kayu.

Anak itek mati-nya lēmas,  
Di-sēmbēleh orang dēngan sikin-nya ;  
Hilang bangsa karna mas,  
Hilang budi karna miskin-nya.

The following Perak lullaby for royal babies is however by far the most interesting owing to its historical allusions :

Bunga merah tinggi di-tambak,  
Tambak bērukir taman bērawan ;  
Sēri Sultan Raja Perak,  
Asal Iskandar Nushirwan.

Bunga merah banyak di-taman,  
Sunting dayang masok ka-dalam ;  
Di-Makkah Nabi Akhir-zaman,  
Di-Johor Mahkota Alam.

Dari Tanjong mudek ka-Bota,  
Singgah bĕrhĕnti di-Bĕrahmana ;  
Tuan di-junjong jadi mahkota,  
Mĕnjunjong sipat dĕngan sĕmpurna.

Bĕrahmana tĕbing-nya tinggi,  
Pulau di-tĕngah pasir-nya halus ;  
Tuan laksana mas pĕlangi,  
Dĕrja di-tĕntang badan akan haus.

Balai bĕsar bĕratap kajang,  
Istana di-sĕlat di-sabĕlah kiri ;  
Ēntahkan mati gĕrangan abang,  
Ka-mana lagi mĕmbawa diri.

Zaman raja di-Bĕrahmana,  
Gajah di-chĕlong di-bawah bukit ;  
Jikalau ada tuan bĕrguna,  
Mohonkan tolong badan yang sakit.

Tĕtak sa-ranting buatkan golek,  
Hĕndak mĕnuba sungai Buiman ;  
Ēngku bĕrtĕntang adek beradek,  
Laksana bunga kĕmbang sa-taman.

Hĕndak mĕnuba sungai Buiman,  
Singgah bĕrmalam di-rotan gĕtah :  
Raja ini raja bĕriman,  
Sa-isi alam mĕnjunjong titah.

Singgah bĕrmalam di-rotan gĕtah,  
Pagi-pagi buka puasa ;  
Raja ini raja bĕriman,  
Daulat-nya tĕrdiri sĕnĕntiasa.

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C.

CIRCUMCISION.

Maka budak itu-pun di-naikkan oleh mudin itu ka-atas batang pisang atau ka-atas karong. Maka sĕpit-nya-pun lalu-lah sĕgĕra di-kĕnakan oleh To' Mudin kapada dzakar-nya itu tang sudah di-pumpun-

kan kulit-nya itu tiada tērkena kapada isi-nya. Maka kēpala budak itu di-chongakkan oleh orang tua-tua, tiada di-bēri ia mēmandang-nya lagi. Hata sa-tēlah sudah yang dēmikian itu, maka To' Mudin itu-pun sēgēra-lah mēngajar mēnguchap dua kalimah shahadat. Maka budak itu-pun mēngikut-lah sēperti pēngajar mudin itu. Maka lēpas itu mudin itu bērkata pula: "Halalkan darah kamu dunia akhirat." Maka jawab budak itu: "Halal dunia akhirat." Maka mudin itu-pun sēgēra-lah mēnampar paha budak itu tiga kali bērturut-turut; maka lalu-lah sēgēra di-kēratkan-nya. Maka sa-tēlah sudah putus itu, maka luka-nya itu-pun baharu-lah di-tasakkan oleh To' Mudin itu dēngan ubat-nya yang bērchampur dēngan gula puteh, kērtas api, minyak nyiur, atau daging. Maka ubat itu-pun di-bubohkan di-atas puchok daun pisang yang sudah bērlayur, lalu-lah di-balutkan kapada luka itu. Sa-tēlah sudah maka budak itu-pun di-angkatkan pērlahan-lahan ka-tēmpat tikar bantal-nya, tang sudah di-sēdiakan di-buboh puchok pisang bērlayur dan di-buboh pula abu; jikalau sa-kira-nya turun darah kēlak tiada-lah kēna titek itu. Dan sērta pula budak itu di-bēri mēmakai kain puteh lēpas panjang lima hasta dan sa-hēlai kain batek akan jadi punjut-nya supaya kēsēnangan ia tidur.

Maka sa-kētika lagi lēpas bērkhatan itu hari-pun malam-lah. Maka bapa kanak-kanak itu dēngan kaum kēluarga-nya pun bērjagalah mēlayan budak itu jangan tidur lēsak ka-sana ka-mari; di-pēgangkan paha-nya. Maka budak itu-pun tidur-lah bērsandar dēngan bantal pērlahan-lahan. Maka jikalau sa-kira-nya tiada orang jaga mēmēngangkan paha budak itu, maka di-bubohkan oleh mudin sēngakang di-tambatkan kapada paha budak itu kanan dan kiri sa-bēlah mēnyabēlah.

Hata datang kēsokan hari-nya, maka mudin itu-pun mēnyuroh siapkan ayer hangat daun mērsapat hēndak di-tanggalkan kundang budak itu. Maka lalu-lah di-bawa-nya turun ka-ayer pērlahan-lahan sērta di-basoh dēngan ayer sējok. Tēlah sudah di-buboh tangkal pēmantan tērap bērpintal itu, maka budak itu-pun di-mandikan, langsung di-bawa-lah naik ka-rumah, langsung di-basoh luka itu dēngan ayer hangat itu di-pērsuchikan di-buboh pula ubat. Maka budak itu-pun lalu-lah di-bēri oleh ibu bapa-nya makan di-atas pinggan bērlapek dēngan daun pisang yang sudah bērlayur dēngan lauk-nya ikan daing atau daging kērbau itu sahaja yang boleh. Maka makan itu tiada-lah boleh bērtambah sa-kali-kali, takut lambat baik. Maka sēbab bēralas pinggan itu dēngan daun pisang takut luka itu kēlak sopak yaani puteh.

Maka bapa budak itu sègèra-lah mèmberì upah khatan itu kapada mudin-nya, satu ringgit atau lèbeh. Maka mudin itu-pun sègèra-lah kèmbali ka-tèmpat-nya; maka tinggal-lah budak itu di-dalam bèla pèlihara ibu bapa-nya.

## D.

## BETROTHAL VERSES.

The following is the short series of verses referred to on page 24:

Dari Pauh ka-Pèrmatang,  
Tètak têngar papan kèmundi ;  
Dari jauh sahaya datang,  
Dèngar tuan yang baik budi.

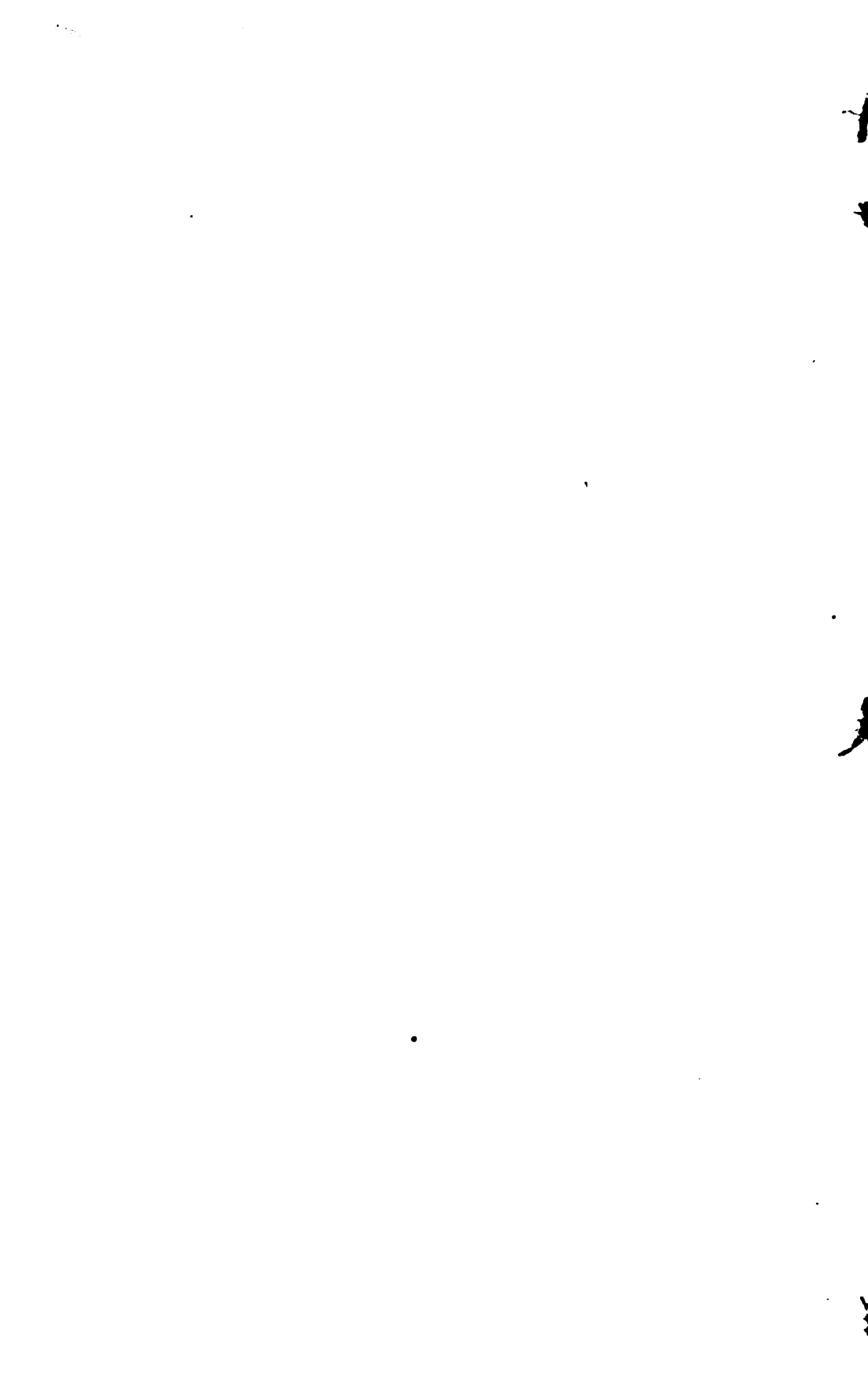
Tatang puan tatang chèrana,  
Tatang bidok Sèri Rama ;  
Datang tuan, datang-lah nyawa,  
Datang dudok bèrsama-sama.

Orang mèngambil siput di-lobok,  
Ayer-nya dalam banyak lintah ;  
Datang mèmbaik atap yang tembok,  
Hèndak mèngganti lantai yang patah.

Rimba di-bakar mènanam padi,  
Makan bèrhulam buah-nya pètai ;  
Jikalau sudah tulus dan sudi,  
Bèrbantalkan bèndul, bèrtikarkan lantai.

But there are many other sets of such verses; cf. Skeat, "Malay Magic," pp. 367, 368; and Snouck Hurgronje, "Achehnese," Vol. I., pp. 313-315.

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### PART II.

## THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF MALAY LIFE.

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

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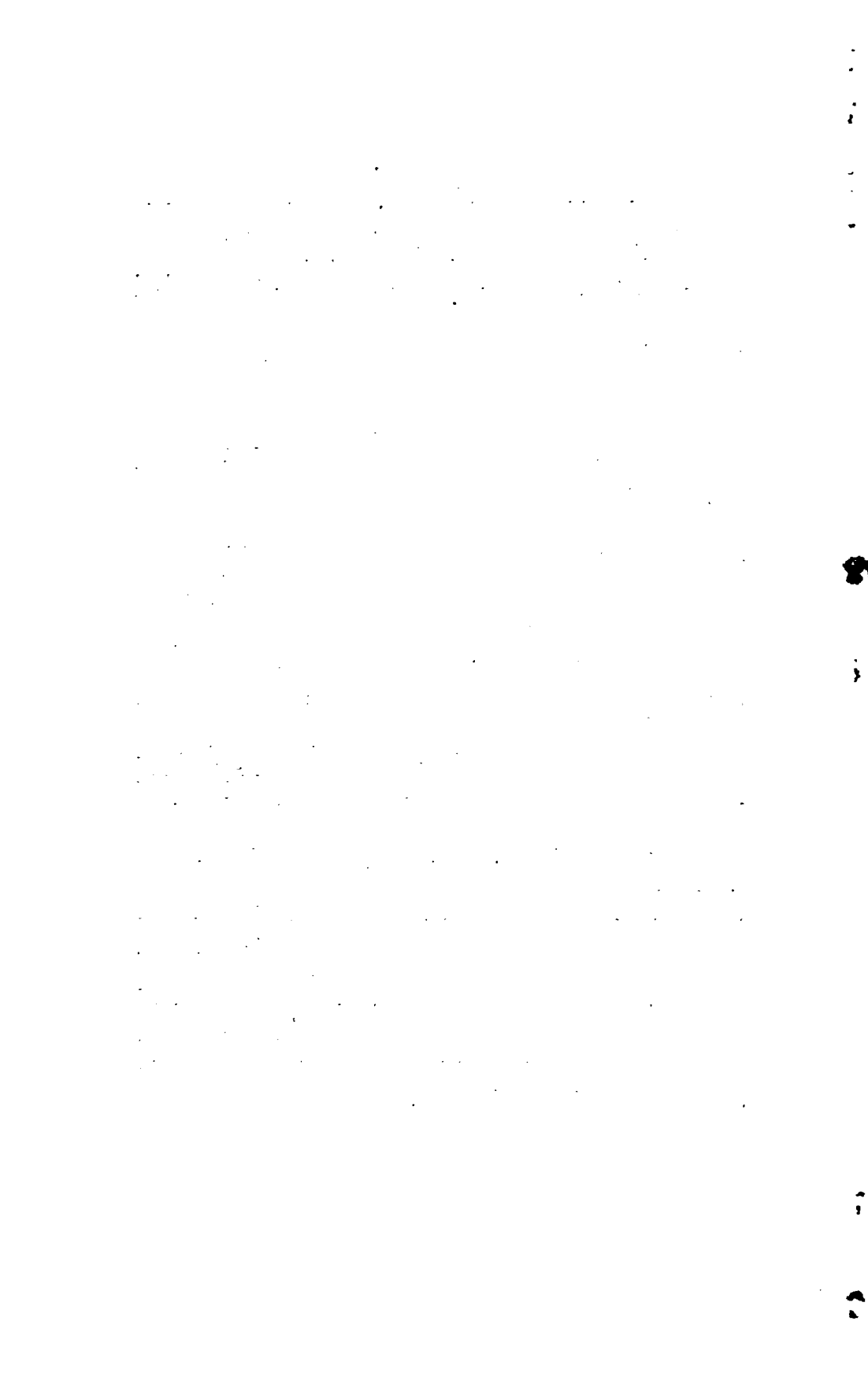
## PREFACE.

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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 Alur 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.

MATANG, PERAK.



## 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";<sup>1</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Boden 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 *dēdap* 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 fence<sup>1</sup> 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.”<sup>2</sup> “At times,” writes Major McNair in “Sarong and Kris,” speaking particularly of the home<sup>3</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> *Pagar sasak.*<sup>2</sup> *Pēlupoh.*<sup>3</sup> 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 *saiyid* 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

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<sup>1</sup> *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 *mangostane* 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 *durean* 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 bamboos<sup>2</sup> or perhaps conveyed by a neat contrivance of hollow bamboo pipes<sup>3</sup> 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 mortar<sup>4</sup> wherewith the rice is husked, a wooden coffee-crusher, a sugar furnace; and another larger shed,<sup>5</sup> raised like the dwelling-house on posts, will contain the huge round bark rice-tun.<sup>6</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Halaman.*<sup>2</sup> *Tabong ayer.*<sup>3</sup> *Panchur.*<sup>4</sup> *Lèsong.*<sup>5</sup> *Kèpok, bërèmbong.*<sup>6</sup> *Kèmbong.*

private chapel,<sup>1</sup> 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 bandstand<sup>2</sup> 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 *běrok* 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;

<sup>1</sup> *Surau*.

<sup>2</sup> *Balai angkat-angkat*.

pigeons and doves will flutter in the court-yard or their cotes. Buffaloes and cows have their separate stalls. But many kinds of buffaloes<sup>1</sup> even were "korban" to rajadom of yore.

As for the space under the house,<sup>2</sup> 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 creels. 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-

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup> *Bawah rumah*: Kelong.

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

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#### 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."

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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.<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Tépas bérturap.*

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 bird<sup>1</sup> 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" *kéris*-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."<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> *Bersayap layang-layang.*

<sup>2</sup> *Hikayat Awang Sulong 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,<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>1</sup> a short board balcony closed<sup>2</sup> or open<sup>3</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> *Sērambi*.<sup>2</sup> *Anjong*.<sup>3</sup> *Bēranda*.

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<sup>1</sup> or covered under a sloping pent-roof, when it is known as *pisang sa-sikat* or *səngkuap*; or built at right-angles with a double-roof, when it is called "the suckling elephant"; or,<sup>2</sup> yet again, in palace and larger houses a separate hut<sup>3</sup> joined by a covered or uncovered way.<sup>4</sup> If extra sleeping room is required, the unmarried girls occupy an attic<sup>5</sup> 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 *anjong* may become an annex of the house, built on to it generally from the kitchen passage and forming another building of equal size.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> *Pəlantaran.*    <sup>2</sup> *Gajah mənnyusu.*    <sup>3</sup> *Pənanggah.*    <sup>4</sup> *Səlasar; Səlang.*  
<sup>5</sup> *Para, pagu (Mal.) pəran.*    <sup>6</sup> *Rumah sa-bandong.*    <sup>7</sup> *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 *meunasah*. 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, joinery. 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 chair<sup>1</sup> and book-rest<sup>2</sup> are Arabic, the words for towel<sup>3</sup> table<sup>4</sup> and cupboard<sup>5</sup> Portuguese, the words for curtain<sup>6</sup> bedstead<sup>7</sup> and box<sup>8</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Kéruai.*    <sup>2</sup> *Rihal.*    <sup>3</sup> *Tuala.*    <sup>4</sup> *Meja.*    <sup>5</sup> *Almari.*    <sup>6</sup> *Tirai.*  
<sup>7</sup> *Katil.*    <sup>8</sup> *Péti.*

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 bird-cage 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 plaited<sup>1</sup> of dried palm-leaf: mats<sup>2</sup> spread over part of the floor; mats piled aside to be unrolled for the accommodation of visitors; a small prayer-mat<sup>3</sup> of Arabic name but home workmanship; the plaited tobacco pouch<sup>4</sup> or box,<sup>5</sup> or the bag receptacle<sup>6</sup> for betel utensils handy for daily use; plaited sacks<sup>7</sup> stacked in a corner, full of rice from the clearing. They are sometimes plain, sometimes adorned with open-work,<sup>8</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> Anyam. <sup>2</sup> Tikar hampar. <sup>3</sup> Tikar sajadah. <sup>4</sup> Kampit. <sup>5</sup> Lopak-lopak.  
<sup>6</sup> Bujam. <sup>7</sup> Kampit (open): Sumpit (closed like a sack). <sup>8</sup> Kërawang.

The specimens of plaited palm-leaf<sup>1</sup> 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 material<sup>2</sup> and intricate manipulation. Perak, Pahang, Patani, Kedah, Kelantan, all produce fine goods. And women store clothes in baskets<sup>3</sup> (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 pasted<sup>4</sup> 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 receptacle<sup>5</sup> for sweet rice which possibly dates from the days of belief in a bird-soul; or wrappers<sup>6</sup> of coconut, plantain or palm-leaf wherein to boil rice, triangular, diamond, heptagonal,<sup>7</sup> octagonal<sup>8</sup> in shapes called "the country's pride"<sup>9</sup> "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.<sup>10</sup> A *këris* may be stuck in a palm-leaf holder<sup>11</sup> 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,<sup>12</sup> more often in cubicles formed by mosquito-nets and outer curtains,<sup>13</sup> or

<sup>1</sup> *Mëngkuang*.      <sup>2</sup> *Pandan*.      <sup>3</sup> *Këmbal* or (Malacca) *rombong*.  
<sup>4</sup> *Këmbal gundi*: used at weddings.      <sup>5</sup> *Ënggak* (Ked.): *katang-katang* (Perak).  
<sup>6</sup> *Lëpat*; *këtupat*.      <sup>7</sup> *Këtupat bawang*.      <sup>8</sup> *Këtupat pasar* or *k. Ìlur*.  
<sup>9</sup> *Sëri nëgëri*.      <sup>10</sup> *Gantong-gantong*.      <sup>11</sup> *Sangkut këris*.  
<sup>12</sup> *Gërai* or *gëta*.      <sup>13</sup> *Tirai*.

merely by the mosquito-nets. The omnipresent baby hangs from the rafters in a cradle<sup>1</sup> 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 cupboard<sup>2</sup> of Portuguese name and Chinese manufacture, wherein will be stored spare pillows, papers and the best crockery. There will be a wooden shelf<sup>3</sup> or stand,<sup>4</sup> on which, placed in plates or brass holders, will be natural<sup>5</sup> or clay gourds<sup>6</sup> and broad clay water-jars.<sup>7</sup> 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 torches<sup>8</sup> stuck in a roughly carved wooden stand<sup>9</sup> that was placed on the floor in the central room. Or shells fixed to wooden sticks<sup>10</sup> and clay boats were used to hold oil. Later, probably, candles<sup>11</sup> stuck in coconut shells, and eventually in brass sticks, were employed. Heavy brass lamps of Indian origin, suspended from the chains

<sup>1</sup> *Buaian.*      <sup>2</sup> *Almari.*      <sup>3</sup> *Para.*      <sup>4</sup> *Kuda-kuda.*      <sup>5</sup> *Labu.*  
<sup>6</sup> *Labu tanah.*      <sup>7</sup> *Buyong.*      <sup>8</sup> *Damar.*      <sup>9</sup> *Kĕtai.*      <sup>10</sup> *Runah panjut.*  
<sup>11</sup> *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 shell<sup>1</sup> (whose existence of course premises some kind of settled cultivation); and then the wooden platter.<sup>2</sup> 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 celadon<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> ranging from old Dutch ware or fine old willow pattern to German coffee-cups with

<sup>1</sup> Dasar.    <sup>2</sup> Chapah.    <sup>3</sup> Pinggan rĕtak sa-ribu buatan Jin.    <sup>4</sup> Tĕmbikar.

the legend *Sĕlamat minum*. The most primitive drinking cup is a half coconut shell<sup>1</sup> carved or plain; then came a small silver bowl<sup>2</sup> modelled upon it; then the European glass, for which a brass stand<sup>3</sup> is provided. The most primitive jug, as we have seen, will be a dried gourd or a large polished coconut shell<sup>4</sup> 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 plate<sup>5</sup> 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-bottomed<sup>6</sup> and always porous, it is put in a shallow metal basin.<sup>7</sup> Very rarely a brass vessel of gourd shape, or a brass kettle,<sup>8</sup> or a kettle of Ligor niello ware will be used for cold water; and now also an earthenware jar,<sup>9</sup> or a horrible thick muddy-blue decanter<sup>10</sup> 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 bowl<sup>11</sup> or in a vessel<sup>12</sup> that is employed alike for that purpose and for a spittoon. Trays are of many kinds: there is the flat wooden or lacquer tray,<sup>13</sup> high of rim; there is the brass tray, flat and rimmed;<sup>14</sup> there is the wooden pedestal tray, sometimes very large;<sup>15</sup> there is the brass pedestal tray for a single cake plate,<sup>16</sup> and the large brass pedestal tray for a number of saucers.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Chebok.*    <sup>2</sup> *Batil.*    <sup>3</sup> *Kaki glass bĕrpuchok rĕbong bĕrkĕravang banji.*    <sup>4</sup> *Gĕlok.*    <sup>5</sup> *Chepir.*    <sup>6</sup> *Tila.*    <sup>7</sup> *Bokor.*    <sup>8</sup> *Chĕrek.*  
<sup>9</sup> *Kĕndil.*    <sup>10</sup> *Balang.*    <sup>11</sup> *Batil.*    <sup>12</sup> *Kĕtur sangku.*    <sup>13</sup> *Dulang.*  
<sup>14</sup> *Talam.*    <sup>15</sup> *Pahar.*    <sup>16</sup> *Sĕmbĕrip.*    <sup>17</sup> *Pahar; dalong.*

Pedestal trays are decorated on festivals with an embroidered and bead-work fringe,<sup>1</sup> 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, embroidered<sup>2</sup> or made of bamboo<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> 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;<sup>5</sup> one shape<sup>6</sup> has an ornamental end of wood or silver projecting<sup>7</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Daun budi* (Hindoo).    <sup>2</sup> *Adai-badai*.    <sup>3</sup> *Tudong saji*: *Sangai*.    <sup>4</sup> *Tepak* (Palembang).    <sup>5</sup> *Jorong* (Mangkasar).    <sup>6</sup> *Puan*.    <sup>7</sup> *Sulur bayong*.

leaves and in place of the other divisions in the tray we have four tiny caskets; <sup>1</sup> 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, <sup>2</sup> 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, <sup>3</sup> shaped like a triangle upside down with its apex cut off, takes the place of the casket’s tray for the vine leaves. The casket <sup>4</sup> that holds the betel-nut is commonly open, unlike the others ; that <sup>5</sup> 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 boxes <sup>6</sup> are made for tobacco, decorated with conventional foliated scrolls common in all Malay silver-work, or a box <sup>7</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Chēmbul*.    <sup>2</sup> *Chērana* (Skt.)    <sup>3</sup> *Kēlongsong* or *champēlu* (Kedah) sometimes held by a *mēmpēlai*.    <sup>4</sup> *Chawan pinang*.    <sup>5</sup> *Pēkapur*.  
<sup>6</sup> *Kap* or *kupi*.    <sup>7</sup> *Chēpu bērgēlugur, awan bunga sa-tangkai*.

Malay race. Betel-nut scissors,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> There are specimens of bamboo and rattan weaving in hanging plate-holders,<sup>3</sup> in stands<sup>4</sup> for round bottomed cooking-pots, in fish creels,<sup>5</sup> in baskets<sup>6</sup> for fish or vegetables, in strainers,<sup>7</sup> in rice sieves.<sup>8</sup> There are utensils of dried coconut shell: ladles,<sup>9</sup> bowls<sup>10</sup> with rattan handles, spoons.<sup>11</sup> There is some important carved wood-work: a parrot-shaped handle to sweet-rice spoons,<sup>12</sup> spoons with rudely carved foliated handles, oval carved encrolled blocks<sup>13</sup> (such as are used also by Dyaks) for crushing salt and pepper, and last, but not least, cake-moulds,<sup>14</sup> and a spurred coconut rasper.<sup>15</sup> In the south of the Peninsula the coconut rasper is decorated with foliated carving like the pepper-block: in the

<sup>1</sup> *Kachip.*    <sup>2</sup> *Salang.*    <sup>3</sup> *Sarau.*    <sup>4</sup> *Lëkar.*    <sup>5</sup> *Rajut.*    <sup>6</sup> *Raga.*  
<sup>7</sup> *Tapisan.*    <sup>8</sup> *Nyiru.*    <sup>9</sup> *Gayong.*    <sup>10</sup> *Sëkul* (Pers.)    <sup>11</sup> *Sëndok.*  
<sup>12</sup> *Sudip*: if large, *chëntong.*    <sup>13</sup> *Sëngkalan.*    <sup>14</sup> *Achuan kueh.*  
<sup>15</sup> *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-scaper offered in uplifted hands; and there too cake-moulds bear the carved impress of buffaloes, elephants, cows, cocks, tortoises, axes, *kěris*, 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 wood<sup>1</sup> 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 rattan<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> The fire-drill<sup>4</sup> 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-syringe<sup>5</sup> is made sometimes of wood, sometimes of tin; its piston of tin or hard wood is bound round the end with cloth, just

<sup>1</sup> *Tilampong tērap.*

<sup>2</sup> *Rotan saga.*

<sup>3</sup> *Rabok dudor.*

<sup>4</sup> *Pusar basong.*

<sup>5</sup> *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 pot<sup>1</sup> and steamer;<sup>2</sup> and of later use a number of brass and iron vessels, a covered brass rice-pot,<sup>3</sup> a large open brass pot<sup>4</sup> for sweetmeat cookery, a large open iron stew pot,<sup>5</sup> a huge iron cauldron,<sup>6</sup> an open iron frying pan.<sup>7</sup> The cooking place<sup>8</sup> is an arrangement of stones on which the pots are placed; above it is a shelf<sup>9</sup> on which firewood is laid to dry, and more wood is stacked beside the fire-place. There is a grindstone<sup>10</sup> for curry-stuffs and a tiny stone mortar<sup>11</sup> for pounding chillies and other edible pods. In the purlieus of the kitchen there will be large earthenware water-jars<sup>12</sup> and some basins<sup>13</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Bélanga.*      <sup>2</sup> *Kukusan tanah.*      <sup>3</sup> *Périok.*      <sup>4</sup> *Gèrèngsing.*  
<sup>5</sup> *Kanchah.*      <sup>6</sup> *Kawah.*      <sup>7</sup> *Kuali.*      <sup>8</sup> *Tungku.*      <sup>9</sup> *Para api.*  
<sup>10</sup> *Batu giling.*      <sup>11</sup> *Batu lèsong.*      <sup>12</sup> *Tèmpayan.*      <sup>13</sup> *Tèrèng (brass):*  
*pasu.*

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 couch<sup>1</sup> of one storey only, made of wood, with fretted skirting-board<sup>2</sup> in front, or board pasted with coloured papers in floral scrolls. Thereon will be laid a mat of several thicknesses<sup>3</sup> according to the house-owner's rank, edged<sup>4</sup> with gold-threaded silk border and silver or embroidered corners; and at the head of the couch a large round pillow<sup>5</sup> 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-platform<sup>6</sup> that runs lengthwise along the room against the inner partition; it will be storied according to rank, with fretted or paper-pasted<sup>7</sup> 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 couch<sup>7</sup> and the stand for water vessels, it will have hung above it a ceiling-cloth<sup>8</sup> 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,<sup>9</sup> made of white cloth stretched over a wooden frame, its ends adorned with embroidery or

<sup>1</sup> *Pentas kèchil*. <sup>2</sup> *Papan bèrtèbok awan Jawa atau awan Pèlambang, bunga banji, awan larat*, etc. <sup>3</sup> *Tikar bèrlangkat*, e.g., *pètèrana*, used by reigning princes of seven thicknesses; *pechar*, of five used by chiefs like the *bendahara*, *chiu* of three. <sup>4</sup> *Rampok*. <sup>5</sup> *Bantal sa-raga*. <sup>6</sup> *Pentas bèsar* or *gèrai*. 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 gèdong*: the inner space *goa*. <sup>7</sup> *Di-hulas dèngan kèrtas merah kuning ijau biru anika jènis warna kèrtas-nya itu*; *bèrtèbok bèrawan larat sèmma-nya ya-itu tèbok buang-buangan nama-nya ya-ani yang tèbok bèrawan itu kèrtas merah atau apa-apa macham warna-nyu dan tanah-nya kèrtas puteh atau pèrada kèresek atau pèrada Siam: yang sudah di-tèbok itu di-pèlkatkan di-atas kèrtas tanah itu*. <sup>8</sup> *Langit-langit*. <sup>9</sup> *Bantal sa-raga awan bunga nagasari*.

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 back<sup>1</sup> 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 flat<sup>2</sup> 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 pillows<sup>3</sup> stretch the length of the mats; perhaps a silk coverlet<sup>4</sup> 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 saraga*, are kept squat, round-lidded boxes<sup>5</sup> of Palembang brass or Palembang lacquer, receptacles for clothes and toilet necessaries; and there is a wooden clothes-rack,<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> *Gunong-gunong*.    <sup>2</sup> *Bantal pipih*.    <sup>3</sup> *Bantal galang*: *bantal pëlök*.  
<sup>4</sup> *Gëbar*.    <sup>5</sup> *Tabak* (Ar.) *Bintang* (Malacca), *Bangking* urn-shaped and used  
at weddings.    <sup>6</sup> *Sangkut bërsulor bayong*.

## 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 kinds 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," *këris* "wrought of the iron left after the making of the keys of the *Kaabah*,"<sup>1</sup> scarves "made of the mosquito-net of the prophet of Allah;"<sup>2</sup>

"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

<sup>1</sup> *Lëbeh pënganching Kaabat Allah.*

<sup>2</sup> *Puncha këlambu rasul Allah.*

different kinds of flowered cloth,<sup>1</sup> 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 shawl<sup>2</sup> 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 apportions 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.<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Kain sèrasah.*    <sup>2</sup> The following kinds are common: *Kain limau, kain tênggarun; kain Bali; kain Muntok; kain pèlangi or kain Ruwa; kain bunga chêngkeh; kain pèngiring ya'itu bèsulur merah putih kuning.*    <sup>3</sup> *Dibuboh baja sèperti sayap kumbang padang bèrkilat-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,<sup>1</sup> chequer, coloured with vegetable dyes, unsewn,<sup>2</sup> bound about the waist reaching hardly to the knees,<sup>3</sup> "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 garment<sup>4</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Tuli pisang, bēnang nanas.*    <sup>2</sup> *Kain lōpas.*    <sup>3</sup> *Kain chokin.*    <sup>4</sup> *Sarong.*

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,"<sup>1</sup> for ladies the "billowy"<sup>2</sup> 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 design<sup>3</sup> and the flowered Javanese skirt<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> 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 patterns<sup>6</sup> interwoven in gold thread, with a mass of gold-thread decoration<sup>7</sup> at the edge and on the *képala 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,

<sup>1</sup> *Kain kembang*.    <sup>2</sup> *Ombak beralun*    <sup>3</sup> e.g., *Chorak damdam*; *tapak chatur*, *bélah kètuwat*.    <sup>4</sup> *Kain Batek*.    <sup>5</sup> *Kain benang emas*.    <sup>6</sup> *Emas bertabur*, *béras patah*, *bunga kiambang*, *bunga tunjong*, *bunga kèrat nasi*, etc.  
<sup>7</sup> *Tèkat songkit*, *puchok rébong*, *jong 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 silk<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> There is one kind of silk which combines this pattern with the gold thread ornament of the Sumatran style.<sup>3</sup> Yet another kind of fabric,<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> 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"<sup>6</sup> 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-

<sup>1</sup> *Kain limau.*    <sup>2</sup> *Bunga chëngkeh, bunga rumput, biji asam, sëlumbar nibong, Andak Mesah, masam këlát, pérang rosak* are all patterns of Trengganu and Kelantan *sarongs*.    <sup>3</sup> *Kain tênggarun.*    <sup>4</sup> *Kain tëlèpok.*    <sup>5</sup> *Sutëra.*  
<sup>6</sup> *Kain pëlangi.*

spun or, for the higher classes, calendered Bugis tartan cloth, but now the Coromandel<sup>1</sup> 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 phrases<sup>2</sup> 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 Langgasu 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 (*sĕlendang*) 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,<sup>3</sup> which falls

<sup>1</sup> *Di-gĕrus*.

<sup>2</sup> *Baju ain'ul-banāt, b. sakhlāt, b. bĕlĕdu.*

<sup>3</sup> *Kĕmban.*

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<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> and coats with only a hole for the head to slip through.<sup>4</sup> Commenting on them as they occur in a Besis 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 Besis,"

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

<sup>1</sup> *Baju alang.*    <sup>2</sup> *Baju pokok.*    <sup>3</sup> *Baju bēlah.*    <sup>4</sup> *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.<sup>1</sup> 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 *sarong*, 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 jacket<sup>2</sup> 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 coat<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> the sleeve tight at wrist and buttoned from the elbow down, the tailed<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "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."

<sup>2</sup> *Baju Jipun.*

<sup>3</sup> *Baju hanyut.*

<sup>4</sup> *Baju kēpok.*

<sup>5</sup> *Baju bērsayap layang-layang.*

or "winged" coat—all show traces probably of European patterns. The Zouave tunic and the pilgrim's flowing gown<sup>1</sup> are Arabic. Women have borrowed underwear from India<sup>2</sup> 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 watch<sup>3</sup> 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."

Trousers<sup>4</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Baju sadzriah. Jubah.*    <sup>2</sup> *Chuli.*    <sup>3</sup> Or was this the watch-like box, *chëpu*, for tobacco, commonly knotted to a corner of the *sapu-tangan*, which was often thrown over the shoulder: now obsolete.    <sup>4</sup> *Ssluar.*

stronghold of Muhammadanism, has always been famous for its patterns: <sup>1</sup> 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" <sup>2</sup> 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; <sup>3</sup> some had gold thread interwoven in the material up to the knee; <sup>4</sup> some were stamped with tracings in gold paint <sup>5</sup> or adorned with inlet pieces <sup>6</sup> of coloured glass; some woven in latitudinal stripes <sup>7</sup> of red, yellow, white, black and so on. The "cut" in all cases was Achinese, or founded on Achinese but without the "duck web." <sup>8</sup> 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 <sup>9</sup> worn by Malay miners, and the short loose Chinese trousers, <sup>10</sup> 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, <sup>11</sup> with a loop for the *këris* at one end, to be wound outside the deep waist-cloth; and we also find a band

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

<sup>2</sup> *Tapak itek.* <sup>3</sup> *S. pëdëndang.* <sup>4</sup> *S. bërchanggal ëmas.*  
<sup>5</sup> *S. bërtëlëpok.* <sup>6</sup> *S. bërchërmin.* <sup>7</sup> *S. ëmpat sa-karap; tiga sa-lumpat*  
<sup>8</sup> *S. Batu Bara.* <sup>9</sup> *S. sampak.* <sup>10</sup> *S. kotong, or katok.* <sup>11</sup> *Bëtong.*

of scarlet cloth, adorned with inlet pieces of glass, with sequins and embroidery. A few decades ago there was common a pouch-belt,<sup>1</sup> 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 belt<sup>2</sup> derived, perhaps, from Chinese influence, of woven silver wire<sup>3</sup> 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-cloth<sup>4</sup> 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 snake<sup>5</sup> 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.”

<sup>1</sup> *Pëmbëlit*.    <sup>2</sup> *Gëndit*.    <sup>3</sup> *Bërtulang bëlut*.    <sup>4</sup> *Bëngkong* (or *sabok*, Jav.)    <sup>5</sup> *Kain chindai*—from Gujerat C. and S.: “A *Këlewang* 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 *këris*, a chopper, or cutlass, or sword, or a long *këris* 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;<sup>1</sup> others only the long piece of the sheath;<sup>2</sup> chiefs only the lower half-length of the sheath,<sup>3</sup> with ornament of silver or gold cord<sup>4</sup> above. The Malacca code laid down that "persons not attached to the palace are not allowed to wear a *këris* with a golden handle<sup>5</sup> 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 *këris* is a visible sign of their untitled gentility. If an offensive weapon is required, the small "pepper-crusher"<sup>6</sup> 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 *këris* still obtains and folk

<sup>1</sup> *Këris tërapang gabus.*    <sup>2</sup> *K. tërapang.*    <sup>3</sup> *K. pëndok (Jav.)*    <sup>4</sup> *Tuli-tuli.* 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.    <sup>5</sup> *Ulu kënhana (Jav.).*    <sup>6</sup> *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 *kēris* has gone. But every peasant tucks into the folds of his skirt a chopper,<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> such as Chetties always wear; China, pattens<sup>3</sup> 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;<sup>4</sup> 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. Tamil<sup>5</sup> and Arabic<sup>6</sup> names for shoes furnish epithets for royalty which may embody a primitive respect for foot-gear, but have left no special patterns.

Crawfurd 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

<sup>1</sup> *Gulok* (Jav.)<sup>2</sup> *Chapal*.<sup>3</sup> *Tērompu*.  
<sup>6</sup> *Kaus*.<sup>4</sup> *Sēpatu*.<sup>5</sup> *Chērupu*.

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,"<sup>1</sup> 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";<sup>2</sup> only rajas could fold it with one corner erect "like the leaf of a bean";<sup>3</sup> only great chiefs could wear it down over the poll, "taut as the cover of a pickle pot";<sup>4</sup> warriors used the style called "the fighting elephants"<sup>5</sup> 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,"<sup>6</sup> throwing one end limp over the top. Other fashions have such picturesque names as "the tail of the

<sup>1</sup> *Tēngkolok.*<sup>2</sup> *Solok mumbang di-bēlah dua.*<sup>3</sup> *S. kachang sa-hēlai.*<sup>4</sup> *S. gētang pērkasam.*<sup>5</sup> *S. gōjah bērjuang.*<sup>6</sup> *S. ayam patah kēpak.*

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.<sup>1</sup> There is the light neat cap woven of rotan or fern-stem,<sup>2</sup> surmounted often by a gold or silver button-ornament on the top; there is the cap<sup>3</sup> "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 cap<sup>4</sup> 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 hat<sup>5</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Kopiah.*    <sup>2</sup> *Rēsam.*    <sup>3</sup> *Kopiah Arab.*    <sup>4</sup> *Songkok.*  
<sup>5</sup> *Tērendak bentan.*

Persian name<sup>1</sup> 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 fringe<sup>2</sup> along its lower edge; one end is upturned; an erect aigrette<sup>3</sup> is tucked above it, from which hang pendants<sup>4</sup> 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."

<sup>1</sup> *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 *tĕngkolok dĕrsĕring*; in Patani, *pĕmuntal*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kida-kida*.

<sup>3</sup> *Tujok*.

<sup>4</sup> *Rumbai*; *gunjai*, *malai*, *gĕdabah*.

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 armllet<sup>1</sup> as it occurs in Java; both sexes wear a long gold chain of Javanese name<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> 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 anklets<sup>4</sup> and bracelets<sup>5</sup> such as occur in Java; but the bride wears, in addition, peculiar bracelets,<sup>6</sup> a badge of virginity, whose ends are shaped like the side of a flat triangular spoon. Both sexes wear a breast ornament<sup>7</sup> worn in Java, consisting of tiers of gold plates, and above it, as in Java, an ornament<sup>8</sup> commonly worn by children, circular<sup>9</sup> for male, crescent-shaped for female, of gold filigree-work. In place of turban, the bride wears a gold (or gilt-paper) frontlet<sup>10</sup> upon her brows, like that used both by bride and groom in Java; it is surmounted by a garden of paper blossoms<sup>11</sup> stuck on nodding wires; and gold flowers are fixed by golden hair-pins<sup>12</sup> on the top of her chignon. Both sexes wear a variety of rings, some plain and dubbed after their shapes, the "sated leech"<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pontoh bernaga and pontoh.    <sup>2</sup> Kengkalong.    <sup>3</sup> Pending.    <sup>4</sup> Keron-chong.    <sup>5</sup> Gëlang kana bertunjal berkërawang berpahat terus bërniku këluang dua tingkat.    <sup>6</sup> Gëlang bër sudu.    <sup>7</sup> Dokoh.    <sup>8</sup> Agok.    <sup>9</sup> Bunga kiam-bang.    <sup>10</sup> Këlat dahi (gandek, Mal.)    <sup>11</sup> Bunga këtar.    <sup>12</sup> Pachak tunggal; tumang sëndok.    <sup>13</sup> Chinchin pachat kënyang.

(on the index finger of the right hand), the "elephant-foot bezel"<sup>1</sup> (on the little finger of the same hand); some set with stones and called, for example, "the garden of fire-flies."<sup>2</sup> on the ring-finger. The bride also wears a ring remarkable for a ruby-eyed filigree gold peacock<sup>3</sup> perched in place of a bezel; a ring which is always worn along with a protector<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> round, the size of a penny, a badge of virginity, and these are giving way to small drops<sup>6</sup> and pendants.<sup>7</sup> The bridegroom's dagger<sup>8</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Ch. tapak gajah.*      <sup>2</sup> *Kunang-kunang sa-kabun.*      <sup>3</sup> *Mèrak.*  
<sup>4</sup> *Changgal* (vide "Malay Magic," p. 46).      <sup>5</sup> *Subang.*      <sup>6</sup> *Subang guntong.*  
<sup>7</sup> *Orlit.*      <sup>8</sup> In Patani he wears the *Tajong* or 'kingfisher' hilted *kèris*.

cited, but they are of foreign origin and comparatively modern: the Manilla chain,<sup>1</sup> to which allusion is made in the "Sejarah Melayu;" a chain named after a Persian coin;<sup>2</sup> a necklace of oval beads, usually of gold, but called after Arabian coral;<sup>3</sup> a chain with tiny casket containing an Arabian amulet.<sup>4</sup> Among the heirlooms of the Perak sultanate is "a very strange breast ornament<sup>5</sup> 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 *këris* 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,"<sup>6</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Bantai Manilla.*    <sup>2</sup> *Bantai dêrham.*    <sup>3</sup> *Mêrjan.*    <sup>4</sup> *Aximat.*  
<sup>5</sup> *Kanching alkah.*    <sup>6</sup> *Chaping.*

conviction. The *këbaya* has brought into fashion a set of three brooches,<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> drops<sup>3</sup> and pendants.<sup>4</sup>

Ladies daub their faces and the faces of their children with a white<sup>5</sup> or yellow<sup>6</sup> 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 teeth<sup>7</sup> 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 *chëmpaka* 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 *munshi* 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.

<sup>1</sup> *Kërosang*.    <sup>2</sup> *Kërabu*.    <sup>3</sup> *Subang gantong*.    <sup>4</sup> *Anting-anting*; *tauge* (Chinese and bean-shaped); *orit*, of diamond and attached behind the lobe of the ear.    <sup>5</sup> *Bëdak*.    <sup>6</sup> *Borih*.    <sup>7</sup> Vide "Malay Magic" pp. 352-360, and for the Malay *locus classicus*, Ht. *Awang Sulong Merah Muda* (pp. 15 and 67), edited by A. J. Sturrock and R. O. Winstedt.

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 bërambut panjang,  
Kalau tidak bërani mati?*

Isolated instances may still be found, though Muhammadanism 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 bow<sup>1</sup> 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";<sup>2</sup> there is a trefoil knot<sup>3</sup> sometimes askew to the right; there is a cinquefoil fashion<sup>4</sup> 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."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Lipat pandan* or *lintang sangkut*.      <sup>2</sup> *Sanggul siput*.      <sup>3</sup> *Tërongsit bërnama nasi si-hebat, ya-ani bulat dan kemas; gonjong. Sanggul këlông.*  
<sup>4</sup> *Sanggul nonia*, if in front; *S. ayam mêngëram*, if on top of the head. Other fashions are *sanggul Sërani, sanggul roda lambong*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sanggul bërnama tujoh lipat, Tujoh lipat, sambilan kulai, Ular bërbelit naga bërklèlahi, Anak rambut sunting pëlai; Ekur rambut kera bërjuntai.*

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,<sup>1</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> *Nyiur gading.*

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

This is an account<sup>1</sup> 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 *këris* 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 Bendahara 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 snake pattern. Their *këris*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

<sup>1</sup> 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 *këris* 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 *sēna* 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.

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#### 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 Balinese 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 salad<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Rojak*.

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 *pěnghulu* 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 will<sup>1</sup> boil the rice along with such spices as carraway seeds, cloves, mace, nutmeg and ginger and garlic, in dripping or coconut oil; or<sup>2</sup> he will boil it in coconut milk instead of water; or he<sup>3</sup> 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, *bělachan*,<sup>4</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Nasi minyak* or *nasi samin*.

<sup>2</sup> *Nasi lemak*.

<sup>3</sup> *Nasi kunyit*.

<sup>4</sup> In Malacca there is a kind called *chēnchalok* made of shrimps only. Another common paste is *pēkasam*, made of crushed and salted shell-fish. *Bělachan*, is called by the Burmese *ngape*, by Javanese *tērasi*, by Siamese *kape*.

and spices into an earthen vessel, close the lid and place it on the fire. If the<sup>1</sup> vegetables taste saltish, plunge a burning brand into the pot and the salt taste will vanish.

Or<sup>2</sup> put in some chillies, and use dripping or oil in place of coconut milk. Or<sup>3</sup> use for spices pepper, turmeric, onion, garlic, fish-paste and dried prawns. Or<sup>4</sup> 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 *lengkua* (*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 gèlugur*). Cook in a clay vessel to the boiling point.<sup>5</sup>

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.

<sup>1</sup> *Sayur masak lemak putih.*

<sup>2</sup> E.g., *sayur tèrong masak lemak.*

<sup>3</sup> *Masakan lemak.*

<sup>4</sup> E.g., *sayur rebah bangun.*

<sup>5</sup> E.g., *kachang parpu 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.<sup>1</sup>

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 garlices; mix with the spices. Mix all with your fish or fowl. Slice five or six onions, two or three garlices, 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 gèlugur* 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

<sup>1</sup> *Masak halia.*

untravelling 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.<sup>1</sup>

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, *lengkuas*, 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.<sup>2</sup>

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-

<sup>1</sup> *Sambal udang.*

<sup>2</sup> *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 *bijan* 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

There are two kinds of pickle: the cooked, just described,<sup>3</sup> and the cold,<sup>4</sup> which consist of limes, mangoes, *bělimbing* and so on, alternately salted and dried in the sun daily for a fortnight. There are yet two other sorts of condiments: one<sup>5</sup> dry without coconut milk, one<sup>6</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Achar limau.*

<sup>2</sup> *Achar rěbong.*

<sup>3</sup> *Achar.*

<sup>4</sup> *Jěrok.*

<sup>5</sup> *Sěranding.*

<sup>6</sup> *Pěchali.*

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; or<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> An hour or so after his mid-day rice, he may partake of bananas sugared and soaked in coconut milk,<sup>3</sup> or of rice-flour boiled in a pandan-leaf case and rolled afterwards in grated coconut,<sup>4</sup> or of sago boiled with grated coconut.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> It may be pounded to flour and simmered with coconut milk and sugar till it looks like black toffee.<sup>7</sup> In season, durian pulp is cooked with sugar into a sweetmeat.<sup>8</sup> A sweet mess<sup>9</sup> 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"<sup>10</sup> is found. Cakes are made of flour mixed with coconut milk and flavoured with salt;<sup>11</sup> of sago-flour kneaded with dripping<sup>12</sup> and so on. Palatable is a crisp macaroni-like biscuit<sup>13</sup> made of flour and water. There is a thin wafer<sup>14</sup> biscuit with a Dutch name, made of rice-flour, sugar and coconut-milk,

<sup>1</sup> Gandar kĕsturi.      <sup>2</sup> Lĕmping bĕras.      <sup>3</sup> Pĕngat.      <sup>4</sup> Ondĕ-ondĕ.  
<sup>5</sup> Lĕmping sagu.      <sup>6</sup> Wajek.      <sup>7</sup> Dodol.      <sup>8</sup> Lĕmpoh.      <sup>9</sup> Sĕri kaya  
Bombay.      <sup>10</sup> Apam.      <sup>11</sup> Kueh sĕrabai.      <sup>12</sup> Kueh bangkit.      <sup>13</sup> Roti  
rĕnjis.      <sup>14</sup> Kueh Bĕlanda.

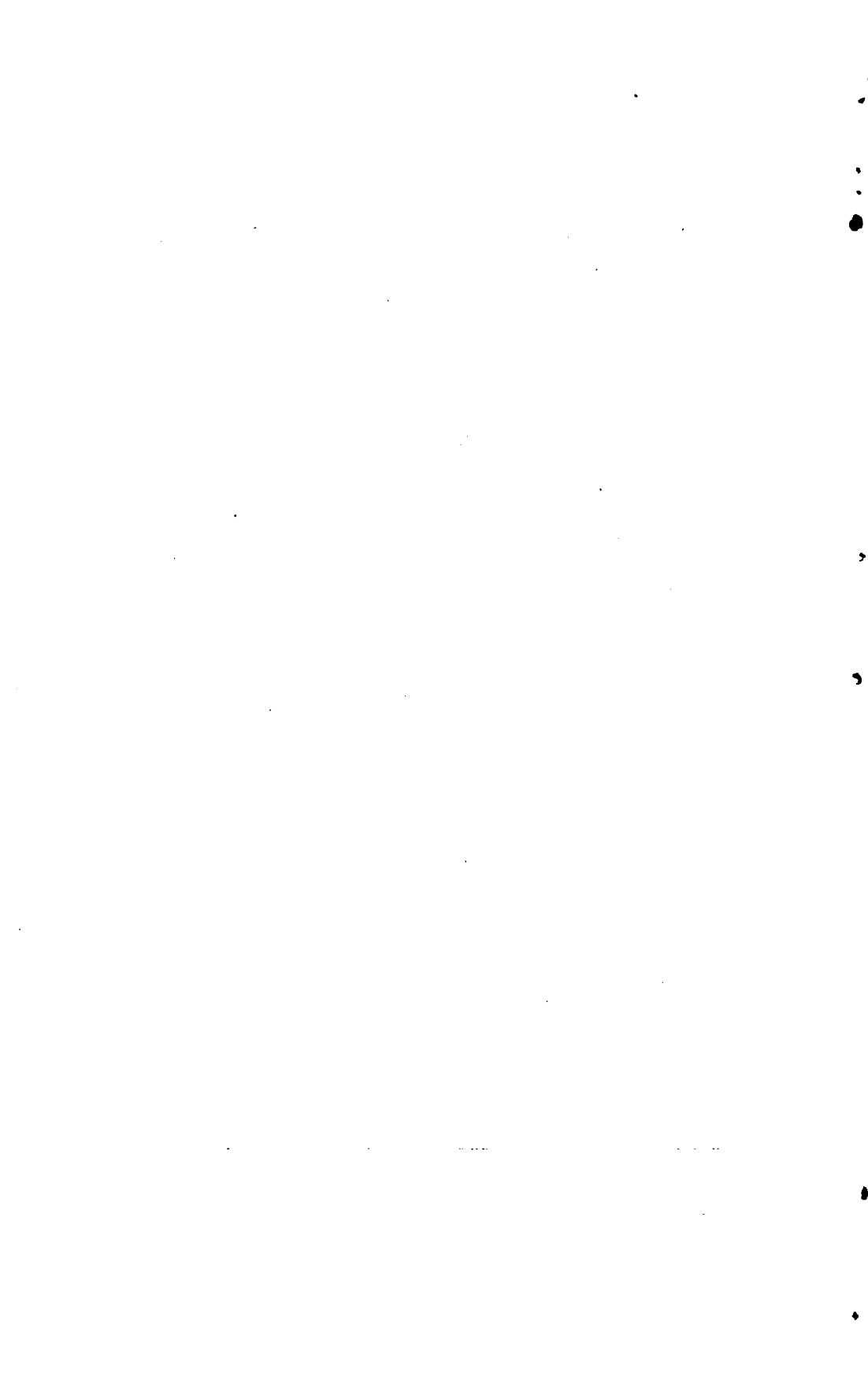
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kneaded to a paste and held over embers in a pincer-like iron, imprinted with floral pattern. Hard tasteless jellies are made of a species of sea weed. Malacca especially is famous for some agreeable preserved fruits.<sup>1</sup> Cakes and sweetmeats are served in various fancy patterns, whether it be glutinous rice cooked in *pandan* 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,"<sup>2</sup> "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.

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<sup>1</sup> *Halwa* (Ar.)

<sup>2</sup> I.e., a trefoil pattern.



## APPENDICES.

### I.—KAMPONG.

#### KĒNYATAAN KAPADA SĒGALA RAYAT TANTĒRA ISI NĒGĒRI SĒMBILAN.

##### DABI HAL KĒRBAU PANTANG LARANG.

Hai mĕreka-mĕreka sĕkĕlian rayat tantĕra isi Nĕgĕri Sĕmbilan :

Titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia mĕmbuangkan istiadat yang tĕlah jadi pantang larang fasal kĕrbau-kĕrbau.

Bahwa di-bĕri tahu kapada sĕkĕlian mĕreka-mĕreka tĕlah di-mĕrdĕhekakan kĕrbau-kĕrbau pantang larang dan tiada di-milek lagi kapada tuan kĕrbau itu dan atas sa-barang jĕnis rupa kĕrbau-kĕrbau itu mĕnjadi harta kapada tuan yang mĕmpunyai dia tiada-lah tĕrpulang pada kĕadilan ya'itu Duli Yang di-Pĕrtuan.

Di-dalam Balai Istana Bĕsar,  
Sĕri Mĕnanti,  
Kapada 8th March, 1904.

Ahwal maka ini-lah nama-nama kĕrbau yang larang pantang kapada rayat pada masa yang tĕlah lalu :

1. Kĕrbau jantan badol, ya'itu ujung tandok-nya ka-bawah lĕpas daripada tĕlinga-nya.
2. Kĕrbau jantan sampaian kain, ya'itu lurus tandok-nya ka-kiri dan ka-kanan, atau pun salah suatu kĕdua-nya.
3. Kĕrbau jantan sinar matahari, ya'itu mĕngadap tandok-nya ka-hadapan atau hitam badan-nya, kĕpala-nya merah atau tandok-nya.
4. Kĕrbau bungkal ganti, ya'itu ujung tandok-nya sa-lama-lama-nya sĕpĕrti sa-biji buah.
5. Kĕrbau bungkal ganti, ya'itu bulat ujung tandok-nya kadang-kadang jatoh bungkal-nya tĕtapi bĕrganti balek.
6. Kĕrbau changgal putĕri, jangkir atau kuku-nya lĕntek atau bĕrkalok.
7. Kĕrbau buloh sa-ruas, ya'itu kuku-nya tiada pĕchah.

8. Kərbau sopak munchong-nya.
9. Kərbau bintang badan-nya.
10. Kərbau bara api, ya'itu merah sėperti kain kėsumba.
11. Kərbau kumbang bėrtėdoh, ya'itu bėsar di-bawah pangkal ekur-nya. Maka sumbat labu pun nama-nya kərbau itu.
12. Kərbau bangkah kėning, atau pangkah kėning.
13. Kərbau jantan puncha ekur-nya, ya'itu panjang sa-jėngkal di-ujong.
14. Kərbau tėpok lalat, ya'itu kėmbang daging ujong ekur-nya.
15. Kərbau-kərbau yang mėnyalahi daripada adat kərbau.

## 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 (*baroh*) 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 mėnyusu*) on the downstream side; a straight roof-slope, *bėrtam* 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 (*səri Balai*) reserved for the use of rajas and saiyids. The space which surrounds this platform is called the *pésiban*. The whole building is called the *Balai rong* or *Balai bésar*: 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 (*sërambi*) which encompasses the *səri 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 (*mélintang*) 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 (*barwar*) held by the chiefs who were exiled to the Seychelles—ex-Sultan Abdullah, the Mantëri, 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 *pontoh bernaga*,
- (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 (*pontoh bėrnaga*) is in the form of a dragon coiling round the arm. The *kėris pėstaka* (also known as the *kėris țėrjewaja lok 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 *kėris* 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 *Sėri Sultan Muhamat 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 Pėrėmpuan* is known as the *pontoh ular lidi* 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 bujur* respectively. The fittings are of gold. The royal talisman (*mėstika ėmbun*) is said by tradition to have been given by To' Tėmong, 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 *këris* known as the *këris 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 *këris* has a handle of the usual type and the lower part of the sheath was covered with gold, making it a *këris tërapang*: His Highness has now had the upper portion (*sampir*) covered with gold, making it a *këris tërapang gabus hulu*. There are two heavy swords of the European type with heavy basket hilts: the hilt of the smaller one (the *pëdang përbujang*) is *suasa*, i.e., of an alloy of gold and silver: the hilt of the larger one (the *pëdang 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.<sup>1</sup> There is a *këris* said to have been made by His Highness's own father, the Bendahara Alang Iskandar: this *këris* (known as the *këris Bali Istambul*) possesses a sheath of the most beautiful wood that I have ever seen. There is a small *këris* 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 alkah*) 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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 *södörmellakah*, 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 *këris* 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 *këris* ; 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 pandam 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 armband 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 saiyids, 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-wool ; 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.

*Përi mënyatakan pakaian Raja-raja dan orang Bësar-bësar anak Baik, Saiyid-saiyid, Inche'-inche', Wan-wan, Sharif dan Mëgat Miur dan yang përempuan pula, anak Raja, anak orang Bësar, anak orang Baik Sarifa, Siti-siti putëri pothun mai anak ka-pada anak inang ayer kaki ayer tangan raja sërta pula orang yang këbanyakan itu :*

Sa-bërmula : ada-pun pakaian raja bësar-bësar itu bërsëluar bër-

changgal sutera batang merah berpuchok rebong benang emas di-kaki seluar itu sa-belah menyabelah bertongkah bertali pula ; berbaju alang berbuah emas sa-biji ; berkain Bugis sutera ; berikat pinggang tali betong berbenang emas berambu-rambu pula panjang sembilan hasta berbulang luar. Maka di-sisipkan keris terapan berulu gading berpönongkok 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 puteh kuning hitam. Maka Raja Muda Raja Bendahara berseluar pedandang berbenang emas sedikit berchérmin 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 ; berkeris pendok yaani pendok itu sarong-nya sahaja di-salut dengan emas dan bertuli-tuli emas pula ; memakai baju alang kain alang. Maka bertengkolok alang bersolek daun kacang 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 jadi 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 limau atau kain tenggarun bulang luar keris 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 getang pekasam : 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 getang pekasam atau berkopiah Arab. Dan pakaian saiyid seperti pakaian haji yang

sa-tengah pakaian peraturan penghulu-penghulu itu juga dan pakaian Sharif Mëgat Amir, sëlwar pasang Batu Bara sutëra bërtapak itek di-kaki sëlwar itu bërtali, baju-nya kain putih gunting hanyut kanching lima biji tiga saku-nya, kain-nya kain Muntok; kopiah rësam hitam atau bërtëngkolok batek Bëtawi ikat-nya gëtang pëkasam. Dan pakaian anak kanda dan anak inang dëmikian juga tëtëpi kain bulang luar ya'itu orang bëbas masok ka-dalam tiada bërtëgah tiada bërlarang. Dëmikian juga anak bëntara-bëntara raja itu pakaian sa-rupa bëlaka. Maka di-sisipkan sa-bilah kërïs di-sa-bëlah kiri-nya ya'itu kërïs sa-pukal bërsarong dan bërsampir kayu kamuning ulu-nya gading bërpënungkok ëmas; bahwa kërïs itu-pun changut ulu-nya sa-bëlah kiri juga dan sa-hëlai ramal sutëra yang bërtaburkan bënang ëmas di-simpaikan di-ulu kërïs itu. Shahadan lagi pakaian orang yang kë-banyakkan pula pakai sëlwar gunting China baju pesak sa-lëlah bërbëlah dada bërbuah sa-biji kain-nya pëlëkat bënang mantah; tëngkolok-nya Batek Sëmarang puncha këdua-nya ka-bëlakang sa-kërat pula mënudong tëngkok-nya ayam mëngeram nama-nya, dan yang tua-tua kopiah-nya mëngkuang lepar di-lëngkar di-buat sa-ukur-ukur këpala-nya di-balut dëngan kain putih atau kain bëragi-ragi di-jadikan kopiah-nya sërta sëlwar baju kain këmbong-nya kain putih bëlachu ya'itu kain putih kasar. Maka ada-pun pakaian raja-raja përémpuan itu bërsëlwar pasang Aceh sutëra bërbënang ëmas di-kaki-nya bërtapak itek pula kain këmbong-nya sutëra puhalam baju-nya baju kain sitin yang bërbunga-bunga bërmacham-bërmacham ragi-nya; ada yang merah, ada yang biru, ada ungu biji rumëniya, ada yang sitin bërbunga batang ëmas. Maka baju kurong tangan bërlëngsar ya'itu tangan këchil dan baju itu singkat hingga bawah ponggong labuh-nya itu sahaja. Maka di-buboh-nya bunga baju pula dari-pada tëngkok sa-hingga ka-dada-nya dan ujung tangan-nya kiri dan kanan: maka ada pun bunga baju itu ëmas bërkarang: bërpënding ëmas pula pëngikat kain itu dari luar: bërsëlëndang kain jong sarat atau kain chëlari bërbënang ëmas sëpërta hiris halua atau kain duri nibong sutëra puchok-nya bënang ëmas atau kain limau tënggarun atau kain tiga sa-lumpat atau kain bëras patah atau kain bunga chëngkeh atau kain Bali atau kain Champa atau kain pëlang-pëlangai atau kain batek sëlëndang atau batek këmbong kain përai China hitam merah biru ungu kuning putih. Maka ada pun kain këmbong-nya pula kain mastuli kain tënun Batu Bara kain sutëra pualam halus nipis chorak-nya rinek-rinek ëmpat, kain Pëlëmbang dan kain përanak tëlëpok: nama ikat kain-nya itu ombak bëralun ya'itu bërputar daripada kanan përmati-

an-nya di-sa-belah kiri. Maka ini-lah pakaian sêkalian pèrèmpuan tiada di-tègahkan yang mênjadi kètègahan hanya-lah bagai adat sèpèrti pakaian raja-raja dan orang bésar-bésar anak baik tiada boleh di-pakai oleh orang kèbanyakkan zaman dahulu kala. Maka apa-bila To' Béntara pèrèmpuan mèmakai, ia pun bèrjalan ka-tèngah istana puncha sèlèndang-nya itu di-lèpaskan ka-bawah tiada pula di-simpan puncha-nya karna ia orang dalam: maka jikalau orang pèrèmpuan yang bukan orang dalam tiada boleh di-lèpaskan puncha kain sèlèndang itu ka-bawah tègahan yang bésar kapada istiadat mëlainkan kain sèlèndang itu apa-bila masok ka-dalam istana tiada boleh di-taroh di-atas bau kanan lagi, di-jatuhkan di-punpun puncha-nya yang kèdua-nya taroh ka-hadapan baharu-lah mêngadap.

Bab pèri mènayakan barang-barang èmas pula. Maka lèpas bunga baju itu bèrchinchin bunga nyiur dan chinchin tapak gajah dan bèrbunga sèna èmas dan bèrbunga kètar èmas atau perak; bèrchuchok tongset sa-batang èmas atau suasa bèrsunting dèlima atau intan pèrmata satu atau banyak, atau kèrabu bèrpahat bèrtèlur ikan sèmua-nya, kèronchong èmas atau perak di-buboh gènta pula di-dalam-nya, tanglong bèradu nama-nya. Maka jikalau anak dara pula pakaian-nya sèpèrti itu juga tètapi bèrgelang èmas bèrsudu atau suasa bèrsudu kèpala èmas, bèrsubang yang bésar bèrpèrmata satu dèlima atau pirus dan mèrjan bèrgèlugur. Maka ada-pun pakaian anak-anak laki-laki bèrgèndit èmas atau perak di-pinggang-nya bèrgèlang tangan èmas bèlah rotan bèrgèlang kaki bulat èmas atau suasa, bèragok èmas bèrpahat bèrtèlur ikan di-karang bèrpèrmata satu batu dèlima bangun bulat sèpèrti bunga kiambang, bèrantai perak bèrkachang sèpat di-gantong kapada leher-nya. Maka bèrmèrjan gèlugur juga. Maka jikalau kanak-kanak pèrèmpuan pula mèmakai gèlang bèrsudu èmas atau suasa bèragok èmas bangun-nya pipeh bèrtakoh bèrawan-awan pula bèrpahat bèrbunga ikan juga sèrta pula dèrham èmas nipeh ènam-bèlas biji bèrbunga-bunga juga di-gantongkan kapada leher-nya atau rantai èmas dan mèrjan gèlugur dan di-buboh chaping èmas atau perak mènutupi kèmaluan-nya itu. Maka tèlinga bèrsubang kèchil-kèchil pèrmata satu. Maka pakaian kain baju sèluar-nya sa-rupa sèpèrti yang tèrsèbut di-atas itu juga tètapi pakaian anak-anak raja-raja dan orang bésar-bésar dan anak baik-baik mana-mana sudah di-pèrbuat-nya itu tiada boleh di-pakai orang kèbanyakkan sa-rupa dèngan itu di-kurangkan sèdikit bangun-nya jangan sa-rupa kapada pakaian pangkat-pangkat yang sudah di-lèbehkan Allah subhana wataala itu, jangan sa-kali-kali mëlaluì adat rèsam zaman dahulu kala.

## PAKAIAN PÉNGANTIN DI-DALAM PERAK.

(I). *Dari hal peraturan istiadat pakaian Péngantin putèra Raja yang bésar-bésar itu :*

Mula-mula di-putuskan kèrajat oleh To' Pawang yaani mèm-buang pilak jémbalang-nya ; di-buboh bènang Pèrtokal kapada leher-nya kèmundian di-buboh-nya pula dua batang dian kapada chérmin muka sèrta di-pèrcheakkan ayer tèpong tawar di-taburkan bèrteh béras kunyit di-kèrat dèngan gunting sèdikit rambut-nya; lèpas itu baharu-lah di-andam dahi dan kèning di-kèrat ekur pipit di-téngkok-nya bérandam bèrekur pipit juga dan sa-gènap jari-nya pun sudah di-buboh-nya hinai kapada kuku-nya. Maka pada kètika sudah kahwin héndak di-sandingkan itu, maka péngantin yang laki-laki itu-pun di-bèri oleh sida-sida béntara mèmakai sa-léngkap pakaian yang indah-indah : sèluar bérchanggal sa-hasta batang émas di-kaki-nya, bértulang bëlut bértapak itek ; baju sèdèrmèlkah bértèlepok dèngan émas bèrpahat bèrbunga-bunga di-sélang dèngan perak bèrpahat ; di-téngah bunga itu di-buboh tèlepok pèrada tèrbang : kain panjang ; kain jong sarat bèrbènanang émas sémua-nya ; téngkolok bèrsèring (dèstar) yang bèrsalut dèngan émas bértatah dèngan pèrmata intan sèrta pula bèrambulan mutiara dan manikam pancha ragam ; tajok malai émas intan di-karang ; pènding émas bèrpahat atau pènding bèrpèrmata intan bèrsélang dèngan dèlima ; agok, dan dokoh sèmbilan tingkat ; rantai kèngkalong sa-lapis yang datang dari laut ; pontuh bèrnaga di-lèngan kanan dan kiri ; gélang kana émas bértunjat bèrkèrawang bèrpahat tèrus bèrsiku kèluang dua tingkat ; kèronchong émas bèrkèrawang ; chinchin émas pachat kènyang kapada tèlunjok kanan ; dan chinchin tapak gajah kapada kèlingking kanan ; chinchin intan di-kèlingking kiri dan chinchin pèrmata tiga kunang sa-kabun di-jari manis-nya ; kèris tèrapang bèrulu gading bèrpènongkokkan émas bèrpahat tèrus sampir bèrsalut dèngan émas bértatahkan intan pudi manikam bèrsalut dèngan suasa bértatahkan pèrmata bèrbagai warna. Maka di-simpai pula bungkus sutèra bèrbènanang émas di-ulu kèris tèrapang itu bèrkain chèlari bèrtabur bènang émas di-buatkan kindang-kindang (sayap sandang) di-kènakan ka-pada bau-nya itu. Sa-tèlah sudah lalu-lah di-dudokkan di-atas pètèrana yang kèémasan di-atas chiu sèmbilan langkat yang bèrulas dèngan kain sutèra yang kèkuningan bèrpènjuru bèrtèkat awan sakat di-hadapi oleh sida-sida béntara inang péngasoh kanda dan manda budak kundang sakalian-nya bèrjawatan pèrkakasan Kèrajaan sa-kadar mènantikan titah ayahanda baginda sahaja héndak bérangkat bèrarak langsung bèrsanding itu sèrta pula

di-dindingkan suatu kipas emas bërpancha logam ka-pada muka pëngantin itu. Arakian, maka tërsëbut-lah pula kesah istiadat përaturation alat pakaian pëngantin putëra raja bësar yang përëmpuan pula. Maka mula-mula di-putusan kërajat oleh To' Bidan yaani mëmbuang pilak jëmbalang-nya lalu-lah di-buboh-nya bënëang pancha warna ya'itu bënëang Përtokal kapada leher-nya. Këmudian di-buboh pula dua batang dian kapada chërmin muka: sudah di-përcek ayer tëpong tawar maka di-tabur bërteh bëras kunyit; rambut-nya di-ambil oleh To' Bidan itu tujuh hëlai di-sapu dënggan minyak lilin lalu-lah di-kërat-nya. Maka jikalau rambut itu jatoh ujong-nya kapada pëngantin itu atau pangkal rambut yang tinggal itu mëngakar yaani bërgërak lëpas di-kërat itu-lah alamat tiada isi rumah-nya yaani laksana kuntum bunga angšana sudah tërdahulu di-sëring oleh kumbang mëngambil madu-nya; dan jikalau tiada yang dëmikian itu tatkala di-kërat To' Bidan itu bëtul ia jatoh mëlintang di-hadapan-nya dan rambut-nya-pun tiada bërgërak; maka insha'llah taala bërkat putëra orang tua-tua, maka itu-lah alamat tiada rujid isi rumah-nya chukup lëngkap sakalian-nya. Sa-tëlah sudah itu lalu-lah di-andam dan di-turunkan rambut-nya tikam kundai sërta pula di-raminkan gandek dan di-andamkan pula këning-nya itu dan di-turunkan anak-anak rambut di-tëngkok-nya mëlëntek walis bër-kërat ekur pipit dan bër-andam tëngkok-nya. Baharu-lah di-sanggul lpat pandan. Maka di-bëri pëngantin itu mëmakai sëlwar pasang Acheh sutëra bër-bënëang emas di-kaki-nya bërtapak itek; kain sutëra bër-bënëang emas kain bërna kain duri nibong; baju kësumba murup gunting sëroja bërtëlëpok dënggan përada tërbang bër-bunga buah emas bër-për-mata intan dari leher baju hingga ka-ujong tangan-nya kanan dan kiri, kain sëlendang jong sarat atau kain limau bërtabur dënggan bënëang emas bër-puchok bër-songkit dënggan bënëang emas juga, agok dan dokoh dua-bëlas tingkat mërjan bërgëlugur; rantai bër-chëmok sëmbilan lapis rantainya; rantai këngkalong sa-lapis; rantai Manila lima lapis; dërham emas tiga lapis; sëni-sëni kanching alkah sa-lapis (di-ikat di-pinggang di-atas pënding) gëlang bër-sudu emas përmata intan ëmpat tingkat sa-bëlah mënyëbelah; puntuh ular lidi kapada lëngan kanan dan kiri; kërunchong emas ka-pada kaki-nya; subang emas përmata intan; chinchin pachat kënyang di-tëlunjok kanan; chinchin përmata dëlïma bër-sëlang manikam di-këlingking kanan; changgal mërak emas bër-tatah intan di-këlingking kiri-nya dan chinchin përmata dëlïma ikat kunang-kunang sa-kabun sa-gënap hari-nya; kilat dahi emas yang bërtatahkan pudï manikam ka-pada dahi-nya; tutup sanggul yang kë-

ëmasan 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 istèri raja-raja yang tua-tua di-atas pètèrana yang këmaman sambil di-kirap oleh sèkèlian dayang-dayang biti-bitu pèrwira dèngan kipas bèr-puluh-puluh supaya jangan hangat sudah tèrkèna pakaian yang tèr-amat banyak itu.

(II). *Dari hal Pengantin tuan-tuan Saiyid atau Sheikh dan orang yang sudah mènjadi Haji. Maka ada-lah sèpèrti aturan yang sudah di-sèbutkan ; ini pula pakaian-nya :*

Pèrtama-tama di-putuskan kèrajat juga dan andam sèpèrti kèadaan pengantin lain-lain. Kémudian lalu-lah di-bèri mèmakai pakaian haji ; sèluar puteh kèchil kaki gunting Arab, baju gèramjun puteh jarang rupa bènang-nya sèrta pula berbunga di-dada dan di-ujong lèngan ; antèri gèramsut tèrbèlah dada dan tangan-nya laboh bèrbuah tiga biji ; ikat pinggang kain Kashmiri puncha pèrmatian bèrbuku bèmban ka-hadapan-nya ; sadariah baju singkat tiada tangan hingga ka-kètiak sahaja kèramsut Hindi ; sèrban puncha panjang dua hasta di-bèlakang lilit Madinah ; di-atas sèrban bèsar, kain puteh atau kain Kashmiri itu di-buboh pula bèrènda dèngan manek di-karang atau mutiara di-karang ; sa-kèliling sèrban itu di-labohkan tajok pèrada yang bèrawan-awan pula. Di-sisipkan pula sa-bilah jansa bèrulukuan èmas dan bèr-karangan perak kapada pinggang-nya. Di-kènakakan pula jubah kain angguri yang mahal harga-nya. Maka pengantin itu-pun lalu-lah di-dudokkan di-atas chiu yang tujuh langkat bèrpènjuru tèkat bèrsulam di-hadapi oleh sèkèlian haji dan lèbai sèrta pula waris-nya itu sa-kadar mènanti saad kètika lèpas sèmbahyang asar hèndak bèrarak dèngan rèbana zikir bèrdah sa-kèliling tèmpat itu ; kèmuadian baharu-lah di-sandingkan oleh ayahanda bonda-nya itu. Hata, maka tèrsèbut-lah pula istiadat pakaian yang pèrèmpuan ya'itu tuan saripah itu. Maka pèrtama-tama di-putuskan kèrajat-nya juga sèpèrti pèraturan pengantin putèra raja yang bèsar-bèsar. Maka di-andam sèrta pula di-turunkan tikam kundai rambut-nya itu ; di-sikat dan di-minyak di-buboh bauan ambar kasturi. Baharu-lah di-bèri mèmakai sèluar gunting Arab ; baju Mèshru laboh gèramsut ; mèrgok ; mènuarah ; mèliyah laboh bèrambu-rambukan akan batang èmas bèrchahaya rupa-nya ; gèlang èmas bèrtunjul pèrbuatan maghrib dua-dua sa-bèlah kanan dan kiri ; arlit pèrmata zamrut bèrselang dèngan pudu manikam ka-pada tèlinga ; rantai èmas mayang mènurai ka-pada leher-nya dua lapis ; chinchin pèrtama-tama dèlima dan pèrmata nilam, pualam, pèsparagam,

kapada jari tëlunjok kanan dan kiri, dan jari këlingking kanan dan kiri, dan jari manis kanan dan kiri; këronchong emas atau perak berpahat dua tingkat ka-pada kaki-nya bërgënta pula. Maka di-kënanan pula bërsifat alif bërchëlak kapada bibir mata-nya di-sa-bëlah bawah këdua-nya. Sa-tëlah mustaed sëkëlian-nya, maka pëngantin itu-pun lalu-lah di-dudokkan oleh istëri orang yang alim di-atas chiu tujuh tingkat yang bërtëkat bërpënjuru suji timbul sëpërti emas baharu dipahat rupa-nya sërta pula di-hadapi oleh anak dara-dara dan janda-janda sëkëlian sambil mëngipas pëngantin itu karna tërلالu hangat sa-kadar mënantikan saad këtika masa bërsanding sahaja lagi.

(III). *Dari hal pakaian Pëngantin anak orang Bësar-bësar dan pakaian Pëngantin anak-anak Baik dan pakaian Pëngantin Sarif dan Miur dan Mëgat :*

Maka ada-pun sa-rupa bëlaka sahaja sëmua-nya sëkëlian mëngikut pakaian pëngantin putëra raja-raja yang këchil tiada-lah bërlëbeh dan bërkurang sa-kadar mana-mana kësukaan hati-nya; tiada sukakan têngkolok alang itu boleh ia mëmakai dëstar (têngkolok bërsëring) yang sëpërti pakaian pëngantin bab yang përtama itu tëtëpi di-përbuat-nya kain merah di-isi di-dalam-nya dëngan kabu-kabu di-jahit-nya, këmudian di-tëlëpok-nya dëngan përada yang sudah bërtëbok bërawan pula sërta bërpuchok rëbong kapada sa-bëlah mënyëbëlah puncha têngkolok itu. Maka di-muka têngkolok itu di-buboh-nya bërsubang emas sa-bëlah dan mënyëbëlah. Këmudian di-këna pula tajok perak gërak gëmpa atau bunga mëlur di-gubah atau bërtëh di-chuchokkan kapada rotan karangan sëpërti bunga juga rupa-nya. Maka dëmikian-lah di-dalam istiadat kapada zaman dahulu kala; sampai ka-pada zaman ini-pun dëmikian-lah juga tëtëpi ada përbuatan-nya juga sëpërti adat ini dan sa-tëngah tërkadang-kadang tidak karna istiadat sudah mënjadi rësam; këbanyakkan pula suka mëngikut bab yang këdua pakaian haji kahwin anak dara atau bërkahwin 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 *pontok* and *këngkalong* and

the gold-bound *dĕstar*: in place of the *baju sĕdĕrmĕlkah* (a *pĕdang sĕdĕrmĕlkah* is also mentioned) and the *baju sĕroja*, other rajas wear, men the *baju alang* and women the *baju kurong*: for the *gĕlang kana* are substituted *gĕlang bĕlah rotan bĕrpahat bĕrkĕrat tĕlur ikan* or any gold bracelets available: a *kĕris pĕndok* (see p. 44) or a *kĕris* merely with wooden scabbard, or nowadays no *kĕris* at all is worn. For the Persian *dĕstar*, lesser rajas wear the head-kĕrchief (e.g., *tĕngkolok alang sutĕra hitam bĕrtĕlĕpok pĕrada tĕrbang sĕmua-nya*) 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 bĕrkĕpok* as worn by old datos; a sapphire ring; a plain *kĕris*: 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 anggerka*, a long overcoat or surtout. Ht. Abdullah; (The breasts overlap; it is of an Arabic pattern, *Pij.*) *B. bajang*, a kind of swallow-tailed coat, *Sĕj. Mal.* *B. mĕskat* or *bĕskat*, 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-bĕlah*, a double-breasted *baju* (or *B. tutup imam*, L.). *B. sĕroja* (Skt.) a coat with a quilted collar. *Sej. Mal.* (? with embroidered flowered pattern, cf. *tikar tĕkat sĕroja* Maxwell's Sri Rama. R. O. W.) *B. sika*, a Bugis coat with tight sleeves slit at the ends. *B. tanggong*, a buttonless *baju*. *B. tĕkwa*, a long, tight, sleeveless coat, said to be of Bugis origin (worn next the skin by men and women, C. & S.). *B. tĕratai*, a coat similar to the *B. sĕroja*. *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. suntang*, 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 *nia* or collar two or three inches high. *B. chara Linga*, 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. tangan kanching*, 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* (? *chëka musang*), has a stiff collar with buttons, much worn in Kedah (? with tight sleeves and waist and a full skirt). *B. baskat* (? *bëskat*), 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 *bërsinjab*, (?) the name given to any coat, when the borders are lined with silk.

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

#### TROUSERS.

(IV). *Sëluar 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. lokchuan*, of Chinese silk.

## HEAD-DRESS.

(III). *A*—Methods of tying the handkerchief. (1) *Bĕlah mumbang juntai kĕra*, 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) *Kĕlongsong bunga*, has both horns concealed. (3) *Gulong Gua*, 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) *Lang mĕnyongsong angin* has two projecting tufts and one of the ends hanging down towards one shoulder.

*B*—Logan gives the following caps and description: *Kopiah Surati*, of cotton; *k. Bĕtawi*, of gold thread; *k. sudu-sudu*, with a raised border behind; *k. bĕlanga*, 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 *rĕsam* plant or of Chinese *tangsi*, dyed black and bordered with silver foil.

## JEWELLERY.

(IV). *Gĕlang pintal*, in the form of twisted cords; *gl. puting dayong*, with ends like a paddle-handle; *gl. patah sĕmat*, a bracelet of ridged pattern; *gl. tali-tĕmali*, a bracelet of four or five twisted cord-like strands; *gl. puchok rĕbong*, a bracelet of chevron pattern; *gl. buah sireh*, a bracelet with triangular ornamentation; *gl. punggong siput*, a bracelet ornamented with cross triangular grooves.

(I). Rings. *Chinchin bĕrapit*, a ring with two stones; *ch. bindu*, with one stone; *ch. chap*, a seal ring; *ch. ikat balai*, a ring set with a square flat stone; *ch. ikat Bĕlanda*, or *ch. ikat Eropah*, a ring with a stone set in open filigree so as to permit of the sides being seen; *ch. kĕreta*, 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 biram*, or *ch. susah hati*, a puzzle ring; *ch. peler itek*, *ch. pintal tiga*, a ring of three strands; *ch. seken*, (shake-hands) a ring with clasped hands in gold; *ch. wafak*, a talismanic ring with horoscope engraved on it.

(IV). *Chinchin ikat Bĕtawi*, 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 sĕmat*, a plain ring with ridged outer surface;

*ch. pèrut lintar*, a round ring; *ch. tanam*, with stones deep inset; *ch. potong tēbu*, a ring with outer surface in sections; *ch. kētēring*, a ring with removable stone.

#### COURT DRESS.

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

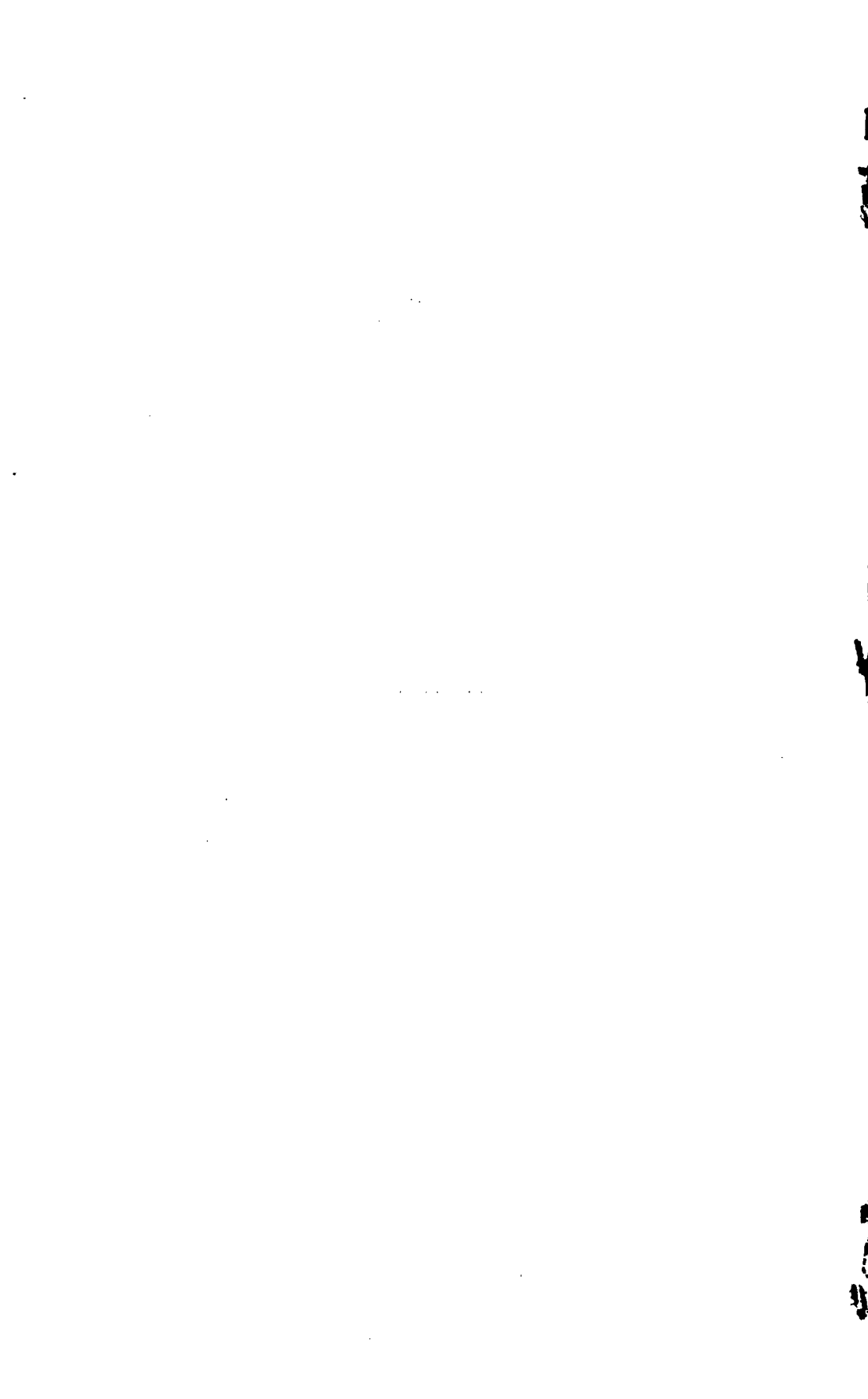
*Kain wali*, a stole reaching to the waist (in Perak of yellow silk decorated with white and black and gold) worn by pages carrying regalia and state weapons.

#### FOOD.

(1). *Rambutan Bētawi*, *salak Jambi*, *binjai Malacca*, *limau Banjar*, *langsāt Palēmbang*, is a saying that shows species of fruits especially esteemed by Malays.

(2). *Nasi-nya bēras Sungkai*, *ikan-nya lawang di-gulai dēngan daun paku*, *pēkasam ikan lokma*, *tēmpoyak-nya tēmpoyak maja*, *ayer-nya ayer Batang Padang*, *sireh-nya sireh Chikus*, *kapur-nya kapur Sungai Tērap*; *siapa makan-nya tiada tēringat ia pulang ka-nēgēri-nya lagi*. So runs a Perak saying.

PRINTED AT THE  
F.M.S. GOVERNMENT PRESS,  
KUALA LUMPUR.



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PEAB. 2. 1. 10  
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MAY 7 - 1937

# PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS.

[Published by direction of the Government of the Federated Malay States.]

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R. J. WILKINSON, *F.M.S. Civil Service,*  
*General Editor.*

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## LIFE AND CUSTOMS. PART III. MALAY AMUSEMENTS.

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BY  
R. J. WILKINSON, *F.M.S. Civil Service.*

*PRICE: ONE DOLLAR.*

KUALA LUMPUR:  
PRINTED BY J. RUSSELL AT THE F.M.S. GOVERNMENT PRESS.

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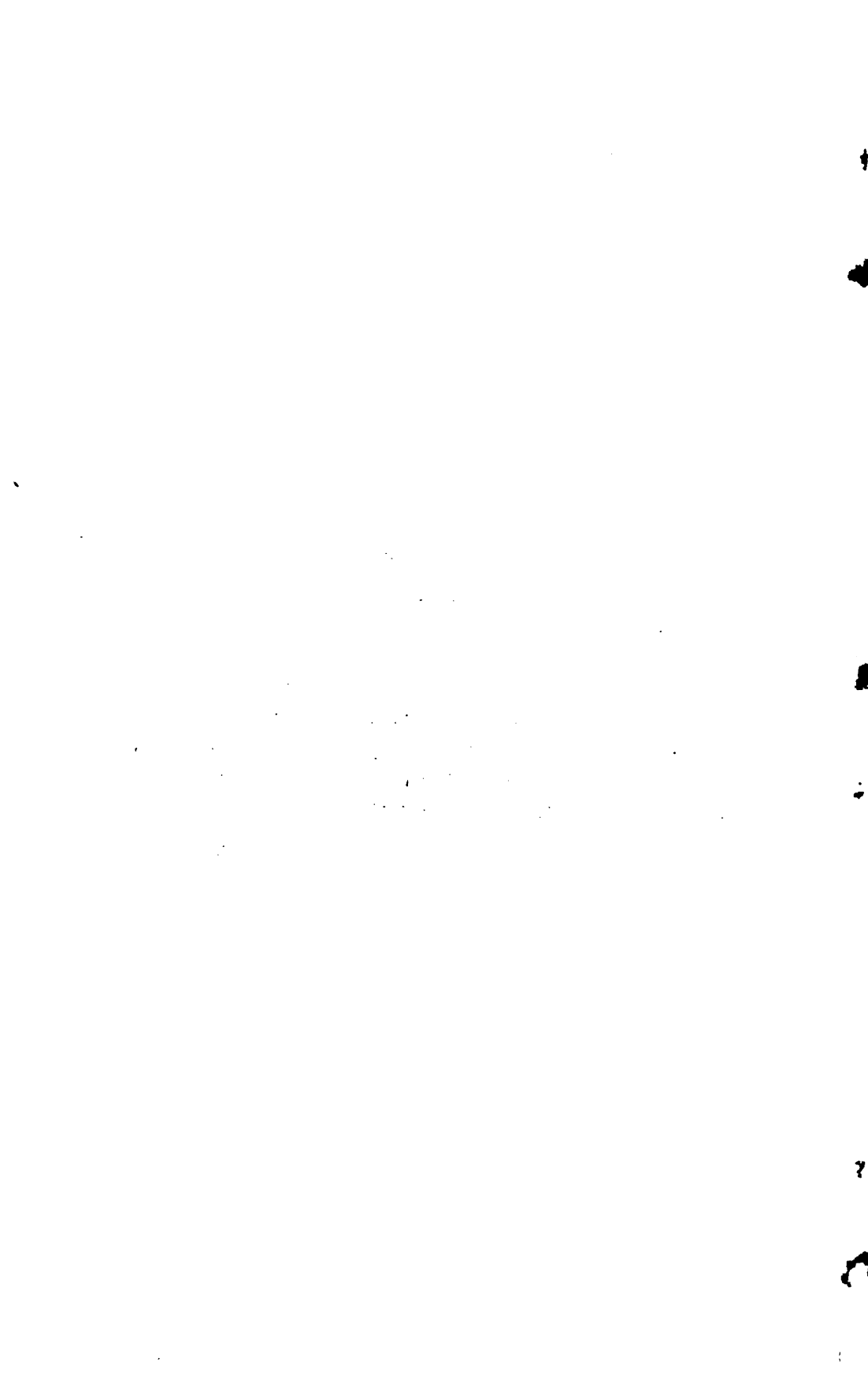
Request of R. B. Dixon  
Rec'd May 7, 1936

## PREFACE.

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FOR assistance in the compilation of these notes on Malay amusements I am indebted greatly to Abdul Hamid, Malay Assistant, Perak Museum; to Raja Haji Yahya, Penghulu of Kota Setia; to Raja Abdul Aziz, Settlement Officer, Krian; to Megat Osman, Malay Writer to the High Commissioner; and to Messrs. H. Berkeley, R. O. Winstedt, H. O. Robinson and J. O'May.

R. J. W.



## LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

### CHILDREN'S GAMES.

"IN the games of children," says Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, "there survive dead and dying customs and superstitions of their ancestors, so that they form a little museum of the ethnography of the past."

Perak is rich in museum-exhibits of this class. Even the game known in Europe as hide-and-seek is turned, under Malay influence, into "the game of the spirit of the stag" and is invested with a little halo of elfin romance. It becomes the story of a certain hunter who set out with a troop of followers to trap and slay a deer, but, when successful in his quest, omitted to propitiate with due ceremony the spirit of the slaughtered beast. The hunter himself, as a magician, seems to have escaped the consequences of his rash omission; his companions were less fortunate. Possessed by the ghost of a hunted animal, each man hid from his companions, or else, in lucid intervals, began to search vainly for the others. The one survivor of this strange calamity escaped to his village and described the pranks that his friends were playing; the imitative instinct of children did the rest. And if a captious critic puts forward a suggestion that the name of the game may have given rise to the legend, our Malay folklorists point out that hide-and-seek is always played in low scrubby jungle such as deer love to haunt. Be the explanation what it may, parents object to hide-and-seek; they see in it a trace of irreverence to Unseen Powers whom the children are foolish to provoke.

In these quaint tags of old folklore we find one reason that endears the play of children to the anthropologist; in the wide range of some toys and games we get a second reason. When the members of the "Haddon" expedition visited Borneo they found that the local Dyaks could beat them easily at the game of cat's-cradle. Personally we fail to see what precise ethnological inference is to be deduced from the dire result of this international match; failure in such a contest must be admitted to cast a serious reflection on European prowess in infantile arts, but this may be due to the European habit of putting away childish things on the attainment of manhood. At all events, we may take it for granted that the game of cat's-cradle is widespread. So, too, is the use of the bull-roarer, a weird instrument, the noise of which is used by Papuan magicians to warn women away from their initiation ceremonies. The bull-roarer has been found in the Malay Peninsula in the form of a toy. But here again inference is dangerous. The wide range of tops and kites and the diffusion of a relatively modern game like chess should put us on our guard against rash ethnological conclusions. Then there is the pellet-bow. The pellet-bow is used as a weapon in Further India and only as a toy in Malaya. Is it in this country a discarded local weapon or an imported foreign toy? We cannot say. Conversely, the blowpipe, which is a weapon in Malaya, is only a toy in Nias. Must we conclude that the blowpipe ousted the bow in Sumatra while the bow ousted the blowpipe in Nias? It may be so; still, we cannot speak positively. The most unfortunate feature about this branch of anthropological research is that it supplies us with no solutions to the riddles in which it is so rich. Though a happy hunting-ground for the

theorist, it is a bewildering labyrinth for a student of cautious temperament.

Another source of puzzling interest is to be found in the strange old sayings and quaint formulæ used by the players of most Malay games. These formulæ, even when they are meaningless jingles, persist over large areas and seem to be associated definitely with certain actions. A good example of this persistence is to be found in the game known as *main hantu musang*, in which a boy is supposed to be turned into a polecat by the repetition of a charm. The words in Perak are:

*Chok gëlichok*  
*Gali-gali ubi;*  
*Di-mana kayu bongkok*  
*Di-situ musang mënjadi.*

In Selangor the words are the same. In Acheen (where the boy is turned into a monkey) the formula runs as follows:

*Chho' kalichho*  
*Kalichho kanji rumi,*  
*Meuteumeung kayee cheuko'*  
*Jigo'-jigo' le si-banggi.*

Much of this formula is meaningless or inapposite, but the coincidence in sound must be more than accidental. What was the original text? And what did it mean? So too in counting-out to select the principal figure in a game<sup>1</sup> a curious old set of numbers is used sometimes. In Perak the first ten numerals are:

- |                    |                    |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| (1) <i>sandai</i>  | (6) <i>nabi</i>    |
| (2) <i>mandai</i>  | (7) <i>maliki</i>  |
| (3) <i>pëtulu</i>  | (8) <i>pakpong</i> |
| (4) <i>pëtanda</i> | (9) <i>sërunai</i> |
| (5) <i>lat lat</i> | (10) <i>dani</i>   |

<sup>1</sup> The game known as *chëkup-chëkup puyoh*. In most games a stick is broken up into as many small pieces as there are players; the pieces are drawn at random, the child drawing the shortest piece opens the game.

In Kelantan, the following were given to Mr. Skeat:

- |                    |                     |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| (1) <i>sende</i>   | (6) <i>nabi</i>     |
| (2) <i>duande</i>  | (7) <i>maliki</i>   |
| (3) <i>patali</i>  | (8) <i>'pa' poh</i> |
| (4) <i>patande</i> | (9) <i>sungai</i>   |
| (5) <i>nalan</i>   | (10) <i>dawe</i>    |

In Kedah a somewhat similar list was repeated to the writer as being the ancient numerals of the State. Moreover, some unintelligible words keep recurring in different games and seem to suggest the existence of a lost language.

Children's games are also interesting for a fourth reason: they reflect to some extent ideals of education and culture. Even the Malays themselves see this. In a political pamphlet against the Dutch, an Achehese leader referred to the toy weapons of his boys and to their love of playing at soldiers as evidence of the warrior-spirit innate in his fellow-countrymen. Public opinion in Perak encourages some pastimes and condemns others. It condemns certain infantile diversions because they involve pinching and slapping and dull a child's delicacy of touch. It sets its face against the strange "suggestion" games in which a boy is hypnotised into unconsciousness of his surroundings. Yet the hostility of parents to these amusements may represent modern ideas; the ancient world must have tolerated or encouraged a different spirit to have allowed these pastimes to become so widespread and popular. Finally, children—even grown-up children—are mimetic and show by their mimicry the features that strike them as remarkable in whatever they imitate. When the officers of a European regiment are depicted as a pompous colonel, an obsequious major, and a fat "padre reading

a book," we may infer that the existence of army chaplains rather startled the Malay mind. When we find that the "padre reading a book" is turned into ridicule we know what verdict the Malays pass on a profession that suggests to them a fish out of water. Similar deductions may be drawn from many other local diversions.

The early months of a child's life do not afford much scope for games in the ordinary sense of the word, but they allow of some slight possibilities in the matter of toys. The Malay believes in automatic appliances, even for amusing the baby, so he provides the child with a rattle and puts up over the cradle some brightly-tinted paper streamers and whirligigs to be set in motion by every breath of air. Movement, colour and noise—those are the three things that amuse the infant and prevent his worrying his parents. When the child grows a little older and can move about the house he is given fresh toys: rag-dolls, toy guns, images of animals, and instruments for producing new varieties of sound. In the Perak Museum there are some elaborate tin models of crocodiles and other beasts that are believed to have been intended for the amusement of children, but as a rule Malay toys are as simple and cheap as they are ingenious. A bit of the midrib of the coconut-frond makes an excellent buffalo if a crescentic piece of stick is pinned on to represent the backward curve of the horns and if a nose-ring and a piece of rattan is passed through one end of it: a buffalo of this sort can be drawn round and round the house at the heels of his little master. A hobby-horse is represented in Perak by a coconut-frond of which the outer end is left bushy to typify the horse's tail while

the other extremity is bare save for two upturned pieces of leaf that represent the ears. But even a toy like this is a riddle to us, for riding is not indigenous to this country. The Malays of ancient Perak had neither horses nor roads. Did they bring over the hobby-horse from Sumatra? Did they copy it from Indo-China? Or is it a new invention, the outcome of the last few years?

As with toys, so with nursery rhymes.<sup>1</sup> Hymns like "the lullaby of Our Lady Fatimah"<sup>2</sup> may be safely addressed to a newly-born baby that cannot understand anything whatever, but the dawning intelligence of the child of thirty months demands something that he can follow. Rhymes for very young children have to be simple, both in wording and melody; the lines are short, the song is short—length can be given by singing the same words over and over again. Meaningless words are put in occasionally for the sake of melody. A good example of a very simple rhyme is the following:

*Ikan kekek—ma'-nilui-lui,  
Gëlama torak—ma'-nilai-lai,  
Nanti patek—ma'-nilui-lui,  
Pulang sama—ma'-nilai-lai.*

One versicle may be humorous, like the picture of the old man whose beard could be used as a well-rope:

*Buai-buai kadok,  
Kadok jalan ka-rimba,  
Panjang janggut dato',  
Buat tali timba.*

<sup>1</sup> A number are given in Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup> See "Life and Customs, I.—Incidents of Malay Life."

Another may be affectionate to the child, "precious as life to the mother":

*Ayun tajak, buaikan tajak,  
Tanah Pëlembang, tanah Jawa,  
Ayun budak, buaikan budak,  
Budak di-timbang dëngan nyawa.*

Another, again, may be a pretty and poetic appeal to the child not to dawdle:

*Buaya puteh, buaya këramat,  
Naik bërkuabang di-atas batu,  
Che' Puteh jangan-lah lambat,  
Bunga di-karang sudah-lah layu.*

But all alike are marked by an extreme simplicity of language and ideas.

The first games played by children are also of a very primitive type. One infant tickles another: the child that stands the tickling longest is the winner. There are two such tickling-games. Pinching adds two more to the list. Knocking the fists together supplies still another game, while a form of slapping provides one last form of diversion to children of a very youthful age. The following account of one of these amusements<sup>1</sup> gives a fair idea of the type.

This game is played by any number of boys. They sit down in a circle. One of them holds out his hand, palm downwards, when the skin on the back of it is pinched by another boy, who in turn is also pinched on the back of his hand by the next player. In this way each player, except the one whose hand comes to the top, is pinched by another. At last the boy whose

<sup>1</sup> Known as *jinjing-jinjing tikus*. Other games of the same sort are given in Appendix II.

hand is at the bottom enquires, "*Oi nenek, ada-kah gajah di-bawah rumah*" (Granny, is there an elephant under the house). One of the rest replies, "*Ada*" (Yes). "*Bĕsar mana mata-nya*" (how big are its eyes), he asks again. "*Sa-bĕsar qantang*" (as big as a gallon-measure), says one of his comrades. "*Hai,*" exclaims the player whose hand is still at the bottom, "*takut sahaya*" (oh! I am afraid). Having said this, he withdraws his hand and pinches the back of the one at the top. Then the next boy whose hand comes to the bottom repeats the same questions in order to get to the top, and so on till they are all tired and inclined to stop.

Mimetic games are also common. Two good examples are those known as *rangkai-rangkai pĕriok* and *pong-pong along* after the formulæ used by the players. In the former a house is supposed to collapse. Two children build up the house in the following way: each grasps his friend's left elbow with his own outstretched right hand and his own right elbow with his own left hand. The arms of the two children make up a sort of structure, the "house," that is to come crashing down. They sing:

*Rangkai-rangkai pĕriok  
Pĕriok dari Jawa;  
Sumbing sadikit tĕrantok  
Tĕrantok di-tiang para.  
Ayoh nenek, ayoh nenek,  
Rumah kita nak runtoh,  
Ēntah ka-hulu ĕntah ka-hilir,  
Rak-rak-rum!*

"The house is falling, the house is falling; crash, bang, boom!" At these words the children let go their arms and bring down the structure with a slap against their sides. In the other mimetic game, *pong-pong along*, an

egg (represented by a child's fist) is "broken" at each round, the breaking being suggested by the conversion of a closed fist into an open hand. The little fists are placed one above another at the beginning of the game, while the players sing :

*Pong-pong along,  
Kerinting riang-riang,  
Ketapong ma' balong,  
Minyak arab, minyak sapi,  
Pechak telur sa-biji!*

At these last words the lowest "egg" is "broken." Play goes on till all the little hands are open. The children then sing :

*Përam-përam pisang,  
Pisang masak sa-biji,  
Datang bari-bari,  
Di gunggong bawa lari.*

Each player then jerks back his hands, and the game is at an end.

Such amusements are soon outgrown. The child as he gets older desires something rougher and rather more elaborate in the details; he runs about more and seeks an outlet for his pent-up energies. But the process is gradual. The intermediate stage between diversions such as those just described and true sports such as hide-and-seek is represented by a large number of simple games of which we need only describe two specimens.

The game called *long-lang burong jawa* is played by about a dozen players. One is selected by lot to be the *nenek* (grandmother) or central figure, another is the *ibu* (mother) or leader, and the rest form up in queue behind

the *ibu*. The line of children then starts marching round and round the *nenek*, singing :

*Long-lang burong jawa,  
Minta tabek, anak raja lalu ;  
Ayam puteh mēngandong tēlur  
Ayam hitam mēmbawa anak.*

After this the leader (*ibu*) turns to the *nenek* and asks for the loan of a key. A key (represented by a twig or a piece of stick) is produced and is then supposed to be lost by the children. The *nenek* wants it back. A dispute follows. In the end the *ibu* offers to let the *nenek* have in exchange for the key any one of the children who may be pulled out of the queue. This is a challenge. In the struggle that ensues the players do their best to impede the *nenek*, but sooner or later the chain of children is broken and some one link is carried off to play the *nenek* in his turn.

The game called *patpat siku rembat* is of quite another sort. The players stand in a row with their backs to some volunteer, usually an adult, who has been good enough to agree to help them. He walks up and down behind the row of children, holding in his hand a small piece of paper or wood or leaf that is supposed to represent a ticket. As he moves up and down he keeps singing :

*Patpat siku rembat,  
Buah lalu dari bēlakang ;  
Buta pēchah mata mēlihat,  
Siapa dapat ia mēlompat.*

While he is repeating this he slips the "ticket" surreptitiously into the hand of one of the players. At the last word of the formula the recipient of the ticket is expected to dash away from the line and put himself

out of reach of the others. If he is touched by his neighbours before he can get away, he has to resume his place in the ranks. If he escapes untouched he goes a little way off and awaits the next item of the game, the selection of his steed.

The remaining players now gather round the adult, who asks each child in a low voice (so as not to be overheard by the "ticket" holder) what he would like to possess. Each mentions some article: the ticket-holder is called up, is given a list of the selected articles, and is asked to choose one of them. He makes his choice, and the original chooser of that article becomes his mount for the next stage of the game.

Mounted on his steed the ticket-holder now rides up and is asked for his "pass". He presents the "ticket" to the adult, who hides it in one of his hands and asks the "horse" to guess in which hand it is. If the guess is wrong the poor horse has to trot his rider round again and go through the same ceremony of producing the pass until at last he guesses rightly and is released from further service as a mount. The game then begins afresh.

We now come to pastimes that give some opportunity to a boy to show his strength and quickness. There are many amusements of this class.

The game of hide-and-peek is found in three distinct forms, one of which has already been mentioned because of the folklore attaching to it. This is the *main sĕmbunji* or *main hantu rusa*. In this form of the game the principal player (or *ibu*) shuts his eyes while the others hide themselves in the surrounding scrub. At the cry of "ready" (*sudah*) the seeker opens his eyes and goes in search of his companions who remain in concealment

till some one is found and is made *ibu* for the next round. The differences between this game and the two harmless forms of hide-and-peek will explain its unpopularity with parents. In the two variants the players are bound by the rules to conceal themselves within a limited radius of the *ibu*; in the *main hantu rusa* they may wander as far as they please. Again in the variants they are compelled to show themselves very speedily; in the *main hantu rusa* they remain in concealment, it may be for some considerable time. The Malays say that when the inauspicious game is played the spirits of the jungle show themselves to the children and tempt them away sometimes to sure hiding places, whence the player never emerges. Given an over-zealous child and a prowling tiger, the superstition is easy enough to understand. In any case, it is only this single form of hide-and-peek that bears an evil reputation.

The other two varieties are known as *chêkup-chêkup puyoh* and *ibu anak*. In the former the players hide themselves within a given radius of a tree or stump that serves as a goal or place of safety. It is the seeker's business to catch some player before he can reach this goal from his hiding place. In the game of *ibu anak* there is not even this amount of concealment: The players station themselves only at different places within a certain distance of the tree or stump, and at a given signal they make a dash for the goal while the *ibu* or goal-keeper tries to intercept them. It is interesting to note that there are no formulæ associated with the harmless varieties of hide-and-peek. With the inauspicious *main hantu rusa* it is different. Before the seeker or *hantu rusa* starts to search for his companions he has

to leap about and utter the following meaningless words: *te-ta moler-moler*, *sang pëningkul*, *la-ugor*, *la-ugor*, *ghau-ghau*; *tunjang tindak*, *tunjang datang*, *ghau-ghau*. Doubtless the formula varies slightly from place to place.

Blind-man's buff is known to the Malays of Perak as *main china buta*. It is played out of doors. A circle is drawn on an open stretch of sandy ground to mark the limits beyond which the players may not pass in their efforts to escape the blind-man. The first child to be caught or to be driven beyond the boundary becomes the blind-man for the next round.

*Main onyeh* or *main bëronyeh* is the name given to another Malay pastime in which one boy, the pursuer or *ibu*, chases the rest, splashing or swimming after them in the water. The first boy caught becomes the pursuer for the next round.

Leap-frog is met with in Perak under the name of *lompat katak*, a curious coincidence, if it is a coincidence. The name is taken from the fact that the children have to shout *lompat katak* as they vault or leap over the stooping player.

But the strangest Malay amusements are those in which a boy is led by some sort of hypnotic suggestion into believing himself an animal. They are the more interesting because of the formulæ with which the metamorphosis is effected. A link between the true suggestion-games and the ordinary games of blind-man's buff and hide-and-peek may be traced in the pastime known as *main tikam sëladang* or *main sëladang*. In this "wild-bull" game the player is only supposed to act the wild bull; he is not supposed to feel like one. He goes down on all fours in the centre of a marked

space while the other boys stand around and exchange the following questions and answers :

Q. *Tam-tam-kul*

Why this basket ?

A. To carry charcoal.

Q. Why charcoal ?

A. To whet my spear.

Q. Why a spear ?

A. To spear the wild bull.

On hearing this last proposal the wild bull begins kicking out in all directions; and the first player who is kicked or driven out of the arena becomes "bull" for the next round.

The suggestion-games are taken much more seriously. In the game known as *main hantu musang* (to which reference has already been made) the principal player goes on hands and knees, is covered with a white sheet and is said to be hypnotised into unconsciousness by the others who march round and round him, stroking and patting him and repeating the following words :

*Sang gĕlisang,  
Pasang bunga lada,  
Kalau datang hantu musang  
Ayam sa-ekor pun tiada.*

When the boy shows signs of taking on the nature of a polecat the formula changes to the one previously quoted :

*Chok gĕlichok,  
Gali-gali ubi,  
Di-mana kayu bongkok  
Di-situ musang mĕnjadi.*

After this the player is said to become possessed and to be quite unconscious of his humanity; he chases the

others, climbs up trees, leaps from branch to branch, and so far forgets himself as to run the risk of injury by venturing on boughs too frail to bear his weight. In the end he is recalled to his senses by being addressed repeatedly by name.

Another Perak suggestion-game goes by the name of *main kambing* or "playing the goat." As in the case of the polecat the "goat" is hypnotised, but the formula is different—it runs as follows:

*Chak chili chilau ong*  
*Anak bandan obek-obek;*  
*Mênari chichak ong*  
*Mênari molek-molek.*  
*Bangun kambing, bangun,*  
*Nak main busut jantan;*  
*Champak langkah panjang-panjang,*  
*Champak langkah pendek-pendek,*  
*Mênari chichak ong,*  
*Mênari molek-molek.*

This form of amusement, though popular among children, is said to be dangerous to the "goat," owing to his habit of butting against walls and posts when in a state of trance. Some of the elder boys are generally told off to see that accidents are prevented. Other suggestion-games (in which the player becomes a peacock or an elephant) are recorded from Acheen. In Perak all the hypnotic diversions are disliked by parents.

Elder boys and young men like to take part in such games of strength and skill as are played with appliances—tops, marbles, kites, balls or quoits. Of these amusements the best known to Europeans is the Malay football, *sepak raga*, which is played with a rude light ball of plaited rattan. It demands a good deal of skill. It is a game for some ten or fifteen players who

stand about in a circle and keep the ball in the air with a sidelong blow from the foot. Mr. A. W. O'Sullivan once saw a party of ten Province Wellesley Malays "keep the ball up 120 times without once allowing it to drop.<sup>1</sup> They kick it upwards with the ball of the foot; and skilful players in so doing often bring the foot up level with the breast, a feat quite impossible to the ordinary European who can make nothing of the game." But *sepak raga* is losing its vogue. It is being replaced by the European game of football, which possesses the excitement of having the players divided into sides. So much is *sepak raga* losing ground that in a list of Perak games compiled by a Malay for the purposes of this pamphlet it was not even mentioned.

Another game, known as *main porok*, is played with a rude quoit made of a piece of coconut-shell with its edge rounded off and with a hole knocked through its centre. Standing with his back to the target and with his quoit between his feet, a Malay boy with a skilful jerk of his right foot may send the quoit rolling in the required direction with a reasonable degree of accuracy. In the game of *porok* the players divide into two sides and draw on the ground two parallel lines at an interval of between twenty and thirty feet. On one line they lay the quoits of one side as targets; on the other they station the players of the other side. The boys are expected to hit their opponents' quoits with their own in the manner already described. Each boy is allowed three shots. If he fails he may be permitted to take his

<sup>1</sup> At the sports on the occasion of the opening of the Federal Council in 1909 the winning *sepak raga* team kept the ball up 56 times consecutively, but in practice when they were not nervous they are said to have done it over 400 times. A kick at the first rebound is permitted. Some Malays object to the game as irreligious on the supposition that the slayers of Husain and his family played *sepak raga* with the heads of their victims.

quoit between his feet and jump backwards till he succeeds or fails in making a clean hit at his adversary's *porok*. Should any members of the side fail to make hits the other side gets its innings. Should they all succeed a second test is applied. The players have to walk backwards and with heads thrown back till they think that they are in the vicinity of their adversaries' line. Then they have to lift their quoits over their heads and drop them on their opponents' quoits. The first side to be successful in both tests is declared the winner of the game. *Porok* is difficult to play, but practice makes perfect.

Marbles<sup>1</sup> are well known in the Peninsula, even in places where European influence has been very slight. Games played with them possess in some cases elaborate rules and curious technical terms that may throw some light on the history of the importation of these European playthings. In some cases marbles are only a substitute for a native plaything of the same type, such as the candle-nut or some small hard fruit. Games like *tuju kšpali* and *tuju lubang*, for instance, may be played equally well with candle-nuts, marbles, or coins. In the first the players draw a long straight line on the ground and stake nuts on it. They then stand at the end of the line and take shots at the stakes with their playing nuts or *tagan*. A player who hits a nut wins it and all the nuts between it and himself. In this way the game goes on till the stakes have all been won. In *tuju lubang* the stakes may be placed in a hole, and the player whose ball falls nearest the hole may be allowed to take the pool. But further complications are very common. Games that are played with marbles

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix III.

exclusively are known as *main guli* or *main jaka*. They call for sharpness with the tongue as well as with the eye and fingers, since the players have to repeat certain words when certain things occur—*e.g.*, when a marble is hit by another. Unreadiness or inability to do this before his opponent may deprive a player of the benefits of a successful shot.

The Malay game called *sěřěmban*<sup>1</sup> is played with cockle-shells. The player throws the shells into the air and catches them on the back of his hand. But there are many varieties of the game. In some cases it is only the playing-shell or *tagan* that is jerked up and caught; the stakes are snatched up from the ground while the *tagan* is still in the air. Of course a certain expertness is necessary if the player is to pick up shells quickly and yet be ready to intercept the *tagan* on the back of the hand, and further difficulties are added by rules as to which shells may be picked up and which must be left alone. There are at least six regular variants of this *main sěřěmban* apart from local differences of play.

Malay tops are of various sizes and shapes; they are spun by a string wound round the top instead of round the lower end. Usually they are made of very hard wood. The following is an example of a simple game played with them. A player tries to hit his opponent's top while it is spinning: if he misses, he loses; if both tops revolve after a hit, the one that revolves longest is the winner; if he stops the spinning of his opponent's top but fails to make his own top revolve, the game is drawn. But practice makes a Malay player so skilful that further restrictions and handicaps have to be devised to make a match interesting.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix IV.

A primitive teetotum is sometimes met with in Malaya; it is made of a piece of wood or bamboo thrust through an areca-nut. Humming tops with hollow bodies are also known. One variety has a body constructed out of a piece of bamboo (joint to joint), the other out of the hard nut-like fruit of the *kulim*.<sup>1</sup> A small hole is made in every case through the shell of the body so as to give a low reverberating hum like the growl of a tiger. The humming-top is used to amuse or alarm young children; it is not employed in games of skill like an ordinary top. Imported varieties of the European iron-shod type are also known and are used in special games of their own: a circle is drawn on the ground and the rival tops may push each other or wander out of this limited area, the ousted one being the loser.

Malay kites are of many shapes and go by many names. The best known in Perak are the "hawk," the "peacock" and the "pomfret"—so called from their general outline. They are flown in the rice-fields during the dry season between the harvest and the sowing. They are made of a thin stiff paper<sup>2</sup> on a bamboo frame and may be of very large size; they are very well balanced, usually tail-less, and sometimes provided with a little automatic wind-instrument that gives out a humming sound. A good deal of pride is taken by a Malay in the adornment and general coloration of his kite, many fancy patterns being known and used in the larger settlements, especially where foreign influences prevail. Is the kite itself foreign? The paper of which it is made is certainly alien to the country; but, as a primitive kite made of leaf is met

<sup>1</sup> *Sorodocarpus borneensis*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kertas jeluang*.

with, the argument based on paper is not conclusive. All over the East fighting between kites is common pastime, the object being to cut an opponent's string and so deprive him of his plaything. In Malaya kite-strings are sometimes dipped in glue and coated with powdered glass to give them an unsportsmanlike advantage in this kind of contest.

There are also many toys<sup>1</sup> that are not associated with any particular game. Among them we may reckon a whole armoury of miniature weapons: the bow and arrow, the pellet-bow (to which reference has already been made), the blowpipe, the sling, the throwing-stick, and various types of guns. The little blowpipe used by Malay children is made of a slender bamboo<sup>2</sup> that has very long internodes; it may be used for killing large insects, small reptiles such as lizards, and even little birds such as the pretty sunbirds of Malaya. The projectile is either a small pellet of clay or a sharp unpoisoned dart ballasted with leaf or pith. The Malay sling is an ordinary catapult of *rami* fibre; it hurls stones or *durian*-seeds to some considerable distance. The throwing-stick has a cleft at one end from which a *durian*-seed can be projected by a sudden jerky swing. Toy guns are of all sorts. One, the *bēdil chēnērai* (so called because its projectile is the hard fruit of the *chēnērai*), works by atmospheric pressure. It is a sort of air-gun, a piston working in a bamboo-tube. Another, the *bēdil batang payong* (made of rusty umbrella-tubing), is a true firearm, the ammunition being Chinese cracker-powder. It is dangerous, especially to the child who fires it, and is unpopular with parents. Other toy-guns of a very effective character are made by utilising the springiness of a bent-stick working along a slit in a bamboo barrel. Some of these

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix V.

<sup>2</sup> *Ochlandra ridleyi*.

have a catch that is released by a trigger, by way of making the resemblance to a real gun closer.

Of course Malay children, like all others, are fond of imitating the pursuits of their parents. They use toy weapons and simple traps to procure game and fish for themselves, taking a far greater interest in hunting and trapping than they are likely to do at a later date when these occupations become part of the daily round of their lives. But they do not limit their love of imitation to cases where such imitation can be of real use; they extend it to matters like house-building and cooking and even to ceremonial. The following account, written by a Malay, gives a picture of child-life that may be paralleled anywhere:

In the game of hut-building, children imagine themselves men building a house. During all the proceedings they talk as men usually talk on such occasions. Some of them are left near the site of the proposed building, clearing the place and cooking for the party that is to return from the forest with wood, etc. Sometimes actual eatables are cooked, but more often earth and leaves are put in coconut-shells placed on the fire in imitation of real cooking. Then they tackle whatever material they have and erect the house. Being a small hut the work presents no difficulty, especially as little neatness is required. The posts are of bamboo, the walls and the roof of *pinang* or *pisang* leaves, the former being woven like *atap birtam* while the latter retain their natural shape. Sometimes the hut is so small that only two or three children can be accommodated at a time, but this is easily remediable: they arrange that it shall be occupied by each in turn so that every one will have the opportunity of enjoying the sitting in it. Sometimes the model house is imagined as a grand big building. They decorate it with flowers, and if it is too small to hold a child they make use of it in another way. Its completion is nearly always followed by a marriage between two dolls. This celebration is entrusted to little girls, who manufacture the dolls themselves from rags and cotton. They imitate the way in which a real bridegroom is escorted, and go so far as to beat drums and gongs and fire crackers. The house is then assigned to the married dolls, which are represented as being the children of members of the party.

## DANCES.

A casual glance at the dances and dramas of the Malays might lead us to infer that they all came from abroad. The *wayang* is Chinese; the *bangsawan* is a copy of our own comic opera; the *ronggeng*, *gamboh* and *joget* come from Java; the *boria* was brought from Hindustan; the *hathrah* and *main dabus* are traceable to Arabia; the *ma'yong* and *mëndorah* are relics of the old kingdom of Ligor. Indeed, we might go further and extend this theory to most local amusements—chess, draughts, cards, the Indian game of *rimau kambing*—all these things are foreign. Search as we will we seem to find nothing but alien elements in the chief pastimes of the Malays of to-day.

Yet this foreign origin of Malay entertainments is the last thing that we should expect. Take dancing, for instance. The aborigines of the Peninsula are keen dancers;<sup>1</sup> the Indonesians of Sumatra and Borneo show the same trait; the classic civilisations of Java and Cambodia raised dancing to the position of a fine art. If national tastes are to count at all we have to remember that the Malays seem predisposed to amusements of this type—they flock to see anything, be it a Chinese *wayang* or a performing bear—and no great function (such as a royal wedding or a chief's installation) is considered complete without its due accompaniment of dramatic and terpsichorean sideshows. Are we then to infer that all this is a matter of acquired taste and that the

<sup>1</sup> Besisi dances are illustrated in Skeat and Blagden's "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula." The dances of the Mai Darat are illustrated and described in Cerruti's "My Friends the Savages." Of the northern tribes Mr. Berkeley writes, "The Ronggeng closely resembles the dances of the Jehehr and Sambai Sakai. In the latter, two, three or even four girls dance very gracefully and have different step-names—the 'yam,' the 'millet,' the 'maize,' and other foods. The Jehehr beat a coconut-shell on tough hide by way of music; the Sambai beat short lengths of thick bamboo on sheets of bark."

Peninsular Malays have nothing that is really their own in the long list of local entertainments? Or may we conclude that foreign forms of amusement have supplanted the original plays and dances of the Malays themselves?

To some extent it is the old story of the professional and the amateur, of the specialist and the jack-of-all-trades. Not in Malaya alone has the modern cosmopolitan artist with his band of trained performers driven out the morris-dances and maypole-dances of the village-green. Now and again at some old-fashioned wedding in a sleepy hamlet of Perak or Pahang the European guest may be privileged to look upon the time-honoured entertainments of the people; but for the most part he sees nothing of the sort. A Malay chief would consider himself shamed if he regaled his guests with amateur performances of a bucolic type, when it is open to him to engage a pair of fashionable nautch-girls or a strolling company of *ma'yong* players. Our age is the age of the specialist, a being for whom the old Malay world had no place. Then we have to reckon with the puritanism of Islam. Modern Malay opinion is averse to a respectable grown-up girl or married woman treading a measure with a member of the opposite sex, or indeed to her performing in public at all. It allows children to dance, but it would condemn severely any father who brought up his child to the ill-famed trade of a nautch-girl. This puritanism has driven into the background the old non-professional dancing of the Malays and has replaced it by foreign entertainments, the invention of Javanese or Cambodian courtiers for the amusement of their long-forgotten kings. We are left to wonder what has become of the old national dances, what they were like, and where they may yet be seen.

The old order is changing before our very eyes. The European game of football, for instance, is acquiring a popularity that the national *sepak raga* never possessed; but football has not put an end to *sepak raga*. Football has become a fashionable game for the gilded youth of the country; *sepak raga* is relegated to the position of hide-and-seek, blind-man's buff, tops, kites, marbles, and the other amusements that are tolerated in children and are condemned as childish in people of riper years. The pastimes of children constitute a sort of lumber-room into which the diversions of their elders generally end by finding their way. To the student of ethnography this lumber-room offers a rich field of research, and it may help us to learn a great deal about the old-world dances that have been replaced by the nautch-girls of Java and the trained singers of Arabia and India.

Take, for example, the Malay dance known as *tarek papan, sorong papan*. The performers are a girl and a boy; the orchestra consists of child musicians who beat time upon a tambourine. The boy-dancer rises first and sings a verse of kindly invitation to his partner:

*Tarek papan, sorong papan,  
Mainan orang zaman dahulu;  
Jungan-lah adek malu dan sopan,  
Abang jangan di-bëri malu.*

The girl then rises and dances in her turn, replying in a coy and shy manner that provokes her partner to further expressions of tenderness. The performance is in excellent taste throughout, but it suggests by its language a dance for adults rather than for children. It seems to imply that there was a time when mixed dancing was permitted by public opinion, and the sexes associated

more freely than they do under the present Muhamadan régime. It also tells us something of the period of transition. When Islam put an end to mixed dancing it had to tolerate the ceremonial imitation of mixed dances on occasions such as weddings when Malay custom insisted on the observance of the old formalities. It is precisely on such occasions that the ancient dances of the Malays are to be seen. This dance—*tarek papan*, *sorong papan*—is a marriage-dance; but a still more convincing example is the performance known as *main gubang* that may not be given at all unless it is given in the presence of two dolls dressed up as bride and bridegroom.

There are several varieties of these marriage-dances. Some, like those just mentioned, suggest that the young men and maidens, guests at an ancient Malay wedding, would rise up and dance with each other for their own pleasure and for the entertainment of others. But other performances were of a more ceremonial character. There is the so-called “blossom-dance,” a curious blending of play, song and magic.<sup>1</sup> A number of palm-blossoms are laid on the earth and are “vivified” by incense and incantations. An impressionable girl is then stretched on the ground and covered with a cloth, while a second girl beats a tabor and sings the following appeal:

*Ku anggit mayang, ku anggit,  
 Ku anggit pokok mēngkuang ;  
 Ku panggil dayang, ku panggil,  
 Ku panggil turun sa-orang,  
 Ku anggit mayang, ku anggit,  
 Ku anggit dahan tua ;  
 Ku panggil dayang, ku panggil,  
 Ku panggil turun berdua.*

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix VI.

*Ku anggit mayang, ku anggit,  
Ku anggit di-pohon buloh;  
Ku panggil dayang, ku panggil,  
Ku panggil turun sa-puluh.*

And so on to numbers higher than ten if the delay is necessary. Meanwhile the girl lying shrouded in the cloth is believed to be slowly losing consciousness and to become possessed or revived by the spirit of the dance. Rising as if in a trance she picks up one of the palm-blossoms, holds it at arm's length and treads a measure with it, causing its stalk to sway in unison with her own movements and repeating in her turn the verses that she has just been hearing. After a time, when recalled to consciousness by the cessation of the music, she retires to her place, leaving the dance to be taken up by another performer.

Another entertainment that is popular at weddings is the *bandan* dance.<sup>1</sup> In this case the players in the orchestra sing an invitation to "bandan" to come and dance for them. The appeal is answered by two children, a girl and a boy, who play the part of *bandan* and who dance before the rest. The words are rather pretty and the performance is graceful.

Another curious old-world ceremony is the harvest-dance that forms part of the procedure of gathering in the rice. The performers are a band of some fifteen or twenty young children, both boys and girls, who carry winnowing-sieves and other tools of the harvester. The troop is invited forward by an old woman taking up her position on the threshing-screen and singing to the children, who respond by dancing and putting questions

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix VII.

for the old lady to answer in verse. When the spectators are weary of the dancing and singing the performance is brought to an end in the following very curious way. The girl-leader of the children's chorus sings a verse that purports to be a charm "making all things brittle."<sup>1</sup> Having done so (doubtless with the idea of making the threshing easier) she leads her band of dancers to the screen by way of testing the efficacy of the magic. The children tramp and stamp on the screen; and when a lath has shown its brittleness by breaking, the charm is supposed to have done its work and the dance ends.

Again we have the war-dances<sup>2</sup> in which the fighting-man of a village mimics the passes, steps and strokes of a duel to the death. Even at the present day a performance of this type may be followed with breathless interest by the seniors among the spectators; it recalls to them the old wild days when the *këris* was more than a curio. To the European and to the younger generation of Malays the dance is unintelligible; it is based on a system of fencing so highly specialised as to be unreal. In any case, it is hardly likely to continue to exist when the use of the *këris* has been abandoned; and even if it does drag on a dishonoured existence as a game for Malay boys, the *main silat* will never preserve in its new form the curious wealth of technicalities associated with the national weapon of the country. The war-dance is nearly dead; the country-dances are dying; it is doubtful whether these ancient pastimes will survive another generation. Let this be our excuse for recording them before they pass away.

Not that Malay dancing appeals to everybody. "A couple of women shuffling their feet and swaying

<sup>1</sup> *Përapoh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Mëmënehak*, *main silat*.

their hands in gestures that are devoid of grace or even variety"—such is Sir Frank Swettenham's contemptuous description of the *ronggeng*, the best known dancers of all. But we need not be quite so hasty with our verdicts. The *ronggeng*, as Sir Frank admits, has an undoubted fascination for Malays. She has more. She has attracted the attention of great artists at home, the very last men to be interested by the crude performance defined in "Malay Sketches." A picture of a *ronggeng* girl has been painted by Sargent; another figures on a panel in the house of Alma Tadema. The merits of this form of dancing must surely be greater than Sir Frank's account would lead us to believe; but the explanation is simple. Here in the Peninsula we never see the *ronggeng* at her best.

Asiatic dancing is slow, stately, spectacular and dramatic; it has very little in common with the ideals of the ball-room. Moreover, it is less specialised than its sister-art of the European stage. A *ronggeng* sings and acts; she may owe her renown less to her grace as a dancer than to her ready wit or to the merit of her songs. To ignorant audiences in every part of the world a clever buffoon is more interesting than the most brilliant example of the graces of motion. If it is unfair to judge English singing by the performances of the stars of the music-hall stage, it would be equally unfair to condemn the true *ronggeng* because her dance is parodied in the Peninsula rather than performed.

The public dancing-girl of Java, known in the Sunda districts as a *ronggeng*, is the historical successor of the nautch-girl attached to the ancient Hindu temples of the country. From her earliest youth she is trained for her profession. So seriously was this training regarded

that the Dutch East India Company established schools and diplomas for these girls and turned their dances into a source of revenue. The life of a *ronggeng* is not the life of a vestal; but she is a dancer first and a wanton afterwards. Such things are possible in Java where Hindu ideas survive in sufficient strength to allow of a girl being brought up to a profession of this kind. In Malaya the position is different. The *ronggeng* is not trained for the purpose; she only takes to dancing when her reputation is beyond the risk of any further injury. She begins her new life at an age when her Javanese sister gives it up; she possesses neither skill, nor training, nor youth, nor freshness. Small wonder then if her dancing often deserves the verdict that it is devoid of grace and even of variety. Still, if the woman is to earn her living she has to be attractive. She is dramatic; she has an ear for melodious and effective verse; she has memorised a rich assortment of epigrams; she trains her voice and her wit to meet the needs of the moment. If interest flags, she challenges some member of the audience to join in the dance and to bandy epigrammatic verse with her. In this way she makes her dance a very lively matter for the spectators; but as an exponent of the poetry of motion she is a failure.

Of one dance Sir Frank Swettenham speaks in terms of high praise. He is describing the *budak joget* or nautch-girls attached to the court of the Sultan of Pahang. These girls (four in number at the time of this description) performed seldom and did so only in private before the prince and his friends. I venture to quote from Sir Frank's account:

"They danced five or six dances, each lasting quite half an hour, with materially different figures and time in the music. All these

dances, I was told, were symbolical; one of agriculture with the tilling of the soil, the sowing of the seed, the reaping and winnowing of the grain, might easily have been guessed from the dancers' movements. But those of the audience whom I was near enough to question were, Malay-like, unable to give me such information. Attendants stood or sat near the dancers and, from time to time, as the girls tossed one thing on the floor, handed them another. Sometimes it was a fan or a mirror they held, sometimes a flower or small vessel, but oftener their hands were empty, as it is in the management of the fingers that the chief art of Malay dancers consists.

"The last dance, symbolical of war, was perhaps the best, the music being much faster, almost inspiring, and the movements of the dancers more free and even abandoned. For the latter half of the dance they each held a wand, to represent a sword, bound with three rings of burnished gold which glittered in the light like precious stones."

Sir Frank inferred the Javanese origin of this dance from the fact that the musical instruments that accompanied it were foreign to the Peninsula. This inference is correct. The *budak joget*, or girl-dancers of the Pahang court, are only a far-off imitation of the great bands of ballet-girls that entertain the wealthy princes of Java. The Sultan of Jogja possesses a ballet of some thirty or forty dancers, all children of good families and all between thirteen and eighteen years of age. These girls<sup>1</sup> dance only on state occasions, in splendid dresses and to the accompaniment of a most elaborate band of musical instruments. They have to undergo a long preliminary course (from the age of six or so) before graduating for this ballet; so that if we allow for the girls in training and the musicians, we can understand that the upkeep of an institution of this sort would be too much for the finances of any poor Peninsular prince. The minor princes of Java

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<sup>1</sup> *Bidayu*.

keep ballets of seven dancing-girls,<sup>1</sup> who are rather less elaborately dressed, trained and accompanied. A long way after these come the four *budak joget* of the Sultan of Pahang. Still the *budak joget* do receive some training in their youth; and the impression made by their performance upon its European audience may help us to be more charitable to the ideals of Indonesian dancing.

To turn for a moment to the technique of the art, the Malay distinguishes between the step-dancing,<sup>2</sup> the undulations of the fingers and arms,<sup>3</sup> and the swaying of the body.<sup>4</sup> While the European limits his attention to the first the Malay attends to all three, but chiefly to the second. The specific name for the arm-movement has been chosen to be the generic name for the art—a choice that shows very clearly what the people think of the relative value of the three items. To the expert the rhythmic waving of a nautch-girl's arms and the movements of her fingers are full of meaning; he has a special term and a special explanation for each undulation. The dancing of the Javanese *ronggeng* is quite classical in its simplicity; but the years of training that it exacts from its exponents should put us on our guard against confusing simplicity and ease.

Two *ronggeng* dance at a time, each being dressed in the simple costume of everyday life and holding a scarf or *kerchief* between her hands. The performers take it in turn to sing humorous or sentimental verses, sometimes addressing each other and sometimes turning their wit upon the audience. It is permissible for male members of the audience to join in the dance with one or other of the *ronggeng*—a feature that accounts largely for the

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<sup>1</sup> *Srimpi*.<sup>2</sup> *Tandak*.<sup>3</sup> *Tari*.<sup>4</sup> *Liok*.

popularity of this form of entertainment in the Peninsula. There is another dance of the same sort, the *gamboh*, which is a *pas seul*, but it is very rare in British Malaya. It is only effective with a trained dancer; and the Malay nautch-girl does not answer to that description. At the end of a *ronggeng* or *gamboh* dance it is usual for the performers to give an exhibition of their skill by bending over backwards and picking up coins between their teeth. This acrobatic detail is really a test of the fitness of the dancer for her work; it is the hall-mark of her training, so to speak. As art it is out of place, like the tuning-up at an opera. We do not want explanations to show us how the training is done.

Although Muhammadanism has done what it can to mar the beauty of the old Malayan dances, it has not hesitated to make use of the popular fondness for such forms of amusement by introducing similar entertainments of its own, in which the sugar of dancing is used to cover the pill of a religious lesson. It trains up children to dance and sing, but the movements of the dance are symbolical of prayer and the words of the song are Arabic hymns of devotion. In this way Moslem influence has introduced the *hathrah*, or catechismal dance,<sup>1</sup> a form of dissipation that any pious *haji* can safely patronise. As a religious influence the *hathrah* is rather a failure. In its most innocent form it is a graceful performance that has been described as "a kind of parody on certain forms of worship;" in its more

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix VIII. The following legend about the origin of the *hathrah* was related to Mr. O'May:

"Once upon a time a ship was wrecked and the only survivor found refuge on a large rock. In this rock there was a hole through which the waves beat, making a very lovely sound. The shipwrecked mariner knew some Arabic and set to work to turn the music of the waves into a song, continuing the task after he was rescued and calling the result *hathrah*."

harmful developments it is best known as the infamous *rateb sadati*, the vilest thing in Acheen.

Usually the *hathrah* is danced by a long line of boys who sing, sway, and prostrate themselves before the venerable pundit who instructs them in religious chants. The words are largely Arabic; the sentiment is religious; the professed object is to glorify God; the cost of the entertainment is met by a public subscription or by the generosity of the patron who gives it. When it opens, the boys are seen seated on a mat in front of their catechist who burns incense and exhorts them to devotion. They then rise and repeat a long chant, accompanying the words with certain slow, graceful and rhythmical movements, and ending the performance by falling prostrate before their teacher in the humble attitude of prayer. The general effect is pleasing. The uniformity of the costumes, the rhythmical unity of the dancing, the sweet boyish voices intoning the solemn Arabic words in the still night air, the softness of the light, the reverential gravity of everyone: these things combine to make the European spectator realise the possibilities of the religious dance.

We have been speaking of the *hathrah* in its most severely simple form. It has other forms, unfortunately, and may be spoilt by unnecessary accessories. The Arabian tambourine—beaten by the dancers themselves to furnish the only music that they need—is supplemented sometimes by discordant instruments. The performance is prolonged till the dancers sink with weariness and the spectators become sleepy with satiety. The solemnity of the measure is spoilt by glare, by tawdry display, and by the acrobatic *mēliok*—the licking up of coins from the ground. In some forms of the *hathrah*, the troupe is

only a chorus to which one, two, or three pairs of dancers sing and play. On these occasions the boy-dancers are dressed as women, the dialogue is not confined to religion, and the uniform is gaudy in the extreme—a crown of tinsel, a coat of spangles, a *surong* and trousers of cloth shot heavily with gold. This dance is the Peninsular form of the ill-famed *sadati* of Acheen.

More remarkable than the *hathrah* is the weird religious dancing known as *main dabus*. Based upon the belief that perfection in mysticism renders the mystic exempt from physical pain, this dance attempts to prove the theory by practice. In the words of one of its verses,<sup>1</sup>

*Sai'lillah, Tengku Saiyid Alam,  
Bukit raman, kubur aulia,  
Di-tuntut besi yang tajam,  
Hendak menawar besi yang bisa,*

“for the cancer (of unbelief) there is no cure but the knife.” This “knife” or *dabus* is an awl or puncher that can inflict a severe but not a fatal wound, a very necessary limitation in a dance of this sort. In the frenzy of their mystical excitement the devotees stab themselves with their weapon and even put themselves to severer tests of pain. Sometimes the dancers are impostors, but they may also be fanatics who are prepared to do themselves serious injury if they can conduce thereby to the greater glory of the Lord. And if the testimony of eye-witnesses (European as well as Malay) may be believed, these men are justified in their faith: they stab themselves yet feel nothing; they cast red-hot chains about their neck and come away scatheless.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix IX.

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A good account of the local branches of the great Muhammadan mystic schools<sup>1</sup> has yet to be written.<sup>2</sup> The most important orders that are found in the Peninsula—the *Satariah*, the *Samaniah*, the *Kadiriah*, and the *Nakshibandiah*—look askance at the *dabus* dances. The order that controls these performances is that founded by Ahmad Rifai, a Moslem saint and mystic of the twelfth century A.D. It has decreed that no *dabus* dance may be held except in the presence of a *khalifah* or delegate of the founder; nor can any one be a *khalifah* unless he can trace his spiritual descent from teacher to teacher back to the great Ahmad Rifai himself. These delegates of the founder claim to have his power of working miracles and to be able to heal any wound self-inflicted in the cause of religion. Here we must leave the matter. A *dabus* performance is not a dance in the usual acceptance of the word; it is a representation of frenzy by men who may be either conjurors or fanatics. When it is the former it is a fraud; when it is the latter it is a pitiful sight that can only please a man with a taste for the morbid.

One dance remains—if indeed it can be styled a dance. Once a year, in the month Muharram, it is usual for bands of strolling minstrels to visit the houses of wealthy Penang Muhammadans and serenade them with songs and evolutions that resemble military drill rather than the dancing that Malays are accustomed to. The songs are sometimes eulogistic and sometimes comic. These performances, which are said to have been introduced

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<sup>1</sup> The head of one of these orders is important enough to be the magnate who is *ex-officio* entrusted with the duty of investing the Sultan of Turkey with the Sword of Osman—a ceremony equivalent to coronation.

<sup>2</sup> Since this was written a pamphlet has been published in Holland dealing with mysticism in Java and Sumatra.

by the old Indian regiments formerly stationed in the Straits and are known as *boria*, are based on a military model. A full troupe or "company" consists of a "colonel," a "major," a "chaplain" and twenty-four "privates." The music is provided by drums, trumpets and cymbals. The tunes are European or Indian. Each verse (sung by the leader) is followed by a chorus of the whole company, and it is from the key-word of the original Hindustani chorus that this form of entertainment derives its name. Nowadays there are many varieties of the *boria*. Sometimes the singers blacken their faces and dress themselves up as negroes; this is the *boria anak habshi*. Sometimes they disguise themselves as Chinese; this is the *boria china Canton*. Sometimes they figure as Klings and call themselves *mamak tongkang* and *hindu kuli*. They carry Chinese lanterns and perform at night only. One of their number takes the part of a clown and is got up to look ridiculous with a painted face and an exaggerated paunch. In the case of the military *boria* it is the chaplain who plays this part.

In the early days of the *boria* the singers, bearing about with them the effigy of a large scarlet hand, were wont to begin their singing with a chant in honour of the Prophet's grandsons, Hasan and Husain. All this is a thing of the past: Malay public opinion, though Sunnite, revolts against the idea of the massacre of Kerbela being associated with ribald music and song. The Malays know nothing of the fierce sectarian fights in India where the image of the hand of the martyred Husain drives the Shiites into a frenzy of hostility against the Sunnites—a hostility that is repaid with ridicule and insult. In the Straits the anniversary of Kerbela is a day of mourning and all sectarian virus has

been taken out of the *boria*. In place of the hymn to Husain the leader sings a commonplace verse to introduce his party; for instance (in the *boria china Canton*):

*Kami sakalian china Canton,  
Dari gunung gua turun,  
Datang ka-sini mahu turun  
Hëndak përgi ka-përang Jipun;*

or in the *boria anak hubshi*:

*Habshi ini Habshi lama,  
Habshi champur muda tëruna,  
Habshi bërmain sa-lama-lama  
Habshi bërjalan ka-mana-mana;*

and the singing ends with a collection and cries of hip-hip-hurray! There is very little in all this to suggest the wild religious rancour that gave rise to the *boria* and was traceable in it during the early days when it first appeared in the Straits.

#### MUSICAL PLAYS.

Malay drama has failed to reach any standard of excellence. In the Peninsula it comprises three classes of plays: the comic opera or *bangsawan*, which is quite modern; the *wayang kulit* or shadow-show, which is very ancient; and the *ma'yong* and other dance-dramas of the old kingdom of Ligor. Each has its own good points. The *bangsawan* is amusing; it gives us some capital mimicry of types of men, well known in Malaya, such as the Chinese rikisha-puller, the Malay police-constable, the Sikh watchman, the Bombay pedlar and the Jafna-Tamil clerk. The very ancient shadow-play appeals to antiquarians and has been celebrated in many papers read before learned societies. The *ma'yong* has interest of another sort. Too primitive for the average Englishman

yet not primitive enough for the anthropologist, it merits attention as a picture of the childhood of dramatic art. For the Malay theatre was never a novelty that came full-grown into the world; it developed out of the dance. The recreational dance, the dance that was a pretty sight, the mimetic dance, the dance that represented a great historic event—these were the four stages that made ready the way for the drama. In the end, when the drama did come, it came as a variant or improvement of the dance; it could not copy nature and break altogether with the past. Convention fettered it on every side, fixing the number of players, the music, the costumes, the parts to be played, and the heroic *epos* from which the plots were to be taken. It left nothing to the discretion of the actors, except the topical “gags” with which a Malay clown raises a laugh among the audience.

The Thespis of the *ma'yong* was a certain man (named *Jėmakam* in some versions of the legend) who lived in the jungle and learnt the play from the aborigines. He taught it to others of his own race, fellow-exiles in the forest, until at last they became word-perfect and descended to the villages as exponents of the new art. There they created such a furore that “men left their dinners half eaten and rushed, spoon in hand, to learn the meaning of the strange music of the *ma'yong*.” That is one account. Another and more sophisticated story ascribes the discovery to a certain Shaikh who wandered about the forest in search of chances of piety. This Shaikh met two *Sėmang*, husband and wife, who approached him wearily. “I am tired,” said the woman to her husband; “talk to me, that I may keep awake.” So the husband talked, telling her the stories that are now

the plots of the *ma'yong* and showing her the dances that figure in the performance. The Shaikh observed everything and told the tale to his pupils. We need not follow the story further—how the king's ears came to be filled with the renown of the Shaikh, and how the Shaikh was shocked to learn that his theatricals made him more famous than his piety. Let us only note that the *ma'yong* is regarded as tending to depopulate villages. We cannot explain why this belief arose. One story ascribes the danger to the Shaikh, who is said to have cursed in his wrath his pupils and the foolish game that he had taught them. Another version—by a curious kind of sympathetic magic—put it down to the charm of the original *ma'yong* that caused the villagers to rush out of doors even when the curry was just fresh upon the rice. Be the cause what it may, the result is the same: these musical plays are untoward and have to be sterilised by prayer and incantation.

The home of the *ma'yong* is in the north—in the regions once covered by the old kingdom of Ligor. This ancient State is the great mystery of the Peninsula. As far back as 400 A.D., we have old Chinese records that tell us of a powerful kingdom of "Langgasu" or Langkasuka, which seems to have filled up the north of Malaya, stretching from sea to sea. A thousand years later we meet in the Javanese story of the great war of 1377 A.D. the last mention of Langkasuka as an independent contemporary State. We may infer that the great Siamese conquest of the fifteenth century put an end to the old kingdom. Langka, Langkasuka, Lakawn, or Ligor—call it what we will—lasted on as a Siamese viceroyalty under a "Raja" of its own up to recent times. The capital of the viceroyalty was at Nakawn

Sri Tamarat, but the ruins of a more ancient capital are shown on quite another site. Its greatness is more than a tradition. Here and there, in the forests of the Siamese western States, we may find fallen cities and temples, the relics of a civilisation that built in imperishable stone. Now and again in the dialects, games, songs, and magical formulæ of the Malay kingdoms of the north we meet with strange words and expressions, the relics of an Indo-Chinese language that was not Siamese. In the same region we may find strange customs and strange arts, notably the *chutam* or gilt and enamelled silver-ware of Ligor. From this country also there radiate companies of strolling players, the *ma'yong*, *mëndora* and *mekmulong*, to the Malay south and the *wayang kun* and *lakawn* to the Siamese north. High standards of architecture, high perfection of craftsmanship, a rich stock of plays and dramas : surely these things are evidence enough of the wealth and luxury of the ancient Langkasuka. As for the State itself, its story is forgotten ; it has become a shadowy tradition as the fairyland of *alang-kah-suka*, a mere variant of its real name. Some day perhaps the ruins will yield up their secret. But until that day comes the mystery of this old civilisation will lend a special interest to any relic of the fallen State, and the musical plays of northern Malaya can claim this interest.

Let us then depict the *ma'yong* as best we may. The company is made up of four chief players, a few supernumeraries, and a band of some dozen musicians. It plays in the open air, under a shed, but without a raised platform or stage other than the simple matting that convention allows to the dancer. The music is given by a pair of big drums, a pair of gongs, a native flute, a

small kettle-drum, some castanets, and a staccato instrument with a wooden keyboard. These instruments, along with the masks and costumes of the actors, represent the whole equipment of the *ma'yong*.

Every company includes among its members a *pawang* or wizard.<sup>1</sup> He opens the proceedings with prayers and incantations, prayers to the great god Siva to spare the actors and musicians, and invocations of the spirits of the country that they may not be angered by this intrusion upon their domain. Tapers are lit; incense is burnt; charms are uttered; not only to Siva and the local spirits but also to the masks and instruments that form part of the show. This quasi-religious ceremony may be followed by some little interval of time before the shed is erected and the play begins. At last everything is ready. The leading actor then comes forward and asks what is the proper fee for the performance? He gets his reply: "A skein of thread, a quarter-dollar, a quid of betel; that was the fee paid to Wan Ni." Wan Ni was one of the first companions of Jemakam, who introduced the *ma'yong* into Malaya. "And what is the proper prayer?" says the actor. He is answered by some meaningless formula such as the following: "*Rěni ma-rěni, ti-ti-ti-ti, rěni-ma-rěni, ti-ti-ti-ti, rěni ma-rěni.*" After some conventional verses he ends by inviting the spirits to return each to his own home and not trouble the dancers and musicians with faintness or dizziness:

*Asal sireh pulang ka-gayang,  
Asal pinang pulang ka-tampok,  
Sėgala panjak pėngantin-ku<sup>2</sup> jangan binasa,  
Gia! puleh sėdia-kala!*

<sup>1</sup> He also plays the part of the *pėran* or clown.

<sup>2</sup> This word does not mean "bridegroom," but the player of a certain instrument.

This ends the preliminaries and makes ready the way for the play.

The plots of the *ma'yong* do not differ in character from the regular Malay romance, though they belong to a cycle of twelve stories that is not represented in the published literature of the country. They differ in details one from another and often contain episodes in which wild animals and demons of the jungle have to play a part. In such cases they call for a fine assortment of masks. However, for all practical purposes they may be typified by the following simple example of a *ma'yong* play.

The first scene opens with the *pa'yong* or "jeune premier"<sup>1</sup> coming forward and introducing himself to the audience. He is dressed as a young prince according to the ancient fashions of the northern Malay States: long wide trousers, a loose waistcloth of rich material, a short tight coat, a headdress of stiff-cloth with an aigrette, a belt, gold nail-protectors on both hands, a rich assortment of bracelets, and a scarf flung over his left shoulder. He also wears a *këris* and carries a curious wand. Dressed in the manner described, he dances and sings before the audience, and when he has been sufficiently admired he tells his hearers that he is off to find a companion for a journey in quest of a lovely princess-bride. Then follows the meeting with this companion, his *fidus Achates*, the *përan* or jester of the play. This meeting is invariably a comic interlude, a scene of vulgar humour, in which the pair quarrel and fight for the better amusement of a simple audience. "Take care, you are blinding my ears, you are deafening my eyes"—such is a specimen of a joke at a *ma'yong*.

<sup>1</sup> In some companies this part is played by a girl dressed as a man.

Ultimately, when the jesting begins to pall upon the spectators, the two boon-companions go off on the best of terms and leave the mat free for the next scene of the play.

Incidentally we may mention that the clown or *pěran* invariably wears a mask to make himself still more ridiculous. This detail is insisted on by convention. He goes bare to the waist and carries a wooden sword. In the rest of his costume he is allowed an ample discretion and aims at being as great a contrast as possible to the dandy prince with whom he has to act.

When the *pa'yong* and *pěran* have left the scene the heroine-princess (*ma'yong* or *putěri*) makes her first appearance. She is attired in a sarong spread out in the "billowy" pattern, a tight blouse (of which the hanging folds are tucked away under the skirt),<sup>1</sup> a tight girdle with or without a big jewelled buckle to emphasise the slenderness of her waist, a long scarf trailing over her shoulder, and a rich assortment of bracelets, brooches, chains, rings, and jewelled nail-protectors. When she has been on the stage long enough to allow the spectators time to recover from the sensation that so gorgeous an apparition would make in a Malay village she treats them to a song and a dance, takes them into her confidence and assures them that her one desire in life at the present moment is to go on a picnic to a distant pleasure-garden attached to one of her father's country-seats. After this she departs in search of her old nurse who may be able to help her to realise this wish. The old nurse or *ma'-inang* is the feminine counterpart of a clown.<sup>2</sup> She chaffs the princess unmercifully and is answered with great

<sup>1</sup> In the north the breasts are often left uncovered.

<sup>2</sup> This part is played by a man dressed as a woman.

tartness, to the amusement of the audience, but she yields in the end and carries off her protégée to interview the king.

The next scene is quite different. It represents the pathos of beauty in distress. The girl is refused permission to leave the palace. She weeps; the nurse supports her with prayers and jokes; and at last the pair get what they want out of the indulgent father. Away they go on their journey to the pleasaunce in the forest. The scene is now supposed to change to the country garden of the king. Prince and clown are the first to arrive by mere chance at this auspicious spot. The prince rhapsodises on the loveliness of it all; the clown turns the rhapsodies into ridicule. After a certain amount of this type of humour the prince and the jester perceive that two ladies are coming in their direction. They disappear at once into the nearest thicket leaving the place clear for any newcomers. Watching their opportunity they wait till the ladies are disporting themselves in the river and then come forward and take possession of the dry clothes on the bank. This embarrasses the bathers. After a time the princess sends the duenna to open negotiations. This scene is the playwright's opportunity; it confronts the clown with his feminine counterpart. Greek meets Greek; jest is parried by jest; the fun becomes fast and furious. At last the two parties arrange a truce, the clothes are returned, and the prince is introduced to the princess. The play then becomes sentimental with love-scenes, poetry and an undercurrent of parody and jest from the ever-irreverent *ma'-inang* and *pěran*. In order to bring matters to a crisis the clown comes forward with a miraculous love-charm with which he

guarantees to win for the prince the heart of any lady in the world. The prince sanctions the experiment, and in a twinkling the princess has fallen in love with the clown, and the duenna with the prince. Complications follow; the prince is furious and thrashes the clown unmercifully amid the frantic plaudits of the audience. In the end, all is put right, so as to show in the final tableau the happy young couple receiving from the indulgent old king the Malay equivalent of "Bless you, my children."

Such then is the *ma'yong* of northern Malaya. Whether regarded as a drama, or as a concert, it is a poor performance, but it has been admired as a dance and possesses certain historical and linguistic interests that will cause it to be studied seriously when the northern States of the Peninsula come to be as well known as their sister-sultanates of the south. When that time comes we can only hope that it will not be studied (as is so often the case with Malay research) by single examples of the different plots. We will explain why collation or comparison is necessary.

If an enquirer were to purchase from an actor of a *ma'yong* the copy of a play such as the *Gajah Dangdaru* he would get a story written mainly in the third person. The Malay playwright works on very simple lines; he borrows his plot from some cycle of local legend well-known to his hearers and then brings into the story a number of topical jokes and songs. He keeps to the outline of the tale, but fills up the details in the way that he thinks best. In course of time certain definite songs, dances, tunes, jokes and recitative passages come to be connected as old favourites with the *Gajah Dangdaru* and are given regularly at every performance of the play.

The rest of the libretto varies with each troupe and has no special value. The interest of the *ma'yong*, such as it is, is centered in the constants: the outline of the story and the small details that are fixed in form. To study the rest is to study the vagaries of individual actors.

Anyone who examines a list of names of the commonest *ma'yong* tales and who reads such summaries of the plots as are procurable, is sure to be struck by a sense of their novelty. He cannot find them among the folk-tales of Perak and Pahang or in the shops of the booksellers of Penang and Singapore. They emphasise the difference in the past history of the north and of the south of the Peninsula.

So, too, if he takes the old songs and recitative passages that time has embedded in these tales he is met again by traces of alien speech and influence. He finds that the very names of the chief parts—*ma'yong*, *pa'yong*, *mek-sēni* and *pēran*—are non-Malayan. He comes across unfamiliar words and expressions in the verses such as the following:

*Hai t'mbakau si-bulat bulat,  
Mari ginti dalam chēmbul kacha.  
Chahaya gigi di-atas baja,  
Gila hati bērbanding mata.*

What is the student of ordinary Malay to make of passages like this? He may set down every variant as due to "Siamese" influence; but he would be wrong. The Siamese conquests in the Peninsula only date back to the fifteenth century; they are even more modern than the Malay colonies and hardly older than the Portuguese. The purists of Bangkok ridicule the speech and accent of the "Siamese" of Ligor just as the Malays of Perak laugh at the "patois" of Patani and Perlis.

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Below this veneer of Siamese and Malay there lies a very ancient civilisation of which the true nature is coming slowly to the light.

Other plays of the Ligor type are the *lakawn* and *wayang kun* of Siam and the *mekmulong* and *mëndora* of Malaya.

The *lakawn* is a most elaborate performance acted indoors by a troupe that may include as many as a hundred members. The dresses and scenery are very gorgeous. The *wayang kun* is a similar play on a smaller scale. Both these entertainments lie outside the scope of this pamphlet as they are not played in the Malay language.

The *mëndora* resembles the *ma'yong* in many ways, but the orchestra ought to be quieter owing to the omission of certain drums and gongs,<sup>1</sup> and the players are men, even for the female parts. It is more acrobatic and less graceful than the *ma'yong*. The *mëndora* is played on a mat under a shed and deals with the same cycle of stories as the *ma'yong*. The words are Siamese; the players are Muhammadans, and they have a bad reputation. Of the *mekmulong* it is difficult to learn much, but the performance is more of a dance than a play. It is rare and rather improper.

The shadow-show has also a Ligor variant that is often seen in Malaya and that is finer than the *wayang kulit* of Java. Indeed, other Ligor musical plays have their Javanese counterparts, the *ma'yong* corresponding to the *to'peng*, the *wayang kun* to the *wayang wong*; but in each case the Ligor performance outclasses the Javanese. The fame of the civilisation of Java is the greater because the island has been in the effective occupation

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<sup>1</sup> These things are relative. The *mëndora* makes an awful din.

of European powers for a long time past. The old Mon-Khmer culture (which extended to Ligor) has not been studied so thoroughly, as it is only in recent years that the site of the great temples of Angkor has become part of the empire of France. But it is significant that wherever the two civilisations can be compared the Cambodian appears to have been the higher.

In the towns of the Straits Settlements the *wayang kulit* is of the Javanese type; but shadow-shows and shadow-lanterns of one kind or another are to be found over a very wide area, as every reader of Omar Khayyam must know,

We are no other than a moving row  
Of magic Shadow-shapes that come and go  
Round with the Sun-illumined Lantern held  
At midnight by the Master of the Show.

The principle of the *wayang kulit* is simple; it consists in passing certain leather figures before a bright light so as to throw the silhouettes upon a large cloth screen. The screen is between the player and the audience. The following details may be added. The figures are cut out of hide, parchment, or cardboard, and are fastened to long thin slips of wood by which they are manipulated. The lamp (which has its light concentrated on the screen for obvious reasons) is a hanging light, so that its gentle quivering motion may be imparted to the silhouettes on the screen and give them a more life-like appearance. Vegetable oils are used in preference to mineral oils as they are said to give less smoke. When not in actual use the puppets are stuck up on pieces of banana-pith so as to be ready to hand. These puppets are of rough design in many cases; but the Ligor figures are carefully painted and are very

artistic when compared with the Java forms. An orchestra is employed to play tunes appropriate to the incident depicted on the sheet; one tune for dances, another for battles, etc. Two men work behind the scenes: one recites the story while the other manipulates the figures. A magician recites propitiatory charms and burns incense before every performance both in the Straits and in Java.

Of the stories, Mr. J. D. Vaughan, an eye-witness, wrote as follows in the Journal of the Indian Archipelago very many years ago:

“An old man appears weeping for a long-lost son, and moves to and fro for some time bewailing his loss: the showman speaks each figure's part and alters the tone of his voice to suit the age of the speaker; a second figure comes on, representing a young man armed with a *kéris*, who endeavours to pick a quarrel with the first-comer, and the conversation is witty and characteristic, eliciting roars of laughter from the lookers-on; a fight ensues and the old man is wounded; he falls and cries out that were he a young man or if his lost son were present, his adversary should not thus triumph over him. In his conversation he happens to mention his son's name; the young man intimates that his name is the same; an explanation ensues, and it ends by the old man discovering in his late adversary his long-lost son. The old fellow weeps and laughs alternately, caresses his son frequently and declares they shall never part again; the scene ends by the youth shedding tears over his late inhuman conduct, and he finally walks off with the old gentleman on his back.

“Warlike scenes please most: a warrior comes on the stage and challenges his invisible enemy to mortal combat; suddenly another figure comes on at the opposite side and a desperate fight ensues which lasts for a very long time and ends in one of the combatants being killed. Occasionally a battle in which ten or twelve figures join takes place, and for hours will the Malay look on at such scenes.”

This account gives a very good description of the show as it appears to the spectators; still, it has to be

supplemented on some points. In the Straits the stories depicted in these shadow-shows are taken usually from the Panji legends; in Java they are borrowed from the Ramayana and Mahabharata. But there is no very strict rule in the matter, and the form of some Malay literary works (such as the *Hikayat Sang Samba* of the Mahabharata *epos*) makes it quite clear that they were written in the first instance for use with a *wayang kulit*. Great legendary epics like the story of Panji in Java, the legends of Rama and of the Pandawas in India and the Homeric tales in Greece are episodic; they are split up into a thousand minor incidents of which each may be made into a complete story in itself. A performance of the *wayang kulit* may go rambling on for weeks. The spectators know this. They do not want to see the end of the *epos*; they know the general outline already and are only interested in the episodes, the interludes, the digressions, and the humorous gags introduced by the players. The same is true of musical plays like the *ma'yong*. The spectators come late or leave before the end of the piece without giving the actors any grievance. What have they to stay for? They have sampled the skill and wit of the actors, the beauty of the ladies, the sweetness of the music, the grace of the dancing, the gorgeousness of the dresses—what more do they want? They know how the play is going to end; and they consider that no one except a glutton would insist on partaking of every item in a week-long bill-of-fare. The Malay is not a glutton; he is only a gourmet with a big appetite in matters theatrical.

However, to return to our *wayang kulit* where, as everything is stereotyped and made easy for us to understand, we can recognise all the characters at once by

their profiles. Seeing a face with the nose and forehead in one long straight line—the forehead too receding and the chin too weak for European taste—we know at once that its possessor is one of the gods or heroes of old Java. But if we see a snub-nose and an irregular profile, then it is our business to hiss, for the face is that of some villain or evil spirit, some child of damnation who has come to circumvent the happiness of the hero and heroine. With clues like this it is impossible to go wrong or to applaud the wrong people. Then again, most people are interested in physiognomy. The narrow fox-like face, the thin arching lips, and the long almond-shaped eyes of the Javanese god represent the ideal of self-mastery, of asceticism, and of indifference to all mundane things. The big teeth, the beetling forehead and the coarse sensual mouth of the demon suggest the strong terrestrial appetites that are absent from the unearthly features of the gods. Yet the divine ideal is unsympathetic. In a far finer way the Greeks produced the same effect by depicting a cold perfection that was disdainful because of its very superiority to all human weakness. There is nothing kindly about the face of an old Greek or Javanese god.

A very human element in these shadow-shows is represented by the two clowns, *Sěmar* and *Taras* (or *Chěmuras*). These characters keep up a running fire of disrespectful comment on the ways of the gods, heroes and demons, and prevent the play becoming monotonous. The quality of their humour is not over-refined, but the mere sound of the hoarse talk of *Sěmar* and of the squeaky replies and cockney accent of *Chěmuras* is enough to set the whole audience in a roar. Incidentally these two characters furnish a great religious

enigma. Coarse and contemptible as he is, *Sĕmar* is identified in many of these plays with *Sangyang Tunggal*, "the one and only God." One explanation is that the great divinity had a weakness for assuming the kind of incognito in which he was least likely to be recognised, but this theory will hardly serve to explain his being subjected to the filthy practical jokes that *Chĕmuras* plays upon him. Nor is there anything very refined in the local tradition that *Chĕmuras* was incarnated out of the dirt on the body of "the one and only God." There is no doubt, however, that such traditions are widespread.

Take the *Hikayat Sang Samba*. This Malay romance is an adaptation for the use of shadow-shows,<sup>1</sup> and its original is the beautiful Kawi poem known as the *Bhauma-kavya*. It deals with an episode in the Bharata War. In the last scene the forces of the great earth-demon *Bhauma* (the *Maharaja Boma* of the Malays and the *Antæus* of the Greeks) have been crushed in battle and their leader has been slain by the monkey-god *Hanuman*. But the victory has been bought dearly; *Sang Samba*, the hero of the play, and the great *Arjuna* lie dead on the field of battle. In some old legends they are brought to life again by the water of life sent down for the purpose by the supreme god *Siva* (*Bĕtara Guru*). Not so in the *wayang kulit*. *Siva* refuses to revivify *Sang Samba*. The heroes of the *Mahabharata* are in despair; the disconsolate widow of *Sang Samba* is preparing to immolate herself upon the body of her dead husband, when with startling suddenness the unexpected happens. *Sĕmar*, who has been the butt of the earlier part of the story, turns

<sup>1</sup> The narrator of this tale speaks of himself as *dalang*.

himself suddenly into Sangyang Tunggal, the one and only God. He runs amuck in heaven, overthrowing god after god—Indra, Yama, and even the great *Bětara Guru* himself—and forces Siva to surrender the water of life that he has withheld hitherto. What is the explanation of such an ending—the buffoon overcoming the most holy divinity in Java?

The *wayang kulit* of Ligor is associated with the legends of northern Malaya<sup>1</sup> and has no connection with the Panji cycle or with the Mahabharata. The orchestra, too, is made up of Indo-Chinese instruments. But the *modus operandi* is much the same in Ligor as it is in Java, and the character of the amusement offered is also the same; the cycle consists of twelve tales beginning with the story of Rama.

At the present time the *bangsawan* (or modern musical comedy) is the most popular form of theatrical entertainment in the country, unless perhaps we except the European circus. The *bangsawan* came from India, and is European in character. In its own way it is a very interesting production. It proves clearly enough that the Malay actor can be an excellent mimic with a keen sense of humour and a good eye for the ridiculous. The comic scenes at a *bangsawan* are well worth the applause that they arouse. On the other hand, the singing is poor, the dresses are gaudy, the scenery is inappropriate, the dialogue is devoid of literary value, and the elocution is bad. A captious critic might take exception to the plots also, and complain that "Hamlet" is made ridiculous as a comedy in which the part of the ghost is played by a clown. The impresario of a *bangsawan* cares nothing for such criticism; he is

<sup>1</sup> Including the Rama stories.

determined to give his audience their money's-worth of fun, whether the play be "Romeo and Juliet" or "Ali Baba" or "Genevieve of Brabant." Yet, with all its novelty, the *bangsawan* is convention-ridden. It is at its best when it introduces a strong realistic element—coolies, rikisha-pullers and other characters whom the actors mimic to perfection. But it is afraid to cut itself adrift from romantic legend altogether, or to give us an original play with a local setting. The violation of precedent would be too serious to contemplate. So the incongruity of local scenes in classical surroundings is bound to continue. Needless to say the *bangsawan* does not open with any incantations or invocations of the tutelary deities of the country, unless the complimentary presentation of addresses and garlands to a Resident-General or other guest of the evening can be considered to partake of that character.

The vogue of the *bangsawan* is due largely to the success of one particular company, the "Wayang Kassim," or "Indra Zanibar." Established about twenty-five years ago it met with relatively little success at first. But it persevered. The manager was a man of ability who developed certain features of his show till they placed it far ahead of all others in popularity. Not that there was anything novel in his methods. He attracted excellent comedians, encouraged them to jest on the topics of the day, improved the scenery and accessories, and chose his actresses with a keen eye for beauty. Certainly he gave a good entertainment to his patrons, and turned his theatre from a wandering troupe of actors into a town-company with a permanent building of its own. But it is doubtful whether the success of the *bangsawan* has been of any real service

to Malay drama. It is in most cases a tawdry show; and the host of imitators of the Wayang Kassim possess very few of the merits of the company that they copy. It should be added that the word "Zanibar" in the official name of the Wayang Kassim is a version of certain Dutch words meaning "sun and moon," and that the show owes a great deal to experience gained in Java and to actresses recruited in that island-empire of the Dutch.

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#### INDOOR GAMES.

Although the Malays are great gamblers they owe their indoor games to foreign influence. Their ancestors lived an outdoor life, discouraged callers, and did their gambling in the form of bets at cock-fights—at which indeed they staked everything. What Malay has not heard of the fate of Pa' Kadok who lost all his property through betting excitedly against his own cock? Nowadays, however, as the cock-fights have gone, they are being replaced by foreign indoor games. Of course gambling among Malays is prohibited by law, but Enactments cannot eradicate a historic trait. In the days of native rule in Perak the right to license gaming-houses was a perquisite that went with the office of Raja Muda. Such a right brought the Raja Muda a considerable income, if we are to judge it by the fact that the gaming rights in a single village were let in 1875 for \$100 per mensem. On a great occasion, such as a royal marriage or an installation, the money that changed hands may be estimated at from \$20,000 to \$50,000. The games at which money is lost or won by the modern Malay are usually games of the crude Chinese type, amusements

that call for no skill if played fairly and can be understood without difficulty by any beginner. Foremost among these pastimes is the Chinese *poh* in which a die is hidden under a metal box and the gamblers stake on the face that they believe to be uppermost. This game has no antiquity and no interest, so far as Malaya is concerned.

Local chess is more venerable and more interesting. A full description of its intricacies cannot be given here,<sup>1</sup> but the following general remarks will be sufficient to indicate some differences that strike the European observer at once. The chess-board and chess-men are very crude, the squares not being coloured and the pieces being much alike; indeed, a foreign player finds it hard to understand the state of the game when a few chips or lines indicate distinctions that are marked by horses' heads, episcopal mitres and battle-mented turrets in the case of European chess-men. A further element of trouble lies in the fact that the Queen is placed on the King's right at the opening of the game and that the moves of the pieces differ slightly from those allowed in Europe. The "openings" recommended in treatises on chess cannot be applied to the Malay game owing to these variations. The result is that the European expert is handicapped when playing against Malays for the first time, and is apt to come away with the impression that they are more skilful than they really are. Extreme specialization in such a trivial matter as chess-playing does not, however, appeal to the native mind; it would be regarded as a mild form of lunacy. It is not difficult—given this form of lunacy—to defeat Malays at their own game.

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix X.

The origin of local chess has never been worked out with any exactness. Doubtless it came from India, but "India" is a vast country and "Indian origin" is a very vague term. Moreover, there are important differences in the game even within the Malay Archipelago itself. Students of comparative ethnography, if they are interested in chess, may be able perhaps to identify the part of India from which it came by the details of the Malayan game and by the technical terms used. The following list gives the names of the pieces in Java and in the Peninsula respectively:

				Java.		Malaya.
King	...	...	...	<i>ratu</i>	...	<i>raja</i>
Queen	...	...	...	<i>patih</i>	...	<i>mantri</i>
Bishop	...	...	...	<i>mantri</i>	...	<i>gajah</i>
Knight	...	...	...	<i>jaran</i>	...	<i>kuda</i>
Castle	...	...	...	<i>prahu</i>	...	<i>tir</i>
Pawn	...	...	...	<i>pidak, bidak</i>		<i>bidak</i>

The Western game of draughts has been introduced by the Dutch and bears the Dutch name of *main dam*. This *main dam* does not differ in any important detail from its European prototype;<sup>1</sup> but it is played on a native uncoloured chess-board.

The game of backgammon is known to the Malays under the name of *main tabal*. It is played by women.

The game known as the "tiger-game" or as "the tiger and goats" is of South Indian origin as appears from the fact that an identical game is described in Herklots' book on the manners and customs of the Muhammadans of the Deccan; it is also met with in Acheen and in Java. It is played with nuts or fruit-pips or small stones used as counters. The figure for

<sup>1</sup> The only difference is that the crowned man (*dam*) can jump any distance along a line whether the intermediate spaces are occupied or not. It is thus very difficult to "corner" an opponent.

the game (which resembles our "fox and geese" in general character) is drawn in the dust on the ground and is rather elaborate in pattern. A full description is given in Snouck Hurgronje's "Achehnese."<sup>1</sup>

Another elaborate game of the same sort is known as *main chuki*. It is played with sixty white pips and sixty black pips on a board of 120 points—the points where the lines drawn on the board intersect. *Main chuki* appears to be well known in Java and is mentioned occasionally in old Malay literature.

*Apit* is played on a draught-board. If a player can place one of his pieces on each side of a hostile piece he takes it, or if he can move one of his own between two of the enemy's he takes both.

An indoor game that may possibly be of Indonesian origin is that called *main changkak*. The board is boat-shaped and its central portion is indented by two parallel rows of six holes each which are used as receptacles for the counters. A description of this game (which, curiously enough, goes sometimes by the name of *chato* or "chess" in Acheen) is given in Snouck Hurgronje's "Achehnese," and in the Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society. In Java it seems to be known as *dakon*. The counters in common use are the hard nut-like fruits known as *buah goreng* or *buah kělichi*.

All the above are indoor games of skill that do not lend themselves readily to gambling. Some of them are very popular with peons, tambies and punkah-pullers who find that time hangs heavily on their hands.

Card-games are common in Malaya and are played either with European cards or with Chinese cards. They are pure games of chance as a rule and call for no skill

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, p. 203.

whatever. Bridge and whist are not popular; "patience" is unknown.

The following are illustrations of Malay card-games:<sup>1</sup>

(1) In the game called *main sêkopong* (Dutch: *schoppen*, "spades") hands of five cards each are dealt out. A player leads off; the others follow suit or discard; the highest card of the suit wins the trick. The player with most tricks at the end of the game is the winner.

(2) In the game known as *main chabut* every card has a definite numerical value; and the object is to get a hand that adds up to either twenty-one or thirty-one. Five cards may be drawn for the first; seven for the second. The player who gets nearest to the required total without exceeding it is the winner of the game.

The technical terms used in the games played with European cards are largely Dutch, thereby indicating their origin. But there are many local differences in the terms used in the various parts of the Peninsula.

The games played with Chinese "chicky" cards are Chinese in their rules and in the terms used. They possess no true Malayan interest.

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#### COMBATS OF ANIMALS.

In the old Malay world cock-fighting was regarded as the king of sports. Like our horse-racing it furnished the gambler with a game that was a happy combination of good fortune and good judgment, and like our cricket and football it introduced into sport an element of local

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<sup>1</sup> Notes on Malay card-games are to be found in Skeat's "Malay Magic," pp. 487-493; and in the Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society, No. 14, 45.

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and even international rivalry through the practice of pitting the best cocks of different districts in matches one against the other. Moreover, it appealed to man's wilder instincts, to the joy of battle and the lust of blood. Cock-fighting is not to be dismissed as a mere unwholesome spectacle, a brutal contest between two lean and lanky fowls: the cocks stood for more than that. Even in our own national games one critic gazes in rapture on a national hero where another man only sees "a flannelled fool at the wicket or a muddied oaf at the goal." The golfer with his lost ball and the cock-owner with his dead cock represent achievement rather than futility and failure; they have gained their end even if it is at the price of their instruments. Their reward has been in the thrill of the game itself, a thrill that cock-fighting gives in a very marked degree. The old Malay boasted of the prowess of his cock, discussed its merits with the appreciation of a connoisseur, backed it with every dollar that he was worth, trained it with all the joy of anticipated triumph and watched its successes with an excitement that was almost delirious in its intensity. Left in the end with a mortgaged holding and a slaughtered bird he could still look back to many happy days of glorious life when he and his cock had been heroes of the hour. To such an enthusiast, cock-fighting was a many-sided delight, a compound of varied pleasures, like the multiple taste of the *durian*. And if the modern critic sneers at such enthusiasm as worthy only of a better cause, he should allow for the weakness of human nature and remember the words of the cynic who said that there is no happiness for any man of brains in our modern Singapore unless he consents to bury those brains in a golf-hole.

Not that cocks were the only creatures which could be induced to fight and die in the interest of old Malay sports. Combativeness is common. Buffaloes, bulls, rams, quails, mole-cricket, the little fish called *puyu-puyu*—all these animals have enough of the gladiator instinct to allow of their being butchered for a show. Still, when everything else had been tried, the cock remained the king of fighters. At long intervals some ostentatious prince might honour a distinguished guest by arranging a fight between a tiger and a buffalo or bull, a royal spectacle that ended generally in a fiasco. At his best, in his own forests, the Malayan king of beasts is an overrated champion when compared with the buffalo or with the gaur; indeed, it is not long since the horns of so prosaic a combatant as the government stud-bull at Kuala Kenering were found to be adorned by pieces of the fur of a tiger. Away from his proper haunts the tiger slinks into the background and declines to fight boldly for his life. The last local exhibition of a contest between a buffalo and a tiger (which occurred some forty years ago at Johore in the presence of the Duke of Edinburgh) ended in an easy triumph for the buffalo. In the north of the Peninsula, when buffalo is pitted against buffalo, a better combat may be seen. Interesting owing to the surprising strength and energy of the animals, it gives a moment of breathless suspense while the two duellists charge one another with a rapidity that we would never have associated with their ungainly form, but unfortunately the interest is not kept up after the first onset. The weaker animal realises its inferiority almost at once and seeks to withdraw from the unequal struggle so that the issue is no longer in doubt. A contest between bulls is even

less exciting. They charge with less violence, interlock their horns, and turn the combat into a mere game of push, till one or other animal makes up its mind to run away. Moreover, the high value of buffaloes and bulls makes it undesirable that they should be injured by any eagerness to fight to a finish. Mole-crickets and fighting-fish are certainly cheap, and possess all the pertinacious valour of the cock, but they lack individuality. They resemble each other too closely; they cannot be petted and made much of; they are not suitable subjects for the skill of a trainer and are wanting in all the human traits that endear the cock to his master. After all there is something singularly human about the crow of a wounded fighting-cock in the hour of its victory, and the Malays love and understand it. Even the defeated bird that crows lustily as though it has won is not without its Malay imitators. In fact, the cock has become a symbol of honour, the indefatigable fighter who rejoices in war for its own sake, and refuses to accept defeat.

The Malays recognise many breeds of fighting-cocks. They differ mainly in the matter of colour and are accounted lucky or otherwise according to the markings on their plumage. It is difficult to say why a fiery red cock, wasp-like with its long yellow legs, should be looked upon as invincible in war; but the experts tell us that it is so and their advice must be taken for what it is worth. Let us therefore suppose that a Malay chief has found a cock that is entirely to his liking and has justified selection by beating such roosters as the village can offer to the assault of its maiden spurs. The proud proprietor keeps it fastened up within the house-verandah at night so that it may be out of the

way of the predatory civet-cat, and he submits gladly to having his slumbers disturbed by the lusty crowing that shows his pet to be a cock of cheery disposition and high fettle. In the morning he bathes it, shampoos it so as to make its limbs supple, and while he excites its passions by letting it have glimpses of other village cocks he does not let it waste its strength and energy on the petty rivalries of the farmyard. He holds it in reserve for higher things. Sooner or later he is sure to meet some boastful cock-fancier with a bird of his own and a foolish readiness to back up an opinion with a wager. Now comes the expert's chance. The challenge is taken up and a contest is arranged in true Malay style by witnesses being called in to testify to all the details. The stakes are all deposited with a stake-holder (who receives a percentage for his good services); and the cocks are plighted or "betrothed" to one another by the simple ceremony of allowing each bird one single peck at its rival. This clinches the matter; withdrawal after this point means forfeiture of the money staked.

The training of the cock for a contest is a very simple matter of washing and massage; and the selection of a champion, though it calls for expert knowledge, may be regarded as settled from the moment that the cocks have been definitely "betrothed." But the trainer is still very far from the end of his troubles. He has to select a lucky time for the duel. Every day of the calendar is divided into five parts, and every one of these five portions of the day is regarded as being under the control of its own presiding genius, a Hindu divinity who rules the destinies of the hour. Each of these five divinities—Maheswara (or Siva), Kala, Sri, Brahma and Vishnu—favours a special colour. Siva favours pale

yellow, Kala a brownish black, Sri white, Brahma red, and Vishnu green or blue. It stands to reason that a black cock has very little chance of success if it attacks a white cock at an hour when Sri is in the ascendant. The trainer has therefore to select a time when he cannot be handicapped by a malignant Goddess of Fortune. Nor can he easily find out what divinity is in the ascendant, for the old Hindu calendar is based on a week of five days and has no exact parallel in the Moslem month. Even when he has arranged this matter to his own satisfaction he has other mystic forces to reckon with. He has to allow for the Seven Ominous Times presided over by the Seven Heavenly Bodies, each with a favourite tint of its own. The beneficent assistance given by Sri to a white cock may be quite undone by the malignant hostility of the planet Mercury favouring a black opponent. Then again there are the Signs of the Zodiac, the luckiness or unluckiness of the Moslem days and months, the quaint old Indonesian calendar of the *Rĕjang*, and the exact position in the heavens of the *Rijalul-ghaib* or invisible spirits who bear the coffin of Ali suspended between Heaven and Earth. All these influences have to be allowed for. The auspicious time for a cock-fight may be made a matter for the most abstruse astrological calculations. Last of all there is the very real danger of an unsportsmanlike opponent burying a charm or talisman within the sacred soil of the cock-pit. The discovery of a trick of this sort generally ends in a free fight between the partisans of the cocks; it is as bad as cheating at cards, according to Malay notions of morality.

Sooner or later, however, the preliminaries are over, and the great day of battle arrives. The fighting-ground

or cock-pit is marked out and the spectators (many of whom have bets on the issue of the fight) gather round it, waiting with true Malay patience for the coming of the birds. At last one of the trainers appears, holding his bird under his arm as he squats down in the cock-pit to prepare for the coming of his opponent. There he gives his bird a final rub, smoothes its wings, and (when his opponent is in sight) fastens the sharp steel weapons to the cock's spurs or to the poor mutilated stumps into which the bird's natural weapons have been converted. The process of fastening on these spurs is a long and weary business carried out with scrupulous exactitude as any loose winding would be the ruin of a bird's chances of success. At last everything is ready. The birds are excited by being allowed to peck at each other while still held back in their trainers' hands. These sham attacks are the prelude to the real one. At the word of command the birds are let loose and the fight begins amid the wildest cheers of encouragement from the partisans of each cock. A fight with artificial spurs does not last long; the wounds inflicted are too terrible for that. A fight with natural spurs may go on for long time and is divided up into mains, the time of which is regulated by a rude sort of water-clock. As soon as a bird refuses to continue the fight it is pronounced the loser. The following rules, given by Newbold, are interesting:

1. The winner takes the dead bird.
2. If a drawn battle, each takes his own.
3. No person but the holder shall interfere with the cocks after they have been once set to, even if one of them run away, except by the permission of the *juara*. Should any person do so and the cock eventually win the battle, the owner shall be entitled to half the stakes only.

4. Should one of the cocks run away and the wounded one pursue it, both birds shall be caught and held by their trainers. Should the runaway cock refuse to peck at its adversary three times, the wings shall be twined over the back and it shall be put on the ground for the adversary to peck at; should he too refuse after it has been three times presented, it is a drawn battle. The cock that pecks wins.
5. The stakes on both sides must be forthcoming and deposited on the spot.
6. A cock shall not be taken up unless the spur is broken, even by the trainers.

“The beauty of the sport,” says Sir H. Clifford, “is that either bird can stop fighting at any moment. They are never forced to continue the conflict if once they have declared themselves defeated, and the only real element of cruelty is thus removed.” Opinions may differ on this point. It is obvious that the cruelty is greatest in the case of a plucky old fighting-cock that will not own to defeat. It is the coward that suffers least. The victorious bird described by Sir Hugh—“draggled and woe-begone, with great patches of red flesh showing through its wet plumage, with the membrane of its face and its short gills and comb swollen and bloody, with one eye put out and the other only kept open by the thread attached to its eyelid”—surely possesses a grievance against the owners for whom it fought. It pays a high price for the pleasure of repentance and may have revised its first opinions about the beauty of the sport. The author of “In Court and Kampong” is much fairer to cock-fighting when he admits its cruelty but compares it favourably with the fox-hunting of our English shires. The name of sport can indeed be used to cover a multitude of hideous cruelties.

Sir H. Clifford's book "In Court and Kampong" contains some vivid descriptions both of cock-fighting and of bull- and buffalo-fighting. The author of that book, who sees with keener eyes than the average spectator and understands more, is able to describe an interesting sight where the casual looker-on would be only bored. These contests make no appeal to the average European, whatever they may make to the Malay. Moreover, they are becoming things of the past. When Raja Lumu of Selangor came to Perak to be installed under the name of Sultan Selaheddin Shah he brought with him an array of fighting-cocks that kept the local cocks employed for months. In those days every cock had its history and its roll of victories to lend interest to further struggles. Nowadays all is different. At the installation of the Raja Muda of Perak in 1908 a well-known officer from the wilder parts of the country brought down a train of bulls and cocks to try conclusions with the cocks and bulls of Kuala Kangsar. The result was not an unmixed success; the larger animals lacked training and practice; while the cocks of Kuala Kangsar were a miscellaneous assembly of roosters that could neither crow nor fight. The glory of these combats has departed.

Elaborate as is the lore of cock-fighting in the Peninsula it is probably only a fragment of a still more complicated art that had its origin in Java. Its principal developments are the classification of fighting-cocks and in the extraordinary system of fortune-telling to which it has given rise. The same elaboration is not to be traced in the fights of any creatures other than cocks; but even there Java has the honour of giving us a wider range of combats. Wild pigs were

even used for fighting, as well as goats, rams, bulls, buffaloes, ground-doves, quails, and mole-crickets. Probably the use of artificial spurs is to be traced to Java, while the cock-fights without spurs and the combats of fighting-fish may have been due to the influence of the old Indo-Chinese kingdoms of the north, for the fighting-fish, at all events, are indigenous to Indo-China; they represent a species that is not found in the south.

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#### CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

The foregoing chapters do not cover the whole field of Malay recreation. The question of enjoyment enters into almost all the affairs of life.

Excursions are a common form of Malay amusement. Sometimes a hunting-trip, sometimes an expedition to gather shell-fish or turtles' eggs, sometimes a fish-drive, supplies the ostensible excuse for the picnic, but its real object is sport for sport's own sake. The well-known *měnggělunchur*, made known to fame by Sir Frank Swettenham, is a picnic to a natural water-chute on the River Dal near Kuala Kangsar. It is said to have been invented by a former District Officer of Kuala Kangsar who was the first to see the possibilities of the chute as a combination of aquatic sport with curry-tiffins. Pastimes of that type are about as Malayan as the curried dishes themselves; still the *měnggělunchur* appeals to Sultans and Chiefs in these happy days when a man may enjoy himself without putting forward any utilitarian excuses for his pleasure. Travel also is popular among Malays. No doubt, it enlarges the mind; but developments of that sort are not what the native traveller has

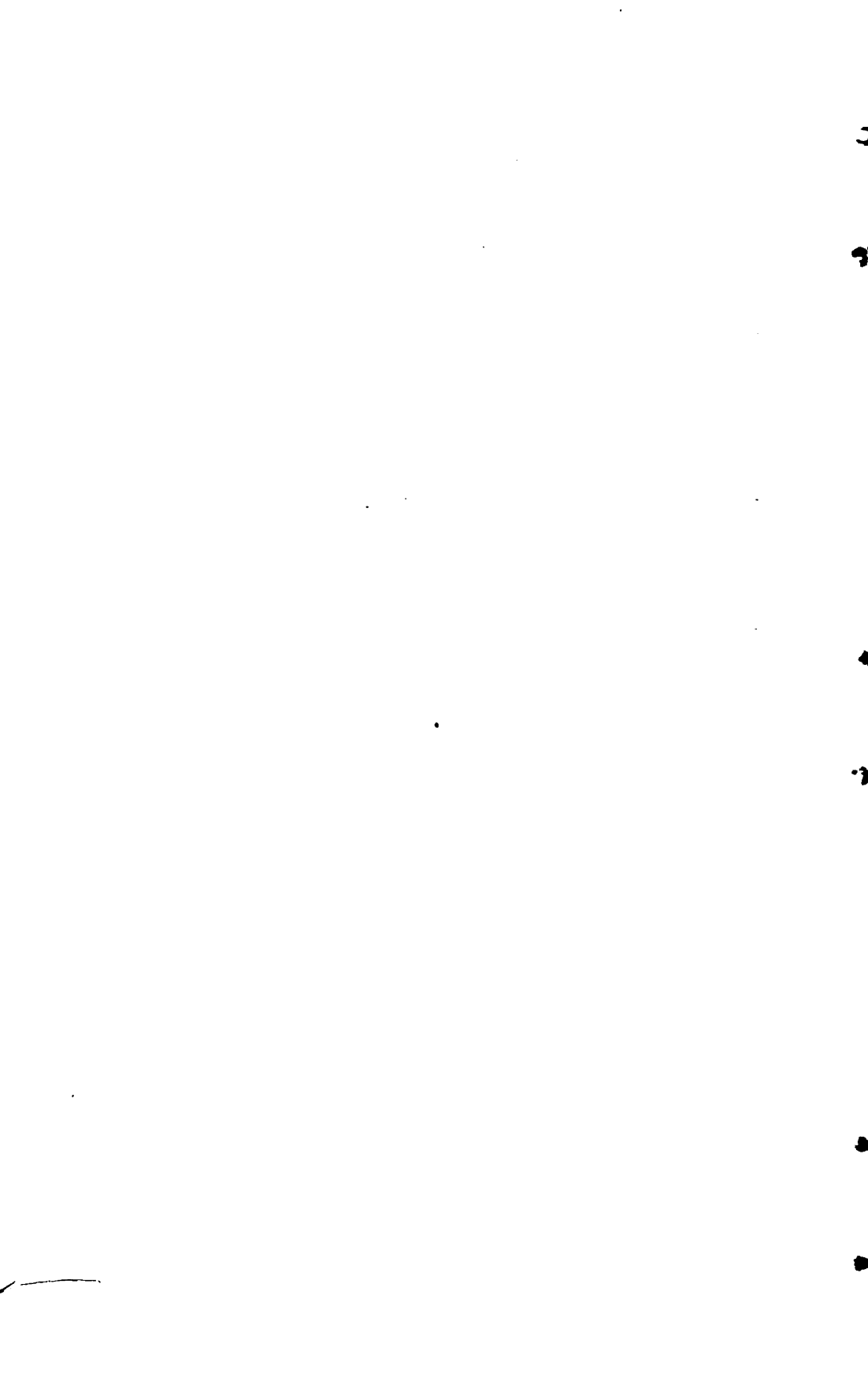
in view. He treats the journey as a prolonged excursion and laughs away the petty hardships that it involves. And, after all, this love of outdoor amusements and of a fresh-air life is one of the healthiest features in the Malay national character.

In the province of intellectual recreation the position is less promising. The modern Malay reads books where his ancestors listened to rhapsodists; but present-day education rarely carries a native boy to the point at which reading becomes a pleasure, and it is very doubtful whether the ancient minstrels ever earned enough money to pay their way. A hearty welcome and a good dinner represented the most that they could expect for their services. The fact that vernacular newspapers are longer-lived than they once were, points to the growth of a taste for reading even though the growth may be slow. Meanwhile native scholars are few. Most of those whom we meet are eccentrics who write pedantic poetry lamenting the dismal doom of persons condemned to live like orphaned strangers in the midst of an uncongenial world. A few Malay dilettanti exist, who are devoted to hobbies like local customary law or ceremonial or genealogy or history or folk-lore. Happy is the European student who discovers one of these mines of information! Men with religious hobbies are common enough, but they take their pleasures sadly; and although they enjoy long prayers and the salutations of pious persons in the market-place, they would be horrified to have their occupations included under the profane heading of amusements. Still more common are lovers of witty conversation, of unwritten literature (if we may be pardoned the expression), of epigram, proverb, fable, riddle, and the smart sayings of famous raconteurs.

Every Malay is something of a gossip; he has no affection for stern and silent men.

Careless and light-hearted the Malay certainly is; a lover of gaiety, women and song; but even his worst enemy would hardly accuse him of being self-indulgent. He is temperate, whether consciously or not. He does not eat to excess and is rarely corpulent. He has been known to drink, but never nowadays to be a drunken sot. He gambles; but only on special occasions. He may smoke opium; but it is usually in moderation. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the modern Malay is being corrupted by civilisation, by European spirits, by Chinese opium, by prostitution and by the vices that mining camps and sea-port towns have set up in his midst. Let any doubter read the *Sějarah Mělayu* with its stories of the drunkenness and profligacy of the old Malacca Kings, or the East India Company's record of the potations of the Sultans of Acheen and Johor, or Goudinho de Eredia's condemnation of the ways of Malay women, or Admiral Matelief's description of Sultan Alaedin and his court of inebriates, or Captain Hamilton's account of the iniquitous Sultan Mahmud II. Or, again, to come to more modern times, let him read Abdullah's story of his voyage to Kelantan and of the women who came down to the ships, or the unpublished diary of the murdered Resident of Perak with its constant references to the opium-smoking and profligacy that disgraced Malay court-life in the seventies; or indeed let him question any of the eye-witnesses of the conduct of the Perak Chiefs in the days of Sir Hugh Low. Time has thrown a glamour over the past; but in face of this host of eye-witnesses it is impossible to urge that modern civilisation has corrupted the Malay. The very converse

is the truth : it has purged him of much of his old grossness. Present-day critics will find much to mock at in the modern Malay youth with his dandyism, his shiny shoes and the rose-tinted spectacles that are intended to play havoc with the hearts of maidens : he typifies a time of transition, a hobbledehoy period that has lost the careless charm of childhood without attaining the full-grown dignity of man. Popular criticism is always indulgent to the wicked and merciless to the ridiculous ; it will not spare the modern Malay even though he may have shed his grosser vices without losing a love of freedom and of healthy exercise that may lead him on to a wholesome manhood in the end. A study of old Malay records leads to a fairer and a truer judgment ; it encourages us to forget the trivial absurdities of the present when we remember the immense advance that has been made upon the past.



## APPENDICES.

### I.—NURSERY RHYMES.

(1)

Kayoh laju-laju—laju-laju,  
Sampai To' Pēnglima—sampai To' Pēnglima,  
Apa dalam baju—dalam baju,  
Kutum bunga sēna—kutum bunga sēna.

Bunga sēna Dato'—sēna Dato',  
Karang tajok malai—karang tajok malai,  
Pimpin tēruna masok—tēruna masok,  
Sēlawat hujung balai—sēlawat hujung balai.

Balai Che' Wan Kēchil—Che' Wan Kēchil,  
Balai panjang lima—balai panjang lima,  
Tunang dari kēchil—dari kēchil,  
Sampai bulan lima—sampai bulan lima.

(2)

Kayoh, ma' hijau, kayoh,  
Kayoh laju-laju,  
Jumpa china tuha,  
Bēri makan sagu,

(3)

Ikan lumat lumi—lumat lumi,  
Makan lumut batang—makan lumut batang,  
Nyonya kampong sunyi—kampong sunyi  
Baba suka datang—baba suka datang.

(4)

Pinang kotai lambong,  
Sireh gagang layu,  
Nyonya punya kampong,  
Baba tumpang lalu.

(5)

Rumah che' Baiduri,  
 Tiang limau purut,  
 Chinchin pĕnoh jari,  
 Hutang bĕrsĕngkarut.

(6)

Anak musang jantan—musang jantan,  
 Panjat sĕntul tinggi—panjat sĕntul tinggi,  
 Bukan hutang makan—hutang makan,  
 Hutang sabong judi—hutang sabong judi.

(7)

Kĕtam bĕrdayong,  
 Rama-rama bĕrkĕmudi;  
 Kĕmbangkan payong,  
 Anak raja turun mandi.

(8)

Oi indok moh,  
 Kita ka-Mĕlaka,  
 Mĕmbuka pĕti gewang,  
 Mĕngambil jarum mas,  
 Mĕnandingkan Si-Lunchat,  
 Chut-chat, chut-chat!

(9)

Oi indok, si-timbong gayong,  
 Nak ku-panjat, duri nya banyak,  
 Nak ku-tĕbang, bĕliong sumbing,  
 Nak di-tunu, takut sangat—  
 Harimau jantan bĕranak kĕchil.

(10)

Ikan parang-parang—parang-parang,  
 Gulai sama chuka—gulai sama chuka,  
 Nyonya gigi jarang—gigi jarang,  
 Baba tidak suka—baba tidak suka.

(11)

Henchang-henchut tali kĕchapi,  
 Kĕnyang pĕrut suka hati.

(12)

Mengirek mēngangin padi,  
Sunting bunga si-balong ayam,  
Kēchil molek main ta' jadi,  
Dunia di-pinjam sa-hari sa-malam.

(13)

Timang tinggi-tinggi  
Sampai chuchur atap ;  
Bēlum tumbuh gigi  
Pandai bacha kitab.

(14)

Gēling-gēling sapi,  
Bērbulu tēlinga-nya ;  
Di-mana Kēling mati ?  
Di-hulu bēnua-nya.

(15)

Tong-tong todak,  
Sēmbahyang jambu-jambu ;  
Ka-mana pērgi budak ?  
Ambil ayer sa-labu.

(16)

Raja Ratu di-Mēlaka,  
Putēri Dang dari Jambi ;  
Bukit batu chērmin mata,  
Nyiur pinang habis mati.

(17)

Anak gajah jantan  
Pandai tikam chēlong ;  
Sudah sama padan  
Bagai ayam sabong.

(18)

Anak rusa dandi  
Pandai lompat tinggi ;  
Sudah untong kami  
Tunang ta'-mēnjadi.

(19)

Rumah apa lèntek bumbong-nya ?  
 Rumah Che' Kaya bèrisi padi ;  
 Anak siapa lingkup tudong-nya ?  
 Tunang sahaya nikah ta'-jadi.

(20)

Anak pachat didalam buloh,  
 Nak di-lémang tidak bèrapi ;  
 Apa chachat didalam tuboh,  
 Sudah bértunang nikah ta'-jadi.

(21)

Anak badak tampong,  
 Chuchu badak raya ;  
 Anak orang kampong  
 Pandai tipu daya.

(22)

Buah jambu masak  
 Masak hujung julai ;  
 Apa jamu kakak ?  
 Nasi dèngan gulai.

(23)

Tong bèlitong  
 Bèlalai gajah mina ;  
 Di-mana bunyi gong ?  
 Di-balek tokong China.

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## II.—CHILDREN'S GAMES.

I am indebted for most of my information in this Appendix to Daeng Abdul Hamid, Malay Assistant, Perak Museum, and to Raja Abdul Aziz, Settlement Officer, Krian—both formerly of the Perak Secretariat. The curious little rhymes and other formulæ sung by children when playing these games are given in the form taken down by these two authorities, but I have to add that they vary greatly from State to State and that a satisfactory version can only be obtained by collating a long series of variants. Many of them are quite meaningless and may date back to older languages.

I. *Gap-gap hudang*.—This game is played by two children or by children in pairs. It is a test of ticklishness. One child lies on his (or her) back, while the other player with swaying arms repeats the following words :

*Gap-gap hudang ;  
Di-mana sërampang ?  
Jatoh di-lubok,  
Ikan banyak.*

As soon as the formula has been repeated the tickling begins and the child that can stand it longest gets the credit of success.

II. *Gënggam-gënggam mëlukut*.—This is another tickling game. In this the children sit facing each other and tickle each other about the armpit.

The formula that precedes the tickling runs as follows :

*Gënggam-gënggam mëlukut,  
Mëlukut dalam gantang,  
Datang tikus mondok  
Mënyusup di-bawah batang.*

The child that holds out longest is the winner.

III. *Këtïp-këtïp sëmüt* or *gëtek sëmüt*.—The players lay their hands palm downwards one on another. The lowest hand but one pinches the back of the lowest hand saying, *këtïp-këtïp sëmüt* (an ant is nipping you). The bitten hand is then withdrawn and is laid on the others, thus becoming the highest. The hand that is now lowest is nipped in its turn—and so on till the novelty wears off.

IV. *Jinjing-jinjing tikus*.—See text, pp. 7, 8.

V. *Bërbidas*.—In this game the open hand of one child is drawn back by the finger; and then the finger is let go and the palm is jerked forward with a whack on the arm of the opposing player. The cry to desist—like our “pax”—is *chup*.

VI. *Bërapi*.—In this game the closed fist is drawn back and is then jerked forward on the arm of the opposing player. This goes on till one or other gives in and cries *chup*—“pax.”

VII. *Rangkai-rangkai përiok*.—See text, p. 8.

VIII. *Pong-pong along*.—See text, pp. 8, 9.

IX. *Sapu-sapu ringin*.—For boys. The children begin this game by taking their seats in a long line with sarongs tucked up

to the knee and legs stretched out. They then swing their arms forward in unison and sing :

*Sapu-sapu ringan,  
Kétimbong gayong-gayong,  
Datang si-katong  
Měmbawa buaya kudong :  
Kudong kaki kudong tangan  
Sentak pėlok tangan sa-bėlah.*

At the last word every boy draws in his left leg and seizes his right shoulder with his left hand.

In this new attitude they sing the same formula once more and then each boy draws in his right leg and seizes his left shoulder with his right hand. This leaves all the children huddled up with squatting haunches and folded arms. They then sing :

*Dong-dong pak,  
Pėkasam labi-labi ;  
Apa kėna hidong simpak ?  
Di-tėrkam babi tadi.*

They then try to jump forward like frogs and owing to the constrained attitude the result is something like a sackrace, boys falling over forward or sideways to the amusement of the spectators and of themselves.

X. *Longlang burong jawa*.—See text, pp. 9, 10.

XI. *Tėbang sėnėbu*.—This is an indoor game. All the players except one sit down in a row on the floor with their arms outstretched and their hands resting on the ground. The one exception or challenger comes forward and takes up a position fronting them. He then says

*Tėbang-tėbung sėnėbu kuala sewa ;  
Ikat junjong ; awal-awal hudang ganti ;  
Sa-kopak, dua kopak ; awal dewa denah.*

While saying this he is allowed to test the strength of the boys by trying to knock their arms away from under them.

At the end of the formula each player in the line draws up his left arm and seizes his right shoulder with it, leaving his right arm alone resting on the ground. The same formula is repeated and the same test of strength may be applied. After that, the right arms are withdrawn and the players face the challenger with folded arms.

The challenger then addresses them individually :

*Těbang-těbang Pa'-Punggur,*  
*Pa'-Punggur mati akar ;*  
*Che' Ali ka-padang bėrtudongkan daun,*  
*Sa-hari ta'-ku-pandang, sa-rasa sa-tahun,*  
*Akar apa ini ?*

“What creeping plant is this,” says the challenger pointing to the crossed arms of each child in succession. If the child is weak and timid he names a creeper that is weak and brittle; if he is prepared to take up the challenge he names a tough liana that does not give way easily. When all the replies have been received the challenger may take up one or more of the defiances and try to force the boys' arms away from their bodies. Resistance is offered and the struggle provides the excitement of the game.

XII. *Lompat katak*.—This is our leap-frog. But in the Malay game the boys begin by jumping over the “frog's” outstretched legs. The “frog” then stands as in our leap-frog and gradually raises his back till some player fails to clear it. That player becomes the next “frog”. As each boy vaults he shouts *lompat katak* (leap-frog), whence the name.

XIII. *Pat-pat siku rembat*.—See text, pp. 10, 11.

XIV. *Champak bunga*.—A number of boys divide up into two equal sides and draw lots for the start. The winners become the riders, the losers become the horses. A “flower” is constructed out of a piece of cloth twisted up into the shape of a rope and is thrown by one rider to another till somebody fails to catch it. The riders then dismount and become the horses of their adversaries.

The “flower” is thrown from side to side, the horses and riders standing in opposite rows. When everyone has caught it in turn the whole line of horses trots over to the other side and exchanges places with the opposite line. If the flower is caught three times in succession by every member of the party the horses cross and recross three times to mark the event. This is called the *mandi kuda* or “bathing of the horses.”

XV. *Tikam sčladang*.—See text, pp. 13, 14.

XVI. *Main hantu rusa*.—See text, pp. 11, 12, 13.

XVII. *Chėkup-chėkup puyoh*.—This is one of the “innocent” forms of hide-and-peek. A certain spot—usually a tree-trunk or post—is made the goal or *ibu*, and one of the players is told off

to guard it. He shuts his eyes while the others conceal themselves within a given area round him. At the cry of *sudah* he starts off in search of the concealed "quails" and they have to get to the goal before he catches them. The first boy caught is the pursuer or goal-keeper for the next round.

XVIII. *Ibu anak*.—This is another "innocent" form of the same game but there is no real concealment. The goal-keeper stands by his goal; the others stand some way off. After the cry of *anak* they have to seize an opportunity to dodge past him and touch the goal before he can intercept them.

XIX. *China buta*.—This is "blindman's-buff." A circle is drawn on a piece of soft sandy ground and a boy is chosen to be blindfolded. The first boy whom the "blindman" or "blind Chinaman" catches or drives outside the prescribed limits becomes the "blind Chinaman" in his turn.

XX. *Main bëronyeh*.—This is a game in which one pursuer chases the other players in the water. The first boy caught becomes pursuer in his turn.

XXI. *Main totoi*.—A long line is drawn on a piece of ground and players are stationed along it at intervals as its keepers or guardians. Or a series of parallel lines may be drawn with a guardian for each. The other players have to run through the line of guardians passing in and out between them without being touched. This game is played by moonlight.

XXII. *Main kambing*.—See text, p. 15.

XXIII. *Main hantu musang*.—See text, pp. 14, 15.

XXIV. *Main kuching*.—See Skeat's "Malay Magic," p. 499.

XXV. *Main tul*.—See Skeat's "Malay Magic," p. 495.

XXVI. *Main tunggul*.—See Skeat's "Malay Magic," p. 499.

XXVII. *Main galah panjang*.—See Skeat's "Malay Magic," p. 500.

XXVIII. *Sepak raga*.—Mr. O'May gives the following notes on *sepak raga* as played at Kuala Kangsar:

"I am told that the player to whose right the *raga* falls should kick it and that a player should not run more than three steps from his place unless the ball is kicked out behind him. The latter rule is not often observed.

"In one form of the game any player who misses the ball has to place a forfeit in the middle of the playing-ground (*gèlanggang*), usually a handkerchief or cap which he happens to have with him.

This may be won back by scoring for a certain moderate number of times without a miss, but a man who is playing badly is sometimes left with nothing but his sarong.

"An element of competition is introduced into the play of a team by marking misses and by excluding players who miss twice until only two players are left.

"The *raga* should be made of *rotan sèga*. The season for the game is the period of three months following the *padi*-harvest.

"There is a Chinese variant of *sepak raga* in which a shuttle-cock (*ekor ayam*) is used (J. R. A. S., XXXI, 63). It is not commonly played by Malays though popular among the smaller boys at this (the Kuala Kangsar) school."

XXIX. *Main awai*.—Mr. O'May writes :

"*Awai* is a form of rounders. Two sides are picked (which need not be equal in numbers) and the captains toss for first innings. A brick, stone or piece of wood is set on end and a lime serves as a ball if an India-rubber ball is not available. The side that has lost the toss fields. One boy of the other side stands by the brick, throws up the ball and hits it away. If it is caught he is out (*mati*). If not, the fielder who stops it throws it at the brick and the striker stands behind the brick. If the ball touches the brick the striker is out, but if it rolls past he may stop it with his foot and if it bounces up and he catches it he scores a point and is entitled to omit the next stroke.

"There is a series of strokes that each side tries to get through before all the half-dozen (or more) boys in it are dead. These are in threes, each three being alike.

"*Awai (awal) satu, awai dua, awai tiga*.—The first group. For these the striker faces the brick and hits the ball backwards after throwing it up. For the rest he has his back to the brick and faces the fielders.

"*Sa-bèlah satu, sa-bèlah dua, sa-bèlah tiga*.—Toss the ball up with the right hand and strike it also with the same hand.

"*Dua-bèlah satu, etc.*—Toss up the ball with the left hand and hit it with the right.

"*Ikat satu, etc.*—Use the right hand, holding the left behind the back.

"*Tèpok dada satu, etc.*—Strike the chest between throwing the ball up and hitting it.

"*Kangkang satu, etc.*—Raise one leg, pass the hand under it, throw up the ball, withdraw the hand and strike.

“*Sepak satu*, etc.—Let the ball fall, and kick—as when making a drop-kick at football.

“As each player goes out his successor begins at the *satu* stroke of the stage in which he came to grief. If the series is completed the boys of the successful side who have not yet been in take their turn all the same.”

XXX. *Main gayau*.—Mr. O'May writes :

“*Gayau* is a wild fruit, round and flat. The game is played by sides, equal in numbers. When a coin has been tossed, the losers place their *gayau* one behind the other at intervals of (say) ten feet, upright on their edges. The other side try one after the other to knock these down with their *gayau*, kicking them from a point (say) twenty feet off in the same line, striking them with the side of the foot as in *porok* so that they skim the surface of the ground. If a player knocks down one of the enemy's *gayau* he gets another kick, delivered this time with the other foot. Sometimes the missile flies over the nearest *gayau* and strikes the second or even (very rarely) the third. Sometimes the same missile knocks down two *gayau* in succession. This is allowed ; but if the second *gayau* is knocked down by the first it counts as a fault and closes the innings. So does a wrong statement of the score. This is a feature of the game: the captain of one side frequently asking the captain of the other what the score is, in the hope of catching him out through a mistake.

“The scoring is as follows :

“If a player knocks down with his first kick—

- |                                  |        |
|----------------------------------|--------|
| (1) The nearest <i>gayau</i> ... | 100    |
| (2) The second <i>gayau</i> ...  | 1,000  |
| (3) The third <i>gayau</i> ...   | 10,000 |

or with his second kick—

- |                                  |         |
|----------------------------------|---------|
| (1) The nearest <i>gayau</i> ... | 1,000   |
| (2) The second <i>gayau</i> ...  | 10,000  |
| (3) The third <i>gayau</i> ...   | 100,000 |

If the first kick is a miss there is no second kick.

“The score is calculated negatively, the other side ‘owing’ these numbers of points. If all of a side miss, they are given another opportunity of scoring. Each takes his missile and aims at one of the standing *gayau* of his opponents. If each now succeeds in hitting the target in three shots his side gets no credit in points but is allowed to start over again. At this stage they can help each other. Thus a player who hits his target with his first shot is allowed three shots

at the targets which his colleagues have missed. If he succeeds with his second shot he is allowed two; and with his third, one.

"If the hostile *gayau* are thus disposed of the team begins again with a clean sheet. If not, their score is 0 and the other side begins. The side that scores the highest figure in its innings is the winner.

"The game is very popular."

### III.—MARBLES (*MAIN GULI* OR *MAIN JAKA*).

(DESCRIPTION BY RAJA ABDUL AZIZ AND DAENG  
ABDUL HAMID.)

This is a game for any number of players. They begin by digging three holes on some open space, the holes being about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter and at intervals of about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  yards. Each player in turn then stands by one of these holes and shoots his marble at the hole furthest from it, the player whose marble comes to rest closest to the hole is selected to open the game. But if in this competition one marble hits another (*tingkis*) every one has to begin again.

The opener of the game now squats on his heels over the hole at one end and shoots his marble at the hole at the other end (*lubang satu*). His object is to send the marble into that hole. Probably he fails. Then all the other boys in succession make the attempt, perhaps with the same result. They then try again in the same order from the place where the marble of each has come to a standstill. The first to get his marble into the *lubang satu* leads off when it comes to shooting at the *lubang dua* or middle hole. The players go on in this way from hole to hole and back again, till they come to the *lubang sa-puloh* or middle hole (for the fourth time). The player who first gets into this hole becomes the *raja* or winner, but before doing so he has to knock away his opponents' marbles with his own so that none of them may be lying within a radius of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  yards of his goal. He then stops playing and stands out. The others go on until by a process of elimination only one player—the loser—is left in. The loser has then to pay forfeit, putting his fist in one of the holes for the other players to shoot at.

A feature of this game is that certain phrases must be repeated when a successful stroke is made. These phrases are:

(i) *Sēmua chukup* (the rules are complied with).

(ii) *Sa-jëngkal raja, masok lubang ta'-korek, sok ta'-ulang, tiga kali raja, ta'-otek, tiga kali otek raja, ta'-idar, ta'-jaka, ta'-idar pinang, ta'-idar punggong, tampan kuis, mantëri këdua raja.*

(iii) *Sëmua ta'-raja, jaka idar, jaka sapu, idar punggong, idar buah idar pinang, sa-jëngkal ta'-raja, tiga kali otek ta'-raja, sok ulang, masok lubang ta'-raja, mantëri ta'-raja.*

If the player is not alert enough to repeat one formula before his opponent repeats the opposition formula he loses the benefit of his successful shot.

These curious expressions are not meaningless; they are brief and idiomatic summaries of rules in the game. Their meaning is as follows:

*Sa-jëngkal raja*: "if after being hit my marble is left within a span's length of yours I win the stroke."

*Masok lubang ta'-korek*: "if my marble after being hit rolls into a hole (I win the stroke)."

*Sok ta'-ulang*: "you may not shoot from a hole near my marble."

*Tiga kali raja*: "if you hit my marble three times successively I win the stroke."

*Ta'-otek*: "you must not be too deliberate (you must play fast)."

*Tiga kali otek raja*: "if you play slowly three successive times I win the stroke."

*Ta'-idar*: "you must not move out of position"—i.e., "you must shoot at my marble from where your marble lies."

*Ta'-jaka*: "my marble must not be moved (by the stroke that hits it)."

*Ta'-idar pinang*: "the *pinang* (marble) must not be moved.

*Ta'-idar punggong*: "you must not squat in an unauthorised attitude."

*Tampan kuis*: "if my marble is stopped by another in its course after being hit I may jerk it away to a distance."

*Mantëri këdua raja*: "if my marble is hit and then another is hit I win the stroke."

*Sëmua ta'-raja*: "I stop your winning the stroke."

*Jaka idar*: "I may move your marble."

*Jaka sapu*: "I may move your marble and sweep the ground to improve my stroke."

*Idar punggong*: "I may squat in any attitude I like."

*Idar buah idar pinang*: "I may move any marble I please."

*Sa-jangkal ta'-raja*: "though after being hit your marble remains within a span's length of mine you don't win the stroke."

*Tiga kali otek ta'-raja*: "though I may have hit you three times successively and slowly, yet you don't win the stroke."

*Sok ulang*: "though I shoot from a hole near your marble (you don't win the stroke)."

*Masok lubang ta'-raja*: "though after being hit your marble rolls into a hole you do not win the stroke."

*Mantëri ta'-raja*: "a cannon does not win the stroke for you."

There are, of course, many local variants of these rules.

The Malay boy holds his marble in the curve formed by bending round his left forefinger against his thumb. He shoots it by inserting his right forefinger behind it and pressing forward.

#### IV.—MAIN "SĒRĒMBAN."

(BY RAJA ABDUL AZIZ AND DAENG ABDUL HAMID.)

There are six kinds of *sĕrĕmban*: *s. raga*, *s. jala*, *s. chupak*, *s. kĕling*, *s. angkut*, and *s. kuis*, which are all played with the shells of a kind of shell-fish called in Malay *kĕrang* and sometimes with little nuts, but two of the above forms of *sĕrĕmban* (*s. raga* and *s. jala*) are played with shells only.

*S. raga* and *s. jala*.—The boys, five or six in number, who desire to play, sit down in a circle and at the commencement of the game every one of them takes out his shells, puts them on his palm—say each boy puts 20 shells—and flings them up to a height of about one span from his hand. While the shells are thus in the air he turns his hand palm-downwards and some of the shells then drop on the back of his hand, and after the second fling he catches them with his hand. This part of the game is called *bĕrsĕlam*. As a rule the boy who has caught the most shells becomes the first boy. Now he takes all the shells which have been used by the players in *bĕrsĕlam* and puts them in his hand. Then he flings them up and finally catches them with his hand, as is done in *bĕrsĕlam*. After this he takes one of the shells for his *tagan*, which he flings up to a convenient height, and while it is thus flying in the air picks up the scattered shells one at a time and then catches the *tagan* before it touches the ground. If the shells lie two or more in a group he has to take them up altogether, and if one of them is left or while picking up the shells one at a time he touches any one of those lying near the one he

wants to take, in both these cases he is said to be *bachéha*—in which case he has to stop with what he has got and let the player at his right-hand side play the remaining shells, and if he only leaves one shell the next player has to *tinting*, which is like what is done in *běrsělam*, but in the former there is only one shell while in the latter there are more shells to deal with. The player is required to *tinting* three times successively as quickly as he can, then if he succeeds, he may take the shell and become the first boy in the next round. There is a little difference between these two kinds of *sěrěmban*. In playing *s. raga* the shells that can be picked up are those that lie bottom-upwards while in the other it is only the shell that lie with the hollow parts upwards that a player is allowed to take.

*S. chupak*.—The difference between this *sěrěmban* and the above two is only this: in playing this form of the game a player does not put the shells in one hand but in both hands and catches them with both hands too. As for the rest it resembles the above two in every respect.

*S. kěling*.—In playing this *sěrěmban* a player must on no account leave three shells unpicked, nor is he allowed to pick up three at a time, otherwise he is said to be *bachéha*, similarly if only three shells drop on the back of his hand.

*Sěrěmban angkut* and *s. kuis*.—In both these games no *tagan* is used. In the former a player with the shells on the back of his hand picks up the scattered shells one by one, but while so doing care must be taken not to let the shells on the back of his hand drop, and not to touch any of those lying near the one he wants to pick, otherwise he will be *bachéha*. In the latter a player with the shells on the back of his hand does not pick up the scattered shells but draws them one by one towards him with his forefinger. The shell he is thus drawing along must hit one of the others or he will be *bachéha*. When he has taken all the shells he flings up those on the back of his hand and then catches them with his hand.

#### V.—MALAY TOYS.

- I. KITES (*layang-layang* or *wau*). See text, pp. 19, 20.
- II. TOPS (*gasing*). See text, pp. 18, 19.
- III. TOY GUNS (*bědíl* or *sěnapang buloh*). See text, pp. 20, 21.
- IV. TRAPS. Malay children are very fond of simple traps for catching birds, fish and small animals. The best known are the *sěrěkap puyoh* for catching quails, the *lapun punai* for snaring green

pigeon, the *tangkul kĕtam* for crabs, and a variety of cage-traps known as *jĕbak*. Trapping is the subject of a separate pamphlet of this series.

V. SLINGS (*ali-ali*). The *ali-ali* is the common catapult. The missile is a *durian*-seed.

VI. TOY BEETLE (*kumbang*). This toy is made of *kabong*-palm seed or *pĕrah*-seed. The seed is perforated by two converging holes so that two apertures are visible on one side and only one on the other. By passing a string through this and then twisting it and allowing it to unravel, the "beetle" revolves very rapidly and emits a humming sound. A game can also be played by making two beetles "fight"—i.e., knock one another till one or other breaks up.

VII. TOY BUFFALO (*kĕrbau pĕlĕpah nyiur*). This is a rough suggestion of a buffalo (see text). It is drawn along the ground by a string through its nose. Other toys of the same sort are the *kĕreta tĕmpurong* and the *itek ayer*.

VIII. WHEELIGIGS. These are known as *bulang-baling*.

IX. TOY BOWS. These are known as *panah*.

X. PELLET BOWS. These are known as *tĕrbil*.

XI. RICE-PIPE (*bangsi*). The simplest form of this rice-pipe is made by splitting the extremity of a rice-stalk (at the point where it is closed), then inserting another piece of rice-stalk and blowing into it. The vibration of the split strands makes a loud noise.

XII. COCK-FIGHTING (*sabong, main taji*). There are a few childish imitations of cock-fighting. In one game a calladium-leaf is fastened to a bamboo "spur" and serves as the armed cock. An opponent comes along with a similar "cock," and the two are thrown at each other till one leaf is cut to pieces by the spur of its opponent. In another game, a bamboo "spur" (*taji*)—really a square-pointed dart—is stuck through a *durian*-seed and serves as a "cock." Strings are attached to the *durian*-seeds and the "cocks" are whirled at each other. The seed that first has a piece sliced off is pronounced the loser.

#### VI.—WORDS SUNG IN THE "BLOSSOM" DANCE.

(See also Skeat's "Malay Magic," p. 647.)

Ku anggit, mayang, ku anggit,  
 Ku anggit pokok mĕngkuang;  
 Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,  
 Ku panggil turun sa-orang.

Ku anggit, mayang, ku anggit,  
 Ku anggit dahan tua ;  
 Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,  
 Ku panggil turun bërdua.

Ku anggit, mayang, ku anggit,  
 Ku anggit di-pohon saga ;  
 Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,  
 Ku panggil turun bërtiga.

Ku anggit, mayang, ku anggit, .  
 Ku anggit pokok mersapat ;  
 Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,  
 Ku panggil turun bërempat.

Ku anggit, mayang, ku anggit,  
 Ku anggit pokok dëlima ;  
 Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,  
 Ku panggil turun bërlima.

Ku anggit, dayang, ku anggit,  
 Ku anggit pokok kërënam ;  
 Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,  
 Ku panggil turun bërënam.

Ku anggit, dayang, ku anggit,  
 Ku anggit di-pohon chuchoh ;  
 Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,  
 Ku panggil turun bërtojoh.

Ku anggit, dayang, ku anggit,  
 Ku anggit diatas lampan ;  
 Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,  
 Ku panggil turun bërlepasan.

Ku anggit, dayang, ku anggit,  
 Ku anggit tiap-tiap bulan ;  
 Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,  
 Ku panggil turun sëmbilan.

Ku anggit, dayang, ku anggit,  
 Ku anggit di-pohon buloh ;  
 Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,  
 Ku panggil turun sa-puloh.

Ku anggit, dayang, ku anggit,  
 Ku anggit di-pokok empélas ;  
 Ku panggil, dayang, ku panggil,  
 Ku panggil turun bĕrsabĕlas.

Etc., etc.

#### VII.—THE *BANDAN* DANCE.

The following are examples of verses sung in the “*Bandan*” dance :

Duri di-hadap daun jĕlatang,  
 Turun luruh changkat di-daki ;  
 Mari mĕngudap *Bandan* datang,  
 Ini-lah ayer pĕmbasoh kaki.  
 Ayuhai *Bandan* Suri !

Bĕrsunting bunga batang mĕnjĕlai,  
 Bunga jatoh, batang di-lempar ;  
 Silakan Che' *Bandan* naik ka-balai,  
 Makan-lah dahulu sireh sa-kapur.  
 Ayuhai *Bandan* Suri !

Di-ambil budak chĕpat bĕrlari,  
 Pĕrmainan orang zaman dahulu ;  
 Lĕpas itu bangkit mĕnari,  
 Jangan-lah pula sĕgan dan malu.  
 Ayuhai *Bandan* Suri !

Lĕbat bunga gandasuri,  
 Mari di-sunting tajok malai ;  
 Boleh-lah *Bandan* pandu mĕnari,  
 Tĕtapi jangan malu dan lalai.  
 Ayuhai *Bandan* Suri !

Bunga di-karang tiada bĕrtali,  
 Tali tĕrap tali yang layang ;  
*Bandan* hĕndak mohon kĕmbali,  
 Tĕngah kaseh bĕrchampur sayang.  
 Ayuhai *Bandan* Suri !

VIII.—A DESCRIPTION OF A *HATHRAH*.

(BY MR. R. O. WINSTEDT.)

The boys costumed as women wear long velvet gowns, crimson pink pale blue, ablaze with tinsel; on wrists and feet bangles and anklets; on their heads turbans said to be of Persian pattern a foot high, very gardens of gilt-leaved pink-blossomed paper roses and crowned with black ostrich feathers. . . . Prostrate, their flowery turbans touching the floor, their hands clasped before them, the boys kneel in a row. Drums clash, the chorus of musicians roar out Arabic words; the boys rise slowly, the play of drooping hands lifted one above another, one above another, giving the idea of climbing and ascent. Then follows a dance by the two chief actors; gliding backwards in a narrow circle, close by one another, heads and feet moving in unison; arms held out now at full length with fingers always drooping and now resting on the hip. Others join them. First, they bend low so that all the quivering flowery turbans touch in their midst; then with one hand on hip and the other stretched out at full length towards the centre of the circle they fall outwards and backwards from the waist up, till they look like opening petals of a single exotic flower. The dance over, they kneel slowly down, and their hands rapidly dropping one over the other, one over the other, are like nothing so much as a falling chain of blossoms.

A comic interlude was introduced in the shape of a small chubby boy dresses in white European tropical clothes and a broad-brimmed foolish straw hat. And to show the versatility of Malay talent, I may add that among the many movements of the actors was a dance after the fashion of an English polka.

IX.—THE *DABUS* DANCERS.

The verses sung by these frenzied dancers are punctuated by cries of "Allah," "Ya Shaikh Abdul Kadir Jailani," etc. A tabor is beaten to accompany the cries and the singing.

Sailillah Těngku Saiyid Alam,  
 Bukit zaman, kubur aulia;  
 Di-tuntut bėsi yang tajam  
 Hėndak mėnawar—. . .

Allah!

. . . bësi yang bisa.  
 Sailillah Tëngku Saiyid Alam,  
 Mériam patah—. . .  
 Allah!

. . . rayat lari;  
 Përang tidak bëbërapa hari,  
 Musoh belut didalam nëgëri.

### X.—MALAY CHESS.

(BY MR. H. O. ROBINSON.)

The game, known as *main chätur* (Skr. *chaturangga*) and *main gajah* in the Malay Peninsula, was undoubtedly introduced from Arabia. It is difficult to say whether the game as played by the Malays more resembles the ancient or the modern form of European chess; it is extremely interesting nevertheless, as the following notes, illustrating its peculiar modifications, will show :

The board, *löh chätur* or *papan chätur* (Arabic *lüh* which means a slate, a writing board, a tablet; and Malay *papan*, a plank, a board) is of sixty-four squares, but with the squares all of one colour, usually the natural colour of the wood used. The squares are marked by cuts in the board, and for some reason which the native himself is unable to explain, two diagonal cuts joining the opposite corners are always present on every Malay chess-board.

The pieces, *buah chätur*, thirty-two in number are as a rule very clumsily made with a *parang* (chopper) from soft wood. One occasionally comes across a turned set; the writer is the fortunate possessor of an ivory set, over half a century old, which originally belonged to Raja Abdullah of the State of Selangor, an old warrior of well nigh fourscore years. The men are not always of different colours, a daub of lime generally serves to distinguish the white from the coloured. How the Malay can be satisfied with such a slight distinction in a game of intricacy is the first thought that comes to mind when one sees two men squatting on a verandah with a board between them and a crowd of interested admirers who are not at all particular as to the rules of the game which concern them. The writer is not aware of any standard for Malay chess-men; Mr. J. B. Elcum, in his article on Malay chess published in the *Singapore Free Press* a few years ago,

stated that the pieces are, or should be, practically similar to ours, with the exception of the rooks which are generally flat like draughtsmen. This has not been the writer's experience; the sets in general use are very confusing and it is difficult to describe the shapes of the pieces without illustrations. The king and queen are identical in shape, the queen being about half an inch shorter; the bishop (elephant) and knight are not unlike the above-mentioned pieces in design but with longer necks and diminished in size in proportion to their value. The rook (chariot) is always flat like a draughtsman with a little knob on top. The pawn is a tiny cylindrical piece with a top knot. When not in use the pieces are placed in a net, very much like a lady's shopping net but made of finer string with half inch meshes, and hung on a nail in the hut.

From the above it will be seen that the pieces in European chess can easily be used for the Malay game; in fact the writer has always found that the Malay is only too pleased to play a game with his boxwood set, as the marked distinction in the pieces is welcomed by him. And now we come to some interesting points where Malay chess differs from the European form of the game.

At the commencement of a game the queen, instead of being placed on her own colour, is stationed at the right hand of the king; this probably explains the reason why the board is uncoloured, or that there is no necessity for a coloured board. All book knowledge of the European openings is therefore useless in the Malay game, but one gets accustomed to this great difference after a little practice, and a man who plays a fair European game will generally find that the strongest Malay he meets comes off second best.

The king (*raja*) moves one square at a time in any direction. Castling is effected in various ways in different parts of the Malay Peninsula and Straits Settlements; the recognised method in Selangor is to move two squares whether a piece intervenes or not, but not in conjunction with one of the rooks. This is permitted even if the king is in check. The king may also, before he is checked or moved from his own square, once move or take like a knight. In Clifford and Swettenham's Malay Dictionary it is stated that the king may also, if he has not moved or been checked, move once over two vacant squares; this privilege-move is unknown to the Selangor Malays. Towards the end of a game care must be exercised in not capturing all the opponent's pieces, for if the king be left *solus* the game is practically drawn as he may move just as he

pleases, like a king, queen, bishop, knight, rook or pawn. He is then termed Râja Lela with powers to *bêrmaharaja lela*—i.e., to play the Maharaja Lela; to take liberties; to act as though the whole place belonged to one—a proverbial expression based upon the fact that the Maharaja Lela though possessed of little real power was quite at home in the palace and had (in State ceremonial) authority to order about men of far greater importance than himself (Wilkinson's "Malay Dictionary").

The queen (*mantri*, Minister of State) stands on the right of the king, as previously stated, and moves as in the European game; so do the bishops (*gajah*, elephant), the knights (*kida*, horse), and the rooks (*tir* or *têr*, a chariot). Wm. Marsden, author of the "History of Sumatra" and compiler of the first Malay Dictionary about a century ago, says that in the language of the coast of Coromandel the word *têr* is equivalent to the Sanskrit *rat'ha*, a chariot. The word is also used by the Tamils of the present day to signify the Juggernaut car used at festivals.

The pawn (*bidak*, from the Arabic) moves one square forward, takes diagonally, and at his first move may move either one or two squares, as in the European game; but there are some very curious rules with regard to queening a pawn, and taking en passant. When a pawn has reached the eighth square on the rook's file it queens at once; the player has also the option of selecting any other piece. If on reaching R7 a piece on Kt square is en prise and captured on the next move, the pawn must move back one square diagonally before queening. On reaching the eighth rank of the knight's file it has to move back one square diagonally, either to the right or left, before queening; on the bishop's file two squares, and on the king's or queen's file three squares. With regard to taking en passant, the following position will illustrate the rule of the Malay game. White pawns on Kt2 and R3, and black pawn on R5. If white moves P to Kt4 P takes P en passant or captures the P on R3 as he pleases, but must always move diagonally. If there be no P on R3, then white can move P to Kt4 without being taken en passant; the reason the Malays assign for this rule is that the black pawn not being blocked has the advantage of moving. There are just one or two curious points more about the pawn's moves. Take white pawn on R2 and black on Kt3 with white to play. P to R3 or 4 is not permitted; P takes P is the only move. Add another white pawn on B2 with white to play. In this instance either of the white pawns is

allowed to take the black pawn, or move if he chooses but to the third square only. These rules may not be applicable in other parts of the Peninsula, but they are recognised in Selangor.

In conclusion, some of the expressions used in this form of chess will perhaps prove of interest. The Malay for check is *sah mate mât* and stale-mate *mîtthu*. The equivalent to our "queen" is *dôman*, but this is used only when the adversary's queen is threatened by a queen; if by any other piece warning must be given by the word *mâ*. This appears to be superfluous. Wilkinson, in his "Malay Dictionary," goes a little further in giving *aras* which he defines thus: Arabic, an expression in chess, "guard your queen," "the queen is en prise," only used, however, when the queen is threatened by a knight. The word *aras* is used in Selangor, but with a totally different meaning—viz., discover check. *Aras sah* is double check, and *aras mâ* is checking the king and queen simultaneously.

The rules and expressions given above are in accordance with those of the game as played in Selangor; that they are slightly modified in other parts of the Peninsula and in the Straits Settlements is most probable, but they give one a fair idea what Malay chess in general is like and a correct one of the game as played in Selangor. Inasmuch as in the preparation of these notes the writer has received the kind assistance of Raja Musa of this State.

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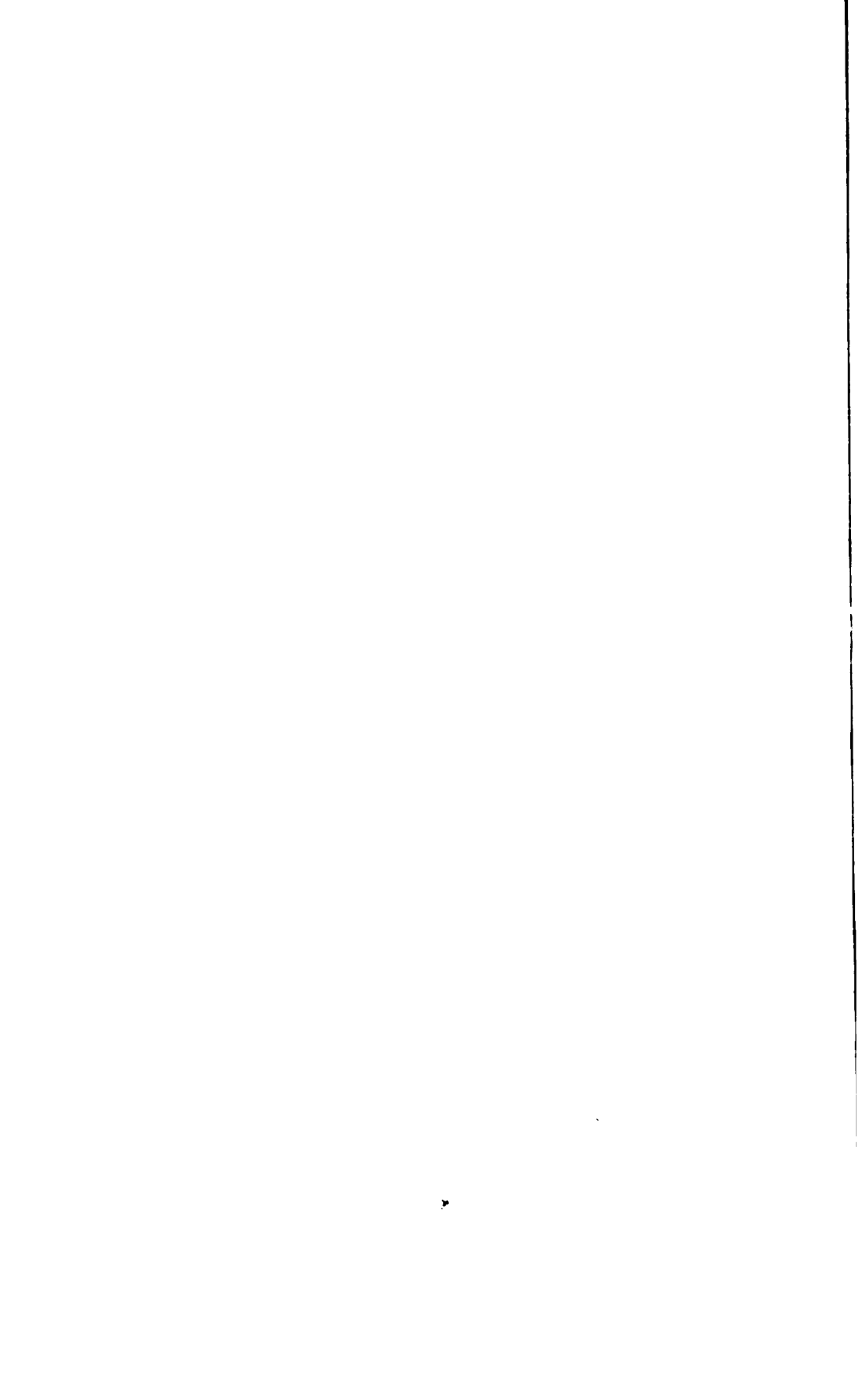
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