

RESEARCHES
INTO THE
PHYSICAL HISTORY
OF
MANKIND.

BY

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ETHNOGRAPHY

OF THE

OCEANIC NATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL SURVEY.

SECTION I.—*Geographical Outline.*

THE Great Southern Ocean, together with the numerous islands and groupes of islands included within its limits, has been reckoned by modern geographers as constituting a fifth division of the globe. The name of Oceanica has been given to this region by Malte-Brun and by other writers who have followed him. The boundaries of Oceanica in the widest acceptation of that name are, on one side, the eastern coast of Africa; on the other, the western shores of the New World. In latitude it extends from the coast of Asia southwards without limit, including all the insulated lands that have been discovered in the Austral Seas. The Island of Madagascar and Easter Island in the Pacific are the extreme parts within this vast space which are recognised as inhabited countries of Oceanica. In the Northern Pacific alone its extent may be subject to some doubt. The Kurilian and Aleutian Islands are not usually reckoned as belonging to it, because they are known to be inhabited by races of people who came immediately from the adjacent continents,

and are unconnected with those tribes of the human race who peopled the remote islands of the Great Ocean. The Aleutian and Kurilian chains are rather looked upon as forming the northern boundary of this fifth region of the world, and with the coasts of Asia and America as completing its littoral termination. The most northerly groupes within the circuit of Oceanica and inhabited by its peculiar races are the Sandwich Islands in the eastern part, and the Marian Islands and the great Archipelago of the Carolines to the west.

The habitable countries of Oceanica are various in their productions and in their geological formation. The great islands of the Indian Archipelago, situated between the tropics and almost under the equator, display the luxuriance of vegetation which belongs to intertropical climates. They are covered in many parts by lofty forests containing the largest and fiercest quadrupeds, a great variety of reptiles, and birds of the most splendid plumage. Some of these countries are of primitive formation, and this formation perhaps extends eastward as far as New Zealand, where, as it is well known, the fossil remains of gigantic birds have been discovered. Other oceanic lands are of volcanic origin, and some of these are of great elevation. In the most remote groupes of the Pacific are mountains consisting of volcanic rocks bearing summits with craters still burning or effete. The Philippines are often agitated by subterranean fires, and the whole cluster of the Moluccas are shaken by the eruptions of the fiery Gilolo.* On the shores of the lofty Papua, which includes New Guinea, New Britain, and New Ireland, the number of burning mountains is unknown. It is already ascertained that there are in Oceanica more numerous still-burning volcanos than in all the remainder of the world. The low islands of Oceanica are of a different description. They consist of immense masses of coral broken down and accumulated. Each island has for its foundation a reef of coral rocks disposed in a form more or less circular, and generally enclosing a lagoon. Some of these islands, though of considerable extent, are but a few feet in elevation above the surface of the surrounding ocean.

* Malte-Brun.

In this great region, which presents such immense varieties of climate and soil and geographical position, we should expect to find, if any where, great diversities in the physical characters of the human tribes to which it affords habitation.

SECTION II.—*Of the Human Inhabitants of Oceanica.—
Different Races and Groupes of Nations.*

The tribes of people who inhabit the widely-spread tracts of this great Oceanic region differ among themselves and from the rest of mankind in physical and moral characters. Some of them bear certain traits of resemblance to the bordering nations of the coasts which surround the Great Ocean on different sides; but none of these traits are so strongly marked or of such a kind as to identify the insular tribes with those of the adjacent main lands, or to afford satisfactory proof that the islanders are descended from the continental nations. We can neither deduce the tribes of the Oceanic isles from the races of people who inhabit the Peruvian Cordillera on the eastern border of the great basin of the ocean, nor from the inhabitants of the South African mountain-ridges which enclose it on the western side. The only continental region where human tribes exist plainly allied to the native races of the islands is the south-eastern extremity of Asia, on the remarkable promontory which may be regarded as a southward prolongation of that continent into the Indian Ocean. There,—namely, in the peninsula of Malacca,—tribes of wild people inhabit inland tracts, who are different from each other in physical characters, and who bear a marked resemblance to more than one of the races of the Great Ocean. It is possible that this may have been the point from which all these races originally came. It must, however, be observed that the inhabitants of the Malayan coast, who are known to be allied to the natives of the adjacent islands, are believed, on apparently sufficient grounds, to have been originally colonies from the islands.

I propose to distinguish the whole collective body of these native races of the Great Ocean by the name of Oceanic or

Pelagian nations. Polynesian they have been often called, but that term has been applied of late to a particular division of them, and is no longer fit to be used as a general name. Under this appellation of Oceanic races several different descriptions of people are comprehended.

The whole collective body of these native races of the Great Ocean are termed Oceanic or Pelagian nations. They are divided into three principal groupes. The first, which alone can be described with propriety as a particular race or family of nations, comprehends the numerous and widely dispersed Malayo-Polynesian tribes, who, though in some instances displaying certain diversities in physical characters and manners, are proved by a decided affinity of dialects to be originally of one kindred. Next to these we must place a groupe of nations who are very inferior to the Malayo-Polynesians in arts and civilisation, and differ from them remarkably in physical characters. These nations also differ from each other in stature and bodily conformation: the characteristic which is common to them is a certain approach in colour, features, and particularly in the nature of their hair, to the Negro races of Africa. In this last particular there is, however, a great difference among them. Some tribes, as the Papuas of New Guinea, have spiral and twisted hair growing in large tufts to a considerable length, which, when combed out, forms an immense frizzled mass enveloping the head with a sort of periwig of great circumference. Other tribes have hair growing in short and closely frizzled curls like the Negroes of Guinea. We cannot comprise all these nations under the designation of Papuas, which belongs to a particular division of them. I shall term them for the sake of distinction Pelagian or Oceanic Negroes. I am aware that some objections may be made to this appellation, but I can discover no other name that is on the whole more suitable. The third department of Oceanic nations have been termed Alfourous, Haraforas, and Alforians. To this division the Australian tribes have been referred, and the Alforas have been described as resembling the Australians in the shape of their heads, which display a peculiar type, and in the nature of their hair, which is not crisp or woolly, but straight and long. Of the

history of these nations we have very little information on which reliance can be placed. The Australians are the only race included among them whose language is known to be distinct from the Polynesian. As to the various tribes of the islands in the Archipelago referred by voyagers to the Alforian people, it is still undetermined whether they are allied to the Polynesian or Australian stock, or constitute a separate family.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE MALAYO-POLYNESIAN NATIONS.

SECTION I.—*General Survey and Subdivision of these Nations.*

THE name of Malayo-Polynesian is given to all those nations of the Great Southern Ocean whose dialects have been found to bear an affinity to the language of the Malays. This is well known to be the case with a great number of tribes spread over different groupes of islands between Madagascar near the coast of Africa, and Teape or Easter Island, which is distant not more than forty degrees from the western sea-border of South America. The affinity of these tribes was inferred from the resemblances of their dialects by Captain Cook and his companions; and since their time it has been made the subject of careful investigation by Marsden, Crawford, and other learned writers, but more especially by the great philologist Baron William von Humboldt.

The ancient abode of the Malayo-Polynesian tribes, or the primitive home of the race, so far as historical traditions and inquiries afford us information, was on some of the islands of the Indian Ocean. The Malayan settlements on the coast of the Peninsula are known to be of late origin and comparatively modern colonies from Java and Sumatra. Still more recent are the trading stations of Malayan people on the coast of the Chinese Sea and the Gulf of Siam.* Elsewhere we find the Malayo-Polynesian race existing only in islands at a distance from the coast of the Asiatic continent.

A closer affinity prevails between the idioms of the tribes

* W. von Humboldt, über die Kawi-Sprache.

denominated Western Malayan nations than between their languages and those of the Pacific Ocean. The former may be almost said to be dialects of one language, since these idioms, as M. de Humboldt has demonstrated, are susceptible of analysis by the same grammatical rules, and consist of elements common to all the nations of this department. In the Philippine Islands this common speech displays the fullest and most varied and elaborate developement of grammatical forms, which are less complete in the cognate idioms of Java, Sumatra, Malacca, and Madagascar. These languages taken together with the Philippine dialects constitute the Western Malayan stem, as far as it can as yet be extended on the basis of grammatical analysis. There is, however, good reason for believing that the dialects of Celebes, and perhaps also those of Borneo, belong to the same department, while, from resemblances in many words and in the significant names of places, it has been inferred that the same idiom is spread over many smaller islands, and even over the whole Indian Archipelago from Sumatra to New Guinea.

To the eastward of the West Malayan region is that of the Polynesian nations. These are tribes scattered over groupes of islands in the Great Southern Ocean, similar in manners and customs to the most rude of the West Malayan islanders, or to those tribes whose simple and primeval state has not been altered by modern habits introduced by the Mohammedan Malays, or by an earlier intercourse with the people of Continental India. The strongest bond of connection between these nations is the diffusion among all of them of the unquestionable remains of a common speech. The languages even of the distantly separated Oceanic tribes, although more remote from the West Malayan dialects than those dialects are among themselves, have been proved by a most accurate analysis not only to have with them and with each other a fundamental vocabulary common to all, but to have been formed by the same laws of construction and grammatical principles. The Polynesian languages which have been most accurately examined and compared by M. de Humboldt are those of New Zealand, of Tahiti, of Tonga, and of the

Sandwich Islands. The nations who speak these languages have laws of society and institutions which separate them from the class of absolute barbarians. They have, for example, a systematic plan of civil government, religious ordinances, and a sort of spiritual or sacerdotal caste: they display skill in various manufactures and in the art of navigation, to which they are all addicted. Traces are found among them in various quarters of a sacred or hieratic language. Their habit of recalling to memory on particular solemn occasions the antiquated expressions of this language indicates a regard to history and the recording of past times which belongs to ages of mental refinement. The Polynesian nations, properly so termed, are ignorant of alphabetic writing, and had, therefore, no literature; but they had cultivated an impressive eloquence and a sort of poetry founded on a regular and artificial system of tones, and they had proverbial maxims indicative of deep reflection. With all these marks of improvement they still retained customs of the most revolting description, and such as appear incompatible with any advancement towards real civilisation. The languages and the habits of the Polynesian tribes afford, as in the opinion of M. de Humboldt, a picture or specimen of the condition of society and manner of existence once common to the whole Malayo-Polynesian family of nations, in their more simple and more ancient and probably their original state.

Besides the four principal Polynesian groupes already mentioned, viz. the people of New Zealand, the Tahitian, Tongan, and Sandwich Islands, there are several clusters or separate islands in the remote regions of the Pacific Ocean who clearly belong to the same department of the race, though it may not be easy to say always to which branch they are most nearly allied. I shall describe them nearly in the order of their local proximity to each groupe. Among them are the natives of the Archipelago of Paumotu, perhaps belonging to the Tahitian division.

Two other subdivisions of people more or less nearly allied to the same family remain to be distinguished. To the westward of the Tonga Islands is the Fijian or Vitian groupe, the

natives of which, though differing from the rest of the stock, yet speak a Polynesian dialect. To the northward of the equator and westward of the meridian of the Tonga Isles, several clusters of greater or less extent are spread through the region intervening between this limit and the Philippine Isles. The most extensive among them are the Archipelago of the Carolines and that of the Marian Isles. I shall comprise all these groupes under the name of the Micronesian Archipelago, which will be explained in its proper place.

SECTION II.—*Of the Nature of the Affinity discovered between the Malayo-Polynesian Languages, and of the different Opinions as to its Origin.*

The existence of so remarkable a connection between the idioms of nations separated from each other by wide seas, and inhabiting islands at the remote and almost extreme parts of the Great Southern Ocean, admits of two explanations, each of which has found advocates. The most obvious supposition is that these islands were first peopled by families emigrating from one spot and originating from the same stock. This is the hypothesis that was adopted by the first voyagers who observed the phenomena of resemblance, and maintained by Mr. Marsden, who first investigated with accuracy the history of the Indian Archipelago. By Marsden the insular nations were considered as colonies from the original Malays whose abode was in the Island of Sumatra. Their common speech was termed by him the Great Polynesian language. The idioms of all the islanders were supposed to have become diversified through lapse of time and various accidents, but to have been originally the same. He thus expresses himself.

“ The idiom of the Malays is a branch or dialect of the widely extended language prevailing throughout the islands of the Archipelago to which it gives name, (which may be understood to comprehend the Sunda, Philippine, and Molucca Islands,) and those of the South Sea; comprehending between Madagascar on the one hand, and Easter Island on

the other, both inclusive, the space of two hundred degrees of longitude." "The various dialects of this speech, though they have a wonderful accordance in many essential properties, have experienced those changes which separation, time, and accident produce, and in respect to the purposes of intercourse may be classed into several languages, differing considerably from each other."* The same author observes in another place, that "this language comprehends a wider space than the Roman, or any other tongue, has yet boasted." "In different places it has been more or less mixed or corrupted, but between the most dissimilar branches an evident sameness of radical words is apparent; and in some very distant from each other in point of situation, as for instance, the Philippines and Madagascar, the deviation of words is scarcely more than is observed in the dialects of neighbouring provinces of the same kingdom." †

A very different notion on this subject has been maintained by the able writer of the 'History of the Indian Archipelago.' Mr. Crawford was far from adopting the notion that all these insular nations are branches of one original race. He founds a contrary opinion on an examination of the different dialects found in the Indian Ocean. It is Mr. Crawford's conclusion, that "after abstracting all the additions and modifications derived from foreign influence, Indian, Arabian, and European, the idioms of the insular nations of the Indian Archipelago admit of separation into two distinct parts. One of these is the primitive stock of words belonging to the rude horde from which each tribe originated:" this is looked upon by Mr. Crawford as the radical portion of the language, and every particular tribe is by him considered as a distinct race having an original stock of words of its own, being itself properly indigenous. The second part of each idiom is supposed to have been derived from a foreign language spread by a more civilised people by means of maritime intercourse and conquest over the whole Archipelago. This is termed by Mr. Crawford the Great Polynesian language. He is of opinion that the class of words derived from the Great Poly-

* Asiatic Researches, vol. x. p. 166.

† History of Sumatra, p. 209.

nesian language are generally such as belong to the first great steps in the progress of civilization, arguing thence that civilization and improvement emanated from the people who spoke it. "The following," he says, "may be enumerated as examples: the names of useful plants and grains, such as rice, Indian corn, sugar-cane, &c.; words connected with the necessary arts, such as modes of husbandry, weaving; the names of the useful metals, and of domestic animals. The words for *weaving*, the *shuttle*, the *warp* and the *woof*, are, as far as my information extends, the same in every language of the Archipelago. Iron and gold are generally known by the same terms; but silver and copper, of foreign introduction, are usually known by a Sanskrit name. The domestic animals are commonly known by one general name; while the wild ones of the same race, in those countries where they are indigenous, have a distinct name in each separate dialect."

"Words connected with arts so simple and necessary as to imply no invention, but which must at once have occurred to the most untutored savages, will be found distinct in each language. In such arts the use of the rattan and bamboo, the native and abundant growth of every country of the Archipelago, is perpetually implied, and these plants therefore retain their primitive names in every separate language.

"One of the most striking examples of the influence of a general Polynesian language in the civilisation of the ruder tribes, may be adduced from a collation of the numerals of the different languages. We are not to suppose that even the rudest tribes required to be taught the rudiments of an art which has its origin in the very nature of man and language, but the extension and improvement of that art may evidently be traced to one source. The numerals of the more improved tribes are, with few exceptions, and making proper allowance for varieties of orthography, the same in all. In all, however, relics of an original enunciation may be discovered. In the less improved, these relics are considerable in the lower part of the scale. In a few, the original numerals continue unaltered so far, but in the higher all agree in borrowing from the same source, from the Great Polynesian.

“ Besides the class of words now alluded to, a very considerable number of the most familiar and ordinary words of every language will be found the same throughout the most cultivated languages. Such words, for example, as sun, moon, star, sky, stone, earth, fire, water, eye, nose, foot, hand, blood, dead.

“ The existence of a class of words of this description will hardly be explained by any influence short of domination and conquest, or of great admixture, which implies, in that state of society, nearly the same thing.

“ On the evidence of language, we may pronounce as to the state of civilisation of such a nation, that they had made some progress in agriculture ; that they understood the use of iron ; had artificers in this metal and in gold, perhaps made trinkets of the latter ; were clothed with a fabric made of the fibrous bark of plants, which they wove in the loom ; were ignorant of the manufacture of cotton cloth, which was acquired in after-times from the continent of India ; had tamed the cow and buffalo, and applied them to draught and carriage, and the hog, the domestic fowl, and the duck, and used them for food. Such a nation, in all probability, was in a state of social advancement beyond the ancient Mexicans ; for they not only understood the use of iron and the larger animals, which the Mexicans did not, but the wide spread of their language across many seas proves that they had made considerable progress in maritime skill, which the Mexicans had not. If they possessed the art of writing and a national calendar, the probability of which will be afterwards shewn, their superiority was still more decided.” *

An obvious defect in Mr. Crawford's theory is, that it affords no explanation nor gives any account of the dispersion of the Polynesian race over the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Indeed the supposition that the people who spread one language over the Indian Archipelago were a nation of superior attainments in arts and civilisation seems to be refuted by the state in which we discover this race in the distant groupes of the Great Southern Ocean. That the tribes who colonised Tahiti and the Sandwich Isles and Easter Island, and who

* Crawford's History of the Indian Archipelago, vol. ii. pp. 82-84, 85.

established their language in those islands, possessed previously to their migration a knowledge of the use of metals and of the agricultural and mechanical arts, and all the improvements in social life which Crawford ascribes to his comparatively civilised colonists or conquerors of the Sunda and other Indian islands, is extremely improbable. It can hardly be imagined that they would have fallen into the barbarous state in which we find the islanders of the Pacific at the present day. This consideration affords strong reason for believing that the higher refinement which has been discovered in the Indian islands was derived from another source, and that those portions both of the languages and of the population of different islands, which may be termed Polynesian from their connection and affinity with what exists in the remote Oceanic groupes, are the most ancient and original. We have reason to believe that in very remote times traffic was carried on between Continental India and the islands. The tin-mines of Malacca were early celebrated, and the production of the islands was probably conveyed to the ports of the Hindoos. It would otherwise be impossible to account for the existence of many Sanskrit names of metals and other objects which are well known to exist in the languages of the Archipelago. It is much more probable that the islanders were civilised through this channel than by a cultivated nation, of whose existence we find no trace, akin to the Oceanic Polynesians in language, but differing entirely from them as to their state of mental development and civilisation.

If we examine the analogies and the diversities of these insular languages in the point of view in which M. Abel Rémusat has taught us to compare the idioms of different nations, we shall draw an opposite conclusion from that of Mr. Crawford. It might indeed be concluded from the phenomena alone that the original language of the several tribes was identical, and that the diversities were superadded, or were the effect of time and accident. The numerals, for in these the discrepancies are in point of fact only slight, the names of family relations, of parts of the body, of the great objects of external nature, of the universal elements, of

animals and esculent plants, are common to all these idioms. If to all these proofs we add the undoubted unity in grammatical structure and in the first principles of the formation of words which M. de Humboldt has most fully demonstrated to exist, there seems to be scarcely any room left for doubt as to the conclusion which we must adopt.

The celebrated philologer last mentioned, in his great work on the "Kawi-Sprache," has critically examined the grounds of Mr. Crawford's hypothesis. He observes that the whole foundation of his theory is merely the fact that a part of the constituent words of each dialect is common to the speech of the whole family of nations, while a certain proportion is peculiar to the idiom of each particular tribe. Now it is evident that the correctness of this distinction and the truth of the negative part of it depends on the accuracy of research and the means of investigation within reach of those who have instituted the inquiry. The fact that any particular word has yet been recognised in the idiom of only one tribe does not prove that it was originally wanting to the common, perhaps the original language of the race. Languages have often for one object many expressions, and some have many roots of cognate or similar import; and the preservation of particular words, or the propagation and spread of particular roots in one language while the derivatives of a different radical word have occupied the same place in a kindred dialect, is often merely accidental. The difference of synonymous words in two languages, says M. de Humboldt, can only be regarded as evidence of original distinctness, when it has been shown that there is something in the structure of such words in one idiom which is incompatible with the laws which govern the structure of words in other dialects. But this has never been pretended. Mr. Crawford observes, indeed, with good reason, that the extension of this common language over maritime regions of so vast an extent is, in regard to the circumstances under which it took place, a subject of great obscurity, but the difficulties of explanation are not greater on one hypothesis than on the other. In the insular regions of the Great Ocean there is nothing, as the same writer observes, that gives support or probability to the hypothesis adopted by Mr.

Crawford. Many islands appear to have been uninhabited when they were first colonised by Polynesian tribes; and when Negro hordes and Malayan people are found in the same island or groupe, which is often the case in the islands of the Indian Seas, no alliance or intercourse generally subsists between the two races. The former are for the most part found to have been driven into the interior, where they were secluded in mountainous and inaccessible places. It is an unquestionable fact that all these dialects belong to one original stem, the unity of which is not less demonstrable than that of the different members of the Indo-European family of languages. This is indeed fully established both by the resemblance of words and of roots, and by that of grammatical formation. It is very rarely that a word is found in one dialect that is peculiar to it and wanting in all others. Most roots can be traced through several dialects, and many are recognised in *all* either in words of the same or of analogous meaning; and when compounded words are wanting in one dialect, the roots from which they are derived or composed can often be discovered in another after a diligent research. M. de Humboldt has illustrated and established this general observation by many particular examples. For this I must refer my readers to his work, and I shall merely observe that many of these examples are selected from the most distant members of the whole family of languages, as from the idioms of Madagascar, from the Malayan, the Tagala, and the dialects of the Tonga Islands. Of each of these languages M. de Humboldt has instituted a careful examination, comprehending an analysis of it on critical principles, and of the laws of formation in accordance with which the common vocabulary is in each idiom changed and modified in such a manner as to give rise to the diversity and variation between the dialects. The most obvious explanation of such a phenomenon is, that a number of tribes of kindred origin peopled the different clusters of islands, and afterwards kept up for a long time a constant intercourse. Under these circumstances the Malayo-Polynesian language was formed and developed.*

* Kawi-Sprache, B. 2, S. 218 et seqq.

SECTION III.—*Of the Characteristics of the Malayo-Polynesian Languages.*

The Malayo-Polynesian languages consist of roots, which, after the separation of particles and the reduction to their most simple grammatical form, are frequently and, it may even be said, for the most part dissyllables. Even when the word is a monosyllable, it is, especially in the Tagala, the most perfectly developed of these languages, generally doubled, and thus assumes the character of a dissyllabic root.

M. de Humboldt was the first who attempted to penetrate into the original construction of these roots, and he fully convinced himself that both of the syllables comprised in one word can be found in many instances existing as monosyllabic roots in these same languages, and that the fact of their juxtaposition and combination may easily be explained. M. de Humboldt has proved this by many examples in the various dialects belonging to both branches of the Malayo-Polynesian stock, and he concludes that the original form of these languages was monosyllabic. The second syllables are as truly distinct words as the first, and they do not stand to the former in the relation of suffixes or inflecting particles. It must be admitted that M. de Humboldt has generalised much on these facts, but they are facts which require explanation, and it does not appear that any other can be found. The very tendency to reduplication of simple monosyllabic roots is in itself a proof of very great proneness to the dissyllabic form.*

The most striking grammatical peculiarities of all these languages are the following.

Nouns are indeclinable words, and have neither genders nor cases: verbs have no personal inflexions: these languages have neither inflexion, which is a principal character of the

* Humboldt on the "Kawi-Sprache." Einleitung 406, and B. 2. 285. He says in the last place: "Die grösste Zahl der Malayischen einfachen und nicht zusammengezogenen Grundwörter ist zweisyllbig, und besteht daher aus der sich selbst wiederholenden, oder sich mit einer verschiedenen Endsyble verbindenden Wurzel."

Indo-European and Syro-Arabian languages, nor have they that sort of combination of particles with nouns and verbs, or absorption of other words into verbs, which is regarded as characteristic of the American languages, and is termed by Humboldt "agglutination." All the relations of words to each other are indicated in sentences by numerous separate syllables or particles, which never coalesce with the words representing ideas. In this respect the Malayo-Polynesian languages approach the Chinese. But the Malayo-Polynesian idioms have a capability of expressing by prefixed, suffixed, and infixed particles, shades of meaning partly grammatical, partly beyond the sphere of grammatical relations. They sacrifice also much to euphony, and prefix certain letters, and remove the accent, and thus present a singular appearance of most involved grammatical forms, with very scanty declension and conjugation. The pronouns in these idioms are never connected with the verbs except in the loosest manner, and they are not replaced by personal signs. In this instance there is a striking contrast between the Malayo-Polynesian languages and the American, in which not only verbs but nouns form the closest connection with pronouns.

The general characters of the Malayo-Polynesian languages are comprised by M. de Humboldt under the following heads.

1. The alphabet, or rather the number of elements usually represented by letters, is, in the languages of this family, very limited. The series of lingual consonants and that of aspirate letters are wholly wanting, if we may judge from existing characters, and from the languages reduced to writing. If some dialects have a simple aspirate, they all want the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated consonants. On the other hand, these idioms have a preference for nasal sounds, chiefly at the terminations, but also at the beginnings of words.

2. The syllables, with a few exceptions, consist merely of a simple consonant and a vowel. Two consonants seldom occur together, and then only as a result of combination of words under peculiar circumstances.

3. Monosyllabic words are the least frequent, if we con-

sider the reduplicated roots, to the formation of which some dialects are particularly prone, as real words. And such they truly are. Roots of more than two syllables are still more rare if we avoid mistaking for such roots words lengthened by affixes or by composition. The majority of simple Malayan words are dissyllables, and consist either of a reduplicated root or of a root originally monosyllabic with a final syllable added. The nature of these added syllables has already been explained.

4. In sentences the words remain unchanged, being never altered either by inflexion or coalition. Differences in gender and varieties in the verbs, such as are usually represented in other languages by causal, frequentative, and other forms, or again, by the active and passive voices, and alterations in sense which elsewhere are managed by the use of prepositions in composition, are here all represented by affixes, before, or at the end, or inserted into the middle of words. The junction of these particles causes changes in the accent and pronunciation of primitive roots, indicating an effort to maintain the unity of words.

5. The relations of time, expressed by us in conjugations of verbs, are in these languages expressed also in connection with nouns.

6. No pronominal endings are used to denote the persons of verbs. Hence verbs can never, with them, form, as they do in other languages, the turning point or spring of meaning in a sentence. Nay, it is often dubious whether a word is a verb or a noun. This is the greatest deficiency in these languages, and that wherein they are most directly contrasted with the Sanskrit. And hence perhaps it is, that though some of the dialects of this speech have incorporated many Sanskrit words, they have never incorporated the verbs of that language.

Paragraph 2.—On the Polynesian or Eastern Branch.

In the opinion of M. de Humboldt, the Eastern Polynesian, comprising the dialects of the insular nations furthest re-

moved from the Continent of Asia, particularly the Tahitian, or the idiom of Tahiti and the Society Isles, the Hawaiian or that of the Sandwich Islands, and the Maorian or the speech of New Zealand, all three of which are so nearly allied that they may be considered as probably dialects of one language, may be regarded as the most ancient or archaic form of the Malayo-Polynesian tongue. He adduces several facts which tend to confirm this opinion, which circumstances obviously render very probable.* The simple and primitive form of the Polynesian grammar is one indication of its greater antiquity. It has besides the greatest number of monosyllabic words, such words being in reality very scanty in the Malayan.† A wild tribe in the Malayan country bears the name of *Orang Benūa*. These people are supposed to be the tribe from which all the Malayan nations are descended. The word *Benūa* in the modern Malay bears no sense that can afford a significant interpretation of this epithet. But in the Polynesian *wenua*—N. Z., *fenua*—Tah., *fonnuā*—Tong. means *desert land, wilderness*. Another tribe of similar native people is termed *Orang udái*. These, according to Sir T. S. Raffles, are the same as the Semang or woolly-haired Negroes of the Malayan Peninsula. This name seems to be derived from a Polynesian word *uta*, land. *Orang uta* means thus "People of the land;" a name likely to be given by colonists from abroad who came to settle on the coast of the peninsula.‡

The principal idioms of the Polynesian branch compared by Humboldt are, as we have said, the Tongan, which is somewhat nearer to the Malayan, and the three proximate languages of New Zealand, Tahiti, and Hawaiï. From the comparison of the grammatical forms of these languages he draws the following conclusions.

1. Every word in a sentence stands by itself as a significant expression, as an integer subject to no modification.
2. This remark is to be extended to words which are in-

* Kawi-Sprache, ii., p. 293.

† Marsden's Malay Grammar, p. 122-123.

‡ Kawi-Sprache, B. ii., 293.

serted for the purpose of indicating what we term grammatical relations.

3. None of these words undergo variations in form or composition.

4. Neither do these words coalesce or amalgamate themselves with those words of which they point out the relations.

The preceding characters are all common to the Eastern Polynesian languages with the Chinese. The words of this language might be denoted by Chinese characters. It has been observed that there are more numerous monosyllables in the Polynesian than in the Malayan. The principal differences of structure between the Polynesian and the Chinese consist in the mode of using particles or the words of relation which supply the place of inflection. In the use of these particles Humboldt observes that the Polynesian languages bear a striking analogy to several American languages, but that these languages differ from the Polynesian in the amalgamations and coalitions which such particles undergo with the leading words, amounting to a real agglutination, as he terms it, or a production of aggregate or compound words.

On the whole, it seems that few classes of human idioms bear so much analogy in the leading peculiarities of structure as do the Chinese and the Polynesian, and none are more strongly contrasted than the Polynesian and the Sanskrit and its correlatives.*

The French Journal *Asiatique* contains, in the number for June, 1844, some remarks on the Polynesian languages by M. Dulaurier, who is known to have devoted much study, and with remarkable success, to the acquisition of a profound knowledge of these idioms. In his general description of their essential character he coincides with M. de Humboldt, but as he expresses himself somewhat differently, and is to be regarded as an independent authority, I shall, in concluding this topic, cite his remarks.

“ Les mots de cette langue sont très simples ; les syllabes

* Though the Polynesian and the Sanskrit are so strongly contrasted in structure, some writers, as we shall have occasion in a future section to observe, regard them as very nearly allied in elementary roots and vocabulary.

se composent, ou d'une seule voyelle, ou d'une consonne suivie d'une voyelle; jamais un mot n'est terminé par une consonne. Tous les mots sont invariables, et le même mot sert de nom, d'adjectif, de verbe, et de particule. Les différents rapports des parties de discours que nous exprimons par la déclinaison, la conjugaison, et les prépositions, se rendent pas des mots qu'on pourrait, dans ce cas, appeler *particules*, bien qu'ils soient de véritables mots qui, dans tous les autres cas, sont substantifs, adjectifs, et verbes. C'est à l'aide de ces *mots-particules* qu'on exprime les différents rapports des parties de discours, avec une précision et une vivacité dont les langues plus cultivées ne sont pas capables, parceque leurs terminaisons et leurs particules ne sont, d'ordinaire, que de signes n'ayant d'autre valeur que celle d'indiquer les rapports des mots. La manière d'exprimer les rapports grammaticaux par des mots-particules se trouve dans tous les rameaux des idiomes océaniens, et, sur cette considération seule, l'illustre G. de Humboldt se décida à déclarer l'identité de tous, pendant que, par la comparaison lexicque, il a cru pouvoir les ranger en cinq branches, savoir : le Malay et le Javanais, la langue de Célébès, celle de Madagascar, celle des Philippines, et enfin celle d'Océanie orientale. Ces mots-particules sont très multipliés dans les phrases océaniques, et vû l'impossibilité ou il serait de pouvoir les rendre tous d'une manière exacte dans une autre langue, un grammairien superficiel en déclarerait, assurément, une grande partie oisifs ou tout au moins explétifs, comme on l'a fait pour les particules si répétées des poésies Homériques.

“ L'absence de toute flexion et des particules proprement dites prouve évidemment que la langue océanique est dans un état de pure nature, et que, par conséquent, la signification de chaque mot a été conservée et est en pleine vigueur. C'est donc une langue vraiment vivante, puisqu'elle subsiste de toutes ses parties. Nos langues cultivées ne sont vis-à-vis d'elle que de vieux arbres à branches desséchées : leurs terminaisons et leurs particules sont mortes, puisque nous ne connaissons plus leur signification.”

The principal foundation of M. de Humboldt's inferences and

general conclusions is a careful examination of the structure and derivation of one hundred and thirty-one primitive words, or roots, common to all the nine chief languages belonging to both branches of the Malayo-Polynesian stock. These are, in the western branch, the Malecassian, or the language of the inhabitants of Madagascar, the Malayan, the Javanese, the Búgis spoken in Celebes, and the Tagala, which is the principal idiom of the Philippine Islands: in the eastern or Polynesian branch, properly so termed, the languages of New Zealand, the Tonga Isles, Tahiti and the Society Isles, and lastly the Hawaiian, as it is now termed, or the speech of Owhyhee and the Sandwich Islands. The author assures us that these one hundred and thirty-one words have not been selected on account of greater resemblance than what is observable in the general vocabulary of the several languages, since such a mode of proceeding might give an unfair result, and an appearance of nearer affinity than really exists. Moreover, the collection comprehends words belonging to the following different classes of ideas, viz. 1, elements of nature and material objects; 2, spiritual beings; 3, heavenly bodies and phenomena, as sun, moon, winds; 4, earth, and things on earth; 5, parts of time; 6, of space; 7, man and human things, family relations, &c.; 8, parts of the body; 9, animals; 10, plants; 11, implements; 12, adjectives; 13, verbs; 14, conjunctions. Besides these, the numerals in these languages have been analytically compared, and much pains have been bestowed on the comparison of grammatical forms.*

The conclusions deduced from this laborious analysis are that there not only exists a fundamental and close affinity between the several languages compared, in regard to their vocabulary or material of words, but also that the construction is in so far alike, that they must all be considered as belonging to one and the same grammatical system, and that the varieties displayed in these respects come within the limits of this system, and are in accordance with the same general grammatical principles.†

* M. de Humboldt, *Kawi-Sprache*, i. 236.

† *Ibid*, 283.

SECTION IV.—*Of the Origin of Sanskrit Words existing in the Malayo-Polynesian Dialects, and of the supposed Relationship of the Malayo-Polynesian and Indo-European Families of Languages.*

It has been known since the time of Sir William Jones that the Malayan language contains many words derived from the Sanskrit. Later investigation has shewn that the number of these words is very much greater than it was thought probable that it would be found to be, and that they constitute a more integral part of the Malayan tongue. The nature and origin of the relation which appears to subsist between the dialects allied to this language, and the ancient learned idiom of the Indian continent, has become a subject of much discussion; and it is obviously one of great importance in its bearing on the history of the Malayo-Polynesian race. It was conjectured by Mr. Marsden that the admixture of Sanskrit words in the Malayan speech may merely have been the result of commercial intercourse between the people of India and the Malays, and the trading coast of Guzerat was pointed out as the quarter whence it was most likely to have originated. The resort of the people of Guzerat to Malacca is noticed particularly by De Barros and other authentic writers. Mr. Marsden adds that the Hindú language is well known to have been preserved with greater purity in Guzerat than in any other maritime province of India. Dr. Leyden rejected Mr. Marsden's hypothesis, and maintained the opinion that it was from Telingana, or the ancient kingdom of Kalinga, on the eastern coast of the Dekhan, that the Malayan language derived in part the Sanskrit words which it contains, and the people who speak it a portion of their literature. He was nearer to the truth in attributing a greater influence to the Javanese colonisation of Malacca, and to intercourse between the Javanese and the natives of the Malayan peninsula. One observation of this writer in connection with the same inquiry, if he had followed the clue, might have given him a much deeper

insight into the history of the Malayan language. He remarks that those portions of the Malayan which are derived from the sacred language of India are purely Sanskrit. If so, they cannot have been introduced through the medium of the modern dialects. In every instance, he observes, such words adopted into the Malayan approach even more nearly to the original Sanskrit than the old forms of the Pali. Many mythological stories are likewise extant in the Malayan, and in these mythological characters are introduced which, as far as Dr. Leyden was able to learn, do not occur in any Pali compositions. It was, therefore, not through the intervention of Pali that words of Sanskrit origin were introduced into the language of the Malays. On similar grounds it might have been argued that neither the Hindí of Guzerat, nor any dialect spoken in the Dekhan, could have been the medium.*

It has been observed by M. de Humboldt, who has surveyed this subject in that comprehensive manner which is characteristic of all his writings, that the numerous Sanskrit words existing in the Malayan language are of a two-fold description. The greater proportion of them, like *kāta*, *sabda*, *cheritera*, a legend, *nāma*, name, *ūtāra*, the north, *swāra*, voice, are found only in the Malayan proper and the Javan,† without having passed into the other languages of this stock. Such words must have been adopted apparently into the dialects in which they are found at a comparatively late period,—namely, subsequently to the dispersion of the insular nations from a common centre. Yet, as the same writer further remarks, this period must itself have been a very remote one, since the *Sanskrit words adopted in the Malayan language are pure and genuine, and free from those corruptions which the modern Indian dialects display*. The second class of Sanskrit words are common to other dialects, and often to many branches of the Malayan language. The wide diffusion

* Marsden's Grammar of the Malayan Language, preface. Dr. Leyden on the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations. Asiatic Researches, vol. 10.

† The Búgís ought probably to be added to the languages to which this observation is applied. See Humboldt, Kawi-Sprache, Th. 3, s. 314.

of such words through these insular idioms must be attributed to the influence of an older form of the Sanskrit, "einer Vor Sanskritische Sprache,"* or of that ancient language which exercised a similar influence over the idioms of the Indian continent. What is the proportional number of words belonging to this class can only be ascertained by a careful analysis of all the dialects of the Malayo-Polynesian nations. The most important instances will be manifested in the examination of the numerals and pronouns of these dialects. Humboldt gives as specimens the words *aho*, Tonga, **अहम्** *aham*, Sanskrit, ego; *mēga*, Malay, *mica*, Malecasian, **मेघ** *mēgha*, Sanskrit, a cloud; and the Malecasian *malafa*, **लभ्** *labh*, Sanskrit, **λαμβάνειν**. The editor of Humboldt's work, M. Buschmann, observes on this passage of his author, that it was the intention of the latter to have devoted a particular chapter to a comprehensive view of the relations between the Sanskrit and the Malayo-Polynesian idioms. He did not live to complete this design; and Buschmann, with a view of supplying in some degree the deficiency, has given in a note a few words which had occurred to him, analogous to Sanskrit vocables, in the Tagala, Malecassian, and proper Polynesian languages.† Some of them will be seen in the following pages.

The researches of Humboldt into the languages and litera-

* M. Bopp has explained what M. de Humboldt probably meant by the expression Vor-Sanskritische Sprache, which is but inexactly translated an older Sanskrit language. He considers the language to which this designation may be applied as older than the Sanskrit of Indian poems. He observes that many of the forms which comparative grammar proves once to have existed in this older Sanskrit, appear to have been lost before the age of literary composition. These forms are only found extant in the oldest languages of the Indo-European groupe. Such is the form of the Greek **τινυφα-τι**, defective in the Sanskrit *tutopa*, and **διδουμαι**, compared with the Sanskrit *dadui*. Bopp says that when he speaks of Sanskrit as the groundwork of the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages, which we shall see that he considers it to be, he means not the classical Sanskrit, but an older speech of which the Sanskrit is a later form, and of which the oldest Indo-European idioms may be regarded as coëval and sister languages.

† Humboldt, Kawi-Sprache. Dritt. Th. S. 228.

ture of Java have proved that the Indian colonisation of Java and the developement of the *Kawi*, the sacred and cultivated dialect of that island, have furnished the medium by which the languages of the Archipelago have derived the greater portion of that infusion of Sanskrit which they display. He observes that the Kawi forms *mami*, ego, and *kami*, nos, appear to be connected with the Sanskrit pronouns *mama* and *mé*; but adds that he was able to trace in the whole system of pronouns in the Malayo-Polynesian languages a deeply-rooted affinity, which must be regarded as much more ancient than the era at which words fully developed in their present forms can be imagined to have been transferred from the Sanskrit into the Malayan idioms. That the Sanskrit language, or a language of which classical Sanskrit is but a more embellished and a less primitive and simple form, should really have entered into the elementary composition of the idioms spoken by the remote islanders of the Pacific, is, if it should be fully established, a most remarkable and surprising fact. Humboldt seems to have suspected it, though he has expressed himself in a somewhat cautious and reserved manner on this subject; but Professor Bopp, whose fame as an investigator of languages is so universally celebrated, has not hesitated in declaring his full conviction that the whole groupe of Malayo-Polynesian languages are entirely produced and engendered from a disintegration of the Sanskrit. The Sanskrit bears, as he thinks, to the Malayan the relation of a mother-speech, while it is a sister-idiom when compared with several members of the groupe of European languages. As the Romanish dialects are formed from the ruins of the Latin language, its organisation having been broken up and destroyed, so in M. Bopp's opinion the Malayo-Polynesian has been built up from the fragments of the Sanskrit. There is, however, this important difference, that whereas the Romanish dialects have in most instances preserved at least traces, and in some cases considerable portions of the old Latin inflection, especially in the conjugation of verbs and the declension of pronouns, every vestige of grammatical structure has been lost in the languages of the Oceanic tribes. The obvious result of such a state of things, as Bopp observes,

must be that the most unquestionable proofs of derivation will be wanting in the comparison of the Malayan with the Sanskrit, since grammatical affinity is out of the question, and we can only look to the evidence afforded by resemblance of words. This throws open a wide field of conjectural etymology. The analysis of the Indo-European languages has been reduced to fixed laws, and the investigation may be regarded, within these limits, as a matter of scientific research; but it is difficult to establish a similar conviction on the evidence of insulated resemblances, such as those which the Polynesian languages are capable of affording. It is, indeed, hard to imagine so complete a dismemberment of structure as the supposed case requires. If we were to form a conjecture on the subject, it would be that the fragmentary state of language was the original one, and that organisation and construction were superadded in time. This would bring us to the notion that the state of speech which appears in the Malayan language is the primeval one, and that of the Indo-European idioms a secondary and improved form; but few persons would adopt this alternative in the instance now under review without much stronger evidence than we now possess. There are, however, striking features of likeness to the Sanskrit in two classes of words pervading nearly the whole system of Malayo-Polynesian languages,—namely, the pronouns and the numerals. Bopp has suggested that the evidence afforded by the former may be explained away on the supposition that certain organic causes may have given rise to analogy in such words as express personal relation and identity, such as *ego, tu, is*. This appears to me, I confess, extremely fanciful; and although it is true that personal pronouns are decidedly analogous in very many languages which betray little other resemblance,* I think it is much

* The following groups of languages, though entirely *allophylian*, bear in pronouns or numerals or in both a manifest and indeed unquestionable analogy to the pronouns of the Indo-European and Sanskrit class:—1. The idioms of the Shemite nations: 2. The languages of North Eastern Asia, akin to the Turkish, Mongolian, and Tungusian: 3. The Coptic: 4. Several African languages.

more probable that the explanation of this fact is to be sought in the more permanent preservation of such elements of speech, and in the original derivation of these languages, now so greatly diversified, from a remote parent stock, rather than in any organic tendency. The numerals, however,—namely, the first ten, and particularly the first five,—afford, in the opinion of M. Bopp, the most unequivocal evidence of affinity. He does not think it probable that the lowest numerals can have been introduced among any people by foreigners.* On this he places his chief stress. I must lay before my readers some specimens of the sort of resemblance which he has endeavoured to trace, and shall commence with the numerals.

1. The Sanskrit word for one, *éka*, is preserved in the Greek *ἑκάτερος*, Sanskrit, *ekataras*, a comparative form, and in *ἑναστός*. In Latin we trace the same etymon in *cocles*. In the Gothic, which affects, as it is well known, aspirates for palatines, we find *haihs*, one-eyed, from the themes *ha-iha*, with which the Latin *cæcus* may be compared; in *ha-ufs*, one-handed, and in other analogous words.

In the Malayo-Polynesian dialects we find a syllable derivable from *éka*, though not strictly used as a numeral: *ca* in the Tagala is an indefinite article, rendered *un* and *una* by Dom. de los Santos, as *ca-tava*, un hombre, a man, which may be rendered in Sanskrit by *éka-dhava*. Doubled, this particle means “only one,” as *caca-potol*, rendered “un solo pezaro.” Humboldt considers the prefix *ica*, which is set before ordinal numbers, as the same word; and Bopp has suggested that the *ka*, well known in the language of New Zealand, and in some of the most remote dialects, as a prefix to several numerals, *ka-tahí*, for one, *ka-rúa*, two, has a similar origin, as if we should say one monad, one decad, or one couple.

This numeral is expressed by different words in various Indo-European languages, in which the other numerals are

* This, if conceded fully, would oblige us to admit some Papua languages into the group of idioms, according to this view of the subject a very comprehensive one, which are supposed to have had an original affinity.

nearly identical, and various words for it occur in the Malayo-Polynesian dialects. Bopp observes that this is owing to its being interchanged with demonstrative pronouns. Thus it is in the Tagala and Malecassian *isa*, perhaps from the Sanskrit demonstrative *ésha*, or *aisa*.

2. The second numeral is in the Malayan and Maorian languages *dúa*, coinciding with the Indo-European cognate: *dúa* is modified in some dialects by an usual change of consonant to *lúa*, *rúa*, *lo-roo*.

3. The third numeral is in the Tahitian and in the remote language of Easter Island, where ancient forms are likely to have been preserved, *törou* or *torú*. As these languages always separate two consonants by an intervening vowel, *törú* is equivalent to *trú*, which is not remote from *tri*, the root of this word in many Indo-European languages, and *töloú* may be compared with the Chaldee *téllí*.*

4. Four is in Malay *ampat*, in Malecassian *effat*, or *effatra*, which probably stands for *fefatra*. Now *fefatra* or *effatra* is not remote from the Indo-European numeral, when we take into consideration that *f* is the initial consonant of the word that stands for four in several of these languages, as in *fidwor*, four. The ordinary and well-known permutation of consonants, which already is an established principle in the comparison of Indo-European languages, shews a very near approach of the Malecassian word for four, *effatra*, and the Sanskrit *chatwara*, and *fatra* is but the regular modification of *quadra*, *ἑτετρα*, *pedwar*, *fidwor*.

5. In Tahitian *pae* may represent *pancha* or *πίπτα*, it being the characteristic of this dialect to reject consonants from the middle of words.

The name for five means, in many languages, a hand, pointing to the physical origin of quinary and decimal arithmetic. In the Hawaiian dialect, *lima* means both a hand and the number five: it has both these meanings in the Búgis of Celebes: in the other dialects it retains the derived sense

* The analogy of the Sanskrit *tri* with the Tahitian *torú* was pointed out by Humboldt. *Kawi Sprache*, 3 Th. S. 262.

only, and is modified to *rima* or *dima*.* In the original sense of *hand*, it has a cognate in the Celtic *lamh*.†

The remainder of the numerals are more remote from the Indo-European. M. Bopp has subjected them to a most elaborate etymological dissection, in the course of which he has pointed out analogies with the Indo-European numerals, but they are perhaps remote, and require in aid too many conditions supported by slight evidence to afford any result that carries full conviction.

Baron v. Humboldt seems to have been strongly inclined to the opinion that there is an essential connection between the Indo-European and the Malayo-Polynesian languages in the system of pronouns belonging to each family. Bopp has devoted a particular memoir to the elucidation of this affinity, which he regards as indubitable. I shall lay before my readers some of the most striking of the facts which he has pointed out.

He observes that the Sanskrit, and all the languages most nearly allied to it, agree in forming the pronoun of the first person singular by means of two roots, one of which we find in the nominative, with a guttural for its consonant, (I, Ich); the other, beginning with *m*, forms the oblique cases. This prevails through nearly all the Arian languages of Europe and Asia. The Celtic, however, has *mi* for its nominative. In the Malayo-Polynesian, which have nothing like inflection or declension, we could not expect to find this precise fact, but it is observable that both the forms, analogues of *ich* or *ik*, and of *me*, occur in words denoting the pronoun of the first person, though in different numbers. The Sanskrit *aham*, ego, is represented by the Malecassian *ahau*, contracted in

* So observes Bopp. Humboldt says the word *lima*, *rima*, *nima*, *dima* retains the meaning of *hand* only in the South Sea, Polynesia, and in Bali, Borneo, and Celebes. Elsewhere, as in Malay, it is only the number *five*. The word used for *ten* means also, in the Hawaiian, *the hand*. Humb. K. S. 3 Th. S. 308.

† Dr. Lepsius derives the word expressing ten in all Indo-European languages from the Mæso-Gothic, *Tai-hun*, viz. *two hands*. *Taihan* is the next form; thence *dashan*, *diua*, *decem*, *dæg*, &c.

the New Zealand into *au*. The other dialects take *k* like the Gothic, *ih*; as Malay, *ákú*; Javan, *aku*; Tagala, *aco*. The Tonga, Tahitian, and Hawaiian dialects, like the English, drop the guttural element, and keep only the vowel form *au*, for *ahu* or *aku*. Many languages take *ku* as a suffix possessive.

Most of the Polynesian dialects have also the other form of the same pronoun, like the Sanskrit and its sister languages; this occurs in the dual and plural (we two, and we, ἡμεῖς) as follows:—dual, *má-ua*, N. Z., *ma-ua*, Tahiti, *ma-ua*, Haw.; plural, *ma-tu*, N. Z., *ma-tou*, Tah., *ma-kou*, Haw.

In expressing the second person, *tu*, Sanskrit *twa*, the Malayo-Polynesian sometimes retains the *t*; in other cases, like many languages of Europe and Asia, changes it for a *k*. In Kawi *ta* stands for *thou*. There is a peculiar pronoun expressing *thou and I together*. It is *ta-ua* in N. Z. and Tah. The Tagala has *icaa*, and in short *ca* for *ta*, *thou*; and on this Bopp remarks the coincidence with the Semitic languages, which take *ka* for the suffix pronoun of the second person. The near relationship and easy mutual substitution of the guttural or palatine for the dental consonant is noted as a point of connection or resemblance in pronouns of the Indo-European and Semitic languages, in some of which it is more strongly marked than in the Malayo-Polynesian. The Hebræo-African dialects, the Ghýz, Berber, &c. carry the substitution of the guttural for the dental further than the other Semitic languages, as they not only use *k* in the second person of the verb, but also in the first.* Bopp adverts for analogy to the Armenian, in which *t* and *k* are the pronominal signs of the second person of verbs, and as such are interchanged for each other: as *tu*, *thou*, *kho*, *tuus*, *khicz*, *tibi*. He might have pointed out analogies in the Finaish and Tartarian languages. The possessive, *thine*, is in Tahitian *to*, Haw. *ko*.

Third person. Several Indo-European languages want a

* See Mr. F. W. Newman's Essay on the Hebræo-African languages appended to the fourth volume of my Researches.

properly so termed personal pronoun of the third person corresponding to he, she, it, and use demonstratives instead of it; but the terminations of verbs in the third person singular shew plainly what the personal pronoun must have been. This form ends in *at*, *et*, *ti*, &c.; and we find that the pronoun is thus suffixed in general, and is also an article. The same phenomenon appears, according to M. Bopp, in many of the Malayo-Polynesian languages: *te*, *ho*, &c. are used both as articles and as suffix pronouns connected with verbs denoting the third person.

The Sanskrit relative *ya* has some analogies, according to Bopp, in the insular languages. *Yan* is the definite article, and is used for a relative pronoun in Malay. In Tagala we find *yaon*, ille, and in Bugis *yatu*; *îtu*, Malay; *ito*, Tagala, probably compounded of *ya* and *to*. With the Sanskrit demonstrative *esa* or *esha*, the Malecassian *isa* corresponds.

These instances of resemblance which I have cited in the pronouns and numerals of the Sanskrit and the Malayo-Polynesian languages are certainly remarkable. The resemblances in the ordinary vocabularies of the two classes of languages are not so frequent as might be inferred from what has been said. M. Bopp has, however, shewn that a considerable number of analogies may be found in the roots of verbs. The following instances of resemblance in nouns were selected by M. Buschmann, and were given in one of his notes to Humboldt's work on the Kawi-Sprache.*

Hîna, Sansk. हिन

Hîna, Jav. and Mal., small, mean. *Ino*, Haw.; *kino*, N. Z. bad.

Wâri, वारि water.

Wârih, in the Kawi; *wai*, by omission of *r*, Tahiti, N. Z., Haw.; *wei*, Tong.; *uwaë*, Búgis.

Chara, or *Châra*, चर or चार and अचार *achâra*, rule, practice, rite.

Châra, Mal.; *Tsara*, Malecass.; *Mitsâra*, Malecass.

* Kawi-Sprache, 3 Th., S. 228.

The several senses of the Sanskrit word are recognised in various derivations, in Malayan, Malecassian, and Javan.

Mukham मुखं face, *προσωπον*.

Muha, Mal. Kawi, same sense. *Mukha*, Tagala.

Kshaya क्षय destruction; *acsaya*, to destroy, Tagala.

Shirna शीर्ण to destroy, waste; *sirna*, Kawi; *sira*, Tagala.

One or two more words of this description have been given by Buschmann, who draws the conclusion that a few Sanskrit words can be recognised, and with a tolerable degree of certainty, in the languages of the Malayan nations. The most remarkable are those indicating affinity with the Oceanic Polynesians.

It seems, on the consideration of all that has been stated, very difficult to form a decided opinion on this subject. I cannot, and I think few of my readers will be inclined to go with Professor Bopp so far as his ultimate inference, that the Malayo-Polynesian language is merely a derivative of the Sanskrit, or a genuine descendant of that idiom. If I might venture to offer an opinion, it would be that the resemblance traced between the Sanskrit and the Malayo-Polynesian is by no means such as to indicate a family relation or *Stammverwandtschaft*. It is even very much more remote than the connection between the Indo-European and the Syro-Arabian languages. Yet the phenomena can hardly be attributed to accidental coincidence, and if not, the only alternative is to infer, or at least strongly to suspect, that they are the result of some very ancient and primeval derivation of the two families of nations from a common stock. The Tahitians and the Celts or Letts cannot have obtained anything that they may have had in common from intercourse, either with each other or with any intermediate term of communication. If they have any thing in common in the fundamental and essential parts of their respective languages, it must have been preserved by both from the very infancy of nations, perhaps almost from the first era of the development of human speech.

The history of the Malayo-Polynesian languages cannot be complete till we know more of the dialects of other races spread through the same great region; viz. those of the Papuas and Haraforas. The Papua dialects display some relations to the Malayan, at least in the numerals, and in a few words already known; and these relations may be more extensive than it has yet been supposed. The idioms of the Haraforas are quite unknown, unless the Australians belong to them. Haraforan tribes inhabit the northern isles of the Archipelago, and if the population of these countries was originally derived from Asia, this was perhaps the path of colonisation. The investigation of their history may hereafter throw light on that of the Malayo-Polynesian race.

CHAPTER III.

RESEARCHES INTO THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE
MALAYO-POLYNESIAN RACE.SECTION I.—*Of the Malayan or more recent Period in the
History of this Race.*

THE history of those tribes of the Malayo-Polynesian family who inhabit the islands of the Indian Archipelago and the peninsula of Malacca divides itself into three periods. The latest of these may be termed the Mohammedan era, its commencement being nearly coëval with the introduction of Islâm among the nations of the Archipelago; the middle period is that during which Indian culture prevailed in the Eastern Seas, diffusing a strong tincture of the religion and language of India; the earliest period is that which preceded the introduction of Indian civilisation. We shall obtain a better idea of these three chronological periods by connecting them with a local or geographical division. The Mohammedan period is that of Malayan commerce and navigation, a time during which the manners and the language of the comparatively modern Malays was spread by means of traffic, and by the settlement of trading colonies principally on the sea-coasts of the many islands in the Archipelago and of some of the neighbouring continents. This is the Malayan age. The period of Indian culture associates itself with Java, and is the Javan age: it was in the Island of Java that those colonies of Brahmans and other Indians were founded, by whose influence the language and the literature of the Hindoos were diffused. The earlier period, that of the indigenous cultivation of language among the different branches of the Malayo-

Polynesian race, associates itself with the more remote islands, and especially with the groupe of the Philippines, where the Tagala idiom is spoken by a great part of the inhabitants; for in this dialect, as M. de Humboldt has proved, the most complete developement and cultivation of the genuine and unmixed language of this whole family of nations is to be found. I shall term this, accordingly, the period of indigenous culture.

I shall now take a brief survey of the history of these three periods in the order in which I have mentioned them, going back from recent to earlier times.

Tanah Malaya, or the Land of the Malays, is a part of the peninsula of Malacca inhabited by people who speak the Malayan language properly so termed. It is supposed by well-informed writers not to be the original country of the Malayan nation, who are said to have arrived in the peninsula as a foreign colony from Menangkabao, an ancient kingdom in Sumatra still inhabited by people who speak the same language as the Malays of the continent, and resemble them in other respects. The learned author of the history of Sumatra informs us that the Malays of the peninsula are, in comparison with the inhabitants of Menangkabao, but as a people of yesterday, and that, though they have spread their language and manners far and wide since the foundation of Malacca in the thirteenth century, they are considered as intruders among the aboriginal people of the Eastern Islands. He is here speaking of the maritime settlements and trading stations of the Malays on the coasts of the Archipelago, where Mohammedan colonists of Malayan race have taken up their abode in comparatively recent times, and not of the population of islands by races, settled in them from immemorial times, who are proved by philological investigation to speak cognate dialects of the great Malayo-Polynesian language. According to the historian John de Barros, the city of Malacca was founded A. D. 1260, about 250 years before the arrival of the Portuguese in that part of the east. The founder was a Javan named Paramisera. The people began to adopt Mohammedanism soon after this period, and within a century and a half they had become zealous propagators of Islâm. A

somewhat different account of the foundation of Malacca has been given by Mr. Marsden from the Dutch writers Van der Worm and Valentyn,* who represent the colonists to have been a swarm thrown off from the abounding population of Menangkabao in the neighbouring island of Sumatra. Having chosen for their leader a prince named Sri Tari Bawana, who boasted his descent from Iskander the Great, these emigrants arrived about 1160 A. D. in the south-eastern extremity of the opposite peninsula, termed Ujung-Tanah, where they were at first distinguished by the name of Orang de-bawah Angin, or the Leeward People. Here they built the first city, which they called Singhapura. Four kings here reigned over the Malays, the last of whom, Sri Iskander Shah, was expelled from Singhapura by the Javan king of Majopahit, in Sumatra, who in 1252 was driven from his capital, and returning northward built the town of Malaka, so named from a fruit-bearing tree. Up to the time of Sultan Mohammed Shah, who succeeded Iskander in 1276, the Malayan princes were of the Hindú religion, which prevailed in Java before the introduction of Islám. The whole of this story, as well as the names of the reputed Pagan kings, savours strongly of Mohammedan fable, notwithstanding which the general outline of events is supposed by Mr. Crawfurd to be authentic. He thinks it certain that from the colonies on the peninsula, and not from the parent stock of the Malayan people in Sumatra, the settlements of this enterprising nation, who have been called the Phœnicians of the east, were spread through the different parts of the Archipelago, where Malayan rajahs reigned over maritime districts and seaport towns, before the arrival of the Portuguese, from Sumatra to the Moluccas, and from the Philippines to New Guinea. From Singhapura, Malaka, and Johor the islands of Bintan and Lingga were colonised, as well as Kampan and Aru on the Sumatran coast, and all the Malayan states on the peninsula and in the Island of Borneo.

* Valentyn collected his accounts from three historical works in the Malayan language, which he highly extols. He terms one of them "a most beautifully written work." Mr. Crawfurd says he has seen this same book, and that "to his taste it is a most absurd and puerile production." See Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago, vol. ii. p. 378.

So much for the history of the Malayan states on the peninsula. Admitting the historical account that the present cities were founded by colonists from a more powerful and civilised people in the Island of Sumatra, we must not omit to note the fact that there is a race of wild people in the inland parts of the peninsula, supposed by some to be the primitive stock from which the whole race originated. These are the Orang Benua, a term which in their language means "the people of the land," or the Indigenous. They resemble the Malays in physical characters, and, as it appears, in their language.* Their name, indeed, is not significant in the modern Malayan, but it has its appropriate meaning, as we have already remarked, in some of the Polynesian dialects, which are supposed by Humboldt to preserve older forms of the common language.

The peninsula of Malacca was probably a place of resort in much earlier times on account of the tin-mines which it contains. This peninsula is, in the opinion of Dr. Leyden, the Temala of Ptolemy, and the name was probably derived from Tema or Teman, which is the Malayan term for tin. "We may be permitted," says Dr. Leyden, "to infer the antiquity of the Malayan language from its having given a name to the Cassiterides of the east."† It was from the east that the Greeks probably first obtained tin, for its Greek name *κασσιτερον* bears a strong resemblance to the Indian name of this metal, and may probably have been derived from the Sanskrit "kast'hiram."‡ This would carry back the resort of Indian people to the Malayan countries to a very remote era, namely, to a time antecedent to the Trojan war.

"The Malayan language," according to Dr. Leyden, "is spoken in its greatest purity in the states of Kiddeh or Tanna Say, Perak, Salangor, Killung, Johor, Tringgano, Pahang, and as far as Patani, where it meets the Siamese. Among

* There is a short vocabulary of the language of the Orang Benua in Sir T. S. Raffles's History of Java.

† Leyden on the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations. Asiatic Researches, vol. x.

‡ Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien.

the Western Malays in general it is spoken with greater purity than among the eastern islanders; but on the coast of Sumatra at Pulo-Pavicha it is intermixed with Batta and other original languages. The Menangkabao race, whose chief, termed the Maharájá, long governed the whole island of Sumatra, speak a dialect of Malayan considerably different from that of the peninsula. In the Malay states on the islands of Java, Borneo, and Celebes, dialects of the proper Malay are spoken, which are intermixed with the Jawa and Búgis, or the languages of Java and Celebes, while those on the Moluccas and other eastern islands have adopted a multitude of foreign words." In these remarks Dr. Leyden refers to the trading settlements of Mohammedan Malays, and not to the older tribes akin to the Malayan race, who form the earlier population of many islands in the Archipelago.

SECTION II.—*Of the Javan Period, or of the Age of Indian Culture among the Nations of the Archipelago.*

The history of the Island of Java is synonymous with that of Indian culture, or of the introduction of the arts, literature, and civilisation of the Hindoos among the nations of the Indo-Chinese seas. The history of Java has acquired a new interest, and the culture of its language has assumed a more important place in philology and the annals of literature through the connection of its people with the natives of India, and the modification which its ancient idiom is found to have undergone from the influence of Indian colonists and the classical language of Hindustan.

During the ages which preceded the extension of Malayan traffic and colonisation, the Island of Java appears to have been the centre of a widely-diffused commerce in the Indian Ocean. In these times the whole Island of Java is said to have been subject to one sovereign, who ruled over a refined and cultivated people. The Javanese nation was also brave and enterprising, and before the introduction of Islám, which happened about 1400 A. C., they were lords of the Eastern Seas, and extended their conquests to Sumatra and Borneo,

and as far as the Moluccas. Their voyages, says Dr. Leyden, rivalled in the spirit of adventure the expedition of the Argonauts. They became known to Europeans only in the decline of their power, which was still formidable to the Portuguese colony in Malacca, when one of the dependent princes of Java fitted out a fleet of thirty large vessels of war. During many ages preceding the introduction of Islâm, the religion of the Hindoos prevailed in Java under the auspices of a foreign hierarchy, and the people had an alphabet of their own and cultivated a peculiar literature,* which, however, was entirely founded on that of the Hindoos. The remains of magnificent temples to the Hindú gods attest the power and refinement of the Javanese hierarchy, and ancient inscriptions bear evidence which supports to a certain extent the antiquity of their civilisation. The chronological era of the Javan nation nearly synchronises with the Indian era of Salivahana, which corresponds with the seventy-eighth year of Christianity. Lastly, the Javan language displays unequivocally the influence of an early culture on the Hindú model, and it has adopted a great number of Sanskrit words. We find, as in other regions anciently civilised, three methods of inquiry open for research into the history of the ancient Javans: I mean the examination of their written archives, if such they may be termed, or rather of their historical and mythological poems and of all that remains of their literature; secondly, the remains of ancient architecture and of inscriptions found in temples and on other monuments; and thirdly, which is most important, an analysis of the languages of the older and later inhabitants of Java, including their sacerdotal and learned dialect, the celebrated Kawi. I shall begin by a brief survey of this last part of the subject.

Paragraph 1.—Of the Languages of Java, and especially the Kawi.

The influence of Indian culture on the language of Java is principally observable in the *bhasa krama* or *bhasa dhalëm*,

* Asiatic Researches, vol. x. p. 199.

the high or court idiom of the island, and more especially in the Kawi or ancient poetical dialect, in which the earliest remains of literature are preserved.* The nature and the relations of this poetical and literary language are the professed object of M. de Humboldt's celebrated work.† The results of his research, as far as the history of the Kawi itself is concerned, are nearly as follows:—

Humboldt rejects the opinion of Mr. Crawfurd, from which the learned A. W. Schlegel had already expressed his dissent. By Mr. Crawfurd the Kawi was regarded as a sort of corrupt Sanskrit, a merely sacerdotal dialect, never a popular or national idiom, and at most only spoken by the priesthood. Humboldt observes that at the period when the arts and religion of India flourished in Java, the sovereigns and the dominant caste in that island were more or less of Hindú descent: hence the imitation of Indian arts and the Indian language became the prevalent habit of the Javanese people, and was connected in their minds with all improvement and elevation of character and fortune. In this most flourishing period of Indian arts and culture in Java the Kawi language had its origin. The poetical and mythological compositions of the Hindoos were imitated by the more cultivated Javans in the idiom which they were accustomed to speak. Thus the Kawi was originally the language of the Javanese nation, or rather of the highest caste in this nation already assimilated to and intermixed with the Hindoos; but in forming this language to the purpose of poetry and literature, it was found convenient to introduce a larger infusion of Sanskrit than previously existed even in the idiom of the court. Thus two refined dialects came into existence,—the poetical idiom or Kawi, and the courtly language of conversation, both abounding in foreign expressions, yet both retaining precisely the grammatical structure and the forms of inflexion peculiar to the proper Javanese language. The court language as being that of conversation became gradually altered in the

* Leyden, vol. x., Asiatic Researches.

† The subject had been previously touched upon by A. W. Schlegel. See his *Indische Bibliothek*.

lapse of time, while the Kawi retained all the obsolete constructions and expressions which a language of poetry, and even one of laws and legislation, ever affects to retain and even to revive. During the times when the Indian influence in Java was at its zenith, the Kawi was perhaps intelligible to the people, nearly as the Doric chorus was understood more or less by the Athenians; but when this influence began to decline, which happened long before the age when the latest Brahmans retired from Majopahit to their last refuge in the island of Bali, everything connected with the Hindoos became gradually foreign in Java, and the old compositions in the Kawi, which contained not only much that was of continental origin, but likewise abundant archaisms and obsolete expressions of genuine Javanese origin, were at length no longer understood, and their place was supplied by versions into the popular Javan dialect.

In this adoption of foreign expressions into the language of Java, the old grammatical forms being preserved, the Kawi may be compared with the modern English arising into existence under almost similar circumstances, and engrafting on a basis of native Saxon and on a grammatical type peculiar to it, a great number of French or Norman words.

The results of this external influence are not confined to the language of Java; it has manifestly left vestiges of different kinds. For the most part Java may be looked upon as the intermediate point of intercourse and communication from which the other parts of the Archipelago have been influenced, but this influence has been exerted on Java much longer and more extensively than on other countries. This is indicated by the alphabets of the Archipelago. The letters used by the Tagalas of the Philippines, by the Búgis of Celebes, and by various nations in Sumatra, were plainly not derived from Java but from older forms, which perhaps were the original foundation of the Javanese and even of the Kawi; but the alphabets of Java approach so much more nearly to the Devanagari as to prove a later and more extensive intercourse of that island with the continent.

Moreover, the religious and historical traditions of Java, its political institutions, the literature, and national amuse-

ments, display every where an Indian character.* That the beginning of this foreign culture of the Javanese mind seems not to be limited even to the epoch of Salivahana and the Javanese era is demonstrable, as Humboldt thinks, from one phenomenon, which has been admitted by all those who since the time of Marsden and Leyden have paid any attention to the languages of the insular nations. All the Indian words which can be detected in the languages of the Archipelago, and even the remote Polynesian dialects, were certainly derived, not from any popular language of India, but from the pure uncorrupted Sanskrit. None of the many corrupt modifications of the Sanskrit language existing on the continent of Asia, and therefore none of the languages which are spoken there in the present age, has exerted any considerable influence on the insular dialects. Whatever changes from their original grammatical form Sanskrit words are found to display in the idiom of Java, have arisen merely from the addition of Javanese affixes, or from changes in pronunciation arising from the same cause.

The great antiquity of Indian colonisation of Java is further supported by a survey of Javanese literature and mythology. The Puranas are unknown in Java. The Javanese code of laws, termed after that of Menu, Menuve Say, has been so named, as Raffles observed, in imitation, since it contains the proper domestic institutions of the island where it was plainly composed. The Indian Sastra does not appear even to have been translated into Javanese, yet, as M. de Humboldt remarks, it cannot be maintained that the contents of Menu's work were unknown in Java, since in the Javanese history of the creation of the world heaven and earth are formed by the bursting of a great ball, as in Menu's Sastra by that of an egg. In the Indian myth Brahma comes out of the egg; in the Javanese, the first man, Manekmaya. Also the parts of the bursting body are differently divided. The Indian egg separates into two parts, viz. heaven and earth, between which are the air, the parts of the world,

* This subject has been illustrated with great learning and ability by A. W. Schlegel in the first part of his *Indische Bibliothek*, 400-425.

and the perpetual place of waters. The Javanese ball separates into three parts, heaven and earth, sun and moon, and man, likewise concealed in the ball. The Javanese shaster was thus merely an imitation of the code of Menu and worked up in a very different style from the original. The higher conception of Menu that Brahma burst the egg by the energy of his active mind has not passed into the Javanese representation. Neither can any traces be found of the importation into Java of the later Indian literature, namely, that originating about the beginning of our era. It is, indeed, difficult to found with confidence a conclusion on the negative side of such a question; but as far as facts yet known supply evidence, we must place the original development of Javanese literature through Indian influence in the interval between the era of the heroic poems and that of the later Sanskrit compositions. Whether we may thus be further carried back in the chronology of times antecedent to the Christian era it is, in Humboldt's opinion, impossible precisely to determine. We shall hereafter find that the Bhrata Yuddha set forth as the Javanese imitation of the Mahabharata differs much from the original, and shews tokens of a later composition. On this ground Crawford founded a conjecture that a translation of the great poem into one of the modern Indian dialects may have been the model of the Bhrata Yuddha. Humboldt, on the other hand, has proved that the Mahabharata in its pure form, or the popular legends which on the continent were founded on that poem, passed into Java. This appears from the fact that the tops of mountains in Java are commonly named after the heroes of the Mahabharata, and from the transference of the scene of action into the island; and the language of the Bhrata Yuddha itself, which, as far as it is Sanskrit, is pure Sanskrit without any mixture of a foreign local dialect, is a sufficient evidence that the connection of Java with India was more ancient than these later translations. The Bhrata Yuddha, indeed, in its present form belongs to a comparatively recent period. But when once the Kawi language had been developed in Java by the mixture of pure Sanskrit and by the infusion of Indian culture, poetical composition was carried

on in that idiom, and continued till the total abolition of Hindú influence in the island. Therefore the introduction of recent expressions into some parts of the Bhrata Yuddha is no argument against the early origin of the language, or its early use in the imitation of works of Indian literature.

It appears from the historical collections of Raffles that the communication between India and Java was of a peaceful nature, and not by military conquest. The Indian colonisation of Java, as M. de Humboldt observes, had rather the character of a settlement of priests and sages, of persons devoted to religion, literature, and arts, than of that of foreign subjugation. It is conjectured that foreign improvement may have been sought on the continent by the native princes of Java, as the modern Javans resort to Calcutta in order to have the advantage of English arts and modern improvements. Whether sovereigns of the Hindú race ever reigned in Java over Indian communities can hardly be determined. The contrary supposition is more easily reconcilable with all the facts which have come to light in relation to the history of Java and its language. The influence of the ancient Hindoos in Java was probably established in a manner similar to that of the introduction of Islàm in more recent times. Hindúism was apparently regarded as something desirable and to be imitated by the insular people, and to which the cultivated orders gradually assimilated as much as possible their language and manners, and social habits and institutions.

Paragraph 2.—Of the Historical Records of the Javans.

The Javans have historical records, or books to which they ascribe that character: these are partly written in the Kawi language, and in part translations from the Kawi into the popular Javan idiom. The extant books of both kinds have been enumerated by Sir T. Stamford Raffles, and his abstract of their contents has furnished the groundwork of a critical analysis by Baron William von Humboldt.

Mr. Crawford, who after Sir T. S. Raffles first undertook

an examination of these books, formed a very low opinion of their value for the purposes of history. He says that the native history of Java is an absurd mixture of the wild fictions of Hindú mythology with the puerile legends of the Mohammedans. A dawning of historic truth is alone perceptible in the age when the Moslims first gained a footing in the island. This in his opinion was in the later part of the twelfth century. Islám became the established religion, according to the same writer, not till the close of the fifteenth.

Sir T. Stamford Raffles had formed a somewhat more favourable opinion of the writers on Javanese history. He considered the accounts which they have handed down as deserving of credit as far back as the ninth century. This, in his opinion, was the era of a very general diffusion of Indian civilisation, literature, and religion over the island. But even during the ages reckoned historical, a great diversity exists in all the assigned dates, and no agreement can be made out in the lists of dynasties. It is, however, remarkable that no Javanese record or pretended record carries back the memory of events before the seventy-fourth or seventy-eighth year of the Christian era. It was in the seventy-fourth year after Christ that the Javanese era, the Aji Saka, is said to have been introduced from Java. The greatest contradictions exist as to the person of Aji Saka, and some represent him as a chieftain, others as the emissary or ambassador of an Indian prince; sometimes he is a saint, at others a god. M. de Humboldt doubts whether there ever was a man of that name, and participates in the opinion of Schlegel and Crawfurd that it was only the designation of an era or chronological period. The Javanese era is manifestly the same as the continental Indian era of Salivahana, since the difference of four years between them* may be accounted for by reference to the confusion between the Indian and the Arabian computations of time.†

According to the Javanese historians a Brahman named

* The era of Salivahana begins 78 A. D., and that of Aji Saka A. D. 74.

† Humboldt, *Kawi-Sprache*.

Tritresta first introduced into the island a Hindú colony consisting of about a hundred persons, men, women, and children. Tritresta is referred to the age above mentioned. From that time to the middle of the fourth century of our era the names of many other leaders of colonies are mentioned, but without particulars. A more circumstantial and credible relation is given of the settlement of Madang Kamolan, the oldest kingdom in Java that obtained any permanent duration. It was founded by a colony of five thousand men, who came to Java from Hastina in the 525th year of the national era, and became the capital of an extensive kingdom. Even this account is supposed by the learned A. W. Schlegel to be a recent interpolation,* and M. de Humboldt was inclined to adopt the same opinion. Under princes of this dynasty, who reigned from 846 to 1000, the arts and culture of India attained in Java, according to the native historians, the highest perfection. Such is the evidence of historical records, if that name is to be given to any of the annals of Java. The more authentic testimony afforded by the works of ancient art go back, as we shall perceive, only to the end of the twelfth century of Javanese chronology.

It was the opinion of M. de Humboldt that no data can be discovered in the written annals of Java which enable us to determine any thing with certainty as to the initial period of intercourse between Java and the continent of India, or that of the introduction into the island of Indian arts and mythology and literature. All the historical accounts which go back to an early period rest upon imperfect evidence, or are, rather, manifestly spurious and fictitious. On the other hand those which are authentic and of demonstrable evidence extend to so short a distance of time as to leave us under a conviction that the influence of the Hindoos must have been established over Java for some centuries before the period to which they refer.†

* Indische Bibliothek von A. W. von Schlegel, 1. 406.—Humboldt, *Kawi Sprache*, 1. 12.

† Humboldt, *ubi supra*, p. 15.

Paragraph 3. —Remains of Ancient Art in Java.

The remains of ancient art discovered in Java afford an authentic confirmation of the principal facts recorded in history, though they do not lead us to any precise notions on the chronology of the Javan states.

The remains of ancient palaces and royal tombs, but particularly of ancient temples, of numerous images of stone and brass, and of inscriptions on the same materials, all dedicated to religion, point out the seats of the native states, and tradition has preserved their names. The chief states which existed in the three centuries preceding the conversion to Islâm were Doho, Brambanan, Madang-Kamolan, Jangola, Singhasari, Päjajaran, and Majopahit. The last, which was the most famous Indo-Javanese state, was destroyed A. D. 1478, after a duration, as Mr. Crawford supposes, of a century and a half. Its sovereigns extended far the influence of their arms and arts. Palembang, founded by them in Sumatra, was colonised by Javanese. The ruins of Doho are remarkable; they are referred by Mr. Crawford to the year 1195 B. C.*

The religion of Java was a modified Buddhism, or perhaps the original form of that worship. Idols of the Hindú gods received adoration, particularly Siva, but without the appalling and indecent ceremonies, and the images of Buddha represent him, not as a deified person, but as a reforming saint. From these observations Mr. Crawford concludes that the Buddhism of the Javanese was the primitive form of that religion, which was set forth, not as the worship of a new divinity, but as a reformation of the Brahminical system of the Hindús,—a proof that the religions of Brahma and Buddha are essentially the same, the one being only a modification of the other.† If this be correct, the religions of the Burmahs, Siamese, and Singhalese must be considered as distortions and corruptions of genuine Buddhism.

* Crawford, History of the Indian Archipelago, vol. ii. p. 299.

† History of the Indian Archipelago, ii. p. 298.

The antiquities of Java consist of temples, of images, and of inscriptions.

The architectural remains are scattered over the best part of the island from Cheribon to the western extremity. They are abundant in the most fertile spots, at the mountain Praha, in Mataram, Pajang, and Malang. They are of four kinds: 1, large groupes of small temples, of hewn stone, each occupied by a statue; 2, high temples of great size, of hewn stone, occupying the summits of hills; 3, high temples of brick with an excavation; 4, rude temples of more recent construction.

The images and figures discovered in these temples have in many instances a genuine Hindú style and decoration. In many of them the worship of Siva and Durga is pourtrayed, and seems to have been celebrated; but Buddhism appears to have been the most prevalent sect. Mr. Crawford has drawn some inferences from these remains calculated, as he thinks, to throw light on the Javan history.

The ancient inscriptions found in Java are, according to Mr. Crawford,* of four kinds. 1. The first are Sanskrit inscriptions in the Deva-nagari character. 2. The second are inscriptions in the ancient Javanese or Kawi. 3. The third are inscriptions in the present Javanese, but in an antiquated and barbarous form. 4. The fourth are inscriptions which cannot be deciphered, and are probably composed in the character in which the Sunda language is written.

It does not appear that any of the remains of ancient art enable us to carry back the date of Javanese civilisation on Hindú models to a very remote period. There are none so ancient as the undoubted date of Indian colonisation.

We shall hereafter proceed to inquire into the primitive state of the Archipelago and its inhabitants; but we must first consider the facts which bear upon a very obscure subject,—namely, the history, as far as it is possible to collect anything that can bear that name, of the Malayo-Polynesian tribes, situated beyond the sphere of influence exercised by Java and the Kawi literature.

* Crawford's Hist. of the Indian Archipelago, vol. ii. p. 24.

SECTION III.—*Earlier History of the Malayo-Polynesian Nations.—State of these Nations before the Javan Period.*

The highest cultivation which the islanders of the Indian Archipelago attained before the introduction of Mohammedanism was, as we have seen, derived from the Indian continent, and was diffused among them through the medium of Javan commerce and navigation. A greater obscurity involves the history of times preceding the settlement of Hindoos in Java, and it is difficult to find data fitted to throw light on the state of the insular nations before that event. It is, however, probable, as Mr. Crawfurd has observed, that the tribes within the Indian Archipelago were much further advanced in civilisation than the scattered islanders of the same race in the distant regions of the Pacific. As the conquests of the Javans do not appear to have extended over the whole Indian sea, we may perhaps form an idea of the original state of this whole group of nations from the condition of the Philippine islanders and others who were without the sphere of Javan influence. Even in Sumatra and in parts of Java there are native tribes who appear to have retained their independence, and who underwent little modification of their primitive condition. All these nations have made the first and most important steps towards civilisation. They practise tillage, and support themselves by the produce of labour. They are acquainted with the use of metals, and appear to have invented various manufactures. They have likewise the art of writing, but whether this was indigenous among them or was known before the earliest intercourse with India, is still an undecided question. The Búgis, Battas, and Tagalas, and some other nations have alphabets of their own, in which they write upon bamboos and palm-leaves, some from top to bottom, and others, as it is said, from the bottom to the top of the line. The peculiar direction of their writing appears to result from the nature of the material on which they write. Some have thought that a system of written characters was common to the insular nations and the old Tamulian inhabi-

tants of the Dekhan, even before the conquests of the Hindoos in the peninsula; and the letters which the old voyager Iambulus found in use among the people of Taprobane or Ceylon have been supposed to be of the same class. This was conjectured from the direction of the lines and from the number of letters in the last-mentioned alphabet. But however these alphabets may have varied in form from each other and from the system of letters used in Hindustan, some of them betray a certain affinity to the Deva-nagari, pointing out their probable origin; and there is so much resemblance among them and relation to each other that it is not easy to arrive at a conviction of their separate and indigenous invention.

The languages of these nations, to which we must again refer, furnish data for the most important inquiry into their history. From these, by means of a careful analysis and comparison, light has been thrown on the affinities of particular tribes and on the earlier history of a great part of the race. The Philippine Islands, where the Brahmanised Javans never introduced their language or their religion, appear likely from their situation to be the quarter where the original idiom of the Archipelago may be found best preserved, and this anticipation has been verified by facts. The Tagala, which is the principal dialect of the Philippines, displays the most perfect exemplar of the languages of the Malayo-Polynesian race.

Paragraph 1.—Of the Tagala.

The most important member of this whole family of languages is the Tagala of the Philippines, and it is one of which English writers have in general taken very little notice.* The Tagala has an extensive agreement with the Malay. It

* Marsden in his Malay Grammar, p. 21, admits its importance, but he has omitted even to give a specimen of it in his comparative table in the *Archæologia*, vol. vi.

is of all these idioms that which possesses the most perfect and elaborate development of grammatical forms, a knowledge of which is requisite for a fundamental acquaintance with the other idioms of the people. It bears to these idioms a similar relation to that which the Sanskrit bears to the Greek and Latin. It retains its original character unchanged either by the later Arabian intercourse which has affected the Malayan idiom, or by the older Indian culture which has exercised its peculiar influence on the languages of Java and Sumatra.

The Tagala, says M. de Humboldt, may be looked upon as the perfect specimen of the Malayan family of languages. "It possesses all the forms collectively, of which some particular ones are found singly in other dialects; and it has preserved them all, with very trifling exceptions, unbroken and in entire analogy and symmetry."* "The grammatical system of these languages appears in the Tagala fully developed, and without the truncations and mutilations which time and various changes have elsewhere introduced."† He says further respecting the formation of verbs in the grammar of the Tagala, that it is the most complete and elaborate in the whole assemblage of Malayan idioms. "It was necessary, in order to show the highest perfection of which the 'organism' of this stock of languages is capable, to display the system of verbs in the Tagala." This M. de Humboldt has done from the resources supplied by learned grammarians among the Spanish missionaries.

The Tagala is the principal language of the Philippine islanders, among whom, however, many other dialects are spoken. The three most considerable of these are the Bisaya, the Pampanga, and the Iloco. All these, together with a variety of secondary dialects mentioned by Ezguerra in his Bisayan grammar, constitute a smaller and more closely allied groupe in the great Malayan family of languages.

* S. 315.

† Ibid, S. 319.

*Paragraph 2.—Of the Malecassian Language, or the Language of Madagascar.**

It has long been known that some relations exist in regard to language between the Malays and the people of Madagascar. Such analogies, as Mr. Crawford thought, must be held to have originated from the Malays. "With the easterly monsoon and the trade wind the improved and commercial races of the Archipelago might find their way to Madagascar without any insuperable difficulty; but we may pronounce it impossible that the savages of Madagascar, with hardly any vessel better than a canoe, without a monsoon at all, and in the direct teeth of the trade wind, should find their way to the Archipelago." He concludes from various arguments that the connection which subsisted between the Malecassians and the Malays originated in a state of society and manners very different from what now exists. In these observations the opinion of Mr. Crawford coincides with that of M. de Humboldt, but by no means in the position that the words derived by the Malecassian from the Malayan language are not a part of the fundamental and original speech of the natives of Madagascar, but merely expressions "such as imply advancement in civilisation, numerals," and terms which a savage people are apt to adopt from more civilised strangers who may happen to visit their coasts or found colonies among them.† The very reverse of this opinion is, according to M. Humboldt, demonstrably true. It is not true, says this writer, that a language already existing in this island adopted Malayan words and grammatical forms, but it is certain that a tribe of people akin to the Malays must have settled in Madagascar, and brought with them a lan-

* The resources for the elucidation of the Malecassian language in the possession of M. de Humboldt were, a dictionary published in 1658, and the *Vocabulaire Malgache* of M. Challan, a missionary to the Isle of France, published in 1773, works little known, but used by M. de Humboldt, who added to them two manuscript works, one by the naturalist Lesson, and the other by a deceased English missionary, Jeffreys. S. 324.

† Crawford, *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. i. p. 29.

guage which entirely superseded and extinguished any pre-existing dialect that may have been spoken in the island. The Malecassian is in its essential principles and whole structure a dialect of the great Malayan family.* It approaches by much the most nearly to the Tagala, and contains in an entire state a great many grammatical and fundamental forms of the Tagala. Yet, in the opinion of Humboldt, it would have preserved more of the full and artificial development of the Tagala had the Malecassian been derived immediately from the Philippine Islands. Perhaps it may have originated from Java; but if that was the fact, we must date its derivation in times antecedent to the introduction of Indian refinement in Java. It would otherwise have possessed more Sanskrit words. Yet some words of this language exist in the Malecassian, and even words expressive of common ideas, in no very altered shape, such as *mica*, a cloud, from *mēgha*, and *vihī*, seed, from the Sanskrit *vīja*. It is likely that other idioms may exist intermediate between the Malecassian and the dialects of the Philippines.

It seems from various authorities cited by Humboldt that one and the same language is spoken throughout the whole of Madagascar.

SECTION IV.—*General Idea of the History of the Malayo-Polynesian Nations and their Languages.*

1. In the first age of the history of the Malayo-Polynesian race, which, though chronologically undetermined, is recognised as the earliest in a succession of periods, the collective body of the people existed nearly in the same state as the Tahitians and New Zealanders of the present time. It was during this period that they were spread over all the islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. In some groupes of islands the people of this age appear to have been more numerous

* "Diese Sprache im eigentlichen Verstande und bis in ihr Innerstes hinein dem Malayischen Stamm angehört."—Humboldt, *Kawi Sprache*, 2, S. 326.

and powerful than their descendants of the present day. This has been conjectured at least in regard to the natives of those islands where, as we shall hereafter observe, colossal images have been found. The centre of whatever mental culture existed among these tribes, at least the quarter where their language was most elaborated, and where the mother-tongue of the whole race has been traced, if we may so consider the Tagala, displaying as it does the nearest relations to the remotely spread idioms both in east and west, was the groupe of the Philippine Islands, and particularly the northern part.

Before the termination of the first period tribes of this race who inhabited the islands of the Indian Archipelago attained some improvement in arts. They acquired knowledge of agriculture, of metals, of different manufactures, and perhaps also alphabetical writing. They were perhaps as far advanced in culture as the Battahs of Sumatra.

2. A second period in the history of the race begins with the early colonisation of Java. It is uncertain whether this event took place at the commencement of the Javanese era, but this is the most probable supposition. The Indoizing Javanese formed dialects by amalgamating the pure Sanskrit of their colonists, perhaps conquerors, at any rate civilisers, with the old Polynesian, and formed the Bhasa Dhalem, and at length the poetical and literary language, the Kawi. They spread their conquests far and near in the Indian seas: the extent of their conquests or colonisation, or of the influence of their religion and literature, may be traced in the history of particular tribes, to which we shall have occasion to advert. Sumatra and Celebes and the continental Malayan peninsula were near to the centre of this influence.

3. The third period is the Mohammedan. The decline of Javanese influence was perhaps coëval with the extension of Islâm on the ruins of Hinduism. The pagan worship and the Indian form of society still exists in the Island of Bali, near Java, whither the Brahmans retired on their expulsion from Java by the converts to Mohammedanism.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE MALAYO-POLYNESIAN RACE CONTINUED.
NATIONS OF THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.SECTION I.—*Of the Natives of the Philippine Islands.*

I NOW proceed to describe more particularly the several branches of the Malayo-Polynesian race, and in the present chapter I purpose to survey those nations of this great family who are spread through the Indian Archipelago, reaching eastward from Sumatra to the most remote of the Philippine Islands. These tribes appear to be more nearly related among themselves than to the Polynesian nations of the Great Pacific Ocean.

The survey of the Indian Ocean may properly be commenced with that of the Archipelago of the Philippines. These islands fill an important place in the history of the nations and languages belonging to the Malayo-Polynesian stock. It is there that the Tagala language was originally cultivated and is still spoken. The Tagala, as we have remarked, has been proved to be the most complete form of the common language of the race, which in the remote Philippines, at a distance from Java, the resort of Hindú colonists and other foreigners, was brought in the process of time by genuine and indigenous culture to the most perfect developement. The Tagala seems likewise to be a sort of middle term to which we may refer the varieties of the Malayan and Malecassian on one side, and those of the Polynesian languages on the other.

The Tagala is the principal language of the Philippines, but other dialects are likewise spoken in some parts of that

Archipelago. We must in this place survey collectively the whole groupe of these islands and their inhabitants, those especially who belong to the Malayo-Polynesian family.

The Archipelago of the Philippines is situated between the fifth and nineteenth degrees of north latitude. It reaches about 300 leagues from north to south, and 190 from east to west. It contains a great number of islands of various extent, of which Luzon and Magindano or Mindanao are the largest. In order to form a geographical idea of this groupe, we must consider the long island of Luzon, which stretches from north to south, as a continuation of the great chain of mountains which, further to the northward, and running in the same direction from north to south, forms the interior of the Island of Formosa. Stretching then southward to the southern extremity of Luzon, it separates into two chains running towards the south-east and south-west. The south-western chain traversing the Island of Palawan, one of the southern Philippines, enters the great Island of Borneo, which it is supposed to traverse. The south-eastern branch forms the Isle of Samar, runs along the eastern coast of Magindano, and thence by chains of small islets which mark its course through the mid-channel, passes off into the Moluccas and scatters itself in many branches, some of which form the Archipelago of the Moluccas, while others stretch as far as New Guinea and the Papua Islands.

The Philippine Islands abound in lofty mountains, on several of which are craters yet emitting smoke. The soil of these islands, watered by abundant rains, displays the vigour and magnificence of tropical vegetation, and produces the finest fruits. The orange, the citron, the mango, as well as the more useful growth of cotton, coffee, sugar, and above all rice, which is the principal food of the inhabitants, come in these islands to perfection. The forests contain many wild animals, as gazelles and deer, and the pasture lands support oxen, sheep, goats, swine, and buffaloes.

The whole Archipelago is divided into five principal groupes, Luzon, the Bisayan Islands, Paragoa, Mindanao, and the Archipelago of Sooloo.

1. Luzon, or rather the subdued part of that island, is divided into fifteen provinces. At the era of its discovery by the Spaniards it contained several races of people; those who inhabited the level and maritime countries resembled the Malays in features and complexion, though presenting some peculiar traits: they lived in half-civilised communities under rajahs or chiefs, recognised the authority of hereditary privileged castes, had codes of laws, the institution of marriage and various religious observances, and paid adoration to the manes or spirits of their forefathers. In this class of nations were the Tagalos, the Pampangos, the Zimbales, the Pangasinanians, the Ilocos, and the Cayaganians. These people represent in the Philippines the half-civilised Polynesian race still dominant in the groupes of the Great Ocean. The mountainous parts of Luzon concealed in impenetrable forests and vast deserts tribes of a very different race, who were looked upon as the aboriginal inhabitants of the island: they were called by the Tagalos Oetas or Aetas; the Spaniards named them corruptly Igorotes, or more frequently Negritos or Negros del Monte. They are woolly-haired savages, and the place for describing them will occur in the following chapter.

The eastern part of the isle of Luzon is independent of the Spaniards: it is inhabited entirely by free tribes.

2. The Bisayan Archipelago to the southward of Luzon comprehends the islands of Samar, Leyte, Zebu or Bohol, the Isla de Negros, Panay, Maitim, the groupe of the Calamianes, Mindoro, Masbate, Marinduque, Bavias, and others. Some of these islands will be mentioned in the sequel. This groupe was called by the Spaniards at first "Islas de los Pintados," "Islands of the Painted People." It seems that the inhabitants tattooed their bodies, like many tribes of the same race in the Pacific Ocean.

The Bisayan islands are inhabited by three races of people. 1. Civilised people who cultivate the land under the Spanish government; they are of Bisayan origin. The genuine Bisayas still inhabiting the interior of Zebu. 2. Malays, who make predatory incursions on the coasts. These Malays are

chiefly natives of Mindanao and Sooloo. 3. Negro races in the forests and mountains. The Bisayan language is a cognate of the Tagala, though a distinct dialect.

3. Paragoa or Palawan is very little known. It is a large island inhabited by independent hordes in the interior, the sea-coast being subject to the Malay sultan of Sooloo. It lies in the direct chain which runs from Luzon through the Bisayan islands of Mindoro and the Calamianes towards Borneo.

4. The great island of Magindano, or, as it is generally called, Mindanao, is mostly subject to the Malayan sultan, who resides at the great town of Selangan, and claims sovereignty over the islands of Mengis, a cluster of islands forming part of the Archipelago of the Moluccas. The western part of Magindano is independent of the sultan, and divided into the sixteen petty sultanies of the Illanos. The people speak the Bisayan language, and we may consider the Bisayan race as the proper inhabitants of the island of Mindanao. There are likewise savage tribes in the desert parts of the west who are supposed to belong to the race of Haraforas, and are said to have some analogy in dialect and physiognomy with the Idaan or Dayaks of Borneo, generally referred, as we shall remark, to that much spoken of but little known people.

5. The Archipelago of Sooloo is formed by a great number of islands subject to the Malayan sultan. The sultan of Sooloo governs also the groupe of Cayagan, a great part of Paragoa, and the northern land of Borneo. The people of Sooloo are chiefly bands of Malayan pirates, who infest the neighbouring shores and seas.*

The Philippine Islands were discovered by Magellan in the first voyage that was made round the world. They were at first called the Archipelago of St. Lazarus. This was in 1520. In 1565 a Spanish colony was formed under the command of Lopez de Legaspi, and the islands were named after Philip II. of Spain. A bull of the pope which gave possession of this region to the kings of Spain obliged them

* Dumont d'Urville, Voyage Pittoresque; Balbi, Abrégé de Géographie, p. 1260.

to establish and maintain the Christian religion in their foreign possessions, and a great number of missionaries were sent to the Philippine Islands. The population of the islands was said to amount to three millions of souls. The first ecclesiastics who attempted the work of converting these pagan people to the Catholic faith were the Augustinians.* Missionaries of other orders soon followed, and the monks were very assiduous in learning the languages of the islanders, and in translating into some of them the offices and catechisms of their church, and in propagating its doctrines among the native people. Each religious order compiled the history of its particular province in three or four folio volumes, containing narratives of their proceedings for the conversion of the natives, and likewise historical notices of the countries and their inhabitants. Of these the work of the Franciscans, published at Manilla in 1738, is considered to be the best. Some parts of it have been translated by M. Le Gentil, who made it the basis of his excellent history of the Philippine Islands. According to the testimony of these writers miracles accompanied and facilitated the work of conversion. The country of Taal, not far from Manilla, was agitated by a powerful volcano which broke out in an island situated in a lagoon. Father Albuquerque passed over into the island, and led a procession and celebrated mass. During all the time occupied by these ceremonies the mountain uttered a frightful noise, but afterwards it was found that the summit had fallen in, and all was quiet. Some years afterwards the natives were again affrighted by thick volumes of smoke which issued from the summit, when a repetition of the ceremonies was followed by a like effect. Still the mountain uttered occasionally horrible noises, until a procession of monks headed by Father Thomas de Abren ascended to the very crater of the volcano and fixed on the summit a wooden cross, so heavy that it required four hundred men to bear it up the mountain. Since that time the volcano of the lagoon has ceased to terrify the neighbouring country, and the valleys of Taal have regained their pristine fertility. Such is

* Le Gentil, *Hist. des Iles Philippines*.

the narrative of Father Gaspard, a monk of the Augustinian order who wrote the history of the Philippines.

Valuable and original information respecting the races of people in these islands is to be found in the letters of several ecclesiastics, published by Abbate Hervas in his work on languages. The following are remarks by Don Francisco Garcia de Torres, a missionary in the island of Capul or Abac, which lies in the way from the Marian Islands to Luzon. This missionary had composed a dictionary, catechism, and other works in the language of Capul, and was acquainted also with the Bisaya, Tagala, and Pampanga languages, and others which were spoken in the Philippine Islands. He says, "I agree with you in believing almost all the idioms of the Philippine and of the other islands in their vicinity, to be dialects of, that is, nearly allied to, the Malayan language, which is spoken on the continent of Malacca; this can be perceived clearly in the more cultivated idioms, such as the Tagala, Bisaya, Pampanga, &c. I understood perfectly the language of Capul, and, in conversing with one of the Borneans, I discovered the dialects of Capul and Borneo to be the same, with some minute variations. In the island of Capul or Abac, as the natives call it, there are three languages, or rather three dialects. One of these is spoken in that part of the island which looks southward. It is called Inagta, which means Negro, because the negroes inhabit that quarter. In the northern part another dialect is spoken, termed Inabacnum. There is another general language, in which we preached and administered the holy sacraments. The Inagta or Inabacnum, and all the other islanders, mutually understand each other, though each speaks in his own proper language. I learned all the three, and composed catechisms, a dictionary, &c. in the Inabacnum."

It appears from this account that the Negro or woolly-haired tribes speak, at least in some of the Philippine Islands, dialects cognate to those of the Malayan, or rather the Polynesian race.

The Tagala and Bisaya dialects are nearly allied, as it may be seen by comparing vocabularies or the version of the

Oratio Dominica in these languages. The Tagala is said by these writers to be the proper language of the islands of Luzon and Marinduque. The following account of the sub-dialects of the Tagala is given by Hervas, from the Abbate Don Bernardo de la Fuente, a missionary who was familiarly and critically versed both in the Tagala and Bisaya. He says, "In the Isle of Luzon the following dialects are spoken; 1. In Manilla, the capital, and its environs, the pure Tagala. 2. In Camarines, the Camarino, which is a mixture of the Tagala and the Bisaya of the Isle of Samar. 3. The Pampanga. 4. The Pangasinan. 5. The Ilocos. 6. The Zambale, which is proper to the mountaineers. 7. The Cayagan. 8. The Maitim, that is, Negro, which is spoken by the Negroes who inhabit the mountains in the interior. All these languages are dialects of the Tagala, though some of them differ considerably from others."

Of the dialects of the other Philippine Islands we have in the same work an account written by the Abbate Don Antonio Torres, who travelled through all the islands, and understood all the languages spoken in them. He says, "I have seen the account of the Tagala dialects which Signor Abbate de la Fuente places in Luzon, and I have nothing to add to his enumeration. Of the Bisayan language spoken in the other Philippine Islands, which are often termed Bisayan Isles, there are the following dialects: 1, the Mindanao; 2, the Samar; 3, the dialect of Iolo; 4, that of Bohol. The Mindanao comprises some difficult dialects; for being detained there a year and a half in slavery, I continually endeavoured to understand some of them, and found very many words quite unintelligible to me. I made similar attempts to comprehend the dialect of Iolo, where I also was a slave for half a year. In Mindanao, which is the second of the Philippine Islands, there are the following dialects. 1. The pure Bisaya is spoken in some districts. The author then mentions some others; among them the fourth is the Lutao, so named from *lutao*, which signifies to swim; it is spoken by the Lutai, who live by fishing, and dwell almost entirely in their barks, which are in fact their houses. 5. The dialect of the Negroes, who inhabit the

interior of the island, and there support themselves on the fruits of trees and on the honey made by the bees of the woods." In all the other Philippine Islands is spoken the language which is termed Bisayan. In Iolo, which is one of them, is to be found a resort of people who come on account of traffic from Malacca, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and Celebes or Macassar, and all their languages are intelligible to the Ioloans.

It may be observed that these missionaries regard the idioms of the Negroes as cognate dialects with the Tagala and Bisaya. This is explicitly affirmed by the Abbate Torres in the following terms:—"La lingua dell' Isola detta de' Negri è la Bisaya stessa, col miscuglio di moltissime parole forestieri;" and by De la Fuente, who says, "La loro lingua è Boholana, poiche in essa mi parlavano sebbene adulterata." Bernardo de la Fuente has likewise given a description of the people of the island called Isla de los Negros. As this belongs to another part of my subject, I shall pass it by at present.

We have no want of information of the physical characters of the Philippine islanders. Mr. Marsden says of them generally that they resemble the Sumatrans and Macassars in person as well as in language and manners. He says that they are a robust well-made people, fair, but inclining to a copper colour, with flattish noses and black eyes and hair.

The people of Mindanao are described by Dampier, who says that Mindanao and St. John's Isle are the only ones in all the groupe not subject to the Spaniards. The people of Mindanao are under several princes, and speak different languages, but "are much alike in colour, strength, and stature." They are all or mostly Mohammedan, and similar in manners. Besides the proper Mindanayans, who are the greatest nation, there are the Hilhuoones or the mountaineers, the Sologues, and the Alfoories. The Alfoories are the same with the Mindanayans."

The Mindanayans, properly so called, are men of mean stature, small limbs, straight bodies, and little beards; their

faces are oval, their foreheads flat, with small black eyes, short low noses, pretty large mouths, their lips thin and red, their teeth black, yet very sound; their hair black and straight, the colour of their skin tawny, but inclining to a brighter colour than some other Indians, especially the women." "They are endowed with good natural wits, are ingenious, nimble, and active when they are minded, but generally very lazy and thievish, and will not work except when forced by hunger."

The Tagala is, according to Dr. Leyden, more properly the Tá-Gala or Gala language. He says it is considered by those who have studied it with most attention as the radical language from which the greater part if not all the idioms of the Philippine Islands are derived. A missionary who had resided eighteen years in these islands, and whose account of them has been translated from the Spanish, and inserted by Thevenot in his "Rélations de Divers Voyages," printed in Paris in 1664, declares that, though every district has its particular dialect, yet that these have all some relation to each other, such as subsists between the Lombard, Sicilian, and Tuscan dialects. Some of these are spoken in several islands, but the most general are the Tagala and the Bisaya, the last of which is very rude and barbarous, the former more refined and polished. Friar Gaspar de San Augustin confirms this account, and says that all these particular tongues are dialects of one language. M. de Humboldt concluded from all the information he could collect that the four principal dialects of the Philippines, the Tagala, the Bisaya, the Pampanga, and the Iloco idioms, with their subordinate varieties, constitute in the great Malayo-Polynesian family of languages a smaller groupe of dialects more closely allied. This seems to be the concurrent testimony of all well-informed writers on the subject. Humboldt says that his own investigation comprises only the Tagala and the Bisaya.

A Spanish missionary who possessed an intimate knowledge of the Tagala declared that it possesses the combined advantages of the four principal languages of the world.

“It is as mysterious as the Hebrew; it has articles for nouns, both appellative and proper, like the Greek; it is elegant and copious as the Latin, and equal to the Italian as the language of compliment or business.”* The nouns in Tagala have, properly speaking, neither genders, numbers, nor cases; nor the verbs moods, tenses, or persons. All the words are in fact indeclinable, as in the Tartar and Chinese languages. The artifices which it chiefly employs are the prefixing and postfixing numerous particles, which are again combined or coalesce with others, and the complete or partial repetition of terms.†

It appears from the accounts of the Spanish missionaries who have written works on the history of the Philippine islanders and on the Tagala language, that the ancient religious traditions of the Tagala race, their genealogies, and the feats of their gods and heroes, are carefully preserved in their historical poems and songs, which their youth commit to memory and are accustomed to recite during labour and in long voyages, but particularly at their festivals and during lamentations for the dead. These original memorials of the race the missionaries have with superstitious zeal attempted to extirpate, substituting religious compositions of their own, in the hope of supplanting the remains of national and pagan antiquity. Many psalms and hymns, and even some of the Greek dramas by Dionysius Areopagita, have been translated into the Tagala.

* Leyden, Asiatic Res. 10, p. 207.

† Dr. Leyden gives as an example the following forms, which may well be compared with the formative process of the Mongolian and other Tartar idioms.

Tolog signifies *sleep*; natolog ako, *I slept*; natotolog ako, *I am sleeping*; matolog, *sleep*; matotolog ako, *I will sleep*; katolog, pagkatolog, and pagkakatolog, *sleeping*; natotologpa ako, *I slept, or was sleeping*; ang natotolog, *the sleeper*; ang matotolog, *the person who is to sleep, dormiturus*; natologan, *the having been asleep*; natotologan, *the being asleep*; katologan, *the act of sleeping, or the sleeping place*, &c.; and for the plural, nangatologan, nangatotologan, pangatologan, pangatotologan, &c.; the particles na, ma, and pa becoming nanga, manga, and panga in the plural.

SECTION II.—*Of the Natives of Sumatra.*

The island of Sumatra has long been the seat of arts and civilisation. The character of the native inhabitants has undergone great changes; they are, with the exception of the Javanese, the most cultivated people in the eastern archipelago. We cannot find in this island the characteristic traits of the unmixed Malayo-Polynesians; nevertheless, in the interior of the country, and yet more in the range of small islands on the south-western side of Sumatra, some remarkable vestiges may still be traced, indicating the former prevalence in Sumatra of a state of manners and of customs and of languages nearly resembling those of the distant Oceanic tribes.

In the interior of Sumatra some savage hordes yet exist who are generally supposed to be Papuas or Haraforas. They are termed, according to Marsden, by the Malays Orang Kubu and Orang Gugu. Besides these almost unknown tribes Sumatra contains several distinct nations, differing from each other in manners and religion as well as in language and physical characters, but all referable to the western branch of the Malayo-Polynesian race. These nations are the Orang Malaio or Malays of Menangkabao, the Battahs, the Rejangs, the Lampongs, and the Achí, or people of Achin.

Paragraph 1.—Of the Orang Malaio.

Menangkabao is the principal state in Sumatra, and its kings are supposed to have been formerly sovereigns of the whole island, from all the chieftains of which they still receive the shadow of homage. Menangkabao is the interior and southern portion of Sumatra, and consists chiefly of well cultivated and populous plains. The natives of Menangkabao are the most civilised people of the island: they are

all Mohammedans, while most of the other inhabitants of Sumatra are still Pagans. They write their language in Arabic characters, whereas the other nations have distinct alphabets of their own.

The Malays of Menangkabao differ little in physical characters from their brethren of Malacca on the continent.* Both nations bear a general resemblance to the Siamese and other Indo-Chinese nations in general, and they must be considered as nearly associated by their physical type to that department of the Asiatic races, though distinguished from them by a differently constructed language.

Mr. Marsden has given a general description of the Sumatrans, which, as he says, will suit all the native races except the Achinese. It has reference, however, principally to the Malays. It is as follows:—

“They are rather below the middle stature; their bulk is in proportion; their limbs are for the most part slight but well-shaped, and particularly small at the ankles. Upon the whole they are gracefully formed.” “The women flatten the noses and compress the heads of children newly born, a custom which increases their tendency to that shape. Captain Cook observed the same practice in the isle of Ulietea. They likewise pull out the ears of infants to make them stand at an angle from the head. Their eyes are uniformly dark and clear, and among some, especially the southern women, have a strong resemblance to those of the Chinese, in the peculiarity of formation so generally observed of that people. Their hair is strong, and of a shining black; it is constantly moistened with cocoa-nut oil. The women wear their hair long, sometimes reaching to the ground. The men destroy their beards with chunam or quick-lime, and their chins are so smooth that an uninformed person would imagine them naturally destitute of hair.” “Their complexion is properly yellow, wanting the red tinge that constitutes a tawny or

* I have been informed by Mr. Smith, a baptist missionary, who has travelled in Menangkabao in the hope of spreading Christianity among the people, and who has written a very interesting account of his journey, yet unpublished, that the Sumatran Malays are somewhat of lighter complexion than those of the continent.

copper colour. They are generally lighter than the Mestees or half-breed of the rest of India; those of the superior class who are not exposed to the rays of the sun, and particularly the women of rank, approaching to a degree of fairness."

The Malays, as Dr. Leyden informs us, are called Khek by the Siamese, and Mesu by the Burmahs. This writer says that the Maha-Raja of Menangkabao derives his origin from Lankapura in Java, and that the people are supposed to have had their derivation from that quarter; but no historical account of such an event as this migration has been preserved. Mr. Crawford, whose opinion on this subject is of the greatest authority, considers Menangkabao as without dispute the parent country of the Malayan race. He says that, unlike all other Malay states, meaning settlements on the coast of the peninsula and of other islands in the Archipelago, Menangkabao is an inland country. "Its original limits," he adds,* "to the eastern side of the island were the great rivers of Palembang and Siak, and to the west those of Manjuta and Singkel. As the transaction does not pretend to very remote antiquity, we may credit the universal assertion of the Malays themselves, though it would not be safe to trust to the details which they furnish, that all the Malayan tribes, wherever situated, emigrated, directly or indirectly, from this parent establishment. We are at first view struck with the improbability of an inland people undertaking a maritime emigration; but their emigration, it will perhaps appear on a closer examination, may really be ascribed to this peculiarity of situation. The country which the primitive Malayan race inhabits is described as a great and fertile plain, well cultivated, and having a frequent and ready communication with the sea by the largest rivers within the bounds of the Archipelago. The probability, then, is, that a long period of tranquillity secured by the supremacy which the people of Menangkabao acquired over the whole island occasioned a rapid and universal start in civilisation and population—that the best lands became scarce—and that in

* History of the Indian Archipelago, vol. ii., p. 372.

consequence the *swarm* which founded Singhapura in the peninsula was thrown off."

It must be observed that most of the information we possess respecting the character of the Malays relates principally to people of the Malayan colonies on the coast in various parts of the Archipelago, where they are much better known than in the inland country of Sumatra; and it is very much to be desired that we could obtain more exact accounts of the Orang Malaio in their native state.

Mr. Crawford informs us that there is "a surprising uniformity in the languages of all the Malayan tribes both oral and written, a circumstance to be attributed to the similarity of their situations and the stationary condition of their manners throughout, since the period when their language assumed its present form. The language of the people of Menangkabao, the parent tribe, differs most from the rest. As far as I can judge, the best Malay is written and spoken in the state of Iraeda or Keddah. Here at least the Malays are most anxious about the purity of their language, and most scrupulous in excluding foreign words. In the neighbourhood of the other great tribes of the Archipelago the language is often corrupted by admixture with their dialects, and in the vicinity of former or existing European establishments by a mixture of Portuguese and Dutch, still more incompatible with its genius."

The Malays have literary compositions, which are works of fiction derived from the Sanskrit poems, and from various Arabian stories. For an account of these I must refer my readers to Mr. Marsden's History of Sumatra and his Malayan Grammar, to Dr. Leyden's Memoirs on the Language and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations, in the tenth volume of the Asiatic Researches, and to Mr. Crawford's History of the Indian Archipelago.

Paragraph 2.—Of the Battas.

The Battas are, next to the Malays, the most numerous people in Sumatra. They inhabit an inland region, in the

western part of the island, and are supposed to be the most ancient of its inhabitants. Their language is peculiar to them, but it is said to be connected with the Malayan, and also with the Búgis and Burmah languages. Its relation to the Búgis is, according to Dr. Leyden, the most intimate. This writer says that the Batta language is the principal source of the variety of idiom discovered in the island. The Rejing appears to have been formed by a mixture of Batta and Malay, and the Lampong by Malay and Batta, blended with a certain proportion of Javanese; the Achinese is a mixture of Batta and Malay, with the idiom of some Indian nation of the continent.

The dialect of the rude natives of the Neas and Poggi Islands is said to be more like the Batta than any other language.*

The Battas have had a peculiar alphabet from immemorial times, and are said to have numerous books. The alphabet is peculiar both in the form and arrangement of the characters, but bears a general resemblance to the other alphabets of the insular tribes. The Batta writing is generally in perpendicular lines, but, unlike the Chinese, is read from the bottom to the top of the line; this arrangement has probably taken its rise from the materials on which the Battas usually write, which are bamboos or a smoothed surface on the branch of a tree. The Batta characters when arranged in their proper position have a considerable analogy to those of the Búgis and Tagala; and Dr. Leyden was of opinion that the differences between the alphabets of the Battas and those of the Rejangs and Lampongs have arisen accidentally from the different materials on which these nations write. It is said that almost every individual among the Battas has learned to read and write.

The Battas are pagans, but we have no correct information as to the nature of their superstition. They have little images, but Mr. Marsden doubts whether these are objects of worship or merely a sort of talisman. It is said that they have priests who are termed Gúrús, an Indian name, perhaps unknown

* Leyden.

to the Battas themselves. In their domestic manners they are scarcely less civilised than the Malays, but have preserved certain customs from an older and more barbarous state, when they must have borne a strong resemblance to the natives of New Zealand. They eat human flesh in a sort of ceremony. The victim is a prisoner of war or a malefactor, who after being tried and condemned is tied to a stake, his head covered with a cloth, when the people assembled throw lances at him, and after he is mortally wounded run up to him and cut pieces from his body with knives. They dip these morsels in a dish of salt and lemon-juice, slightly broil them over a fire prepared for the purpose, and then devour them with savage-delight. On certain occasions the Battas tattoo their limbs with figures of birds and beasts, and paint them of divers colours. It is said that they are called Batak in the Bisayan language of the Philippines, by which same term the tattooed people are known who by the Spaniards are named "*Pintados*."

The natives of the neighbouring Neas and Poggi Islands speak, according to Dr. Leyden, a dialect nearly resembling that of the Battas, and they probably may be regarded as an exemplar of the ancient state of the Batta nation. I shall cite the description given of these islanders by Mr. Crisp, as a supplement to the preceding remarks on the Battas.

The Poggi islanders are a finely-formed people; their stature seldom exceeds five feet and a half; their complexion is, like that of the Malays, a light brown or copper colour. The numerals in their language most resemble those of the Battas and Lampongs. They are at present quite a distinct people from the Sumatrans, and much more resemble the Polynesian tribes in the Pacific. They make cloth of the bark of a tree, which they wear in the same manner as those islanders, and the practice of tattooing the skin is general among them, as among the New Zealanders. They believe in certain unknown invisible beings, to whom they sometimes sacrifice a hog or a fowl to arrest sickness or prevent other calamities, and they dispose of their dead nearly in the same way as the Otaheiteans. These people may be considered

as representing the original inhabitants of Sumatra before the introduction of arts and refinement by the Hindoos. The people of the Neas Islands differ in some respects from those of Poggi. According to Dr. Leyden the dialects of both these tribes are allied to those of the Battas in Sumatra.

Paragraph 3.—Other Sumatran Tribes.

3. The Rejangs.—The Rejangs live in villages under the government of magistrates subject to a king of the whole country. They are separated into clans, or tribes, or kindreds. They are a civilised people, and are described by Mr. Marsden as giving a fair specimen of the population of Sumatra.

4. The Lampúngs inhabit the southern extremity of the island: their language differs considerably from that of the Rejangs, and they have a peculiar alphabet. Of all Sumatrans they have the strongest resemblance to the Chinese, particularly in the roundness of their face and the position of the eyes. They are the fairest people in the island, and their women the fattest and esteemed the most handsome.

5. The Achí or Achinese occupy the northern extremity of Sumatra. Next to them towards the interior are the tribes of Allas, Reeah, and Karro. The two former have the manners of the Achinese; the latter resemble the Battas. The Achi differ extremely in their persons from the other Sumatrans, being taller, stouter, and of darker colour. They are Mohammedan, and are not a pure race, but supposed to be descended from a mixture of Battas, Malays, and Moors, the last name being applied to Mohammedan Indians from the Dekhan. The Achi are much superior in many respects to the other tribes of Sumatrans.

SECTION III.—Of the People of Java and the neighbouring Islands; the Javans, Sundas, Madurans, and Bilians.

The native population of Java, Madura, and Bali use one

general language, as we are assured by the historian of Java, Sir T. S. Raffles, and exactly the same written character, and they are intimately connected in every respect. Of this general idiom there are four dialects differing so much from each other as to be commonly regarded as distinct languages. These dialects or languages are the Sunda, spoken by the inhabitants of the mountainous districts of Java, west of Tegal; the Jáwa, which is the general language of Java, west of Chéribon and throughout the districts lying on the northern coast of the island; the Madura and the Bali being dialects belonging to those islands respectively.

Besides the Jáwa there is another language belonging to the Javan portion of the greater island: this is to the Jáwa what the Sanskrit is to the vernacular dialects of India, and the Pali to the Burman and Siamese. I have already adverted to the history of the remarkable Káwi language. It is, as we have seen, a refined and polished language formed by the introduction of numerous Sanskrit words engrafted on the stock of the genuine Polynesian Jáwa.

The Sunda language, though now confined to the mountainous districts, was, previously to the Mohammedan conversion of the people of Java and the revolution therewith connected, the general idiom of all the western part of the island. Sir T. S. Raffles supposed it to be the most ancient vernacular language of the whole country; that is, the most simple and unmixed dialect, seeing that all the dialects belong to one stock. The proportion of the people who now speak Sunda does not exceed one-tenth of the whole population of the island: the remaining nine-tenths speak Jáwa. The Sunda language is a simple uncultivated dialect, adapted to the use of the rude mountaineers who speak it, and it has escaped the influence of foreign innovation from the peculiar nature of the country and the independent character of the race. It possesses a considerable proportion of words common to it and the Malayan, and some words of Sanskrit origin adopted apparently from the Javans: these are chiefly words of art and social improvement.

The people of Java have so much resemblance to the Siamese and other nations of the Indo-Chinese peninsula

that the judicious and intelligent Sir T. S. Raffles was persuaded to consider them all of one race. To this he applies the description given by Dr. Francis Buchanan to Tartar nations,—a name which, in the acceptation taken by that writer, includes most of the Trans-Gangetic races. Dr. Buchanan makes it comprehend the eastern and western Tartars of Chinese authors, the Kalmuks, the Chinese, the Japanese, and other tribes of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, as well as the population of all the islands as far as New Guinea. “This plainly comprises the great islands of the Indian seas. The Tartar race, as described by Buchanan, may be distinguished by a short, squat, robust, fleshy stature, and by features greatly different from those of an European. The face is somewhat in the shape of a lozenge, the forehead and chin being sharpened, while at the cheek-bones it is very broad. Their hair is harsh, lank, and black. Those nations of this family, as the same writer observes, in the highest climates do not attain the deep hue of the Negro or Hindú; nor do such of them as live in the coldest climates acquire the clear bloom of the European.”

Such is the description of a great department of the human family, to which, judging, as it would appear, from physical resemblance alone, these two writers, celebrated as extensive and accurate observers, identify the Javanese. I shall now cite the particular description given by Sir T. S. Raffles of the natives of Java particularly.

“The inhabitants of Java and Madura are in stature rather below the middle size, though not so short as the Búgis and many other islanders. They are upon the whole well-shaped, though less remarkably so than the Malays, and erect in their figures. Their limbs are slender, and their wrists and ankles particularly small.” “Deformity is very rare among them. The forehead is high, the eyebrows well marked and distant from the eyes, which are somewhat Chinese, or rather Tartar in the formation of the inner angle. The colour of the eye is dark; the nose small and somewhat flat, but less so than those of the islanders. The mouth is well formed, but the lips are larger, and their beauty generally injured by the practice of filing and dyeing the teeth black, and by the use

of tobacco, sivi, &c. The cheek-bones are usually prominent, the beards rather scanty, the hair of the head generally lank and black, but sometimes waving in curls, and partially tinged with a deep reddish brown colour. The countenance is mild, placid, and thoughtful, and easily expresses respect, gaiety, earnestness, indifference, bashfulness, or anxiety.

“ In complexion the Javans as well as the other eastern islanders may be considered rather a yellow than a copper-coloured or black race. They are generally darker, however, than the tribes of the neighbouring islands, especially the inhabitants of the eastern districts, who may indeed be considered as having more delicate features, and bearing a more distinct impression of Indian colonisation than those of the western or Sunda districts. In some respects they resemble the Madurese, who display a more martial air than the natives of Java.” It is added that a considerable difference exists in complexion and features between the higher and lower classes, and in different districts.

In Bali the religion and government are still Hindú. The people are divided into the four great Hindú castes, and there are Brahmans of two orders, termed Brahmáne Sewa and Brahmáne Búda. The natives of Bali, though of the same stock, differ considerably from the Javans: “ they are above the middle size of Asiatics, and equal both in stature and muscular power either the Javan or Malayan.”

Sir T. S. Raffles has compared the Javan people with the other two most powerful nations of the Indian Ocean, namely, the Malays and the Búgis, the former being the dominant people of Sumatra, and the latter of the Island of Celebes. He first observes their mutual resemblance. “ Whatever opinion,” he says, “ may be formed as to the identity of origin between the nations inhabiting these islands and the neighbouring peninsula, the striking resemblance in person, feature, language, and customs which prevails throughout the whole Archipelago, justifies the conclusion that the original population issued from the same source, and that the peculiarities which distinguish the different nations and communities into which it is at present distributed are the result of long separation, local circumstances, and foreign intercourse.

Of the three chief nations in these islands (the Philippines being excluded as distant from the scene of these observations) occupying respectively Java, Sumatra, and Celebes, the first has, especially by its moral habits, by its superior civilisation and improvements, obtained a more marked character than the others. Both the Malayan and Búgis nations are maritime and commercial, devoted to gain, animated by a spirit of adventure, and accustomed to distant and hazardous enterprises; while the Javans, on the contrary, are an agricultural race, attached to the soil, of quiet habits and contented disposition, almost entirely unacquainted with trade and navigation, and little inclined to engage in either. This difference of character may be accounted for by the great superiority of the soil in Java.

“The Malayan empire, which once extended over all Sumatra, and the capital of which is still nominally at Menángkábaù on that island, had long been dismembered; but its colonies were found established on the coasts of the peninsula and throughout the islands, as far east as the Moluccas. The Mohammedan institution considerably changed their earlier character.”

“What the Malayan empire was in Sumatra in the western part of the Archipelago, that of Guah or Mengkásar was in Celebes in the east; but the people of this latter country, named Búgis, retained longer their native customs and ancient worship. Like the Malays, they sent forth numerous colonies, and at one period extended the success of their arms as far as Achín in Sumatra, and Keddah on the Malayan peninsula; and in almost every part of the Archipelago Malayan and Búgis settlers and establishments are to be found.”

“The Javans, on the contrary, being an agricultural people, are seldom met with out of their native island. *At one period of their history*, indeed, their power seems to have been exerted in foreign conquest, and they seem to have sent out colonies to Borneo, the Peninsula, Sumatra, and probably Celebes; but when Europeans became acquainted with them, their sovereignty was nearly confined to Java. Their foreign colonies, being abandoned, had become cut off from the

parent stock and gradually merged into the body of the Malayan nation. But the greater fertility of Java invited the visits of more civilised strangers, and hence Java became the principal seat of arts and of the cultivation of literature."

SECTION IV.—*Of the Búgis and other Nations of Celebes.*

The third people mentioned by Marsden and other writers as forming, together with the Malayans and the Javanese, the three civilised nations of the Indian Archipelago, are the Búgis or Búghis*—the name is also written Bugguess—who are inhabitants of the Isle of Celebes, of which they possess the south-eastern part.

Celebes is a long and narrow island, of irregular shape, spread out into promontories or projecting lands. The northern promontory stretches up towards Magindano and the Archipelago of the Philippines, from which it is separated by a wide channel called the Sea of Celebes: its middle part lies over against Borneo: the intervening channel is named the Sea of Makásar. The southern and broadest part of the island, containing the seat of its civilised nations, reaches down into the great channel of the Javan sea, which runs from east to west to the northward of Sumatra and the Javan chain.

It is probable that the original inhabitants of Celebes were of the same race as those of Borneo, but the destiny of Celebes has been different from that of the larger island. While Borneo has remained uncivilised and its people almost entirely unknown, Celebes became at an early period a seat of that civilisation which has been spread, originating from the Indian continent, through a great part of the Archipelago. This island, according to Mr. Crawford, is the centre whence that peculiar kind of culture emanated which has reached the eastern parts of the Indian seas. "The moment we pass the

* This name is sometimes written Búghis to denote that the *g* is hard. For the same reason the French write Guilolo instead of Gilolo. In the received orthography of Asiatic names, proposed by Sir W. Jones, *g* is always hard, and for a soft *g* it is customary to substitute *j*, or less correctly *dj*.

island of Lombok opposite Celebes," says this writer, "proceeding eastward, striking features of difference are to the most ordinary observer discernible in the manners and habits of the people of the Indian islands, and the languages as well as the moral characteristics of the natives of Sambawa, Flores, Timor, Butug, and Salayar display evident manifestations of this influence."

The northern and central parts of Celebes are inhabited by tribes of a people very little known, who are termed Turajas. They are said by Crawford to be barbarous, and to be allied to the Idaan of Borneo, both being tribes of Alforas or Haraforas. They are regarded as the aborigines. Sir T. S. Raffles says that the Turajas resemble in their manners the Dayaks of Borneo and the Harafora tribes of the Eastern Archipelago in general. "They deposit their dead in caves on the sides of hills." In the north-eastern parts of Celebes, in the long and narrow country which stretches out eastward towards Gilolo, the native people are still termed by the Dutch settlers "Haraforas." They inhabit villages spread through the country under petty chieftains, subject to the Dutch colony at the bay or harbour of Manado.*

In the southern part of Celebes two languages are spoken which are known to be Malayo-Polynesian dialects. These are the Búgis and Makásar languages, the idioms of civilised nations. The people name themselves Wugi or Ugi, and Mengkása or Mengkasára. The language of the Mengkasa or Makasars, or some dialect of it, is spoken in the country extending from Bálu Kúmba to Segere, where the first European settlement in the island was founded. The petty states included in this compass are Bálu Kúmba, Bontain, Tarabáya, Gúa, Máros, and Segére. The Búgis is much more general than the Makásar, extending over the whole tract from Bóni to Lúwu, which comprehends the four great states of Lúwu, Bóni, Wáju, and Soping, besides their numerous dependencies. In Mandhur and its vicinity the Mándhur language is spoken. It appears from the vocabulary given by Raffles to be allied to the Makásar. In the

* D'Urville, Voyage de l'Astrolabe, tom. v. 2de partie.

centre and body of the island to the northward, according to the same writer, simpler or ruder dialects prevail among the Turajas or Haraforas, supposed to be the aborigines.*

The Búgis are the principal and most improved people of the island, and they have long been civilised and acquainted with the art of writing, and possessed of a domestic literature. The original source of their civilisation was probably the continent of India, and the Hindu religion prevailed among them as it did in Java before the introduction of Mohammedanism into both islands. The Búgis have, according to Mr. Crawford, an ancient and recondite language analogous to the Kawi of the Javans. They have a considerable body of literature, consisting of tales and romances founded on national traditions, and partly of translations from the Javan and Malayan. The idiom of the Makasars is less cultivated, and their literature inferior.

The Búgis had, as we are informed by Crawford, a calendar in ancient times, but no national era corresponding to that of the Javans till they adopted the Mohammedan. Their literature is said to be altogether very inferior to that of Java, and their records do not go back with certainty more than four hundred years. At the time of the first visit of the Portuguese to Makasar in 1504, there were but a few Mohammedans amongst the people, who were chiefly of the Hindu religion; but Islam was soon afterwards spread among them through the influence of the Malays of the peninsula and of Menangkabao.

The Búgis language, according to Dr. Leyden, is essentially allied to that of the Battas in Sumatra. It resembles the Malayan and Tagala in its construction. With the ancient Tarnata or language of the Moluccas it also exhibits some evidences. These three languages are cognate, and have a radical affinity not only in their vocabulary, but also in their grammatical structure. Customs analogous to those of the Battas are said to prevail among the Búgis in the interior of the island, as that of eating human flesh. They eat their prisoners of war. The aboriginal Búgis appear to have

* Sir T. S. Raffles' Java, vol. ii. appendix F.

had a close connection with the ancient Battas, and they likewise resembled the Bisayas and the Pintados of the Philippines.*

The origin of Indian culture among the Búgis is unknown, nor can it be determined whether it was introduced from Java or immediately from the continent. Sir T. S. Raffles has observed that no Indian inscriptions or other monuments indicating the former abode or domination of Hindoos in Celebes have been hitherto seen by Europeans, though it is reported that Hindú temples exist in the territory of Bontain. The best-informed natives call themselves descendants of Hindoos, and the names of Hindu divinities given to kings, &c. in Celebes, such as Batara Guru, Baruna, indicate a connection either immediate or indirect with India. Batara Guru, a local name for Siva, celebrated in Java, is the name of the first of the Búgis kings. The prevalence in Celebes of local Javan names, or the transference from Java to Celebes of such names of places as Majopáhit, Gresik, Japan, indicate the settlement of Javans in the former island, and render it probable that it was through the medium of Java that Celebes received its Indian culture, and perhaps its earliest civilisation.

The last writer who has paid some attention to the language and literature of the Búgis was the Baron W. A. Humboldt, who, however, had no additional sources of information beyond the short notices afforded by Raffles, Crawford, and Leyden, except a vocabulary brought to Germany by Professor Neumann, and prepared by Thorsen, a Danish missionary, President of the Christian Union at Singapore. Humboldt judged, from a comparison of all the data in his reach, that the Búgis idiom will be found to be an intermediate member of the family of languages, and to constitute the transition between the West Malayan dialects and those of the Oceanic branch. Humboldt has discovered, how-

* M. Le Gentil says, " Les Bisayas et les Pintados, que l'on a trouvé à Camarines, à Leyte, Panay, et Zébu, ont la même origine que les peuples de Macassar, (the island of Celebes,) qui se peignent le visage et le corps à la façon des Bisayas des Philippines."—Voyage de M. Le Gentil, tom. ii. p. 58.

ever, in the Búgis a considerable number of Sanskrit words.

The alphabet of the Búgis bears much analogy to that of the Tagalas, according to M. de Humboldt, who has compared it with the characters used by other nations of the Archipelago and with the Deva-nagari, as well as with the modifications of the Deva-nagari adopted by different nations of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The result of this comparison is, that all these alphabets are of Indian, that is, of Brahmanic origin; that they were formed, not on the model of the present Deva-nagari, but on that of a more ancient alphabet of which the Deva-nagari is a comparatively late improvement. This inference extends to the alphabets of the nations inhabiting the Indo-Chinese continent, as well as to those of the Malayo-Polynesian tribes in the islands of the Archipelago.

The Búgis have a decided character. Mr. Earle, in the narrative of his first voyage, has described the Búgis colonists of Singhapura. He says they bear a strong personal resemblance to the Malays; but that in honesty, energy of character, and general conduct, they are far superior. They are deservedly praised for their upright conduct in commercial transactions, greater reliance being placed on their bare word by those who are acquainted with their native character, than on the most sacred oaths taken by the natives of Bengal and Coromandel.*

The natives of Celebes have been remarked as having in their features some resemblance to the Tartars and Chinese.† This is common to them and the Malays. Their colour is yellow. Though more perceptibly tinged with this hue than European women labouring under chlorosis, they are called by the people of the Moluccas "Whites." They are of light, active form of body, well made, and rather below the middle stature.‡

* The Eastern Seas, or Voyages, &c. in the Indian Archipelago. By George Windsor Earle, M.R.A.S.; London, 1837, p. 389.

† Labillardière, Voyage à la Recherche de La Pérouse.

‡ Raffles' Java, vol. ii. Appendix F.

SECTION V.—*The Native People of Borneo.*

The Island of Borneo, with the exception of Australasia the largest in the world, though situated in the immediate vicinity of European colonies, and adjacent to the highway of traffic between the countries of the remote East, is, as to its inland parts, perhaps the most unknown region on the face of the globe. It lies under the equator between the 7° N. L. and the 4° 20' S. L.; its western side looks towards Sumatra and the peninsula of Malacca, its southern coast towards Java, and its eastern towards the Isle of Celebes. It is said to be 300 leagues from north to south, and its greatest breadth is 250 leagues. The name of Borneo is supposed to be a corruption of Brunaï or Varouni, which, according to M. de Rienzi, belongs not to the island, but to the kingdom of Borneo, generally termed Borneo Proper, or to the town which is its capital. The natives, according to the same writer, give the name of Pulo-Kalemantan or Tana-Kalemantan to the whole island.*

Many Europeans have lost their lives in attempts to penetrate into the interior of Borneo. Captain Padler perished there in 1769; Dutton was long a prisoner at the court of the sultan of Kotti; and Major Müller, sent a few years since by the Dutch to survey a part of the coast, was murdered by the natives. Two attempts made by the English to establish themselves in this island have signally failed. All the authentic information as yet obtained respecting Borneo is confined to the sea-coast. This coast, as we are assured by Mr. Earle, has long furnished to various nations of Eastern India a place of refuge for those who have been driven from home by religious persecutions, by excess of population, or by the misfortunes of war. This intelligent traveller informs us that the sea-border of Borneo is inhabited by various nations unconnected with each other, governed respectively by their own laws, and retaining their original habits and customs.

* Océanie, par M. G. L. D. de Rienzi, Paris, 1836.

The western part is chiefly occupied by colonies of Malays; on the northern coast settlers from Cochin-China have established themselves; the pirates of the Súlú archipelago have gained possession of the north-eastern parts; and the coasts which are opposite to Celebes have been occupied by families of the Búgis from that island. The Malays predominate among these foreign nations in Borneo, where they have become, as in other islands of the Indian Archipelago, naturalised, and seem to have acquired a new home. Such was the state of Borneo, or rather of its maritime part, when it was discovered by Europeans. Various attempts have been made by the latter to found colonies or establish their power in Borneo, but these enterprises have obtained small success. The English made an attempt to establish themselves at Balambangan, an island situated at the north-eastern extremity of Borneo, in 1774, near Mallúdu Bay; and a considerable territory on the coast over which the Suloos claimed sovereignty was ceded to them. The Dutch formed settlements at a later time on the west coast at Pontianak, and afterwards on the south coast at Banjermassing; but neither the English nor the Dutch have obtained a permanent footing in Borneo.

It is believed that considerable parts of Borneo were formerly subject to the Javanese empire of Majopahit. At present the maritime countries where alone any degree of civilisation exists are subject to Malay rajahs. The principal of these is the rajah of Brunai or Borneo Proper, an extensive dominion on the north-west side of the island: on the sea-coast this kingdom is said to reach over seven hundred miles, extending a hundred miles into the interior. To the southward of Borneo Proper, on the western side, was the ancient state of Matan, founded by the Javanese, which had commercial transactions with the Dutch East India Company in the earliest periods of its existence. The capital of Matan is the city of Succadana, situated in the interior on the banks of the river Katappan. A part of the country subject to Matan has fallen, as it is said, under the later dominion of Pontianak, founded in 1770 by an Arab adventurer, aided by the influence of the Dutch. Pontianak has been the

principal state on the western side of Java. Several states or rajahships on the eastern side of the country are looked upon as owing a sort of homage to the sultan of Matan. Among them are Kotti, Passir, and Banjarmassing.*

Besides these foreigners from more civilised countries who have established themselves in Borneo, the coasts of that island afford a receptacle to various tribes of wandering fishermen or sea-gipsies, who roam about the shores. Their origin is little known, and they bear different names. The Lanuns are supposed to come from Magindano. The Orang Biajú and Orang Tedong live in small covered boats and enjoy a perpetual summer on the Indian Ocean, shifting to leeward from island to island with the variations of the monsoon. The Biajús on the north-west coast are more civilised than the rest. They are called by the Malays Orang Laut, or "Men of the Sea." They formerly supplied the English colony at Balambangan with rice, fowls, and other provisions.

The Orang Tedong or Tiroon are a savage people of the north-east coast, who fit out boats which trade among the Philippines: they live principally on sago, but are said occasionally to eat human flesh.

By these tribes on the sea-coast the aborigines of Borneo have been driven into the interior. Except on a few points, says Mr. Earle, where the Dayaks are seen on the rivers near the sea, they have been every where obliged to take refuge in the inland parts. The native inhabitants of this great island are perhaps the least known tribe of the human family. We have only heard of them by vague names, under which they are distinguished in the different parts of Borneo: whether these names belong to different tribes of the same race or to distinct nations we are uninformed, nor can we form an opinion founded on sufficient evidence as to the relations of the Bornean people to the natives of other lands. In the south and west the aboriginal tribes are termed Dayaks; in the north they have the name of Idaan. The Dusum and

* Account of Borneo collected from various quarters by MM. Rienzi and Dumont D'Urville. *Océanie de Rienzi. Voyage Pittoresque de M. D'Urville.*

the Kayans are also savage tribes of the south, and are thought to be of the race of the Dayaks. By several writers it has been supposed that all these races are tribes of Haraforas or Alfourous, but this last name is itself used in a very indefinite sense, as we shall further take occasion to shew, and is thought by Mr. Earle to be applied by the Malays to all the savage races who live in the woods and are aliens from them and independent of their petty chiefs.

We are assured by Mr. Earle that the Dayaks are scattered in small tribes over the country. They are divided into petty hordes, wholly independent of each other except in some places near the large rivers, where they have more communication. In the forests their little communities are quite distinct. The various tribes are said to differ from each other; but Mr. Earle, who saw individuals of several distinct hordes, says that they might be recognised as the same people, having, however, a difference of dialect. "Those who live entirely on the water are much darker than the rest. They are of the middle size and remarkably straight and well formed. Their limbs are well rounded, and they appear to be muscular, but where physical strength is to be exerted in carrying burdens are far inferior to the more spare-bodied Chinese settlers. Their feet are short and broad, and their toes turn a little inwards, so that in walking they do not require a very wide path. Their foreheads are broad and flat, and their eyes, which are placed further apart than those of Europeans, appear longer than they really are from an indolent habit of keeping the eye half closed. The outer corners are generally higher up in the forehead than those nearer to the nose, so that the direction of the orbit deviates from an horizontal line. Their cheek-bones are prominent, but their faces are generally plump, and their features altogether resemble those of the Cochin Chinese more nearly than any other half-civilised nation of Eastern India. Their hair is straight and black. I never saw a nearer approach to a beard among the men than a few straggling hairs scattered over the chin and the upper lip."

"The physiognomy of the Dayaks is prepossessing. The countenance of the Dayak women, if not exactly beautiful,

is extremely interesting. In complexion they are much fairer than the Malays, and they are a people very superior to that nation, but differ not so much as to give the idea of a totally distinct race. They inhabit thatched bamboo houses erected upon piles. They cultivate rice in great quantities and make it their principal food."

"Those Dayaks who have not been converted to Islam believe in a future state: they pay some reverence to deer and to a black bird resembling a magpie, which is considered as an evil spirit."

"The Dayaks assert that some of the interior country is inhabited by a woolly-haired people."

The Dayaks appear from these statements to be a tribe bearing the type of the Indo-Chinese nations, but whether originally of the Malayan race or a distinct and separate stock, we have no information that enables us to determine.

The people termed Dayaks are confined to the eastern part of Borneo. The Kayans, who are said to be a tribe of Dayaks, are described as resembling the Malays, and as living on trees and eating their meat without cooking. They have been thought to resemble the Orang-Benua or the natives of the interior of Malacca.

Dr. Leyden says that the Idaan are sometimes termed Marút: he adds, "they are certainly the aboriginal people of Borneo, and resemble the Haraforas equally in stature, agility, colour, and manners. The latter are of lighter colour than the Mohammedan races. They are invariably rude and unlettered."

The most singular feature in the manners of these people is, according to Dr. Leyden, the necessity imposed upon every person of some time in his life imbruing his hands in human blood. No man is allowed to marry till he can show the skull of a man whom he has slaughtered. It is not requisite that this trophy should be obtained in battle. The hunter of heads often lies in ambush in the vicinity of another tribe till he can surprise some unsuspecting person, whose head is immediately chopped off. He then returns in triumph to his village, where he is joyfully received, and the head is hung up over his door. Heads are preserved with great care

and are sometimes consulted in divination. The most fortunate are those who can boast of having cut off the greatest number of heads.

The tribes of Tidong or Tirún, who live chiefly on the northern coast of Borneo, are reckoned a savage and piratical race, and addicted to eating the flesh of their enemies. Their language is said to be peculiar; but Dr. Leyden, who was unacquainted with them, conjectured these people to be tribes of Idaan.

The Biajús are said by Dr. Leyden to have a language of their own. It is reckoned original, but it has no written character. The Biajús, according to this writer, are of two races: the one is settled in Borneo, a rude but warlike and industrious nation, who reckon themselves the original possessors of the whole island. The other are a sort of seagypsies or itinerant fishermen, who live in small covered boats, and wander about the shores from one island to another. In some of their customs this singular race resemble the natives of the Maldivian islands. The Maldivians annually launch a small bark loaded with perfumes, gums, flowers, or odoriferous woods, and turn it adrift at the mercy of the winds and waves, as an offering to the spirit of the winds; and sometimes similar offerings are made to the spirit whom they term the *king of the sea*. In like manner the Biajús perform their offering to the god of evil, launching a small bark loaded with all the sins or misfortunes of the nation, which are imagined to fall on the unhappy crew that may be so unlucky as first to meet with the devoted bark.

The preceding paragraphs contain the sum of information that I have been enabled to collect from published books relative to the native inhabitants of Borneo. Since they were mostly written, Mr. Earle has returned from an exploring voyage, in the course of which he has spent several years in different parts of the Indian Archipelago, and he has obtained much new and valuable information respecting many of the islands and their inhabitants. I am indebted to him for communicating to me some more precise and accurate information respecting the natives of Borneo, of which the following is an abstract.

In the first place, it is ascertained that the interior of the island, or a part of it at least, is inhabited by a race of Negroes. Mr. Earle says that in 1834 the Dayaks described to him a people in the inland parts of the island, whom he concluded to be Papuas, but he only ventured to allude to their existence in Borneo as possible. "During the last year," he adds, "an English ship was lost on the east coast of Borneo, and a portion of the crew were detained for some months in the interior of the island. Among the aborigines who came to the Búgis settlement to see the strangers, were a party of men, who from the description given me by my informant, Captain Brownrig, (the commander of the "Premier," the wrecked vessel,) must have been pure Papuas. He particularly noticed that striking peculiarity of this race, the hair growing upon the head in small tufts separated from each other, which, when the hair is close cropped, give the head the appearance of an old shoe-brush. They had also raised cicatrices on their skin like those of the natives of Australia and New Guinea."

Mr. Earle supposes the Dayaks to be a branch of the Malayo-Polynesian family; and he considers all the inhabitants of the island, whatever variety of names are ascribed to different tribes, to be one race, exclusive of the Papuas in the interior and the casual settlements of foreigners on the coast. The following is Mr. Earle's account of these people.

"The aboriginal tribes of Borneo bear so close a resemblance to each other in personal appearance and mode of life, that they are generally considered by those who have had opportunities of seeing them at different points of the island as being one and the same people. Their dialects, no doubt, differ somewhat, but no tribe is known to have any peculiarity that could in the slightest degree lead to the supposition that it is a distinct people from the others. From this remark the Papuas are excluded, who cannot be very numerous. Each tribe has a distinctive appellation, but they have no general name among themselves comprehending the entire body of the nation. Strangers who have settled upon the coast of Borneo have given names to the tribes in their own vicinity. Thus the Malays who have settled on the western

coast, term the aborigines of the island 'Dayak.' The people of Borneo Proper again have given them the name of 'Marūt' or 'Morūt.' On the north-eastern coast, where the aborigines are under the influence of the people of Sülū, they are called 'Idaan,' and in the south-eastern part of the island, about Banjar Massin, they are known by the name of 'Biajū,' and sometimes by that of 'Biajū Dayak.'

If Mr. Earle's information is correct, which there is every reason to believe, one great point in the history of Borneo is determined, namely, that its inhabitants, the Papuas excepted, are all one race. This race is further proved to be of Malayo-Polynesian origin. He says :

" With respect to the origin of the Dayaks, I have never had the slightest doubt from the commencement of my intercourse with them that they are Polynesians. Unfortunately I was contented with satisfying my own doubts upon the subject without regarding those of others, and on discovering that the dialect of the Dayaks was decidedly Polynesian, I took no trouble to collect a vocabulary. There is, however, a vocabulary published in Mr. Crawford's History of the Indian Archipelago, which affords a specimen of the language of the Dayaks. It occurs in the 125th and following pages of the second volume, where the words of this language there collated with others are termed Biajuk, which, as it appears from page 120, means Biajū Dayak. I do not know where Mr. Crawford procured this vocabulary, as I believe that he never was in Borneo. It was most probably at Macassar, where there are generally many slaves from the Dayak tribes about Banjar Massin near the south-eastern extremity of Borneo."

Mr. Earle gives the following account of the names Dayak, Idaan, Biajū, which he considers as all belonging to one race.

" The Malays on the west coast of Borneo appear generally to consider the term 'Dayak' of purely Polynesian origin, and derived from 'daya,' 'deceitful,' or 'treacherous,' although those with whom I conversed on this subject allowed that this term was not generally applicable to the aborigines of the island. The word 'Dayak' is often used

by the Malays to designate a cutaneous disease to which the aborigines of Borneo are very liable, more so than any of the other Polynesian tribes whom I have encountered. I am of opinion that this is the origin of the term Dayak as applied to the aborigines of Borneo. Still it is possible that the word as applied to the disease may have originated from the national designation.

“ ‘Idaan’ or ‘Idan’ in the Javanese dialect of the Malayan language signifies ‘foolish’ or ‘lightheaded.’

“ ‘Biajú’ is probably the same with ‘Bajū’ or ‘Badjū’ and ‘Wajū,’ which terms are applied to the neighbouring people of the opposite coast of Macassar in Celebes, and likewise to that singular people who live upon the sea in prahus, and whose chief resort is the eastern coast of Borneo and the opposite shores of Celebes. These last-mentioned people are commonly termed ‘Badju Laut,’ or ‘Badju of the Sea.’ The Wajū of Celebes are a more cultivated people than the Biajú of Borneo, and their civilisation seems to have been contemporaneous with that of the Búgis of Celebes, from whom it is impossible to distinguish them. At Singhapore the Waju people are generally called Búgis. Marsden says that they are called Tūwajū. I have not the slightest doubt that the Biaju or Bajū Dayaks, the Badjū or Baju Laut, the Waju or Tuwaju, and the Búgis or Ugi are one and the same people, with only that slight variation in manners which results from separation and intercourse with foreigners.”

“ Crawford’s comparative vocabulary will show a very near approximation between the Biaju, Dayak, and the Malayan. The Malays of the southern extremity of the peninsula of Malacca are supposed to have been originally a tribe of Biajú Laut; and there are numerous traits of resemblance in customs and general character which confirm this tradition.”

Physical Characters of the Dayaks.

“ There is no peculiarity of personal appearance that serves readily to distinguish the Dayaks of the plain or level coun-

tries from the Malays or the Búgis. In their manners the Dayaks are more bashful and modest. The Dayaks of the interior, who inhabit a country comparatively cold owing to its great elevation, and approaching to the temperature of Europe, are a finer people, fatter and better formed, and fairer in complexion than the Búgis and Malays of the coast of Borneo and the neighbouring islands. Their hair is generally straight, though often curly or waving, and always long, and much care is bestowed upon it." Mr. Earle adds, "throughout the archipelago the mountain tribes of the Polynesian race are fairer than those of the plains. Thus while the Dayaks of the plains resemble the Malays and Búgis in their personal aspect, those of the interior have a strong resemblance to the mountain tribes of Menado and Celebes, to the people of Sumatra inland from Bencoolen, and to the natives of the Neas and Poggi islands near the west coast of Sumatra. I have already mentioned the resemblance that they bear to the fairest of the Timorians." Some of these last, as we shall find from Mr. Earle's account of them, have light or xanthous hair, like fair Europeans. Mr. Earle says that he has seen tattooed Dayaks, and that the Polynesian custom of tattooing the skin prevails among the Dayak tribes in the interior of Borneo. He has likewise been informed that it prevails among the maritime tribes of Celebes, though he has never seen any natives of that island so marked.

From these observations it seems evident that the people of Borneo who are called Dayaks are of the Malayo-Polynesian race. It is also probable that all the other native tribes of the same island, except the Papuas, whether termed *Idaan*, *Marut*, or *Alforas*, are of the same family with the Dayaks.

SECTION VI.—*Of the Ternatas and the Inhabitants of the Moluccas in general.*

In the most remote part of the Indian Archipelago towards the east is the groupe or rather the Archipelago of the

Moluccas. It is situated beyond the wide sea which lies to the eastward of Celebes, and which affords a free passage from Timor and the Sea of Banda on the south towards the entrance of the North Pacific. Situated under and nearly bisected by the equator, the Archipelago of the Moluccas forms a great amphitheatre of islands, which advances in front of the western horn of New Guinea or Papua, of which continent these islands may be looked upon as dissevered portions. Some of the Molucca islands are of great extent, surrounded by clusters of numerous smaller ones. The whole Archipelago is thus divided into several groupes. They are enumerated by geographers under the following sections.

1. Groupe of Gilolo or Moluccas properly so termed, subject before the conquests of the Dutch to the powerful sultans of Ternate, whose ancient capital was on the island of that name, remarkable for its high volcanic peak. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these chieftains are said to have extended their dominion over the whole Archipelago. Reduced to a state of vassalage, they still hold their court in a magnificent palace in the city of Ternate, and are sovereigns of a part of Gilolo and Mortay, and even of a part of Celebes. It is perhaps from this political ascendancy that the language of Ternate or the Tarnata speech is termed the language of the Moluccas, Ternate itself being a small island. Tidor is another small island, very populous, and the seat of a sultan who claims dominion over the Papua isles, a groupe near the coast of New Guinea, of which Salawatty and Waigiou, frequently mentioned by the navigators of these parts, are the principal islands. Many other islands belong to this groupe besides the larger one of Mortay or Morintay and Gilolo, by far the largest of all. Of this last some maritime districts are subject to the sultans of Tidor and Ternate, but the interior is governed by independent chieftains.*

* The islands to which the name of Moluccas originally belonged are only five in number, and are all situated near the west coast of the great island of Gilolo. They are all conical hills, producing cloves and spices. They were discovered in 1521 by the followers of Magalhaens after the death of their enterprising commander. Pigafetta, the narrator of the voyage, says that the Moors, meaning the Mohammedan Malays, had established themselves in

2. The Banda Isles are a more southerly groupe stretching down towards the Sea of Banda. To this division belong Banda and several small volcanic islands near it, agitated by frequent earthquakes. Further southward and in the Sea of Banda are the groupes of the Key Islands, that of Timor Laut, the Arru Islands, near New Guinea, and the Serwatty, near the eastern extremity of Timor. These have been included by some under the department of Banda Isles. They properly belong to the chain of which I shall give an account in the following section.

3. The Amboyna groupe takes its name from one of the smallest islands belonging to it. The largest are Ceram and Booroo. The smaller ones, Amboyna, Havoehs, Manipa, and Saparona, &c. are under the Dutch government. The population of these islands are subjected to the government of dependent chieftains, who are styled rajas or patis, or bear the Malayan title of Orang Kaijá.*

We have no precise information as to the inhabitants of these numerous islands. In the interior of all of them it is said that both Papuas and Alforas † coexist. Of these races we shall give some account in a following chapter. The trading communities of the sea-coast, governed by Mohammeden chieftains or sultans, are Malays from Menangkabao or from the peninsula. Besides these there are probably some barbarous inhabitants of the Malayo-Polynesian race, similar to the Búgis and Bisayan tribes of Celebes and the Philippines. One of the latter is apparently the tribe which gave its name to the Tarnata language. Captain Forrest declares that the inhabitants of the Moluccas are of two sorts; first, long-haired Moors or of a copper colour, and like the Malays in many respects; and, secondly, mop-headed Papuas in the inland parts. It seems that Dampier was unacquainted with the Tarnatas, and was not aware of the existence of any

these islands and at Gilolo fifty years before his voyage. Two Moorish kings or sultans governed them. There was also a pagan king termed Raja Papua in the interior. See Burney's *Hist. of Discoveries in the South Seas*, vol. i.

* Balbi, *Précis de Géographie*; Dumont D'Urville, *Voy. Pittoresque*.

† Dr. Leyden on the languages and literature of the Indo-Chinese nations. *Asiat. Res.* vol. x.

Malayo-Polynesian people in the Moluccas, except the Moors or Mohammedan Malays. Dr. Leyden mentions the Tarnata language as the vernacular speech of the Moluccas, and terms it an original tongue, but he seems to have possessed very little information respecting it.

SECTION VII.—*Islanders of the Timorian Chain.*

The term which I have here chosen may serve to designate the whole chain of islands, many of which are of considerable length from east to west, extending from the eastern extremity of Java nearly in a straight direction toward the western coast of New Guinea. In this number are comprehended, first, Sumbawa or the Sandal-wood Island, the long island of Ende, called Flores by Portuguese navigators. Ende is also termed Great Solor. To the east of it is the groupe of Little Solor, including Ombay and several other islands, and the great island of Timor facing that part of the north-western coast of Australasia termed De Witt's Land and Arnheim's Land. Timor might seem to be the last island in this chain, as it is by far the most extensive; but I shall comprehend in it, for reasons presently to be noticed, three other groupes which lie between Timor and the great south-western bay or circularly retiring coast of New Guinea. These are the groupe near Timor Laut, including the island so named, the Key Islands, and the Arru Islands near the Papuan coast.

The population of these islands seems to be composed of various tribes of the Malayo-Polynesian race in different stages of improvement, and of Papua tribes who inhabit some of the inland countries, and especially the southern parts. It is not unlikely that in some of these islands tribes related to the Australians may hereafter be found. Dr. Latham seems to have detected in the vocabulary of the Ombay islanders several words which resemble synonymous words in the Australian dialects; and the physical characters of the people, if we may form an opinion from a portrait given in Pérons' account of Captain Baudin's voyage, are not unlike those of the Australians.

In these islands several races and languages are distinguished.

1. Sumbawa. The western part of the Island of Sumbawa is inhabited by a race of people who speak a different language from that which prevails in the eastern part of the same island. This last is, 2, the Bima. It is spoken in the eastern part of Sumbawa and in the greater part of the island of Ende or Flores, which is subject to the sultan of Beima.

Dr. Leyden collected a vocabulary of these two languages, and collated them with the Búgis and Makasar of Celebes. There are many words common to all these four languages, and there seems to be no reason for doubt that the two former are, not less truly than the languages of Celebes, Malayo-Polynesian dialects. It may be observed that all these contain Sanskrit words.* Neither the Bima nor the Sumbawa people have any characters of their own: they use the alphabets of the Búgis and the Malays indifferently.†

3. Timorian.

Under this term I include all the tribes and languages found in the islands of the Timorian chain to the eastward of Savú. These islands were unknown in an ethnological point of view till the late voyage of Mr. Earle, who has collected a great mass of most interesting information respecting them and their inhabitants, with which he will ere long gratify the curiosity of the public. In the mean time he has favoured me by giving the following brief account, which must be interesting to all those who estimate the value of ethnographical information.

“ The natives of Timor were those who first occupied my attention, and as I was enabled to pay annual visits to this and the neighbouring islands during six years, I have learned a great deal concerning them. The people of Timor, Savu, the Serwatty Islands, Timor Laut, and the Ki Islands are all

* The Makasar pronoun of the first person ego is *inukke*, a curious instance of resemblance to a Semitic language, with which the Makasar can have no connection.

† Dr. Leyden, ubi supra.

one race, speaking dialects of the same language. Of these I have rather a long vocabulary, viz. of the Kissa dialect (with which I have taken great pains, as I wish to present it as a specimen of this language), and smaller comparative vocabularies of about twenty other dialects spoken here and on the north of Australia. This race is evidently pure Polynesian, resembling very closely the brown race of the South Sea Islands in customs, language, and personal appearance. I think you will also be able to trace a very considerable resemblance to the people of Pulo Neas on the west coast of Sumatra, and to the Polynesians of Madagascar; and, upon the whole, it has struck me that these Timorians exhibit the state of the Polynesian race when it first established itself in the Indian Archipelago, and before it became intermixed with the Hindus and Arabians, as is the case in the Malay peninsula and some of the western islands of the Archipelago.

“As far as my observations extend, one general language prevails among the aboriginal tribes of the groupe of islands extending from Savū in the west to the Ki islands in the east, including Rotti, Timor, the Serwatty Islands, and Timor Laut. It also extends to at least a portion of Sūmbawa, or Sandalwood Island. A great variety of dialects exists, but I met with none that did not evidently belong to the same great family. There are, however, a few small tribes scattered about the interior of Timor, and of which I only met with some individual specimens, whose dialects may form an exception to this general rule. I do not here include the Arrū Islands, for *there*, I have no doubt, a considerable mixture of Papuan will be found, and in the *southern* part of this groupe I believe the *basis* of the language to be Papuan.

“As I could not go very deeply into all the dialects that I met with, I selected for examination one of the two spoken in the island of Kissa, chiefly from my having been a more frequent visitor to that island than to the others, and from the circumstance of my having had a very intelligent native of Kissa in my service during several years, which enabled me to become more familiar with it than with the others. With respect to this dialect, I have no doubt that the basis is Polynesian. A few apparently Papuan words may possibly

have crept in, and I have certainly met with many that are common to the Timorians and to the natives of the west and north coasts of New Guinea, but these have been almost invariably pure Polynesian, and had probably been adopted by the Papuas from the people of the Moluccas and Celebes, who have had intercourse with them for centuries.

“ In point of *sound*, the Kissa dialect certainly differs from some of the smoother dialects of the Polynesians, which at first led me to believe that I had stumbled upon a new language: but I soon found that this peculiarity was entirely owing to a guttural (h) having been substituted for the letter ‘s,’—‘k’ for ‘t,’ and ‘w’ for ‘b.’* The nasal ‘ng’ is also generally rejected. Thus the Bughis ‘tasei’ becomes ‘kahei’ (the sea). The Bughis language, indeed, is, of all those of the Indian Archipelago with which I am at all acquainted, the one that most closely resembles this Kissa dialect. I will give a few specimens of the substitution of words which I have mentioned above.

<i>Bughis.</i>	<i>Kissa.</i>	
bahtu	wahku	stone
beret	werek	heavy
ati	akin	heart
mati	maki	dead
ata	ahka	slave
ūbi	ūwi	yam
būlū	wūlū	feather
sūsū	hūhū	milk
keres	kereh	hard

The Polynesian *nūsa*, land or island, becomes in the Kissa dialect *nohé* and *noha*. Hence possibly *whenūa*, *fenūa*, *benūa*, &c.

“ I could multiply instances, but I dare say you will consider these as sufficient.

“ Although many, perhaps the greater number, of the words contained in this language appear to end in a consonant, and are pronounced so if spoken singly, yet in conver-

* These are very remarkable coincidences with the mutation of consonants, of which I have pointed out many examples in European and Asiatic families of languages.

sation a vowel is generally added as a terminal : for instance, of the words quoted above, 'akin' would become 'akini.' The Kissa people, and the Timorians generally, appear to have a great dislike to the letter 's,' which is rarely used, although they *can* pronounce it, which is not the case with the northern Australians.

" The structure of the language closely resembles that of the Bughis; indeed I look upon them as dialects of the same language: it also accords with the Malayan, and a Timorian acquires both these languages with great readiness, and pronounces *every* word with the most perfect accuracy.

	<i>do not</i>	<i>angry</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>me.</i>	} Do not be angry with me.
<i>Kissa,</i>	johon	mahan	ma	yahū	
<i>Malayan,</i>	jangan	mara	zama	aku	} Will you receive this?
	<i>you</i>	<i>please</i>	<i>receive this</i>		
<i>Kissa,</i>	oho	ra'amnodi	kakàal éniéni		} How many people are there in the village?
<i>Malay,</i>	angkau	saka	tarima ini		
	<i>people</i>	<i>how many</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>village.</i>	} How many people are there in the village?
<i>Kissa,</i>	ria	woira	àil	lekin	
<i>Malayan,</i>	orang	brapa	ada	di-negri	

" In the names of natural productions, this dialect bears a close resemblance to that of Tahiti. I may instance 'ārū,' bread-fruit; 'oho,' the bamboo; 'nenō,' the *morinda cetrifolia* (used as a dye-wood); 'tapi,' cloth.

" Physical characters of these races distinctively.

" With respect to the personal appearance of these people, I may state as a general rule that individuals from the islands of this groupe, if met with in Java, Celebes, or the Moluccas, and clad in the costume of the natives of those places, would not attract any particular attention as differing from others. I have seen this strongly exemplified in cases where people of all these islands have been mixed together, as in some native regiments in the Dutch service, and among the convicts at Banda. There *are* exceptions, and these I will proceed to notice. 1st. Some of the tribes inhabiting the elevated table-land in the interior of Timor, near the north-eastern extremity of that island, and many individuals in the Serwatty Islands, Timor Laut, and the Ki Islands, are fairer

in complexion than the natives of the Archipelago generally, but not more so than some of the Dayak tribes of Borneo, and the mountaineers about Menado on the north-east end of Celebes.* 2. Many individuals in *Timor*, especially about Coepang, have curly hair, which, however, grows to a considerable length. The men tie it up in a bunch on the crown of the head, allowing the ends to straggle down the back, and as they do not take much care of it, it appears more coarse and rough than it really is. These people may possibly have a slight cross of the Papuan. 3d. On the south coast of Timor there are also some tribes who possess very strong characteristics of the Papua, and who, I have no doubt, are a mixed race. Their complexion is dark, indeed almost black, and they have coarse bushy hair. They are an inferior race, much oppressed by the other tribes, and great numbers of them are kidnapped to serve as slaves. I have not personally visited these tribes, but I have seen many individuals belonging to them on the north-west coast of the island. I never met with one whom I could pronounce a *pure* Papua; but from the information I received from different quarters, I think it probable that a few small scattered tribes of that people may exist among the fastnesses in the mountains.

“ I met with no tribes of this mixed race upon any of the islands extending from Timor to the Ki groupe except upon the south side of Moa, one of the Serwatty islands. The coarse bushy hair of the natives there, their dark complexion, and that peculiar muddy appearance of what *should* be the white of the eye, which forms the distinguishing characteristics of all those tribes that have a tinge of Papuan blood in their veins, had attracted my notice when I first visited Moa, and I subsequently discovered that they had originally migrated from the south side of Timor. They are an inferior race, and are much oppressed by their Polynesian neighbours on

* Notwithstanding this general observation, Mr. Earle informs me, that there is a village near the north-eastern extremity of Timor, where the people are more fair than the Polynesian tribes in general. Some of these have red hair, of which Mr. Earle has given me a specimen.

the Island of Letti. Still the basis of their language and customs is decidedly Polynesian, although they have peculiarities in both, which, I have no doubt, are of Papuan origin.

“ I discovered among the Timorians many of the traits and customs of the Dayak tribes of Borneo, which, in addition to a rather close resemblance in personal appearance, leads me to believe that they must have had the same origin. I have no reason for supposing that the Timorians ever go to war for the sole purpose of obtaining human heads ; but those of their enemies slain in battle are retained as trophies, and the defeated party, if not too closely pressed, themselves cut off the heads of their dead and wounded companions, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the conquerors. I am now alluding more particularly to the natives of *Timor*. Human sacrifice is also common throughout Timor, and it is still continued by the natives of Sermattan, one of the Serwatty Islands, and *probably* by those of Timor Laut and Baha ; but with respect to the natives of Sermattan, I can speak with confidence from circumstances that occurred while I was present at these islands, and I should not like to accuse any people of this practice upon mere report. That singular Dayak instrument, the sampit-an, a long tube through which small darts are projected by the breath, is common among the Timorians ; and they are also subject to that singular disease of the skin called ‘ dayak ’ by the Malays—hence the name applied to the aborigines of Borneo—which gives it a white and leprous appearance. The custom of tattooing the skin, which is practised among some of the Dayak tribes, is not, as far as I am aware, common among the Timorians. I have certainly seen individuals marked in this manner on the face and body ; but these were generally slaves, and I suspect that it had been done by their owners for the purpose of distinguishing them in case they should escape.

“ At Kissa I found that a distinction of caste existed, and I have little doubt but that it extends throughout these groupes. The chief caste is the Marna. The chiefs and priests are invariably selected from this caste, and if it becomes extinct in any particular tribe, the chief authority is given to a Marna of some neighbouring state in which the caste happens to be

more numerous. The second caste is the ūhūr or proprietor class, a numerous and influential body in general. Individuals of these castes do occasionally intermarry, but the offspring is not admitted into the superior caste, that is to say, not *generally*, for I did hear of an instance to the contrary, but under very peculiar circumstances. The third caste is the *ahka* or serf; the *ata* of the Bughis, and probably the *tang'ata* or ta'ata of the South Sea Islands."